



- (5) Včeraj se mi danes še ni šlo v hribe. (Slovenian)  
 yesterday refl I.dat today still not go to mountains  
 'Yesterday, I wasn't gonna be in the mood today for going to the mountains.'

Therefore, the futurate 'modal' interpretation and the dispositional 'modal' interpretation cannot both originate in the same viewpoint-aspect projection.

Moreover, Rivero (2009) proposes that the prefix *pri-*, when it occurs in Bulgarian ISCs to mark the inception of the disposition, instantiates the imperfective operator which is the source of the intensionality (just like the suffix *-va-*) (op.cit.: 178). Looking at Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian, where ISCs can also contain an inceptive *pri-*, (6), three problems arise with respect to Rivero's (2009) account. Firstly, as shown in (6), leaving out the prefix removes the inception meaning, but the structure remains intensional, so it cannot be that the prefix encodes intensionality. Secondly, if ISCs with an inceptive *pri-* are claimed to be imperfective, on a par with *-va-*-marked forms, this would make these forms the only imperfectives which are not at all compatible with the *for-x-time* adverbials, (7). And thirdly, with some imagination, one can produce (8), in which the verbal form contains both the inceptive prefix and the imperfective suffix *-va-*, both of which should be encoders of imperfectivity and intensionality located in the same projection. If this were correct, then *pri-* and *-va-* should be in complementary distribution. And furthermore, if one were, for instance, claimed to be a head and the other its specifier, thus potentially allowing cooccurrence, they should have undefinable relative scope, which is also not the case (*-va-* scopes over *pri-*).

- (6) a. Pri-piškilo mi se. b. Piškilo mi se. (S/C/B)  
 at- piss I<sub>DAT</sub> refl piss I<sub>DAT</sub> refl  
 (7) a. Piškio sam 5 minuta. b. Piškilo mi se 2 sata. (S/C/B)  
 pee aux 5 minutes pee I<sub>DAT</sub> refl 2 hours  
 'I was peeing for 5 minutes.' 'For 2 hours, I felt like peeing.'  
 c. \*Pri-piškilo mi se 2 sata. (S/C/B)  
 at-pee I<sub>DAT</sub> refl 2 hours  
 (8) Baš mi se pri-piški-va-lo, kad je zazvonio telefon. (S/C/B)  
 'I was just coming to feel like peeing when the phone rang.'

Finally, Rivero (2009) also proposes a superhigh applicative, which is an argument projection that is merged above TP and introduces the dative into ISCs. Root modals are typically claimed to originate under TP (unlike epistemic modals which are above TP) (e.g. Butler 2003). It is not completely clear whether it is the applicative that brings in the disposition or the imperfective aspectual operator. In case it is the applicative, we would not expect to find the root modal to scope over the disposition, in case it is the aspectual operator, we would not expect to find the root modal to be in the scope of the disposition. Which ever option we choose, we end up with the wrong prediction, since the root modal can scope both under and over the disposition, as pointed out by Marušič and Žaucer (2006), (9).

- (9) Petru se sme igrat fuzbal. (Slovenian)  
 Peter<sub>DAT</sub> refl aux play soccer  
 a) "Peter feels like being allowed to play soccer."  
 b) "Peter is allowed to feel like playing soccer."

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