
Remembering is a Propositional Attitude. (de-)compositional support from German *noch wissen*, *wie*.

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The German memory predicate *noch wissen* [‘still know’] licenses both declarative *dass*- [‘that’-] and free relative *wie*- [‘how’-] complements (see (1); Umbach et al., 2022). Our experimental work (N=30) has found that *noch wissen*, *wie* unambiguously reports experiential remembering (i.e. recall of a personally experienced past event; as opposed to fact-only remembering).

- (1) Mia weiß noch, wie/dass Paul im Meer geschwommen ist.
Mia knows still how/that Paul in-the sea swim is
‘Mia remembers how/that Paul was swimming in the sea.’

We give a uniform, propositionalist compositional semantics for *noch wissen* that captures both uses. Events are represented as informationally rich propositions, resulting from Umbach et al.’s (2022) semantics for non-manner *wie*- [‘how’-] complements. Combined with an evidence-based variant of the standard presuppositional semantics for ‘know’ (formalizing Lewis 1996, using elements of Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970), we predict the distribution of *wissen*, *wie* as opposed to *wissen*, *dass* and the inferences between such knowledge reports.

In a next step, this knowledge is retained via the temporal particle *noch* [‘still’]: As a modifier of ‘*wissen*, *dass/wie p*’, it captures the past-directedness of memory by presupposing that *x* had knowledge of *p* at a time preceding the utterance time. Retaining knowledge of a rich proposition denoted by ‘*wie p*’ usually requires direct evidence, leading to the pragmatic inference of experientiality.

We show that this semantics yields the intuitive different interpretations of *genau* [roughly: ‘exactly’] in *noch genau wissen*, *dass* (reliability) and *noch genau wissen*, *wie* (vividness) under a single lexical entry for *genau* (due to Wurm, 2020) by indirectly increasing the standards for evidence.

In short: We analyze ‘*noch genau wissen*, *wie p*’ as retained extra-justified knowledge of the informationally rich proposition denoted by ‘*wie p*’. *wissen* contributes factivity and evidentiality. *genau* increases the standard for justification, *wie* adds informational richness, *noch* past-directed retention.

References: Kiparsky, P. & C. Kiparsky (1970). Fact. In M. Bierwisch and K. E. Heidolph (Eds.), *Progress in Linguistics*. The Hague. • Lewis, D. (1996). Elusive knowledge. *Australasian Journal of Philosophy* 74, 549–67. • Umbach, C., S. Hinterwimmer, & H. Gust (2022). German *wie*-complements: Manners, methods and events in progress. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 40, 307–343. • Wurm, V. (2020). Distinguishing semantic

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