How do syntax, semantics-pragmatics, and prosody interact in clause-combining?

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As previous studies have suggested, clauses introduced by conjunctions can display different degrees of syntactic and discursive dependency (D'Hertefelt 2018; Sansiñena 2019), they can express a range of non-prototypical meanings (cf. Lastres-López 2021), and these features may correlate with their prosodic behaviour (cf. Elvira-García et al. 2017). In line with these studies, I provided a qualitative account of HYPOTHETICAL MANNER clauses (i.e. introduced by *comme si* in French and *como si* in Spanish, both meaning 'as if'), in which we describe (i) how they relate to other clauses in terms of syntactic dependency (Royo-Viñuales et al. 2023), (ii) the semantic-pragmatic functions they serve in discourse (Royo-Viñuales et al. 2022; Royo-Viñuales and Van linden 2022); and (iii) how their prosody co-signals different degrees syntactic dependency on the one hand, and correlates with specific functional types on the other (Royo-Viñuales 2023).

While all these studies explored HYPOTHETICAL MANNER clauses in qualitative terms, i.e. by inventorying their syntactic, semantic-pragmatic and prosodic patterns in discourse, this talk rather introduces a quantitative approach. Based on the analysis of a 278-hit spoken dataset (including 180 instances of *comme si*-clauses and 98 of *como si*-clauses from different corpora), I will present how the quantitative distribution of HYPOTHETICAL MANNER clauses in discourse is affected by the interaction between:

- i) syntactic dependency and semantic-pragmatic function
- ii) syntactic dependency and prosodic integration
- iii) semantic-pragmatic function and prosodic contours

For instance, among the distinct types of syntactic dependency observed, not every semanticpragmatic function identified is equally present. Subordinate HYPOTHETICAL MANNER clauses, as in (1), are found to most frequently serve the expression of *manner* of any kind (e.g. *doing*, *being*, or *perceiving*, cf. Bledin and Srinivas 2019; Dixon 2009: 35-37; Olguín-Martínez 2021; Rett and Starr 2022: 872), whereas their insubordinate counterparts, as in (2), mostly express what in the literature has been called *denial of an assumption* (cf. Brinton 2014).

- (1) French bound subordinate *comme si*-clause expressing *manner of doing Vous me parlez <u>comme si je connaissais le Wallon</u>. 'You talk to me as if I knew [something about] the Walloon language.'*
- (2) Spanish insubordinate como si-clause expressing denial of an assumption i<u>Como si yo tuviese una cámara</u>!
 'As if I had a camera!'

Small language-specific uses aside (e.g. two functional types only found in Spanish), the results show some clear-cut tendencies of distribution in the two languages, and for the three interactions analysed. Thus, as I will argue, syntax, semantics-pragmatics, and prosody (along the interaction(s) between them) seem to serve similar functions in clause-combining across closely related languages.

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