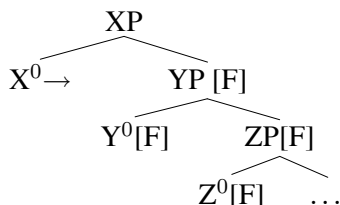


There is a class of phenomena in which normally-ungrammatical syntactic feature conflicts can be 'rescued' just in case the morphology associated with the different features are *syncretic*. This is the case, for example, in the well-known German free relative data, where the relative pronoun must be assigned the same morphological case both within the relative clause and in the matrix clause, *unless* the two different cases it is assigned are syncretic (as are nominative and accusative on neuter relative pronouns) (Groos and van Riemsdijk, 1981; Pullum and Zwicky, 1986).

This morphological resolution of syntactic feature conflict presents an analytical challenge, as morphological information about which forms are syncretic is not available to the narrow syntax. This paper argues that two separate grammatical components are involved in this kind of morphology-syntax interaction: a syntax that manipulates features in such a way that multiple features of the same type (e.g. multiple case features) can 'stack' on a single head; and a post-syntactic morphological spell-out component, as in Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz, 1993, 1994), which encodes information about syncretism. In this framework, it is not the syntax that rejects structures in which a single element has conflicting features, but the morphology: the morphology will be *unable to interpret* a representation with such conflicting features unless they are syncretic, and thus can be spelled out with a single vocabulary item.

A classic Agree-based theory of features (Chomsky, 1995) does not derive representations in which heads carry multiple features of the same type. This paper therefore pursues an alternative model of syntactic feature manipulation, based on the head-complement mechanism of feature assignment of Matushansky (2008)'s approach to predicative case. In this model heads assign features into their complement domain, and these features percolate onto heads and phrases within that domain. Thus, in the tree below, the head X^0 assigns the feature [F] to its complement, and this feature will percolate throughout the complement YP unless its percolation is interrupted or blocked.



This theory makes two independent predictions: first, it predicts *stacking* of potentially conflicting features onto single heads; second, it predicts feature *spreading*, where morphological features might be realized on more than one head.

This paper argues that the feature stacking prediction is borne out by the existence of cases where feature conflicts exist; the feature spreading prediction is potentially borne out by a range of phenomena in which the same inflectional morphology appears on more than one element in a clause (such as TAM morphology in serial verb constructions, or tense spreading in Lardil (Richards, 2009)). Both these predictions, however, are also borne out in a single construction: the little-studied *go get* construction of North American English (as well as similar constructions in Greek, Hebrew, and Russian) are the empirical focus of this paper. In this construction the motion verbs *come* and *go* can be immediately followed by a second verb, as in (1).

- (1) a. Go jump in a lake!
- b. I asked her to come see us next week.
- c. You should go get a flu shot this year.

This construction is possible only with bare forms of the verb, *or* with inflected verbs whose inflection is syncretic to their bare form (Zwicky, 1969; Shopen, 1971; Carden and Pesetsky, 1977). Thus, while the imperative, infinitive, and simple present examples shown above are acceptable, and the parallel sentences in (2) with overtly inflected verb forms are not, the zero-inflected simple present sentence in (3) is again grammatical (in contrast to the *s*-final third-singular present in (2c):

- (2) a. *I went jumped in the lake.
b. *She's coming seeing us next week.
c. *Every morning he goes gets a coffee
- (3) Every morning I go get a coffee. (c.f. (3c))

Even more strikingly, though the *go get* construction is generally ungrammatical following perfect *have* (4a), it improves for many speakers when both the motion verb and the verb following it belong to the set of English verbs with bare perfect participles:

- (4) a. *I have gone knocked on that door three times now, and there's never any answer.
b. I have come hit the piñata twice, but it hasn't broken open.

Moreover, it is not only the motion verb in this construction that shows these restrictions: though *be* can occur as the second verb in the *go get* construction in imperative and non-finite contexts, its lack of any inflected form syncretic to its bare form bans it from all inflected contexts, including the simple present:

- (5) I told them to go be loud somewhere else, since I had work to do.
- (6) a. I go *am/*be cheerful once a week at my grandmothers.
b. Every morning, we/you/they come *are/*be loud right outside my office door.

Within the purely syntactic approaches that have previously been applied to these data (Jaeggli and Hyams, 1993; Pollock, 1994) the morphological restriction is deeply puzzling: the restriction cannot be stated over formal syntactic features, but is a surface-dependent morphological restriction sensitive to whether a verb is homophonous to its bare form. Similarly, the fact that both verbs are subject to this restriction is puzzling: previous models of English verbal morphology provide no mechanism for putting the same morphology on two verbs at once.

Within the morphological framework developed in this paper, the morphological restriction on this construction are accounted for in terms of feature stacking: the verbs are assigned both a feature requiring the bare form of the verb (in fact, an imperative feature) and whatever features are assigned by the higher syntactic environment; the fact that both verbs receive the same inflection in terms of feature spreading, where the motion verb is transparent to feature percolation down to the second verb.

Besides accounting for a range of data involving syntax-syncretism interaction, this research provides a new domain for investigating the interface between syntax and morphology more generally, proposing that the narrow syntax is more free than previously assumed — allowing derivations in which heads receive conflicting features — the morphology that is fed by this syntax places output conditions of interpretability on syntactic representations. This opens up a new domain in which the hypothesis of Strong Interpretability (Chomsky, 1995) can be investigated, analogizing the morphology-syntax interface to the syntax-semantics interface at LF.

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