Aspectual and irrealis marking: the distribution of the Wallon *temps surcomposés*[1]

Adam Ledgeway

(University of Cambridge)

1. Introduction

It is well known that many Romance varieties including French (Cornu 1953; Ayres-Bennett and Carruthers 1992), Occitan (Schlieben-Lange 1971:37-50, 134-55), northern Catalan (*GLC* 247, 957), Francoprovençal (Kristol 2016:362), Friulian (Benincà 1989; Benincà and Vanelli 2016:146), Ladin (Salvi 2016:161), north-eastern dialects of Italy (Marcato 1986; Poletto 1992; 2008; 2009; Formentin 2004; Benincà, Parry and Pescarini 2016:204f.) and old Neapolitan and Romanesco (Ledgeway [1997]1999; 2009:596f.; Formentin 2002:248) display a double compound perfective periphrasis, the so-called *temps surcomposés*, in which the auxiliary itself occurs in a compound form. This is illustrated in the northern Italian example (1a) from Poletto (2009), where the lexical participle *magnà* 'eaten' is preceded by an auxiliary complex consisting of a finite HAVE auxiliary *go* followed, in turn, by a specialized participial form of the auxiliary HAVE (viz. *bio*). In the case of the passive (1b), this naturally gives rise to a case of triple auxiliation (cf. also 11b and (i.b) in note 12 below).

(1) a. Co   **go**   **bio**   magnà,… (Cereda, Vicenza)[2]
         when   have.1SG   have.PTCP   eat.PTCP
         'When I (had) finished eating,…' (Poletto 2009:34)

     b. Co   **so**   **bio**   **stà**   ciamà,… (Cereda, Vicenza)
         when   be.1SG   have.PTCP   be.PTCP   call.PTCP
         'When I had been called,…' (Poletto 2008:502)

---

[2] In this and all following examples we simply gloss person (and number) on present tense verb forms, rather than glossing them explicitly with present (viz. PRS) which we interpret here as the default form/specification.

Although there is some variation in the interpretation of the *temps surcomposés* across Romance, such forms are typically claimed to give rise to specific aspectual readings such as anteriority and completive and experiential values (cf. Jolivet 1986; Haiman and Benincà 1992:109; Salvat 1998:106; Schaden 2007:ch. 4; Apothéloz 2010; Vincent 2011:430-32; 2014:12f., 17f.; Melchior 2012; Bertinetto and Squartini 2016:947). For instance, example (1a) clearly expresses a terminative or completive value, underlining that the speaker had finished eating at a reference point anterior to a subsequent event or situation (cf. Schaden's (2007:216f.) type 1 aspectual use). Poletto (1992) argues that in such structures the HAVE participle spells out the head of an aspectual projection sandwiched between two tense projections which is responsible for licensing the observed marked aspectual reading, an idea that she develops in more detail from a cartographic perspective in her 2008 and 2009 (comparative) analyses of the *temps surcomposés* in Italo-Romance and Germanic.

Much less studied, by contrast, are the uses of the *temps surcomposés* to mark certain irrealis situations and events. One reported case comes from the dialects of central and northern Sardinia which restrict the use of the *surcomposé* paradigm to irrealis contexts such as past counterfactual conditionals, unrealized wishes and conditional perfects, witness (2).

(2) tamˈbɛne si **aˈiað**   **ˈapːi̯u**   ˈɸropːi̯u. (Dorgali, Srd.)
    if.only   if have.PST.IPFV.3SG have.PTCP   rain.PTCP
    'If only it had rained!' (Pisano 2010:130)

On the surface, one might interpret the uses of the *temps surcomposés* displayed in (1a-b) and (2) as instantiating two distinct constructions.[3] However, evidence from the *langue d'oïl*

---

[3] This is not to be taken to imply that the *temps surcomposés* are necessarily excluded from past counterfactual contexts in varieties such as the dialect of Cereda but, simply, that such forms are not restricted to past counterfactuals in these varieties (Poletto 2009:37), as happens in Sardinian. This is confirmed by past counterfactual examples such as (i) from Cereda.

(i) Se l'   **essa**   **abù**   fenì   de soprescer per temp, assane
    if SCL.3 have.PST.SBJV.3   have.PTCP   finish.PTCP   of iron.INF   for time   have.PST.SBJV.1PL
    podù   si n   zir   al   cinema. (Cereda, Vicenza)
    be.ABLE.PTCP   go.INF in round   to.the   cinema
    'If he had finished ironing in time, we could have gone to the cinema.'

varieties of Wallonia (southern Belgium) to be explored in this article demonstrates that the two uses can occur within the same variety. In particular, Wallon varieties display both the typical 'aspectual' uses of the *temps surcomposés* (cf. 3a) as well as the less frequently documented 'modal' uses (cf. 3b).

(3) a. I   nn'   **a**   **avou**   vite   toumé (La Gleize, Wal.)
     it   of.it=   have.3SG   have.PTCP   quickly   fall.PTCP
      'A lot of it [viz. snow] had quickly begun to fall.' (Remacle 1956:74)

    b. S'   il   **areût**   **avou**   fêt   mèyeûr, dju   l's-   **areû**
       if   he   have.COND.3SG   have.PTCP   do.PTCP better   I   them=   have.COND.1SG
       avou   stou   say (La Gleize, Wal.)
       have.PTCP   be.PTCP   try.INF
       'If he had done better, I would have gone to try them.' (Remacle 1956:75)

In what follows I take evidence such as (3a-b) from Wallon to support the idea that both uses of the *temps surcomposés* should be unified, in that the irrealis use in (3b) can be interpreted as an extension of the more widespread aspectual use in (3a). Following in part ideas first developed in Poletto (2009) and to be fleshed out in more detail below, I argue that the double compound form in examples such as (3b) functions as a dedicated emphatic marker of irrealis modality which extends the typical anterior values of the *temps surcomposés* observed in examples such as (3a) to yield a modalized (viz. non-actual) reading of the temporal value realized by the additional participial auxiliary (cf. also Schaden 2007:193f.). In this way, it is possible to capture the complementary aspectual and irrealis uses of the *temps surcomposés* and, ultimately, their extension to irrealis contexts.

The article is organized as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the distribution of the *temps surcomposés* and their principal values and uses in Wallon as documented in various grammars (Section 2.1) and textual sources (Section 2.2). Section 3.1 considers the aspectual and modal uses of the *temps surcomposés* across a range of Romance varieties before investigating the core ingredients of irrealis from a cross-linguistic perspective in Section 3.2. Finally Section 3.3 offers a unified analysis of the Wallon *temps surcomposés* which brings together the aspectual and modal values of the double compound paradigm. Section 4 concludes the discussion and summarizes the main findings.

2. Wallon *temps surcomposés*

2.1 Remacle (1952-60)

In his detailed description of the syntax of the *langue d'oïl* variety spoken in the village of *La Gleize* in the province of Liège, south-eastern Belgium, Remacle (1952-60) provides a detailed description of the distribution and values of the Wallon *temps surcomposés* which he classifies according to three principal uses. The first is typically found in dependent temporal clauses introduced by subordinators such as WHEN and AFTER THAT (Remacle 1956:72-74), where the double compound paradigm serves to mark a 'completive' perfective aspect ('l'aspect de l'accompli'; cf. also Salvi 2016:161; Borel 2018:5), a sort of 'double anterior' ('bisantérieur'; cf. 'ante-anteriority' in Kristol 2016:362) that signals that the action is terminated and completed with respect to a given reference point (cf. Wheeler 1988:265; Poletto 2009:42; Benincà, Parry and Pescarini 2016:205; Bertinetto and Squartini 2016:947; Borel 2018:2f.; Paesani 2001:5). Consequently, in (4) the act of having lunch is interpreted as being over before going out. This contrast is seen more clearly in minimal pairs such as (5a-b): in the first example with a simplex compound paradigm we are simply told that the speaker began to eat before the other referent returned, whereas in second example the use of the *temps surcomposé* unambiguously implies that the speaker had finished eating before the other referent returned.

(4) Cwand dj' **a**   **avou**   **d'djuné**, dj' a   moussi
     when   I   have.1SG   have.PTCP   lunch.PTCP   I   have.1SG   enter.PTCP
     foû. (La Gleize, Wal.)
     outside
     'When I had finished eating my lunch, I went out.' (Remacle 1956:73)

(5) a. Dj' **aveû**   magni d'vant k' i n' ruv'nahe. (La Gleize, Wal.)
        I   have.IPFV.PST.1SG eat.PTCP before that he NEG return.PST.SBJV.3SG
        'I had eaten (= begun eating) before he came back.' (Remacle 1956:73)
     b. Dj' **aveû**   **avou**   magni d'vant k' i n'
        I   have.IPFV.PST.1SG have.PTCP   eat.PTCP before that he NEG
        ruv'nahe. (La Gleize, Wal.)
        return.PST.SBJV.3SG
        'I had eaten (= finished eating) before he came back.'

In the second use, Remacle (1956:74) includes examples such as (6a) where the *temps surcomposé* continues to mark a completive perfective aspect, but in which the given point of anteriority relative to which the action was completed is missing. He observes, however, that although the relation of anteriority is not explicit in such examples, it is very much implicit and pragmatically salient in all cases (cf. the episodic reading discussed in Poletto 2009:42), hence the implied reading 'despite what you thought, I did manage to finish it in time/by then'. By way of further illustration, he cites examples such as (6b-c) where the *temps surcomposés* signal the very rapid completion of an action with respect to an implicit reference point (cf. also 3a).

(6) a. Vos   vèyoz   bin   k'   dj'**a**   **avou**   fêt,   don? (La Gleize, Wal.)
        you.PL see.2PL well that I   have.1SG have.PTCP do.PTCP therefore
        'You can indeed now see that I had finished doing it, can't you?' (Remacle 1956:74)

     b. Dju l'   a   on   pô   pris,   èt,   d'on côp, dju l'   **a**   **avou**
        I   it= have.1SG a   little take.PTCP and suddenly I   it= have.1SG have.PTCP
        pièrdou. (La Gleize, Wal.)
        lose.PTCP
        'I took it [sc. the medicine] for a while and quickly lost it.' (Ramacle 1956:74)

     c. I   l'   **oûhe**   **avou**   fêt   so   rin   do   monde du
        he   it=have.PST.SBJV.3SG have.PTCP do.PTCP on   nothing of.the world of
        tins. (La Gleize, Wal.)
        time
        'He would have done it in no time at all.' (Ramacle 1956:74)

In short, Ramacle (1956:74) concludes that the usage exemplified in (6) is ultimately to be conflated with that in (4) and (5b), in that the *temps surcomposés* serve in all cases to mark completive aspect, often implying rapid completion or sudden occurrence of non-durative events (cf. Vet 1980:91; Borel 2018:3; Paesani 2001:5, 40).

Apparently more difficult to reconcile with these preceding examples is the third use identified by Ramacle (1956:74-76; 1960:204), namely the distribution of the *temps surcomposés* in irrealis contexts involving the pluperfect subjunctive (7a), the conditional perfect (7b) and the pluperfect indicative (7c), henceforth subsumed under the label 'past counterfactual'.

271

(7) a. K' **oûhiz**-v' **avou** pinsé? (La Gleize, Wal.)

what have.PST.SBJV.2PL-you.PL have.PTCP think.PTCP

'What would you have thought?' (Remacle 1956:75)

b. S' Alfrèd **arreût** **avou** viké, i-gn-areût avou

if Alfred have.COND.3SG have.PTCP live.PTCP it-LOC-have.COND.3SG have.PTCP

t't-èn-amont. (La Gleize, Wal.)

all-in-uphill

'If Alfred had lived, there would have been some [poles] as far as the top.' (Remacle 1960:204)

c. S' il **aveût** **avou** fêt bon, nos-i arins

if it have.IPFV.PST have.PTCP do.PTCP good we-there= have.COND.1PL

stou. (La Gleize, Wal.)

be.PTCP

'If the weather had been fine, we would have gone there.' (Remacle 1960:204)

Remacle (1956:75) observes that it is difficult to identify any interpretive difference conferred by the use of the *temps surcomposés* in this context, not least because they are largely interchangeable with the simplex compound forms in irrealis contexts, witness the minimal pair (8a-b).

(8) a. Cwand dj' pârtihins, dj'**oûhe** bin atch'té l' pârt

when we share.PST.PFV.1PL I have.PST.SBJV.1SG well buy.PTCP the part

d-à tos lès-ôtes. (La Gleize, Wal.)

of-to all the-others

b. Cwand dj' pârtihins, dj' **oûhe** bin **avou** atch'té

when we share.PST.PFV.1PL I have.PST.SBJV.1SG well have.PTCP buy.PTCP

l' pârt d-à tos lès-ôtes. (La Gleize, Wal.)

the part of-to all the-others

'When we shared out [the family assets], I would have willingly bought everybody else's share.' (Remacle 1956:74f.)

2.2 Other sources

In this section we briefly review some of the other rare sources that discuss the distribution of the *temps surcomposés* in Wallon varieties, as well as provide some other documented examples that demonstrate the phenomenon. One important point of reference is Hendschel's (2001) *Grammaire wallonne en ligne / Li waibe del croejhete walone* 'Online Wallon Grammar' (https://croejhete.walon.org/node76.html; accessed 30/06/22), which lists *temps surcomposés* for all available finite paradigms. In partial accord with Remacle (1952-60), its main uses are described as marking either anteriority (9a) or past counterfactuals (9b).

(9) a. Quand il **a**   **yeû**   scafyi   si prumîre trintche, il a
       when he have.3SG have.PTCP swallow.PTCP his first   slice   he have.3SG
       longtimps massyi   èt r'massyi   si dérène goléye. (Wal.)
       long.time chew.PTCP and rechew.PTCP his last   mouthful
       'After he had gobbled down his first slice, he spent a long time chewing over his last mouthful.' (https://croejhete.walon.org/node76.html; accessed 30/06/22)

   b. i s' **aureut**   **yeû**   d'mandè si c' ît   ène imâdje
      he self= have.COND.3SG have.PTCP ask.PTCP if this be.IPFV.PST a   image
      tél'mint qu' èle ît   bèle. (Wal.)
      so   that she be.IPFV.PST beautiful
      'he would have wondered whether it was a picture, so beautiful was she.' (https://croejhete.walon.org/node76.html; accessed 30/06/22)

Equally of interest is the Wallon edition of Wikipedia (https://wa.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mwaisse_pådje) which has a webpage specifically dedicated to the *temps surcomposés* (https://wa.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dobe_erî-tins),[4] or, in Wallon, the *dobes erî-tins* (lit. 'double back-tenses') or *rirpassés tins* (lit. 'repeated tenses'). Just like *Li waibe del croejhete walone*, this webpage lists double compound forms for all finite paradigms and mentions just two uses for the *temps surcomposés*, namely anterior temporal contexts introduced by subordinators such as AFTER and WHEN (10a) and past counterfactuals (10b).

(10) a. Après k' elle **a**   **yeu**   fwait   ene pikeure a Leyon, l'
        after that she have.3SG have.PTCP do.PTCP an injection to Léon the

---

[4] Both webpages last accessed on 27/06/22.

infirmire ercomande a Djelike di n' nén pårler. (Wal.)

nurse recommend.3SG to Gillette of NEG NEG speak.INF

'After she gave Léon an injection, the nurse advises Gilles to not talk.'
(https://wa.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dobe_erî-tins; accessed 27/06/22)

b. T' **åreus** **yeu** arivé cénk munutes pus vite,

you.SG have.COND.2SG have.PTCP arrive.PTCP five minutes more quick

tel schapéve!

you.SG=it= escape.IPFV.PST.2SG

'If you had arrived five minutes earlier, you would have avoided it!'
(https://wa.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dobe_erî-tins; accessed 27/06/22)

A search of various online textual sources of Wallon varieties including stories, fairy-tales and plays as well as transcribed oral usage reveals the widespread use of the *temps surcomposés*, not only in anterior temporal clauses such as (11a-d), but especially in irrealis contexts involving the conditional perfect (more rarely the indicative pluperfect) in the protases (12a-c) and apodoses (13a-c) of past counterfactuals – or indeed in both (14) –, in various types of dependent clause such as concessives and *as if* comparatives (15a-d), as well as in root clauses (16a-b).

(11) a. Quand il **a** **yeû** fini, i lî a d né one

when he have.3SG have.PTCP finish.PTCP he DAT.3=have.3SG give.PTCP a

bèle blague à toubac di fiêr. (Maillen, Namur)

fine pouch to tobacco of iron

'When he had finished, he gave him a fine metal tobacco case.'
(https://docplayer.fr/198819842-Jeanne-monmart-dji-cause-walon.html; accessed 27/06/22)

b. après l guêre, quand il **a** **yeû** stî pensioné, il a

after the war when he have.3SG have.PTCP be.PTCP retire.PTCP he have.3SG

d mèré dins nosse vile (Namur province)

stay.PTCP in our town

'after the war, when he had been retired off, he remained in our town.' (*Cahiers wallons* 2014, 1:103; https://docplayer.fr/220168066-Les-cahiers-wallons-il-lui-a-ete-remis-solennellement-le-dimanche-26-janvier-dernier-au-theatre-du-trianon-a-liege.html; accessed 27/06/22)

c. A poenne **aveu** dju **yeu** dit çoula ki l' moumint
hardly have.IPFV.PST.1SG I have.PTCP say.PTCP that that the moment

madjike arivéve ca […] (Namur)
conceived arrive.IPFV.PST.3SG for

'Hardly had I said that when the agreed moment came about for […]' (*Li Rantoele*, Bontins 2020; https://www.revues.be/li-rantoele/340-li-rantoele-93-bontins-2020/886-mi-espedicion-dins-les-scoles; accessed 27/06/22)

d. dji n' **a** nin co **avou** dandjî di v'zèl dire! (Glain, Liège)
I NEG have.1SG NEG yet have.PTCP ask.PTCP of you.PL=it= say.INF

'I still haven't asked for you to be told it.' (*Va-st-î r'trouver*, Act 1; https://theatrewallon.be/onewebmedia/1Va-st-î%20r%27trover.pdf; accessed 28/06/22)

(12) a. si leûs-ouys **aurin.n** **yeû** stî dès rèvolvêrs, on n
if their.PL-eyes have.COND.3PL have.PTCP be.PTCP some revolvers one NEG

aureut pus causé d nos-ôtes. (Maillen, Namur)
have.COND.3SG more speak.PTCP of we-others

'if their eyes had been revolvers, we wouldn't have spoken anymore about ourselves.' (https://docplayer.fr/198819842-Jeanne-monmart-dji-cause-walon.html; accessed 27/06/22)

b. Tot aureut p'lu yèsse po l' mia si l' vôye dau Djîle
all have.COND.3SG be.able.PTCP be.INF for the better if the path of.the Gilles

n' **aureut** **yeû** crwèsé on bia djoû l' cine di
NEG have.COND.3SG have.PTCP cross.PTCP a fine day the that.one of

Midone di Biou. (Polivache (Yvoir), Namur)
Midone of Bioul

'Everything could have been much better if Gilles hadn't crossed paths one day with Midone de Bioul' (https://poilvache.com/2012/11/16/520/; accessed 27/06/22)

c. Qu' ârîz faît, vos, si l' djoû qu' on fièstéye vos-
what have.COND.2PL do.PTCP you.PL if the day that one celebrate.3SG your.PL-

ans, tot l 'monde s' **âreut** **yeû** discandjî dès
years all the world self= have.COND.3SG have.PTCP exchange.PTCP some

cadaus èt qu' i n' âreut d'dja nén yeû one
presents and that it NEG have.COND.3SG already NEG have.PTCP not.one

por vos ? (Longchamps, Namur)

for you.PL

'What would you have done if on your birthday everyone had given each other presents but there hadn't been even one for you?' (*Cahiers wallons* 2015:6; https://www.revues.be/cahiers-wallons-relis-namurwes/170-novembre-decembre-2015/396-on-noye-d-audjourdu; accessed 27/06/22)

(13) a. Si l' gros tronle aveut p'lu ou v'lu causer,
if the big aspen have.IPFV.PST be.able.PTCP or want.PTCP speak.INF

i vos.PL-ènn'**aureut** **yeû** raconté dès carèsses (Sart-Bernard
it you=of.it= have.COND.3SG have.PTCP tell.PTCP some caresses

(Assesse), Namur)

'it the big aspen had been able or wanted to speak, it would have told you some sweet things' (*Cahiers wallons* 2015:4; https://www.revues.be/cahiers-wallons-relis-namurwes/167-juillet-aout-2015/388-li-feye-dau-tchaurli; accessed 27/06/22)

b. s' i n' âreût nén yeu s' cote, pinseûve dju,
if he NEG have.COND.3SG NEG have.PTCP this jacket think.IPFV.PST.1SG I

vos l' **ârîz** bén **yeu** pris po nosse marchau
you.PL him= have.COND.3PL well have.PTCP take.PTCP for our marshal

dè Bali. (Hemptinne-Éghezée, Namur)
from Baarle

'if he had not had this jacket, I was thinking, you certainly would have confused him for our marshal from Baarle' (*Les Cahiers wallons* 2003, 66(12):180; https://neptun.unamur.be/files/original/a815a5a6db264eb6d8a539b3fd2c5eee3ebb2511.pdf; accessed 27/06/22)

c. S' il aveut stî malén, il **åreut** **yeu** atchté
if he have.IPFV.PST.3SG be.PTCP shrewd he have.COND.3SG have.PTCP buy.PTCP

on pwin a Bounru divant d' rivni. (Liège province)
a loaf at Bonnerue before of come.back.INF

'If he had been smart, he would have bought a loaf at Bonnerue before coming back.' (https://wa.wikipedia.org/wiki/Condicioneu; accessed 27/06/22)

(14) s' il **åreut** **yeu** ploû, on **åreut** **yeu** stî

if it have.COND.3SG have.PTCP rain.PTCP one have.COND.3SG have.PTCP be.PTCP

tot   frexhs. (Wal.)

all   wet

'If it had rained, we'd have been wet through.'

(https://wa.wikipedia.org/wiki/Condicioneu; accessed 11/07/22)

(15) a. Tot bèlotemint, come si dj **aureu**   **yeû**   stî   su on

   all   calmly   as   if I have.COND.1SG have.PTCP be.PTCP on a

   monte-chârje (Gôdène (Yvoir), Namur)

   lift-goods

   'Quite calmly, as if I had been on a goods lift.' (*Cahiers wallons* 2014, 1:12;

   https://docplayer.fr/220168066-Les-cahiers-wallons-il-lui-a-ete-remis-

   solennellement-le-dimanche-26-janvier-dernier-au-theatre-du-trianon-a-liege.html;

   accessed 27/06/22)

  b. come on viêr qu' **aureut**   **yeû**   stî   côpé   è deûs par

   like   a   worm that have.COND.3SG have.PTCP be.PTCP cut.PTCP in two   by

   on côp   d' locèt. (Gôdène (Yvoir), Namur)

   a   blow   of spade

   'like a worm cut in two by a blow of the spade.' (*Cahiers wallons* 2016:4;

   https://www.revues.be/cahiers-wallons-relis-namurwes/174-juillet-aout-2016/408-

   cinquyinme-dimegne-di-pauque; accessed 27/06/22)

  c. il aureûve   falu   qui nosse pa   s' **aureûve**

   he have.COND.3SG be.necessary.PTCP that our   dad self= have.COND.3SG

   yeû   tapè   su sès dwègts avou on gros martia (Namur province)

   have.PTCP hit.PTCP on his fingers with a big   hammer

   'Our dad would have had to beat his own hands with a large hammer' (*Cahiers wallons*

   2016:3;   https://www.revues.be/cahiers-wallons-relis-namurwes/173-mai-juin-

   2016/406-des-tautes-po-l-dicauce-do-cabinier-d-falayin-visadjes-d-eyir-9;   accessed

   11/07/22)

  d. Bwêre   on vêre d aîwe vêci, one gwardjîye di blanc brouwèt qui   vos-

   drink.INF a glass of water here a   mouthful of white broth   that you.PL

   aurîz   **yeû**   dit   dè lacia. (Maillen, Namur)

   have.COND.2PL have.PTCP say.PTCP of   milk

'To drink a glass of water from here would be like a mouthful of white broth which you would be forgiven for thinking was milk' (https://docplayer.fr/198819842-Jeanne-monmart-dji-cause-walon.html; accessed 27/06/22)

(16) a. Vos-**aurîz** **yeû** dit qu il avin.n mètu

you.PL-have.COND.2PL have.PTCP say.PTCP that they have.IPFV.PST.3PL put.PTCP

one pèruque. (Maillen, Namur)

a wig

'You would have said that (= it looked as if) they was wearing a wig.' (https://docplayer.fr/198819842-Jeanne-monmart-dji-cause-walon.html; accessed 27/06/22)

b. Tout **aurèut** **yeu** toûrné comme toudi. (Liège)

all have.COND.3SG have.PTCP turn.PTCP as always

'Everything would have turned out as usual' (https://fraire-fairoul.be/sentifer/pisinte2.htm; accessed 27/06/22)

c. vos l' **ôriz** bén **yeu** pris po on

you.PL him= have.COND.2PL well have.PTCP take.PTCP for a

carabinier (Hemptinne-Éghezée, Namur)

rifleman

'You could have easily mistaken him for a rifleman' (*Les Cahiers wallons* 2003, 66:180;

https://neptun.unamur.be/files/original/a815a5a6db264eb6d8a539b3fd2c5eee3ebb25 11.pdf; accessed 27/06/22)

2.3 Summary

Our review of the available evidence about the use and distribution of the *temps surcomposés* in Wallon has revealed two principal uses. The first is aspectual in nature (cf. 17a) and involves the marking of temporal anteriority where the double compound paradigm, irrespective of whether it surfaces in a subordinate temporal clause or a root clause, licenses a terminative or completive interpretation largely in accordance with the aspectual values identified in Poletto (2008; 2009). The second involves a modal usage (cf.17b) in which the *temps surcomposés* optionally surface in irrealis contexts, typically the pluperfect indicative or subjunctive and the conditional perfect, where they appear to function as an emphatic marker of non-veridicality.

(17) a. Quand l' Bon Dieu **a**   **yeû**   mètu   Totôr dins l' paradis,
when the good God have.3SG have.PTCP put.PTCP Victor in   the heaven
ça-y-èst   råde dèv'nu   anoyeûs pour li. (Namur)
that-LOC-be.3SG quick become.PTCP painful for him
'When God had sent Victor to heaven, it soon became upsetting for him' (*Èl bourdon*,
November 2014, https://www.revues.be/el-bourdon/52-n-670/73-ene-biesse-a-set-
tiesses; accessed 28/06/22)

   b. Su dj'l' **oûhe**   **avou**   d'mandé, on m' l **oûhe**
if I it=have.PST.SBJV.1SG have.PTCP ask.PTCP one me= it= have.PST.SBJV.3SG
avou   d'né. (La Gleize, Wal.)
have.PTCP give.PTCP
'If I had asked for it, I would have been given it.' (Remacle 1960:204)

3. Anteriority and irrealis

3.1 Aspectual and modal uses of the Romance temps surcomposés

The question now arises whether the two uses of the *temps surcomposés* observed in Wallon in
(17a-b) should be considered independent, or whether they can be brought together under a
unified analysis (cf. also Schaden 2007:193f.). The former position is assumed in Ledgeway
(2022), where the aspectual uses of the *temps surcomposés* such as (17a) are argued to involve
the activation and lexicalization of specific heads within the lower Tense-Aspect field (cf.
Poletto 1992; 2008; 2009), while modal uses such as (17b) are taken to involve the
lexicalization of functional heads in the higher Modal and Tense fields of the topmost layer of
the sentential core. This view finds support in the observation that the two uses generally display
an asymmetrical distribution across Romance. As already noted in the Introduction, most
Romance varieties with *temps surcomposés* only display aspectual uses (for an overview, see
Paesani 2001), witness examples like those in (18a-e) from a range of Romance languages and
dialects.

(18) a. Dès que elle **a**   **eu**   fermé   la porte, elle s'   est
from that she have.3SG have.PTCP close.PTCP the door she self= be.3SG
déshabillée. (Fr.)
undress.PTCP
'As soon as she had closed the door, she got undressed.' (Paesani 2001:42)

b. Quàn me **siéou agù** coujà (Barcelonnette, Occ.)

  when me= be.1SG have.PTCP lie.down.PTCP

  'When I had gone to bed' (Arnaud and Morin 1920:292)

c. ˈbelə iˈniɾ ˈɔva ˈpawl **aˈbu** fiˈna ˈsi

  already yesterday have.IPFV.PST.3SG Paul have.PTCP finish.PTCP his

  ˈlæwr (Gardenese, Ladin)

  work

  'Paolo had already finished his work yesterday.' (Salvi 2020:83)

d. Col **ga bio** magnà fora tuti i schèi che

  when=SCL.3MSG have.3SG have.PTCP eat.PTCP out all the money that

  gavea lassà so padre el xé vengù

  have.IPFV.PST.3SG leave.PTCP his father SCL.MSG be.3SG come.PTCP

  casa. (Cereda, Vicenza)

  house

  'When he had wasted all the money that his father had left him, he came home.'
  (Poletto 2008:508)

e. E multi altri nobili homini de lo mundo sì nce **so' state**

  and many other noble men of the world thus there= be.3PL be.PTCP

  venute per lo conquistare (ONap., *LDT* 59:6-7)

  come.PTCP for it= conquer.INF

  'And many other noble men of the world have already come to conquer it' (Ledgeway
  2009:598)

By contrast, the modal uses of the *temps surcomposés* have to date only been attested in the
Sardinian dialects of Nuoro and Logudoro. As noted in the literature (Pittau 1972:112, 156f.;
Jones 1993:83; Pisano 2010; 2016; Loporcaro 2016:818; Mensching and Remberger 2016:285,
288), these forms are limited to past counterfactual conditionals such as (19a-b) and other past
irrealis contexts such as unrealized wishes (20a) and main-/embedded-clause conditional
perfects (20b; cf. Pisano 2010:129f.), but are excluded from realis contexts and compound
paradigms outside of the pluperfect (Pisano 2010:125).

(19) a. Si **fis** (**istáu**) andáu a CCasteddu, kk' **aías**

      if be.IPFV.PST.2SG be.PTCP go.PTCP to Cagliari   there= have.IPFV.PST.2SG

      (**áppiu**)   finíu   sa   cosa. (Nuoro, Srd.)

      have.PTCP finish.PTCP   the   thing

      'If you had gone to Cagliari, you would have concluded the matter there.' (Pisano 2010:125)

    b. si l **aˈvi** **ˈapːi** isˈʔiu ði l **aˈvi**

      if it= have.IPFV.PST.1SG have.PTCP know.PTCP you.SG= it= have.IPFV.PST.1SG

      ˈapːi̯u naˈrau (Oliena, Nuoro, Srd)

      have.PTCP tell.PTCP

      'If I had known, I would have told you.' (Pisano 2010:126)

(20) a. tamˈbɛne s **ist** **isˈtau** ˈβenːi̯u ˈɟeri ˈθue. (Dorgali, Srd.)

      if.only   if be.IPFV.PST.2SG be.PTCP come.PTCP also   you.SG

      'If only you had come as well!' (Pisano 2010:130)

    b. no **aˈi** **ˈapːi̯u** maj ˈkretːi̯u k ˈɛre

      NEG   have.PST.IPFV.1SG have.PTCP ever believed   that be.PST.IPFV.3SG

      ˈrːikːu. (Nuoro, Srd.)

      rich

      'I never would have believed he was rich!' (Pisano 2010:130)

However, in light of the observation that both aspectual and modal uses co-occur in Wallon varieties (cf. 17a-b), it is tempting to search for a unifying explanation for their respective distributions, presumably involving an extension of an original aspectual use to irrealis modal contexts. Indeed, not only does this approach find support in the Wallon data, but also in Sardinian where Mensching and Remberger (2016:285) report that, although irrealis contexts represent the principal use of the double compound paradigm, in some Sardinian dialects the double compound paradigm is also found in realis contexts. We therefore turn in the following sections to the question of how the aspectual and modal uses of the Wallon *temps surcomposés* can be reconciled.

3.2 The ingredients of irrealis

A recurrent observation in the literature about the aspectual value of the Romance *temps surcomposés* is that, at bottom, they license a terminative or completive aspectual interpretation

signalling that a particular action or event is terminated or completed with respect to a given reference point, hence their widely reported function of marking anteriority. This is essentially the analysis proposed in Poletto (2008; 2009) who variously associates the double compound forms and, in particular, the second participial auxiliary, with the lexicalization of Asp$_{Terminative}$ (2008) or T$_{Anterior}$ (2009) in Cinque's (1999) finely-articulated clause structure. At first blush, the use of the *temps surcomposés* in irrealis contexts might therefore seem counterintuitive, inasmuch as irrealis examples such as past counterfactual conditional sentences are claimed by Remacle (1956:75) not to involve a relation of anteriority. Nor do they appear to convey a completive perfective reading since, as noted by Remacle (1956:76), they express, after all, an unreal situation which is asserted not to have taken place. However, by their very nature past counterfactual constructions such as (17b) unmistakably involve a relation of anteriority, with the consequent clause (apodosis) logically interpreted as contingent and hence subsequent to the prior termination or completion of the situation denoted by the antecedent clause (protasis). On this view, irrealis examples such as (17b) might therefore be considered to be largely similar to examples such as (17a), in that they both involve a relation of anteriority and terminative aspect. Consequently, irrealis clauses do not only present a potential action, but also stress its necessary completion with respect to a specific reference point.

In some ways, this state of affairs is reminiscent of the so-called irrealis effect in Germanic and Romance discussed in McFadden and Alexiadou (2010) and Alexiadou (2015), where the extension of perfective auxiliary HAVE to the detriment of unaccusative auxiliary BE in irrealis contexts is interpreted as a way of cancelling the unmarked aspectual implication associated with unaccusative auxiliary BE which generally entails achievement of a resultant state, a reading tendentially incompatible with the non-actualized nature of irrealis situations and events (cf. also Ledgeway 2022). Auxiliary HAVE, by contrast, marks a genuine anterior perfect (Drinka 2003:123 n.1; 2017:53) and hence the only form able to express the perfect in irrealis contexts without forcing a resultant state interpretation. In this regard, it is notable that, unlike in modern French, many Wallon dialects like that of *La Gleize* (cf. Remacle 1956:55-67) preserve a robust aspectual distinction between a synthetic perfect with past punctual meaning and a perfective auxiliary periphrasis marking presence relevance, witness the contrast in (21).[5]

---

[5] For detailed discussion of the distinction between these synthetic and analytic forms across Romance, see Drinka (2017:ch.8).

(21) Dju n'   **a**   **avou**   nouk oûy   èt   dj' n'   **oû**

   I   NEG   have.1SG have.PTCP none today and I   NEG   have.PFV.PST.1SG

co   nouk   îr. (La Gleize, Wal.)

still   none   yesterday

'I haven't had one [sc. egg] today and I didn't get one yesterday.' (Remacle 1956:58)

Clearly, the development of the analytic perfect in Wallon remains at quite a conservative stage (cf. Drinka 2017:53), in that it has not undergone aoristic drift to develop into a generalized perfective paradigm but, rather, functions as a present perfect still characterized by salient completive and resultative values (Remacle 1956:58). As such, the appearance of the *temps surcomposés* in past counterfactuals might be interpreted as an irrealis effect, pressed into service to replace the simplex compound paradigm whose prominent resultative value might imply the actual achievement of a resultant state, a reading tendentially incompatible with the non-actualized nature of irrealis situations and events. However, this cannot be the full story since, as noted above (cf. 8a-b), the use of the *temps surcomposés* in irrealis contexts, while very frequent, is not obligatory: if the simplex paradigm entailed a resultative interpretation, then it would be legitimate to expect the *temps surcomposés* to prove obligatory in irrealis contexts.

Rather, the optional nature of the *temps surcomposés* in Wallon irrealis contexts points to a common feature of the marking of past counterfactuality. Cross-linguistically, there is a strong tendency for languages to develop, often optional, dedicated markers of irrealis and, in particular, counterfactual modality (for an overview, see Karawani 2014:ch. 1; Sansò 2020), including specialized verbal morphemes (e.g., Hungarian), temporal morphemes (e.g., Romance), spatial morphemes (e.g., Burmese) and person morphemes (e.g., Blackfoot). Typically, the temporal morphemes employed in counterfactuals are borrowed from the past tense (cf. Steele 1975; James 1982; Fleischman 1989; Dahl 1997; Karawani 2014:6, 42; Sansò 2020:410), which we can take to include the conditional, the so-called future-in-the-past. In some languages, however, past tense morphology is a necessary but not a sufficient ingredient of counterfactuality which must be further combined with additional temporal, aspectual or modal morphemes (cf. Givón 1990). Consequently, while the imperfective past indicative is sufficient to license a past counterfactual reading of both auxiliaries in conjunction with the participle in the southern Calabrian past unreal conditional example in (22a), in French (22b) the past auxiliary of the apodosis, but not the protasis, must be further combined with future (>

283

conditional) and in Italian (22c) both past auxiliaries must be variously bundled with subjunctive and future (> conditional) in order to convey counterfactuality with the participle.

(22) a. Si **nd avia**   avutu   kju ssuardi m   **avia**   akkatthatu
       if have.IPFV.PST.1SG have.PTCP more money me= have.IPFV.PST.1SG buy.PTCP
       na   makkina nuova. (Polistena, SCal.)
       a   car   new (https://www.asica2.gwi.uni-muenchen.de; accessed 15/12/21)

   b. Si j' **avais**   eu   plus d' argent je me **serais**   acheté
      if I have.IPFV.PST.1SG have.PTCP more of money I me= be.COND.1SG buy.PTCP
      une   nouvelle   voiture. (Fr.)
      a   new   car

   c. Se **avessi**   avuto   più soldi   mi **sarei**   comprato
      if have.PST.SBJV.1SG have.PTCP more money me= be.COND.1SG buy.PTCP
      una   macchina   nuova. (It.)
      a   car   new
      'If I had had more money I would have bought a new car.'

Following Iatridou's (2000:244) seminal study of counterfactuality, if the pluperfect is taken to include two past morphemes (cf. Steedman 1997), viz. the past auxiliary (marking the relation between event and speech time) and the past participle (marking the relation between event and reference time), then the participle can be taken to express a genuine temporal past interpretation (encoding an anterior event argument by virtue of its perfect aspect; cf. Karawani 2014:108) whereas the past temporal form of the auxiliary represents a 'fake' tense (cf. Iatridou 2000:235), a key ingredient (together with the specialized IF complementizer in the protasis) in the semantic composition of counterfactuality. Accordingly, this 'fake' tense serves as a marker of modal remoteness, not of past time semantics, denoting exclusion of the reported state or event from the actual world/time. Now, in some languages the structure of counterfactual sentences shows that there can even be an additional layer of 'fake' tense resulting in the stacking of several past temporal morphemes. Consider, for example, substandard varieties of British and American English (cf. 23a-b) where more than two layers of 'fake' past may co-occur in the protasis of past counterfactuals (Lambert 1986; Palmer 1986b; Fillmore 1990;

Mittwoch, Huddleston and Collins 2002:752; Dancygier and Sweetser 2005:63-65; Ippolito 2013:98; Zencak 2018:30).[6]

(23) a. If I **had** known, I'd have done it.
      b. If I **had've** (**'d have**/**'d've**/**'d of**/**hadda**/**'da**) known, I'd have done it.

Whereas the protasis of the standard past counterfactual in (23a) contains just two layers of past, a 'fake' past *had* on top of a real past *known*, the substandard variant in (23b) presents three layers of past, a genuine past encoded by the participle *known* preceded by two layers of 'fake' past instantiated by various (reduced) forms of HAVE (themselves subject to considerable orthographic variation as non-standard forms), e.g., (*had >*) *'d +* (*> have*) *'ve*.[7] Data like these beg the question how the third layer of past is to be accommodated (cf. Ippolito 2013:146 n.19), but arguably can be interpreted to suggest the existence of an additional functional projection within the sentential core to host this additional auxiliary morpheme. Indeed, based on data from languages such as Palestinian Arabic and Hebrew, Karawani (2014) argues for an additional functional projection (viz. TP_2) to host such dedicated irrealis markers. This position which is required to accommodate an additional ingredient of counterfactuality can be considered a marked option since, in contrast to the standard option in (23a), substandard examples such as (23b) appear to convey strong counterfactuality. Indeed, Karawani (2014:86) observes that '[t]he addition of optional markers results in an emphatic effect – hence a semantic/pragmatic effect that we are familiar with in other areas of grammar where the employment of optional, and thus redundant, markers produces emphasis.' In short, I take substandard strings such as (23b) to instantiate a marked structure which includes an additional

---

[6] In spoken American English another common form found in the protasis is *would have/woulda*, which formally merges with *had have/had've/hadda* (typical of British English) when both are maximally reduced (viz. *d've*). For in-depth discussion, see Boyland (1995), Schulz (2007) and Zencak (2018: 29-34).

[7] Although it might be objected that the second form of HAVE appears to be a (reduced) form of infinitive *have*, hence not a past temporal morpheme, there are various cases in Romance of specialized reduced or unexpected forms of the HAVE participle (distinct from the lexical form of the same participle) employed in double compound paradigms, cf. grammatical *bio* vs lexical *bu(d)o* in the Venetan dialect of Cereda (Poletto 1992:23 n.1; 2008:502; 2009:34 n.4). Also relevant here is the phenomenon of *infinitivus pro participio*, particularly frequent in West Germanic where infinitives regularly substitute for participles in certain verb clusters in embedded contexts (I thank J.C. Smith and Nigel Vincent for suggesting this to me).

dedicated irrealis marker that is responsible for an emphatic effect which licenses a strengthening of the counterfactual inference and the impossibility of cancelling it.

3.3 Bringing aspectual and modal values together: the case of Wallon

Wallon dialects, together with central and northern Sardinian dialects (cf. 19-20), show a remarkable parallelism with the English data in (23a-b), witness the similar contrast in (24a-b; cf. also 8a-b).

(24) a. Su Lèyon **oûhe** sutou là, il **oûhe** bin stou
        if Léon have.PST.SBJV.3SG be.PTCP there he have.PST.SBJV.3SG well be.PTCP
        vèy. (La Gleize, Wal.)
        see.INF
        'If Leon had been there, he would indeed have gone to see.' (Remacle 1960:203)

    b. Su dj'l' **oûhe** **avou** d'mandé, on m' l **oûhe**
        if I it=have.PST.SBJV.1SG have.PTCP ask.PTCP one me= it=have.PST.SBJV.3SG
        avou d'né. (La Gleize, Wal.)
        have.PTCP give.PTCP
        'If I had asked for it, I would have been given it.' (Remacle 1960:204)

Alongside the unmarked structure in (24a) in which the counterfactual reading is expressed by a single layer of 'fake' tense in the form of the past subjunctive form of the auxiliary alone (viz. *oûhe*), we also find the marked strategy in (24b) with two layers of 'fake' past realized through a *surcomposé* form in which the finite auxiliary *oûhe* 'had' is reinforced by a corresponding participial form *avou* 'had'. Given what we have already noted about the corresponding substandard English forms in (23a-b), as well as Pisano's (2010:130f.) similar observations about the emphatic strengthening effect of the Sardinian double compound forms in past counterfactual contexts, it is logical to extend this interpretation to the Wallon facts. Indeed, as we shall see, such an approach allows us to reconcile the irrealis modal uses of the *temps surcomposés* with their original aspectual value.

      In what follows I assume that in irrealis contexts the perfective auxiliary verb targets one of two tense-related functional heads in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy. More specifically, Cinque claims that the highest portion of the IP-/T-domain includes projections specialized for past and future tenses, irrealis mood (viz. the indicative/subjunctive opposition; Cinque 1999:78, 88), root modality and various aspectual categories, as sketched in (25).

(25) $[TP_{Past} > TP_{Future} > MP_{Irrealis} > MP_{Root} > AspP\ldots [_{v\text{-}VP} V]]$

The three core paradigms we need to account for, the conditional (> conditional perfect, cf. 7b), the past subjunctive (> pluperfect subjunctive, cf. 7a) and the past (> pluperfect indicative, cf. 7c), can then be said to all target one of the two T-related projections situated in the highest layer of the sentential core. Within a compositional analysis,[8] Cinque (1999:190 n. 27) proposes that the conditional be interpreted as a result of the relevant verb raising from $T°_{Future}$ to $T°_{Past}$, thereby also transparently deriving the future-in-the-past reading (26a; cf. also Iatridou's 2000 diachronically-inspired account of the French conditional as a past imperfective attached to a future stem). By the same token, I assume that the past subjunctive form of the auxiliary raises from the head of $MP_{Irrealis}$ to $T°_{Past}$ (26b) and, similarly, the irrealis uses of the past auxiliary in the pluperfect indicative (clearly an irrealis impostor posing as a realis form) is licensed by raising either from $T°_{Future}$ to $T°_{Past}$ (yielding a conditional reading) or from $MP_{Irrealis}$ to $T°_{Future}$ (yielding a past subjunctive reading).[9] The result is that in all cases the licensing of the relevant irrealis auxiliary, whether conditional, subjunctive or an apparent past indicative, requires movement to (one of) the highest positions of the sentential core, namely to $T°_{Past}$.

(26)   a. $[TP_{Past}$ **Aux** $[TP_{Fut}$ ~~Aux~~ $[MP_{Irrealis}$ $[MP_{Root}\ldots [AspP\ldots$ $PTCP_{Lexical}]]]]]$
        b. $[TP_{Past}$ **Aux** $[TP_{Fut}$ $[MP_{Irrealis}$ ~~Aux~~ $[MP_{Root}\ldots [AspP\ldots$ $PTCP_{Lexical}]]]]]$

What then of Wallon *surcomposés* structures such as (24b)? Following Karawani and Zeijlstra (2010), Karawani (2014) and Ledgeway (2022), I argue that double compound structures such as (24b) provide evidence for the activation and lexicalization of an additional functional projection within the sentential core to host the additional auxiliary morpheme which is not activated and hence unavailable in unmarked structures such as (24a). In particular, I follow

---

[8] As pointed out by Nigel Vincent (p.c.), a Cinque-style hierarchical structural analysis is not a sine qua non for a compositional analysis which can equally be derived from a semantic feature analysis like that of Schaden (2007) further developed in (2011:431).

[9] The situation is actually more complicated in that we must admit that the so-called past subjunctive form of the auxiliary can also be merged directly in $T°_{Future}$ from where it moves $T°_{Past}$ giving rise to conditional (viz. future in the past) readings such as (6c), (7a), (8b), (17b) and (24b). By the same token, we have also seen that the so-called 'conditional' form of the auxiliary may also license past subjunctive values (cf. 3b, 7b-c, 9b, 10b, 12a-c, 14, 15a-c), a fact which indicates that in such cases the verb is first-merged in $MP_{Irrealis}$ before moving to $T°_{Past}$.

Poletto's (2009) analysis of the *temps surcomposés* in the dialects of northern Italy in taking the additional participial auxiliary to lexicalize the head of TP$_{Anterior}$ immediately above Cinque's (1999) aspectual field in (25).[10] Recall from Section 3.2 that it was argued that past counterfactuals involve by their very nature a relation of anteriority with, for example, a consequent clause (apodosis) interpreted as contingent and hence subsequent to the prior termination or completion of the situation or event denoted by an antecedent clause (protasis). On this view, this additional layer of so-called 'fake' tense realized by the participial auxiliary lexicalizes the anterior temporal head which serves to mark modal remoteness, not past time semantics (cf. Palmer 1986a; Schlenker 2005), denoting exclusion from the actual world/time, i.e., the here and now (Iatridou 2000). This T$_{Anterior}$ head which accommodates an additional ingredient of past counterfactuality thus represents a marked choice since, in contrast to the standard/unmarked options in (23a) and (24a), substandard/marked examples such as (23b) and (24b) 'convey both strong counterfactuality, and strong alternativity: that is to say, they highlight not only the irrealis nature of the situation referred to, but also the contrast between that situation and the absolutely opposite one which is assumed to actually obtain' (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005:64).

Consequently, I treat irrealis Wallon structures containing *temps surcomposés* such as (24b) to exhibit a dedicated emphatic marker of irrealis which involves the activation of TP$_{Anterior}$ whose head is lexicalized by the lower of the two 'fake' past tense morphemes. By virtue of its anterior value, the participial auxiliary licenses a non-actual veridicality presupposition that specifies that the world-time pair in which the proposition is true is different from the actual world and time of the utterance (Karawani 2014; Ritter and Wiltschko 2014). On this view, the difference between (24a-b) can be sketched as in (27a-b), respectively, structural representations which presumably carry over to similar English pairs such as (23a-b).[11]

(27) a. [TP$_{Past}$ **Aux** [TP$_{Fut}$ [MP$_{Irrealis}$ ~~Aux~~ [MP$_{Root}$…[TP$_{Anterior}$ [AspP…PTCP$_{Lex}$]]]]]]

    b. [TP$_{Past}$ **Aux** [TP$_{Fut}$ [MP$_{Irrealis}$ ~~Aux~~ [MP$_{Root}$…[TP$_{Anterior}$ **AUX$_{PTCP}$** [AspP…PTCP$_{Lex}$]]]]]]

---

[10] This is also perfectly in line with Karawani's (2014) proposal that such dedicated irrealis markers spell out an additional T-related functional projection, a position he labels TP$_2$.

[11] Recall that in the English marked past counterfactual structure, it was argued above (cf. note 7) that the lower occurrence of HAVE (viz. *have/'ve*) should be analysed as a participle form, an observation which finds comparative support in the relevant Wallon structure where the relevant verb forms do indeed appear in the canonical participle form.

Thus, the presence of the additional auxiliary in (27b) simply represents the first-merge option of checking the anterior temporal projection which, following Arregui (2009) and Ippolito (2013), we can interpret as a marker of temporal remoteness in the real word which serves to shift the reference time from the utterance time to the past, such that all presuppositions expressed in the past counterfactual clause are compatible with what is possible at a contextually salient past time, but significantly not with the state of the actual world at the utterance time. In this way, we naturally derive the modalized (viz. non-actual) reading of this anterior temporal morpheme.

Note finally that the analysis proposed here predicts that only specific adverbs may precede and follow the participial auxiliary merged in T$_{\text{Anterior}}$, a prediction which appears to be partially borne out. Although further detailed research is required to test a wider selection of adverbs, the handful of examples containing adverbs in my corpus include examples such as (28a-b) which show the expected order WELL + HAD$_{\text{PTCP}}$ (cf. also 8b, 13b, 16c), where the adverb WELL (viz. *bén/bin* < BENE 'well') is not the 'low' manner adverb 'well' but, rather, the modal assertive adverb marking such values as affirmation and/or positive polarity (cf. Eng. 'indeed') which is widely reported across Romance to lexicalize a high(er) clausal position (cf. Vinet 1996; 2000; Cinque 1999:171 n.20; Coniglio 2008; Hernanz 2010; Cardinaletti 2011; Schifano and Cognola 2020). Similarly in line with our expectations is the example (28c) where the participial auxiliary merged in T$_{\text{Anterior}}$ follows the postverbal sentential negator *nin* (< NON 'not') that lexicalizes the specifier of Cinque's (1999:120-26) NegP2 merged immediately above TP$_{\text{Anterior}}$. These facts are summarized in (29).

(28) a. Dji l' âreû <u>bén</u> **yeu** mougnî tot cru, mi, nosse djon.ne
      I him= have.COND.1SG well have.PTCP eat.PTCP all raw me our young
      facteûr. (Hemptinne-Éghezée, Namur)
      postman
      'I would indeed have swallowed him up raw, our young postman.' (*Les Cahiers wallons* 2003, 66(4) :62 ; https ://neptun.unamur.be/files/original/a815a5a6db264eb6d8a539b3fd2c5eee3ebb2511.pdf ; accessed 11/07/22)

b. Nos l   aurin.n   <u>bin</u> **yeû**   rabrèssî,   maîs, ossi rade   qui ns-

   we her=have.COND.1PL well have.PTCP embrace.PTCP but   so   quickly that we

   avans   yeû   dit   mèrci (Namur province)

   have.1PL have.PTCP say.PTCP thanks

   'We would indeed have embraced her as soon as we had thanked her.' (*Cahiers wallons* 2014, 1 :109 ; https://docplayer.fr/220168066-Les-cahiers-wallons-il-lui-a-ete-remis-solennellement-le-dimanche-26-janvier-dernier-au-theatre-du-trianon-a-liege.html; accessed 30/06/22)

c. si dj'l' aviche   iû   seû,   dji n' î   auréve

   if I   it=have.PST.SBJV.1SG have.PTCP know.PTCP I   NEG there= have.COND.1SG

   <u>nin</u>   **ieû**   stî (province of Namur)

   NEG   have.PTCP be.PTCP

   'If I had known, I wouldn't have gone there' (Remacle 1956:75)

(29) [PolP *bén/bin*… [NegP2 <u>nin</u> [TP$_{Anterior}$ **yeû** [AspP$_{Terminative}$ [Asp$_{Continuative}$ [AspP$_{Perfect}$ [Asp$_{Proximative}$…]]]]]]]]

What then of the adverbs to the right of T$_{Anterior}$ lexicalized by the participial auxiliary? Unfortunately, there are no examples in the corpus of lower adverbs such as ANYMORE (SpecAspP$_{Terminative}$), ALWAYS (SpecAspP$_{Perfect}$) and SOON (SpecAspP$_{Proximative}$), which we predict to follow the participial auxiliary merged in the higher SpecTP$_{Anterior}$ position.[12]

---

[12] One exception is the example from *La Gleize* in (3a) which shows, as expected, the celerative aspectual adverb *vite* 'quickly' (SpecAsp$_{Celerative(process)}$) to the right of the participial auxiliary *avou*. However, this example does not involve the irrealis use of the *temps surcomposés*, but, rather, their core aspectual use. Indeed, if we consider the non-modal uses of the Wallon *temps surcomposés*, then our expectations about lower adverbs are fully borne out, witness the following examples where the participial auxiliary precedes such lower adverbs as *rade* 'quickly' (i.a-b; SpecAspP$_{Celerative}$), *tot* 'everything' (i.c-d; SpecAspP$_{PlCompletley}$) and *bén* 'well' (i.e; SpecVoiceP).

(i) a. Quand l'   police   a   tcheû   sor   li, i   s'   a   **avu**

     when   the police   have.3SG fall.PTCP on   him he   self= have.3SG have.PTCP

     <u>rade</u>   disbobiné. (Wal.)

     quickly   confess.PTCP

     'As soon as the police came across him, he quickly confessed.'

     (https://dtw.walon.org/index.php?query=disbobiner; accessed 12/07/22)

  b. Il a   **yeu**   <u>rade</u> sitî   aclapé   å   meur. (Wal.)

However, there is one example (30) involving the lower adverb STILL (SpecAspP_{Continuative}), namely *co* (< HINC HORA 'this time'), which, contrary to our expectations, precedes the participial auxiliary.

(30) Les p'titès bauchèles aurint <u>co</u> **yeu** mèttu des blankès-ailes
     the small girls   have.COND.3PL still have.PTCP put.PTCP some white-wings
     dèssus leûs spales   pou fai les andjes al pôrcession. (Liège)
     on their shoulders for do.INF the angels at.the procession
     'The young girls would have (still?) placed some white wings on their shoulders to appear like angles in the procession.' (https://fraire-fairoul.be/sentifer/pisinte2.htm; accessed on 11 July 2022)

This apparent exception possibly finds an explanation in Remacle's (1956:213) observation that *co* is a morphophonologically weakened form of *èco(r)* which, unlike the latter which is restricted to tonic positions, especially clause-initial and clause-final positions (Remacle 1956:214; Stasse 2004:158), is forced to attach to a neighbouring word. On this view, *co* in (30) can be viewed as having incorporated by left-adjunction into the participle *yeu* (namely, *yeu* + *co* ⇒ [[*co*] *yeu*] ~~co~~), an explanation which Poletto (2009:41) also invokes in different dialects of northern Italy to explain the unexpected pre-auxiliary position of weak forms of ANYMORE (viz. *pi* < PLUS) in comparison to post-auxiliary tonic forms of the same adverb (viz. *piü*). While

---

he have.3SG have.PTCP quickly be.PTCP stick.PTCP to.the wall
'he was quickly pushed against the wall.' (https://dtw.walon.org/index.php?query=aclaper; accessed 12.07.22)

c. cwand il a **yeu** <u>tot</u> crawyî dins les hans (Wal.)
   when he have.3SG have.PTCP all bend.PTCP in the wet.meadows
   'when he had finishing bending everything contained in the meadow lands next to the river' (https://wa.wikipedia.org/wiki/Virwin; accessed 12/07/22)

d. Dj' a **yeu** <u>tot</u> fwait po 5 eures. (Wal.)
   I have.1SG have.PTCP all do.PTCP for 5 euros
   'I had finished (doing) everything for 5 euros.' (https://wa.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dobe_erî-tins; accessed 12/07/22)

e. Cwand Goliate les a **yeu** <u>bén</u> scolé (Wal.)
   when Goliath them= have.3SG have.PTCP well teach.PTCP
   'When Goliath had finished teaching them well' (https://wa.wikipedia.org/wiki/Goliate_(roman); accessed 12/07/22)

not entirely discounting this explanation, a more plausible explanation for the pre-auxiliary position of *co* in (30) comes from the polysemous nature of *co* in Wallon. In particular, Remacle (1956:214) and Stasse (2004:158) report that alongside its primary meaning 'still' (31), *co* may also function as a repetitive aspectual adverb 'again' (32a) or as an anterior temporal adverb 'already' (32b), the latter usage attested in Liégois since at least the 16th century (33a-b).

(31) Dju n' l' a   **co** mây vèyou. (La Gleize, Wal.)
      I NEG him= have.1SG still never see.PTCP
      'I have **still** never seen him.' (Remacle 1956:214)

(32)   Dju l' a   **co** vèyou. (La Gleize, Wal.; Remacle 1956:214)
      I him= have.1SG CO see.PTCP
   a. 'I have seen him **again**.'
   b. 'I have **already** seen him.'

(33) a. dji v's- a   **co** vèyou. (1636, Liège)
      I you.PL= have.1SG CO see.PTCP
      'I have **already** seen you.' (Remacle 1956:214)
   b. onnenat   **encor** miné   à Sainct-Hubiert come
      one=thereof=have.3SG ENCOR bring.PTCP to Saint-Hubert like
      toye (1579, Lierneux, Liège)
      you.SG
      'they've **already** brought some [sc. people] like you to Saint-Hubert' (Remacle 1956:215)

It seems therefore plausible to interpret the occurrence of *co* in (30) not as the lexicalization of the specifier of AspP$_{Continuative}$ (viz. STILL), but, rather, as the lexicalization of the specifier of TP$_{Anterior}$ (viz. ALREADY), with the adverb and participial auxiliary realizing the specifier and head positions, respectively, of the same functional projection, namely [TP$_{Anterior}$ [Spec *co*] *yeu*]. Indeed, the continuative aspectual interpretation of the adverb given in (30) proves highly unnatural, whereas the anterior interpretation *…would have **already** placed…* produces a much more felicitous reading. Note finally that this interpretation of the facts is also compatible with our initial morphophonological explanation since, from its specifier position in SpecTP$_{Anterior}$,

the adverb *co* is able to undergo phonological adjunction and incorporation into the immediately adjacent participle in head of TP$_{Anterior}$.[13]

4. Conclusion

Alongside the widespread aspectual uses of the Romance *temps surcomposés*, the *langue d'oïl* dialects of southern Belgium have been shown to also display a modal use of the same double compound paradigms, a usage also attested in the dialects of central and northern Sardinia. Rather than treating these two uses as unconnected, as a comparative analysis of Gallo-Romance dialects and Sardinian might *a priori* lead us to expect, I have drawn on Poletto's (2009) analysis of the *temps surcomposés* in the dialects of northern Italy to propose an analysis of the Wallon facts which extends the original aspectual value of the *temps surcomposés*, essentially a marker of temporal anteriority lexicalizing the head of TP$_{Anterior}$, to their modal uses in past counterfactual contexts. In particular, by virtue of their anterior value which shifts the reference time to a contextually salient past time disconnected from the here and now, the *temps surcomposés* are argued to license a non-actual veridicality presupposition that specifies that the world-time pair in which the proposition holds is different from the actual world and time of the utterance.

References

Alexiadou, Artemis (2015). 'On the irrealis effect on auxiliary selection' in: R. Kailuweit and M. Rosemeyer, *Auxiliary Selection Revisited: Gradience and Gradualness*. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 123-44.

Apothéloz, Denis (2010). 'Le passé surcomposé et la valeur de parfait existentiel' *Journal of French Language Studies* 20: 105-26.

Arnaud, François and Morin, Gabriel (1920). *Le langage de la Vallée de Barcelonnette*. Paris: Champion.

Arregui, Ana (2009). 'On similarity in counterfactuals' *Linguistics and Philosophy* 32: 245-78.

---

[13] Also relevant here is realis example (11d) above where the participle follows both the postverbal sentential negator *nin* and the lower adverb *co*. Clearly, the interpretation of the latter adverb is compatible with both the anterior and the continuative readings (namely, 'I haven't **already** asked/I **still** haven't asked…'), and hence also compatible both with the cartographic syntactic analysis, according to which *co* lexicalizes SpecTP$_{Anterior}$, and with the morphophonological analysis, according to which, as a 'light' item, *co* raises from SpecAspP$_{Continuative}$ to incorporate into the participle.

Ayres-Bennett, Wendy and Carruthers, Janice (1992). '"Une regrettable et disgracieuse faute de français?": the description and analysis of the French surcomposés from 1530 to the present day' *Transactions of the Philological Society* 90: 219-57.

Benincà, Paola (1989). 'Friaulisch: interne Sprachgeschichte I. Grammatik' in: G. Holtus, M. Metzeltin and C. Schmitt, *Lexikon der romanistichen Linguistik. Vol. III: Die einzelnen romanischen Sprachen und Sprachgebiete von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart. Rumänisch, Dalmatisch / Istroromanisch, Friaulisch, Ladinisch, Bündnerromaisch*, pp. 563-85.

Benincà, Paola, Parry, Mair and Pescarini, Diego (2016). 'The dialects of northern Italy' in: A. Ledgeway and M. Maiden, *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 185-205.

Benincà, Paola and Vanelli, Laura (2016). 'Friulian' in: A. Ledgeway and M. Maiden, *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 139-53.

Bertinetto, Pier Marco and Squartini, Mario (2016). 'Tense and aspect' in: A. Ledgeway and M. Maiden, *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 937-53.

Borel, Marine (2018). 'Formes surcomposées «standard» et formes surcomposées «régionales»' *6ᵉ Congrès Mondial de Linguistique Française, SHS Web of Conferences* 46: 12007.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20184612007

Boyland, Joyce Tang (1995). 'A corpus study of would + have + past participle in English' in: R. H. Hogg and L. van Bergen, *Historical linguistics (Vol. 2)*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, pp. 1-17.

Cardinaletti, Anna (2011). 'German and Italian modal particles and clause structure' *The Linguistic Review* 28: 493-531.

Cinque, Guglielmo (1999). *Adverbs and Functional Heads. A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coniglio, Marco (2008). 'Modal particles in Italian' *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 18: 91-129.

Cornu, Maurice (1953). *Les formes surcomposées en français*. Bern: Francke.

Dahl, Östen (1997). 'The relation between past time reference and counterfactuality: a new look' in: A. Athanasiadou and R. Dirven, *On Conditionals Again*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, pp. 97-112.

Dancygier, Barbara and Sweetser, Eve (2005). *Mental Spaces in Grammar. Conditional Constructions.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Drinka, Bridget (2003). 'The formation of periphrastic perfects and passives in Europe: an areal approach' in: B. Blake and K. Burridge, *Historical Linguistics 2001*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, pp. 105-28.

Drinka, Bridget (2017). *Language Contact in Europe. The Periphrastic Perfect through History*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press.

Fillmore, Charles J. (1990). 'Epistemic stance and grammatical form in English conditional sentences' *Chicago Linguistic Society* 26: 137-62.

Fleischman, Suzanne (1989). 'Temporal distance: a basic linguistic metaphor' *Studies in Language* 13: 1-50.

Formentin, Vittorio (2022). 'Tra storia della lingua e filologia: note sulla sintassi della "Cronica d'Anonimo romano"' *Lingua e stile* 37: 203-50.

Formentin, Vittorio (2004). 'Quattro note sintattiche dal "Tristano Veneto"' in: M. Dardano and G. Frenguelli, *SintAnt. La sintassi dell'italiano antico. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Università "Roma Tre", 18-21 settembre 2002)*. Rome: Aracne, pp. 175-196.

Givón, Talmy (1990). *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction (Vol. 1)*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

GLC = Institut d'Estudis Catalans (2016). *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana* (Primera edició). Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans.

Haiman, John and Benincà, Paola (1992). *The Rhaeto-Romance Languages*. London: Routledge.

Hendschel, Lorint (2001). *Grammaire wallonne en ligne / Li waibe del croejhete walone*. Available at: https://croejhete.walon.org/node76.html. Last accessed on 27/06/22.

Hernanz, María Lluïsa (2010). 'Assertive *bien* in Spanish and the left periphery' in: P. Benincà and N. Munaro (eds), *Mapping the Left Periphery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 19-62.

Iatridou, Sabine (2000). 'The grammatical ingredients to counterfactuality' *Linguistic Inquiry* 31: 231-70.

Ippolito, Michela (2013). *Subjunctive Conditionals: A Linguistic Analysis*. Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.

James, Deborad (1982). 'Past tense and the hypothetical: a cross-linguistic study' *Studies in Language* 6: 375-403.

Jolivet, Rémi (1986). 'Le passé surcomposé: emploi "général" et emploi "régional": examen des insertions dans le syntagme verbal surcomposé' in: R. Arveiller et al., *Mélanges d'onomastique, linguistique et philologie offerts à M. Raymond Sindou. Tome II : Linguistique et philologie*. Millau: Presses de la Société des imprimeurs Maury, pp. 109-16.

Jones, Michael (1993). *Sardinian Syntax*. London: Routledge.

Karawani, Hadil (2014). *The Real, the Fake, and the Fake Fake in Counterfactual Conditionals Crosslinguistically*. Utrecht: LOT.

Karawani, Hadil and Zeijlstra, Hedde (2010). 'The semantic contribution of the past morpheme in Palestinian counterfactuals' paper presented at the workshop on *Tense and Aspect in Generative Grammar*, Lisbon, 1-2 July 2010.

Kristol, Andres (2016). 'Francoprovençal' in: A. Ledgeway and M. Maiden, *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 350-62.

Lambert, Valerie (1986). 'The nonstandard third conditional' *English Today* 6: 28-29.

Ledgeway, Adam ([1997]1999). 'I tempi sovraccomposti nel napoletano antico' *L'Italia dialettale* LX: 105-24.

Ledgeway, Adam (2009). *Grammatica diacronica del napoletano*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Ledgeway, Adam (2022). 'Residues and extensions of perfective auxiliary BE: modal conditioning' in: C. Poletto and T. Balsemin, *New Perspectives on Italian Dialects*. Special issue of *Languages* 7(3): 160. https://doi.org/10.3390/languages7030160.

Loporcaro, Michele (2016). 'Auxiliary selection and participle agreement' in: A. Ledgeway and M. Maiden, *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 802-18.

Marcato, Carla (1986). 'Forme verbali bicomposte ('surcomposées') nelle parlate del Veneto' in: M. Cortelazzo, *Guida ai dialetti veneti*. Padua: CLEUP, pp. 45-60.

McFadden, Thomas and Artemis Alexiadou (2010). 'Perfects, resultatives, and auxiliaries in earlier English' *Linguistic Inquiry* 41: 389-425.

Melchior, Luca (2012). 'Tra esperienzialità e iteratività: il "passé surcomposé à valeur spéciale" in francese (e in altri idiomi romanzi)' *Revue de linguistique romane* 76: 65-98.

Mensching, Guido and Remberger Eva-Maria (2016). 'Sardinian' in: A. Ledgeway and M. Maiden (eds), *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 270-91.

Mittwoch, Anna, Huddleston, Rodney and Collins, Peter (2002). 'The clause: adjuncts' in: R. Huddleston and G. K. Pullum, *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 663–784.

Paesani, Katherine (2001). *The Syntax and Semantics of the Passé Surcomposé in Modern French*. Indiana University: doctoral dissertation.

Palmer, Frank Robert (1986a). *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Palmer, Frank. Robert (1986b). 'Plupluperfect or pluplupast?' *English Today* 6: 29.

Pisano, Simone (2010). 'L'utilizzo dei tempisovraccomposti in alcune varietà sarde' *Lingua e stile* XLV: 123-31.

Pisano, Simone (2016). 'Paradigma di un tempo sovraccomposto in alcune varietà sarde meridionali' in: P. Del Puente, *Atti del IV convegno di internazionale di dialettologia: dialetti per parlare e parlarne. Progetto A.L.Ba*. Venosa: Osanna, pp. 227-33.

Pittau, Massimo (1972). *La grammatica del sardo-nuorese*. Bologna: Pàtron.

Poletto, Cecilia (1992). 'The analysis of the *passé surcomposé*: a hypothesis on sentence structure formation' *University of Venice Working Papers* 1: 1-24.

Poletto, Cecilia (2008). 'Syntactic encoding of aspect in some northern Italian dialects' in: Á. Carrasco Gutiérrez, *Tiempos compuestos y formas verbales complejas*. Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, pp. 499-517.

Poletto, Cecilia (2009). 'Double auxiliaries, anteriority and terminativity' *Journal of Comparative German Linguistics* 12: 31-48.

Remacle, Louis (1952). *Syntaxe du parler wallon de La Gleize. Tome 1: Noms et articles, adjectifs et pronoms*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Remacle, Louis (1956). *Syntaxe du parler wallon de La Gleize. Tome 2: Verbes, adverbes, prépositions*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Remacle, Louis (1960). *Syntaxe du parler wallon de La Gleize. Tome 3: Coordination et subordination – Phénomènes divers*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Ritter, Elizabeth and Wiltschko, Martina (2014). 'The composition of INFL. An exploration of tense, tenseless languages, and tenseless constructions' *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 32: 1331-86.

Salvat, Josèp (1998). *Gramatica occitana*. Toulouse: Collège d'Occitanie.

Salvi, Giampolo (2016). 'Ladin' in: A. Ledgeway and M. Maiden, *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 154-68.

Salvi, Giampaolo (2020). 'Il ladino e le sue caratteristiche' in: P. Videsott, R. Videsott and J. Casalicchio, *Manuale di linguistica ladina*. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 67-108.

Sansò, Andrea (2020). 'Routes towards the irrealis' *Transactions of the Philological Society* 118: 401-46.

Schaden, Gerhard (2007). *La Sémantique du parfait. Étude des «temps composés» dans un choix de langues germaniques et romanes*. Université Paris 8: doctoral thesis.

Schifano, Norma and Cognola, Federica (2020). 'From macro to nano: a parametric hierarchy approach to the daitopic and diachronic variation of Italian *ben*' in: A Bárány, T Biberauer, J Douglas and S Vikner (eds), *Syntactic Architecture and its Consequences I: Syntax inside the Grammar.* Berlin: Language Science Press, pp. 233-50. <https://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/275>

Schlenker, Philippe (2005). 'The lazy Frenchman's approach to the subjunctive'. UCLA/Institut Jean-Nicod: ms.

Schlieben-Lange, Brigitte (1971). *Okzitanische und katalanische Verbprobleme*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Schulz, Katrin (2007). *Minimal Models in Semantics and Pragmatics: Free Choice, Exhaustivity, and Conditionals*. University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands: doctoral thesis.

Stasse, Simon (2004). *Dictionnaire populaire de wallon liégeois*. Liège: Société Royale Littéraire La Wallonne.

Steedman, Mark (1997). 'Temporality' in: J. van Benthem and A. ter Meulen, *Handbook of Logic and Language*. Amsterdam: North Holland, pp. 895-938.

Steele, Susan (1975). 'Past and irrealis: just what does it all mean?' *International journal of American linguistics* 41: 200-17.

Vet, Co (1980). *Temps, aspects et adverbes de temps en français contemporain: essai de sémantique formelle*. Geneva: Droz.

Vincent, Nigel (2011). 'Non-finite forms, periphrases, and autonomous morphology in Latin and Romance' in: M. Maiden, J.C. Smith, M. Goldbach and M.-O. Hinzelin, *Morphological Autonomy: Perspectives from Romance Inflectional Morphology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 418-35.

Vincent, Nigel (2014). 'Similarity and diversity in the evolution of Italo-Romance morphosyntax' in: P. Benincà, A. Ledgeway and N. Vincent, *Diachrony and Dialects: Grammatical Change in the Dialects of Italy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-21.

Vinet, Marie-Thérèse (1996). 'On certain adverbs of quantification in Quebec French' *Probus* 8: 207-21.

Vinet, Marie-Thérèse (2000). 'Feature representation and *-tu (pas)* in Quebec French' *Studia Linguistica* 54: 381-411.

Wheeler, Max (1988). 'Occitan' in: M. Harris and N. Vincent, *The Romance Languages*. London: Routledge, pp. 246-78.

Wikipedia. Li libe eciclopedeye. Available at: https://wa.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mwaisse_pådje. Accessed 27/06/22.

Zencak, Victoria (2018). *Variation in Past Counterfactual Constructions*. Central Washington University: MA thesis.