The involuntary state/FEEL-LIKE construction: What aspect cannot do

Franc Marušič & Rok Žaucer
(Univerza v Novi Gorici)

1 Introduction

This paper discusses Rivero's (2009) recent analysis of the South Slavic FEEL-LIKE or desiderative Involuntary State Construction (ISC), exemplified in (1).

(1)   *Jušu se pleše sambo.*   (Slovenian)
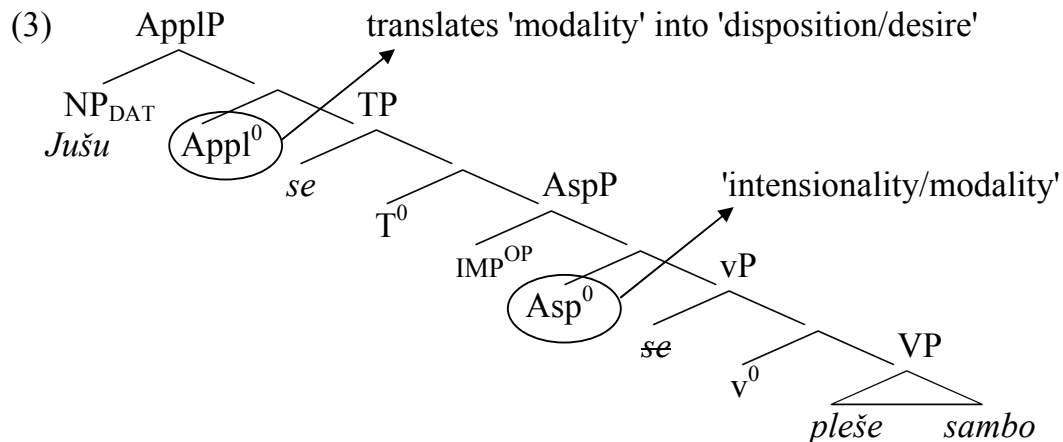   Juš_DAT refl dance3s samba_ACC
      'Juš feels like dancing samba.'

The striking characteristic of (1) is the fact that the sentence gets a dispositional/ desiderative interpretation even though it contains no overt element encoding disposition/desire. The obligatory overt formal ingredients comprise a dative nominal, a reflexive clitic, and an indicative verb form with default agreement (3rd person, singular, neuter). Before Rivero (2009), the construction had received various other analyses, most notably those of Benedicto (1995), Franks (1995), Rivero and Milojević Sheppard (2003), Rivero (2004), and Marušič and Žaucer (2006). In Marušič and Žaucer (2006) [from now on M&Ž], we argued that the construction involves a phonologically null dispositional/desiderative verb and is as such biclausal (i.e. contains two VPs, though not two full sets of clausal structure), as in (2a); the null verb is represented in (2a) as FEEL-LIKE in small-caps print. The ISC was thus seen as essentially parallel to its overtly biclausal paraphrase, given in (2b), which contains an overt dispositional/desiderative verb 'feel-like'.

(2)   a.   [_TP [_vQP *Jušu* [_vQ' [_vQ° *se*] [_VP [_v° <u>FEEL-LIKE</u>] [... [_VP *ples- sambo*]]]]]]
           Juš_DAT   refl   dances samba_ACC
           'Juš feels like dancing samba.'
      b.   [_TP [_vQP *Jušu* [_vQ' [_vQ° *se*] [_VP [_v° <u>*lušta*</u>   ] [... [_VP *plesat sambo*]]]]]]
           Juš_DAT   refl   feels-like   dance_INF samba_ACC
           'Juš feels like dancing samba.'

Incorporating some parts of the analysis in Rivero & Milojević Sheppard (2003) and Rivero (2004), Rivero (2009) proposes that the 'modality'/'intensionality'[1] of

---

[1]   Rivero (2009) appears to use the terms 'modality' and 'intensionality' interchangeably to refer to the non-transparent or modal (in its widest sense) nature of the context in question. In this paper we use 'modality' as the general term for this property, speaking

(1) comes from a viewpoint-aspect imperfective operator (IMP^{OP}), and is interpreted as disposition/desire because of the presence of a super-high, TP-embedding Applicative. Unlike (2a) above, Rivero's (2009) structure thus contains a single clause, as in (3) below.[2]

(3)   ApplP   translates 'modality' into 'disposition/desire'

    NP$_{DAT}$ Appl^0 TP
    Jušu   *se*
                    T^0 AspP   'intensionality/modality'
                       IMP^{OP} Asp^0 vP
                                     se   v^0 VP
                                            pleše   sambo

M&Ž supported their biclausal analysis with various kinds of data, including the ISCs' possibility of hosting conflicting temporal adverbials, as in (4), which they interpreted as evidence for the presence of two independent main events and hence (in the spirit of Larson *et al.* 2006 and also Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria 2004) of two VPs.

(4)   *Včeraj   se   mi   ni   šlo   jutri   domov*.   (Slovenian)
       yesterday REFL I$_{DAT}$ not-is go   tomorrow   home
       'Yesterday, I didn't feel like going home tomorrow.'

                                                            (M&Ž 2006: 1098)

Rivero (2009) argues, however, that M&Ž's data do not warrant a biclausal analysis for ISCs since parallel behavior can be observed with English futurates, such as (5), whose structure Rivero assumes to be monoclausal and their double adverbials licensed simply by their futurate interpretation.[3]

---

of disposition/desiderative-type modality and futurate-type modality, and reserve the term 'intensionality' only for the properties discussed in section 2.2.

2   The graphics that explain how parts of the tree in (3) are interpreted are our addition. We are also simplifying the details of the reflexive (cf. Rivero 2009: 154), which are not important for our purposes. One way or another, the reflexive is related to the external argument/Spec,vP, either directly, as in (3), or via a null element in Spec,vP.

3   The assumption that futurates are monoclausal is not uncontroversial. Huddleston (1977) suggests that progressive futurates contain two VPs. Also, Copley and Harley (2009) suggest that causative *have* is the same thing as Copley's (2008) futurate operator, and Radford (2004) claims that causative *have* is not an auxiliary but a full

(5)   *For two weeks, the Red Sox were playing the Yankees today.*

                                                              (Rivero 2009; 153)

In fact, Rivero's (2009) analysis of ISCs' disposition as ultimately stemming from the IMP^{OP}, as in (3), builds on the view that the syntactic source of the futurate interpretation in (5) is also simply its imperfective-like progressive aspect. Rivero sees both the disposition of ISCs and the futurate interpretation of futurates as instances of IMP^{OP}-encoded modality, with the former variant arising only in the presence of a super-high ApplP.[4]

  In what follows, we will first look at the parallel that Rivero draws between ISCs and futurates and argue that it is problematic. In sections 3 and 4, we will present further problems for Rivero (2009), based on ICSs with prefixed verbs and ICSs with modal and aspectual auxiliaries. Section 5 wraps up.

2 Futurates, parallels with ISCs, and problems with the parallel

Futurates are interesting in allowing future interpretations despite the lack of future tense morphology. Early generative-grammar discussions of futurates include Vetter (1973) and Huddleston (1977), and a recent discussion is found in Copley (2008), who identifies the following properties. Futurates typically have progressive/imperfective verb morphology, and they allow two contradicting temporal adverbials, as in (5) (from M&Ž: 1100). With respect to both of these features, futurates and ISCs behave in parallel.

(5)   *Today, you are out of the hospital in a week* (*but if something goes wrong during your operation tomorrow, you might have to stay here longer*).

Semantically, futurates typically convey that there is a plan for an event to take place in the future (Copley 2008). This modal character also makes them similar to ISCs: they describe an event that has not yet taken place. According to Copley, futurates describe plans because of the presence of a presupposition that assigns control over the intended event to a 'director', i.e., an entity that makes sure the plan is carried out; the director is supplied contextually, and can but need not be the same as the subject (ibid.). In the following subsections, we will test the parallel that Rivero (2009) draws between futurates and ISCs.

---

   verb; if Copley and Harley (2009) and Radford (2004) are both correct, futurates should be biclausal.

4 For the most part, Rivero (2009) does not go into providing empirical evidence against the analysis of Marušič and Žaucer (2006) or finding technical problems with it. The approach is more one of showing that her alternative analysis can also capture the core data, and given that this analysis is (considered) simpler, it should be superior.

2.1 Directors need not be bocked by oblique subjects

Rivero (2009) posits that futurates and ISCs differ in the type of modal interpretation. Futurates have a nominative subject which supplies the director, i.e. the entity with control over the intended event; this will yield the modal meaning of a plan (op.cit.: 157). ISCs, on the other hand, have an oblique subject, which cannot act as a director since obliques are incompatible with control, and which also prevents entities present in the context from acting as directors (op.cit.: 154, 173). As a result, ISCs denote a plan without a director, which—it is assumed—can be understood as a desire/disposition (op.cit.: 157). According to Rivero, this falls out from her syntactic structure for ISCs, which contains a TP-embedding applicative with a dative argument; see (3) above.

However, if the director is blocked by the presence of the dative oblique subject, we would expect that *all* oblique subjects will block the assignment of directors in any construction that could otherwise potentially get a futurate reading. That is, given that the modality is seen as originating in AspP, we would expect that in any sentence with an oblique (experiencer) subject, an attempt to get a futurate interpretation will automatically result in a dispositional/desiderative reading.[5] This is, however, not the case, as shown in (6)-(7), which do not have a dispositional/desiderative interpretation.

(6) ? *Danes je Petru jutri mraz.*   (Slovenian)
today aux Peter$_{DAT}$ tomorrow cold
'Today it seems that Peter will be cold tomorrow.'
(Impossible: 'Today Peter feels like being cold tomorrow.')

(7) ? *Včeraj je bilo Petru jutri še mraz.*   (Slovenian)
yesterday aux been Peter$_{DAT}$ tomorrow still cold
'Yesterday it seemed that Peter would still be cold tomorrow.'
(Impossible: 'Yesterday Peter felt like still being cold tomorrow.')

Note that the sentences in (6)-(7) are both marginal.[6] However, to the degree that they are acceptable, they are only acceptable on a futurate interpretation. And on

---

5   In this respect, Rivero (2009) differs importantly from Rivero and Milojević Sheppard (2003), where the TP-dominating phrase not only introduces the dative argument but also the modality (and is hence labelled ModalP rather than ApplP), a function which Rivero (2009) assigns to AspP.

6   Futurates of statives are not nearly as natural as futurates of predicates such as 'play the Yankees', but they are often grammatical. The same holds for ISCs, which may be related to the fact that it is not easy to imagine a disposition or a mood to do something being planned. Note that while (6)-(7) may get a meaning that is intuitively closer to 'it seems that' than 'there is a plan that', this can just as well be seen as a variant of 'there was a plan that' with something like destiny as the director (cf. also the English (5) above, and cf. Copley 2008: 273).

Rivero's (2009) analysis, it is not only unexpected that the dispositional reading is not available; it is equally unexpected that they are, even though marginally, acceptable as futurates: since dative/oblique subjects cannot be paired with control and hence do not qualify for directors, and their presence blocks the director from being defined in the context (op.cit.: 154), sentences like (6)-(7) should not be able to get a futurate interpretation.

2.2 Futurates of ISCs

Rivero (2009) argues that despite differences in semantic details, the modal interpretation of futurates (i.e. plan) and the modal interpretation of ISCs (i.e. disposition/desire) both stem from the viewpoint-aspect operator (IMP^{OP}). The difference lies only in the extra TP-embedding dative argument, which prevents the modal interpretation of plan and forces that of desire/disposition.

Placing the basic ingredient of futurates and ISCs in the same projection makes a clear prediction (and so does the posited incompatibility of the dative and the modal interpretation of plan): there should be no futurate ISC, that is, the futurate and the dispositional interpretation should be in complementary distribution. However, as discussed in M&Ž (2006: 1101), this prediction is incorrect. One such example is given in (8) (cf. fn. 6).

(8) *Včeraj   se mi danes še   ni šlo v hribe.*   (Slovenian)
     yesterday refl I.dat today still not go to mountains
     'Yesterday, it did not seem that I would be in the mood today for going to the moutains.' (besides the also possible non-futurate ISC interpretation: 'Yesterday, I was not in the mood for going to the mountains today.')

Given that the combination of the futurate construction and the ISC is possible, the futurate modal and the dispositional modal interpretation cannot originate in the same viewpoint-aspect projection. Also, the dative and the futurate cannot be mutually exclusive.

2.3 Different aspect restrictions on futurates and ISCs

By deriving the modality of both of these constructions from the imperfective operator, Rivero (2009) predicts that futurates and ISCs will be subject to the same restrictions with respect to the aspectual value of their input. So, given that Rivero (2009: 182-3) claims that Slovenian ISCs cannot be built on perfective predicates, we expect that Slovenian will also not allow futurates with perfective predicates.

This is, however, not the case, as shown in (9) (the perfectivity of *odpotujem* can be confirmed with standard tests such as non-embeddability under phase verbs, etc., cf. Borik 2006).

(9) *Jutr odpotujem v Potsdam.*   (Slovenian)
     tomorrow depart^{PF} to Potsdam
     'I leave for Potsdam tomorrow.'

Now, there is some disagreement with respect to the grammaticality of perfective ISCs: M&Ž (2006: 1144-6) claim that in certain contexts, these are possible. Such contexts, however, would not include cases such as *odpotujem v Potsdam*. Moreover, Rivero's (2009) account crucially relies on the ungrammaticality of perfective predicates in Slovenian ISCs and as such cannot accommodate perfective ISCs anyway.

2.4 Hyperintensionality

Rivero (2009: 164-5, fn. 5) claims that English futurates and ISCs behave in parallel with respect to intensionality and hyperintensionality. We will try to show that this claim is not entirely correct.

There are three standard tests for hyperintensional or opaque contexts (e.g. Larson 2002) that go back to Frege: indefinite DPs need not be interpreted as specific, non-referring terms need not yield falsity, and substitution of coreferring terms need not preserve truth. Futurates and ISC behave alike only on one of these tests, that is, only with respect to indefinite DPs.

The interpretation of indefinite DPs: an indefinite DP in an extensional/transparent context shows no ambiguity: the indefinite DP in (10a) can only be read specifically. An indefinite DP in an intensional context, is ambiguous, and so (10b) can also be read non-specifically.

(10) a. *Jim met a famous actress.*
      b. *Jim believed* [$_{CP}$ *a famous actress was in the movie*].

An indefinite DP can indeed be read non-specifically both in ISCs and in futurates, as shown in (11) and (12).

(11) *Petri   se   je   poljubljalo enga profesorja.*   (Slovenian)
      Petra$_{DAT}$ REFL AUX kiss   one   professor
      'Petra felt like kissing a professor.'

(12) *For two weeks Susan was marrying a professor next year.*
                                        (Rivero 2009: 165, fn 5)

However, this turns out to be the only test on which the two constructions clearly pattern alike.

The second commonly cited property of opaque/intensional contexts relates to the presence of a **non-referring term**. In a hyperintensional context such terms need not yield falsity. (13a) can be true despite the fact that there are no *unicorns* in our world, but in the extensional context of (13b), a non-referring term necessarily yields falsity. Because there are no unicorns in our world, a sentence like (13b) must be false.

(13) a. *Jim believed* [CP *he saw a unicorn cross-country skiing*].
      b. *#Jim met a unicorn*.

In ISCs, the use of non-referring terms is comparable to verbs of attitude report, that is, ISCs behave like proper intensional contexts.

(14) *Petru se je šlo v Potsdam na leteči preprogi, čeprav ve,*   (Slovenian)
      da take preproge ne obstajajo.
      'Peter felt like going to Potsdam on a flying carpet even though he knows there are no flying carpets.'

Judgements are less clear with futurates. In the futurate counterpart of (14), the use of a nonexisting term yields falsity, (15).

(15) *# Yesterday Peter was flying to Potsdam tomorrow on a flying carpet, even though he knows/everyone knows/it's widely known/god knows that flying carpets don't exist.*

(15) can be uttered truthfully if the sentence is continued with something like '*but then he realized that flying carpets don't exist*'. In this case, however, the truth of the first part of the sentence is evaluated relative to an alternative world, not to the world where flying carpets do not exist. The same applies to Rivero's (2009) example in (16), for which she notes that it is a natural report of some child's dream that lasted for two weeks; in this case, the truth of the first part of the sentence is evaluated relative to an alternative world.

(16) *For two weeks Susan was adopting a unicorn next year, and then found out that there are no unicorns.*   (Rivero 2009: 165, fn. 5)

To be fair, we do not find the data very clear, since it does not seem to be obvious how to evaluate the truth of a futurate. If every futurate were paraphrasable with 'X plans to Y', then the only way to evaluate them would be to ask person X. However, futurates are not always paraphrasable in just such a

way. As Copley (2008) puts it, there is a plan that Y will happen and X as a director sees that this happens. Therefore, knowing that the New York Mutuals baseball team stopped to exist more than 130 years ago, uttering a sentence like (17) today does not make much sense; in this futurates contrast with ISCs with non-referring terms (as in (14) above).

(17) #*The Yankees are playing the Mutuals tomorrow*.

   The third test is that of **substitution of a coreferring term**. In extensional/transparent contexts, this necessarily preserves the truth value of the proposition, whereas in an intensional/ opaque context, such a substitution need not preserve the truth value. Examples (18) through (20) present a regular transparent context, an ISC and a futurate construction (in this order).

(18) *The Sens beat the Habs*. ==> *The Sens beat the Canadiens*.[7]

(19) *Včeraj se je Sensom igralo jutri s Canadiensi.*
   yesterday refl aux Sens play tomorrow with Canadiens
   'Yesterday the Sens felt like playing the Canadiens tomorrow.'
   =/=> *Včeraj se je Sensom igralo jutri s Habsi.*
     yesterday refl aux Sens play tomorrow with Habs
     'Yesterday the Sens felt like playing the Habs tomorrow.'

(20) *Yesterday, the Sens were playing the Canadiens today* (*but the schedule has changed*).
   ==> *Yesterday, the Sens were playing the Habs today* (*but the schedule has changed*).

The futurate construction in (20) patterns with the regular transparent context in (18), that is, substitution of coreferring terms necessarily preserves truth in both. In ISCs, on the other hand, truth need not be preserved.

   In short, then, ICSs and futurates do not behave alike with respect to intensionality/opacity, contra Rivero (2009); they clearly differ at least on the test with substitution of correferring terms, and—admittedly with some unclarity—also on the test with non-referring terms.

   To conclude this section, we have argued that the parallel between ISCs and futurates proposed in Rivero (2009) is problematic in several ways.

---

7 The Habs is a nickname for the NHL team called Montreal Canadiens.

3. Prefixes

Slavic languages exhibit a vast array of verbal prefixes, often quite comparable to particles in Germanic particle verbs (e.g. Spencer & Zaretskaya 1998, Svenonius 2004). Some of these prefixes participate in ISCs in revealing ways. We will limit this discussion to the 'inceptive' and 'terminative' uses of prefixes, the first of which is shown in an 'ordinary'/non-ISC structure in (21).

(21) a. *voleti Mariju*   b. *za-voleti   Mariju*   (Serbian)
          love Marija   behind-love Marija
          'love Marija'   'come to love Marija'

In Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Bulgarian (but not Slovenian), the verb in an ISC can contain an 'inceptive' prefix, and in Bulgarian also a 'terminative' prefix (see M&Ž 2006: 1127-1131).

(22) a. *Pri-spalo mi   se.*   (Serbian)
          at-slept   I$_{DAT}$ REFL
          'I came to feel like sleeping.'
      b. *Pri-jele su   mi   se   jabuke.*
          at-ate   AUX I$_{DAT}$ REFL apples
          'I came to feel like eating apples.'

M&Ž analyze the inceptive prefix in (22) as syntactically belonging to the null verb, (23) (for the sake of simplicity, we can ignore the original position of the prefix inside the matrix clause; see M&Ž for details of the derivation).[8]

(23) [$_{Clause1}$ *pri*-FEEL-LIKE *mi*   *se*   [$_{Clause2}$ ... [$_{VP}$ *spa-*]]]
          at-FEEL-LIKE   I$_{DAT}$ REFL   sleep

Rivero (2009), on the other hand, posits no null verb, so the prefix must be part of the same clause as the overt verb, combining with the overt verb not just phonologically but also syntactically. Notice, however, that as indicated in the translation in (22), *pri-* does not mark the inception of the event described by the verb but the inception of the disposition; given Rivero's structure, where the disposition only arises at the very end of clausal composition with the ApplP, this is already surprising, as the disposition should then scope over the inception. Moreover, Rivero's analysis faces other problems as well.

  Rivero claims that the inceptive *pri-* instantiates the imperfective operator which is the source of modality (op.cit.: 178). We see at least four problems

---

8 A similar proposal is made in van Riemsdijk (2002), who suggests that the null verb GO in Dutch can occur in a particle-verb construction with an overt particle *aan* 'on'.

with this claim. Firstly, dropping the prefix removes the inception but not the modality (disposition), (24), so the modality cannot be encoded by the prefix.

(24) a. *Pri-piškilo mi se.*   b. *Piškilo mi se.* (Serbian)
      at-pee I_{DAT} REFL   pee I_{DAT} REFL
      'I came to feel like peeing.'   'I felt like peeing.'

Secondly, most prefixation (including inceptive prefixation) is known to trigger a change in aspect, (25). Whereas (25a-b) is interpreted imperfectively, shown by the fact that it allows durative adverbials and embeds under phasal verbs (cf. Borik 2006), (25c-d), where a prefix has been added to the same verb, is interpreted perfectively, as shown by the fact that it disallows durative adverbials and does not embed under phasal verbs.

(25) a. *voleti Mariju* (*5 minuta*)   b. (*početi*) *voleti Mariju* (Serb.)
      love Marija 5 mins   begin love Marija
      'love Marija (for 5 minutes)'   '(begin) to love Marija'
      c. *za-voleti Mariju* (**5 minuta*) d. (* *početi*) *za-voleti Mariju*
      behind-love Marija 5 minutes   begin behind-love Marija
      'come to love Marija'   'come to love Marija'

Since Bulgarian and Serbian *pri-*, which marks the inception of the disposition, is claimed by Rivero to instantiate the *imperfective* operator, one would expect the whole ISC to behave as imperfective. But if ISCs with an inceptive *pri-* are claimed to be imperfective, this would make these forms the only imperfectives which are not at all compatible with durative adverbials and do not embed under phasal verbs.

(26) a. *Piškio sam 5 minuta.*   (Serbian)
      peed aux 5 minutes
      'I was peeing for 5 minutes.'
      b. *Piškilo mi se 2 sata.*   c. * *Pri-piškilo mi se 2 sata.*
      peed I_{DAT} REFL 2 hours   at-peed I_{DAT} REFL 2 hours
      'For 2 hours, I felt like peeing.'
      d. *Počeo sam piškiti.*
      began aux pee
      'I began to pee.'
      e. *Počelo mi se piškiti.*   f. * *Počelo mi se pri-piškiti.*
      began I_{DAT} REFL pee   began I_{DAT} REFL at-pee
      'I began to feel like peeing.'

Thirdly, if modality comes from the prefix, we should be able to take the dative nominal away and still get modality—albeit a futurate instead of a disposition. This is not the case, however; as a consequence, in cases where the combination of the prefix and the verb does not exist outside the ICS, what we get is simply ungrammatical, regardless of adverbials that try to set up a futurate, (27).

(27)   a.   *Pri-piškilo se.   (Serbian)
               at-peed   refl
       b.   *Prije dve sedmice pri-jele su   se jabuke juče.
               before 2   weeks   at-ate   AUX refl apples yesterday

Fourthly, if the inceptive prefix *pri-* syntactically attaches directly onto the verb *piškiti* in (26), as a VP-external FP, we predict that we will also find this combination of the prefix and the verb outside of ISC and outside of impersonal *se* sentences. This prediction is not borne out, (28) (cf. M&Ž 2006: 1130, fn 28).
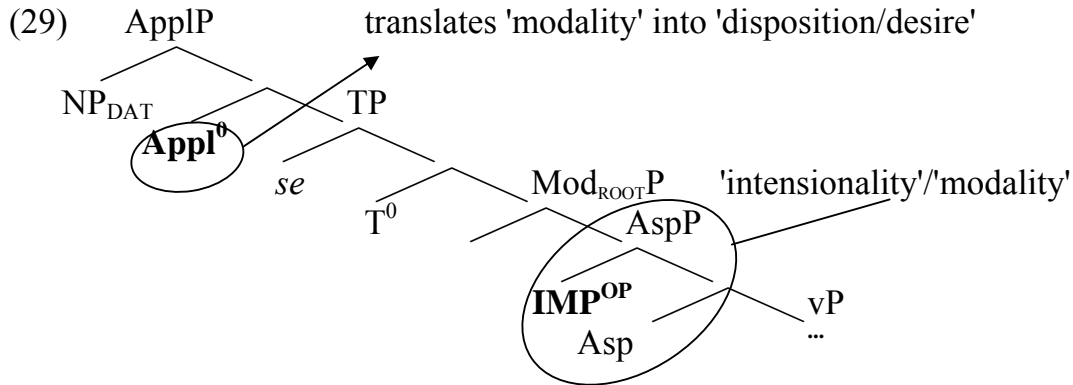
(28)   *Petar   je   pri-jeo   jabuke /   pri-piškio.   (Serbian)
         Peter   aux   at-eat   apples   at-pee

For M&Ž, *pri-* syntactically belongs to the null verb FEEL-LIKE, which brings with it both the dative and *se*, like many other experiencer verbs, including the verb in the ISCs overt paraphrase from (2b) above. And given that—as explained in M&Ž—lexical restrictions are not uncommon with verb-prefix combinations, it need not be surprising that there is such a restriction also in the case of *pri-* and FEEL-LIKE. (Cf. M&Ž for a longer justification of this claim.)

4. Modal/aspectual verbs

This section tests Rivero's (2009) analysis of ISCs on the basis of scope relations between the disposition and modal auxiliaries, arguing that the proposal predicts that there should be only one possible scope relation between modals and the disposition, which is not what we find in the data.

        Root modals are typically seen as originating below the TP and above any AspPs (unlike epistemic modals, which are above TP) (e.g. Butler 2003, Cinque 1999). Combining this view with Rivero's (2009) structure of ISCs, an ISC with a root modal should thus have the structure in (29).

(29)   ApplP   translates 'modality' into 'disposition/desire'

NP$_{DAT}$ **Appl⁰**   TP

se   T⁰   Mod$_{ROOT}$P   'intensionality'/'modality'

AspP

IMP^{OP}   vP

Asp   ...

If root modals have a fixed position in sentential structure, and if the disposition of an ISC also originates at a specific syntactic position, we get a clear prediction: the two elements should be in a fixed scope relation.
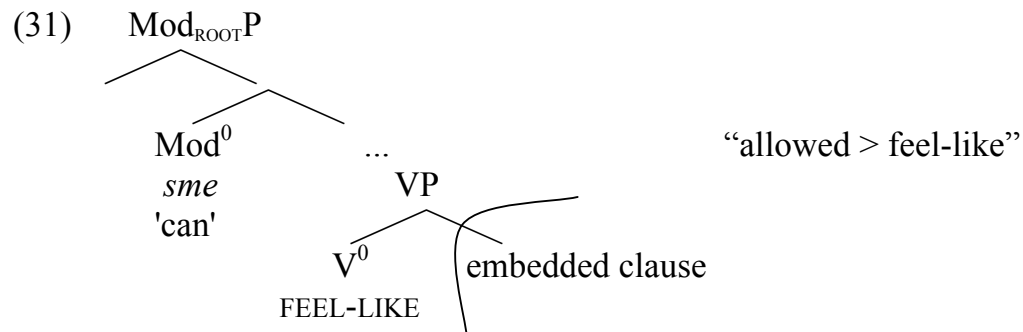
Now, the two key parts behind the dispositional/desiderative interpretation of ISCs, for Rivero (2009), are the TP-embedding applicative and the imperfective operator in the specifier of AspP. As sketched in (29) above, the modality of ISCs is introduced with the IMP^{OP}, but the disposition, in a sense, comes via ApplP; that is, the modality of the IMP^{OP} is interpreted as disposition because of the presence of the ApplP. Since this may leave some doubt with respect to the question of which of these two projections such an analysis associates the disposition with (ApplP or AspP), we will discuss each option in turn. If—given that the ApplP only changes the type of modal interpretation introduced by the IMP^{OP}—we interpret Rivero (2009) so that the disposition originates in the aspectual operator, then we should not find a root modal scoping under the disposition/desire. And if—given that it is the presence of the ApplP in the structure that allows the dispositional interpretation—we interpret Rivero (2009) so that the disposition is associated with the ApplP, then we should not find a root modal scoping over the disposition/desire. Importantly, whichever option we go with, we predict only one possible scope relation between the root modal and the disposition/desire.

This prediction, however, is not correct. As discussed in M&Ž (2006: 1121), a root modal in an ISC can scope both under and over the disposition/desire, (30).
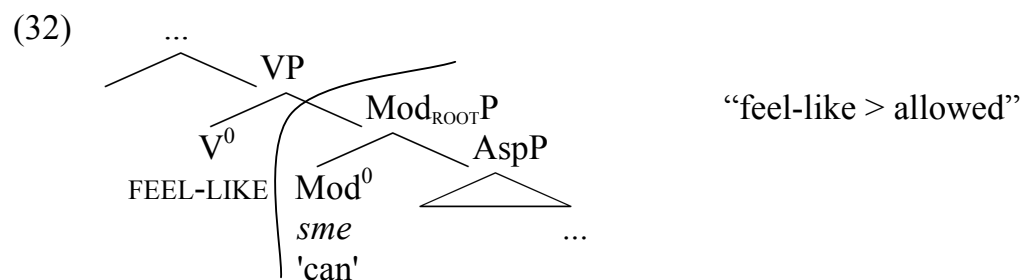
(30)   *Joni   se   sme igrat   fuzbal*.   (Slovenian)
        Jona$_{DAT}$ REFL can play$_{INF}$ soccer
   a)   'Jona is allowed to feel like playing soccer.'   "allowed > feel-like"
   b)   'Jona feels like being allowed to play soccer.' "feel-like > allowed"

Note that unlike Rivero (2009), M&Ž's account explains the ambiguity in (30) straigthforwardly. Recall from (2a) above that M&Ž's structure for ISCs has two clauses, with the disposition coming from the matrix verb. As such, the

account has two positions for the same modal, one as part of the matrix clause and one as part of the lower clause. When the root modal in (30) scopes over the disposition, it is a modal of the matrix clause, (31).

(31) $Mod_{ROOT}P$

           Mod^0 ...   "allowed > feel-like"
           sme   VP
           'can'
                    V^0 embedded clause
                FEEL-LIKE

But since M&Ž's structure for ISCs has two clauses, it also has two positions for root modals, as discussed in M&Ž. When the root modal in (30) scopes under the disposition/desire, it is a modal of the embedded clause, as in (32).

(32)   ...

              VP
                    $Mod_{ROOT}P$ "feel-like > allowed"
        V^0 AspP
     FEEL-LIKE Mod^0
                sme   ...
                'can'

M&Ž (2006: 1122-3) observe the same kind of scopal ambiguity also between aspectual verbs and the disposition, which can be used to make the same point. Another related feature is the three way ambiguity of *often* and *non-stop* (M&Ž 2006: 1117-8); as far as we can see, Rivero's account cannot explain these data.

4.1 Modal/aspectual verbs and futurates

Rivero (2009) claims that futurates and ISCs are parallel and that the modal interpretation of both originates in AspP. This predicts that we should be able to get modal and aspectual verbs scoping over the modality ("the plan") in futurates, just like modal verbs were shown to be able to scope over the modality (disposition) in ISCs in (30a) above and just like the aspectual verb can scope either over or under the modality (disposition) in ISCs in (33).

(33) *Yankeejem   se   je   začenjalo igrati   finalno serijo*.
Yankees$_{DAT}$ REFL aux began   play$_{INF}$ final   series
a) 'The Yankees felt like beginning to play the finals.'   "feel-like > begin"
b) 'The Yankees began to feel like playing the finals.'   "begin > feel-like"

As shown in (34a), the reading with the aspectual verb scoping under the futurate modality/"the plan" is easily available. However, the intended reading of (34b), with the aspectual verb scoping over the futurate modality/"the plan", does not seem to be a possibility for such sentences.

(34) *Yesterday, the Yankees were beginning to play the World Series against the Red Sox tomorrow*.
a)   'Yesterday there was a plan for the Yankees to begin playing the World Series tomorrow.'   "plan > begin"
b)   'Yesterday there began to be a plan for the Yankees to play the World Series tomorrow./Yesterday the Yankees began to plan to play the World Series tomorrow.'   "begin > plan"

5. Wrap-up

We argued that Rivero's (2009) account of ISCs faces several theoretical and empirical problems. First, the posited parallel between ISCs and futurates that it is based on does not hold, so the modality of the two constructions cannot originate in the same syntactic projection. Second, Rivero's analysis of prefixed ISCs is incorrect. And third, deriving the modality from an imperfective operator in AspP cannot account for the ambiguities observed in M&Ž.

Rivero (2009) presents some Bulgarian sentences which she considers biclausal because they contain a complentizer *da* and one or two independently inflected auxiliaries in addition to the main verb. Since ISCs do not have the complementizer and need not have an auxiliary, Rivero concludes that contrary to M&Ž, ISCs are not biclausal. However, according to M&Ž, the complement of the null FEEL-LIKE predicate is not a full CP but a deficient clause (in Bulgarian no bigger than *v*P), so M&Ž's account does not predict the complementizer and the Infl-level auxiliaries to be possible. Moreover note that the biclausality that Rivero (2009) assumes for her examples is by no means uncontroversial; Mišeska-Tomić (2004) analyzes such constructions as monoclausal. We conclude, therefore, that M&Ž's (2006) account of ISCs remains superior to the more recent account in Rivero (2009).

References

Benedicto, Elena E. 1995. Mne ne čitaetsja: (Relativized) Modality, Datives and Reflexive Suffixes. *Penn Working Papers in Linguistics* 2.2: 1-16.

Borik, Olga. 2006. *Aspect and reference time*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Butler, Jonny. 2003. A minimalist treatment of modality. *Lingua* 113: 967-996.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Copley, Bridget. 2008. The Plan's the Thing: Deconstructing Futurate Meanings. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39.2: 261-274.

Copley, Bridget and Heidi Harley. 2009. Futurates, directors, and have-causatives. *Snippets* 19: 5-6.

Demirdache, Hamida & Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria. 2004. The Syntax of Time Adverbs. In J. Guéron & J. Lecarme (eds) *The Syntax of Time*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Franks, Steven. 1995. *Parameters of Slavic morphosyntax*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Huddleston, Rodney. 1977. The Futurate Construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8.4: 730-736.

Larson, Richard. 2002. The Grammar of Intensionality. In G. Preyer and G. Peter (eds) *Logical Form and Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Larson, Richard, Marcel den Dikken & Peter Ludlow. 2006. Intensional Transitive Verbs and Abstract Clausal Complementation. *Stony Brook University Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 1: 57-105.

Marušič, Franc and Rok Žaucer. 2006. On the intensional FEEL-LIKE construction in Slovenian: A case of a phonologically null verb. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 24: 1093-1159.

Radford, Andrew. 2004. *English syntax, an introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

van Riemsdijk, Henk C. 2002. The Unbearable Lightness of GOing. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 5: 143-196.

Rivero, María-Luisa. 2004. Datives and the non-active voice. Reflexive clitics in Balkan languages. In O. Mišeska Tomić (ed.) *Balkan Syntax and Semantics*. Amsterdam/Philadephia: Benjamins.

Rivero, María-Luisa 2009. Intensionality, high applicatives, and aspect: involuntary state constructions in Bulgarian and Slovenian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 27: 151-196.

Rivero, María-Luisa and Milena Milojević Sheppard. 2003. Indefinite Reflexive Clitics in Slavic: Polish and Slovenian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21.1: 89-155.

Spencer, Andrew & Marina Zaretskaya. 1998. Verb prefixation in Russian as lexical subordination. *Linguistics* 36: 1-39.

Svenonius, Peter. 2004. Slavic Prefixes inside and outside the VP. In Peter Svenonius (ed.) *Nordlyd* 32.2: 205-253.

Vetter, David. 1973. Someone solves this problem tomorrow. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4.1: 104-108.