

Counterfactual present perfects

Kristin Melum EIDE

NTNU: Norwegian University of Science and Technology

0. Introduction¹

The Scandinavian peninsula offers a plethora of dialects forming a continuum of linguistic systems differing from each other morphologically and syntactically in interesting and sometimes unexpected ways. In recent years this microvariation of morphosyntactic features has been the subject of closer scrutiny, and big projects have been launched like ScanDiaSyn (*Scandinavian Dialect Syntax*) and the NORMS Center of Excellence (*Nordic Microcomparative Syntax*) to collect databases of grammaticality judgments and corpora of recorded speech from as many Scandinavian dialects as possible. Apart from sparking a renewed interest in the syntactic aspects of dialects as self-contained linguistic systems, these enterprises have resulted e.g. in *The Nordic Dialect Corpus and Syntax Database* and *The Nordic Atlas of Language Structures (NALS)*.² Needless to say, this has been an arduous task requiring the collective effort from most of Scandinavia's linguists and linguistics students. But there can be no doubt that these are resources well spent. The databases have already proven to be an invaluable source of data for linguists of many different persuasions, looking to test their hypotheses against authentic data from (mostly) non-standard spoken varieties; all clearly constituting linguistic systems in their own right.

Another novel source of written data close to the spoken varieties are social media like *facebook*. An investigation in 2013 undertaken by NTNU associate professor Berit Skog revealed that 77% of the Norwegian facebook users partaking in her survey (655 informants in all) preferred to use a written version of their own dialect on facebook, especially when communicating with friends or relatives.³ This very 'democratic' practice for writing in social media also spills over to the comments sections of the local newspapers on the web. Even here one very often finds magnificent examples of 'rogue writing', where the wording, as well as morphology and syntax, are clearly affected by the spoken dialect of the writer. Needless to say, one needs to proceed with caution

¹ I want to express my gratitude to the two anonymous reviewers as well as the two editors of this volume, whose questions, comments and suggestions made me rethink and rewrite substantial parts of this paper. A special thank you to Marc Fryd for his never ending encouragement, help, and patience.

² Cf. <http://norms.uit.no/>; http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nals/#/project_info
<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/ScandianSyn>.

³ <http://forskning.no/content/dialekt-i-sosiale-medier>

when collecting these data, since they might very well display a mix of traits from the local dialect and the written standard(s).⁴ However, taking all possible precautions, these sources continue to reveal intriguing aspects of the dialectal variation and provide new and exciting facts even to a native speaker of the local dialect.⁵

One such exciting fact is the counterfactual present perfect illustrated in (1) below, of which we find abundant examples in the comments section of my local newspaper *Fosnafolket* ‘The people of Fosen’.⁶ *Fosen* is a peninsula located in the western coast of *Sør-Trøndelag* in the middle of Norway, north-west of Trondheim (cf. map 1 on the next page).

- (1) a. Har den [bunkeren] blitt bygget i dag, har den ikke havnet der.⁷
 has it [the bunker] been built today, has it not ended up there
If it were being built today, it wouldn't have ended up there.

b. Har Ressa Kommune fått ut fengern [...] fer læng sia,
 Has Rissa municipality gotPTCPL out finger.DEF for long since

har mang tå dæm mellionan vorre spart.⁸
 havePRES many of them millions bePTCPL saved

If the municipality of Rissa had stopped procrastinating a long time ago, many of those millions would have been saved.

⁴ Norwegian has two officially recognized literary varieties, *Nynorsk* ‘New Norwegian’ and *Bokmål* ‘Book language’. These names are ‘misnomers resulting from political conflict and compromise’ (Haugen, 1987: 147) since both standards are written and *Bokmål* (BM) is in fact historically more recent than *Nynorsk* (NN). *Nynorsk* is currently the preferred written standard for approximately 17% of Norwegians, and official media are supposed to broadcast at least 25% of their programs in *Nynorsk*. Official documents should exist in both standards.

⁵ The author is a native speaker of the *Fosen* dialect, which will be at the center of attention in this paper.

⁶ I will use these abbreviations in the glosses: DEF (definite); PTCPL (past participle) ; PRES (present) ; INF (infinitive); PRET (preterit); SUBJPRET (subjunctive preterit); ptl: particle.

⁷ *Fosna-Folket*, open debate, September 8th, 2014.

⁸ *Fosna-Folket*, open debate, March 28th, 2010.

In this paper I discuss these counterfactual constructions in relation to certain other characteristics of the perfect in this and other dialects employing present perfect counterfactuals. I will start out by revisiting some general considerations about past and present counterfactuals (§1), discuss the geographical distribution of the counterfactual present perfect based on information retrieved from the dialectal databases and other sources (§2), before I study in some detail the past participle (§3) and the perfect auxiliary of the construction in the relevant dialects (§4). I make comparisons to standard Norwegian and other relevant languages for all aspects of the construction. In §5, I offer an analysis of the counterfactual present perfect involving the properties of the past participle and properties of the auxiliary in the dialects employing this construction, and suggest an explanation as to how this use of the present perfect might have evolved. §6 sums up and concludes the paper.



Map 1: Location of Fosen

1. Counterfactuality for the present and for the past

Cross-linguistically, verb forms encoding past tense often express modality, and counterfactuality is one modal meaning frequently conveyed by means of past tense markers.⁹ In English the preterit and the pluperfect split the domain of counterfactuality between them, such that the preterit covers counterfactual statements about the present and the pluperfect covers counterfactual statements about the past; cf. Iatridou (2000: 232) and her examples given here as (2ab).

- (2) a. If he were smart, he would be rich. (he is not smart)
 b. If he had been smart, he would have been rich. (he wasn't smart)

According to e.g. Iatridou, the preterite in present counterfactuals is a 'fake past', since it contains a morphological marker of 'past' which does not receive temporal interpretation as 'past'. Likewise, in the past counterfactual the

⁹ Cf. Joos (1964: 121–2); Lyons (1977: 809–823); Langacker (1978: 855); Palmer (1986: 209); Hoegeweg (2009: 181), a.o. Cf. also section 3 below.

pluperfect contains one layer of ‘real past’ and one layer of ‘fake past’ (*op.cit.* p. 244):

[T]he C[ounterfactual] situations described overlap with the utterance time; that is, they are not temporal past, even though they contain past tense morphology. In other words, Pres(ent) C[ounterfactuals] contain fake past. [...] It is also easy to show that Past C[ounterfactuals] contain fake past. Recall that Past C[ounterfactuals] in both M[odern] G[reek] and English contain a pluperfect. The pluperfect contains two layers of past [...]. In counterfactual environments one of these layers of past is fake, the other one receives a temporal past interpretation.

In modern standard Norwegian we find a pattern resembling the English pattern in counterfactual *if*-clauses; cf. (3ab); but outside of *if*-clauses the preterit sounds quite archaic as a counterfactual (see (4a); cf. also Eide, 2010: 65). Thus, in verb-first (V1) counterfactual conditionals counterfactuality is usually expressed by means of the pluperfect, whether the counterfactual statement is about the present or about the past, cf. (4bc).

- (3) a. Hvis jeg var deg, hadde jeg kjøpt en gave til meg. *Norwegian*
If I were you, had I bought a present for me.
*If I were you, I'd buy me a present. (I am not you. *I was not you)*
- b. Hvis jeg hadde vært deg, hadde jeg kjøpt en gave til meg.
If I had been you, had I bought a present for me.
If I had been you, I'd buy me a present. (I am not/was not you)
- (4) a. ?Var jeg deg nå, hadde jeg kjøpt en gave til meg. *Norwegian*
Were I you now, had I bought a present for me
If I were you right now, I'd buy me a present. (I am not you)
- b. Hadde jeg vært deg nå, hadde jeg kjøpt en gave til meg.
Had I been you now had I bought a present for me
If I were you right now, I'd buy me a present. (I am not you)
- c. Hadde jeg visst om dette før, hadde jeg ikke solgt bilen.
Had I known about this sooner, had I not sold the car.
Had I known about this sooner, I would not have sold the car. (I did not know)

According to Falk (2010: 4 ff.) a preterit form by itself can clearly express a counterfactual about the present in Standard Swedish, but it cannot express a counterfactual about the past (cp. (3a) and (4a) to (5a) below). Just like in Standard Norwegian, the pluperfect in Standard Swedish is however ambiguous as a counterfactual about the present or about the past, cp. (3b), (4bc) and (5b).

- (5) a. I så fall stod jag inte här. Swedish
 In that case stood I not here
In that case; I would not stand here.
- b. I så fall hadde jag inte stått här/där.
 In that case had I not stood here/there
In that case; I would not have stood here/there [now/then].

Grønn (2014: 7), investigating perfects using data from a parallel corpus,¹⁰ notes that whereas ‘languages like English, German and French are more well-behaved at the syntax-semantics interface when it comes to the use of the (past) perfect in counterfactuals’, ‘in Scandinavian the perfect is ambiguous all over the place’. As already mentioned, in both Standard Norwegian and Standard Swedish the pluperfect is capable not only of a past counterfactual reading, but may just as well encode a present counterfactual reading. In keeping with Iatridou’s (2000) terminology, then, the Mainland Scandinavian pluperfect may in fact contain not only one, but quite often two layers of ‘fake past’.

Grønn is certainly right that Mainland Scandinavian is less ‘well-behaved at the syntax-semantic interface’ regarding the uses of the perfect. This is all the more evident when we start investigating the non-standard dialects, as these may display even more exotic uses of the perfect than the written standards. As a case in point, in a range of Scandinavian dialects and among these the dialect of *Fosen*, we find the aforementioned counterfactuals taking the form of the present perfect. The area for the counterfactual present perfect clearly extends to the north of the Fosen area, as we have attested examples from *Namsos* in Nord-Trøndelag; cf. (6a); and further west; cf. the example from the island of *Frøya* in (6b), but we will postpone the discussion of the exact geographical distribution of the construction to the next section.

Just as Skog’s facebook informants mentioned in section 1, dialectal writers are clearly prone to using dialectal vocabulary in their comments on the web, cf. (6a), where the 1psg subject pronoun *æ* and the 2psg object pronoun *dæ* unequivocally belong to the dialectal vocabulary (cp. to the bokmål pronouns *jeg*, *deg*). Cf. also the negation *itj* (cp. to bokmål negation *ikke* ‘not’) in (6b). However, even when they write in a wording more or less like the written standard bokmål (cf. (6c) and (1a) above), some writers are clearly influenced by their own dialect to the extent that their counterfactuals remain true to the local dialectal pattern instead of complying with the written standard which would have demanded the pluperfect. Note also that the present perfect in this dialect covers counterfactuals about the present, cf. (6abc) and also (1a) above; as well as counterfactuals about the past (6d) and (1b) above.

¹⁰ The Oslo Multilingual Corpus.

- (6) a. Har æ vorre dæ, så har æ tatt kontakt med lege.¹¹
 havePRES I been you, so havePRES I taken contact with doctor
If I were you, I'd contact a doctor.
- b. Har itj det vorre for at adaptern te pc'n min e herpa [...],
 HavePRES not it been for that adapterDEF to PC.DEF mine is trashed
 skullja æ gjerne ha vorre med.¹²
 should I gladly haveINF been with
If the adapter of my computer weren't trashed, I'd gladly join you.
- c. [Det] har vært interessant å sett hvordan det har sett ut i dag da.¹³
 It has been interesting to seePTCPL how it has looked out today then
If so it would be interesting to see how it would look like today.
- d. Har nånn fortalt mæ om dæm så har æ ikke gått over te fiber.¹⁴
 havePRES someone tellPTCPL me about them then havePRES I not
 gone over to fiber
*If someone had told me about them (i.e. the problems), I would never
 have changed to fiber (i.e. fiber optic cables).*

Any of these examples would have been ungrammatical as counterfactuals. In standard Norwegian either we intend a reading of present counterfactual or past counterfactual; apart from the dialectal vocabulary that needs to be translated into the written standard bokmål, the corresponding sentences in the written standard would also all require the pluperfect in order to yield any kind of counterfactual reading, cf. for instance the bokmål translations in (7ab) of the dialectal examples in (6ad).

- (7) a. Hadde jeg vært deg, så hadde jeg tatt kontakt med lege.
 Had I been you, so had I taken contact with doctor
If I were you, I'd contact a doctor.
- b. Hadde noen fortalt meg om dem, så hadde jeg ikke gått over til fiber.
 had someone told me about them then had I not gone over to fiber
*If someone had told me about them (i.e. the problems), I would never
 have changed to fiber (i.e. fiber optic cables).*

¹¹ <http://forum.babyverden.no/threads/skravletr%C3%85den.1671605/page-41>.
 The writer states that she lives in Namsos in North Trøndelag (although we do not know if this is her birthplace); December 27th 2013.

¹² https://www.facebook.com/FroyaLAN/posts/115716395174778?stream_ref=10.
 The writer lives in the island of Frøya outside the coast of Fosen. They are talking about an upcoming LAN (local area network) for computer games.

¹³ *Fosna-Folket*, open debate, August 16th, 2014.

¹⁴ *Fosna-Folket*, open debate, November 3rd, 2010.

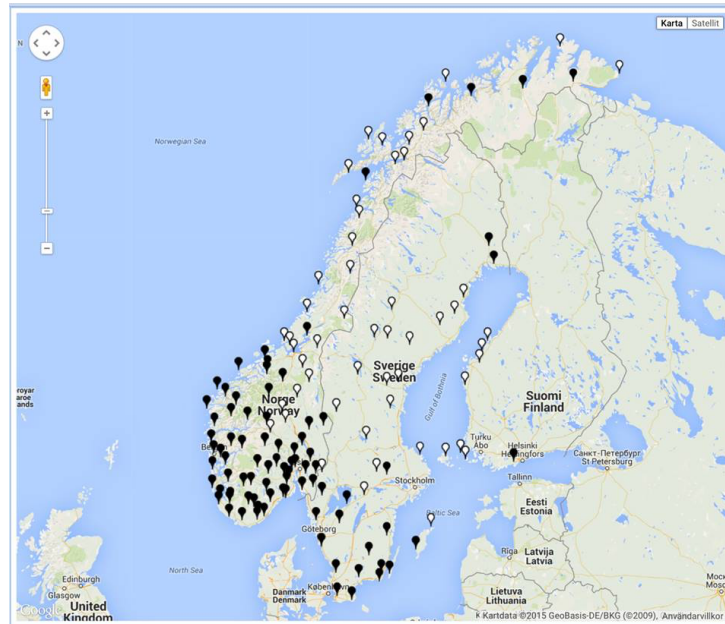
The present perfect thus seems incapable of a counterfactual reading in Standard Norwegian, although it undoubtedly exists in the non-standard dialects, as attested above.

2. Geographical distribution: consulting the databases

The Nordic Syntax Database (Lindstad et al., 2009) consists of judgments by 924 Nordic dialect speakers from 207 places to a list of sentences that illustrate various syntactic phenomena.¹⁵ The sentences have been given grades, and on the basis of this, dialect maps can be generated, and isoglosses drawn. The survey included a sentence testing the possibility of a reduced *ha* or present tense form *har* of the perfect auxiliary *ha* 'have' in a present perfect structure with an unequivocal counterfactual reading; cf. Larsson (2014: 290). The reduction in question renders the auxiliary in a form that looks like the infinitive (more on this in section 4 below). This sentence (#992 in the survey) involves a verb-initial condition just like our dialectal examples in (1) and (6).

- (8) Ha/har jeg vært ti år yngre,
 Have I be.PRTCPL ten years younger
- ha/har jeg studert fysikk.
 have I study.PRTCPL physics
 Had I been ten years younger, I would have studied physics.

¹⁵ <http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/>



Map 2: Counterfactual perfects with reduced (*ha*) or present (*har*) auxiliary.

The informants were asked to adapt this sentence to their local dialect and judge whether it would be grammatical in this dialect. The informants graded the sentence on a Likert scale from 1-5, where 5 means the sentence is judged as completely natural in their local dialect whereas 1 encodes that the relevant informant judges the sentence as completely ungrammatical in their local dialect.¹⁶ We illustrate this in map 2,¹⁷ where the black dots encode that the informant gave the sentence a score of 1 or 2; the white dots encode that the informant scored the sentence at 4 or 5.¹⁸ *Fosen* is located at the southwestern edge of this isogloss; the three most southwestern white dots are all located at the Fosen peninsula, and so the informants in this area thus clearly judged the present perfect counterfactual as grammatical.

¹⁶ On the discussion on how to draw a line between acceptability and grammaticality when consulting an informant's linguistic intuition, cf. e.g. Schütze (1996) and more recently Schütze & Sprouse (2013).

¹⁷ Thanks to Maia Andreasson for helping me create the map.

¹⁸ A medium score (3) can be illustrated by a grey dot, but we chose not to include the medium scores in this map, simply to illustrate the opposition more clearly (but cf. the appendix for a map including the medium scores adopted from Larsson, 2014: 291).

Larsson (2014: 294) notes that in comparing this construction in *The Nordic Syntax Database* with the (transcribed part of the) recorded corpus *The Nordic Dialect Corpus* (Johannessen *et al.*, 2009), one can easily find examples of reduced forms of the auxiliary even in areas where sentence #992 was rejected. Although some of her examples are occurrences of ‘ordinary’ present perfect readings that need not concern us here, we also find examples of counterfactual present perfects in areas where the informants in the database rejected the construction, cf. e.g. this example from *Rauma* in the western part of Norway (where the counterfactual present perfect should not exist, according to map 2):

- (9) Viss n har sjløppa å kjørt der omm *Rauma*
 if it has avoid.PTCPL to drive.PTCPL there around
 Så ha i følt att de va tryggare
 then have I felt that it was safer
If it hadn't had to drive around there, I would have felt that it was safer.

Venås (1977: 189) provides data from the *Hallingdalen* dialect, where the ordinary present perfect in (10a) is also non-distinct from the construction used for the counterfactual (cf. (10b)). Although the auxiliary in this case is the reduced form, the same construction is used for both present perfects and counterfactuals; hence this is another dialect where the present perfect shows up with the counterfactual reading. *Hallingdalen* corresponds to one of the southernmost white dots in Norway on map 2.

- (10) a. No ha me siti innæ i hælilæ dag mæ *Hallingdalen*
 now have we sit.PTCPL inside in whole day we
We have been indoors all day, we have.
 b. Ha kji e hatt bæræ vet ænn hona,...
 have not I have.PTCPL better sense than him
If I hadn't had more sense than him,...

In the Finno-Swedish dialect of *Solf* (on the westcoast of Finland, rather far north) we find another dialect where the present perfect is used for the counterfactual, as confirmed by the white dots in this area in map 2 and also by the data in (11) below, kindly provided by Professor Jan-Ola Östman, who is a native speaker of the *Solf* dialect. Note however that in the *Solf* dialect only a present counterfactual can be encoded by the present perfect, as the past counterfactual requires the pluperfect, cf. (11a) vs (11b).

- (11) a. A ja vari töög a ja noo teiji kontakt me leekarin *Solf*
 Have I been you have I ptl taken contact with doctorDEF
I were you, I'd contact a doctor.

b. Hadd najn sakt teel åm probleemen meddom
Had someone said to about the problems with them

så hadd ja noo int gaaji yvi ti fiibär
so had I well not gone over to fiber
*If someone had told me about them (i.e. the problems), I would never have
changed to fiber (i.e. fiber optic cables).*

In Sæbø (2009: 3) we find examples from the dialect of *Innherred*, which corresponds to the black dot north-east of Fosen on map 2, right in the middle of an area of otherwise exclusively white dots. Sæbø confirms the judgments of the surveyed informants in this area; he claims that a present perfect (as in (12a)) cannot occur in a counterfactual perfect (as in (12b)); for this reading you need the preterit form of the auxiliary (as in (12c)); hence this dialect complies with the pattern in standard Norwegian that you need a pluperfect to express counterfactuality. Note that the present form of the perfect auxiliary in this dialect is *hi* and the preterite form of the perfect auxiliary is *ha*.

- (12) a. Hi virri tussi å legg på sjukhus, ja. *Innherred*
Has been arduous to lie.INF on hospital yes
It sure has been tough being hospitalized.
- b. ?Hi virri tussi å logge på sjukhus, ja.
Has been arduous to lie.PTCPL on hospital yes
(Intended:) *It sure would have been tough being hospitalized.*
- c. Ha virri tussi å logge på sjukhus, ja.
Had been arduous to lie.PTCPL on hospital yes
It sure would have been tough being hospitalized.

As for the exact geographical distribution of the present perfect counterfactual, it is somewhat hard to tell, firstly since (as e.g. (9) shows) we find authentic examples in the corpus from areas where none of the informants surveyed for the syntax database reported this construction as grammatical. Secondly, since the present perfect counterfactual is likely to be perceived as a strongly dialectal trait; non-standard, informal, and perhaps even uneducated, we would expect the individual informants to vary with respect to whether or not they would acknowledge and report their using this construction. Thirdly, sentence #992 from the survey (cf. (8)) does not reveal if the dialect in question distinguishes the form used for the present counterfactual from the one used for the past counterfactual. The sentence can easily be construed as ambiguous between these readings, but the informants were simply not asked about their intuitions about this. The survey only asks whether the present perfect is grammatical in the relevant dialect as an exponent of the counterfactual; thus the question of the possibility of separate forms for past and present

counterfactuals has to be investigated through other sources, and it is a bit accidental whether or not relevant sources exist to provide these data.

Map 2 should therefore be taken more as a confirmation that the present perfect counterfactual is at least a construction recognized as belonging to most of the dialects of this area, more than an exact demarcation of where this construction does in fact exist, and whether it may encode both a present counterfactual and a past counterfactual. The data from *Innherred* provided by Sæbø (2009) confirm that there is indeed a little lacune north-east of Fosen where the present perfect counterfactual is actually ungrammatical for most speakers, even though the construction exists in all the dialects of the adjacent areas. This seems a bit unexpected and certainly calls for an explanation. The non-existence of the present perfect counterfactual in the *Innherred* dialect and certain other distinctions existing in this specific dialect will also provide us with important clues as to how to analyse the present perfect counterfactual construction in the dialects where it does in fact exist. This is the topic of section 5 below.

3. The past participle: temporal and modal meanings

3.1. The (tensed) verb forms in Norwegian

The contemporary standard Norwegian verbal paradigm is quite simple, consisting only of morphologically encoded tense, finite and non-finite forms in a past/non-past distinction. Note especially that modern Standard Norwegian encodes no person or number inflections, neither in non-finite nor in finite verb forms. The paradigm for strong verbs and weak verbs (here given in bokmål) is illustrated in Table 1, taken from Eide (2010). This table implies firstly that Norwegian verbs are inherently specified for past or non-past, just as they are inherently specified for finiteness.¹⁹ Secondly, the oppositions in the table imply that the participle is a non-finite past form, thus in a sense a non-finite version of the preterit (cf. also Julien, 2001 and Stowell, 1996), just as the infinitive is a non-finite non-past form, thus can be construed as a non-finite version of the present. This entails that finiteness is separate from tense marking, and I have argued extensively for these claims elsewhere, cf. Eide (2005, 2008, 2009ab, 2010, 2011ab, 2012). I will not repeat these arguments here, but simply assume this table for tensed (finite and non-finite) verbs in Norwegian.

¹⁹ I am not discussing imperatives here, and present participles are mostly believed to be adjectival, not verbal, in contemporary Norwegian; cf. Faarlund, Lie and Vannebo (1997: 58, 118–119, 468, 472).

	+FINITE		-FINITE	
+PAST	preterit		past participle	
	Strong verb	Weak verb	Strong verb	Weak verb
	<i>sang</i> 'sang'	<i>likte</i> 'liked'	<i>sunget</i> 'sung'	<i>likt</i> 'liked'
-PAST	present		infinitive	
	Strong verb	Weak verb	Strong verb	Weak verb
	<i>synger</i> 'sing(s)'	<i>liker</i> 'like(s)'	<i>synge</i> 'sing'	<i>like</i> 'like'

Table 1: Norwegian tensed verbs (Eide 2002, 2005, 2009ab, 2010).

3. 2. Modal uses of finite and non-finite past forms

As stated in section 1 above, verb forms encoding past tense often express modality cross-linguistically; cf. Palmer (1986: 209): '[I]n many languages a past tense form has clear modal functions', and Iatridou (2000: 244) refers to the tense in counterfactuals as 'fake past'. Langacker (1978: 855) uses the term 'distal form' to cover both past tense and unreality; cf. also Joos (1964: 121–2) who argues that 'the essential common feature is remoteness, in time or reality'. Hogeweg (2009: 1) uses the phrase 'distant from present reality' to cover this common semantics widely assumed to explain the link between past tense and counterfactuals. Although the pluperfect is clearly preferred in contemporary Standard Norwegian to express present and past counterfactuality outside of if-clauses (cf. section 1) it is evident that the preterit can be used for modal purposes even in modern Norwegian; cf. the conditional constructions in (13); cf. also (3a).

- (13) a. Å, var jeg en sangfugl som fuglen på kvist
 Oh, bePRET I a songbird like birdDEF on twig
Oh, if I were a songbird like the bird on a twig.
- b. Hvis jeg var deg, ville jeg gitt meg litt penger.
 If I bePRET you, would I give me some money
If I were you, I would give me some money.

Assuming Table 1 to have merit for Norwegian, one would straightforwardly expect the past participle to be able to function as a distal form, like the preterit, under the right set of circumstances. Just as the preterit can act as a modal marker in finite functions, an 'irrealis present' in (13), one would expect the past participle to be able to act as a modal marker in non-

finite functions, as an ‘irrealis infinitive’ where an infinitival form of sorts is required.

This is indeed what we find. Sandøy (1991), Julien (2003), Eide (2005, 2011b), and Sæbø (2009) all discuss the use of the participial form as an ‘irrealis infinitive’ in Norwegian. Note that in all these examples, the infinitival marker *å* is obligatory, whether the form is the infinitival form or the form looking exactly like a participle.

- (14) a. Det hadde vært artig *(å) sett/se deg igjen. Eide (2005)
it had been fun to seePTCPL/seeINF you again
It would have been fun to have seen/to see to see you again.
- b. Det hadde vore best *(å) reist/reise no. Sandøy (1991)
It had been best to leavePTCPL/leaveINF now
It would have been best to leave now.
- c. Du kunne tilbodi deg * (å) gjort/gjera det. Julien (2003)
you could offer.PTCPL to do.PTCPL/do.INF it.
You could have volunteered to do it.

In many dialects and Standard Norwegian, the proper infinitive is unmarked as regards ‘irrealis’ or ‘realis’ and therefore it may occur in place of the ‘irrealis infinitive’, the form identical to the past participle, in exactly these contexts. Hence, in (14) the infinitive proper and the ‘irrealis infinitive’ can be used interchangeably without any noticeable change in meaning; the matrix predicates and the pluperfect/counterfactual modal make the situation described by the embedded clause clearly counterfactual (or hypothetical). Here the ‘irrealis infinitive’ is not responsible for adding the modality; instead, it acts as a non-mandatory agreement marker of modality. As Julien (2003), Sandøy (1991, 2008) and Eide (2005, 2011b) note, this liberty to use both forms exists only in counterfactual or hypothetical contexts. In a context requiring ‘realis’, e.g. because the situation described by the infinitive is still actualized and viable, the ‘realis infinitive’ (the infinitive proper) must be used; (15a). Moving the situation to the ‘irrealis’ domain once again makes the ‘irrealis infinitive’ the natural (although not the only) option; cf. (15b) adapted from Sandøy (2008: 186).

- (15) a. Han har dessverre gjort det vanskelig å seia/*sagt dei opp.
he has unfortunately made it difficult to sayINF/PTCPL them up
Unfortunately he has made it difficult to fire them.
- b. Då hadde han nok gjort det vanskelig å sagt/seia dei opp.
then he has made it difficult to sayINF/PTCPL them up
Then he would have made it difficult to fire them.

In some dialects the forms are simply not interchangeable even in contexts like (14), since the participial (supine) form evidently carries an autonomous modal meaning that the infinitive does not. Thus in these dialects there is a clearer division of labour between the infinitive proper and the ‘irrealis infinitive’. Sæbø (2009: 3) notes that

[..T]here is a near one-to-one correspondence between infinitive/supine [past participle] form and factual/counterfactual interpretation in these contexts.

Eide (2005, 2010, 2011b) also notes some dialectal constructions where the participial form or ‘irrealis infinitive’ is in fact obligatory where one might expect an infinitive proper, e.g. when following a modal auxiliary. This modal is an epistemic modal governed by a preterit auxiliary, the epistemic modal creates a domain of epistemicity scoping over the governed verb, and in these contexts replacing the supine with the proper infinitive as the complement of the modal in fact yields ungrammatical results for the Norwegian dialect of *Fosen*, the source of these data.²⁰

- (16) a. Han har måtta arbeidd/*arbei med det i heile natt.
 he has mustPTCPL workPTCPL/INF on it in all night
 He must have worked on it all night through.
- b. *Han har skulla vorre/*verra en sjarmør i sin ungdom.
 he has shallPTCPL bePTCPL/INF a charmer in his youth
He is supposed to have been a charmer in his youth.
- c. *Hu har kunna vorre/*verra her og ferra igjen.
 she has canPTCPL bePTCPL/INF here and leaveINF again
*She may have been here and left again.*²¹

²⁰ Twelve informants, all native speakers of the *Fosen* dialect, responded to my query to judge the two constructions, one with the supine and one with the infinitive. Only one of the twelve accepted both versions, all others judged the infinitive to be out (i.e. they replied ‘I would not say it’).

²¹ Another Scandinavian dialect employing the same construction is the Finno-Swedish dialect *Solf* (Eide, 2005: 328); cf. (i, ii). The examples were given with the participial form of the complement of the modal, but since I have not conducted a grammaticality judgment survey of the speakers of this dialect, I do not know if the proper infinitive would be straightforwardly ungrammatical after the modal, as in the *Fosen* dialect.

- (i) An a noo måsta arbet me e hejla natten.
 he has probably mustPTCPL workPTCPL with it all nightDEF
He must have worked on it all night.
- (ii) On a noo kona vari jeer å fori på nytt.
 she has probably canPTCPL bePTCPL here and left again
She may have been here and left again.

Sæbø (2009: 8) concludes after examining what he dubs the ‘exceptional supine’ in some detail that this form does not necessarily depend on another supine or an auxiliary carrying the mood feature ‘irrealis’, and ‘it does not have to agree with anything. It is free, all it needs is a covert semantic mood’, and he provides the data in (17) to illustrate this (Sæbø’s (18) and (19)). The context is a web posting about a video of a girl skateboarding, and (17a) was the original, (17b) has been manipulated by replacing the participial form with an infinitive proper. This affects the reading such that (17a) is counterfactual and (17b) is factual.

- (17) a. Yes, dette er talent. Kult å sett henne i minirampe.
 yes this is talent. Cool to seePTCPL her in a miniramp.
Yes, this is talent. It would be cool to see her on a miniramp.
- b. Yes, dette er talent. Kult å se henne i minirampe.
 yes this is talent. Cool to seeINF her in a miniramp.
Yes, this is talent. It was cool to see her on a miniramp.

We may also observe that verbs with the shape of the past participle (or supine) is used as a finite subjunctive form in many dialects of this area. Cf. this sequence from Van Ommeren (2010: 104).

- (18) Komme du på en arbesplass, for eksempel, og sport
 ComePTCPL you on a workplace, for instance, and askPTCPL
 ette arbeid, og du kunj tåla litte dialekt attåt [...].
 for work, and you canPRET speak a little dialect in addition
- Da trur e no dæ at da fått du en helt anna opplevels [...]
 Then believe I ptl this that then getPTCPL you a totally different
 experience.
If you walked into a workplace, for instance, and asked for employment, and you could speak a little dialect too. Then I think you would have a very different experience.

We know that this verb form counts as finite in the relevant dialects, since it occurs as the only verb in *that*-clauses (19a), in the V2 position in main clause declaratives (19b) and the V1 position of V1-conditionals (19c); all positions reserved for finite verbs and inaccessible to non-finite verbs. It also occurs to the left of negation, unlike non-finite verbs (cf. (19c)).

- (19) a. at da fått du en helt annja opplevels. *Oppdal, van Ommeren (2010)*
 that then getPTCPL you a totally different experience.
 ...*that you would have a totally different experience.*
- b. Dæ vøre noko tenkji på. *Aurdal, Sørliie (1928)*
 That bePTCPL something think about
That would be something to think about.

c. Fått n se kji kvæmmfòlk, så døytt n. *Hallingdal, Venås (1977)*
 etPTCPL he himself not woman, then diePTCPL he
If he doesn't get himself a woman, he might die

Eide (2011b) follows Dørum (2000) and Sørli (1928) in assuming that this finite use of the participle form stems from the Old Norse subjunctive which came to be identical with the past participle for many frequent verbs in several dialects. The dialects where this happened are also the dialects where the finite subjunctive still exists; thus this formal identity came to protect the subjunctive from total annihilation in exactly these dialects. Dørum (2000: 152), again following Sørli (1928: 115), observes that the subjunctive forms in (19) are reserved for expressing present counterfactuals and cannot express counterfactual propositions about the past. Instead the present perfect and the pluperfect are both used for past counterfactuals, seemingly without any change in meaning; cf. the following data from Sørli (1928).

- (20) a. Ha'n komme før, ha e kji reist. *Valdres, Sørli (1928)*
 as he come earlier, have I not left
Had he arrived earlier, I wouldn't have left.
- b. Hadde'n komme før, hadde e kji reist.
 Had he come earlier, had I not left
Had he arrived earlier, I wouldn't have left.

So far we have established that there is a verb form identical to the past participle which is used for modal purposes in Norwegian; the 'irrealis infinitive' is found all over Norway even in the varieties close to the written standards,²² whereas the finite subjunctive form identical to the past participle is confined only to certain dialects. Interestingly, the area where this finite subjunctive exists mostly overlaps with the area where we find the present perfect counterfactual, although we also find the present perfect counterfactual in some areas without the finite subjunctive. Hence these constructions may be related, but the presence of a finite subjunctive in a dialect is certainly no necessary condition for the occurrence of the present perfect counterfactual.

²² In fact, for constructions headed by counterfactual modals, the 'irrealis infinitive' is clearly possible and felicitous even in the written standards (and also standard Swedish); cf. Sandøy (1991), Julien (2003), Eide (2005, 2011b). The data are from Eide (2002) and are given in *bokmål*.

Begge skulle reist i morgen.
 both shallPRET leavePTCPL in morning
Both of them were supposed to have left tomorrow.

Myndighetene ville revet huset.
 authoritiesDEF willPRET torn-downPTCPL houseDEF
The authorities would have demolished the house.

One should also note that to younger speakers of the relevant dialects, the use of the finite subjunctive tends to sound archaic, and the present perfect is just as available as the exponent of a present counterfactual.

3.3. The participle as a modal verb form

At this point I have offered data as evidence that the past participle form takes on modal readings when it occurs in the place of an infinitive and when it occurs in place of a finite verb (the latter function exists only in some dialects). How do we know that the past participle can take on a modal interpretation when it functions as an ordinary past participle; that is, when following a perfect auxiliary? I will offer three arguments as to why this must be the case. Firstly, since the participial form may express an ‘irrealis’ meaning both when it functions as a ‘irrealis infinitive’ and when it functions as a finite subjunctive, the null hypothesis would be that it is also capable of this interpretation when it functions as a past participle. Secondly, as Iatridou (2000) describes the pluperfect as carrying one layer of ‘fake past’ (i.e. modality) and one layer of ‘real past’ in English and Greek past counterfactuals, it follows that there may be two layers of ‘fake past’ in Norwegian and Swedish pluperfects, since pluperfects in both languages are felicitous exponents of present counterfactuals (cf. (4bc) and (5b) above). If the preterit auxiliary carries the first layer of ‘fake past’, it follows that the second layer of ‘fake past’ or rather, modality, must be expressed by the past participle. Thirdly, there are Norwegian dialects where both the auxiliary and the past participle come with subjunctive markings in counterfactuals, cf. (21) from the Eidfjord dialect (Bjørkum, 2002: 57).²³ Hence we know that in principle the past participle must be capable of a modal reading.

- (21) Hedde du vå nùke te kar,... *Eidfjord, Bjørkum (2002)*
HaveSUBJ you beSUBJ something of man
If you had been a real man,...

I will assume that the ‘irrealis’ reading conveyed by this subjunctive marking of the past participle exists as a possibility in all Norwegian dialects even though these dialects refrain from morphologically marking its past participles with subjunctive inflection. Hence, the past participle is just as capable of a modal (or ‘fake past’, or ‘irrealis’) reading as the preterit in modern Mainland Scandinavian. This is especially relevant, of course, when investigating the perfect in present and past counterfactuals.

²³ Interestingly, we do not find subjunctive markings of the participle or supine in the sources we have for Old Norse (Post.doc. Ivar Berg, p.c.); hence, this must be an innovation in the relevant dialects.

4. The auxiliary in past and present counterfactuals

As (21) shows, some Norwegian dialects have a distinct subjunctive form like *hedde* of the auxiliary in counterfactuals. This form is clearly a descendant of the Old Norse preterit subjunctive form of the perfect auxiliary *hafa* ‘have’ which e.g. took the form *hefði* (in 3.p.sg; later also in 1psg). It is likewise obviously a cognate with the Övdalian ‘counterfactual auxiliary’ *edd* discussed by Eriksen (2010). Övdalian is a Swedish dialect so different from the adjacent dialects and from Standard Swedish that it might be considered a separate Mainland Scandinavian language, and it corresponds to one of the white dots of map 2 (northwest of Stockholm). Hence this is another area where the surveyed informants accepted present perfect counterfactuals as grammatical in their dialect, but the dialect may evidently also make use of a specialized auxiliary to mark counterfactuality. Eriksen (2010) gives data like the following to illustrate the particular Övdalian counterfactual auxiliary:

- (22) Ig ar kringt fundirað ur eð må edd uorteð
I have often wondered how it must EDD becomePTCPL

um ig edd uorteð riktut klien
If I EDD becomePTCPL really ill
I have often wondered how it might have been if I got really ill.

As pointed out by Larsson (2014); cf. also (8) above, the auxiliary in present perfect counterfactuals may be the present form *har* a reduced form *ha*, but we also find present from *hi* (as in the *Innherred* dialect) or *a* (the latter is found e.g. in the Ostrobothnian Finno-Swedish dialect of *Solf*). The area where the present perfect counterfactual is found, is also an area where the phonological trait of *apocope*, i.e. a tendency to delete unstressed, word-final vowels and syllables, is widespread for the dialects. This leads to sometimes very impoverished paradigms where all forms of the auxiliary come out as *ha*; cf. for instance the paradigm for the perfect auxiliary (and the lexical verb *ha*) in the dialect of *Fosen* in table 2 below. Note that the lexical verb *ha* ‘have’ has a slightly different paradigm in that it has a separate present form *har*; this will be a rather important point later on.²⁴ Moreover, the auxiliary does not occur in a past participial form, hence this cell in the paradigm is left empty. As noted by Julien (2001: 141), double perfects are ungrammatical in English and many other languages, including Norwegian, and more specifically the

²⁴ This is true for other dialects as well. Venås (1977: 185) remarks on the fact that in the dialect of Hallingdalen there are two forms of the verb *ha* ‘have’ in the present: ‘They are easily distinguishable, since *ha* is the present form of the auxiliary, whereas *har* is the present form of the lexical verb’.

Fosen dialect, whether the finite auxiliary is present or preterit. That means you cannot combine a participial auxiliary with a finite auxiliary.²⁵

	+FINITE		-FINITE	
+PAST	preterit		past participle	
	Lexical verb	Auxiliary	Lexical verb	Auxiliary
	<i>ha</i> 'had'	<i>ha</i> 'had'	<i>hatt</i> 'had'	---
-PAST	present		infinitive	
	Lexical verb	Auxiliary	Lexical verb	Auxiliary
	<i>har</i> 'have/has'	<i>ha</i> 'have/has'	<i>ha</i> 'have'	<i>ha</i> 'have'

Table 2: The perfect auxiliary *ha* and the full verb *ha* in the *Fosen* dialect.

Although it is intriguing to observe the very many forms the auxiliary might take in various dialects (e.g. *ha, har, he, hi* (present); *ha, hadd, hadde* (preterit); *ha, hedde, edd* (subjunctive)) it is in a sense much more interesting what oppositions these forms encode and what distinctions are upheld by the paradigms of a given dialect. Hence in the Hallingdalen dialect there is a reduced form for the present perfect (23a) which is also used for counterfactuals (23b), or in the words of Venås (1977: 189), for ‘situations that are non-real and thought up’, but a separate form for the pluperfect, where the auxiliary is clearly preterit; cf. (23c) below.

- (23) a. No ha me siti innæ i hælæ dag mæ. *Hallingdalen*
 now have we sitPTCPL inside in whole day we
We have been indoors all day, we have.
- b. Ha kji e hatt bæræ vet ænn hona, ...
 have not I havePTCPL better sense than him
If I hadn't had more sense than him...
- c. Ho haddæ jeve grise før o kâmm inn att
 She havePRÉT givePTCPL pigsDEF before she came in again
She had fed the pigs before she came back in.

This is different in the neighbouring *Valdres* dialect (cf. Sørli 1928) which uses the reduced form *ha* for the present perfect and for counterfactuals,

²⁵ Obviously this is different in other languages, e.g. in certain variants of German. In Austrian, for instance, it is not impossible to utter constructions like ‘*Nachdem ich gegessen gehabt habe...*’ Lit. ‘After I eaten had have’, and it is standard in Yiddish. Thanks to Marc Fryd for pointing this out.

but may also use the pluperfect for past counterfactuals, seemingly with no change in meaning, cf. (20) above, repeated here as (24).

- (24) a. Ha'n komme før, ha e kji reist. *Valdres, Sørлие (1928)*
Has he come earlier, have I not left
Had he arrived earlier, I wouldn't have left.
- b. Hadde'n komme før, hadde e kji reist.
Had he come earlier, had I not left
Had he arrived earlier, I wouldn't have left.

Recall also that the *Innherred* dialect amounts to a little island within an ocean of adjacent dialects all employing the present perfect for present and past counterfactuals, whereas the *Innherred* dialect upholds the distinction between the present perfect and the pluperfect, where only the latter is used for counterfactuals, both present and past; cf. the data in (12), repeated here as (25).

- (25) a. Hi virri tussi å legg på sjukhus, ja. *Innherred*
Has been arduous to lie.INF on hospital yes
It sure has been tough being hospitalized.
- b. ?Hi virri tussi å logge på sjukhus, ja.
Has been arduous to lie.PTCPL on hospital yes
(Intended:) *It sure would have been tough being hospitalized.*
- c. Ha virri tussi å logge på sjukhus, ja.
Had been arduous to lie.PTCPL on hospital yes
It sure would have been tough being hospitalized.

That means, in effect, that the *Innherred* dialect employs the same system as Standard Norwegian (26a) and Standard Swedish (26b), where there is a separate form for the present perfect and the pluperfect is used for both present and past counterfactuals.

- (26) a. Hvis jeg hadde vært deg, hadde jeg kjøpt en gave til meg.
if I had been you, had I bought a present for me.
If I had been you, I'd buy me a present. (I am not/was not you)
- b. I så fall hadde jag inte stått här/där.
In that case had I not stood here/there
In that case; I would not have stood here/there [now/then].

Finally, recall the Finno-Swedish (Ostrobothnian) dialect of *Solf*, where the present perfect is used for counterfactuals, but only for present counterfactuals. This dialect thus upholds a formal distinction between present counterfactuals encoded by the present perfect (cf. 27a) and past counterfactuals encoded by the pluperfect (cf. 27b). That is, this system is somewhat different from most

of the dialects we have considered here, and also from Standard Swedish and Standard Norwegian. It upholds the same distinctions as English and Modern Greek (Iatridou, 2000), but although it uses the pluperfect for past counterfactuals, like English and Greek, the *Solf* dialect uses present perfect where English and Greek uses the preterit.

- (27) a. A ja vari töög a ja noo teiji kontakt me leekarin *Solf*
 Have I been you have I ptl taken contact with doctorDEF
If I were you, I'd contact a doctor.
- b. Hadd najn sakt teel âm probleemen meddom
 Had someone said to about the problems with.them
- så hadd ja noo int gaaji yvi ti fiibär
 so had I well not gone over to fiber
If someone had told me about the problems, I would never have changed to fiber (i.e. fiber optic cables).

5. Analysis and discussion

In this section I discuss the typical means of expressing present and past counterfactuality in Old Norse and investigate whether the patterns we find in contemporary Norwegian (and by extension, Swedish) dialects can be viewed in light of syncretisms primarily brought about by the loss of subjunctive mood, which used to play an important part in expressing counterfactuality on earlier stages of Mainland Scandinavian. In this discussion the terms ‘deixis’, ‘tense’, ‘mood’, ‘distal forms’, ‘simple syncretism’ versus ‘homonymy’ all play important roles. Finally, I discuss the role of the written standards in what exponents language users choose in writing their local dialect, and whether the written language can induce a longterm influence on the user-internalized grammars of these dialects.

5.1. Old Norse: tense, mood and counterfactuality

For the following discussion, I take as my point of departure how counterfactuality was expressed in Old Norse. The system I will be presenting here is, however, a somewhat idealized system. Table 3 below over perfects and counterfactuals in Old Norse includes one single exponent for present counterfactuals and a single, different, construction for past counterfactuals, although any linguist knows that in the real world the relation is almost never one to one between a given form and its interpretation. Individual language users will always have at their disposal a range of forms to express a certain meaning, and there is always individual variation as to preferences and frequencies of a certain exponent for a given function. Naturally, there is no

reason to think that this was in any way different for the scribes who produced our sources for Old Norse.

INTERPRETATION	EXPONENT	EXAMPLE
PRESENT PERFECT	Present auxiliary +supine	<i>Hon hefir mint mik þeira hluta</i> She has reminded me those things 'She has reminded me of those things.'
PLUPERFECT	Preterit auxiliary +supine	<i>Ólafur Noregs-konungr hafði menn þangat sent</i> Olaf Norway-king had men thither sent 'Olaf King of Norway had sent men there.'
PRESENT COUNTERFACTUAL	Preterit subjunctive main verb	Ef hann væri þér líkr í skaplyndi,... If he bePRETSUBJ you like in mind, 'If he were like you in mind,...'
PAST COUNTERFACTUAL	Preterit subjunctive auxiliary +supine	...ef hann hefði þat gort ...if he had that done '...if he had done that'

Table 3: Perfects and counterfactuals in Old Norse

It seems undisputed however that Old Norse present perfects and pluperfects were used mainly for temporal purposes. Present counterfactuals were expressed e.g. by means of preterit subjunctive forms of the main verb; past counterfactuals were expressed e.g. by means of a perfect where the perfect auxiliary had preterit subjunctive morphology (including vowel change, e.g. *hefði* in 3psg). I repeat that this is a somewhat idealized picture, since the function of each form was not as strictly compartmentalized as suggested here, but let us assume this simplified picture for the sake of exposition (sources: Faarlund, 2004: 130; Haugen, 1998: 274 ff; Iversen, 1990: 146).

The present perfect in Norwegian is commonly held to encode past time reference, e.g. in the words of Dyvik (1999, n. 1) the perfect is 'a non-referential relative past'. It is also widely held to encode a present component, e.g. Jespersen (1931: 47).

The perfect [...] is itself a kind of present tense, and serves to connect the present time with the past. This is done in two ways: first, the present is a retrospective present, which looks upon the present state as a result of what has happened before in the past; and second the perfect is an inclusive present, which speaks of a state that is continued from the past into the present time.

Eide (2005) analyses the present perfect as a combination of a stative present tense auxiliary with a non-finite supine encoding past, hence as a compositional complex tense construction. This complex exponent of a 'a relative past' contrasts with the preterit in Norwegian in that the present perfect denotes 'immediate past' (term due to Bybee *et al.*, 1994: 100) whereas the preterit denotes 'remote past'. What counts as immediate past, signalled by the

present perfect in Norwegian are the cycles: today, this week, this year, this month, etc. Any situation (explicitly or implicitly) taking place within the current cycle can be described by a present perfect. Any situation explicitly or implicitly placed within a previous cycle (yesterday, last week, last month etc.) must use the preterit as their temporal exponent.

The pluperfect, as discussed in section (1) above, is widely believed to encode two layers of past; one encoded by the preterit auxiliary and another encoded by the supine. This can be depicted as in figure 1 below, where the auxiliary is past relative to the moment of speech *S*, and the event encoded by the supine is past relative to the auxiliary (cf Eide, 2005: 365).



Figure 1. The two layers of past in pluperfects

Contemporary (standard) Norwegian shows no significant traces of the old preterit subjunctive, according to Næs (1972: 266), but it was productive and abundant in Old Norse.²⁶ The term ‘preterit subjunctive’ is in some sense a misnomer since there is a general consensus that the difference between the present subjunctive (‘subjunctive 1’) and the preterit subjunctive (‘subjunctive 2’) in Germanic languages is not one of tense, but of mood, the relative perceived distance to reality; cf. e.g. Iversen (1990: 142) on Old Norse. In the words of Thieroff (2004: 319):

[T]he subjunctive 1 and the subjunctive 2 do not differ with regard to time reference. For example, both *er singe* and *er sänge* have non-past time reference and differ only with regard to their modal meaning. In contrast, in the indicative the present form *er singt* has non-past time reference, whereas the preterite form *er sang* has past time reference. [The] same behaviour holds for the subjunctive forms in all Germanic (and in most other European) languages.

I will use the term ‘preterit subjunctive’ in spite of its temporal connotations since this is the term employed in most traditional works on the subject. However, I recognize that what is at stake is perceived distance to reality, not tense. Lohnstein and Bredel (2004) take Bühler’s (1934) theories on the ‘Origo’ as fundamental in describing what task is performed by the preterit subjunctive in German, cf. figure 2 (Lohnstein and Bredel’s figure 3;

²⁶ Old Norse also employed a present subjunctive in addition to the preterit subjunctive, a descendant of the old Indo-European optative (cf. Næs, 1972: 267). These two forms split the domain of subjunctive meanings roughly in half; the present subjunctive expressed optative meanings (desires, wants, wishes, demands) and the preterit subjunctive expressed hypothetical or counterfactual meanings (Haugen, 1998: 274 ff).

cf. also Fabricius-Hansen (1999). Bühler proposed that the utterance is interpreted in its context of use, comprising, especially, the speaker, the time, and the place of speech. Lohnstein and Bredel add a coordinate for *world*. The origo is the point where all relevant coordinates meet in this multidimensional system of deictic organization.

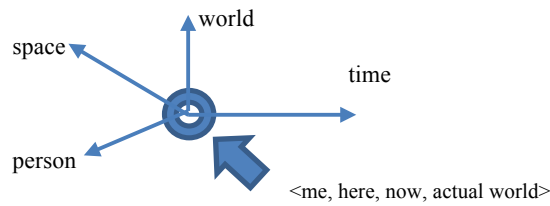


Figure 2: The deictic system; Lohnstein and Bredel (2004: 243)

According to Lohnstein and Bredel (2004: 245) the indicative preterit introduces a temporal shift from the time of the origo to some other time ($t_0 \rightarrow t'$), and the preterit subjunctive encodes a shift in modality from the present world to a modally shifted world ($w_0 \rightarrow w'$); not the actual world. This is where the counterfactual reading resides; from the requirement to evaluate the utterance not as true or false with respect to the actual world, but with respect to a modally shifted, imagined world 'strongly similar to w_0 with the exception of [a certain] set of conditions'.²⁷

Finally, the preterit subjunctive perfect (encoded by the preterit subjunctive auxiliary plus the supine) denotes the past counterfactual. The subjunctive 'counterfactual' auxiliary (*hefði* in 3psg) is of course what is still retained as relics in certain dialects mentioned above; e.g. *Övdalian* (cf. (28a) from Eriksen, 2010) and the *Eidffjord* dialect (Bjørkum, 2002); cf. (28b)). Note that the readings in (28) both seem to be the present counterfactual.

- (28) a. Ig ar kringt fundirað ur eð må edd uorteð *Övdalian*
 I have often wondered how it must EDD becomePTCPL
 um ig edd uorteð riktut klien
 If I EDD becomePTCPL really ill
I have often wondered how it might have been if I got really ill.
- b. Hedde du vå nùke te kar,... *Eidffjord*
 HaveSUBJ you beSUBJ something of man

²⁷ Or in more general terms (Mezhevich, 2008: 328): 'Mood operates on worlds: it compares the world of the event denoted by the propositional content of a clause to the actual world (e.g., Chung & Timberlake, 1985; Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca, 1994; Palmer, 2001).'

If you were a real man,...

Unlike the preterit subjunctive main verb construction used for present counterfactuals, the preterit subjunctive perfect contains one layer of mood (*hefði*)²⁸ and one layer of past; the latter encoded by the past participle (supine). This is accounted for if we adapt some assumptions from Mezhevich (2008: 328) about the time line in irrealis constructions:

I assume that time in hypothetical worlds runs parallel to the time in the actual world (cf. Bach (1981)) and propose that Mood compares the world of the utterance to the actual world by comparing two time lines.

If we compare the past counterfactual to the pluperfect and encompass the insights from Mezhevich (2008) as well as Lohnstein and Bredel (2004) about the preterit subjunctive, we can depict the two time lines as in figure 3, where the topmost time line is the time line of the actual world (w_o) and the pluperfect situation is evaluated as true or false in the real world at speech time S . Like Mezhevich, we are assuming that the hypothetical world is identical to the actual world except for the situation described in the antecedent (cf. Lewis 1979) or some other salient set of counterfactual conditions.

The preterit subjunctive (this time encoded by an auxiliary, *hefði*) does not encode past temporality, but shifts the evaluation of the utterance to the counterfactual world (w_{CF}). The past participle however does encode (relative) past tense and denotes an event which is in the past with respect to the auxiliary *hefði*.

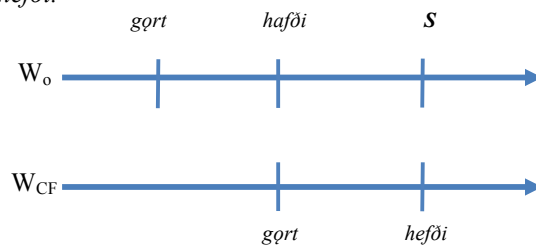


Figure 3. Two time lines for the real and the counterfactual world.

²⁸ In younger Old Norse, the 3psg and 1psg forms are subject to syncretic alignment which yields the form *hefði* even in 1psg. According to Søfteland (2013: 144) who investigated a rather large corpus of recorded spoken modern Norwegian (various dialects), 19 % of the subjects in running speech are 1psg subjects; 38% of the subjects are 3psg. If we assume that these numbers held (even roughly) in Old Norse, the form *hefði* would account for a little under 60% of all occurrences of this ‘counterfactual auxiliary’.

The interpretation of the construction is hence a reading where the situation described by the preterit subjunctive perfect is past, but only with one layer of past. The auxiliary, as described above, is used not for temporal purposes, but to shift the evaluation to a counterfactual time line.

5.2. The *Hallingdalen* dialect

Turning our attention to the dialect of *Hallingdalen*, we observe that most of the Old Norse system stays intact in this dialect, although the actual forms in the paradigm look a little different. There is a present perfect, a pluperfect, and a finite subjunctive used for present counterfactuals. However, the finite subjunctive has become homophonous with the supine (and hence is no longer a clearly designated subjunctive-only exponent). According to Dørum (2000) (also Eide, 2011b), this is why the subjunctive stays viable in this dialect. The fact that a given form shows up as (the more frequent) supine and past participle protects it from extinction. This did certainly not happen for all dialects, as there were several different routes taken by the various dialects away from a system employing fullfledged subjunctive forms (cf. Dørum, 2000 and Eide, 2011b for the details).

INTERPRETATION	EXPONENT	EXAMPLE
PRESENT PERFECT	Present auxiliary +supine	<i>No ha me siti innæ i hæilæ dag mæ.</i> now have we sitPTCPL inside in whole day we 'We have been indoors all day, we have.'
PLUPERFECT	Preterit auxiliary +supine	<i>Ho haddæ jeve grise før o kâmm inn att</i> She havePRET givePTCPL pigsDEF before she came in again 'She had fed the pigs before she came back in.'
PRESENT COUNTERFACTUAL	Preterit subjunctive main verb	<i>Fått n se kji kvæmmfôlk, så døytt n.</i> GetPTCPL he REFL not woman, then diePTCPL he 'If he doesn't get himself a woman, he might die'
PAST COUNTERFACTUAL	Present auxiliary +supine	<i>Ha kji e hatt bærvæ vet ænn hona,...</i> have not I havePTCPL better sense than him 'If I hadn't had more sense than him...'

Table 4: Perfects and counterfactuals in the *Hallingdalen* dialect

The paradigm of this dialect also includes a preterit subjunctive perfect used for past counterfactuals, but here we have moved one crucial step away from the Old Norse system. The Old Norse 'counterfactual auxiliary' (*hefði* in 3psg) has become homophonous with the present auxiliary (*hefir* in 3psg), resulting in the reduced form *ha* for both of them. This seems a bit unexpected. Perhaps not so much from a phonological perspective, since the forms resemble each other phonologically, and as the inflectional system starts to fade and the inflectional endings are no longer productive, the remaining auxiliary (perhaps at some stage *he* for both) may be likely candidates for homophony. However, it is clearly a widespread assumption in the quite comprehensive literature on

formal (especially morphological) syncretism that there is no such thing as ‘accidental’ systematic homonymy within an inflectional paradigm; cf for instance Carstairs (1987: 123) who claims that all systematic homonymies within inflectional paradigms are either syncretisms or ‘take-overs’. Both these mechanisms are identified by Sauerland (1996: 20) as ‘cases of impoverishment’, meaning deletion of specific morphosyntactic features in specific contexts; usually involving relevant paradigms within one and the same language.²⁹ For our purposes, the term ‘simple syncretism’ (Albright and Fuß, 2012: 262); term adopted from Baerman *et al.*, 2005)³⁰ might be equally useful. This term is meant to cover a state-of-affairs where identical forms are realizing different cells in a paradigm which differ in a single value of a certain morphosyntactic feature.

The present perfect and the past counterfactual in the Old Norse system which very probably serves as the input to the Hallingdalen dialect do differ with respect to one single value; the mood of the auxiliary which is indicative vs. subjunctive. Remember that the preterite subjunctive does not encode past tense, only shifted modality. Thus, that ought to pave the way for simple syncretism between the present auxiliary and the preterit subjunctive auxiliary. However, the merger of these two forms is still a bit unexpected when we consider patterns from other languages. As pointed out by Mezhevich (2008: 330)

[A] morphological form can be shared by two categories, but only if it licenses the same relation of (non-)coincidence. Thus, even if a language does not have a piece of morphology reserved specifically for Mood a morpheme can be ‘borrowed’ from Tense provided it licenses the right semantic relation. It follows then that both past and future tense morphology can convey irrealis because they both license [–COIN[cidence]].

But note that the present auxiliary and the subjunctive auxiliary in question do not licence the same relation of (non-)coincidence in this system. Although the present perfect is compositionally interpreted as a kind of immediate past by means of a combination of the past participle and the present auxiliary (cf. section 5.1. above), the present auxiliary, which is the merged exponent, by

²⁹ ‘Impoverishment, first proposed in Bonet (1991), is an operation on the contents of morphemes prior to Spell-Out. In early work in D(istributed) M(orphology), Impoverishment simply involved the deletion of morphosyntactic features from morphemes in certain contexts. When certain features are deleted, the insertion of Vocabulary Items requiring those features for insertion cannot occur, and a less specified item will be inserted instead.’ Harley and Noyer (1999: 3). Cf also Sauerland (1996).

³⁰ ‘Following work by Jakobson (1936), simple syncretism is commonly accounted for by assuming that morphological exponents may be underspecified for a subset of the relevant morphosyntactic features/feature values [...].’

itself only expresses present tense. The past participle retains its reading as (relative) past even in its reading as counterfactual (cf. table 4). The auxiliary of the present perfect on the other hand is interpreted as [+COIN] unlike subjunctive and past auxiliaries, which are both interpreted as ‘shifted’, either with respect to world or time, hence [-COIN]. Therefore, for a present auxiliary to undergo syncretism with a (past) subjunctive auxiliary, at least as the first step unmediated by other intermediate syncretisms, is in fact expected to be cross-linguistically quite exceptional.

Another reason this syncretism seems unlikely seen as a merger operating on matrices of morphosyntactic features and deleting only one semantico-syntactic feature is that the dialect retains a separate form for the present counterfactual. This seems like an unlikely state of affairs based on simple syncretism; to keep a formal distinction between present perfects and present counterfactuals, but merge the exponents for present perfect and past counterfactual. On these grounds it is tempting to conclude that the formal homonymy between these two in the Hallingdalen dialect is not governed by the principles of simple syncretism, but may be the result of an accidental homonymy. Recall also that the neighbouring dialect of Valdres reportedly uses the present perfect and the pluperfect interchangeably to express the past counterfactual whereas the rest of the system is like the Hallingdalen dialect (cf. the data from Sørli in (24 above, repeated here as (29)). I take this to signify that the Valdres dialect has recruited the pluperfect alongside the somewhat mis-matched present perfect to encode past perfect counterfactuals, acknowledging that a distal form of the auxiliary is a better fit to function as a ‘shifter’ from the actual world to the counterfactual world, in replacing the subjunctive auxiliary.

- (29) a. Ha’n komme før, ha e kji reist. Valdres, Sørli (1928)
 Has he *come* earlier, have I not left
Had he arrived earlier, I wouldn’t have left.
- b. Hadde’n komme før, hadde e kji reist.
 Had he come earlier, had I not left
Had he arrived earlier, I wouldn’t have left.

In transforming into a marker of counterfactuality, the preterit auxiliary simultaneously gives up its reading as an exponent of past in these constructions. As noted by Mezhevich (2008: 226) ‘past tense morphology receives not only a counterfactual interpretation, but also a present tense interpretation. This shift in temporal reference can be explained assuming that when ‘fake’ past tense morphology expresses counterfactuality it does not express any tense.’ Hence, in functioning as a shifter, the exponent cannot simultaneously express both a temporal shift and a modal shift; it is either one or the other. This is the reason the past component of the construction must be

expressed via the past participle (cf. figure 3 above). Note however that although the preterit auxiliary cannot simultaneously be a shifter for both modality and tense, the preterit auxiliary itself is obviously capable of both interpretations.

5.3. The *Solf* Dialect

The *Solf* dialect splits our paradigm in half, such that the present perfect is identical to the present counterfactual and the pluperfect is identical to the past counterfactual. The syncretism of the subjunctive auxiliary (*hefði* in Old Norse 3psg) and the preterite auxiliary (*hafði* in Old Norse 3psg) is not too unexpected, given our discussion above. Both are distal forms and ought to be capable of functioning as shifters of either tense or mood. At the outset, however, it seems a little more surprising that the present perfect and the present counterfactual come out as identical.

INTERPRETATION	EXPONENT	EXAMPLE
PRESENT PERFECT	Present auxiliary +supine	<i>Ja a teiji kontakt me leekarin.</i> I have taken contact with doctorDEF 'I have contacted a doctor.'
PLUPERFECT	Preterit auxiliary +supine	<i>Najn hadd sakt teel ám probleemen.</i> someone had said to about the problems 'Someone had told me about the problems.'
PRESENT COUNTERFACTUAL	Present auxiliary +supine	<i>A ja vari töög a ja noo teiji kontakt me leekarin</i> Have I been you have I ptl taken contact with doctorDEF 'If I were you, I'd contact a doctor.'
PAST COUNTERFACTUAL	Preterit auxiliary +supine	<i>Hadd najn sakt teel ám probleemen</i> Had someone said to about probelms.DEF <i>så hadd ja noo int gaaji yvi ti fibär</i> so had I well not gone over to fiber 'If someone had told me about the problems, I would never have changed to fiber'

Table 5: Perfects and counterfactuals in the *Solf* dialect

However, we know that the past participle is capable of expressing modality instead of tense in this dialect, for instance when the participle is governed by an epistemic modal, cf. note 20 above, examples repeated here as (30 ab). The data also illustrate that the dialect allows for readings of several types of propositional modality (cf. Palmer (2001)) like epistemic necessity and possibility in constructions headed by a present perfect.

- (30) a. An a noo måsta arbet me e hejla natten.
he has probably mustPTCPL workPTCPL with it all nightDEF
He must have worked on it all night.
- b. On a noo kona vari jeer å fori på nytt.
she has probably canPTCPL bePTCPL here and left again

She may have been here and left again.

These two facts makes the merger of the present perfect and the counterfactual present quite a bit less outlandish than it would be in many other dialects and varieties. In the *Solf* dialect the past participle may very well be the main carrier of ‘fake past’ or modality in present counterfactuals, since the auxiliary is non-distinct from the present auxiliary (cf. also Eriksen (2010) for a similar view). In the past counterfactual, which is non-distinct from the pluperfect, there are two distal forms (the auxiliary and the participle), hence one of them may convey counterfactual modality while the other conveys past tense (just like in English; cf. the discussion from Iatridou (2000) in section 1 above).

5.4. Standard Norwegian and Swedish

In Standard Norwegian and Swedish the system of perfects and counterfactuals looks like in table 6 below. Note that this picture is also a bit idealized, since we have observed on several occasions that even the preterit can be used for modal purposes (specifically present counterfactuals) in Standard Norwegian and even more so in Standard Swedish. There is obviously a syncretism at work even in the paradigm illustrated in table 6, since this modern system only upholds the formal distinction between present perfects on the one hand and pluperfects, present counterfactual and past counterfactual on the other.

INTERPRETATION	EXPONENT	EXAMPLE
PRESENT PERFECT	Present auxiliary +supine	<i>Hun har mint meg om disse tingene</i> She has reminded me about those things ‘She has reminded me of those things.’
PLUPERFECT		<i>Kongen hadde sendt menn dit</i> King.DEF had sent men thither ‘The king had sent men there.’
PRESENT COUNTERFACTUAL	Preterit auxiliary +supine	<i>Hadde jeg vært deg nå, så hadde jeg gjort det.</i> had I been you now, then had I done it ‘If I were you, I would do it.’
PAST COUNTERFACTUAL		<i>Hadde jeg vært deg da, så hadde jeg gjort det.</i> had I been you then, then had I done it ‘If I had been you, I would have done it.’

Table 6: Perfects and counterfactuals in modern Standard Norwegian.

We might imagine that the formal syncretism depicted in table 6 is a later step in the development away from a grammar employing mood (specifically the subjunctive). Once the standard varieties of Norwegian and Swedish lost the subjunctive as a productive category for both auxiliaries and main verbs, all these forms are replaced by another distal form; here, the pluperfect. As mentioned, since the preterit is also possible as an exponent of present counterfactuals in standard Norwegian and standard Swedish, it is possible to envisage a slightly more indirect route towards this state of affairs. Assume that the first formal syncretism occurred when the subjunctive auxiliary (*hefði*

in 3psg) underwent syncretism and merged with the preterit auxiliary (*hafði* in 3psg). At this point, let us assume that the present counterfactual is expressed by the preterit, whereas the ‘counterfactual’ auxiliary *hefði* and the preterit auxiliary *hafði* have been merged. The next step is that the pluperfect also takes over the cell of present counterfactuals. This step is possible in part because the supine/past participle acts as an agreement marker of modality in many constructions, especially counterfactual ones; cf. the discussion in section 3.2. above (specifically the examples in (14) and (15b)). Hence the past participle may express past in past counterfactuals but be an exponent of modal agreement in present counterfactuals, resulting in two layers of ‘fake past’. Recall also that this paradigm, with the same set of oppositions, is displayed by the *Innherred* dialect (where the present auxiliary is *hi* and the past auxiliary is *ha*). On this analysis, the *Innherred* dialect, just like Standard Norwegian and Standard Swedish retained a separate form for the present auxiliary; hence the fact that the *Innherred* dialect happened to maintain a separate form for this auxiliary is the main reason why this dialect, unlike all the dialects surrounding it, does not have present perfect counterfactuals.

5.5. The *Fosen* dialect

Finally, let us turn to the *Fosen* dialect, which triggered our quest into the realm of present perfect counterfactuals. As shown in table 2 above, the *Fosen* dialect essentially has only one form for all cells in the auxiliary paradigm; the reduced form *ha*. This form hence serves as the auxiliary for all the functions of our paradigm in table 7. Note that there is a discrepancy between some of the data in (1) and (6) above and the examples in this table as regards the form of the auxiliary, as the examples employ what is clearly a present form *har* of the auxiliary whereas the paradigm displays only the reduced auxiliary *ha*. I return to this topic in the next section.

INTERPRETATION	EXPONENT	EXAMPLE
PRESENT PERFECT	Reduced auxiliary +supine	<i>Taket ha ramla ned.</i> (Eriksen (2010)) Roof.DEF HA fallen down. ‘The roof has fallen down.’
PLUPERFECT		<i>Da så æ at taket ha ramla ned.</i> Then saw I that roof.DEF HA fallen down ‘Then I noticed that the roof had fallen down.’
PRESENT COUNTERFACTUAL		<i>Ha æ vorre dæ, så ha æ kontakta læge.</i> had I been you, then had I contacted doctor ‘If I were you, I would contact a doctor.’
PAST COUNTERFACTUAL		<i>Ha æ vessta det før, så ha æ ikke bytta te fiber.</i> HA I known it before, then HA I not changed to fiber ‘had I known this before, I would not have changed to fiber.’

Table 7: Perfects and counterfactuals in the *Fosen* dialect.

On this analysis, the Fosen dialect in fact does not necessarily employ present perfect counterfactuals per se. One might just as well assume that this is in fact ‘the pluperfect’, which seems like a more likely candidate to express counterfactuality. Because of the massive syncretism as regards the forms of the auxiliary however, there is only one reduced form available for all functions of the auxiliary. Hence ‘the present perfect counterfactuals’ in this dialect are very likely to be a result of formal syncretism in its final stage, completing the route from Old Norse, losing on its way subjunctive markings, inflectional markings, and finally the distinction between present, preterit, and the infinitive perfect auxiliary. The resulting state is a paradigm where one single exponent, ‘the reduced form’ of the auxiliary *ha* plus the supine (or past participle), serves as the single exponent of several different semantic feature bundles each formerly expressed by a separate exponent. As compared to table 3 of the Old Norse forms, this paradigm is quite impoverished and simplified, and even when compared to the modern dialects and varieties we have studied in section 5. However, these dialects may serve to illustrate various stages and the different routes taken by some of the spoken dialects of this area, on their way from a highly inflected language stage as in Old Norse to the simplified analytic systems we find in modern spoken varieties on the Scandinavian peninsula.

5.6. The auxiliary: The reduced form *ha* and the present form *har*

One final question remains: in our introductory examples of present perfect counterfactuals in (1) and (6) above the auxiliary is not the reduced form *ha* but in fact unmistakably a present form *har*, ((1) is repeated here for convenience as (31)).

- (31) a. Har den [bunkeren] blitt bygget i dag, har den ikke havnet der.
 has it [the bunker] been built today, has it not ended up there
If it were being built today, it wouldn't have ended up there.
- b. Har Ressa Kommune fått ut fengern [...] fer læng sia,
 Has Rissa municipality gotPTCPL out finger.DEF for long since
 har mang tå dæm mellionan vorre spart.
 havePRES many of them millions bePTCPL saved
If the municipality of Rissa had stopped procrastinating a long time ago, many of those millions would have been saved.

I believe there are two sources for this form. One is the present form of the lexical verb of possession, *ha* ‘have’, which is clearly *har* in many of these dialects, even when the auxiliary has the reduced form *ha* in all tenses (cf. table 2 above). The second source is the written language, where the present form of the auxiliary is *har*. Recall also that the survey in *The Nordic Syntax*

Database (Lindstad et al., 2009), question #992 did not distinguish between the reduced form *ha* and the present form *har*, exactly because many of the speakers of these dialects will use either form interchangeably.

When speakers of non-standard varieties of Norwegian dialects want to use their dialect in writing and need to use a present or past counterfactual, they have essentially three different possibilities. One is to use what I believe is the dialectally appropriate form *ha* (cf. also Eriksen, 2010), which seems a bit outlandish in writing used as a finite form (since it is clearly only an infinitival form in standard Norwegian). A second option is to use the pluperfect, and chose the preterit form of the auxiliary, perhaps with the dialectal twist of apocope, reducing the final syllable. Both possibilities are amply illustrated in the data, and sometimes these forms are used interchangeably in one and the same sentence with the same meaning, cf. (32), from *facebook*, October 24, 2015.

- (32) Så vess d **ha** våre iPhoneentusiasta som **ha** skrevve **hadd** d
so if it HA been iPhoneenthusiasts who HA written HAD it
hørtes annerledes ut.
sounded.PASS different out
If an iPhone enthusiast had written this (review) it would have come out quite different.

(32) thus illustrates two of the options available to the dialect user when expressing counterfactuals in writing. The third option is to use the form *har*, the present form of the auxiliary. Now, since the dialect does not in fact distinguish between different forms of the auxiliary, the present form *har* is just as available as the preterit *hadde*; the choice between these two forms would be in some sense arbitrary. However, the form *har* has the advantage of being finite and very close to the dialectal form *ha*. I hence believe this represents a compromise between the intuition of the language user telling him that this is a finite form (hence that *ha* cannot be right), and the intuition telling him that the preterit form *hadd(e)* does in fact not belong to the dialect, that it sounds ‘too standard’. This leads to a very strong candidature for *har*, which also exists as a present form of the lexical verb *ha* in the dialect.

In turn, this widespread use of the ‘standard’ form *har* worms its way into the spoken variety of the dialect, hence one can even hear this form in the spoken language of younger dialect users where older informants would use *ha*. Therefore, one can easily see this form, and the present perfect counterfactuals in these dialects as the result of language contact, where the languages in question are the spoken dialects on the one side and the written standard on the other. This would then constitute an example of contact-induced language change, where the written standard influences the

internalized dialectal grammars of the language user. Matras (2011: 200) refers to this type of situation as follows:

Rather than view borrowing as a transfer of structure from one system into another, I view it as the removal of an invisible demarcation line that separates subsets within the linguistic repertoire (or the speaker's 'languages').

Matras explains this tendency with the aptitude of any bilingual user to seek for overlap in his available linguistic systems to avoid the cognitive pressure of having to select between structures from his different mental grammars or linguistic system (2009: 151, 237).

[T]here is pressure on the bilingual to simplify the selection procedure by reducing the degree of separation between the two subsets of the repertoire...[W]e might view the replication of patterns as a kind of compromise strategy that [...] reduce[s] the load on the selection [...] mechanism by allowing patterns to converge, thus maximizing the efficiency of speech production in a bilingual situation.

In principle there is of course no reason to expect that the mechanisms involved should be different when involving a dialect and a standard variety of 'the same' language. If anything, the temptation to let one's standard variety influence on one's non-standard spoken variety may be even greater given that the distance between different varieties of 'the same' language seem even smaller and the aforementioned demarcation line may seem more blurred.

This type of contact-induced change is not unlikely in a situation where dialect users start writing their dialect. For the first time, the dialects that used to exist in spoken form only are brought in contact with the written language through the new social media, and given a brand new context as a written dialect. In this situation, it is to be expected that the dialect will borrow certain forms from the standard written language, and in some cases, like in the case of present perfect counterfactuals, the resulting construction might diverge quite substantially from its model.

6. Summary and conclusions

In numerous dialects on the Scandinavian peninsula, there exist what seems to be present perfects used as counterfactuals. Some dialects use the present perfect only for past counterfactuals, some use it only for present counterfactuals, and some dialects and varieties use the present perfect for both present and past counterfactuals. This paper is an attempt at describing the variation on a relevant level of abstraction, and it is discussed how these systems might have evolved from the system of perfects and counterfactuals that existed in Old Norse.

The analysis involves a history of syncretisms, leading to impoverished paradigms of distinctions both on the phonological and even on the morphosyntactic level, especially as regards the perfect auxiliary which in many dialects is reduced to one form *ha*; identical for all forms and tenses. Another important ingredient of the analysis is the ‘irrealis infinitive’ that takes the form of a supine (or past participle) in many counterfactual constructions. This participle often plays the part of a modal agreement marker in counterfactual constructions of all the relevant varieties (including standard Norwegian and standard Swedish), hence the participle may, but need not receive a temporal reading as ‘past’. This allows the pluperfect to be an exponent of both present and past counterfactuals in standard varieties, but also paves the way for the present perfect as a marker of counterfactuality, since the participle may by itself express the modality or ‘fake past’ of the counterfactual in certain dialects.

The data come from a wide variety of sources, such as *facebook*, the comments section of local newspapers on the web, and big data bases such as *The Nordic Dialect Corpus and Syntax Database* and *The Nordic Atlas of Language Structures* (NALS). Finally, I discussed a possible influence on the relevant dialects from the written standards, causing dialect writers to express the auxiliary in counterfactual perfects as the unequivocal present form *har* where the local dialect is likely to have the reduced form *ha* (which in principle is ambiguous between a present and past reading).

I hope this paper may serve as an illustration that Mainland Scandinavian dialects are indeed a treasure chest for a linguist working on perfects, counterfactuality and other types of modality. With the new databases at our disposal to corroborate or falsify our hypotheses, we may approach the phenomena armed with radically new tools for getting the evidence we need. Finding the relevant data is still an arduous task, but at least the Scandinavian dialects are much more unveiled to us now than they were just a decade ago. And that at least must be considered great progress.

References

- Albright, A. & Fuß, E. (2012). Syncretism. In: J. Trommer (ed.), *The Morphology and Phonology of Exponence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 236–287.
- Bach, E. (1981). On time, tense, and aspect: An essay in English metaphysics. In: P. Cole (ed.) *Radical pragmatics*. New York: Academic Press, 63–81.
- Baerman, M., Brown, D., & Corbett, G. G. (2005). *The syntax-morphology interface*. A study of syncretism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bjørkum, A. (1993). Konjunktiv i fortid eller preteritum. Bruken i eldre mål og noko om bruken i dag [Subjunctive in the past or preterit. The use in older dialects and some remarks on the use today]. *Målgranskaren frå Årdal. Heidersskrift til Andreas Bjørkum på 70-årsdagen 30. Mars 2002*. INL, University of Oslo.

- Bonet, E. (1991). Morphology after Syntax: Pronominal clitics in Romance languages. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology dissertation.
- Bühler, K. (1934). *Sprachtheorie*. Jena: Fischer.
- Bybee, J., Perkins, R., & Pagliuca, W. (1994). *The Evolution of Grammar – Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Carstairs, A. (1987). *Allomorphy in Inflection*. London: Croom Helm.
- Chung, S. & Timberlake, A. (1985). Tense, aspect, and mood. In: T. Schopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, vol. 3: Grammatical categories and the lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 202–258.
- Dyvik, H. (1999). The universality of f-structure: discovery or stipulation? The case of modals. In: M. Butt & T. Holloway King (eds.), *Proceedings of the LFG99 Conference*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Dørum, H. (2000). Preteritum konjunktiv i norske (og diverse andre) målføre [Preterit subjunctive in Norwegian and various other dialects], *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift*, 18: 143–182.
- Eide, K. M. (2002). Norwegian Modals. Doctoral dissertation, NTNU.
- Eide, K. M. (2005). *Norwegian Modals*. Studies in Generative Grammar 74. Berlin: Mouton DeGruyter.
- Eide, K. M. (2008). Finiteness in Norwegian, English, ... and Chinese? In: T. Åfarli & F. Jin (eds.) *Comparative Grammar and Language Acquisition in the Age of Globalization: Norwegian and Chinese*. Trondheim: Tapir Akademisk Forlag, 39–64.
- Eide, K. M. (2009a). Finiteness: The haves and the have-nots. In: A. Alexiadou, J. Hankamer, T. McFadden, J. Nuger & F. Schäfer (eds.), *Advances in Comparative Germanic Syntax*, *Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today* 141. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 357–390.
- Eide, K. M. (2009b). Tense, finiteness and the survive principle: Temporal chains in a crash-proof grammar. In: M. Putnam (ed.), *Towards a Derivational Syntax: Survive-minimalism*. *Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistic Today* 144. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 91–132.
- Eide, K. M. (2010). Mood in Norwegian. In: B. Rothstein & R. Thieroff (eds.), *Mood in European Languages* [Studies in language companion]. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 56–70.
- Eide, K. M. (2011a). Modals and the present perfect. In: W. De Mulder (ed.), *Proceedings from Chronos7*. Rodopi: Cahiers Chronos.
- Eide, K. M. (2011b). The Ghost of the Old Norse Subjunctive: The Norwegian Subjunctive Participle. *Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik*, 53 (2), M. Fryd (ed.), 1–28.
- Eide, K. M. (2012). Om tempus og aspekt i norsk. [On tense and aspect in Norwegian.] In: H.-O. Enger, J. T. Faarlund, & K. I. Vannebo (eds.) *Grammatikk, bruk og norm. Festskrift til Svein Lie på 70-årsdagen, 15. april 2012*. Oslo: Novus.
- Eriksen, P. K. (2010). Finiteness and the encoding of counterfactuality. Talk at Finiteness Fest, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, May 6th 2010.
- Faarlund, J. T. (2004). *The Syntax of Old Norse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Faarlund, J. T., Lie, S., & Vannebo, K. I. (1997). *Norsk Referansegrammatikk*. [Norwegian reference grammar.] Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

- Fabricius-Hansen, C. (1999). 'Moody time.' Indikativ und Konjunktiv im deutschen Tempussystem, *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*, 113: 119–146.
- Falk, C. (2010). The Interaction of Temporal and modal Auxiliaries in Counterfactual Contexts in Swedish. *Tampa Papers in Linguistics*, 1: 1–12.
- Grønn, A. (2014). En meningsløs norsk perfektum i kontrafaktiske kondisjonsetninger [A Meaningless Norwegian Perfect in Counterfactual Conditionals]. In: S. O. Ebeling, A. Grønn, K. R. Hauge & D. Santos (eds.), *Corpus-based Studies in Contrastive Linguistics, Oslo Studies in Language* 6 (1), 7–27.
- Harley, H. & Noyer, R. (1999). Distributed Morphology. *GLOT International*: 4 (4): 3–9.
- Haugen, E. (1987). Danish, Norwegian and Swedish. In: B. Comrie (ed.), *The Major Languages of Western Europe*, London: Routledge, 147–169.
- Haugen, O. E. (1998). *Grunnbok i norrønt språk*. Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal.
- Hoegweg, L. (2009). What's so unreal about the past: past tense and counterfactuals. In: Tsangalidis, A. and Facchinetti, R. (eds.), *Studies on English Modality in honour of Frank R. Palmer*. Bern: Peter Lang, 181–208.
- Iatridou, S. (2001). The Grammatical Ingredients of Counterfactuality, *Linguistic Inquiry*, 31 (2): 231–270.
- Iversen, R. (1990). *Norrøn grammatikk*. 7th edition. Oslo: Tano.
- Jakobson, R. O. (1936) [1971]. Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre: Gesamtbedeutung der russischen Kasus. Reprinted in: *Selected writings* (vol. II: Word and language). The Hague: Mouton, 23–71.
- Jespersen, O. (1931). *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles. Vol. 4: Syntax*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Johannessen, J. B., Priestley, J., Hagen, K., Áfarli, T.A. , & Vangsnes, Ø. A. (2009). The Nordic Dialect Corpus—an advanced Research Tool. In: K. Jokinen & E. Bick. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 17th Nordic Conference of Computational Linguistics NODALIDA 2009, NEALT Proceedings Series* Vol. 4.
- Joos, M. (1964). *The English verb: Form and meanings*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Julien, M. (2001). The syntax of complex tenses, *The Linguistic Review*, 18: 125–167.
- Julien, M. (2003). Dobbelsupinum og irreal modus [Double supine and irrealis mood], *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift*, 21: 135–161.
- Langacker, R.W. (1978). The form and meaning of the English Auxiliary, *Language*, 54: 853–82.
- Larsson, I. (2014). Conditional clauses and the shape of HAVE. *Nordic Atlas of Language Structures (NALS) Journal*, 1: 287–299.
- Lewis, D. (1979). Counterfactual dependence and time's arrow, *Noûs*, 13: 455–477.
- Lindstad, A. M., Nøklestad, A., Johannessen, J. B., Vangsnes, Ø. A. (2009). The Nordic Dialect Database: Mapping Microsyntactic variation in the Scandinavian Languages. In: K. Jokinen & E. Bick (eds.), *Proceedings of the 17th Nordic Conference of Computational Linguistics NODALIDA 2009. NEALT Proceedings Series* Volume 4.
- Lohnstein, H. & Bredel, U. (2004). Inflectional morphology and sentence mood in German. In: H. Lohnstein & S. Trissler (eds.). *Syntax and Semantics of the Left Periphery*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 235–264.
- Lyons, J. (1977) *Semantics*, vol II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Matras, Y. (2009). *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Matras, Y. (2011). Universals of structural borrowing. In: P. Siemund (ed.), *Linguistic Universals and Language Variation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 200–229.
- Mezheovich, I. (2008). A Time-Relational Approach to Tense and Mood. In: N. Abner and J. Bishop (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 326–334.
- Næs, O. (1972). *Norsk grammatikk. Elementære strukturer og syntaks*. Oslo: Fabritius forlag.
- Palmer, F. R. (1986). *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, F. R. (2001). *Mood and Modality* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sandøy, H. (1991). Attraksjon av supinum i færøysk og norsk [Attraction of the supine in Faroese and Norwegian], *Danske Folkemål*, 33: 251–262.
- Sandøy, H. (2008). Norske syntaktiske ‘avvik’ i norsk. [Norwegian ‘deviations’ in Norwegian.] In: C. Carlsen, E. Moe, R. O. Andersen, & K. Tenfjord (eds.): *Banebryter og brobygger i andrespråksfeltet. En Samling artikler i anledning Jon Erik Hagens 60-årsdag*. Oslo: Novus Forlag, 179–190.
- Sauerland, U. (1996). The late Insertion of Germanic Inflection. Second draft. MS, MIT.
- Schütze, C. T. (1996). *The empirical base of linguistics: Grammaticality judgments and linguistic methodology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schütze, C.T. & Sprouse, J. (2013). Judgment data. In: E. J. Podesva & D. Sharma (eds.): *Research Methods in Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 27–50.
- Stowell, T. (1996). The phrase structure of tense. In: J. Rooryck & L. Zaring (eds.) *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 277–291.
- Søfteland, Å. (2013). Utbrytingskonstruksjonen i norsk spontantale. PhD dissertation, INL, University of Oslo.
- Sørli, M. (1928). Konjunktiv i Valdresmålet [Subjunctive mood in the Valdres dialect]. *Maal og Minne*, 113–115.
- Sæbø, K. J. (2009). A Scandinavian Mood Recovered: The Semantics of the Surreal Supine. Talk and handout at NORMS Workshop on Counterfactuality and Auxiliaries in Nordic Languages. Dec. 7-8. NTNU, Trondheim.
- Thieroff, R. (2004). The subjunctive mood in German and the Germanic languages. In: W. Abraham (ed.), *Focus on Germanic Typology. Studia Typologica 6*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Van Ommeren, R. (2010). ‘Ja, jæi la an på å tåla oppdaling, ja’: En sociolingvistisk studie av språklige praksisformer blant voksne innvandrere i Oppdal. MA Thesis, NTNU.
- Venås, K. (1977). *Hallingmålet*. Oslo: Det norske samlaget.

Appendix: Map from Larsson (2014) including medium scores

