

**CPs as subjects – the view from manner of speaking verbs**  
**Irina Stoica, University of Bucharest**  
[Irina.stoica@lils.unibuc.ro](mailto:Irina.stoica@lils.unibuc.ro)

Manner of speaking (henceforth MoS) verbs (*whisper, shout, mumble*) are traditionally said to prohibit extraction of both arguments and adjuncts from the post-verbal clause and ban the omission of the complementizer.

- (1) a. \*Who did Barney whisper that Wilma was dating t? (example taken from de Cuba, 2018)  
b. \*How did Bob whisper that they would help the Dean? (example taken from Warnasch, 2006)

- (2) He chuckled \*(that) you were mistaken. (example taken from Doherty, 2000)

In order to account for this behaviour, researchers have claimed that, as MoS verbs refer not only to an act of communication, but also to an emitted sound, they have a nominal element in their structure. This further translated into their post-verbal clause occupying a non-argument position (adjunct or appositive) (Stowell, 1981; Snyder, 1992).

However, a closer look at the data shows that both of these phenomena are, in fact, allowed, as illustrated in (3) and (4) below.

- (3) a. ?What did Truman Capote lisp that he'd do? (example taken from Erteschik-Shir, 1973)  
b. Towards which gate did the police officer shout that the smuggler had run? (example taken from Stoica, 2016)

- (4) John whined Bill was an undercover agent. (example taken from Dor, 2005)

In the light of this variable behaviour, there have also been voices stating that the CP of MoS verbs can be either an argument or an adjunct, depending on the lexical conceptual structure of the verb (Doherty, 2000).

The aim of my paper is to discuss the status of the CP of MoS verbs and to offer some insight in the argument/non-argument debate, starting from the variable behaviour these verbs exhibit with respect to extraction and complementizer omission.

Briefly, starting from their very definition of MoS verbs, namely verbs referring to “intended acts of communication by speech **and** describing the physical characteristics of the speech act” (Zwicky, 1971), I argue that it wouldn't be farfetched to assume that MoS verbs are not exclusively manner verbs, but that they also denote a result. However, lexicalizing both manner and result simultaneously would violate the Manner Result Complementarity (Levin and Rappaport-Hovav, 2013).

Therefore, I argue that MoS verbs come, in fact, in two guises: on the one hand, they are proper manner verbs, as illustrated in (5), but, on the other, they are also verbs of (internal) creation, as shown in (6).

- (5) John shouted that he was hungry → John said that he was hungry, in a shouted manner.  
(6) John shouted that he was hungry → Jon produced a shout, saying that he was hungry.

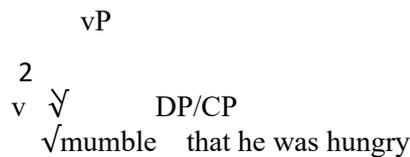
I further suggest that these two sub-types of MoS verbs have two distinct syntactic representations, which determine two distinct positions that the CP can occupy.

My proposal is couched in the DM framework and I mainly follow Marantz's (2005) analysis of activity verbs. Briefly, the author argues that activities have different structures: on the one hand, in the case of monoeventive activities, the root merges directly with the verb, acting as an event modifier, while for bieventive ones the root merges as the head of a small clause, which in itself functions as the complement of the verb. This has immediate consequences on the position of the complement (be it a

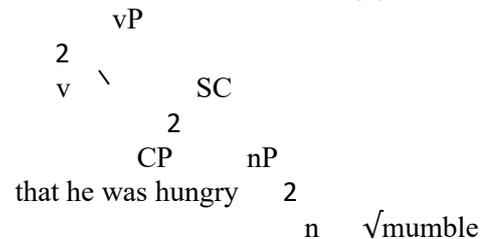
DP or a CP): in the first structure the CP functions as the complement of the verb, while in the latter it merges as the subject of the small clause.

Going back to MoS verbs, I argue that, in the case of proper manner verbs, the root merges directly with the verb as an event modifier and that the CP functions as the complement of the verb. In such a configuration, illustrated in (7) below, there is nothing to prevent extraction and to ban the omission of the complementizer. On the other hand, when MoS verbs are verbs of internal creation, the nominalised root merges as the head of a small clause, leaving the CP in a subject position. It is precisely this subject position which blocks extraction and bans the omission of the complementizer.

(7) Mumbled that he was hungry



(8) Mumbled that he was hungry



### Selected References

- Ambridge, B., Goldberg, A. E. 2008.** The island status of clausal complements: Evidence in favour of an information structure explanation. *Cognitive Linguistics* 19(3): 349–381. **De Cuba, C. F. 2018.** Manner-of-speaking that-complements as close apposition structures. *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America*, 3 (32): 1-13. **Doherty, C. 2000.** *Clauses without 'that': The Case for Bare Sentential Complementation in English*. New York: Garland. **Dor, D. 2005.** Toward a semantic account of that-deletion in English, *Linguistics* 43 (2): 345–382. **Erteschik-Shir, N. 1973.** On the Nature of Island Constraints. PhD Dissertation, MIT. **Hale, K., Keyser, S. J. 1993.** On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations. In K. Hale and S.J. Keyser (eds.) *The View from Building 20: Essays in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. **Levin, B., Rappaport Hovav, M. 2013.** Lexicalized meaning and manner/result complementarity. In B. Arsenijević, B. Gehrke, and R. Marín (eds.) *Subatomic Semantics of Event Predicates*, 49–70. Dordrecht: Springer. **Marantz, A. 2005.** Objects out of the lexicon! Argument-structure in the syntax. Handout, University of Connecticut Linguistics Colloquium, April 2005. **Ross, J. R. 1967.** Constraints on Variables in Syntax. Doctoral dissertation, MIT. **Snyder, W. 1992.** Wh-extraction and the lexical representation of verbs. Ms. MIT, 6 May 1992. **Stoica, I. 2016.** Communicative use effects on syntactic islandhood: The view from manner of speaking verbs. Paper presented at the 14th Conference on British and American Studies, “Transilvania” University of Braşov May, 13-14, 2016. **Stowell, T. 1981.** Complementizers and the Empty Category Principle. In V. Burke and J. Pustejovsky (eds.) *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the North Eastern Linguistic Society*, 345–363. Amherst, Mass.: GLSA. **Warnasch, C. 2006.** Discriminate and conflate: Two classes of English non-bridge verbs. Ms. New York University. **Zwicky, A.M. 1971.** In a manner of speaking. *Linguistic Inquiry* 2 (2): 223–232.