

ON THE CLASSIFICATION
OF CONDITIONAL STRUCTURES
IN ENGLISH

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HOVUDFAGSOPPGÅVE I ENGELSK

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PREFACE

When initially designing the present thesis on conditional structures, the original aim was to discuss a number of aspects: classification; positional mobility of the protasis (i.e. its faculty of occupying three different positions within the conditional sentence of which it is a constituent, viz. pre-position, mid-position, post-position) with special emphasis on its distribution in mid-position; the use of different clause-markers (i.e. structural signals introducing the conditional clause); inversion (also used as a signal of introduction and thus, from a structural point of view, equivalent to a clause-marker); etc; in other words, to give a more or less exhaustive treatment of conditional structures. However, as the various problems inherent in the treatment of classification appeared as the topic was further investigated, it gradually dawned upon the present writer that the initial approach had been far too ambitious, and that, in order to allot the required space to the topic under consideration consistent with a reasonably comprehensive treatment, this complex and, at the same time, fascinating aspect of conditional structures had to be the sole object of investigation. Of course, this does not mean that other features, such as those referred to above, are in any way

of secondary importance; on the contrary, what is being suggested is that they too have a right to a sufficiently ample space for an exhaustive treatment rather than being dealt with in a perfunctory way, which would obviously have been the result if the proposed scope of a thesis was not to be exceeded. This, then, is the reason why the writer has chosen to deal exclusively with the aspect of classification - being thus able to look more thoroughly into the problems involved - and to ignore other aspects of conditional structures.

The raw material on which this investigation has been based is taken from Samuel Richardson, Pamela, vol. I,¹ which was published in 1740. The object has not been that of a comparative analysis, there being thus no reference to present-day English. The sole purpose has been to study one feature of the English language at a particular stage of its history as represented by the usage of Richardson; i.e. the approach has been descriptive and synchronic rather than prescriptive and diachronic.

A further indication of purpose can be detected from the fact that this is a corpus-based investigation: the classification has not been intended to be exhaustive in the sense that it should be based on the potential conditional structures capable of being uttered by native

¹Page references are to the Everyman's ed., J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London, 1969.

speakers of English (i.e. the intention has not been to describe the 'langue' to use de Saussure's term); in another sense, however, it is exhaustive in so far as it is based on a complete and faithful record of the observational data (i.e. the 'parole'). And although this level, the level of 'observational adequacy' according to Chomsky,¹ constitutes the lowest level of success in grammatical description, it has been considered sufficiently informative for the present purpose of classification.

¹N. Chomsky, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, p. 29.

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INTRODUCTION

In order to arrive at a thorough understanding of the somewhat heterogeneous group of sub-clauses commonly termed conditional clauses,¹ it seems to be necessary to establish some kind of classification incorporating all recorded combinations of conditional structures. As soon as this need for a classification is felt, the problem arises whether to apply semantic or formal criteria as the basis for the classification. For the present purpose it is unnecessary to enter into the details of the controversy between traditionalists and structuralists on this point. However, a discussion of theories from Sweet to Meyer-Myklestad will be included in order to indicate the traditional approach to the problem of classification, and also to suggest why this approach has partly been discarded in the present thesis.

¹Any adverbial clause introduced by the structural signals: but, but that, but only that, except, if, if...not, in case, on condition that, only, so, so long as, suppose, supposing, unless, without, verb inversion (these have been recorded) will be considered a conditional clause unless this is explicitly refuted by the wider context (cf. pp.51 ff.). Thus relative and temporal sub-clauses with 'conditional meaning', as they are traditionally called, will be ignored in the present treatment of conditional structures.

CHAPTER ONE

A SURVEY OF THEORIES OF CLASSIFICATION WITH COMMENTS

1.1 Introductory

The text-books selected cover a space of 76 years ranging from 1891 to 1967. In 1891 Henry Sweet in his New English Grammar constructed the following example of what he called an open condition: If you are right, I am wrong. (§ 305) In 1967, under the heading practical condition, which is a sub-class of open condition, Meyer-Myklestad in his Advanced English Grammar has included: If you are right, I am wrong. (§ 184) The same example is also found in Onions, An Advanced English Syntax (§ 53), Poutsma, A Grammar of Late Modern English (§ 61), and Kruisinga, A Handbook of Present-Day English II (§ 2310). This observation is certainly not meant to be polemic. It only serves to indicate the fact that, as far as their treatment of conditional clauses is concerned, these grammarians - the list could probably be made longer - are indebted to Sweet or to one another, although Poutsma alone openly confesses to this influence, and that they seem to have been unable to approach this problem from a new and, perhaps, more rewarding point of view. Of course, they have all made personal contributions to the topic discussed, but, basically, they have followed the course established by Sweet, viz. to define the different classes

of condition on the basis of meaning.

1.2 H. Sweet

How then are Sweet's definitions formulated?

He says in § 305:

Conditional sentences are of two kinds:

(a) those which do not imply anything as to the fulfilment of the condition, such as if you are right, I am wrong, where the speaker does not let us know whether he thinks the other one to be in the right or not; (b) those which imply the rejection of the hypothesis, such as if you were right, I should be wrong We distinguish these two kinds of sentences as sentences of open condition and of rejected condition.

Apart from the fact that this is not, as will be shown later, an exhaustive classification of conditional structures, the definitions are fairly simple and can be grasped intuitively by the speaker of English. However, from a scientific point of view they are largely defective in so far as no controlled and empirically verifiable observations have been applied.

1.3 C.T. Onions

Onions, op.cit., has contributed towards objectifying the treatment of conditional clauses by introducing formal criteria into his definitions:

Conditional Sentences fall into two main classes, which are distinguished by the form and meaning of the Principal Clause: A. Those in which the Principal Clause does not speak of what would be or would have been, and the If-Clause implies nothing as to the fact or fulfilment (Open Condition): e.g. "If you are right, I am wrong."
 ... B. Those in which the Principal Clause speaks of what would be or would have been, and the If-Clause implies a negative (Rejected Condition): e.g. "If wishes were horses, beggars would ride."
 [implication: "wishes are not horses."]
 ... Class B has a special conditional form in English as in other languages: the Principal Clause is expressed by a 'should' or 'would' (Past Subjunctive): the If-Clause is marked by a special use of Tenses and Moods to indicate the remoteness of the supposition: e.g. "If you were right, I should be wrong."
 (§ 53)

In addition, Onions has listed the various verbal patterns occurring in each class. He has also included a third class ignored by Sweet:

There is a third class of Conditional Sentences, in which the Principal Clause is like that of class A (i.e. does not speak of what would be or would have been), but the If-Clause marks the action as merely contemplated or in prospect and implies a certain reserve on the part of the speaker.

If this be so, we are all at fault.

Should you desire an interview, I shall not refuse to meet you. (§ 56)

However, although Onions, as we have seen, has made use of formal as well as semantic criteria in arranging conditional sentences, thus liberating himself, to some extent, from the influence of traditional grammar, he seems to have overlooked the class which will be called hypothetic condition. Likewise, his assertion that "the Principal Clause does not (or does) speak of what would be or would have been," is also incomplete, there being no reference to structures like: should, could, might, had as leave,¹ had best, had rather, etc. (+ the plain or the perfect infinitive) although most of these structures have, as will be shown later, a fairly high frequency in the apodosis of conditional sentences.

¹This form is used by Richardson and not, as we might have expected, the more generally employed structure had as lief.

1.4 H. Poutsma

As has been mentioned above, Poutsma refers to Sweet in his treatment of conditional sentences. Consequently, like Sweet, he adheres to semantic-based definitions:

Adverbial clauses of condition or hypothesis fall into two groups: a) such as express an idea of mere condition or hypothesis, with if as the typical conjunctive; b) such as express the ideas of condition and exception combined, with unless as the typical conjunctive. Those of the first group are often subdivided into those of open condition and those of rejected condition (Sweet, N.E.Gr., § 305), or rejecting condition (Jespersen, Negation 36). Adverbial clauses of open condition "do not imply anything as to the fulfilment of the condition, such as If you are right, I am wrong, where the speaker does not let us know whether he thinks the other one to be in the right or not." (Sweet). Adverbial clauses of rejected condition express: 1) a supposition contrary to some fact known to the speaker, as in If he were present (which he is not), I would speak to him, or 2) a supposition regarding the future which is made merely for the sake of argument, as in If it should rain, we had better stay in-doors. (§ 61)

Poutsma, then, has disregarded formal characteristics in determining the different classes of condition. Neither has he mentioned what Onions called a third class, and which we shall refer to as uncertain condition. However, in contrast to Sweet and Onions, he has subdivided rejected condition, including under that heading conditional structures which we shall treat as belonging to a separate class, viz. hypothetical condition, thus making no distinction between contrary-to-fact and hypothetical conditions, although there is, as we shall see, a formal as well as a semantic disparity between these classes.

1.5 E. Kruisinga

Kruisinga, op.cit., has the following answer to the question of classification:

Clauses of condition are of two kinds:

1) those which do not imply an answer to the question regarding the fulfilment of the condition (clauses of open condition). The condition may be impartially contemplated as a possible fact (a), but its doubtfulness may be suggested (b).

a. If you are right I am wrong.

b. If he should come tell him to wait.¹

¹If we compare this example (i), an open condition according to Kruisinga, with one of Poutsma's rejected conditions discussed above: If it should rain, we had better stay in-doors (ii), we might, at first glance, be tempted to introduce this as indicating the danger implicit in the subjective, notional interpretation of language in so far as these conditional structures are differently classified despite formal similarities. However, the verbal manifestations

(2) those which imply non-fulfilment of the condition, or at least that fulfilment is (or was) unlikely (clauses of rejected condition).

If I had time I should be pleased to go too.

If I had had time I should have been pleased to go too. (§ 2310)

The definitions are clearly semantic-based, there being no reference at all to formal characteristics. Still, Kruisinga, like Onions, must be praised for having added a fairly detailed description of the different verbal forms occurring in each class. His discussion is not exhaustive but he has at least tried to give practical significance to his semantic-based definitions by drawing attention to formal manifestations. Like Sweet, Onions and Poutsma he has ignored hypothetical conditions.

1.6 G.O Curme

G.O. Curme, in his Grammar of the English Language, deviates from the grammarians treated so far, first of all, by introducing a new terminology. He adheres, however, to the traditional procedure: semantic-based definitions of the different classes followed by a survey of verbal forms as

of the apodoses differ: in (i) the imperative is used, in (ii) the conditional is employed. Nevertheless, in spite of this justification, their classifications cannot be accepted: (i) is an uncertain condition, (ii) should be classified as a hypothetical condition. This will be further illuminated in the following chapter.

they are used in these classes. His practical condition, including both open and uncertain condition, is defined as follows:

This category has to do with the things of practical everyday life - things with which in our world of action and thought we may have to do in the immediate future or with which we may have to do in the present moment. This category has to do also with the things of the past, for the things of the past often affect us in one way or another. When the things with which we are dealing or shall soon deal present themselves to the mind under the aspect of facts, we employ the indicative. Many of the mere conceptions that are passing through the mind are felt by us at the time as realities even though they have not as yet become facts. They are so near to us that they appear to us under the aspect of facts; so near often that we base conclusions on them. Often, however, in our more composed moods we feel these things as conceptions, as things near to us but yet as mere conceptions, and when we speak of them we use the subjunctive. This attitude of mind was more common in older English, so that the subjunctive here was more common then. (p. 422)

This notional definition is certainly rather vague and to some extent superfluous because, in a following chapter,

he goes on to discuss the verbal forms occurring in the already defined class of condition, whereas these forms, rather than the subjective outpouring of thoughts, should have been the basis of his definition.

In a somewhat similar manner he treats his theoretical condition. It must, however, be admitted that by far the largest part of his treatment is concentrated upon the verbal forms employed. In addition, his recognition of this group, which is equivalent to hypothetical condition, as constituting a separate category, is an achievement. So far, both Sweet, Onions, and Kruisinga have overlooked this class altogether whereas Poutsma has made the mistake of including it under rejected condition.

As far as Curme's treatment of condition contrary to fact is concerned, he has done away with the notional part of the definition:

In conditions contrary to fact, or unreal conditions, as they are often called, we employ the simple past subjunctive in the condition, and in the conclusion use would or should: "If he were here, I would speak to him." (p. 426)

1.7 J. Meyer-Myklestad

Meyer-Myklestad, op.cit., more or less agrees with Curme's solution to the problem of classification. He insists, however, upon two main groups: I Clauses of open condition

(including both practical and theoretical condition).

II Clauses of rejected or contrary-to-fact condition. Here is his definition of practical condition:

A clause of 'open condition' says nothing definite about fulfilment; the condition may be more or less likely to be realized. The term 'practical condition,' on the other hand, implies that we deal with things which in ordinary speech and writing present themselves to the mind as realities, although they are in the moment of speaking conceptions and not yet facts. They are felt as things of everyday life with which we have to reckon (cf. Curme above, p. 93: "This category has to do with the things of practical everyday life - things with which in our world of action and thought we may have to do...."), and so the fact-mood is used to express them. However, in our more imaginative and pensive moods we conceive these things as mere conceptions and find it natural to express them in the thought-mood. (§ 184) (Cf. Curme above, p. 93: "Often, however, in our more composed moods we feel these things as conceptions, and when we speak of them we use the subjunctive.")

Again, meaning occupies a predominant place as constituting the basis of the definition: Meyer-Myklestad has thrown in his lot with the traditionalists on this point.

1.8 Conclusion

The above discussion of some attempts at classification of conditional clauses should indicate the basic question confronting the grammarians grappling with this problem: is it possible altogether to ignore semantic considerations in establishing different classes of condition? Sweet, Foutsma, Kruisinga, Curme, Meyer-Myklestad all contend, although to a varying degree, that meaning is a prerequisite to an adequate definition, formal manifestations serving only as exemplifications of the definitions already given. Onions alone makes his definitions on the basis of both form and meaning. The question has been posed; a tentative answer will be given in the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

A TENTATIVE CLASSIFICATION OF CONDITIONAL
STRUCTURES

2.1 Introductory

Before presenting the different verbal patterns found, some initial information must be given and some concessions must be made. First, it should be noted that the fundamental approach has been that of basing the classification on formal criteria; i.e. the formal manifestations of the verbal patterns both in the protasis (symbolized as P) and in the apodosis (symbolized as A).¹ Secondly, it should be borne in mind that the conditional structures listed below, being the result of a corpus-based investigation, do not include all possible verbal combinations which might be produced by native speakers; i.e. the list is descriptive but not exhaustive. Thirdly, it must be remembered that, for practical purposes, the different conditional structures have been arranged according to their class-membership although, strictly

¹In a few cases reference will be made to the wider context; cf. what is said concerning the structures XXI, XXII (p. 58), the additional remarks on indirect discourse (pp. 47 ff.), and the discussion of if-introduced sub-clauses that have been discarded from the present category and transferred to the class termed clauses of reason (pp. 51 ff.)

speaking, this arrangement should rather have been the result of the analysis which can be studied in a following section. In practice this was also what happened: the different structures were jotted down as they appeared in the corpus; then the material was investigated and arranged, the outcome of this investigation being the following list of conditional structures. Finally, it might be added that the principles governing the choice and number of examples inserted under each pattern have been those of economy of presentation: not more than five examples have been given unless these would fail to exemplify all recorded structures, and faithful reproduction of the observational data: all types of the examples collected have been included.

2.2 A List of Verbal Structures

I

1 P: The simple present tense¹ indicative

A: The simple present tense indicative

Examples: (44 examples found).

If I get more, I am sure it is my duty, and it shall be my care, to love and cherish you both....

(p. 2)

...and then you seem so full of joy at his godness, so taken with his kind expressions, (which, truly,

¹The term the simple present tense is used in contrast to the expanded present tense (i.e. the present tense of BE + the present participle), the structures can, do (does), may, must, need (+ the plain infinitive),

are very great favours, if he means well)
that we fear....(p. 3)

If, then, you love us, if you wish for God's
blessing and your own future happiness, we both
charge you to stand upon your guard....(p. 4)

...but I am sure it is a certain ruin if
I stay. (p. 27)

"Why, Mrs. Jewkes," said I, "is all this fishing
about for something, where there is nothing, if
there is now an end to your watchments as you
call them?" (p. 134)

2 P: The simple present tense indicative

A: Can, do, (does), may, must, need, shall, will¹ ;²
had as leave, had best, would (+ the plain
infinitive)³

Examples: (122 examples found).

..."if you have any doubt about it, he can best
explain his own meaning....(p. 106)

Besides, Mrs. Jervis, if he really intends to offer
no force, what does that mean? (p. 30)

..."this may be all made up by to-morrow morning,
if you are not a fool." (p. 160)

and the passive voice present tense (cf. p. 17). - Here, and
in the following, lexemes (i.e. the 'abstract' linguistic
unit 'stripped' of its formal manifestations) will be
distinguished by the use of capital letters. Cf. BE above.

¹Can, do, etc. are arranged in alphabetic order.

²The semi-colon indicates that the structures
following are rare (4 examples out of a total of 122 in the
present pattern), and must be considered exceptions.

³The parentheses indicate that the infinitive has
been omitted in some of the examples; e.g. "... and if you
think it should be so, it shall. (p. 66) The conventions
established here will be followed throughout the list.

And must it not be looked upon as a sort of warrant for such actions, if I stay after this? (p. 27)

..."If you attend rightly to what I said, I need not tell you again, Pamela....(p. 296)

...but you must think, if your desire and his will clash, I shall do as he bids me....(p. 93)

If the wench takes care of herself, she'll improve yet more and more....(p. 5)

[...but if they are large, you had best be very cautious. (p. 117)

"I had as leave walk," said Mr. Peters, "if Mr. Williams chooses it." (p. 307)

...and we would have you flee this evil great house and man, if you find he renews his attempts. (p. 15)

...and if you have any body you would confide in more than another, I would have you speak. (p. 446)]

3 P: The simple present tense indicative

A: The imperative

Examples: (28 examples found).

...and if you find the least attempt made upon your virtue, be sure you leave everything....(p. 4)

"Pray, Pamela," said Mrs. Jervis, "don't hear a word, except he leaves the bed, and goes to the other end of the room." (p. 50)

Says he, "If you like what I have said, give me your hand upon it." (p. 53)

Blame me, Sir, if you think me wrong....(p. 138)

...nay, if ever you see this miserable scribble,
all bathed and blotted with my tears, let your
pity get the better of your reprehension. (p. 152)

4 P: The simple present tense indicative

A: The passive voice¹ present tense

Examples: (3 examples found).

If he comes hither, I am undone to be sure! (p. 96)

If I stay till he comes, I am undone. (p. 107)

...for if I have this as your absolute answer, and
I don't like it, you are undone....(p. 169)

5 P: The simple present tense indicative

A: The present tense of BE + the prepositional
infinitive

Examples: (3 examples found).

But I am to see what he will do, if I stay a
fortnight. (p. 71)

I find he is to be forbid the house if she
pleases. (p. 96)

"But if the creature believes she is, Madam,"
said her woman, "she is to be as much pitied
for her credulity, as despised for her vanity."
(p. 357)

¹The passive voice may be defined as a verbal structure consisting of one of the forms of BE + the past participle of a transitive verb. It should, however, be noted that there is a group of transitive verbs, the so-called middle verbs (cf. Noam Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, p. 103) which cannot be used in passive structures (e.g. resemble, marry).

6 P: The simple present tense indicative

A: 'Should in emotional questions'

Examples: (1 example found).

If you mean honourably, why, Sir, should you not let me know it plainly? (p. 120)

II

1 P: Can, do (does), may, shall, will (+ the plain infinitive)

A: The simple present tense indicative

Examples: (46 examples found).

If you can forgive me, you are exceeding good. (p.102)

May-be, I he and him him too much:

but it is his own fault if I do. (p. 11)

If I may be permitted to return in peace and safety to my poor parents, to pray for you there, it is all I at present request! (p. 193)

...but your time is not come to do that, if ever I shall permit it. (p. 232)

I will only say one thing, that if you will give me leave to attend you at the hall (consider who it is that requests this from you as a favour), I solemnly declare that you shall have cause to be pleased(p. 115)

2 P: Can, do (does), may, must, shall, will
(+ the plain infinitive)

A: Can, do (does), may, must, need, shall, will;
had rather, might, would (+ the plain infinitive)

Examples: (150 examples found).

If you can keep this matter secret, you'll give me a better opinion of your prudence. (p. 12)

"Well, then," said the gentleman, "I can't answer for her negligence if she don't write (p. 80)

But, I'll finish the duties of my place first, if I may (p. 27)

"Pray, Sir," said I, "of whom can a poor girl take advice, if it must not be of her father and mother, and such a good woman as Mrs. Jervis?" (p. 19)

And how pleased you will be, on the contrary, if, in that tremendous moment, you shall be able to acquit yourself of this foul crime, and to plead, in your own behalf (p. 168)

... "but I dare say, if the men will let her alone, she'll never trouble herself about them." (p. 17)

... for if Lady Davers will entertain you, she may as well have you from thence as here." (p. 48)

I only mean, that the necessary consequence of those orders has been grievous to my Pamela: and now we must make her amends, if we can." (p. 243)

"Meantime, if you can prevail with Pamela, you need not suspend your mutual happiness (p. 126)

If my head and my hand will let me you shall hear all. (pp. 46-47)

["If the good ladies, then, will forgive me, Sir," said I, "I had rather be excused." (p. 255)

... "but if you can collect from it any other circumstances, I might hope I should not be the worse treated." (p. 355)

Would it not look as if I was prepossessed, as he calls it, if I don't oblige him (p. 224)

Said my master, "I would have it to-morrow, or the next day at farthest, if Pamela will.... (p. 288)]

3 P: Can, must, shall, will (+ the plain infinitive)

A: The imperative

Examples: (19 examples found).

... "but if you can find an excuse for it, let her come in." (p.43)

... but, if I must suffer, let me not be long a mournful survivor! (p. 173)

- O keep me, heaven, from their high condition, if my mind shall ever be tainted with their vice, or polluted with so cruel and inconsiderate a contempt of that humble estate they behold with so much scorn! (p. 229)

... but let her stand, if she will. (p. 22)

4 P: Can, do (does) + the plain infinitive

A: The passive voice present tense

Examples: (3 examples found).

... and I am undone, to be sure, if God does not protect me.... (p. 97)

... but am not discouraged by this ill success, let what will come of it, if I can serve you. (p. 117)

... for if I have this as your absolute answer,
and I don't like it, you are undone (p. 169)

5 P: Can, shall, will + the plain infinitive

A: The simple past tense¹

Examples: (4 examples found).

I had a good mind to make you an offer of
continuing with me, if you can be a little
sorry for your hasty words (p. 58)

... for this was, indeed, a most affecting
expression, and enough to make me, if anything
can, behave as I ought (p. 306)

I took a copy of this for your perusal, my
dear parents, if I shall ever be so happy to
see you again (p. 169)

- But if you'll believe me," said I, "I gave
no encouragement to what he proposed (p. 144)

6 P: Will + the plain infinitive

A: Did

Examples: (1 example found).

You look serious, Pamela," added he: "I know
you think of your friend Williams." -

"Indeed, Sir," said I, "if you won't be angry,
I did, poor man! (p. 272)

¹The term the simple past tense is used in
contrast to the expanded past tense (i.e. the past tense
of BE + the present participle), the structure did
(+ the plain infinitive), and the passive voice past tense.

N.B. II_5 and II_6 have been arranged in accordance with their surface structure as has been the practice so far, and to which we will adhere throughout the classification except for a few cases (cf. below). It appears, however, that the clauses which have been regarded as apodoses do not serve as consequence-clauses, and that the deep structure contains phrases like: I'll tell you that, I must confess that, you shall hear that, etc., which have been deleted in surface structure but which must be inserted to complete the meaning. E.g. - But if you'll believe me," said I, "I'll tell you that I gave no encouragement to what he proposed.... "Indeed, Sir," said I, "if you won't be angry, I must confess that I did, poor man!" In such cases the deep structure must serve as the basis for the classification. Cf. VI_3 and XIX_3 below (pp. 27 and 44 respectively).

7 P: Does + the plain infinitive

A: 'Should in emotional questions'

Examples: (1 example found).

... if he does not love to hear of the summer-house and the dressing-room, why should he not be ashamed to continue in the same mind?" (pp. 48-49)

III

1 P: The passive voice present tense

A: The simple present tense indicative

Examples: (2 examples found).

If, my dear parents, I am not destined more surely than ever for ruin, I have now more comfort before

me than ever I yet knew.... (p. 186)

And if I am convinced that you are not prepossessed, my vanity makes me assured.... (p. 192)

2 P: The passive voice present tense

A: May, shall, will + the plain infinitive

Examples: (5 examples found).

"May I," said I, "Lucretia-like, justify myself with my death, if I am used barbarously?" (p. 20)

... and who, if these proposals are not accepted, shall find that I have not taken all these pains, and risked my reputation.... (p. 166)

"And, well," thought I, "what will this come to at last, if poor Pamela is esteemed a thief!" (p. 45)

3 P: The passive voice present tense

A: The imperative

Examples: (2 examples found).

If I am not betrayed, don't leave me. (p. 50)

... and if you are asked any questions by Mrs. Pamela, don't answer her one word, while I am here!" (p. 172)

IV

1 P: The simple perfect tense¹

¹The term the simple perfect tense is used in contrast to the expanded perfect tense (i.e. the perfect tense of BE + the present participle), and the passive voice perfect tense.

A: The simple present tense indicativeExamples: (1 example found).

... if you have sinned, it is with your eyes open. (p. 428)

2 P: The simple perfect tenseA: Can, must, will + the plain infinitiveExamples: (7 examples found).

And if he has designed to love me, and you say can't help it, why, he can't help it neither, if he should have an opportunity, a third time to distress me. (p. 30)

- "I must beg you, Sir, to read the matter favourably, if I have exceeded in any liberties of my pen." (p. 211)

"I'll see them all," said he, "down to this time, if you have written so far.... (p. 207)

3 P: The simple perfect tenseA: The imperativeExamples: (3 examples found).

If I have written too sharply, consider it is my love for you.... (p. 229)

... if I have been too open and free in my reflections or declarations, let my fears on one side, and my sincerity on the other, be my excuse." (p. 250)

- If I have been too pressing for the day
... say but the word, and I'll submit. (p. 299)

4 P: The simple perfect tense

A: The passive voice present tense

Examples: (1 example found).

... why, if I have done amiss, am I not left to be discharged by your housekeeper.... (p. 45)

5 P: The simple perfect tense

A: The simple perfect tense

Examples: (1 example found).

"If I have been a Sauce-box, a Bold-face, a Pert, and a Creature, as he calls me, have I not had reason? (p. 28)

6 P: The simple perfect tense

A: 'Should in emotional questions'

Examples: (1 example found).

Pray, Sir, if I have not been worse than others, why should I suffer more than others? (p. 45)

V

P: The passive voice perfect tense

A: Will + the plain infinitive

Examples: (1 example found).

... if anything has been stolen, I'll find it out.... (p. 337)

VI

1 P: The present tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive

A: The simple present tense indicative

Examples: (4 examples found).

But what avails all this, if you are to be ruined and undone? (p. 3)

"Ah, Sir!" said I, " he is happier already than ever he can be, if his daughter's innocence is to be the price of your favour.... (p. 69)

If I am to think of Mr. Williams, or any body, I beg you will not be so free with me. (p. 73)

... and if I am not to be believed, what signifies talking?" (p. 80)

2 P: The present tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive

A: Shall + the plain infinitive

Examples: (2 examples found).

Truly, I shall have but little heart to write, if he is to see all. (p. 210)

I shall have enough to do, I reckon in a while, if I am to answer every one that will envy me. (p. 289)

3 P: The present tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive

A: The simple past tense

Examples: (1 example found).

And it was by the side of this pond, and not far from the place where I had that dreadful conflict, that my present hopes, if I am not to be deceived

again, began to dawn. (p. 187)

N.B. From the point of view of surface structure, the verbal formula of VI₃ given above is legitimate. However, when the deep structure is taken into account, it appears that the clause which has been regarded as apodosis does not serve as consequence-clause, and that the phrase it is evident that, or a semantically equivalent phrase, must be inserted to complete the meaning. As has been pointed out above (cf. p. 22), the deep structure must, in such cases, serve as the basis for the classification.

VII

P: Am going to

A: Will + the plain infinitive

Examples: (1 example found).

But if I am going to you, all will be well again, I hope. (p. 218)

VIII

1 P: The simple past tense

A: The simple present tense indicative

Examples: (4 examples found).

... "I believe this little slut has the power of witchcraft, if ever there was a witch (p. 36)

But I must say, if ever there was a rogue
in the world, it is me. (p. 102)

... and if any body ever had reason, I have
to say with the blessed Virgin (p. 278)

... and if I was guilty of a fault, I beg
your pardon." (p. 385)

2 P: The simple past tense

A: Shall + the plain infinitive

Examples: (1 example found).

... "if you did, and knew not what belonged
to your character, as my wife, I shall be
very angry with you." (p. 361)

3 P: The simple past tense

A: The imperative

Examples: (1 example found).

God forgive me, if I sinned. (p. 142)

4 P: The simple past tense

A: The simple past tense

Examples: (5 examples found).

Then I knew not one step of the way, nor how far
to any house or cottage; and whether I could
gain protection, if I got to a house (p. 132)

... but, to be sure, there was some roguery in
the gypsy." - "Well," said I, "if there was,
she lost her aim, you see." (p. 198)

I fear I was too unseasonable, just at a time when he was so condescending; but if it was a piece of art on his side, as I apprehended, to introduce the sham wedding (for he is full of stratagem and art), I think I was less to blame. (p. 214)

... my foolish pride was a little piqued with this, because I loved to be, if I went out of the way, my own original, as I may call it (p. 240)

... for she came before dinner, I presume, if it was soon after you had received my letter?" (p. 361)

5 P: The simple past tense

A: 'Should in emotional questions'

Examples: (1 example found).

"Then, Sir," said I, "why should your honour be so angry, I should tell Mrs. Jervis, or any body else, what passed, if you intended no harm?" (p. 18)

IX

P: Did

A: Shall + the plain infinitive

Examples: (1 example found).

"Well, but," said he, "did you wait at table upon her?" - "Would you have had me, Sir?" said I. "Only Pamela," replied he, "if you did,

and knew not what belonged to your character, as my wife, I shall be very angry with you." (p. 361)

X

P: The past tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive

A: The simple past tense

Examples: (1 example found).

... for she gave them me, supposing I was to wear them in her service, and to do credit to her bountiful heart. (p. 65)

XI

1 P: Should (+ the plain infinitive); occasionally would + the plain infinitive: p. 48, or could (+ the plain infinitive): pp. 194, 330

A: The simple present tense indicative

Examples: (9 examples found).

... if this should be my happy lot, it is the very top of my ambition." (p. 123)

... for I love you and all the house, and value him, if he would act as my master. (p. 48)

If he could, how desperately wicked is the heart of man? (p. 194)

And could I be so happy as to see you and my good Lady Davers reconciled, I have nothing in this world to wish for more, but the continuance of your favour." (p. 330)

- 2 P: Should (+ the plain infinitive); occasionally would + the plain infinitive: pp. 339, 343, or could + the plain infinitive: pp. 63, 229, 341
- A: Can, do (does), may, must, need, shall, will (+ the plain infinitive)

Examples: (36 examples found).

... I can't wear them if I should take them
(p. 66)

Besides, how do these gentry know, supposing they could trace back their ancestry for one, two, three, or even five hundred years, that then the original stems of these poor families ... were not deeper rooted? (pp. 229-30)

... that if a way should open my scribble may be ready to be sent (p. 96)

... and must bear his indifference, if his rich friends should inspire him with it, and proceed in my duty with cheerfulness. (p. 304)

All the matter is, if I could get plain work enough, I need not spoil my fingers (p. 63)

And if he should use me ill, then I shall be blamed for trusting him (p. 224)

... and if he should be very ill, and would be comforted by my presence (...). charity will not let me refuse." (p. 339)

... that if you would have me keep my distance, you will not forget your own degree." (p. 343)

"If you could go to dine with them, it will be a freedom (p. 341)

3 P: Should, would + the plain infinitive

A: The imperative

Examples: (5 examples found).

... and if she should send a letter to you, Mrs. Jervis (...) be sure you send it by a man and horse the moment you receive it."
(p. 80)

But if I should come home to you ruined and undone, and may not be able to look you in the face, yet pity and inspirit the poor Pamela, to make her little remnant of life easy(p. 164)

But don't be uneasy if you should see this
(p. 172)

And my lady said, "Mrs. Jewkes, if you would be forgiven, leave Pamela and me by ourselves! (p. 356)

"Leave out my, I desire you, if you'd have me sit patiently!" (p. 389)

4 P: Should + the plain infinitive

A: The passive voice present tense

Examples: (1 example found).

... I am, besides, delivered from the fear of their being found, if I should be searched.
(pp. 122-23)

5 P: Should + the plain infinitive

A: The simple perfect tense

Examples: (1 example found).

I have already said too much, if this dreadful hereafter should take place. (p. 193)

XII

1 P: Be (all persons present tense)

A: The simple present tense indicative

Examples: (8 examples found).

Do you think there are such things as witches and spirits? If there be, I believe in my heart Mrs. Jewkes has got this bull of her side.

(pp. 131-32)

"If that be all," said he, "and there be nothing of another nature that I cannot forgive, you have no cause for uneasiness (p. 203)

If the mind," said he, "be not engaged, I see there is hardly any confinement sufficient for the body (p. 239)

"If and please you, Madam," said he, "she be but virtuous, 'tis all in all: for all the rest is accident. (p. 262)

"'Tis well," said my master, "if now there be but one knave in a court out of four persons (p. 364)

2 P: Be (all persons present tense)

A: May, must, shall, will (+ the plain infinitive).
One example of 'should' denoting moral obligation or desirability: p. 352

Examples: (24 examples found).

Will you be satisfied, if you have a letter from her within a week, it may be less, if she be not negligent, to assure you all is well with her?"

(p. 80)

They must be bad indeed, if they be worse than what I have already known. (p. 156)

What shall I do, what steps take, if all this be designing? (p. 194)

... but I hope all will end well, and we shall soon hear, if it be necessary to pursue our former intentions. If it be, I will lose no time to provide a horse for you, and another for myself (p. 137)

[And if it be so bad, your ladyship should pity, rather than thus torment me before my time." (p. 352)]

3 P: Be (all persons present tense)

A: The imperative

Examples: (7 examples found).

"If it be not what you think will please me," said he, "dear girl, take it back again (p. 169)

"But don't urge her too much," said he, "if she be unwilling." (p. 227)

If this be wine," added he, "fill me up a bumper." (p. 260)

... "teach me some other language, if there be any, that abounds with more grateful terms (p. 328)

... "if this be pleasing to you, let it, since you say you want words, be signified by such a sweet kiss as you gave me yesterday." (p. 329)

4 P: Be (all persons present tense)

A: The simple perfect tense

Examples: (1 example found).

To be sure, if he be false, I have gone too far! (p. 194)

XIII

1 P: Zero ending (\emptyset) in the third person singular present tense

A: The simple present tense indicative

Examples: (3 examples found).

"Meantime I pity the fatigue you will have, if this come to your hand in the place I have directed (p. 88)

Poor gentleman! all his dependence is upon my master, who has a very good living for him if the incumbent die (p. 96)

He is and will be wicked, and designs me a victim to his lawless attempts, if the God in whom I trust, and to whom I hourly pray, prevent it not. (p. 104)

2 P: Zero ending (\emptyset) in the third person singular present tense

A: May, shall, will (+ the plain infinitive)

Examples: (10 examples found).

... "If Longman refuse you, my dear, he may be said to refuse your first favour." (p. 421)

I shall be too much rewarded for all my sufferings if this goodness hold! (p. 193)

... for if my love increase for you, as it has done for many months past, it will be impossible for me to deny you anything. (p. 167)

3 P: Zero ending (ø) in the third person singular present tense

A: The imperative

Examples: (1 example found).

... return with her to me, if she please to favour me so far, with all the expedition her health and safety will permit (p. 224)

4 P: Zero ending (ø) in the third person singular present tense

A: The present tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive

Examples: (1 example found).

Here, said I to myself, I fear is to be the scene of my ruin unless God protect me, who is all-sufficient! (p. 92)

XIV

1 P: The past tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive

A: The simple present tense indicative

Examples: (1 example found).

... but do you think if I was to ask to stay, that he is sorry for what he has done? (p. 29)

- 2 P: The past tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive
 A: May, shall, will + the plain infinitive

Examples: (3 examples found).

... for, perhaps, this new condition may be subject to still worse hazards than those I have escaped; should conceitedness, vanity, and pride, take hold of my frail heart; and if I was, for my sins, to be left to my own conduct, a frail bark in a tempestuous ocean, without ballast, or other pilot than my own inconsiderate will. (p. 297)

But, having nothing else to do, and I am sure I shall not sleep a wink to-night, if I was to go to bed, I will write my time away (p. 216)

... I would not, for any consideration, that you should believe me capable of receiving negligently an honour, that all the duty of a long life, were it to be lent me, will not be sufficient to enable me to be grateful for. (p. 291)

XV

- 1 P: The simple past tense or did (+ the plain infinitive). Actional character¹ of the verb: perfective / instantaneous /
 A: Could, might, should, would (+ the plain infinitive)

Examples: (18 examples found).

... and if she went to bed, instead of scribbling, she could not sleep. (p. 298)

¹Occasionally the actional character of the verb may be imperfective/durative/. However, the verb may be modified by an adverb having the faculty of rendering the verbal phrase (i.e. verb + adverb) perfective/instantaneous/.

I was going in, Sir, that you might have time to read them, if you thought fit." (p. 212)

I was not aware of this inference, and said, "Yes, truly, Sir, I think I should, if you commanded it." (p. 204)

... for it could end fearfully for you, for me and for him, if I found that you disguised any secret from me in this nice particular." (p. 191)

2 P: The simple past tense. Actional character of the verb: perfective/instantaneous/

A: Would + the perfect infinitive

Examples: (2 examples found).

... only it would have been creditable to such a poor girl that the housekeeper would bear me company, if I went. (p. 58)

... I would have thrown myself upon the poorest beggar that ever the world saw, if I thought him honest. (p. 192)

E.g. ... and if I was once out of the house, they could have no pretence to force me in again. (p. 112) Cf. also the second example under XV₁. It should be emphasized that there are some doubtful cases as the actional character may, in a limited number of examples, be ambiguous. In these cases, the context in which the verb occurs must be taken into account. Cf. the last example under XV₂.

XVI

- 1 P: Could, might, should, would (+ the plain infinitive)
 A: Could, had rather, might, should, would (+ the plain infinitive); were (p. 41)

Examples: (51 examples found).

... and if I could make use of them, I should think I should never prosper with them (p. 65)

Oh! I forgot to say, that I would stay to finish the waistcoat, if I might with safety (p. 31)

For if I never should have such another opportunity, I could not forgive myself. (p. 132)

... I had rather, if it would not displease you, wait upon Lady Davers (p. 11)

"I should think, Sir, if either of those ladies would give leave, I might get out by favour of your key. (p. 112)

[... for if my fellow-servants should guess, it were better so, than to have it from you or me (p. 41)]

- 2 P: Would + the plain infinitive
 A: Should + the perfect infinitive

Examples: (1 example found).

... and if she would have it so, she should have done it with more decency. (p. 294)

XVII

P: The past tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive

A: Should, would + the plain infinitive

Examples: (9 examples found).

And if Jane, or Rachel, or Hannah, were to offend, would your honour stoop to take notice of them?
(p. 45)

... and if it was to be as you think, I should rather be out of my pain than live in continual frights and apprehensions, as you do." (p. 119)

XVIII

1 P: The pluperfect

A: Could, had rather, might, must, ought, should would + the perfect infinitive

Examples: (92 examples found).

"Well," said he, "I have only to say, that had not Mr. Longman, and Mrs. Jervis, and Johathan too, joined in a bold appeal to Lady Davers ... I could easily have forgiven all the rest of their conduct (p. 321)

... when she had rather have had another, had it not been for that (p. 447)

Had she lived, none of these things might have happened. (p. 33)

This was a little better than to have him here; though if he had, he must have been brought through the air (p. 87)

You ought to have done it at first, had you not had Mrs. Jervis to advise with. (p. 15)

Had I been utterly given up to my passion, I should, before now, have gratified them
(p. 188)

"Sir," said I, "if your honour had pleased, I would have taken it with me (p. 36)

N.B. The verbal manifestation in the apodosis is sometimes an infinitive or an ing-form which may be transformed into: could, had rather, might, etc. + the perfect infinitive.

Examples:

But O! to find them infinitely aggravated
(had I not, by the Divine Grace, been withheld)
in a miserable eternity! (p. 149)

Why, they are for-daring to adhere to the good lessons that were taught me, and not learning a new one, that would have reversed all my former; for not being contented when I was run away with, in order to be ruined, but contriving, if my poor wits had been able, to get out of danger, and preserve myself honest.
(p. 176)

2 P: The pluperfect

A: Could, would + the plain infinitive

Examples: (7 examples found).

"See again!" said he: "could you believe this of the young baggage, if you had not heard it?"
(p. 23)

... yet what passed between her and me has so exasperated her, that she would quarrel with my horse, if she had thought I valued it (p. 366)

3 P: The pluperfect

A: The pluperfect

Examples: (8 examples found).

... for had I made my escape, which was so often my chief point in view, and what I placed my heart upon, I had escaped the blessings now before me (p. 276)

And whatever other liberties I may have taken (for perhaps some more I have, which, had she known, you had heard of as well as this), I desire Heaven will only forgive me (p. 391)

"Well, sister, I had most assuredly set off to my other house, had not things taken this happy turn (p. 395)

"Had I married with the views of most gentlemen, and with such as my good sister (supplying the place of my parents) would have recommended, I had wedded a fine lady, brought up in my own manner (p. 403)

... had she been called Miss Godfrey, I had hit upon it in a thrice. (p. 432)

XIX

1 P: The simple past tense or did (+ the plain infinitive). Actional character¹ of the verb: imperfective/durative/

¹Occasionally the actional character of the verb

A: Could, must, should, would + the plain infinitive

Examples: (93 examples found).

"You're a wicked woman, that's certain," said I;
"and if you thought any thing of another world,
could not talk thus. (p. 171)

Not that I am very uneasy, neither. You'll say,
I must be a little saucy if I was. (p. 399)

... "if I was in his place, he should not have
his property in you long questionable." (p. 108)

... and if you was a prince I would not be other-
wise." (p. 12)

2. P: The simple past tense or did (+ the plain
infinitive). Actional character of the verb:
imperfective/durative/

A: Could, might, should, would + the perfect infinitive

Examples: (10 examples found).

I know what I could have said, if I durst. (p. 40)

may be either perfective/instantaneous/ or imperfective
/durative/:

E.g. HAVE = GET: perfective
" = POSSESS: imperfective

... and had I a young handsome butler or steward, she'd soon
make her market of one of them (p. 16). If had here is
interpreted as being an imperfective verb, as I think it
naturally should, the conditional clause is certainly an
example of the XIX₁ pattern, and it has actually been included
under this heading¹. If, on the other hand, it is considered
to be a perfective verb, this example must be treated as
forming part of the XV₁ pattern discussed above. Both analyses,
then, are justifiable,¹ and, again, the wider context should be
consulted for the necessary information.

... this might have done with me had he anything he could have told you of. (p. 134)

... "that if I was in your place, I should have taken much more upon me (p. 375)

... if all was right, so good a gentlewoman as you are, would not have been a stranger to this. (p. 79)

3 P: The passive voice past tense

A: The passive voice past tense or the simple past tense

Examples: (2 examples found).

"I fancy this blessed man," said my master, smiling, "was at that time, hoped to be you, Mr. Williams, if the truth was known." (p. 287)

... if the truth was known, you loved the wretch not a little." (pp. 409-10)

N.B. From the point of view of surface structure this is a legitimate pattern, and as such must be included here. However, when the deep structure is taken into account, it appears that the clauses which have been regarded as apodoses do not serve as consequence-clauses, and that phrases like: it would have become evident that, it would have been realized that, etc. must be inserted to complete the meaning. In such cases the deep structure must serve as the basis for the classification. Cf. II₅, II₆ (p. 22), and VI₃ (p. 27) above.

XX

- 1 P: Could, might, would (+ the perfect infinitive)
 A: Could, should, would + the perfect infinitive

Examples: (16 examples found).

"Sir," said I, "could I have been without those innocent exercises, as you are pleased to call them, I should have been glad to have been so dull as a beetle." (p. 205)

... I was the more indifferent, because if I might have had permission, the sight of the neighbouring gentry ... would have given me great regret and sorrow (p. 121)

... indeed I would have sat up all night, for fear, if she would have let me. (p. 163)

... and what, Sir, could any body have thought of my sincerity, in preferring that to all other considerations, if I had not escaped from those dangers, if I could have found any way for it? (p. 192)

- 2 P: Could + the perfect infinitive
 A: The pluperfect

Examples: (1 example found).

... if I could have thought it my duty to obey a wicked master in his unlawful commands, I had saved you all the merit of this vile service. (p. 92)

XXI

P: The past tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive.
Contrary to fact indicated by the context

A: Might, would + the plain infinitive

Examples: (2 examples found).

... and I shall not desire you to live without such amusements, as my wife might expect, were I to marry a lady of the first quality. (p. 234)

"I am thinking, Sir," said I, "of another mortifying thing too; that were you to marry a lady of birth and fortune answerable to your own, all the eve to the day would be taken up in reading (p. 301)

XXII

P: Could, would (+ the plain infinitive). Contrary to fact indicated by the context

A: Could, would + the plain infinitive

Examples: (2 examples found).

You cannot be better; and if you could, it would be but filling me with despair to attain the awful heights of virtue, at which you are arrived. (p. 368)

"Well, Jackey," said she, "be silent," and shaking her head, "Poor girl!" said she; "what a sweet innocent is here destroyed! - A thousand pities! I could cry over her, if that would do her good! (p. 347)

2.3 Additional Remarks

2.3.1 Indirect Discourse

Notice examples like the following: (i) ... and said, if I was a good girl, and faithful and diligent, he would be a friend to me (pp. 1-2); (ii) They brought me two candles, lighted a brush-wood fire, and said, if I called, I should be waited on instantly (p. 88); (iii) ... I begged to send a letter to you. So I should, he said, if he might read it first. (p. 183)

If the verbal pattern in the protasis and the apodosis alone should decide class-membership, (i) would be classified as a XIX₁ structure, the actional character of was being imperfective/durative/; (ii) would conform to the XV₁ pattern, the actional character of call being perfective /instantaneous/; (iii) would be an example of the XVI₁ pattern. From the point of view of surface structure this is a legitimate analysis. However, since these structures all exemplify what is sometimes called indirect discourse (this being indicated by the wider context: said), there is also a deep structure (what is actually uttered by the speaker) from which the corpus structures have been derived by transformation, and which will require a different analysis:

(i) is derived from:

- a) ... and said: "If you are a good girl, and faithful and diligent, I will be a friend to you (pattern I₂)
- b) ... and said: "If you were a good girl, and faithful

and diligent, I would be a friend to you (pattern XIX₁)

(ii) is derived from:

a) ... and said: "If you call, you shall be waited on instantly (pattern I₂)

b) ... and said: "If you called, you would be waited on instantly (pattern XV₁)

(iii) is derived from:

a) "So you shall," he said, "if I may read it first."
(pattern II₂)

b) "So you shall," he said, "if I might read it first."
(pattern XI₂)

Two examples ought perhaps to be included under this heading although, strictly speaking, they are not genuine illustrations of what is normally understood by the term indirect discourse. However, there is, as we shall see, a structural resemblance between these examples and those discussed in this section, which might justify their being treated here:

(i) ... they drew their swords, and threatened instantly to kill him, if he did not promise marriage on the spot (p. 435)

(ii) And so, as you ordered me to take her advice, I resolved to tarry to see how things went, except he was to turn me away (p. 14)

From the point of view of surface structure

(i) would constitute a IX₂ pattern with the following structural formula:

P: Did + the plain infinitive

A: The simple past tense

However, it might justifiably be argued that the apodosis is not explicitly stated but rather implied in the infinitive structure:

(i) is thus derived from the deep structure:

... they drew their swords, and threatened: "We'll kill you instantly, if you don't promise marriage on the spot (pattern II₂)

(ii) has a surface structure identical with that of pattern X (cf. p. 30 above). Again, the apodosis is implied in the infinitive structure, and (ii) is thus derived from the deep structure: And so, as you ordered me to take her advice, I resolved: "I'll tarry to see how things go, except he is to turn me away (pattern VI₂)

2.3.2 Ellipsis

In addition to the comparatively large number of examples labelled indirect discourse (70 examples out of a total of 1002) which, as we have seen, can be differently classified according to whether the surface structure or the deep structure is taken into account, 36 examples are completely indeterminate as regards classification. The term ellipsis will serve as a common denominator for all these examples, there being either (i) no apodosis, or (ii) no finite verb: (a) in the protasis, (b) in the

apodosis, (c) neither in the protasis nor in the apodosis.

Examples:

(i) ... and let me tell you, Sir, if you knew what belonged to your own reputation or honour - "
(p. 52).

... "Why, then, Pamela," said he, "suppose I find a man of probity, and genteel calling, for your husband, that shall make you a gentlewoman as long as you live!" (p. 72)

(ii)(a) ... for, after awhile, if let alone, I always come to myself, and am sorry for the violence of a temper, so like my dear sister's here (p. 400)

... "'Tis out of his power," said I, "to make me happy, great and rich as he is; but by leaving me innocent, and giving me liberty to go to my dear father and mother." (p. 106)

... but this I am not fond of, nor shall ever desire to play, unless to induce such ladies, as you may wish to see, not to abandon your house for want of an amusement they are accustomed to.
(p. 235)

... and then, when she knows we are married, she will keep away, if not willing to be reconciled
(p. 318)

(b) His kind reception of me, and showing me his sister Daver's angry letter against his behaviour to me, desiring him to set me free, and threatening to renounce him as a brother, if he should degrade himself by marrying me. (p. 250)

"And what if he was to come?" (p. 389)

(c) But be facetious, kind, and obliging to all; and if to any one more than to another, to such as have the least reason to expect it from you, or who are most inferior at the table (pp. 333-34)

These examples have all been included in the corpus because they exhibit the structural signal characteristic of conditional clauses, i.e. the relevant clause-markers, there being no indication in the wider context of a different classification (cf. 2.3.3). They constitute an amorphous group, however, as long as their class-membership cannot be established.

2.3.3 If-introduced Sub-clauses Discarded from the Category 'Conditional Clause'

A group of adverbial clauses (31 examples have been found) introduced by if, thus seeming to belong to the class discussed here, has been discarded from the present treatment and transferred to the class termed clauses of reason because the wider context explicitly indicates the idea of a logical inference made on the part of the speaker.

Examples:

I said something mutteringly, and he vowed he would hear it. I begged excuse, but he insisted upon it. "Why, then," said I, "if your honour must know, I said, that my good lady did not desire your care to extend to the summer-house and her dressing-room." (p. 46)

... he said he had horrid ill-luck, for that he had come several miles out of the way ...

at last I said: "Pray, Mr. Robert, there is a town before us, what do you call it? If we are so much out of the way, we had better put up there, for the night comes on apace." (p. 86)

Jespersen, in his Modern English Grammar vol. IV, comments on these clauses:

What we may term pseudo-condition is found when the if-form is used rhetorically to point a contrast, or to show that two statements are equally true: Defoe if I was a bad carpenter, I was a worse taylor. Swift she's on the wrong side of thirty, if she be a day. (§ 21.65)

F.T. Wood, writing in Moderna Språk, vol. LIV (1960), has the following to say:

It does not seem to be generally recognised, however, that there is a third kind of condition, illustrated in such sentences as She is fifty if she's a day. You say your father would object? If that is the case I will not press the matter. These obviously do not express a rejected or imaginary condition, but neither is the condition left open; it is accepted as being fulfilled and as applying to the matter in question. There is no doubt of the fact that she is a day old; the likelihood (in the second example) of that not being the case is ruled out in view of the statement which precedes it. ... This kind of condition, for want of a better name, I propose to call conceded condition, since the fact

stated in the conditional clause is conceded in advance.

Both Jespersen's pseudo-conditions and Wood's conceded conditions might perhaps rather be termed clauses of reason. This is even further corroborated (in addition to the contextual indication) by the fact that in most of these examples since may be substituted for if (cf. the examples given above: Since we are so much out of the way, we had better put up there Since your honour must know, I said) whereas in a legitimate conditional clause such substitutions would drastically alter the meaning.

2. 4 Analysis

The corpus studied for the present treatment of conditional structures has yielded 64 possible combinations between the verbals in the protasis and in the apodosis. This is certainly not an exhaustive treatment of potential combinations, and thus would not be accepted by an adherent of the generative school of linguistics. However, it is a faithful record of the combinations actually occurring in the corpus, and it should be sufficient for the present purpose of classification.

As for this classification, a distinction must be made, first of all, between those patterns in the apodoses

of which we find the structures could, had as leave, had best, had rather, might, should (+ the plain or the perfect infinitive),¹ or one of these structures, and those which do not contain these verbal forms. Apparently, 18 of the patterns have the conditional in the apodosis. However, as for four of these patterns: I₆, II₇, IV₆, VIII₅, the structure should + the plain infinitive found in the apodosis is not a conditional. In these examples, which are all questions, should is preceded by why, and is sometimes referred to as 'should in emotional questions'. For want of a better, this label has been adopted here. In the patterns I₂ and II₂ the conditional has a low frequency (in I₂, 4 examples have the conditional out of a total of 122; in II₂, 4 examples out of a total of 150). In addition these patterns stand apart from the rest by employing the simple present tense indicative (I₂) or can, do, etc. (+ the plain infinitive) (II₂) in the protasis, the temporal or the 'near-modal' reference being prominent (i.e. the indicative is used), whereas in the remaining patterns in which the conditional is found in the apodosis (XV₁, XV₂, XVI₁, XVI₂, XVII, XVIII₁, XVIII₂, XIX₁, XIX₂, XX₁, XXI, XXII), the verbal forms employed in the protasis have a strong 'distant-modal' character, the temporal reference being of secondary importance

¹For the sake of simplicity and despite the fact that it has been variously interpreted by conventional grammarians, having thus, to some extent, fallen into disrepute, the term conditional will be used in the following to denote the verbal structures could, had as leave, had best, had rather, might, should, would (+ the plain or the perfect infinitive) collectively, or one of these structures.

(i.e. the subjunctive or the subjunctive equivalents are used). A distinction, then, has been made between the patterns last enumerated, which will be referred to as the +group (+ indicating that the conditional is used in the apodosis), and the rest of the patterns, which will be referred to as the -group (- indicating that the conditional is normally not used in the apodosis).

Before turning to the question of sub-dividing the two groups established by the criterion 'absence or presence of the conditional in the apodosis', attention should be paid to the following structures: XVIII₃, XX₂ (having the pluperfect in the apodosis, and XIX₃ (having the past tense in the apodosis). At first glance, they seem to form part of the -group, there being no conditional in the apodosis. However, as for the pluperfect, it is equivalent to the structure could, etc. + the perfect infinitive. Cf. ... for had I made my escape, which was so often my chief point in view, and what I placed my heart upon, I had escaped (equivalent to would have escaped) the blessings now before me (p. 276). Actually, the structures XVIII₃ and XX₂ exemplify older usage. Curme, op.cit., comments on this:

In older English, the past perfect subjunctive was used in both propositions: 'If thou hadst been here, my brother had not died' (John, XI, 21). This older usage lingers on in poetry and choice prose. (p. 427)

In the present corpus 8 examples have been found in which the pluperfect is used both in the protasis and in the apodosis, whereas in 99 examples the pluperfect is used in

the protasis, the conditional in the apodosis: the older usage 'lingers on' but the great majority of examples are constructed in conformity with modern usage.

The XIX₃ pattern, in which the past tense is used in the apodosis, has been discussed above. It was maintained that the apparent apodoses did not serve as consequence-clauses and that phrases like: it would have been evident that, it would have been realized that, had to be inserted to complete the meaning. Cf. ... if the truth was known, (it would have been realized that) you loved the wretch not a little." (pp. 409-10). In such cases, as has been pointed out previously, the deep structure must serve as the basis for the classification.

The structures XVIII₃, XX₂, XIX₃, then, must be included in the +group, and there seems to be an opposition between the patterns I₁-XIV₂ (the -group) and XV₁-XXII (the +group): while in the apodoses of the patterns I₁-XIV₂ the conditional is usually not employed (it has been found in 8 examples out of a total of 582), in the apodoses of the patterns XV₁-XXII it is normally used.

So far we seem to have established two classes of conditional structures. However, this is not an exhaustive classification of the collected material, there being formal characteristics in each class suggesting further sub-divisions. In the -group the subjunctive (i.e. be all persons present tense, zero ending (∅) in the third person singular present tense of main verbs) and the subjunctive equivalents (i.e. should, could, would) (+ the plain infinitive), the past

tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive) used in the protasis, serve to distinguish these structures from the rest, in which the indicative is the rule. The patterns I_1 -XIV₂, then, must be regarded as representing two classes of condition: the one, ranging from I_1 -X¹, may be called reliable condition² because of the general tendency to use the indicative both in the protasis and in the apodosis, the other, ranging from XI₁-XIV₂, may be called uncertain condition because of the general tendency to use the subjunctive or the subjunctive equivalents in the protasis, the indicative in the apodosis.

In the +group there are also distinctive features in the protasis indicating a further sub-classification. The structures which have been called subjunctive equivalents above can be found in the patterns XVI₁, XVI₂, XVII, XXI, XXII. The reason why they are not classified as uncertain conditions is the fact that the conditional is used in the apodosis, serving to indicate a further step in the direction of improbability. Consequently, these structures must be distinguished from those listed above, and the term

¹In pattern X the past tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive is used in the protasis. Here, however, this verbal structure should not be termed a subjunctive equivalent, the temporal reference being prominent. This is indicated by the verbal form used in the apodosis: in X the simple past tense is used, there being thus temporal symmetry between the protasis and the apodosis, whereas in XIV₁ and XIV₂, which have also the past tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive in the protasis, we find the simple present tense or will + the plain infinitive.

²The particular labels used here and in the following have been deliberately chosen so as to convey the idea of a mental continuum ranging from near certainty to complete unreality.

hypothetic condition will be applied to them. There is, in addition, a distinction between the structures XVI₁, XVII and those numbered XXI, XXII despite formal similarities. Normally, as we have seen, these structures must be classified as hypothetic conditions. There are, however, a few examples (4 out of a total of 64) which must be excluded from this class of condition because the context explicitly indicates the idea 'contrary to fact' not implied in hypothetic conditions; cf. XVI₁: "If you would shew them to me," said I, "I should be able to judge (p. 93) which is a hypothetic condition, and XXII: You cannot be better; and if you could, it would be but filling me with despair (p. 368) which is not on account of the fact that the context (cannot be better) indicates the idea 'contrary to fact'. The name chosen for the last type of condition is rejected condition. We have, then, arrived at four different classes of conditional structures: reliable condition, uncertain condition, hypothetic condition, and rejected condition. It remains to discuss the following verbal structures found in the protasis of the +group: took (representing the past tense, the actional character of the verb being perfective /instantaneous/), had taken, was (representing the past tense, the actional character of the verb being imperfective/durative/), would have taken.

The structures had taken, would have taken can be discarded from the category hypothetic condition owing to the fact that they refer to a past which has not taken place; they must be included among the rejected conditions. Why then

must we make a distinction between the structures XV_1 , XV_2 , with took as the representative verbal manifestation in the protasis, and the structures XIX_1 , XIX_2 , XIX_3 , with was as the representative verbal manifestation, both implicitly exhibiting the past tense morpheme {ed}? In order to account for the deviation of apparently identical verbal structures, the actional character of the verb must be taken into account: the perfective/instantaneous/ being found in hypothetic conditions, the imperfective/durative/ in rejected conditions. Cf. the following examples: (i) ... for it would end fearfully for you, for me, and for him, if I found that you disguised any secret of your soul (p. 191); (ii) ... and if you was a prince I would not be otherwise. (p. 12) In (i) the actional character of the verb is perfective/instantaneous/: this, then, is a hypothetic condition. In (ii) the actional character of the verb is imperfective/durative/: it is a rejected condition.

The +group, as has been shown, can thus be subdivided into two classes of condition: hypothetic condition (the structures XV_1 -XVII) and rejected condition (the structures $XVIII_1$ -XXII), and in the following section definitions of the different classes will be given.

2.5 Definitions

Reliable and uncertain conditions can be defined negatively as normally resisting the use of the conditional in the apodosis. As for the distinction between them, in the

protasis of uncertain conditions we find either should (occasionally could or would)(+ the plain infinitive), be (all persons present tense), zero ending (\emptyset) in the third person singular present tense of main verbs, or the past tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive (when used as a subjunctive equivalent), whereas in the protasis of reliable conditions no such verbal forms are used.

Hypothetic and rejected conditions can be defined positively as normally having the conditional in the apodosis. As for the distinction between them, we must, again, turn to the protasis. Apart from the fact that the pluperfect and the structure could, might, would + the perfect infinitive are found exclusively in the protasis of rejected conditions, there seems, at first glance, to be a certain overlapping: the past tense, the structures could, should, etc. (+ the plain infinitive), the past tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive being found both in the protasis of hypothetic and rejected conditions. As for the past tense, a distinction must be made on the basis of the actional character of the verb: the perfective/instantaneous/ being found in hypothetic conditions, the imperfective/durative/ in rejected conditions. The structures could, should, etc. (+ the plain infinitive), the past tense of BE + the prepositional infinitive are normally found in hypothetic conditions. When, despite this, these structures occasionally must be classified as forming part of rejected conditions, it is owing to the fact that the context explicitly indicates the idea 'contrary to fact' implied in rejected conditions.

2.6 Verbal Patterns Visualizing the Definitions

In order to visualize and simplify these somewhat cumbersome definitions, a list of verbal patterns has been included. The following conventions have been applied:

(i) Structures inserted between parentheses have been found to be optionally applied.

(ii) The verb TAKE has been chosen at random from the examples collected. Any other main verb might have served the same purpose provided that the actional character had been perfective/instantaneous/.

(iii) The reason why the 'third person present tense' manifestation has been adopted to symbolize the simple present tense, is the fact that it exhibits the contrast: 'third person present tense' + s (i.e. 'marked') v. 'third person present tense' + \emptyset (i.e. 'unmarked'). To complete the symmetry and also to avoid accumulation of different verbal structures, the 'third person' manifestations of BE (i.e. is, was (being also 'first person singular')) and of HAVE (i.e. has) are used.

(iv) 'will' and 'should' have been chosen at random as modal auxiliary representatives.

(v) 'be' is used to indicate: 'first, second, third person singular and plural present tense' + BE.

(vi) The symbol '[you] take' stands for the mood which is usually called the imperative. The reason why this specific symbol has been adopted is the following: 'take' is the stem of the verb (cf. take + s, take + \emptyset). Cf. also

John Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics:

... and it is a rather striking fact that in very many languages which inflect the verb for person, number, tense, mood, etc. (including the Indo-European languages) the form of the verb which occurs in 'second person singular' imperative sentences is uninflected for all these categories (i.e. it is identical with the stem).
(p. 307)

And on the same page he says:

Since commands or instructions are generally issued directly to the hearer, what one might call the 'central' class of imperative sentences are associated with the 'second person'

Thus [you], placed between brackets because it is not made explicit in any of the sentences recorded. It might, however, form part of a legitimate pattern;
cf. N.R. Cattell, The New English Grammar:

... You go to the shop is an acceptable imperative sentence. (p. 65)

The verbal structures characteristic of the different classes of condition are, then, as follows:

RELIABLE CONDITION:

P: takes, will (take), is taken, has taken,
has been taken, is to take, is going to take,
took, did (take), was to take.

A: takes, will (take), [you] take, is taken,

has taken, is to take, why should, took,
did (take).

UNCERTAIN CONDITION:

P: should (take), be, take + ϕ , was to take.

A: takes, will (take), [you] be, is taken,
has taken.

HYPOTHETIC CONDITION:

P: took, should (take), was to take.

A: should (take), should have taken.

REJECTED CONDITION:

P: had taken, was, was taken, should (have taken),
was to take, should (take).

A: should have taken, should take, had taken, took.

2.7 Modified Definitions Based on 'Central Patterns'

Still, it might be argued that it is awkward to operate with so many different verbal structures, thus suggesting that it might be justified to generalize even further, trying to convey a picture of the most frequently employed patterns within each class and using these patterns, which might be called central patterns, as the basis of modified definitions; i.e. 'regular' structure should be emphasized while at the same time eschewing 'irregularities'. Knowledge of the central patterns can be acquired by

arranging the different structures within each class from 1 - ∞ on the basis of frequency. In this way the following statistics have been established:

RELIABLE CONDITION (471 examples)

STRUCTURAL SYMBOLS	VERBAL STRUCTURES USED IN THE PROTASIS	VERBAL STRUCTURES USED IN THE APODOSIS	NUMBER OF EXAMPLES RECORDED
II ₂	will (take)	will (take)	150
I ₂	takes	will (take)	122
II ₁	will (take)	takes	46
I ₁	takes	takes	44
I ₃	takes	[you] take	28
II ₃	will (take)	[you] take	19
IV ₂	has taken	[you] take	7
III ₂	is taken	(will) take	5
VIII ₄	took	took	5
II ₅	will (take)	took	4
VI ₁	is to take	takes	4
VIII ₁	took	takes	4
I ₄	takes	is taken	3
I ₅	takes	is to take	3
II ₄	will take	is taken	3

RELIABLE CONDITION continued:

IV ₃	has taken	[you]take	3
III ₁	is taken	takes	2
III ₃	is taken	[you] take	2
VI ₂	is to take	will take	2
I ₆	takes	why should	1
II ₆	will take	did	1
II ₇	will take	why should	1
IV ₁	has taken	takes	1
IV ₄	has taken	is taken	1
IV ₅	has taken	has taken	1
IV ₆	has taken	why should	1
V	has been taken	will take	1
VI ₃	is to take	took	1
VII	is going to take	will take	1
VIII ₂	took	will take	1
VIII ₃	took	[you] take	1
VIII ₅	took	why should	1
IX	did	will take	1
X	was to take	took	1

UNCERTAIN CONDITION (111 examples)

STRUCTURAL SYMBOLS	VERBAL STRUCTURES USED IN THE PROTASIS	VERBAL STRUCTURES USED IN THE APODOSIS	NUMBER OF EXAMPLES RECORDED
XI ₂	should (take)	will (take)	36
XII ₂	be	will (take)	24
XIII ₂	take + \emptyset	will (take)	10
XI ₁	should (take)	takes	9
XII ₁	be	takes	8
XII ₃	be	[you] take	7
XI ₃	should (take)	[you] take	5
XIII ₁	take + \emptyset	takes	3
XIV ₂	was to take	will take	3
XI ₄	should take	is taken	1
XI ₅	should take	has taken	1
XII ₄	be	has taken	1
XIII ₃	take + \emptyset	[you] take	1
XIII ₄	take + \emptyset	is to take	1
XIV ₁	was to take	takes	1

HYPOTHETIC CONDITION (81 examples)

STRUCTURAL SYMBOLS	VERBAL STRUCTURES USED IN THE PROTASIS	VERBAL STRUCTURES USED IN THE APODOSIS	NUMBER OF EXAMPLES RECORDED
XVI ₁	should (take)	should (take)	51
XV ₁	took	should (take)	18
XVII	was to take	should take	9
XV ₂	took	should have taken	2
XVI ₂	should take	should have taken	1

REJECTED CONDITION (233 examples)

STRUCTURAL SYMBOLS	VERBAL STRUCTURES USED IN THE PROTASIS	VERBAL STRUCTURES USED IN THE APODOSIS	NUMBER OF EXAMPLES RECORDED
XIX ₁	was	should take	93
XVIII ₁	had taken	should have taken	92
XX ₁	should (have taken)	should have taken	16
XIX ₂	was	should have taken	10
XVIII ₃	had taken	had taken	8
XVIII ₂	had taken	should take	7
XIX ₃	was taken	took	2
XXI	was to take	should take	2
XXII	should (take)	should take	2
XX ₂	should have taken	had taken	1

Before proceeding with a presentation of the modified definitions as exemplified by verbal structures explicitly stated, we might suggest a quite arbitrary convention that structures of which less than five examples have been recorded should be discarded from the central patterns. Thus within reliable condition nine patterns can be said to constitute the central patterns: II₂, I₂, II₁, I₁, I₃, II₃, IV₂, III₂, VIII₄ (they actually represent 90,1% of the totality); seven patterns should be regarded as the central patterns under uncertain condition: XI₂, XII₂, XIII₂, XI₁, XII₁, XII₃, XI₃ (89,2% of the totality); in hypothetic condition three patterns only must be considered the central patterns: XVI₁, XV₁, XVII (96,3% of the totality); and as for rejected condition, the central patterns are the following six: XIX₁, XVIII₁, XX₁, XIX₂, XVIII₃, XVIII₂ (97,0% of the totality). Finally, then, the following verbal structures must be considered typical of the different classes of condition:

RELIABLE CONDITION:

P: takes, will (take), is taken, has taken, took.

A: takes, will (take), [you] take, took.

UNCERTAIN CONDITION:

P: should (take), be, take + ϕ .

A: takes, will (take), [you] take.

HYPOTHETIC CONDITION:

P: should (take), took, was to take.

A: should (take).

REJECTED CONDITION:

P: was, had taken, should (have taken).

A: should take, should have taken, had taken.

CONCLUSION

To conclude the present discussion of the problems involved in the classification of conditional structures, the question asked above - whether it is possible altogether to ignore semantic considerations in establishing different classes of condition - must be answered in the negative. However, by far the largest part of the classification has been based on formal criteria, and meaning has been taken into account only in a few cases in order to solve some intricate problems: (i) the establishing of two classes both exhibiting the past tense in the protasis, where the actional character of the verb had to be introduced, (ii) the resort to the deep structure in certain limited examples where we were left with unsatisfactory analyses when relying solely upon the surface structure, (iii) the reference to contextual indications (i.e. intersentence relations) where the sentence alone, the structuralist's

and transformationalist's largest unit of grammatical description, could not convey the relevant information.

Thus the present approach deviates from the traditionalist's insistence upon semantics as constituting the basic criterion in language studies but also, to some extent, from the early structuralist's rigorous rejection of meaning as being altogether incompatible with a scientific investigation of language. The form and distribution of the linguistic units must be considered the basic criteria in linguistic analyses; however, semantics can provide useful insights into language structure, and should thus be consulted when formal characteristics attach identical labels to structures which the intuitive knowledge of language tells us should be treated as separate categories.

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