

The Intensional FEEL-LIKE Construction in Slovenian

Problem: Concealed clauses have been posited for numerous superficially monoclausal constructions. One such example are concealed clausal complements of intensional transitive verbs such as *need* or *want*, (1), proposed by McCawley (1970), etc. Their concealed clause is always the embedded rather than the matrix clause. In principle, however, the analysis predicts the possibility of a concealed matrix clause, so the following question arises: Do concealed matrix clauses exist? We argue that the intensional FEEL-LIKE construction in Slovenian, (2), also known from Bulgarian, Russian, Albanian, etc., is indeed an instantiation of such a format, essentially parallel to (3) with an overt 'feel-like' predicate.

Proposal: Rivero & Sheppard (2003) analyze this construction as in (4). Their analysis of this intensional environment is monoclausal, with the 'feel-like' interpretation deriving from a Modal Phrase with an empty head. Firstly, the FEEL-LIKE construction is hyperintensional (substitution of identical fails) and thus not parallel to modal contexts, which exhibit only weak intensionality (Kearns 2000). Secondly, examples like (5), containing two non-agreeing adverbs, pose a problem for a monoclausal analysis and suggest a biclausal analysis in the 'sententialist' spirit (e.g. den Dikken *et al.* 1996, Larson 2002), which restricts intensional phenomena to embedded clauses. We offer several arguments to support our biclausal analysis.

Adverbial hierarchy: Adverbs follow a strict hierarchy (Cinque 1999). The adverbs *still* and *usually* can thus only occur in the order *usually still*, (6a), while the inverse order *still usually* is ungrammatical, (6b). In the FEEL-LIKE construction, however, the order of these adverbs can be reversed, (7), but the two orders have different readings. The apparent violation of the strict adverbial hierarchy suggests two sets of functional projections, each in its own clause. When the higher adverb follows the lower one, the higher one (i.e. *usually*) is in a separate, embedded clause.

Double depictives: In Slovenian, a depictive has to agree with its host in gender/number/case. Two depictives in a single clause can only be interpreted as modifying the same event, (8). Conversely, two depictives can be associated with two events when these are overtly expressed with two predicates. As shown in (9), the FEEL-LIKE construction patterns with the latter option, allowing two depictives associated with the same individual but referring to two different events.

Proposed structure: The covert matrix predicate of the FEEL-LIKE construction takes a deficient clausal complement with no CP and no TP, (10). Since there is no overt verb in the matrix clause, the first available host for the Tense of the matrix clause is the lower verb, (4). However, Aspect morphology realized on the lower verb actually belongs to the lower clause, (11). Thus, AspP (a possible proposition boundary, Kratzer 1996) forms the highest phrase of the lower clause for which there is evidence.

The upper predicate's overt subject is an Experiencer and hence in dative, just as the subject of the overt 'feel-like' verb in (3). The default clitic *se* belongs to the upper predicate, realizing non-active morphology (Rivero, to appear). In an analogous FEEL-LIKE construction in Albanian, the non-active morphology is realized as a suffix (Kallulli 1999). Being a clitic, the Slovenian non-active morpheme *se* does not need an overt host but surfaces independently in the clitic cluster.

Derivation: Although belonging to the upper predicate, the non-active suffix in Albanian is realized on the lower, overt verb, just as Tense morphology in Slovenian. Since the upper clause has no active vP (no accusative and no Agent θ -role) and the lower clause has no TP and CP, there is no strong phase (Chomsky 1999) intervening between the upper T and the lower overt verb. The lower verb is thus as accessible to the upper T as in any other construction. As the upper predicate is covert, the lower verb represents the first available host for the inflection of the upper verb. The nominative on the lower clause depictive, as in (9), gives evidence for a subject position in the lower clause. We assume a raising analysis of the lower subject to the matrix-clause dative position à la Hornstein 2001.

Conclusion: The data presented suggest that the structure of the FEEL-LIKE construction must be richer than proposed in Rivero & Sheppard (2003). Our analysis draws a direct parallel between the FEEL-LIKE construction, (2), and its overt-verb equivalent, (3). Moreover, it allows us to maintain the more reductionist view of intensionality, sententialism, and at the same time fills the previously unfilled gap that den Dikken *et al.*'s (1996) account actually provides.

- (1) [John will need [PRO TO-HAVE a bicycle]]
- (2) *Janezu se pleše.*
 Janez_{DAT} NON-ACTIVE CL. dance_{NEU}
 'Janez feels like drinking.'
- (3) *Vidu se hoče plesati.*
 Vid_{DAT} NON-ACT want_{NEU} dance_{INF}
 'Vid feels like dancing.'
- (4) [MP Janezu [M' [M [CIP NP₁ [Cl se] [TP [T Pres] [VP NP₁ pije]]]]]]
 Janez_{DAT} REFL drink_{NEU}
- (5) *Kok se mi zdale ne gre jutro v Rim.*
 how NON-ACT I_{DAT} now NEG go_{3S} tomorrow to Rome
 'Gee, how I don't feel like going to Rome tomorrow.'
- (6) a. *Ob tej uri Janez običajno še (vedno) raznaša pošto.*
 at this time J_{NOM} usually still delivers mail
 'At this time, Janez usually still delivers mail.'
- b. **Ob tej uri Janez še (vedno) običajno raznaša pošto.*
 'At this time, Janez still usually delivers mail.'
- (7) *Janezu se še (vedno) običajno kupuje na tržnici.*
 J_{DAT} NON-ACT still usually shop_{NEUT} on market
 'Janez stills feels like usually shopping at the market.'
- (8) *Skoraj gol_i je Vid_i ležal pred hišo pijan kot čep_i.*
 almost naked_{NOM} AUX Vid_{NOM} lie in-front-of house drunk_{NOM} as cork
 'Vid was lying in front of the house almost naked drunk as a skunk.'
- (9) *Utrujenemu se Vidu ne hodi domov trezen.*
 tired_{DAT} NON-ACT Vid_{DAT} not walk home sober_{NOM}
 'When he is tired, Vid doesn't feel like walking home sober.'
- (10) [TP Janezu_i [vP se [v' FEEL-LIKE [Asp t_i [vP [v' pije]]]]]]
 Janez_{DAT} NON-ACT drink_{NEU}
- (11) *Maši se ful objame / objema Vida.*
 Maša_{DAT} NON-ACT very hug_{PF} / hug_{IMPF} Vid_{ACC}
 'Maša feels like hugging Vid (=like giving Vid a hug / holding Vid).'

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