

INTENSIONALITY, HIGH APPLICATIVES, AND ASPECT:
INVOLUNTARY STATE CONSTRUCTIONS IN BULGARIAN AND SLOVENIAN.

María Luisa Rivero

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Abstract

This paper discusses Bulgarian and Slovenian constructions with a dispositional reading and no apparent dispositional marker, such as Bulgarian *Na Ivan mu se raboteše*. Such a sentence combines a dative logical subject *Ivan* with an inflected verb *raboteše* ‘work’, and roughly corresponds to ‘Ivan was in a working mood’, so does not entail that Ivan worked. I argue that such constructions consist of two core ingredients that account both for their syntactic properties, and for their modal flavor as dispositions. One ingredient is an Imperfective Operator in Viewpoint Aspect as the source of modality. Such an Operator resembles in syntactic and semantic properties both the Progressive Operator in so-called English Futurates such as *For two weeks, the Red Sox were playing the Yankees today*, and the Spanish modal *Imperfecto*. The other ingredient is a High Applicative Phrase with an oblique subject, which, other than determining syntactic properties, contributes to a difference in modal flavor with English Futurates. English Futurates denote plans, and a hypothesis is that this is due to their nominative subjects being paired to a presupposition giving them control over the intended event. By contrast, the Slavic constructions in this paper denote dispositions, not plans, because their oblique subjects cannot be paired with a similar presupposition.

1. Introduction*

The Bulgarian (Bul) and Slovenian (Slo) constructions in (1-2), and counterparts in South Slavic and Albanian, have attracted recent attention due to their intensional readings in the absence of clear markers of intensionality (Kallulli (2006, 2007), Marušič and Žaucer (M&Ž) (2004, 2006), Rivero (2003, 2004), Rivero and Sheppard (R&S) (2003, 2008), a.o.).

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|-----|----|---|---------|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| (1) | a. | Na decata | im | se | raboteše. | Bul |
| | | P children.the | 3Pl.Dat | Refl | work.Imp.3Sg | |
| | | ‘The children {were in a working mood/ felt like working}.’ | | | | |
| | b. | Na Ivan | mu | se | četjaja | knigi. |
| | | P Ivan | 3Sg.Dat | Refl | read.Imp.3Pl | book.Pl |
| | | ‘John {was in the mood/desired} to read books.’ | | | | |
| (2) | a. | Janezu | se | spi. | | Slo |
| | | J.Dat | Refl | sleep.Pres.3Sg | | |
| | | ‘John {is in a sleeping mood/ is sleepy /feels like sleeping}.’ | | | | |
| | b. | Janezu se | je | pilo | vodo. | |
| | | J.Dat | Refl | be.3Sg | drunk.Neu | water.Fem.Acc |
| | | ‘John {felt like drinking /was thirsty for} water.’ | | | | |

This paper revisits the above patterns, dubbed Involuntary State Constructions (ISCs) from now on, and develops a new analysis for them. The core proposal is that ISCs have the syntactic structure in (3), with two main components contributing both to their syntactic properties, and to their modal flavor as dispositions or desires.

- (3) [AppIP NP_{DAT} [AppI' Appl [TP Tense [AspP IMP^{OP} vP[V VP]]]]].

The first crucial component in ISCs is an Imperfect(ive) Operator in Viewpoint Aspect as in Smith (1991), dubbed IMP^{OP} in (3).¹ I argue that such an Operator is the source of intensionality in ISCs, and shares syntactic and semantic properties with the English Progressive Operator in a modal use of Dowty (1977, 1979), Copley (2002), among others, and the parallel Spanish *Imperfecto* Operator in Cipria and Roberts (2000). Thus, I identify similarities between the Slavic ISCs in (1-2), the English construction in (4), which Copley dubs Futurate, and the Spanish modal *Imperfecto* construction in (5).

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

(Copley 2002)

(5) Durante dos semanas, el equipo jugaba mañana. Spanish
 for two weeks, the team play.Imp.3Sg tomorrow
 ‘For two weeks, the team was playing tomorrow.’

In §2.1, I note precise syntactic and semantic parallelisms between the above Slavic, English, and Romance patterns, and attribute them to their similar Viewpoint Operators. To illustrate, Slavic ISCs and English Futurates resemble one another in combining two Manner Adverbs (Adv), with scope rigidly defined by the word order of the two Adv, as in (6-7): the first Adv must semantically compose with the disposition or plan, and the second with the event described by the verb.

(6) Na Ivan skrišom mu se tancuvaše
 P Ivan secretly 3Sg.Dat Refl dance.Imp.3Sg
 pred očite na vsički. Bul
 in.front.of eyes.the of everybody.
 ‘Ivan secretly felt like dancing in plain view.’

(7) Nomar is secretly practicing in plain view tomorrow. (Copley 2002)

Other than the Viewpoint Operator in (3), ISCs contain a second crucial constituent, which is a High Applicative Phrase in the rough sense of Pytkänen (2002). I argue in §2.2 and §4 that such an Applicative stands above the temporal-aspectual complex in (3), and also makes important semantic and syntactic contributions to ISCs. The dative in this Applicative is an oblique subject that contributes to the contrast in modality with English Futurates. Modal flavor differs in the two language families, since Slavic ISCs usually denote dispositions, and English Futurates plans. Copley (2002) proposes that Futurates denote plans because they contain a presupposition assigning control over the intended event to an entity she calls director, which, oversimplifying, might be the nominative in (4) and (7). By contrast, I argue in §2.2 that ISCs do not usually denote plans because their subjects are obliques that can never be paired with control (presuppositions), so do not qualify as directors, and their presence prevents there being a director defined in context. The Applicative in (3) also contributes to the syntax of ISCs, and I argue in §4 that it imposes a formal restriction on its complement, which prevents ISCs from having well-formed nominalized counterparts.

The analysis sketched above based on the skeleton in (3) offers new perspectives on ISCs, while preserving two main features in Rivero (2003, 2004) and R&S (2003). The new idea is the modal role assigned to the Viewpoint marker in (3); R&S (2003) suggested that the dative functions as a modal operator, which seems unconventional. One feature borrowed from Rivero (2003) is the High Applicative above TP, which I motivate from semantic and syntactic points of view in this paper.

A second feature I borrow from R&S (2003) is the multidimensional analysis of ISC reflexive clitics. Oversimplifying, the core idea is that the obligatory reflexive of ISCs signals the argument bound by the dative, and may stand for a nominative resumptive pronoun, or a (caseless) variable.² Such a reflexive represents the external argument of transitive verbs such as *read* in (1b) and *drink* in (2b). It may also represent the only argument of intransitive verbs of the unergative type such as *work* in (1a), or *sleep* in (2a), and those of the unaccusative type such as *live* and *die* illustrated later. For Slovenian, R&S (2003) distinguish between two *se*'s often dubbed impersonal and passive in the generative literature. They propose that the dative of ISCs can bind either type, with morphological consequences observable in ISCs with transitive Vs, not in those with intransitives. On the one hand, when Slovenian *se* corresponds to the impersonal type, it represents a nominative pronoun bound by the dative and coexists with a logical object in the accusative and a verb with default agreement, as in (2b); this option is not available in Bulgarian. On the other hand, Slovenian shares with Bulgarian a more familiar passive *se*, which cooccurs with a nominative logical object in agreement with the verb in unaccusative-like patterns such as Bulgarian (1b). R&S propose that the dative binds passive *se*, which differs from impersonal *se* in signaling a covert variable, not a resumptive pronoun with nominative case. In terms of this paper, the intuition behind this double analysis is that Slovenian ISCs are built by adding a High Applicative to either an impersonal *se*-construction, or a passive *se*-construction. Bulgarian lacks impersonal *se*, so is restricted to the second option. With R&S's (2003) proposals in mind, I omit reflexive clitics in (3) and subsequent structures, and discussion of differences in case in logical objects in ISCs.

My analysis based on the skeleton in (3) differs in more fundamental ways from two proposals on ISCs now in the literature. Franks (1995) assumes that ISCs with readings similar to (1-2) in mainly Serbo-Croatian contain a null modal. In this paper, I identify in §3 precise inflectional and derivational morphemes that may stand for IMP^{OP} in Bulgarian and Slovenian, examine Bulgarian constructions with modals in §4, and conclude that the syntactic structure of ISCs does not contain a null modal.

The analysis in this paper also differs from a recent proposal by M&Ž (2004, 2006), who argue for the syntactic skeleton for ISCs given in oversimplified form in (8).

(8) [TP NP_{DAT} [VP1 [V1 FEEL-LIKE ... [VP2 ... [V2]]]]].

In M&Ž's view, ISCs consist of two lexical verbs each in a different syntactic clause: a null psychological verb for the disposition with a dative subject in the matrix, and an overt verb for the intended activity in a defective/tenseless sentential complement. Many technical and theory-internal details aside, the essential contrast between the analysis in (3) and the one sketched in (8) resides in the monoclausal vs. biclausal nature of the construction. The main question thus is whether ISCs consist of two lexical verbs, or only one. In this paper, I extensively argue for the hypothesis that ISCs resemble English Futurates and Spanish modal *Imperfectos* in so far as they contain just one lexical verb, and derive modal flavor from an aspectual operator within the theory of modality developed by Kratzer (1981, 1991).

With this background in mind, the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 establishes syntactic and semantic comparisons between Slavic, English, and Spanish. §2.1 deals with Adv and Adjective (Adj) modification. It shows that Adv and Adj modifiers combine in similar ways, and display parallel distributions and readings in

Bulgarian and Slovenian ISCs, English Futurate Progressives, and Spanish modal *Imperfectos*. It attributes such similarities to parallel Viewpoint operators, and sketches an analysis of Advts that combines syntax and semantics and can accommodate such a distribution. §2.2 informally compares ISCs and English Futurates, based on Copley (2002) and the framework in Kratzer (1981, 1991). For Copley, English Futurates such as *The Red Sox are playing the Yankees today* denote plans because they may have directors. Oversimplifying, I propose that the subjects of ISCs are oblique so cannot be directors; thus, ISCs usually denote dispositions or desires, not plans. Section 3 provides precise morphosyntactic content to IMP^{OP} in Bulgarian and Slovenian, and identifies instances of parametric variation. Bulgarian has a rich system of tenses and aspects, and a large variety of overt markers for IMP^{OP}. Slovenian has a less complex system, and not as many overt markers for IMP^{OP}. Nevertheless, the two languages can be very close, as when ISCs combine the Perfective prefix *na-* and the Imperfective Suffix *-va-* in (9) and (10). I argue in §3 that in such cases, the Imperfective suffix is the marker for Viewpoint IMP^{OP}, and provides intensionality in both languages.

(9) Na Ivan mu se na-pis-va-xa mnogo statii. Bul
 P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl Pf-write-va-Aor.3Pl many articles
 ‘Ivan felt like writing up many articles.’

(10) Janezu so se pre-piso-va-la pisma. Slo
 J.Dat Aux.3Pl Refl Pf-write-va-Pple letters.Nom
 ‘John felt like rewriting (the) letters.’

Section 4 first provides further syntactic justification for the position of the Applicative in (3), arguing that it requires of its complement to be a temporal-aspectual complex or TP.

This requirement prevents ISCs from having well-formed nominalized counterparts in both Bulgarian and Slovenian. The section continues by examining biclausal structures in Bulgarian, proposing that they can be used to argue against the hypothesis that ISCs contain a null modal, or that ISCs consist of two clauses with a null psychological verb in the matrix. Section 5 summarizes the content of the paper, and offers conclusions.

2. The structure of Slavic ISCs and notional modality

This section has two aims. The first aim in §2.1 is to highlight considerable word order and semantic similarities between Bulgarian and Slovenian ISCs, English Progressive sentences, and Spanish *Imperfecto* constructions. I propose that such parallelisms can be captured by the hypothesis that the three constructions contain similar Viewpoint IMP^{OP} in the inflectional portion of their syntactic skeletons. Specifically, in the structure of Slavic ISCs in (3) now repeated in (11), IMP^{OP} corresponds to the Present /Past English Progressive in a modal or futurate use, or to its counterpart in Spanish: the modal *Imperfecto*.

$$(11) \quad [_{\text{AppIP}} \text{NP}_{\text{Dat}} [_{\text{Appl}} [_{\text{TP}} \text{Tense} [_{\text{AspP}} \text{IMP}^{\text{OP}} \text{vp}[_{\text{V}} \text{VP}]]]]]].$$

The second aim of the section in §2.2 is to informally place IMP^{OP} under the light of the theory of semantic modality of Kratzer (1981, 1991). Copley (2002) develops an analysis of English Futurates within such a theory, and here I identify interesting contrasts with Slavic ISCs based on her proposals. Advancing ideas, Viewpoint IMP^{OP} in (11) provides intensionality in Slavic ISCs, so such constructions share considerable syntactic and semantic properties with English Futurates, as shown in §2.1. However, Slavic ISCs and English Futurates are not identical, with a notable difference being that

the first usually count as dispositions/desires, while the second usually count as plans (Copley 2002). The results of §2.1 suggest that Viewpoint IMP^{OP} plays a parallel role in ISCs and Futurates, so in §2.2 I propose that the contrast in modal flavor derives from their logical subjects. On the one hand, ISCs have oblique subjects with a property familiar in many languages usually called a lack of control. On the other hand, Copley (2002) proposes that nominative subjects in Futurates may function as ‘directors’ with control over the intended event. Directors ‘can see to it that the eventuality described by the proposition either takes place, or does not take place’ (Copley 2002:27). This ensures that so-called complex Futurates in the Progressive, such as *The Red Sox are playing the Yankees today*, and simple Futurates in the Present, such as *The Red Sox play the Yankees today*, have the modal meaning of a plan, not a desire. By contrast, ISCs have oblique subjects that cannot be paired with control over the intended event, or lack directors in Copley’s sense, so they usually denote desires and dispositions, not plans.

In sum, §2.1 identifies similarities between the three families of constructions, and attributes them to parallel Viewpoint IMP^{OP} in the inflectional space of the clause. §2.2 applies Kratzer’s theory of modality to Slavic, and attributes differences with English to logical subjects: English Futurates may have directors, but Slavic ISCs do not.

2.1. Slavic ISCs, English Futurates, and Spanish modal *Imperfectos*

This section identifies parallelisms in syntax and semantics between ISCs in Bulgarian and Slovenian, Progressives in English, and modal *Imperfecto* sentences in Spanish. Slovenian examples are borrowed mainly from M&Ž (2004, 2006), and from R&S (2003, 2008).

M&Ž observe that Slovenian ISCs may contain two apparently conflicting Time Advs, as in (12). The same is true in Bulgarian: (13). Dowty (1979) already mentions this characteristic in the context of English Progressives, (14), and attributes the original observation to Ellen Prince. Spanish *Imperfectos* also share this property: (15).

(12) Zdajle se mi ne gre jutri domov. Slo
 now Refl 1Sg.Dat Neg go.Pres.3Sg tomorrow home
 ‘Right now, I do not feel like going home tomorrow.’ (M&Ž)

(13) Včera na Bartoli i se peeše
 yesterday P Bartoli 3Sg.Dat Refl sing.Imp.3Sg
 utre v Skalata. Bul
 tomorrow in Scala.the
 ‘Yesterday, Bartoli felt like singing in La Scala tomorrow.’

(14) a. Yesterday morning I was leaving tomorrow on the Midnight
 Special. (Dowty 1979)
 b. For two weeks, the Red Sox were playing the Yankees today.
 (Copley 2002)

(15) a. Ayer me iba mañana en el Expresso.
 yesterday 1Sg.Acc go.Imp.1Sg tomorrow in the Express
 ‘Yesterday I was leaving tomorrow in the Express.’ Spanish
 b. Durante dos semanas Iberia todavía volaba hoy a las siete.
 for two weeks Iberia still fly.Imp.3sg today at seven
 ‘For two weeks Iberia was still flying today at seven.’

M&Ž propose that the two Time Advs in Slovenian (12) support a biclausal structure with two lexical Vs in ISCs: the matrix clause modified by the first Adv contains a null psychological V with a dative subject, and the embedded clause modified by the second Adv contains the overt V. By contrast, I propose that ISCs obtain intensionality from IMP^{OP} under Viewpoint Aspect, with the first Adv taking scope over the Operator and the second Adv under its scope. In §3, I provide precise inventories in Bulgarian and Slovenian of morphological categories that may stand for IMP^{OP} in the syntactic structure in (11). The main point now is that the relevant intensional patterns in Slavic, English, and Spanish are parallel in so far as the first Adv must modify the urge /disposition / plan, and the second must modify the event denoted by V.

M&Ž suggest that Manner Advs are not available in ISCs, which they relate to the hypothesis that ISCs contain a null verb that is stative. However, Manner Advs can be added to the above generalization, as illustrated in Bulgarian (16), Slovenian (17), and English (18). That is, distribution and interpretation in such AdvS resembles what is observed with Time AdvS. The ISCs in (16-17) are similar to English (18) in so far as Ivan or Ana's desire to dance in plain view and Nomar's plan to practice in plain view are asserted to be secret respectively. Thus, Slavic ISCs may combine two Manner AdvS without contradiction, mimicking English Progressives.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|----------|---------------|---------------|-----|
| (16) | Na Ivan | skrišom | mu se | tancuvaše | |
| | P Ivan | secretly | 3Sg.Dat Refl | dance.Imp.3Sg | |
| | pred | očite | na vsički. | | Bul |
| | in.front.of | eyes.the | of everybody. | | |
| | 'Ivan secretly felt like dancing in plain view.' | | | | |

- (17) Ani se je skrivoma plesalo vsem na očeh. Slo
 A.Dat Refl Aux.3Sg secretly dance.Pple to.everybody on eyes

‘Ana secretly felt like dancing in plain view.’ (R&S 2008)

- (18) Nomar is secretly practicing in plain view tomorrow. (Copley 2002)

To support a biclausal analysis for ISCs, M&Ž (2004, 2006) mention other combinations of modifiers in Slovenian, which at first sight should conflict but in fact do not. All such combinations reduce to the same type, and display the already noted properties. That is, irrespective of the type of Adv that is involved, in Slovenian ISCs or counterparts in Bulgarian the first modifier composes semantically with the urge/disposition/desire/plan, and the second with the event denoted by V. This may now be observed with double Degree Advs in (19) and (20).

- (19) Mnogo mi se jadeše po malko. Bul
 very 1Sg.Dat Refl eat.Imp.3Sg at little

‘I very much felt like eating a little.’

- (20) Zelo se mi je malo tarnalo. Slo
 very Refl 1Sg.Dat Aux.3Sg little whine.Pple

‘I very much felt like whining a little.’ (M&Ž)

The two possible syntactic locations for *spet* ‘again’ and *pogosto* ‘often’ in Slovenian (21a-b) or counterparts in Bulgarian in (22a-b) also indicate semantic scope strictly encoded in the relative word order of the two Advs. Namely, the first Adv is outside the scope of the intensional operator, as in all the above sentences.³ This situation obtains in spite of the fact that Slovenian is a Wackernagel language with clitics in second position, and Bulgarian is a Tobler-Mussafia language with clitics adjacent to the verb but not in

first position. In addition, both languages display flexible word order consistent with scrambling, which does not affect my argument.

- (21) a. Bobanu se spet pogosto kadi havanke. Slo
 B.Dat Refl again often smokes Havanas
 ‘Boban again often feels like smoking Cuban cigars.’ (M&Ž)
- b. Bobanu se pogosto spet kadi havanke.
 B.Dat Refl often again smokes Havanas
 ‘Boban often feels like smoking Cuban cigars again.’
- (22) a. Na Ivan otnovo često mu se jade šokolad. Bul
 P Ivan again often 3Sg.Dat Refl eat.3Sg chocolate
 ‘Ivan again often feels like eating chocolate.’
- b. Na Ivan često mu se jade šokolad otnovo.
 P Ivan often 3Sg.Dat Refl eat.3Sg chocolate again
 ‘Ivan often feels like eating chocolate again.’

The seemingly contradictory depictive secondary predicates in Bulgarian (23a) and Slovenian (23b) also fall under the noted generalization. Their behavior can be reproduced in English Futurate Progressives, (23c), and in Spanish *Imperfectos* (with appropriate context): (23d).

- (23) a. Na Ivan, trezven, mu se gotveše pijan zaljan.
 P Ivan, sober, 3Sg.Dat Refl cook.Imp.3Sg all drunk
 ‘Ivan, sober, felt like cooking all drunk.’ Bul
- b. Jušu se treznemu ni kuhalo pijan.⁴
 J.Dat Refl sober.Dat Neg cooked drunk.Nom

- ‘Jush, (all) sober, didn't feel like cooking drunk.’ (M&Ž)
- c. Nomar now all sober is not cooking completely drunk tomorrow.
- d. Ayer, enfermo todavía, me iba mañana Spanish
 yesterday, sick still, Refl go.Imp.1Sg tomorrow
 ya curado en el expreso, pero parece
 already cured in the express, but seem.3Sg
 que estoy empeorando.
 that be.Pres.1Sg getting.worse
 ‘Yesterday, still sick, I was leaving tomorrow already in good
 health in the express, but it seems that I am getting worse.’

In sum, cases brought forward by M&Ž in support of two lexical Vs in ISCs illustrate semantic scope strictly encoded by the relative word order of the relevant modifiers, with counterparts in English Futurate Progressives and Spanish modal *Imperfectos*. Thus, I propose that such parallellisms can be captured via similar operators in a Viewpoint Aspect morpheme located in the inflectional space of the clause above the verbal space, which in Slavic ISCs corresponds to the structure in (11).

In English, Romance, and Slavic intensional constructions, modifier order translates as semantic scope, as we just saw. Thus, switching Time Advs in (12), (13) and (14a) results in contradictions, as in (24a-c).

- (24) a. *Utre na Bartoli i se peeše učera v Skalata. Bul
 tomorrow P B. 3Sg.Dat Refl sing.Imp yesterday in Sc.the
 ‘Tomorrow, Bartoli felt like singing in La Scala yesterday.’

- b. *Jutri se mi ne gre zdajle domov. Slo
 now Refl 1Sg.Dat Neg go.3Sg tomorrow home
 ‘*Tomorrow, I do not feel like going home now.’ (R&S 2008)
- c. *Tomorrow I was leaving yesterday on the Midnight Special.

Switching order of Depictives and Manner Advs results in different truth conditions, not contradictions. The Depictives in (25a-c) contrast with those in (23a-c) in so far as the disposition / plan is assigned to a sober individual in (23), and a drunk one in (25).

- (25) a. Na Ivan, pijan zaljan , mu se gotveše trezven. Bul
 P Ivan, all drunk, 3Sg.Dat Refl cook.Imp.3Sg sober
 ‘Ivan, all drunk, felt like cooking sober.’
- b. Jušu se pijanemu ni kuhalo trezen. Slo
 J.Dat Refl drunk.Dat Neg.Aux.3Sg cook.Pple sober.Nom
 ‘Jush, drunk, did not feel like cooking sober.’ (R&S 2008)
- c. Nomar now all drunk is cooking completely sober tomorrow.

As to Manner Advs, Copley (2002) tells us that *Nomar is cleverly practicing stupidly tomorrow* refers to a clever plan, and I note that *Nomar is stupidly practicing cleverly tomorrow* refers to a stupid plan. Parallel ISCs could be constructed in both Bulgarian and Slovenian, but are not illustrated.

To sum up, Adv/Adj sequences in Bulgarian, Slovenian, English, and Spanish display similar properties, which can be captured by parallel constituents in Viewpoint Aspect as intensional operators. A full-fledged account of Adv/Adjs in intensional contexts is beyond the scope of this paper, but I provide a brief sketch of how to capture

their behavior. Several proposals on AdvS in the recent literature could accommodate the phenomena noted above (Ernst 2002, Maienborn 2001, Svenonius 2002, Tenny 2000, a.o.), which may also be compatible with Cinque (1999), the approach adopted by M&Ž. For concreteness, I adopt Maienborn (2001), who proposes three sites within a syntactic clause where modifiers of the same type can be merged: (a) Internal in the V-periphery, (b) External in the VP-periphery, and (c) Frame-setting in the C-domain. Maienborn treats Adverbial modifiers as syntactic adjuncts, proposing that internal modifiers are V-adjuncts, external modifiers are VP-adjuncts, and frame-setting modifiers are adjuncts within the C-Domain. She argues that each site associates with a semantic effect, and can be exploited by the same lexical class of AdvS. Internal AdvS generated/merged as V-adjuncts are interpreted by being related to some participant connected to the argument structure of the verb (with some intervention of pragmatics). To illustrate, in *Eva signed the contract on the last page*, the adverbial phrase does not express a location for the whole signing event, but only one of its parts. External AdvS generated as VP-adjuncts make a fixed semantic contribution to the sentence, and are linked to the event argument of the verb. To illustrate, in *Eva signed the contract in Argentina*, the locative relates to the event argument in the verb, and refers to the place where the contract was signed. Frame-setting adverbs generated as adjuncts in the Complementizer (C)-domain of the clause in the periphery of the Topic Phrase can stack or reiterate. They are underspecified semantically, and can relate to a participant tied to the syntactic topic or to the topic of discourse (also with the intervention of pragmatics). To illustrate, the adverbial modifier in *In Argentina, Eva still is very popular* sets a general frame for the proposition expressed by the rest of the sentence.

If we apply Maienborn's views to ISCs, the rough dichotomy between Frame-setting Advs and External Advs proves useful to understand the distribution and interpretation of double modifiers. The general idea is that the above ISCs contain a Frame-setting Adv/Adj that modifies the C-domain of the clause, which contains the High Applicative as formal topic of the construction, followed by an External Adv/Adj as modifier of the VP. The crucial point is that Frame-setting modifiers are not in the scope of IMP^{OP} , so not in the portion of the clause treated as an intensional context in semantics. By contrast, External modifiers are within the scope of IMP^{OP} .

More precisely, the ISCs with two Time Advs in (12) or (13) – i.e. Bulgarian *Včera na Bartoli i se peeše utre v Skalata* ‘Yesterday, Bartoli felt like singing in La Scala tomorrow’ and so on-, those with two Manner Advs in (16-17), those with two Degree Advs in (19-20), two Frequency Advs in (21-22), or two Depictive Adjs in (23), all contain a Frame-setting modifier as clausal adjunct followed by an External modifier as VP-adjunct. Frame-setting modifiers are adjoined to the left periphery of the clause, and serve to characterize either a contextual topic, or the formal topic of the sentence. In my view, the topic of ISCs is formally and not contextually defined, and corresponds to the High Applicative Dative in (11), the logical subject, which I argue in §4 is above TP. Thus, ISC Frame-setting Advs such as *včera* ‘yesterday’ in (13) are integrated in the C-domain of the clause with the Applicative Phrase, and modify the disposition of the Dative. Since such Advs are adjoined in the C-domain above TP, they fall outside of the scope of the intensional operator in Asp, so do not sit in the phrase-structure portion of the clause that counts as an intensional context in semantics.

The first Time expression *včera* ‘yesterday’ in (13), then, is a Frame-setting Adv tied to the formal topic of the sentence in the Applicative, and the second time expression *utre* ‘tomorrow’ in apparent conflict with the first counts as the External Adv, and so on and so forth for subsequent examples. External Advs are adjuncts of the VP, and must modify the event argument of the verb. Thus, in the phrase-structure of ISCs in (11), External Advs are integrated below AspectP, or are under the scope of the morpheme that serves as intensional operator in Asp in the portion of the clause that counts as an intensional context in semantics.

I conclude with some three-Adv combinations mentioned by M&Ž in support of a biclausal structure: (26a-b). I add Bulgarian equivalents in (27a-b).

- (26) a. Med vojno se mi je po vojni hodilo Slo
 during war Refl 1Sg.Dat Aux after war go
 vsak dan na Triglav.
 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 Refl 1Sg.Dat Aux every morning go
 naslednji dan na Triglav.
 following day onto Triglav.

‘During the war I felt every morning like climbing Triglav the next day.’

- (27) a. Po vreme na vojnata mi se izkačvaše Černi
 during war.the 1Sg.Dat Refl climb.Imp.3Sg Cherni

Vruh	sled vojnata	vseki den.	Bul
Vruh	after war.the	every day	

‘During the war I felt like climbing Mt. Cherni Vruh after the war every day.’

b. Po vreme na vojnata	vseki den	mi se	izkačvaše
during P war.the	every day	1Sg.Dat Refl	climb.Imp.3Sg

Černi Vruh	na	sledvaštia	den.
Cherni Vruh	on	next.the	day

‘During the war every day I felt like climbing Mt. Cherni Vruh on the next day.’

A first thing to notice is that *Imperfectos* allow for similar three-Adv combinations, if properly contextualized: (28). English glosses in (28) indicate that the same applies to Futurate Progressives. Thus, three-Adv combinations also find counterparts in syntactic contexts with Viewpoint Aspect Operators in Spanish and English.

(28)	Durante las vacaciones,	cada día iba a la playa	Spanish
	during the holidays,	each day go.Imp.1Sg to the beach	
	al día siguiente sin excepción,	pero siempre surgía alguna	
	to.the day next without exception,	but always arose.Imp.3Sg some	
	complicación,	y acabé yendo muy pocas veces.	
	complication,	and finished.Pret.1Sg going very few times.	

‘During the holidays, each day I was going to the beach next day without exception, but there was always some complication, and I ended up going very few times.’

Order and semantics combine in more complex ways in (26-27) than in earlier examples, so I sketch how the adopted system may capture these new patterns. In my view, (26a-b) and (27a-b) are parallel to the ISCs with two modifiers in (12-13); namely, they all contain a first Frame Adv expression taking scope over the Aspect operator, followed by an External Adv expression under the scope of the operator. The difference is that in (26-27) either the Frame expression is complex/internally modified by an additional Adv, or the External expression is complex. In the (a) versions, the Frame Adv or clausal adjunct has a complex structure, and in the (b) versions, the External Adv or VP-adjunct has a complex structure. In each case, the Frame expression (with or without modifier) scopes over the Aspect operator, and the External expression (with or without modifier) is within its scope, which is rigidly encoded in the relative word order of the three Advs.

More precisely, the third Adv in (26a) , (27a) , (26b), and (27b) is External or a VP-adjunct, makes a fixed semantic contribution as a time modifier of the event denoted by V, and is under the scope of Asp : *vsak dan/vseki den* ‘every day’ and *naslednji dan/na sledvaštia den* ‘the next day’ respectively. By contrast, the first and second Advs in those sentences do not always play the same role. In the (a) versions, initial *med vojno/po vreme na vojната* ‘during the war’ functions as the expression in conflict with *po vojni /sled vojната* ‘after the war’. The situation is reversed in the (b) versions, with the second Advs *vsako dopoldne* ‘every morning’ and *vseki den* ‘every day’ establishing the apparent conflict with *naslednji dan/na sledvaštia den* ‘the next day’. Another important difference mentioned by Žaucer (p.c.) is that in the (a) versions the disposition scopes over the second and the third Advs. By contrast, in the (b) versions, the disposition scopes only over the third Adv.

The above facts can be captured by the hypothesis that the second Adv in (26a-27a) modifies the third Adv, which is External, or, in Maienborn's terms, a VP-adjunct. The External Adv and its modifier are adjacent to each other, as no Adv intervenes between the two. *Po vojni/sled vojnata* 'after the war' is a modifier of the External or VP-Adv, so is under the scope of the Aspect Operator, and a fourth Adv can be added to further specify the External Adv, as in English *Every day at 3'oclock after the war*. In (26b-27b), the second Adv *vsako dopoldne* 'every morning' and *vseki den* 'every day' are Frame-setting in the C-domain, and their modifier is *med vojno/po vreme na vojnata* 'during the war', with the two adjacent in the relevant sense. In this instance, then, the disposition scopes only over the third Adv, which is External (a VP-adjunct). Thus, Adv order and scope in (26-27) reduce to the less complex analysis for (12-13).

In sum, Slavic ISCs parallel English Futurates, and Spanish *Imperfectos*, and strictly reflect scope relations in the relative word order of modifiers. The position of one Adv/Adj with respect to the other interacts with interpretation in predictable ways. The Adv/Adjs modifying the disposition appear to the left of those that modify the activity denoted by V. In ISCs with two apparently conflicting Adv/Adjs, the first is Frame-setting or an adjunct in the C-domain with the High Applicative above the Aspect Phrase. The second Adv is External or a VP-adjunct, sits below Aspect, and modifies the verbal structure. These principles are preserved when Frame and/or External Adv/Adjs are complex, that is, modified by other Adv/Adjs. The fact that Bulgarian and Slovenian display flexible word order in other domains, and that the first is a Tobler-Mussafia language with clitics adjacent to the verb, and the second is a Wackernagel language with clitics in second position, does not affect this conclusion.

To conclude §2.1, I identified considerable similarities between Slavic ISCs, English Futurates, and Spanish modal *Imperfectos* attributed to parallel Viewpoint Operators.⁵ However, the English and Slavic constructions differ in so far as the first usually denote plans, while the second do not. Once I place ISCs under Kratzer's theory of modality in §2.2, I assign such a difference to the role of the logical subject -the dative- in ISCs.

2.2. The theory of modality and ISCs

Kratzer (1981, 1991) proposes that the analysis of modality involves three parameters: a modal force, a modal base, and an ordering source. An informal look at Bulgarian and Slovenian ISCs under such a theory proves useful from two perspectives. It can provide a clearer understanding of various modal flavors in ISCs, and be a first step in identifying differences between Slavic and English.

Let us introduce Kratzer's parameters. Modal force involves strength of quantification; it includes possibility / existential quantification as in modal *may*, and necessity / universal quantification, as in modal *must*. The modal base and the ordering source fix the set of worlds with respect to which the truth of a modalised proposition is evaluated. The modal base determines some of the properties of those worlds, with different types of modality tied to different modal bases. Epistemic modality involves modal bases determined by the propositions one takes to be known, and deontic modality those determined by the set of commandments. Modal bases grouped under 'root modality' involve notions related to personal ability, and are called circumstantial. A conversational background can define membership into a modal base - non-linguistic

means-, or the modal base can be defined by explicitly introduced expressions or by linguistic means. The initial phrase of *According to what we know, John must climb Mount Everest* specifies an epistemic modal base, while in *In view of John's circumstances, he must climb Mount Everest*, it specifies a circumstantial modal base. The Ordering Source also corresponds to a set of propositions, can be provided by a conversational background or by linguistic means, and establishes an ordering among possible worlds according to an ideal of some sort, allowing us to talk about the worlds that most closely reach the ideal. A stereotypical ordering source, for instance, establishes a ranking in terms of an ideal of normality, as defined by *In view of the normal course of events...* or *If things continued as expected...* Combining modal bases and ordering sources, epistemic modality has an epistemic modal base, and either no ordering source or an ordering source based on stereotypicality.

Let us now examine modal properties in ISCs from the above perspective. The modal force of ISCs seems universal, similar to Spanish modal *Imperfectos* for Cipria and Roberts (2000),⁶ and English Futurates for Copley (2002), a topic I do not discuss any further. When distinguishing between modal bases and ordering sources, Kratzer is mainly interested in conversational backgrounds that bring external information into semantics. In examining ISCs next, I instead emphasize the contribution of linguistic means to define their modal meaning. I begin by noting that modality in ISCs displays different flavors partially determined by the content of the verb in the construction. With Vs that denote physiological needs such as *sleep*, *eat* and *drink*, the modal meaning of ISCs usually corresponds to an urge of the dative glossed *being sleepy / hungry/ thirsty* respectively. This type of modal meaning is circumstantial: what is necessary given a set

of physical circumstances (of a relevant person). ISCs with such Vs, however, may also have meanings roughly classified as bouletic /boulomaic: i.e. desires of the person denoted by the dative. To illustrate, the two conflicting AdvS in (29) suggest a need whose satisfaction can be postponed. Thus, modal meaning in this sentence could be described as bouletic. Similar comments apply to (30). Namely, *sell* does not usually describe a physiological need, so the sentence is suitable to describe a desire.

- (29) Včera mi se pieše dnes Bul
 yesterday 1Sg.Dat Refl drink.Imp.3Sg today
 šampansko na palubata na koraba.
 champagne on deck.the of ship
 ‘Yesterday I felt like drinking champagne on the deck of the ship today.’

- (30) Na Ivan mu se prodavaxa knjigite na pazara. Bul
 P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl sell.Imp.3Pl books.the on market
 ‘Ivan felt like selling the books at the market.’

R&S (2008) report modal flavors for ISCs with attitudinal Vs noted in the main dictionary of Slovenian (SSKJ 1970-1991). This dictionary tells us that *ljubiti* ‘like, love’ used in the ISC frame in (31a) expresses the willingness to do something. Likewise, *dati* ‘give’ in the ISC frame in (31b) indicates a readiness or willingness to perform some activity.

- (31) a. Ani se je (ni) ljubilo plesati. Slo
 A.Dat Refl Aux.Pres.3Sg (Neg) love.Pple.Neu dance.Inf
 ‘Ana {felt / didn’t feel} like dancing.’

b. Ani se ni dalo delati.
 A.Dat Refl Neg.Aux give.Pple.Neu work.Inf

‘Ana did not feel like working.’

Attitudinal Vs, then, set a preference for modal meanings that involve psychological circumstances. M&Ž (2006:§6.4) mention other modal flavors in Slavic ISCs attributed to crosslinguistic variation. For Slovenian in particular, they note ‘wishful longing’, ‘indefinite yearning’, and ‘biological drive’.

The above flavor variations are reminiscent of what is often noted with modal verbs. English *have to*, for instance, is said to correspond to epistemic modality in *It has to be snowing*, to circumstantial modality in *I have to sleep*, or to deontic modality in *You have to be quiet*, and it has been suggested that such flavors may in turn stand for further varieties of readings. Kratzer (1981, 1991) argues that variation in modal meanings is the result of mainly context-dependency, sometimes with the help of formal markers. In her view, modal expressions have a skeletal meaning. When combined with background contexts (and some linguistic markers), such expressions acquire more specific meanings. Without linguistic markers, speakers rely on contextual clues to determine modal meaning for particular sentences. We can thus think of IMP^{OP} in ISCs as a modal expression with a skeletal meaning, which becomes more specific by a combination of linguistically marked clues, and background contexts.

Linguistic form plays an important role in defining the precise nature of modality in ISCs, establishing distinctions with English Futurates, as seen below. I mentioned above that the verb guides modality by adding a preference as to the precise meaning the Aspect Operator may express: physical circumstances with Vs for

physiological functions, and psychological circumstances/desires with attitudinal Vs. In addition, the High Applicative with the dative makes an obligatory contribution, which blocks the potential contribution of conversational backgrounds. More precisely, the dative of ISCs is the topic of the construction, and the syntactic constituent that must obligatorily identify the person whose circumstances or desires are relevant. By virtue of their linguistic form, then, ISCs disallow contextually established topics that could denote persons with relevant dispositions or desires. We see below that this feature is crucial when establishing the contrast between English or Slavic Futurates (i.e. those without dative subjects), and ISCs. To understand the contribution of the High Applicative with the dative logical subject to modal meaning, we can compare ISCs to constructions with modal *have to*, as in *You have to go to bed immediately*. Such an English sentence may display a bouletic modal flavor not by linguistic means, but when provided with a background context, as when uttered by a parent to a child. Background contexts, however, cannot play this type of role in ISCs due to the presence of the Applicative dative. Slavic ISCs may display a bouletic flavor, so do not fundamentally differ from English constructions with *have to*. However, I repeat that linguistic form determines in ISCs that the desire corresponds to the entity formally encoded in the dative as topic of the sentence, which must thus be animate, barring individuals defined in context from playing this role. In sum, modal meaning in ISCs is defined by linguistic form in interesting ways. On the one hand, the verb imposes a preference varying from a physiological urge to a desire, thus accounting for variations in flavor. On the other hand, regardless of background contexts, the High Applicative identifies the person whose circumstances/desires are relevant, which is a crucial ingredient to distinguish ISCs from

English Futurates, where the relevant person can be established in terms of a conversational background.

A characteristic of oblique logical subjects is a lack of control often stressed in the literature on South Asian languages (see Verma & Mohanan (1991)), found in other language families (see Bhaskarao & Subbarao (2004)), and noted for Albanian, Romance and Slavic in Kallulli (2006), Rivero (2004), a.o.). Case may thus have a semantic function, and dative subjects in ISCs share with other obliques lack of control, which for ease of exposition I notate [-Control]. I argue below that the case of logical subjects in ISCs influences the type of modal flavor that they express, providing a contrast with English Futurates and their counterparts in Bulgarian.

Combining the above remarks, I conclude that ISCs have a circumstantial modal base (also Benedicto (1995)) for the related but nevertheless different constructions in Russian in footnote 2). Their ordering source is also circumstantial, so not determined by general properties of the world, but by a relevant person or animate entity's psychological /physical circumstances or desires. In ISCs, the relevant person cannot be defined in terms of a background context, and is necessarily encoded by a dative/oblique subject with a [-Control] feature, which sits in a structural position in the C-domain of the clause outside the scope of the Viewpoint Operator where Frame-setting modifiers are also merged.

With the above proposals in mind, we are ready to tackle a difference between ISC and Futurate modal meaning noted above: namely, Slavic ISCs are not usually interpreted as plans, while English Futurates usually are (see Copley (2002)). The results of §2.1 suggest that Viewpoint Operators behave along parallel lines in Slavic and

English. Thus, I assign the noted difference to the contrasting properties of their logical subjects. Advancing ideas, Copley argues that English Futurates may involve a director defined by context or sometimes by linguistic form (often a nominative subject), and this allows them to be interpreted as plans. I propose that ISCs always lack directors for two related reasons. One is that, as already stated, the dative subject in ISCs identifies by virtue of linguistic form the person whose desires are relevant, thus eliminating from such a role persons that could be relevant but are defined contextually in terms of a conversational background. The second reason is that the dative is an oblique or quirky subject, and its formal or linguistic composition makes it incompatible with the properties of directors, whether they are contextually or linguistically defined.

To develop my argument, I begin by introducing in intuitive terms two properties that make Futurates with directors differ from ISCs. First, Copley tells us that Futurates must be plannable, so (32a) is far more acceptable than (32b) because winning cannot be decided ahead of time.

- (32) a. The Red Sox are playing the Yankees tomorrow.
 b. # The Red Sox are defeating the Yankees tomorrow.

By contrast, ISCs need not be plannable. We saw that they may express uncontrollable physiological needs such as hunger and thirst. They can also denote results not under the control of the relevant individual, as in (33a-b).

- (33) a. Na men mi se živee. Bul
 P 1.Sg 1Sg.Dat Refl live.Pres.3Sg
 ‘I feel like living.’

- b. Janezu se je umiralo doma. Slo
 J.Dat Refl Aux.3Sg die.Neu.Pple at.home
 ‘John felt like dying at home.’ (R&S 2008)

Second, Copley tells us that Futurates contain a commitment, so their result cannot be negated, making (34) a contradiction.

(34) # The Red Sox are playing the Yankees tomorrow but they might not. ISC's do not share this characteristic either. Both past and future (intended) results can be negated without contradiction in ISC's. That is, Bulgarian and Slovenian ISC's equivalent to *John felt like sleeping, but did not sleep* are not contradictions.

To capture that English Futurates may denote plans, Copley proposes that they have a bouletic ordering source determined by the abilities and commitments of an animate entity she calls director, which can be defined linguistically (often the nominative subject), or in context.⁷ Futurates have a direction presupposition to the effect that the director can see to it that the eventuality described by the proposition either takes place or does not take place. Such a presupposition coupled to a (plain) bouletic flavor is instrumental in ensuring that Progressive Futurates such as (32a) denote plans, whether the Red Sox count as the director, or a higher authority defined by a conversational background does.

We just saw that ISC's need not be plannable, and their intended results can be negated. In addition, ISC's need not depend on the commitments/ abilities of an animate entity. It is for instance appropriate for persons without singing experience to utter ISC's corresponding to *I feel like singing in La Scala*. These may be considered unrealistic desires, but are nevertheless licit. A bouletic ordering source for Slavic ISC's and English

Futurates captures their similarities, and the hypothesis that ISCs always lack directors in Copley's sense can capture their difference. We may thus wonder why ISCs consistently lack directors. The answer is that the animate entity that contributes to determine their ordering source by virtue of linguistic form is an oblique subject marked [-Control], which prevents the search for a relevant animate entity that could be provided contextually in terms of a conversational background. Thus, ISCs cannot be equipped with the commitment/ability imposed on English Futurates with directors, whether those correspond to nominative subjects, or to contextually defined individuals. In other words, datives in ISCs cannot be paired with a presupposition involving their control over the intended event, and block other individuals that could exert control.

Modal meaning in English Futurates with directors is complex, or results from the combination of a bouletic flavor and a control presupposition. By contrast, ISCs always lack directors, associate with just a bouletic flavor and not a control presupposition, so their modal meaning is plainer and they do not usually denote plans.⁸ In brief, I propose that modality in ISCs is expressed by a combination of two linguistic devices, one is related to Case (the dative), and the other is related to Viewpoint Aspect: the Imperfective Operator.

In sum, this section showed that ISCs contain an Operator for intensionality dubbed IMP^{OP} , with syntactic characteristics like the English Progressive and the Spanish *Imperfecto*. In ISCs, IMP^{OP} has a skeletal modal meaning with circumstantial or bouletic flavors, in part determined by the verb in the construction. In contrast with English Futurates whose directors can be defined by context or linguistic form, ISCs seldom count as plans, which I attributed to their oblique subjects. Datives in ISCs define by

virtue of linguistic form the person whose desires are relevant, but as oblique or ‘quirky’ subjects do not tolerate control presuppositions, so cannot function as directors, unlike nominatives in English Futurates. In addition, since datives identify the person with the relevant desire or disposition, they prevent ISCs from acquiring directors defined in terms of a contextual background.

With these proposals in mind, §3 provides specific morphological content for IMP^{OP} in Bulgarian and Slovenian. The section establishes a precise inventory of functional categories source of intensionality in the ISCs of the two languages, and thus identifies parametric variation in modal expressions representative of IMP^{OP}.

3. The morphology of IMP^{OP} in Bulgarian and Slovenian

This section has two related aims. A first goal is to give a precise content to IMP^{OP} in Viewpoint in ISCs. With this goal, I begin in §3.1 with Bulgarian, which offers the richest system of tenses, aspects, and moods in Slavic, and identify morphological markers for IMP^{OP}. The second goal is to argue that the Viewpoint hypothesis can successfully apply to Slavic languages with less complex aspectual/temporal systems than Bulgarian, accommodating crosslinguistic variation. With this aim, in §3.2 I examine Slovenian as a case in point, mainly based on R&S (2008).

The Bulgarian temporal / aspectual system is complex, so to establish an inventory of morphosyntactic items with an intensional role in ISCs is an ambitious program. In §3.1, I take a modest step towards such a program by identifying three families of markers for IMP^{OP}: (a) Inflections for Present and Imperfect Tenses, (b)

Imperfective Suffix *-va-* in Aorists with Perfective prefixes, and in Futures, and (c) Inceptive prefixes. At first sight, Bulgarian and Slovenian differ considerably. Slovenian has a poorer inventory of overt imperfective Viewpoint markers than Bulgarian. I nevertheless argue in §3.2 that Slovenian ISCs contain IMP^{OP} , with effects similar to those in Bulgarian. A well-known difference between the two languages is that Bulgarian exhibits Imperfect and Aorist Past Tenses, while Slovenian has one general Past, so this underlies some contrasts. Another difference is that the Imperfective Suffix *-va-* is found in both languages, but has a less restricted distribution in Bulgarian than in Slovenian, which is the source of additional contrasts. A last difference is that Bulgarian has prefixes with an IMP^{OP} role, while Slovenian does not, a third area where contrasts arise.

3.1. IMP^{OP} in Bulgarian

This section is organized as follows. In §3.1.1, I examine nonperiphrastic tenses: Present, Imperfect, and Aorist. I argue that Presents and Imperfects bear IMP^{OP} while Aorists do not. In §3.1.2, I examine periphrastic futures consisting of *šte* and an inflected V, and come to two conclusions. One, the future particle plays no relevant intensional role in ISCs, and the inflected V carries IMP^{OP} when overtly marked imperfective. Two, Futures provide evidence that Imperfective Suffix *-va-* can be an intensional operator, which is not clear in ISCs in the Present / Imperfect Tenses. In §3.1.3, I argue that Inceptive prefixes can stand for IMP^{OP} , and thus contrast with Perfective prefixes, which cannot. In §3.1.4 I argue that Aorists are neutral in the sense of Smith (1991). This is why in ISCs, Aorists may combine with overt Viewpoint markers for IMP^{OP} , such as Imperfective suffix *-va-*.

3.1.1. Presents, Imperfects, Aorists, and IMP^{OP}

In my search for representatives of IMP^{OP}, I begin with morphologically simple tenses: Present, Imperfect, and Aorist. I argue that inflectional markers for the first and the second may function as intensional operators, while those for the third cannot.

Bulgarian Present Inflections can stand for IMP^{OP} from two perspectives: in constructions with nominative subjects that resemble English Futurates, and in ISCs. On the one hand, I noted in footnote 8 that Bulgarian grammars (see Tilkov, Stojanov, & Popov (1982-1983)) consider the modal flavor of Present constructions with ordinary nominative subjects traditionally dubbed *praesens pro futuro* such as (35a-c) equivalent to a plan.

- (35) a. Utre zaminavam za selo.
 tomorrow go.Pres.1Sg to village
 ‘I am going to the village tomorrow.’
- b. Imaš ot mene dva dolara.
 have.Pres.2Sg from me two dollars
 ‘You are going to have two dollars from me.’
- c. Vzemaš knigata i vednaga
 take.Pres.2Sg book.the and immediately
 ja vraštaš na Ivan.
 3Sg.Acc return.Pres.2Sg to Ivan
 ‘You are going to take the book and return it immediately to Ivan.’

The received view is that the above constructions may involve certainty based on previous knowledge, or an authoritative point of view. Such an idea is reminiscent of Copley's contextually /linguistically defined directors. More precisely, using the terminology of this paper, traditional grammarians suggest that *praesens pro futuro* patterns such as (35a-c) may be interpreted as plans involving a director preferably defined in context: a higher authority. From this point of view, Bulgarian Presents (and Imperfects) share modal characteristics with English Futurates in the Present of the type *The Red Sox play the Yankees tomorrow*.

On the other hand, Present ISCs are common, as illustrated in (36). Given the proposals in §2, the difference between (35) and (36) is that in the last, the dative must encode the person whose desires/urges are relevant. Such a dative is a quirky subject so cannot be a director, and its presence prevents persons determined by a conversational background or in context to count as directors. Thus, ISCs such as (36) usually contrast with *praesens pro futuro* patterns such as (35), and are interpreted as dispositions or desires, not usually plans.

(36)	Na decata	im	se	raboti.
	P children.the	3Pl.Dat	Refl	work.Pres.3Sg

‘The children {are in a working mood/ feel like working}.’

Given the noted modal role, I propose that Present Inflections combine temporal information in T, aspectual information for IMP^{OP} in Aspect, and vP as intensional complement (but see Copley (2002) for the proposal that English simple Futurates contain a generic operator in a modal role, not a Progressive operator). Bare Present Inflections can represent IMP^{OP} in (36), so I conclude that they are the morphological

markers for intensionality in Present ISCs and elsewhere: (35a-c).

To establish that Imperfect Inflections can play the operator role while Aorist Inflections cannot, I begin by examining Vs without prefixes. Consider (37-38) with an Imperfective Imperfect V in the sense of Comrie (1976): a V without a (Perfective) prefix, thus dubbed ‘Imperfective’, combined with an Imperfect Inflection *-še*, thus dubbed ‘Imperfect’.

(37) Na Ivan mu se pišeše pismoto.

P Ivan 3Sg. Dat Refl write.Imp.3Sg letter.the

Reading 1= OK ‘Ivan felt like writing the letter.’

Reading 2= OK ‘They/people were writing the letter to Ivan.’

(38) Na Ivan mu se četeše knjigata.

P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl read.Imp.3Sg book.the

Reading 1= OK ‘Ivan felt like reading the book.’

Reading 2= OK ‘They/people were reading the book to Ivan.’

Vs with the above morphology are prototypical of past ISCs (see Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1996), a.o). To understand the modal role of their Imperfect Inflections, I first note that (37-38) are ambiguous between two readings with different truth conditions, which correspond to two unrelated syntactic structures. On the one hand, they display the reading characteristic of ISCs notated 1: dative *Ivan* is a bearer of a disposition, without entailment that he wrote in (37), or that he read in (38). In my proposal, this reading corresponds to the ISC syntactic structure in (11), with (a) the dative in the High Applicative as logical subject, (b) IMP^{OP} inside the *-še* Inflection, and (c) the nominative in agreement with V as theme internal to the VP. On the other hand, (37-38) can receive a

reading with a (past) actuality entailment notated 2: *Ivan* is the beneficiary of somebody's past writing or reading activity. This meaning corresponds to a syntactic structure traditionally called impersonal or *se*-passive, with (a) an implicit animate agent related to passive *se*, (b) a nominative theme internal to VP, and (c) dative *Ivan* as second internal constituent in VP. We see next that ISCs are aspectually restricted and *se*-passives are not, which serves as a symptom for morphological markers that can represent IMP^{OP}.

I continue in (39) with Vs that Comrie (1976) calls Imperfective Aorists. In contrast with (37), (39) with a V without a Perfective prefix -thus dubbed 'Imperfective'-coupled to the Aorist Inflection is not ambiguous. It can only denote someone's past writing with *Ivan* as goal. Thus, (39) corresponds to a traditional *se*-passive with a dative complement internal to VP, and does not stand for an ISC with the syntactic structure in (3) or (11).

(39)	Na Ivan	mu se	pisa	pismoto.
	P Ivan	3Sg.Dat Refl	write.Aor.3Sg	letter.the

Reading 1: (unavailable) 'Ivan felt like writing the letter.'

Reading 2: OK 'They/ people wrote the letter for Ivan.'

Se-passives, then, are well formed with Imperfective Imperfect Vs or with Imperfective Aorist Vs, so they are not aspectually restricted. By contrast, ISCs are well formed only with Imperfective Imperfects, so they are aspectually constrained.

The contrast between (37) and (39) has parallels with Vs that combine Imperfect inflection -*še* with Imperfective suffix -*va-*, as in (40a-b). That is, (40a) with the two markers is an ISC, while (40b) with just a bare Aorist Inflection is limited to the dative as goal, and no relevant intensionality. Thus, it cannot participate in the ISC skeleton.

- (40) a. Kaz-va-še mi se.
 say.Imp.3Sg 1Sg.Dat Refl
 Reading 1: ‘I felt like saying.’
 Reading 2: ‘They were telling me.’/ ‘I was being told.’
- b. Kaza mi se.
 say.Aor. 3Sg 1Sg.Dat Refl
 Reading 1: (unavailable) ‘I felt like saying.’
 Reading 2: OK ‘They told me.’/‘I was told.’

Other Vs that replicate the above contrast include *pay* and *buy*. Imperfect *Plaštaše mi se* ‘I was in the mood to pay’ contrasts with bare Aorist *Plati mi se* ‘They paid me’, which is not an ISC. Imperfect *Kupuvaše mi se* ‘I felt like buying’ contrasts with bare Aorist *Kupi mi se* ‘They bought for me’, and so on and so forth. Vs with Imperfect Inflections, then, can appear in ISCs with or without Imperfective Suffix *-va-*, so I conclude that in such contexts IMP^{OP} resides in the Tense Inflection, not in the Suffix. So far, then, ISCs are licit with Present or Imperfect Inflections in Tense/Aspect. Thus, such Inflections are modal categories in the tradition of English Futurates in Present or Progressive form, and the Spanish *Imperfecto* in §2.

The hypothesis that IMP^{OP} stands for Viewpoint Aspect external to vP/VP receives additional support from constructions with Imperfect and Aorist Inflections combined with Perfective prefixes, which Comrie (1976) calls ‘Perfective Imperfects’ and ‘Perfective Aorists’ respectively. I begin with the Perfective Imperfect Vs in (41a-b), with prefixes *pro-* and *na-* -which can thus be dubbed ‘Perfective’-, combined with the Imperfect Inflection *-še*, which can thus be dubbed ‘Imperfect’.

- (41) a. Na Ivan mu se pro-čita-še kniga-ta.
 P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl Pf-read.Imp.3Sg book.the
 ‘Ivan felt like reading the book in full.’ (but did not have the time)
- b. Na Ivan mu se na-pis-va-še pismo-to.
 P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl Pf-write.Imp.3Sg letter-the
 ‘Ivan felt like writing the letter in full.’

Like (37-38), sentences (41a-b) have two readings (and two syntactic structures), but I only show the relevant one: *Ivan* is the bearer of a past disposition to read or write. That the sentences in (41a-b) are well-formed ISCs supports the analysis sketched in (42). The Imperfect Inflection in Viewpoint Aspect holds the intensional operator, and the Perfective prefixes within vP are under the scope of this Operator, and stand for Situation Aspect in the sense of Smith (1991).⁹

- (42) [_{AppIP} Dative [_{AppI'} Appl [_{TP} Past AspP[IMP^{OP} vP[... *pro/na* ...]]]]].

When IMP^{OP} scopes over Perfective prefixes, it is reminiscent of the English Progressive Operator in §2, which can combine with telic VPs, as in *Mary was tearing up the book*, and result in constructions without actuality implications, such as *Mary was tearing up the book next week*, which is not a contradiction but a plan. The analysis in (42) captures in the case of ISCs the parallel modal effect of Bulgarian Imperfect Inflections on telic vPs with Perfective prefixes, which results in intensional constructions without a (relevant) past implication.¹⁰

I continue with Perfective Aorist Vs, i.e. those that combine Perfective prefixes and Aorist Inflections, as in (43a-b). By contrast, with the Imperfect Inflections of (41a-b), Aorist Inflections combined with Perfective prefixes do not tolerate an ISC analysis.

- (43) a. Na Ivan mu se pro-čete knjigata.
 P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl Pf-read.Aor.3Sg book.the.
 Reading 1: (unavailable) ‘Ivan felt like reading the book in full.’
 Reading 2: OK ‘The book was read in full to Ivan.’
- b. Na Ivan mu se na-pisa pismoto.
 P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl Pf-write.Aor.3Sg letter.the.
 Reading 1: (unavailable) ‘Ivan felt like writing the letter in full.’
 Reading 2: OK ‘The letter was written in full for Ivan.’

Sentences (43a-b) are restricted to a reading with the dative as goal, so can only be *se*-passives with *Ivan* inside the VP. In my view, Perfective Aorist sentences cannot be well-formed ISCs because they lack an appropriate morphological marker for intensionality. Namely, Perfective prefixes cannot be modal operators, and Aorist Inflections cannot play such a role either.

Imperfective Suffix *-va-* can also stand for IMP^{OP} in Bulgarian. So far, the intensional role of such a suffix seemed in doubt, when combined with Present or Imperfect Inflections. We first encountered it in Imperfect ISCs such as (40a) *Kaz-va-še mi se* ‘I felt like telling’. ISCs without *-va-* such as (37) *Na Ivan mu se piše-še* ‘Ivan felt like writing’ are fine, so I concluded that Inflection *-še*, not the Suffix, stands for IMP^{OP}. I reached a similar conclusion for ISCs combining a Perfective prefix, the Suffix, and an Imperfect Inflection such as *na-pis-va-še* in (41b). That is, ISCs with only a prefix and an Inflection on the verb such as *pro-čita-še* in (41a) are fine, so *-va-* is not required. However, (44) illustrates that the Imperfective Suffix can stand for IMP^{OP} in Bulgarian, after all.

- (44) Na Ivan mu se na-pis-va-xa mnogo statii.
 P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl Pf-write-va-Aorist.3Pl many articles
 ‘Ivan felt like writing up many articles.’

The new combination in (44) is with Perfective *na-*, Imperfective *-va-*, and Aorist Inflection *-xa*. By assumption, Perfective prefixes and Aorist Inflections are not operators, so in (44) the Imperfective Suffix stands for IMP^{OP} in Viewpoint, and scopes over the Perfective prefix in vP, as sketched in (45).

- (45) [AppIP Dative [AppI' Appl [TP Past AspP[-va- vP[... na- ...]]]]].

In past ISCs, then, Bulgarian *-va-* plays the operator role when not combined with Imperfect Inflections. When mentioning some Slavic nonintensional contexts in passing, Borer (2005) also concludes that *-va-* is representative of Viewpoint Aspect.

In my analysis, (44) is similar to (46a-b) with a bare Imperfect Tense V: both contain morphological markers for intensionality in Viewpoint, so are licit ISCs.

- (46) a. Na Ivan mu se pi-**še**-xa mnogo statii.
 P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl write-Imp.3Pl many articles
 ‘Ivan felt like writing many articles.’
 b. [AppIP Dative [AppI' Appl [TP Past AspP[-**še** vP[v VP]]]]].

3.1.2. Bulgarian Futures and IMP^{OP}

Bulgarian Futures are periphrastic, and combine invariable *šte* with a V with Person/Number: *šte hap-va-m* ‘I will be eating’ is an Imperfective Future, and the Perfective counterpart is *šte hap-na* ‘I will eat’. For my aims, future formations are

interesting from two perspectives. One, they carry IMP^{OP} on the verb, not *šte*. Two, they provide evidence that Viewpoint can be morphologically distinct from Tense.

Vs without prefixes illustrate that Future ISCs must contain imperfective marking, *-va-* in (47a), not perfective marking, *-n-* in (47b).

- (47) a. Šte mi se hap-va šokolad utre.
 Fut 1Sg.Dat Refl eat-va.3Sg chocolate tomorrow
 ‘I will feel like eating chocolate tomorrow.’
- b. *Šte mi se hapne šokolad utre.
 Fut 1Sg.Dat Refl eat.n.3Sg chocolate tomorrow
 ‘*I will feel like eating chocolate tomorrow.’

The contrast between (47a) and (47b) shows that *šte* is a Tense marker, not the marker for intensionality, a role carried by Imperfective Suffix *-va-* on the verb in (47a). The pattern in (47a) illustrates that Bulgarian *-va-* need not combine with a Perfective prefix, unlike what happens in other Slavic languages. In addition, this example provides new evidence that such a Suffix can represent IMP^{OP}.

Futures with Perfective prefixes as in (48a-b) behave on a par with (47a-b).

- (48) a. Šte mi se po-hap-va šokolad utre.
 Fut 1Sg.Dat Refl Pf-eat-va.3Sg chocolate tomorrow
 ‘I will feel like having a bite of chocolate tomorrow.’
- b. *Šte mi se po-hapne šokolad utre.
 Fut 1Sg.Dat Refl Pf-eat.n.3Sg chocolate tomorrow

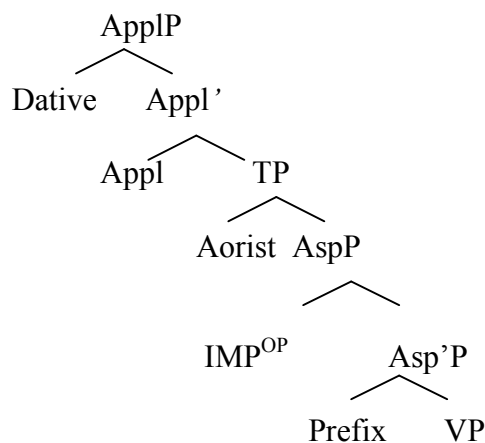
That is, Future ISCs with an Imperfective Suffix are fine, and those without it are ungrammatical. This situation adds supports to an analysis where *šte* marks Tense, and

Inflections combine in well-formed ISCs. Recall that Perfective prefixes combined with Aorist Inflections are disallowed, as in (50). This is because neither morphological category can play the role of intensional operator.

- (50) * Na Ivan mu se pro-spa filma.
 P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl Pf-sleep.Aor.3Sg movie
 ‘*Ivan felt like sleeping during the whole movie.’

In my view, ISCs such as (49a-c) support two conclusions. One is that a Bulgarian family of prefixes may be representative of Viewpoint IMP^{OP}. Thus, I propose that such prefixes are formally parallel to other markers identified as operators above. In particular, the set of prefixes in (49a-c) combined with Aorist Inflections have the same modal effect on ISCs as Imperfective Suffix *-va-*. Thus, I propose to capture such a parallelism by the structure in (51), which encodes two hypotheses. One is that the prefix heads the Aspect Projection and the other is that Aorist Inflections in (49a-b) mark Tense, not external Aspect, since the assumption is that the structure displays an independent overt marker for Viewpoint, namely the prefix.

(51) Inceptive/ continuative prefixes in Aorist ISCs



To my mind, the ISCs with Inceptive prefixes in (49a-c) do not represent an

isolated phenomenon in Bulgarian at an appropriate level of abstraction, which offers support for analysis (51). On the one hand, I already mentioned that (49a-c) bear a resemblance to ISCs that combine *-va-* with an Aorist inflection such as (44): *Na Ivan mu se na-pis-va-xa mnogo statii* ‘Ivan felt like writing up many articles’. The constructions in (49a-c) and (44) arguably display Viewpoint markers that are morphologically independent from Tense. That is, if prefixes in (49a) and Imperfective Suffix *-va-* in (44) mark Viewpoint, Aorist Inflections must mark Tense (i.e. Past) in both (and see §3.1.4 for further discussion). On the other hand, the ISCs in (49a-c) resemble Future ISCs such as (47) *Šte mi se hap-va šokolad utre* ‘I will feel like eating chocolate tomorrow’. The two bear morphologically independent Aspect and Tense markers: if prefixes in (49a-c) and Imperfective *-va-* in (47) stand for Viewpoint, Aorist Inflections and future *šte* must respectively stand for Tense.

Let us now examine the prefixes in (49a-c) in more detail. Intuitively, it seems logical to add inceptive *do-* ‘begin’ in (49a) and inchoative *pri-* ‘come to’ in (49b) to the inventory of Imperfect Viewpoints, since they present a situation as unbounded, without endpoint. It is more difficult to view *ot-* ‘not continue’ in (49c) under a similar light, since it suggests a boundary/endpoint. In an earlier version of this paper, I proposed that *ot-* contains a negative feature (i.e. NOT), based on the fact that Negation can be an intensional operator in ISCs, as I show next. However, an anonymous reviewer mentions that such a proposal predicts that *ot-* should license Negative Polarity items, which I do not think is the case. Clearly, a more sophisticated solution is required; it could, for instance, be that *ot-* ‘not continue’ expresses the suspension of the disposition, and contains a presupposition about the prior occurrence/interval in its path, focusing on a

preliminary stage. However, I cannot provide a principled answer for why *ot-* ‘not continue’ pairs with *do-* ‘begin’ and *pri-* ‘come to’ in Bulgarian ISCs, and leave this topic to future research.

A last item with an intensional effect I note in passing is the Negation. Negative ISCs with Aorist Verbs are well formed in Bulgarian: (52). Aorists are not intensional operators, so Neg plays the aspectual operator role in this context.

- (52) V prodalzhenie na godini,
 For years
 na Ivan ne mu se pisa nito edna kniga.
 P Ivan Neg 3Sg.Dat Refl write.Aor.3Sg not.even one book
 ‘For years, Ivan did not feel like writing even a single book.’

The hypothesis that Neg is an aspect operator is not new. The semantic literature offers two contrasting views on this topic. Some equate Neg with Viewpoint Aspect (see Csirmaz (2006) and references therein), and others with Situation Aspect (a.o. Dowty (1979)). Bulgarian (52) shows that Neg has the same effect on ISCs as Present Inflections, Imperfect Inflections, Imperfective Suffix *-va-*, and Inceptive prefixes. If all these functional categories are Viewpoint operators, Neg must be paired with them, an idea whose development is left to future research.

3. 1. 4. Aorists and Neutral Viewpoint

To conclude with Bulgarian, I examine the aspectual status of Aorists. Earlier, I introduced two types of well-formed ISCs with Aorist Inflections: those with Imperfective Suffix *-va*, and those with Inceptive prefixes. I argued that the Imperfective

Suffix and such prefixes are Viewpoint markers, and suggested that the Aorist Inflection marks (Past) Tense in such combinations.

The hypothesis that Aorist Inflections mark Tense in ISCs fits well with the hypothesis that they stand for neutral Viewpoint in the sense of Smith (1991), which was already suggested on different grounds by Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou, and Izvorski (2001). Smith tells us that the neutral is weaker than the perfective in allowing open readings, and stronger than the imperfective because it allows closed readings. She also tells us that neutral viewpoints are flexible, including the initial endpoint of a situation and at least one internal stage where applicable. Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou, and Izvorski (2001) propose that Bulgarian Imperfect Tenses represent imperfect(ive) viewpoint, and Aorist Tenses represent neutral viewpoint: the Aorist asserts [-boundedness], or at least does not assert [+boundedness]. In their view, Aorist and Imperfect Inflections are compatible with the same continuation in (53), since the Aorist does not specify whether the wine was finished, and asserts that an activity of drinking took place (see also their footnote 41 p. 197 on imperfect(ive)s vs. neutrals).

(53)	Maria	pi	/	pieše	vinoto
	Maria	drink.Aor.3Sg /		Imp.3Sg	wine.the
	(no	ne znam	dali go	iz-pi	cjaloto)
	(but	Neg know.Pres.1Sg	whether it	Pf-drink.Aor.3Sg	completely)

‘Maria was drinking the wine (but I don’t know whether she finished it).’

An anonymous reviewer objects to this reasoning, stating that (53) shows that Aorists are neutral for telicity, not boundedness in the sense of Declerck (1979), and Depraetere (1995). This reviewer proposes that (54) shows that Aorists are bounded.¹¹

- (54) #Maria pi vinoto predi pet minuti,
 Mary drink.Aor.3Sg wine.the before five minutes,
 i ošte može da pie.
 and still may that drink.3Sg
 ‘# Mary drank the wine five minutes ago, and may still be drinking.’

We saw above well-formed ISCs that combine Aorist Inflections with Imperfective *-va-*. Thus, it is unlikely that in such constructions, Aorists stand for Viewpoint Aspect with [+bounded] marking. If they did, two conflicting items would compete for Viewpoint: *-va-* marked [-bounded], and the Aorist marked [+bounded]. This conflict could be avoided if [+bounded] in Aorists was somehow removed/neutralized in ISCs with an overt Viewpoint marker with the opposite value, but here I pursue the simpler idea that Aorists do not assert [+boundedness], i.e. are neutral. In support of this view, let us reconsider (54). The Adv in its first conjunct could be a modifier of (Viewpoint) Aspect outside VP, along lines proposed by Dowty (1979) and others, which is compatible with proposals on Advs in §2. Then, such an Adv could provide the boundary that makes the second conjunct infelicitous. With the Adv in (54) removed from the first conjunct, and the second conjunct equipped with a pronoun referring back to the wine, the result is (55a), which seems felicitous to informants I consulted ((55a) is not completely synonymous with Imperfect (55b), a different issue I do not address).

- (55) Maria {a.pi / b. pieše} vinoto,
 Mary {a. drink.Aor/ b. drink.Imp} wine.the,
 i ošte može da go pie.
 and still may that it drink.3Sg

‘Mary drank / was drinking the wine, and may still be drinking it.’

A second case where both Aorist and Imperfect Tenses seem felicitous is in (56a-b), which both assert that a situation continued up to the present.

- (56) Minalata godina Ivan {a. živja/ b. živeeše} v Milano
 Last year Ivan {a. lived.Aor / b. lived.Imp} in Milan
 i sega prodâlzava da živee tam.
 and now continues da live.3Sg here
 ‘Last year Ivan {lived/was living} in Milan and now
 continues to live there.’

Imperfect (56b) needs no context, and Aorist (56a) while felicitous requires some conversational/pragmatic background that may remain implicit. For instance, an informant suggests that (56a) is appropriate if Ivan as continuous resident of Milan changed status from student to professor. Thus, I tentatively conclude that (56a) supports that Aorists may be neutral in contexts other than the ISCs relevant to this paper.

The hypothesis that Aorists are neutral can capture the properties of standard ISCs with Imperfective *-va-*, and also some colloquial/nonstandard uses of this Tense. Under appropriate contextual conditions subject to speaker variation, ISCs with unprefixd Aorists such as (57) are acceptable at a colloquial level (these are explicitly excluded by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1996)).

- (57) Mnogo mi se spa po vreme na leksiata,
 Much 1Sg.Dat Refl sleep.Aor.3Sg during lesson.the,
 no kato izliazoh sled tova se obodrih.
 but when came.out.Aor.1Sg later Refl refresh.Aor.1Sg

‘ I was very sleepy during the class, but when I came out afterwards I was refreshed.’

Sentence (57) volunteered by G. Dukova can be a report for a feeling that went away, if uttered immediately after leaving a classroom. Thus, it may denote a disposition absent at Speech Time, as in *I did not continue feeling sleepy*, which is reminiscent of (49c) with *ot-*. I suggest that such a reading is obtained by Coercion (see de Swart (1988), and references therein); this is accomplished by adding a null Viewpoint Operator for intensionality to neutral Aorists void of Aspect. Coercion is a contextual reinterpretation strongly dependent on linguistic context and knowledge of the world. It is morphologically and syntactically invisible, but of the same semantic type as an existing operator. We saw that Aorists cannot satisfy the aspectual constraints of ISCs, but are compatible with Viewpoint markers for intensionality, so indicate Tense, not Aspect. In (57), Coercion results in the addition to Aorists of an invisible operator of the same semantic type as *ot-* to satisfy aspectual constraints. To repeat, with Aorists as aspectually neutral, such a null operator plays the role of Viewpoint Aspect. Interpretation in (57), then, depends on context, and informants may disagree on whether such sentences are well-formed ISCs or not. However, Coercion gives rise to a specific and predictable meaning effect, by adding an operator that mimics an overt Viewpoint.

To conclude with Bulgarian, (a) Present and Imperfect Inflections, (b) Imperfective Suffix *-va-* in Aorists and Futures, and (c) Continuative prefixes are functional categories that can play the role of Viewpoint Imperfect(ive) Operators. Such items contrast with Aorist Inflections and Perfective prefixes, which cannot play such a role. I argued that Aorist Inflections are unspecified for Viewpoint, i.e. neutral, so may

combine in well-formed ISCs with Viewpoint Operators, most notably Imperfective Suffix *-va-*.

3.2. IMP^{OP} in Slovenian in comparison with Bulgarian

The main aim of §3.2 is to show that the Viewpoint hypothesis can insightfully capture the properties of ISCs in Slavic languages with less complex aspectual/temporal systems than Bulgarian. Based mainly on R&S (2008), I consider Slovenian as a case in point, and identify some parametric variation between Bulgarian and Slovenian. An interesting feature of Slovenian is that it does not mark Viewpoint overtly as often as Bulgarian, which allows me to make a new proposal on covert IMP^{OP}.

Slovenian ISCs often differ from their Bulgarian counterparts, but I argue that they can receive a revealing analysis in terms of IMP^{OP}. Present Tense Inflections can represent IMP^{OP} in Slovenian, as in (58), thus resembling Bulgarian Present Inflections, and Present or simple Futurates in English (and see footnote 8 and the discussion of Bulgarian *praesens pro futuro* in §3.1).

- (58) Janezu se spi.
 J.Dat Refl sleep.Pres.3Sg
 ‘John {is sleepy/ feels like} sleeping.’

Slovenian contrasts with Bulgarian and resembles other Slavic languages in displaying just one general Past, which is behind some differences in the ISCs of the two languages. The Slovenian Past is periphrastic, and combines an Auxiliary with a Participle, as in (59).

- (59) Janezu so se pisala pisma.
 J.Dat Aux.3Pl Refl write.Pple letters.Nom

Reading 1: ‘John felt like writing (the) letters.’

Reading 2: ‘(The) letters were written to John.’

The pattern in (59) illustrates a more common situation in Slovenian than in Bulgarian: covert aspect. In my terms, (59) lacks overt markers for both Viewpoint and Situation Aspect, so counts as imperfective by default. The closest parallel to Slovenian (59) in Bulgarian was discussed in §3.1.1, and is with an **overt** Viewpoint Imperfect Inflection *-še*: *Na Ivan mu se piše-še pismoto* ‘Ivan felt like writing the letter.’ Like its Bulgarian counterpart, the Slovenian pattern in (59) hides two syntactic structures with two readings, and different truth condition. One structure is the relevant ISC: dative *Janezu* as bearer of a disposition to write letters. The other is the ditransitive configuration involving passive *se* about a past writing event by undetermined individuals, with *Janezu* in the VP, which I do not discuss.

I propose that in the ISC structure for (59), morphologically unmarked Viewpoint Aspect stands for a phonologically null but syntactically and semantically present imperfect(ive) operator, as in (60). The Bulgarian equivalent *Na Ivan mu se piše-še pismoto* contains an overt morphological marker *-še* that carries IMP^{OP} and occupies both Tense and Aspect in the ISC skeleton.

- (60) [_{AppIP} NP_{Dat} [Appl [TP Aux [AspP [IMP^{OP} 0]_{VP}[V VP]]]]].

Vs with Perfective prefixes offer a clear indication that Slovenian ISCs must contain IMP^{OP} . Slovenian ISCs cannot combine just a Past Auxiliary and a Perfective prefix, as in (61). R&S (2008) report that this is also the case when the logical object is

accusative not nominative, and whether its interpretation is definite or indefinite (§3.1 contains Bulgarian ISCs with logical objects overtly marked by definite articles). The sentence in (61) must be interpreted with *Janezu* as a beneficiary of a past writing event, so does not represent a well-formed ISC.

(61)	Janezu	so	se	na-pisala	pisma.
	J.Dat	Aux.3Pl	Refl	Pf-write.Pple	letters.Nom

Reading 1: (unavailable) ‘John felt like writing (the) letters.’

Reading 2: OK ‘(The) letters were written to John.’

The closest equivalent to Slovenian (61) is the Bulgarian pattern in §3.1.1 with a Perfective prefix and an Aorist Inflection, which cannot be an ISC: *Na Ivan mu se na-pisa pismoto* ‘*Ivan felt like writing the letter in full’. Parallelisms reside in the hypothesis that the Slovenian Aux, the Bulgarian Aorist Inflection, and Perfective *na-* in both languages cannot stand for IMP^{OP}, so such patterns cannot represent well-formed ISCs.

If Slovenian has a phonologically null imperfect(ive) operator for Viewpoint, as proposed in (60), a question immediately arises. The question is why such an operator cannot combine with a Perfective prefix, resulting in a well-formed ISC reading for (61). This question is inspired by Bulgarian, which has well-formed ISCs with Imperfect Inflections for Viewpoint Aspect, and Perfective prefixes for Situation Aspect, such as *Na Ivan mu se pro-čita-še knjigata* ‘Ivan felt like reading the book in full’. To account for the lack of ISC reading in (61), I propose that null imperfect(ive) Viewpoints cannot combine with Perfective prefixes, because they must obey the recoverability condition stated in (62). Given such a condition, Slovenian (61) cannot be a well-formed ISC.

(62) Recoverability Condition on null Viewpoints.

The content of null Viewpoint must be recoverable from/compatible with overt Situation markers.

The principle in (62) encodes a preference familiar in discussions of Slavic. It is often noted that Vs marked with Perfective prefixes preferably combine with, or result in, bounded Viewpoint: i.e. Telicity in Situation Aspect most often goes hand in hand with Perfectivity in Viewpoint Aspect, and Atelicity and Imperfectivity also correlate. The principle in (62) acknowledges such a preference, but restricts it to null Viewpoints.

The sentence in (61) contains an overt prefix for (Telic) Situation Aspect, (62) requires that the null operator in Viewpoint must be [+bounded], so (61) cannot be an ISC. The restriction in (62), however, is silent on overt Viewpoint markers not only in Slovenian, but elsewhere. We can conclude that overt Viewpoints do not obey (62) in Bulgarian, given that there are well-formed Perfective (*pro-*) Imperfect (*-še*) ISCs such as *Na Ivan mu se pro-čita-še knjigata* ‘Ivan felt like reading the book in full’. Such patterns combine overt Viewpoint and Situation markers with contrasting values, which is unproblematic because their Viewpoint is overt: *-še*. Thus, a first difference between some Bulgarian and Slovenian ISCs derives from the existence in Bulgarian of Imperfect Tense Inflections, and their absence in Slovenian.

We just saw that Slovenian and Bulgarian may contrast due to their different inventory of morphological Tenses. Bulgarian distinguishes between Imperfect and Aorist Tenses while Slovenian is restricted to a general Past. However, the ISCs of the two languages are parallel when they both contain overt Viewpoints. To show such a parallelism, let us first examine the Slovenian Past ISC with Imperfective Suffix *-va-* in

(63). Slovenian *-va-* must appear with Perfective prefixes in so-called Secondary Imperfectivization, so its distribution is more restricted than in Bulgarian. However, *-va-* suffixes are similar in the two languages in so far as they can stand for overt IMP^{OP}, as (63) now illustrates for Slovenian.

(63)	Janezu	so se	pre-piso-va-la	pisma.
	J.Dat	Aux.3Pl Refl	Pf-write-va-Pple	letters.Nom
	‘John felt like rewriting (the) letters.’			(R&S 2008)

Neither the Auxiliary nor the prefix can be intensional operators in ISCs such as (63). Thus, the Imperfective Suffix plays such a role, with the proposed analysis in (64).

(64)	[_{AppIP} J [_{AppI} Appl [_{TP} Past [_{AspP} IMP ^{OP} [- <i>va-</i>] _{VP} [<i>pre-</i> V NP]]]]].
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The ISC in (63-64) combines two aspectual markers with contrasting values: an imperfective Viewpoint scopes over a (perfective) Situation marker. Bulgarian offers a close counterpart to Slovenian (63) discussed in §3.1: the combination of Perfective *na-* with Suffix *-va-* and an Aorist Inflection in *Na Ivan na-pis-va-xa mu se mnogo statii*. ‘Ivan felt like writing up many articles’. In such a Bulgarian pattern, *na-* is for Situation Aspect, and *-va-* for Viewpoint Aspect, just like in Slovenian (64). The morphological difference between the two languages resides in Tense markers, a topic in need of future study; the assumption is that those markers do not encode Viewpoint.

R&S (2008) do not mention Future ISCs in Slovenian, but the proposals in this paper can cover them in an elegant way, so I add them. I begin with verbs without prefixes. Slovenian futures are periphrastic with an inflected Aux and a (participle) V: (65).

- (65) Janezu se bodo jutri pisala pisma.
 J.Dat Refl Fut.3Pl tomorrow write.Pple letters
 ‘Janez will feel like writing letters tomorrow.’

The ISC in (65) is imperfective by default, i.e. with a phonologically null Imperfective Operator in Viewpoint and no overt Situation marker. On this view, (65) compares with the Bulgarian future ISC *Šte mi se hap-va šokolad utre* ‘I will feel like eating chocolate tomorrow’, which has an overt Imperfective Viewpoint marker: Suffix *-va-*. Thus, the comparison of Slovenian and Bulgarian future ISCs again results in differences and similarities between the two languages. An (incidental) difference is that Slovenian future *bodo* is marked for Person and the verb is not, while Bulgarian future *šte* is invariable, and the verb is marked for person. A relevant similarity is that both Slovenian *bodo* and Bulgarian *šte* are Tense markers morphologically independent from Viewpoint Aspect. A relevant difference is that there is a preference for covert Viewpoint in Slovenian, and for overt Viewpoint in Bulgarian. Another relevant difference related to the last is that Bulgarian Imperfective *-va-* is not restricted to contexts of secondary imperfectivization (those with Perfective prefixes), unlike its Slovenian counterpart.

Now let us turn to prefixes. I begin with the kind where the two languages are parallel. Future ISCs with Perfective prefixes bear a close resemblance in Slovenian and Bulgarian, offering strong support for the proposals in this paper. To this effect consider Slovenian (66).

- (66) Janezu se bodo jutri pre-piso-va-la pisma.
 J.Dat Refl Fut.3Pl tomorrow Pf-write-va-Pple letters
 ‘Janez will feel like writing letters tomorrow.’

The ISC in (66) is a close relative of Bulgarian *Šte mi se po-hap-va školad utre* ‘I will feel like having a bite of chocolate tomorrow’. A first parallel is that Viewpoint markers are identical: Imperfective *-va-*. A second parallel is that Tense markers, Bulgarian *šte* and Slovenian *bodo*, are morphologically distinct from such Viewpoint markers. The third parallel is that Perfective prefixes are in vP under the scope of Viewpoint IMP^{OP}. The last parallel is that such patterns illustrate that Bulgarian and Slovenian overt imperfective Viewpoints behave identically. They do not fall under the recoverability condition in (62); so can combine with Situation markers with the opposite value in ISCs and elsewhere. Thus, the proposals in this paper can successfully capture a complex interplay of similarities and differences between Bulgarian and Slovenian ISCs.

The last step in my brief comparison of Slovenian and Bulgarian is about a second family of prefixes that differentiate the two languages. I argued in §3.1 that Bulgarian prefixes of the continuative type might stand for IMP^{OP}: (49a-c). By contrast, Slovenian does not include comparable prefixes in its inventory of IMP^O, as (67a-b) now illustrate.

- (67) a. *Janezu se je za-plavalo.
 J.Dat Refl Aux za-swim.Pple
 ‘*Janez began to feel like swimming.’
- b. *Janezu se je od-vecerjalo.
 J.Dat Refl Aux od-eat.supper.Pple
 ‘*Janez stopped to feel like eating supper.’

Slovenian *za-* may function as an Inceptive similar to Bulgarian *do-*. Thus, at first sight, (67a) is formally comparable to Bulgarian sentences with such an Inceptive, such as *Na decata im se do-pisa* ‘The children began to feel like writing’ in (49a). However,

Slovenian (67a) cannot be an ISC. Likewise, Slovenian (67b) contains terminative *od-*, so at first sight seems comparable to our earlier Bulgarian *Na Ivan mu se ot-jade* ‘Ivan finished feeling like eating. Ivan’s hunger did not continue’. However, the difference reappears because the Bulgarian pattern is a well-formed ISC, which is not the case in Slovenian. Such a contrast follows if the two languages differ in IMP^{OP} inventory - an instance of parametric variation for functional categories. We already know that Slovenian lacks Imperfect and Aorist Inflections, which as I noted underlies important differences between the two languages. A second difference based on the clear grammaticality contrast between (49a-c) and (67a-b) is that certain prefixes can play the role of IMP^{OP} in Bulgarian while apparently similar prefixes cannot do so in Slovenian.

In sum, §3.2 offered a comparison of ISCs in Bulgarian and Slovenian, based on the hypothesis that IMP^{OP} is a source of intensionality. Taking Slovenian as representative of the poorer aspectual /temporal systems elsewhere in Slavic, such a hypothesis captures a complex web of similarities and differences between Slovenian and Bulgarian, identifying specific instances of parametric variation. Our program, then, seems promising for future research on Slavic languages with parallel ISCs not discussed here, which include Serbian, Croatian, and Macedonian.

4. A last look at the syntactic structure of ISCs

This section provides additional syntactic and morphological motivation for the proposed ISC skeleton in (3) now repeated in (68).

(68) [_{AppIP} NP_{Dat} Appl [Tense [Aspect [v VP]]]].

On the one hand, §4.1 further justifies the hypothesis that the Applicative sits above Tense and Viewpoint Aspect in the C-domain of the clause in both Bulgarian and Slovenian. On the other hand, §4.2 examines biclausal structures with defective complements in Bulgarian, showing that ISCs do not display the syntactic properties of such structures, and thus concludes that ISCs do not contain a null modal, contra Franks (1995), or a null psychological verb, contra M&Ž (2004, 2006).

4.1. High Applicatives in ISCs

In this section, I add support to the hypothesis that the Applicative of ISCs sits above Tense and Aspect, as in (68).

Let us briefly introduce High Applicatives. Building on Marantz (1993), Pylkkänen (2002) argues that Applicatives divide into two semantic and syntactic types that she dubs High and Low, respectively. She proposes that High Applicatives denote a semantic relation between an individual and an event, and are located below Voice (see Kratzer (1996)), roughly as in VoiceP > ApplicativeP > vP. I propose that datives in ISCs represent Applicatives that denote a semantic relation between an individual and an event and are thus High in Pylkkänen's semantic sense, and as we see next also in a syntactic sense. However, following Rivero (2003, 2004), I locate the Applicatives of ISCs above TP, and in this paper I give arguments to support this idea.

I begin by noting that High Applicatives combine with any constituent that describes an event, and TP is such a constituent. Thus, the location of the High Applicative in (68) is not problematic on formal or theoretical grounds.

Let us give reasons that the Applicative of ISCs must dominate the syntactic temporal-aspectual complex of the clause, that is TP and AspP in (68). In §2.1, I cited ISCs with two secondary predicates, such as Slovenian (13b) repeated in (69).

- (69) Jušu se treznemu ni kuhalo pijan.
 J.Dat Refl sober.Dat Neg.Aux cook.Pple drunk.Nom
 ‘Jush, (all) sober, didn't feel like cooking drunk.’ (M&Ž)

I proposed that the first depictive Adj in (69), which mirrors the case of its antecedent, is of the Frame-setting type merged in the C-domain, thus above both Tense and Aspect. Under the usual assumption that antecedent and predicative Adj are in a local relation, the dative in the Applicative must also be in the C-domain above both TP and AspP. In §2.2, I proposed that the dative as formal topic of the sentence identifies the person whose desires or dispositions are relevant, and thus eliminates potential contributions of contextually defined topics. The High Applicative, then, is structurally parallel to a Topic, also consistent with the hypothesis that it merges in the C-domain above TP.

Another reason to place the High Applicative above the temporal-aspectual complex is the absence of well-formed nominalizations corresponding to ISCs in Bulgarian and Slovenian. I consider that this is a syntactic restriction on the complementation requirements of the Applicative: its complement must be a TP, and nominalizations lack (syntactic) TPs. Thus, I join a tradition that holds that TP / T are syntactic categories absent from the nominal domain (see Stowell (1981, 1984), Siloni (1997), Wiltschko (2003), among others). Under this view, the Applicative in ISCs resembles more familiar Applicatives in the literature in being sensitive to the syntactic category of its complement.

To develop the argument based on nominalizations, I begin with the psych verb nominalizations in (70a-b) from Dimitova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1998: 176).

- (70) a. Razdraznenieto {na Ivan/ mu } (ot knigata).
 irritation.the {P Ivan / 3Sg.Dat} (by book.the)
 ‘{Ivan’s/ his} irritation at the book.’
- b. Otegčeniето {na Ivan/ mu } (ot filma).
 boredom.the {P Ivan / 3Sg.Dat} (by film.the)
 ‘{Ivan’s/ his} boredom at the movie.’

Nominalizations of the above type resemble ISCs in two ways. Their experiencers are *na*-phrases or dative clitics. When phrasal, such experiencers can be doubled by a clitic, as in (71a-b). The similarity with Bulgarian ISCs is the dative phrase doubled by a clitic.

- (71) a. Na Ivan razdraznenieto mu (ot knigata).
 P Ivan irritation.the 3Sg.Dat (by book.the)
 ‘Ivan’s irritation at the book.’
- b. Na Ivan otegčeniето mu (ot filma).
 P Ivan boredom.the 3Sg.Dat (by film.the)
 ‘Ivan’s boredom at the movie.’

Given the above similarities, it is unexpected that there are no well-formed nominalizations corresponding to ISCs. All potential candidates for such a status lack modal readings, or are ungrammatical. To illustrate, a nominalization for the ISC in (72a) could be (72b) without clitic doubling, or (72c) with doubling.

- (72) a. Na Ivan mu se jadeše jabalkata.
 P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl eat.Imp.3Sg apple.the

‘Ivan felt like eating the apple.’

b. Jadeneto na Ivan (na jabalkata) be predizvikatelstvo.

eating.the P Ivan (P apple.the) was challenge

Reading 1= Dispositional: * ‘Ivan’s urge to eat (the apple) was a challenge.’

Reading 2= Nondispositional: ? ‘Ivan’s eating (the apple) was a challenge.’

c. Na Ivan jadeneto mu (na jabalkata)

P Ivan eating.the 3Sg.Dat (P apple.the)

be predizvikatelstvo.

was challenge

Reading 1= Dispositional: * ‘Ivan’s urge to eat (the apple) was a challenge.’

Reading 2= Nondispositional: ? ‘Ivan’s eating (the apple) was a challenge.’

However, (72b) and (72c) are well formed, but do not have the relevant modal reading.

They do not denote Ivan’s disposition to eat, so are unrelated to dispositional (72a).

It could be suggested that (72b-c) lack modal readings because they lack aspect markers. However, there are no nominalizations corresponding to ISCs with aspect markers such as (73a). The potential nominalization in (73b) has Ivan as possessor and *do-* interpreted as a resultative, so is unrelated to dispositional (73a). In this instance, then, the prefix is interpreted as a Situation marker.

- (73) a. Na Ivan mu se do-jaždaše jabalka.
 P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl start-eat.Imp.3Sg apple
 ‘Ivan started to feel like eating an apple.’
- b. Do-jaždaneto na jabalkite na Ivan
 start-eating.the P apples.the P Ivan
 be predizvikelstvo.
 was challenge
 Reading 1 =Dispositional: * ‘Ivan’s beginning to feel like eating
 the apples was a challenge.’
 Reading 2 = nondispositional: OK ‘Eating up Ivan's apples was a
 challenge.’

Do- in (73a-b) has both inceptive (‘begin’) and resultative readings, and the nominalization in (73b) exploits its resultative meaning: ‘eat up’. By contrast, *pri-* ‘come to’ in (35b) now partially repeated in (74a) can only have the inceptive meaning I assign to Viewpoint Aspect. Potential nominalizations for ISCs with such a prefix are deviant, as in (75b).

- (75) a. Na Ivan mu se pri-jadoxa jabulki.
 P Ivan 3Sg.Dat Refl came.to-eat.Aor.3Pl apples
 ‘Ivan came to feel like eating apples.’
- b. *Pri-jaždaneto na Ivan na jabulki be predizvikelstvo.
 Come.to-eating.the P Ivan P apples was challenge
 ‘*Ivan getting to feel like eating apples was a challenge.’

ISCs must contain reflexives, so it could be that this prevents them from entering into nominalizations. However, nominalizations based on inherently reflexive verbs, (76a-b), or on middle constructions, (77a-b), are fine without reflexives.

- (76) a. Ivan se usmixvaše.
 Ivan Refl smile.Imp.3Sg
 ‘Ivan was smiling.’
- b. Usmixvaneto na Ivan be predizvikelstvo.
 Smiling.the P Ivan was challenge
 ‘The smiling of Ivan was a challenge.’
- (77) a. Krakat na masata se čupeše lesno.
 Leg.the P table.the Refl break.Imp.3Sg easily
 ‘The leg of the table could break easily.’
- b. {Sčupeneto /sčupvaneto} na kraka na masata.
 Breaking.the P leg P table.the
 ‘The breaking of the leg of the table.’

I noted in footnote 3 that middle constructions resemble ISCs as to Adv modification, and attributed their parallelism with ISCs to a Generic Operator comparable to the aspectual operator proposed in this paper. Middles may have well-formed nominalized counterparts, which suggests that the modal Operator in ISCs is not directly responsible for the absence of well-formed nominalizations. A difference between middles and ISCs, however, is that the last have a dative subject, which suggests that the dative Applicative is instrumental in the absence of nominalizations.

R&S (2008) point out that Slovenian is similar to Bulgarian. On the one hand, Psych constructions of various types have nominalized counterparts in this language, as in (78a-b) with a dative experiencer V, and in (79a) with an accusative experiencer V, whose nominalized counterpart corresponds either to (79b), or (79c) suggested by an anonymous reviewer.

- (78) a. Film ugaja Ani. Slo
 Film.Nom pleases Ann.Dat
 ‘The film pleases Ann.’
- b. Ugajanje filma Ani ...
 pleasing film.Gen A.Dat
 ‘Anna’s pleasure at the film...’
- (79) a. Ta film razburja Ano.
 This film.Nom irritates Ann.Acc
 ‘This film irritates Ann.’
- b. Anino razburjanje nad filmom ...
 A.Poss.Adj irritation over film. Inst
- c. Filmovo razburjanje Ane
 Film.Poss.Adj irritation A.Gen
 ‘Ann’s irritation at the film...’

On the other hand, there are no well-formed nominalizations for ISCs, as (80a-b) illustrate.

- (80) a. Janezu se je pilo vodo.
 J.Dat Refl Aux.3Sg drink.Pple water.Fem.Acc

‘John felt like drinking water.’

b. Janezovo pitje vode je bilo zabavno.

J.Poss.Adj drinking water.Gen be.3Sg been amusing

‘John’s drinking water was amusing.’

‘*John’s urge to drink water was amusing.’ *ISC

I relate the above restriction to a complementation requirement of the High Applicative: i.e. a syntactic restriction. The High Applicative in the C-domain of the clause must take a TP complement with an imperfective Viewpoint component, and, as argued in the literature, Nominalizations do not contain syntactic TPs.¹²

To sum up, the semantic and syntactic properties of High Applicatives in ISCs support the hypothesis that they are located in the C-domain, so above TP in (68).

4.2. ISCs vs. biclausal constructions in Bulgarian

In this section, I examine biclausal constructions with defective complements in Bulgarian, and conclude that ISCs do not have the syntactic characteristics of such constructions. This argues both against the hypothesis that ISCs contain a null modal as in Franks (1995), or a null psychological verb in a matrix clause as in M&Ž (2004, 2006).

Bulgarian is rich in constructions with a main clause and a defective clausal complement, so offers good empirical grounds to test whether ISCs are monoclausal with IMP^{OP} for modality or not. All Bulgarian constructions with modals belong in the biclausal category, and tenses of the Indicative and the Renarrated Moods may also fall into this type. However, such biclausal constructions show morphological and syntactic

characteristics of the type listed in (81), not found in ISCs, which suggests that ISCs are inherently monoclausal.

- (81) Characteristics of (defective) biclausal constructions in Bulgarian:
- a. At least two overt verbal forms inflected for tense, one per clause.
Each verbal form may contribute an independent temporal / aspectual value.
 - b. All verbal items contain phi-features.
 - c. *Da* marks the boundary of the complement clause.
This item is treated as a complementizer heading CP (see Krapova (1998, 2001)), or as a modal head heading MP (see Rivero (1994), among others), and introduces all types of subjunctive complements.
 - d. Two (potential) clitic slots, one per clause.
Clitic *li* for interrogative force belongs to the main clause.
Pronominal clitics standing for the arguments of the lexical verb belong to the embedded clause.

I illustrate the properties in (81) beginning with Modals in (82-83).

- (82) Možeš li [da mi gi pokažeš?]
Can.2Sg Q [da 1Sg.Dat 3Pl.Acc show.Pres.2Sg]
'Can you show them to me?'
- (83) Trjabva li [da mi gi pokažeš?]
Must Q [da 1Sg.Dat 3Pl.Acc show.Pres.2Sg]
'Is it necessary for you to show them to me?'

Modals may show person and number - *možeš* in (82)-, or be in default form - *trjabva* in (83)-, and are in the main clause. Lexical verbs in the Present with Person and Number are in the embedded clause introduced by *da*. Clitic climbing does not exist in Bulgarian, and clitics need not be adjacent in biclausal structures. In (82-83), *li* for interrogative force is in the main clause, and pronouns *mi gi* for direct and indirect objects are in the embedded clause.

Patterns corresponding to Romance Indicative Past Conditionals/Future Pluperfects such as French *Jean aurait lu le livre* and Spanish *Juan habría leído el libro* ‘John would have read the book’ are biclausal in Bulgarian, as illustrated in (84a-b).

- (84) a. Ivan šteše [da e čel knigata].
 Ivan Aux.Imp.3Sg [da be.Pres.3Sg read.Pple book.the]
 ‘Ivan would have read the book.’
- b. Ivan šteše [da e svaršil rabotata]...
 Ivan Aux.Imp.3Sg [da be.Pres.3Sg finish.Pple work.the]
 ‘Ivan might have finished the job...’ (Krapova 1988: (i) fn. 27)

In (84a-b), matrix *šteše* in the Imperfect Tense shows Person and Number. In the embedded clause, the lexical verb in a periphrastic Perfect combines auxiliary *be* in the Present with Person and Number, and a Participle with Gender and Number in agreement with the nominative. Lexical verbs with modals in (82-83) are Present, so could be in default form without (deictic) temporal value; however, auxiliary and lexical verb bear different tenses in (84a-b), and arguably make independent temporal / aspectual contributions each.

Negative and affirmative tenses may differ in clausal structure, as in (85a-b).

- (85) a. Maria *šte* e pisala pismoto.
 Maria Fut be.Pres.3Sg write.Pple letter.the
 ‘Maria will have written the letter.’
- b. Maria *njama* [da e pisala pismoto.]
 Maria Neg.Fut [da be.Pres.3Sg write.Pple letter.the]
 ‘Maria will not have written the letter.’

The Future Perfect in (85a) is arguably monoclausal, with invariable *šte* as head of a modal projection (see Rivero (1994), a. o.). By contrast, the negated Future Perfect in (85b) has a matrix auxiliary with a complement clause with a Perfect Tense and the characteristics of (84a-b).

The Renarrated Mood embodies a speaker’s attitude towards the proposition glossed ‘apparently’/ ‘reportedly’, and has a full paradigm of periphrastic tenses (see Scatton (1985), Rivero (2005)), including biclausal structures with properties as in (81). The Past Future in (86), for instance, consists of a future auxiliary participle with gender and number in agreement with the nominative in the matrix, and a *da*-complement with a Present lexical verb.

- (86) Maria *štjala* [da piše pismoto.]
 Maria Fut.Pple [da write.Pres.3Sg letter.the]
 ‘Apparently, Mary would write the letter.’

To the naked eye, the Renarrated emphatic Past Future in (87) contains a bewildering array of auxiliaries. However, its syntactic structure is clear in view of the diagnostics in (81): *da* marks the embedded clausal boundary, interrogative *li* belongs to the matrix, clitic pronouns to the embedded clause, without restructuring and climbing.

- (87) Dnes šteli li ste bili vie
 today Fut.Pple Q be.Pres.2Pl be.Pple you
 [da mi gi pokazvate]?
 [da 1Sg.Dat 3Pl.Acc show.Pres.2Pl]

‘Is it that you will show them to me today?’

Evidence for biclausal status for (82) through (87) seems clear, which makes it unreasonable to place ordinary ISCs of type (88) in the biclausal category.

- (88) Na Ivan li mu se raboti?
 P Ivan Q 3Sg.Dat Refl work.Pres.3Sg

‘Does Ivan feel like working?’

The hypothesis that (88) derives from a structure with a null modal (Franks (1995)) would require construction-specific processes, which lack independent evidence in Bulgarian. They include (a) deletion / non-insertion of *da* as Vocabulary Item, (b) deletion / non-insertion of one of two sets of morphological Tense features, (c) deletion / non-insertion of one of two sets of Phi-features, and (d) conflation / restructuring of two verbal items, resulting in one unique clitic cluster. The same criticisms apply to the biclausal structure with a null psychological verb in M&Ž (2004, 2006). The monoclausal proposal in (68) with Viewpoint Aspect for intensionality poses no such problems, and received syntactic and semantic support in §2, and a precise morphosyntactic implementation in both Bulgarian and Slovenian in §3.

ISCs of type (88), then, seem best analyzed with one syntactic clause that contains an Aspect Operator, as in (68). However, there are biclausal Bulgarian ISCs that display the properties in (81), when their particular tense and/or mood require it. To illustrate, the

interrogative Renarrated emphatic Past Future in (89) is among biclausal tenses in Bulgarian. Thus, ISCs that display such a ‘Tense’ must consist of two clauses.

Interrogative *li* and the two Aux are in the matrix, and dative and reflexive clitics for ISC status in the complement clause.

- (89) Na decata li šteli bili
 P children.the Q Fut.Pple be.Pple
 [da im se jadat jabulki.]
 [da 3Pl.Dat Refl eat.Pres.3Pl apples]
 ‘Is it the children who would have felt like eating apples?’

The syntax of complex ISCs such as (89) has not attracted attention, but raises interesting questions for future consideration. We can, for instance, wonder about the position of the Applicative in biclausal ISCs. Assuming that clitic *im* in (89) heads the High Applicative (see Cuervo (2003) for other High Applicatives in Spanish), then such a phrase is located in the embedded clause; if *Na decata* originates in the Spec of the High Applicative, it must have scrambled to the matrix. The biclausal ISC in (90) is parallel; *na tebe* precedes negative Aux *njamaše* so is arguably in the matrix, and dative and reflexive clitics *ti se* for ISC status are in the embedded clause.

- (90) Na tebe njamaše [da ti se jadat jabulki.]
 P you Neg.Aux.Imp [da 2Sg.Dat Refl eat.Pres.3Pl apples]
 ‘Reportedly, you would not have felt like eating apples.’

To conclude, Bulgarian offers considerable evidence for the hypothesis that ISCs are inherently monoclausal. They contain one overt lexical verb, without a null modal or

a null psychological verb. However, Bulgarian ISCs may participate in biclausal structures with defective complements if their tense or their mood require it.

5. Conclusions

In §2.1, I noted syntactic and semantic similarities in Adv/Adj modification between Slavic ISCs, English Futurates, and Spanish modal *Imperfectos*. I argued that such parallellisms are due to an IMP^{OP} morpheme in Viewpoint Aspect, with scope properties determined by word order. In §2.2, I discussed modal flavors in ISCs, which can be dispositions or desires. I associated oblique subjects in ISCs with lack of control, and made them responsible for the contrast with English Futurates, which may be plans controlled by directors. In §3, I provided precise morphological content for IMP^{OP} in both Bulgarian and Slovenian. Bulgarian has the most complex aspectual / temporal system in Slavic, and a rich array of overt morphemes for IMP^{OP}: Present and Imperfect Inflections, Imperfective Suffix *-va-* (with Aorists and Futures), and Inceptive prefixes. However, Aorist Inflections, Perfective prefixes, and Future *šte* cannot stand for IMP^{OP} in Bulgarian. Slovenian is representative of less intricate temporal / aspectual systems elsewhere in Slavic. Items that represent IMP^{OP} in ISCs in this language are less numerous, and include Present Inflections, Imperfective Suffix *-va-* in Secondary Imperfectivization, and a null Operator subject to a recoverability condition. Section 4 provided arguments for a dative Applicative in ISCs located above Tense. One of them is that there are no well-formed nominalizations for ISCs because nominals lack a syntactic TP. Section 4 also examined biclausal structures with defective complements in Bulgarian, which in this language are the only syntactic option with modals, and a variety

of periphrastic tenses and moods. It showed that ISCs lack the syntactic characteristics of biclausal constructions, so concluded that they do not contain a null modal, or a null psych verb with a defective clausal complement.

FOOTNOTES

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¹ The terminology on aspect is extremely rich (Borik (2006) for an overview). This paper adopts terms in Smith (1991), and the distinction between Viewpoint Aspect and Situation Aspect. I argue that in the ISC structure in (3), IMP^{OP} represents Viewpoint Aspect. As stated in the text, IMP^{OP} is an imperfective modal category in the tradition of

Dowty (1977, 1979), Cipria and Roberts (2000), Landman (1992), Portner (1998), Zucchi (1999), and Copley (2002), among others. Using terms in Declerck (1979), and Depraetere (1995), Viewpoint IMP^{OP} is an unbounded, not a bounded category. In syntactic structure, IMP^{OP} occupies a location above the verbal layers dominated by vP, so corresponds to grammatical or inflectional aspect, not lexical, Aktionsart, or predicational aspect. IMP^{OP} belongs to outer aspect in opposition to inner aspect. For different approaches to the mentioned dichotomies and relevant discussion see Borik (2006), Comrie (1976), Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1996), Filip (2000, 2003, 2005), Rivero (1992), Slabakova (2005), Smith (1991), Travis (2000, 2003, to appear), Verkuyl (1993, 1998), among many others. Verkuyl is among those authors who argue that there is no semantic difference between the two aspects, but he recognizes a structural difference in syntax. Authors that do not adopt a distinction between two types of aspect include Kamp and Reyle (1993), de Swart (1998), and Giorgi and Pianesi (1997). These linguists provide analyses for the English Progressive in terms of eventuality modification (i.e. Situation Aspect in the terms of this paper). Giorgi and Pianesi treat the Italian Imperfect Tense, which bears a resemblance to the Bulgarian Imperfect Tense and the Spanish *Imperfecto* in this paper, in terms of some sort of eventuality modification. In my view, ISCs provide evidence for a syntactic and a semantic division between two types of aspect dubbed Viewpoint and Situation here.

Concerning prefixes, I argue for two types in ISCs. On the one hand, Perfective prefixes such as *na-* or *pro-* stand for Situation Aspect syntactically located within vP in Bulgarian and Slovenian (for nonintensional constructions see also (Slabakova 2005) on Bulgarian, and Svenonius (2005), among others). On the other hand, some Bulgarian

prefixes provide intensional flavor in ISCs, so I they correspond to IMP^{OP} in Viewpoint. By contrast, Slovenian lacks prefixes with the relevant intensional role, an instance of parametric variation explored in §3.

² A similar idea was proposed earlier by Benedicto (1995). Namely, reflexive *sja* in Russian constructions of type (ia-ib) stands for a variable bound by the dative.

- (i) a. Mne xorošo rabotaet-sja. Russian
 1Sg.Dat well work.Pres.3Sg-Refl
 ‘I am working well and I feel well about it.’
 ‘I am feeling well in my working.’ (Benedicto 1995: (32c))
- b. [_{MP} NP_{Dat} [_{M'} M [_{AgSP} Refl TP]]].

As glosses indicate, there is a fundamental truth conditional difference between Russian (ia), and ISCs in Slovenian and South Slavic (or Albanian). The Russian construction has an actuality entailment, denoting a present working activity by *mne* ‘I’. Comparable South Slavic, Slovenian, and Albanian ISCs in the Present lack such an actuality entailment, so do not denote a present working activity, only a disposition to work. The Russian construction leads to contradiction when continued with *but I am not working*, which is suitable for South Slavic and Slovenian ISCs (or Albanian). Franks (1995) mentions syntactic restrictions on Russian constructions of type (ia), which do not apply to the Slavic ISCs in this paper, so there are syntactic differences between the two as well.

³ It is often assumed that middles contain a Generic Operator. Middles resemble ISCs in so far as they tolerate the reversal of Advs, with a consequent change in scope, as in Slovenian in (i) (examples provided by Žaucer (p.c.)). Spanish middles display similar properties: (ii). Thus, the proposals in the text can be extended to middles. For Copley (2002), English simple futurates involve a Generic Operator, which also suggests a connection with middles.

- (i) a. Tele cigare se običajno še-zmeraj kadijo hitro. Slo
 These cigars.Nom.Pl Refl usually still smoke.3Pl fast
 ‘Usually these cigars still smoke fast.’
- b. Tele cigare se še-zmeraj običajno kadijo hitro.
 These cigars.Nom.Pl Refl still usually smoke.3Pl fast
 ‘Still (now), these cigars usually smoke fast.’
- (ii) a. Estos cigarros normalmente se fuman todavía deprisa. Spanish
 These cigars.Pl normally Refl smoke.3Pl still fast
 ‘Usually these cigars still smoke fast.’
- b. Estos cigarros todavía se fuman normalmente deprisa.
 These cigars.Pl still Refl smoke.3Pl normally fast
 ‘Still (now), these cigars usually smoke fast.’

⁴ In Slovenian ISCs with two depictive Adjs such as (23b), the first must be dative, and the second nominative; the opposite is ungrammatical. J. Orešnik suggests that such a marking provides support for the analysis of reflexive clitics in R&S (2003). R&S (2003) propose that in Slovenian ISCs, reflexives stand for nominative resumptive

pronouns / variables for the dative. Under the usual assumption that secondary predicates must agree with their antecedents (Franks (1985), a. o.), the secondary predicates in (23b) testify to the case of the elements they are predicated of. Thus, the first predicative Adj in (23b) testifies to the case borne by the High Applicative dative, and the second to the case borne by the nominative reflexive. R&S (2008) state that the relation between antecedents and depictive Adjs in (23b) is strictly encoded in the relative word order of the two modifiers, with double depictives obeying the same locality principles as double Advs. In their view, *Nom-Dat depictive order is deviant due to intervention: the nominative reflexive stands in the path between the dative Applicative and the second depictive, so if Applicative and depictive agreed in case, locality would be violated.

⁵ M&Ž note that ISCs are hyperintensional, so parallel to constructions with attitudinal Vs such as *want*, not to those with modals such as *must*. Inspired by proposals in den Dikken, Larson, Ludlow (1996), and Larson (2002), M&Ž consider hyperintensional characteristics in ISCs another argument in favor of biclausality.

Let us introduce hyperintensionality and a consequence of its analysis in the case of ISCs. Cresswell (1975) first used the term hyperintensional for contexts that are neither extensional nor intensional, do not respect logical equivalence, and have their content governed by the person being reported. To illustrate, (i) is called hyperintensional because coreferential proper names such as *Cicero* and *Tully* that are substitutable with *must* are not substitutable with *want*.

- (i) Susan wants to visit Cicero \neq Susan wants to visit Tully.
- (ii) Susan must visit Cicero = Susan must visit Tully.

Indefinites in hyperintensional contexts have attracted considerable attention in philosophy and linguistics. In such contexts, indefinites were traditionally assigned two readings usually called *de dicto* and *de re*, but a recent idea is that they have a third reading sometimes dubbed *de se* (see von Stechow and Heim (2007) for discussion and references). The three readings are informally depicted in (iia-c).

- (iii) Susan wants to marry a professor.
 - a. Susan wants to marry any person, if this person is a professor.
 - b. Susan wants to marry a specific person, and she wants this person to be a professor.
 - c. Susan wants to marry a specific person, and does not know if that person is a professor or not. However, that person is in fact a professor.

It is now standard in intensional semantics to distinguish the above readings with two parameters. First, an existential quantifier in *a professor* may take scope over *want*, or be under its scope- the traditional approach. Second, the person Susan wants to marry may be a professor in the real world, or in the world of Susan's desires- a new dimension. One consequence of such a multifaceted view is that whether ISCs involve two syntactic clauses, or just the aspectual Operator of this paper, their proper semantic analysis will require intensional semantic mechanisms in addition to the scope solution.

English Futurates and Spanish modal *Imperfectos* share hyperintensional properties with ISCs, a situation that does not seem to distinguish between the three constructions. That is, *For two weeks Susan was marrying a professor next year* is similar to *Susan felt like marrying a professor next year* as to readings of indefinite *a professor* mentioned above. Likewise, *For two weeks Susan was adopting a unicorn next year, and*

then found out that there are no unicorns sounds natural to describe a small child's plan that lasted two weeks. I do not discuss hyperintensionality any further.

⁶ Cipria and Roberts (2000) offer an analysis of the Spanish *Imperfecto* involving universal quantification over situations, and do not distinguish between modal bases and ordering sources. They divide its meaning into (a) a Past Tense, (b) an Atelic Aspect, and (c) different domain restrictions for simple atelic, habitual, and progressive readings. Inspired by Dowty, they consider the intensional reading a subcase of the progressive, with a stereotypical modal meaning: intuitively, *Imperfecto* sentences would have been true if things had gone on as they were. As in Copley's approach to English Progressives, different *Imperfecto* meanings share a formal core, but certain dimensions differentiate them. Similarities between Slavic ISCs, Spanish *Imperfecto* constructions, and the Bulgarian Present and Imperfect Tense constructions mentioned in footnote 8 and §3.1 reside in the Futurates of this paper, not what Cipria and Roberts label simple atelic and habitual meanings.

⁷ More precisely, Copley (2002) assigns two properties to directors: (a) the ability to ensure that the eventuality described by the proposition happens encoded in a presupposition, and (b) the commitment to seeing that it happens, which she encodes in the assertion. I propose that ISCs cannot have directors due to their linguistic form, so my I overlook the distinction between ability and commitment: neither property is applicable to dative subjects in ISCs. I refer the interested reader to Copley (2002) for further details, definitions, and differences between Progressive and simple Futurates in English.

⁸ In addition, Copley (2002) proposes that Futurates may have an inertial modal meaning without directors (for Cipria and Roberts (2000) Spa modal *Imperfectos* need not have what they term a built-in agent of intention). Futurates that count as plans with directors defined in context such as English (ia) have Bulgarian counterparts in (ib).

- (i) a. Today the train was leaving at five, but there is a strike.
 b. Dnes (po plan) izbuxvaše stačkata. Bul
 today (per plan) start.Imp.3Sg strike.the
 ‘According to plans, the strike was breaking out today.’

It is interesting that the Bulgarian grammatical tradition (see Tilkov, Stojavov, & Popov (1982-1983)) discusses modal flavors of Present and Imperfect constructions with ordinary nominative subjects such as (ib), associating them with plans. Grammars state that such constructions involve certainty based on previous knowledge, or an authoritative point of view to the effect that the intended action will take place. In other words, traditional discussions of Bulgarian suggest that Present and Imperfect constructions with nominative subjects can be used to denote plans in a parallel way to English Present and Progressive Futurates. Thus the control presupposition proposed by Copley (2002) for contextually or linguistically defined directors and the notion of commitment she encodes in the assertion could be relevant for an analysis of Slavic intensional constructions such as (ib), a topic beyond the scope of this paper (and see the discussion of Bulgarian Presents with nominative subjects in §3.1).

However, Bulgarian seems to show a preference to mark modality by linguistic means both in ISCs with dative subjects, as in the text, and with ordinary nominative subjects, as I argue next. An anonymous reviewer states that a modal reading such as

Cecilia Bartoli was supposed to sing is not as clearly present in (ii) as in English *Cecilia Bartoli was singing today (but she cancelled on us)*. We could thus speculate that the difference could derive from the lack of an explicitly indicated director in Bulgarian, since nominatives such as *Cecilia Bartoli* are not necessarily directors.

- (ii) Dnes peeše Cecilia Bartoli. Bul
 today sing.Imp.3Sg Cecilia Bartoli
 ‘Cecilia Bartoli was singing today.’

An informant volunteers that (iii) sounds odd, while (iv) is very natural. We could thus speculate that (iv) contains a linguistic expression to identify a director, namely the source of certainty/authority in the tradition, and this is why the sentence is appropriate.

- (iii) ??Včera, stačkata započvaše dnes. Bul
 yesterday, strike.the break.Imp.3Sg today
 ‘??Yesterday, the strike was breaking out today.’

- (iv) Saglasno rešenieto vzeto včera Bul
 according.to decision.the taken yesterday
 stačkata započvaše dnes.
 strike.the break.Imp today
 ‘According to the decision taken yesterday, the strike was supposed to break out today.’

In contrast with the above intensional constructions, ISCs do not tolerate inanimate dative subjects, as (v) illustrates.

- (v) * Dnes (po plan) na stačkata j se izbuxvaše. Bul
 today (per plan) P strike.the 3Sg.Dat Refl start.Imp.3Sg

‘*According to plans, the strike felt like breaking out today’

Inanimates cannot be assigned dispositions/desires, so the restriction illustrated in (v) follows from the hypothesis that the entity relevant for modality in ISCs must be defined linguistically, and necessarily corresponds to the dative, which prevents there being a director established by means of a conversational background.

⁹ See Slabakova (2005), Iskratkova (2004) on Bulgarian prefixes.

¹⁰ In an earlier version of this article, I reported that some informants rejected ISCs with Perfective Imperfects such as (41a-b). On that basis, I proposed that Perfective prefixes could be interveners blocking the intensionality effect of IMP^{OP}. In this version, I abandon such an idea for two reasons. One, an anonymous reviewer finds Perfective Imperfect ISCs well formed, casting doubts on intervention effects by Prefixes. Two, I later discuss Future ISCs such as (48a) *šte mi se po-hap-va šokolad utre* ‘I will feel like having a bite of chocolate tomorrow’, which are accepted by all informants. I argue that such Futures are formally identical to the Perfective Imperfects in (41a-b) at a proper level of abstraction, and thus add doubts on intervention effects by prefixes. As a consequence, I do not consider theoretically significant the fact that some speakers reject Perfective Imperfect ISCs. The results on Slovenian ISCs now in §3.2 offer additional support for the analysis in this version: i.e. ISCs may contain Perfective prefixes in vP as markers of Situation Aspect if they also contain IMP^{OP} in Viewpoint, in particular the Imperfective Suffix *-va-*.

The Bulgarian informants consulted for this paper are representative of standard Bulgarian as spoken in Sofia. Many thanks for constant intellectual help and many grammaticality judgments to N. Slavkov, who also provided additional judgments from two friends. I also thank O. Arnaudova, who provided additional judgments from friends and her family in Bulgaria, and G. Dukova, who provided additional judgments from her husband.

¹¹ (54) is not felicitous if interpreted as in the English gloss. However, the second conjunct is ambiguous, and could also be interpreted as ‘and she still has the general ability to drink’. Under such a reading, the Aorist is appropriate.

¹² An ISC with an active participle is illustrated in Bulgarian (i).

(i)	Vednazh	do-jali	mu se	jabalki,
	Once	start-eat.Pple.Pl	3Sg.Dat Refl	apples,
	toj	vinagi	šte gi	xaresva.
	he	always	Fut 3Pl.Acc	like.Pres.3Sg

‘Once he starts to feel like eating apples, he will always like them.’

In the above ISC, the participle that agrees with the nominative object carries an inceptive prefix. This ISC must contain a TP with T as syntactic category for at least three reasons. It contains a nominative, which many propose is checked / valued by T. It contains a Viewpoint marker, so an AspP above vP. As glosses indicate, it has deictic Tense, so this is also indicative of a nondefective syntactic T. See Sedighi (2007:Chapter 4) for the argument that Persian psychological constructions that consist of a High

Applicative with TP as complement cannot be nominalized either, which makes them parallel to ISCs.

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Department of Linguistics,
78 Laurier East,
University of Ottawa,
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5. Canada.
mrivero@uottawa.ca