Non-manner *how* in German and in Polish

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Complement clauses introduced by manner wh-words like English *how,* German *wie* and Polish *jak* (to name just a few) exhibit, next to their regular manner reading, a declarative-like reading. Speakers agree that this reading is not fully equivalent to a declarative clause since it includes an additional vividness effect inviting the addressee to imagine a scene or process depicting the complement's content.

In this talk, we first focus on Polish declarative-like *jak* clauses which are due to a particular constraint imposed by the aspectual form of the matrix verbs: perfective matrix verbs block a declarative-like reading.

(1) Ania   słyszała,   jak   Jacek   wchodzi   po   schodach.
    Ania   hear.*l*-PTCP.IMPERF.3SG.FEM   how   Jacek   go.3SG   on   stairs
    manner: 'Ania heard the way in which Jacek went upstairs.'
    declarative-like: 'Ania heard Jacek going upstairs.'

(2) Ania   u-słyszała,   jak   Jacek   wchodzi   po   schodach.
    Ania   PREF-hear.*l*-PTCP.IMPERF.3SG.FEM   how   Jacek   go.3SG   on   stairs
    manner: 'Ania heard the way in which Jacek went upstairs.'
    ~~declarative-like~~

We propose a semantic analysis according to which, contrary to appearance, the manner *wh*-words introducing the two readings uniformly denote manners. The additional vividness effect in declarative-like readings is explained by the interaction of two factors, (i) a high syntactic position of the *wh*-word and, (ii), the reconstruction of manner modification by similarity which results in "clouds" of similar situations including the complement's content. These *similarity clouds* serve as cues for the addressee to think of ways picturing the complement's content – ways how it could have been.

In Polish as well as German (but not in English) similarity clouds triggered by declarative-like manner clauses are specialized in different procedures for the realization of an event, that is, different sequences of subevents constituting the event. This explains the imperfective character of declarative-like manner clauses and the restriction to imperfective matrix clauses observed for Polish (for German see Umbach, Hinterwimmer & Gust 2021).

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