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THE *COME-V* AND THE *COME-AND-V* SEQUENCES IN PRESENT-DAY AMERICAN ENGLISH¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

Bolinger's (1968: 127) hypothesis is that 'a difference in syntactic form always spells a difference in meaning'. Almost all of the previous studies of Bolinger's hypothesis have been carried out from a semantic standpoint as a single-angled approach (e.g., Anderson 1971, Bolinger 1977, Borkin 1984, Dirven 1989, Dixon 1991, Fillmore 1968, Goldberg 1995, Green 1974, Kirsner & Thompson 1976, Oehrle 1976, Spears 1977, Verspoor 2000, Wierzbicka 1988). It has long been recognized that differences in form are associated with differences in meaning. However, such a single-angled approach makes no clear distinction between the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences, shown in (1), because the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences are semantically competing.

- (1) a. Come have your dinner.
b. Come and have your dinner.

The *come-and-V* sequence to be discussed here represents the reduced pronunciation of *and* that is spelled 'n' in phrase like *rock'n'roll*. Exploring the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences in present-day American English, this paper supports one hypothesis: 'the differences in meaning that different forms exhibit include functional and historical differences in meaning'. It also argues that a multi-angled approach, not only from a semantic standpoint, but also from a functional and from a historical standpoint, is pivotal in testing this hypothesis. Based on data from several synchronic and diachronic corpora, this paper shows how differences in a pair of semantically competing sequences in (1) are closely related to the selection of the second verb, inflectional categories of the first verb, genres of language use, and the historical development in a complicated way.

To provide an appropriate context for our multi-angled approach, two unique properties of the *come-V* sequence should be shown briefly. Zwicky (1992) set two conditions. One is the inflection condition, which requires that both verbs be in a form identical to the base form, as in (2) and (3) (see Zwicky 1969: 428-430).

- (2) a. Imperative: Come visit me.
b. Simple present in the first and second persons and the third person plural:
I/You/They come meet Tom.
c. Infinitive: I want you to come visit me.
d. Auxiliary verbs: She did/will/can/might come speak to us.
e. Present subjunctive construction: I insist that he come speak to us.

- (3) a. Simple present in the third person singular: *He comes speak to us.
 b. Simple past: *They came speak to us.
 c. -Ing form: *I am coming speak to you.
 d. -Ing form: *Coming watch the stars is fun.
 e. Perfect: *I have come speak to you.

The other is the intervention condition, which disallows a word or a phrase between the first and the second verbs, as in (4) (see Perlmutter 1971, Zwicky 1990).

- (4) a. *Come in speak to us.
 b. *Come, as they suggested, visit have your party.

These two conditions remain the cornerstone for the study of the *come-V* sequence, and they have been the focus of the previous studies (e.g., Bjorkman 2016, Carden & Pesetsky 1977, Jaeggli & Hyams 1993, Nicolle 2007, 2009, Pollock 1994, Pullum 1990, Shopen 1971). However, there are few studies of the comparison between the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences. In order to compare with the *come-V* sequence, the *come-and-V* sequence to be discussed in this paper is restricted to that in which the first verb *come* and the second verb are in the bare forms. Also, the *come-and-V* sequence always lacks an intervening word or phrase between the first and the second verbs.

This paper is structured as follows. Section 2 shows syntactic features of the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences. Section 3 describes semantic characteristics of the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences. Section 4 exhibits functional characteristics of the *come-V* sequence in relation to the *come-and-V* sequence, as presented by several synchronic corpora. Section 5 shows the historical development of the *come-V* sequence in relation to the *come-and-V* sequence, as presented by one diachronic corpus. Section 6 offers concluding remarks.

2. SYNTACTIC FEATURES

The *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences are members of what this paper calls multi-verb sequences. The term ‘multi-verb sequence’ in this paper is defined as follows. In English, there are four types of multi-verb sequences, the *V-to-V*, the *V-Ving*, the *V-and-V*, and the *V-V* sequences, where the first verb slot is always a single verb and the second verb slot can be either a single verb or a verb in a verb phrase. The sentences in (5) are typical examples in this paper.

- (5) a. The *V-and-V* sequence: Come and see us soon.
 b. The *V-V* sequence: Come see us soon.

The first verb and the second verb can be either intransitive or transitive. The multi-verb sequence always lacks an intervening word or phrase between the first and the second verbs. We syntactically divide various uses of multi-verb sequences into two groups, and we call the two groups the full-syntactic-structure group and the reduced-structure group. In the full-syntactic-structure group, a particular multi-verb sequence involves two verb phrases, and in the reduced-structure group, a particular multi-verb sequence is a part of a single verb phrase.

Regularities in syntax tend to exist in the full-syntactic-structure group. If the first verb is a transitive verb, as in (6), the second verb in the *V-V* sequence functions as the head of a complement of the first verb.

- (6) She helped organize the party.

The second verb phrase is regarded as bare-infinitive. The *V-V* sequence where the first verb is intransitive is non-existent. Regardless of whether the first verb is transitive or not, the *V-and-V* sequence can, in general, involve full coordination, as in (7).

- (7) a. You've illegally accessed and misused confidential security files.
b. The sun shone on the sea and the waves danced and sparkled.

In marked contrast to the full-syntactic-structure group, irregularities in syntax tend to exist in the reduced-structure group. As the first verb *come* in (8) is intransitive, what appears to be the second verb phrase is not regarded as bare-infinitive.

- (8) You must really come visit us in Holland.

(9a) does not represent full coordination, because it allows a violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967); extracting a noun phrase out of the second verb phrase of the coordinated structure is possible, as in (9b).²

- (9) a. A lot of his friends came and saw him
b. Who did a lot of his friends come and saw?

From (8) and (9), it is fair to state that both the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences belong to the reduced-structure group. However, in (8) and (9), we use different criteria for differentiating the full-syntactic-structure group from the reduced-structure group. The explanatory power of such different criteria is quite limited.

To differentiate the full-syntactic-structure group from the reduced-structure group, we propose a single criterion, the adverb criterion in (10).

- (10) The adverb criterion:

If both the first and the second verbs can independently take adverbs (or adverb phrases) which provide the same information (e.g., one temporal phrase for each verb), then the two verbs belong to different verb phrases in a full syntactic structure. If not, the two verbs are a part of a single verb phrase.

If a particular multi-verb sequence belongs to the reduced-structure group, both the first and the second verbs cannot take adverb (or adverb phrases) independently. The adverb criterion in (10) is respected, as shown by the fact that sentences in (11) are not acceptable.

- (11) a. *At five come join us at five-thirty.
b. *At five a lot of our friends came and saw me at five-thirty.

(11) points to the fact that both the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences cannot take adverb phrases independently. It is reasonable to state that the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences are a part of a single verb phrase.

A sure sign that irregularities in syntax exist in the reduced-structure group is that each individual multi-verb sequence does not involve two verb phrases despite the existence of two verbs. With respect to the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequence, the word sequence after the first verb *come* is not in the semantic scope of the first verb, but it is semantically like an oblique argument of the first verb. In the next section, we will describe semantic characteristics of the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences.

3. SEMANTIC CHARACTERISTICS

The verb *come* is one of components of the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences. Before describing the semantic characteristics of the two multi-verb sequences, the characteristics of the verb *come* should be discussed briefly. The verb *come* is not only the most typical verb of motion, but is also deictic verb of motion. In specifying directional motion, the verb *come* basically requires that the deictic center itself be the goal of directional motion at either the time of utterance or the time referred to in it (Fillmore 1971). In this respect, the verb *come* is goal-oriented. (12) expresses Tom's movement from an unnamed location to the shop.

(12) Tom came to the shop around noon.

(12) implies that the speaker was in the shop, and the time reference *around noon* is understood as referring to the time of Tom's arrival at the shop. The verb *come* is used only when the mover moves toward the goal as the deictic center.

The first verb *come* in the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences always represents the deictic verb *come*. The relationship between the first deictic verb *come* and what appears to be the second verb phrase always maintains the motion-purpose relationship. The first verb *come* expresses deictic motion and what appears to be the second verb phrase functions as a purpose phrase in relation to the first verb, as in (13).

- (13) a. She will manage to come see us.
b. I'll come and help you move the rest of the boxes.

In the motion-purpose relationship, what appears to be the second verb phrase is not in the semantic scope of the first verb *come*, but it is like an adjunct of the first verb. To put it in a different way, what appears to be the second verb phrase does not behave like a non-finite complement of the first verb. It should be noted here that there is the motion-purpose relationship to put only one interpretation on the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences.

Shopen (1971) points out that the important difference between the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences is related to selection restrictions imposed on the subject noun phrase. The *come-and-V* sequence allows either an agentive or a non-agentive interpretation for the subject noun phrase, because the single verb *come* does. By contrast, the *come-V* sequence allows only the agentive interpretation. Both (14a) and (14b), where we can regard the trucks as an agent, are acceptable.

- (14) a. The trucks come and pick up the garbage every Monday.
 b. The trucks come pick up the garbage every Monday. (Shopen 1971: 258)

(15a), where the verb *come* does not violate the selection restriction on its subject, is acceptable. However, the verb *come* in (15b) violate the selection restriction on its subject.

- (15) a. Pieces of driftwood come and wash up on the shore.
 b. *Pieces of driftwood come wash up on the shore. (Shopen 1971: 259)

Since the subject cannot satisfy the requirement of agentive interpretation, (15b) is not acceptable. At this point, Shopen's agentive interpretation cannot differentiate (14a) from (14b). However, it is very interesting in the light of the semantically competing sequences, as shown in (14), as we will see in the next section.

We show that both the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences in imperatives, as in (16), are hortatory.

- (16) a. Come join us.
 b. Come and join us.

The word 'hortatory' means 'urging to some course of conduct or action, exhorting, or encouraging'. The verb *come* basically requires that the deictic center itself be the goal of directional motion where the speaker is. Stated another way, the speaker is ready to welcome the hearer. It is fair to state that the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences in imperatives convey not only the motion meaning, but also an overlay of friendly motive. Although it cannot differentiate (16a) from (16b), this hortatory interpretation plays an important role in differentiating between the semantically competing sequences, as shown in (16), from a functional standpoint.

From the above discussion, the semantic approach makes no clear distinction between the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences. In the next section, we have to turn our attention to the interpretation of the quantitative data of the semantically competing sequences. The functional and the historical angles play a vital part in differentiating between the semantically competing sequences where there is no satisfactory explanation from a semantic standpoint.

4. FUNCTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

This section deals with functional characteristics of the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences on the basis of analyses of data from several synchronic corpora. We mainly use two balanced corpora, the American English subcorpus in *Collins Wordbanks Online* (CWO) and the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA). Before describing the functional characteristics, we have to provide a brief outline of our corpus methodology. Tummers et al. (2005) propose a distinction between corpus-based and corpus-illustrated techniques. The corpus-based technique is a strongly data-driven approach, relying on quantitative analysis applied to a whole corpus, whereas the corpus-illustrated technique uses a corpus as a source of examples. Tummers et al. point out that the distinction between the two techniques involves a continuum rather than constituting a dichotomy. The two techniques define the endpoints of the continuum. In general, a lot

of studies based on corpus data occupy an intermediary position between both endpoints (e.g., Deignan 2005, Glynn and Fischer 2010, Gries and Stefanowitsch, Stefanowitsch and Gries 2006). This paper occupies a relatively closer position to the corpus-based endpoint. In this paper, our approach based on corpus data has one important aspect. It is to provide a means of identifying characteristics underlying a given linguistic structure, which might otherwise remain unexplained.

In the following subsections, we test three hypotheses to pin down the difference between the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences. The three hypotheses are related to the selection of the second verb, inflectional categories of the first verb, and genres of language use.

4.1. The selection of the second verb

In this subsection, we test the first hypothesis about the second verbs used most frequently shown in (17).

- (17) The top ten second verbs used most frequently show that the distributions of verbs in the *come-V* sequence are different from those of the *come-and-V* sequence.

Table 1 shows the top ten second verbs used most frequently in the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences in CWO and COCA as balanced corpora.

Table 1. The top ten second verbs used post frequently in CWO and COCA in the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences (frequencies of use per million words in parentheses)

sequence rank \	CWO		COCA	
	<i>come-V</i>	<i>come-and-V</i>	<i>come-V</i>	<i>come-and-V</i>
1	<i>see</i> (0.73)	<i>see</i> (0.98)	<i>see</i> (1.51)	<i>get</i> (0.34)
2	<i>visit</i> (0.49)	<i>get</i> (0.86)	<i>get</i> (0.9)	<i>see</i> (0.26)
3	<i>get, join</i> (0.43)	<i>help, take</i> (0.43)	<i>visit</i> (0.4)	<i>say, sit, take</i> (0.1)
4			<i>sit</i> (0.35)	
5	<i>learn</i> (0.3)	<i>play, sit, visit</i> (0.3)	<i>pick</i> (0.257)	
6	<i>enjoy, find, have, pick, stay, take</i> (0.12)		<i>join</i> (0.25)	<i>join</i> (0.08)
7			<i>help</i> (0.23)	<i>look</i> (0.073)
8		<i>take</i> (0.2)	<i>tell</i> (0.071)	
9		<i>find</i> (0.155)	<i>meet, talk</i> (0.06)	
10	<i>stand, tell</i> (0.18)	<i>meet</i> (0.15)		

Table 1 shows that the ranking of the second verb in the *come-V* sequence are only slightly different from that in the *come-and-V* sequence. Table 2 shows the top ten second verb used most frequently in *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequence in the *TIME Magazine Corpus* (TTC) as written American English and the *Corpus of American Soap Operas* (CASO) as spoken American English. Table 2 shows that the ranking of the second verb in the *come-V* sequence are somewhat different from that in the *come-and-V* sequence in TTC. However, CASO as well as CWO and COCA shows that the ranking of the second verb in the *come-V* sequence is roughly similar to that in the *come-and-V* sequence. In CWO, COCA, and CASO, the second verbs used most frequently are *see* and *get*, as shown in *Come (and) see me* and *Come (and) get me*.

Table 2. The top ten second verbs used post frequently in TTC and CASO in the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences (frequencies of use per million words in parentheses)

sequence rank	TTC as written English		CASO as spoken English	
	<i>come-V</i>	<i>come-and-V</i>	<i>come-V</i>	<i>come-and-V</i>
1	<i>see</i> (0.32)	<i>get</i> (0.47)	<i>see</i> (6.29)	<i>get</i> (1.77)
2	<i>pour</i> (0.16)	<i>see</i> (0.21)	<i>get</i> (4.13)	<i>see</i> (0.51)
3	<i>blow</i> (0.15)	<i>join, say, look</i> (0.04)	<i>sit</i> (3.39)	<i>sit</i> (0.47)
4	<i>close</i> (0.09)		<i>visit</i> (2.53)	<i>take</i> (0.18)
5	<i>get</i> (0.07)		<i>pick</i> (2.1)	<i>find</i> (0.17)
6	<i>fill, visit</i> (0.06)	<i>talk, sit, hear, kiss</i> (0.03)	<i>find</i> (1.8)	<i>talk, visit, meet</i> (0.16)
7			<i>stay</i> (1.35)	
8	<i>take</i> (0.05)		<i>meet</i> (1.18)	
9	<i>help, let, rescue</i> (0.04)		<i>help</i> (0.99)	<i>join</i> (0.15)
10			<i>join</i> (0.98)	<i>give, look</i> (0.12)

With respect to the selection of the second verb, it is reasonable to state that there is no notable difference between the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences. This reinforces the idea that the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences are semantically competing. It should be noted here that spoken corpus shows higher frequency than written corpus in both sequences. We will discuss this in Subsection 4.3.

4.2. The inflectional categories of the first verb

In this subsection, we test the second hypothesis about inflectional categories of the first verb, shown in (18).

- (18) The inflectional categories of the first verb show that the distributions of inflectional types of the first verb in the *come-V* sequence are different from those of the *come-and-V* sequence.

Table 3 shows the inflectional categories of the first verb in the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences in CWO. It should be emphasized here that imperative forms are predominant in the *come-V* sequence.

 Table 3. The inflectional categories of the first verb in the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences in CWO (percentages in parentheses)

sequence			<i>come-V</i>	<i>come-and-V</i>
verb form				
finite	primary form	present	1 (1.3%)	17 (11.1%)
	plain form	imperative	38 (51.4%)	26 (17.0%)
non-finite	plain form	infinitive	16 (21.6%)	60 (39.2%)
		modal+V	19 (25.7%)	50 (32.7%)
others with plain form			0	0
TOTAL			74	153

Table 4. The token frequencies of the imperative form and the non-imperative form of the first verb in the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences in CWO

sequence \ form	imperative form	non-imperative form	sum
<i>come-V</i>	38	36	74
<i>come-and-V</i>	26	127	153
sum	64	163	227

($X^2=29.083$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$)

Based on the chi-square test, Table 4 shows that there is an extremely significant difference between the imperative *come-V* and the imperative *come-and-V* sequences. With respect to imperatives, the *come-V* sequence is infinitely preferable. It is clear that there is a functional difference in the semantic competing sequences with respect to inflectional categories.

4.3. Genres of language use

In this subsection, we test the third hypothesis about genres of language use shown in (19).

- (19) The frequency of use in several genres shows that the genres in which the *come-V* sequence is used are different from those in which the *come-and-V* sequence is used.

Based on genres of language use, we focus on particular situations or particular types of writing where the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences are used by speaker and writers.

Figure 1 shows the frequencies of use of the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences per million words in three genres in CWO.



Figure 1. Frequencies of use of the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences per million words in three genres in CWO

Figure 2 shows the frequencies of use of the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences per million words in five genres in COCA. Figures 1-2 show that the *come-V* sequence presents a different distribution from the *come-and-V* sequence. In the *come-V* sequence, the ephemera subcorpus in CWO and the fiction subcorpus in COCA show the highest frequency. By contrast, in the *come-and-V* sequence, the highest frequency is found in the broadcast subcorpus in CWO. Both sequences show that the academic and the newspaper subcorpora show much lower frequency. This reinforces Zwicky's (2003) idea that the *come-V* sequence has a strong preference for face-to-face conversation. From Figures 1-2, it is reasonable to state that both sequences hardly occur in objective reporting, and that the *come-V* sequence conveys much more casual, friendly motives

than the *come-and-V* sequences. It is clear that there are functional differences between the semantically competing sequences with respect to genres of language use.

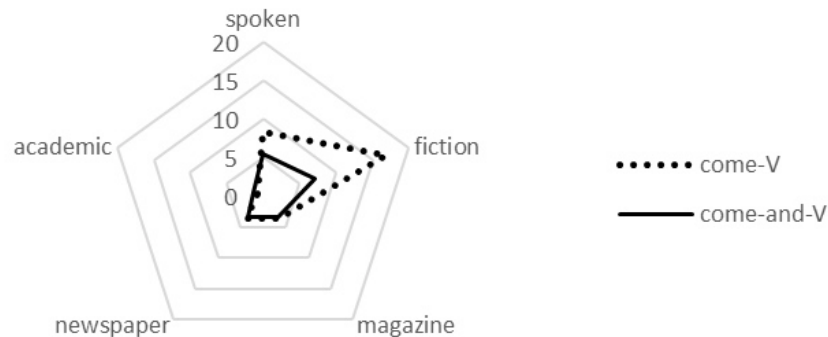


Figure 2. Frequencies of use of the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences per million words in five genres in COCA

This section has emphasized the importance of linguistic function in the interpretation of the quantitative data of the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences. It has also identified distinctive features which underlie the semantically competing sequences from a functional standpoint.

5. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

This section describes the historical development of the *come-V* sequence in relation to the *come-and-V* sequence, as presented by one diachronic corpus, *the Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA). Figure 3 shows frequency of use in COHA of the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences per million words from 1810 to 2009.

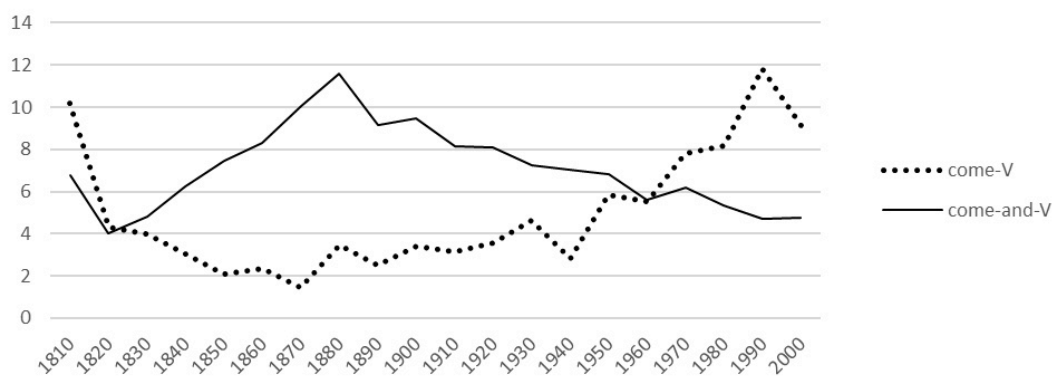


Figure 3. Frequency of use in COHA of the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences per million words from 1810 to 2009

In Figure 3, the frequency of the *come-V* sequence from the 1940s to the 1990s represents a fairly marked increase, and the *come-V* sequence replaces the *come-and-V* sequence around the 1960s. This raises the possibility that the *come-V* sequence assumed the role of hortatory utterances. This possibility is created by evidence that imperative forms in the *come-V* sequence are predominant in CWO shown in Subsection 4.2. Moreover, from the 1960s onwards when the replacement is observed, genres of language use in CWO

and COCA shown in Subsection 4.3 confirm that the *come-V* sequence plays a different role from the *come-and-V* sequence.

This paper argues that historical development does not always cause grammaticalization by which lexical or content words acquire grammatical functions. Since the speaker's intent on giving an order in imperative utterances implies a displacement, that is to say, a dislocation of the addressee, Mauri and Sansò (2011) assume that the deictic verb *come* in the *come-V* sequence can be reinterpreted as a non-dislocative directive marker. Based on the hypothesis that a bi-clausal construction grammaticalizes into a mono-clausal construction, they also assume that the *come-V* sequence functions as a single clause allowing for the reinterpretation of the verb *come* as a non-dislocative directive marker (cf., Nicolle 2007, 2009).³ However, the necessary evidential basis for their assumption is lacking for the following reason based on what we have shown in Section 2. Since both the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences which are semantically competing always represents a reduced structure, their assumption could allow for the reinterpretation of the verb *come* in the *come-and-V* sequence as a non-dislocative directive marker. Stated another way, their assumption predicts grammaticalization with respect to the *come-and-V* sequence which does not undergo grammaticalization. From the above discussion, we can safely draw one conclusion. The *come-V* sequence is undergoing historical development, rather than grammaticalization. More specifically, the *come-V* sequence has been gaining currency in that it is replacing the *come-and-V* sequence. The path of historical development leads to a hortatory device for functioning at the discourse level and frequently occurring in directive contexts.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper, demonstrating that the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences in English must be investigated from different angles, that is to say, from the multi-angled approach, we have stressed the importance in testing Bolinger's hypothesis not only from a semantic standpoint, but also from a functional and a historical standpoint. We have verified our hypothesis: 'the differences in meaning that different forms exhibit include functional and historical differences in meaning. Based on data from several synchronic and diachronic corpora, we have shown how differences in the semantically competing sequences are closely related to the selection of the second verb, inflectional categories of the first verb, genres of language use, and the historical development in a complicated way. In particular, we have shown that one of the functional factors, genres of language use, is very effective in differentiating between the semantically competing sequences. Consequently, we have made clear the value of our multi-angled approach to the *come-V* and the *come-and-V* sequences which are semantically competing. We have also opened up new avenues for further investigation.

NOTES

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² The Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967: 89) is defined as follows: In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct. The Coordinate Structure Constraint precludes extraction from a coordinate structure, as in (i), except for across-the-board extraction of the same item from each conjunct, as in (ii).

- (i) a. She ate dinner and washed the dishes.
b. *What did she eat dinner and wash?
- (ii) a. She is waiting for you and trying to call you.
b. Who is she waiting for and trying to call?

Since the Coordinate Structure Constraint functions properly in (ib), (ia) represents a coordinate structure. (ia) belongs to the full-syntactic-structure group which consists of two verb phrases.

- ³ From a typological standpoint, Aikhenvald (2010) points out that deictic motion verbs have the potential for resulting in imperative markers by virtue of their ‘purposeful overtones’. However, it is reasonable to state that the deictic motion verbs *come* and *go* in English have not yet become imperative markers. It is not easy to predict whether or not the deictic verbs *come* and *go* will shift from content words to directive markers in the future.

CORPORA [accessed 30 October 2019]

The Corpus of American Soap Operas (<https://www.english-corpora.org/soap/>)
The Corpus of Contemporary American English (<https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>)
The Corpus of Historical American English (<https://www.english-corpora.org/coha/>)
The TIME Magazine Corpus (<https://www.english-corpora.org/time/>)
Collins Wordbanks Online (<https://scnweb.japanknowledge.com/WBO2/>)

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