

Depictive manner complements

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Manner complement clauses: two readings

Manner *wh*-words: English *how*, French *comment*, German *wie*, Polish *jak*, ...

(1) *Frieda remembered / saw / told me how George repaired the bike.*

a. regular manner reading

"*the way* in which George repaired the bike"



b. "depictive" reading

"*the scene/ event* of George repairing the bike."



(2) *Frieda remembered / saw / told me that George repaired the bike.*

Depictive manner vs. declarative complement

- (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”.*

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 [...] of this blushing."

"depictive add-on"

--> ~~Two different manner *wh*-words across languages?~~

--> Why use a manner *wh*-word to express a meaning close to declaratives?

Hypothesis:

- Manner *wh*-words uniformly denote manner modifiers;
- the two readings result from different syntactic positions of the *wh*-word.

Literature

- Non-standard uses of manner complements are attested across languages, including Germanic, Romance and Slavic languages but also, e.g., Latvian, Greek, Basque, Hungarian, Turkish, Hebrew, and Kambaata (for an overview see Jedrzejowski & Umbach 2023)
- German *wie*
Vater 1975, Falkenberg 1989: process characteristics
Umbach, Hinterwimmer, Gust 2021: *wie*-complements denote events
- Macedonian/Bulgarian *kako/kak*,
Mitkovska & Bužarovska 2021: "... *kak* with perception verbs emphasizes the process itself rather than the fact of occurrence of that process"

Literature

English *how*

Legate 2010

non-standard manner complements differ in syntax
"*how* is not a simple alternate to *that*"

Nye 2013

complementizer analysis
"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.

depictive add-on

Umbach, Hinterwimmer & Ebert (2023)

depictive analysis (subsuming English and German)

Liefke (2023), Jarvis (to appear): focus on factivity

Plan

Data

- Depictive vs. regular manner complements
- Matrix verbs
- Depictive manner complements vs. declarative complements

Analysis

- Syntactic structure
- Semantic interpretation
- Pragmatics: what is the depictive add-on good for?

- Appendix 1: Quotation
- Appendix 2: English vs. German

How to distinguish the two readings?

	<u>regular</u>	<u>depictive</u>
accenting of wh-word	possible	blocked
manner adverbs in base position (QUDs, <i>namely</i> continuations, ...)	blocked	possible

regular

- (4) a. *Frieda remembered (the way) how / ✓ HOW George repaired the bike.*
b. *Frieda remembered (the way) how George (*skillfully) repaired the bike.*

depictive

- (5) a. *Frieda remembered (the scene) how / *HOW George repaired the bike.*
b. *Frieda remembered (the scene) how George (✓skillfully) repaired the bike.*

Matrix verbs embedding manner complements – English

	<u>regular</u>	<u>depictive</u>
propositional (<i>believe</i> ...)	blocked	blocked
interrogative (<i>ask</i> ...)	possible	blocked
perception (<i>see, hear</i> ...)	possible	possible
cognitive (<i>remember, forget</i> ...)	possible	possible
utterance (<i>tell, say</i> ...)	possible	possible

Depictive complements are most frequent

... in German, with perception verbs

... in English, with utterance verbs (which are blocked in German)

One young man said how he was literally blown off his feet as a result of the explosion. (McCormick 2018)

	bare infinitive	declarative	depictive complements
<u>direct perception</u> (if A sees B do p, then A sees B)	yes	no	yes
<u>epistemically positive</u> (if A sees ϕ , then A knows that she sees ϕ)	no	yes	yes
<u>veridical</u> (if A sees ϕ , then ϕ) (evtl. in progress)	yes	yes	yes

(6) a. *Anna saw (the scene) how Berta was packing her bag.*
==> Anna saw Berta

b. *Anna saw that Berta was packing her bag.*
indirect evidence sufficient

Factivity

Legate (2010)	yes	the content of depictive complements is presupposed
Nye (2013)	yes	depictive complements are factive even if declarative counterparts are not;
	though	in some contexts, factivity is suspended
Jarvis (2022)		(like Nye) ... loss of factivity in quotative contexts
Liefke (2023)	yes+no	there are factive readings, induced by presuppositional verbs
UHE (2023)	no	factivity is blocked by utterance verbs
	but	depictive complements presuppose the existence of a DP-like discourse referent (Kastner 2015)

Depictive manner vs. declarative complements

- (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".*
- (7) *She relished his great sea-faring lies: how, in the moonlight, he had mistaken sea cows for mermaids; how he and many of his crew had watched the sunset over the Pacific form into a vast crucifixion scene [...].*

Nye (2013) ... evoke details beyond the mere fact
– "narrativity" / "elaboration"

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

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

--> Depictive manner complements convey additional subjectivity / vividness
"depictive add-on"

Plan

Data

- How to distinguish depictive from regular manner complements?
- Which matrix verbs license depictive manner complements?
- How do depictive manner complements differ from declarative complements? --> depictive add-on

Analysis

- Syntactic structure
- Semantic interpretation
- Pragmatics: what is the depictive add-on good for?

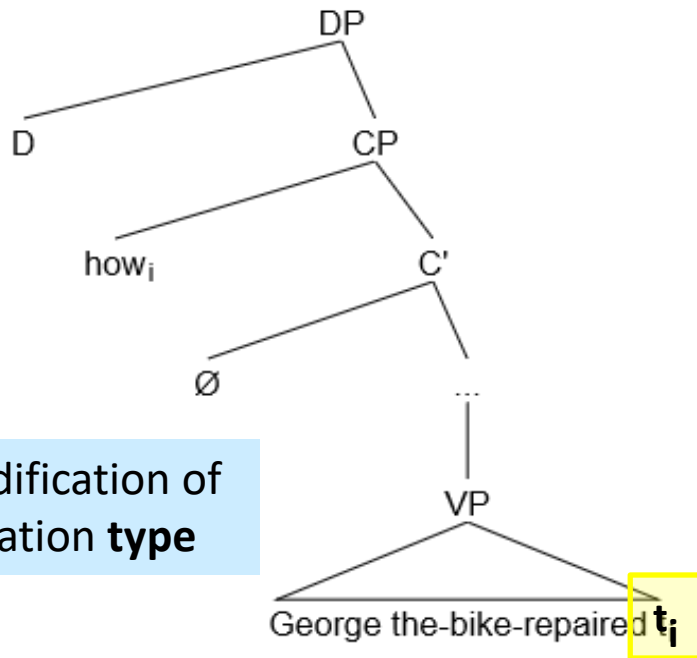
- Appendix 1: Quotation
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Syntax: High position of the manner modifier

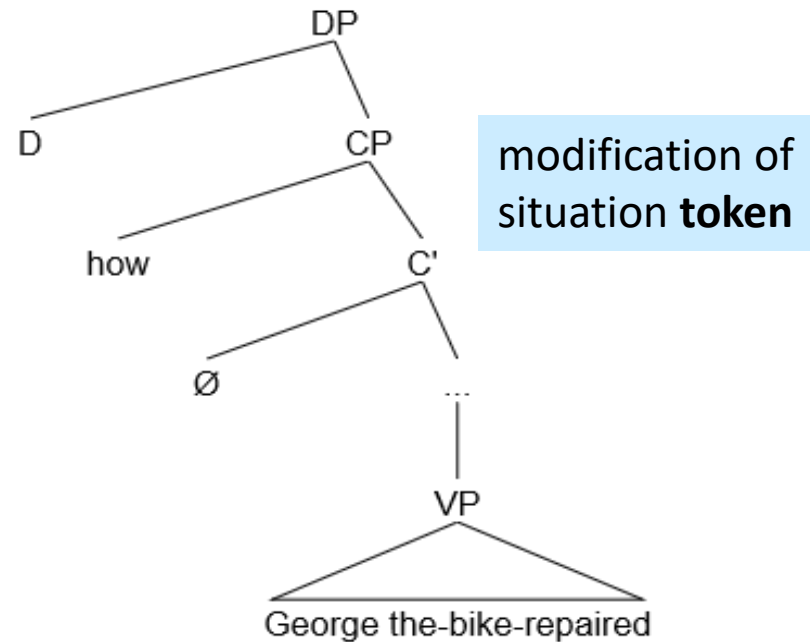
Legate (2010): While manner *how* is base-generated below VP, in the non-standard reading *how* is base-generated in the left periphery

(1) (*Frieda remembered*) *how* *George repaired the bike*.

Regular manner



Depictive manner



(see Carlson 2003)

Syntax: silent determiners

- Manner complements (regular manner as well as depictives) denote free relative clauses – DP-like status – by silent determiners (Legate 2010)
- Regular manner complements, FRs denote manner, Δ_M
depictive manner complements, FRs denote situations, Δ_S (or utterances Δ_U)

(1) (Frieda remembered) *how George repaired the bike.*

Regular manner complement

(9) [[[DP Δ_M [CP *how* $_i$ [C' \emptyset [VP George bike-repair t_i]]]]]]

Depictive manner complement

(10) [[[DP Δ_S [CP *how* [C' \emptyset [VP George bike-repair]]]]]]

Semantics

Recall: depictive manner complements

- i. denote situations instead of manners;
- ii. allow for additional manner modifiers;

- iii. give rise to a *depictive add-on*

unlike regular
manner complements

unlike
declarative complements

Semantic key points

- manner *wh*-words uniformly denote manner modifiers
- the two readings result from different syntactic positions of the *wh*-word;
- the add-on effect of the depictive reading can be explained by
 - 1) syntactically high position of the manner modifier
 - 2) reconstruction of manners as similarity classes

Reconstruction of manners as similarity classes

Similarity framework in Umbach & Gust (2014):

*"Two individuals x and y are **similar** w.r.t a given set of features \mathcal{F} iff they are indistinguishable w.r.t. these features."*

Manners can be seen as similarity classes of events "extensional view"

repair a bike skillfully

- manner object SKILLFUL

bike-repair(s) & manner(s , SKILLFUL)

- set of bike-repair situations which are similar in terms of, e.g., high speed, great expertise and satisfactory result – SKILLFUL*

bike-repair(s) & $\mathcal{M}_{SIM}(s)$ & SKILLFUL*(\mathcal{M}_{SIM})

where $\mathcal{M}_{SIM}(s) = \{s' \mid \text{sim}(s, s', \mathcal{F})\}$

is this useful?

The similarity framework (Umbach & Gust 2014) a nutshell

- multi-dimensional attribute spaces F
- generalized measure functions $\mu: U \rightarrow F$
- set of classifiers P^* on points in F (providing granularity)

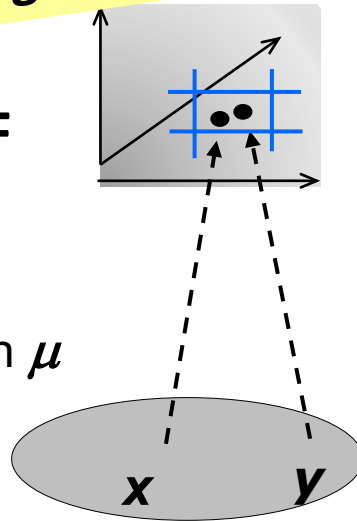
$SIM(x, y, \mathcal{F})$ x, y entities to be compared
 \mathcal{F} representation, including features of
functions and classifiers

"generalized degree semantics"

attribute space F

generalized
measure function μ

domain D



Two individuals x and y are
similar w.r.t a **representation \mathcal{F}**
iff they are indistinguishable
w.r.t. these features

Semantic interpretation

- Manner *wh*-words uniformly denote manner modifiers – similarity classes of situations:

$$[[\textit{how}]] = \lambda s. \mathcal{M}_{\text{SIM}}(s) \quad \text{where } \mathcal{M}_{\text{SIM}} \text{ is a function variable}$$

(1) (Frieda remembered) *how George repaired the bike.*

Regular manner complement: modification of a **situation type**

$$(11) [[[_{\text{DP}} \Delta_{\text{M}} [_{\text{CP}} \textit{how}_{-i} [_{\text{C}'} \emptyset [_{\text{VP}} \text{George bike-repair } t_{-i}]]]]]] \\ = \lambda s. \iota \mathcal{M}_{\text{SIM}}. \text{ag}(s, \text{george}) \ \& \ \text{bike-repair}(s) \ \& \ \mathcal{M}_{\text{SIM}}(s)$$

Depictive manner complement: modification of a **situation token**

$$(12) [[[_{\text{DP}} \Delta_{\text{S}} [_{\text{CP}} \textit{how}_{\text{HIGH}} [_{\text{C}'} \emptyset [_{\text{VP}} \text{George bike-repair}]]]]]] \\ = \iota s. \text{ag}(s, \text{george}) \ \& \ \text{bike-repair}(s) \ \& \ \mathcal{M}_{\text{SIM}}(s) \ \& \ \forall s' \in \mathcal{M}_{\text{SIM}}(s). s <_{\text{part}} s'$$

How does the semantics account for the depictive add-on?

- High position of the *wh*-word
 - > modification of the situation **token**
 - > modification is **appositive**
 - > blocked for further composition (non at-issue, Potts 2005)
- Appositive modification by a ***wh*-word**
 - > unspecified – any property / similarity class of situations $\mathcal{M}_{SIM}(s)$
 - > will stay unspecified – non at issue

Appositive modification by manner *wh* **trivial** ?

yes, a situation always has some property / is in some class of similar situations

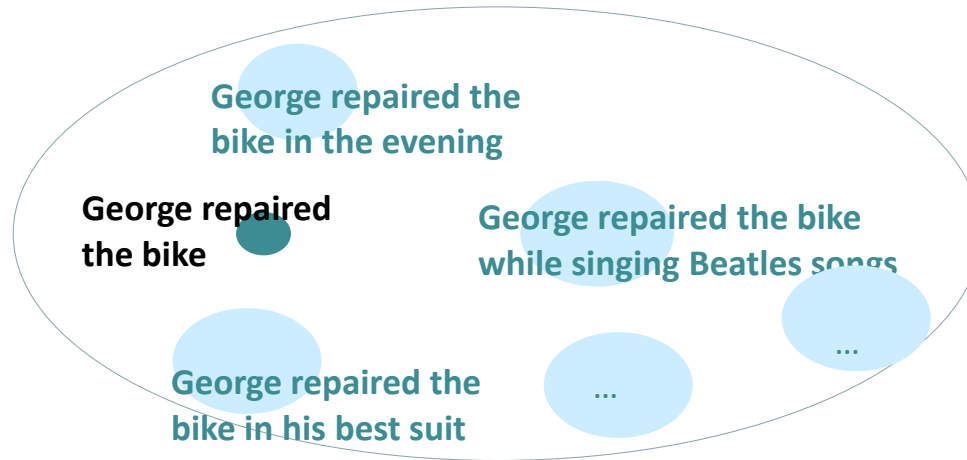
no, manner modifier serves as a cue for the addressee:

"think of ways how it could have been"

--> depictive add-on

Depictive add-on

(1) (Frieda remembered) *how George repaired the bike.*



Depiction by manner complements corresponds to that by gestures:

Clark (2016): depiction by gestures has two components:
similarity + appositive modification,

Depiction by manner complements:

depiction à la Clark, just without a gesture

Conclusion

(Frieda remembered)

how George repaired the bike.

a. regular manner reading



b. "depictive" reading



"the way in which George repaired the bike"

"the scene of George repairing the bike."

that George repaired the bike.

"the proposition that George repaired the bike."

Small differences – sparse analysis

- manner *wh*-words uniformly denote manner modifiers
- pragmatic effect – depictive add-on – is explained by
 - the high position of the manner *wh*-word
(resulting in appositive modification)
 - the reconstruction of manner by similarity (optional)

Appendix 1: Quotation – similarity

- Clark & Gerrig (1990): Quotations are demonstrations (depictions/illustrations)
Mary said "Berlin is a nice city."
--> Mary said something **depicted** by 'Berlin is a nice city'

Depiction requires similarity.

- Quotation markers frequently make use of similarity expressions:
German *wie* ('like'), *so* ('like this') (Schlenger 2023)
English *like* (K. Davidson 2015)
(see also Gentens and Boye, to appear, on grammaticalization of manner expressions into complementizers and quotatives, Güldemann 2008 on quotative indices African languages)
- No surprise: verbs of utterance + depictive manner complements
Mary told me how Berlin is ...
Surprise: why not in German?

Appendix 2: The tooth-fairy example

Depictive use of manner complements is found across languages ...
but there are differences

- (13) 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.*

In German (as well as Polish),
depictive manner complements are restricted to (dynamic) events

In English, depictive manner complements may denote situations, events and also utterances;

Is there a reason why languages differ in this way?

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