

The involuntary state/'feel-like'/dative desiderative construction: a reply to Rivero 2009Franc Marušič & Rok Žaucer
Univerza v Novi Gorici**1. Introduction**

- The hyperintensional South Slavic Involuntary State Construction (ISC), (1)

(1) *Jušu se pleše sambo.*Juš_{DAT} refl dances samba_{ACC}

'Juš feels like dancing samba.'

- o A dispositional meaning but no overt element encoding it – a dative nominal, a reflexive clitic, a verb with default agreement (3rd, sg.), an accusative nominal
 - Where does the dispositional interpretation come from?

- Marušič & Žaucer (2006): dispositional meaning comes from a null verb (FEEL-LIKE)

- o (1)/(2a) is biclausal, essentially parallel to its paraphrase with two overt verbs, (2b)

(2) a. *Jušu se pleše sambo.*Juš_{DAT} refl dances samba_{ACC}

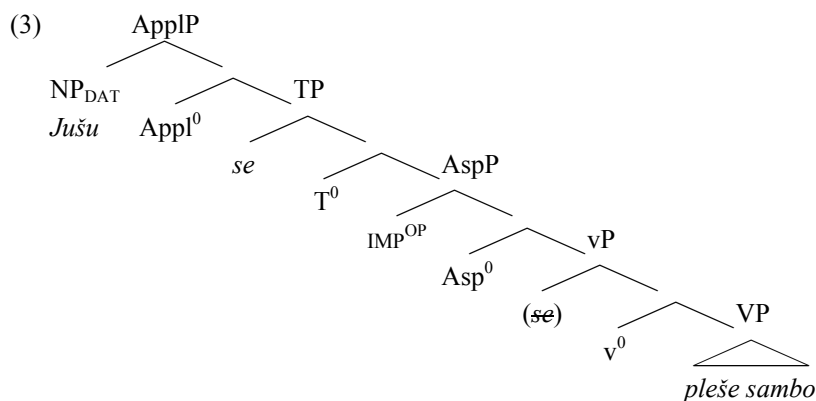
'Juš feels like dancing samba.'

b. *Jušu se lušta plesat sambo.*Juš_{DAT} refl feels-like dance_{INF} samba_{ACC}

'Juš feels like dancing samba.'

c. [TP [vQP [Spec,vQP *Jušu*] [vQ' [vQ° *se*] [VP [v° FEEL-LIKE] [... [VP *ples- sambo*]]]]]]]d. [TP [vQP [Spec,vQP *Jušu*] [vQ' [vQ° *se*] [VP [v° *lušta*] [... [VP *plesat sambo*]]]]]]]

- Rivero (2009) (building on Rivero & Milojević Sheppard 2003, Rivero 2004): 'modality' comes from a viewpoint-aspect imperfective operator (IMP^{OP}), and is interpreted as disposition because of the 'super-high' Applicative; (the structure is monoclausal)



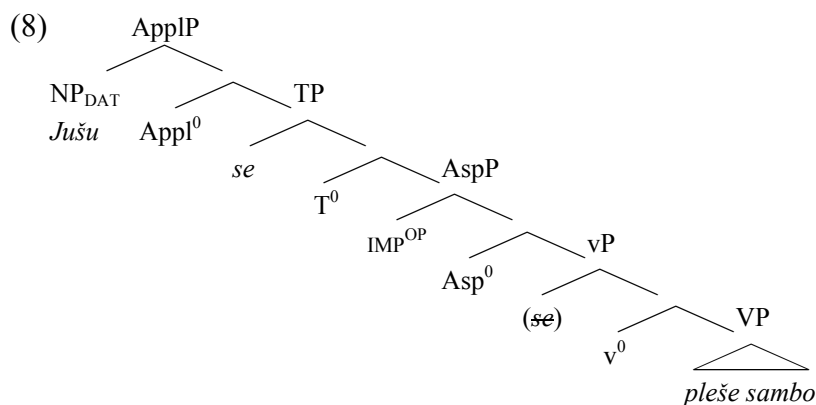
- o IMP^{OP} said to be akin to the progressive in English 'futures', (4)
- o ICS said to share syntactic and semantic properties with English 'futures', (4)

(4) *For two weeks, the Red Sox were playing the Yankees today.* (Rivero 2009: 153)Plan for this talk:

- Argue that the proposed parallel between ISCs and futures is empirically problematic
- Identify several problems in Rivero's (2009) analysis
- Conclude that the analysis of Marušič & Žaucer (2006) still proves superior

2. Futurates (properties, parallels with ISC, analysis, problems with the parallel)

- Known in GG at least since Vetter (1973) and Prince (1973), futurates are interesting for allowing future interpretation with present tense morphology
 - Copley (2008) mentions several properties of English futurates:
 - o they typically have progressive verb morphology, but can be used also with present simple tense morphology
 - o they allow two contradicting temporal adverbials, (5)
- (5) *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).*
- o they typically involve something like a plan of an event that is supposed to happen in the future
 - o the director, who makes sure the plan is carried out, is supplied contextually, and can also be the subject of the sentence
- Rivero (2009) claims that futurates also make use of the the IMP^{OP} – which, in the case of futurates, is the progressive verb form
 - o since futurates have the IMP^{OP} , it does not surprise that they allow a range of data that makes them parallel with ISCs
 - o however, the IMP^{OP} does not seem to be the crucial ingredient of futurates, since there exist futurates without the progressive morphology, (6b)
- (6) a. *The Red Sox are playing the Yankees today.* (Rivero 2009: 157)
 b. *The Red Sox play the Yankees today.* (Rivero 2009: 157)
- Rivero (2009) says that futurates and ISCs differ in the type of 'modal' interpretation
 - o futurates have a nominative subject that supplies the 'director' with a plan
 - o ISC have only an oblique subject that cannot act as a director
 - o In effect: ISCs denote a plan without a director, which—it is assumed—can be understood as a disposition
 - o this supposedly falls out from the syntactic structure proposed for ISCs
 - ISCs have a TP-embedding applicative with a (dative) argument, (7)
 - (some unclarity wrt the reflexive, hence the parenthesized $\text{\textit{se}}$ in Spec,vP)
- (7) *Jušu se pleše sambo.*
 Juš_{DAT} refl dances samba_{ACC}
 'Juš feels like dancing samba.'



- There seem to be at least two problems with this reasoning
 - o Firstly: Copley (2008) is not so explicit about the identity of the director and claims that it is supplied *contextually* (op.cit.: 270) → the nominative subject is a possible director but it is by no means the only possible director
 - according to Copley, the director of (6) is not *The Red Sox*, but the Major League Baseball officials who schedule the baseball matches
 - if the director can be supplied by the context, it is not clear why it could not be supplied by the context also in ISCs
 - o Secondly: according to Rivero's (2009) view of ISCs, the dative subject controls the reflexive clitic *se*, which stands for the external argument (Rivero 2009: 154)
 - So if ISCs have an external argument controlled by the dative, it is not clear why this external argument should not also supply the director

2.1 ISC futurates

- Rivero claims that the 'modal' interpretation of futurates and the 'modal'/dispositional interpretation of ISCs both stem from the viewpoint-aspect operator (IMP^{OP})
 - o with the difference that for the dispositional interpretation of ISCs to arise, a TP-embedding dative argument is also required
 - o placing the basic ingredient of futurates and ISCs in the same projection makes a clear prediction → we cannot have a futurate ISC, the two should be in complementary distribution
 - prediction not borne out, (8) (cf. Marušič and Žaucer 2006: 1101)
 - (futurates of most statives are not nearly as natural as futurates of predicates such as *play the Yankees*, but they are possible; the same holds for ISCs)
- (9) *Včeraj se mi danes še ni šlo v hribe.* (Slovenian)
 yesterday refl I.dat today still not go to mountains
 'Yesterday, I wasn't gonna be in the mood today for going to the mountains.'
- the futurate 'modal' interpretation and the dispositional 'modal' interpretation cannot originate in the same viewpoint-aspect projection

3. Prefixes

- Slavic languages exhibit a vast array of prepositional prefixes, often quite comparable to Germanic particles (cf. Spencer & Zaretskaya 1998)
 - o Prefix uses in Slavic include the 'inceptive' use and the 'terminative' use
- (10) a. *ljubiti Micko (dve leti)* b. *vz-ljubiti Micko (*dve leti)* (Slovenian)
 love Micka 2 yrs up-love Micka 2 yrs
 'love Micka (for 2 years)' 'come to love Micka'
- In S/C/B and Bulgarian (but not Slovenian), the verb in an ISC can contain such an 'inceptive' prefix, and in Bulgarian also a 'terminative' prefix (see Marušič & Žaucer 2006)
- (11) a. *Pri-spalo mi se.* (S/C/B) b. *Pri-jele su mi se jabuke.* (S/C/B)
 at-slept I_{DAT} REFL at-ate AUX I_{DAT} REFL apples
 'I came to feel like sleeping.' 'I came to feel like eating apples.'

- Marušič & Žaucer (2006): the prefix in (11) originates as part of the null verb, (12)
 - o (we can ignore the original position of the prefix inside the matrix clause)

(12) [Clause1 *pri*-FEEL-LIKE *mi se* [Clause2 ... [VP *spa-*]]]
 at-FEEL-LIKE I_{DAT} REFL sleep

- (Riemsdijk 2002: null GO in Dutch occurs with an overt particle *aan* 'on')

- Rivero (2009): *pri-* (which marks the inception of the disposition) instantiates the imperfective operator which is the source of the intensuality (op.cit.: 178)
 - o we see at least four problems with this claim
- PROBLEM 1: dropping the prefix removes the inception, but the structure stays intensional
 - o intensuality cannot be encoded by the prefix

(13) a. *Pri-piškilo mi se.* b. *Piškilo mi se.* (S/C/B)
 at- piss I_{DAT} REFL piss I_{DAT} REFL
 'I came to feel like peeing' 'I came to feel like peeing'

- PROBLEM 2:
 - o Prefixation triggers a change in aspect: (14a) is interpreted imperfectively (allows durative adverbials), (14b) perfectly (disallows durative adverbials)

(14) a. *kopati luknjo (2 uri)* b. *iz-kopati luknjo (*2 uri)* (Slo.)
 dig hole 2 hrs out-dig hole 2 hrs
 'be digging a hole (for 2 hrs)' 'dig out a hole'

- o According to Rivero (2009: 178), Bulgarian *pri-* (which marks the inception of the disposition) instantiates the *imperfective* operator which is the source of the intensuality
 - if ISCs with an inceptive *pri-* are claimed to be imperfective, this would make these forms the only imperfectives which are not at all compatible with durative adverbials

(15) a. *Piškio sam 5 minuta.* b. *Piškilo mi se 2 sata.* (S/C/B)
 pee aux 5 minutes pee I_{DAT} REFL 2 hours
 'I was peeing for 5 minutes.' 'For 2 hours, I felt like peeing.'

c. **Pri-piškilo mi se 2 sata.* (S/C/B)
 at-pee I_{DAT} REFL 2 hours

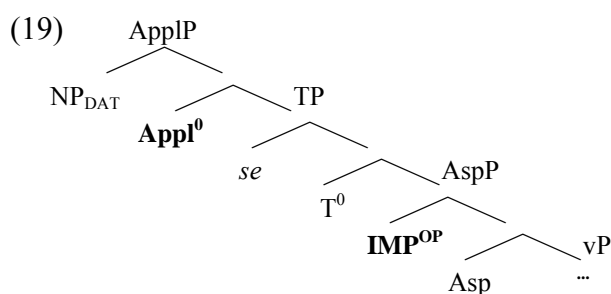
- PROBLEM 3:
 - o Prefixation triggers a change in aspect: (16a) is interpreted imperfectively (allows durative adverbials), (16b) perfectly (disallows durative adverbials)
 - o prefixed verb stems can often be suffixed with *-va-*, and such forms are interpreted imperfectively, (16c) (cf. term 'secondary imperfectives')
 - *-va-* is often paralleled with the English progressive (e.g. Arsenijević 2006)

(16) a. *kopati (2 leti)* b. *iz-kopati (*2 leti)* c. *iz-kopa-va-ti (2 leti)*
 dig 2 yrs out-dig 2 yrs out-dig-IMPF 2 yrs
 'be digging (for 2 yrs)' 'dig up' 'be digging up (for 2 yrs)'

- with some imagination, one can produce (17), in which the verbal form contains both the inceptive prefix and the imperfective suffix *-va-*, both of which are said to be encoders of imperfectivity and intensionality located in the same projection
- (17) *Baš mi se pri-piški-va-lo, kad je zazvonio telefon.* (S/C/B)
 just I_{DAT} REFL at- piss -IMP when AUX rang phone
 'I was just coming to feel like peeing when the phone rang.'
- since *pri-* and *-va-* cooccur in (17), they cannot both be Asp⁰, and they cannot both be IMP^{OP} in Spec,AspP
 - *pri-* could be Asp⁰ and *-va-* its specifier (Rivero 2009: 176, 178 for Bulg), or *-va-* could be Asp⁰ and *pri-* its specifier
 - but then they might be expected to have undefinable relative scope, contrary to fact (*-va-* scopes over *pri-*, cf. (16) above)
 - (could claim that they belong to distinct AspPs, *pri-*AspP above *-va-*AspP, but then *pri-* in (17) has nothing to do with intensionality as the latter has already been encoded by *-va-*)
- PROBLEM 4: if intensionality comes from the prefix, we should be able to take the dative nominal away and still get intensionality (albeit a futurate instead of a disposition)
 - in many cases, what we get is simply ungrammatical, regardless of adverbials setting up a futurate, (18) → unclear why this would be so
- (18) a. **Pri-piškilo se.* b. **Prije dve sedmice pri-jele su se jabuke juče.* (S/C/B)
 at-peed refl before 2 weeks at-ate AUX refl apples yesterday

4. Modals

- The two key parts of Rivero' (2009) proposal are the superhigh applicative – an argument projection merged above TP and the Imperfective operator in the spec of AspP.

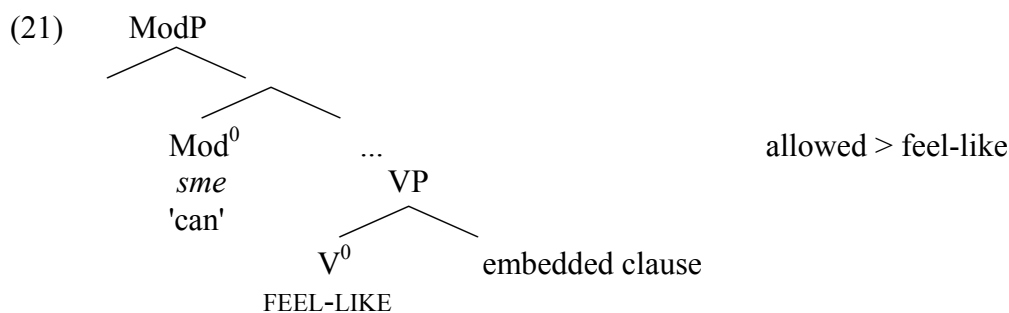


- Root modals are typically claimed to originate under TP (unlike epistemic modals which are above TP) (e.g. Butler 2003, Cinque 1999).
- Rivero (2009) is not clear on what brings in the disposition,
 - disposition comes from the applicative → we should not find a root modal scoping over the disposition
 - disposition comes from the aspectual operator → we should not find a root modal scoping over the disposition
 - disposition comes from a combination of the two elements → not clear what this predicts. If the two elements have to be in some local relation, root modals should be impossible in ISC (regardless of the relative scope).

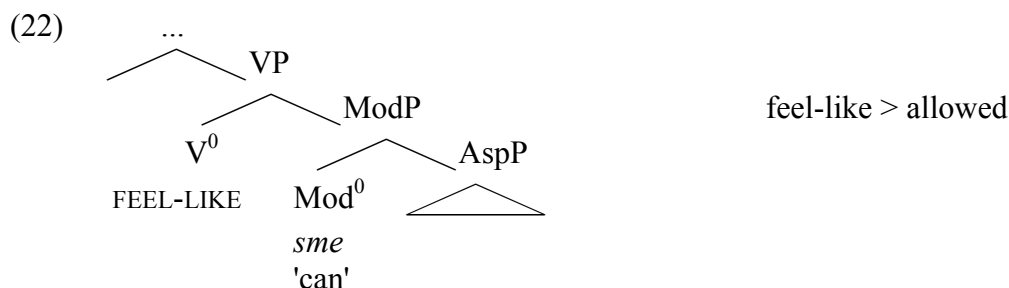
- Which ever option we choose, we end up with the wrong prediction, since the root modal can appear in ISC and can scope both under and over the disposition, as pointed out by Marušič and Žaucer (2006), (20).

- (20) Petru se sme igrat fuzbal. (Slovenian)
 Peter_{DAT} REFL can play_{INF} soccer
- a) “Peter is allowed to feel like playing soccer.” allowed > feel-like
 b) “Peter feels like being allowed to play soccer.” feel-like > allowed

- Example (20) is problematic for Rivero (2009), but gets a straight forward analysis in our proposal
 - o If ISC contain two clauses, where disposition comes from the matrix verb, then
 - root modals scope over the disposition if they are modals of the matrix clause, (21)



- root modals scope under the disposition if they are modals of the embedded clause (22)



5. Hiperintensionality

- Rivero (2009: 164-5, fn. 5) claims that English futurates and ISCs behave in parallel with respect to intensionality and hyperintensionality
 - o **This is incorrect**
- There are three standard tests for intensional/opaque contexts (cf. e.g. Larson 2002)
 - o Futurates and ISC behave in parallel only according to one of these tests

- **the interpretation of indefinite DPs:** an indefinite DP in an extensional/transparent context shows no ambiguity: the indefinite DP in (23a) can only be read specifically. An indefinite DP in an intensional context, is ambiguous, and so (23b) can also be read non-specifically

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

- an indefinite DP can be read non-specifically both in ISCs (24) and in futurates (25)

- (24) *Petri se je omožilo enga profesorja.*
 Petra_{DAT} REFL AUX marry one professor
 'Petra felt like marrying a professor.'

- (25) *For two weeks Susan was marrying a professor next year* (Rivero 2009, fn 5)

- the presence of a **non-referring term** in an intensional context need not yield falsity

- (26a) can be true despite the fact that there are no *unicorns* in our world,
- (26b) a non-referring term in an extensional context necessarily yields falsity

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

- In ISC, the use of non-referring terms is comparable to verbs of attitude report

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

- Things are less clear for futurates.
- In the futurate counterpart of (27) the use of a nonexistent term yields falsity

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

- (19) can be uttered truthfully if the sentence is continued with something like '*but then he realized that flying carpets don't exist*'.
- In this case, the truth of the first part of the sentence is evaluated relative to an alternative world, not to the world where flying carpets don't exist.
- Rivero (2009) gives the following example, with the explanation that it is a natural report of some child's dream that lasted for two weeks.

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

- These data aren't that clear, since it is not so obvious how to evaluate the truth of a futurate.
 - If it were the case that every futurate is paraphrasable with 'X plans to Y', then the only way to evaluate them would be to ask that person X
 - But futurates aren't paraphrasable in such a way.
 - As Copley puts it, there is a plan that Y will happen and X as a director sees that or makes sure this happens. So a sentence like (21), doesn't really make much sense

- (30) #*The Yankees are playing the Gondor team tomorrow.*

- **substitution of a coreferring term** in extensional/transparent contexts necessarily preserves the truth value of the proposition, by contrast, in an intensional/ opaque context, such a substitution does not necessarily preserve truth
- Examples (31) to (33) give a regular transparent context, the feel-like construction and a futurate construction in this order

(31) Jim met Frances Ethel Gumm. ==> Jim met Judy Garland.

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

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

- The futurate construction in (33) patterns with a regular transparent context in (31) → substitution of coreferring terms necessarily preserves truth.
 - Only in the feel-like construction/ISC, truth is not necessarily preserved.

6. Wrap-up

- We showed that Rivero's (2009) analysis has several theoretical and empirical problems
- There are other issues with Rivero (2009) we did not discuss. Also, the proposal cannot, in our view, account for all the data presented in Marušič & Žaucer (2006), e.g.:
 - 3-way ambiguity of *often* and *non-stop* (M&Ž 2006: 1117-8, section 4.1)
 - 3 possible scope relations of aspectual Vs and the disposition (op.cit. 1122-4)
- Rivero (2009) presents some facts that she considers problematic for M&Ž (2006), which we could not discuss here but which we in fact do not find problematic
 - will be addressed in the write-up of this talk

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