



THE PROSODY OF INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT CLAUSES WITH *HA* 'IF' AND *MINTHA* 'AS IF' IN HUNGARIAN (PILOT STUDY)

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Insubordinate (independent) clauses

Insubordinate clauses:

1. look like subordinate clauses (subordinate conjunction, subjunctive mode)
 2. **conventionalized as independent (main) clauses** in language use (Evans 2007)
 3. carry a **specific pragmatic meaning** (e.g. interpersonal, modal, discursive)
- I. Syntactically independent: **elaborative**/discourse-connective insubordinate clauses

(1) *Mondtam hagyjon engem békét ilyen hülyeségekkel, hogy 25 évig ez, az, amaz, amit most már beolvastak nekem, hogy mi van az interneten. **Hogy mi a véleményem?** Alig tudok szóhoz jutni.*

CONJ what the opinion.Poss.1SG

'I said he should leave me alone with such stupid things that this and that for 25 years, that they read out for me now, that is on the internet. **What is my opinion?** I can hardly say a word. (MNSz2, doc #2597, spok)

Classification of insubordinate clauses

II. **Stand-alones (performatives)**: syntactically and pragmatically independent

Complement insubordination: introduced by 'that' (*that, dass, que*, etc.)

(2) **Hogy ezt kell megélnem!**

that this.ACC have.to VPFX.live.INF.COND.SG1

'That I had to live to see this!'

Conditional insubordination: introduced by conditional subordinators, 'if' (*if, wenn, als*, etc.)

Protasis: **if** X (subordinate clause) [apodosis is missing or impossible to reconstruct]

(3) **Ha azt csak úgy lehetett volna!**

if that.ACC only that.way may.PST be.COND

'If that could've just been done like that!'

Intonation of in subordinate clauses

Spanish:

- **Elvira-García et al. (2017)**: [corpus + Discourse Completion Task, production of target sentences] *si* 'if', *como si* 'as if', *para que* 'so/in order that' clauses: subordinate and elliptical clauses (that can recover the elided clause) show prosodic markings of **continuation** (**rising** boundary tones), **insubordinated** clauses don't (**falling patterns**)
- **Elvira-García (2019)**: [two perceptual forced-choice discrimination tests: natural vs. synthetic stimuli] speakers link **rising** boundary tones with adverbial elliptical clauses, and have chosen the **narrow focus contour** for the in subordinate construction
- **Sánchez López (2019)**: [intonation patterns] *que*+V_{SUBJ}: *que*-evaluatives: **rising** pitch in the first stressed syllable and a **rising** intonation movement at the end of the sentence; *que*-optatives: clear **rising** pitch in the first stressed syllable and a **falling** final intonation movement at the end of the sentence

Intonation of insubordinate clauses

Czech (Fried & Machač 2022): spontaneous conversations, *jestli* 'if'

- Insubordinate clauses **with different epistemic function** (counter-argument construction vs. potential explanation construction) **have different intonational contour** (conclusive falling **cadence** vs. **slightly** rising contour)
- The intonational profile of insubordinate constructions **more closely resembles that of embedded (non-insubordinate) constructions with the same epistemic function** than that of the other insubordinate type (the intonation indicates directly the speaker's confidence in the truth of a given proposition).

Italian (Lombardi Vallauri 2016): spoken vs. written Italian

- *se* 'if' free conditionals with different **pragmatic functions** (invitation/offer/request, generic question: 'what will happen?'; 'there is nothing to do', protest) are marked by **(different) characteristic intonational contours**
- "Italian free conditionals are no longer limited to having a suspended, 'not concluded' intonational contour, which would be the case for conditionals whose apodosis [main clause] is not produced on contingent grounds; and that their specialization for the mentioned pragmatic functions is fully instantiated by the language, including appropriate intonation" (p. 162)
- the type of speech act determines the intonation

Research question/hypothesis

Conditional (*ha* 'if') and hypothetical/counterfactual conditional (*mintha* 'as if') clauses

We expect **differences** in the intonation of stand-alone insubordinate and subordinate variants of the same clause (example 10):

1. Insubordinate variant (stand-alone type), e.g.

Barátod: – *Biztos úgy akart tenni, mint aki keni-vágja, mi az a kvantum-összefonódás.* Te: – ***Mintha tudná...***

Friend: “They were probably trying to act like they really understand quantum entanglement.” You: “**As if s/he knew...**”

2. Subordinate variant with an elided but syntactically recoverable main clause, e.g.

Barátod: – *Hogy beszélt tegnap az ismerősed a kvantumfizikáról?* Te: – ***Mintha tudná.***

Friend: “How did your acquaintance talk about quantum physics yesterday?” You: “**As if s/he knew.**”

Research question/hypothesis

3. **Biclausal complex sentence**, in which the subordinate clause is identical to that found in 1. and 2., e. g.

a. Barátod: – *Hogy beszélt tegnap az ismerősed a kvantumfizikáról?* Te: – *Úgy beszélt a kvantumfizikáról, **mintha tudná.***

Friend: “How did your acquaintance talk about quantum physics yesterday?” You: “They talked about quantum physics **as if they knew.**”

b. Barátod: – *Hogy beszélt tegnap az ismerősed a kvantumfizikáról?* Te: – ***Mintha tudná, úgy beszélt a kvantumfizikáról.***

Friend: “How did your acquaintance talk about quantum physics yesterday?” You: “**As if they knew,** that’s how they talked about quantum physics.”

Material & method

1d.

Egy barátod ideges amiatt, mert egy valószínűtlen hírt kell közölnie egy rokonával. *Nyugtasd meg*, hogy ha mástól nem is hinné el az a rokona a hírt, neki *biztosan* el fogja:

– **Biztosan igaz a hír, ha te mondod.**

'A friend of yours is anxious because they have to share an implausible piece of news with a relative. *Reassure them* that even if their relative wouldn't believe it from anyone else, they would believe it from them:

– **It must be true, if you say so.'**

Material & method

7a.

Egy barátoddal megpróbáltok rájönni, miért nem működik a mikróhullámú sütőd. Ő nekiállna szétszedni, te *kétkedve-gúnyosan* kommentálod az észrevételét, jelezve, hogy tudod, kifejezetten ügyetlen a műszaki eszközök megszerelésében:

Barátod: – Szerintem ezt itt ki kell csavarozni belőle.

Te: – **Mintha értenél hozzá...**

'You and a friend are trying to figure out why your microwave oven isn't working. Your friend is about to start taking it apart, and you respond with a *sarcastic-doubtful* comment, implying that you know they are particularly clumsy when it comes to repairing technical devices.

Your friend: I think we need to unscrew this part here.

You: **As if you knew what you were doing...**

Material & method

4. **Ha ez nem rögeszme...** [assertive, 'I think the opposite of it']
if this not obsession
'If this isn't an obsession...'
5. **Ha kivennéd a mélyhűtőből a csirkét...**
[request]
if take.out.COND.2SG the freezer.ELAT the chicken.ACC
'If you could take the chicken out of the freezer...'
6. **Ha tudná...** [evaluation, worry, fear]
if know.COND.TR.3SG
'If s/he only knew...'
7. **Mintha értenél hozzá...** [assertive, sarcastic-sceptic]
as.if know.about.COND.2SG it.ALL
'As if you knew what you were doing...'

Material&method

8. ***Mintha válaszoltam volna...*** [assertive, conviction, certainty]
as.if answer.PST.1SG be.COND.3SG
'As if I did respond...'
9. ***Mintha nem tudná...*** [assertive, sarcastic-sceptic]
as.if not know.COND.TR.3SG
'As if s/he didn't know...'
10. ***Mintha tudná...*** [assertive, sarcastic-sceptic]
as.if know.COND.TR.3SG
'As if s/he knew...'

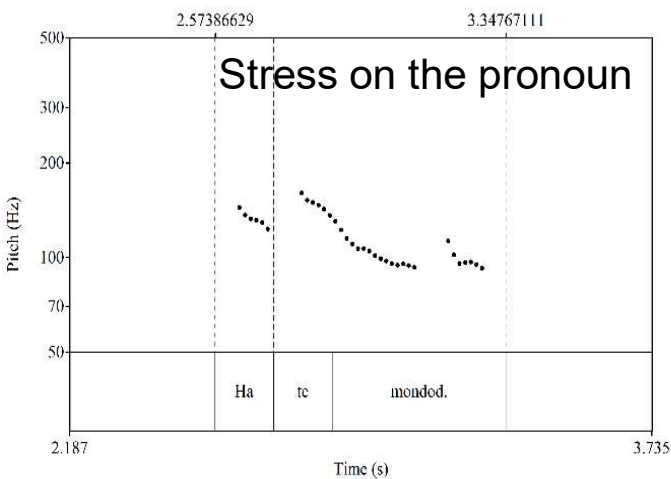


RESULTS

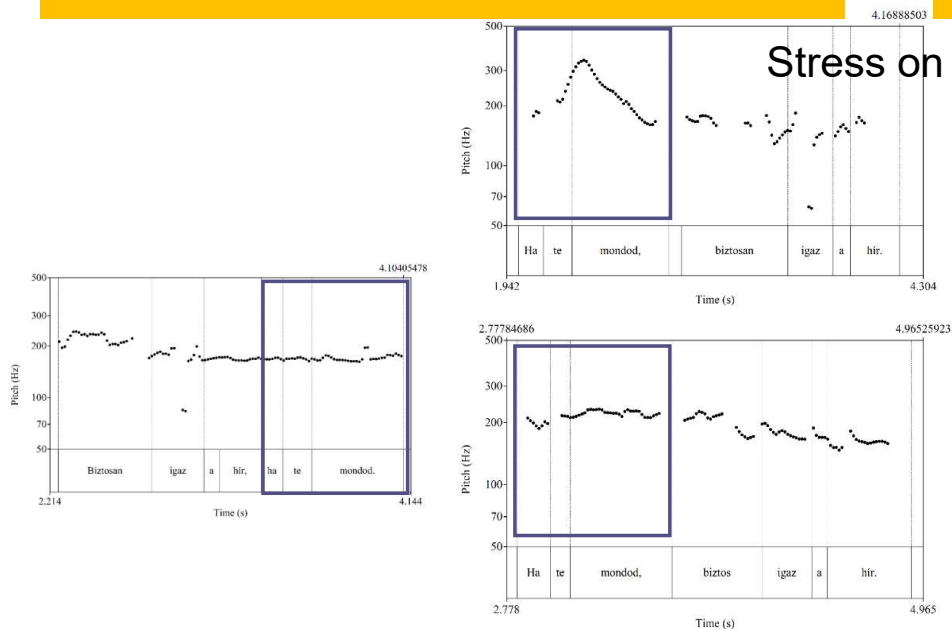
1. *Ha te mondod...* [sarcastic-sceptic, assertive] if you say.2SG 'If you say so...'

Both subordinate and insubordinate clauses show prosodic markings of **continuation**, while the elliptical clauses don't, and the stress patterns are also different.

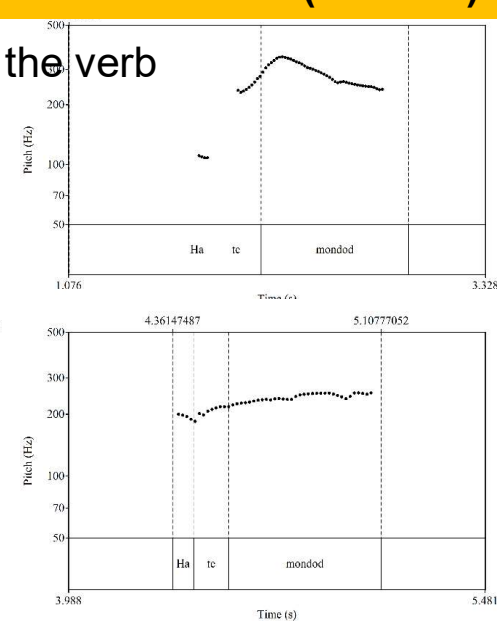
SUBORDINATE, WITHOUT MAIN CLAUSE, CERTAINTY



SUBORDINATE, WITH MAIN CLAUSE, CERTAINTY



INSUBORDINATE, SARCASM (DOUBT)



2. *Ha nekem ilyen telefonom*

if me.DAT such phone.Poss.1SG

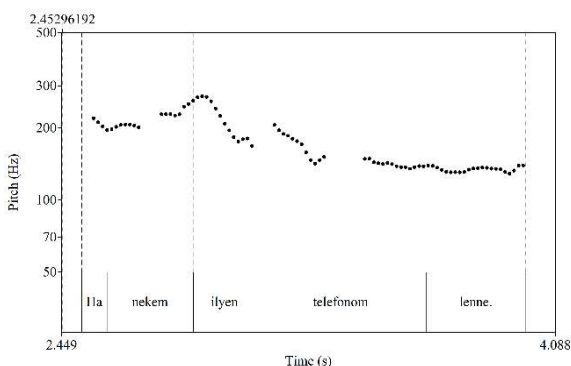
'If only I had a phone like that...'

lenne... [wish]

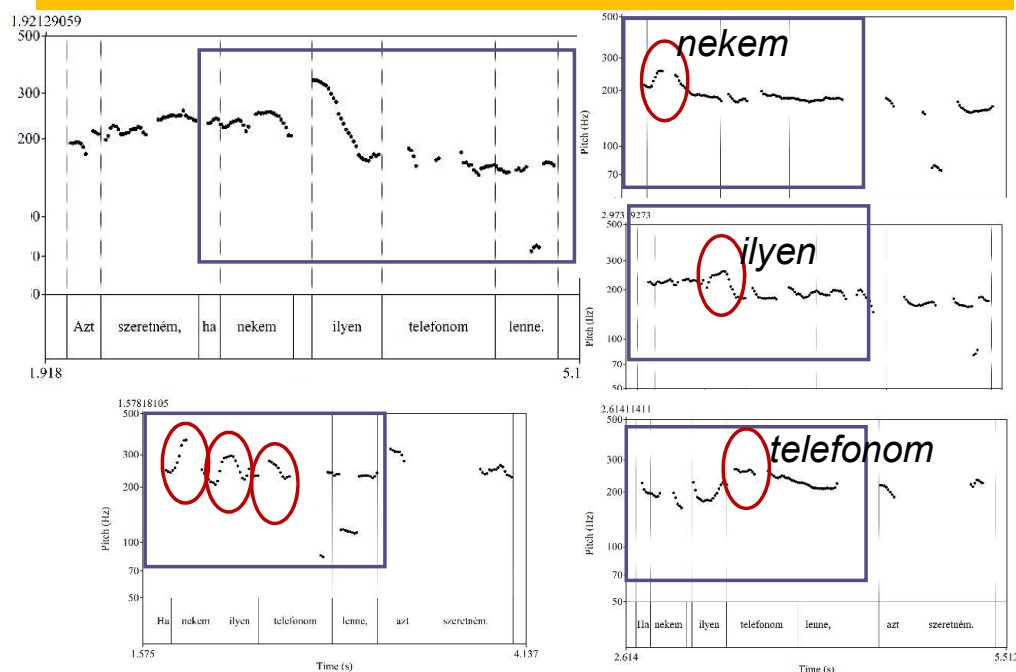
be.COND.3SG

The prosodic pattern of elliptical construct is repeated in both subordinate and insubordinated clauses, but in the latter ones large variability is possible.

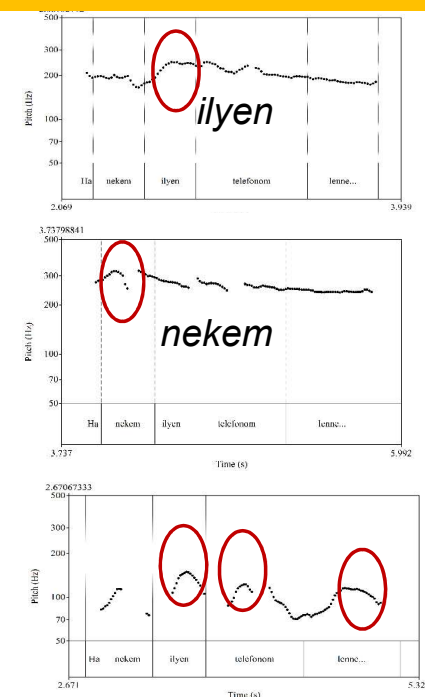
SUBORDINATE, WITHOUT MAIN CLAUSE, DESIRE



SUBORDINATE, WITH MAIN CLAUSE, DESIRE



INSUBORDINATE, DESIRE

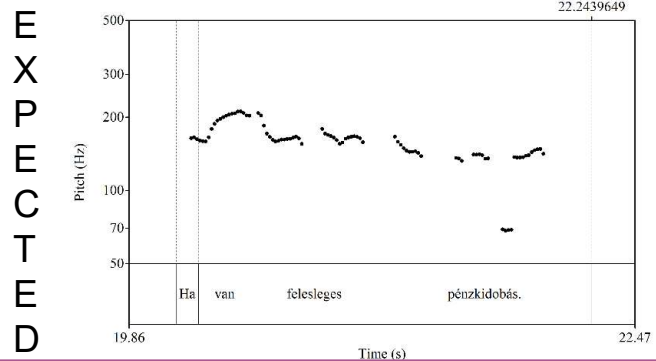


3. *Ha van felesleges pénzkidobás...* [assertive, strong declaration] if be.3SG pointless waste.of.money 'If there's such a thing as a pointless waste of money...'

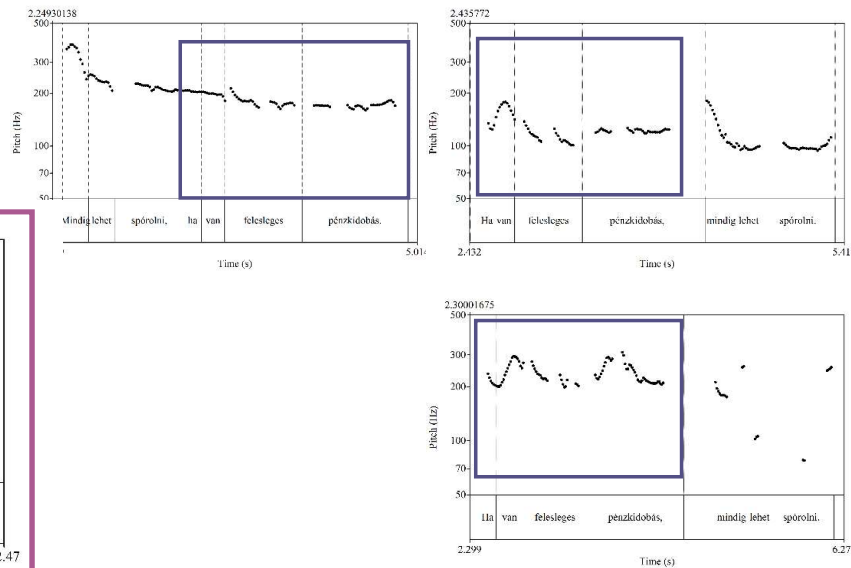
The prosodic pattern of the subordinate construct is repeated in the insubordinate clauses, with similar variability, no particular prosodic cue for insubordination.

SUBORDINATE, WITHOUT MAIN CLAUSE, NON-ASSERTIVE

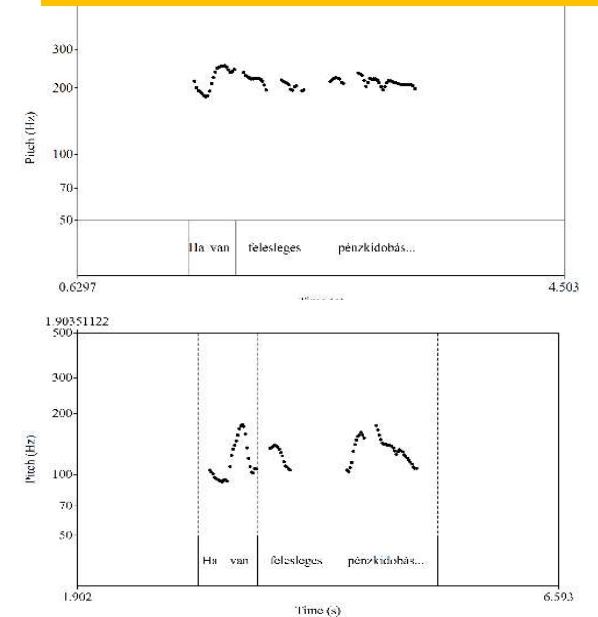
No experimental data.
 The most participants interpreted it as an insubordinate construct, the recorded samples are not conclusive.



SUBORDINATE, WITH MAIN CLAUSE, NON-ASSERTIVE



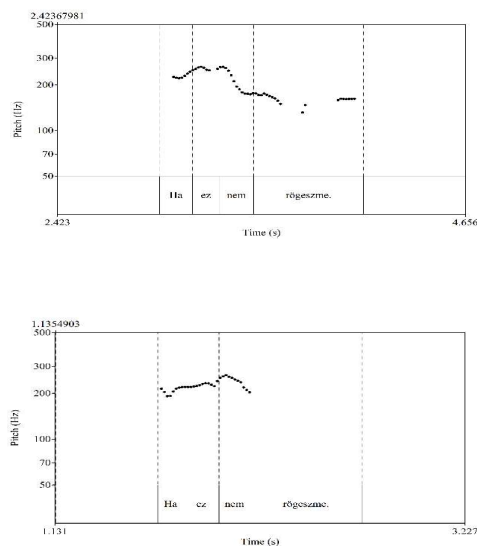
INSUBORDINATE, ASSERTIVE



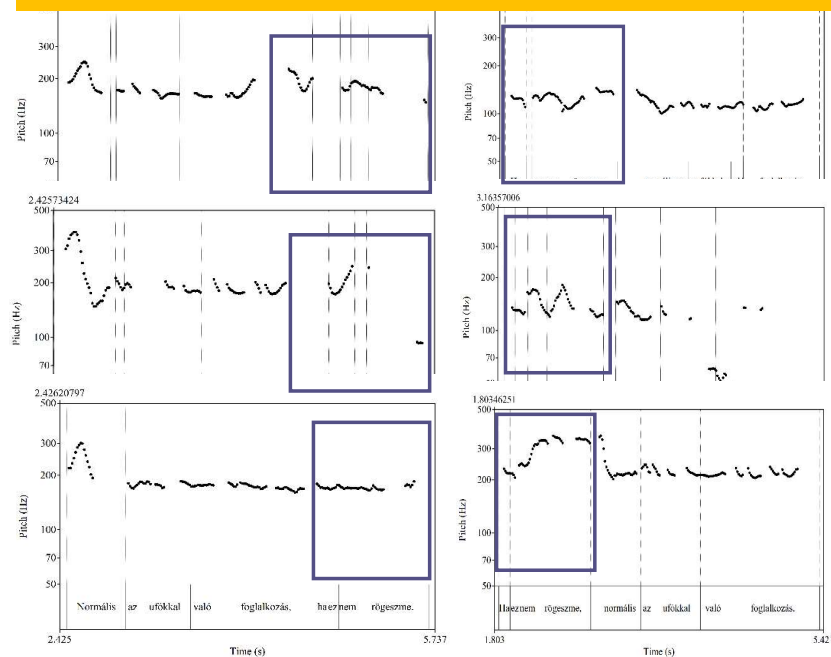
4. *Ha ez nem rögeszme...* [assertive, 'I think the opposite of it'] if this not obsession 'If this isn't an obsession...'

The prosodic patterns of the insubordinate clauses suggest **incompleteness**.

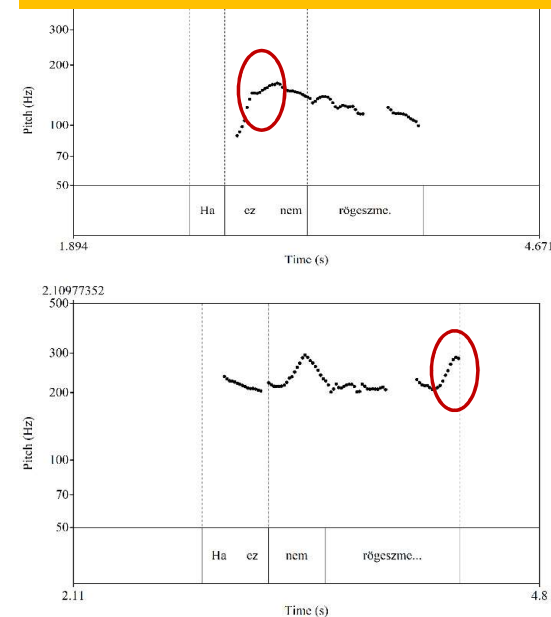
SUBORDINATE, WITHOUT MAIN CLAUSE, NON-ASSERTIVE



SUBORDINATE, WITH MAIN CLAUSE, NON-ASSERTIVE



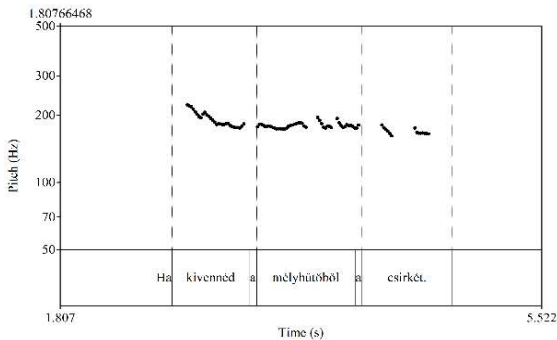
INSUBORDINATE, ASSERTIVE-NEGATIVE



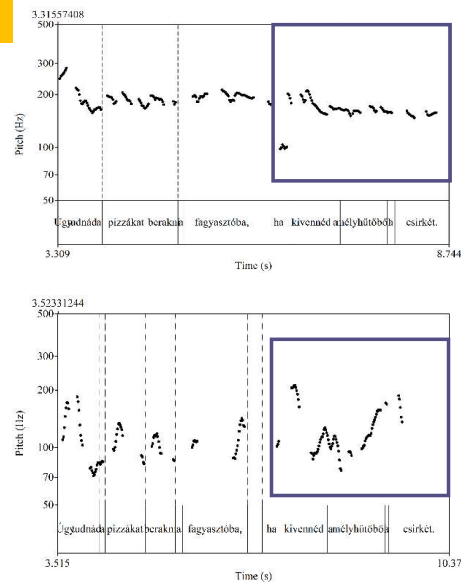
5. *Ha kivennéd a mélyhűtőből a csirkét...* [request] if take.out.COND.2SG the freezer.ELAT the chicken.ACC 'If you could take the chicken out of the freezer...'

The prosodic pattern of the in subordinate clauses suggest incompleteness (final rise).

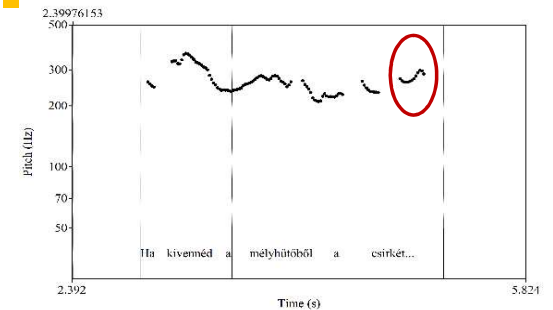
SUBORDINATE, WITHOUT MAIN CLAUSE, NON-DIRECTIVE



SUBORDINATE, WITH MAIN CLAUSE, NON-DIRECTIVE



INSUBORDINATE, DIRECTIVE



6. *Ha tudná...*

if know.COND.TR.3SG
'if s/he only knew...'

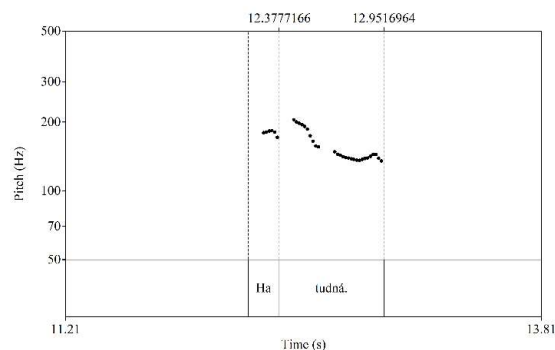
[evaluation, worry, fear]

The prosodic pattern of the in subordinate clauses might suggest incompleteness, but prosody is not a strong marker in this case.

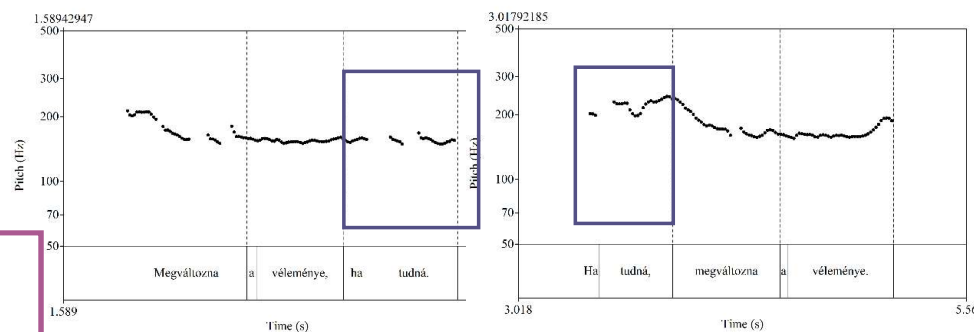
SUBORDINATE, WITHOUT MAIN CLAUSE, NON-EVALUATIVE

No experimental data.
The most participants interpreted it as an in subordinate construct, the recorded samples are not conclusive.

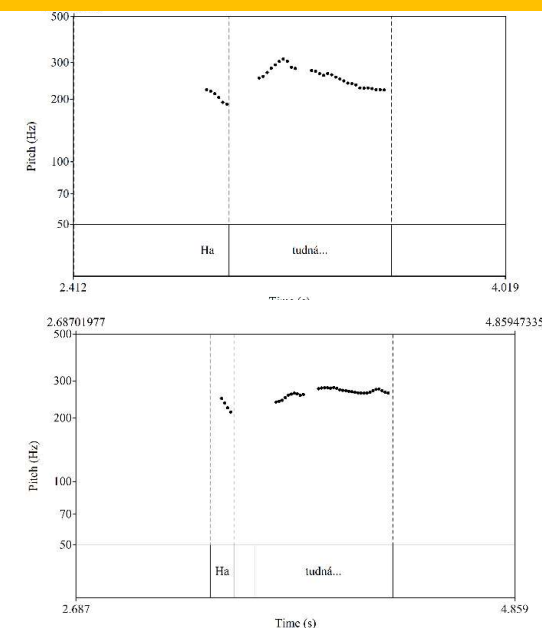
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SUBORDINATE, WITH MAIN CLAUSE, NON-EVALUATIVE



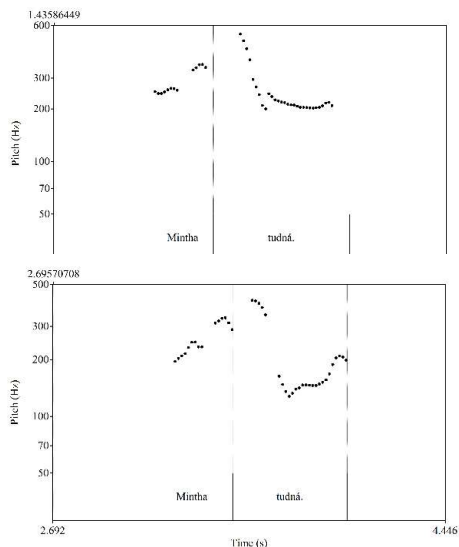
INSUBORDINATE, EVALUATIVE



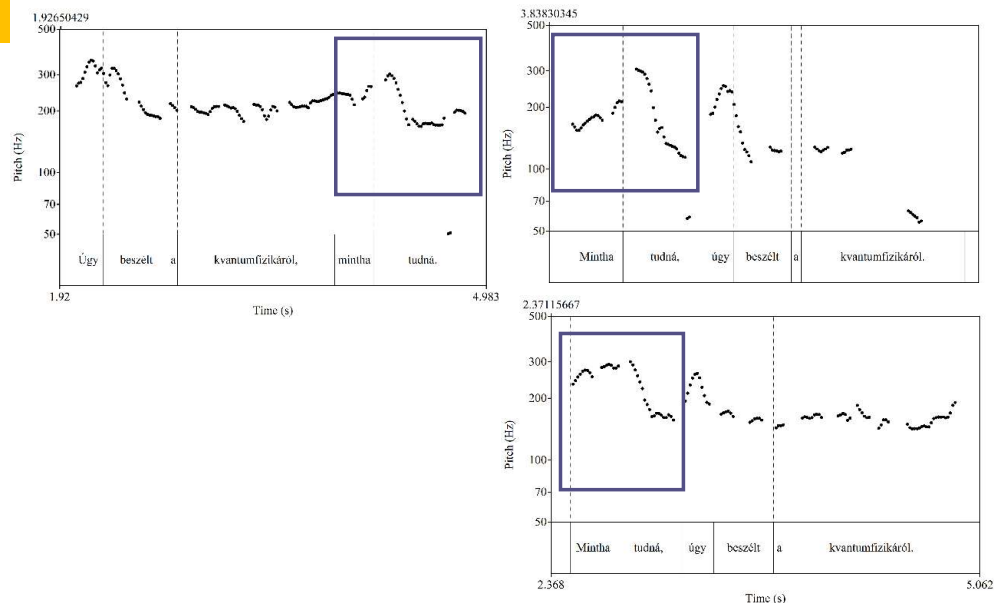
10. *Mintha tudná...* [assertive, sarcastic-sceptic] as.if know.COND.TR.3SG 'As if s/he knew...'

The sentence-final rising tone and the high tone on the conjunction word might convey the additional meaning in the in subordinate constructs.

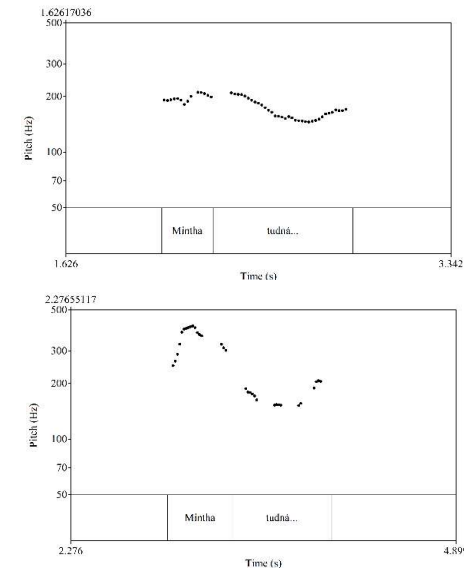
SUBORDINATE, WITHOUT MAIN CLAUSE, NON- SARCASTIC



SUBORDINATE, WITH MAIN CLAUSE, NON-SARCASTIC

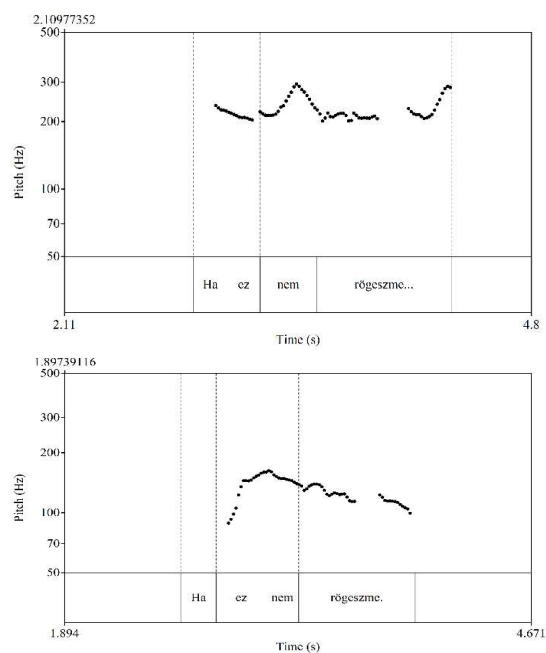


INSUBORDINATE, SARCASTIC

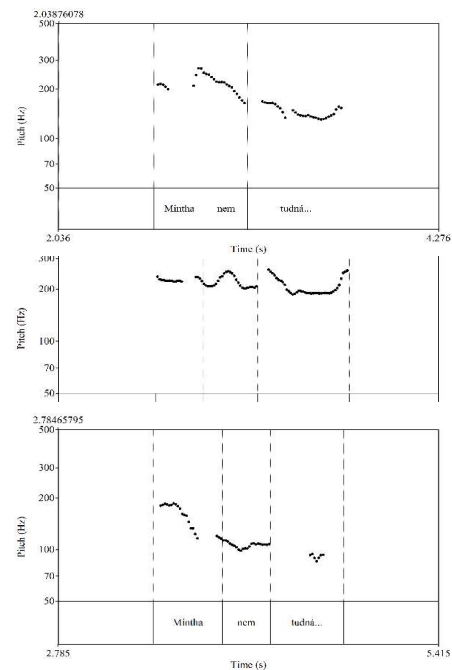


Assertive insubordinate clauses

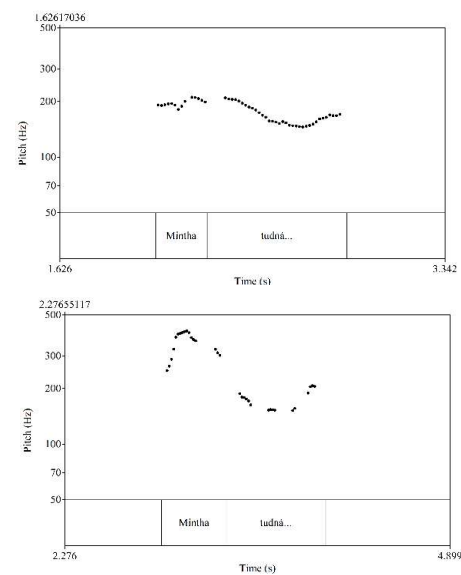
INSUBORDINATE, ASSERTIVE-NEGATIVE



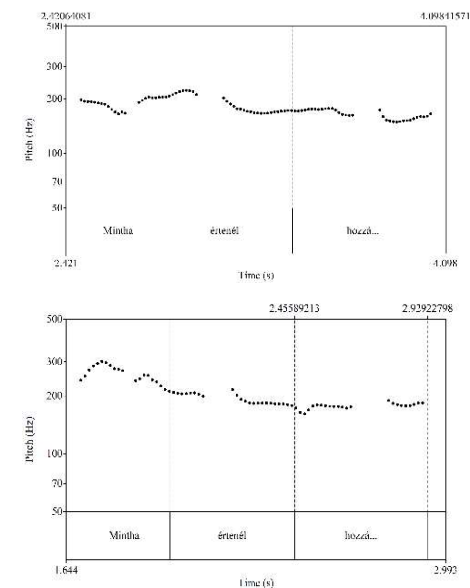
INSUBORDINATE, SARCASTIC



INSUBORDINATE, SARCASTIC



INSUBORDINATE, SARCASTIC



Conclusions

- **Pragmatic meaning** might be expressed by several prosodic patterns in INSUBORDINATION: final rise, resemblance of embedded subordinate construct, alternative stress patterns, smaller pitch range (with less steep declination/inclination/high-flat contour): ⇒ several variants
- Most of them suggest INCOMPLETENESS
- **Final rise:** all *mintha*-constructions + 4. *Ha ez nem rögeszme...*, 5. *Ha kivennéd a mélyhűtőből a csirkét...*
- **Resemblance of embedded subordinate construct:**
1. *Ha te mondod...*, 2. *Ha nekem ilyen telefonom lenne...*, 3. *Ha van felesleges pénzkidobás...*, 6. *Ha tudná...*, 7. *Mintha értenél hozzá...*, 9. *Mintha nem tudná...*

Conclusions

- **Alternative stress patterns:** all *mintha*-constructions + 1. *Ha te mondod...*, 4. *Ha ez nem rögeszme...*
- **Smaller pitch range (with less steep declination/inclination/high-flat contour):** 1. *Ha te mondod...*, 6. *Ha tudná...*, 7. *Mintha értenél hozzá...*, 8. *Mintha válaszoltam volna...*, 10. *Mintha tudná...*
- Production experiment $\Rightarrow$ variance due to different interpretations? $\Rightarrow$ perception tests needed



Thank you for your attention.

?Hogy megköszönjem a figyelmet...

?Ha megköszönhetem a figyelmet...

References

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- Sánchez López, Cristina 2019. Optative and evaluative que ‘that’ sentences in Spanish. In: Beijering, Karin, Kaltenböck, Gunther & Sansiñena, María Sol (eds.): *Insubordination. Theoretical and empirical issues*. Berlin–Boston: Mouton de Gruyter. 291 –319.

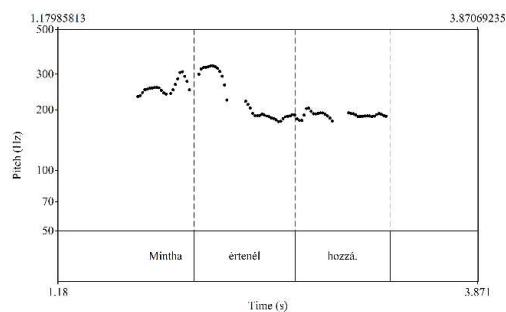
7. *Mintha értenél hozzá...* [assertive, sarcastic-sceptic]

as.if know.about.COND.2SG it.ALL

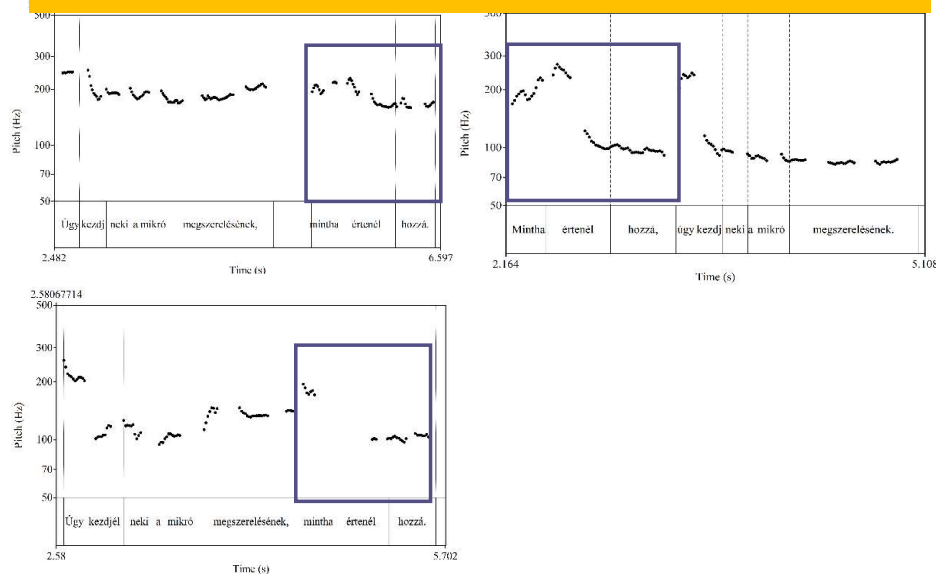
'As if you knew what you were doing...'

The prosodic pattern of the in subordinate clauses might suggest incompleteness, but prosody is not a strong marker in this case.

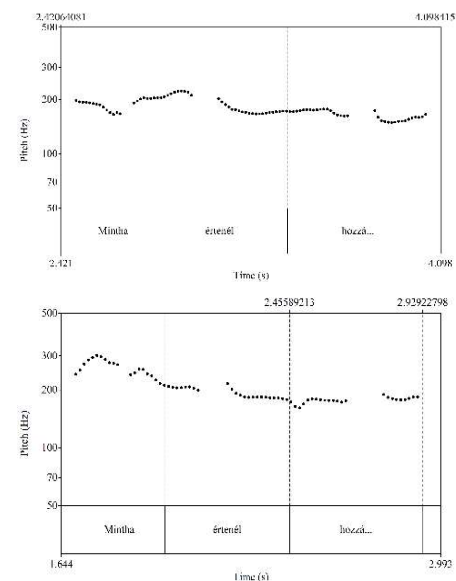
SUBORDINATE, WITHOUT MAIN CLAUSE, NON-SARCASTIC



SUBORDINATE, WITH MAIN CLAUSE, NON-SARCASTIC



INSUBORDINATE, SARCASTIC

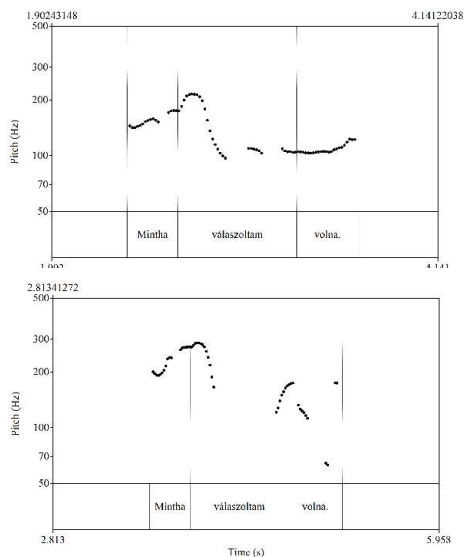


8. *Mintha válaszoltam volna...* [assertive, certainty]

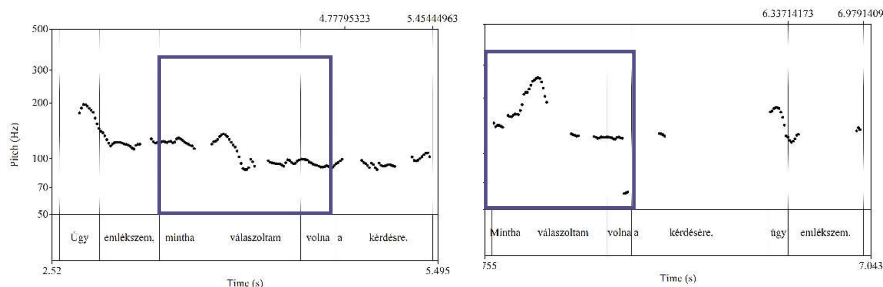
as.if answer.PST.1SG be.COND.3SG

Prosody does not differentiate strongly the elliptic subordinate and the insubordinate constructs.

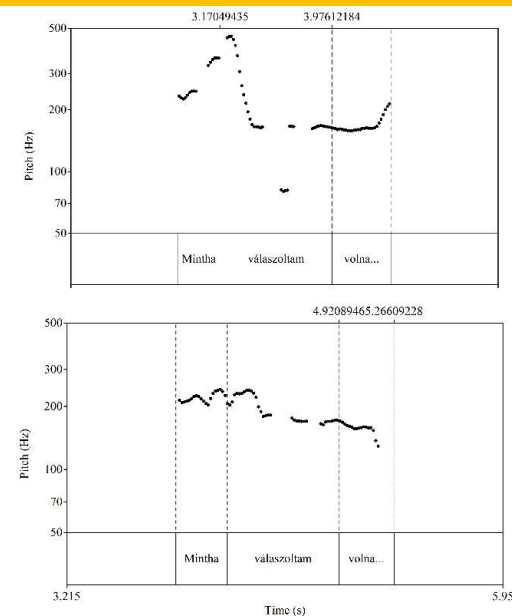
**SUBORDINATE,
WITHOUT MAIN
CLAUSE, UNCERTAIN**



**SUBORDINATE, WITH MAIN
CLAUSE, UNCERTAIN**



INSUBORDINATE, CERTAIN



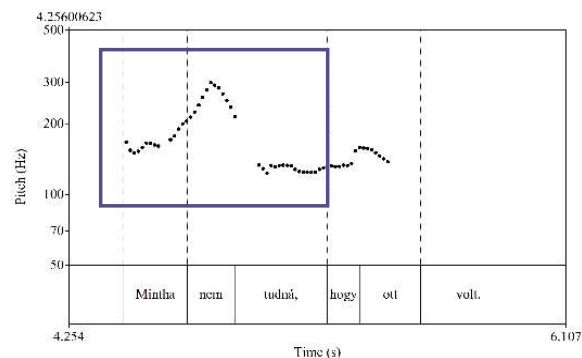
9. *Mintha nem tudná...*

[sarcastic-sceptic]

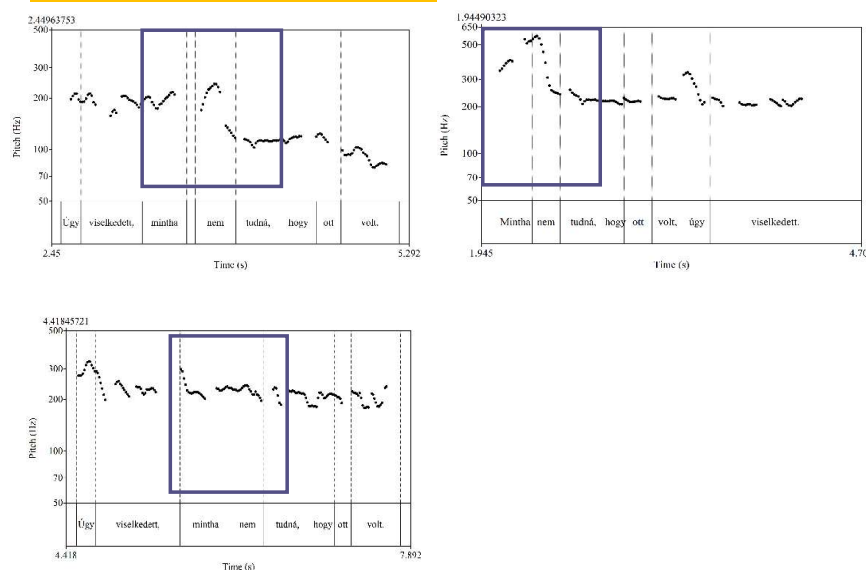
as.if not know.COND.TR.3SG
'As if s/he didn't know...'

The sentence-final rising tone or the high tone on the conjunction word might convey the additional meaning in the in subordinate constructs.

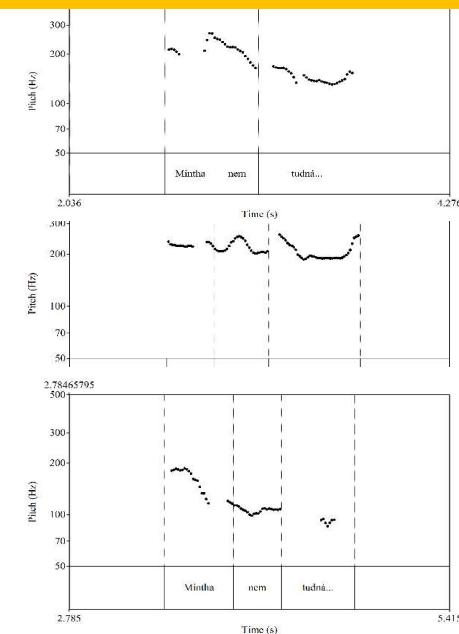
SUBORDINATE, WITHOUT MAIN CLAUSE, NON-SARCASTIC



SUBORDINATE, WITH MAIN CLAUSE, NON-SARCASTIC



INSUBORDINATE, SARCASTIC



Semantic/pragmatic subtypes

D'Hertefelt (2108):

- Deontic (including wishes): evaluate a potential state of affairs (SoA) in terms of desirability [others: declarative vs. non-declarative]
- Evaluative/exclamative: evaluate an actual SoA in terms of expectedness
- Assertive: assert or emphatically confirm that something is the case

Table 1.

	INSUBORDINATE	ELLIPTIC	MAIN C.+ <u>SUBO.</u> <u>C.</u>	<u>SUBO. C.</u> + MAIN C.
1	High tone (main stress on <i>mondod</i>), falling end OR flat/rising	High tone (main stress on <i>te</i>) + flat end	flat	high tone (main stress on <i>mondod</i>) / flat
2	various patterns	high-tone (main stress on <i>ilyen</i>)	high-tone (main stress on <i>ilyen</i>)	various patterns (stress on <i>nekem/ilyen/telefonom</i> /multiple words)
3	high-tone (main stress on <i>van</i>)	high-tone (main stress on <i>van</i>)	declination+flat contour+rising end	high-tone (various)
4	high-tone (main stress on <i>nem</i>)	high-tone (main stress on <i>nem</i> (or <i>ez+nem</i>))	high-tone or flat	high-tone (various)
5	high tone + rising end	declination + flat end	high-tone (various)	high-tone (various)

	INSUBORDINATE	ELLIPTIC	MAIN C.+ <u>SUBO. C.</u>	<u>SUBO. C.</u> + MAIN C.
6	high-tone (with less steep falling contour) / flat	high-tone (with steeper falling contour)	flat	high-tone
7	high-tone (main stress on <i>értenél</i> with narrower pitch range)+ rising end OR high tone (main stress on <i>mintha</i>)	high tone (main stress on <i>értenél</i>)	high tone (main stress on <i>értenél</i>) OR high tone (main stress on <i>mintha</i>)	high tone (main stress on <i>értenél</i>)
8	high tone + rising end OR full declination	high tone + rising end OR multiple high tones	high tone + flat end	high tone + flat end
9	high-tone (main stress on <i>nem/nem+tudná</i> with narrower pitch range)+ rising end OR high tone (main stress on <i>mintha</i>)	high tone (main stress on <i>nem</i>) + flat end	high tone + flat end	high tone +flat end
10	high-tone (main stress on <i>tudná</i> with narrower pitch range)+ rising end OR high tone (main stress on <i>mintha</i>)	high tone + rise/declination	high tone + rise	high tone (main stress on <i>mintha</i>) + final declination

Table 2

with final rise (in at least one of the variants)	4. Ha ez nem rögeszme... [assertive, 'I think the opposite of it'] if this not fixation
	5. Ha kivennéd a mélyhűtőből a csirkét... [request] if take.out.cond.2sg the freezer.elat the chicken.acc
	7. Mintha értenél hozzá... [sarcastic-sceptic] as.if know.about.cond.2sg it.all even: 'I dont' think so'
	8. Mintha válaszoltam volna... [conviction, certainty] as.if answer.pst.1sg be.cond.3sg
	9. Mintha nem tudná... [sarcastic-sceptic, even: 'I'm sure about it'] as.if not know.cond.tr.3sg
	10. Mintha tudná... [sarcastic-sceptic, even: 'I dont' think so'] as.if know.cond.tr.3sg
no final rise	1. Ha te mondod... [sarcastic-sceptic, even: 'I don't believe you'] if you say.2sg
	2. Ha nekem ilyen telefonom lenne... [wish] if me.dat such phone.Poss.1sg be.cond.3sg
	3. Ha van felesleges pénzkidobás... [assertive, strong declaration] if be.3sg pointless waste.of.money
	6. Ha tudná... - evaluation [worry, fear] if know.cond.tr.3sg