

Go get, come see*

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Abstract

This paper addresses the interaction between morphology and syntax in cases where the morphological realization of a structure appears to determine its grammaticality. The empirical focus of the discussion is the *go get* construction (Zwicky, 1969), a construction which in English is subject to a strict morphological restriction, only being possible with "bare" morphology. It is proposed that this kind of surface-oriented restriction can be accounted for within the morphological component on the assumption that the syntax can place multiple sets of features on a verb: these multiple feature sets will be interpretable within the morphology only when all sets of features converge on a single realization. The analysis developed for English is then generalized to analogues of the *go get* construction in other languages that show morphological restrictions different from the one seen in English (Marsalese (Cardinaletti, 2001), Modern Greek, and Modern Hebrew), and an outline is given for its extension to other phenomena in which morphological syncretism is able to resolve cases of syntactic feature conflicts.

1 Introduction

The sentences in (1) exemplify a construction which I will call the *go get construction*, an analysis-neutral label adopted from Pullum (1990). In this construction the motion verb *go* or *come* is immediately followed by a second verb:

- (1) a. **Go get** me a coffee!
b. I expected him to **come visit** again soon.
c. Every morning I **go buy** a coffee.
d. *Every morning he **goes buys** a coffee.

The *go get* construction was first discussed in the generative literature by Zwicky (1969), who observed that the construction is *morphologically restricted*: it is only possible in environments that call for an uninflected or bare verb ((1a-b)), or for a form of the verb that is syncretic (homophonous) to the bare verb ((1c)). Overtly inflected verbs, as in (1d), are ungrammatical in the construction. The construction has been described and various analyses been proposed for it in a number of previous papers, including largely descriptive papers by Zwicky (1969), Shopen (1971), Carden and

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Pesetsky (1977), and Pullum (1990); and more theoretically-focused papers by Jaeggli and Hyams (1993), Pollock (1994), and Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001).

The morphological restriction on the *go get* construction is the focus of this paper. Previous analyses have accounted for this restriction by reference to formal syntactic properties of the construction, linking the overt or non-overt status of certain morphology to the configurations in which that morphology can be licensed. We will see in section 2, however, that an accurate characterization of the restriction must make reference to the *surface* properties of individual verbs' paradigms, rather than to their abstract formal properties. This is implemented by enforcing the restriction at the point of morphological realization: while the syntax of the construction will create a potentially problematic structure in which the verbs are subject to two sets of morphological requirements simultaneously, it is only at the stage of morphological realization that these two sets of requirements can be determined to be compatible or otherwise.

Section 4 shows that this account, in contrast to previous analyses of the morphological restriction, can be extended to analogues of the *go get* construction in other languages, where we find morphological restrictions without an association to bare morphology. Section 4 reviews this construction in the Marsalese dialect of Italian (originally described for the *go get* construction by Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001), Modern Greek, and Modern Hebrew, arguing that all three can be understood as showing the same morphological restriction we see in English – a requirement that the verbs in the *go get* construction must resemble the imperative verb form – but with different surface results due to the different morphological systems of the languages. Section 5 presents the analyses of Jaeggli and Hyams (1993), Pollock (1994) and Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) and their drawbacks in accounting for the details of the morphological restriction across these languages.

Section 6 extends the general approach of the paper – the idea that the morphological component can resolve syntactic feature conflicts when the features in conflict have homophonous realizations – to other phenomena in which morphological syncretism is able to resolve cases of syntactic feature conflicts. Several such cases are reviewed, including Case conflicts in German free relatives, agreement with disjoined subjects in English, and agreement with conjoined nominals from different noun classes in Xhosa.

2 Morphological properties of the *go get* construction

This section describes the *go get* construction and its morphological restriction based on the observations in Zwicky (1969), Shopen (1971) and Carden and Pesetsky (1977). Taken together, these three papers have formed the empirical basis of subsequent work on the construction.

There are two properties of the *go get* construction that present themselves immediately. The first is that the *go get* construction is extremely *lexically* restricted: it is generally possible only with the verbs *come* and *go*.¹The second is the already-alluded-to morphological restriction, which circumscribes the environments in which the construction can occur.

The morphological restriction is the central focus of this section, and it is addressed in two parts, a division adopted from Pullum (1990): first discussed is the restriction concerning *which* morphology can occur in the construction (Pullum's *inflection condition*); second is the requirement that both verbs bear the *same* inflection (Pullum's *identity condition*).

¹Shopen (1971) reports that *hurry*, *run*, *stay*, *sit*, and *try* are also grammatical in the *go get* construction; no English speakers I have consulted have agreed with these judgements, however, though some find *run* marginally acceptable. Carden and Pesetsky (1977) also list *run* as being possible in the *go get* construction for some speakers.

The data already seen in (1) highlight the core of the inflectional restriction on the *go get* construction, that it is grammatical in English in all and only those morphosyntactic environments that take a *bare* or *uninflected* form of the verb. This includes imperatives (2a); *to*-infinitives (2b); modal complements (2c); and subjunctives (2d). It also includes non-3rd-singular present tense verbs, as in (2e):

- (2) 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.
 e. I/you/we/they **go get** the paper every morning.

All overtly inflected verb forms, including the present tense with third-person singular agreement (3a), are excluded (Zwicky, 1969):²

- (3) 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.

The contrast between (2e) and (3a) is particularly striking, because it illustrates that it is the surface phonological properties of the verb forms involved, rather than their formal features, that determines grammaticality.

The data in (4) further confirm that the contrast between these examples is really morphological, rather than being (for example) an incompatibility between the *go get* construction and specifically third-singular subjects, or between the construction and past tense semantics. In (4) *Do*-support is triggered by negation or by Subject-Aux inversion, resulting in bare morphology on the main verbs. This ‘rescues’ the ungrammatical examples from (3a-b), though the third-singular subjects and past tense semantics remain:

- (4) a. Does she go get the paper every morning?
 b. Did our neighbour come leave a note on our door?
 c. She doesn’t go get the paper *every* morning.
 d. Our neighbour didn’t come leave a note on our door.

This limitation of the *go get* construction to environments in which the verb is uninflected or inflected with a null suffix is what Pullum (1990) called the *inflection condition*. Previous accounts of the inflection condition have focused on the *bareness* of the morphological environments involved, proposing that the *go get* construction is licensed in these environments because null affixes are literally absent from syntactic derivations. We will see immediately below, however, that any approach that attributes the bareness restriction to the abstract formal representation of verbal inflection cannot be entirely correct: the environments in which the *go get* construction is possible cannot be described by reference to formal syntactic properties, but instead require reference to the incidental *surface* properties of the *morphological* representation.

The relevant examples involve the behaviour of irregular verbs when subjected to the inflection condition. These data will also illustrate the *identity condition*, the requirement that both verbs in

²Some English speakers are more permissive, allowing some or all of the inflections in (i). See Pullum (1990) for a discussion of this variability.

the *go get* construction surface with the same morphology.

The data we have seen so far have been consistent with an abstract feature-based implementation of the inflection condition, in which certain features (such as third-singular subject agreement features) require licensing that is prevented by the syntax of the *go get* construction. The data has also been consistent with the possibility that the inflection condition applies only to the *first* verb (*go* or *come*), while the second is simply a selected-for bare infinitive. We will see shortly that both these possibilities are not consistent with further data.

Consider first of all the question of whether the second verb in the *go get* construction is simply a bare infinitive. If it were, we would expect a bare second verb to be grammatical in the *go get* construction whenever the motion verbs *go* and *come* have satisfied the requirement for inflectional bareness. As observed by Zwicky (1969), however, the behaviour of *be* as the second verb in the construction shows that the second verb is not simply an infinitive.

Be is the one verb in English that has morphological alternations where other verbs have a consistently bare form. What Zwicky observed is that *be* is possible in the *go get* construction only when the wider syntactic environment would independently allow it to surface as *be* (as in (5)). Whenever the wider environment of the *go get* construction would have independently required *be* to surface in one of its suppletive inflected forms, *be* cannot occur as the second verb, either as *be* or as *am*, *are*, *is*, etc. (as in (6)):

- (5) a. The coach told the lacrosse player to **go be** examined by a doctor.
(...to **be** examined...)
- b. Helen asked Jacob to **come be** in the audience at her next play.
(...to **be** in the audience...)
- (6) a. Lacrosse players go *be/*are examined by a doctor after every head injury.
- b. I come *be/*am supportive whenever a friend asks me to.

Were the second verb merely required to be a bare infinitive, we would expect invariant *be* to be fine in all these examples.³ The fact that *be* is not grammatical in this environment suggests that *both* verbs in the *go get* construction are required to reflect the morphological requirements of the wider syntactic environment, and thus are required to be inflectionally equivalent to one another.

At the same time, this illustrates the surface-oriented nature of the inflection condition. If the inflection condition arose from the licensing possibilities for formal features, we would expect that the same syntactic environments would *always* result in either grammaticality or ungrammaticality for the *go get* construction, *regardless of the actual morphological paradigms of the verbs involved*: in other words, we would not expect irregularities in an individual verb's paradigm to affect the acceptability of the *go get* construction.

If licensing of the construction were purely abstract, we would expect the inflected forms *are* and *am* to be possible in (6). Their unavailability shows that the second verb, in addition to having to be inflected, is also subject to the same requirement for *bareness* of inflection that is imposed on the motion verb.

Parallel conclusions can be drawn from observing the *go get* construction under perfect *have* (Pullum, 1990). As we have already seen in (3) sequences like **have gone bought / buy* are ungrammatical because the perfect participle *gone* always contravenes the inflection condition. Unlike *go*,

³Some speakers do report that *be* is preferred over an inflected form in sentences such as those in (6), but there nonetheless appears to be a contrast between these kinds of examples and examples where the second verb is *not* irregularly syncretic.

however, the perfect participle of *come* is homophonous to its bare form. This syncretism in the paradigm of *come*, however, is insufficient by itself to license the *go get* construction in the perfect; despite its ‘bare’ perfect participle, *come* cannot be followed by either a bare infinitive or by a verb with a regular perfect participle:

- (7) a. *Alex has come knocked on my door three times. (**has come knock...*)
 b. *Jacob has come bought a paper every day this week. (**has come buy...*)
 c. *Helen has come visited her grandmother only twice. (**has come visit...*)

Pullum (1990) observed, however, that if we change the examples in (7) such that the second verb is *also* a verb with an irregularly bare perfect participle, the judgements improve for many (though not all) speakers:⁴

- (8) 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.

The availability of the *go get* construction under perfect *have* in exactly those circumstances in which *both* verbs have paradigms that include *bare* perfect participles illustrates two things: first, it confirms the existence of the identity condition: the second verb is not required to be a non-finite form, but is instead required to express the same inflection expressed by the motion verb. Second, it provides further evidence that the inflection condition is not evaluated within the narrow syntax, but with respect to surface morphological realization. While it might be imagined that there is a systematic syntactic difference between *regular* bare and non-bare verbal inflections (i.e. between the third-singular and all other person-number combinations in the present tense), it is not particularly credible to imagine that there is a systematic difference between the syntactic representation of regular perfect participles and those of the twenty-five-odd idiosyncratically bare participles like *come*.

Taken together, the inflection and identity conditions distinguish the *go get* construction from two superficially similar constructions: motion verbs followed by a *to*-infinitive (*go to get*), and asymmetric VP coordinations (*go and get*).

Motion verbs followed by *to*-infinitives display neither the inflection condition nor the identity condition (*They have gone to buy groceries*). Furthermore, Shopen (1971) demonstrates that they have different truth conditions than the *go get* construction: while (9a), containing a purpose infinitive, can be a truthful description of some situation, (9b), containing the *go get* construction, is a contradiction:

- (9) a. They go to buy vegetables every day, but there never are any vegetables.
 b. #They go buy vegetables every day, but there never are any vegetables.
 (example (12), Shopen 1971, p. 258)

Asymmetric VP coordination (called *asymmetric* because the conjoined VPs are not reversible and the second conjunct is not an island for extraction) is slightly more difficult to distinguish from the *go get* construction. It has generally been claimed to not be constrained by the inflection condition (Zwicky, 1969; Shopen, 1971; Pullum, 1990):

⁴Pullum (1990) gives the following list of verbs which in his idiolect inflect with irregularly bare perfect participles: *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*.

- (10) a. Yesterday I went and bought vegetables.
 b. Helen is coming and visiting us this summer.
 c. What has Charlie gone and done now?

It is useful to highlight two other differences between coordination and the *go get* construction that been occasionally overlooked in discussions of the latter, originally reported in Shopen (1971). The first is iterability; Shopen reports, attributing the observation to Charles Bird, that the *go get* construction can be iterated, as in (11a), while asymmetric coordination cannot be:

- (11) a. Come go eat lunch with us!
 b. What meal did you ask him to come go eat with us?
 c. ??Come and go and eat lunch with us!
 d. *What meal did you ask him to come and go and eat with us?

The second relevant property is the requirement for an agentive subject: Shopen observes that the *go get* construction requires that its subject be agentive, while asymmetric coordination does not:

- (12) a. #The driftwood will come wash up on the shore.
 b. #The smoke will go fill up the neighbours' apartment.
- (13) a. The driftwood will come and wash up on the shore.
 b. The smoke will go and fill up the neighbours' apartment.

This agentivity requirement is particularly interesting for the light it casts on possible analyses of the construction, as we will see in the next section.

2.1 Stating the generalization

We have just seen evidence that relevant property of verbs that can appear in the *go get* construction is not formal (i.e. a structural configuration or a syntactic feature), but is instead a property of certain cells in English verbal paradigms (the fact that *come*'s perfect participle is 'bare', while *go*'s is not). This leads us to the conclusion that the inflection condition must be stated in terms of a level of *morphological* representation.

This representation must nonetheless be grounded in the syntax of the *go get* construction, and so the syntax must produce a representation for the *go get* construction that will *result* in the restriction to bare inflection, though it is not actually the level at which that restriction is enforced. This naturally leads to the conclusion that it is the (morphologically relevant) features of the construction that result in the restriction to bare inflection. I propose that the syntax will assign to the two verbs in the *go get* construction *both* the features required by the wider syntactic environment (the features that in the ordinary course of events would accrue on a main verb), *and* some construction-specific feature [F] that is consistent only with bare morphology.

The resulting structure will always be *syntactically* licit, but will be morphologically realizable only if there is a single inflected form that can express both [F] and the other features assigned to the verbs.

This leaves the question of identifying [F]. For it to be manipulable by the syntax, [F] must be a formal feature rather than a morphological descriptor such as [bare] or [default]; just as we do not expect syntactic manipulations to apply only to words beginning with coronals, for example, we do not expect them to apply only to words that idiosyncratically surface with bare morphology.

[F] must nonetheless be a feature that is uniformly associated with bare morphology. It could be a non-finite or subjunctive feature, as both these features are canonically associated with verbal complements in English; it could also be a feature associated with the morphological realization of *imperative* verbs, which also surface with uniformly bare morphology in English.

Though it might seem initially less plausible, there are a number of reasons to favour the hypothesis that [F] is associated with imperativity. First, we saw above that the *go get* construction idiosyncratically requires an agentive subject. Like the *go get* construction, imperatives require that their (often implicit) subject be capable of volitionally carrying out the commanded action: thus the marginal status of imperatives like *Be tall!*. Predicates that are excluded for this reason from imperatives are also pragmatically odd in the *go get* construction: *I will go be tall over there.* cannot be said even by a tall person who is moving to stand in an indicated position (except humorously). While a link to imperativity is by no means necessary to explain the agentivity requirement on the *go get* construction, this is a point in favour of such a connection.

Second, there is some historical and synchronic evidence that the *go get* construction is associated with imperative or directive force. The earliest examples of the *go get* construction provided in the Oxford English Dictionary occur either in imperative clauses or under directive modals. Zwicky (2003) reports on the basis of an unpublished corpus study that the *go get* construction is most often used in imperatives, in a corpus of film scripts.

Finally, perhaps most suggestively, we will see in section 4 that ‘imperativity’ descriptively unifies morphological restrictions on the *go get* construction in a number of different languages: in Modern Greek and Modern Hebrew the *go get* construction is possible *only* in the morphological imperative, while in the Italian dialect Marsalese the construction is possible only in inflections that call for a default stem (which is identical to the canonical morphological imperative, but which is not the stem form used in the infinitive or the subjunctive):

For these reasons, I will assume that [F] should be linked to imperativity, though the *go get* construction is not specifically semantically or syntactically imperative. [F] must therefore not be a specifically [imperative] feature; I propose that it is instead a feature associated with internally caused or directed motion. I will abbreviate this feature as [DIR], intending to recollect *directive* action. The ambiguity of *directive* between imperative and directional senses is intentional (and raises the question of whether this should be associated with the category of directive grammatical devices identified in Quirk et al. (1972)), though this paper will not pursue the deeper question of why this feature should be common to imperatives and the *go get* construction.

3 Analysis

The discussion so far has linked the inflection condition to the hypothesized presence of a syntactic feature ([DIR]). Not yet explained is the source of this feature (where it arises in the derivation), how both it and the features assigned by the wider syntactic environment come to be assigned to *both* the verbs in the syntax (in order to produce the identity condition), and how the mechanics of morphological interpretation result in the patterns of grammaticality described in section 2.

This section elaborates the answers to these remaining questions. Section 3.1 lays out a proposal for the syntax of the *go get* construction, identifying the location of the two verbs and proposing both a source for the [DIR] feature and a general mechanism for verbal inflection that will result in both the featural identity between the two verbs. Section 3.2 then goes on to discuss the morphological realization of the *go get* construction, in particular how the presence of “conflicting” morphological features on a single verb restricts its realization.

3.1 Syntax

Because auxiliaries occur in a fixed order in English, and only the highest (tensed) verb is generally assumed to move in any given clause, it is possible to locate the base position of the verbs involved in the *go get* construction with some precision. We have already seen that *come* can occur below perfect *have* (*go* being banned from that position for morphological, rather than syntactic, reasons), and that both *go* and *come* can occur above passive *be*.

It is more difficult to determine the position of the motion verb with respect to progressive *be*; the fact that progressive *be* cannot occur before either *go* or *come* could be due their relative syntactic positions, or could simply be because the inflection condition prevents either *go* or *come* from surfacing with progressive morphology. The data in (14) suggest, however, that *go* and *come* are not located *higher* in the clause than progressive *be*: the resulting word order is not good, though the intended meaning of such sentences is expressible by other means:

- (14) a. *I will go be reading a book while I wait.
(cf. ... be going and reading...)
b. *The director told the actor to come be singing during the scene.
(cf. ... be coming and singing...)

Evidence that the motion verbs are generated *below* the base position of the progressive auxiliary comes from their relative positions with respect to sentence level adverbs (Jackendoff, 1972). (15) shows that the motion verb must *follow* sentence level adverbs, while in (16) even un-raised instances of progressive *be* can precede such adverbs (though in some cases this word-order is somewhat marginal):

- (15) a. I (always) go (*always) buy a coffee in the afternoon.
b. You (seldom) come (*seldom) see me in the afternoon.
(16) a. Ceremonial guards must (always) be (?always) standing.
b. I plan to (seldom) be (?seldom) doing things like this in the future.

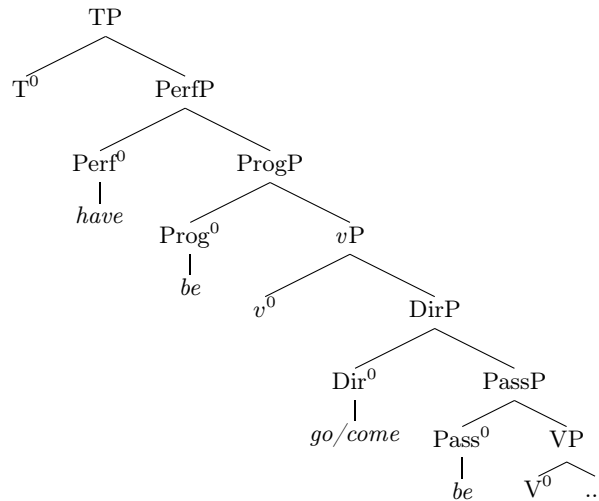
Similarly, motion verbs must occur to the right of floated quantifiers, while progressive *be* can occur to their left:

- (17) a. They will (all) go (*all) buy ice cream.
b. They will (all) be (all) buying ice cream (by now).

Following Kitagawa (1986), Sportiche (1988), among others, this suggests that the motion verb is lower than the base position of the thematic subject, assumed in current theory to be Spec-*vP*. The motion verb's being located within the *vP* domain is consonant with the fact that in English the *go get* construction places a thematic agentivity requirement on the subject of the clause.

We have thus arrived at a picture of where the *go get* construction fits into the clausal architecture of English roughly as follows, labeling the projection in which the motion verb occurs as *Dir*⁰:

(18)



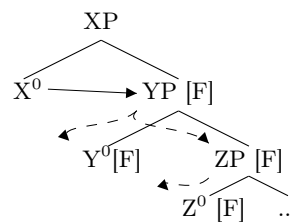
As outlined in the previous section, I propose that the morphological restriction results form an additional inflectional feature that has consequences in the post-syntactic morphological component, imposing restrictions on the verb forms that will be able to be inserted in the construction. This morphological feature, abbreviated as [DIR], must occur on both the verbs in the *go get* construction, in order to account for the fact that both verbs are required to surface with zero morphology.

More generally, the *go get* construction requires two properties of a theory of feature manipulation: it requires a mechanism for requiring identical features on more than one verb, in order to account for the identity condition, and it requires a way to “stack” multiple (potentially morphologically conflicting) features on a single verb, to account for the inflection condition.

Here I will propose an implementation of these requirements framed within a theory of feature manipulation developed by Matushansky (2008) within the domain of Case theory. With some modifications her account be extended into the domain of verbal inflection, and can be used to account for both standard cases of verbal inflection and the more peculiar properties of inflection in the *go get* construction.

Matushansky proposes that morphological case features are assigned by certain functional heads to the phrase merged as their complement; these features are then inherited by all the nodes within that complement. The tree in (19) illustrates this for a feature [F] assigned by the head X^0 to its complement phrase YP; this feature F can in principle spread onto all the segments dominated by YP:⁵

(19)



⁵Pesetsky (2007) proposes a similar mechanism to account for case patterns in Russian paucal numeral constructions.

Feature spreading can be blocked by an intervening phase boundary: Matushansky assumes that features affecting morphological spell-out cannot spread onto an already-spelled-out constituent; for example, a CP phase boundary blocks a matrix clause’s Case-determining heads from affecting the morphological case of the DPs in an embedded clause.

Key to Matushansky’s proposals for Case is the fact that a head that is in the domain of two different feature-assigners will straightforwardly receive multiple features, potentially features of the same type, and that this multiple-feature configuration is always syntactically licit. In the cases Matushansky discusses, such configurations are also always morphologically interpretable; what she does not discuss is the possibility that a head may collect a set of features that are morphologically incompatible with one another, leading to morphological uninterpretability.

If this model of feature manipulation is extended into the domain of verbal inflection, it provides both of the properties required by the *go get* construction: features can *spread* onto more than one head (potentially producing inflectional identity between multiple verbs), and multiple features can *stack* on a single head (potentially producing morphological conflicts).⁶

In an ordinary English clause, this approach to inflection results in an account very similar to the classical Affix Hopping account of English verbal inflection (Chomsky, 1957; Pollock, 1989, among others), or to more recent accounts which assume that affix lowering is a post-syntactic PF process (Bobaljik, 1994, 1995; Lasnik, 1999; Embick and Noyer, 2001). The crucial difference is that instead of affixes or feature-bearing heads moving downwards as discrete and indivisible units, a feature-spreading account of inflection assumes that it is inflectional features that move downwards, permeating the entire complement of the functional head from which they originate.

In most clauses in English, however, we do not have evidence for inflectional features spreading onto more than one verbal element: instead, in clauses that contain multiple auxiliaries, each inflectional head uniquely determines the morphology of exactly one auxiliary or verb further down in the tree. If features are assigned to heads by spreading from higher in the clause, this requires that they be *blocked* from spreading further than one verb down in a clause. Matushansky (2008) proposes that blockers to feature spreading are always phase heads; thus, any head that morphologically expresses multiple inflectional features will either be in the domain of multiple feature-assigning-heads with no intervening phase boundaries, or will have undergone head movement to each successive phase-head, escaping spell-out and so remaining able to receive subsequent feature assignments.

Maintaining the assumption that feature spreading is blocked only by phase heads requires that every auxiliary in English (every feature-assigning head) be a phase head, whose merger triggers the spell-out of its complement; otherwise multiple inflectional features (such as [progressive] and [passive]) would be expected to stack onto the main verb of a clause, resulting in unattested forms like *is be-ing eat-en-ing* (in place of the attested *is be-ing eat-en*).

⁶There are phenomena beyond the *go get* construction that give empirical support to the idea of inflectional spreading in the verbal domain. Richards (2009) reports that in Lardil, future morphology will spread onto all the elements within a clause’s VP, appearing on adjuncts and arguments as well as on the main verb:

- (i) Lardil, Richards (2009, (7b))
 Ngada nguthunguthu-r warnawu-thur dulnhuka-r beerr-uru-r nyith-urur
 I slowly-FUT cook-FUT month.fish-FUT ti-tree-INST-FUT fire-INST-FUT
 ‘I will slowly cook the month fish on a fire of ti-tree wood’

This could be understood as the feature [FUT] being assigned to a whole sub-tree, rather than Agreeing with a single lower head. Similar, though slightly less striking, cases of inflectional spreading occur in the domain of serial verb constructions (to which the *go get* construction has sometimes been explicitly compared), where inflectional morphology occurs in some languages on all verbs in a series (Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2007).

For illustration, consider the example in (20):

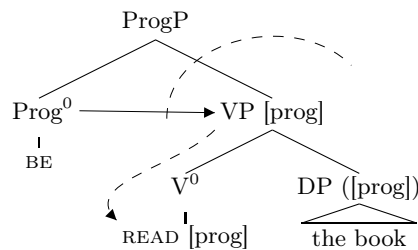
(20) The students will have been reading the book.

This sentence has a main verb c-commanded by a sequence of three overt auxiliaries: modal *will*, perfect *have*, and progressive *be*. The first merged is the progressive head; on the account developed here, when it is merged above the root READ, the progressive head assigns to its complement some feature that will be spelled out as progressive participle morphology: call this feature [prog]. This is shown in the tree in (21a).⁷

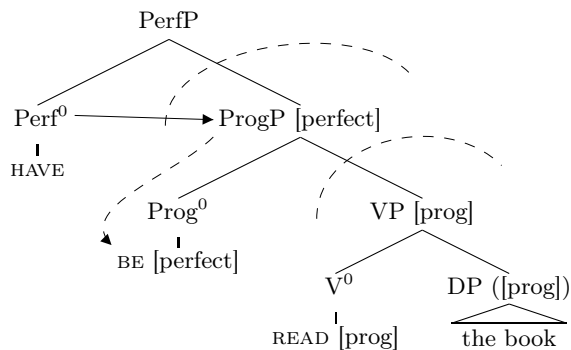
Having assigned this feature, the progressive head must then trigger spell-out of its complement, the VP headed by READ, to account for the fact that READ does not receive any further morphological features.

When the perfect head is later merged, as shown in (21b), it assigns some feature to its complement, a feature that will result in a perfect participle at spell-out. This feature does not spread down onto the main verb, which is in an already-spelled-out phase, but will spread onto the progressive auxiliary BE.

(21) a.



b.



Returning to the *go get* construction, we know that the feature assigned by the broader syntactic environment must be able to spread onto the two verbs in the construction, and so no blocker to feature spreading can intervene between the two heads. On the assumption adopted from Matushansky that blockers to feature spreading are phase boundaries, the absence of blockers between the motion verb and the main verb amounts to the absence of any phase boundary between the two verbs; furthermore, the motion verb itself cannot be a phase boundary, or it would prevent features from *higher* in the tree from spreading onto the main verb.

⁷Small caps are used to represent abstract roots prior to their morphophonological realization.

The feature responsible for the morphological restriction must originate from within the phase occupied by the motion verb and its complement. Continuing to adopt the architectural assumptions illustrated in the tree in (18), I assume that it is that the motion verb *itself* that occupies the head licensing the *go get* construction, and this head is the source of the [DIR] feature. The alternative, which would be to assume a separate head licensing the two-verb syntax of the construction, would be equally compatible with the analysis pursued here; I adopt the assumption of a single head for reasons of structural parsimony.

Recall that *both* the motion verb and the main verb in the *go get* construction are required to surface with bare inflection. I have proposed that this is because they are both assigned an [DIR] feature before they reach morphological interpretation. This means that the motion verb in Dir^0 cannot only be the *source* of the [DIR] feature, it must also *bear* that feature.

On the face of it, this differentiates the motion verb from the other feature-assigning heads we have seen so far. This is not necessarily the case, however: imagine that *all* feature-assigning heads are merged with the same features they assign to their complements. If this is the case, what we need is an explanation for why the motion verb in the *go get* construction spells out the feature it assigns, while other English auxiliaries do not.

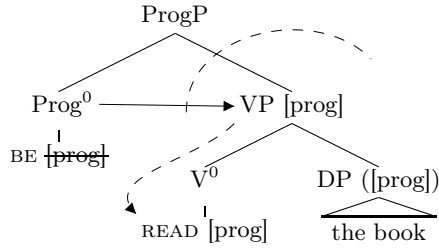
One difference between the motion verb and other feature-assigning verbs, needed independently to explain the fact that the motion verb does not block spreading of features from higher functional heads, is the fact that the motion verb in the *go get* construction is not a phase head. This can account for the fact that the motion verb spells out the feature it assigns to its complement in the following way: suppose that when a phase head spells out its complement, though the phase head itself is not spelled out, the morphological features it bears are deleted (or are resolved by spell-out without any morphophonological effect, since the head they are associated with is not spelled out). If this is true, phase heads will only be spelled out with features they are assigned in the subsequent phase.⁸

Thus, what actually happens in a simple sentence is the following: an auxiliary (for example progressive BE) is merged bearing the inflectional feature with which it is associated, which it assigns to its complement VP. This feature spreads throughout the complement. The complement VP is then spelled out, at which point the [prog] feature on BE is deleted. When perfect HAVE is merged, it assigns a [perfect] feature to its complement, and this feature spreads onto progressive BE (but not further down, due to the phase boundary). The [perfect] feature is then deleted from HAVE when its own complement is spelled out.

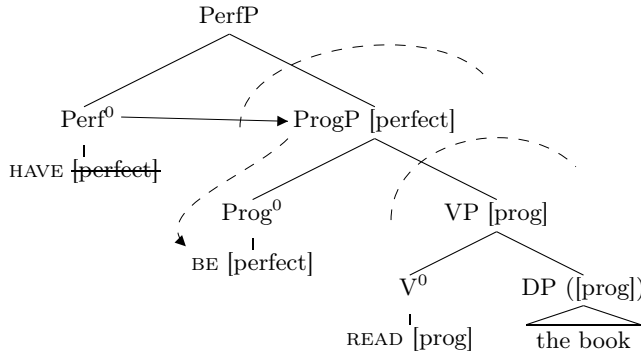
(22) The students **have been reading the book.**

⁸Thank-you to David Pesetsky for suggesting this possibility.

a.



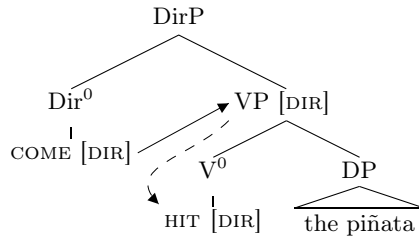
b.



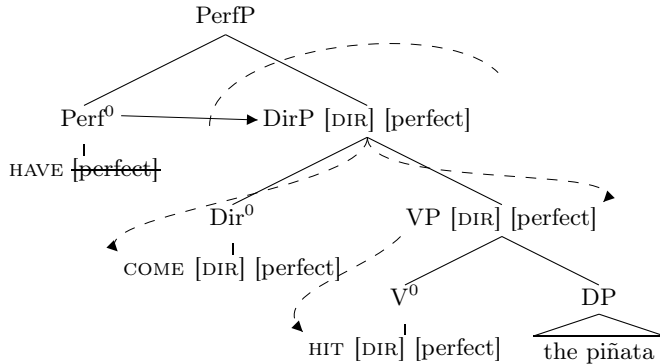
On this account, because the motion verb in the *go get* construction is not a phase head (for the independent reason that it does not block the spreading onto its complement of features assigned by a higher functional head), it ends up being spelled out on the same phase as the verb to which it assigned the morphological [DIR] feature. In (23), the subtree in (23a) will involve the motion verb COME assigning the [DIR] feature to its complement, but neither head will yet be spelled out because there no phase head has been merged. When perfect HAVE merges, as in (23b), it will assign its [perfect] feature to its complement VP, and so this feature will occur on both COME and HIT. When its complement is spelled out, however, the [perfect] feature on HAVE itself will be deleted.

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

a.



b.



Any features later assigned to HAVE will be blocked from spreading further down because HAVE, as a phase head, will block further feature spreading.

In this way, both COME and HIT end this derivation with both a [DIR] feature and a [perfect] feature. What I have proposed is that the fact that both these verbs have a single form that is equally compatible with both of these features allows this structure to be morphologically interpreted. By contrast, were the verb HIT to be replaced by a verb like EAT, this would not be the case: in a sentence like **Alex will have come eaten the cake*, again both the motion verb COME and the following verb EAT will end the derivation with both [DIR] and [perfect] features, but while *come* is still available, EAT has no one form that is compatible with both these features: [DIR] demands spell-out at *eat*, while [perfect] demands spell-out as *eaten*.

What remains is to explicate how exactly the procedure of morphological spell-out operates, such that *all* the features on a head are required to be morphologically realized. This is the topic of section 3.2

3.2 Morphological resolution of feature conflicts

Having laid out a syntactic mechanism for ensuring that both verbs in the *go get* construction bear a morphological [DIR] feature *in addition* to the features assigned by the wider syntactic environment, we can now turn to the task of specifying how the morphological system, provided with such inputs, will produce outputs that conform to the inflection condition. For this purpose I will assume the widely-adopted framework of Distributed Morphology (DM, Halle and Marantz, 1993; Harley and Noyer, 1999), which has the necessary property of being a post-syntactic model of morphological realization.

The logic of DM, however, makes the task of specifying how multiple syntactic features can impose conflicting requirements on the realization of a verb non-trivial. The analysis of the *go get*

construction’s morphological restriction advanced in this paper is that the verbs in the construction are assigned both a [DIR] feature, which will require realization as a bare (imperative) form, and whatever features would ordinarily be assigned by the wider syntactic environment. The inflection condition arises from the need to satisfy *both* these requirements at once. Central to DM, however, is the idea that the ordered Vocabulary Insertion (VI) rules responsible for morphological realization are *underspecified*. For any single head, VI rules *compete* to apply, the winning rule being the one whose environment is most specific (or earliest-ordered) while still being a *subset* of the features on the head undergoing realization. If a head X^0 bears features [F] and [G], it will always be the first-ordered of the hypothetical VI rules in (24) that applies (resulting in insertion of *a*). The fact that X^0 bears the feature [G], mentioned in the second of the rules below, will never be relevant: [G] will never have a chance to influence the morphological realization of X^0 .

- (24)
- | | | |
|----------|---|------------------|
| <i>a</i> | ↔ | [F] |
| <i>b</i> | ↔ | [G] |
| <i>c</i> | ↔ | <i>elsewhere</i> |

This system, if applied as-is to verbs in the *go get* construction will always successfully spell out some subset of the features on the verbs: it will never be the case that [DIR] and some other feature will *both* have to be realized via some VI rule.

One solution to this difficulty can be found if we adopt a view of morphological realization very different from DM, in which insertion rules are not underspecified, but instead list (perhaps disjunctively) all the features realized by the morpheme being inserted. Within such a model, we could require that *all* the features present in the syntax be realized by at least one morpheme. This kind of morphological realization would allow syncretic forms to resolve feature conflicts due to their being disjunctively specified for multiple sets of features. A bare stem in English, for example, could count as realizing both [1, SG, PRES] *as well* as a [DIR] feature, satisfying the total-feature-realization requirement for the verbs in *Every morning I go get a coffee*.

Rather than articulate such an alternative proposal for This would require a sharp departure from the basic assumptions of the DM framework. We can ask whether there is another solution possible, a way to allow multiple features to simultaneously impose their requirements at the point of Vocabulary Insertion, without abandoning the empirical insights without departing from the basic model provided by DM.

Asarina (in preparation), looking at cases in which syncretism can resolve conflicts in Case features, suggests that the set of VI rules may, in some circumstances, apply to a head more than once, referencing a different set of features on each application, with the result being grammatical only if both applications of the VI rules produce the same output. Asarina develops this idea within a theory of multidominant representations: she argues that for each separate tree in which a single head occurs, it undergoes vocabulary insertion with the features licensed in that tree, with the morphological realization of the tree only converging if the head receives the same morphophonological realization in all applications of the VI rules.

This relies on the features borne by a multiply-dominated head being representationally distinguishable into “sets” corresponding to the tree in which they were licensed. Once this representational possibility is available, the possibility arises that there are configurations other than multidominant structures in which the features on a head are organized into multiple groups or sets.

Research into the representation of syntactic features has proposed that the features on a head do not occur in an unordered list, but form more structured representations often described as

geometries (on analogy the the feature geometries commonly used in phonology: Clements, 1985, et seq). This has been developed in some detail especially for the person and number representations of pronouns (beginning with the work of Harley and Ritter, 2002), and has been extended to verbal tense and aspect features by Cowper (2003, 2005).

If features are organized into geometries, a head with multiple sets of features can be respresented as one with more than one feature geometry. In multidominant structures it is reasonable that a head occurs with one geometry per structure in which it is merged; our task now is to investigate whether it is reasonable that a head would occur with more than one feature geometry in the *go get* construction.

A key property of feature geometries is the implicational relationships on the co-occurrence of features they encode: relevant here is that *incompatibility* between features is represented as the impossibility of both features occurring in a single geometry. For example, a phonological feature geometry cannot contain incompatible specifications for a single feature: it cannot contain both [+voiced] and [-voiced]. An analogy to the domain of formal inflectional features suggests that a [Tense] feature cannot be valued as both *past* and *present* within a single feature geometry. The co-occurrence of both [T-*past*] and [T-*present*] on a single head, were this to be required by a syntactic structure, would require the head to have at least two geometries. Similarly, a single geometry could not simultaneously contain both [FINITE] and [NON-FINITE] features.

A full understanding of the feature geometries underlying verbal inflection would require attention to more complex feature interactions. The analysis we are pursuing here for the *go get* construction, however, hinges only on the interaction of the “directive” feature [DIR] feature with other features, and so this will be the focus of the discussion below.

The analysis pursued here for the inflection condition requires that a [DIR] feature be incompatible within a single feature set with any other feature – or at least with any tense or participial features (note that this need not hold for all languages, in particular languages that allow tensed imperative clauses). In the proposed feature geometry for English, the feature [DIR] must be a choice point: a geometry containing this feature cannot contain any tense or participial feature (perfect or progressive).

This restriction is more than the arbitrary stipulation it may first appear. [DIR] is hypothesized to be a feature linked to morphological imperativity. In English, as in many other languages, imperatives are incompatible with tense specification or tense morphology; in this sense they are a variety of *non-finite* clause. While a geometric organization of morphological features may not *necessarily* reflect the syntactic generalization that imperatives and tense are incompatible, it is not surprising if it should do so.

Slightly more stipulative is the requirement that [DIR] and participial features be unable to occupy the same feature geometry: here there is no parallel syntactic incompatibility, though in some cases and for some speakers imperatives with perfect *have* or progressive *be* are judged to be degraded (%*Have read this by Friday!* or %*Be looking busy when she comes in!*).

Some examples of proposed possible and impossible feature sets are given in the table in (25):

- (25) a. *Possible feature sets:* $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{T} - \text{pres.} \\ \text{ASP} - \text{perf.} \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{T} - \text{past.} \\ \text{ASP} - \text{impf.} \end{array} \right)$ b. *Impossible feature sets:* $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{T} - \text{pres.} \\ \text{T} - \text{past} \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{T} - \text{pres.} \\ \text{IMP} \end{array} \right)$

I propose that multiple feature sets are created upon feature assignment: if features being assigned cannot form a consistent set with the features the head already has, a new geometry will be created. As an example, consider the case of subject-verb agreement, mediated by T^0 . When the person

and number features of a subject (e.g. [3,SG]) are assigned to (or Agree with) T^0 , they will be able to form a single feature set with the features already present on T^0 (e.g. [T-pres]) only if they are geometrically compatible with those features. There is no conflict between tense specification and person-number specification, and so all these features can coexist within a single structured bundle:

$$(26) \quad \begin{array}{c} T^0 \\ | \\ \left(\begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \text{SG} \\ \text{PRES} \end{array} \right) \end{array}$$

In a *go get* configuration in the simple present tense, these features on T^0 will subsequently be assigned downward onto the two main verbs, both of which will already be bearing a [DIR] feature. Upon assignment of the [3,SG,PRES] features to the lower verbs, the syntax will check to see whether they can coexist within a single geometry with [DIR]. Unlike in the case of person-number and tense features, here the answer is no, on the assumption that a [DIR] feature is incompatible with any tense specification. As a result, the two verbs (for example COME and VISIT) will end up with multiple feature sets:

$$(27) \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{GO} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \left(\begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \text{SG} \\ \text{PRES} \end{array} \right) \quad \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{IMP} \end{array} \right) \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{GET} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \left(\begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \text{SG} \\ \text{PRES} \end{array} \right) \quad \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{IMP} \end{array} \right) \end{array}$$

The principle that VI rules apply to a head once per feature set can now be applied to the feature structure of these heads. In the morphological component, the ordered VI rules will apply twice to each of the heads represented in (27); the output of these rule applications is constrained by the requirement that all applications to a single head must produce an identical output. Consider the example in (28), which involves the verbs and features represented immediately above in (27):

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

The [DIR] feature on both COME and VISIT originates on COME and is assigned downward onto VISIT. The [3,SG,PRES] features are assigned downward by T^0 , spreading onto both verbs due to the absence of a phase-boundary occurring between them. Because the [3,SG,PRES] are incompatible with the [DIR] feature, the two verbs end up with two feature geometries.

An abbreviated list of the VI rules that will apply to these structures appears in the leftmost column in (29). Each verb will pass through these ordered rules twice, once per geometry, as illustrated for COME.

(29)		COME	COME	
		[DIR]	[3,SG,PRES]	
	...			
	-en ↔ [PERFECT]	-	-	
	-s ↔ [3,SG]	-	comes	←
	∅ ↔ elsewhere	come	-	← non-identity of insertion

COME will be spelled out once with the features [3,SG,PRES], resulting in the surface form *comes*, and once with the feature [DIR], resulting in the surface form *come*. These surface forms are not

identical, and so the derivation will crash. The same will happen for the verb VISIT.

Now imagine that instead of (28), we had a sentence such as *She has come shut the door*. Again, both COME and the following verb SHUT have multiple feature sets: here the sets are [PERFECT] and [DIR] (assuming that these features are incompatible with each other, as [DIR] and Tense are). When the VI rules apply to COME, they will again apply once per feature set. The result is shown in (30); because the VI rules produce the *same* surface form for both feature sets, the sentence is grammatical.

There is some question as to whether the VI rule that inserts the perfect participle for verbs like COME and SHUT is simply the *elsewhere* rule, or is a VI rule indexed to some roots that coincidentally inserts bare forms in the environment of a [PERFECT] feature. The difference is indicated by the parentheses in the table in (30); Asarina (in preparation) cites the possibility that it is only when the *same* VI rule inserts an identical form for both feature sets that a structure is rescued by syncretism.

(30)		COME	COME	
		[DIR]	[PERFECT]	
	...			
	[PERFECT] → <i>-en</i>	-	-	
	[3,SG] → <i>-s</i>	-	-	
	<i>elsewhere</i> → ∅	<i>come</i>	<i>come</i>	← <i>identity of insertion</i>

In conclusion, while section 3.1 proposed that the identity condition results from the syntax of the *go get* construction, assuming a model of feature manipulation in which features can “spread” throughout the complement of a feature-assigning head, this section has proposed an account of the inflection condition that is distributed between the syntactic and morphological components. The syntax is responsible for assigning two sets of features to the verbs in the construction, but it is the morphological component that requires that both those sets of features result in the same output. Because one of the features assigned in the syntax is [DIR], whose spell-out requires a bare imperative verb form, the only licit realization of the verbs will be with bare morphology.

4 The *go get* construction in other languages

This paper has so far concentrated on the *go get* construction in English. This section brings in evidence of similar constructions in other languages, showing that these languages support the view that the inflection condition results primarily from *morphological* rather than syntactic considerations, subject to the analysis presented above. They also support the view that the inflection condition in English, the restriction to morphologically bare forms, is best described with reference to *imperative* morphology.

The languages to be discussed in this section are Modern Greek, Modern Hebrew, and Marsalese (a southern Italian dialect). Examples of the *go get* construction in these languages appear in (31) through (33):

- (31) 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.’
- (32) Modern Hebrew
- a. **lex kra / tikra** efer
 go.IMP.MASC read.IMP.MASC/ read.2SG.FUT.MASC book
 ‘Go read the book.’
- b. **ševi šti** kafe iti
 sit.IMP-FEM drink.IMP-FEM coffee with.me
 ‘Sit [and] drink coffee with me.’
- (33) Marsalese (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2001)
- a. **Vaju a pigghiu** u pani.
 go-1SG to fetch-1SG the bread
 ‘I go and fetch the bread.’⁹
- b. A **petra vene** a **ruzzulla** assutta.
 the stone come-3SG to roll-3SG here
 ‘The stone comes rolling down here.’

What these constructions have in common is that they involve a motion verb followed by another inflected verb. Because these languages all have richer morphology than English, and so it is evident on the surface that these languages obey the identity condition: both verbs occur overtly with the same inflectional morphology.¹⁰

The relevant constructions in these languages also all exhibit inflectional restrictions similar to English’s inflection condition: both the Greek and Hebrew constructions are restricted to morphologically imperative clauses, while the Marsalese construction is restricted to inflections that call for the *default* or *unmarked* verb stem.

The next three sections describe these inflectional restrictions in some detail, illustrating that they can all be understood, like the English inflection condition, as expressions of a requirement that the *go get* construction appear with imperative-compatible morphology.

¹⁰The identity condition is neither a necessary nor a universal property of constructions resembling the *go get* construction. Similar interpretations are available in some languages for motion verbs followed by infinitives (Schiller (1990) cites French *Viens prendre ta lettre!* ‘Come take your letter!’ in this context, and the judgement is also reported for Brazilian Portuguese (Rafael Nonato, Carlos Balhana, p.c.).

Neither is the inflection condition a universal property of constructions resembling the *go get* construction; for example, Russian verbs of motion and position participate in a construction with many of the interpretive and syntactic properties of the *go get* construction, but without any inflectional restriction:

- (i) a. **pried’ pomogi** mne
 come_{IMP} help_{IMP} me
 ‘Come help me!’
- b. (Kazhdoe utro) ya **idu** **pokupayu** kofe
 (every morning) I go.IMP_{PF}-1SG buy.IMP_{PF}-1SG coffee
 ‘(Every morning) I go buy a coffee.’

Hussein (1990), discussing serialization in Palestinian Arabic, shows evidence of a similarly unrestricted construction resembling the *go get* construction.

4.1 Greek

The data in (34) illustrate the restriction in Greek; note that the construction is possible with the basic verbs of motion *pigeno* ‘go’, *erchome* ‘come’, *trecho* ‘run’, *steko* ‘stand’, and possibly some others. For at least some speakers the sequence of two inflected verbs is possible only in the morphological imperative as in (34a):¹¹

- (34) 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 tis.
 every Sunday the Maria come-IMPF cook-IMPF for the grandmother her-GEN ¹²
 ‘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.’

Because imperative clauses lack subjects in Greek, it is not trivial to conclude that this construction is monoclausal (though this is the intuition reported by native speakers) rather than a sequence of two separate imperatives. The example in (35a), however, contains a sentence-final adverbial *grigora* ‘quickly’ that is incompatible with the immediately preceding verb *stasu* ‘stand.IMP’, and which therefore can only modify the initial motion verb *pigene* ‘go.IMP’ (though it should be noted that speakers do prefer to place the adverb *between* the two verbs); were this a sequence of two commands, we would not expect a final adverbial to be able to modify the first verb.

- (35) pigene stasu eki grigora
 go.IMP stand.IMP there quickly
 ‘Go stand there quickly!’

A restriction to imperative verb forms should not be confused with a restriction to command-expressing clauses. The *go get* construction in Greek is limited to *morphologically* imperative verbs; it is impossible in clauses expressing negative commands, which in Greek (as in many languages) require a different form of the verb, in this case the subjunctive:

- (36) (na) min kanis xaza lathi
 (SUBJ) NEG make-SUBJ stupid mistakes
 ‘Don’t make stupid mistakes.’

Negative commands expressed in this way do not allow the *go get* construction, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (37a). While (37b) is rendered grammatical by the addition of a second

¹¹I am grateful to Sabine Iatridou, Dimitrios Michelioudakis, and Anna Roussou for the judgments reported in this section.

Joseph (1990) distinguishes sequences of imperative verbs involving *erchome* from those involving other motion verbs, on the grounds that other motion verbs are followed by an intonational break and result in a bi-eventive interpretation. None of the Greek speakers I have consulted have shared these judgements, however: they have reported that all double-imperative constructions involving the motion verbs above have a single-complex-event meaning and do not require intonational breaks.

¹²Some speakers are more permissive, allowing the construction also in perfective and some imperfective contexts. No speakers I consulted allowed the construction in verb-particle constructions, such as the future construction in (ic) with the particle *tha*.

licensing subjunctive particle (*na*), it does not express the negation of an imperative with the *go get* construction; instead the second subjunctive is interpreted as a purpose adjunct, with this sentence expressing the negation of the (pragmatically odd) imperative clause in (38):

- (37) a. *(na) min pas kanis xaza lathi
 (SUBJ) NEG go-SUBJ make-SUBJ stupid mistakes
 b. (na) min pas na kanis xaza lathi
 (SUBJ) NEG go-SUBJ SUBJ make-SUBJ stupid mistakes
 ‘Don’t go in order to make stupid mistakes.’

- (38) #pigene na kanis xaza lathi
 go.IMP SUBJ make-SUBJ stupid mistakes
 ‘Go in order to make stupid mistakes.’

We can therefore conclude that this construction is limited to truly imperative contexts in Greek.

4.2 Hebrew

Essentially the same restriction applies in Hebrew as in Greek, though its expression is slightly complicated by developments in the modern language with regards to the morphological form speakers use in imperative contexts. Modern Hebrew has a dedicated morphological imperative formed by truncating the future form of a verb, removing the initial person-number agreement affix.

Motion verbs in this truncated morphological imperative form can be immediately followed by a second morphologically imperative verb, as in (39); both verbs show the same number and gender inflection:¹³

- (39) a. lex kra sefer
 go.IMP.MASC read.IMP.MASC book
 ‘Go read a book!’
 b. ševi šti kafe iti
 sit.IMP-FEM drink.IMP-FEM coffee with.me
 ‘Sit [and] drink coffee with me.’

For contemporary speakers of Modern Hebrew, however, the truncated morphological imperative is no longer colloquially employed in imperative contexts. For these speakers, the *non*-truncated second-person future form is used in so-called “imperative” contexts, to issue commands, give permission, etc.: so the prescriptively mandated *kra sefer* ‘read a book!’ would instead be replaced by *tikra sefer*, with a second-person future form replacing the truncated imperative.

Speakers do continue to colloquially use the truncated morphological imperative forms of *motion* verbs, however; second-person future forms of motion verbs can be grammatically used in imperative contexts, but they appear to be strongly disfavoured.

What is interesting is what happens to the *go get* construction in Hebrew for these speakers: the first verb, the motion verb, is required to appear in the prescriptively-mandated truncated imperative, while the *second* verb appears in the more colloquial second-person future form, as shown in (40a). It is impossible for both verbs to surface in the second-person future form, as in

¹³I am grateful to Micha Breakstone, Hadas Kotek, and Omer Preminger for the judgements reported in this section.

(40b). While the string in (40b) is grammatical, it is only possible as a *sequence* of imperative clauses.¹⁴

- (40) a. lex tikra sefer
 go.IMP.MASC 2SG-read-FUT.MASC book
 ‘Go read a book!’
 b. *tilex tikra sefer
 2SG-go-FUT.MASC 2SG-read-FUT.MASC book
 ‘Go read a book!’

The construction is also impossible in non-imperative contexts that call for the ‘future’ form of the verb, such as negative commands and ordinary future clauses. This is illustrated for future clauses in (41a); (41b) illustrates that the construction remains impossible even if the motion verb itself remains in its imperative form:

- (41) a. *ata telex tikra et hasefer
 You.MASC 2sg-go-FUT.MASC 2sg-read-FUT.MASC ACC DEF-book
 ‘You will go read the book.’
 b. *ata lex tikra et hasefer
 You.MASC go.IMP.MASC 2sg-read-FUT.MASC ACC DEF-book

Taken together, these facts seem to indicate that while the morphology of Hebrew has collapsed the imperative and future forms of most verbs, it has maintained the distinction for motion verbs. The *go get* construction, then, does not consist of an imperative verb followed by a second-person future form of a verb, but instead of two imperative verbs, of which the first has an irregularly truncated morphological form.

Tellingly, when both verbs in the *go get* construction are verbs of motion or position, they both surface as truncated imperatives even in colloquial speech:

- (42) lex šev šam
 go.IMP.MASC sit.IMP.MASC there
 ‘Go sit there!’

The *go get* construction in Hebrew therefore casts light on the morphological status of the development of the imperative use of future form verbs in Hebrew, as well as reinforcing the conclusion drawn from Greek, that there is some special connection between the *go get* construction and imperative morphosyntax.

4.3 Marsalese

The inflectional restriction in Marsalese is described in Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001), and bears the most resemblance to the English inflection condition, restricting the *go get* construction to verb forms that take the ‘default’ or ‘unmarked’ form of the stem, for verbs that show stem alternations.

According to Cardinaletti and Giusti, the first verb of the Marsalese construction must be one of *iri* ‘go’, *viniri* ‘come’, *passari* ‘come by’, and *mannari* ‘send’. Of these verbs, *iri* and *veniri*

¹⁴This can be tested by inserting the adverb *maher* ‘quickly’ clause-finally. According to speakers I consulted, in (ib) such an adverb can *only* modify the second verb; in the *go get* construction in (ia) the adverb can modify either the first or the second verb.

show irregular stem alternations: *iri*, for example, has a default stem *va-* and a ‘marked’ stem *i-/e-*, with each stem being selected in particular inflectional contexts. In the present tense, for example, the stem *va-* occurs for all singular subjects, and for third-person plural subjects, while the stem *e-* occurs in the first-person plural and the stem *i-* in the second-person plural. As (43) shows, the *go get* construction is only possible in the singular and with third-person plural subjects, i.e. those cases in which the stem is *va-*:

- (43) a. **Vaju** a **pigghiu** u pani.
go-1SG to fetch-1SG the bread
‘I go and fetch the bread.’¹⁵
- b. **Vai** a **pigghi** u pani.
go-2SG to fetch-2SG the bread
‘You (sg) go and fetch the bread.’
- c. **Va** a **pigghia** u pani.
go-3SG to fetch-3SG the bread
‘She/he goes and fetches the bread.’
- d. ***Emu** a **pigghiamu** u pani.
go-1PL to fetch-1PL the bread
‘We go and fetch the bread.’
- e. ***Iti** a **pigghiati** u pani
go-2PL to fetch-2PL the bread
‘You (pl) go and fetch the bread.’
- f. **Vannu** a **pigghianu** u pani
go-3PL to fetch-3PL the bread
‘They go and fetch the bread.’

Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2001: example (21) page 380

The same generalization holds outside the present tense. For example, the past tense, the present imperfective and the subjunctive all take the irregular stem *i-*, and all are impossible in the *go get* construction:

- (44) a. ***Ii** a **pigghiai** u pani
go-PST-1SG to fetch-PST-1SG the bread
- b. ***Ia** a **pigghiava** u pani
go-IMPF-1SG to fetch-IMPF-1SG the bread
- c. ***Si tinn’ issi** a **accattassi** u pani ne sta butia, spinnissi chiu
if REFL-LOC go-SUBJ to buy-SUBJ the bread in this shop, [you] spend-SUBJ less
picca.

Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2001: example (23) p. 381

Looking at imperative verb forms, the canonical (i.e. singular) imperative, shown in (45a), consists of a bare default stem, and is possible in the *go get* construction, while the plural imperative, shown in (45b), takes the marked stem (being identical to the present-tense second-person-plural form) and is not possible:¹⁶

- (45) a. **Va** **pigghia** u pani
go.IMP-2SG buy.IMP-2SG the bread
‘Go fetch bread!’
- b. ***Iti** **pigghiati** u pani
go.IMP-2PL buy.IMP-2PL the bread
‘Go (pl) fetch bread!’

¹⁵The glosses in these examples are the ones given by Cardinaletti and Giusti, who do not draw a distinction between *go get* and *go and get* for English.

¹⁶Note that the particle *a* that occurs in the Marsalese data above does not occur in the *go get* construction in

As in English, then, the Marsalese *go get* restriction involves restriction to a default verb form: though whereas in English the default inflectional form for any verb is one that is *bare* of inflection, in Marsalese it appears to be one that takes a default verb stem, which can then be overtly inflected.

Interestingly, Cardinaletti and Giusti report that the *go get* construction shows the same distributional restrictions when the motion verb lacks a stem alternation. Thus, though a verb such as *passari* ‘come by’ has only one stem form, it cannot occur in the *go get* construction in the past, the first- or second-person plural present tense, or the other environments in which *iri* and *veniri* surface with a marked stem. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, p. 381) remark that this may indicate that the paradigm for *passari* does actually have a stem alternation, simply between two homophonous forms.

Also as in English, it is not straightforward to describe this inflectional restriction in featureal terms. For any individual feature, its ability to occur in the Marsalese *go get* construction depends on the features that it *co-occurs* with: it is not the case that first-person features are excluded, it is instead the case that first-person features are only grammatical when they co-occur with singular and present features.

Once again, however, the restriction can nonetheless be described by saying that the Marsalese construction must always be compatible with some feature F, though it must also be compatible with the features required by the wider syntactic environment. Unlike in English, this feature cannot be either an infinitive or a subjunctive feature, as both of these forms require the marked form of the verbal stem. The canonical (i.e. singular) *imperative* in Marsalese, however, is a verb form that consists of the bare unmarked verb stem. If the verbs in the *go get* construction are required to resemble the canonical morphological imperative, via the presence of a [DIR] feature, this can explain the restriction to the default stem.

What it would not entirely explain is the fact that in Marsalese, unlike in English, the *go get* construction can occur with additional inflectional material not found in the imperative, namely the inflectional affixes. This issue is taken up in section 4.4, which extends the morphological analysis provided for English to Greek, Hebrew, and Marsalese.

4.4 Extending the morphological analysis

We have seen in the previous sections that imperativity is relevant for describing the inflection condition on the *go get* construction in languages other than English. In Greek and Hebrew the restriction is straightforward, the *go get* construction being possible only in morphologically imperative clauses. This provides further indirect support for the decision in section 2.1 to treat the English bareness restriction in terms of imperativity.

In Marsalese, meanwhile, the inflection condition requires that the *stem* appear in its unmarked form, but allows further inflectional affixes to occur. To provide the same analysis for Marsalese as we provided for English, we must say that the imperativity requirement – imposed by the assignment

an imperative clause. Cardinaletti and Giusti gloss this particle as ‘to’, but show that it has a different distribution than infinitival particle *a*. They also cite diachronic evidence, from Rohlfs (1969), that this particle has developed from the Latin coordinating conjunction *ac* (rather than the preposition *ad* that gave rise to the infinitival *a*).

The presence of an overt coordinator in the other Marsalese examples might suggest that they would be better compared to English *go and get*, with the imperative examples providing the only true analogue to the English *go get* construction. The fact that the Marsalese construction is limited to a subset of motion verbs and is morphologically restricted even when the particle *a* intervenes between the two verbs, both properties common with the English *go get* construction but *not* shared by *go and get*, argue in favour of treating all these data as instances of the *go get* construction, as Cardinaletti and Giusti assume.

of the feature [DIR] in the *go get* construction – conditions the morphological realization of the stem only. This requires that verbs in Marsalese spell out in two parts: a stem, and the inflectional suffixes following the stem. In this case, it is possible that the requirement imposed by the *go get* construction, that its verbs morphologically resemble the imperative verb (which consists of an uninflected default stem), applies only in the spell-out of the stem, and is indifferent to the spell-out of additional affixes.

This allows us to understand all the varied morphological restrictions of the inflection condition as varying resolutions of the presence of a [DIR] feature. In languages such as Greek and Hebrew, which have unique morphological imperatives, the morphological component is unable to resolve any conflict between [DIR] and another feature: any features on a verb other than those assigned in a morphologically imperative clause will require a distinct morpho-phonological realization, leading to crash at the point of spell-out (where the system attempts to insert two conflicting inflected verbs into the same position). Other languages, such as English and Marsalese, have morphological imperatives that are consistent with some, though not all, other inflected forms in the language: the *go get* construction is therefore possible whenever other features assigned to the verb do not require conflicting realizations.

Let us walk through the details of the account in which a [DIR] feature assigned in the *go get* construction in Marsalese results in the default-stem restriction. As we saw in the previous section, unlike in other languages in Marsalese we are concerned not with the *overall* identity between the morphological imperative and the surface form of the verb, but only identity of stem forms.

Consider the example in (46), where both verbs occur with first-person singular present inflection:

- (46) **Vaju** a **pigghiu** u pani.
 go-1SG to fetch-1SG the bread
 ‘I go and fetch the bread.’

As described in section 3.2, we assume that both verbs in (46) bear both the [1, SG, PRES] features required by the clausal syntax, *and* a [DIR] feature introduced by the motion verb and occurring on both verbs. As in English, these features are geometrically incompatible, and so both verbs in (46) occur with two feature geometries in the syntax.

Recall again that the morphological imperative in Marsalese consists of the bare default stem form of the verb, with no inflectional affixes. Imagine that the spell-out of verbs in Marsalese occurs in two parts: the spell-out of a stem, and the spell-out of its inflectional affixes. This can be understood as the spell-out of a V^0 head separately from the functional head to which it has adjoined via Head Movement in the syntactic component.

If this is the case, it is possible to say that the [DIR] feature in Marsalese places a restriction on the stem, but is indifferent to the presence of additional inflectional affixes. Other inflectional features in this language, however, place requirements on the stem form but also compete for the insertion of inflectional suffixes.

- (47) *Competition for stem insertion:*

	GO [DIR]	GO [1, SG, PRES]	
...			
$e- \leftrightarrow$ [PAST]	–	–	
$e- \leftrightarrow$ [1,PL]	–	–	
$i- \leftrightarrow$ [2,PL]	–	–	
$va- \leftrightarrow$ elsewhere	$va-$	$va-$	\leftarrow identity of insertion

For the spell-out of the tense and agreement suffix, there will be no competition, perhaps because the feature [DIR] does not occur on the functional head that is the locus of affix-insertion.

In contrast to (47), where [DIR] and inflectional features trigger VI rules that *converge* on a single verb form, in a sentence with first-person *plural* agreement, as in (48), we will instead get the conflicting stem insertion represented by the VI rules in (48):

- (48) ***Emu** a **pigghiamu** u pani.
 go-1PL to fetch-1PL the bread
 ‘We go and fetch the bread.’

- (49) *Competition for stem insertion:*

	GO [DIR]	GO [1, PL, PRES]	
...			
$e- \leftrightarrow$ [PAST]	–	–	
$e- \leftrightarrow$ [1,PL]	–	$e-$	\leftarrow
$i- \leftrightarrow$ [2,PL]	–	–	
$va- \leftrightarrow$ elsewhere	$va-$	–	\leftarrow non-identity of insertion

Once again, there would be no conflict produced by the VI rules governing affix-insertion, because the feature [DIR] does not enter into that computation. The conflict generated by the application of rules in (49), however, is sufficient to render the structure unrealizable.

5 Previous analyses of the *go get* construction

This section contrasts the analysis developed in this paper with previous analyses of the *go get* construction in Jaeggli and Hyams (1993), Pollock (1994), and Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001). All three of these analyses attempt to account for the inflection condition in terms of the formal syntactic properties of the features or affixes involved; as we will see below, this severely limits their ability to account for the apparently surface-dependent properties of the morphological restriction.

The analyses of both Jaeggli and Hyams (1993) and Pollock (1994) focus on the fact that only ‘bare’ morphology is licit in the *go get* construction in English. Though differing slightly in detail, they both propose that the syntax of the *go get* construction is such that it is unable to license Lowered affixes, and that ‘bare’ morphology is nonetheless possible because null affixes are not syntactically represented, at least in English. Because null affixes do not occur in the syntax, there is no question of their being licensed or not.

For all these authors, the inability of the *go get* construction to license overt morphology (such as third-singular present tense *-s* and past tense *-ed*) results from the inability of the motion verb (the structurally higher of the two verbs) to raise at LF. For Jaeggli and Hyams, this inability to

raise results from theta-assigning properties of the motion verb: they propose that this verb assigns a secondary agentive theta role to the subject (accounting for the agentivity requirement), but that secondary theta assigners are required to be in their base positions at LF in order to successfully discharge their theta roles. For Pollock, by contrast, the inability of *go* and *come* to raise is the result of the second verb *incorporating* into the motion verb. He proposes that the motion verb cannot covertly raise out of the compound/incorporated verb at LF, and so is prevented from licensing previously-lowered overt tense affixes.

Both these papers implicitly assume that the second verb in the *go get* construction is simply a bare infinitive, like the complement of modal auxiliaries, and have no way to account for the fact that a bare infinitival complement is not always grammatical.¹⁷ If in order to explain the grammaticality of *Every morning I go get a coffee*, we propose that [1,SG,PRES] features (or affixes) are generally absent from the tree (or do not need to be licensed when they do occur), then it stands to reason that they should *also* be absent in the case of **I go be/am supportive whenever my friend needs me*, and would have no explanation for the latter example's ungrammaticality. Similarly, if [PERFECT] features (or affixes) are generally *present* in the tree, in order to explain the impossibility of **Clare has gone bought a newspaper*, we cannot explain the grammaticality of *Clare has come shut the door* by suddenly suggesting this feature or affix is syntactically absent exactly when it coincidentally has a null realization.

These approaches would face similarly serious difficulties in providing a unified account of the inflection conditions observed in other languages, where the absence of inflection is perceptibly not the relevant licensing condition for the construction.

Discussing one such language in which non-bare verbs are possible in the *go get* construction, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) take a different approach to accounting for the inflection condition. To begin with, they assume that the motion verb occurs in a different structural position in each language, merging always immediately *after* the main verb has reached its surface position: thus in English it merges within the vP, while in Marsalese it merges immediately above T^0 , as Marsalese is a language with V^0 -to- T^0 raising.

To account for the fact that the motion verb in Marsalese is inflected for the features of T^0 , despite being merged *after* the main lexical verb has already checked its own features with T^0 via head movement, Cardinaletti and Giusti propose that the features of the main verb are copied onto the motion verb via a special mechanism. This mechanism is distinct from Agreement, according to them: they account for the inflection condition by requiring that this special copying procedure successfully applies only to 'default' features, resulting in a crash if this restriction prevents it from copying all the features of the main verb onto the motion verb.

They offer a slightly different explanation for the inflection condition in English, which lacks V^0 -to- T^0 movement of the main verb and therefore has a relatively lower position for both the motion verb and the main lexical verb. They assume that English main verbs must raise at LF

¹⁷Jaeggli and Hyams (1993) do recognize that the grammaticality of the sentences in which *come* occurs under perfect *have* would present a counter-example to their analysis. They suggest in a footnote that such sentences may involve an extremely reduced coordinator *and*, difficult to detect after the final nasal of *come*. The presence of a coordinator would mean that such sentences are not examples of the *go get* construction, but are instead examples of asymmetric coordination as in *go and get*.

What they fail to explain is that when *come* occurs under *have* in these cases, the result patterns with the *go get* construction, and against instances of asymmetric coordination, with respect to the agentivity requirement: the pragmatically odd *# The flood has come rid us of our rat problem* contrasts with the much-improved *The flood has come and rid us of our rat problem*.

Jaeggli and Hyams do not mention the fact that *be* cannot occur in the *go get* construction outside the infinitive, the subjunctive, and the imperative.

in order to check their inflectional features, but that the intervention of the motion verb blocks this movement (or else acts as an intervener for attraction between T^0 and V^0). As a result, the only features possible on the main verb are that would result in bare morphology – in a move very similar to that made by Jaeggli and Hyams and by Pollock, they assume that such features do not need to be checked. Note that this does not explain why the motion verb itself cannot bear overt morphology, since nothing would block it from raising at LF to T^0 . What the authors have to say on this subject is that "being in the extended projection of the lexical verb, [the motion verb] cannot display different features with respect to the lexical verb" (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2001, p. 403).

Restricting attention to the novel account proposed for the inflection condition in Marsalese, the restricted copying relation that holds between the motion verb and a lexical verb in T^0 , we find many of the same problem arise here as arrived for the earlier accounts of the English construction. Specifically, it is the restriction to ‘default’ features that raises difficulty, as it is unclear how ‘default’ is to be defined: consider that first-person features would have to count as ‘default’ when they co-occur with a singular feature, to account for the grammaticality of *Vaju a pigghiu* (‘go-1SG to fetch-1SG’), but not when they co-occur with a plural feature, given the ungrammaticality of **Emu a pigghiamu* (‘go-1PL to fetch-1PL’). Nor could it be the plural features that are incontrovertibly non-default in the first-person plural example, because the plural *Vannu a pigghianu* (‘go-3PL to fetch-3PL’) is grammatical. Beyond this technical difficulty, it is not obvious how precisely the proposed copying mechanism differs from Agree, though it is asserted to, other than in showing a restriction intended only to account for the morphological facts.

As with the affix-licensing explanations of Jaeggli and Hyams and Pollock, then, an attempt to account for the morphological restriction on the *go get* construction by introducing formal restrictions on Agreement or copying relations fails, simply because the level at which the correct generalizations are states is morphological rather than syntactic.

A variant of the analysis proposed in this paper, however, could use Agree rather than feature-spreading to account for the featureal identity between the two verbs and for the manipulation of the [DIR] feature.

Following Pesetsky and Torrego (2002, et seq.) in assuming that Agreement between two features results in their identification (such that they become a single feature with two instances in the tree), we could account for the requirement of inflectional identity in the following way: if both the motion verb and the main verb bear valued but uninterpretable features (as in Pesetsky and Torrego, 2007), then when the motion verb is merged it will probe for and Agree with the features on the main verb (assuming that both verbs were merged bearing the same inflectional features; otherwise the uninterpretable features on the main verb will remain unchecked at LF, resulting in crash). Because neither verb bears an *interpretable* instance of the inflectional feature, they will remain active, and Agreement with a subsequent probe from an interpretable feature on a higher functional head will result in a single feature with three instances: an interpretable instance on the functional head, and two uninterpretable instances on the motion verb and main verb.

The inflection condition can be accounted for if, as in the feature spreading account developed earlier, the motion verb is merged into the syntax with an interpretable [DIR] feature which Agrees with an uninterpretable [DIR] feature on the main verb when the other inflectional features of the motion verb probe.

The problems for this Agree-based approach to the *go get* construction are largely conceptual. First, in a departure from the assumption that probing features must be either unvalued or uninterpretable, this would require that a valued and interpretable [DIR] feature on the motion verb be

able to probe for and Agree with an unvalued and uninterpretable feature on the main verb. This is not unprecedented, however: Zeijlstra (2008, et seq.) proposes that valued and interpretable features on operators can generally probe for their unvalued uninterpretable counterparts, even when no other Agree relation holds. Second, though, combining the Agree approach just sketched with the morphological account provided for the inflection condition requires that in the particular case of the *go get* construction verbs are merged with features that require the construction of multiple feature geometries: that is, verbs must be merged already carrying several (uninterpretable) morphologically incompatible features. They must carry these features in order to account for the effects of those features at the morphological interface, and they must be *merged* with those features because Agree cannot, strictly speaking, *add* any features to a head. In the feature-spreading account, multiple feature geometries result only when too many features have ‘built-up’ on a single head. Requiring those multiple bundles to be already present in the numeration, as the Agree-based account must do, is essentially equivalent to proposing that the morphological restrictions on the *go get* construction result from (arbitrary) restrictions on the features the verbs can be merged with.

6 Application to other cases of rescue-via-syncretism

Central to this analysis of the *go get* construction has been the idea that feature conflicts are not (or are not necessarily) problematic for the syntactic component of the grammar, but that their grammaticality can depend on a post-syntactic morphological component. Features in conflict that have *syncretic* realizations can be resolved morphologically, but features in conflict that would require distinct realizations cannot be.

An important test for this proposal is whether it can be usefully extended to account for anything beyond the inflection condition on the *go get* construction. This section argues that it can. The set of test cases is drawn from Pullum and Zwicky (1986), who describe them as involving the ‘phonological’ resolution of syntactic feature conflicts: what they have in common is that they involve structures that are ungrammatical except under particular conditions of morpho-phonological identity between the expression of two features or grammatical values.

The best known example of this is perhaps the Case-matching effects in German free relatives originally described by Groos and van Riemsdijk (1981), who observed that though free relatives in German require the gap and the free relative itself to be in positions calling for the same Case (50a-b), this requirement is *lifted* when the relative pronoun is syncretic for multiple Case values, as the neuter *was* is for nominative and accusative (50c):

- (50) a. Ich nehme, wen du mir empiehlst.
 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*)
 (Groos and van Riemsdijk, 1981)

Following Groos and van Riemsdijk (1981) in taking the general Case-matching effects to show

that the relative pronoun originates in the position associated with the gap in the relative clause, we can apply the model of head-complement feature assignment to account for the assignment of *both* nominative and accusative Case features to the relative pronoun.

Matushansky (2008) proposes that the features responsible for the core structural Cases (nominative and accusative) are assigned to their complements by certain functional heads, and that these features spread downward throughout those complement domains. The relevant heads are v^0 and T^0 : morphological *nominative* Case is spelled out on a head bearing only the feature assigned by T^0 (which Matushansky simply calls [nominative]), while *accusative* Case is spelled out on a head that bears *both* the feature assigned by T^0 and the feature assigned by v^0 .¹⁸

In the relative pronoun's original position within the relative clause, it receives a first set of morphological Case features. When the relative pronoun raises to form the free relative clause, it can be assigned a second set of morphological Case features by Case-assigning heads in the matrix clause.¹⁹

In both (50b) and (50c), where the Case conflict issues arise, the relative pronoun will receive only a [nominative] feature in its position within the free relative. In its surface position, as the head of the free relative, it receives an [accusative] feature from the matrix vP . This feature can occupy a single consistent geometry with the already-assigned [nominative] feature. It is then assigned a second [nominative] feature by the matrix T^0 . This second [nominative] necessitates the creation of a second feature geometry for the relative pronoun: just as a single feature geometry cannot contain two different specifications for a single feature, it also cannot contain two instantiations of the same value.

The relative pronoun, at the end of the derivation of both (50b) and (50c), will occur with two sets of features: [nominative] and [nominative, accusative]. The presence of two feature geometries requires double application of the ordered VI rules: for a relative pronoun with masculine features, the outputs will be distinct and hence ungrammatical, but for a neuter relative pronoun nominative and accusative will be syncretic, and this syncretism will render the feature conflict morphologically interpretable.

This analysis has advantages over a purely syntactic analysis in terms of Case checking or licensing. A purely syntactic analysis, in order to capture the correct morphological generalization, could claim that a syncretic form such as *was* is able to bear multiple Case features, allowing multiple Case checking, while a non-syncretic form such as *wer* lacks this multiple Case checking possibility. This, however, would duplicate the morphological information that *was* is syncretic for multiple Case features, while *wer* is not, a duplication not required by the account proposed here, where the.

Another case in which paradigmatic information is critical to describing restrictions to an apparently syntactic restriction is verbal agreement with disjointed subjects in English. Discussing the examples in (51), Pullum and Zwicky (1986) observe that such agreement is only possible when there is a verb form that is syncretic with respect to the person-number values of the disjuncts:

¹⁸In the system of Halle (1997), employed in Harley (2008), Matushansky's [accusative] and [nominative] could be expressed as [dependent] and [structural], respectively (though this replaces Halle's bivalent features with privative/monovalent equivalents).

¹⁹Even assuming that the C^0 head of free relative clauses is a phase boundary, a relative pronoun in the specifier of that phase will not be blocked from the spreading of features from heads within the matrix clause. Thus the relative pronoun will be able to accrue additional Case features despite being contained within the non-nominal relative CP – though Iatridou et al. (2003) observe that the nominal properties of free relative clauses may be explicable if such clauses involve the projection of a DP from their peripheral relative pronoun, rather than projection of a CP by the C^0 head.

- (51) a. Either they or I *are / *am / *is going to have to go.
 b. Either they or you *are* going to have to go.
 c. Either they or I *sing* better than he does.

How these data could be accounted for in the present framework should be clear at this point. We assume that the disjoined subject pronouns each assign their own features to T^0 (or else Agree with corresponding features on T^0), resulting in two sets of features on the result will be that T^0 bears two sets of features: in (51a) and (51c) these will be [1,SG,PRES] and [3,PL,PRES].

For the regular paradigm of English present-tense verbs, such as *sing* in (51c), both of these sets of feature can be spelled out by the *elsewhere* VI rule resulting in the bare verb form. *Be*, however, is the one verb of English that shows more than two inflectional distinctions: for this verb, these two feature sets would be spelled out as the non-identical forms *am* and *are*, resulting in morphological uninterpretability, leading to the ungrammaticality of (51a). In (51b), though the verb is *be*, the fact that both subjects are plural means that both sets of features can be satisfied by the syncretic morphological form *are*.

The final example that I will discuss here involves noun-class agreement on verbs in Xhosa, as described in Voeltz (1971), where again we see that syncretism across feature values allows the morphological realization of a sentence to resolve its syntactically generated feature conflicts.

Xhosa is a Bantu language closely related to Zulu. As in other Bantu languages, verbs in Xhosa show morphological subject agreement for *noun class*. Noun classes are analogous to gender categories in Indo-European languages: they are partly arbitrary inflectional categories that determine nominal inflection and agreement. Bantu noun classes are traditionally numbered, and singular and plural classes are distinguished. Thus, the class 5/6 noun *igqira* ‘doctor’ in (52a) requires the class 5/6 prefix on the following verb.

- (52) a. Igqira a-ya-goduka
 doctor(5/6) 5/6-PRES-go.home
 ‘The doctor goes home.’
 b. Isanuse zi-ya-goduka
 diviner(7/8) 7/8-PRES-go.home
 ‘The diviner goes home.’

The data relevant for our discussion here involve agreement with conjoined subjects. Voeltz (1971) reports that agreement with conjoined subjects requires that both conjuncts belong to the same noun class: agreement with differently-classed nouns has no possible resolution:

- (53) a. *Igqira nesanuse a-ya-goduka
 doctor(5/6) and-diviner(7/8) 5/6-PRES-go.home
 ‘The doctor and the diviner go home.’
 b. *Isanuse nesanuse zi-ya-goduka
 doctor(5/6) and-diviner(7/8) 7/8-PRES-go.home
 ‘The doctor and the diviner go home.’

One way to understand the ungrammaticality of these examples is to assume that Xhosa conjoined subjects, like English disjoined subjects, assign their features separately to the main verb (or to the projection responsible for realizing subject agreement in Xhosa). This results in a head that must *simultaneously* spell out, in the case of (53), both 5/6 and 7/8 class agreement features. Because the morphological realizations of these features are distinct, this is a morphologically un-

realizable structure.

This way of understanding the ungrammaticality of (53) receives support from the examples in (54). In this example, instead of verbal agreement we have adjectival concord. The prefixes for class 7/8 and 9/10 are syncretic on the adjective *bomvu* ‘red’, and as a result is possible to heterogeneously-classed conjoined subject:²⁰

- (54) Izandla neendlebe zi-bomvu.
hands(7/8) and-ears(9/10) 7/8,9/10-red.
‘The hands and the ears are red.’

The ungrammaticality of (53) showed that unlike noun classes in conjoined subjects do produce a feature conflict for purposes of predicate agreement. What (54) shows is that, once again, this feature can be resolved in exactly those environments where the conflicting features have a coincidentally identical output. Expressing this resolution in terms of the formal features checked on the adjectival prefix would miss the morphologically *surface-oriented* nature of the correct generalization.

Space has not permitted these additional cases to be examined in particular depth. This section has nonetheless illustrated the intended point, that there is a class of phenomena with the same general character as the *go get* construction – phenomena in which a construction is grammatical exactly when two different sets of features would have the same morphological realization. Extending the analysis of the *go get* construction to account for these other cases provides a foothold in understanding these phenomena more generally.

What has remained unexplored is the fact that, alongside the constructions discussed in this section, there are many cases in which languages do *not* allow syntactic feature conflicts to be resolved by syncretic morphology. Bejar and Massam (1999) address this discrepancy between languages within the domain of Case conflicts, though they assume a syntax-internal (rather than realizational) account of feature-conflict-resolution; Asarina (in preparation) addresses many of the same issues within a framework closely related to the one adopted here.

7 Conclusion

The main empirical focus of this paper has been the *go get* construction, first in English and then in Modern Greek, Modern Hebrew, and Marsalese. What the construction has in common in all of these languages is that it is subject to an inflection condition, being possible only in a subset of each language’s verbal inflections. I propped that the English *go get* construction is limited to verb forms that resemble the imperative, a generalization that received support by generalizing to the other languages under discussion.

This was implemented by proposing that an imperative-morphology-requiring [DIR] feature is assigned in the syntax of the construction, in addition to any other features assigned by the wider syntactic environment. At the later stage of morphological realization, this [DIR] feature requires a second application of Vocabulary Insertion rules. The grammaticality of the construction is thereby limited to those cases in which the [DIR] feature triggers the same morphological realization as the other features occurring on the verbs.

²⁰The example in (i) represents what is referred to as ‘secondary’ adjectival concord – ‘primary’ concord is limited to a small lexically-determined set of adjectives. Classes 7/8 and 9/10 are not syncretic in primary adjectival concord: they are *zi-* and *zin-* respectively, though these two prefixes merge again before nasals (to *zi-*), and this merged prefix is once again able to resolve agreement conflicts.

This analysis introduced the possibility of morphological realization judging a derivation *uninterpretable*; a derivation is uninterpretable whenever it contains a head that cannot be realized due to receiving two distinct spell-outs on different applications of VI rules. By contrast, the morphological component will be able to *resolve* syntactic feature conflicts whenever different applications of VI rules converge on a *single* spell-out for a head.

The end of this paper extended this model of morphological resolution of feature conflicts beyond the domain of the *go get* construction, briefly discussing a number of other cases in which surface identity between feature realizations results in the grammaticality of otherwise-ungrammatical feature conflicts. The successful application of the idea of morphological uninterpretability bears on the broader issue of morphology-syntax interaction, and the mechanics required of a realizational theory of morphology.

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