

BEYOND TIME 2  
6 February 2020, Brussels

# A counterfactual cycle

## Evidence from the French imperfect



UNIVERSITÉ  
CAEN  
NORMANDIE

Adeline Patard  
University of Caen Normandy



# Issue

## □ A non-canonical use of past (imperfective) tenses

- (1) Eng If I **won** the lottery, I would travel the world.
- (2) Fre Si je **gagnais**<sub>PST.IPFV</sub> / \***gagna**<sub>PST.PFV</sub> au loto, je ferais le tour du monde.
- (3) Fre Une minute de plus et le train **s'en allait**<sub>PST.IPFV</sub> / ?**s'en alla**<sub>PST.IPFV</sub> sans moi.  
‘One more minute and the train **would have left/ left** without me’.
- (4) Fre Si Jean **terminait** sa thèse, il hériterait de la fortune de son oncle.
- (5) Fre *A father to his son who has just ridden up Mount Ventoux:*  
– Plus entraîné, tu le **montais**<sub>IPFV.PST</sub> [Mount Ventoux] en même pas deux heures.



- (i) What is the semantic contribution of imperfective aspect in counterfactuals ?
- (ii) Why aspect is « fake » ?

# Issue

## □ *Linguistic cycles*

### ➤ Language change and grammaticalization

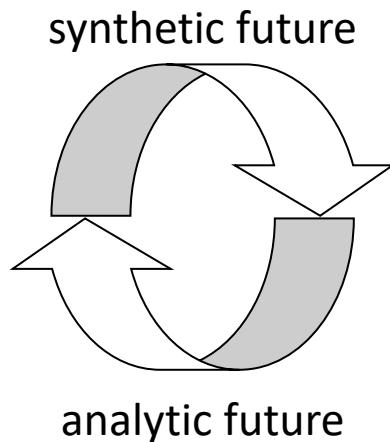
A **cycle** can be defined as a time span during which certain events take place and come to a conclusion. Towards the end of the cycle, **similar events start again**, but they are (slightly) different and happen at a different pace. The changes are therefore unidirectional. (van Gelderen 2011)

Les langues suivent une sorte de développement en **spirale**: elles ajoutent des **mots accessoires** pour obtenir une expression intense; ces mots s'affaiblissent, se dégradent et tombent au niveau de simples **outils grammaticaux**; on ajoute de nouveaux mots ou des mots différents en vue de l'expression; l'affaiblissement recommence, et ainsi sans fin. (Meillet 1912)

# Issue

## □ *Linguistic cycles*

➤ The future cycle (Meillet 1917, Fleischman 1982 etc.)

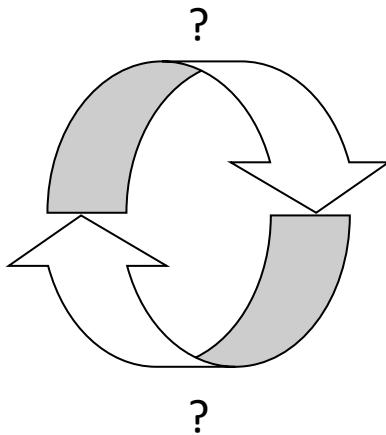


(7)	Lat	cantabo
(7')	LLat	cantare <b>habeo</b>
	OF	chanter <b>erai</b>
	ClaF	je chanter <b>erai</b> / je <b>vais</b> chanter
	FCre	moi <b>après</b> chanter > m' <b>ap</b> -chanté

# Issue

## □ *Linguistic cycles*

### ➤ The counterfactual cycle



- (i) Which cycles exist and why ?
- (ii) Which semantic and grammatical features participate in cycles ?
- (iii) At what point in the cycle does the renewing element appear ?
- (iv) What are structural factors that interfere in this process ?

# Counterfactuality

For a stricter definition

# Counterfactuality for stricter definition

## □ *Unreality (vs counterfactuality)*

# Counterfactuality for stricter definition

## □ *Unreality (vs counterfactuality)*

- **One layer** of past morphology, **non-past** time reference

(8) Eng And if you **left** me I would suffer a great deal.

(9) Fre Je souffrirais trop, si tu **revenais**.  
‘I would suffer too much, if you **came** back’.

- **No dedicated constructions** (unreality is contextually implicated)

(10) If your plants **had** enough light, they would be doing much better  
**{unreality}**

(11) If you **missed** the last bus, you would walk home.

**{unlikelihood}** the speaker assumes that p is unlikely ( $\neg \pi p$ )

# Counterfactuality for stricter definition

## □ *Counterfactuality (vs unreality)*

- **Two layers** (or one layer) of past morphology  
Time reference is **past by default**, but it can be present or future.

(12) If John **had run** the Boston marathon, he would have won. ⇒ {past} (default)

(12') If John **had run** the Boston marathon NEXT SPRING, he would have won.

⇒ {past}

- **Dedicated constructions** (with a counterfactual meaning)

Eng. [ <i>if</i> PST.PRF, COND.PRF]	If JFK <b>had not been assassinated</b> , he <b>would obviously have been re-elected</b>
Fre [ <i>si</i> PST.IPFV.PRF, COND.PRF]  [ <i>si</i> PST.IPFV.PRF, PST.IPFV]	Si j' <b>avais su</b> , je ne <b>serais pas venu</b> . 'If I <b>had known</b> , I <b>would not have come</b> .' Si je n' <b>étais pas intervenu</b> , ça se <b>finissait au couteau</b> . 'If I <b>hadn't intervened</b> , it <b>would have ended up with stabbing</b> .'
Ita [ <i>se</i> PST.IPFV, PST.IPFV]	Se <b>partivi</b> domani, <b>incontravi</b> mia sorella. 'If you <b>had left</b> tomorrow, you <b>would have met</b> my sister'.

# Counterfactuality for stricter definition

## □ *Towards a definition*

**Counterfactuality** crucially relies on a past moment (expressed or presupposed) from which a ‘blocking factor’ (Dahl 1997) prohibits the realization of the situation.

$$\exists t < s \ [t < t, p \text{ or } \neg p]$$
$$[t > s, \neg p]$$

‘p ceased to be possibly the case at some past time’

Compare:

- (13) If kangaroos **had** no tail, they would topple over. (*unreality*)
- (13') If kangaroos **had had** no tail, they would have toppled over. (*counterfactuality*)

# An implicature-based model

# An implicature-based model

## □ Scalar implicatures (Q)

- PSTs may give rise to modal **scalar implicatures** that are derived from Grice's **quantity maxim** : '*Do not make your contribution more informative than is required*'. (Ziegeler 2000 ; Ippolito 2003, 2004 ; Verstraete 2006 ; Patard 2014 )
- PSTs are **less informative** than alternative tense forms that could be used in the same contexts, thus forming with them a **scale of informativeness**.
- The less informative PST triggers an 'upper-bounding inference' (Horn):
  - i) a **strong implicature**: the content conveyed by the more informative tense does not hold.  
⇒  $\neg p$
  - ii) a **weaker implicature**: the speaker is note certain about the information provided by the more informative tense.  
⇒  $p \text{ or } \neg p$

# An implicature-based model

## □ Strong implicature $\neg p$

- context: ‘imperfective paradox’
- scale: < **imperfective** past, **perfective** past>
- imperfective past  $\Rightarrow \neg p_{\text{perfective past}}$

(14) Fre Paul **se noyait** (/**se noya**) lorsque le maître-nageur plongea et le retira de l'eau.  
 ‘Paul **was drowning** (vs **drowned**) when the lifeguard dived in and pulled him out of the water’.

**se noyait**  $\Rightarrow \neg p_{\text{se noya}}$

- In the end, the **imperfect** conveys the meaning that :
  - (i)  $p$  was possible before the past  $T_t$  (presupposition)
  - (ii)  $p$  ceased to be possible after the past  $T_t$  (implicature)

counterfactuality

$T_t < S$  [ $< T_t$ ,  $p$  or  $\neg p$ ]  
 $[> T_t, \neg p]$

# An implicature-based model

## □ Conventionalization of implicatures (adapted from Heine 2002)

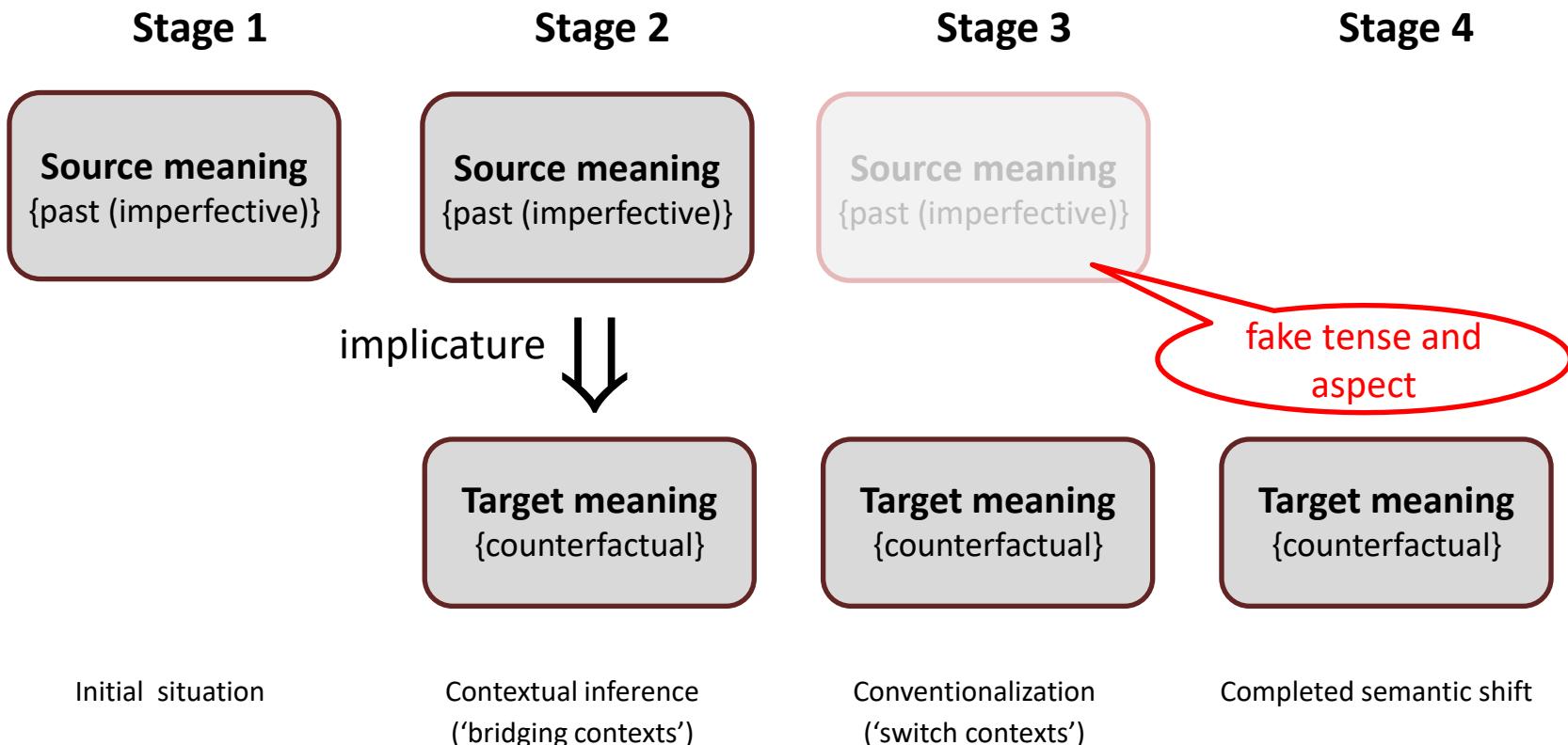


Figure 1. Conventionalization of counterfactuality and unlikelihood

# Diachronic data (Romance)

# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ Cycle 1 : the counterfactual IMP in Latin

### A. Context-based counterfactuality (bridging context)

- (i) In Classical Latin, **indicative pasts** (imperfects or perfects) are increasingly used in the *apodoses of past counterfactual conditionals to compensate for the growing temporal ambiguity of the subjunctive imperfect* (Thomas 1938, Sabanééva 1996).

(15) ClaLat Sed is fieri nullo modo **poterat<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub>**, si Herodotus quidam adesset<sub>SBJV.PST</sub>.  
 (Cicero, 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.)

‘But he **would not have been able** (lit. **was able**) to get the position (sc. as High priest), if a certain Herodotus had been present.’

(16) ClaLat [...] deleri totus exercitus **potuit<sub>IND.PRS.PRF</sub>**, si fugientes persecuti uictores essent<sub>SBJV.PST</sub>.  
 (Livy, 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.)

‘the whole army **could have been destroyed**, if the victors had pursued the routed enemy’

**Tt < S**

Past reference

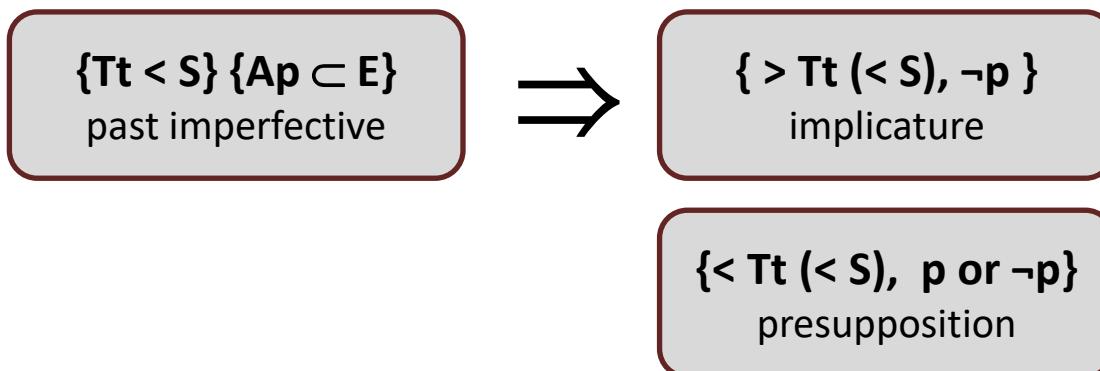
# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ Cycle 1 : the counterfactual IMP in Latin

### B. Implicature-based counterfactuality (bridging context)

- (ii) When combined with telic predicates, the use of the **imperfect** creates an ‘imperfective paradox’, hence conveying counterfactuality (implicature).

(17) ClaLat [...] si per Metellum licitum esset<sub>SBJV.PST</sub>, matres illorum miserorum sororesque ueniebant<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub>; quarum una ... mihi obuiam uenit (Cicero, I<sup>st</sup> century B.C.)  
 ‘if Metellus had allowed it, the mothers and sisters of those poor creatures **would** surely have come (lit. **were coming**); one of them came to meet me.’



# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ Cycle 1 : the counterfactual IMP in Latin

### C. Conventionalization of counterfactuality (switch context)

In one-century later texts, the **imperfect** can refer to **non-past counterfactual situations**. This is parallel to the generalization of the pluperfect subjunctive to refer to past counterfactual situations (Thomas 1938, Sabanééva 1996)

- (18) ClaLat Si hoc ei optares<sub>SBJV.PST</sub>, cuius nullum beneficium haberet, inhumanum erat<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub> uotum. (Seneca, 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.)  
‘if you had wished (now) this to be the fortune of one from whom you received no benefit, your desire **would have been** cruel’.
- (19) ClaLat Non poterat<sub>IND.PST.IPVF</sub> capi nisi capere vellet<sub>SBJV.PST</sub>. (Seneca, 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.)  
‘He **could not have been captured**, if he had not wanted to be captured’.

**Temporal flexibility**  
past (19) or non-past (18)

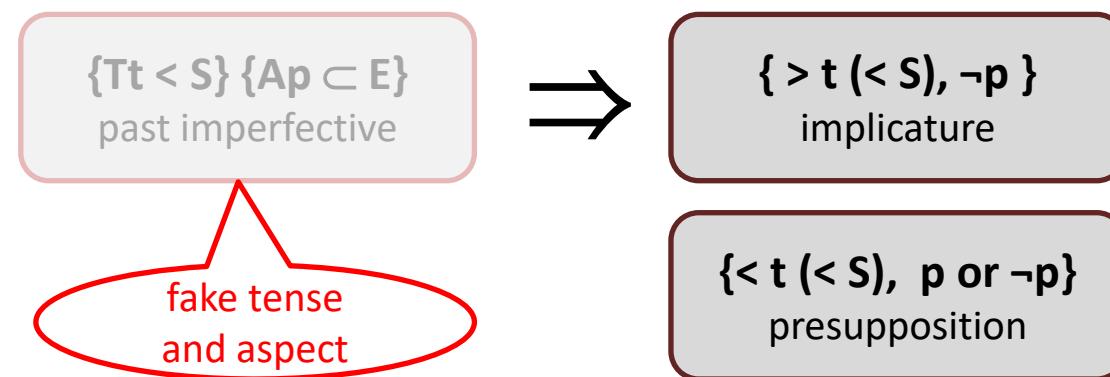
# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ Cycle 1 : the counterfactual IMP in Latin

### C. Conventionalization of counterfactuality (switch context)

In one-century later texts, the **imperfect** can refer to **non-past counterfactual situations**. This is parallel to the generalization of the pluperfect subjunctive to refer to past counterfactual situations (Thomas 1938, Sabanééva 1996)

- (18) ClaLat Si hoc ei optares<sub>SBJV.PST</sub>, cuius nullum beneficium haberet, inhumanum erat<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub> uotum. (Seneca, 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.)  
 ‘if you had wished (now) this to be the fortune of one from whom you received no benefit, your desire **would have been** cruel’.



# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ Cycle 1 : the counterfactual IMP in Latin

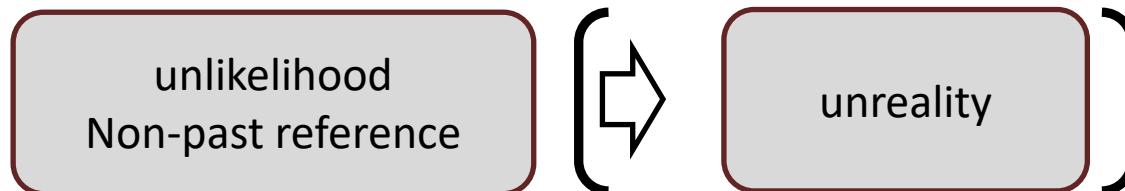
### D. End of the cycle : (i) reanalysis as a marker of unlikelihood

From around 400 A.D., the **imperfect** begins to refer to **unlikely situations** which are not necessarily contrary to facts but **may actually occur in the future**. Such contexts become common in VI<sup>th</sup>-VII<sup>th</sup> century texts (Haverling 2010, 2013).

- (20) LatLat Tamen tu neque diues neque pauper es. Hoc si agnosceres<sub>SBJ.PAST</sub>, felix **eras**<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub>.  
*(Querolus*, around 400 A.D.)

'but you are not rich nor are you poor. If you could recognize that, you **would be** happy'.

- (21) LatLat Ecce ! Pater tuus senuit [...]. Si [...] illi moreretur<sub>SBJV.PST</sub>, recte tibi [...] regnum illius  
**reddebatur**<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub>. (Gregory of Tours, 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.)  
 'Look! Your father is old ... if he were to die, his kingdom **would** correctly **be given** back to you'.



# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ Cycle 1 : the counterfactual IMP in Latin

### D. End of the cycle : (ii) replacement by a COND form

- a. From around 400 A.D., the **unlikely imperfect** increasingly occurs with the modal periphrasis ***INF + habere*** (Haverling 2010). ***INF+ habebam*** will be the source construction of some Romance CONDs.

(22) LatLat si diceret<sub>SBJV.PST</sub> « fines terrae », et non diceret « uniuersi fines terrae », **dicere** **habebant**<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub> [...]. (Augustine, around 400 A.D.)  
 ‘if he said “the limits of the earth”, and not all the limits of the earth”, they **would say ...**’

- b. The unlikely imperfect used in the apodosis has not survived in Romance. It has been replaced by newly grammaticalized CONDs.

(23) OldFre Se ore esteie<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub> de son père vengiez, molt en **sereie**<sub>COND</sub> balz et joianz et liez (*Coronement du Roy Looye*, 12<sup>th</sup> century)  
 ‘If I were avenged now on his father, I **would be** happy, joyful and gay.’

(24) Ita Se venisse, **vedrebbe**<sub>COND</sub>.  
 ‘If he were coming, he **would see**.’

# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ Cycle 2 : the counterfactual IMP in French

### A. Context-based counterfactuality (bridging context)

In **Old French**, **indicative pasts** (imperfects, perfective pasts) are attracted again in the apodoses of **past counterfactual conditionals** to compensate for the temporal ambiguity of the subjunctive imperfect (< former Latin subjunctive pluperfect).

- (25) OldFre Mes ne **poeie<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub>** a vos venir / Ne fors de mun païs esseir / Se vus ne m'eussiez  
**requis<sub>SBJV.PST.PRF</sub>**• (Mary of France, 12<sup>th</sup> century)  
 'I would not **have been able to** (lit. **could not**) come to you, or even leave my country, if you  
**had not requested me.**'

- (26) OldFre Se vos fuissiés<sub>SBJV.PST</sub> de tel aage / Qu'estoit li rois, ainc ne **vi<sub>IND.PST.PFV</sub>** rien / Qui autre  
 resamblast si bien (William of Palerne, 13<sup>th</sup> century)  
 'If you had been the same age as was the king, I **would have never seen** (lit. never **saw**)  
 anyone who looked like him so well.'

**Tt < S**

Past reference

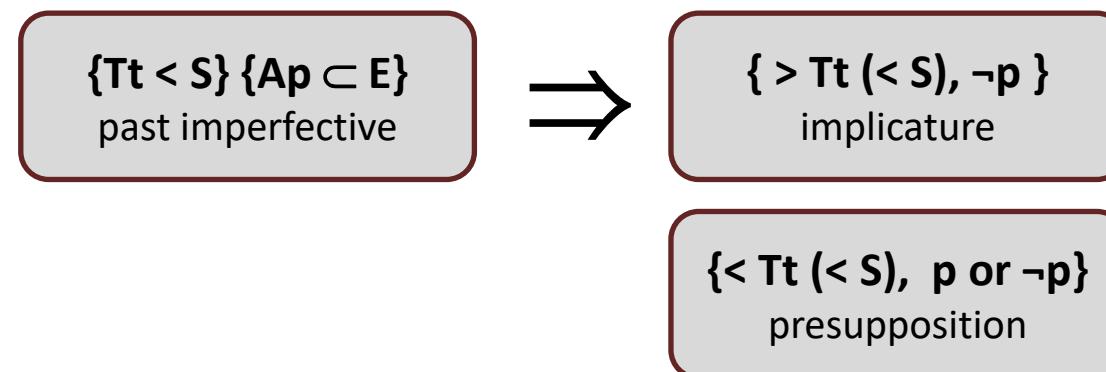
# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ Cycle 2 : the counterfactual IMP in French

### B. Implicature-based counterfactuality (bridging context)

The **bridging context** with ‘imperfective paradox’ is documented from Middle French. In such contexts (with a telic predicate), the imperfect implicates counterfactuality.

- (27) MidFre et si le duc eust marché<sub>SBJV.PST..PRF</sub> cent pas, ils **passoient**<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub> oultre la rivière du Thesin.  
 (P. de Commynes, 15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 ‘and if the Duke had walked a hundred steps, he **would have crossed** (lit. **was crossing**) the river Thesin.’



# Diachronic data (Romance)

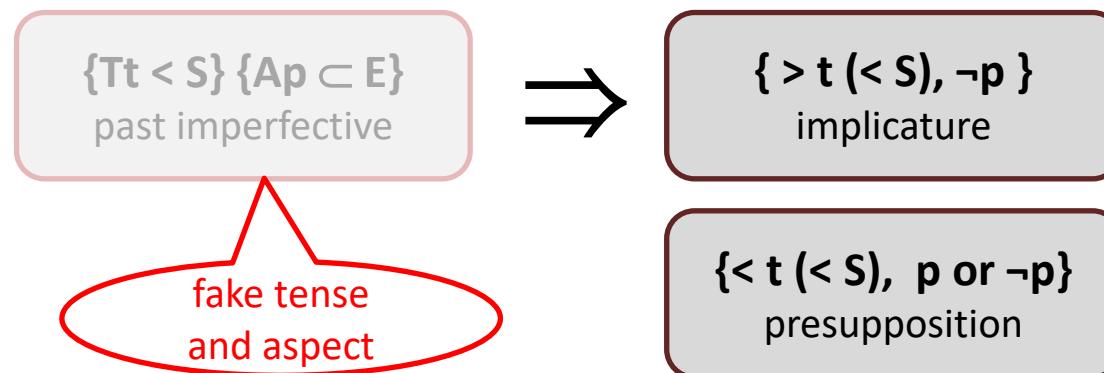
## □ Cycle 2 : the counterfactual IMP in French

### C. Conventionalization of counterfactuality (switch context)

In the Modern counterfactual construction [x, IMP] (Berthonneau and Kleiber 2003, 2006; Bres 2006, 2009), the source meaning is sometimes inconsistent with the interpretation (fake tense and aspect).

- (28) Fre Seul, j'**étais**<sub>IPFV.PST</sub> avec toi, nous **restions**<sub>IPFV.PST</sub> ensemble. Le premier voyage d'après-guerre : tu n'as pas le droit de le faire avec une autre. (S. de Beauvoir, 20<sup>th</sup> century)  
 'Alone, I **would have been** with you, we **would have remained** together'

- (29) Fre A father to his son who has just ridden up Mount Ventoux:  
 – Plus entraîné, tu le **montais**<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub> [Mount Ventoux] en même pas deux heures.  
 'Better trained, you **would have climbed** it (Mount Ventoux) in less than two hours.'



# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ Cycle 2 (bis): the counterfactual IMP in Italian

### A/B. Context/implicature-based counterfactuality (bridging context)

In Old Italian, the imperfect can occur in the apodosis of past counterfactual conditionals. (D'Achille 1990)

- (30) OIta S'ello fosse plaçuto al segnore Deo k'à la força e la vertude de tute le cose, bene **potea<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub>** la gente fare riccha cumunale mente, e non **sareve<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub>** misterio che l'uno abesognasso del conseglo dell'altro (Guido Faba, 13<sup>th</sup> century.)
- (31) OIta E se io po' la sconfitta de Colonnesi a porta de Santo Lorienzo avessi cavalcato collo puopolo de Roma, in questa terra liberamente **entrava<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub>** senza contradizzione (Anonimo romano *cronica*, 14<sup>th</sup> century)

# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ Cycle 2 (bis): the counterfactual IMP in Italian

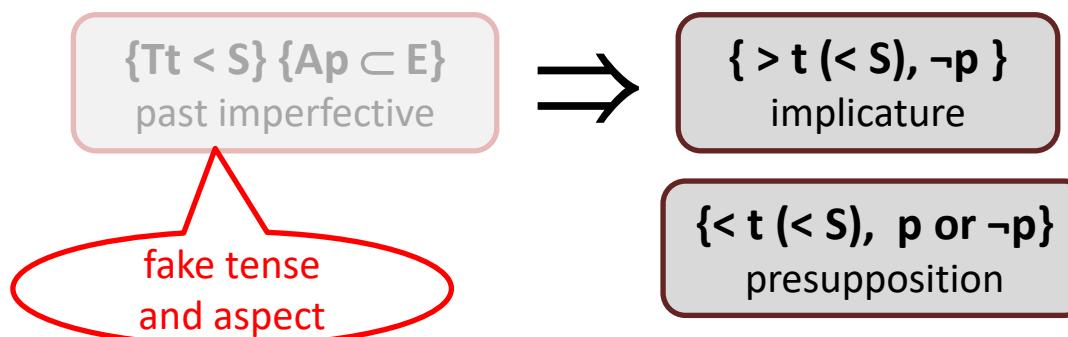
### C/D. Conventionalization (switch context) and completed semantic shift

- (i) The imperfect then rapidly extends to the protasis (14<sup>th</sup> century). This can be viewed as a sign of the conventionalization of counterfactuality and reanalysis of the imperfect as a counterfactual marker.

(32) Ita      se non **era**<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub> rotto e morto all'Aquila, gli **riusciva**<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub>.  
 'if he had not failed and died in Aquila, he would have succeeded.' (Machiavelli, 16<sup>th</sup> century)

- (ii) In Modern Italian, [se IND.PST.IPFV, IND.PST.IPFV] has gained temporal flexibility.

(33) Ita      Se **partivi**<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub> DOMANI, **incontravi**<sub>IND.PST.IPFV</sub> mia sorella.  
 'If you **had left** TOMORROW, you **would have met** my sister'.



# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ Cycle of the ‘counterfactual imperfect’

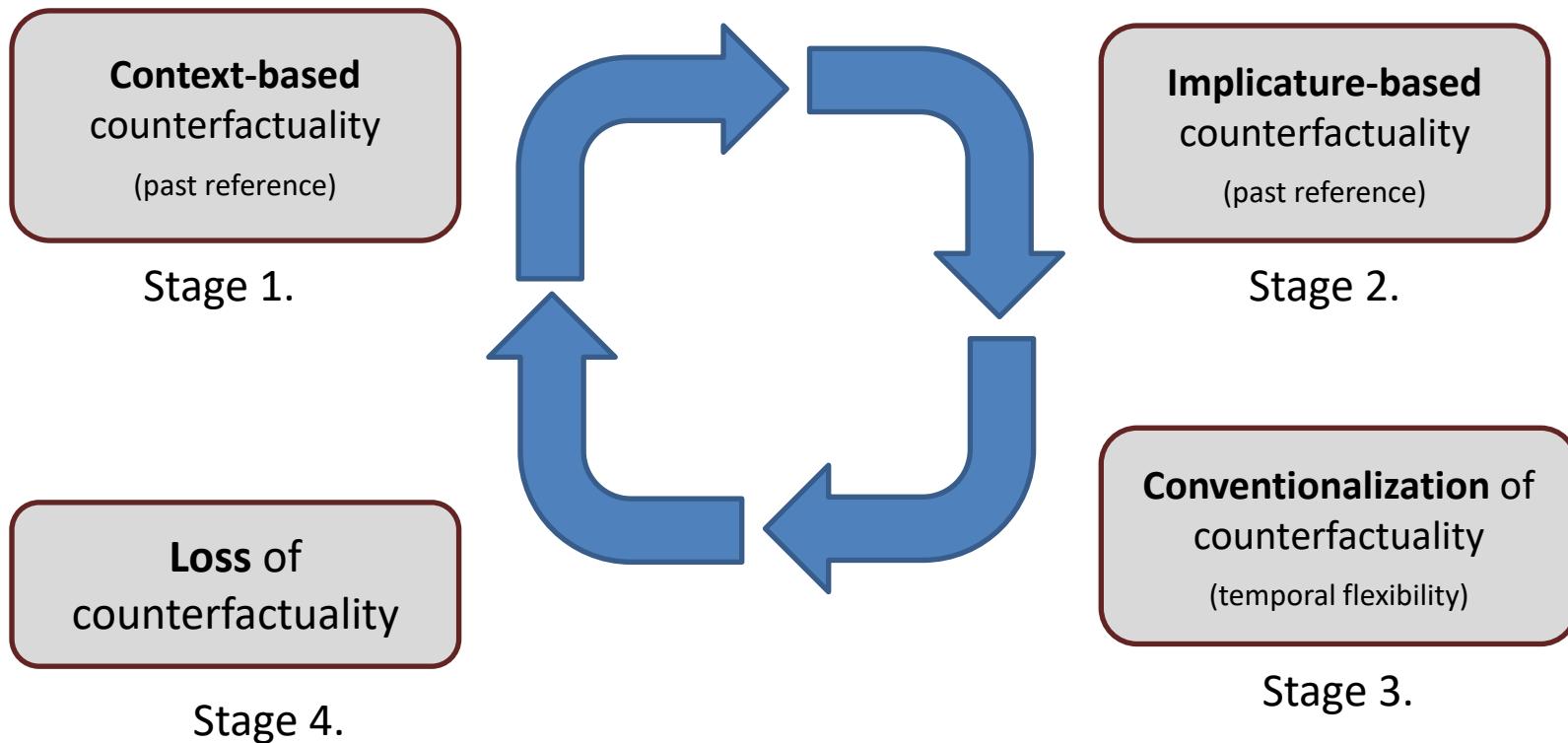


Figure 2.

# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ The *imperfect semantic map*

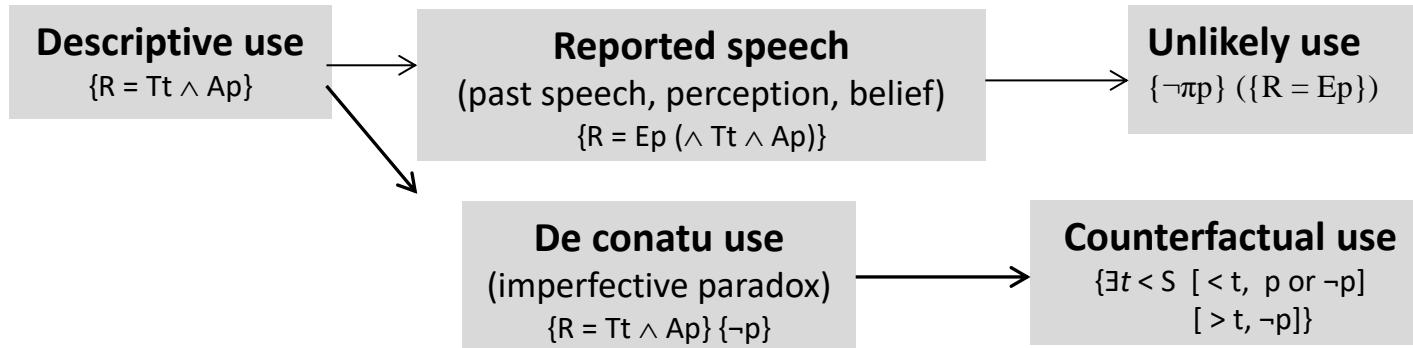


Figure 3. From past reference to counterfactuality and unlikelihood  
(adapted from Patard 2014)

# Diachronic data (Romance)

## □ The *imperfect semantic map*

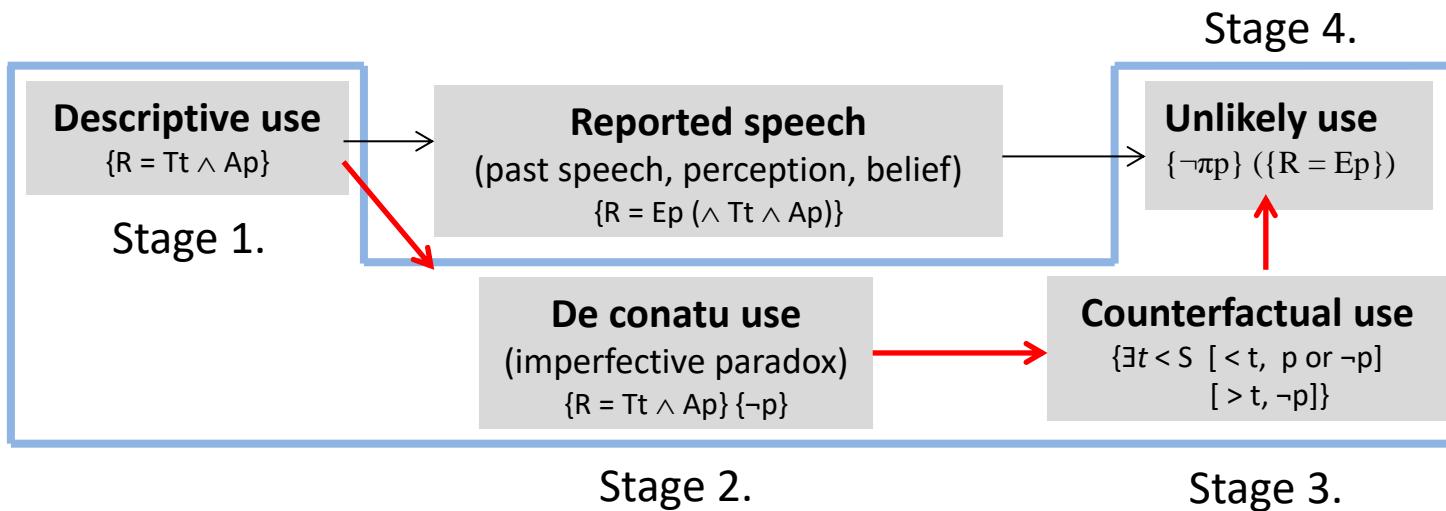
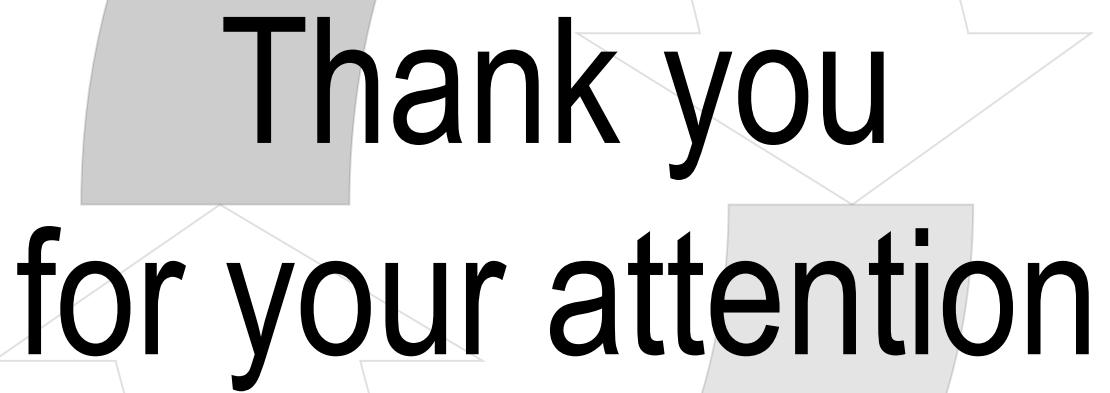


Figure 3. From past reference to counterfactuality and unlikelihood  
(adapted from Patard 2014)

# Conclusion and perspectives

# Conclusion and perspectives

- Imperfects are used in counterfactuals because they can implicate counterfactuality ('imperfective paradox').
- Aspect is fake because the source meaning has been backgrounded while counterfactuality has conventionalized.
- There may exist a four-staged life cycle for 'counterfactual' imperfects : from past counterfactuality to unlikelihood (to be further investigated).
- The cycle begins when the 'habitual' counterfactual marker becomes ambiguous and declines, the imperfect is used to compensate for the ambiguity.
- The cycle ends when the counterfactual imperfect is reanalysed and/or disappears.



**Thank you  
for your attention**

# References

- Arregui, A. C. (2007). When aspect matters: the case of “would” conditionals, *Natural Language Semantics* 15: 221-264.
- Becker, M. (2015). Il sistema dei modi in italiano—un’analisi semantico-modale, *Italienisch-Zeitschrift für italienische Sprache und Literatur* 74: 62-85.
- Bazanella, Carla (1990). ‘Modal’ uses of the Italian Indicative Imperfetto in a pragmatic perspective, *Journal of Pragmatics* 14(3): 439-457.
- Berthonneau, Anne-Marie and Kleiber, Georges. (2003). Un imparfait de plus ... et le train déraillait, *Cahiers Chronos* 11: 1-24.
- Berthonneau, Anne-Marie and Kleiber, Georges. (2006). Sur l'imparfait contrefactuel, *Travaux de Linguistique* 53(2): 7-65.
- Bertinetto, P. M. (1986). *Tempo, aspetto e azion en el verbbo italiano,Il sistema dell'indicativo*. Firenze: Accademia della Crusca.
- Bres, Jacques. (2006). Encore un peu, et l'imparfait était un mode, L'imparfait et la valeur modale de contrefactualité. *Cahiers de Praxématique* 47: 149-176.
- Bres, Jacques. (2009). Sans l'imparfait, les vendanges tardives ne rentraient pas dans la jupe rhénane... Sur l'imparfait contrefactuel, pour avancer. *Syntaxe et sémantique* 10: 33-50.
- Briz Gómez E. A. (2004). Notas sobre los llamados usos temporales "dislocados" en la conversación coloquial, *Estudios de Lingüística*, Anexo 2, 43-53.
- Caudal, P. (2011). Towards a novel aspectuo-temporal account of conditionals, *Cahiers Chronos* 22: 179-209.
- Comrie, B. (1986). Conditionals: a typology. In: Traugott, E., ter Meulen, A., Reilly, J., Ferguson, C.(eds), *On Conditionals*, Cambridge University Press : Cambridge, 77-99.
- Corminbœuf, G. (2009). *L'expression de l'hypothèse en français: entre hypotaxe et parataxe*. Bruxelles: De Boeck Supérieur.
- D'Achille, P. (1990). *Sintassi del parlato e tradizione scritta della lingua italiana. Analisi di testi dalle origini al secolo XVIII*, Roma: Bonacci.

# References

- Dahl, Ö. (1997). The relation between past time reference and counterfactuality: a new look. In Athanasiadou, A., Dirven, R. (eds), *On conditionals again*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 97-114.
- Dessi Schmid, S. (2010). ‘Modal uses’ of the Italian imperfetto and the Spanish imperfecto: a comparison. In: Becker, M. G., Remberger, E.-M. (eds), *Modality and Mood in Romance*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 39-66.
- Ernout, A., Thomas, F. (1953). *Syntaxe latine*, Paris: Klincksieck.
- Ferraro, M. I., López, Jorge F. O. (2002). La temporalidad verbal en español. In: *Proceedings of the 2. Congreso Brasileño de Hispanistas*, San Pablo / São Paulo. Available from: [http://www.proceedings.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=MSC0000000012002000100038&lng=en&nrm=iso](http://www.proceedings.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=MSC0000000012002000100038&lng=en&nrm=iso).
- Fleischman, S. (1982). *The Future in Thought and Language. Diachronic Evidence from Romance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Givón, T. (1994). Irrealis and the subjunctive. *Studies in Language* 18(2): 265-337.
- Gosselin, L. (1999). Les valeurs de l'imparfait et du conditionnel dans les systèmes hypothétiques, *Cahiers Chronos* 4: 29-51.
- Grice, P. H. (1975). Logic and conversation. In: Cole, P., Morgan, J.L. (eds.), *Speech Acts*, Academic Press: New York, 41-58.
- Harris, M.B. (1986). The Historical Development of si-Clauses in Romance. In: E. Closs Traugott *et al.* (eds) *On Conditionals*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 265–84.
- Haverling, Gerd V. (2010). On tense, viewpoint and modality from Early to Late Latin. In P. Anreiter, M. Kienpointner (eds), *Latin linguistics today. Akten des 15. Internationalen Kolloquiums zur lateinischen Linguistik*, Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, 143-158.
- Haverling, Gerd V. (2013). On tense and mood in conditional clauses from Early to Late Latin. In F. Josephson, I. Söhrman (eds), *Diachronic and Typological Perspectives on Verbs*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 13-56.
- Heine, B. (2002). On the role of contexts in grammaticalization. In: Wischer, I., Diewald, G. (eds.), *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, John Benjamins: Amsterdam, 83-101.

# References

- Heine, B., Claudi, U., Hünnemeyer F. (1991). *Grammaticalization. A Conceptual Framework*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hogeweg, L. (2009). What's so unreal about the past: past tense and counterfactuals. In: Tsangalidis, A. and Facchinetto, R. (eds), *Studies on English Modality in honour of Frank R. Palmer*, Bern: Peter Lang, 181-208.
- Horn, L. (1984). Towards a new taxonomy for pragmatic inference: Q-based and R-based implicature. In: D. Schiffrin (ed.), *Meaning, form, and use in context*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 11-42.
- Horn, L. (1989). *A Natural History of Negation*, Chicago: the University Press of Chicago.
- Horn, L. (2004). Implicature. In: L. R. Horn, G. Ward (eds), *The Handbook of Pragmatics*, Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2-28.
- Iatridou, S. (2000). The Grammatical Ingredients of Counterfactuality, *Linguistic inquiry* (31), 231-270.
- Ippolito, M. (2003). Presupposition and implicatures in counterfactuals, *Natural Language Semantics* (11/2): 145-186.
- Ippolito, M. (2004). Imperfect Modality. In: Guéron, J., Lecarme, J. (eds), *The Syntax of Time*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 359-387.
- Ippolito, M. (2013). *Subjunctive Conditionals*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- James, D. (1982). Past tense and the hypothetical. A cross-linguistic study, *Studies in Language* 6: 375-403.
- Karawani, H. (2014). *The Real, the Fake, and the Fake Fake in Counterfactual Conditionals, Crosslinguistically*. Doctoral dissertation, Universiteit Amsterdam: Amsterdam.
- Maiden, M. (2014). *A linguistic history of Italian*. Routledge.
- Martin, F. (2015). The imperfective in subjunctive conditionals: Fake or real aspect? In Brochhagen, Thomas, Roelofsen, Floris & Theiler, Nadine (eds.), *Proceedings of the 20th Amsterdam Colloquium*, 266–275. Amsterdam: Universiteit Amsterdam.
- Martin, R. (1991). Types de procès et systèmes hypothétiques ; de l'aspect 'de re' à l'aspect 'de dicto'. *Travaux de linguistique et de philologie* (22): 87-95.

# References

- Martínez-Atienza, M. (2012). Formas verbales en contraste en italiano y en español: similitudes, diferencias y explicación. *Revista Electrónica de Lingüística Aplicada* 11, 69-86.
- Meillet, A. (1912). L'évolution des formes grammaticales, *Scientia (rivista di scienze)* 12, 26 : 6. [also in Meillet, A. (1921). *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, tome I, Champion, Paris,130-148.]
- Molencki, R. (2000). Parallelism vs. asymmetry. *Pathways of change: grammaticalization in English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 311-28.
- Parkinson, J. K. (2009). *A diachronic study into the distributions of two Italo-Romance synthetic conditional forms*, Doctoral dissertation, University of St Andrews.
- Patard, A. (2019). To the Roots of Fake Tense and 'Counterfactuality', *Cahiers Chronos* 30: 176-212.
- Patard, A. (2014). When tense and aspect conveys modality: reflections on the modal uses of past tenses in Romance and Germanic languages, *Journal of Pragmatics* (71): 69-97.
- Patard, A., De Mulder, W. (2014). Aux origines des emplois modaux de l'imparfait: Le cas de l'emploi hypothétique et de l'emploi contrefactuel, *Langages* 193: 33-47.
- Patard, A., Natalia G., De Mulder, W. (2015). Etude diachronique du conditionnel passé ou l'origine de la contrefactualité, *Journal of French Language Studies* 25(2): 189-211.
- Sabanééva, M. (1996). *Essai sur l'évolution du subjonctif latin*, Louvain : Peeters.
- Squartini, M. (2001). The internal structure of evidentiality in Romance, *Studies in Language* 25 (2): 297-334.
- Squartini, M. (2010). Mood in Italian. *Mood in the languages of Europe*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 237-251.
- Thomas, F. (1938). *Recherches sur le subjonctif latin. Histoire et valeur des formes*, Paris: Klincksieck.
- Veiga, A., Louzao, M. M. (2006). *El modo verbal en cláusulas condicionales, causales, consecutivas, concesivas, finales y adverbiales de lugar, tiempo y modo* (Vol. 2). Universidad de Salamanca.

## References

- Van Gelderen, E. (2013). The linguistic cycle and the language faculty, *Language and Linguistics Compass* 7(4): 233–250.
- van Gelderen, E. (2011). Language change as cyclical. *Studies in Modern English* 27: 1–23.
- Van Linden, A., Verstraete, J.-C. (2008). The nature and origins of counterfactuality in simple clauses. Cross-linguistic evidence, *Journal of Pragmatics* 40: 1865–1895.
- Verstraete, J.-C. (2006). The nature of unreality in the past domain: evidence from past intentional constructions in Australian languages, *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 26(1): 59–79.
- Wagner, R.-L. (1939). *Les phrases hypothétiques commençant par « si » dans la langue française, des origines à la fin du XVIIe siècle*. Paris: Droz.
- Ziegeler, D. (2000). *Hypothetical Modality. Grammaticalisation in an L2 Dialect*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Ziegeler, D. (2003). The Development of Counterfactual Implicatures in English: A Case of Metonymy or M-Inference? In: Panther, K.-U., Thornburg, L. L. (eds), *Metonymy and Pragmatic Inferencing*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 169–203.