

A Cross-Germanic Perspective on Simulative Clauses

Some thoughts and questions

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Mind your Manner Adverbials! (MiMA)

- Norbert Corver (Project Leader); Lex Tavenier (PhD candidate); Tess Wensink (former student assistant)
- Investigation of the internal syntax and external distribution of clausal and non-clausal MAs in a comparative fashion (micro-, meso- and macro-perspective);
- Development of a database of MA-constructions

Decomposing clausal Manner Adverbials

(Norbert Corver, Denis Delfitto, Marijana Marelj)

- Focus on (Germanic) clausal MAs, specifically on simulative (1a) and simulative clauses (1b) (following Haspelmath&Buchholz's 1998 and Treis&Vanhove's 2017 terminology, respectively)

(1) a. *John walked as his father always walked.*
b. *John walked as if he were drunk.*

Defining simulative clauses

Simulative clauses (Treis&Vanhove 2017) are manner adverbial clauses expressing a hypothetical similarity between two ways of doing something.

(2) *Your boss behaves [as if he were king of the world.]*

For the sentence to be felicitous, your boss does not necessarily have to be the king of the world at the moment of the utterance.

Outline of the talk

1. A typology of Germanic simulative clauses
 - Transparency vs. opacity
 - Richness of the left periphery
 - Presence vs. absence of irrealis morphology
2. Previous analyses of simulative clauses
 - Compositional approach
 - Non-compositional approach
3. The proposal
 - Some thoughts
 - Some questions

A typology of simulative clauses in Germanic

Three main parameters of variation in Germanic SCs:

- Transparency vs. opacity;
- Richness of the left periphery;
- Presence vs. absence of irrealis morphology on the finite verb.

Transparency vs. opacity

Transparent simulative clauses «can be viewed as a combination of two clauses [...], where the first clause is regularly elided except for the complementizer» (Bacskai-Atkari 2018: 92).

The elements that introduce transparent simulative clauses are the **default simulative standard marker** (EN *as*) and the **default conditional marker** (EN *if*).

Transparent simulative clauses in English and German

(3) a. John walks [as his father always walks.] (Simulative clause)

b. John would walk straight [if he could.] (Conditional clause)

c. John walks [as if he were drunk.] (Simulative clause)

(4) a. Ben fährt Rad, [wie sein Vater ihm beigebracht hat.]
Ben rides bike how his father him taught has
“Ben is cycling as his father taught him to do.” (Simulative clause)

b. Ben würde Radfahren, [wenn er könnte.]
Ben would ride.bike if he could
“Ben would cycle if he knew how to do it.” (Conditional clause)

c. Ben fährt Rad, [wie wenn er betrunken wäre.]
Ben rides bike as if he drunk were
“Ben is cycling as if he were drunk.” (Simulative clause)
(German. Bücking 2017: 986)

Transparent simulative clauses in Swedish

- (5) a. Allt gick [som] vi räknat ut.]
All went as we calculated
“All went as we planned.” (Simulative clause)
(Thorell 1973: 253. English glosses and translation are mine.)
- b. [Om du kommer,] så går jag.
If you come so go I
“If you come then I’ll go.” (Conditional clause)
- c. Han betedde sig [som om]allt vore i sin ordning.]
He behaved as if all were in his order
“He behaved as if everything were in order.” (Simulative clause)
(Thorell 1973: 254. English glosses and translation are mine.)

Transparent simulative clauses in Norwegian

(6) a. Ho spring [som Wilma spring.]
She runs as Wilma runs

“She runs as Wilma (runs).” (Simulative clause)

(Faarlund et al. 2006: 1084. English glosses and translation are mine.)

b. [Om været blir bra,] går vi på tur.
If weather.the becomes good go we on hike

“If the weather is good, we go on a hike.” (Conditional clause)

c. Han løp [som om han hadde den onde sjøl i hælene.]
He ran as if he had the evil sea.the on heels.the

“He ran as if he had the stormy sea at his heels.” (Simulative clause)

(Faarlund et al. 2006: 1084. English glosses and translation are mine.)

Transparency vs. opacity

A simulative clause is defined as **opaque** if at least one of the two layers is not introduced by its default marker and hence it is not possible to reconstruct one or both layers as a simulative and/or a conditional clause, respectively.

The two complementizers introducing opaque simulative constructions do not allow any **insertion of linguistic material in between them**.

Opaque simulative clauses in English, Dutch and German

(7) a. The bird was careening from side to side [**as though** there were waves.]

(Lopez-Couso & Mendez-Naya 2012: 173)

b. The bird was careening from side to side [***as** he would do **though** there were waves.]

(8) a. Jan liep [**alsof** hij dronken was.]

Jan walked as whether he drunk was

“John walked as if he were drunk.” (Dutch)

b. Jan liep [***als** hij zou lopen **of** hij dronken was.]

Jan walked as he would walk whether he drunk was

(9) a. Mein Bruder tanzt, [**als wenn** er betrunken wäre.]

My brother dances than if he drunk were

“My brother dances as if he were drunk.”

b. Mein Bruder tanzt, [***als** er tanzen würde, **wenn** er betrunken wäre.]

My brother dances than he dance would if he drunk were

Extremely opaque simulative clauses in German and Icelandic

(10) Mein Bruder tanzt, [als ob er betrunken wäre.]
My brother dances than whether he drunk were
“My brother dances as if he were drunk.”

(11) Hún lætur [eins og hún sjái okkur ekki.]
She behaves one and she saw us not
“She behaves as if she didn’t see us.”
(Neijmann 2022: 409)

Icelandic *eins og* is also used to introduce simulative clauses and this is noteworthy because, whereas it is possible to find simulative clauses superficially identical to similatives, it is usually never the case that a language makes use of the marker found in simulatives to build simulative clauses.

- (18) a. John dances **like** he’s drunk.
(Simulative clause identical to similative clause)
b. *John dances **as if** his father always dances.
(Similative clause identical to simulative clause)

Richness of the left periphery

Simulative clauses can occasionally display a **rich/complex left periphery**, even more so when one looks at substandard varieties

Richness of the left periphery

- (12) We were saying [**like as how** we'd been there long enough.] EN
(British English. Kayne 2005: 311)
- (13) Jan leep [**geliek as of** he zat was.] NL
Jan walked like as if he drunk was
"Jan walked as if he were drunk."
(Lower Saxon. Preliminary data MiMa questionnaire)
- (14) Er locht, [**als wia wenn** er nimmr aufhearn kannt.] DE
He laughs as how if he not.anymore stop can
"He smiles as if he couldn't stop anymore."
(Bavarian. Jäger 2018: 348)

Richness of the left periphery

- Complementizer insertion -

(15) Jan liep [alsof dat hij dronken was.] NL*
Jan walked as.if that he drunk was
"Jan walked as if he were drunk."

(16) Það var [eins og að hann væri að fara í þessa aðgerð en ekki hundurinn.] IS
It was as if that he were to go to this operation but not dog.the
"It was like he was going to have this operation but not the dog."
(Angantýsson 2011: 131)

*As far as Dutch dialects are concerned, the situation is actually more complex than that: in some varieties complementizer insertion is obligatory, whereas in others it is completely ruled out. Moreover, not only is it possible to find different elements introducing simulative clauses, but it is also possible to find different combinations of these very same elements both cross-dialectally and within the same variety

Richness of the left periphery

Dutch dialects are the only Germanic languages in my sample that allow a silent/covert similative standard marker paired with an overt conditional marker

- Sometimes it is possible to find “simplex” elements introducing simulatives;
- These elements are the very same elements that introduce similative clauses (i.e. manner *as*-clauses), namely **similative standard markers**;
- Though there is no (overt) conditional marker, the presence of the hypothetical layer can be still detectable by the (irrealis) mood of the verb and/or the V1-order reminiscent of the conditional inversion

Simplex/monomorphemic simulative subordinators

- (17) They look at me **like** I'm dirt. EN
(Lopez-Couso & Mendez-Naya 2012: 174)
- (18) Mein Bruder tanzt, **als** wäre er betrunken. DE
My brother dances as were he drunk
"My brother dances as if he were drunk."
- (19) Jan liep **als** was hij dronken. NL
Jan walked as was he drunk
"Jan walked as if he were drunk."
- (20) Det var **som** de hade funnit varandra. SE
It was as they had found each other
"It was as if they had found each other."
(Thorell 1975: 254. English glosses and translation are mine.)
- (21) Han løp **som** hadde han den onde sjøl i hælene. NO
He ran as had he the evil sea.the on heels.the
"He ran as if he had the stormy sea at his heels."
(Faarlund et al. 2006: 1084. English glosses and translation are mine.)
- (22) Hann fór hratt **sem** fugl flygi. IS
He went fast as bird would.fly
"He went fast as if he were a bird (flying)."
(Neijmann 2022: 409. English glosses are mine)

Presence vs. absence of irrealis morphology

Simulative clauses tend to be X-marked (following Iatridou & von Stechow's (2023) terminology); however, this is not always the case.

Presence vs. absence of irrealis morphology

(23) He talks **as if** he *has* a potato in his mouth. EN
(Lopez-Couso & Mendez-Naya 2012: 173)

(24) Manche empfinden es so, **als ob** jetzt der Verlust *eintritt*. DE
Some feel it so as if now the loss kicks.in
“Some are now feeling as if the loss is kicking in.”
(Pfeffer 1985: 30. English glosses and translation are mine.)

(25) Hij gedraagt zich **alsof** hij ziek *is*. NL
He behaves REFL as.if he sick is
“He behaves as if he is sick.”

Language	Introductory elements				Mood of the verb	
	Polymorphemic	Monomorphemic	Transparent	Opaque	Irrealis	Realis
EN - English						
<i>as if</i>	X		X		X	X
<i>as though</i>	X			X	X	X
<i>like</i>		X	X			X
NL - Dutch						
<i>alsof</i>	X			X	X	X
<i>als</i>		X	X		X	X
DE - German						
<i>als ob</i>	X			X	X	X
<i>als wenn</i>	X			X	X	X
<i>wie wenn</i>	X		X		X	X
<i>als</i>		X		X	X	
SE - Swedish						
<i>som om</i>	X		X		X	?
<i>som</i>		X	X		X	?
NO - Norwegian						
<i>som om</i>	X		X		X	?
<i>som</i>		X	X		X	?
IS - Icelandic						
<i>eins og</i>	X			X	X	
<i>sem</i>		X	X		X	

The syntax of simulatives: previous analyses

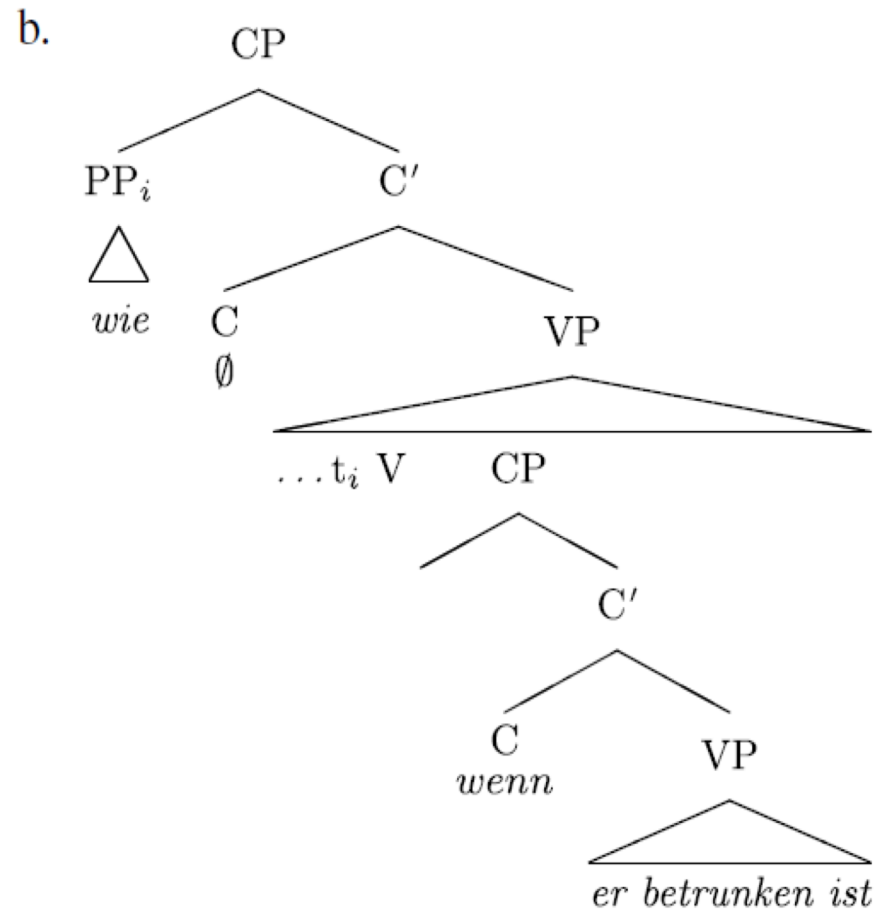
Very little is known about the syntax of simulative clauses; most of the work has been done in the domain of typological linguistics (see Treis & Vanhove 2017) and formal semantics (see Bücking 2015; 2017 for German; Bledin & Srinivas 2019; 2020; 2023; Rett & Starr 2022)

> based on the semantic analyses available in the literature it is possible to derive two different approaches to the syntax of simulative clauses

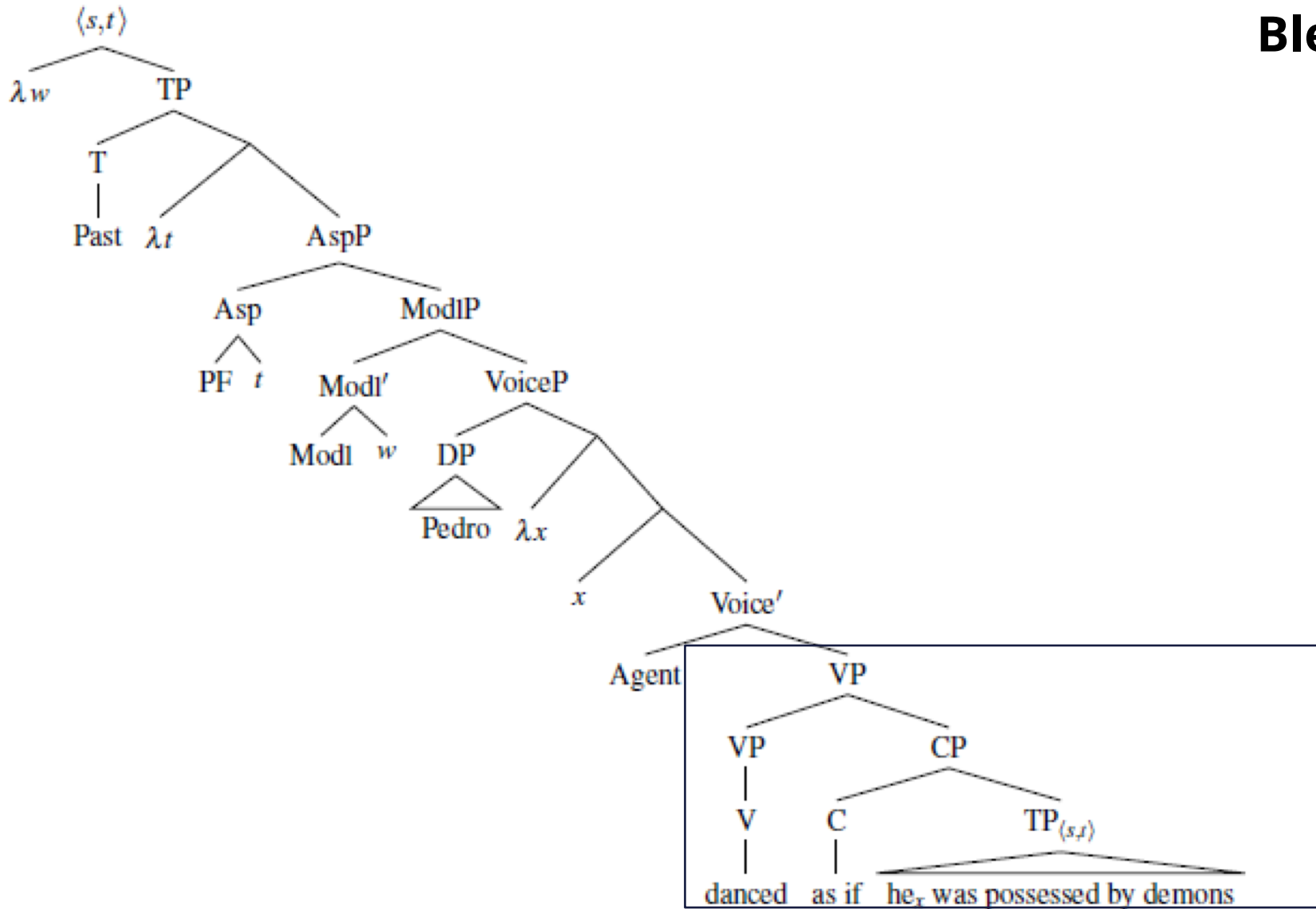
The syntax of simulatives: previous analyses

Two ways in which simulative clauses have been (semantically) analysed in the literature:

- Fully compositional approach (Bücking 2015; 2017)
(*as if*-clause = *as*-clause + *if*-clause → bi-clausal)
- Non-compositional approach (Bledin&Srinivas 2019; 2020; 2023)
(*as if* as a fixed idiomatic unit)



(see Bücking 2015: ex. (41))



Evidence for a compositional analysis

Sometimes it is possible to “reconstruct” the simulative layer in so-called “transparent” simulative clauses:

(26) *John walks [as (he would walk) [if he were drunk.]]*

SIMILATIVE LAYER

CONDITIONAL LAYER

> Simulative clauses as hypothetical similatives

Evidence for a compositional analysis

- Crosslinguistically, many non-Indoeuropean languages build simulative clauses that are syntactically based on or identical to similative clauses (cf. Treis&Vanhove 2017);
- In a similar fashion, Old Germanic simulative clauses were built in the same way as similative clauses with the difference that the verb was obligatorily marked with subjunctive/irrealis mood (Jäger 2019: 3-4)

Simulative clauses as hypothetical similatives

(27) a. {Ánn-u-kk kées kaa'll-ee-hé=**g**-anka}
father-mNOM-2sPOSS 2sACC help-3mPVE-2sO.REL=G-mACC<N>

atí-i hitt-ínta beet-ú-kk
2sNOM-ADD like_this-fACC<N> son-mACC-2sPOSS

káa'll-u has-is-áno-he
help-mNOM want-CAUS1-3mIPV-2sO

'{Like your father has supported you,} so you also should support your son.' (Simulative clause)

b. (...) danaam-íta oddiishsh-áta argicc-án
beautiful-fACC clothes-fACC borrow.MID-3mICO

{gag-i-sí=tann-é=**g**-a} odaqq-áno
self-mGEN-3mPOSS=NMZ2-fGEN=G-mACC/OBL wear.MID-3mIPV

'(When he went to the girl) he borrowed fine clothes (from his friends) and wore them {as if (they were) his own (lit. like his own ones)}.' (Simulative clause. Kambaata. Treis 2017: 95-101)

Simulative clauses as hypothetical similatives

(28) a. Stundum jarmaði hann sem geit eða hrein
sometimes bleat.PST.3SG he.NOM as goat.NOM or squeal.PST.3SG

sem svín.
as pig.NOM

“Sometimes he [= the devil] would bleat as a goat or squeal as a pig.” (Simulative clause. Enger, Höder & Vindenes 2021: 259)

b. þá heyrðu þeir brest ok dett sem
then heard.3P they.M crash.A and thump.A as

nókkut felli.
something.NEU.N fell.SUB

“Then they heard a crash and a thump, as if something fell.” (Simulative clause. Faarlund 2004: 267)

Evidence for a non-compositional analysis

- It is not always possible to «reconstruct» the simulative layer / to insert linguistic material between the two complementizers:

(29) *Judith behaves **as** (*she would behave) **though** she were drunk.*

See also Dutch *alsof*, German *als ob/als wenn*, Icelandic *eins og*

Evidence for a non-compositional analysis

As *if*-clauses display different properties than *as...would...if*-constructions (i. e. *as*-clauses + *if*-clauses proper) with respect to weak NPIs licensing and coordination (Bledin&Srinivas 2023: 93-95).

- The *if*-layer in simulatives does not fully behave as a canonical conditional clause;
- The *as*-layer in simulatives does not fully pattern with canonical simulative clauses either (particularly with respect to NP-modification and verb positioning)

Evidence for a non-compositional analysis: weak NPIs licensing

As already observed by Giannakidou & Quer (2013), simulative clauses do not license weak NPIs.

- (30) a. *She took a bow **as if** {someone/**anyone*} was in the theater watching her perform.*
b. *John smells as he would **if** he ever got sprayed by a skunk.*
c. **John smells **as if** he ever got sprayed by a skunk.*
(Bledin & Srinivas 2019: 166)

Evidence for a non compositional analysis: coordination

The *if*-layer in simulative clauses cannot be coordinated with *if*-clauses (Bledin & Srinivas 2019: 165).

- (31) a. *Annie was treated by the king [^{*}as if she were a noblewoman or if she were a commoner.]*
b. *John walked [^{*}as if he were drunk and if a dog chased him.]*

Evidence for a non-compositional analysis: coordination

(32) a. Jan benimmt sich, [**als** wäre er ein Verbrecher] und [**als ob / als wenn / wie wenn** er verfolgt würde.]

“Jan behaves as if he were a criminal and as if he were chased.”

b. *Jan benimmt sich, [**als** wäre er ein Verbrecher] und [**ob** er verfolgt würde.]

c. *Jan benimmt sich, [**als** wäre er ein Verbrecher] und [**wenn** er verfolgt würde.]

d. *Jan benimmt sich, [**als ob** er ein Verbrecher wäre] und [**ob** er verfolgt würde.]

e. *Jan benimmt sich, [**als ob** er ein Verbrecher wäre] und [**wenn** er verfolgt würde.]

f. *Jan benimmt sich, [**als wenn** er ein Verbrecher wäre] und [**wenn** er verfolgt würde.]

g. *Jan benimmt sich, [**als wenn** er ein Verbrecher wäre] und [**ob** er verfolgt würde.]

h. *Jan benimmt sich, [**wie wenn** er ein Verbrecher wäre] und [**wenn** er verfolgt würde.]

(Preliminary results MiMA questionnaires)

Evidence for a non-compositional analysis: NP-modification

Simulative clauses can occasionally modify (overt) NPs (\neq similatives)

(33) a. A sound [*like* someone trying not to make a sound.]

(Title of a children book by John Irving)

b. *But there was* a look about her mouth [*as though* she were tasting lemons.]

(Lopez-Couso & Mendez-Naya 2012: 183)

c. The children's looking [*as if* they've been fed] is a nice surprise.

(Ross 2004: 374, fn. 35)

Evidence for a non-compositional analysis: verb positioning

Simulative clauses allow V1/conditional inversion (\neq similatives)

(34) a. *Han løp [som hadde han den onde sjøl i hælene.]* NO

He ran as had he the evil sea.the on heels.the
"He ran as if he had the stormy sea at his heels."

(Faarlund et al. 2006: 1084)

b. *Han løp [som hans pappa løp.]*

He ran as his dad ran

Evidence for a non-compositional analysis: verb positioning

(35) a. Jan loopt [zoals zijn vader altijd *liep.*] NL
Jan walks so.as his father always walked
“Jan walks as his father always walked.” (Simulative clause)

b. Jan loopt [alsof hij dronken *was.*]
Jan walks as.if he drunk were
“Jan walks as if he were drunk.” (Simulative clause)

(36) a. Jan dansar [som hans pappa antagligen *har* alltid dansat.] SE
Jan dances as his father presumably has always danced
“Jan dances as his father presumably always danced.” (Simulative clause)

b. Jan dansar [som omhan inte *vore* fullt frisk.]
Jan dances as if he not were fully well
“Jan dances as if he weren’t fully well.” (Simulative clause)

Evidence for a non-compositional analysis: verb positioning

(37) a. Jan danst [als was hij dronken.] NL
Jan dances as were he drunk
"Jan dances as if he were drunk."

b. *Jan danst **zoals** *danst* zijn vader.
Jan dances like dances his father

(38) a. Jan tanzt, [als wäre er betrunken.] DE
Jan dances as were he drunk
"Jan dances as if he were drunk."

b. *Jan tanzt, **wie** *tanzt* sein Vater.
Jan dances like dances his father

Intermediate recap

- Fully compositional approach: *as if*-clauses as bi-clausal structures where the first (*as*-)clause is elided

VS.

- Non-compositional approach where *as if* is conceived as a fixed unit since both the *as*- and the *if*-layer do not fully pattern with similatives and conditionals, respectively

Proposal: meeting halfway

- The fully compositional approach fails to account for «opaque» simulative clauses and the strange behaviour of both layers with respect to certain syntactic facts

But

- It is not desirable to set simulative clauses completely apart from similatives and conditionals

The syntax of simulatives: revised

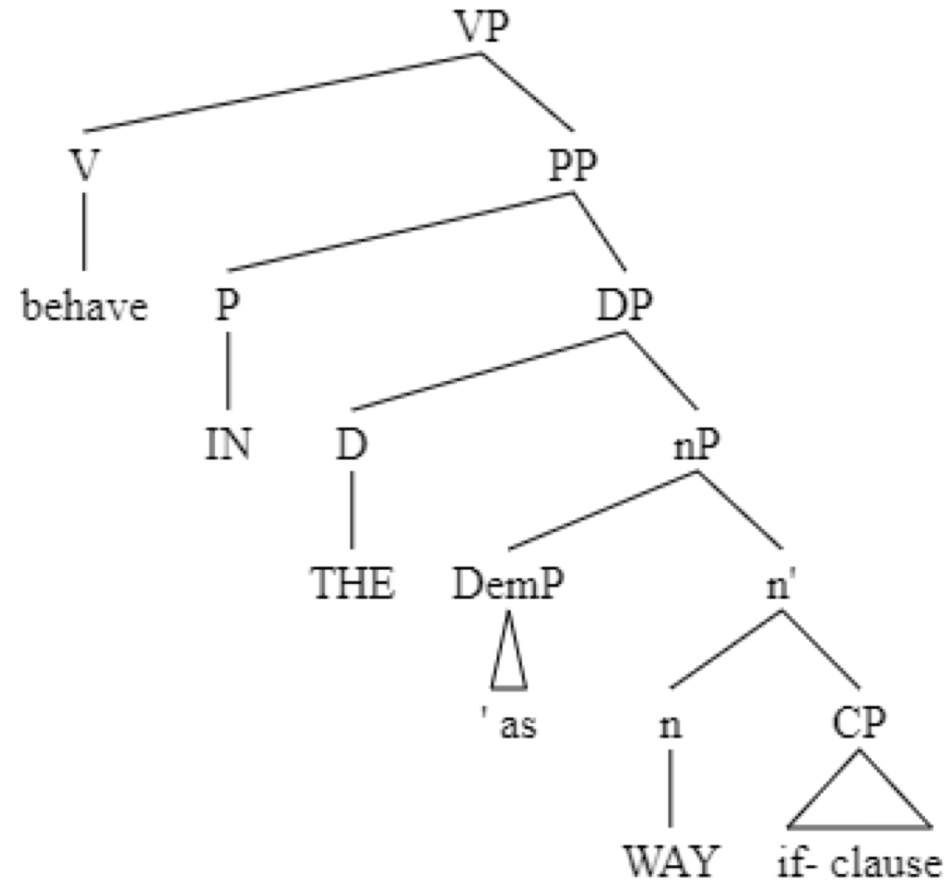
As *if*-clauses are monoclausal structures consisting of:

- An *as*-element in the spec-position of a **silent noun WAY** (cf. Kayne 2005) modifying the VP in the main clause (similar in structure to the one found in simulative clauses);
- A (conditional?) clause modifying the silent noun WAY

The proposal

As *if*-clauses are monoclausal structures consisting of:

- An *as*-element in the specification of a silent noun WAY (cf. Kayne 2005) modifying the VP in the main clause (similar in structure to the one found in simulative clauses);
- A (conditional?) clause modifying the silent noun WAY



Unpacking simulative clauses: the *as*-layer

Same elements found in simulative clauses (except for German *als*).

(39) *John dances [as his father always dances]*

English *as*, German *wie/als*, Dutch *zoals* - Swedish *som* -

They all have one thing in common..

... that is the manner demonstrative *so*

- Diachronically, *as*-elements and *so*-elements started out as the same element (cf. Jäger 2018);
- German *wie* can be considered as the *wh*-counterpart of *so* (Jäger 2018: 83);
- There are some (residual) contexts in which *so*- and *as*-elements seem to be interchangeable, hinting at the fact that they could have similar underlying structures

So-elements \approx as-elements

(40) (John did it this way.) **So/as** did I. EN

(41) Heb je het begrepen? **Zo (= als)** ja, ... NL
Have you it understood so yes
“Did you understand it? If yes, ..”

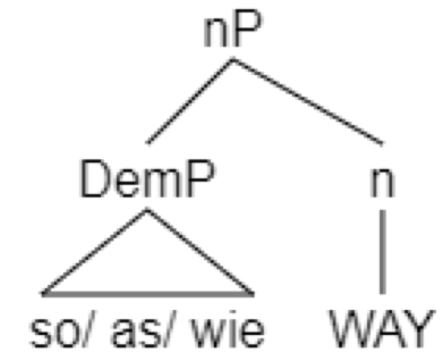
The fact that German simulatives display both *wie* and *als* could be another residual environment in which *als* \approx *so*

The syntax of the manner demonstrative *so/zo/så*

- Translatable with «this HERE way/that THERE way» (capitalization as non-pronunciation, cf. Kayne 2005);
- In some languages, the spatial component is overt (SE: *såhär/sådär*; IT: *così/colì/colà*; Maceratese: *kkuší/ssuší/lluší* – König&Umbach 2018);
- Person-oriented like (Romance) demonstratives (Terenghi 2023)

The syntax of the manner demonstrative *so/zo/så*

I take it to be an XP in line with Giusti (1994, 1997) sitting in a specifier position of a silent noun WAY denoting manner (in the spirit of Katz&Postal 1964, but see also Emonds 1985, Kayne 2005, Corver 2021a, 2021c)

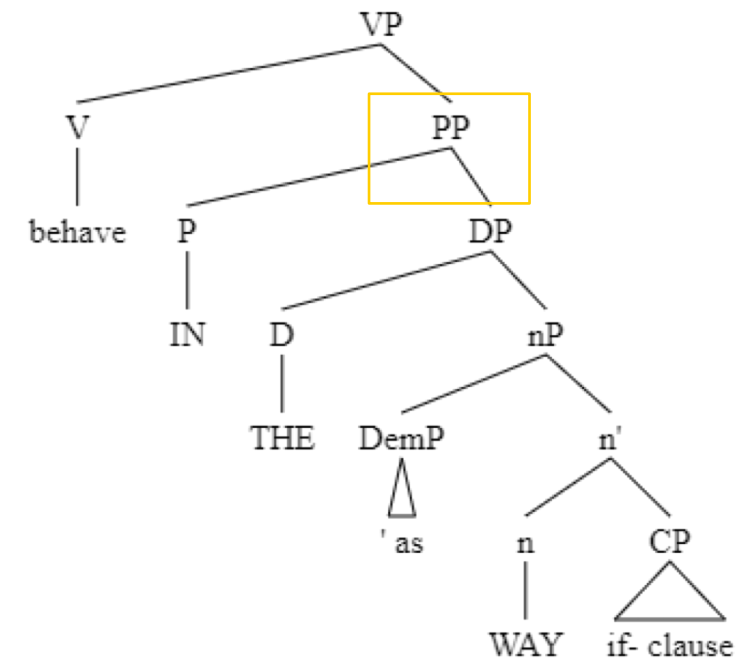


> What is the internal structure of these elements?

The syntax of the manner demonstrative *so/zo/så*

So-elements were originally marked with Instrumental Case («Semantic Case»)

(Manner) adverbials as **adpositional** in nature (cf. a.o. Emonds 1985; Caponigro&Pearle 2008, 2009; Corver 2017, 2021)



Unpacking simulative clauses: the *if*-layer

> Is it a conditional clause in the first place?

- If yes, we have to explain some things...
- If not, then what kind of clause is that?

What if the *if*-layer in simulatives is a conditional?

There are different kind of conditional clauses:

- (42) a. If Andrea arrives late, Clara will get upset. (Hypothetical conditional)
b. If you are thirsty, there is beer in the fridge. (Relevance conditional)
c. If Fred is (indeed) so smart, why didn't he get the job? (Factual conditional)

(Bhatt&Pancheva 2006: 639)

> Do all types of conditionals behave the same wrt weak NPIs licensing? Can different types of conditionals be coordinated?

What if the *if*-layer in simulatives is a conditional?

Conditionals can occasionally modify NPs:

(43) Similarly, what is one to make of the testimony of T. Shelling..., in which he discusses the two great dangers if all Asia “goes Communist”?

(Kanetani 2013: 41)

(44) The outcome {under those circumstances / if John refuses our offer} is unpredictable.

(McCawley 1998: 196)

What if the *if*-layer in simulatives is a conditional?

In Italian and English conditional clauses seem to be able to modify manner NPs:

(45) Lo **sguardo** dei bambini/il modo di guardare dei bambini [se non gli dai da mangiare].

«The children's **look**/the way children look [if you don't give them food]»

(46) La **reazione** di Chomsky/il modo di reagire di Chomsky [se gli sollevi una critica].

«Chomsky's **reaction**/Chomsky's way of reacting [if you criticize him]»

(47) La **camminata** di Marta/il modo di camminare di Marta [se piove]

«Marta's **walk**/Marta's way of walking [if it rains]»

This could be a nice argument in favour of an *if*-clause modifying a silent noun WAY

But then what about...

EN as *though* / DE *als ob* / NL *alsof*

though, ob and *of* do not typically introduce conditional clauses, so maybe the *if*-layer in simulatives is not a conditional after all

to be continued...

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