

## On the Intensional FEEL-LIKE Construction in Slovenian: A case of a phonologically null verb\*

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**ABSTRACT.** This paper discusses an apparently monoclausal construction which has a dispositional interpretation ('x feels like V-ing') but no overt dispositional element. The paper is a detailed study of the construction as it is realized in Slovenian, although similar constructions are found in some other languages, most notably Slavic. We argue that the construction is best analyzed as biclausal, containing a covert matrix psych-predicate. We thus go against the monoclausal treatment proposed by Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard (2003). The discussion touches on a number of theoretical issues, such as (deficient) clausal complements, the phase theory, adverbial syntax, and the sententialist/intensionalist debate on intensionality.

### 1. Introduction – overt syntax of the FEEL-LIKE construction

In this paper we discuss the apparently monoclausal Slovenian construction in (1), found also in other, mostly Slavic languages, and argue that it is best analyzed as biclausal, containing a covert matrix psych-predicate. We thus go against the monoclausal treatment proposed by Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard (2003) [henceforth R&MS].<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. Temle Slovincem se hribolazi.  
*These Slovenian<sub>DAT,Masc,Pl</sub> SE mountain-climb<sub>3P,Sg,Pres</sub>*  
 These Slovenians feel like mountain-climbing.
- b. Lini se je jedlo cmoke.  
*Lina<sub>DAT,Fem</sub> SE AUX<sub>3P,Sg,Past</sub> eat<sub>Sg,Neu</sub> dumplings<sub>ACC,Masc,Pl</sub>*  
 Lina felt like eating dumplings.

A striking aspect of the construction is the fact that its meaning corresponds to what is typically conveyed with two (event-introducing) verbal forms (or other primary predicates)—note the English prose translation of (1a) with its *feel like* (or *be in the mood for*) and *mountain-climb*—

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<sup>1</sup> Unless stated otherwise, our examples are from Slovenian. As the construction has a colloquial flavor, many examples come from colloquial Slovenian (younger-population Ljubljana speech). While the grammaticality judgements reported do not depend on the presence of some intensifying adverbs or modalizing particles, which is why we mostly avoid their use in our examples, the construction *does* typically co-occur with such elements. Neutral intonation is assumed on examples throughout the paper.

while its surface form only exhibits one verbal form/primary predicate, i.e. *hribolazi* 'mountain-climb'. Another striking aspect, first noted in Marušič & Žaucer (2004), is the tense morphology on the verb. As is evident from the glosses in (1b), the tense inflection on the verb modifies the FEEL-LIKE predicate, not the overt verb's predicate (*eat*), so that the past tense morphology on the verb denotes a past disposition rather than a disposition towards a past event, while the present tense morphology of (1a) yields a present disposition. In recognition of its meaning, we will call the construction in (1) the *FEEL-LIKE construction* (other names in the literature include Dative Impersonal (Dispositional) Reflexive Construction, Dative Existential Disclosure Construction, desiderative inversion, etc.).

The subject of the FEEL-LIKE construction is in dative case, and since agreement on the verb in Slovenian is closely tied to nominative case assignment, the gender, person, and number inflection on the verb in the FEEL-LIKE construction does not agree with the subject. Rather, it is always *neuter*, *3<sup>rd</sup> person*, *singular*, which Benedicto (1995) and R&MS see as default. *Se* in (1) is formally the reflexive-pronoun clitic, occurring also in passives, middles, impersonal constructions, etc. Loosely following Rivero (2004), we see *se* as non-active morphology.

At various points, we will be contrasting the covert FEEL-LIKE construction with its paraphrase with an overt matrix predicate, (3), i.e. with a biclausal construction with an overt psych-predicate 'feel-like'. We will argue that the most prominent difference between the two reduces to the fact that the matrix verb *luštati* in (3) replaces a near-synonymous phonologically null verb in (2), while the *structures* of (2) and (3) are essentially parallel.

- |     |                             |           |                                |                             |                                   |                                |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (2) | Gabru                       | se        | pleše.                         | ➔                           | '(covert) FEEL-LIKE construction' |                                |
|     | <i>Gaber</i> <sub>DAT</sub> | <i>SE</i> | <i>dance</i> <sub>3P.Sg</sub>  |                             |                                   |                                |
|     | Gaber feels like dancing.   |           |                                |                             |                                   |                                |
|     |                             |           |                                |                             |                                   |                                |
| (3) | Gabru                       | se        | lušta                          | plesati.                    | ➔                                 | 'overt 'feel-like' paraphrase' |
|     | <i>Gaber</i> <sub>DAT</sub> | <i>SE</i> | <i>desire</i> <sub>3P.Sg</sub> | <i>dance</i> <sub>INF</sub> |                                   |                                |
|     | Gaber feels like dancing.   |           |                                |                             |                                   |                                |

Apart from inversion accounts in Relational Grammar (Hubbard 1985), the similar-spirited Schoorlemmer (1994a), and Kallulli's (1999) Pustejovskyan event-(de)composition account, the idea shared by all previous analyses—most elaborated in R&MS—is a monoclausal structure (i.e. a single VP) with a high modal functional head introducing the 'feel-like' interpretation (Franks 1995, Benedicto 1995, Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1999, R&MS, Rivero 2003). We will, in contrast, advocate a biclausal structure for the FEEL-LIKE construction (i.e. two VPs with their associated functional projections), with a covert matrix predicate instantiated by a null (Belletti & Rizzi's 1988 class 3) psych-verb FEEL-LIKE. The properties of the FEEL-LIKE construction mentioned in the preceding paragraphs will be shown to fall out naturally.

Our analysis thus identifies a hidden *matrix* predicate and thereby confirms the logical possibility predicted, for instance, in the den Dikken *et al.* (1996) analysis of intensional transitive verbs. In the same vein, the analysis bears on the debate between the sententialist and the intensionalist approach to intensionality. On a quite different note, the paper explores the behavior of a deficient sentential complement, together with its consequences for our understanding of the phase-based theory of syntax. Finally, our null verb FEEL-LIKE relates to van Riemsdijk's (2002) case for letting independent, phonologically null lexical verbs into modern (post-generative-semantics) linguistic theory (going beyond the more common accounts with a null *have* as in Larson *et al.* (1997)).

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents the initial motivation for the biclausal structure laid out in section 3. In section 4, we provide six additional arguments for favoring a biclausal structure of the FEEL-LIKE construction. Section 5 presents the FEEL-LIKE construction in Serbian and gives a typology of FEEL-LIKE constructions. Section 6 looks at the semantics of the construction and discusses some theoretical implications of a biclausal structure and a covert matrix predicate. Section 7 defends a null verb FEEL-LIKE against an account with (specified) ellipsis and discusses the licensing/recoverability of the null verb. Section 8 concludes the paper.

## 2. Temporal adverb(ial)s, VPs and modal FPs

### 2.1 Temporal adverb(ial)s

*2.1.1 The classic argument with intensional transitive verbs* If the FEEL-LIKE construction has monoclausal syntax, it should be subject to any restrictions that obtain in other monoclausal constructions. Conversely, if it has biclausal syntax, it should pattern with biclausal constructions. This section offers the standard argument for biclausality—temporal adverbial modification—which will motivate our proposal in section 3.

Constructions with clausal complements bring about ambiguity of temporal adverb(ial)s, as in (4), where *tomorrow* can either modify the 'needing' or the 'having'. On the first reading, *tomorrow* describes the time when Max will have the need to have the bicycle at some unspecified later time. On the second reading, it is the needing that occurs at an unspecified time between now and tomorrow, when the having is interpreted to occur. It has been pointed out by Ross (1976), Partee (1974), McCawley (1979), Dowty (1979), den Dikken *et al.* (1996), Larson *et al.* (1997), among others, that the same type of interpretational ambiguity arises with adverb(ial)s in superficially monoclausal sentences with intensional transitive verbs, as in (5).

- (4) Max will need to have a bicycle tomorrow. (Larson *et al.* 1997)  
 (5) Max will need a bicycle tomorrow. (Larson *et al.* 1997)

Furthermore, McCawley (1979) observes that clausal complement constructions as well as sentences with intensional transitive verbs even allow non-agreeing temporal adverb(ial)s (positional adverbials referring to distinct points in time), as in (6) and (7), respectively. On the other hand, such non-agreeing adverb(ial)s are impossible in ordinary monoclausal constructions, (8).

- (6) Tomorrow Jim will want to have a new bike in two weeks.  
 (7) Tomorrow Jim will want a new bike in two weeks.  
 (8) \*Tomorrow Jim will play basketball in two weeks.

These facts have been captured with a unifying analysis of clausal complement constructions and intensional transitive verbs setting them apart from ordinary monoclausal constructions. The structure of intensional transitive verbs would thus—in one form or another—implement the idea of a concealed clausal complement (Ross 1976, etc.), with the simplest version given in (9). The proposed structure draws a direct parallel with the structure of clausal complement constructions,

(10), with the only difference hiding in the fact that in the case of intensional transitive verb constructions, the lower clause contains a covert predicate HAVE.

- (9) Yesterday Jim wanted [PRO TO-HAVE a new bike tomorrow]  
 (10) Yesterday Jim wanted [PRO to have a new bike tomorrow]

Put very intuitively, one event can only be ascribed to one time. On a treatment such as Larson's (1988) (cf. also Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2004), where temporal adverbs are basically treated as temporal adverbials and thus as originating inside VP, one can only accommodate two temporal adverb(ial)s with stacking, where one is a further specification of the other. However, directly opposing adverbials such as *yesterday* and *tomorrow* cannot be stacked in this way. Therefore, non-agreeing adverbs can only come from distinct syntactic clauses, from two different VPs. Also, as Larson *et al.* (1997) point out, there seems to be no plausible alternative to (hidden) biclausality for explaining the contrast between the possibility of adverbial ambiguity/doubling with intensional transitive verbs and its absence with extensional transitive verbs.

*2.1.2 The classic argument applied to the FEEL-LIKE construction* Turning to the FEEL-LIKE construction, observe, first, that adverb(ial)s in this construction exhibit ambiguous interpretation, just as they do in clausal complement constructions and sentences with intensional transitive verbs. *Včeraj* 'yesterday' in (11) can either modify the dispositional FEEL-LIKE predicate or the 'climbing' predicate.<sup>2</sup> Second, observe that the paraphrase of the FEEL-LIKE construction, the overt 'feel-like' construction in (12), admits non-agreeing adverb(ial)s. And indeed, just like (12), the FEEL-LIKE construction also admits non-agreeing adverb(ial)s, (13), making it parallel to the construction with an obvious clausal complement rather than to monoclausal constructions such as (8) above.

- (11) Črtu se je včeraj šlo na Rž.  
*Črt*<sub>DAT</sub> *SE* *AUX*<sub>Past</sub> *yesterday* *go* *to* *Rž*  
 Črt felt like [climbing Mt. Rž yesterday].  
 Yesterday, Črt felt like [climbing Mt. Rž].
- (12) Včeraj se mi ni luštalo [iti jutri domov].  
*yesterday* *SE* *I*<sub>DAT</sub> *AUX*<sub>Neg,Past</sub> *feel-like* *go*<sub>INF</sub> *tomorrow* *home*  
 Yesterday, I didn't feel like going home tomorrow.
- (13) Včeraj se mi ni šlo jutri domov.  
*yesterday* *SE* *I*<sub>DAT</sub> *AUX*<sub>Neg,Past</sub> *go* *tomorrow* *home*  
 Yesterday, I didn't feel like going home tomorrow.

The fact that adverb(ial)s in the FEEL-LIKE construction exhibit interpretational ambiguity and that the construction admits non-agreeing adverb(ial)s shows that the construction contains two events related to two different times. Moreover, the dispositional FEEL-LIKE event of, say, (13), is

<sup>2</sup> All examples with the FEEL-LIKE construction occur with the same agreement on the verb (3P,Sg,Neut) as shown in (1a) for present tense and (1b) for composite tenses. When the agreement is not relevant to the point being made (sections 2.1, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.6, 6), we omit it from the word-for-word gloss for reasons of simplicity and clarity.

situated in the past and so the disposition cannot be dismissed as being only a pragmatically derived attitude with contextual anchoring to speech time.

On the assumption that events are introduced only by verbs and other primary predicates that can replace verbs in a sentence (i.e. lexical projections dominated by clausal structure, as in copular structures with an AP), multiple temporally independent events provide evidence for multiple clausal domains. The assumption we are making is neither uncommon nor too controversial; it is obviously in congruence with the vast majority of linguistic data, and in addition, its conceptual simplicity clearly justifies accepting it as the null hypothesis. This assumption seems to underlie any constrained model where the semantics is compositionally read off the syntax, and it has proven fruitful in the study of intensional transitive verbs, causatives (e.g. Travis 2000), serial verb constructions (e.g. Baker & Stewart 1999), event nominals (e.g. Alexiadou 2001), etc. We thus follow the reasoning of Ross (1976), etc., and offer the presence of multiple events in the FEEL-LIKE construction as the first piece of evidence for its biclausal structure. Structurally, double/non-agreeing same-type adverb(ial)s suggest, assuming Larson's (1988) treatment, that there must be two distinct VPs, i.e. two lexical verbs, two clauses.

*2.1.3 Frame adverbials* Parsons (1990: 209) identifies a class of adverbials—he calls them "frame" adverbials—that set the context within which the rest of the sentence is interpreted, (14).

- (14) During the war I ran every day in the afternoon.

The co-occurrence of a frame adverbial and a temporal adverbial presumably does not mean that we are dealing with two clauses. So in reply to worries that the outer adverbial in examples such as (13) could be merely an instance of a frame adverbial, we put forth examples (15a-b), showing that the FEEL-LIKE construction allows both two distinct frame adverbials, (15a), as well as one frame adverbial with two temporal adverbials, (15b).

- (15) a. Med vojno se mi je po vojni hodilo vsak dan na Triglav.  
*during war SE I<sub>DAT</sub> AUX after war go every day onto Triglav*  
 During the war I felt like climbing Mt. Triglav after the war every day.
- b. Med vojno se mi je vsako dopoldne šlo  
*during war SE I<sub>DAT</sub> AUX every morning go*  
naslednji dan na Triglav.  
*following day onto Triglav*  
 During the war I felt every morning like climbing Mt. Triglav the next day.

*2.1.4 Three non-agreeing adverb(ial)s* Although non-agreeing adverb(ial)s of the type presented in sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 have been taken to support a biclausal analysis of intensional transitive verbs (e.g. Ross 1976), it turns out that non-agreeing adverbs are sometimes possible even in more common constructions, e.g. (16) (cf. Vetter 1973, Prince 1974).

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

In view of such examples, one might want to question the validity of doubled adverb(ial)s such as in (13) above as supporting a biclausal analysis of the FEEL-LIKE construction. Two points can be made here. First, one way of accounting for these facts is to make this construction parallel to

the FEEL-LIKE construction by postulating a hidden matrix predicate, something like IT-LOOKS-LIKE or IT-IS-THE-CASE-THAT (cf. Prince 1974), as in (17). Nevertheless, analyzing these sentences as containing a hidden predicate may be controversial and would certainly require more detailed scrutiny than we can afford here.

- (17) Today ~~IT-IS-THE-CASE-THAT~~ you are out of the hospital in a week.

Second, in whatever way such sentences are analyzed, even if monoclausally, they do not present a counterargument to our claim that the double adverb(ial)s in the FEEL-LIKE construction, as in (13), constitute solid evidence for a biclausal structure, the reason being that the FEEL-LIKE construction can host two non-agreeing adverbs *in addition* to the outer adverbial of (17), as in (18).<sup>3</sup>

- (18) Zdajle se mi pa jutri res ne bo šlo v petek domov.  
*now SE I<sub>DAT</sub> PTCL tomorrow truly not AUX<sub>Fut</sub> go on Friday home*  
 Now it is the case/it seems that tomorrow I won't feel like going home on Friday.

*2.1.5 Comparison with modal accounts* Since the major contenders to our biclausal account are the monoclausal modal analyses (e.g. Franks 1995, R&MS, Rivero 2003), in order to make our first argument for biclausality work, we have to show that non-agreeing adverbials of the type found in the FEEL-LIKE construction are impossible in monoclausal structures with a modal. And indeed, the only way double adverb(ial)s may be tolerated in monoclausal structures with modals, as in (19), is on a reading along the lines of example (16); an interpretation parallel to the non-agreeing adverb(ial)s in the FEEL-LIKE construction from (13) is unavailable. As a consequence of this restriction on the interpretation of non-agreeing adverb(ial)s, modals do not—unlike the FEEL-LIKE construction in (18)—allow three non-agreeing adverb(ial)s, (20).

- (19) Zdajle ne bom smel iti jutri domov.  
*now NEG AUX<sub>IP,Sg,Fut</sub> may<sub>Sg,Masc</sub> go<sub>Inf</sub> tomorrow home*  
 Now it is the case/it seems that (tomorrow) I will not be allowed to go home (tomorrow).

- (20) \*Zdajle ne bom smel jutri iti domov v petek.  
*now NEG AUX<sub>IP,Sg,Fut</sub> may<sub>Sg,Masc</sub> tomorrow go<sub>INF</sub> home on Friday*  
 Now it's the case/it seems that tomorrow I won't be allowed to go home on Friday.

We conclude that the temporal-adverb(ial) data we presented constitute solid evidence for rejecting the existing modal analyses as well as good motivation for a biclausal analysis.

## 2.2 Want, feel (like), FEEL-LIKE, etc. as lexical verbs, modals as functional 'verbs'

In terms of its meaning, our FEEL-LIKE predicate groups with *want*-type verbs, or more generally, desire/volition predicates. It will have become clear that we do not consider *want*-type verbs,

<sup>3</sup> We checked the judgements we report in this paper with other Slovenian speakers (of relevant dialect, cf. footnote 1) and in general found no disagreement. (18) is the only potentially disputable example; however, the majority of speakers, once independently made aware of the two options in (13) and (16-7), accept (18) as grammatical.

including our FEEL-LIKE, as functional heads but rather as full lexical verbs ( $V^0$ ) (following e.g. den Dikken *et al.* 1996 and Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2004, and against e.g. Cinque 2003, 2004a, van Riemsdijk 2002). On the other hand, we consider modals such as 'must', 'can', 'may' as functional heads ( $F^0$ 's, situated in the IP-domain, cf. Butler 2003a, Cinque 2004a). We see the basic difference in the fact that *want*-type verbs introduce an event, which in principle comes with its own event time, and that they introduce an argument, while modals introduce neither a separate event nor any additional arguments. Semantically speaking, *want*-type verbs—including FEEL-LIKE and other desire predicates—do *not* introduce a type of modality/modal force (cf. Kratzer 1991, Kearns 2000) but are rather propositional attitude-report predicates (cf. Richard 1990, Heim 1992, Larson 2002). That is, while modals and attitude predicates are both world-creating/ intensionality elements, only modals have modal force; and even with respect to intensionality, *want*-type predicates create a hyperintensional context while modals create a weakly intensional context (e.g. Kearns 2000; cf. section 6).

From the class of desire/volition predicates, 'want' would seem the most plausible candidate for functional status. Nevertheless, there are many formal indications that *want*-type verbs and modals are different; since an elaborate demonstration of this dissociation would require a separate study, we will here merely point at some obvious morphosyntactic differences between the two types of elements (focusing on two of the two languages we use in our discussion, i.e. Slovenian and Serbian). Like in many languages, *hoteti* 'want' in Slovenian admits (superficially) DP-only complements, while modals (*morati* 'must', *smeti* 'may', *moči* 'can') do not. Sentences with 'want' and a lexical-verb complement license nonagreeing adverbs and contradictory depictives, combinations of a modal and a lexical verb do not (i.e. 'want' introduces an independent event time, modals/functionals do not) (cf. sections 2.1 & 4). 'Want' can be modified with intensifying manner adverbs such as *močno* 'strongly', *rahlo* 'mildly' (suggesting eventhood and presence of VP), modals cannot (cf. section 4.5). Related to the fact that 'want' introduces an argument, *hoteti* 'want' can take *that*-clause complements with a distinct lower-clause subject, while modals only take infinitival complements. Next, Slovenian verbs can be turned into some sort of manner adverbs with the affix *-e/(a)je*, as in *molčati* 'keep quiet' > *molče* 'without saying anything', *jokati* 'cry' > *jokaje* 'cryingly'; while *hoteti* 'want' naturally forms this adverb, *(ne)hote* '(un)willingly', the forms are nonexistent with modals (*\*more/\*moraje*, *\*sme/\*smeje*, *\*može/\*možeje*). Similarly, Slovenian verbs undergo productive nominalization; just like *trpeti* 'suffer' forms *trpljenje* 'suffering', *hoteti* forms *hotenje* 'wishing/wanting', but there are no such forms with modals (*\*moranje*, *\*smetje*, *\*moženje*). Furthermore, in Serbian, *hteti* 'want' developed into a future auxiliary; however, when used as a future auxiliary—in some Serbian dialects—*hteti* takes an infinitival complement (*hoću umreti* 'FUT<sub>1P,Sg</sub> die<sub>Inf</sub>'), but when used as 'want', it takes a *that*-clause (*hoću da umrem* 'want<sub>1P,Sg,Pres</sub> that die<sub>1P,Sg,Pres</sub>'). Moreover, when it cliticizes on the verb, the element only functions as future marker (*umre(t)-ću* 'die-FUT<sub>1P,Sg</sub>'), not as 'want' (for which *hoću da umrem* 'want<sub>1P,Sg,Pres</sub> that die<sub>1P,Sg,Pres</sub>' is used).

Note that none of these differences between necessity/possibility modals and *want*-type verbs seems to be explainable in semantic terms, i.e. by attributing the different behavior of *want*-type verbs to a different kind of 'modality'. For example, with regard to the Slovenian manner-adverb facts, one can do something and want to do it, and one can do something and have permission to do it; nonetheless, there is a manner adverb from *hoteti* 'want' (*hote* 'willingly') and there is no such manner adverb from *smeti* 'may'.

We thus treat *want*-type verbs as lexical verbs ( $V^0$ ) and modals as functional heads ( $F^0$ ).<sup>4</sup> As most previous analyses of the FEEL-LIKE construction encode the disposition with some sort of (null) Modal head, though, we will contrast the FEEL-LIKE construction with monoclausal structures with modals (i.e. their only kind, necessity and possibility modals).<sup>5</sup>

### 3. Derivation of the FEEL-LIKE construction

In sections 2.1.1-2.1.4, we presented the standard type of data, which have previously been used to argue for a covert *have* in the complement of overtly DP-taking intensional transitives such as *want*, and which remain unaccounted for in the previous accounts of the FEEL-LIKE construction and hint at a biclausal structure. In this section, we provide an actual implementation of a biclausal syntax for the FEEL-LIKE construction. In a sense, then, we make two claims whose validity is in principle independent: the first one is the more general claim that the construction has a biclausal syntax, the second concerns our actual implementation of the first claim.

We will argue that the FEEL-LIKE construction, (21a), is essentially parallel to its closest paraphrase with an overt 'feel-like' verb, (21b). Speaking rather generally, we will propose that the main difference between (21a) and (21b) is in the overtness/covertness of the matrix verb (other differences are derived in the following subsections), while the variants are structurally the same. The position filled by the overt matrix verb 'feel-like' in (21b) is filled by a near-synonymous null verb FEEL-LIKE in (21a), with both verbs representing Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) psych-verbs of class 3. Note that although null verbs are not very common, they have been proposed for English (den Dikken *et al.* 1996, among others), other Germanic languages (van Riemsdijk 2002), Nimboran (Inkelas 1993), etc. Accepting the overtness/covertness distinction between (21a-b) as fundamental, we will show that all the other differences—such as the location of verbal morphology—follow naturally from our proposal.<sup>6</sup>

- (21) a. Gabru se pleše. → '(covert) FEEL-LIKE construction'  
*G<sub>DAT</sub> SE dance<sub>3P,Sg,Pres</sub>*  
 Gaber feels like dancing.
- b. Gabru se hoče/lušta plesati. → 'overt 'feel-like' paraphrase'  
*G<sub>DAT</sub> SE want/desire<sub>3P,Sg,Pres</sub> dance<sub>INF</sub>*  
 Gaber feels like dancing.

<sup>4</sup> In all fairness, we acknowledge that there are facts—though they seem scarcer and considerably less compelling—that can be seen as leading to the opposite conclusion. For example, Slovenian *hoteti* (also Serbian *hteti*) 'want' can be phonologically reduced (Slo. *ne hodim* 'neg walk<sub>1P,Sg,Pres</sub>' vs. *ne hočem > nočem* 'not want<sub>1P,Sg,Pres</sub>') (cf. Barbiers & Sybesma 2004). Still, phonological reduction or even the morphemic nature of *want*-type predicates in certain languages does not automatically force an FP analysis; see, for example, Travis (2000) for a V analysis of some causative morphemes in Malagasy and Tagalog.

<sup>5</sup> Rivero's (2003) TP-embedding applicative is translated into a ModalP at logical form, so it also falls within the scope of this comparison. On the other hand, as the only such element in the literature, this ApplP lacks a candidate for comparison/testing; still, one can raise theoretical considerations against it, which we will do at several points.

<sup>6</sup> As a reviewer points out, an analysis with a null verb is not the only option; one could also pursue a biclausal analysis with, say, an AP as the primary predicate (i.e. some sort of a copular structure). Though we will not address this issue per se, our reasons for preferring a null verb account should become clear in the course of sections 3 and 4. Briefly, the reasons include simplicity (only a null V instead of a construction-specific null copula and a null A), capturing several parallels with the overt 'feel-like' paraphrase (sections 3 and 4), a natural explanation for the morpheme *se* (section 3.2), a natural explanation for verbal prefixes such as *pri-* (section 4.6), etc.



We will discuss the properties of the two constructions in parallel. If the two constructions only differ in the overt/covert status, i.e. in the phonological make-up of a same-slot lexical item, their syntax should not be too different.

### 3.1 The dative argument

Both sentences in (21) have a DAT experiencer subject. It is far from unusual—both in Slovenian and crosslinguistically—for the argument receiving the experiencer  $\theta$ -role, or more specifically, for the experiencer argument of Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) class-3 psych-verbs, to carry DAT. For example, the experiencer argument of *ugajati* 'to please', another psych-verb of Belletti & Rizzi's class 3, receives DAT case, (22). Typically, the DAT of such constructions is seen as an inherent case that comes with the experiencer  $\theta$ -role and is not related to any particular structure (Chomsky 1986, Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Boeckx 2003, etc.).

- (22) Meti ugaja prepričan v sobi.  
*M<sub>DAT</sub> please<sub>3P,sg</sub> draft<sub>NOM</sub> in room*  
 The draft in the room pleases Meta.

Moreover, even if one rejects the analysis of the DAT as a  $\theta$ -role-based inherent case (e.g. Cuervo 2003), this poses no problem. Whichever mechanism we use for deriving the DAT in (21b), we simply use the same formalism for the DAT in (21a). Since the general issue of DAT licensing is irrelevant for the main point of this paper, we need not commit to a specific analysis.

On the other hand, some other issues regarding DAT experiencer subjects do seem relevant for the present discussion. Mahajan (2004) and Boeckx (2003) note a correlation between the presence of non-nominative/quirky subjects and the unavailability of accusative case that holds in Hindi and to a certain degree in Icelandic. The observation actually goes back to Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) claim that psych-verbs are unaccusatives. To derive the generalization, Boeckx proposes that quirky subjects (usually experiencers, goals, or beneficiaries) merge as specifiers of  $\nu$ QP, which is a projection just above VP and can be seen as some sort of an applicative phrase, akin to Pytkänen's (2002) High Applicative Phrase (cf. also Cuervo 2003).

Similarly to the implementation of Burzio's generalization via a  $\nu$ P that both assigns an agent  $\theta$ -role and licenses ACC case, as in Chomsky (1995), Boeckx proposes that  $\nu$ Q assigns a Quirky  $\theta$ -role (=applicative) while licensing NOM for the object. Unlike  $\nu$ P,  $\nu$ QP cannot license ACC case and does not assign an agent  $\theta$ -role. In addition,  $\nu$ QP exists in the structure only if it assigns an experiencer  $\theta$ -role; but whenever it is present,  $\nu$  cannot merge with it, which results in the unaccusativity of the verb with a quirky experiencer subject.

Assuming the validity of the above mentioned generalization, i.e. that DAT experiencer subjects are indeed incompatible with an ACC object, the FEEL-LIKE construction—having exactly these two incompatible items—would present a counterexample to the generalization. But since, as we claim, the FEEL-LIKE construction is actually biclausal, the conflict disappears. The DAT experiencer is the 'subject' of the upper clause, while the object gets ACC case inside the lower clause. Therefore, we have another argument for biclausality.

According to R&MS, the dative argument is a syntactic adjunct, sitting as an experiencer in the Spec of a ModalP just above TP, and is thus independent of the argument structure of the main verb. In logical form, the dative triggers the operation of Dative Disclosure, with the result of the dative binding the variable of the lower subject position. In a similar vein, Rivero (2003)

treats the dative as an experiencer introduced in a "super-high' Applicative Phrase" (op.cit.) which takes the TP as its complement. In both cases the dative case comes from the additional functional head, with no independent evidence of the existence of such a head, its event-introducing nature. On our account, on the other hand, the dative case comes from the same place where most (if not all) other dative experiencers receive it.

Note also that we have just derived the unaccusativity of the FEEL-LIKE predicate. As we demonstrate in section 4.5, the predicates FEEL-LIKE and 'feel-like' do not tolerate modification with manner adverbials. This is a property observed also with verbs without a passive correspondent—verbs that, according to Cinque (1999), do not really have an active *vP* or VOICEP. We claim that in the case of FEEL-LIKE and 'feel-like', unaccusativity is actually expressed overtly with the non-active morpheme *se*.<sup>7</sup>

### 3.2 *Se* (non-active/argument-manipulating morphology) and Agreement

Non-active morphology is present in the FEEL-LIKE construction in Albanian. As shown in (23), the Albanian non-active morphology seems to be the affixal correspondent of the clitic *se* in the Slovenian and its equivalents in other Slavic versions (cf. Rivero 2004).<sup>8</sup>

- (23) Më puno-het. (Albanian)  
*I<sub>DAT</sub> work<sub>NON-ACTIVE,3P,Sg</sub>*  
 I feel like working. (Kallulli 1999: 269)

Extrapolating from Rivero (2004), we take the reflexive clitic to be an instantiation of NON-ACTIVE morphology. Following the general spirit of Reinhart (2000)—but with a syntactic rather than lexical implementation—we see *se* as reducing the external theta role and thus place it in the head of *vQP*, or non-active *vP*. Essentially the same effect has been ascribed to the "reflexive clitic" for Romance (cf. Reinhart 2000 for references). Note that Grahek (2003) claims that the *se* from the FEEL-LIKE construction is a case of 'inherent *se*' and as such belongs to the lexical verb itself. Motivating this stance is Grahek's claim that the Slovenian FEEL-LIKE construction is not productive and only occurs with a few verbs, and so these verbs are simply listed in the lexicon with the *se* morpheme as their integral part. However, for both authors as well as for a number of other Slovenian speakers we consulted, the claim about unproductivity is misplaced. Also, regardless of a speaker's familiarity with a particular lexical verb in the FEEL-LIKE construction, the FEEL-LIKE interpretation is always available. Rather than saying that in such cases we are simply adding new entries to our lexicon, this beckons a structured approach. On our account, the *se* in the FEEL-LIKE construction is a non-active morpheme just like it is with other unaccusatives, except that it co-occurs with a phonologically null verb (FEEL-LIKE); therefore, we have dispensed with the need for relegating it to an idiosyncratic status such as 'inherent *se*'.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dąbrowska (1994), who associates the dative argument and *się* (= Slovenian *se*) in the overt paraphrase in Polish to the matrix verb 'want' and states that it is the "dative construal" (in contrast to the "nominative construal") that requires the *się*, which, in turn, she sees as an "intransitivizing particle", whose "function is similar to that of a passive marker on a verb in that it indicates that the normal subject-selection principles were not observed" (op.cit.: 1035, 1038).

<sup>8</sup> The Albanian non-active morphology can in fact be realized as an affix on the main verb, as an affix on the auxiliary verb or as a clitic, depending on the tense/aspect/mood form (see Kallulli 1999 and Rivero 1990).

We claim that the non-active morphology in both the covert FEEL-LIKE construction, (21a), and the overt 'feel-like' paraphrase, (21b), belongs to the matrix verb, with no agent  $\theta$ -role and no ACC case to assign. The association of the non-active *se* with the upper verb can also be shown in Russian.<sup>9</sup> Unlike in Slovenian, where the non-active morpheme *se* is a clitic and thus gets placed in the usual clitic position with its place of origin concealed, Russian *-sja*—the equivalent of Slovenian *se*—is an affix attaching to the verb. Now, in the FEEL-LIKE construction, *sja-* attaches to the only available verb (which is actually part of the lower clause):

- (24) Mne ne rabotaet-sja. (Russian)  
*I<sub>DAT</sub> not work<sub>3P,Sg-SE</sub>*  
 I don't feel like working. (Franks 1995: 364)

However, when the FEEL-LIKE predicate is replaced with its overt correspondent, *sja-* attaches high—to the 'feel-like' verb, (25). Since the non-active affix can neither skip clauses nor (in this case) attach to any auxiliary verbs, this suggests that it is indeed part of the matrix clause.<sup>10</sup>

- (25) Mne ne xočet-sja rabotat'. (Russian)  
*I<sub>DAT</sub> not want<sub>3P,Sg-SE</sub> work<sub>INF</sub>*  
 I don't feel like working. (Franks 1995: 373)

A similar point can also be made in Slovenian. Observe that the overt 'feel-like' verb can take a *that*-clause complement, (26). In such cases, it is the matrix clause that contains both the dative and the clitic *se*. Since Slovenian clitics cannot climb out of *that*-clause complements (cf. Golden & Milojević Sheppard 2000), *se* must belong to the matrix clause. Indeed, this *se* has been associated with *hoteti* also for traditional Slovenian linguists, with *hoteti se* 'feel-like' forming a separate dictionary entry in Bajec *et al.* (1994) (cf. also Dąbrowska 1994: 1037-1040 for Polish).

- (26) Hotelo/luštalo se mu je, da bi odšli zgodaj.  
*want / desire<sub>Sg,Neu</sub> SE he<sub>DAT</sub> AUX<sub>3P,Sg</sub> that would leave<sub>Masc,Pl</sub> early*  
 He felt like leaving early. / He had the desire to leave early.

Having *se*—NON-ACTIVE morphology—associated with the FEEL-LIKE predicate presents another problem for the modal analyses. If *se* reflects argument manipulation, then there are argument structure and thematic relations involved, but these are phenomena that functional verbs should not exhibit. This is also problematic for the "super-high" applicative analysis (Rivero 2003), since an applicative head should not host both a DAT argument and NON-ACTIVE morphology.

R&MS, constituting the only previous account that provides a clear analysis of *se*, claim that *se* is a deficient nominative indefinite pronoun. They present various arguments to show the nominative and subject nature of *se*: it can bind a reflexive or reciprocal; it can control PRO; the main verb assigns accusative case while the sentence has no overt subject/nominative DP. In their monoclausal analysis, then, *se* is the subject of the only clause, which in logical form gets

<sup>9</sup> It is not entirely clear whether the Russian construction is really the same as the Slovenian FEEL-LIKE construction. But since the point being made here is interesting for *structural* reasons, we ignore, at this point, the possible *interpretational* differences between Russian and Slovenian. See section 6.4.3 for a brief discussion of the interpretation of the Russian construction.

<sup>10</sup> The affix *sja-* in (24), originating in the matrix clause, is attached to the lower-clause verb. This attachment that skips a clausal boundary is parallel to the tense morphology attachment in Slovenian as explained in section 3.3.

bound by the dative argument. However, all that R&MS's arguments really show is that both the FEEL-LIKE and the impersonal construction, which they see as providing the syntactic skeleton for the FEEL-LIKE construction, have a subject (possibly nominative), but not that this subject is necessarily *se* (cf. also Dobrovie-Sorin 1998). In our biclausal account, both clauses have subjects; the matrix clause has the dative argument as its logical subject (cf. section 3.1) while its Spec,TP hosts an expletive *pro*, and the lower clause has a PRO subject, as we lay out in the following section. The morpheme *se*, however, is treated as is most standard, i.e. as an argument-manipulating morpheme.

### 3.3 The structure

A parallel between the FEEL-LIKE construction, (21a), and its overt parallel, (21b), holds also in terms of gender/person/number agreement. Both variants contain non-agreeing morphology: neuter, 3<sup>rd</sup> person, singular. The only difference is that (21b) has default agreement realized on the overt matrix 'feel-like' verb, while (21a)—having no overt matrix verb—realizes the default inflection on the only possible host, the lower verb.

Note that default morphology is far from uncommon in dative experiencer constructions. When the psych verb *ugajati* 'to please' takes a clausal complement or when it takes no other arguments but the experiencer, it also receives the default 3<sup>rd</sup> person, singular, neuter, as in (27). The same pattern occurs with psych verb constructions in other languages (cf. e.g. Boeckx 2000). Where exactly such default agreement comes from is—although a matter of some controversy—somewhat immaterial for the purpose of this paper. Simply, whatever is responsible for it in (21b) is also responsible for it in (21a). Whether that is a null expletive with default agreement features or something else is quite irrelevant for the present discussion.

- (27) Renati je ugajalo, da je Primož doskočil v telemark.  
*R<sub>DAT</sub> AUX<sub>3P,Sg</sub> pleased<sub>Neut,Sg</sub> that AUX<sub>3P,Sg</sub> P<sub>NOM</sub> landed<sub>Masc,Sg</sub> in telemark*  
 Renata was pleased that Primož landed in telemark.

A more relevant question in contrasting the covert FEEL-LIKE construction and the overt 'feel-like' paraphrase, however, is how agreement morphology can be realized on two different verbs, especially if one claims that they are essentially parallel. Particularly intriguing is the fact that the agreement morphology, which should originate in the upper clause, gets realized on the main verb of the lower clause in (21a). The case of default agreement seems to be paralleled with tense morphology. That is, tense inflection on the lower verb in the FEEL-LIKE construction modifies the time of the FEEL-LIKE disposition, not the time of the overt verb's event. Thus, future morphology in (28) actually signifies a future disposition, not a present disposition towards a future event.<sup>11</sup> This suggests that the tense inflection realized on the overt verb actually belongs to the null FEEL-LIKE verb.

<sup>11</sup> Tense morphology is realized with an affix in the present tense, (21a), and via the use of a suppletive form of auxiliary in the past and future tense (*je* as default-agreement past AUX, *bo* as default-agreement future AUX). The surfacing of the auxiliary thus repeats the pattern of *se*, with the AUX belonging to the upper predicate but, being a clitic, getting placed in its usual clitic position with its place of origin getting concealed, cf. (28).

- (28) Lini se še ne bo šlo ven.  
*Lina*<sub>DAT</sub> *SE* *still* *NEG* *AUX-FUT*<sub>3P,Sg</sub> *come*<sub>Neut,Sg</sub> *out*  
 Lina still won't feel like coming out.  
 (not: Lina still doesn't feel like coming out in the future.)

We will provide an account for the placement of morphology shortly. Note, at this point, that the facts about the interpretation/association of tense inflection in the FEEL-LIKE construction are clearly problematic for a modal analysis (and go unmentioned in all of them), and indeed constitute compelling evidence for a hidden verb.

Let us now turn to the placement and interpretation of some other grammatical elements. Unlike tense, aspect inflection realized on the verb in the FEEL-LIKE construction indeed belongs to the overt verb, not to the FEEL-LIKE predicate. Both examples in (29) present the event of 'feeling-like' (a disposition) from an imperfective perspective (cf. Smith 1997); however, while (29a) expresses a disposition towards a 'playing' event presented perfectly, (29b) expresses a disposition towards a 'playing' event presented imperfectively.<sup>12</sup> Given that aspect is standardly placed lower than (the highest) TP (inside the split-Infl domain) (e.g. Giorgi & Pianesi 1997, Cinque 1999, Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1999), the fact that aspect should be bound to the lower verb and tense to the upper verb does not result in any straightforward contradiction.

- (29) a. Zdejle se mi pa ful odšpila kakšno igrco.  
*now SE I*<sub>DAT</sub> *PTCL* *so* *play-through*<sub>PF</sub> *some* *game*<sub>ACC</sub>  
 Right now I so feel like playing through a computer game.
- b. Zdejle se mi pa ful špila kakšno igrco.  
*now SE I*<sub>DAT</sub> *PTCL* *so* *play*<sub>IMPF</sub> *some* *game*<sub>ACC</sub>  
 Right now I so feel like playing a computer game.

Next, in between AspectP and TP there comes the root-modal phrase (cf. Cinque 1999, Butler 2003a). Example (30), which expresses a disposition towards the permission to V, shows that the complement clause embedded under the FEEL-LIKE predicate can contain a root modal.<sup>13</sup> This suggests that the size of the clausal complement must be larger than stated in Marušič & Žaucer (2004), where the highest projection of the complement is said to be AspectP.

- (30) Zdajle se mi pa jutri ful sme igrat fuzbal.  
*now SE I*<sub>DAT</sub> *PTCL* *tomorrow* *so* *may* *play*<sub>INF</sub> *soccer*  
 Right now, I so feel like being allowed to play soccer tomorrow.

According to Cinque (1999) and Butler (2003a), root modality and epistemic modality are encoded in separate functional projections, with root modality situated below TP and epistemic modality above TP:

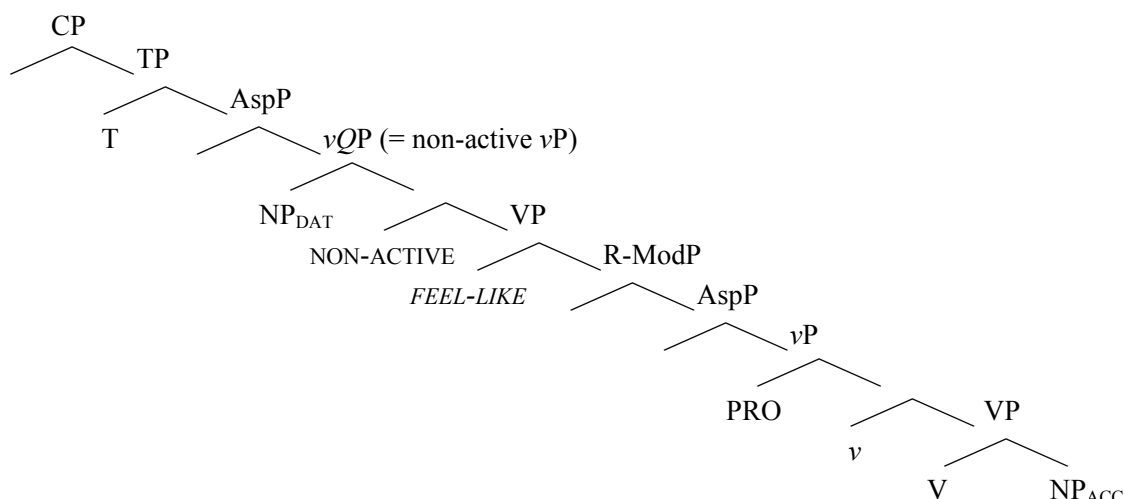
- (31) [FP<sub>EP.NECESSITY</sub>. [FP<sub>EP.POSSIBILITY</sub>. [TP [FP<sub>ROOT.NEC</sub>. [FP<sub>ROOT.POSS</sub>. [...]]]]]]

<sup>12</sup> On this point, we counter R&MS, who state that the Slovenian FEEL-LIKE construction is only grammatical with verbs in the imperfective aspect. While the construction is indeed less productive and dispreferred with verbs in the perfective, such sentences are *not* simply ungrammatical as a class. Cf. section 6.4.1 below.

<sup>13</sup> Overt 'feel-like' examples with the modals sound odd, since Slovenian modals lack infinitives. The forms exist as dictionary entries but do not occur in actual speech. (30) is actually three-way ambiguous as discussed in section 4.1.

Evaluating the complement of the FEEL-LIKE with respect to (31), (30) shows that the embedded clause minimally includes a root-modal projection. On the other hand, we have seen above that there is no morphological evidence for TP. We have therefore established the size of the clausal complement of the FEEL-LIKE predicate—the highest evidenced projection is the Root-Modal Phrase.<sup>14</sup> We thus propose the structure given in (32) (assuming a transitive verb in the lower clause). As to the exact location of the dative argument, we follow Boeckx (2003) and put it in the specifier position of  $vQP$ , the experiencer  $\theta$ -role assigning phrase. Since  $vQP$  is, in addition, responsible for the lack of active  $vP$ , we can assume that  $vQ$  is the locus of *se*, the NON-ACTIVE morphology. Although we leave the Specifier of TP in (32) empty, we are not saying that the position is not filled, violating the EPP. It may well be filled with a covert *pro* expletive with the default agreement features—3<sup>rd</sup> person, neuter, singular (cf. Rizzi 1982, Dobrovie-Sorin 1998).<sup>15</sup>

(32)



The structure represented in (32) is biclausal, it has two sets of functional projections dominating two VPs. However, both the matrix and the embedded clause are deficient. The matrix clause is deficient at the bottom in that it lacks the active  $vP$ , while the embedded clause is deficient at the top in that it has no TP and no CP. Therefore, both the upper and the lower clause of (32) lack a strong phase (Chomsky 2001)—active  $vP$  and CP, respectively. Given that there are no spell-out phases between the lower verb and the upper T, the lower-clause verb is as accessible to the upper T as any verb in an ordinary clause. The lower verb should therefore be able to get the agreement and tense morphology from the upper T, just like any other verb can in

<sup>14</sup> As we would predict, the lower-clause modal in (30) can only get a root reading but not an epistemic reading. However, we cannot submit this as further evidence of the deficiency of the lower clause, since the same restriction on the interpretation of lower-clause modals also obtains with overt 'feel-like' verbs such as *luštati* when they take a *that*-clause complement. The restriction appears to be semantic (it also holds in clausal complements to *hoteti* 'want', *želeti* 'wish', etc.).

<sup>15</sup> As a reviewer points out, when the dative is a clitic pronoun, it follows the non-active clitic *se*. This is surprising in view of our structure. We have nothing to add with respect to the relative order of clitics inside the clitic cluster, except that this kind of reversal occurs even in clitic-climbing examples such as (i):

(i) Prepovedala se<sub>i</sub> mi je [ fentat t<sub>i</sub>].  
*forbade REFL I<sub>DAT</sub> AUX kill*  
 She forbade me to kill myself.

any ordinary construction. Specifically, the lower verb can get the agreement and tense morphology because the upper verb is null and thus unavailable for affix attachment. In case the matrix 'feel-like' is overt, the verbal morphology surfaces on the matrix verb (which wins out against the lower-clause verb on simple economy grounds). Since the lower verb raises at least to  $v$  inside the lower clause, both the upper and the lower verb are inside the same phase. Therefore, although the construction is biclausal in the sense of containing (two sets of functional projections dominating) two VPs, its lacking an active  $v$ P in the upper clause and a CP in the lower clause makes the whole structure, from the lower-clause  $v$ P (where the lower verb has risen) to the upper-clause CP, constitute a single spell-out phase. When the lower verb moves (at least) to  $v$ P, the lower verb and the matrix verb FEEL-LIKE thus end up in the same spell-out phase.<sup>16,17</sup>

### 3.4 Non-simultaneous LF and PF Spell-Out

The FEEL-LIKE predicate takes a clausal complement that is syntactically (at least) a Root-Modal Phrase and, as also stated in R&MS and Rivero (2003), semantically a proposition. The level of the Root-Modal projection does not constitute enough structure for a strong phase in the syntax, for which a CP is needed (Chomsky 2001). Now, if at the point of spell-out things are shipped to LF and PF simultaneously, as claimed by Chomsky (2005), our structure predicts that the clausal complement should not constitute a semantic phase; if, as in Chomsky (2001), units at the interfaces reflect syntactic phases, this is problematic. Just like phonological phrases (prosodic words, prosodic and intonational phrases, etc.) reflect phases on the PF side, elements such as *the proposition*, *the event* and *the fact* reflect phases on the LF (Butler 2003b). Therefore, if the complement of the FEEL-LIKE predicate is a proposition, it constitutes an LF phase, despite the fact that it is not a structural phase. Crucially, then, although constituting an LF phase, the complement of FEEL-LIKE does not constitute a PF phase. Now, regardless of whether affix attachment is implemented with affix hopping, head movement or some feature movement followed by a late insertion of lexical items, we assume that it is always more or less a PF phenomenon, which clearly has no effect on the interpretation (with verbal morphology being just the realization of uninterpretable phi-features on T). Therefore, the fact that such affix-attachment processes can take place despite there being two LF phases should not be too much of

<sup>16</sup> While the absence of TP in the lower clause is well-motivated in view of the absence of tense inflection, one might question such a structure from a semantic perspective since TP is often seen as the head binding the event variable; with no TP, we may not be able to explain the temporal independence of the lower-clause event. Without going into detail, we point out that the Reichenbachian model of Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000, 2004) splits the encoding of temporal information between TP, AspP and VP (cf. also Giorgi & Pianesi 1997). With the TP absent, our embedded clause lacks the position responsible for utterance time. On the other hand, the lower clause does have the level of event time, i.e. the VP, so the temporal independence of the lower-clause event is semantically not problematic. Also unproblematic are temporal adverbs per se, which we assume originate inside VP, as in Larson (1988) and Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2004) (contra Alexiadou 1997 or Cinque 1999, on whose analyses the possibility of a (deictic) temporal adverb associated to the lower predicate would imply the presence of a TP projection in the lower clause).

<sup>17</sup> An issue we do not address is negation. If there are two clauses with two sets of FPs, one would expect that it should also be possible to have two negations, and the presence of sentential negation should be impossible without a TP since sentential negation is in a NegP above TP (Zanuttini 1997). However, although conclusive judgements are obstructed by the fact that FEEL-LIKE is a neg-raising predicate, negation in the complement of FEEL-LIKE seems to be constituent negation rather than sentential negation. Therefore, if sentential negation is indeed impossible in the lower clause, this may in fact support the claim that the lower clause lacks a TP.

a surprise. Obviously, the lower verb must be interpreted without the tense morphology that eventually ends up affixed to it, and which must, of course, be interpreted in the upper clause (as noted above, the tense inflection on the overt lower verb denotes the time of the matrix-verb disposition and not the time of the event of the overt verb). But the whole thing nevertheless seems compatible with both late-lexical insertion models (e.g. Marantz 1997) and post-spell-out affix-hopping-like models. Finally, if semantic features are the only thing that gets sent to the semantic spell-out, then the verb—as a bundle of "phonological" (and perhaps other formal) features—can still move around in the syntax, though its interpretation has been completed.

To rephrase this in more intuitive terms, on the one hand we have shown that the overt verb is interpreted inside the lower clause, which is also suggested by its opacity and relative scope with respect to the scope-bearing matrix-clause verb FEEL-LIKE. On the other hand, the temporal inflection with which it is spelled out clearly belongs to the matrix clause. A single word, forming a single phonological unit/phrase, is thus composed of parts belonging to two different semantic units/phases. We believe this constitutes strong evidence for concluding that PF and LF phases are not always completed at the same time and shipped off to their respective interfaces simultaneously (cf. Sauerland & Elbourne 2002 for a hint in this direction, Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2004 for a proposal involving LF-only phases, and Felser 2004).

Unlike phonological phases, which are determined by the structure—CP and active *v*P—semantic phases can be induced by the selecting verb, as proposed by Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2004). They claim that German 'want' is a lexical restructuring verb taking a complement, which constitutes an induced phase. Since FEEL-LIKE is an attitude report verb, just like 'want', and since one of the Slovenian overt 'feel-like's seems to contain merely a non-active version of 'want', FEEL-LIKE can be considered an LF phase-inducing verb.

#### 4. Syntactic support for biclausality, problems for modal analyses

##### 4.1 Apparent violations of Cinque's (1999) adverbial hierarchy

On Cinque's account, adverbs sit in the specifiers of various functional projections, which follow a (universal) inviolable hierarchy, that is, the functional heads can be merged in one way only, making it impossible to flip the linear order of adverbs. Therefore, if the relative order is reversible, the adverbs in the atypical order must actually originate in separate sets of functional projections, i.e. separate clauses.

The strictly hierarchical behavior of adverbs can be observed also in Slovenian, where *spet* 'again' and *nepretrgoma* 'nonstop' can only appear in the order of (33a) but not in the reverse order of (33b). In Cinque's model (cf. also Alexiadou 1997), this is due to the fact that the functional projection  $\text{Asp}_{\text{REPETITIVE}}\text{P}$ , which hosts 'again', dominates  $\text{Asp}_{\text{DURATIVE}}\text{P}$ , the locus of 'nonstop'.

- (33) a. Boban        **spet**        nepretrgoma    kadi        havanke.  
          Boban        again       nonstop        smokes     Havanas  
          Boban again nonstop smokes Cuban cigars.
- b.\*Boban        nepretrgoma    **spet**        kadi        havanke.  
          Boban        nonstop        again        smokes     Havanas



In a biclausal structure, 'nonstop', which should otherwise come second, can precede 'again' when the latter is part of the lower clause. Interestingly, the strict linear order can, in fact, be violated in the FEEL-LIKE construction, (34a-b). Given the inviolability of the adverbial hierarchy, the admissible reversed order of 'again' and 'nonstop' suggests that the two adverbs in (34b) are in separate clauses with two distinct sets of functional projections.

- (34) a. Bobanu se **spet** nepretrgoma kadi havanke.  
*Boban<sub>DAT</sub> SE again nonstop smokes Havanas*  
 Boban again nonstop feels like smoking Cuban cigars.
- b. Bobanu se nepretrgoma **spet** kadi havanke.  
*Boban<sub>DAT</sub> SE nonstop again smokes Havanas*  
 Boban nonstop feels like smoking Cuban cigars again.

An analysis with two clauses is further suggested by the three-way ambiguity of (34a). If the FEEL-LIKE construction is biclausal and consists of two sets of functional projections, then example (34a), with the adverbs in the relative order in which they come in ordinary sentences, should have three interpretations resulting from three different combinations of merging the two adverbs. The two adverbs can both be associated with either the matrix clause, (35a), with the embedded clause, (35b), or they can each be associated with a different clause, (35c).

- (35) a. Bobanu se **spet** nepretrgoma FEEL-LIKE [kadi havanke].  
 Boban again nonstop feels like [smoking Cubans].
- b. Bobanu se FEEL-LIKE [**spet** nepretrgoma kadi havanke].  
 Boban feels-like [again nonstop smoking Cubans].
- c. Bobanu se **spet** FEEL-LIKE [nepretrgoma kadi havanke].  
 Boban again feels-like [nonstop smoking Cubans].

As expected, no such ambiguity is exhibited in (34b). There is only one way to get the otherwise unacceptable order of the two adverbs in question: the adverbs have to sit in two distinct clauses. Thus, adopting Cinque's (1999) strict linear order of adverbial placement, evidenced by (33), the data in (34) support a biclausal analysis over a monoclausal one.

With this type of data, we can make another argument against a monoclausal 'modal' analysis. Recall from section 2 that the majority of existing proposals of the FEEL-LIKE construction employ a null modal to get the relevant interpretation. Consequently, the presence of a modal should create the same pattern of interpretations that we have just seen with the adverbial pair in the FEEL-LIKE construction. However, as shown in (36) below, the presence of a modal does not license the kind of adverb reversal that we have observed in (34).

- (36) a. Boban mora **spet** nepretrgoma kaditi havanke.  
*B<sub>NOM</sub> must again nonstop smoke Havanas*  
 Boban must again *nonstop* smoke Cuban cigars.
- b. \*Boban mora nepretrgoma **spet** kaditi havanke.  
*B<sub>NOM</sub> must nonstop again smoke Havanas*  
 (\*Boban must *nonstop* again smoke Cuban cigars.)

Note that 'again' and 'nonstop' are not the only two adverbs whose order can be switched in the FEEL-LIKE construction. Other adverbs work the same way. See Marušič and Žaucer (2004) for the same argument with 'still' and 'usually': monoclausal constructions allow only 'usually' > 'still', while the FEEL-LIKE construction allows 'usually' > 'still' as well as 'still' > 'usually'.

In sum, the FEEL-LIKE construction allows what a monoclausal sentence does not (even when it contains a modal FP), so the two are clearly different. Since on Cinque's (1999) account the only way to get the reversed order of adverbs is by having two separate sets of functional projections, we conclude that the FEEL-LIKE construction contains two sets in two separate clauses. In the next section, we turn to potential counterarguments to this reasoning, which stem from some disagreement in the literature on whether Cinque's hierarchy indeed holds and whether it is indeed universal.

*4.1.1. Possible counterarguments* Following Ernst (2002), Svenonius (2002) argues for a semantics-driven distribution of adverbs, which are adjoined to independently motivated projections. Their ordering restrictions stem from their semantics and the semantics of the projections they adjoin to. He motivates his claim by arguing that some adverbs can shift, e.g. *usually* and *no longer* in (37).

- (37) a. After 10, John usually no longer drinks anything. (Svenonius 2002:211)  
 b. After 10, John no longer usually drinks anything.

Two things should be added. First, several of our (and all six of a reviewer's) informants reject (37b). Second, most of the informants that *do* accept (37b) also accept (38), with two *no longer*'s. This indicates that—depending on its relative position—the *no longer* in (37) gets different interpretations, which suggests that it originates in two different positions; this also explains (38). (See Cinque 2004b for more arguments in defense of the strict-ordering stance.)

- (38) No longer does John usually no longer drink anything after 10.  
 (= It is no longer the case that John has, usually, finished drinking by 10.)

To support this argument, we show that the FEEL-LIKE construction allows two such adverbs associated to the matrix predicate. On its lower, non-sentential reading, the Slovenian *še zmeraj* 'still' only combines with imperfective aspect, as evidenced by the minimal pair of non-FEEL-LIKE sentences in (39) (similarly in English, cf. the glosses). Therefore, if the overt/lower verb in a FEEL-LIKE sentence with *še zmeraj* 'still' is in the perfective, as in (40)'s *spiti<sub>PF</sub>* 'drink up', the adverbial can either be a sentential modifier or a modifier of the FEEL-LIKE predicate but not, crucially, a modifier of the lower predicate.

- (39) a. Še zmeraj po deveti še zmeraj pijem svoj prvi pir.  
*still after nine still drink<sub>IMPF</sub> my first beer*  
 It is still the case that I'm still drinking my first beer after nine.  
 b. \*Še zmeraj po deveti še zmeraj spijem svoj prvi pir.  
*still after nine still drink<sub>PF</sub> my first beer*  
 (\*It is still the case that I still drink up my first beer after nine.)

- (40) Še zmeraj se mi celo po deveti še zmeraj spiše svoj prvi pir.  
*still SE I<sub>DAT</sub> even after nine still drink<sub>PF</sub> my first beer*  
 It is still the case that even after nine I still feel like drinking up my first beer.

Although the lower verb is in the perfective, example (40) can still accommodate two instances of 'still', showing that these are possible independently of the lower predicate. (For the same adverb associated to the lower predicate of the FEEL-LIKE construction see (35b-c).) The FEEL-LIKE predicate therefore hosts genuine modifiers independently of sentential-level modifiers.

To conclude this section, we stress that whether Cinque's hierarchy is really universal or not does not affect the status of our argument. Crucially, the Slovenian *spet* 'again' > *nepretrgoma* 'nonstop' are not reversible in ordinary constructions, as shown in (33), while they are reversible in the FEEL-LIKE construction, as shown in (34). The independence of the argument is shown also with the difference in the interpretation of the two orders in the FEEL-LIKE construction and the clear association of the two adverbs with the two different predicates and their corresponding events. In fact, we have shown that the possibility of having two same-type adverbs in ordinary (non-FEEL-LIKE) sentences carries over to FEEL-LIKE sentences in that these can have two same-type adverbs both associated to the matrix predicate, independently of the lower predicate.

#### 4.2 Scopal ambiguity with modals

The FEEL-LIKE construction is ambiguous as to the relative scope of the FEEL-LIKE predicate and root modals. (41) can be interpreted with either the FEEL-LIKE predicate or the root modal scoping higher (cf. (30) above). In addition, when the modal scopes over the FEEL-LIKE predicate, it is ambiguous between a root and an epistemic reading, parallel to the English gloss with *may*.<sup>18</sup>

- (41) Joni se sme igrati fuzbal.  
*Jona<sub>DAT</sub> SE may play soccer*  
 Jona feels like being allowed to play soccer.  
 Jona may feel like playing soccer.

Now, if root modals sit in FPs below TP (Cinque 1999, Butler 2003a) and if the FEEL-LIKE operator sits in an FP that dominates TP, as the modal analyses have it, it should be impossible to get the root modal scoping over the FEEL-LIKE. However, the latter reading is not only possible, it is in fact the more natural one. And more generally speaking, the mere fact that the two "modals" can be understood in either scope relation should be unexpected on a monoclausal modal analysis; wherever the root-modal FP and the FEEL-LIKE FP sit in the tree, their positions should be fixed, with no scope-reversing possible. The same holds if the dispositional reading is attributed to an ApplP (Rivero 2003)—with both the modal and the purported applicative being FPs, their order should not be reversible. On the other hand, if FEEL-LIKE is a null lexical verb, the scopal ambiguity of (41) is in fact predicted. The root modal is interpreted either in the matrix clause or in the embedded clause; the covertness of the matrix verb allows both syntactic structural analyses.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. footnote 14 on the absence of an epistemic reading for the modal when it originates in the lower clause.

## 4.3 Restrictions on complements of aspectual verbs

The aspectual verb *nehati* 'stop'—whether in its perfective form, *nehati<sub>PF</sub>*, or its imperfective form, *nehavati<sub>IMPF</sub>*—requires an imperfective verb in its complement, as shown in (42) and (43) (cf. Schoorlemmer 1994b).

- (42) Tonček je nehal laufati /\*zalaufati.  
*T<sub>NOM</sub> AUX stopped run<sub>IMPF-INF</sub> / run<sub>PF-INF</sub>*  
 Tonček stopped running.
- (43) Tonček je nehal začenjati laufati /\*začeti laufati.  
*T<sub>NOM</sub> AUX stopped begin<sub>IMPF-INF</sub> run<sub>IMPF-INF</sub> / begin<sub>PF-INF</sub> run<sub>IMPF-INF</sub>*  
 Tonček stopped beginning to run.

However, in the FEEL-LIKE construction, *nehati* 'stop' can be followed by either an imperfective or a perfective verb, (44). This suggests that the requirement for an imperfective complement, exhibited by *nehati* 'stop', can be satisfied by the null FEEL-LIKE predicate. This fact remains mysterious on a monoclausal account, with the purported null modal/applicative as a functional null head, since such elements should not exhibit categories such as perfective/imperfective aspect.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, if we are dealing with a lexical verb FEEL-LIKE, we in fact predict that the latter will, apart from the category of tense (cf. above), also exhibit the category of aspect. On a biclausal account, then, the acceptability of (44) is due to the fact that the imperfectivity-requirement of *nehati* 'stop' is satisfied by the covert verb FEEL-LIKE in the matrix clause, while the perfective *začeti* 'begin' avoids the imperfectivity-requirement by being in the lower clause. This is further confirmed by the three-way ambiguity of (44b) (but this cannot serve as a decisive argument in our favor, since the same result is also predicted by the modal analyses), where the overt verbs respect the sequence *nehati IMPF* (cf. (35) for the same effect with adverbs).<sup>20</sup>

- (44) a. Tončku se je nehalo začeti laufati.  
*T<sub>DAT</sub> SE AUX stop begin<sub>PF-INF</sub> run<sub>IMPF-INF</sub>*  
 Tonček stopped feeling like beginning to run.
- b. Tončku se je nehalo začenjati laufati.  
*T<sub>DAT</sub> SE AUX stop begin<sub>IMPF-INF</sub> run<sub>IMPF-INF</sub>*  
 Tonček stopped beginning to feel like [running].  
 Tonček stopped feeling like [beginning to run].  
 Tonček felt like [finishing beginning to run].

<sup>19</sup> Throughout the paper, we use *aspect* to refer to grammatical aspect (i.e. im-/perfectivity). We use this term as it is traditionally used in Slavic linguistics, e.g. Filip 2000, with verbs that are either perfective or imperfective.

<sup>20</sup> A reviewer notes that it is not clear how the tense morphology of the disposition can end up on the highest aspectual verb. We do not have an answer yet, but wish to point out that tense morphology presents a problem for the competing analyses as well, in that it would have to originate in the TP below ModalP/AppIP, but gets realized on the aspectual verb scoping over the modal/applicative. If aspectual verbs are VPs, we have a problem, since 'stop' carries the morphology of the lower Tense (below the ModalP/AppIP of the FEEL-LIKE) and scopes over the ModalP/AppIP. If 'stop' is an FP, either its position seems unusually high (above TP, which is below ModalP/AppIP) or the position of the modal/applicative is unusually low (below both TP and AspP). Regardless of one's analysis of aspectual verbs (FPs or VPs), our analysis fares better than the competing ones, since it explains example (44a).

## 4.4 Depictive secondary predicates

Depictive secondary predicates are temporally dependent on the matrix predicate in the clause. The property they express must hold of the denotation of its subject throughout the extent of the matrix event (Rothstein 2000). Therefore, if two separate depictives are stacked in a single clause/on syntactically (and referentially) the same host, they must hold at the same point/period of time, (45). (Note that depictive adjectives in Slovenian agree in case with their host; for more information on depictives in Slovenian, see Marušič *et al.* 2003a, 2003b.) As a result of this restriction, it makes no sense to stack two contradictory depictives such as *drunk* and *sober*, (46). One simply cannot be both sober and drunk at the same time. Moreover, it is redundant even to the extent of ungrammaticality to stack two instances of the same depictive, for example, *sober* and *sober*. Furthermore, having an ordinary sentence with a dative experiencer and the clitic *se* does not change anything, (47) is ruled out both with two contradictory depictives and with two instances of the same depictive.<sup>21</sup>

- (45) Peter je trezen šel v šolo umazan.  
*P<sub>NOM</sub> AUX sober<sub>NOM</sub> went to school dirty<sub>NOM</sub>*  
 When Peter was sober, he went to school dirty.
- (46) Juš je trezen kuhal # pijan / \*trezen.  
*J<sub>NOM</sub> AUX sober<sub>NOM</sub> cooked drunk<sub>NOM</sub> / sober<sub>NOM</sub>*  
 When Juš was sober, he was cooking drunk / sober.
- (47) \*Jušu se je treznemu kolcalo pijan / trezen.  
*J<sub>DAT</sub> SE AUX sober<sub>DAT</sub> hiccupped drunk<sub>NOM</sub> / sober<sub>NOM</sub>*  
 When Juš was sober, he was hiccupping drunk / sober.

Again behaving quite unlike ordinary, monoclausal sentences, the FEEL-LIKE construction *does* allow two non-stacked depictives (on a denotationally identical host), once again paralleling the behavior exhibited by the overt 'feel-like' paraphrase. The two depictives in the FEEL-LIKE example in (48), with different case marking, are associated with two events occurring at two distinct times. Moreover, since the two depictives are temporally independent (via association with temporally independent events), there is no restriction on having either two contradictory depictives or two instances of the same depictive. The two depictives are not stacked around the same predicate but represent independent structural projections inside two separate clauses. In other words, they are hosted by syntactically distinct hosts with the same denotation.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> In fact, the nominative depictive is impossible in (47) even if it is the only dative subject-oriented depictive.

<sup>22</sup> Given that we argued that the lower clause has no TP, which is standardly taken as the locus of nominative case, one may wonder how nominative subject-oriented depictives as in (48) can be possible at all. We suggest that the nominative on the lower-clause depictive is a realization of default case. Schütze (2001) makes a case for default case, and shows that English uses accusative as its default value while German uses nominative. We note that unlike English, Slovenian also uses nominative, as in the left-dislocation nominals in (i)-(ii) and appositive nominals in (iii)-(iv). Therefore, the nominative on the lower-clause depictive may simply be an instantiation of default case.

- (i) Me, I like beans (Schütze 2001: 210)
- (ii) Tončka, videl sem jo včeraj.  
*T<sub>NOM</sub> saw AUX her yesterday*  
 Tončka, I saw her yesterday.

- (48) Jušu se treznemu ni kuhalo pijan / trezen.  
*J<sub>DAT</sub> SE sober<sub>DAT</sub> not cooked drunk<sub>NOM</sub> / sober<sub>NOM</sub>*  
 When Juš was sober, he didn't feel like [cooking drunk / sober].

The same effect cannot be achieved with monoclausal constructions with modals. The two depictives in (49) necessarily both refer to the same time—whether on an epistemic or root reading of the modal—and (50) with two instances of the same depictive sounds just as bad as (46-47). Once more, the parallel between the FEEL-LIKE construction and modals fails. The fact that two depictives refer to two events, which can take place at different times, strongly suggests a biclausal structure.<sup>23</sup>

- (49) Juš je trezen moral kuhati umazan.  
*J<sub>NOM</sub> AUX sober<sub>NOM</sub> must cook dirty<sub>NOM</sub>*  
 When Juš was sober, he had to cook dirty.  
 When Juš was sober, he must have cooked dirty.
- (50) Juš je trezen moral kuhati \* pijan / # trezen.  
*J<sub>NOM</sub> AUX sober<sub>NOM</sub> must cook drunk<sub>NOM</sub> / sober<sub>NOM</sub>*

#### 4.5 Manner adverb(ial)s and intensifiers

If the FEEL-LIKE predicate is a full verb with its own VP projection, then one might also expect it to take its own VP-adverb(ial)s, such as manner adverbs, say, *quietly*, and different instrumentals, etc. Though such a prediction turns out to be incorrect, it is important to note that the same holds for the overt 'feel-like' paraphrase.

The unavailability of manner adverbs on the overt 'feel-like' predicate does not simply mean that the predicate lacks a VP projection of its own. Rather, the restriction on combining the overt 'feel-like'/null FEEL-LIKE and such modifiers stems from the fact that these verbs are stative (experiencer) verbs. The same incompatibility is displayed by English stative verbs such as *cost*, *have*, *resemble*, etc., as in Parsons's (2000: 84) *\*Brutus has a dog quietly* or *\*Brutus resembles a cat violently with a knife*. This restriction goes back at least to Lees (1960), who also notes the correlation between the availability of manner adverbials and passive transformation, i.e. verbs which disallow manner adverbials also do not allow their NP to undergo passive transformation. In trying to account for the same observation, Cinque (1999) proposes that manner adverbs are Specifiers of VOICEP, Kratzer's (1996) equivalent of active vP. Therefore, the incompatibility of manner adverbs and the FEEL-LIKE predicate suggests that FEEL-LIKE is an unaccusative verb, just as we propose in section 3. The stativity (/the lack of manner adverbs) of FEEL-LIKE is therefore a consequence of the lack of VOICEP/active vP (or the presence of Kratzer's 1996 HOLDERP).

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- (iii) The best athlete, her/\*she, should win. (Schütze 2001: 210)
- (iv) Najboljša športnica, Tončka/\*Tončko, naj zmaga.  
*best athlete<sub>NOM</sub> T<sub>NOM</sub>/T<sub>ACC</sub> let win*  
 The best athlete, Tončka, should win.

<sup>23</sup> A similar case for syntactic biclausality could be made with double dative arguments. In general, there cannot be more than one dative argument per clause, while the FEEL-LIKE construction admits double dative arguments. However, due to unclarity with several types of datives, we will not pursue this possibility here.

On the other hand, both the overt verb 'feel-like' and the silent verb FEEL-LIKE allow a set of adverbials which are typically analyzed as VP adjuncts, and which are not found with modals/functional verbs. Specifically, modals cannot be modified with respect to degree/intensity, even when the modification would semantically seem to make sense. For example, one can naturally express the degree with an overt modifier such as *zelo* 'very much', *pomalem* 'somewhat', etc., (51a-b), and in parallel to temporal adverb(ial)s (cf. section 2.1), the FEEL-LIKE construction also admits opposing modifiers, (51c-d). In contrast, the same type of adverbs is not available with the functional modals; (52) is impossible if the adverb is to modify the modal.

- (51) a. *Zelo se mi lušta plesat.*  
*very SE I<sub>DAT</sub> feel-like dance*  
 I very much feel like dancing.
- b. *Zelo se mi pleše.*  
*very SE I<sub>DAT</sub> dance*  
 I very much feel like dancing.
- c. *Pomalem se mi je zelo razgrajalo.*  
*somewhat SE I<sub>DAT</sub> AUX very make-noise*  
 I felt somewhat like making a lot of noise.
- d. *Zelo se mi je malo tarnalo.*  
*very SE I<sub>DAT</sub> AUX little whine*  
 I very much felt like whining a little.
- (52) \**Zelo/pomalem moram/smem/morem delati.*  
*very/somewhat must/may/can work*  
 (\*I very much/somewhat must/may/can work.)

The fact that these all seem to be VP modifiers (or following Cinque 1999, Specs of VOICEP) and that they modify the 'feel-like'/FEEL-LIKE predicate suggests that the latter is a true verb, overt in one case and silent in the other, rather than just a functional one. It is a lexical head, heading a VP, not a functional head, heading an FP between the VP and TP or above TP.

#### 4.6 (Overt) prefixes on the null FEEL-LIKE

**4.6.1 Basic facts** Slavic languages exhibit a vast array of prefixes, often quite comparable to Germanic particles (cf. Spencer & Zaretskaya 1998). One of the uses of prefixes in Slavic is the inceptive use. For example, when the Slovenian verb *sovražiti* 'hate' is prefixed with *za-*, it has the meaning 'come to hate/start hating'; also, there is a concurrent change of aspect value, so that while *sovražiti* is imperfective, *za-sovražiti* is perfective. An intriguing set of FEEL-LIKE examples with inceptive prefixes exists in Serbian and Bulgarian.

Unlike Slovenian, Serbian and Bulgarian exhibit a restriction whereby the overt verb of the FEEL-LIKE construction has to be imperfective; with perfectives, the construction is ungrammatical. Curiously, though, this generalization seems to be violated in cases such as (53-54), where the verb 'eat'/sleep' occurs in the perfective, bearing the inceptive prefix *pri-* (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1999: 203-4, 212). Since such prefixed cases are the only instances where seemingly perfective verbs are grammatical in the Serbian and Bulgarian FEEL-LIKE

construction, and since they are (semi-)productive (i.e. compositional, though lexically restricted [cf. McIntyre 2002]) rather than idiosyncratic, they call for an explanation.

- (53) Pri-jele su mi se jabuke. (Serbian)  
*INCP-ate<sub>PF</sub> AUX I<sub>DAT</sub> SE apples*  
 I came to feel like eating apples.
- (54) Pri-spalo mi se. (Serbian)  
*INCP-sleep<sub>PF</sub> I<sub>DAT</sub> SE*  
 I came to feel like sleeping.

Recall from the Slovenian-based discussion above that the aspect value of the overt verb indeed sets the aspectual interpretation of the overt verb (unlike tense morphology, which sets the temporal interpretation of the FEEL-LIKE predicate). However, paying close attention to the English glosses, observe that the inceptive prefix *pri-* in (53-54) marks the onset of the FEEL-LIKE event and not of the 'eating'/'sleeping' event, and the perfectivity that results from the prefix-induced inceptivity marks the FEEL-LIKE predicate. The meaning of (53) is thus 'I came/started to feel like eating apples' rather than 'I felt like starting to eat apples'. (Note that Bulgarian, but not Serbian, allows two other prefixes in the FEEL-LIKE construction. *Pri*-like inceptivity can also be expressed by *do-*, and the terminative meaning 'to stop feeling like V' is expressed with *ot-*.)

*4.6.2 Prefix on a null verb* A biclausal analysis of the FEEL-LIKE construction offers a straightforward explanation for these facts. Following the reasoning proposed above with respect to the attachment of tense morphology, we suggest that the prefix *pri-* (also *do-*, *ot-*) in fact belongs to the covert FEEL-LIKE verb but since it is an inseparable prefix, it gets realized on the only possible host, i.e. the lower, overt verb. As to the precise starting point of the prefix *pri-*, we do not really need to commit ourselves, although we point out that on an analysis in the spirit of McIntyre (2004), the prefix may well start out as a prepositional element inside the VP of the hidden FEEL-LIKE verb, from where it moves down to find its host in the lower, overt verb. Just like with tense and agreement morphology, this is possible due to the absence of an intervening strong phase.<sup>24</sup> On such an analysis, of course, these examples no longer constitute an exception to the generalization that the complement of the Serbian and Bulgarian FEEL-LIKE predicate can only be imperfective.

Once more, a comparison between the covert FEEL-LIKE construction and the overt *feel-like* paraphrase offers itself. Consider the Bulgarian examples in (55a-b), which differ in the presence/absence of the prefix and the ensuing change in meaning, with (55a) paralleling an unprefix-ed-FEEL-LIKE example and (55b) a *pri*-FEEL-LIKE example, such as (53). (The verb *iska* 'want' takes a nominative subject when used without the nonactive *se*.)

- (55) a. Iskaše mi se da jam jabülki. (Bulgarian)  
*want<sub>3P,Sg,IMPF</sub> I<sub>DAT</sub> SE that eat<sub>1P,Sg</sub> apples*  
 I felt like eating apples.

<sup>24</sup> Note that even if one places the inceptive prefix in an FP between TP and VOICEP (cf. Cinque 2003: 55), the same absence-of-strong-phase reasoning can be maintained, since the VOICEP of the FEEL-LIKE is a non-active one.



- b. Pri-iska mi se da jam jabülki. (Bulgarian)  
*INCP-want*<sub>3P,Sg,Aorist</sub> *I*<sub>DAT</sub> *SE* *that* *eat*<sub>1P,Sg</sub> *apples*  
 I came to feel like eating apples.

Again, the overt 'feel-like' paraphrase and the covert FEEL-LIKE construction behave more or less on a par, supporting our claim that they should be analyzed essentially along the same lines.<sup>25,26</sup>

**4.6.3 Problems for the modal analysis** It is not clear to us how any account of the covert FEEL-LIKE construction where the disposition is introduced by a functional/modal head could account for these data. Clearly, one would not want to say that *pri-* comes from the lexicon with the verb (e.g. 'to eat' in (53) above), while it modifies a null modal that somehow arises in the construction and is taken to sit above TP. Indeed, it seems that in order to explain how the prefix ends up on the lexical verb when it actually modifies the dispositional predicate, proponents of a modal analysis can only do something similar to what we have proposed, i.e. base-generation of the prefix on a null modal and then affixation to the closest overt verbal host. But if the prefix originates on the modal, then the latter can hardly be a real modal, that is, a functional head. Such elements should not introduce additional structure to license such prefixes, and they should not exhibit the category of aspect, i.e. (im)perfectivity. Rather, the element should be a lexical verb with its own VP. And even if one wanted to take *pri-* for an inceptive-aspect functional head (rather than a VP-internal prepositional element), the latter should sit below TP (cf. Cinque 2003: 55) and should thus not be able to modify the modal predicate, which the modal analyses place above TP.

Prefixes associated to the FEEL-LIKE disposition present compelling evidence for the non-functional/non-modal nature of the upper predicate. Moreover, these data also show that the aspect of the upper predicate cannot be reduced to just default imperfective; the FEEL-LIKE can take on a perfective value as well, clearly showing that the upper predicate contains an Aspect projection (for which an upper-predicate VP is a prerequisite).<sup>27</sup>

**4.6.4 Slovenian** Unlike Serbian and Bulgarian, Slovenian does not have the type of prefixed FEEL-LIKE examples just discussed. If the overt verb in the FEEL-LIKE construction hosts an inceptive prefix *za-* (*pri-* does not exist as an inceptive prefix in Slovenian), then the prefix

<sup>25</sup> Van Riemsdijk (2002) argues that Germanic sentences such as the German *Ich darf ins Bett* (lit. I may to bed) 'I may go to bed' contain a null verb *GO*. In this context, he also discusses apparent combinations of modals and particles, such as (i), proposing that they in fact constitute of a modal embedding a (lexicalized) particle verb *GO aan*. Our claim that the prefix *pri-* in the FEEL-LIKE construction originates on the null verb, i.e. that there is a verb *pri-FEEL-LIKE*, thus actually has a fairly close parallel in recent literature.

(i) Jan kan zijn werk niet aan. (Dutch)  
*Jan can his work not on*

John cannot cope with his work. (van Riemsdijk 2002)

<sup>26</sup> Note that while the Slovenian paraphrase admits both an infinitival complement and a *that*-clause (cf. (26)), the Bulgarian paraphrase only exists with a *that*-clause complement because Bulgarian lacks infinitives. The biclausal and yet *that*-less FEEL-LIKE construction can presumably exist in Bulgarian (and Serbian) because of the peculiar inflection-attachment pattern (cf. section 4.1), which prevents the ungrammaticality that would arise with an infinitive in the complement clause.

<sup>27</sup> Note also that Serbian simply does not have, say, a verb such as *pri-jesti* 'start eating'. The combination of this prefix and this verb exists only in the FEEL-LIKE construction. The same holds for the inceptive *pri-* and the verb *piškiti* 'to pee', which yield the predictable meaning 'to come to feel like peeing / need to pee', while there is no verb *pri-piškiti* 'to start to pee'. This further supports the association of the prefix *pri-* to the null verb, and *pri-* examples such as those in (53-54), in turn, provide support for a biclausal analysis of the FEEL-LIKE construction.

will be interpreted as encoding the inception of the overt-verb's event, not of the FEEL-LIKE event:

- (56) Za-spalo se mu je.  
*INCP-sleep<sub>PF</sub> SE him<sub>DAT</sub> AUX*  
 He felt like falling asleep. (not: He started to feel like sleeping.)

On the one hand, this restriction seems unusual, especially knowing that several overt 'feel-like' paraphrases in Slovenian employ the prefix *za-* (*za-hoteti se*, *za-luštati se* 'come to feel like'). In fact, Bulgarian and Serbian also have *za-* as an inceptive prefix (besides *pri-*), yet in neither of the languages can *za-* be used in the FEEL-LIKE construction; it will be interpreted as inceptively modifying and perfectivizing the lower predicate, thereby yielding ungrammaticality. However, knowing that prefixed verbs are notorious for lexical restrictions and limited productivity (Spencer & Zaretskaya 1998, McIntyre 2002), it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the Bulgarian/Serbian lexicon simply happens to contain the verb *pri*-FEEL-LIKE while it happens to lack the verb *za*-FEEL-LIKE, and the Slovenian lexicon lacks *za*-FEEL-LIKE as well. To substantiate the lexical-idiosyncrasy claim, note that Polish has an overt 'feel-like' construction with the non-active form of the verb 'want' (*się* = Slovenian *se*), which can host both an inceptive *za-* (*za-chcieć się*) and a terminative *ode-* (*ode-chcieć się*), yielding the meanings 'come to feel like V' and 'stop feeling like V', respectively (Dąbrowska 1994: 1040). The direct Slovenian counterpart with the non-active 'want', however, only admits the inceptive *za-* but not the terminative *od-* (*\*od-hoteti se*), despite the fact that *od-* does have a terminative use, as in *od-peti* 'finish singing'. And Serbian *only* has an inceptive-prefixed overt 'feel-like', *pro-hteti se*, while an unprefixed *\*hteti se* (at least in some dialects), inceptive *\*za-hteti se* or *\*pri-hteti se* or a terminative *\*ot-hteti se* do not exist. Bulgarian, however, exhibits both of its non-active 'want' paraphrases (*iska* and *šte*) as well as FEEL-LIKE with three prefixes, the inceptive *pri-* and *do-* (but not *\*za-*) and the terminative *ot-*.

## 5. FEEL-LIKE across languages

### 5.1 The 'passive' variant

5.1.1 *The Slovenian Passive FEEL-LIKE* Apart from the construction discussed so far, where the lower-clause object is in the accusative, (57), Slovenian exhibits a second variant of the FEEL-LIKE construction, in which the object of the overt verb (what would have been the internal argument of a transitive verb) appears in the nominative, (58). Like R&MS, we call this the 'passive' variant of the FEEL-LIKE construction, since the lower clause shows signs of a passive sentence; it has a nominative object agreeing with the verb. Although the passive variant of the FEEL-LIKE construction is less productive than the 'active' variant (with default agreement and an accusative object of transitive verbs), for the most part it allows similar structures. Also, with regard to tense and aspect inflection, the passive variant behaves just like its active counterpart, with tense modifying the disposition and aspect modifying the lower predicate.

- (57) Petru se je cmoke. → 'active' variant  
*P<sub>DAT</sub> SE eat<sub>3P,Sg</sub> dumpling<sub>Masc,Pl,ACC</sub>*  
 Peter feels like eating dumplings.

- (58) Petru se jejo cmoki. → 'passive' variant  
*P<sub>DAT</sub> SE eat<sub>3P,PI</sub> dumpling<sub>Masc,Pl,NOM</sub>*  
 Peter feels like eating dumplings.

We take the upper clause to be the same in both variants (i.e. a null verb FEEL-LIKE, a non-active clitic *se* and a dative subject), and claim that the 'active' and 'passive' variants only differ in their complement. In the 'active' variant, the NON-ACTIVE clitic *se* belongs to the upper clause, and the complement clause is just an ordinary active construction, as derived in section 3; on R&MS's monoclausal account, this variant of the FEEL-LIKE construction is parallel to the (active) impersonal sentences with *se* differing only in the presence/absence of the dative argument. As for the 'passive' variant, we have just said that the lower clause has a passive structure; similarly, R&MS claim that this part of the FEEL-LIKE construction has a passive structure but, crucially, they postulate no upper clause. Both accounts see the clitic *se* in the 'passive' variant—which occurs also in *se*-passive sentences—as the overt realization of the passive (non-active) morphology. (Regarding nominative case on the embedded-clause object of the 'passive' variant, see section 5.2.)<sup>28</sup>

According to our analysis, then, the active variant of the FEEL-LIKE construction contains one *se*, which is located in the upper clause. The passive variant, however, is postulated to contain two *se*'s, one from the non-active upper clause and one from the passive lower clause. (On R&MS's account, both variants have only one *se*, which in both cases comes from the only clause.) Realization of two co-occurring *se*'s is ruled out, presumably as haplogy<sup>29</sup>, so that the passive variant and the active variant superficially look the same, i.e. they both show one realization of the clitic *se* (in its usual position within the second-position clitic cluster). However, it appears that—unlike the active variant of the FEEL-LIKE construction—the passive variant indeed exhibits two *se*'s.

One indication of two *se*'s in the passive variant comes from the fact that *se* seems to exhibit two possible positions in the passive variant but not in the active one. In Slovenian, clitic climbing from the embedded to the matrix clause is optional (cf. Golden & Milojević Sheppard 2000), so that it should be possible to leave the *se* that presumably originates in the embedded clause in its original position. We illustrate the two possible placements for the clitic *se* with the overt 'feel-like' paraphrase, since the effects are more easily observed (and the FEEL-LIKE's overt/covert should really make no difference syntactically, neither on our nor on R&MS's account).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> A new variant of monoclausality is being developed by Kallulli (2004), with the dispositional meaning derived from the suppression of the [+control] feature on little *v*<sup>0</sup> and the bundling of [+affect] and [+act] features. In its present state, this model likewise falls short of explaining any of our data from sections 2 and 4, and in addition, it does not discuss—and presumably cannot derive—the 'active' variant, which is our primary concern here.

<sup>29</sup> Rivero (2001: 175) rules out the sequence \**się się* for Polish (*się* = Slovenian *se*). The same constraint applies in Slovenian. As shown in (i), a reflexive clitic can co-occur with a full reflexive pronoun in finite matrix clauses, but both cannot co-occur as clitics, (ii). In this case only one is realized.

- (i) Metka se je nagledala sebe v ogledalu. / Gledalo se je sebe.  
*Metka SE AUX PREF-watch herself<sub>GEN</sub> in mirror watch SE AUX oneself<sub>ACC</sub>*  
 Metka got fed up with looking at herself in the mirror. / People watched themselves.
- (ii) Metka se (\*se) je nagledala v ogledalu. / Gledalo se (\*se) je.  
*Metka SE REFL AUX PREF-watch in mirror watch SE REFL AUX*

<sup>30</sup> Note that in certain cases R&MS's account likewise predicts that the singly surfaced *se* in the FEEL-LIKE construction in fact realizes two *se*'s. An example is (i), whose lexical verb *pogovarjati se* 'converse' exists in the language only with *se*, while the construction needs another *se*, on R&MS's account, to realize the structural subject.

- (59) Zdele se Petru ful hočjo jest (?se) jagode.  
*now SE P<sub>DAT</sub> so feel-like<sub>3P,Pl,Fem</sub> eat<sub>Inf</sub> SE strawberries<sub>Fem,Pl,NOM</sub>*  
 Right now, Peter really feels like eating strawberries.
- (60) Zdele se Petru ful hoče jest (\* se) jagode.  
*now SE P<sub>DAT</sub> so feel-like<sub>3P,Sg,Neu</sub> eat<sub>Inf</sub> SE strawberries<sub>Fem,Pl,ACC</sub>*  
 Right now, Peter really feels like eating strawberries.

Admittedly, the sentences in (59) should not be taken as good; the judgements in this section are to be read only as relative, with (59) being better than (60). Nevertheless, we believe that the contrast between (59) and (60) suggests that the active variant does contain only one clitic *se*—from the matrix clause—while the passive variant contains two, one from each clause. This is congruent with our analysis.

5.1.2 *The Serbian(/Bulgarian) FEEL-LIKE* The passive variant is the only one exhibited in Serbian/Croatian and Bulgarian. Since the Slovenian passive FEEL-LIKE is rather unproductive, we tested some of its semantic and biclausal properties on the Serbian counterpart. The passive FEEL-LIKE construction is intensional just like its active variant, i.e. an indefinite in the object position can be read non-specifically (cf. section 6 below for more on intensionality). Although most of our Serbian informants are reluctant to accept sentences with double temporal adverb(ial)s (with less reluctance when the matrix-clause one is *now*), they do accept adverb(ial) association to either of the two predicates.<sup>31</sup> (61) is a case where the adverb is not consistent with the time of the disposition, signaling the presence of two temporally independent events, which, in turn, suggests biclausality. And indeed, the time of the FEEL-LIKE disposition is indicated by the tense inflection on the verb, which in itself is an obvious trace of a hidden verb.

- (61) Baš mi se sutra ne ispravljaju ispiti. (Serbian)  
*really I<sub>DAT</sub> SE yesterday not grade<sub>3P,Pl</sub> exams<sub>NOM,Masc</sub>*  
 I really don't feel like grading exams tomorrow.

Also replicated in Serbian was the test with the apparent violation of Cinquean hierarchy from section 4.1 and the test with intensifying adverbials from section 4.5. The aspectual-verb test from section 4.3 is not applicable to Serbian because of the restriction on FEEL-LIKE's complements to imperfective verb forms.

- 
- (i) Maši se ne pogovarja z Dedkom Mrazom.  
*M<sub>DAT</sub> SE NEG converse<sub>3,Sg,Neu</sub> with Grandpa Frost*  
 Maša does not feel like conversing with Father Frost.

<sup>31</sup> The non-agreeing-adverbs test can be replicated in the Slovenian passive FEEL-LIKE construction. Since the passive construction is rather uncommon, though, natural examples such as (i) are hard to find.

- (i) Zdajle se mi pa jutri ful rešujejo matematične naloge.  
*right-now SE I<sub>DAT</sub> PTCL tomorrow so solve<sub>3P,Pl</sub> mathematical problems<sub>Fem,Pl,NOM</sub>*  
 Right now I so feel like solving mathematical problems tomorrow.

## 5.2 A tentative typology

As noted above, the FEEL-LIKE construction (or at least something very similar) is also found in other languages: Serbian/Croatian, Bulgarian, Russian, and genetically distant Albanian. The literature reveals additional languages with examples where the gloss of a sentence without an overt 'feel-like' verb suggests similarities with our FEEL-LIKE construction; see Nelson (2000) and Pylkkänen (2002) for Finnish, Harris (1981) for Georgian, Zepeda (1987) for Tohono O'odham, and Gràcia & Riera (2003) for Catalan. However, we cannot straightforwardly relate these constructions to ours, so we will not discuss these additional languages.<sup>32</sup>

The FEEL-LIKE construction in other languages is subject to various restrictions, and at this point we may not have an answer to every one of them. We thus take advantage of the flexibility of the Slovenian variant to derive the core structure of the construction, which should then open the door to language-specific analyses capable of incorporating the various restrictions of individual languages. Nevertheless, we will now describe the crosslinguistic distribution and restrictions and then tentatively suggest how our account can approach the variation.

As already mentioned, Serbian/Croatian FEEL-LIKE only admits imperfective verbs in the complement clause, and the same holds in Bulgarian. Apart from this restriction, though, the FEEL-LIKE construction of these languages corresponds to the Slovenian passive FEEL-LIKE construction (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1999, Rivero 2004). Their construction is identical with the Slovenian passive variant in (58) also with respect to the verb-object agreement, as shown in (62) and (63).

- (62) Ivici su se jele baklave. (Serbian/Croatian)  
*I<sub>DAT</sub> AUX<sub>3P,Pl</sub> SE eat<sub>Pl,Fem</sub> baklava<sub>Pl,Fem</sub>*  
 Ivica felt like eating baklavas.
- (63) Jadjaxa mi se jabŭlki. (Bulgarian)  
*eat<sub>3P,Pl</sub> I<sub>DAT</sub> SE apple<sub>Pl</sub>*  
 I felt like eating apples.

Since the lower verb in the 'passive' FEEL-LIKE construction cannot assign accusative case, the object must check its features against Tense to get nominative. Immediately, the question arises as to where the DP finds a Tense projection (or *vQP*, following Boeckx 2003). Based on the fact that there was no morphological evidence for a Tense projection in the lower clause, since the tense inflection on the overt/lower verb was shown to modify the matrix predicate, we claimed that the Slovenian 'active' FEEL-LIKE construction does not have a TP in the lower clause. Since the tense inflection in the passive variant also determines the time of the disposition rather than that of the overt-verb event, as shown in (61) above, the passive variant also shows no morphological evidence for a TP in the lower clause. Now, with no TP in the lower clause, the object has no nominative assigning projection inside its own clause. But since nominative case comes from agreement and the latter is closely tied to tense, then the nominative must be coming

<sup>32</sup> A parallel with the Tohono O'odham and the Finnish construction seems clearest. Both of these have a causative morpheme on the verb but lack an overt causer. Nelson (2000) argues that the Finnish causative morphology in such cases actually creates unaccusatives, as it also creates class 3 psych verbs from class 1 psych verbs. This and the default (3 person) inflection that occurs on both the Finnish and Tohono O'odham examples makes the parallel quite obvious. In Tohono O'odham, there is actually an additional desiderative morpheme, and the structure thus seems to correspond to the overt 'feel-like' paraphrase rather than to the covert FEEL-LIKE construction.

from the same TP that also hosts the tense inflection. So, if the only TP with nominative case is in the upper clause, this must be where the nominative is coming from (following Boeckx 2003, the nominative must likewise be from upstairs). Similarly, just like the Slovenian default agreement on the verb of the active variant comes from the TP of the upper clause, so does the verbal agreement (cf. also auxiliary) in the passive (62) and (63).

These agreement and tense characteristics of the passive construction can be further confirmed with the Slovenian or Croatian overt 'feel-like' paraphrase. Just as we would predict, in the presence of an overt 'feel-like' verb in the matrix clause, the agreement and tense morphology is indeed realized on the 'feel-like' verb, (64). Unlike Croatian, Serbian (at least some dialects) does not have a directly related productive paraphrase. While the Croatian paraphrase with the non-active form of *htjeti* 'want' is wide spread, the variant with *guštati* 'enjoy' is dialectal.

- (64) Ivici su se htjele/guštale jesti baklave. (Croatian)  
*I*<sub>DAT</sub> *AUX*<sub>3P,PI</sub> *SE* *want/enjoy*<sub>PI,Fem</sub> *eat*<sub>INF</sub> *baklava*<sub>PI,Fem,NOM</sub>  
 Ivica felt like eating baklavas.

Albanian, a non-Slavic but neighboring language, has a construction that seems completely parallel to the South-Slavic FEEL-LIKE construction, (65) (Hubbard 1985, Kallulli 1999). It has the experiencer in dative case, the non-agreeing/default verbal morphology, the non-active morpheme, and with transitives, the nominative-marked internal argument. Just like in the other languages, the tense inflection on the overt verb actually modifies the upper, FEEL-LIKE predicate, and just like in Serbian/Croatian/Bulgarian, the complement of FEEL-LIKE can only be read imperfectively, i.e. in the default aspectual value. When the overt verb is inflected for 'aorist', an aspectually sensitive past tense (in the sense of de Swart 1998), the FEEL-LIKE predicate is interpreted as completed, (66) (Dalina Kallulli, p.c.).

- (65) Nuk më hahen mollë. (Albanian)  
*NEG I*<sub>DAT</sub> *eat*<sub>3P,PI,Pres,Non-act</sub> *apples*<sub>NOM</sub>  
 I don't feel like eating apples.
- (66) Benit i-u punua. (Albanian)  
*Ben*<sub>DAT</sub> *him*<sub>CI,3P,DAT-Non-act</sub> *work*<sub>3P,Aorist</sub>  
 Ben felt like working (i.e. but he doesn't anymore).

Of the languages we surveyed, Russian appears to be the one with the most restricted FEEL-LIKE construction (assuming that its FEEL-LIKE construction is comparable to the South-Slavic ones). The Russian construction allows only intransitive verbs without a delimiting prepositional phrase or adverb—the disposition can presumably only be directed towards an atelic event (cf. Franks 1995, Schoorlemmer 1994a, Benedicto 1995). (In addition, in order to receive the 'feel-like' interpretation, the sentence has to be negated, for which see section 6.4.3.)

Comparing the three types of languages, an interesting pattern emerges. As shown in (67) below, the types of complement that the FEEL-LIKE head in a particular language allows are not just randomly scattered; they are associated with clausal projections that form a sequence.

(67) *Types of complement to FEEL-LIKE across languages*

	Slovenian	Serbian/Croatian/Bulgarian/Albanian	Russian
Root-ModP – <i>modals</i>	+	–	–
AspP – <i>perfectives</i>	+	–	–
vP – <i>transitives</i>	+	+	–
VP – <i>atelic intransitives</i>	+	+	+

Assuming a rigid (universal) clausal structure (cf. Cinque 1999), it seems that the difference is in the amount of structure in the complement of the FEEL-LIKE, (68). In Slovenian, with the most permissive FEEL-LIKE construction, the complement is a phrase minimally smaller than TP—we propose Root-ModP—allowing modal and aspectual verbs in the scope of the FEEL-LIKE, and also perfective verbs. In Serbian, Croatian and Bulgarian, the complement is a more deficient clause, whose highest projection is  $vQP$  ( $= v^*P$ ), while an Aspect projection is missing. Since in Slavic the imperfective is the unmarked value for aspect (cf. e.g. Orešnik 1994), verbs in the imperfective can be seen merely as an instantiation of the default aspect option. While Albanian also falls in the  $vQP$  group, in Russian, the language with the most restrictive construction, the complement seems to be smaller than  $vP$ .

$$(68) \quad \textit{Slovenian} \quad \textit{Bulgarian/Serbian/Croatian/Albanian} \quad \textit{Russian}$$

$$\text{Root-ModP} > \dots > \quad vQP (= v^*P) \quad > \dots > \quad VP$$

Though our discussion does not constitute an explanation of why a particular language allows a particular type of complement to the FEEL-LIKE verb, it nonetheless suggests that the crosslinguistic variation concerning the FEEL-LIKE construction is not just random but can be captured in a pattern. It all depends on the size of the complement the FEEL-LIKE selects in a certain language. The variation is thus manifested in the size of the complement of the FEEL-LIKE head, but the variation itself hides in the FEEL-LIKE verb, i.e. in the lexicon. On the other hand, if the FEEL-LIKE were a modal (or applicative) head and if we assume that FPs have fixed positions in clausal structure, one would not predict the possibility for the FEEL-LIKE head to occur in just any functional position and freely choose the size of its complement. The very fact that we do find variation may therefore be taken as another argument against a modal/functional analysis of the FEEL-LIKE construction.

Note finally that since FEEL-LIKE is an LF phase-inducing verb, the complement of FEEL-LIKE will always be a proposition, regardless of its size, thereby explaining the crosslinguistically parallel semantics of the FEEL-LIKE constructions despite different syntactic details. (If the restrictions of the Russian FEEL-LIKE construction really derive from a VP-only complement, rather than a (passive)  $vP$ -complement, then this may be problematic for the claim that the complement of Russian FEEL-LIKE is a proposition. We leave this issue open.)

## 6. The (intensional) semantics of the FEEL-LIKE construction

In this section we introduce the issue of intensionality, present three characteristics of intensional contexts (cf. e.g. Larson 2002), and use them to show that the FEEL-LIKE construction creates an intensional context. If one adopts sententialism (cf. below), the construction's intensionality lends further support to a biclausal analysis, or, approached from the opposite angle, our biclausal analysis offers support for sententialism (by reducing a possible counter example). We

conclude the section with a discussion of the precise interpretation/lexical semantics of FEEL-LIKE.

### 6.1 Diagnosing intensionality

The basic ideas about intensionality go all the way back to Frege (1892). According to Partee (1974: 83), a grammatical construction is *extensional* if the extension of the whole is a function of the extension of the parts, while a construction is *intensional* if the extension of the whole is a function of the intensions of one or more parts and the extensions of the remaining parts.

One characteristic of intensional contexts concerns substitutivity. Specifically, substitution of a coreferring term in extensional/transparent contexts such as (69) necessarily preserves the truth value of the proposition, so that—with *J. Garland* being *F. E. Gumm's* stage name—the truth of the sentence in (69a) entails the truth of (69b). By contrast, in an intensional/opaque context, such a substitution does not necessarily preserve truth, and so although *J. Garland* was just *F. E. Gumm's* stage name, the truth of (70a) does not entail the truth of (70b).<sup>33</sup>

- (69) a. Jim met Frances Ethel Gumm.     $\implies$     (69b)  
       b. Jim met Judy Garland.
- (70) a. Jim believed [<sub>CP</sub> Frances Ethel Gumm was in the movie].     $\neq \implies$  (70b)  
       b. Jim believed [<sub>CP</sub> Judy Garland was in the movie].

The second contrast between extensional and intensional contexts concerns the interpretation of indefinite DPs. An indefinite DP in an extensional context shows no ambiguity: the indefinite DP in (71a) can only be read specifically. An indefinite DP in an intensional context, however, is ambiguous, and so (71b) can also be read non-specifically, Jim may have simply believed that there was a famous actress in the movie but did not have a specific one in mind.

- (71) a. Jim met a famous actress.  
       b. Jim believed [<sub>CP</sub> a famous actress was in the movie].

Thirdly, related to the non-specific reading of an indefinite DP is the fact that the presence of a non-referring term in an intensional context need not yield falsity. While (72a) can be true despite the fact that the noun *unicorn* does not have a referent in our world, a non-referring term in an extensional context necessarily yields falsity, (72b).

- (72) a. Jim believed [<sub>CP</sub> he saw a unicorn cross-country skiing].  
       b. #Jim met a unicorn.

Observe now that of the examples (69) to (72), those that exhibit intensionality—(70), (71b) and (72a)—all contain a matrix clause and an embedded clausal complement (note the bracketing).

<sup>33</sup> The validity of this test has been questioned, e.g. Saul (1997a) and Zimmermann (2005). There is an unsettled debate going on in the literature regarding this issue; without getting involved, we adopt the test as a valid diagnostic for distinguishing opaque and transparent contexts. See Forbes (1997, 2000) for a defense of this test, and Forbes (1999), Moore (1999), Saul (1997b, 1999), Predelli (1999) for further discussion of the issue.



On the other hand, the sentences we offered as showing a lack of intensionality effects—(69), (71a) and (72b)—are all simple transitive constructions with no embedded clausal complement. In other words, there seems to be a correlation between grammatical structure and intensionality: simple sentences do not create intensional contexts, clausal complementation does.

The observation of this correlation has motivated one of the two major ways of analyzing intensionality, namely the sententialist approach, as opposed to the intensionalist approach. *Intensionalism* holds that "intensionality is more the norm than the exception for grammatical relations" (Partee 1974: 81), that "intensions are centrally involved in the semantic interpretation of all or most grammatical relations" (op. cit.: 100). Intensionalism has been argued for, among others, by Montague (1974) and Kratzer (1981), primarily on the basis of several intensional contexts which do not involve overt clausal complementation, such as intensional transitive verbs (e.g. *want*, *look for*, *worship*) with DP complements, intensional adjectives (e.g. *alleged*) and intensional adverbs (e.g. *possibly*, *allegedly*). On the other hand, *sententialism* (in Forbes' [forthcoming] terminology *propositionalism*) holds that intensionality does not arise just anywhere in language, but that it is instead intimately linked to a specific grammatical structure (e.g. McCawley 1970, Larson & Ludlow 1993, Parsons 1997, Larson 2002). The sententialist approach allows a more restrictive and thus theoretically more appealing account of intensionality. Specifically, intensionality is confined to structures with clausal complements, be the latter overt or covert. Consequently, if all intensional contexts are reduced to contexts of clausal complementation, a uniform semantic analysis—for example the Interpreted Logical Forms algorithm of Larson and Ludlow (1993)—can be used for all of them.

In the sententialist spirit, biclausal analyses with a covert clausal complement have been proposed for intensional transitive verbs such as *want*, *need*, etc. (e.g. McCawley 1970, den Dikken *et al.* 1996), thereby explaining the semantic characteristics of such constructions and their syntactic peculiarities (cf. section 2.1.1) in one fell swoop. A simplified structure for intensional transitive verbs is given in (73), where the covert embedded verb is HAVE.

(73) John will need [PRO TO-HAVE a bicycle].

## 6.2 Intensionality of the FEEL-LIKE construction

Let us now test the Slovenian FEEL-LIKE construction for the three distinguishing characteristics of intensionality. First, (74) shows that the substitution of coreferring terms in the FEEL-LIKE construction need not preserve truth (where *M. Bor* was the literary and Partisan pseudonym of *V. Pavšič*). The truth of (74a) does not entail the truth of (74b).

- (74) a. Črtu se bere Mateja Bora.                     $\neq \Rightarrow$  (74b)  
           Črt<sub>DAT</sub> SE read Matej<sub>ACC</sub> Bor<sub>ACC</sub>  
           Črt feels like reading (poetry by) Matej Bor.
- b. Črtu se bere Vladimirja Pavšiča.  
           Črt<sub>DAT</sub> SE read Vladimir<sub>ACC</sub> Pavšič<sub>ACC</sub>  
           Črt feels like reading (poetry by) Vladimir Pavšič.

Second, the FEEL-LIKE construction allows both a specific and a non-specific reading of indefinite DPs, and (75) can describe a situation where the person *Tonček* feels like talking to is

either a specific Partisan or just any Partisan. And finally, (76) shows that non-referring terms in the FEEL-LIKE construction do not yield falsity, so that (76) can be true even though the name *Zeus* does not have a referent in our world.

(75) Tončku se pogovarja s partizanom.  
*Tonček*<sub>DAT</sub> *SE* talk with *Partisan*<sub>INST</sub>  
 Tonček feels like talking to a Partisan.

(76) Maši se objema Zeusa.  
*Maša*<sub>DAT</sub> *SE* hug *Zeus*<sub>ACC</sub>  
 Maša feels like hugging Zeus.

To summarize the above, the FEEL-LIKE construction has intensional semantics. Our biclausal analysis of this intensional construction thus provides support for the sententialist approach to intensionality, by extending the den Dikken *et al.* (1996) concealed-verb analysis of intensional transitive verbs to include a different kind of null verb, i.e. a matrix covert predicate. In fact, their account not only leaves this as a logical possibility but actually predicts it, and our FEEL-LIKE predicate is an attestation of this theoretical prediction. At the same time, the construction's intensional semantics offers additional support to our claim that the FEEL-LIKE construction has a (covertly) biclausal structure. For the intensionalist we may also note that while anti-sententialists object to a biclausal analysis of *all* intensional contexts, at least some of them seem to accept a biclausal analysis for the *want/need/long for* class of intensional transitive verbs (cf. Partee 1974, Forbes, forthcoming), which is where our FEEL-LIKE would also fit.

### 6.3 Modals and intensionality (strong/hyper- vs. weak intensionality)

Depending on their behavior with respect to the test of substitutivity, intensional contexts can be divided into hyperintensional and weakly intensional ones. Simple modal structures fail this test: the substitution of co-referring terms in (77) necessarily preserves truth (*Chomolungma* is the Tibetan name for *Mt. Everest*). Because they lack this property, modals are said to create weakly intensional contexts (e.g. Kearns 2000).

(77) Črt might climb Chomolungma.  $\implies$  Črt might climb Mt. Everest.

Unlike modals, intensional transitive verbs and other instances of clausal complementation do not allow substitution of co-referring terms and thus create a hyperintensional context (e.g. Kearns 2000). Given that modal contexts are only weakly intensional, a modal analysis of the FEEL-LIKE construction (e.g. R&MS, Franks 1995, Benedicto 1995) predicts that the construction will *not* be hyperintensional, contrary to fact (cf. section 6.2, examples (74a-b)). To pair up the modal example in (77) with its FEEL-LIKE counterpart, consider (78), where the entailment of (77) fails; (78a) does not entail (78b). This semantic difference provides further evidence against a modal analysis of the FEEL-LIKE construction.

(78) a. Vidu se osvaja Chomolungmo.  $\neq \implies$  (78b)  
*Vid*<sub>DAT</sub> *SE* conquer *Chomolungma*<sub>ACC</sub>  
 Vid feels like conquering Chomolungma.

- b. Vidu se osvaja Everest.  
*Vid<sub>DAT</sub> SE conquer Mt. Everest<sub>ACC</sub>*  
 Vid feels like conquering Mt. Everest.

By providing a biclausal analysis of the FEEL-LIKE construction, we can maintain the sententialist, i.e. the stricter and thus theoretically preferable approach to intensionality. Moreover, this type of hidden predicate in the matrix clause in fact attests a logical possibility in, among others, the McCawley (1979) or den Dikken *et al.* (1996) analysis of intensional transitive verbs, where the hidden predicate is in the clausal complement.

#### 6.4 More on the interpretation of FEEL-LIKE

6.4.1 "Indefinite yearning" The empty verb FEEL-LIKE does not have a single unambiguous interpretation. Its interpretation varies a little within Slovenian as well as across the languages exemplifying the FEEL-LIKE construction. The interpretation and its variation is the subject of this section.

It is difficult to pin down the precise meaning of the predicate FEEL-LIKE. Just as this proves difficult for the English *feel-like*, so it does for FEEL-LIKE. Dąbrowska (1994) discusses the Polish overt 'feel-like' construction with a non-active *chcieć* 'want' with *się* (= Slovenian *se*) and a dative subject, contrasting it with the ordinary 'want' construction with the active *chcieć* 'want' and a nominative subject. She ascribes the meaning of a "definite desire/intention" to the latter construction and the meaning of "wistful longing" or "indefinite yearning" to the former (op.cit.: 1037, 1039). The Slovenian FEEL-LIKE likewise expresses something along the lines of 'wistful longing/indefinite yearning', a wish which is not fully explicable, which does not have a rationally dissectable motivation, a wish for something which we think we might enjoy.

Indeed, this 'indefinite-yearning' component seems to be at the root of a general dispreference for perfective complements in the Slovenian FEEL-LIKE construction (cf. footnote 11). The dispreference is not, however, a simple ban (contra R&MS). Observe that examples with a transitive lower verb in the perfective are possible with an indefinite direct object, (79a). Changing the indefinite *a/some article* in (79a) for a definite such as *Derivation by Phase*, though, makes the sentence more or less unacceptable, (79b).

- (79) a. Zdejle se mi pa ful prebere kakšen člank.  
*now SE I<sub>DAT</sub> PTCL so read-through<sub>PF</sub> some article<sub>ACC</sub>*  
 Right now I so feel like reading through some article.
- b. \*Zdejle se mi pa ful prebere "Derivation by Phase".  
*now SE I<sub>DAT</sub> PTCL so read-through<sub>PF</sub> DbP<sub>(ACC)</sub>*  
 Right now I so feel like reading through *Derivation by Phase*.

When containing transitives, the FEEL-LIKE construction is most typically used with mass or bare plural direct objects, even when the complement clause has an imperfective verb form. Although with less clarity, the definite/indefinite contrast from (79) carries over to the same sentences with the imperfective form of the verb, i.e. *brati* 'to read'. Also, note that the contrast between indefinite and definite direct objects carries over to examples with an indefinite Incremental Theme object such as *kakšna jagoda* 'a/some strawberry' as the complement of the perfective

version of 'to eat (up)' (*pojesti<sub>PF</sub>*), so the restriction on perfective complements in the Slovenian FEEL-LIKE construction does not reduce to lexical aspect/telicity (contra R&MS); an indefinite such as *a/some strawberry* is just as bounded/quantized (non-divisive and non-cumulative) as the definite *this strawberry*.<sup>34</sup> In fact, 'indefiniteness' of some sort that will 'license' the perfective in the FEEL-LIKE construction can even come from non-arguments (confirming the irrelevance of lexical aspect/telicity), as shown by the contrast between (80) and (81).

(80) Zdajle se mi pa ful za kakšno urco zadrema.  
*now SE I<sub>DAT</sub> PTCL so for some hour doze-off<sub>PF</sub>*  
 Right now I so feel like taking a nap of about an hour or so.

(81) ?Zdajle se mi pa ful (za deset minut) zadrema.  
*now SE I<sub>DAT</sub> PTCL so for ten minutes doze-off<sub>PF</sub>*  
 Right now I so feel like taking a nap (of ten minutes).

This is presumably related to the nature of the disposition expressed by FEEL-LIKE, i.e. the verb's fine-grained lexical semantics expressing, following Dąbrowska (1994), 'wistful longing/indefinite yearning'.<sup>35</sup>

**6.4.2 Other interpretations** There are further interpretational differences that deserve mention. As the opposite value of her "definite desire/intention", Dąbrowska (1994) in fact mentions two variants, "wistful longing/indefinite yearning" and "biological drive". And indeed, a difference along this line manifests itself when comparing Slovenian and Serbian. The Slovenian FEEL-LIKE is used for longings/yearnings related to one's psychological state, whereas the Serbian FEEL-LIKE also has the meaning of an uncontrollable physiological state, i.e. a drive or craving.<sup>36</sup> Some typical uses of the FEEL-LIKE construction in Serbian are with verbs such as *piškiti* 'pee', *kakiti* 'poop', *spavati* 'sleep', *jesti* 'eat', *piti* 'drink'. Indeed, the way to say *I need to pee* in Serbian is with the FEEL-LIKE construction (*Piški mi se – pee<sub>3P,Sg,Pres</sub> I<sub>DAT</sub> SE*), while the FEEL-LIKE construction is impossible for this meaning in Slovenian (*\*Lula se mi – pee<sub>3P,Sg,Pres</sub> SE I<sub>DAT</sub>*).<sup>37</sup>

Note that such interpretational differences can have consequences that may seem to reflect structural differences. That is, when the complement of the Serbian FEEL-LIKE contains a physiological verb such as *pee* or *sleep*, double adverb(ial)s will not be acceptable. However, this is merely the result of the interpretation of FEEL-LIKE, and in fact, double adverb(ial)s do not work with such verbs even in the English *I need to pee*, although we showed in section 2.1 that such structures otherwise allow non-agreeing adverb(ial)s. In other words, although there are still

<sup>34</sup> The definite/indefinite contrast explains the deviance of R&MS's perfective example (74c) (2003: 142), where the bare plural direct object will—in the presence of the perfective form of *to eat*—receive a total interpretation such as 'all (the contextually specified) strawberries' (cf. Filip 1994), and so the direct object is necessarily definite.

<sup>35</sup> Serbian/Croatian and Bulgarian, however, do not only exhibit a patterned dispreference for perfective complements but rather a categorical ban, thus inviting a structural explanation, which we provided in section 5.2.

<sup>36</sup> The ternary distinction can tentatively be paralleled with *I need to pee* (a physiological drive), *I feel like jogging* (an indefinite yearning) and *I want to jog* (definite desire).

<sup>37</sup> There is interspeaker variation with *spati* 'sleep' as the complement of the Slovenian FEEL-LIKE. While some speakers will give it the more controllable 'indefinite yearning' reading, close to 'I would like to sleep', others also accept a completely uncontrollable physiological-drive reading 'I am sleepy'. A similar idiomatized ambiguity occurs with the English *want*. Normally, it has a 'definite desire/volition' reading, so that *I want to throw up* need not mean *I'm likely to throw up*, but then there are also pairs such as *The mere sight of this makes me want to throw up* = *The mere sight of this makes me likely to throw up*.

two events, one simply does not have a physiological drive to do something for any time other than the time of the drive itself. Such restrictions thus do not reflect a different, monoclausal structure. The physiological-drive interpretation is also the reason that such FEEL-LIKE sentences sometimes receive simple/monoclausal translations such as 'I am sleepy', 'I am hungry', etc. This may further conceal the construction's biclausality, but note that when the overt verb in an affirmative Serbian FEEL-LIKE sentence is, say, 'to sleep', the sentence in fact does not assert that *x* is sleeping but rather the opposite, that *x* is *not* sleeping; it says that *x* is experiencing a physiological urge to sleep, and if true, that precludes the truth of '*x* is sleeping'.<sup>38</sup>

6.4.3 *Russian* The Russian FEEL-LIKE construction is peculiar since the FEEL-LIKE interpretation is available only in sentences with negation (cf. (24) above), in questions, (82), and in relative clauses that are restrictions of a universal quantifier, (83).

- (82) Emu rabotaet-sja? (Russian)  
*he<sub>DAT</sub> work<sub>3P,Sg</sub> SE*  
 Does he feel like working?
- (83) Kazhdyj, komu rabotaet-sja, dolzhen vzjat' lopatu. (Russian)  
*everyone who<sub>DAT</sub> work<sub>3P,Sg</sub>-SE should grab shovel*  
 Everyone who feels like working should grab the shovel.

Interestingly, this distribution seems parallel to the one found with the Slovenian overt 'feel-like' paraphrase with non-active *dati* 'give', (84) (structurally parallel to the overt 'feel-like' paraphrase with non-active *luštati* 'desire'/*hoteti* 'want', as described in section 3). The latter only occurs in negated sentences, (84a), in questions, (84b), and in restrictive relative clauses to a universal quantifier, (84c)—that is, in (some) downward entailing environments. (In addition, it also occurs when 'give' is contrastively focused, in ironic positive sentences, etc.)

- (84) a. Danes se mi \*(ne) da delat.  
*today SE I<sub>DAT</sub> not give<sub>3P,Sg</sub> work*  
 I don't feel like working.
- b. A se ti da delat ponoči?  
*Q SE you<sub>DAT</sub> give<sub>3P,Sg</sub> work at night*  
 Do you feel like working at night?
- c. Vsak, ki se mu da teč, naj se zglesi pri Štefu.  
*everyone that SE he<sub>DAT</sub> give run should SE present at Štef*  
 Everyone who feels like running should report to Štef.

This overt 'feel-like' paraphrase with 'give' is also interesting in that it exist in Serbian, but with a surprisingly different interpretation (while Croatian shares the interpretation with Slovenian). In Serbian, this construction receives a kind of root-possibility reading, (85a), which is also manifested in what looks like the Polish structural parallel of the Slovenian/active FEEL-

<sup>38</sup> Perhaps the uncontrollable, physiological-drive meaning need not be restricted to strictly physiological verbs (*pee*, *eat*, etc.) and even feeling like going to the mountains, for example, can be conceived of as uncontrollable, physiological-drive-like. Then the Serbian FEEL-LIKE could perhaps only have the uncontrollable physiological-drive reading, which, in turn, could explain Serbian speakers' reluctance towards double non-agreeing adverbials.

LIKE construction and the Czech structural parallel of the Serbian/passive FEEL-LIKE construction. (By "what looks like the Polish structural parallel ..." we mean that just like the Slovenian FEEL-LIKE construction, the Polish construction contains a dative argument, the clitic *się* (= Slovenian *se*), an accusative object, and default agreement on the only verb, but gets a crucially different interpretation, something like 'Somehow, it was easy for me to V'; an example is given in (85b). See R&MS and Rivero 2003, 2004 for more on the Polish and Czech constructions.)

- (85) a. Ne da mi se da odem kući. (Serbian)  
*not give*<sub>3P,Sg</sub> *I*<sub>DAT</sub> *SE* *that go home*  
 I cannot go home / something prevents me from going home.
- b. Jankowi czytało się tę książkę z przyjemnością. (Polish)  
*Janek*<sub>DAT</sub> *read*<sub>3P,Sg,Neu</sub> *SE* *this book*<sub>ACC</sub> *with pleasure*  
 Somehow, Janek was able to read this book with pleasure.

Although a detailed analysis of these facts goes beyond the scope of this paper, we will hint at a possible solution. Since the Russian construction from (82-83) seems to behave in parallel with the Slovenian overt 'feel-like'-construction with 'give' in (84), the two might share the same matrix predicate, with Russian having it covert. Thus what we have been calling the Russian FEEL-LIKE construction might actually contain something like a null GIVE, making it different from the Slovenian/SC/Bulg/Alb FEEL-LIKE construction; these two types of constructions are structurally the same, but contain a different lexical item in the matrix clause. Note that the Russian construction does not only have the 'feel-like' meaning of desire but also that of 'not being able to' (cf. Benedicto 1995), which is available also in non-negated sentences. The Russian null GIVE thus receives two interpretations, the 'feel-like' interpretation of the Slovenian/Croatian non-active 'give' (restricted to the same environments as the Slovenian non-active 'give') and the root-possibility interpretation of the Serbian non-active 'give' (available in more or less any environment). The Polish construction, as in (85b), would be parallel to the Russian in having a null verb GIVE, but unlike its Russian counterpart, it only receives the root-possibility reading of the Serbian 'give'-construction but not the 'feel-like' reading of the Slovenian 'give'. In this way, we are reinstating the direct parallel that R&MS and Rivero (2003) draw between the syntactic structures of the Slovenian FEEL-LIKE construction and the Polish dative reflexive construction. But while R&MS/Rivero (2003) derive the different interpretations from distinct logical-form procedures operating on the dative argument, resulting in a dispositional as opposed to a left-dislocated topic reading, we assign the difference in the interpretation simply to different null matrix verbs.<sup>39</sup>

## 7. Phonologically null/silent verbs

We have been talking about a null verb FEEL-LIKE and at the same time contrasting the FEEL-LIKE construction with the overt 'feel-like' paraphrase, so one can justly ask whether we are not simply dealing with a process of (specified) ellipsis of the main predicate (one of the overt 'feel-like's)

<sup>39</sup> Note that the non-agreeing adverbial tests, etc., that we have used for showing the biclausality of the Slovenian FEEL-LIKE construction do not work in Polish (p.c. Magda Gołędzinowska); however, this need not be a counterargument to biclausality. Such adverbs do not work in the Serbian overt construction with non-active 'give' either. The two predicates seem to be necessarily temporally dependent.

rather than with a separate null lexical verb FEEL-LIKE. Note that if one opts for ellipsis, it is hard to explain how one could have cases where the elided variant is fine but the overt one is not. For a general discussion of this theoretically non-trivial choice, we refer the reader to van Riemsdijk (2002), who defends a null verb explanation (in his case for a null GO) on general grounds of learnability and economy. In this section, we present some arguments for adopting the null-verb position in the case of the covert FEEL-LIKE construction and address the issue of recoverability and licensing of the null verb FEEL-LIKE.<sup>40</sup>

### 7.1 Null verb FEEL-LIKE or an elided non-active *hoteti* 'want'?

If one were to advocate an ellipsis account, the only plausible candidate from among the overt 'feel-like's in Slovenian would be the possibly primitive *hoteti* 'want', since the other candidate, *luštati* 'desire', is a fairly infrequent borrowing from German and may even be absent in some Slovenian dialects. The same would be dictated by the cross-Slavic facts, since *hoteti* 'want' (and its cognates) is the only verb that is shared as an overt paraphrase by all languages with an overt 'feel-like' paraphrase (and it is also the verb that is used in the overt 'feel-like' construction in the Slavic languages which do not have the covert FEEL-LIKE construction, such as Polish and Czech). Note, though, that while we considered the paraphrase with non-active *hoteti* 'want' and the covert FEEL-LIKE construction to be structurally parallel, we also said that they are semantically only near-synonyms. At least for some speakers, the paraphrase with *hoteti* and the FEEL-LIKE construction are not really interchangeable. The paraphrase with *hoteti* 'want' gets more of an uncontrollable reading (closer to a physiological drive), while the covert FEEL-LIKE construction typically gets a fairly controllable reading (e.g. indefinite yearning), if it allows the completely uncontrollable one at all.<sup>41</sup> The fact that some speakers consistently assign the covert FEEL-LIKE construction and the overt 'feel-like' paraphrase different interpretations argues for positing a separate null verb rather than an elided *hoteti* 'want'.<sup>42</sup> Strong support along similar lines also comes from Serbian, where at least some dialects have no overt 'feel-like' paraphrase at all. Simply, the way they express this meaning is with the covert FEEL-LIKE construction. Similarly, Albanian also does not seem to have an overt 'feel-like' paraphrase with a non-active version of 'want' (Dalina Kallulli, p. c.).

Further support comes from contrasting the prefixed FEEL-LIKE and prefixed 'feel-like's (cf. section 4.6). Although in Bulgarian, FEEL-LIKE occurs with the same three prefixes

<sup>40</sup> Cf. also Lakoff (1968: 165-168) for related discussion. Note, though, that our proposal is significantly different from Lakoff's, which analyzed, e.g., the Latin optative mood as containing an abstract optative verb *vel*, but with the whole clause being silent, including the verb's morphology (cf. also Ross 1970, Prince 1974). In our proposal, only the verb (a lexical element) is null, while the dative argument and (parts of) the verb's inflectional and derivational morphology are (according to Marušič & Žaucer 2005 in fact *must* be) realized overtly. Also, optatives do not seem to show the biclausal characteristics that have motivated our proposal.

<sup>41</sup> Some speakers do not even acknowledge the interpretation 'I am sleepy' for the FEEL-LIKE construction with the verb *spati* 'sleep' but only a controllable interpretation close to 'I would like to sleep'.

<sup>42</sup> It is not surprising that the overt 'feel-like' and the null FEEL-LIKE can have slightly different meanings; languages differentiate many nuances of this general meaning. Slovenian expresses meanings close to 'feel-like' with numerous other constructions, including *drži/tišči/ima/vleče me V* (lit. 'it holds/presses/has/draws me to V'), *zgrabi me da bi V* (lit. 'it grips me that I would V'), *ne ljubi/da se mi V* ('it doesn't love<sub>NON-ACT</sub>/give<sub>NON-ACT</sub> to me to V'), *gre mi na bruhanje/smeh/...* (lit. 'it goes to me to vomiting/laughter/etc.'), *sili me na bruhanje/smeh/...* (lit. 'it forces me to vomiting/laughter/etc.'), *pride mi da bi V* (lit. 'it comes to me that I would V'), *ni mi da bi V* (lit. 'it is not to me that I would V'), *popade me kašelj* (lit. 'coughing befalls me'), etc.

(inceptives *pri-* and *do-* and the terminative *ot-*) as the paraphrases with two variants of 'want' (*šte* and *iska*), the situation is different in Serbian. While *pri-jesti* (but not *\*do-jesti* and *\*od-jesti*) occurs in the FEEL-LIKE construction, 'to come to feel like eating', the language does not have either an active or a non-active form such as *\*pri-hteti* 'to come to want/feel like'. In fact, there *is* an inceptive form of *hteti* 'want', but it contains a different prefix, *pro-hteti* 'to come to want'. In addition, neither Bulgarian nor Serbian or Slovenian accepts the inceptive *za-* in the FEEL-LIKE construction, although they all have an inceptive use of *za-* and Slovenian even has non-active *za-hoteti* 'want' (also *za-luštati* 'desire') with the meaning 'to come to feel like'. An account with an elided 'want' cannot cope with these data. Taking into consideration the notorious lexical restrictions associated with prefixed/particle verbs, we submit that the Bulgarian/Serbian lexicon contains the verb *pri*-FEEL-LIKE, the Bulgarian lexicon also contains the verbs *do*-FEEL-LIKE and *ot*-FEEL-LIKE, and the Slovenian lexicon contains only an unprefixd FEEL-LIKE.

We thus conclude—in line with van Riemsdijk (2002), and with Marušič & Žaucer's (2005) claims for the Slovenian null GO—that a null verb analysis is superior to one with ellipsis.

## 7.2 Recoverability and licensing

Having established that an account with a null verb is empirically preferable for our covert FEEL-LIKE construction, we address the question of how the null verb FEEL-LIKE is licensed. Null verbs (just like regular verbs that have undergone specified ellipsis/PF-deletion) have to be recoverable, and since the verbs themselves are null, there has to be something else in the sentence that flags the presence of a null verb (van Riemsdijk 2002). For his null verb GO, van Riemsdijk proposes that the structural licenser of the null verb is an adjacent modal head, while the obligatory directional PP is merely subcategorized by the verb. However, Marušič & Žaucer (2005) show that such a definition of licensing of GO does not hold crosslinguistically and that the strictly structural nature of licensing that van Riemsdijk advocates is dubious. In Slovenian, all sorts of 'world-creating' verbal elements can license a null GO, including modal heads, full verbs, etc.; conversely, other, non-modal types of functional verbs do *not* license a null GO, which is unexpected if the licensing is strictly structural. Complementing this evidence with the facts of a null HAVE (cf. section 2.1.1 above), which can occur with a DP complement and under a matrix-clause 'want' but not with a DP complement and under a modal such as 'must', Marušič & Žaucer (2005) conclude that while there is no doubt that there must be some flags that make the null verb recoverable, it is dubious that the licensing should be strictly structural. If null verbs did require some sort of formal licensing, one would expect it to be the same or at least comparable for different null verbs, which is not the case. See Marušič & Žaucer (2005) for a more elaborate argumentation against formal licensing for null verbs.

As for the "licensing" of FEEL-LIKE, it will have become clear that there are several features that make this null verb recoverable. First of all, the construction always contains a dative argument, even with verbs that do not co-occur with a dative argument outside the FEEL-LIKE construction. Secondly, the construction always involves a non-active (argument suppressing) clitic *se*, which may clash with the active character of the overt verb and which—in our analysis—belongs to the null verb and thus uncontroversially reveals the presence of a null non-active verb. Departing a little from purely structural flags, we have noted that tense inflection on the verb may clash with the temporal location of the event denoted by the overt verb, so that one may find a temporal adverb(ia)l clashing with the morphological tense. And completely truth-conditionally speaking, FEEL-LIKE sentences typically describe a situation that is



incongruent with the state of affairs in the actual world. The hearer of a FEEL-LIKE sentence will notice the *se* and the tense, and may observe that the content of the rest of the sentence is contrary to fact; this will lead him or her to put together the structural ingredients they are faced with and at the same time fill in the emptiness. In a similar way, the structural flags along with the semantics that is incongruent with the state of affairs will presumably make the acquisition of such a null verb sufficiently unproblematic as well.

## 8. Conclusion

We have argued against the standard, modal analysis of the covert FEEL-LIKE construction and provided syntactic arguments that this monoclausal-looking construction, which exhibits intensionality, is biclausal. Consequently, we put forth a biclausal analysis, with the matrix verb realized as a null dative-experiencer psych-verb FEEL-LIKE, and we suggested an account for the cross-linguistic typology of the covert FEEL-LIKE construction, discussing both syntactic and interpretational variation.

Our biclausal analysis allows maintaining the stricter, sententialist approach to intensionality. Furthermore, if one extrapolates from FEEL-LIKE to intensional transitives such as *want*, the paper presents support for treating such verbs as full lexical verbs rather than functional heads. The intensionality created by intensional transitives thus also remains accountable for under the sententialist view. In addition, our null verb FEEL-LIKE lends support to some recent proposals using independent, phonologically null lexical verbs (e.g. Larson *et al.* 1997, van Riemsdijk 2002, Marušič & Žaucer 2005).

On a different note, we have argued for a deficient sentential complement and explored its consequences for our understanding of the phase-based syntactic theory. It appears that phonological phases can contain material belonging to different semantic phases and that PF and LF phases need not be completed and shipped off to their respective interfaces simultaneously.

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