

Depictive manner complements

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how-/wie- complements: manner vs. non-manner readings

- (1) a. *Frieda sah, wie Georg das Fahrrad reparierte.* manner
b. *Frieda saw how George repaired the bike.*
[... namely with a special wrench].
- (2) a. *Frieda sah, wie Georg das Fahrrad (geschickt) reparierte.* "non-manner"
b. *Frieda saw how George (skillfully) repaired the bike.*
[and stored it in the back of the garage.]

manner complements *how/wie*

"non-manner" complements semantics? pragmatics?

declarative complements *that/dass*

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"non-manner" use in the literature

German *wie*

Vater 1975, Falkenberg 1989: process characteristics

Umbach, Hinterwimmer, Gust 2021: *wie*-complements denote events in progress

English *how*

Legate 2010 *"how* is not a simple alternate to *that*"

Nye 2013 "despite its complementiser(-like) function, *how* [...] remains a wh-expression in a syntactically relevant sense"

van Gelderen 2015 "declarative complementizer",
"specific 'flavor' due to its origins as a manner adverb.

Liefke (English), Gronn, (Russian), Corver (Dutch), Irurtzun (Basque)

Mitkovska & Bužarovska (Macedonian, Bulgarian), Defranq (French),

Rentzsch (Turkish), Jedrzejowski & Umbach (Polish), ... Hebrew, ...

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Vividness effects

non-manner *how*-complements (compared to *that*-complements)

- vividness, narrativity, elaboration

Nye (2013) "Whilst (3a) involves the simple recollection of the fact of her blushing, (3b) suggests that what is recalled is not only this simple fact, but also additional details or particular idiosyncrasies of this blushing."

- (3) a. *I remembered that she used to blush whenever I said "I love you".*
b. *I remembered how she used to blush whenever I said "I love you".*

McCormick (2018) introduce "vivid, sensory scenes" [indicative of the speaker]
"having been present in the situation"

- (4) *John Boehner got quite emotional earlier this afternoon when he said how the Pope pulled him aside and asked him to pray for him.*

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Depictive add-on

Umbach, Hinterwimmer, Ebert (to appear):

- main difference between "non-manner" *how*-complements and *that*-complements:

depictive add-on

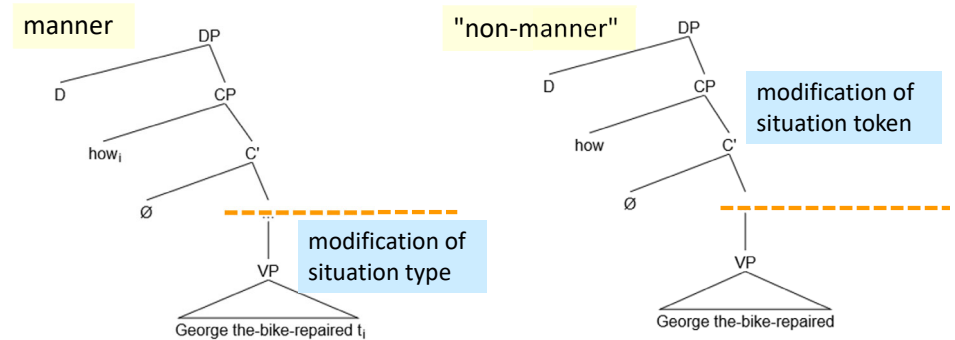
- attribute the depictive add-on to the interaction of two factors
 - high manner modification,
 - reconstruction of manners as similarity classes.

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High manner modification

Legate (2010): "non-manner" *how* base-generated in the left periphery

(5) (*Frieda saw*) *how* *George repaired the bike*.



high manner modification: token modification,
--> appositive, --> not enter into further semantic composition

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Manner reconstructed via similarity

"... there is nothing more basic to thought and language than our sense of similarity; our sorting of things into kinds." (Quine 1969, p. 116).

Framework in Umbach & Gust (2014):

similarity as indistinguishability w.t.r. contextually given features,

$SIM(x, y, F)$

(--> demonstrative *so*, equative clauses, ... manner)

danced stylishly

- manner object *stylish*
- set of dancing events similar w.r.t. their expression, namely being *stylish*

similarity class \mathcal{M}_{SIM} $\mathcal{M}_{SIM}(s)$ iff $s \in \{s' \mid sim(s, s', \mathcal{F})\}$

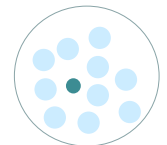
is this useful?

danced stylishly $\exists \mathcal{M}_{SIM}. \mathcal{M}_{SIM}(s) \ \& \ dance(s) \ \& \ STYLISH^*(\mathcal{M}_{SIM})$

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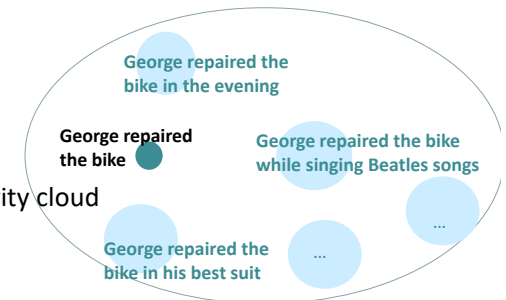
Similarity clouds

- similarity cloud*
similarity class triggered by a minimal situation s :
 $\mathcal{M}_{SIM}(s)$ where for all $s' \in \mathcal{M}_{SIM}(s)$: $s <_{part} s'$



- manner as well as "non-manner" use:
[[*how*]] = $\lambda s. \mathcal{M}_{SIM}(s)$

- "non-manner use":
(i) modification of token s
(ii) s is a minimal situation in a similarity cloud



trivial ?

yes & no

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Depictive add-on

- manner *how* is open for specification (*namely ...*)
- "non-manner" no further specification
no further semantic composition due to apposition

induces a similarity cloud, that is, a cue for the addressee:

think of "ways how it could have been"

--> depictive add-on

Clark (2016) depictive information: similar, non-restrictive

gesture: "depictor"

"non-manner" *how*: wh-word – instruction for depiction

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Conclusion

"non-manner" use of manner words is found across languages ...

but there are differences w.r.t. matrix verbs:

German, Dutch, Polish, Russian ... verbs of perception (*see, hear, ...*)

English, Basque ... verbs of utterance (*say, whisper, ...*)

(6) a. *They told me how the tooth fairy doesn't really exist.* (Legate 2010)

b. **Sie sagten / erzählten mir, wie die Zahnfee nicht wirklich existiert.*

UHG 2021 ... German *wie*-complements are restricted to (dynamic) events

Liefke (to app.) ... failure of 6b is evidence that English non-manner *how* may denote facts

UHE (to app.) ... English non-manner *how* may denote utterances;
--> depictive analysis neatly fits into Clark & Gerrig's (1990) theory of quotation

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