

## Constraints on intransitive quasi-serial verb constructions in modern colloquial English

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### 1. Traditional grammarians on *go get*

It is highly unusual to find a construction in modern English that is overlooked or misdescribed by classic descriptive works like Jespersen (1949), Poutsma (1926), Quirk et al. (1985), and the *Oxford English Dictionary*. One such construction, however, is exemplified by the familiar song titles in (1).<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. **Come fly** with me.
- b. **Come see** about me.
- c. **Go tell** it on the mountain.
- d. **Go stick** your head in a pig.<sup>2</sup>

This construction, with its bare infinitive verb phrase after an imperative or bare infinitive *come* or *go*, is a familiar feature of American speech, especially in imperatives like those in (1), yet also has a long history in the best English literature, as seen in (2).

- (2) a. Come live with me and be my love ...
- b. Kill then, and bliss me, / But first come kiss me.
- c. Since there's no help, come let us kiss and part ...
- d. Go hang yourselves ... you shall never want rope enough.
- e. Go tell the Spartans, thou who passest by ...
- f. Come let us mock at the great ...

Example (2a) is from Christopher Marlowe ('The Passionate Shepherd to his Love', c. 1589), and some decades later was quoted exactly in a semi-parody by John Donne ('The Bait'); (2b) is from an anonymous author collected in Thomas Morley's *First Book of Ballets* (1595); (2c) is in one of Michael Drayton's *Poems* (published in 1619); (2d) is addressed to the author's critics in the seventeenth century English translation of Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* published by Sir Thomas Urquhart and Peter Anthony Motteux; (2e) is found in a translation by W. L. Bowles of Simonides; and (2f) is taken from William Butler Yeats' *Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen* (published in 1928).<sup>3</sup>

From now on, when I need a name for the construction that does not beg any analytical questions, I will refer to it as the *go get* construction, and I will refer to the verbs in the *go* and *get* positions as V1 and V2, respectively.<sup>4</sup>

The examples of *go get* in (2) are from well-known passages of verse and prose, all found within a few minutes through *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*. But *go get* fares poorly in the great twentieth-century descriptive grammars of English, which tend to exaggerate considerably the degree of its 'archaic' or 'dialectal' status (if they do not miss it entirely).

Poutsma (1926: 426) says that 'After *to come* the bare infinitive has become obsolete,' and adds that 'The *O.E.D.* (s.v. *come*, 3, c) mentions no later instance than one dated 1647.' Poutsma goes on to say that '*To go* is found with the bare infinitive in the latest English, but except for dialects, only

archaically (*O.E.D.*, s.v. *go*, 32, a).<sup>1</sup>

The *OED* references do indeed affirm archaicity for the *go get* construction. Subsection 3e of the B (Signification) section of the article on *come* begins with the dagger sign that indicates obsolescence, and states that 'Formerly the *infin.* was used without *and.*' The illustrative examples are dated between c 1430 and 1647. In the 12-page, 94-section *go* article, the possibility of expressing 'the purpose or motive of going with a bare infinitive is described as 'now *arch.* and *dial.*,' and examples are cited from 1375 to 1890 (the latter being indeed very archaic-sounding: 'As to a hauberk I must needs go lack').

In similar vein, Jespersen (1949: 247ff) says, 'In former times *to* was not necessary after *go.*' Jespersen does acknowledge, however, that bare infinitives are found after *come* and *go* 'here and there, chiefly in colloquial or even vulgar speech' (p. 248).

Most traditional grammars published after 1950 seem to have missed *go get* altogether, as if it had died out. For example, as far as I have been able to determine, the *go get* construction is not mentioned at any point in Curme (1931), or even in *A Comprehensive Grammar of English* by Quirk et al. (1985), despite the remarkably broad coverage of the latter work.

Perhaps the most perceptive account of *go get*, however, is that given by a relatively recent work, Visser (1969: 1391ff, sections 1312–1322). Visser does open his discussion of *come* by saying (like the *OED*) that 'Till about the end of the sixteenth century both plain and prepositional infinitives were used [after *come*], but afterwards the plain infinitive gradually dropped into desuetude' (p. 1391); but he also mentions the American English situation, which the other works fail to do: 'Colligations with *go get* (in e.g. 'Don't go get all worked up') are a favorite idiom there [in American English],' he remarks (p. 1396).

But Visser proceeds to a claim about American English that I have not found to be true for most speakers: he states that 'Combinations with a finite form of *go* (e.g. 'They went look for him') are still met with in American English.' I do not find such expressions in my daily contact with American English. Indeed, the most linguistically remarkable fact about the *go get* construction is what I shall call (with intended vagueness) the *inflection condition*: for the majority of speakers, any overt sign of inflection on either of the verbs in the *go get* construction renders it ungrammatical:

- (3) a. Go get the paper.
- b. I told you to go get the paper.
- c. Every day I go get the paper.
- d. \*Every day my son goes get the paper.
- e. \*I went get the paper.
- f. \*Going get the paper is not my job.
- g. \*My dog has gone get the paper.

The same grammaticality pattern is seen with *come* as the V1:

- (4) a. Come get the paper.
- b. I told you to come get the paper.
- c. Every day I come get the paper.
- d. \*Every day my son comes get the paper.
- e. \*I came get the paper.
- f. \*Coming get the paper is not my job.
- g. \*My dog has come get the paper.

A few other verbs are permitted for some speakers: *Run get the paper* is fine for many, and *Hurry get the*

*paper* for some, for example. The class, however, is very small, and invariably contains *go*.

I am not denying the relevance and interest of the dialects of those speakers for whom the starred examples in (3) and (4) are fine; I will return later to the dialect variation issue, which is very important to the study of the inflection condition. First, however, I want to distinguish the *go get* construction from a number of others that are comparable to it in some ways but contrast with it in others.

## 2. Other relevant constructions

The *go get* construction must be distinguished from ordinary infinitival complement constructions that involve a complement VP with a bare infinitive. One class of verbs governing a bare infinitive complement VP is the modals, illustrated with *will* in (5). There appears to be an inflection condition here too, but in fact it is simply the lack of any nonfinite forms in the paradigms of the modal verbs that renders the starred forms ungrammatical; the resultant grammaticality pattern is completely different from that seen in the *go get* construction: representing ungrammatical strings by '\*' and grammatical ones by '!', (3) shows the pattern '!!!!\*\*\*\*\*', while the modals show the utterly different pattern '\*\*!!!!\*!\*

- (5) a. \*Will get the paper.  
b. \*I told you to will get the paper.  
c. Every day I will get the paper.  
d. Every day my son will get the paper.  
e. I would get the paper.  
f. \*Will(ing) get the paper is not my job.  
g. \*My son has will(ed) get the paper.

Bare infinitive VPs as an alternative to full infinitives with *to* are also selected, apparently uniquely, by one nonauxiliary verb, namely pseudo-intransitive *help* (with the sense 'help someone'; see Visser 1969: 1353f), as illustrated in (6). Here, without the limitation of the defective paradigm of the modals, no sign of an inflection condition appears.

- (6) a. Help get the paper.  
b. I told you to help get the paper.  
c. Every day I help get the paper.  
d. Every day my son helps get the paper.  
e. I helped get the paper.  
f. Helping get the paper is not my job.  
g. My son has helped get the paper.

The same pattern is seen when bare infinitive VPs are selected by verbs of the *make/let* causative class (and also sensory perception verbs like *see* and *hear*), as seen in (7).

- (7) a. Make the dog get the paper.  
b. I told you to make the dog get the paper.  
c. Every day I make the dog get the paper.  
d. Every day my son makes the dog get the paper.  
e. I made the dog get the paper.  
f. Making the dog get the paper is not my job.  
g. My son has made the dog get the paper.

Next, note that there is a variety of other constructions involving VPs selected by the basic motion verbs *go* and *come* that figure in the *go get* construction. One independently interesting one is illustrated in (8).

- (8) a. Go fishing.  
b. I told you to go fishing.  
c. Every day I go fishing.  
d. Every day my son goes fishing.  
e. I went fishing.  
f. Going fishing is not my job.  
g. My son has gone fishing.

Again there is no inflection condition; the form of the complement verb is governed — it must be a present participle — but the first verb can be in any form in the paradigm. A curious semantic constraint (described by Silva 1975) is associated with this construction: the complement verb must denote an unstructured physical activity that is either recreational or aimed at gathering an acquiring physical objects, and typically involves random participation. Thus, you can go fishing at this or that water hole or streamside, or go drinking at a selection of bars, but you cannot 'go smoking' or 'go thinking' or 'go piano-playing'. (Silva does not happen to mention it, but *come* can be substituted for *go*, and the semantic restriction remains: a friend can say 'Come drinking with us' is an interpretable invitation because of the recreational activity of bar-hopping, but a smoker in a smoke-free building cannot say 'Come smoking' to invite a fellow addict outside for a nicotine fix.) This construction has nothing to do with the *go get* construction; it may not even involve a complement verb (Silva argues that the *-ing* form is an adverb). I mention it here only to give it the name 'the *go fishing* construction' so I can refer to it later.

More relevant is what I shall call the *go & get* construction, the pseudocoordinate complement construction with basic motion verbs illustrated in (9), where '&' represents the reduced pronunciation of *and* that is spelled 'n' in phrases like *rock 'n' roll*.

- (9) a. Go & get the paper.  
b. I told you to go & get the paper.  
c. Every day I go & get the paper.  
d. \*Every day my son goes & get the paper.  
e. \*I went & get the paper.  
f. \*Going & get the paper is not my job.  
g. \*My dog has gone & get the paper.

This sort of use of *and* has occasionally (e.g. by Poutsma 1926 and Visser 1969) been called *hendiadys* (a term that Latin grammarians employed for the use of two words linked by a conjunction to express a single complex idea).

There is nothing special about the dialect that the judgments in (9) represent, of course. Philip Miller has pointed out to me that in J. D. Salinger's *A Perfect Day for Bananafish* Mrs Carpenter says to her little girl, 'Now run and play, pussy. Mommy's going up to the hotel and have a Martini with Mrs. Hubbel.' Clearly, Mrs Carpenter would probably not have regarded (9f) as ungrammatical; for her, pseudocoordinate infinitival VPs have a wider distribution than they do in the dialects I am referring to here.

The same grammaticality pattern is found when *come* rather than *go* is the V1 of the *go & get* construction:

- (10) a. Come & get the paper.
- b. I told you to come & get the paper.
- c. Every day I come & get the paper.
- d. \*Every day my son comes & get the paper.
- e. \*I came & get the paper.
- f. \*Coming & get the paper is not my job.
- g. \*My dog has come & get the paper.

But there is a crucial difference between the *go get* and *go & get* constructions. If we change the paradigm form of V2 in the starred cases of the *go get* construction to whatever matches V1, the examples remain just as ungrammatical as before for most speakers, as seen in the representative set of judgments in (11); but in the *go & get* construction they become grammatical, as shown in (12), a set of examples that virtually every speaker will accept.

- (11) a. \*Every day my son goes gets the paper.
- b. \*I went got the paper.
- c. \*Going getting the paper is not my job.
- d. \*My dog has gone gotten the paper.

- (12) a. Every day my son goes & gets the paper.
- b. I went & got the paper.
- c. Going & getting the paper is not my job.
- d. My dog has gone & gotten the paper.

In *go & get*, inflection is allowed provided both verbs represent the same form of the paradigm, whereas in *go get*, no inflection at all is allowed, matching or not.

Different from all the constructions already discussed is another pseudocoordinate complement or hendiadys construction, found with *try* and one or two other predicates (including *be sure* for many speakers); I will call this the *try & get* construction. It is illustrated in (13).

- (13) a. Try & get the paper.
- b. I told you to try & get the paper.
- c. Every day I try & get the paper.
- d. \*Every day my son tries & get the paper.
- e. \*I tried & get the paper.
- f. \*Trying & get the paper is not my job.
- g. \*My dog has tried & get the paper.

I am interested in the readings of these examples that do not involve null complement anaphora in the *try* clause, i. e. the reading of (13a) under which it means simply 'Try to get the paper.' Here the effects of changing V2 from base form to whatever matches V1 exactly parallels what we find in the *go get* construction: it produces only ungrammaticality.<sup>5</sup>

- (14) a. \*Every day my son tries & gets the paper.
- b. \*I tried & got the paper.
- c. \*Trying & getting the paper is not my job.
- d. \*My dog has tried & gotten the paper.

The *try & get* construction is thus like the *go get* construction in having the inflection condition, but like *go & get* in containing an occurrence of (what is ordinarily) a coordinate conjunction morpheme.

### 3. The generative literature

The literature of generative grammar has occasionally treated one or more of this collection of constructions, but as usual, the pattern of attribution, citation, and recognition of previous results in the generative literature is nothing less than a disgrace. Zwicky (1969), Stahlke (1970), Perlmutter (1971), Shopen (1971), and Carden & Pesetzky (1977) all briefly discuss either *go get* or *go & get* or both, but entirely in isolation: not one of these works indicates any knowledge of the previous contributions.<sup>6</sup>

This is not a complaint merely about citation etiquette, but about the task of linguistic analysis. There are numerous shortcomings in this cluster of works, many of which could have been avoided if later works had made use of the content of earlier ones and avoided the pitfalls they pointed out.

Zwicky (1969) is the earliest published discussion I know of. It is superior to all subsequent works in its coverage of the facts and in the distinctions it draws between the different constructions, but it opts for deriving *go get* by deleting the *and* from *go & get*, and I believe this is incorrect.

Stahlke's brief mention of *go & get* (1970, 91–92) is of interest in that it is the first work to link discussion of the constructions considered here to the topic of serial verb constructions in West African languages. It cites Ross (1967: 170) as the source for the existence of the *go & get* and *try & get* constructions (plus the construction *Be nice & kiss your granny*, if that is distinct from the latter) and for a key fact about them, that they are not subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint. Stahlke notes that *go & get* yields inchoative/causative alternations (15a, b), that it is incompatible with passivization (15c), and that tense, aspect, and modality must be shared between the two verbs (15d–f).

- (15) a. The bottle went and broke.  
b. John went and broke the bottle.  
c. \*The bottle is gone and broken.  
d. \*The bottle goes and broke.  
e. \*The bottle went and has broken.  
f. \*The bottle went and will break.

He also states that V2 cannot be negated in the *go & get* construction; as I mention below, I do not think this is correct. Missing from Stahlke's discussion, however, is the *go get* construction, which seems even more relevant to a consideration of standard West African serial verbs, and the pattern found in Fe'fe', where serial verbs display an overt conjunction and thus parallel English *go & get* instead.<sup>7</sup>

Perlmutter (1971: chapter 3) proposes a surface structure constraint to handle the inflection condition on *go get*, but fails to note that Zwicky (p. 439) had given an argument against that two years before. Perlmutter's account of his surface constraint is too sketchy to be evaluated; for one thing, it is described as a constraint on 'the *go* VERB construction,' which begs all theoretical questions: the key problem is how the constraint can tell when it is looking at an instance of *go get* as opposed to some other construction (perhaps *go fishing*) in which a form of *go* happens to be left-adjacent to a verb.

Shopen (1971) proposes that the V1 items of the *go get* construction are in the process of becoming modals, when the grammaticality pattern is utterly different (as shown above by (3) and (5)) and all the relevant syntactic evidence about modals (from inversion, negation, etc.) reveals that the V1 of *go get* has nothing in common with them (as Shopen acknowledges on p. 256). He has some useful syntactic and semantic observations along the way, but his conclusion that *go* and *come* 'are moving into the modal category' seems completely incorrect.

Carden & Pesetzky's paper is the most recent discussion I know of, but also the least successful in advancing our understanding of this cluster of constructions. Carden & Pesetzky equate the *go & get* and *try & get* constructions (though Zwicky carefully distinguished them). They mistakenly take the inflection condition on *try & get* to apply to *go & get* when (as Zwicky recognized) it plainly does not. They espouse what is essentially Zwicky's analysis (deriving *go get* transformationally from *go & get*) despite the fact that Shopen provided a number of good arguments that it was wrong. And finally, rejecting as 'ad hoc' the rule that Zwicky used to capture the inflection condition, the Carden & Pesetzky analysis ends up with no account of that condition at all: having equated *go & get* with *try & get*, the authors assume that deriving *go get* from *go & get* will cause the inflection condition of *try & get* (of which they do not actually have any formal account anyway) to carry over to *go get*.

This is all the immediately relevant published literature that I am aware of. It is quite possible that the unpublished papers are worse. There seem to be plenty of them: I have seen references to papers by Cohen (1968), Faraci (1970), Linthicum (c. 1970), and Levi (1971); there are probably others. The existence of the construction and the problem of the inflection condition were first pointed out to Arnold Zwicky by John Robert Ross (see Zwicky (1969: 458, n. 20) in the middle 1960s, and the topic seems to have spawned isolated term paper projects and conference presentations all over the United States since then, all by people who did not know about each other.

#### 4. The analogy with serialization

An interesting aspect of the constructions under consideration is the degree to which they are reminiscent of what at least some authors have included under the heading of serial verb constructions. Baker (1989) limits the application of the term 'serial verb construction' to the case of superficially objectless transitive VPs added after a transitive VP and sharing its object semantically, as in (16) and (17) from Sranan (English-based creole, Surinam; examples from Baker 1989: 516):

(16) Kofi naki Amba kiri  
Kofi hit Amba kill  
'Kofi struck Amba dead.'

(17) Mi fringi a batra broko  
I threw the bottle broke  
'I threw the bottle and broke it.'

He argues, following Sebba (1987), that cases like the *go get* construction involve simply nonfinite clauses as complements to intransitive verbs (see p. 532–3, n. 13). Likewise, Seuren (1990), while not taking quite as narrow a view of serial verbs as Baker, does not regard the *go get* construction as instantiating serialization, but rather some kind of 'governed pseudocomplementation' that is more restricted than serialization.

It is not important to arrive here at a decision on the purely terminological issue of what to reserve the term 'serial verb' for, but I note that many writers have included under this heading the correspondents of the *go get* pattern in various languages.

It is worth noting that in addition to the parallels to the English *go get* construction that are often noted in languages with serial verbs, there are serial verb languages that have exact analogs of the *go & get* construction. For example, Hyman (1971) discusses what he calls 'co-ordinate consecutivization' in Fe'fe', and gives examples such as (18).

- (18) á ká sá? nzá wúzá  
he PAST come &-cut food  
'He came and ate.'  
(Hyman 1971: 31)

The V2 here shows a reduced prefixal form of a coordinate conjunction morpheme (coincidentally identical in phonological shape to its English equivalent, *n-*). Hyman treats this kind of example alongside cases with the instrumental kind of serialization among others:

- (19) á ká láh pfe newée mbáa  
he PAST take knife &-cut meat  
'He cut the meat with a knife.'  
(Hyman 1971: 30)

It seems likely that there is a further parallel with English, though it is represented by Smith & Wilson (1979: 258), citing an unpublished paper of Smith's, as a contrast between the two languages. Smith & Wilson claim that extraction is possible out of Fe'fe' coordinate structures, but their lone example is highly suspect: it reads *wa ta a la cwee mbaa m-ben* (with no tone marks), and is glossed 'who topic be past cut meat and thank' (with no sentence translation; note that the morpheme gloss does not even make it clear where or what the subject NP is). Smith & Wilson represent this single example as 'a clear violation of the supposedly universal' Coordinate Structure Constraint, hence evidence of a major difference between Fe'fe' and languages like English which obey the Coordinate Structure Constraint. It seems to me highly likely that it represents instead a remarkable parallel between Fe'fe' and English. I suggest that both have a coordinate consecutive serial verb construction of the *go & get* type, and both permit extraction out of it. For English, this is well known, and was noted by Ross (1967), as Stahke (1970) observes. In Fe'fe', I suspect that the actual situation is exactly comparable to what Sebba (1987) shows for Sranan (cf. Baker 1989: 548): extraction of the object from a serial verb construction is possible, but extraction from a true coordination is not:

- (20) a. Kofi teki a nefi koti a brede.  
Kofi take the knife cut the bread  
'Kofi took the knife and cut the bread [with it].'  
b. San Kofi teki a nefi koti \_\_\_\_?  
what Kofi take the knife cut  
'What did Kofi take the knife and cut?'
- (21) a. Kofi sutu Amba kiri Kwaku.  
Kofi shoot Amba kill Kwaku  
'Kofi shot Amba and killed Kwaku.'  
b. \*Suma Kofi sutu Amba kiri \_\_\_\_?  
who Kofi shoot Amba kill  
'\*Who did Kofi shoot Amba and kill?'

My conjecture (as yet unchecked) is that exactly this pattern of grammaticality would be found in corresponding Fe'fe' examples. It still seems likely that no language allows extraction from regular coordinate conjunctions.<sup>8</sup>

The definitional question of whether we really want to use the term 'serial verbs' for any of the the English constructions discussed above is not important. I will temporize, using the terminology of my title, and will refer to intransitive 'quasi-serial' verbs as I move on to consider specific aspects of the



analysis of these constructions.

### 5. *Go get* is not simply *go & get* sans conjunction

The *go get* construction is not to be analyzed as simply the *go & get* with its coordinating conjunction elided.<sup>9</sup> Shopen presents several arguments for this point.

One syntactic argument is that *go get* can be stacked while *go & get* cannot. Thus while (22a) is a grammatical *go get* construction, (22b) is interpretable only as an ordinary coordination.

- (22) a. Come go eat with us.
- b. Come & go & eat with us.<sup>10</sup>

There is syntactic support for this that is not noted by Shopen. Extraction is possible from the complement of V2 in a *go get* construction, as seen in (23a), but (23b) seems ungrammatical, which suggests that there is no such possibility if more than two verbs are involved:

- (23) a. What would you like to come go eat?
- b. \*What would you like to come and go and eat?

Shopen also notes some rather clearer evidence (due to Dwight Bolinger) based on semantic properties distinguishing *go get* from *go & get*. One is that *go get* has a volitional quality not exhibited by *go & get* so that (24a) is uninterpretable but (25b) is fine.

- (24) a. \*Sometimes driftwood may come wash up on the beach.
- b. Sometimes driftwood may come & wash up on the beach.

Another is that motion away from the viewpoint location is strongly implied by the *go get* construction but not by *go & get* with the result that (25a) is uninterpretable but (26b) is fine.

- (25) a. \*I hope they don't go come back to the house while we're in bed.
- b. I hope they don't go & come back to the house while we're in bed.

A further syntactic distinction between *go get* and *go & get*, not explicitly discussed by Shopen, is that in *go & get* the V1 verb can take various kinds of complement such as particles and prepositional phrases; hence we have contrasts like (26).

- (26) a. Go away and read something.
- b. What do you want me to go away and read?
- c. \*Go away read something.
- d. \*What do you want me to go away read?

(The extraction in (27b) is included to demonstrate that it is *go & get* and not ordinary coordination that is involved.)

Another difference is that to some extent (limited by a difficulty of contextualizing cases where V2 denotes a non-action rather than an action) V2 can be negated in the *go & get* construction. With *go get* this is not the case.

- (27) a. I expect you to go and not do anything wrong for a week.
- b. What sort of bad stuff do you expect me to go and not do for a week?
- c. \*I expect you to go not do anything wrong for a week.
- d. \*What sort of bad stuff do you expect me to go not do for a week?

Carden and Pesetzky claim that there are two *go & get* constructions, one having an 'unexpected event' reading (as in *the creature might go and die on us*) and permitting negation of V2 (*the creature might go and not die*), and the other being the source of the *go get* construction. I think they are wrong, and have designed the examples in (27) to be incompatible with the 'unexpected event' reading (though I agree that such a reading is clearly possible for a *go & get* construction).

### 6. Syntactic analysis of quasi-serialization

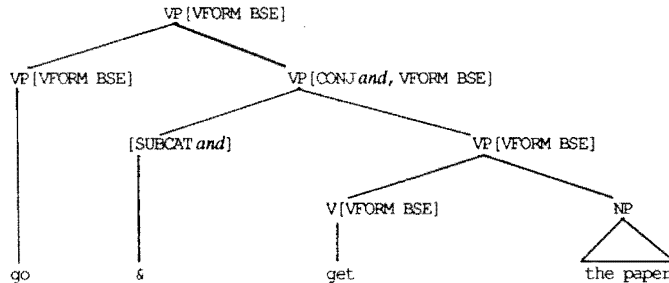
All the most promising descriptions of serial verb constructions treat them as involving multiple heads, in the way that coordination does in analyses like those of Gazdar, Klein, Pullum & Sag (1985), henceforth GKPS, and Sag, Gazdar, Wasow & Weisler (1985). The analysis of Baker (1989), for example, is crucially founded on multiple heads.

I claim that the English quasi-serial constructions treated in this paper should be analyzed similarly (which is one reason for suspecting that the conceptual distance from serialization and quasi-serialization is not great). For the *go & get* construction, for example, I believe the analysis presented in GKPS (175–6) is essentially correct. The key immediate dominance rule is given in GKPS in this form:

$$(28) VP \rightarrow H[48], H[CONJ \textit{and}]$$

The first H bears a feature value [SUBCAT 48] (abbreviated as '[48]'), and thus must be [BAR 0] by virtue of a Feature Cooccurrence Restriction (FCR) requiring subcategorization features to occur only on zero-bar-level categories. The second H bears no SUBCAT or BAR specification, hence by the Head Feature Convention (HFC) gets the same value for BAR as the mother category, VP, namely [BAR 2], and also the same value for all other head features — for example, for features like VFORM which determine the paradigmatic form of the verb. The second H bears the specification [CONJ *and*], so it will expand as an instance of *and* plus an H, which again will inherit all its features via the HFC. The result is that we get structures like (29).

(29)



There is a change that I think needs to be made in the GKPS account of English grammar, for independent reasons. It concerns verb phrases. In GKPS, the abbreviatory label 'VP' stands for  $V^2[-SUBJ]$  (or more fully,  $\{ \langle V, + \rangle, \langle N, - \rangle, \langle BAR, 2 \rangle, \langle SUBJ, - \rangle \}$ ), where SUBJ is a feature for distinguishing S (which is  $\{ +SUBJ \}$ ) from VPs (which are  $\{ -SUBJ \}$ ). GKPS makes no use of the logically definable category  $V[ \langle BAR, 1, -SUBJ \rangle ]$ . No topic treated in the book motivates a distinction between  $V^2$  and  $V^1$ , so verbs are introduced directly under  $V^2$  nodes. But I think it is clear that there are reasons for distinguishing  $V^2$  from  $V^1$  — reasons over and above the obvious argument from symmetry with other categories like AP, PP, and particularly NP, all of which are analyzed as  $X^2$  categories dominating  $X^1$  categories.

One argument turns on the distinction between gap-containing 'purpose clauses' and 'rationale clauses' (cf. Faraci 1974, Wallace 1986): (30a) is grammatical (even on the reading where the *annoy* clause modifies the matrix clause), while (30b) is not.

- (30) a. I bought you a pornographic book<sub>i</sub> [to read \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>] to annoy the bishop.  
 b. \*I bought you a pornographic book<sub>i</sub> to annoy the bishop [to read \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>]

These facts are nicely accounted for if the gap-containing purpose clause *to read \_\_\_* is in  $V^1$  and the rationale clause, *to annoy the bishop*, is not (it might be a daughter of  $V^2$ , or adjoined to  $V^1$  or  $V^2$ ).

Another argument can be made on the basis of the placement of the negation particle *not*. The syntax of negation is not treated in GKPS, but had it been, the conclusion might have been reached that the negative particle would be best located in a 'VP specifier' position, contained in  $V^2$  but not in  $V^1$ . Analyzing *not* (non-crucially) as the sole member of the category  $A^2[+ADV, AFORM \textit{not}]$ , and abbreviating  $A^2[+ADV]$  as ' $Adv^2$ ', we posit the following rule to introduce the class of adverbs in question:

$$(31) \quad V^2 \rightarrow (Adv^2[\textit{not}]), H^1$$

$Adv^2$  is expanded in the obvious way:

$$(32) \quad Adv^2 \rightarrow (Adv^2), H^1$$

(I am leaving open the possibility that the adverb *not* itself sometimes takes specifiers and complements; for example, *absolutely not* or *not on your life* might be constituents of the category  $A^2[+ADV, AFORM \textit{not}]$ .)

Given the introduction of the  $V^1$  category, the verb phrase rules of GKPS will now be restated as  $V^1$  rules rather than  $V^2$  rules, thus:

$$(33) \quad \begin{array}{l} V^1 \rightarrow H[1] \\ V^1 \rightarrow H[2], NP \\ V^1 \rightarrow H[3], NP, PP[\textit{to}] \\ \text{etc.} \end{array}$$

The GKPS rule for subcategory 48 verbs, quoted in (28) above, emerges in this recasting as (34):

$$(34) \quad V^1 \rightarrow H[48], H^2\{\textit{CONJ and}\}$$

The *try & get* construction can be analyzed in an almost identical way:<sup>11</sup>

(35)  $V^1 \rightarrow H[49], H^2[CONJ \textit{and}]$

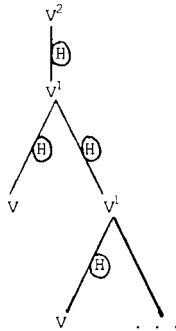
Only the SUBCAT value differentiates this rule from the last. The two are identical in defining both the SUBCAT-bearing lexical head and the 'complement' VP as heads for the purposes of the HFC. The reason I assume it is necessary to separate *go & get* from *try & get* syntactically is because the classes of triggering verbs are distinct and the latter but not the former construction is associated with an inflection condition. For now, the distinct SUBCAT values will suffice as a reminder of this difference, since I do not want to defend any formal way of representing the inflection condition. Notice one thing, however: the inflection condition completely wipes out any clear indications of the effects of the HFC in the *try & get* construction. Because all cases in which inflectional effects would be noted are ungrammatical, all cases in which one would be able to see evidence of the HFC's effects are ungrammatical.

I claim that the *go get* construction is parallel to *try & get* in that it also involves dual heads, but there is a difference between the two: *go get* involves a [BAR 1] head, not a [BAR 2] head. The rule is (36).

(36)  $V^1 \rightarrow H[50], H^1$

This yields exactly the same structure as the one Baker (1989) proposes for serial verbs. This is shown in (37), with an H marked next to each branch that leads to a head daughter.

(37)



One consequence of the  $V + V^2$  analysis of *go & get* and the  $V + V^1$  analysis of *go get* is that the already noted contrast regarding negation falls out: (38a) is grammatical but (38b) is not.<sup>12</sup>

- (38) a. I expect you go & not do anything wrong for a week.  
 b. \*I expect you go not do anything wrong for a week.

## 7. The nature of the inflection condition

I now return to the inflection condition. In this section I will not be formalizing anything, because the task is much harder than getting the syntax right, and I believe we are a long way away from having a linguistic theory that provides the right machinery for treating this subject.

Some things can be said straight away about what the inflection condition is not. It is not a restriction to the imperative (Seuren 1990: 5), and it is not a restriction to 'imperatives and sentences with lexical modals' (Baker 1989: 519, n. 3). It is more complicated than that. Rendering its statement more precise involves working with data like the following, where % prefixes are used throughout as a reminder that judgments across the population of native speakers of colloquial American English are in fact highly dialect-sensitive.

- (39) a. %He has gone get the book.
- b. %He has gone got the book.
- c. %He has come get the book.
- d. %He has come got the book.

Carden & Pesetzky take examples like (39c) to be ungrammatical, though they do report speakers who find them somewhat better than (39a). (Incidentally, they also correctly note an experimental difficulty in doing informant work on this constructions; for example, they report speakers who appear accept examples like (39b), but when asked to repeat them are found to be inserting a much reduced '&' into the utterance, and thus must be taken to be giving judgments on the wrong construction.)

The difference between (39a) and (39c) is that the past participle of *come* happens to be identical to its base form (this is not true of *go*). Assuming that the right formulation of the inflection condition says simply that the verbs involved must not bear an affix, they conclude that there must be a morphological difference between past participle *come* and present tense *come*: since *Every day I come visit you* is grammatical, present tense *come* must have no affix at all; but since (39c) is ungrammatical, past participle *come* must count as bearing an affix: presumably it has the form [<sub>V</sub> |<sub>V</sub> *come*] ∅].

Three points are missed by this proposal. The first was pointed out to Carden & Pesetzky by Donca Steriade, and they note it in a footnote (91, n. 5): the distinction between the two cases could well be the distinction between systematic and accidental identity to the base form: a general morphological rule of the language stipulates that non-3rd-singular present tense forms have no overt affix, while only an accident of irregular morphology gives the past participle of *come* its base-like shape. (To put this another way, infinitely many potential verbs have zero-inflected present tense forms, for the usual generalization applies to newly coined verbs; but only a finite, closed, and very small set of items has the pattern exhibited by *come*.) Carden & Pesetzky acknowledge: 'If such a distinction is needed independently, our argument for an unmarked present is greatly weakened.' Since they wrote this, evidence has emerged that very clearly shows an independent need for the distinction: Pullum & Zwicky (1986) shows that it is critical to an understanding of the phenomenon of phonological resolution of syntactic feature conflict.

The second thing that Carden & Pesetzky fail to notice is that they have not allowed for the possibility that the ungrammaticality of (39c) is due to the form of the V2 rather than the V1. Suppose the *go get* construction requires not only that V1 lack overt inflection, but also two other things: that V2 should be in the same form of the paradigm as V1 (call this parallelism), and that V2 should also lack overt inflection (call this nakedness). This would yield a catch-22 for strings like (39c) and (39d): the former meets nakedness but fails parallelism, while the latter has the reverse problem.

There is a class of data crucially relevant to this but overlooked by Carden & Pesetzky and by all other investigators so far. English has about 25 verbs whose past participle is accidentally identical to the base form:

- (40) 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.

Using any one of these as V2, one can set up examples in which both the parallelism and nakedness conditions are met. A relevant case is (41).

- (41) %He has come put his cards on the table.

It was a desire to know more about speakers' judgments on such examples that led Arnold Zwicky and me to undertake a survey that revealed an alarming fact, the third thing that Carden & Pesetzky (and all previous investigators) had overlooked: my ad hoc locution 'the inflection condition' has no unique referent. The inflection condition is not by any means the same for all speakers — not even for speakers who accept *Go get the paper* and reject *\*He goes get(s) the paper*.

Zwicky and I administered to a population of 82 English speakers (53 by electronic mail and 29 in a sociolinguistic field methods class administered by John Rickford). An effort was made to discourage linguists who had worked on or considered the relevant constructions from participating. The sentences we asked people to judge were these.

- (42) a. Come sing a few songs with me.  
b. I often go am helpful to Tracy.  
c. Has Sandy ever come hit you up for money before?  
d. Whenever the floor's been hot, the dog has run put his paw in cold water.  
e. Doesn't Terry go pick up the laundry on Tuesdays?  
f. Pat has come visit us every day this month.  
g. I usually try and be nice to them.  
h. While you've been away, I've come put water on your plants every day.  
i. Lee often goes and is nice to them.  
j. Every day you come bore me with your stories.  
k. Robin came sang a few songs with me.  
l. We sometimes go be sweet to them for a few hours.  
m. Tell Johnny to go save his tortoise.  
n. While you've been away, I have come swept your porch every day.  
o. Chris usually tries and be nice to them.  
p. They have come visited us every day this month.  
q. Marcia might go check on her mail.  
r. Every day Ashley comes bores me with silly stories.  
s. While you've been away, I have come taken your dog for a walk every day.  
t. Can Dana go see who's at the door?

We requested a ranking on a 4-point scale. Judgments of 1 or 2 were treated as positive, those of 3 or 4 as negative; in our experience, most people balk at providing only yes/no judgments — even in this study we got some 1.5s and 3.5s, though fortunately no 2.5s — so that they must be provided with a finer classification, even if the distinction between 1 and 2, or between 3 and 4, will play no role in analysis. No sets of judgments were discarded, though some were distinctly peculiar. The preamble explaining the instructions, as sent out from Zwicky's computer account at Stanford, read as follows:

Geoff Pullum and I are soliciting judgments on the set of examples below, involving English constructions with GO/COME/RUN VERB, GO/COME/RUN AND VERB, and TRY AND VERB. If you are a native speaker of American English who hasn't already thought about the analysis of these constructions, we could use a couple of minutes of your time. What we need, for each of these examples, is a judgment on a 4-point scale (1 is best), roughly as follows:

- 1: I could well say this in natural, informal speech.
- 2: I'm not sure I could say this.
- 3: I probably wouldn't say this, but I might accept it if someone else did.
- 4: I couldn't possibly say it, and it doesn't even sound like something an English speaker could say.

All you need to send us is the twenty examples, or just their identifying letters (a thru t), each with a 1, 2, 3, or 4 added to indicate your judgment.

Try to make your judgments quickly and without a lot of reflection. In particular, try not to compare the example you're looking at with others in this set or with others you might think of. Don't think about what you OUGHT to say, or about whether you could EXPLAIN your judgments; just treat each example on its own.

Be sure that you're judging the example here, and not some similar example; TRY AND VERB might be different from TRY TO VERB; GO AND VERB might be different from GO TO VERB and GO VERB; and so on. Please don't change things to see if you can make the examples better; there are no typos in the list; some of them are SUPPOSED to be awful.

The results revealed a network of distinct dialects that was much more complicated than we ever thought we would find, but which still had some clear structure.

The logical structure of the set of dialects can best be set out by working through a set of choices (call them parameter settings if you wish) that determine the grammaticality judgments of a particular dialect's version of the *go get* construction.

The pre-screening choice is of course to decide whether an inflection condition is present at all. Visser (1969: 1396) reports that 'Combinations with a finite form of *go* (e.g. 'They went look for him') are still met with in American English.' I have never encountered an utterance of this type, with visibly inflected V1, but Zwicky and I did find a few respondents who accepted virtually everything we presented to them, and thus represent evidence of dialects of the type Visser attests.

For those who reject cases like *They went look for him* but accept *Go look for him*, the first decision to be made is whether the first verb actually has to *be* in the base form or whether merely looking like the base form (i.e. having no overt inflectional affixes) will suffice.

Zwicky and I found that subjects with an inflection condition of some kind split about eight to two in favor of saying that looking like the base form was adequate. This is indicated by an eighty percent acceptance rate on utterances like (42j), *Every day you come bore me with your stories*, where the V1 is finite but in the non-3rd-singular present tense so that no affix is visible. The less than twenty percent of speakers who reject such sentences apparently require V1 to be in the base form, not just resemble it. They define a hyper-restrictive dialect, whose speakers I will refer to as the CONSERVATIVES, in which only imperatives like *Go get the paper* and infinitives as in *He told me to go get the paper* are grammatical.

Those speakers who are content if the first verb simply looks like a base form speak one of the dialects I will refer to as the LIBERAL dialects. For them, there is another choice to be made. Does accidental identity to the base suffice, or must it be systematic identity as defined generally by the paradigms for verbs in the language?

We take the identity of past participles to base forms found with the short list of verbs in (40) to be accidental. Some end in a nasal and used to have *-en* suffix that was lost through sound change; others end in a coronal stop and used to have a *-ed* suffix that was similarly lost; the list is not quite the same for all speakers. Systematic identity, however, is found in the case of plural and first and second person verb forms in the present tense: these are always the same as the base form, by the general rules for verb form shapes that apply to all verbs except *be* and the modals. Given the fact that new verbs are coined all the time, all speakers are prepared to accept for (in principle) infinitely many verbs the rule that the first person singular present tense of verbs other than the copula is suffixless; the verbs in (40), by contrast, constitute a list of two dozen special cases to which no additions are ever made.

Zwicky and I found that subjects again split about eight to two in favor of the more permissive alternative: only a little more than twenty percent of subjects, speakers of what I will call the SYSTEMATIC LIBERAL dialects, had judgments showing that systematic identity between the V1 form and the base form for that verb was called for. Systematic liberal speakers are happy with *Every morning I go get the paper*, because 1st person singular present tense verb forms are systematically identical to base forms; but they reject *Every day I have come put water on your plants*, because although V1 is identical in shape to the base form of *come*, it is only accidentally so, *come* being a verb that just happens to have an irregular past participle that looks and sounds like its base form.

The remaining eighty percent of the liberal speakers, who are happy with any V1 that looks and sounds like the base form, whether the resemblance is for systematic reasons or is just accidental, I will refer to as the ACCIDENTAL LIBERALS. They have yet more choices to make, because they have a conflict to resolve. The question is what condition they will impose on V2. Given that they accept some examples in which V1 is not a base form (though it looks and sounds like one), they face potential conflicts that other dialects do not face. In cases where V1 is a past participle, they have to decide what to do if V2 is a verb whose past participle does not look like its base form.

One possibility would be to exclude from the language any example in which there is a conflict between shape identity and feature identity, and I will call speakers who take this option the EXCLUSIONIST ACCIDENTAL LIBERALS. Another would be to include in the set of grammatical strings all the examples in which there is a conflict between shape identity and feature identity, and I will call speakers who take this option the INCLUSIONIST ACCIDENTAL LIBERALS. The remaining possibility is to decide on a principled way to make the choice of which forms to accept, and the speakers who take this option I will call the SELECTIONIST ACCIDENTAL LIBERALS.

The community of accidental liberals splits into exclusionists, inclusionists, and selectionists in proportions that do not differ very greatly, as if any strategy was as plausible as any other, and speakers simply picked an dialect at random. About 27% of our accidental liberals turned out to be exclusionists, rejecting both *He has come visit me* and *He has come beaten me*; about 42% are inclusionists, and accept both these types of example; and about 31% are selectionists. The differences in size of these three groups are not pronounced; each is very roughly ( $\pm 9\%$ ) a third of the class of accidental liberals.

One further dichotomy remains to generate the full array of dialects with respect to the *go get* construction. The selectionists have to decide whether V2 should always look like V1 (but not necessarily have the same syntactic feature specifications), or whether V2 should always bear the same syntactic feature specifications as V1 (but not necessarily resemble V2's base form). I will call the speakers who want V2 always to share with V1 the property of looking like the base form, regardless of syntactic feature composition, the SHAPE-PREFERENCE SELECTIONIST ACCIDENTAL LIBERALS. Shape-preference selectionists accept as grammatical only the intersection of the examples accepted by the shape-preference and feature-preference speakers. I will call the remaining speakers, those who want V2



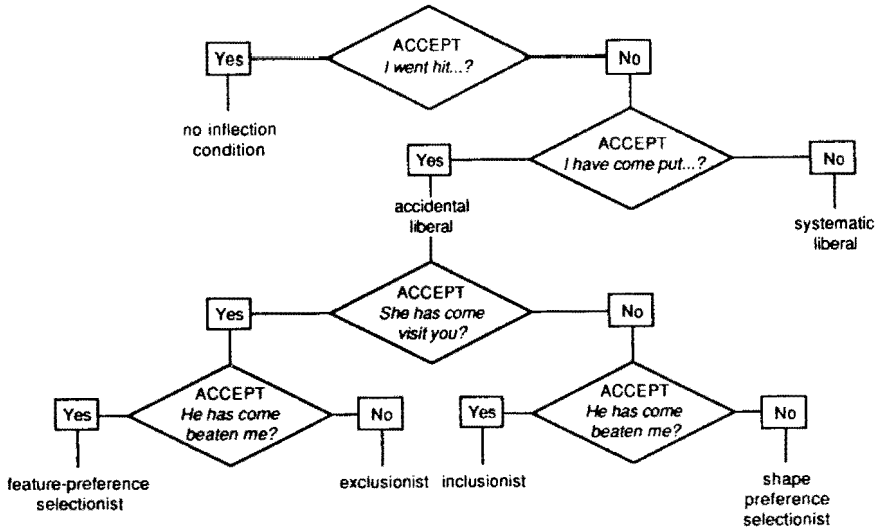
always have the same feature specifications as V1, regardless of what affixes are involved, the **FEATURE-PREFERENCE SELECTIONIST ACCIDENTAL LIBERALS**. Feature-preference selectionists accept as grammatical the union of the examples accepted by the shape-preference and feature-preference speakers.

Zwicky and I found that selectionists split 5 to 3 in favor of shape as the crucial determinant: 62.5% of the selectionists went for shape preference, accepting *She has come visit you* but rejecting *He has come beaten me*, and 37.5% opted for feature preference, making the opposite judgments.

Our data show a higher incidence of variability than we expected, and more variation than is evidenced in one small item of comparable data reported by Carden & Pesetzky (1978: 91, n. 6): Guy Carden and Chris Clifford interviewed 27 speakers regarding their judgments on *John has come live with us*, which is a crucial diagnostic for distinguishing inclusionists and shape-preference selectionists among accidental liberals, and found 3 accepting it, one calling it possibly O.K., and one calling it possibly ungrammatical. In our survey, the inclusionists and shape-preference selectionists together comprise nearly 39% of the total, so at least 10 out of our 27 speakers had judgments suggesting they would accept this example.)<sup>13</sup>

The logical structure of the set of dialects involved here is rather complex. To clarify it, and to permit the reader to conduct a self-survey to place his or her own dialect, I present in the following diagram a decision tree for the six different dialects defined above.

(43)



## 8. Conclusions

I have not attempted to provide in this paper any full analysis of the nest of interesting problems in semantics, syntax, morphology, and phonology that have been discussed. In particular, I am not yet ready to provide a formal account of the phonological, morphological, and syntactic aspects of the inflection condition. But I hope I have made it clearer what needs to be accomplished by any full description of these constructions, and I hope I have laid to rest various errors found in the previous literature.

As for the terminological question of whether we 'really' have serial verbs here, the constructions I have examined appear to be governed by particular lexical subclasses of verbs, and according to Seuren (1990), this immediately entails that serialization is not present: he maintains that 'true' serial verbs involve *ungoverned* occurrence of paratactically juxtaposed 'pseudo-complement' VPs. That is, there must be no restriction to specific verbs in the V1 position. But in fact there are numerous mentions of such V1 constraints in the literature that uses the term 'serial verbs.'

- (i) According to (Williamson 1965), Ijò (Kwa, Nigeria) has several serial verb constructions limited to a short list of specific V1 or V2 verbs.
- (ii) According to (Foley and Olson 1985: 41), Kaititj (Arandic, central Australia) has serial verbs only with 'come' or 'go' in the V1 (superordinate) position.
- (iii) According to (Foley and Olson 1985: 41), Yimas (Sepik, Papua New Guinea) 'serializes most frequently with the basic motion verbs *come* and *go*'; although other verbs can enter into the serial verb construction, '*come* and *go* are favored and formally distinguished by suppletion.'
- (iv) According to (Foley and Olson 1985: 48), Tok Pisin (English-based creole, Papua New Guinea) also has serial verbs only with 'come' or 'go' in the V1 position.
- (v) According to (Foley and Olson 1985: 49), Dani (Papuan, Irian Jaya) has obligatory periphrastic conjugation with serial verbs for nearly all transitive verbs, and the only V1 (superordinate) verbs that can be used are those meaning 'put', 'see', and 'give'.
- (vi) According to (Déchaine 1989: 239), Haitian (French-based creole, Haiti) has two kinds of serial verb construction, in one of which V1 is restricted to *prā* 'take'. In the other, V2 must be drawn from the closed list 'give', 'vini', 'go', 'arrive', and 'go out'.

These restrictions are found in languages that are taken to represent clear cases of serialization. It seems to me that it would be odd to deny the term either to them or to the similar phenomena in English, but some authors think otherwise.

Even those authors, however, will not deny that the *go get*, *go & get*, and *try & get* constructions show enough interesting similarities to the paradigm cases of serial verbs in (e. g.) West African languages to be of interest to specialists working on those languages. Even if we accept a restrictive characterization of serialization (e. g., following Baker, that it must involve semantic object sharing), it is easy to see that the typological distance between English and serializing languages is not too great. Foley & Olson (1985: 51) suggest that there are four typological properties that have a non-accidental association with serialization:

1. phonemic tone or complex vowel systems
2. monosyllabicity
3. isolating morphological type
4. verb medial word order

English, with its fairly complicated vowel and diphthong system, its core inventory of mostly monosyllabic Anglo-Saxon roots, its almost complete lack of inflectional morphology, and its strict SVO word order, comes closer to meeting these conditions than most Indo-European languages do. And as

mentioned earlier (see footnote 8), the data discussed by Lakoff (1986) may indicate that (in particular) coordinate consecutivization is more productively established in English syntax than most accounts (including mine) have yet made clear.

#### Notes

1. My introduction to this construction was provided by Zwicky (1969). Arnold Zwicky and I have attempted to improve our understanding of it at various times since 1973, when we began collaborating on topics in the borderland of syntax and phonology. The research reported here owes a great deal to him, but this presentation is mine, and lacks the improvements that would doubtless have resulted if we had been able to develop it jointly. Zwicky and other participants at the Ohio State Miniconference on Serial Verbs in May 1990 made comments on my presentation that permitted me to improve this paper, and John Moore read the paper in draft and gave me some helpful written comments.

2. Example (1d) may not be quite as familiar a song title as the others, but some readers may recall it was the company song of the Sirius Cybernetics Company Complaints Division in the original radio version of Douglas Adams' series *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* (it is in the radio script but not in the novel).

3. I ignore all similar citations in which a comma follows the *go* or *come*, of course, since these cannot be assumed to show the cohesion that characterizes the construction I am discussing here — though it would be reasonable to conjecture that the historical origin of *Come kiss me* might be a sequence of imperatives (*Come! Kiss me!*), and that the non-imperative analogs might have been a later outgrowth.

4. It is worth noting here that I take the differentiation to be in terms of hierarchy or dependency, not linear precedence; the V1 is the apparently superordinate verb, and the V2 is apparently in some kind of complement VP. If there were a typologically straightforward SOV language that had a parallel construction, I would still call the superordinate verb V1, and would expect — other things being equal — to find that the V2 followed its subcategorized complements and that the V1 followed the V2.

5. These may be regarded as grammatical under an interpretation where the *try* clause is independent and elliptical, with *try* meaning 'attempt unspecified things'; but under that interpretation the phrase *try & get* loses the equivalence to *try to get* that it has in the *try & get* construction.

6. Carden & Pesetky do mention the Zwicky and Shopen papers in three footnotes added after their paper was written; but their text has no references at all, and it is clear from the analysis they adopt that they paid virtually no attention to the conclusions reached by Zwicky or Shopen.

7. Stahlke gives examples of an additional verb that can occur as V1 in the *go & get* construction: *take*, as in *The bottle took and broke*. Personally, I have never encountered this use of *take*; Visser (1969: 1399n) notes the usage, and describes it as 'Anglo-Irish.'

8. For an apparently far more serious challenge to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC), see Lakoff (1986). I cannot deal with Lakoff's arguments in detail here, but I will say that I believe the phenomena he discusses may well fall into place much better when re-examined in the context of a theory of coordinate consecutivization. English apparently permits sequences of conjoined VPs to be

reinterpreted quite freely as cases of coordinate consecutivization rather than logical conjunction. The extractions Lakoff cites from what he takes to be coordinate structures are, I propose, more closely related to Fe'fe'-style serial verb constructions than to true coordination. All Lakoff's crucial examples involve semantically cohesive chains of coordinated VPs, with fairly subtle meaning restrictions. Extraction from conjoined sentences or conjoined NPs, on the other hand, always leads to ungrammaticality (and Lakoff offers only a vague and unconvincing semantically-based alternative to the CSC to take account of that fact). In other words, whereas Lakoff argues that we cannot understand the CSC in syntactic terms, I am suggesting that we understand the CSC fairly well, but that we do not understand coordinate consecutivization well enough.

9. Visser (1969) states that *go & get*, but not *go get*, 'already occurs in (late) Old English, which seems to indicate that 'go see' developed from 'go and see' by elision of the conjunction' (p. 1399). This does not seem particularly plausible to me, since *go get* did not take over from *go & get* but rather proceeded to coexist with it for a clear six or seven centuries. But this is in any case not relevant to my claim in the text, which is about the synchronic analysis of *go get*.

10. I think this argument is worth mentioning, but let me also mention that I do not see an easy way to describe the facts if they are as Shopen asserts. Given the analysis of the *go & get* construction I will defend below, the V2 in a *go & get* construction is just an ordinary verb phrase, and I do not see what could stop it from being itself an instance of the *go & get* construction, which is all it would take for (22b) to be generated. The facts thus have an uneasy status: they seem to provide an argument against relating the two constructions, but they also seem to provide an argument that my analysis does not tell the whole story.

11. Coincidentally but conveniently, 48 happens to be the last SUBCAT value used in GKPS, so we can continue from 49 without clashing with any of the SUBCAT numbers used earlier in the book.

12. There other ways in which the uninterruptability of the *go get* sequence might be made a consequence of the analysis. One would be to impose the requirement that the *go get* sequence constitute a morphological word, perhaps using an autolexical theory of the kind Jerrold Sadock has advocated. At present, I am not aware of data that would decide between these approaches.

13. One example from the *OED* indicates that dialects accepting sequences like *come live* existed over three centuries ago: from William Browne's 1647 translation *Le Roy's (M.) History of Pol Alexander*, the *OED* cites a sentence mentioning '... Spaniards, which seem'd to have come offer themselves to your sword.' The occurrence of *offer* rather than *offered* seems to indicate a seventeenth century inclusionist or shape preference dialect.

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[Entries in square brackets refer to works to which I have seen reference made but to which I have not personally had access.]

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