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GRADO EN LENGUA Y  
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JULIO 2015

TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

***If*-clauses in English and their  
Spanish and French equivalents:  
A contrastive corpus-based study**

Cristina Lastres López

Supervised by Prof. Dr. María de los Ángeles Gómez González



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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables .....	vi
List of Figures.....	viii
Acknowledgements .....	ix
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>Part I Literature Review and Conceptual Framework</b>	
1. <i>If</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents: An overview .....	3
1.1 A functional typology of “canonical” <i>if</i> -clauses .....	4
1.1.1 <i>If</i> -clauses as complement clauses versus <i>whether</i> -clauses.....	5
1.1.2 <i>If</i> -clauses as adverbial clauses.....	8
1.1.2.1 <i>If</i> -clauses at the ideational level.....	11
1.1.2.2 <i>If</i> -clauses at the interpersonal level.....	12
1.1.2.3 <i>If</i> -clauses at the textual level.....	15
1.1.2.4 Hybrid types of <i>if</i> -clauses .....	16
1.2 A semantic typology of “canonical” <i>if</i> -clauses .....	18
1.2.1 Neutral condition.....	20
1.2.2 Hypothetical condition .....	21
1.2.3 Rejected condition.....	22
1.3 “Non-canonical” <i>if</i> -clauses: The case of insubordination .....	23
1.4 Ordering of <i>if</i> -clauses in discourse.....	27

## Part II Empirical Analysis

2. Aims and methodology.....	29
2.1 Description of the corpora .....	29
2.2 Research questions .....	31
2.3 Data extraction and analysis .....	32
3. Discussion of findings .....	34
3.1 Normalised frequencies .....	34
3.2 Subordinated <i>versus</i> insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.....	35
3.3 Adverbial <i>versus</i> complement <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.....	37
3.4 Metafunction of <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	39
3.5 Semantic types of <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.....	42
3.6 Position of <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.....	44
3.7 Markedness of the apodosis in English, Spanish and French.....	47
3.8 Simple and complex subordinators of <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.....	49
3.9 Nesting of <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	50
<b>Conclusions and suggestions for further research .....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>References .....</b>	<b>56</b>
Appendix I: <i>If</i> -clauses extracted from the academic subcomponent of ICE-GB .....	62
Appendix II: <i>Si</i> -clauses extracted from the academic subcomponent of the Spanish sub- corpus of C-ORAL-ROM.....	85

Appendix III: <i>Si</i> -clauses extracted from the academic subcomponent of the French sub-corpus of C-ORAL-ROM.....	92
Appendix IV: Sources of ICE-GB texts included in the academic subcomponent.....	99
Appendix V: Sources of Spanish C-ORAL-ROM texts included in the academic subcomponent.....	102
Appendix VI: Sources of French C-ORAL-ROM texts included in the academic subcomponent.....	105

## List of Tables

Table 1. Cases of ungrammatical <i>if</i> in complement clauses.....	7
Table 2. Halliday's metafunctions.....	9
Table 3. Halliday's subfunctions of the ideational metafunction.....	9
Table 4. Correspondence between metafunctions and types of adjuncts .....	10
Table 5. Types of stance adjuncts.....	13
Table 6. Semantic typology of <i>if</i> -clauses according to different authors .....	19
Table 7. Major tenses used in English, Spanish and French neutral conditions.....	20
Table 8. Major tenses used in English, Spanish and French hypothetical conditions....	21
Table 9. Major tenses used in English, Spanish and French rejected conditions.....	22
Table 10. Steps in the formation of insubordinated clauses .....	24
Table 11. Size and structure of the spoken component of ICE-GB .....	30
Table 12. Size and structure of C-ORAL-ROM.....	30
Table 13. Spoken academic components of ICE-GB and C-ORAL-ROM.....	31
Table 14. Absolute frequency of <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French counterparts in the academic register .....	33
Table 15. Variables considered for the analysis.....	33
Table 16. Frequencies of subordinated and insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	35
Table 17. Frequencies of adverbial and complement <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.....	37
Table 18. Frequencies of experiential, interpersonal and textual <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	39

Table 19. Frequencies of neutral, hypothetical and rejected <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	42
Table 20. Frequencies of initial, final and middle <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.....	45
Table 21. Frequencies of unmarked and marked apodosis in English, Spanish and French.....	47
Table 22. Frequencies of simple and complex subordinators of <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	49
Table 23. Frequencies of nesting of <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	51

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Embedded and non-embedded subordination .....	4
Figure 2. Normalised frequencies of <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents (pttw) .....	34
Figure 3. Frequencies of subordinated and insubordinated <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	36
Figure 4. Frequencies of adverbial and complement <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.....	37
Figure 5. Frequencies of experiential, interpersonal and textual <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	40
Figure 6. Frequencies of neutral, hypothetical and rejected <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	43
Figure 7. Frequencies of initial, final and middle <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	45
Figure 8. Frequencies of unmarked and marked apodosis in English, Spanish and French.....	48
Figure 9. Frequencies of simple and complex subordinators of <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	49
Figure 10. Frequencies of nesting of <i>if</i> -clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents .....	51

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## Introduction

Conditional clauses have attracted the attention of many linguists throughout the years. Significant studies that have broken new ground are Athanasiadou and Dirven (1997), Couper-Kuhlen and Kortmann (2000), Dancygier and Sweetser (2005), Haiman (1978), Sweetser (1990), Traugott, Meulen, Reilly, and Ferguson (1986), Schwenter (1996b) to mention but a few. However, very few investigations have analysed this topic from a contrastive perspective (Lavid, 1998; Hobæk Haff, 2013; Hasselgård, 2014), and a study is yet to be conducted into the uses and forms of *if*-clauses in English assessing the divergences and parallelisms that arise when compared to equivalent constructions in Spanish and French, which is the main goal of this study.

This investigation aims to fill in this gap by providing a quantitative corpus-based analysis of *if*-clauses in spoken English, Spanish and French. Part I provides a review of the literature on *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents, in which English serves as point of departure and a number of features are isolated as *tertium comparationis* in order to be able to compare and contrast these constructions across the three languages under analysis. The approach followed is an eclectic one, based on reference grammars and more specific studies on the topic, which broadly can be said to share a discourse-functional perspective on language description.

Chapter 1 offers an overview of *if*-clauses in English, Spanish and French. Section 1.1 presents a functional typology of so-called “canonical” *if*-clauses in the three languages under inspection according to the type of subordinate clause in which they occur – complement or adverbial clause. Among the latter type, a further distinction is made on the basis of the three metafunctions proposed by Halliday (1985 [1999]), therefore distinguishing *if*-clauses at three levels: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. Section 1.2 proposes a semantic categorization of canonical *if*-clauses depending on the type of condition expressed in the clause: neutral, hypothetical or rejected. Section 1.3, on the other hand, discusses “non-canonical” *if*-clauses as instances of insubordination, in which the *if*-clause stands in isolation, without the presence of a matrix clause, as stated by Evans (2007). In addition, Section 1.4 explains the positional tendencies of *if*-clauses.

After eliciting our research questions, as well as the methodology used, Part II discusses the contrastive results obtained from a corpus-based analysis taking into

account syntactic, semantic and functional considerations. The data have been extracted from the spoken academic components of the *International Corpus of English-Great Britain* (ICE-GB) (Nelson, Wallis, & Aarts, 2002), for English; and for Spanish and French, on the other hand, from the corresponding sub-corpora of the *Integrated Reference Corpora for Spoken Romance Languages* (C-ORAL-ROM) (Cresti & Moneglia, 2005). The academic register has been chosen as object of analysis because, according to such previous studies as Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad and Finegan (1999 [2000]: 824) and Carter-Thomas and Rowley-Jolivet (2008: 191) *if*-clauses are frequent in this particular genre in order to introduce or develop arguments, or to “present information that is generally or habitually the case” (Yule, 1998: 127). The findings resulting from this corpus-based investigation enable us to determine whether such claims hold true across the three languages under inspection.

The study closes with some concluding remarks and presents new venues for research hoping to have raised awareness about the relevance of *if*-clauses – their implications and applications in language teaching and learning, in particular.

## Part I Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

### 1. *If*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents: An overview

“Canonical” *if*-clauses, as well as their Spanish and French equivalent *si*-clauses, are usually formed by two elements: the protasis (*p*), headed by the conjunction *if* and the apodosis (*q*), the main clause. They usually indicate a cause-effect relationship, the protasis being the cause and the apodosis the effect, as illustrated in (1) to (3) below.<sup>1</sup>

(1) If you were to divide up the stratigraphic column today, you would get four main divisions <ICE-GB:S1B-006 #286:1:A><sup>2</sup>

(2) Si algo consigo con ello, desde luego me daré por bien satisfecho [enatco02]

‘If I get something with it, of course I will be well satisfied’

(3) Si l’environnement change, les forces et les faiblesses de l’entreprise ne sont plus les mêmes [fnatte01]

‘If the environment changes, the strenghts and weaknesses of the enterprise are not anymore the same’

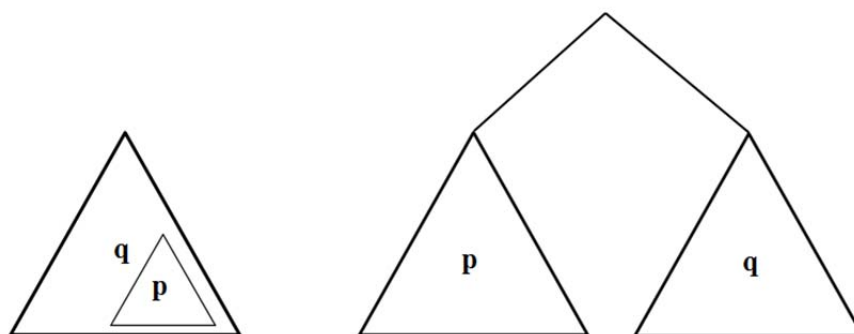
The question of the interdependence of conditional clauses has generated, and still does, an intense debate among scholars. In the present study, we are not going to consider the distinction between embedded and non-embedded subordination, as some grammars do (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]; Real Academia Española, 2010; among others), according to which conditional clauses would be regarded as instances of non-embedded subordination, in which protasis and apodosis are at the same level of syntactic analysis, acting as sister interdependent constituents. In contrast, in keeping with other models proposed by Biber *et al* (1999 [2000]), Downing and Locke (2002 [2006]) and Mackenzie and Martínez Caro (2012), among others, we are going to consider that *if*-clauses are a subtype of subordinate clauses, in which the protasis depends on the apodosis, that is to say, the subordinate clause acts as a below constituent of the matrix clause. The two positions are represented in Figure 1.

---

<sup>1</sup> The *if*-clause is underlined in all the examples provided in this study.

<sup>2</sup> Here and henceforth, all the examples are extracted from the corpora under analysis (ICE-GB and C-ORAL-ROM) unless otherwise indicated. Punctuation marks have been added where necessary for a better understanding, despite the fact that the corpora analysed do not unfortunately provide these typographic marks, making in some cases ambiguous where the boundaries between protasis and apodosis should be placed.

Figure 1. Embedded and non-embedded subordination



Another area of controversy has been the heterogeneity of meanings expressed by conditional clauses and their complexity. This extreme is explicitly mentioned by Montolío Durán (1999a: 3647-3651) who claims that conditionals exceed the limits of grammar, being an essential cognitive mechanism that allows individuals, for instance, to imagine unreal situations or past situations that could have been different. In the Spanish literature, *si*-clauses are frequently classified as a subtype of *subordinadas adverbiales impropias* ('improper adverbial subordinate clauses') (Real Academia Española, 2010) or as *construcciones condicionales* ('conditional constructions') (Montolío Durán, 1999a). In contrast, most studies in French classify *si*-clauses as *subordonnées hypothétiques* ('hypothetical subordinate clauses') (Denis & Sancier-Chateau, 1994) or *subordonnées circonstancielles conditionnelles* ('conditional circumstantial subordinates') (Riegel, Pellat, & Rioul, 1994 [1997]).

However, this study will show that, although in many cases *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents act as adverbial clauses, not all the clauses headed by *if* are adverbial, as is the case of *if*-complement clauses (Section 1.1.1), in which the subordinate clause acts as a complement of the verb of the main clause, as also suggested by Biber *et al* (1999 [2000]), Huddleston and Pullum (2002 [2008]), Downing and Locke (2002 [2006]) and Real Academia Española (2010), among others.

### 1.1 A functional typology of “canonical” *if*-clauses

This section is concerned with “canonical” *if*-clauses, that is to say, those clauses occurring within a matrix clause. First, we will analyse those clauses occurring as

complement clauses and then, we will concentrate on the typology of adverbial clauses headed by this conjunction.<sup>3</sup>

### 1.1.1 *If*-clauses as complement clauses versus *whether*-clauses

As previously mentioned, although most *if*-clauses occur as adverbial clauses there are instances of *if*-clauses occurring as what grammars have labelled *complement*, *nominal* or *content clauses* (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1985: 1048-1068; Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]: 658-660; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]: 949-993; Downing & Locke, 2002 [2006]: 100-116), in the case of English; *subordinadas sustantivas* ('nominal subordinate clauses') (Real Academia Española, 2010: 819-834; Suñer, 1999: 2151-2160), in the case of Spanish; or *subordinadas completivas* or *subordonnées complétives* ('completive subordinate clauses') (Real Academia Española, 2010: 819-834; Riegel *et al*, 1994 [1997]: 823-840; Denis & Sancier-Chateau, 1994: 106-108), a term used both in Spanish and French.

The structures under analysis in this section have been labelled cross-linguistically *subordinate interrogatives* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]: 972) or *indirect interrogatives* (Downing & Locke, 2002 [2006]: 106; Real Academia Española, 2010: 829-833; Suñer, 1999: 2151-2160) and the questions they express *embedded questions* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]: 972; Downing & Locke, 2002 [2006]: 105-106).

In indirect interrogatives, *if*-clauses, and their Spanish and French counterparts, function as the direct object (henceforth Od) of the verb of the main clause, being therefore part of the matrix clause, as illustrated in examples (4) to (7). In these cases, the complement clause functions as Od of the preceding verb.<sup>4</sup>

(4) I don't **know** if uh many of you came across this <ICE-GB:S1B-005 #173:1:A>

(5) I **wonder** if it would help if I gave you my thesis <,,> <ICE-GB:S1B-012 #182:1:B>

---

<sup>3</sup> Although the vast majority of grammars consider *if* a conjunction, Huddleston and Pullum (2002 [2008]: 738) consider that it is a preposition and situate it outside of both the protasis and the apodosis. In this study, we will follow the more conventional practice of considering *if* a conjunction and we will regard it as belonging to the protasis.

<sup>4</sup> The controlling verbs are marked in bold type in the examples.

(6) Yo esto no **sé** si se ve [enatco04]

‘I don’t know if/whether this is seen’<sup>5</sup>

(7) J’ai **oublié** si j’ai éteint le gaz (Riegel *et al.*, 1994 [1997]: 500)

‘I’ve forgotten if/whether I have turned off the gas’

Example (5) is particularly interesting since it shows how *if*-clauses can appear recursively, that is to say, nested within another, but with different functions. Whereas *if it would help* is the Od of the verb *wonder*, the following *if*-clause, *if I gave you my thesis*, is not controlled by the preceding verb *help*, but rather, functions as a conditional, with *it would help* as the apodosis and *if I gave you my thesis* as the protasis. These structures will be analysed in more detail in subsequent sections.

As already mentioned, *if*-complement clauses are preceded by controlling verbs. Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 360) restrict these verbs to a closed set which they classify under the label *factual*<sup>6</sup>, such as *know* and *wonder*, as presented in examples (4) and (5).

However, the function of the clause is not only restricted to the Od of a verb. These structures also occur as complements of a noun phrase (henceforth NP), as illustrated in (8):

(8) Es un problema tan banal como el decidir si esta tarde se quedará estudiando en casa o se irá al cine con unos amigos [enatco03]

‘It is such a banal problem as deciding if this evening he will remain studying at home or if he will go to the cinema with some friends’

In (8), the *si*-clause is part of a large NP *el decidir...unos amigos* and it functions as a complement of the nominalized verb *decidir*, the head of the NP. Regarding their position, *if*-complement clauses can only occur sentence-finally, as illustrated in the examples so far presented, whereas adverbial *if*-clauses can occur in initial, middle and final position (Section 1.4).

---

<sup>5</sup> Translations into English are mine unless otherwise stated.

<sup>6</sup> Factual verbs which can be followed by an *if*-clause are restricted to the following ones: *ask*, *discuss*, *doubt*, *find out*, *forget*, *(not) know*, *(not) notice*, *(not) say* and *wonder* (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973: 360).

Let us now concentrate on the issue of *if* – *whether* as markers of complement clauses<sup>7</sup> (indirect interrogatives) in English, where the conjunction *if* may be substituted by *whether* with practically no change in meaning. In this respect, the only nuance in meaning is that, in complement clauses, the use of *whether* indicates a narrower scope than *if*, usually pointing to mutually exclusive alternatives. It should be noted, however, that in English *if* and *whether* are not completely interchangeable in complement clauses, with certain contexts favouring the use of one subordinator over the other. Therefore, *categorical* contexts should be distinguished from *variable* ones (Tagliamonte, 2006: 86-90). The former are contexts in which no variation is possible between *whether* and *if*; whereas in the latter, there are factors that trigger the use of one subordinator in favour of the other. As a result, the use of *if* is ungrammatical<sup>8</sup> in the following cases, reflected in Table 1, adapted from Huddleston and Pullum (2002 [2008]: 973-975).<sup>9</sup>

Table 1. Cases of ungrammatical *if* in complement clauses.

(i)	In the exhaustive conditional construction (i.e. when an interrogative clause expresses a set of conditions that exhaustively cover all the possibilities) <i>I'm going to see her <u>whether/*if you like it or not.</u></i>
(ii)	When the interrogative clause is infinitival <i>She can't make up her mind <u>whether/*if to accept.</u></i>
(iii)	When the interrogative clause precedes the superordinate predicator (i.e. when, in the terms used in this study, it is in initial or pre-posed position) <i><u>Whether/*if it will work</u> we shall soon find out.</i>
(iv)	When <i>or not</i> immediately follows the subordinator <sup>10</sup> <i>I don't know <u>whether/*if or not she will accept.</u></i>
(v)	As complement to <i>be</i> or as supplement to an NP <i>The question you have to decide is <u>whether/*if guilt has been established beyond reasonable doubt.</u></i> <i>The question, <u>whether/*if the commissioner exceeded the terms of reference,</u></i>

<sup>7</sup> Note that the use of *whether* is restricted to complement clauses, not being possible in adverbial clauses.

<sup>8</sup> Following the standard practice, ungrammatical examples are represented with an asterisk.

<sup>9</sup> Examples in this table are also extracted from the same reference.

<sup>10</sup> Note that when *or not* occurs sentence-finally, no preference is stated for one subordinator over the other.

*will need to be carefully investigated.*

(vi) When the interrogative clause is complement of a preposition

*It depends on whether/\*if we have enough time left.*

As far as variable contexts are concerned, indirect questions and reported speech favour the use of *if*, as illustrated in example (9); while *whether* is preferred after certain verbs such as *explain*, *investigate*, *judge*, *ponder*, *study*, etc. (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]: 975), as shown in example (10):

(9) And supposing I take a value K and I **want to know** if F X affects that value  
<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #128:1:A>

(10) You should **explain** whether they are required to write detailed answers or only short ones. (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]: 975)

In terms of style, Huddleston and Pullum (2002 [2008]: 974) point out that there is a slight nuance in this respect, with formal style favouring the use of *whether* and informal style the use of *if*.

The *if-whether* dichotomy does not exist in Spanish and French, on the other hand, because in both languages there is only one subordinator for this use: *si*, which coincides in both languages. This simplification can be observed in examples (6) and (7) and their corresponding translations into English.

### 1.1.2 *If*-clauses as adverbial clauses

This subsection aims to propose a typology for *if*-adverbial clauses based both on reference grammars (Halliday, 1985 [1999]; Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]; Downing & Locke, 2002 [2006]; Mackenzie & Martínez Caro, 2012) and specialized studies on the topic (Traugott *et al*, 1986; Sweetser, 1990; Athanasiadou & Dirven, 1997; Dancygier & Sweetser, 2005; among others).

Following Halliday (1985 [1999]) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), a threefold distinction between *if*-clauses is proposed at three different functional levels, which Halliday calls *metafunctions*, as shown in table 2.

Table 2. Halliday's metafunctions.

Metafunction	Status of the clause
Ideational	The clause as representation
Interpersonal	The clause as exchange
Textual	The clause as message

Under the heading *ideational*, a further distinction is made between the *experiential* and the *logical* functions. The former meaning the organization of experience while the latter referring to the expression of logical relations, as illustrated in the following table:

Table 3. Halliday's subfunctions of the ideational metafunction.

Metafunction		Definition
Ideational	Experiential	Organization of experience
	Logical	Expression of logical relations

The distinction between the experiential and logical levels is pertinent for the study of conditionals, since they have also been studied from the perspective of logic and in connection with philosophy (Ferguson, Reilly, Meulen, & Traugott, 1986: 15-19). In this respect, conditionals in logic, understood as material implications, "are defined as a relation between two propositions, the protasis (*p*) and the apodosis (*q*), such that either *p* and *q* are both true, or *p* is false and *q* is true, or *p* is false and *q* is false; excluded the possibility of *p* being true while *q* is false" (Comrie, 1986: 78). However, Sweetser (1990: 113) argues that speakers "require more than the appropriate truth values in order to accept a conditional as well-formed: they require a connection between the two clauses". Thus, example (11), in spite of being a logically well-formed conditional, is regarded as bizarre because of the lack of connection between protasis and apodosis:

- (11) If Paris is the capital of France, (then) two is an even number. (Sweetser, 1990: 113)

The logical interpretation of conditionals falls beyond the scope of our analysis here. Therefore, we shall concentrate on the experiential, interpersonal and textual levels. This tripartite division proposed by Halliday (1985 [1999]) can be applied, for our purposes, to the classification of Adjuncts or Adverbials given by major reference grammars (Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]: 762-892; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]: 663-782; Downing & Locke, 2002 [2006]: 69-76). *If*-clauses, and their Spanish and French equivalents, fulfill the function of an Adjunct. Biber *et al* (1999 [2000]: 762-892) offer a clear threefold typology of Adjuncts that is very pertinent for our purposes. Table 4 shows the correspondence between the three major types of Adjuncts<sup>11</sup> and the aforementioned metafunctions:

Table 4. Correspondence between metafunctions and types of Adjuncts.

<b>Metafunction</b>	<b>Type of Adjunct</b>
Ideational (particularly the experiential subtype)	Circumstantial Adjunct
Interpersonal	Stance Adjunct
Textual	Linking/ Connective Adjunct

Therefore, not all the instances of clauses headed by the conjunction *if* should be considered conditionals, as they have been traditionally labelled; but rather, the range of functions they fulfill is much more varied, as noted by Dancygier and Sweetser (2000). Hence, from a functionalist perspective, it is necessary to make a distinction between form and function, since there are cases in which the stance or connective function prevails over the conditional one.

In analysing *if*-clauses from a cognitive perspective, Dancygier and Sweetser (2000, 2005) relate the different types of functions fulfilled by these clauses to different mental spaces within the Mental Spaces theory (Fauconnier 1985, 1997; cited in Dancygier & Sweetser, 2000). Dancygier and Sweetser (2000: 112) describe Mental Spaces theory as “an extremely formal theory which provides mechanisms for talking about the ways in which we connect cognitive structures with each other”. Although

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<sup>11</sup> Other scholars use different labels for Adjuncts, restricting the term *Adjunct* to circumstantial Adjuncts, and labelling stance Adjuncts as *Disjuncts* and linking Adjuncts as *Conjuncts* (Quirk *et al* 1985; Mackenzie & Martínez Caro, 2012).

this is not the approach we are going to follow, it is relevant to note how there exists a correlation between the mental spaces ascribed to *if*-clauses and the type of adjunct.

### 1.1.2.1 *If*-clauses at the ideational level

This section is concerned with *if*-clauses at the ideational level, particularly those having an experiential metafunction. Taking into account the threefold classification we have proposed in the previous section, we restrict the term “conditional clause” to those clauses that express “a condition for the rest of the sentence to be true” (Mackenzie & Martínez Caro, 2012: 212). Similar definitions have been provided by other scholars such as Quirk *et al* (1985: 1088), who suggest that in conditionals “the truth of the proposition in the matrix clause is a consequence of the fulfilment of the condition in the conditional clause”. Sweetser (1990: 114) refers to this type of *if*-clauses as *content conditionals* and claims that, in them, “the realization of the event or state of affairs described in the protasis is a sufficient condition for the realization of the event or state of affairs described in the apodosis”, as illustrated in examples (12) to (14).

(12) If you were to divide up the stratigraphic column today, you would get four main divisions <ICE-GB:S1B-006 #286:1:A>

(13) Si algo consigo con ello, desde luego me daré por bien satisfecho [enatco02]

‘If I get something with it, of course I will be well satisfied’

(14) Si l’environnement change, les forces et les faiblesses de l’entreprise ne sont plus les mêmes

‘If the environment changes, the strenghts and weaknesses of the enterprise are not anymore the same’ [fnatte01]

In (12) to (14), the truth of the matrix clause, that is, getting four main divisions, being satisfied and the fact that the strengths and weaknesses of the enterprise are not the same respectively, are contingent on the fulfilment of the *if*-clause. Hence, in order to have the state of affairs expressed in the apodosis, the conditions of dividing the stratigraphic column, getting something and the environment changing, respectively, need to be fulfilled.

When the subordinator is complex, an additional subtype of *if*-clauses must be distinguished at the ideational level. This is the case of English *as if*-headed clauses and their Spanish (*como si*) and French (*comme si*) equivalents, which perform the function of a manner Adjunct, as illustrated in (15) to (17):

(15) He looked as if he was a man who was always on the lookout for enemies <ICE-GB:S1B-005 #185:1:A>

(16) Crecía como si fuera un individuo más de la familia [enatco01]

‘He grew as if he were one more individual of the family’

(17) C’était une position par rapport à la colonisation induite et non pas une position distanciée comme si ça n’existait pas [fnatco01]

‘It was a position in relation to the colonization induced and not a distant position as if it didn’t exist’

### 1.1.2.2 *If*-clauses at the interpersonal level

The type of *if*-clause that is our object of study in this subsection performs the function of a stance Adjunct or Adverbial (Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]: 853-875; Conrad & Biber, 2000: 56-73). Stance Adjuncts serve to “convey speakers’ comments on what they are saying (the content of the message) or how they are saying it (the style)” (Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]: 764). In addition, they can be classified into three different types, as illustrated in Table 5.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Other scholars consider that *if*-clauses at the interpersonal level are *indirect conditions*, versus those having an experiential metafunction, which are considered *direct conditions* (Quirk *et al*, 1985: 1088-1089).

Table 5. Types of stance Adjuncts.

Function	Description of the function
Epistemic stance Adjuncts	Focus on the truth value of the proposition and comment on the certainty or doubt, reliability, or limitations of a proposition, including comments on the source of information
Attitudinal stance Adjuncts	Convey the speaker's attitudes, feelings, or value judgements
Style stance Adjuncts	Comment on the style or form of the utterance, or describe the manner in which the information is being presented

Examples of stance Adjuncts realised by *if*-clauses are offered in (18) to (20), exemplifying epistemic, style and attitudinal stance Adjuncts respectively.

(18) Indeed, the only real drawback, if you can call it that, is that people are continually coming up and congratulating us on our victory over England. (Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]: 856)

(19) It is a fact that you have refused to take any fee for the work you are doing, if you don't mind my asking? (Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]: 857)

(20) It 's mass times the distance from the centre, if one 's being pedantic about it  
<ICE-GB:S1B-017 #241:1:A>

Sweetser (1990: 116) also recognizes the existence of epistemic conditionals when they express “the idea that knowledge of the truth of the hypothetical premise expressed in the protasis would be a sufficient condition for concluding the truth of the proposition expressed in the apodosis”, claiming that they can be paraphrased by “If *I know* [protasis], then *I conclude* [apodosis]” (Sweetser, 1990: 121), as shown in (21), where the speaker presumably concludes that John went to the party because he wanted to infuriate Miriam. Sweetser (1990: 117) further explains that epistemic conditionals are close to logical conditionals (Section 1.1.2) because they “express our understanding of our logical reasoning processes”.

(21) If John went to that party, (then) he was trying to infuriate Miriam. (Sweetser, 1990: 116)

Some studies on *if*-clauses argue for the existence of another subtype of what are here regarded as interpersonal conditionals, namely *speech act conditionals*, which for some scholars constitute a category of its own (Van der Auwera, 1986; Sweetser, 1990; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]; Warchal, 2010). As a case in point, Sweetser (1990: 118) explains that in speech act *if*-clauses, “the performance of the speech act represented in the apodosis is conditional on the fulfilment of the state described in the protasis (the state in the protasis *enables* or *causes* the following speech act)”, claiming that it can be rephrased as “If [protasis], then let us consider that I perform this speech act (i.e., the one represented as the apodosis)” (Sweetser, 1990: 121), as in (22), where the speaker expresses his opinion contingent upon the fact that he gets the hearer’s permission.

(22) If I may say so, that’s a crazy idea. (Sweetser, 1990: 118)

Sweetser (1999: 119) argues that the *if*-clause in (22) has grammaticalised and “it simply marks politeness rather than carrying its literal meaning”.<sup>13</sup> In connection with this, Warchal (2010) makes a further distinction within speech act *if*-clauses, distinguishing those cases in which the *if*-clause has a politeness function, as in (22), from those connected with Grice’s (1975) maxim of relevance, in which “the statement expressed in the apodosis is relevant only in the case of the proposition expressed in the protasis being true” (Warchal 2010: 144). As Warchal (2010), Sweetser (1999: 119) also relates speech act *if*-clauses to the maxim of relevance in cases such as (23), in which “the act of informing the hearer of the biscuits’ presence is only relevant in the case of the hearer’s being supposed to be hungry for a biscuit”.

(23) There are biscuits on the sideboard if you want them. (Austin, 1961: 210-212; cited in Sweetser, 1999: 119)

Warchal (2010) also distinguishes other types of *if*-clauses that could be classified as interpersonal; namely *metalinguistic conditionals*<sup>14</sup> and *reservation conditionals*. In metalinguistic conditionals, the *if*-clause functions as a metalinguistic comment, as

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<sup>13</sup> Cases such as this are classified as style stance Adjuncts by Biber *et al* (1999 [2000]).

<sup>14</sup> This type of metalinguistic Adjuncts are also recognized by Huddleston and Pullum (2002 [2008]), but as a subtype of speech act Adjunct.

shown in (24); while in reservation conditionals, the *if*-clause restricts the validity of the content of the main clause, as shown in (25) below.

- (24) [...] it need not have a determinate propositional content, if by determinate we mean that the hearer can determine precisely what the speaker had in mind. (Warchal, 2010: 145)
- (25) If I am correct, this class includes at least mass terms and some second-order definite descriptions, which are nominals rather than adjectival. (Warchal, 2010: 145)

A further type of interpersonal *if*-clauses can be distinguished, namely *rhetorical conditionals*, which “give the appearance of expressing an open condition, but [...] they actually make a strong assertion” (Quirk *et al*, 1985: 1094; cf. also Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]: 819; Warchal, 2010: 146). Quirk *et al* (1985) distinguish two further subtypes of rhetorical *if*-clauses. In the first type, the assertion is derived from the *if*-clause, due to the fact that “the proposition in the matrix clause is patently absurd” (Quirk *et al*, 1985: 1094), as in (26); while in the second type, the assertion is derived from the main clause. According to Quirk *et al* (1985: 1095) this second type “is used with measure expressions with the implication of at least the measure stated in the conditional clause”, and in them the *if*-clause can only appear in final position, as illustrated in (27).

- (26) If they're Irish, I'm the Pope. [‘Since I'm obviously not the Pope, they're certainly not Irish’] (Quirk *et al*, 1985: 1094)
- (27) The painting must be worth a thousand dollars if it's worth a cent. [‘The painting must certainly be worth a thousand dollars’] (Quirk *et al*, 1985: 1095)

### 1.1.2.3 *If*-clauses at the textual level

This section describes *if*-clauses that function as connective or linking Adjuncts (Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]: 875-892; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]: 775-779). These Adjuncts operate at a textual level and, as a result, they have “a more peripheral relationship with the rest of the clause” (Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]: 765). They serve to connect different pieces of discourse, making discourse cohesion more explicitly

signalled, as can be seen in (28), in which the *if*-clause serves the speaker to move towards the next point in his discourse.

(28) If you go towards a more automated plant, I think the nature of the skills that the people will have will be different <ICE-GB:S1B-020 #179:1:A>

Huddleston and Pullum (2002 [2008]: 777) distinguish between *pure* and *impure* connectives. Pure connectives are those whose only function is to link pieces of discourse; whereas impure connectives are said to combine their connective function with some other nuance of meaning, such as concession, condition, reason or result, which therefore is the category where *if*-clauses fall into, as in (28).

#### 1.1.2.4 Hybrid types of *if*-clauses

Conditionals have been related to other types of logico-semantic relations between clauses, such as concession and cause, to the extent that many *if*-clauses can be considered hybrid types between condition and concession, and condition and cause respectively.

The connection between condition and concession is such that there exists a subtype of conditionals called *concessive conditionals* (Quirk *et al*, 1985; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]; Comrie, 1986; Haiman, 1986; König, 1986; Van der Auwera, 1986; Sweetser, 1990). Condition and concession are closely related and come together in the conjunction *even if*, illustrated in example (29).

(29) Even if the Labour Party won an election and had a majority of seats in the House, that particular party leader wouldn't have the support of the parliamentary Labour Party and therefore wouldn't command the majority of the House of Commons <ICE-GB:S1B-011 #127:1:A>

However, concessive conditional meanings can be encoded by markers other than *even if*, such as *if* alone or *if...(at least)* (Leech & Svartvik, 1975 [2002]: 114), as in (30), although König (1986: 239-244) points out that these cases are not frequent in English, as opposed to French, in which such structures are common in colloquial language, as in (31).

(30) If nothing else, (at least) two good things came out of the project. (Leech & Svartvik, 1975 [2002]: 114).

(31) Si son san contenait une certaine quantité d'alcool, il n'était pas ivre. (Simenon, 1969: 55; cited in König, 1986: 244)

'If his blood contained a certain quantity of alcohol, he was (certainly) not drunk'<sup>15</sup>

A similar concessive use exists in Spanish and French when the subordinator *si* is preceded by a concessive subordinator, such as *pero* ('but') in Spanish and *mais* ('but') in French, as can be observed in examples (32) and (33):

(32) Pero si tienes un poco más de idea, intentas trabajar con un ordenador que maneja un sistema operativo que aprovecha mejor la máquina. [enatte02]

'But if you have a bit more idea you try to work with a computer that manages an operating system that takes better advantage of the machine'

(33) Mais enfin si vous permettez, c'est des notions dont je me sers quelquefois quand je parle du sujet humain. [fnatco02]

'But well if you let me, they are notions I use sometimes when I talk about the human subject'

In addition, it has been argued that *parenthetical conditionals*<sup>16</sup> are invariably concessive (Haiman, 1986; Hilpert, 2013), as shown in (34) below.

(34) The taste is nice, if (it is) a little too salty. (Hilpert, 2013: 180)

These parenthetical *if*-clauses involve ellipsis (in (34), it is assumed that *it is* is elided) and Hilpert (2013) argues that this ellipsis makes the clause more idiomatic than its corresponding the full clause. Other authors use the term *truncated* for similar cases in which the protasis is affected by ellipsis (Bonneton & Politzer, 2010), as it occurs in (35).

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<sup>15</sup> Translation into English by König (1986: 244)

<sup>16</sup> These authors use the term *parenthetical* for sentences such as (34), whereas in other cases parenthetical refers to a middle element in a sentence that "can be said to provide additional information to the main message of the sentence, and which is marked off typographically from the rest of the sentence" (Hannay & Gómez González, 2013: 101).

(35) Uh a good if somewhat unexpected point <ICE-GB:S1B-005 #147:1:A>

The overlap that exists between conditionals and other types of clausal relations is not restricted to concessives. There is also an overlap between the categories of condition and cause (Comrie, 1986; Dancygier & Sweetser, 2000; Mackenzie & Martínez Caro, 2012). Thus, there are cases in which the subordinator *if* expresses the idea of cause, in a use similar to *since* or *because*, as illustrated in (36) and (37).

(36) If (as you say) he is in town now, maybe we should phone him? (Dancygier & Sweetser, 2000: 111)

(37) Luego, hay una vinculación constante y si hay una vinculación constante, la pregunta es por qué entonces aquí tiene este desarrollo. [enatco04]

‘Then there is a constant link and if there is a constant link the question is why then it has this development here’

Comrie (1986) argues that the major difference with causal constructions is that these “involve commitment to the truth of two propositions” (Comrie, 1986: 80); while Dancygier and Sweetser (2000) explain the difference in meaning between the conditional and the causal subordinator from a cognitive perspective, claiming that in the case of the *if*-clause the speaker has to assume a different construal of reality, that is to say, a different structuring of reality, whereas this assumption is not needed in the case of its causal counterpart.

## 1.2 A semantic typology of “canonical” *if*-clauses

In this subsection we propose a semantic typology of “canonical” *if*-clauses according to the type of condition expressed in the clause. Conditional clauses have been semantically classified depending on whether the condition has been fulfilled or not, or on its likelihood to be fulfilled.<sup>17</sup> This is intrinsically connected to the verbal tenses of both the verb in the matrix clause and that of the conditional clause. Mackenzie and Martínez Caro (2012: 212-213) point out that the verbal tenses that can be used both in the

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<sup>17</sup> Semantic typologies of this type have traditionally been considered pertinent for the study of conditionals, with very few exceptions, as is the case with Veiga (1991), who considers that such distinction is not pertinent on the basis that it is a mere reflection of how the verbal system works.

*if*-clause and the main clause are much more restricted in number in English than in Spanish. In the case of French, the verbal tenses are also a closed set in the most frequent combinations.<sup>18</sup>

Scholars differ substantially as to the different types of conditions that should be recognised from a semantic perspective, and more specifically, as to the labels that should be attached to each type. Leech and Svartvik (1975 [2002]: 110-111) distinguish between *open condition*, when “the truth or falsehood of what the sentence describes is ‘open’, i.e. unknown”; and *hypothetical condition*, when “the speaker assumes the falsehood or unlikelihood of what is described”. Similarly, Huddleston and Pullum (2002 [2008]: 748) propose a distinction between *open conditionals* and *remote conditionals*, the latter being a construction in which the condition is entertained “as being satisfied in a world which is potentially different from the actual world”. Table 6 below illustrates the diversity of labels used in reference grammars and studies across the three languages under analysis.

Table 6. Semantic typology of *if*-clauses according to different authors.

Huddleston & Pullum (2002 [2008])	Open condition	Remote condition	
Biber <i>et al</i> (1999 [2000])	Real condition	Unreal condition	
Leech & Svartvik (1975 [2002])	Open condition	Hypothetical condition	
Wierzbicka (1997)	Conditional	Hypothetical	Counterfactual
Harris (1986)	Real condition	Potential condition	Unreal condition
Mackenzie & Martínez Caro (2012)	Neutral condition	Hypothetical condition	Rejected condition

<sup>18</sup> For space restrictions, we are going to focus on the most prototypical verbal tenses used in each language in sections 1.2.1, 1.2.2 and 1.2.3, although the variety of tenses that can be used is much richer. In spite of this, grammars such as Delatour *et al* (1991) focus on certain tenses for conditionals, distinguishing some verbal tense combinations as possible but not frequent.

Real Academia Española (2010) and Montolío Durán (1999a)	<i>Condición real</i> (‘Real condition’)	<i>Condición potencial</i> (‘Potential condition’)	<i>Condición irreal</i> (‘Unreal condition’)
Arrivé, Gadet, & Galmiche (1986)	<i>Condition potentiel</i> (‘Potential condition’)	<i>Condition irréel du présent</i> (‘Unreal condition of the present’)	<i>Condition irréel du passé</i> (‘Unreal condition of the past’)

As can be seen in Table 6, the major reference grammars of English propose a bipartite classification (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]; Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]; Leech & Svartvik, 1975 [2002]). Nevertheless, in the present study, Mackenzie and Martínez Caro’s (2012) tripartite distinction is adopted distinguishing *neutral*, *hypothetical* and *rejected condition*. In their English-Spanish contrastive grammar, Mackenzie and Martínez Caro (2012) demonstrate that this threefold classification provides a more fined-grain analysis of the meaning expressed by *if*-conditionals than a bipartite distinction would offer. These three semantic categories are further described in turn.

### 1.2.1 Neutral condition

Neutral conditions indicate that the speaker “has no opinion about the likelihood of the condition being realised” (Mackenzie & Martínez Caro, 2012: 213). However, compared to the other two types of conditions, these clauses express a degree of probability (Montolío Durán, 1999a). Table 7 illustrates the major verbal tenses used in neutral conditions in English, Spanish and French.

Table 7. Major tenses used in English, Spanish and French neutral conditions.

Language	<i>If</i> -clause	Main clause
English	Present	Future or modal
Spanish	Present	Future or present
French	Present	Future

As can be observed in Table 7, the verbal tenses used in the *if*-clause are the same in the three languages under analysis. Regarding the main clause, the future tense is used cross-linguistically, although English and Spanish also admit modals and present tenses in the matrix clause respectively. This use of the present tense in the main clause in Spanish can also be found in English, as in (38), even though grammars do not recognise it as one of those prototypical uses. Example (39) illustrates a neutral condition in English, Spanish and French.

(38) If it's not produced with some material of an academic nature, then uhm that's not good enough <ICE-GB:S1B-007 #232:1:A>

(39) If I have time, I'll go with you. (Mackenzie & Martínez Caro, 2012: 213)

Si tengo tiempo, iré/voy con vosotros

Si j'ai du temps, j'irai avec vous<sup>19</sup>

### 1.2.2 Hypothetical condition

Unlike neutral conditions, in hypothetical ones, the speaker does not consider the state of affairs to be likely to happen, although it is hypothetically possible (Montolío Durán, 1999a; Mackenzie & Martínez Caro, 2012). The major verbal tenses used in hypothetical conditions are presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Major tenses used in English, Spanish and French hypothetical conditions.

Language	<i>If</i> -clause	Main clause
English	Past	Conditional
Spanish	Past subjunctive	Conditional
French	Imperfect past	Conditional

Table 8 shows that the three languages use the conditional in the main clause, whereas a past tense is used in the *if*-clause with a difference in mood, indicative in

<sup>19</sup> For purposes of comparison, the examples proposed by Mackenzie and Martínez Caro (2012) in English and Spanish have been translated into French in sections 1.2.1, 1.2.2 and 1.2.3.

English and French *versus* subjunctive in Spanish. (40) includes illustrations of the hypothetical condition in the three languages under inspection.

(40) If we had more money, we would have fewer worries. (Mackenzie & Martínez Caro, 2012: 213)

Si tuviéramos más dinero, tendríamos menos preocupaciones.

Si nous avions plus d'argent, nous aurions moins de préoccupations.

### 1.2.3 Rejected condition

Finally, in rejected conditions, the state of affairs is impossible to happen since “the speaker knows from past experience that the condition was not realised” (Mackenzie & Martínez Caro, 2012: 214). Hence, this type of condition is related to the notion of impossibility. Table 9 presents the major verbal tenses used in rejected conditions in English, Spanish and French.

Table 9. Major tenses used in English, Spanish and French rejected conditions.

Language	<i>If</i> -clause	Main clause
English	Past perfect	Conditional perfect
Spanish	Pluperfect subjunctive	Conditional perfect
French	Pluperfect	Conditional perfect

As can be seen in Table 9, a conditional tense is used in the main clause in the three languages but, unlike in hypothetical conditions, where the conditional was simple, in rejected conditions, the conditional refers to the past and is therefore perfect. With regard to the *if*-clause, a past perfect tense is used but, again, as it happened in hypothetical conditions, the difference between the three languages resides in the mood (indicative in English and French *versus* subjunctive in Spanish). An example of a rejected condition in English, Spanish and French is provided in (41).

(41) If I had known you were coming, I would have bought in more food. (Mackenzie & Martínez Caro, 2012: 214)

Si hubiera sabido que venías, habría comprado más comida para tener en casa.

Si j'aurais su que tu venais, j'aurais acheté plus de nourriture pour en avoir.

### 1.3 “Non-canonical” *if*-clauses: The case of insubordination

So far we have focused our attention on “canonical” *if*-clauses, that is, those occurring within a main clause. Traditional grammars have considered subordinating conjunctions, such as *if*, to be the most clear formal indicator of the existence of a subordinate clause (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973: 313). While this is true in the vast majority of cases, there also exist clauses headed by *if* which occur in isolation, without a matrix clause. This type of clause will be our object of study in this section.

Evans (2007: 367) coined the term *insubordination*<sup>20</sup> to refer to “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses”. Most of these insubordinated clauses have become grammaticalized and should be understood as a new type of main clause, which originally derives from a subordinated clause. The non-existent subordinate clause is not elided, since in most of the cases it cannot be easily retrieved from the context. Evans (2007: 368) distinguishes a range of functions for insubordinated clauses:

- (i) Various expressions of interpersonal coercion, including commands [...], but also permissives, abilitatives, threats and warnings [...].
- (ii) Modal framing of various types, including the unattributed evocation of quotation or belief [...], and other kinds of deontic and evidential use. Here a main clause predicate expressing quotation, perception, thought, emotion, or inference is omitted. In some cases the semantics of this kind of insubordination goes beyond modality proper to tense [...].
- (iii) Marking of various discourse contexts, such as negation, contrastive statements, and reiteration, all high in presuppositionality, through the adaptation of devices for expressing interclausal relations to the expression of discourse relations more generally [...].

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<sup>20</sup> Evans (2007: 376) classifies insubordination as a counterexample of the usual direction of grammaticalization, as it recruits main clause structures from subordinate clauses.

Examining the formation of insubordinated clauses diachronically, Evans (2007) establishes four steps in the process:

Table 10. Steps in the formation of insubordinated clauses. (Extracted from Evans, 2007: 370)

<b>Subordination</b>	<b>Ellipsis</b>	<b>Conventionalized ellipsis</b>	<b>Reanalysis as main clause structure</b>
(1) Subordinate Construction	(2) Ellipsis of the main clause	(3) Restriction of interpretation of ellipsed material	(4) Conventionalized main clause use of formally subordinate clause (Constructionalization)

For our purposes here, we will focus on step 4, although the boundaries between steps 3 and 4 may sometimes be blurred<sup>21</sup>. Buscha (1976; cited in Evans, 2007: 373) claims that in conventionalized ellipsis “the matrix clause can be eliminated, without any change of meaning. The isolated subordinated clauses of this group [of sentences] need no linguistic or situational context for a monosemous interpretation”. However, in the next step, constructionalization, the construction has already acquired a new meaning and has become conventionalized. Therefore, it is not possible to recover ellipsed material in most of the cases. It is when these constructions have reached this last stage when we can properly consider them insubordinated clauses, as illustrated in (42):

(42) If I can continue <,,> <laughter> <ICE-GB:S1B-008 #124:2:A>

Here, the *if*-clause stands in isolation and the absent main clause cannot be retrieved from the context.

As pointed out by many scholars (Evans, 2007; Almela Pérez, 1985; Montolío Durán, 1999b; Schwenter, 1996a; 1999) there are analogous constructions in Spanish and French, although this phenomenon seems to have been more studied in the former language. These authors argue that the constructions under analysis in this section

<sup>21</sup> In this respect, Evans (2007: 386) claims that “there are many cases where it is not analytically clear how far insubordination has become conventionalized”.

should be considered main clauses, as they can no longer be analysed as conditional clauses with an ellipsed apodosis, as earlier scholars such as Bello (1984; cited in Schwenter 1999: 88), in the case of Spanish, had proposed. In contrast, Schwenter (1999) proposes four syntactic tests that demonstrate the existence of insubordinated *si*-clauses in Spanish as a separate category from their subordinate counterparts:

- (i) Insubordinated clauses show a different behaviour to their subordinate counterparts when they occur with certain negative polarity terms.
- (ii) Independent clauses admit coordination, but *si* can only occur in the initial position of the first coordinate.
- (iii) Insubordinated clauses cannot occur as complements of certain opinion verbs.
- (iv) Independent *si*-clauses cannot occur under the scope of certain stance adjuncts, such as *obviamente* ('obviously').

In addition, Evans (2007) points out that insubordinated clauses show restrictions when compared to their subordinate counterparts. Thus, insubordinated clauses headed by *if*, can only show affirmative polarity (Evans, 2007: 378).

If we now turn to the pragmatics of these structures cross-linguistically, the most common pragmatic function of insubordinated *if*-clauses in English as well as in French is that of expressing a polite request, as observed in examples (43) and (44). Huddleston and Pullum (2002 [2008]: 945) refer to these insubordinated *if*-clauses as *conditional fragments* and argue that they are a type of indirect directive.

(43) If you could give me a couple of 39c stamps please. (Evans, 2007: 380)

(44) Si on allait se promener? (Evans, 2007: 380)

‘What if we went for a walk?’<sup>22</sup>

Conversely, *si*-clauses in Spanish serve to express quite a different function, that of disagreement, as shown in (45):

(45) -Ah, ¡mira qué chaqueta más chula! (Schwenter, 1999: 88)

-Si es horrible

‘Oh, look, what a cool jacket!’

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<sup>22</sup> Translation into English by Evans (2007: 380).

‘It’s horrible’<sup>23</sup>

Schwenter (1999) proposes the connection between conditionality and disagreement by means of the ellipsis of the main clause, as in: “If it’s horrible, how can you say it’s great?”. Although the absence of *si* would not change the semantic meaning of the clause, pragmatically, the disagreement with the previous discourse would not be as evident as it is in the *si*-clause, which has a strong assertive meaning. This declarative clause is often accompanied by exclamative intonation and, as opposed to their subordinate counterpart, shows certainty on the part of the speaker (Schwenter, 1999: 89). Since the addition of *si* does not contribute to the semantic meaning of the utterance and signals a relationship with another part of the discourse, Schwenter (1999) suggests that these insubordinated constructions have similar characteristics to discourse markers.

This independent *si* in Spanish can also be regarded as having a similar function to adversative *pero* (‘but’) (Schwenter 1999: 97). In fact, both can be combined in the same clause, *pero* preceding *si*, highlighting its emphatic function. In this case, the *si*-clause should no longer be considered conditional, but rather, adversative.

In a very recent article on the topic of insubordination, Brinton (2014) studies the use of exclamatory *as if* in isolation, as one of the most extreme cases of insubordination. The use of this complex conjunction for such purposes had been anticipated by other scholars (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 [2008]: 1152; Dancygier and Sweetser, 2005: 229). Huddleston and Pullum (2002 [2008]: 1152) establish that such construction expresses ‘indignant rejection’, coinciding with Brinton (2014: 93) in this respect, since she claims that insubordinated *as if* “denies an expressed or implied state of affairs”. Brinton’s study also points out at other semantically-related conjunctions which can appear as markers of insubordination, such as *as though* and *like*. Similarly, the combination of *if* with the adverb *only* could be considered another instance of insubordination, as illustrated in (46).

(46) *If only there was a camera that captured smells* (Brinton, 2014: 100).

From a contrastive perspective, the French equivalent of *if only*, *si seulement*, is closely related to its English counterpart, with which it shares the fact that the

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<sup>23</sup> In this example, the translation of *si* into *if* is not possible in English.

originally-conditional conjunction has lost its conditional meaning and, together with the adverb (*only* or *seulement* respectively), has come to express a wish that seems to be impossible or a regret. Conversely, in their Spanish counterpart, *ojalá*, there is no trace of an earlier conditional.

#### 1.4 Ordering of *if*-clauses in discourse

This section discusses the ordering of adverbial *if*-clauses, since they can appear in different positions in discourse, as opposed to complement clauses, which can only appear in final position. In this respect, Linde (1976) points out that the order of *if*-clauses is the same as the order of events in real time, with some exceptions in the case of irrealis conditionals. On the other hand, Haiman (1978) states that initial or pre-posed conditionals are topics, that is, they constitute the framework for the following discourse. This hypothesis has been tested and confirmed by Ford and Thompson (1986) and Lavid (1998), among others. Biber *et al* (1999 [2000]) elaborate on Haiman's views concerning the discourse function of initial or pre-posed *if*-clauses and further suggest that they serve to the following functions:

- (i) to frame the following discourse, as in (47), where the initial *if*-clause serves the speaker as a frame to continue speaking.
- (ii) to present options and their meaning, as in (48), where two *if*-clauses appear one after the other presenting different possibilities.

(47) If Senna had not either won the race or finished second, he would have been out of the championship (Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]: 837)

(48) The melting point is determined. If it is not sharp and is lower than that of the two separate samples, then the samples are not identical. If, on the other hand, the melting point is sharp and is not lowered then the two samples are identical. (Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]: 837)

Likewise, as already advanced, such cross-linguistic corpus-based studies as Ford and Thompson (1986) and Lavid (1998) show that *if*-clauses in initial position, and their equivalents in other languages, outnumber final position ones. Based on this finding, it

could be claimed that initial *if*-clauses emerge as a language universal, that is to say, as a principle of cognitive organization that operates across languages.

Biber *et al* (1999 [2000]) consider that when the *if*-clause has no framing function for the subsequent discourse and simply adds circumstantial information, the clause is post-posed to the matrix clause, as in (49):

(49) I'm tense; excuse me if I talk too much. (Biber *et al*, 1999 [2000]: 837)

In a similar vein, Lavid (1998) suggests additional factors that may explain the occurrence of post-posed or final *if*-clauses:

- (i) when the information contained in the *if*-clause is optional
- (ii) when the *if*-clause is longer than the main clause
- (iii) when the information contained in the *if*-clause refers just to one of the elements of the main clause, which pushes the *if*-clause to the final position so that the interlocutor picks up the right referent
- (iv) when *if* is preceded by *only*

The second parameter proposed by Lavid (1998) is concerned with the end-weight principle, by which longer or “heavier” constituents tend to be placed in final position. This parameter has also been pointed out by other linguists as the reason for the occurrence of *if*-clauses in final position (Yule, 1998: 137).

*If*-clauses can also appear in middle position, interrupting their main clause, as in (50) Usually, they are typographically marked by commas or dashes in written discourse or by pauses in speech.

(50) And the only way it could then arrange it if you 're going to have processing of the cells is to have the processing cells on top provided they are transparent <ICE-GB:S1B-015 #131:1:A>

## **Part II Empirical Analysis**

### **2. Aims and methodology**

The general aim of this study is to explore the use and function of *if*-headed clauses in English and to analyse the similarities and differences that arise if we compare these structures with their Spanish and French counterparts. In order to assess the divergences and parallelisms that exist in the three languages under analysis, a quantitative corpus-based methodology has been used. As already noted in the introduction, the corpora analysed sample the academic register, and so the texts scrutinised are classroom lessons and conferences extracted from the *International Corpus of English-Great Britain* (ICE-GB) (Nelson *et al.*, 2002), for English; and for Spanish and French, on the other hand, from the corresponding sub-corpora of the *Integrated Reference Corpora for Spoken Romance Languages* (C-ORAL-ROM) (Cresti & Moneglia, 2005). Details on the structure of each corpus are provided in section 2.1.

#### **2.1 Description of the corpora**

As already mentioned, in order to assess the divergences and parallelisms that exist in *if*-clauses in the three languages under analysis, different corpora have been analysed: the spoken component of the *International Corpus of English-Great Britain* (ICE-GB) (Nelson *et al.*, 2002), consisting of 637,562 words and 300 texts, has been used in the case of English, in addition to the two sub-corpora of Spanish and French of the *Integrated Reference Corpora for Spoken Romance Languages* (C-ORAL-ROM) (Cresti & Moneglia, 2005), which total 333,482 words and 210 texts in the case of Spanish, and 295,803 words and 206 texts in the case of French. The general structure and text types of both corpora are displayed in Tables 11<sup>24</sup> (extracted from Gómez González, 2014: 103) and 12.

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<sup>24</sup> In Table 11 the number of words (600,000) is presented as an approximation.

Table 11. Size and structure of the spoken component of ICE-GB.

DIALOGUE (S1)		MONOLOGUE (S2)		TEXT CODES	
PRIVATE (S1A)	PUBLIC (S1B)	UNSCRIPTED (S2A)	SCRIPTED (S2B)		
Telephone calls	Classroom lessons	Spontaneous Commentaries	Broadcast talks	Face-to face conversations	S1A-001 to S1A-090
				Telephone conversations	S1A-091 to S1A-100
Direct conversations	Broadcast discussions	Unscripted speeches	Non-broadcast talks	Classroom lessons	S1B-001 to S1B-020
				Broadcast discussions	S1B-021 to S1B-040
	Broadcast interviews	Demonstrations	Broadcast news	Broadcast interviews	S1B-041 to S1B-050
				Parliamentary debates	S1B-051 to S1B-060
				Legal cross-examinations	S1B-061 to S1B-070
Parliamentary debates	Legal presentations		Business transactions	S1B-071 to S1B-080	
			Spontaneous commentaries	S2A-001 to S2A-020	
Legal-cross examinations	Business transactions			Unscripted speeches	S2A-021 to S2A-050
				Demonstrations	S2A-051 to S2A-060
				Legal presentations	S2A-061 to S2A-070
				Broadcast news	S2B-001 to S2B-020
				Broadcast talks	S2B-021 to S2B-040
				Non-broadcast speeches	S2B-041 to S2B-050
100 SAMPLES	80 SAMPLES	70 SAMPLES	50 SAMPLES		
200.000 WORDS	160.000 WORDS	140.000 WORDS	100.000 WORDS		

Table 12. Size and structure of C-ORAL-ROM.

Section	Context	Spanish words	French words	Text subtypes	Text codes
Informal	Family-private	131,056	124,886	Monologue	fammn
				Dialogue-conversation	famcv
	Public	37,812	27,499	Monologue	pubmn
				Dialogue-conversation	pubcv
Formal	Natural context	72,268	57,319	Political speech	natps
				Political debate	natpd
				Preaching	natpr
				Teaching	natte
				Professional explanation	natpe
				Business	natbu
				Conferences	natco
Law	natla				

	Media	62,739	57,143	News	mednw
				Meteorology	medmt
				Interviews	medin
				Reportages	medrp
				Scientific press	medsc
				Sport	medsp
				Talk show	medts
	Telephone	29,607	28,956	Private conversations	telpv
				Human machine	telmm
Total number of words		<b>333,482</b>	<b>295,803</b>		

For the present study, we have analysed the spoken academic component of each corpus, as shown in Table 13 below. This comprises classroom lessons in the case of ICE-GB (20 texts and 42,210 words), and teaching and conferences in the case of C-ORAL-ROM (8 texts and 24,628 words in Spanish, and 6 texts and 19,157 words in French); since the boundaries between these two types of text do not seem to be very well defined in C-ORAL-ROM. In addition, under the heading “teaching”, both corpora include instances of tutorials with students.<sup>25</sup>

Table 13. Spoken academic components of ICE-GB and C-ORAL-ROM.

Corpus	Sub-corpus	Number of texts	Number of words
<b>ICE-GB</b>		20	42,210
<b>C-ORAL-ROM</b>	Spanish sub-corpus	8	24,628
	French sub-corpus	6	19,157

## 2.2 Research questions

In order to fulfil our purpose, the following nine research questions have been posed:

- (i) In which language do *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents appear more frequently?

<sup>25</sup> Details on the specific texts included in each corpus are given in Appendices IV, V and VI; for English, Spanish and French respectively.

- (ii) How often are these clauses insubordinated?
- (iii) How often do *if*-clauses and their counterparts in the other two languages appear as adverbial and complement clauses?
- (iv) How frequently do adverbial *if*-clauses and their equivalents in Spanish and French appear at the ideational, interpersonal and textual levels, established by Halliday (1985 [1999]), in academic spoken discourse?
- (v) Do the three languages under analysis present the same frequency of use of neutral, hypothetical and rejected conditions?
- (vi) What is the positional distribution of *if*-clauses in the three languages under analysis?
- (vii) Marking the protasis by means of a subordinator is mandatory in *if*-clauses. However, the marker of the apodosis (*then*, in English) is optional. How often is the apodosis marked?
- (viii) How often is the subordinator complex (e.g. *as if*)?
- (ix) Do these clauses appear nested into another structure, that is to say, integrated into a larger syntactic unit?

### 2.3 Data extraction and analysis

First, the data were automatically retrieved using ICECUP III, for ICE-GB, and CONTEXTES, for C-ORAL-ROM. The number of tokens obtained was 206 *if*-clauses for English, 69 *si*-clauses for Spanish and 74 *si*-clauses for French, which amount to 349 in the three languages. Then, the tokens were manually examined<sup>26</sup> and some were excluded, since one of the difficulties spoken discourse entails is that there are numerous hesitations, repetitions, interruptions and changes of topic, what leaves some clauses unfinished, as in (51) to (53).

(51) I mean <,,> if if if it was present <unclear-words> <ICE-GB:S1B-009 #209:1:D>

(52) También podríamos decir si cada día uno escribe sus propios [///] [enatco03]

‘We could also say if every day one writes his own’

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<sup>26</sup> This manual examination was particularly important in the case of French, in order to detect and exclude instances of *si* (‘so’) as an adverb, instead of a conjunction, as in *Il n’est plus ce qu’il était, lui qui était si économe* [fnatco02] (‘He is not anymore who he was; he, who was so thrifty’).

(53) J' en reprends un autre si mais si si c' est c' est euh c' est vraiment euh [fnatte02]

‘I take another if but if if it is it is eh it’s really eh’

The number of exclusions was relatively high in the case of English, in which 40 tokens were discarded, and French, in which 18 tokens were disregarded; that is, a percentage of 19.41% and 24.32% of the tokens retrieved respectively. In contrast, in Spanish, the number of cases that were not considered was considerably lower, with only 4 exclusions, which represents 5.79% of the *si*-clauses found in this language. Table 14 displays the absolute frequency of *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents automatically retrieved and the frequency of those taken into consideration for the analysis.

Table 14. Absolute frequency of *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French counterparts in the academic register.

	<b>English</b>	<b>Spanish</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Number of token automatically retrieved</b>	206	69	74	349
<b>Number of tokens excluded</b>	40	4	18	62
<b>Number of tokens included in the analysis</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>287</b>

A database was then created in order to analyse manually<sup>27</sup> the 287 instances of *if* and *si*-clauses found in the corpora. Table 15 shows the eight variables that were selected on the basis of the research questions proposed in section 2.2. The results obtained are detailed in Section 3 in turn.

Table 15. Variables considered for the analysis

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Variants</b>		
<b>Subordination</b>	Subordinated	Insubordinated	
<b>Type of clause</b>	Adverbial	Complement	
<b>Metafunction</b>	Experiential	Interpersonal	Textual
<b>Semantic type</b>	Neutral	Hypothetical	Rejected

<sup>27</sup> One of the problems encountered when doing the manual analysis was that, in most of the cases, the data obtained from the automatic retrieval were not enough to analyse the clauses according to the variables proposed. Therefore, it was necessary to go back to the corpus and to analyse each clause in its full context.

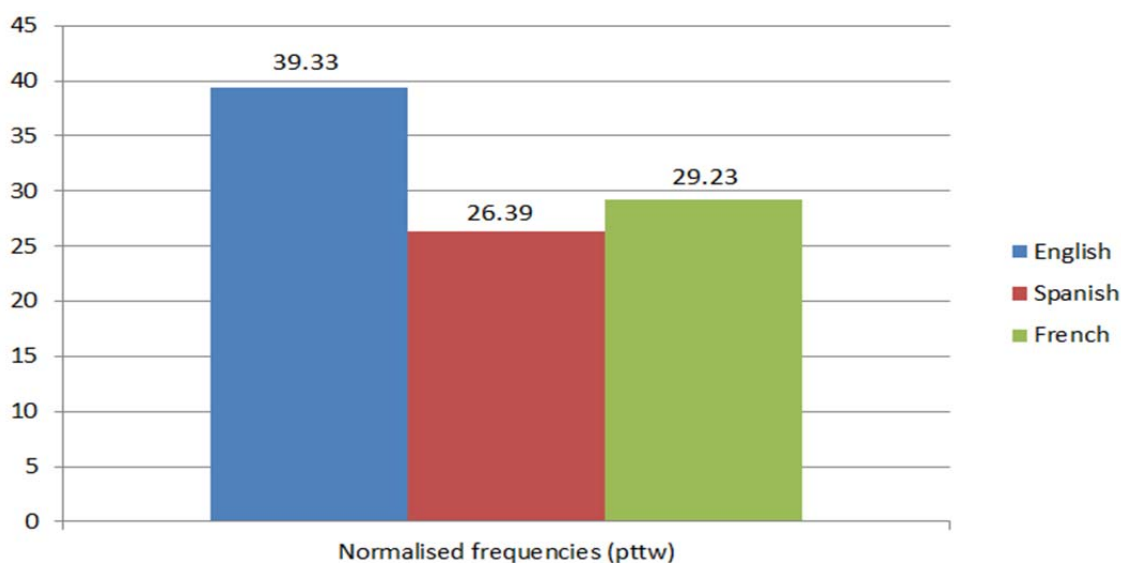
<b>Position of the clause</b>	Initial	Final	Middle
<b>Markedness of the apodosis</b>	Unmarked	Marked	
<b>Subordinator</b>	Simple	Complex	
<b>Nesting</b>	Unnested	Nested	

### 3. Discussion of findings

#### 3.1 Normalised frequencies

As already mentioned, this study is based on the analysis of 287 tokens, of which 166 correspond to English *if*-clauses, 65 to Spanish *si*-clauses and 56 to French *si*-clauses. Since the number of words included in the academic subcomponents of each corpus differs from one language to another, it becomes necessary to provide the relative frequencies of these constructions in each language. Figure 2 provides the relative frequency of English *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents per 10,000 words (henceforth pttw). Our findings report English *if*-clauses as more frequent in the academic genre than their Spanish and French equivalents, which confirms the claims made in previous studies such as Biber *et al* (1999 [2000]: 824) about the frequency of *if*-clauses in this particular genre. The frequencies between Spanish and French are more similar, although French *si*-clauses are found to be slightly more frequent than their Spanish counterparts.

Figure 2. Normalised frequencies of *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents (pttw).



### 3.2 Subordinated *versus* insubordinated *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents

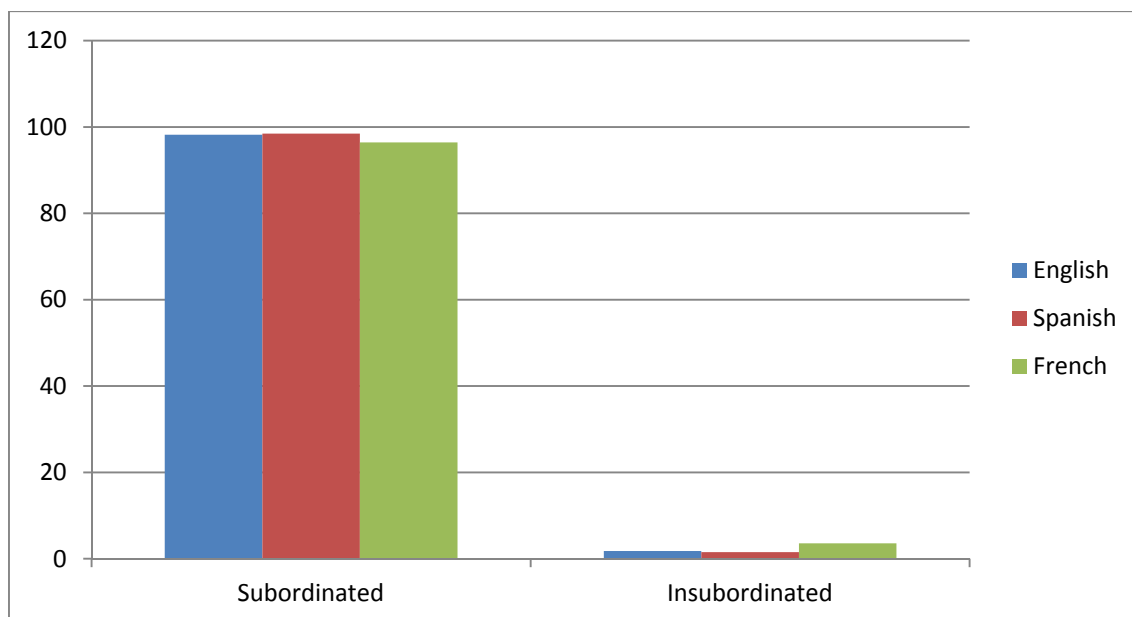
Subordinated *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents are extremely more frequent than their insubordinated counterparts. Table 16 displays the number, as well as the percentage per language, of subordinated and insubordinated *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalent *si*-clauses, as well as the percentage of each type per language. This finding confirms the expectations that “canonical” subordinated *if*-clauses are more recurrent across the three languages analysed than their insubordinated counterparts. Furthermore, Table 16 shows that the frequency of appearance of subordinated clauses (versus their insubordinated counterparts) is very similar in the three languages analysed.

Table 16. Frequencies of subordinated and insubordinated *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.

	<b>Subordinated</b>	<b>Insubordinated</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>English</b>	163 98.19%	3 1.81%	166
<b>Spanish</b>	64 98.46%	1 1.54%	65
<b>French</b>	54 96.43%	2 3.57%	56
<b>Total</b>	<b>281</b> <b>97.91%</b>	<b>6</b> <b>2.09%</b>	<b>287</b>

Table 16 above as well as Figure 3 below show that, despite the high frequencies of subordinated *if*-clauses across languages, there are instances of *if*-insubordinated clauses in the three languages under inspection, with very similar frequencies in the three languages. English and Spanish insubordinated clauses represent 1.81% and 1.54% of the total number of *if*-clauses respectively, whereas in the case of French the percentage is twice as high, 3.57%.

Figure 3. Frequencies of subordinated and insubordinated *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.



The data analysed shows that in the academic register insubordinated *if*-clauses may fulfil a number of functions other than the ones mentioned by Schwenter (1999) and Evans (2007). As discussed in Section 1.3, these authors argue that insubordinated *if*-clauses in English, as well as their French equivalents, have a politeness function; whereas their Spanish counterparts serve to express disagreement (Schwenter, 1999: 88; Evans, 2007: 380). Our data confirm these claims in the case of English, as shown in (54), in which the *if*-clause is used to fulfil a politeness function, and shows that Spanish equivalent constructions are used for the same purposes in this genre, as illustrated in (55). In the case of French, in contrast, insubordinated *si*-clauses seem to serve a different function: they are used to express regret, as in (56). But in order to establish this claim on more solid grounds, a larger scale study would be necessary, analysing as well if the functions of politeness in the case of French, and disagreement in the case of Spanish are present in this particular genre.

(54) If I can continue <,,> <laughter> <ICE-GB:S1B-008 #124:2:A>

(55) Si me pones la siguiente diapositiva [enatco01]

‘If you put me the next slide’

(56) Si vous saviez combien je suis malheureux [fnatco03]

‘If you knew how unhappy I am’

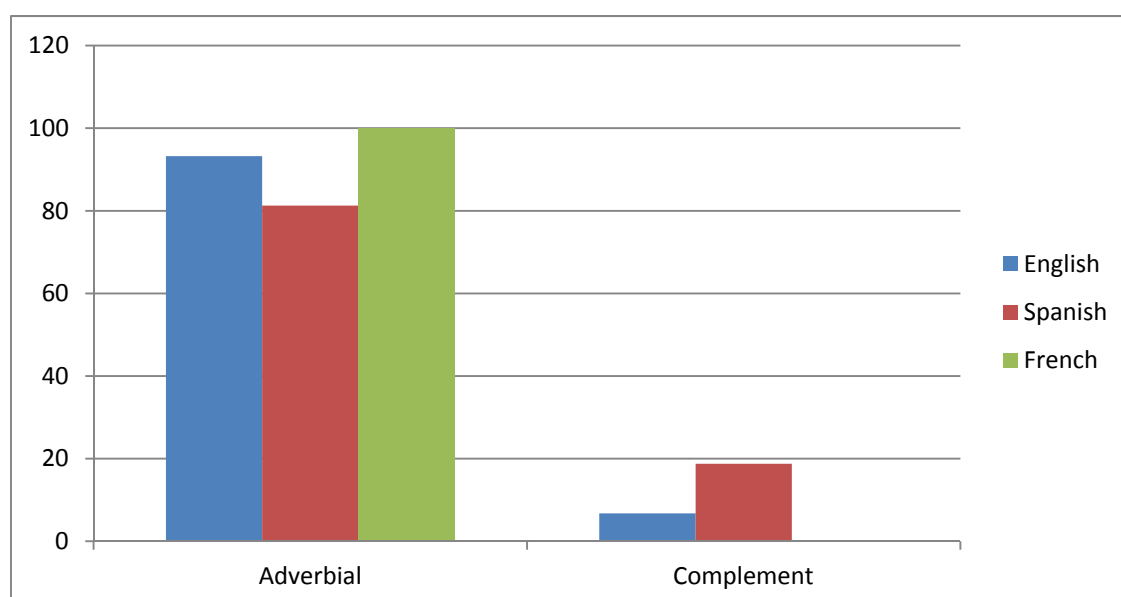
### 3.3 Adverbial *versus* complement *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents

Subordinated *if*-clauses and their equivalents in the other two languages under analysis can appear both in adverbial and complement clauses. Table 17 and Figure 4 below illustrate the frequencies and percentages per language of these structures in adverbial and complement clauses.

Table 17. Frequencies of adverbial and complement *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.

	<b>Adverbial</b>	<b>Complement</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>English</b>	152 93.25%	11 6.75%	163
<b>Spanish</b>	52 81.25%	12 18.75%	64
<b>French</b>	54 100.00%	0	54
<b>Total</b>	<b>258</b> <b>91.81%</b>	<b>23</b> <b>8.19%</b>	<b>281</b>

Figure 4. Frequencies of adverbial and complement *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.



We can observe from the data that all the instances of *si*-clauses found in the French corpus are adverbial, although cases of *si*-complement clauses also exist in this language, as we discussed in section 1.1.1. Turning to the other two languages under analysis, English and Spanish show instances of the two types of clauses, although the number of adverbial clauses is significantly higher than that of complement clauses in both languages. However, English favours the use of adverbial *if*-clauses (93.25%) more than Spanish (81.25%), in which the number of *si*-complement clauses is considerably higher than their English counterparts (18.75% in the former versus 6.75% in the latter). Examples (57) to (59) illustrate adverbial *if*-clauses in the three languages under analysis, whereas (60) and (61) are cases of *if*-complement clauses in English and Spanish respectively.

(57) Uh it was almost as if uhm she had tried to learn a second language and she was always very halting in her use of language <ICE-GB:S1B-003 #106:1:B>

(58) Luego, hay una vinculación constante y si hay una vinculación constante, la pregunta es por qué entonces aquí tiene este desarrollo. [enatco04]

‘Then there is a constant link and if there is a constant link the question is why then it has this development here’

(59) Si l’on ne se limitait pas aux dictionnaires monolingües et uniquement aux dictionnaires de langue, on arriverait facilement à un total de plus de 2.500 exemplaires de dictionnaires [fnatte03]

‘If we didn’t limit to monolingual dictionaries and only to language dictionaries, we would easily arrive to a total of more than 2,500 copies of dictionaries’

(60) So I don't know if uh many of you came across this but there’s a very nice story in in Tarbull 's autobiography <, > <ICE-GB:S1B-005 #173:1:A>

(61) O sea que lo que puede interesar a un sociolingüista es si hay una diferencia en la forma de hablar [enatco04]

‘That is, what can interest a sociolinguist is if there is a difference in the way of speaking’

If we focus on examples (57) to (59), we can see that these adverbial clauses fulfil different functions: in (57), the *as if*-headed clause is an adverbial clause of manner; in (58) the *if*-clause is considered to be a hybrid type, since it serves to express condition and cause at the same time; and in (59) the *if*-clause expresses “a condition for the rest of sentence to be true”, as stated by Mackenzie and Martínez Caro (2012: 212). However this is not the case in (60) and (61), both complement clauses, in which the truthfulness of the main clause, that is, the act of knowing or the fact of being of interest for a sociolinguist, respectively, are not contingent on the *if*-clause, which is an indirect interrogative.

### 3.4 Metafunction of *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents

As discussed in Sections 1.1.2.1, 1.1.2.2 and 1.1.2.3, *if*-clauses can fulfil three different metafunctions, as defined by Halliday (1985 [1999]), namely ideational, interpersonal and textual. As already mentioned, the ideational metafunction is further subdivided into experiential and logical and, as discussed in Section 1.1.2, conditionals in logic, infrequent in conversation, fall under the scope of our study. Table 18 presents the number of cases of *if*-clauses at the three levels and the percentage per language, while Figure 5 depicts these findings graphically.

Table 18. Frequencies of experiential, interpersonal and textual *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.

	<b>Experiential</b>	<b>Interpersonal</b>	<b>Textual</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>English</b>	127 83.55%	24 15.79%	1 0.66%	152
<b>Spanish</b>	37 71.15%	15 28.85%	0	52
<b>French</b>	35 64.82%	18 33.33%	1 1.85%	54
<b>Total</b>	<b>199</b> <b>77.13%</b>	<b>57</b> <b>22.09%</b>	<b>2</b> <b>0.78%</b>	<b>258</b>

Figure 5. Frequencies of experiential, interpersonal and textual *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.

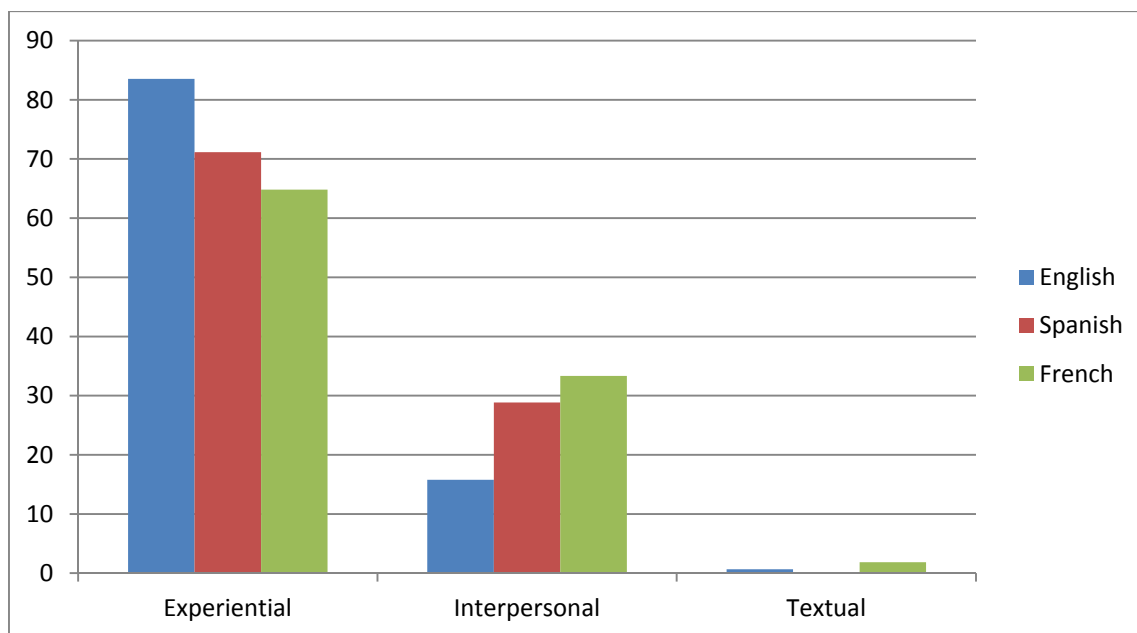


Table 18 and Figure 5 show that experiential *if* and *si*-clauses are much more frequent than the other two types in the three languages under analysis. In contrast, the textual type is very rare in English (0.66%), as in (62), and French (1.85%), as in (63), and it has not even been recorded in Spanish.

(62) If you go towards a more automated plant, I think the nature of the skills that the people will have will be different <ICE-GB:S1B-020 #179:1:A>

(63) Eh bien si on résume ce que l'on vient de dire, eh bien l'entreprise vit dans un environnement, ici, elle a une mission, sa raison d'être. [fnatte01]

'Eh well if we summarize what we have just said, eh well the enterprise lives in an environment, here, it has a mission, its raison d'être'

These two examples show that textual *if/si*-clauses help to organise the discourse, making it more cohesive. In (62) the *if*-clause allows the speaker to move towards the next point of his discourse, while in (63) the *si*-clause explicitly signals that the speaker is going to summarize what he has previously said.

If we now focus our attention on the experiential and the interpersonal types, we can observe a reversed pattern in the three languages under inspection. Firstly, in

English, *if*-headed clauses appear more frequently at the experiential level (83.55 % of all the clauses in English) and, at the same time, English is the language in which interpersonal *if*-clauses are rarest in this particular genre, only representing 15.79% of the cases. Secondly, French is the language in which the frequency of appearance of experiential and interpersonal *if*-clauses is more similar, although experiential *if*-clauses in this language double the number of interpersonal ones (64.82% and 33.33%, respectively) Thirdly, Spanish represents a middle position between English and French, experiential *if*-clauses being used more than in French (71.15% the former *versus* 64.82% the latter) but less than in English (71.15% in Spanish *versus* 83.55% in English), a pattern that is also repeated in the case of interpersonal *if*-clauses. Examples (64) to (66) illustrate the experiential metafunction, in which the *if*-clause expresses “a condition for the rest of sentence to be true”, as stated by Mackenzie and Martínez Caro (2012: 212).

(64) Uh <> I knew it would come if I waited long enough <ICE-GB:S1B-002 #148:1:A>

(65) Si no sabemos de qué va esto, pues ahí habrá problemas [enatte01]

‘If we don’t know what this is about, then there will be problems there’

(66) Si l’on ne se limitait pas aux dictionnaires monolingües et uniquement aux dictionnaires de langue, on arriverait facilement à un total de plus de 2.500 exemplaires de dictionnaires [fnatte03]

‘If we didn’t limit to monolingual dictionaries and only to language dictionaries, we would easily arrive to a total of more than 2,500 copies of dictionaries’

Conversely, in examples (67) to (69) the *if*-clause has an interpersonal function. As opposed to examples (64) to (66), here the truthfulness of the matrix clause does not depend on the fulfilment of the *if*-clause.

(67) So if you like that is the definitive statement for the time being <ICE-GB:S1B-007 #205:1:A>

(68) Si comparamos lo que ocurre aquí con Cataluña y vemos que, por ejemplo trabajos de gramática o incluso de, por ejemplo, Jesús Tusón, se nota muchísimo

en todo lo que escribe la influencia que sobre él ha tenido el estudio sociolingüístico. [enatco04]

‘If we compare what happens here with Catalonia and we see that, for example, works of grammar or even, for example, Jesús Tusón, it is very noticeable in all he writes the influence that the sociolinguistic study has had over him’

(69) *Si vous voulez*, ce qu’il veut dire c’est que, ou pareil, de juger des coutumes, les pratiques individuelles, collectives, pratiques culturelles, des pratiques religieuses par rapport à sa propre culture ça c’est l’ethnocentrisme culturel. [fnatco01]

‘If you want, what he wants to say is that, or similar, to judge the customs, the individual practices, collective, cultural practices, religious practices in relation to his own culture, that is cultural ethnocentrism’

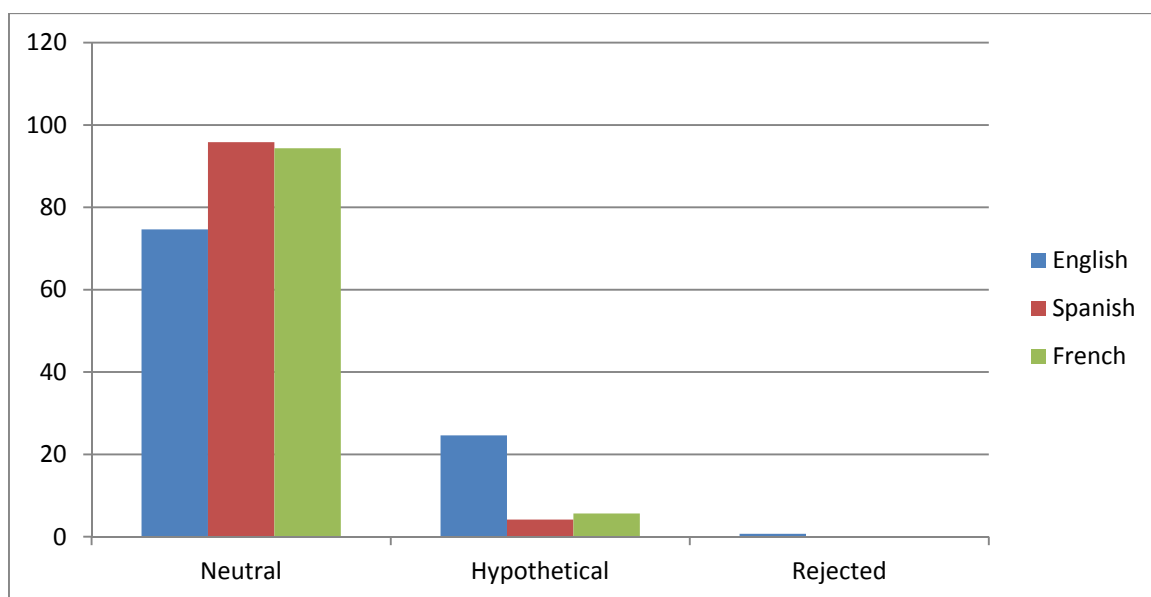
### 3.5 Semantic types of *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents

As discussed in Section 1.2, this study considers three different types of conditions depending on their likelihood to be fulfilled. Table 19 displays the frequencies of neutral, hypothetical and rejected conditions in the three languages under analysis, as well as the percentage of each type, which is graphically plotted in Figure 6.

Table 19. Frequencies of neutral, hypothetical and rejected *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.

	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Hypothetical</b>	<b>Rejected</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>English</b>	103 74.64%	34 24.64%	1 0.72%	138
<b>Spanish</b>	46 95.83%	2 4.17%	0	48
<b>French</b>	50 94.34%	3 5.66%	0	53
<b>Total</b>	<b>199</b> <b>83.26%</b>	<b>39</b> <b>16.32%</b>	<b>1</b> <b>0.42%</b>	<b>239</b>

Figure 6. Frequencies of neutral, hypothetical and rejected *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.



As observed from Table 19 and Figure 6, there is a general preference for neutral *if*-clauses in the three languages, particularly in Spanish and French (95.83% and 94.34% of the total number of *if*-clauses, respectively). In this type of clauses, the condition is likely to be fulfilled, as shown in (70) to (72).

(70) Cos if you get it all right, then you know I 'm being paid for nothing <ICE-GB:S1B-002 #052:1:A>

(71) Si se ofrece a un niño piezas de un juego de construcción, es posible que haga lo que hacían los niños del ejemplo de Vigotsky, hacer construcciones. [enatco03]

‘If a child is offered pieces of a construction game, it’s possible that he makes what the children from the example of Vigotsky did, make constructions’

(72) Si je reviens sur ces éléments, eh bien, je me rends compte que sont des éléments convergents. [fnatco03]

‘If I return to these elements, eh well, I realise that they are convergent elements’

English is the only language in which the three types of semantic conditions are present in this genre. Despite the fact that there is a general preference for neutral conditions, as it happens in Spanish and French, English shows a divergent pattern regarding hypothetical conditions (24.64%) as opposed to the other two languages, in

which this type is underrepresented (5.66% in French and 4.17% in Spanish, respectively). Examples (73) to (75) illustrate hypothetical *if*-clauses, in which the condition is less likely to be fulfilled than in their neutral counterparts above; on the other hand, (76) shows the only rejected condition found in the three corpora, in which the condition is not possible to be fulfilled because it refers to a past state of affairs.

(73) So you would be happy if we put in a noun phrase there <ICE-GB:S1B-002 #118:1:A>

(74) Incluso con un Linux puedes trabajar sacando mucho más rendimiento a un ordenador Pentium que si por ejemplo tuvieras el Windows [enatte02]

‘Even with a Linux you can work getting much output to a Pentium computer than if for example you had Windows’

(75) Si l’on ne se limitait pas aux dictionnaires monolingües et uniquement aux dictionnaires de langue, on arriverait facilement à un total de plus de 2.500 exemplaires de dictionnaires [fnatte03]

‘If we didn’t limit to monolingual dictionaries and only to language dictionaries, we would easily arrive to a total of more than 2,500 copies of dictionaries’

(76) And if I had sacrificed the facial nerve I mean in the normal way without a previous first operation, I would have sacrificed those two branches of the facial nerve that were very tightly apposed to the lump <ICE-GB:S1B-010 #034:1:A>

### 3.6 Position of *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents

As already explained in Section 1.4, *if*-clauses, and their counterparts in the other two languages under analysis can occupy three positions, namely, initial, final and middle. Table 20 presents the frequency of appearance of *if*-clauses in each position as well as the percentages per language, while Figure 7 displays these findings graphically.

Table 20. Frequencies of initial, final and middle *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.

	<b>Initial</b>	<b>Final</b>	<b>Middle</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>English</b>	102 73.91%	31 22.47%	5 3.62%	138
<b>Spanish</b>	41 85.42%	4 8.33%	3 6.25%	48
<b>French</b>	37 69.81%	14 26.42%	2 3.77%	53
<b>Total</b>	<b>180</b> <b>75.32%</b>	<b>49</b> <b>20.50%</b>	<b>10</b> <b>4.18%</b>	<b>239</b>

Figure 7. Frequencies of initial, final and middle *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.

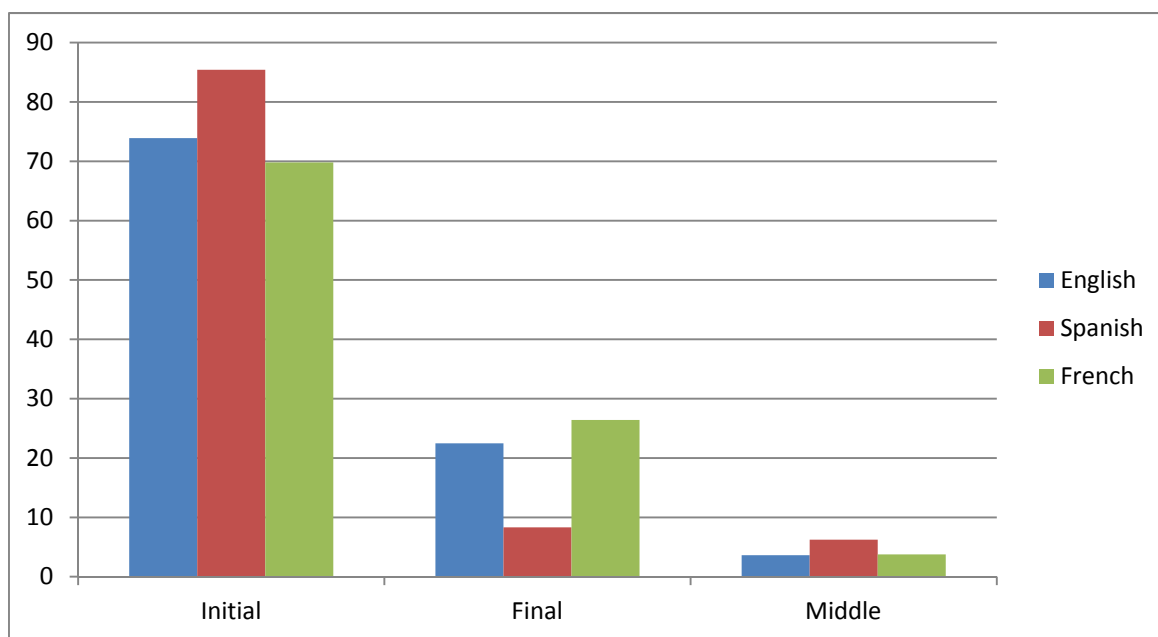


Table 20 and Figure 7 above confirm the claims of previous corpus-based studies that argued for the initial position of *if*-clauses as the unmarked one across languages (Ford & Thompson, 1986; Lavid, 1998). This position is particularly high in frequency in the case of Spanish (85.42%), while in English and French is moderately lower (73.91% *versus* 69.81%). Examples (77) to (79) provide illustrations of initial or pre-posed *if*-clauses in English, Spanish and French respectively.

(77) If this is continuous, then the inverse function is continuous <ICE-GB:S1B-013 #201:1:A>

(78) Si colocas las flechas en la misma dirección, pues la suma de ellas es mayor [enatte02]

‘If you put the arrows in the same direction, then its addition is greater’

(79) Si je me trompe pas, euh cuisine se dit cuisina [fnatte02]

‘If I don’t make a mistake, eh cuisine is said cuisina’

In contrast, the other two positions are much less used across languages. Final position or post-posed *if*-clauses are favoured in French (26.42%) and English (22.47%), while Spanish diverges from the other two languages in that this position much less frequent (8.33%). Examples of final *if*-clauses are provided in (80) to (82). Regarding the middle position, in which the *if*-clause interrupts its matrix clause, the three languages under inspection show a similar frequency: Spanish records the highest frequency (6.25%), followed by French (3.77%) and English (3.62%). Middle *if*-clauses are illustrated in (83) to (85).

(80) It changes to a transparent if you 're in the light <ICE-GB:S1B-018 #025:1:A>

(81) Para eso nos hace falta que llegue el giga de disco, si no no podemos efectuarlos [enatte02]

‘For that we need that the disk giga arrives, if not we can’t carry them out’

(82) Je vous donnerai la référence, par ailleurs, si ça vous intéresse [fnatte03]

‘I will give you the reference, on the other hand, if that is of your interest’

(83) She would say again as you were hinting in your presentation that the railroads are chartered by the State or, if they 're transportmental, by the federal government <ICE-GB:S1B-005 #044:1:A>

(84) Hay una parte de esta actividad que es propiamente cognitiva y, si se quiere, dirigida a la resolución de problemas [enatco03]

‘There is a part of this activity that is strictly cognitive and, if you want, directed to the solution of problems’

(85) Le dictionnaire de langue devient le témoin, si je puis dire, presque involontaire, d'un débat de nature grammaticale [fnatte03]

'The language dictionary becomes the witness, if I can say, almost involuntary, of a debate of grammatical nature'

Biber *et al* (1999 [2000]: 833) argue that in written registers there is a tendency for the *if*-clause to occur in initial position, while in speech there is no preference for either position. Our findings show that even in speech, the prevailing order remains the initial one across the three languages scrutinized, particularly in the case of Spanish.

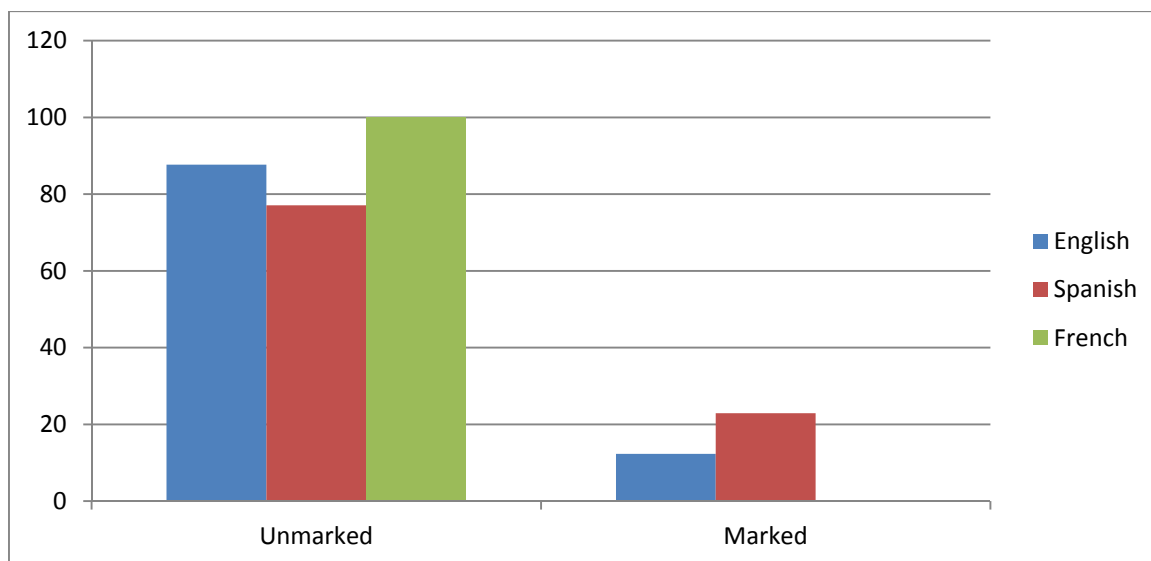
### 3.7 Markedness of the apodosis in English, Spanish and French

As previously mentioned in Section 2.2, marking the apodosis is optional in the three languages under analysis. Table 21 and Figure 8 represent the frequency of *if/si*-conditionals that have a marker in the main clause, as opposed to those that do not have one, as well as the diversity of markers used.

Table 21. Frequencies of unmarked and marked apodosis in English, Spanish and French.

	Unmarked	Marked				Total
<b>English</b>	121 87.68%	Then 17 12.32%				138
<b>Spanish</b>	37 77.09%	Pues 6 12.50%	Luego 3 6.25%	Desde luego 1 2.08%	Entonces 1 2.08%	48
<b>French</b>	53 100.00%	0				53
<b>Total</b>	<b>211</b> <b>88.28%</b>	<b>28</b> <b>11.72%</b>				<b>239</b>

Figure 8. Frequencies of unmarked and marked apodosis in English, Spanish and French.



As we can note from Table 21 and Figure 8, curiously enough, in French no apodosis is marked in this register, although it is possible by means of *donc* ('therefore') (Ferrari & Rossari, 1994: 34). In general terms, there is a tendency for the apodosis to be unmarked across the three languages inspected (100% in French, 87.68% in English and 77.09% in Spanish). Huddleston and Pullum (2002 [2008]: 757) argue that the apodosis tends to be marked when the connection between the clauses is inferential. In such cases, English just uses *then*; whereas the lexical variety in Spanish is much greater, having up to four possibilities, as shown in Table 21 above. This diversity of markers in Spanish coincides with the fact that 22.91% of the apodosis are marked in this language, as opposed to English in which only 12.32% of the apodosis are explicitly marked. Examples (86) and (87) illustrate marked apodosis in English and Spanish.<sup>28</sup>

(86) But if the if the genetic uh contribution was specifically for spoken language then it would just sort of have nothing to do <ICE-GB:S1B-003 #159:1:A>

(87) Si algo consigo con ello, desde luego me daré por bien satisfecho [enatco02]

'If I get something with it, of course I will be well satisfied'

<sup>28</sup> Unlike in previous examples, in (86) and (87), it is the apodosis that is underlined, not the *if*-clause.

### 3.8 Simple and complex subordinators of *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents

*If*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents can be headed by a simple subordinator (*if*, in English and *si*, in Spanish and French) or by a complex one. Table 22 and Figure 9 display the frequencies and percentages of simple and complex subordinators in the three languages analysed, as well as the diversity of complex subordinators.

Table 22. Frequencies of simple and complex subordinators of *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.

	Simple	Complex					Total
<b>English</b>	If 151 90.97%	As if 11 6.63%	Like if 2 1,20%	Even if 2 1,20%			166
<b>Spanish</b>	Si 50 76.92%	Si no 6 9.23%	Como si 4 6.15%	Pero si 2 3.08%	Si acaso 2 3.08%	Si bien 1 1.54%	65
<b>French</b>	Si 51 91.07%	Même si 4 7.14%	Comme si 1 1.79%				56
<b>Total</b>	<b>252</b> <b>87.80%</b>	<b>35</b> <b>12.20%</b>					<b>287</b>

Figure 9. Frequencies of simple and complex subordinators of *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.

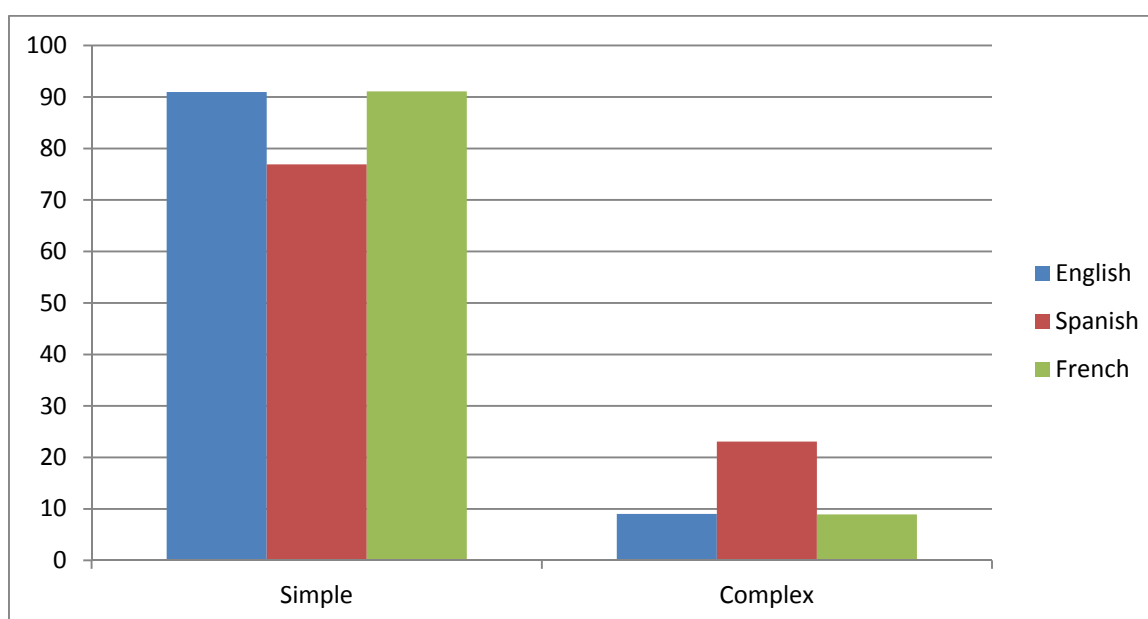


Table 22 and Figure 9 above show that, as it happened in the case of the marker of the apodosis, Spanish presents more possibilities for complex subordinators (five) than English and French (three and two respectively). In addition, it is also shown that the lexical diversity present in Spanish is accompanied by a lower frequency of clauses headed by a simple subordinator (76.92%) than in the other two languages, in which simple subordinators represent more than 90% of the total analysed (90.97% in English and 91.07% in French respectively). Furthermore, there seems to exist a correlation between these complex subordinators and the functions they fulfil. Thus, clauses headed by *as if*, or its variant *like if*, as well as their Spanish (*como si*) and French (*comme si*) equivalents have the function of a manner Adjunct. In addition, *even if* and its equivalents *pero si* and *même si* are considered to be conditional-concessive, a hybrid type as discussed in Section 1.1.2.4. These two functions are present in the three languages, as illustrated in (88) to (90), which are cases of conditional-concessive clauses.

(88) So even if we try to say that the constitution is that body of of rules, we discover that it's not just rules <ICE-GB:S1B-011 #142:1:A>

(89) Pero si tienes un poco más de idea, intentas trabajar [enatte02]

‘But if you have a bit more idea, you try to work’

(90) Même si elle est subjective, cette subjectivité a été acculturée à l’objectivité [fnatco01]

‘Even if it is subjective, that subjectivity has been assimilated to the objectivity’

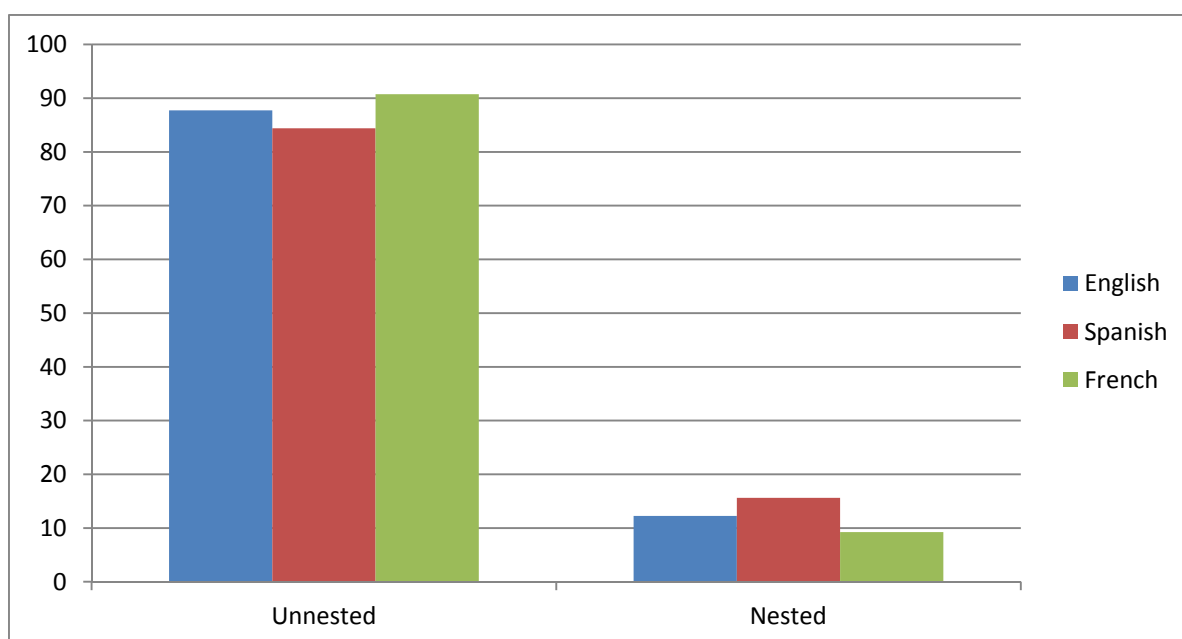
### 3.9 Nesting of *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents

Our findings show that *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French counterparts can appear nested into other structures, that is to say, integrated into larger syntactic units. Table 23 and Figure 10 display the frequency and different possibilities of nesting found in the three corpora analysed. We can observe that not all the functions in which *if*-clauses appear nested into are present in the three languages, the function of circumstantial Adjunct of cause being the only one that is found in English, Spanish and French.

Table 23. Frequencies of nesting of *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.

	Unnested	Nested							Total
		Od in compl. cl.	Cs in compl. cl.	A circ. cause	A circ. means	Relative clause	Comparat. clause	NP	
English	143 87,73%	10 6,14%	2 1,23%	7 4,29%	1 0,61%	0	0	0	163
Spanish	54 84,38%	3 4,69%	0	5 7,81%	0	0	1 1,56%	1 1,56%	64
French	49 90,75%	0	0	2 3,70%	0	1 1,85%	2 3,70%	0	54
<b>Total</b>	<b>246</b> <b>87,54%</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>281</b>
		<b>35</b> <b>12,46%</b>							

Figure 10. Frequencies of nesting of *if*-clauses and their Spanish and French equivalents.



As also observed in Table 23 and Figure 10, most *if*-clauses appear unnested (87.54% in the three languages), although there are cases of nesting in the three languages, which are slightly more prominent in Spanish (15.62%) than in English (12.27%) and French (9.25%). Examples (91) to (93) show some of the different possibilities of nesting in English, Spanish and French.

(91) So one theory is that if you have a function from interval A to interval B which is a bijection, then the inverse function will be continuous <ICE-GB:S1B-013 #200:1:A>

(92) Incluso con un Linux puedes trabajar sacando mucho más rendimiento a un ordenador Pentium que si por ejemplo tuvieras el Windows [enatte02]

‘Even with a Linux you can work getting much output to a Pentium computer than if for example you had Windows’

(93) Ce qui complique la consultation, parce que si l’on ne connaît pas la racine, on ne peut pas retrouver aisément le mot [fnatte03]

‘What complicates the consultation, because if we don’t know the root, we cannot find easily the word’

In (91) the *if*-clause functions as Complement of the Subject, in (92) the *si*-clause appears nested into a comparative clause, while in (93) the *si*-clause is integrated into a circumstantial Adjunct of cause.

## Conclusions and suggestions for further research

This study has not aimed to be exhaustive, nor could it be, given the number of languages under analysis and the complexity of the structures studied. But we hope to have thrown some new light on the use of *if/si*-clauses from a corpus-based cross-linguistic perspective.

First, we have distinguished “canonical” and “non-canonical” *if*-clauses, considering under the latter heading cases of insubordination, which have been found to be present in the three languages analysed, although they present different functions from those established by Schwenter (1999) and Evans (2007). Our findings have shown that while in English and Spanish these constructions have a politeness function, in French, they serve to express a regret. Given the reduced number of insubordinated clauses found in the corpora, we cannot conclude that the other functions established by the aforementioned authors are not present in this particular genre. However, it should be noted that, at least in the register analysed, they can fulfil other functions.

Second, we have examined how *if*-clauses can function as adverbial or complement clauses and how, within the former category, a division can be established at three different functional levels: the ideational (particularly, the experiential), the interpersonal and the textual, as established by Halliday (1985 [1999]); making absolutely necessary a distinction between form and function, since not all instances of *if*-clauses, despite their formal appearance, are conditionals or, at least, in many cases, other functions prevail over the conditional one. The corpus-based analysis has also revealed a preference for experiential *if*-clauses in the three languages, but differences have been found regarding the use of interpersonal and textual *if*-clauses. English has been reported to have half the number of interpersonal *if*-clauses as compared to the amount of *si*-clauses recorded in Spanish and French; while textual *if*-clauses have shown the lowest frequency both in English and French, and they have been unattested in Spanish.

Third, a tripartite semantic taxonomy has been proposed following Mackenzie and Martínez Caro (2012). Our corpus-based analysis has shown the extremely high frequency of neutral conditions across the three languages, but particularly in the case of Spanish and French, in which only a very reduced number of cases could be classified as hypothetical and no rejected conditions have been recorded. In contrast, our English

data have shown that the diversity of conditions is much greater in English in the genre analysed, hypothetical conditions being much numerous than in the other two languages.

Fourth, we have taken into consideration the ordering of the *if*-clause with regard to its matrix clause, establishing three possible positions for these clauses: initial, final and middle. In line with previous studies, the analysis has shown that the initial position is the most frequent, which emerges as a language universal. Regarding the two other possible positions, our data have shown that middle position is present in the three languages but with a very low frequency of use; while final position is considerably more prominent in English and French than in Spanish.

Fifth, we have analysed the markedness of the protasis, observing that in the majority of cases it is unmarked, especially in French, in which no instance of a marked apodosis has been found. In addition, the study has allowed us to discover the lexical variety of markers used in Spanish, which is much more limited in English.

Sixth, we have discussed the frequency of appearance of simple and complex subordinators in these constructions. This has allowed us to conclude that the presence of *if* and *si* alone is much frequent than their combination with other conjunctions. Among complex subordinators, the corpus-based study has revealed, again, the diversity of choice of subordinators that is available in Spanish, which is more limited in English and French.

Seventh, *if*-clauses have been found to appear nested into diverse larger structures in the three languages examined, although their frequency unnested is much more frequent across languages.

In concluding this study, it is obvious that there are still many gaps worth analysing regarding *if*-clauses and further investigations need to be accomplished in order to examine this topic in more depth, analysing whether English *if*-clauses and Spanish and French *si*-clauses have the same functions in other genres. Furthermore, it would be interesting to extend the analysis to written discourse, comparing the similarities and differences between written and spoken language. In addition, the phenomenon of insubordination, still partly-studied, deserves to be analysed more closely, paying attention to these constructions and their functions cross-linguistically.

It would also be worth exploring *if*-clauses from the point of view of language acquisition and learning, analysing the errors made by non-native speakers, since these constructions have been found to be difficult for them (Yule, 1998). From this perspective, a further study could be carried out assessing how *if*-clauses are presented in teaching materials, since the typology proposed is usually reduced to a few types of *if*-clauses (namely, *zero*, *first*, *second*, *third* and *mixed* conditional, in the most extensive taxonomies), excluding other types that are present in the language (Gabrielatos, 2003; Jones & Waller, 2011).

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## Appendix I: *If*-clauses extracted from the academic subcomponent of ICE-GB<sup>29</sup>

<ICE-GB:S1B-001 #018:1:A>

that uh if Ezekiel had the idea Ezra and Nehemiah put it into practice <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-001 #039:1:A>

If you read the description as to how Jacob spent the night in Bet-El and he says how wondrous is this place this is the gate to Heaven this is the house of God you would really think from that that uhm Bet-El was going to be the site of a glorious temple

<ICE-GB:S1B-001 #059:1:A>

So if you put together Two One and Two Four you again have this equation

<ICE-GB:S1B-001 #066:1:A>

So the <,> upshot of that is that if one tries to view Malachi against the background of the hypothesis of development of Israel's religion as Wellhausen proposed then one comes down pretty squarely <,> in the period before priests and Levites were separated

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #052:1:A>

Cos if you get it all right then you know I 'm being paid for nothing

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #068:1:A>

So now we can have people object to it <,> if anybody wishes to object to it

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #094:1:A>

If you draw it on yeah on a bit of paper <,> if you 've got a spare piece of paper <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #100:1:A>

If you want a large black pencil <,> that 's a marker pencil which you have there <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #108:1:A>

Well if there 's something that <,>

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<sup>29</sup> The tokens are presented in Appendices I, II and III as they were automatically retrieved, although, as already mentioned, to offer an analysis according to the variables proposed, it was necessary to go back to the corpus to analyse each clause in its full context.

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #118:1:A>

So you would be happy if we put in a noun phrase there

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #148:1:A>

Uh <,> I knew it would come if I waited long enough

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #170:1:A>

So if you can put both those down the whole point is <,> which one is right <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #178:1:A>

So if you think how do we know that on the mat is a constituent <,> we 'll look at each of them <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #181:1:A>

So is it clear to everyone that we've got a constituent on the mat in each case <,> because if that 's not clear speak because otherwise it 'll be <,> a disaster

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #201:1:A>

Whereas if you take the mat on the right hand tree there 's no node that exhaustively dominates that determiner and noun

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #236:1:F>

Well I 'd go for a prepositional because uhm <,> if you look at the word the the mat the mat the mats it goes with mat not on which you can see uh on the prepositional phrase cos it goes back to noun phrase <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #242:1:A>

Uhm that sounds more like an argument for having a constituent N P <,> than an argument for saying that if you 've got the constituent N P <,> you should have prepositional phrase up here

<ICE-GB:S1B-002 #253:1:B>

If you had uhm a noun phrase and a preposition with the one that you 've just drawn just now

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #032:1:A>

so what 's the genetic thing if anything

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #035:1:B>

Well <,,> if in humans there is a genetically encoded part of language uh you 'll have to find out ba to what extent uh language is genetically encoded

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #063:1:B>

Well what you tend to find is if you speak to a five-year-old they can speak but like the content is very peculiar

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #090:1:B>

If it is <unclear-words> say when we get older and uh we try and learn a language at school or something like that it takes us years to learn a language

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #106:1:B>

Uh it was almost as if uhm she had tried to learn a second language and she was always very halting in her use of language <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #126:1:A>

If there was an innate genetically encoded vocabulary she surely must have been able to say a few things

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #127:1:A>

If there was a basis that all human languages uhm are based upon and it 's genetically encoded it would seem that somebody like that should have uh just through the genetics an idea of vocabulary and some sort of vocabulary

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #131:1:D>

That discounts it if you say that <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #135:1:A>

Well if there was an innate vocabulary wouldn't you expect to go through all languages and find that they had the same words for things <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #149:1:B>

And so I mean I just said you know Jean uhm this case of Jeanie so that there is obviously no innate language but then if there 's these deaf children they develop their own language maybe there is some idea <,> of it but maybe there 's just more that the idea you should be learning a language and if there is no vocabulary you start making it up

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #155:1:A>

Uh so if if we 're to include sign language as evidence for genetic basis for language what 's the genetic basis

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #159:1:A>

But if the if the genetic uh con contribution was specifically for spoken language then it would just sort of have nothing to do

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #161:1:A>

So if that if this evidence more suggests that there 's an innate drive to communicate by making some sort of s sign which symbolizes the internal uh message and that well I don't know perhaps speech has some priority in the absence of it <,> people start using any other sign that they can make <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #178:1:A>

If you don't know what someone means when you 're giving these talks you should say I don't know what that means would you please explain <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-003 #185:1:A>

If you haven't got them I I think for <,> identical twins uh <,,> I think I 'm right I think there 's about fifty per cent so that if you that means that if you have two identical twins

right and one of them is schizophrenic there is a fifty per cent chance that the other <,> will be schizophrenic

<ICE-GB:S1B-004 #229:1:A>

And uhm <,> the what this means is that if you take a lot of observers uh <,> and you ask them to measure <,> a series of blood pressures not necessarily all on the same person but on different patients

<ICE-GB:S1B-004 #350:1:A>

And it that has to be done repeatedly throughout the survey if it 's going on a long time so that they can pick out people who are systematically <,> reading either high or low blood pressures

<ICE-GB:S1B-005 #001:1:A>

If you were an economic historian uhm which none of us thankfully are <,> you would say what you have to explain here is the rise to dominance in the American economy of large business corporations or as they 're popularly but inaccurately called trusts <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-005 #024:1:A>

Although I 'm not sure it is because if you look at Tarbull 's record in real life what she's saying is the only way you can beat a powerfully organized business combination is by an equally powerful organization of other business ties

<ICE-GB:S1B-005 #044:1:A>

She would say again as you were hinting in your presentation that the railroads are chartered by the State or if they 're transportmental by the federal government

<ICE-GB:S1B-005 #066:1:A>

You know if you put in a big order wouldn't you expect to get some kind of discount <,> except for the fact as Tarbull would say the railroads are common carriers

<ICE-GB:S1B-005 #136:1:A>

You do this by eliminating your competitors and moving if you can to a kind of monopoly type situation

<ICE-GB:S1B-005 #147:1:A>

Uh a good if somewhat unexpected point

<ICE-GB:S1B-005 #155:1:A>

I mean if there is such a thing as a Jacksonian democracy that 's what they're trying to do

<ICE-GB:S1B-005 #171:1:A>

Uhm security comes if you absolutely control all your industry

<ICE-GB:S1B-005 #173:1:A>

So I don't know if uh many of you came across this but there 's a very nice story in in Tarbull 's autobiography <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-005 #185:1:A>

he looked as if he was a man who was always on the lookout for enemies as if somebody was always trying to do him down

<ICE-GB:S1B-005 #186:1:A>

Of course again if you were John D Rockefeller somebody probably always was but that 's by the way

<ICE-GB:S1B-006 #002:1:A>

For example if you ever go to a to somewhere and choose a boundary for <,> a geological system <,> you either choose a boundary between the draft and application where would you go where would be a good place to go Jackie <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-006 #111:1:A>

If you go up towards Aberystwyth you get this thing called Aberystwyth <,> grits which are what <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-006 #144:1:A>

Now if we were actually looking at the stratigraphic column then we would actually recognize there was a difference between the rocks that come before and the rocks that come afterwards in terms of their <, > age and appearance and character and so on and we would say that perhaps is a fairly important break

<ICE-GB:S1B-006 #199:1:A>

Rather than correlation themes because you 're looking for their absence which is uh somewhat tricky because if they 're not there you don't know what it means <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-006 #233:1:A>

But I mean if you can go to South Africa and Australia and Canada and find uh pre-Cambrian flint stones these cherts and things like this which have got apparently some little faunal elements in them <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-006 #286:1:A>

So in other words if you were to divide up the stratigraphic column today you would get <, > four <, > main divisions would it be <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #061:1:A>

One thing 's for sure is that if that lecturer turns round and says no there's nothing much written on that one all right at least you know that

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #064:1:A>

What happens is if there 's a lot of material you need to look into the geological memoirs and so forth but <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #087:1:B>

<unclear-words> international so uh <, > uh law <, > <unclear-words> <, > if there is something done about it

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #117:1:A>

Is that what it would what it would <, > bring to mind or where your interest would lie if you had to go and do something about it yourself

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #133:1:A>

If you <unclear-words>

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #180:1:A>

But simply if I took a starting-point as eighteen eighty and the end point as nineteen eighty <unclear-words> what would be the difference between the temperatures in those two dates

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #191:1:D>

I don't know actually <, > if there is

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #199:1:A>

ARK has The organisation ARK has said that sea-level will rise by one metre <, > if present pollution levels and conditions continue <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #205:1:A>

So if you like that is the definitive statement for the time being <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #206:1:A>

So if you go to the library <unclear-words> the report nineteen ninety-one looking at the impacts uhm on the basis of that <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #227:1:D>

Can you specialise if there 's a very big wide topic can you specialise into one thing in the in the essay title

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #231:1:A>

It 's because although you 'll be marked on style and presentation if it 's incoherent you don't get to the starting-point

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #232:1:A>

If there 's no references if it 's not produced with some material of a of an academic nature then uhm that 's not good enough

<ICE-GB:S1B-007 #233:1:A>

So you can't put down drivel and just present it so that it 's all paginated nicely and you 've got nice margins or spacings and so forth and all the tab settings are right if it 's complete garbage <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-008 #030:1:D>

If you want to carve why don't you why don't you just carve it <,> with carving tools and <unclear-word> <unclear-word>

<ICE-GB:S1B-008 #048:2:A>

I mean each one of them looks as if they 've been run over by a steam roller

<ICE-GB:S1B-008 #049:2:A>

There 's a a Renaissance painter whose pictures look as if they 've all been steam rolled and I can't think of who it is

<ICE-GB:S1B-008 #056:2:A>

They look as if they 've all had a quick turn under the steam roller <,> uh and yours have that same quality in that you 've made up your decisions which <,> are <,> you know stylized

<ICE-GB:S1B-008 #096:2:A>

You know they look <,> as if as if as if their space has been stretched whereas Miriam 's is is you know a fairly representational you know seeable kind of space

<ICE-GB:S1B-008 #104:2:B>

but if you a technical word the word substance

<ICE-GB:S1B-008 #116:2:E>

It depends if the colours are uhm are dirty or not but uhm <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-008 #124:2:A>

If I can continue <,> <laughter>

<ICE-GB:S1B-008 #145:3:B>

Yeah although I do some paintings and I don't enjoy doing them but generally I continue painting if I 'm enjoying it

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #001:1:A>

uhm we will first talk about what would happen if you cut a peripheral nerve

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #016:1:A>

If you <,> If you took a piece of the muscle and if you sliced it up and looked at it under a microscope and that muscle has been <,> denervated in other words the nerve has been cut

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #056:1:A>

If If you pick up uh uhm liv I mean muscle that 's uhm living muscle it 's got resists a pull

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #058:1:A>

But if it 's just floppy like at the butcher 's shop it doesn't

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #071:1:A>

What happens if you change the spindle lengths <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #102:1:A>

Actually I don't know if any of you ever had damaged a nerve but it 's noticeable that the muscle which was innervated becomes uhm what people think of in layman 's terms as wasted <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #125:1:A>

Now if if the uhm if when you cut a nerve and you look at the target of that nerve and in this case we 're talking about muscle and that target appears to <,> become uh to die slightly I mean not actually die but become wasted what what does that tell you about the interaction between nerves and their targets

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #131:1:A>

So if if when you cut a nerve the target which innervates that nerve <,> begins to show changes coming back it should 've become weaker and smaller what does it tell you about the normal function of the nerve on that target

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #165:1:A>

but if your tongue is denervated if the nerve to your tongue is cut then the taste buds <,> are stopped being renewed all the time

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #171:1:D>

if a nerve doesn't regenerate <,> what happens to the muscle eventually

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #176:1:A>

If if if If in an experimental situation you did try and not allow it to regenerate then interestingly enough the nerve would atrophy sorry the muscle would atrophy to a certain point and no further

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #196:1:A>

now what would be the effect uhm if we uhm keep the nerve intact but we cut uhm a dorsal root <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #201:1:A>

what would happen if uh <,> if if if if you cut the dorsal root

<ICE-GB:S1B-009 #209:1:D>

I mean <,> if if if it was present <unclear-words>

<ICE-GB:S1B-010 #034:1:A>

And if I had sacrificed the facial nerve I mean in the normal way without a previous first operation I would have sacrificed those two branches of the facial nerve that were very tightly apposed to the lump <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-010 #080:1:A>

You see <,,> as I explained there on that diagram <,> if you get <,,> a swelling of the whole gland <,,> it can't be a tumour <,,> because you can't visualize a tumour growing differentially in different directions so as to reproduce the shape of the gland <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-010 #087:1:A>

Well we don't know the nature of the disease but it certainly produces attacks of ascending infection <,> and it in any case produces a hardening of the glands and indeed if it doesn't swell it becomes palpable <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-010 #090:1:A>

You can't find out by a preliminary biopsy because you only spread it around if it is malign and hence make a an eminently curable neoplasm incurable <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-010 #099:1:D>

Sounds like if those tumours aren't very radiosensitive then <,> or very chemosensitive

<ICE-GB:S1B-010 #103:1:A>

Of course also it 's fair to say that as it grows if it 's growing slowly all the time it 's making the operation for saving the facial nerve technically more difficult <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-010 #135:1:D>

Well if you get uh say uh a <unclear-word> of the breast then it 's obviously more difficult cos you 've got the consideration to take

<ICE-GB:S1B-010 #155:1:D>

The prosthesis that you can wear if you've got <unclear-syllables>

<ICE-GB:S1B-010 #163:1:D>

If you ask them before they go into the theatre do they want a total <,> mastectomy or a lumpectomy they 'll probably say

<ICE-GB:S1B-011 #007:1:A>

and if you break the rules

<ICE-GB:S1B-011 #009:1:A>

So the Stock Exchange will suspend trading in your shares <, > if you break the rules on a takeover <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-011 #010:1:A>

If a bank plays fast and loose with the rules <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-011 #011:1:A>

What do you think will happen <, > in a takeover if the bank <, > does naughty things like funding secret purchases of shares <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-011 #021:1:A>

If the City Panel <, > on Takeovers <, > rules that a bank has broken the the code <, > financial rules

<ICE-GB:S1B-011 #061:1:F>

If the Government starts <unclear-words>

<ICE-GB:S1B-011 #127:1:A>

and even if the Labour Party won an election and had a majority of seats in the House that particular party leader wouldn't have the support of the parliamentary Labour Party and therefore wouldn't command the majority of the House of Commons <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-011 #142:1:A>

So even if we try to say that the constitution is that body of of rules we discover that it 's not just rules it 's <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-011 #170:1:??>

If the uhm If the Government was to do something like that people would stop it other people <unclear-words>

<ICE-GB:S1B-011 #171:1:??>

In an ideal democratic society if the Government was to propose a a an action like it <unclear-words> of some sort it 's the people who would let their uh the elected members of parliament know and the elected members of parliament would vote that way in the House of Commons

<ICE-GB:S1B-012 #025:1:A>

sort of I do an hour before I get up <,,> <laugh> because if I do an hour before I get up <,> I then have feel I 've already started and I feel very positive and I can slip back into it

<ICE-GB:S1B-012 #026:1:A>

But if I haven't done anything I find it really difficult to sit down so <laugh> <,,> <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-012 #076:1:B>

And if we write anything that doesn't fit in directly

<ICE-GB:S1B-012 #107:1:B>

If you want to answer on simple come back in you know forty years or so <laugh>

<ICE-GB:S1B-012 #142:1:B>

It It 's a bit awkward if you're that unconstructive in that sort of thing <laugh> <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-012 #154:1:A>

so uhm <,,> without sounding as if I'm grovelling or anything

<ICE-GB:S1B-012 #182:1:B>

Actually I mean this sounds again like <,,> pushing my own stuff <,> but I wonder if it would help if I gave you my thesis <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-012 #199:1:A>

Uhm <,,> I <,> I 'm going to do <,> couple of days ' work in the Survey and come back Sunday and see and see if

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #004:1:A>

I mean you if you imagine a function which is just

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #006:1:A>

If you got you got a

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #007:1:A>

If it <, > goes up like that and then it starts going down you 've got a problem <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #024:1:A>

Because if you have <, >  $f(x)$  one <, > is equal to  $f(x)$  two <, > and  $x$  one doesn't equal  $x$  two <, > say  $x$  one is strictly less than  $x$  two <, > then you know that  $f(x)$  one <, > is less than  $f(x)$  two cos it 's strictly increasing <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #029:1:A>

So if it 's continuous you can't <, > jump up like that

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #078:1:A>

And you 're allowed to draw a picture of you 're allow and you draw you're allowed to draw a picture if you want <unclear-words>

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #091:1:A>

If this was A level you 'd be writing <unclear-words> <unclear-words>

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #097:1:B>

Oh if it 's less than nought

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #098:1:B>

If when you differentiate it it 's <unclear-words>

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #101:1:A>

And if that 's greater than nought then you know it 's a strictly <unclear-words> <, >

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #103:1:A>

It 's greater than nought so if  $x$  equals nought that doesn't matter

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #112:1:A>

and what I'm saying is  $\langle, \rangle$  that if you like here 's here 's your first bar along here  $\langle, \rangle$

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #128:1:A>

And supposing I take a value  $K \langle, \rangle$  and I want to know if  $F X$  affects that value

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #145:1:A>

if it was  $F A \langle, \rangle$  and  $F B$  and  $\gamma$  stuck in the middle or  $C$  stuck in the middle right then you know there must must be a value

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #149:1:A>

I mean another way of looking at that is that if you have a continuous function when you apply it to an interval  $\langle, \rangle$  it goes to an interval  $\langle, \rangle$  and since you can get things up here as big as you like  $\langle, \rangle$  this thing has to be an interval

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #153:1:A>

If you like all all that that 's saying is you could if you were innocent and you wanted to prove that you 'd say

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #159:1:A>

If I can get the cubes and you then you get back to cube roots  $\langle, \rangle$

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #193:1:A>

If I know  $F$  is continuous

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #200:1:A>

So one theory is that if you have a function from interval  $A$  to interval  $B$  which is a bijection then the inverse function will be continuous

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #201:1:A>

If this is continuous then the inverse function is continuous

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #205:1:A>

Now if it's differentiable  $f'(x)$  what can you say about  $f(x) - 1$

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #213:1:A>

So when you differentiate  $f(x) - 1$  if you like can look at  $y = f(x) - 1$  and therefore you have  $y' = f'(x)$

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #219:1:A>

If you like  $f'(x)$   $f'(x)$  of  $f(x) - 1$   $f'(x)$  is one over  $f'(x)$  of uh  $f'(x)$  minus one of  $x$  at that point  $f'(x)$

<ICE-GB:S1B-013 #227:1:A>

If you look If you look at theorem minus three it says it is differentiable provided the derivative of that point is non-zero  $f'(x) \neq 0$

<ICE-GB:S1B-014 #142:1:A>

And And of course there again the other form that's worth looking at is is is sort of typecasting if you like

<ICE-GB:S1B-014 #147:1:A>

So it's like a sort of if you imagine in present day terms going to sort of King's Cross with all these  $f'(x)$  coming off  $f'(x)$  the train  $f'(x)$   $f'(x)$  from Scotland and then uhm and then uh the vicar totally ignoring the sort of moral danger they're in

<ICE-GB:S1B-014 #181:1:A>

uhm  $f'(x)$  and then there is uhm an angel or a cupid probably going up the ladder to see if his socks are dry uhm

<ICE-GB:S1B-014 #206:1:A>

So it's it's a if you like a meditation  $f'(x)$  on on sort of pretence and vanity

<ICE-GB:S1B-015 #010:1:A>

but I think it's something that we'll have to bear in mind for future years that  $f'(x)$  if if the tutorials during the course are not

<ICE-GB:S1B-015 #021:1:C>

But I mean if I if I need some help could I still come

<ICE-GB:S1B-015 #083:1:A>

If If a photon of light hits the retina what c what cells does it act on

<ICE-GB:S1B-015 #130:1:A>

So it just improves the image if you have a black surface on which the photo-sensitive elements ar arrive

<ICE-GB:S1B-015 #131:1:A>

and the only way it could then arrange it if if you 're going to have processing of the cells is to have the processing cells on top provided they are transparent

<ICE-GB:S1B-015 #145:1:A>

It 's that area of the visual field where if it 's activated the ganglion cell will fire

<ICE-GB:S1B-015 #151:1:A>

In other words when the light is shone in that on field the cell will fire a series of action potential <,,> with an off surround so that if <unclear-words> the cell will be inhibited <unclear-words>

<ICE-GB:S1B-015 #154:1:A>

If you had that you wouldn't have these receptor fields would you

<ICE-GB:S1B-015 #173:1:A>

Functionally it 's the blind spot <,> because it 's blind in the sense that if you <,> you can map out if if I mapped out your your visual field as a small little object carefully mapping out there is a <,> point <,,> there 's a point in your receptor field but you will not see that object that small object

<ICE-GB:S1B-015 #201:1:A>

If you look in a camera with a lens what happens to the image

<ICE-GB:S1B-016 #029:1:A>

If s If you say something is influenced by nature what is it <,,> how does it work <,,> and <,,> how can we test it

<ICE-GB:S1B-016 #032:1:A>

If people can just make random assertions about some issue that you can just not possibly go out and do doing testing on it

<ICE-GB:S1B-016 #036:1:A>

otherwise if people just say what they want there's no way of telling what it's like

<ICE-GB:S1B-016 #060:1:A>

And if there is a mixture uh <,,> how does it happen <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-016 #063:1:A>

If I say that uh <,,> uh someone's someone 's heart rate is rapidly increasing because they believe they 're going to die <,> you have on the one hand the physical observation increase in heart rate on the other hand the inscription the belief

<ICE-GB:S1B-016 #072:1:A>

If if the two are to interact how can these two languages <,> interact

<ICE-GB:S1B-016 #074:1:A>

so by what means are we going to link them up if we if we are going to say that they there is a <,> uh interaction <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-016 #090:1:C>

Now uhm <,> genes in your body will all work together to produce certain physical characteristics if it <unclear-word> such as your height your weight your hair colour your eye colour

<ICE-GB:S1B-016 #099:1:D>

I mean fine if you don't

<ICE-GB:S1B-016 #100:1:D>

It depends as well if don't have enough food or <,,> as you grow so <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-016 #106:1:C>

If you then have like if you 've got plenty of food you then grow to be big <,> if you 've got the genes

<ICE-GB:S1B-017 #013:1:A>

and then <,> if anyone wants to photocopy that they 're welcome to photocopy the whole article <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-017 #042:1:A>

It was was a strange computer known as a Sinclair Q L <,> and <unclear-words> I don't know if anyone remembers them

<ICE-GB:S1B-017 #154:1:A>

If you turn over the page you get a pair of facing pages <,,> which are to file find by date <,,> results full

<ICE-GB:S1B-017 #157:1:A>

And then if you go over that again <,> you 've then got find by date results reduced which is <,,> another pair of facing pages <,> <unclear-words>

<ICE-GB:S1B-017 #199:1:A>

So if I just draw this out <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-017 #241:1:A>

It 's mass times the distance from the centre if one 's being pedantic about it <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-017 #262:1:A>

But the way to look at it is if you compare mass with inertia inertia being a lot bigger mass things like A two

<ICE-GB:S1B-018 #014:1:A>

so if it was hanging on an a white gallery wall then that would actually affect the painting

<ICE-GB:S1B-018 #015:1:A>

And if it was hanging on a piece of wallpaper that would actually affect the picture

<ICE-GB:S1B-018 #025:1:A>

it changes to a transparent if you 're in the light <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-018 #039:1:B>

if I saw them somewhere without you know talking about them I mean I think I'd think they were very much about uh sort of searching and <,> depths really <,> and <,> particularly the red one lots of uh suggestions of depth <unclear-syllable>

<ICE-GB:S1B-018 #052:1:A>

So if somebody 's uhm depending on what their wallpaper is or there wherever it goes that could even make or kill the picture

<ICE-GB:S1B-018 #096:1:B>

I mean if one uhm an attempt to vulgarise it by being you know what could be a rather quite a serious sort of <unclear-word> scene as if one wanted to see <unclear-words> something like that

<ICE-GB:S1B-018 #186:1:B>

I mean correct me if I 'm wrong

<ICE-GB:S1B-018 #195:1:A>

you 're dealing with the <unclear-word> that if you went into a gallery at a certain time of day or you went into a situation and it 'd look different <,> so <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-018 #196:1:A>

You know if you wanted to actually photograph it what do you photograph it on a white background wallpaper or whatever

<ICE-GB:S1B-019 #031:1:C>

they tend to uh all make it as if it 's <,> what 's happening at that very time because they 're able to uhm mimic because they were trying to say mimic in voices so they would be able to mimic some of the voices

<ICE-GB:S1B-019 #089:1:E>

It wakes your senses up anyway if you've got a whole load of some vast numbers singing and dancing

<ICE-GB:S1B-019 #106:1:A>

and it 's partly to do with the notion of what is <unclear-word> the degree of decorum uh appropriate to tragedy isn't it that it 's more dignified if that group is not broken down into individuals <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-019 #139:1:A>

The chorus are often talking about themselves in the Agamemnon as if they were prophetic <,> uhm and they they use language about themselves <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-019 #142:1:A>

they express their fears as if they were prophetic <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-020 #026:1:A>

uhm <,> you ought to be saying <,> identifying if there are a any particular problems associated with the equipment or any particular technical <,> aspects associated with the equipment <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-020 #048:1:A>

Isn't it true to say that if you get the get the design of the fermentor wrong <,> the costing wrong then the rest of the process is is a little bit academic isn't it

<ICE-GB:S1B-020 #079:1:A>

Surely if you went back over the design now you would and looked for the number of times you used the word assume <,> it 'd be those assumptions which would be the

things things that you 'd need to pick out in your executive summary because clearly where you 're making an ex an assumption there 's a <,,> you know there are question marks aren't there

<ICE-GB:S1B-020 #099:1:A>

if the downstream processing calculations were are in error by a certain amount then this would be we can accommodate tho those sorts of inaccuracies because within our sens our sensitivity analysis has shown that the project is in fact viable with plus or minus ten per cent or plus or minus twenty per cent <,> error <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-020 #133:1:A>

I mean if I 'm going to look for where I 'm going to site this plant are there is there anything that I've got to have available <,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-020 #179:1:A>

If you go towards a more automated plant I think the nature of the skills that the people will have will be different <,> apart from the fact that they 'll need to be able to stay awake like hyenas <unclear-word> <unclear-word> <,,>

<ICE-GB:S1B-020 #180:1:A>

What sort of people are you going to be employing <,> if it 's going to be an automated plant

<ICE-GB:S1B-020 #183:1:A>

If I decided I 'm going to put this plant in a Third World country is it going to be as easy for me to find <,> relevant personnel as as it is if I 'm going to put it in a developed industrialized country like uh this one

## Appendix II: Si-clauses extracted from the academic subcomponent of the Spanish sub-corpus of C-ORAL-ROM

ras más o menos de qué iba / y cómo [/] cuál va a ser + yo que sé / **si** va a haber examen / o + \*HER: <ya> // \*SAL: [<] <o no sé> // \*HE [enatte01]

nen / &eh / &eh / eso que llamamos / medio natural / porque claro / **si** no sabemos de qué va esto / pues ... ahí habrá problemas / porque / [enatte01]

// \*HER: / hay [/] hay que hacer una [/] unas referencias / porque **si** no [/] no [/] no sé / lo que alguno de vosotros / podéis saber / y [enatte01]

// \*SAL: [<] <claro / es que yo> / quería preguntar / básicamente **si** necesitaba algunos conocimientos / para cursar esta asignatura // [enatte01]

antes // \*SAL: es que / &mm / yo siempre tengo la pregunta / no sé **si** a lo mejor se debe a / hhh [/] a mi carencia en conocimientos / de [enatte01]

porque yo creo que la demanda social es muy fuerte // y entonces / **si** no eso / lo pagas / no ? lo pagas al final // y / está bien / porqu [enatte01]

amen / o ... \*HER: pues sí // algo hay que hacer // porque claro / **si** no / os vais vivos // hay que [/] hay que saber / lo que os han cun [enatte01]

ener / el examen teórico / un [/] una nota superior a tres / porque **si** no se supone que es que / te has pasado / de largo / &eh / \*SAL: h [enatte01]

/ que se hace / tan bien / por causas ajenas al alumno / eh ? no sé **si** me captas // [enatte01]

uyan determinadas propiedades // por ejemplo el elemento dipolar // **si** yo tengo / un sustituyente / perdón si la [/] si la / molécula base [enatte02]

emplo el elemento dipolar // si yo tengo / un sustituyente / perdón **si** la [/] si la / molécula base / tiene un momento dipolar por ejemplo [enatte02]

lemento dipolar // si yo tengo / un sustituyente / perdón si la [/] **si** la / molécula base /  
tiene un momento dipolar por ejemplo / que / a [enatte02]

/ hacia / el sistema / y me lo voy a inventar / hacia el cobalto / **si** yo quiero / engordar  
ese momento dipolar / luego tengo que poner es [enatte02]

a / los momentos dipolares se restan // es un tema simplemente como **si** tuvieras flechas  
// si colocas las flechas en la misma dirección / [enatte02]

res se restan // es un tema simplemente como si tuvieras flechas // **si** colocas las flechas  
en la misma dirección / pues la suma de ellas / [enatte02]

flechas en la misma dirección / pues la suma de ellas / es mayor // **si** colocas una flecha  
en dirección contraria a otra / la suma es menor [enatte02]

/ base / en la cual / sea / una / doble zeta en la capa interna / y **si** acaso una triple zeta en  
la capa de valencia // con lo cual nos ten [enatte02]

o ? o ... \*LOC: D [/] D95VD // para que sea doble // o una / VT // **si** acaso // eso lo  
miras en el manual de Gaussian que lo dice // bien [enatte02]

esos / hay muchos en la universidad // \*OTR: <hhh> // \*LOC: <pero **si** tienes un poco  
más de idea / intentas trabajar> [/] intentas trabaj [enatte02]

/ y esos suelen ser los UNIX // incluso con ordenadores patateros / **si** le metes un Linux  
/ un &s [///] que es un + todos los que acaban en [enatte02]

ajar sacando / mucho más rendimiento / a un ordenador Pentium / que **si** por ejemplo  
tuvieras el Windows // nosotros en particular / tenemos [enatte02]

/ los ficheros scratch / entre varios discos // porque normalmente **si** tienes / una unidad  
con tres discos / en uno no te cabe el cálculo [enatte02]

uedes / añadir / experimentalmente / a tu molécula ? porque claro / **si** yo te voy a poner un sustituyente / que luego / experimentalmente / [enatte02]

disquete / lo imprimes / y los artículos intentamos conseguir // y **si** no los conseguimos / los buscamos con préstamo &i [/] &i / &eh / có [enatte02]

n cuidado / porque el ordenador / hace los cálculos en fase gas / y **si** no la liamos // vale ? <bien> // \*OTR: [<] <no vamos a> añadir nad [enatte02]

e pasa es que para eso nos hace falta que llegue el giga de disco / **si** no no podemos efectuarlos // perdón el giga de RAM / que estoy yo e [enatte02]

OTR: hhh // \*LOC: y después / cuando ya funcionen / intentamos [/] **si** vemos que no funcionan demasiado bien / se lo intentamos modalizar [enatte02]

países anglosajones / se ha asociado al conservadurismo / y por eso **si** vosotros veis / &eh / las declaraciones políticas de / la derecha c [enatte03]

sto ? bueno / por ejemplo / vamos a decirlo muy brevemente / porque **si** no nunca saldríamos del liberalismo / no ? y nunca pasaríamos a otr [enatte03]

pasaríamos a otras ideologías / pero para los conservadores / no ? **si** vosotros leéis las / reflexiones sobre la revolución en Francia / d [enatte03]

que está allí para / lo que le necesite la [/] la gente / no ? pero **si** te llama / alguno tiene un problema // es un [/] es una especie de [enatte03]

va / eh / la idea de perspectiva / la idea de que no hay realidad / **si** no se mira / eh ? ésa es una idea / que surge / en este contexto // [enatte04]

e / justamente de que no se puede renunciar al orden en absoluto // **si** no se puede ya asentar / sobre la idea de verdad como adecuación / [enatte04]

/ y la filosofía moderna / es una filosofía / de la subjetividad // **si** se me permite la paradoja / es una filosofía / de la objetividad de [enatte04]

ima idea / es la idea de / providencia // la idea de providencia // **si** todo muda / si todo cambia / eh ? &eh / no nos basta / con el Dios [enatte04]

a idea de / providencia // la idea de providencia // si todo muda / **si** todo cambia / eh ? &eh / no nos basta / con el Dios creador // no b [enatte04]

de forma / que estas hojas lo que hacen es absorber el agua / como **si** fueran una esponja // sacan / de nuevo estas hojas / y / las estruj[enatco01]

cluso / ahora en [/] en cautividad / &eh aquí en el zoo de Madrid / **si** me pones la siguiente diapositiva / unos compañeros del departament [enatco01]

ia que hay escrita arriba / además no se ve / está del revés / pero **si** os fijáis / &eh / lo que tiene / esa chimpancé en la mano es una fr [enatco01]

l [/] &l [/] lo [/] lo introducían en una familia / y / crecía como **si** fuera un individuo más de la familia // con / la consecuencia final [enatco01]

r los problemas / y controversias / de la / biología / evolutiva // **si** algo consigo con ello / desde luego / me daré / por bien satisfecho [enatco02]

al reconocimiento / y a la estima / &po [/] por la aportación // y **si** la institución / funciona / con un mínimo de eficiencia / la estima [enatco02]

escepticismo organizado / tienen su origen / en valores morales / y **si** bien / no constriñen la conducta de los científicos / en tanto / qu [enatco02]

n las primeras / aportaciones / lo reinvierten continuamente / como **si** fuera un juego de bolsa / con el fin de aumentarlo / indefinidament [enatco02]

r principio / fuera / de / el campo de trabajo / de la psicología // **si** / de todas maneras / algo se habla / de lenguaje interiorizado / en[enatco03]

icar / justamente / los mecanismos de la mente / hizo notar / que / **si** se / ve a un niño / jugando solo / con un juego de construcciones / [enatco03]

r sistematizar estas ideas / por estudiarlo empíricamente / por ver **si** / es verdad que esto facilita la acción [/] el éxito de la acción / [enatco03]

es verdad que esto facilita la acción [/] el éxito de la acción / y **si** los niños que verbalizan / más o menos también / las acciones resul [enatco03]

acterísticas estructurales de lo que está manejando / sin embargo / **si** repasáis / los ejemplos / de Vigotsky / decir / ahora / éste aquí / [enatco03]

/ pero / hhh / otro tipo de ejemplo / más característico / es que / **si** se ofrece a un niño / piezas de un juego de construcción / es posib [enatco03]

cuenta / tan normal / que / había / al menos hace unos años / no sé **si** se continúa usando / un test / que se llamaba / un nombre un poco e [enatco03]

na parte de esta actividad / que es / propiamente / cognitiva / y / **si** se quiere / dirigida a la resolución de problemas // dirigido / a / [enatco03]

verbalmente / es / un / problema / tan banal / como / el decidir / **si** esta tarde / se quedará estudiando / en casa / o se irá al cine con [enatco03]

/ pero / sobre todo / y esto / ilustra mucho lo que quiero decir / **si** llega / y hay que suponer que llegará / a una conclusión / a una de [enatco03]

rsación ésta / y / puliendo las frases / o &dicien [/] decidiendo / **si** dicho así / o dicho asá / quedará mejor // # en realidad / no se tr [enatco03]

sobre la biografía / que es verbal / también / podríamos / decir / **si** cada día / uno escribe / sus propios [///] lo que le ha ocurrido / [enatco03]

paña / estrellas / en el estudio sociolingüístico // es decir / que **si** comparamos el desarrollo español / con el desarrollo en Estados Uni [enatco04]

s objetos de estudio / de todo un aparato teórico / no ? entonces / **si** &com [///] vemos lo que ha pasado / con la Sociolingüística / en / [enatco04]

l desigual desarrollo de la / Sociolingüística / en España // no sé **si** las últimas personas que han entrado ... # estos son una [/] una cu [enatco04]

usaba cierto enfado / en el País Vasco / pero es que es evidente // **si** pensamos [///] yo he establecido unos criterios para [/] para ver l [enatco04]

&eh / se habían publicado / trescientos títulos // es decir / &eh / **si** comparamos hhh el [/] con el resto de la península / es / impresion [enatco04]

una definición social / y tiene unos rasgos sociales // entonces / **si** comparamos lo que ocurre aquí / con Cataluña / y vemos que por ejem [enatco04]

ón / como en el desarrollo / como en la diferente / conformación // **si** vemos / cuándo nace / la Sociolingüística / en la década de los ses [enatco04]

tnia // etnicidad / no ? luego / hay una vinculación constante // y **si** hay una vinculación constante / la pregunta es por qué entonces / a [enatco04]

e hay luz / la [/] la [/] la transparencia es mala // yo esto no sé **si** se ve // bueno / de todas maneras / casi podéis seguir todo en el p [enatco04]

// esto es una cosa / absolutamente &contra [/] contradictoria / y **si** pensamos la influencia / que han tenido los lingüistas / en la cons [enatco04]

idad // o sea que lo que puede interesar / a un sociolingüista es / **si** hay una diferencia en la forma de hablar / no de si el / &eh / hay [enatco04]

olingüista es / si hay una diferencia en la forma de hablar / no de **si** el / &eh / hay un término es sexista // eso ya / yo no considero qu [enatco04]

ente un interés // bueno / puede interesar / pero el interés / es / **si** hay un grupo social / que se / &tras [/] que [/] que tiene un / &co [enatco04]

### **Appendix III: Si-clauses extracted from the academic subcomponent of the French sub-corpus of C-ORAL-ROM**

consommateurs / c' est faciliter les tâches de la ménagère // # et **si** vous retrouvez des vieilles publicités dans les années cinquante / [fnatte01]

nous parlerons des plans marketings // # elle a des objectifs // # **si** on prend des objectifs à long terme / # on peut considérer / # que [fnatte01]

jectif de profit / # d' abord de rentabilité / être rentable / puis **si** c' est possible gagner de l' argent / # objectif de profit // # ce [fnatte01]

sur l' environnement propre à l' entreprise pourquoi ? # parce que **si** demain matin / # il y a seulement un paramètre qui change ici / # c [fnatte01]

/ # il y a seulement un paramètre qui change ici / # c' est-à-dire **si** l' environnement change / # les forces et les faiblesses de l' entr [fnatte01]

les mêmes // # d' accord ? # vous [/] vous êtes bons en math ici / **si** vous comparez / # à des G.E.A / # on va dire ils sont bien meilleur [fnatte01]

dire ils sont bien meilleurs les T.C que les G.E.A // # maintenant **si** on prend des docteurs en math / # on va dire ben en T.C / ils sont [fnatte01]

# on va dire ben en T.C / ils sont pas très bons // # d' accord ? # **si** l' environnement change / # forcément eh bien vos forces et vos fai [fnatte01]

d' accord ? on se compare toujours par rapport à quelque chose // # **si** ce quelque chose change / # forcément vous avez plus les mêmes forc [fnatte01]

n intérêt / aucun sens / # que de définir un diagnostic interne / # **si** on connaît pas le diagnostic externe // # d' accord ? # d' où l' in [fnatte01]

ie // # troisième point / # définition de la stratégie // # eh bien **si** on résume ce que l' on vient de dire / # eh bien l' entreprise vit [fnatte01]

ein on part d' un même point / c' est un problème mathématique // # **si** on part d' un [/] un certain point pour aller à un autre / # il y a [fnatte01]

/ ces variables // # d' accord ? donc ne soyez pas surpris / # &euh **si** il y a pas le quatrième point // d' accord ? # puisqu' on [/] on re [fnatte01]

de bilingue en ? \*SOP: en bilingue // # selon le type de bilingue **si** vous préférez // # et de temps en temps elle varie chez un même loc [fnatte02]

à la fin / # les participes passés en tout cas // # donc voilà / # **si** en français vous mettez les [/] les verbes à la fin / # et lexicale [fnatte02]

a un étage de plus &euh # pour vous que pour moi // # d' accord ? # **si** à [/] si par exemple à chaque fois qu' il parle d' un étage / il ut [fnatte02]

e de plus &euh # pour vous que pour moi // # d' accord ? # si à [/] **si** par exemple à chaque fois qu' il parle d' un étage / il utilise / # [fnatte02]

euh suivant les règles de la langue dans laquelle il s' insère // # **si** par exemple vous prenez &euh # le [/] le &ver [/] enfin le verbe ch [fnatte02]

est un emprunt adapté // # donc est-ce que # <oui> ? \*MAR: <pardon **si**> c' est la même question / parce que hier j' ai pensé à ça / carot [fnatte02]

bord anglais ? ou c' était d' abord français ? # le mot carotte ? # **si** c' est un emprunt [/] si c' est [/] il y a un emprunt de [/] # <de [fnatte02]

t d' abord français ? # le mot carotte ? # si c' est un emprunt [/] **si** c' est [/] il y a un emprunt de [/] # <de [/] de mot ou> \*SOP: <al [fnatte02]

alque // \*SOP: le calque donc / c' est une forme d' emprunt / # et **si** par exemple / je prends gratte-ciel / # ça donne / # O.K. ? # c' es [fnatte02]

çais sur / # le mot anglais // # oui ? # j' en reprends un autre // **si** [/] mais si [/] si c' est [/]  
c' est [/] &euh c' est vraiment [/] & [fnatte02]

le mot anglais // # oui ? # j' en reprends un autre // si [/] mais **si** [/] si c' est [/] c' est [/]  
&euh c' est vraiment [/] &euh # <on au [fnatte02]

anglais // # oui ? # j' en reprends un autre // si [/] mais si [/] **si** c' est [/] c' est [/] &euh c'  
est vraiment [/] &euh # <on aurait pu [fnatte02]

ière langue // # <donc elles sont> \*ZZZ: <xxx pardon> // parce que **si** [/] par exemple l'  
anglais / # c' est-à-dire si quelqu' un arrive à [fnatte02]

ardon> // parce que si [/] par exemple l' anglais / # c' est-à-dire **si** quelqu' un arrive à [/]  
à Paris / # il ne &par [/] il ne parle pas [fnatte02]

l peut aussi communiquer / la possibilité de parler une langue même **si** ce n' est pas l'  
anglais sa langue maternelle // \*SOP: voilà // # [fnatte02]

ologique / c' est-à-dire quand / # &euh # par exemple en espagnol / **si** je me trompe pas /  
&euh cuisine se dit cocina // \*ZZZ: cocina / c [fnatte02]

exicographie" / # dont je vous donnerai la référence par ailleurs / **si** ça vous [/] si ça  
vous intéresse / mais enfin bon / # hhh cet arti [fnatte03]

# dont je vous donnerai la référence par ailleurs / si ça vous [/] **si** ça vous intéresse /  
mais enfin bon / # hhh cet article examine / # [fnatte03]

/ # de fonder / # un rapport / # que vous comprendrez assez bien / **si** vous pensez à des  
objets tel que "Le Dictionnaire de l' Académie Fr [fnatte03]

re / # la légitimité / # entre la légitimité / # politico-sociale / **si** je puis dire / # la  
légitimité politico-sociale / # de l' auteur / [fnatte03]

a légitimité politico-sociale / # de l' auteur / ou des auteurs / # si il s' agit d' une oeuvre collective / # fonder un rapport entre cet [fnatte03]

# fonder un rapport entre cette # légitimité politico-sociale // # si l' on prend la parole / c' est parce que l' on est légitimé // # et [fnatte03]

l' on prend la parole / c' est parce que l' on est légitimé // # et si l' on est légitime / c' est que l' on a un droit de parole légitime [fnatte03]

/ # la préface / # la préface de dictionnaire en tant que genre / # si je puis dire / # la préface de dictionnaire / hhh en tant que genr [fnatte03]

que des racines // # ce qui complique la consultation / # parce que si l' on ne connaît pas la racine / # on ne peut pas retrouver aisément [fnatte03]

inguistique ? # le dictionnaire de langue devient / # le témoin / # si je puis dire / # presque involontaire [/] # devient le témoin presq [fnatte03]

au "Petit Larousse" / hein qui est remis à jour / # chaque année / si je puis dire / # eh bien il est évident / que lorsque l' on ajoute [fnatte03]

ui / comme étant le siècle / # des dictionnaires // # or / # or / # si le dix-neuvième siècle est effectivement le siècle des dictionnaire [fnatte03]

cent dix-sept titres // # il y en aurait beaucoup plus encore / et si l' on se ne se limitait pas aux dictionnaires monolingues / et uniq [fnatte03]

remment courants // # tous les termes / # doivent être définis // # si je prends l' exemple / page trente-huit / # de la monogamie / # tou [fnatco01]

n pas à l' état sporadique / # mais avec la même généralité / # que si elle était imposée / # par la loi // # je vous laisse les lignes su [fnatco01]

amie de fait / # à monogamie de droit / # parce qu' effectivement / **si** je prends un exemple &euh # &euh # contemporain / # bien // # dans [fnatco01]

tous les hommes en l' occurrences / # appliquent la polygamie // # **si** je prends l' exemple du Maroc / par exemple / # ou l' &al [/] # ou [fnatco01]

ont / # &euh trier // # c' est-à-dire qu' ils vont dire / voilà / # **si** il y a ces phénomènes-là / c' est un crime / s' il n' y a pas ces p[fnatco01]

etc. / # voyez ? # qui serait sans doute totalement différente / # **si** nous vivions / # si nous étions au coeur / si par exemple dans cinq [fnatco01]

qui serait sans doute totalement différente / # si nous vivions / # **si** nous étions au coeur / si par exemple dans cinq minutes / on ( se ) [fnatco01]

lement différente / # si nous vivions / # si nous étions au coeur / **si** par exemple dans cinq minutes / on ( se ) disait / tiens il y a un [fnatco01]

tres suffisent / # pour voir tout cela / # à peu près // # donc / # **si** vous voulez / # ce qu' il veut dire / c' est que [/] # ou pareil / [fnatco01]

critique de leurs goûts critique / de ci / etc. // # voyez ? # même **si** la science / # alimente votre critique / # &euh # etc. / # hein avo [fnatco01]

sation / # induite / # et non pas une position distanciée / # comme **si** ça n' existait pas / # voyez ? # alors en tout cas / c' est qu' il [fnatco01]

e socioprofessionnelle / etc. / # ethnocentrisme de profession // # **si** vous êtes philosophe ben / # il faut penser que &euh # les autres n [fnatco01]

on est sociologue / # plus / # notre subjectivité s' objectivise / **si** je puis dire // # je vais ( vous ) donner un exemple concret / # qu [fnatco01]

# et bien plus votre prise de position / # sera objectivée / # même **si** elle est subjective /  
cette subjectivité / # a été acculturée à l' [fnatco01]

vous n' avez pas la même position / par exemple / sur le conflit / **si** je prends israélo-  
palestinien / par exemple / # xxx d' actualité / [fnatco01]

e prends israélo-palestinien / par exemple / # xxx d' actualité / # **si** vous êtes ( de ) #  
&euh un chercheur en sciences sociales / # ou un [fnatco01]

sociales / # ou un chercheur en histoire / xxx un historien / # que **si** vous êtes boulanger  
/ ou charcutier / # ou étudiant / # &euh ou bien [fnatco01]

tre subjectivité / # hein ? # c' est-à-dire qu' il est rare / que # **si** vous écoutez la  
différence entre un &#224; un débat politique et u [fnatco01]

ence entre un &#224; un débat politique et un débat scientifique / **si** vous avez déjà fait  
cette expérience / # ben on [/] on se dit / c' [fnatco01]

t est polémique / # hein ? # d' une certaine manière // # alors / # **si** on explique ce [/] tout  
ce chapitre / # pour terminer dans les dix [fnatco01]

ite mieux amener sa propre position // # ces méthodes / # en gros / **si** vous voulez / elles  
ont toutes un défaut majeur / pour lui / # elle [fnatco01]

iers là / en théologie / hein ? l' âme / l' esprit / mais enfin / # **si** vous permettez / c' est  
des [/] # c' est des notions dont je me ser [fnatco02]

et fonction égale / on joue pas son rôle de la même manière // # et **si** le rôle / bien sûr / #  
c' est comme le personnage de théâtre qui jo[fnatco02]

qu' elle était // # il n' est plus ce qu' il était / lui qui était **si** économe / voilà que # il  
dépense ses sous avec une danseuse / enfin [fnatco02]

es / # n' est pas supporté de la même manière par tout le monde / # **si** le sujet n' a rien en échange de ce qu' il perd / # et souvent chez [fnatco02]

est ça cette chose spécifiquement humaine / # qui se met en place / **si** le besoin peut être satisfait // il y a autre chose qui n' est jama [fnatco02]

Bernard / # à Sainte-Sévère ? # il y a bien / # purification / même **si** elle n' est pas / # parfaite / complète et définitive hein ? et ça [fnatco03]

té / qui lui était jusqu' alors &euh # inconnue // # bien // # donc **si** je reviens deux [/] deux secondes / sur &euh les éléments constitut [fnatco03]

/ # de la lune / le calice d' or / # et les diamants de la rosée / **si** je reviens sur ces éléments / # eh bien je me rends compte / # que [fnatco03]

n-te-quatre // # donc / qu' écrit Bernard / # à [/] # à Edmée ? # ah **si** vous saviez combien je suis malheureux // # il y a / # deux hommes [fnatco03]

qu' il se sent couvert de blessures / # et frappé mortellement // # **si** vous saviez / # si vous saviez Edmée / quelle(s) lutte(s) / quel co [fnatco03]

ert de blessures / # et frappé mortellement // # si vous saviez / # **si** vous saviez Edmée / quelle(s) lutte(s) / quel combat(s) / quelles l [fnatco03]

#### Appendix IV: Sources of ICE-GB texts included in the academic subcomponent

(Adapted from Nelson *et al*, 2002: 312)

S1B-001 to S1B-020: Classroom lessons

Text	Details of the text
S1B-001	Subject: Hebrew and Jewish Studies Year: 3 <sup>rd</sup> year Date: 16-5-91 Institution: UCL <sup>30</sup>
S1B-002	Subject: Linguistics Year: 1 <sup>st</sup> year Date: 24-10-91 Institution: UCL
S1B-003	Subject: Psychology Year: 1 <sup>st</sup> year Date: 22-10-91 Institution: UCL
S1B-004	Subject: Community Medicine Year: 2 <sup>nd</sup> year Date: 12-3-91 Institution: UCL
S1B-005	Subject: History Year: 3 <sup>rd</sup> year Date: 18-11-91 Institution: UCL
S1B-006	Subject: Geology Year: 1 <sup>st</sup> year Date: 28-10-91 Institution: UCL
S1B-007	Subject: Geography Year: 2 <sup>nd</sup> year

<sup>30</sup> Here and henceforth UCL stands for University College London.

S1B-008	<p>Date: 18-11-91</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p> <p>Subject: Slade School Workshop</p> <p>Year: 2<sup>nd</sup> year</p>
S1B-009	<p>Date: 29-11-91</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p> <p>Subject: Anatomy</p> <p>Year: 2<sup>nd</sup> year</p>
S1B-010	<p>Date: 22-11-91</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p> <p>Subject: Surgery</p> <p>Year: 4<sup>th</sup> year</p>
S1B-011	<p>Date: 19-5-92</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p> <p>Subject: Public Law</p> <p>Year: 1<sup>st</sup> year</p>
S1B-012	<p>Date: 14-10-91</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p> <p>Subject: Linguistics supervision with PhD student</p>
S1B-013	<p>Date: 6-12-92</p> <p>Institution: University of Cambridge</p> <p>Subject: Mathematics</p> <p>Year: 2<sup>nd</sup> year</p>
S1B-014	<p>Date: 10-2-92</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p> <p>Subject: History of Art</p> <p>Year: 1<sup>st</sup> year</p>
S1B-015	<p>Date: 16-10-91</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p> <p>Subject: Anatomy</p> <p>Year: 2<sup>nd</sup> year</p>
	<p>Date: 29-11-91</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p>

S1B-016	<p>Subject: Psychology</p> <p>Year: 1<sup>st</sup> year</p> <p>Date: 24-10-91</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p>
S1B-017	<p>Subject: Archaeology</p> <p>Year: 3<sup>rd</sup> year</p> <p>Date: 20-3-92</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p>
S1B-018	<p>Subject: Slade School Workshop</p> <p>Year: 2<sup>nd</sup> year</p> <p>Date: 29-10-91</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p>
S1B-019	<p>Subject: Greek and Latin</p> <p>Year: 1<sup>st</sup> year</p> <p>Date: 4-5-92</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p>
S1B-020	<p>Subject: Biochemistry</p> <p>Year: 3<sup>rd</sup> year</p> <p>Date: 11-5-92</p> <p>Institution: UCL</p>

**Appendix V: Sources of Spanish C-ORAL-ROM texts included in the academic subcomponent**

Teaching

Text	Details of the text
enate01	<p>Title: Tutoría sobre el medio natural</p> <p>Participants: SAL, Ana, (woman, A, 3, student, interviewer, Madrid)</p> <p>HER, Pedro, (man, B, 3, professor, interviewed, Madrid)</p> <p>Date: 22/02/2001</p> <p>Place: Madrid</p> <p>Situation: interview at HER's office</p> <p>Topic: plan for a subject on natural environment</p> <p>Class: formal, formal in natural context, teaching, dialogue</p>
enate02	<p>Title: Mundos posibles de la química</p> <p>Participants: LOC, Pepe, (man, C, 3, profesor, lecturer, Madrid)</p> <p>OTR, Laura, (woman, A, 3, postgraduated student, participant, Madrid)</p> <p>CRI, Cristina, (woman, B, 3, scholarship holder, participant, Madrid)</p> <p>Date: 21/03/2001</p> <p>Place: Madrid</p> <p>Situation: lesson in LOC's office</p> <p>Topic: chemistry</p> <p>Class: formal, formal in natural context, teaching, conversation</p>
enate03	<p>Title: Un repaso al liberalismo</p> <p>Participants: ANG, Ángel, (man, B, 3, profesor, lecturer, Madrid)</p> <p>EST, x, (man, B, 3, student, participant, x)</p> <p>MAR, x, (woman, B, 3, student, participant, x)</p> <p>PAT, x, (woman, B, 3, student, participant, x)</p> <p>Date: 24/10/2001</p> <p>Place: Madrid</p> <p>Situation: a lesson at university</p>

enatte04	<p>Topic: characteristics of liberalism</p> <p>Class: formal, formal in natural context, teaching, monologue</p> <p>Title: El barroco</p> <p>Participants: JOS, José Luis, (man, C, 3, profesor, lecturer, Segovia)</p> <p>MAR, x, (woman, B, 3, student, participant, x)</p> <p>PAT, x, (man, B, 3, student, participant, x)</p> <p>Date: 20/11/2001</p> <p>Place: Madrid</p> <p>Situation: a lesson at university</p> <p>Topic: concepts and ideas in the baroque period</p> <p>Class: formal, formal in natural context, teaching, monologue</p>
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#### Conferences

<b>Text</b>	<b>Details of the text</b>
enatco01	<p>Title: Conferencia sobre primates</p> <p>Participants: SUS, Susana, (woman, B, 3, profesor, lecturer, Valladolid)</p> <p>Date: 13/03/2001</p> <p>Place: Madrid</p> <p>Situation: lecture at university</p> <p>Topic: language and the primates</p> <p>Class: formal, formal in natural context, conference, monologue</p>
enatco02	<p>Title: Curso de humanidades científicas</p> <p>Participants: CRI, Cristóbal, (man, B, 3, profesor, lecturer, Madrid)</p> <p>Date: 13/11/2001</p> <p>Place: Madrid</p> <p>Situation: lecture at university</p> <p>Topic: sociology of science</p> <p>Class: formal, formal in natural context, conference, monologue</p>

<p>enatco03</p>	<p>Title: las pausas de Siguán  Participants: SIG, Siguán, (man, D, 3, profesor, lecturer, Barcelona)  Date: 27/02/2001  Situation: lecture at university  Topic: language and children  Class: formal, formal in natural context, conference, monologue</p>
<p>enatco04</p>	<p>Title: carencias sociolingüísticas en España  Participants: LUI, Luisa, (woman, B, 3, profesor, lecturer, Burgos)  Date: 15/03/2001  Place: Madrid  Situation: lecture in an auditorium at university  Topic: sociolinguistics in Spain  Class: formal, formal in natural context, conference, monologue</p>

**Appendix VI: Sources of French C-ORAL-ROM texts included in the academic subcomponent**

Teaching

Text	Details of the text
fnatte01	<p>Title: Cours de marketing</p> <p>Participants: SIM, x (woman, B, 3, teacher, main speaker, Limoges)</p> <p>ROG, x (man, A, 3, student, listener, x)</p> <p>Date: 09/2001</p> <p>Place: Limoges</p> <p>Situation: Teaching (university)</p> <p>Topic: History and definition of marketing</p> <p>Class: formal, formal in natural context, teaching</p>
fnatte02	<p>Title: Bilinguisme et interférence</p> <p>Participants: SOP, x (woman, B, 3, teacher, main speaker, Charenton-le-Pont)</p> <p>GER, x (man, X, 3, student, listener, x)</p> <p>JAC, x (man, X, 3, student, listener, x)</p> <p>AME, x (woman, X, 3, student, listener, x)</p> <p>RIC, x (woman, X, 3, student, listener, x)</p> <p>PAS, x (woman, X, 3, student, listener, x)</p> <p>JEA, x (man, X, 3, student, listener, x)</p> <p>BER, x (woman, X, 3, student, listener, x)</p> <p>CHR, x (man, X, 3, student, listener, x)</p> <p>BRU, x (man, X, 3, student, listener, x)</p> <p>CAR, x (woman, X, 3, student, listener, x)</p> <p>DEL, x (woman, X, 3, student, listener, x)</p> <p>Date: 12/2000</p> <p>Place: Paris</p> <p>Situation: Teaching (university, Sorbonne)</p> <p>Topic: Bilingualism</p>

fnatte03	<p>Class: formal, formal in natural context, teaching</p> <p>Title: Préface</p> <p>Participants: ABE, x (man, C, 3, teacher, interviewed, Clermond-Ferrand)</p> <p>Date: 11/1999</p> <p>Place: Clermond-Ferrand</p> <p>Situation: Teaching (university)</p> <p>Topic: the function of prefaces in dictionaries</p> <p>Class: formal, formal in natural context, teaching</p>
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### Conferences

<b>Text</b>	<b>Details of the text</b>
fnatco01	<p>Title: La sociologie de Durkheim</p> <p>Participants: PAU, x, (man, C, 3, profesor, speaker, Poitiers) CHR, x (woman, X, 3, student, participant, x)</p> <p>Date: 05/2001</p> <p>Place: Poitiers</p> <p>Situation: Thematic speech at the university</p> <p>Topic: Durkheim's charge concerning Garafalo, about the moral evolution of the man</p> <p>Class: formal, formal in natural context, conference</p>
fnatco02	<p>Title: La vieillesse</p> <p>Participants: MAR, Marguerite (woman, D, 3, psychanalist, main speaker in a conference situation, Alsace)</p> <p>Date: 10/1999</p> <p>Place: Strasbourg</p> <p>Situation: classroom at the university</p> <p>Topic: old age from a psychoanalytic (Freudian) perspective</p> <p>Class: formal, formal in natural context, conference</p>

fnatco03	<p>Title: Le château</p> <p>Participants: CLA, x (woman, C, 3, lecturer, Clermont-Ferrand)</p> <p>Date: 11/1999</p> <p>Place: Clermont-Ferrand</p> <p>Situation: conference in a classroom at the university</p> <p>Topic: Initiation of the character of Bernard Mauprat in the work of G. Snad. The initiation takes place through the return of the character to the Sainte-Sévère castle.</p> <p>Class: formal, formal in natural context, conference</p>
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