Incongruous tense in Swedish

Past and present tense use with deviant time reference

Per Klang
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Abstract

This thesis deals with incongruous tense in Swedish. Incongruous tense refers to uses of the past tense for events that overlap or succeed the moment of speech, which is normally considered to apply to the present tense, and uses of the present tense for events that precede the moment of speech, which is normally considered to apply to the past tense. Currently, there is no quantitative study devoted to testing how the account of tense in Swedish fares against a large sample of Swedish language data with respect to incongruous tense. This thesis fills this gap with extensive empirical data focusing on incongruous tense use. Three questions have directed the empirical investigation: How common is incongruous tense?; What types of incongruous tense are there?; How does incongruous tense differ from congruous tense?

By manually and automatically compiling, annotating, and querying a corpus of almost 160,000 sentences in texts from newspapers and web-based discussion fora, the thesis comes to the conclusion that incongruous tense is quite common, and it further identifies some previously unnoticed cases of the incongruous past tense, as well as a number of lexical and grammatical differences between congruous and incongruous tense use. In addition, the resulting corpus is freely available under a Creative Commons license.

As a complement, the results derived from the corpus are used to discuss the extent to which alternative principles of looking at tense – other than those applied in this thesis – could explain the incongruous cases. Even though the assumption of an indirect relation between the point of speech and the event time, as well as the proposal to replace the point of speech with a point of view, make sense with certain uses of incongruous tense, there seem to be some issues with both, which research has circumvented. The thesis concludes that these issues merit further investigation.

Keywords: tense, time reference, aktionsarten, modality, evidentiality, mirativity, tense harmony, episodic and semantic memory, the historical present, point of view, direct speech, Swedish

Per Klang, Department of Scandinavian Languages, Box 527, Uppsala University, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

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## Contents

Acknowledgements .................................................................................................................. 14

1 Introduction .......................................................................................................................... 19
  1.1 Thesis aim ......................................................................................................................... 20
  1.2 Overall approach of the empirical investigation ............................................................. 21
  1.3 Thesis outline .................................................................................................................... 21

2 Previous research on incongruous tense in Swedish ............................................................. 23
  2.1 The incongruous past ........................................................................................................ 23
  2.2 The incongruous present ................................................................................................... 30

3 An overview of tense in the literature, and points of departure for the investigation .......... 32
  3.1 Reichenbach’s theory of tense ......................................................................................... 33
  3.2 Critical responses to Reichenbach’s theory .................................................................... 35
    3.2.1 The relevance and nature of the reference time ..................................................... 36
    3.2.2 The linking of the event time to the point of speech .......................................... 37
    3.2.3 The point of speech ............................................................................................... 38
  3.3 Non-Reichenbachian frameworks for time and tense ....................................................... 40
  3.4 SAG’s account of the principles of tense and tense related categories in Swedish ......... 42
    3.4.1 SAG’s account of tense and regular tense usage in Swedish ................................. 42
    3.4.2 SAG’s account of tense-related categories ........................................................... 46
  3.5 Points of departure for the empirical investigation .......................................................... 56

4 Incongruous tense types ....................................................................................................... 60
  4.1 Irregular tense types in SAG ............................................................................................ 60
    4.1.1 The evaluative past ................................................................................................... 60
    4.1.2 The modifying past ................................................................................................. 62
    4.1.3 Temporal dislocation .............................................................................................. 64
    4.1.4 The historical present ............................................................................................ 66
    4.1.5 The annalistic present ............................................................................................ 68
  4.2 Other types of incongruous tense ..................................................................................... 70
    4.2.1 Relayed events ........................................................................................................ 70
    4.2.2 Direct speech ......................................................................................................... 73
    4.2.3 Anticipated past perspective ................................................................................... 73
  4.3 Incongruous tenses, an overview ..................................................................................... 74
5 Material and methods of the empirical study ................................. 75
5.1 Choosing and collecting the corpus data ................................. 75
5.2 Sorting the data ................................................................. 77
  5.2.1 Sorting out the incongruous tenses ................................ 77
  5.2.2 Identifying the incongruous types ................................. 80
  5.2.3 A database of annotated tense forms ............................. 82
5.3 Estimating the proportion of incongruous tense ..................... 83
5.4 Discriminating between congruous and incongruous tense ....... 86
  5.4.1 Annotating the data .................................................... 87
  5.4.2 Comparative analysis .................................................. 88
6 Statistics and remarks on incongruous tense ............................ 91
7 A closer look at “other incongruous factual events” ................. 96
  7.1 S-overlapping events ....................................................... 96
    7.1.1 The incongruous relayed event .................................. 99
    7.1.2 The incongruous dialogical past tense ......................... 104
  7.2 S-succeeding events ....................................................... 107
  7.3 Two common properties for the other incongruous factual events....................................................... 113
8 Comparisons of congruous and incongruous tense .................... 115
  8.1 Incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past ....................................................... 116
    8.1.1 Adversatives .......................................................... 116
    8.1.2 Adverbs of attitude .................................................. 117
    8.1.3 Adverbs of time ...................................................... 118
    8.1.4 Interjections .......................................................... 120
    8.1.5 Questions ............................................................. 121
    8.1.6 Co-occurring present-tense clauses ............................ 122
    8.1.7 Closing remarks ...................................................... 124
  8.2 Verb selection of incongruous and congruous tense ................ 125
    8.2.1 Statistical method ..................................................... 125
    8.2.2 Verb selection of the past-tense congruities .................. 127
    8.2.3 Verb selection of the present-tense congruities .............. 132
  8.3 Deictic contrasts across congruity in the present tense .......... 135
    8.3.1 Deictic expressions and direct speech .......................... 136
    8.3.2 Deictic expressions and the historical present ............... 136
    8.3.3 Discussion on person deixis and tense congruence .......... 137
9 Comments on alternatives to the principles of identifying incongruous tense, and a look at memory .................................. 141
  9.1 On the relationship between the event time and the point of speech ....................................................... 141
  9.2 The point of speech and the vantage point .......................... 144
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.2.1</td>
<td>The retrospective present and the vantage point</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.2</td>
<td>The synchronous present and the vantage point</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.3</td>
<td>The prospective present and the vantage point</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.4</td>
<td>The retrospective past and the vantage point</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.5</td>
<td>The synchronous past and the vantage point</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.6</td>
<td>The prospective past and the vantage point</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.7</td>
<td>Conclusions and comments</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>A cursory look at tense and memory</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3.1</td>
<td>Memory and memory retrieval</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3.2</td>
<td>A parallel between tense and memory in Swedish</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Summary and conclusions</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>Research outcomes</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>Remaining issues and challenges for future work</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Svensk sammanfattning (Swedish summary)</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>References</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Details on the corpus data</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Additional labels for the corpus with sentences annotated for tense</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auxiliaries for incongruous factual events in the past tense</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Additional comparisons regarding the markers for the factual incongru-</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ous types in the past tense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Additional comparisons regarding the deictic differences across con-</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gruity in the present tense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Tables

Table 3.1. Reichenbach’s nine fundamental tenses ................................................. 35
Table 3.2. The aktionsarten in SAG and their semantic properties ......................... 49
Table 3.3. The potential and intentional auxiliaries in SAG .......................... 53
Table 3.4. The epistemic and deontic auxiliaries in SAG ...................................... 54
Table 3.5. Congruous Swedish tense uses in Reichenbachian style notation .................. 58
Table 4.1. Linguistic properties of the evaluative past in SAG ...................... 62
Table 4.2. Linguistic properties of the modifying past in SAG ....................... 64
Table 4.3. Linguistic properties of temporal dislocation ..................................... 66
Table 4.4. Linguistic properties of the historical present ...................................... 68
Table 4.5. Linguistic properties of the annalistic present ..................................... 69
Table 6.1. The number of congruous and incongruous tense forms by tense and corpus in absolute numbers and relative numbers in parentheses 92
Table 6.2. Proportion estimates for incongruous tense rounded off to whole numbers ................................................................................................................. 92
Table 6.3. Proportion estimates for incongruous tense and text type rounded off to whole numbers ........................................................................... 93
Table 6.4. The absolute number of tense forms in the News and WebF corpora ................................................................................................................. 93
Table 6.5. An estimate for incongruous tense considering text and tense type, in absolute numbers .............................................................................. 93
Table 6.6. The incongruous tense types, grouped by tense, across text type (News&WebF) and their total count in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) rounded off to whole numbers ................................. 95
Table 7.1. Linguistic properties of the incongruous relayed S-overlapping event in the past tense ...................................................................................... 104
Table 7.2. Linguistic properties of S-overlapping events in the dialogical past tense ............................................................................................................. 107
Table 8.1. The number of adversative words in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (News&WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) .................................................. 117

Table 8.2. The number of the top five adverbs of attitude in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (NewsWebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) .................................................. 118

Table 8.3. The number of the top five adverbs of time in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (NewsWebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) .................................................. 119

Table 8.4. The number of the top ten interjections in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (NewsWebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) .................................................. 121

Table 8.5. The number of properties for tense congruence in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (News&WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) .................................................. 124

Table 8.6. The top five verbs for each congruity in the past tense in absolute numbers (N) and relative numbers (N%) for the verb type’s proportion in each congruity .................................................. 128

Table 8.7. The top five unique verb types for the congruous and incongruous past .................................................. 129

Table 8.8. The top five verbs for each congruity in the present tense in absolute numbers (N) and relative numbers (N%) for the verb type’s proportion in each congruity .................................................. 133

Table 8.9. The top five unique verb types for the congruous and incongruous present .................................................. 134

Table 8.10. Deictic expressions in 7 894 sentences with the congruous present, and in an equal number of sentences with direct speech (News&WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) .... 136

Table 8.11. Deictic expressions in 7 811 sentences with the congruous present, and in an equal number of sentences with the historical present (News&WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) .... 137

Table 9.1. Schematic arrangement of three memory systems and three kinds of consciousness (adopted from Tulving 1985) ......................... 165
Table 9.2. Differences in the tenses use to signal memory retrieval 166
Table 9.3. The role of tense in Tulving’s (1985) schematic arrangement of memory and consciousness 167
Table 10.1. Last corpus update of WebF (Familjeliv, Flashback), and News (The Gothenburg Post) 193
Table 10.2. List and clarifications of the row labels: corpus, temporal meaning, and type 195
Table 10.3. Verb lemmas of auxiliaries for the incongruous factual events in the past tense in absolute numbers (N) sorted by frequency in falling order 196
Table 10.4. The number of adversative markers in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (News) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) 197
Table 10.5. The number of adversative markers in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) 197
Table 10.6. Deictic expressions in 7 351 sentences with the congruous present, and in an equal number of sentences with direct speech (News) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) 198
Table 10.7. Deictic expressions in 543 sentences with the congruous present, and in an equal number of sentences with direct speech (WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) 198
Table 10.8. Deictic expressions in 7 355 sentences with the congruous present, and in an equal number of sentences with the historical present (News) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) 199
Table 10.9. Deictic expressions in 456 sentences with the congruous present, and in an equal number of sentences with the historical present (WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%) 199
# List of Figures

1. Six tracks of inquiry abstracted from Kjederqvist (1898) .............................................. 23
2. The six traditional English tenses in Reichenbach notation ................................................. 33
3. Extended English tenses for progressives in Reichenbach notation ........................................ 34
4. Screenshot of sorting program .................................................................................. 78
5. Heuristics for the incongruous past types in SAG ......................................................... 81
6. Heuristics for the incongruous present types in SAG ..................................................... 82
7. A visual comparison of three proportion estimates ......................................................... 87
8. A screenshot of Uneek operating on A and B ..................................................................... 89
9. The general content of the corpus .................................................................................. 91
10. The incongruous present types in absolute and relative numbers ...................................... 94
11. The incongruous past types in absolute and relative numbers .......................................... 94
12. A made-up example with the coefficients of the slope .................................................... 126
13. The slope coefficients for the congruous and incongruous past ....................................... 127
14. Congruous hapaxes (PST) ............................................................................................ 128
15. Incongruous hapaxes (PST) ............................................................................................ 128
16. The slope coefficients for the congruous and incongruous present ................................... 132
17. Congruous hapaxes (PRS) ............................................................................................ 133
18. Incongruous hapaxes (PRS) ............................................................................................ 133
19. Three traditional tenses with vantage points .................................................................... 133
20. A nested vantage point on the timeline ............................................................................ 146
21. A third-level ordering of vantage points ......................................................................... 148
22. Parallel timelines for factual and non-factual events ..................................................... 158
Figure 9.5. A tree structure representation of the vantage points in example (151c) ......................................................... 160

Figure 9.6. Memory types (adapted from Baddeley et al. 2020:9 ff.) ...... 163
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Initially, the thesis was rather pleasantly limited to the incongruous past. However, at some point during the initial stages of my research, I was asked the following question: ‘Well, what about the incongruous present?’ I should therefore like to extend my thanks to Maria Bylin who saw fit to ask me this early on. So, what about it? Let us find out, shall we?

Ture dalar, October 2023

Per Klang
“Hofstadter’s Law: It always takes longer than you expect, even when you take into account Hofstadter’s Law.”

Douglas R. Hofstadter, Gödel, Escher, Bach: an Eternal Golden Braid (1979)
1. Introduction

In languages with grammatical tense, it is normally expected that the past tense is used for speaking of events that precede the moment of speech, whereas the present tense is used for events that coincide with it. However, there are cases that buck the trend, as in the Swedish example (1) below. There, the past tense is used for an event that holds at the moment of speech. Note that the speaker does not use the past tense here to say that the outdoors used to be cold, and that it has suddenly ceased to be so; (s)he means that ‘it is cold now’.

(1) Vad kallt det var här ute i dag!
what cold it was here out in day

‘How cold it is out here today!’

The use of the past tense in expressive clauses like (1) does not apply to English. It is sometimes said to be a Mainland Scandinavian speciality (cf. Hansen & Heltoft 2011:692 for Danish and Faarlund et al. 1997:539 for Norwegian). But there are other kinds of incongruous past tense that are equally acceptable in English and Mainland Scandinavian, and in other languages as well. A couple of examples are given in (2a–b).

(2) a. Casablanca var verkligen bra! Jag bara älskar den!
Casablanca was really good! I just love it!

b. Ursäkta, vad var ditt namn igen?
‘Sorry, what was your name again?’

The speaker of (2a) who has just seen the movie Casablanca, does not mean to say that it used to be good, (s)he means that it is good. Similarly, the speaker in (2b) is not asking for the former name of the addressee. (S)he is merely drawing attention to the fact that (s)he has heard the name before.

There are deviant cases for the present tense as well. Consider the following, for instance, where the present tense is used for an event in the past:

‘Leonardo da Vinci finishes the Mona Lisa 1506.’

If I were involved in a discourse on Leonardo da Vinci’s famous painting, the Mona Lisa, I could, in spite of the fact that it was painted in the early 16th
century, very well use the present tense as in (3). Interestingly, it seems that a characteristic trait for cases like those in (1)–(3) is the ability to be phrased in either the past or the present tense without affecting the temporal interpretation of the event.

The tense uses in (1)–(3) above are some examples of what I will here (following Klang 2021) refer to as incongruous tense, which is the very topic of this dissertation. Incongruous tense largely comprises uses of the simple past for events in connection with or following the moment of speech and the simple present for events that precede the time of speech, but it also includes some uses of complex verb phrases, as will be explained in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4. The focus of the study is on the empirical realization of incongruous tense in Swedish.

I will essentially take the account of tense in the comprehensive Swedish Academy Grammar, Svenska Akademiens Grammatik, or SAG for short, as the point of departure when it comes to identifying incongruous tense uses.¹ SAG is described as a traditional yet modernized grammar that does not adhere to any particular theory of language or grammar, and it may therefore serve users with varying interests (SAG 1:39). I will, however, deviate from SAG at some points in order to facilitate my investigation of incongruous tense use.

To the best of my knowledge, there is no research devoted to testing how SAG’s, or any other, account of tense fares against a large sample of Swedish data. This leaves us with three basic empirical questions for incongruous tense. How common is it, what types of it are there, and how does it differ from congruous tense?

1.1 Thesis aim

The aim of this thesis is primarily to supplement the account of tense in Swedish with extensive empirical data focusing on incongruous tense use. Three questions have directed the empirical investigation:

1. How common is incongruous tense (of different types) in Swedish?
2. What types of incongruous tense are there in Swedish?
3. Are there lexical or grammatical differences between congruous and incongruous tense use?

An additional outcome of the project is a corpus of sentences with annotated tense forms excerpted from written discourse of newspapers and web-based discussion fora, which may serve as a resource for further research.

¹ The Swedish Academy Grammar (Teleman et al. 1999) is divided in four volumes, which are here referred to as SAG, or SAG 1–SAG 4 for specific volumes.
The empirical investigation is also supplemented with a discussion of the principles for identifying incongruous tense that are applied in this study with respect to alternative principles presented in the field of tense research.

1.2 Overall approach of the empirical investigation

The empirical investigation has been carried out in five steps. First, previous research was consulted so that the known incongruous tense types could be identified and taken as a point of departure for the empirical investigation. Whereas most of the incongruous types were clearly defined, some analysis was needed before the investigation was undertaken.

Second, I sampled approximately 160,000 tensed sentences from a large open source corpus of Swedish text. The sample data was stored in a corpus (available as an SQLite database) to be sorted, annotated, and interrogated.

Third, the data was subjected to various sorting procedures of which the main ones separated the incongruous cases from the congruous ones, and categorized them after their incongruous tense type. But further sorting was done on subsets of the data in order to obtain auxiliary information of relevance.

Fourth, the result of the previous step was used for statistically assessing the proportion of incongruous tense, and the incongruous tense types in Swedish. These statistics are considered with respect to research questions 1–2.

Fifth, by using an annotation tool, the sentences were automatically annotated with lexical and grammatical information. The annotations were stored in the corpus of tensed sentences (as XML). By using a tool for comparing annotated texts, the annotated data was automatically checked for quantitative differences between congruous and incongruous tense. The comparisons were limited to three specific questions based on some general observations on the corpus data. (These are described later as they partly build on the thesis’ results.) The results of the comparisons are used to shed light on research question 3.

1.3 Thesis outline

After this introduction, the thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 surveys previous research on incongruous tense in Swedish. Chapter 3 is an overview of tense in the literature and concludes with a clarification of the principles of incongruous tense applied in this study. Chapter 4 is an inventory of incongruous tense types, mainly based on the description of tense usage in SAG. Chapter 5 describes the material and methods of the empirical investigation. The material consists of newspaper texts, and dialogues from web-based discussion groups, and the methods (mainly distributional) rely on tools for corpus linguistics and natural language processing. Chapters 6–7 deal with research
questions 1–2 regarding the number of incongruous tense forms and types in Swedish, and Chapter 8 treats research question 3 by identifying some lexical and grammatical differences between the incongruous and congruous tenses. In Chapter 9, which follows the account of the empirical investigation, I discuss the extent to which alternative principles of looking at tense – other than those that I have applied – could explain the incongruous cases. Chapter 10 provides a recapitulation of the thesis outcomes and the conclusions of the investigation.
2. Previous research on incongruous tense in Swedish

There are two seminal works on incongruous tense in Swedish (although these contain other terms for deviant tense forms). One is Kjederqvist (1898), who laid the groundwork for further research on the Swedish incongruous past. Another is Noreen (1904), who, with inspiration from Brugmann (1886), paid attention to the incongruous present. The sections below focus on the literature on the incongruous past and on the incongruous present in Swedish to date.

2.1 The incongruous past

Kjederqvist’s (1898) seminal work on the incongruous past in Swedish contains a wide variety of novel ideas and observations. As we trace the train of thought from Kjederqvist to its present day destination, we might benefit from considering the paths on which it has travelled. Where some have picked up on the tracks laid out by Kjederqvist, others have branched off in other directions. To be sure, not all of the researchers under this section refer to Kjederqvist, but many of their ideas can nonetheless be traced back to this intellectual ancestor. These tracks are visualized below in Figure 2.1 from a bird’s-eye view.

![Figure 2.1. Six tracks of inquiry abstracted from Kjederqvist (1898)](image)

The construction track: Kjederqvist notes that the past tense copula var (Eng. ‘was’) often has a present time reference in the following syntactic construction: Det var predicative ‘it was predicative’. He considers the construction deviant from the way the past is said to function.

The qualitative track: Kjederqvist (1898:38) dubs the construction känslans preteritum ‘the emotive past’. He suggests that the past tense is used to signal that the speaker is emotionally and subjectively involved; the present is more detached and objective (1898:39,46). The emotive past is thus evaluative in nature.
Another explanation may be inferred from Kjederqvist (1898:46), namely that the emotive past tense is used to signal that the speaker is talking about something particular, something specific, while the present is used for talking about several things or something general without specific reference to time.

THE QUANTITATIVE TRACK: The material consists of Swedish 18th to 19th century dialogical texts, e.g. dramas, and some comparative language data. The data compiled by Kjederqvist (1898), consists of approximately a hundred examples of the incongruous past and a similar number of the construction in the present tense. The example sentences are often contextualized.

THE COMPARATIVE TRACK: Although the construction above is often used incongruously in Swedish and Danish conversational data, the same cannot be said about English, French, and German in which the present tense is used for similar subjective contexts. A German example with translations follow:

(4) Das ist \textit{PRESENT} gut! \hspace{1cm} (German)

‘Det \textit{PAST} bra!’ \hspace{1cm} (Eng. tr. ‘That is good!’)

However, Kjederqvist (1898:43) acknowledges similar phenomena in parts of North Germany near the Rhine, where the past tense is used with a present reference. In addition, he suggests that the aorist in Ancient Greek is the counterpart to the Swedish construction ‘It was \textit{PREDICATIVE}’.

THE HISTORICAL TRACK: Kjederqvist (1898:45) dates the first use of the emotive tense in Swedish and Danish to the end of the 17th century, but he does not rule out the possibility of finding predating cases. He recognizes, however, the difficulties in finding them in old texts with conversational content; these types of text are rare.

Kjederqvist also sees certain similarities between the subjunctive mood and the emotive past. In Danish, it is apparently difficult to distinguish the mood from the tense owing to their similar form and meaning. In Swedish, he argues, a native speaker would also be hard-pressed to pin-point the difference in meaning between the use of the subjunctive mood and the past tense in speaker B’s reaction to speaker A’s information in (5).

(5) A. Jag kommer i morgon. \hspace{1cm} (Swedish)

‘I’ll be there tomorrow.’

B. Det \textit{ var \textit{ PAST} bra!} \hspace{1cm} (Eng. tr. ‘That \textit{ would be} great!’)

\textit{vore} good

Due to these similarities in meaning, Kjederqvist (1898:31–32) suggests that there is a connection between the emotive past and the subjunctive mood. However, this was a hundred years ago, and the Danish and Swedish speakers of today may disagree, and so may today’s linguists.
THE LANGUAGE ACQUISITION TRACK: Kjederqvist (1898:40) argues that incongruous past forms may be understood by observing children’s language. His argument goes something like this: Since children lack the educated distinction between the past and the present, it is conceivable that they are more likely to use the past for present affairs than adults are. He offers little data in support besides a few anecdotal examples. One of those examples involves a game of peekaboo, in which one person conceals his/her face for another person, then reveals his/her face while saying peekaboo! I see you. The script for the Swedish game is slightly different and involves the verbal content below.¹

(6) a. Var är Hanna? where is Hanna
   ‘Where is Hanna?’

   b. Tittut, där var Hanna! lookout there was Hanna
   ‘Peekaboo, there is Hanna!’

This concludes the review of Kjederqvist (1898), and we will now move on to the research following in his tracks.

Starting with the construction track, most of the research that follows has observed some novel type of expression, or at least, some novel deviation from a typical pattern. Here we may, for instance, note older Swedish grammars like Wellander (1973), Collinder (1974), and Thorell (1977), but also random encounters where the linguist notices the deviant use of the past tense (Schubert 1979:41; Strömqvist 1984:57; Christensen 1995:50). Yet, even though there have been several examples of the incongruous past, the number of types and their range of variation still remain unclear. As of yet, there has been no empirical survey of the types of incongruous past in Swedish. This motivates the survey of types as stated in relation to research question 2 of Section 1.1.

The qualitative track has been richly extended with ideas that can be subsumed under Kjederqvist’s subjective explanation. We can discern four kinds pertaining respectively to the concepts of mirativity (DeLancey 1997; 2012), evidentiality (Aikhenvald 2004), politeness (Brown et al. 1987), and possible worlds, perhaps, but not necessarily, in the sense of Leibniz (1646–1716).

The mirative is “a category which marks a statement as representing information which is new or unexpected” (DeLancey 2012). Certain cases of the incongruous past are sometimes explained as a result of some form of unexpected situation, or as a means to signal that some situation is unexpected; see Hulthén 1944:128, Beckman (1968), Collinder (1974), Sadalska (1993), SAG 4, Cekalina (2011), Larm (2015), and Malm (2016). An example from SAG (4:227) of an incongruous past with mirative meaning is given below, in which a speaker unexpectedly spots a crow in a treetop.

¹ There are surely variations to this game.
(7) Se på sjutton, *satt* det inte en kråka i grantoppen i alla fall!
look on seventeen *sat* it not a crow in treetop-DEF in all cases
‘Well I’ll be damned! *Isn’t* there a crow in the treetop after all!’

Evidentiality is a grammatical category for “the marking of the source of information, or where the speaker got his or her evidence for making a statement from” (De Haan 2012:1021). Various evidential meanings have been attributed to the incongruous past, and it has been argued that they mark that the statement is an inference based on hearsay, or various sense based observations. For evidential perspectives, see Ekerot (2011:141), SAG (4:228), and Malm (2016) for instance. The examples below are from SAG (4:227–228):

(8) a. Den där konserten *var* först imorgon, väl? (said pre-concert)
that there concert *was* first tomorrow well
‘The concert *is* tomorrow *isn’t* it?’

b. Capri *var* verkligen vackert! (said post-trip)
‘Capri *was* absolutely beautiful!’

There is also an idea in the literature that the past tense is more polite than the present tense in certain cases; see Thorell (1977), Ekerot (2011), SAG 4, Herriman (2011), and Cekalina (2011). An example from Herriman (2011:136) is given below:

(9) Jag *tänkte* be dig vattna blommorna.
*I thought* ask you water flowers-DEF
‘I *was* wondering if you could water the flowers’

Herriman considers this use of the past tense in Swedish as a politeness strategy, in the sense of Brown et al. (1987). She states that by “using the past tense rather than the present, speakers distance themselves from what they are saying and show concern for the addressee’s negative face” (2011:136). The idea of politeness cannot be attributed to Kjederqvist but may be grafted to the subjective branch of the qualitative track.

The final track on subjective explanations is the notion of possible worlds. Some cases of the incongruous past has been thought to signal that the situation described is hypothetical: Pettersson (1976b:158), Strömqvist (1984:50), SAG (4:226) Ekerot (2011:141), Herriman (2011:135), Cekalina (2011:70). For instance, consider the use of modal verbs in the conditional clause below.

(10) Jag *skulle* fråga en specialist, om jag *var* du.
*I would* ask one specialist if I *was* you
‘I *would* consult a specialist, if I *were* you.’
As for the qualitative track on the specific/general divide, there have been some supporting observations since Kjederqvist (1898), such as Pettersson (1976a) and Malm (2016). While the others relate this explanation only to one particular case, Malm tests it against a larger set of Swedish sentences with incongruous past forms, as well as congruous past forms. Malm (2016) formulates a stronger version of Kjederqvist’s explanation, called the specificity hypothesis, stating that a Swedish speaker makes use of certain constructions of the incongruous past in those cases where the present tense would have too general a reference. Anyway, having reviewed these explanations, we can now turn to consider the available data in support of these theories.

Although the literature on the incongruous past is rich with explanations, it is rarely the case that more than a handful of examples are provided in support of the explanation. In fact, few of the works cited above contain more data than the hundred or so found in Kjederqvist (1898), and the principles for excerption are often left unspecified. Consequently, the empirical underpinnings for the theories of the incongruous past are weak. One exception is the theory-based corpus study in Malm 2016. However, it suffers from other problems.

Malm (2016) interrogates a corpus of contemporary conversational data from a web-based forum called Familjeliv ‘family life’. The corpus queries are constructed so as to capture instances of five constructions typically associated with the incongruous past. An interpretation of the results of the corpus study yields that 16–30% of approximately 10,000 sentences have an incongruous time reference. The results indicate that these deviant cases may not be as peripheral as one might think.

As to the non-temporal meaning of the incongruous past, it is argued in Malm 2016 that the incongruous past is better described in terms of specificity, which in a sense comprises subjective, mirative, and evidential interpretations. The notions of mirativity and evidentiality fit more cases than the concepts in SAG 4 do. Additionally, corpus data and semantic tests reveal that: (i) modifying generic adverbials (such as alltid ‘always’) do not occur in the incongruous past cases, as opposed to the congruous past; (ii) subjective adverbials e.g. enligt mig ‘in my opinion’ are considerably less common in the incongruous cases than in the congruous ones; (iii) generic modification renders the incongruous cases congruous; and (iv) a switch from past to present tense leads to a switch from a particular to a generic reading. A shift to the present would entail a general, objective meaning, contrary to a specific, subjective, meaning. The specificity hypothesis is supported by these observations.

The theory-driven approach in Malm (2016) strengthens Kjederqvist’s idea of specificity. However, the method tells us only the frequency of certain types of constructions in the domain of web-based discussion groups. It tells us nothing of the range of types, nor of the frequency of the incongruous past in Swedish in general. As previously indicated, this justifies additional work on the construction track, i.e. mapping the types of constructions exhibiting the
incongruous past, as well as on the quantitative track, i.e. gaining descriptive statistics for other domains of written Swedish.

The comparative track has been extended by Herriman (2011) and Larm (2015). Herriman interprets the level of politeness in 28 English and Swedish sentences from various sources, and argues “that both the present and past tense are used as a politeness strategy more often in Swedish than English” (2011:137). Larm (2015) argues that the emotive tense is not an exotic feature of the Scandinavian languages. The emotive past tense is also found in Japanese exhibiting mirative meaning. In addition, Larm presents two past tense forms of Faroese observed by Lockwood (1977:132), and one past Icelandic tense form observed by Kress (1982:233). These are read as having a present time reference, and they are presented below in (11), (though with my glosses and translations).

(11) a. Tað var merkiligt! (Faroese)
   that was strange
   ‘That is strange!’

b. Nú var illa vorðið! (Faroese)
   now was bad become
   ‘That is bad!’

c. Ég er hér með ògætt brennivín! Tað var gott! (Icelandic)
   I am here with own schnaps that was good.
   ‘I brought my own schnaps. It is good’

However, Larm states that an informant, a native speaker of Icelandic, would use the present tense instead of the emotive past. Thus he can only state with confidence that the emotive past is a Mainland Scandinavian phenomenon.

Indeed, the literature on the incongruous past in the other Scandinavian languages covers similar constructions and explanations like those presented in this section; see for instance Hansen & Heltoft 2011:692, Faarlund et al. 1997:539, Sletsjøe 1959:1, Allan et al. 1995:263, and Vannebo 1979:176. In addition, a recent comparative study by Norrby et al. (2021) discusses the Swedish hypothetical and polite constructions in relation to Finnish and Finland Swedish as well.

The historical track has not, to my knowledge, been pursued and extended further since Kjederqvist (1898). However, it should be mentioned that the subjunctive mood in Old Swedish – used for expressing utterances with subjective meaning – gradually fell out of use in the Late Old Swedish period (Mattsson 1933; Nordström 2011). It seems to follow that if expressing subjective meanings such as hypotheses, beliefs, and emotions by means of the subjunctive became restricted, then speakers are likely to have found another form for such communication. Kjederqvist (1898) noticed the connection be-
tween the emotive past and the subjunctive, and so did Strömqvist (1984), as we soon shall see. We may then further note that the incongruous past seems to exhibit meanings reminiscent of those in the past subjunctive mood. From a historical perspective, one might ask to what extent the subjunctive modality has taken over or affected the past tense in contemporary Swedish. However, the historical perspective falls outside the scope of this thesis.

The acquisition track, however, has been extended slightly by Strömqvist (1984), who studies recordings of children’s play with a dollhouse, and how children and their mothers use language to differentiate the real world from the made-up world of play. Strömqvist (1984) states that to mark the world as make-believe while maintaining a present time reference, one may use the past tense, in this way:

(13) den HÄR var flickan \åsså va du PAPPA å ja va
    this here was girl+the \and was you daddy and I was
MAMMA
mommy

‘This is the girl, and you are daddy, and I am mommy’

Strömqvist (1984:57) offers a historical explanation for the use of the past tense with present reference:

In particular, several of the functions which pertained to Subjunctive in older Swedish are now expressed through the Preterite. This provides a historical ground for classifying the children’s use of the Preterite in the above example as an instance of a subcategory of the old Subjunctive: Irrealis.

Strömqvist makes no explicit reference, but Mattsson’s (1933) thesis exploring the Swedish subjunctive in Old Swedish is a likely candidate.

We have now exhausted the extensions of Kjederqvist’s original tracks, but we have yet to mention one novel track, namely, the incongruous past from an L2 perspective, i.e., Swedish as a second language. Pettersson (1976b) aims to provide the L2 teacher with some explanations for difficult cases in the Swedish tense system, and Aijmer (1984) notices that second language learners of Swedish struggle when faced with the construction det var PRED ‘it was PRED’. The reason for their struggle is the unexpected reference to

2 It seems to me that Wessén (1965) has found a possible case of the incongruous past in the provincial law of Östergötland (in Sweden) from c. 1290. An example follows of which he says that the past tense of atte is used instead of the expected present (1965:128):

(12) Huar sum dräpär biur ok brytär hiði hans, lati atär biurin þem, sum ängina atte.
    ‘He who kills a beaver and breaks his lodge, shall return the beaver to him who owned
    the meadow.’

29
present time by means of the past tense, an issue which justifies the study of this kind of construction. Ekerot (2011) gives a number of lectures on Swedish as a second language, and his chapter on tense is partly devoted to some types of the incongruous past related to politeness and evidentiality.

In sum, since Kjederqvist (1898), subsequent studies have found additional constructions where the past tense behaves irregularly, and the terminology and the explanations have grown over the years. The research on incongruous tense, however, is not well balanced. The work on finding novel constructions along with some explanation for their use outweighs the work done in the other tracks. The literature may be rich with explanations which attribute alternative meanings to incongruous tense, but most of these explanations do not account for the temporal incongruity per se. Additionally, there is little quantitative support for the alternative explanations. This general lack of support calls for an empirical investigation of the incongruous types in Swedish and for an assessment of the extent of the incongruous forms.

2.2 The incongruous present

The incongruous present concerns events in the past. The first collected description of the incongruous present is provided by Noreen (1904:669) who sets up a semantic distinction between “temporal” and “intemporal” verbs. The event of the former is related to some specific time such as “he is speaking English now” while the event of the latter is not related to a specific time, such as “he speaks English in general” (Noreen 1904:273). He admits that the intemporal cases do have temporality, but persists that the time reference is not of importance, since the time reference is general and extends the present. Noreen (1904:275) gives additional cases of intemporal tense forms as below.

(14)  

a. Karl den store var (eller : är) medeltidens störste regent.  
‘Charlemagne was (or : is) the greatest ruler of the Middle Ages.’

b. Ichthyosaurus var (eller : är) en ödla, men hade (eller : har) fenlika extremiteter.  
‘Ichthyosaurus was (or : is) a lizard, but had (or : has) finlike extremities’

c. Plato ansåg (eller : anser) att ..  
‘Plato thought (or : thinks) that ..’

Noreen appears to be right in that choosing one tense over the other in the examples above adds little for specifying the time reference. However, the use of the present tense in these cases is incongruous since the subjects of examples (14a–c) are long since dead.
Noreen (1904:677) seems to have introduced *the historical present* to the Swedish linguistic scene via the German grammarian Brugmann (1886:571). As the name implies, it is explained as a device for retelling historical events for dramatic effects, as illustrated in the constructed example below.

(15) I shall here recount the events of Charlemagne in 773. In the first campaign, Charlemagne makes a violent attack on the Saxons. Blood spatters and limbs flies through the air as he swings his mighty blade. Slay them all, he screams in a frenzied blood rage!

Interestingly, Noreen (1904) writes that the historical present has a present time reference. However, there are two good reasons to interpret the historical present as an incongruous present tense. First, the events referred to in these cases are assumed to have happened in the past. Second, it would be strange to think that people actually believed that the past events referred to in the present tense, are happening at the moment of speech.

The historical present has been considered common for quite some time. Jespersen (1924:258) agrees with Noreen that it may be used as “an artistic illusion,” but he adds that it is not reserved to the artist; “one need only listen to the way in which people of the humblest ranks relate incidents that they have witnessed themselves to see how natural, nay inevitable, this form is.”

There are even finer distinctions of types where the present tense has a past time reference. The dramatic present is used in several contexts, such as the rendering of historical situations, summaries, storytelling, résumés, and the explanation for why we use these all follow the same general themes. Either a present tense form is being used by a writer to make his/her experience appear more real to the reader, or a present tense form is being used for past time speech acts if it is relevant at the moment of speech. These explanations appear in several works, for instance: Noreen 1904 (677); Brugmann 1886 (571); Jespersen 1924 (258); Hulthén 1944 (191); Beckman 1968 (109); Wellander 1973 (140); Thorell 1977 (123); Lindberg 1980 (60); Sadalska 1993 (146); Christensen 1995 (152); Ekerot 2011 (142); Larsson & Lyngfelt 2011 (78). However, the most elaborated account for Swedish is found in SAG 4, which is described next in Chapter 3.
3. An overview of tense in the literature, and points of departure for the investigation

The aim of this thesis is mainly empirical, and it is focused on estimating and describing the proportion, the types, and the characteristics of incongruous tense in Swedish for which we lack a quantitative assessment. To this end, I have sought to rely on a fairly traditional view of tense, and to make as few assumptions as possible beyond that. Largely, my empirical investigation takes its point of departure in the account of tense (and related categories) in SAG.

The authors of SAG have strived to serve users with varying interests by producing a modernized version of traditional grammar for Swedish. As such, it does not adhere to any particular theory of language or grammar. However, the authors acknowledge that improvements achieved in modern linguistic research of various schools have been incorporated to a great extent (SAG 1:39).

As a backdrop to the account of tense in SAG, this chapter first provides an overview of some influential works on tense. It is kept brief; the literature on time and tense is vast, and almost every area of linguistics has its own approach to tense which differs in terminology and methods as a result of their different aims (see e.g. Binnick 2012:7). The subject is studied not only in linguistics, but in adjacent fields as well, such as narratology, philosophy, and computational linguistics.

Despite the multitude of available approaches to tense, the bulk of linguistic research on the subject makes at least some reference to the theory of tense presented in Reichenbach 1947 (Elements of Symbolic Logic), which is presented in Section 3.1.

Since its introduction, Reichenbach’s theory has met substantial criticism and been the subject of several suggestions for improvement. This is the topic of Section 3.2. It cannot be said that there is any specific model for which there is general support, but many linguists still adhere to the basic ideas of the theory in one way or another. Further, there are non-Reichenbachian frameworks for capturing time in language as well. These are briefly treated in Section 3.3, and they are widely cited in the fields of philosophy and computational linguistics. Such frameworks are of less importance for this study, but, even so, the research in these approaches has yielded insights on time and tense which merit elucidation.

Next, Section 3.4 presents the account of tense in SAG, which adheres to the Reichenbachian tradition, albeit with influences from later works. Finally,
Section 3.5, specifies the account of tense that I will take as the point of departure for my empirical investigation. This account of tense diverges slightly from the general principles in SAG in that it involves a somewhat stricter view on tense.

3.1 Reichenbach’s theory of tense

Reichenbach (1947) assumes that tense determines the time of an event, E, relative to the time of uttering the tense form, i.e. the point of speech, S. By considering these two times as points on a timeline, one can represent the past tense as an event point preceding S, the present tense as an event coinciding with S, and, the future tense as an event succeeding S. However, Reichenbach reasons that the two-point representation (held by many at the time) is insufficient for representing the perfect tenses, since their order in time involves two events whose positions are determined relative to the point of speech. In order to analyze sentences such as “Peter had gone”, Reichenbach (1947:71) makes a distinction between the event expressed by the main verb and that by the finite verb. The former is referred to as the point of the event E, and the latter as the point of reference R. Reichenbach (1947:71,75) further assumes that the simple tenses exhibit R as well, which may be temporally specified by context, and modifiers, such as ‘yesterday’.

Reichenbach (1947) introduces a uniform notational device based on the assumption of a three-point representation. This consists of a unidirectional timeline where time flows from left to right, and where the tenses are represented by arrangements of the points in time. Figure 3.1 below illustrates Reichenbach’s (1947) interpretation of the six traditional tenses in English.

![Figure 3.1](image)

*Figure 3.1. The six traditional English tenses in Reichenbach notation.*

Reichenbach (1947) further points to the possibility of extended event time, as for instance with the progressive forms in English; see Figure 3.2 below.

The extension of E can be accomplished without the progressive form in English, for instance, by substituting the participle of the sentences in Figure 3.2 with an adjective like ‘hungry’ (Reichenbach 1947:74).
Reichenbach (1947:73 f.) makes mention of a second temporal function of the present tense, namely where $E$ is stated to occur repeatedly or eternally as in the examples below. The relative positioning of time units in these examples is interpreted in the same vein as the extended present in Figure 3.2, where $E$ encompasses $R$ and $S$.

(16) a. Women are wearing larger hats this year.

b. Two times two is four.

When a speaker uses complex clauses, (s)he is also constructing sequences of tenses. With respect to this process, Reichenbach (1947) makes use of his notational device to illustrate a rule known as the permanence of the reference point. Reichenbach’s rule for complex sentences states that “although the events referred to in the clauses may occupy different time points, the reference point should be the same for all clauses” (Reichenbach 1947:74). This belongs to the set of rules known in the literature as consecutio temporum, tense agreement, tense succession, and tense harmony. The sentence “I had mailed the letter when John came and told me the news” from Reichenbach (1947:74) conforms to the rule of tense harmony, and is rendered as follows:

\begin{align*}
1^\text{st} \text{ clause:} & \ E_1 - R_1 - S \\
2^\text{nd} \text{ clause:} & \ R_2, E_2 - S \quad \text{(Past)} \\
3^\text{rd} \text{ clause:} & \ R_3, E_3 - S \quad \text{(Past)}
\end{align*}

The vertical alignment of $R_1 - 3$ means that the past reference point is identical for all of the clauses in the sentence. However, English speakers do not always preserve tense harmony, which brings us to a second rule of Reichenbach. This second rule states that whenever there is a temporal modifier such as ‘now’, or ‘December 1992’, it refers to $R$, not to $E$; $R$ is the carrier of the time position which is referred to as the positional use of the reference point. Consider for instance the following sentence: “he was healthier when I saw him than he is now” (Reichenbach 1947:76), which is represented below in example (18).
Reichenbach’s introduction of the point of reference calls the utility of the six traditional tenses into question. As an example of his argumentation, consider the simple future in the sentence ‘I shall see John’ in Figure 3.1. If we add the time adverbial ‘now’, its structural description $S, R − E$ holds. But, if we add instead the adverbial ‘tomorrow’, we have to acknowledge that $R$ is separated from $S$ and simultaneous to $E$. This requires two interpretations of the simple future: $S, R − E$ for ‘I shall see John now’ and $S − R, E$ for ‘I shall see John tomorrow’. As an alternative to the traditional six English tenses, he proposes nine fundamental tenses. Their nomenclature and structural descriptions are listed in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1. Reichenbach’s nine fundamental tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>New name</th>
<th>Traditional name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$E − R − S$</td>
<td>Anterior past</td>
<td>Past perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$E, R − S$</td>
<td>Simple past</td>
<td>Simple past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R − E − S$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R − S, E$</td>
<td>Posterior past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R − S − E$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$E − S, R$</td>
<td>Anterior present</td>
<td>Present perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$S, R, E$</td>
<td>Simple present</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$S, R − E$</td>
<td>Posterior present</td>
<td>Simple future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$S − E − R$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$S, E − R$</td>
<td>Anterior future</td>
<td>Future perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$E − S − R$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$S − R, E$</td>
<td>Simple future</td>
<td>Simple future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$S − R − E$</td>
<td>Posterior future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In sum, the introduction of a more complex structural description is, on the one hand, justified by the dual events of the perfect tenses, and, on the other hand, the positional use of the reference point. This allows for a more detailed categorization of tense than the prevailing view at that time. Still, however detailed, Reichenbach’s theory is not without criticism.

3.2 Critical responses to Reichenbach’s theory

The critique of Reichenbach (1947) has taken many forms. There are those who take issue with the reference time; there are those who oppose the direct linking of the event time to the point of speech; and there are those who disagree with the function of the point of speech. A brief account of the critique
is provided in Sections 3.2.1–3.2.3 below in the indicated order. In addition, Reichenbach has been criticized for using the terms *point of reference* and *point of the event* for intervals (see e.g. Larsson 2009:56, Lundquist 2012). To avoid possible confusion between points and intervals, I will use the general terms *reference time* and *event time* from here on which are intended to capture both points and intervals.

3.2.1 The relevance and nature of the reference time

The reference time has been subject to three kinds of criticism. It has been described as superfluous, inadequate, and vague. Let us consider these arguments in turn.

In his typological account of tense, Comrie (1985) argues that the *reference time* is useful for capturing compound tense, yet redundant for the simple tenses for which there is no need of an intervening $\mathcal{R}$. Instead, Comrie (1985:122 ff.) argues for a distinction between absolute tense and relative tense. Absolute tense is the term for the three possible relations between $E$ and $S$ (namely $E$ before, simultaneous with, or after, $S$), and relative tense is the term for the same three relations between $E$ and $\mathcal{R}$. Absolute tense is said to be sufficient for the description of the simple tenses, while the compound tenses require a combination of absolute and relative tense. See Vikner (1985) for another early binary account of tense.

Comrie’s suggestion as to the redundancy of $\mathcal{R}$ is interesting, since the usefulness of $\mathcal{R}$ is one of the main points of Reichenbach (1947:72). Reichenbach finds that the three-point structure is already suggested by Jespersen (1924) for tenses like the past and the future perfect, yet he notes also that Jespersen has not applied this idea to the remaining tenses and that this is why Jespersen has difficulty in telling the simple past from the present perfect. Comrie’s idea of losing $\mathcal{R}$ for simple tense appeals to the ideal of parsimony, instead of the ideal of unification, by which the same formalism is used for both simple and compound tenses.

As for the inadequacies of the reference time, there have been objections on three points. The first concerns the inability to assign additional reference times in verb phrases with more than two verbs, such as ‘I would like to have finished by then’, which has been noted by several, such as Prior (1967:13), Comrie (1985), and Vikner (1985:82). Comrie (1985:76) reasons that Reichenbach’s use of one reference time is inadequate for the sentence “John would have been about to have just been about to leave”, and similar. This calls for a formalism with several reference times for complex verb phrases.

The second point is described by Dahl (1985:30), for instance, who notices that in certain sentences with two time adverbials, e.g. “When I arrived, Peter had tried to phone me twice during the preceding week”, the reference time is not enough to handle both. To resolve this issue, Dahl (1985:30), assumes an
additional temporal frame, $F$, that corresponds to the time “during the preceding week”.

The third point, which is of less interest in this context, as Swedish houses two basic tenses only, concerns tense systems that mark remoteness distinctions with multiple past and future tenses, for which Reichenbach’s theory is said to be inadequate (Binnick 2012:24); see Botne (2012) for a description of such systems.

Finally, as for the vagueness of the reference time, there are those who find it poorly defined by Reichenbach, such as Declerck (1986). He notes that the point of reference is often used without a proper definition, and that it seems to be ambiguous between two readings: the time referred to, ‘the time indicated by adverbial modification’ and the time of orientation, ‘the time to which a situation is related’ (Declerck 1986:320). To cope with the vagueness of the reference time, these are used as anchors in time in addition to the time of the situation and the time of the utterance. Like Dahl’s addition of $F$, Declerck’s theory furnishes four elements of time.

Later proposals on tense normally assume, even for the simple tenses, some time beside the point of speech and the event time. This position is largely connected with the view that the event time is not directly related to the point of speech, which implies a need for a mediating link; see next section.

3.2.2 The linking of the event time to the point of speech

Reichenbach locates the time of the event directly to the point of speech, as does Comrie (1985:1) in absolute tense. However, some contemporary scholars – indeed, even a majority according to Binnick (2012:30) – take the event as only indirectly related to the point of speech.

An account of tense in accordance with this view is Klein (1994). Klein assumes that tense involves the ordering of a topic time, i.e. “the time for which a claim is made”, with respect to the time of the utterance (Klein 1994:3 ff.). By contrast, the ordering of the time of the event with respect to the topic time is not governed by tense, but aspect. Consider the example below from Klein (1994:4), of a situation where a witness is giving testimony to the question ‘What did you notice when you looked into the room?’ whereupon the witness answers as follows:

(19) There was a book on the table. It was in Russian.

The state event of the first sentence is said to be temporary, while the event of the second is considered to be permanent (Klein 1994:4). The book’s being on the table may change from time to time (e.g. if moved), but the book’s being in Russian does not alter over time (at least not typically). According to Klein (1994:4 f.), the topic time concerns the time of witnessing the book, and nothing more. Thus, while tense relates the topic time as prior to the point of
speech, aspect connects (or rather confines in this case) the time of the event to the topic time and stops it from overlapping S.

Similar approaches are also formalized in generative clause structures by various scholars; see e.g. Larsson (2009:56 ff.) and references there.

3.2.3 The point of speech

Reichenbach’s point of speech has been criticized for being unable to capture cases like direct speech and the dramatic present. The reason is simple; when someone is uttering the words or thoughts of a reported or narrated person, as for instance demonstrated in the constructed examples (20a–b), (s)he is doing it at his/her point of speech. The reported or narrated person is not actually saying anything at S.

(20) a. Yesterday he said ‘We are out of cheese now’.
   b. The year is 1912, and Titanic is getting ready for its maiden voyage. The harbor is full of curious spectators who are awestruck by this true wonder of engineering.

The forerunner to this complication is quite old. Since ancient times, literary scholars have shown interest in time and narration and the difference between the point of view of the narrator and that of the narrated person. This interest in points of view has come to involve the point of speech, but there is no generally accepted way to combine the idea of perspective with time.

Aristotle recognizes the possibility of presenting a story in two modes within the same medium: a narrative mode, and a dramatic mode where the characters play their part as active agents; see his Poetics (2013:19). A narrator may be located at a different point in time than that of the narrated, and, as often as not, the narrator’s and the narrated person’s uses of tense clash. This is probably one of the reasons for the plethora of literary studies on tense use. Some works in Swedish are mentioned in Section 2.2, yet the amount of research beyond that is considerable; see e.g. Fludernik (2012) for an overview on tense analyses focused on literary narrative. Although the terminology and the analytical detail vary, it seems to be a generally accepted assumption that time and tense can be analyzed from different points of view at different levels of discourse, as in the following widely cited works for instance: Bal 2004, Chatman 1990, Sanford & Emmott 2012, Genette 1983, Herman 2009, Jahn 2005, Prince 2003, Ryan 1995, and Stanzel 1984.

Two additional ideas have been introduced in dealings with the point of view in discourse and literature. The first is that the ‘I’ corresponding to the actual language user differs from the first-person pronoun corresponding to the narrated language user, as proposed by Ducrot (1984), Jahn (2005:N3.1.6), and Marnette (2005:23) for instance. This is also recognized by Fleischman
who argues that the preferable strategy for the analysis of tense in fiction is to assume that Reichenbach’s point of speech may refer either to the now of the author or to the now of the narrated person. The idea is intuitive and similar to the account of direct speech in SAG which is given in Section 4.2.2. The second idea is to keep track of the points of view with indices, as is done by Prudente (2018:11) for instance, in her study of James Joyce’s Ulysses.

The temporal problem with shifting points of view has been acknowledged under the banner of linguistics as well (e.g. Declerck 1999). Yet, instead of a point of view, some have assumed the notion of a *deictic center* which, according to Levinson (2005:64), is typically constituted by unmarked deictic anchorage points centered on the speaker, and the time and place (s)he currently occupies as well as her/his social status. As with the point of view in narratology, the deictic center has been used to explain shifts in point of view from one person to another in narrative settings. Comrie (1985:108 f.), for instance, makes the same observation on direct speech as Ducrot (1984) and others, that the ‘I’ of the reporting speaker differs from the ‘I’ of the reported speaker. The odd time reference of the reported clause is explained as being interpreted from the point of view of the reported speaker’s deictic center.

The deictic center has been used in other areas as well, as by Fillmore (1997:100 f.), who notes that in certain languages, like standard Japanese, the deictic center shifts between the use of the motion verbs *come* and *go*. So, when a mother calls her son to dinner, he goes (in English translation): ‘I’m going’, not ‘I’m coming’, for ‘coming’ signals motion towards the speaker as the deictic center, while the latter signals motion towards the addressee as the deictic center in this case.

The idea of shifting points of view has also been considered in formal linguistics, as *shifts in perspective*, or as *the evaluation time* (Hinrichs 1988; Ogihara 1995; Kratzer 1998; Hatav 2012). (See the next section for a brief introduction to non-Reichenbachian frameworks.) But instead of a Reichenbachian model, such studies typically assume a truth-functional model where the times of the tenses are analyzed like pronouns with indexical references. And in contrast to the pragmatic interpretations of the time of the perspective in literary studies on tense, the formal accounts appear to focus on shifts in viewpoints that can be formally or syntactically justified, for instance by a reporting verb.

Larsson (2009:57 f.) also substitutes the point of speech with an *evaluation time*, which she relates to the *assertion time*, a counterpart to Klein’s *topic time*. In a pedagogically adapted paper, Larsson & Lyngfelt (2011:67) talk of *the fixation point* (Sw. *fixpunkt*) instead of the evaluation time. Even though the evaluation time/fixation point typically coincides with the moment of speech,

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1 In the introduction of the fixation point, Larsson & Lyngfelt (2011) refer to Christensen (1997:85) who introduces the term *FIX* in her study of Swedish future constructions. However, *FIX* is a somewhat different concept.
this is not always the case. The evaluation time may also be used in accounting for tense in sub-clauses where the assertion time may be defined in relation to the event time of a matrix clause, and not to the point of speech. This is one of its main uses according to Larsson (2009). But the evaluation time/fixation point can serve in other cases as well, e.g. the historical present (Larsson & Lyngfelt 2011:78 f.).

3.3 Non-Reichenbachian frameworks for time and tense

Non-Reichenbachian frameworks for time and tense are found in philosophy, in computational linguistics, and in formal linguistics. These draw on temporal logic for various purposes, e.g. answering philosophical questions (Prior 1957), designing temporal reasoning schemes (Allen 1984), or making formalized grammars (Montague 1974). While they do not have direct relevance for this thesis’ aim, they have yielded insights on tense that require elaboration. See Goranko and Rumberg (2022), Steedman (2012), and Hamm and Bott (2021) for overviews in philosophy, computational linguistics, and linguistics.

A forerunner to many temporal logics of today, is tense logic. It was introduced and developed by Prior (1957,1967), and besides the usual operators, it has four additional modal ones as given below.

\[
\begin{align*}
P & : \text{It has at some time been the case that} \ldots \\
F & : \text{It will at some time be the case that} \ldots \\
H & : \text{It has always been the case that} \ldots \\
G & : \text{It will always be the case that} \ldots 
\end{align*}
\]

While Reichenbach’s approach aims to describe tense in language, tense logic is mainly used inferentially for truth-values over time. For example, both frameworks can capture the eternal event of the sentence ‘God is good’, as shown below, first in tense logic (21a) and second in Reichenbach notation (21b). (The operator ‘∧’ may be read like ‘and’ for the present purposes.)

\[
(21) \hspace{1cm} \begin{align*}
a. \quad & H(\text{God is good}) \land G(\text{God is good}) \quad \text{(tense logic)} \\
b. \quad & S,R,E 
\end{align*}
\]

In tense logic, it follows from (21a) that \( P(\text{God is good}) \land F(\text{God is good}) \). By contrast, it is not appropriate to say that \( R,E - S \) and \( S - R,E \) follow from (21b). One reason for this is that the Reichenbachian framework is designed to model the meaning of what people say, in opposition to tense logic which is constructed to operate on propositions to capture their truth-values over time. At any rate, one of the main drives for Prior’s formalization of time and tense is found in his philosophical inquiries on free will and predestination, an aim
that differs from the descriptive aim of Reichenbach (1947) and of this thesis. See Øhrstrøm (1995) for temporal logics prior to Prior.

A widely cited work in computational linguistics is Allen’s (1984) interval algebra, an interval-based temporal logic consisting of 13 basic relations between two intervals, such as \( x \) precedes \( y \). It is commonly used for the task of temporal information extraction (Jurafsky and Martin, 2009:785), and a subset thereof is, for instance, employed in the TimeML scheme by Pustejovsky (2003), which focuses on the temporal relation between events rather than between points of reference. In TimeML, the time of the events is understood relative to the document creation time which is a point in time that is often temporally specified prior to analysis in contrast to the point of speech. This makes for a good fix point to the events.\(^2\)

An influential framework in formal linguistics is the one introduced by Montague (1970). He argues that natural language can be treated as a formal one, and to make this point he draws heavily on several formal languages, among which is a tensed intensional logic (Montague 1974). To be sure, to give a Montague grammar for the Swedish tenses, or the like, would lend a level of detail to the analyses that exceeds Reichenbach’s notation. Still, such expressiveness is uncalled for considering the aim of this thesis.

Throughout the years, there have been several works that take inspiration from Montague grammar, notably Partee 1973. Partee suggests that tense displays anaphoric behavior similar to that of pronouns, and that tense reference in discourse may be resolved with respect to contextual factors such as time adverbials, but she observes also that tense may occur without contextual resolve in discourse as in example (22) below which is uttered by a man sitting alone with a serious case of the blues.

\[(22) \quad \text{She left me.} \quad \text{(Partee 1973:603)}\]

In subsequent work, Partee (1984) sees a parallel between temporal anaphora and Reichenbach’s points of reference which she incorporates into a formal semantic framework. Her work has won recognition by several linguists, e.g. Kratzer (1998), and Kamp et al. (2011). For a recent formal treatment of tense harmony, reported speech and similar, see bound tense in Hatav 2012. As we shall see, SAG makes similar observations on tense in discourse; see Section 3.4.2 on tense harmony and Chapter 4 on relayed events and reported speech.

\(^2\) Reichenbach notation has also been employed in various schemes of annotation or inference. See, for instance, works by Moens and Steedman (1988); Passonneau (1988); Derczynski and Gaizauskas (2013); Mirza and Tonelli (2016).
3.4 SAG’s account of the principles of tense and tense-related categories in Swedish

As previously mentioned, SAG’s description of tense and tense-related categories in Swedish largely provides the point of departure for my empirical study. Section 3.4.1 below accounts for the principles governing the tenses’ time reference as presented by SAG and the tense use that follows from these principles, here called “regular” tense use. (Tense uses that do not follow these principles will be addressed in Chapter 4, but I will already in Section 3.5 make it clear that congruous tense in this study does not entirely correspond to regular tense use according to SAG.) Section 3.4.2 addresses some aspects of SAG’s account of tense related categories, such as adverbials, accidentsart, deixis, and mood.

3.4.1 SAG’s account of tense and regular tense usage in Swedish

SAG’s account of tense belongs to the Reichenbachian tradition. It includes an event time (aktionstiden), as well as a point of speech (talögomblicket), but it has also incorporated ideas from later research. Most notable is the replacement of the reference time in Reichenbach 1947 with a thematic time (tematisk tid). The thematic time seems (by and large) to correspond to topic time in Klein 1994. In SAG (4:207), it is defined as ‘the time that the clause is about.’

Like English, Swedish has two simple tenses, the present and the past. The present tense places the thematic time within a temporal domain from the point of speech and on, whereas the past tense places the thematic time within a temporal domain extending up to, but not including, the point of speech (SAG 4:204).

SAG also distinguishes four main types of compound tenses, expressed by combinations of a finite temporal auxiliary and a non-finite verb form, the supine or the infinitive. The temporal auxiliaries themselves express state events, which fall within the temporal domains given by their respective tenses (present or past). Their lexical meaning then indicates how the event of the non-finite verb is temporally related to the event of the auxiliary. The auxiliary ha ‘have’, used in the present and past perfect, indicates that the event of the non-finite verb precedes that of the auxiliary. The auxiliaries skola ‘shall’

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3 The label “regular tense use” is used here for the sake of simplicity. SAG does not explicitly talk of tense uses as regular or irregular (nor as congruous or incongruous). However, it is possible to discern that some paragraphs in SAG are devoted to uses that do not follow from the principles.

4 Besides a bibliography of works on Swedish grammar, there are no references to specific theories in SAG. It is nevertheless obvious that the view on tense in SAG is founded on the Reichenbachian tradition.
or *komma (att)* ‘will’, lit. ‘come (to)’, indicates that the event of the non-finite verb succeeds that of the auxiliary (SAG 4:205)

Unlike Reichenbach, SAG does not relate the time of the event expressed by a finite verb directly to the point of speech. It only states that the time of the event overlaps the thematic time at some point. Thus, the time of the event is only indirectly related to the point of speech, and, in this respect, SAG is in line with the account of Klein (1994) and later research (cf. Binnick 2012:30).5

Also, contrary to Reichenbach’s tense system, with three points (or periods) of time in certain fixed positions relative to each other, SAG considers tense use as based on three kinds of temporal relations. The first concerns the thematic time established by the finite verb in relation to the point of speech. The second concerns the overlap between the time of the event of the finite verb and the thematic time. The third concerns, in case of a compound tense, the relation between the event of the non-finite verb, and the time of the event of the finite auxiliary.

As I discuss these relations below, I will use the short form *E* for SAG’s event time, *T* for their thematic time, and *S* for their point of speech. When required to distinguish between the events of the main and the auxiliary verb, in the following I will label them *E*\_\text{main} and *E*\_\text{aux} respectively. While SAG uses signs of equality and inequalities to mark the temporal relations, I will follow Reichenbach (1947) and use a dash (–) to mark that two times are separate in time. I will, however, use the comma-sign to specifically mark that one time overlaps another at some point.

In the simple past of (23) below, the event time of arriving overlaps some part of the thematic time (*T*, *E*) before the point of speech (*T* − *S*). As regards the simple present, it can – actually more so in Swedish than in English – be used to express present time as well as future time, cf. (24a) and (24b). In the first case, the event and the thematic time (*T*, *E*) coincide with the point of speech (*S*, *T*). In the second, they succeed it. (The semicolons in my examples are only used to delimit SAG’s relations.)

(23) Mitt plan *anlände* igår.
    ‘My flight *arrived* yesterday.’

    *(T − S; T, E)*

(24) a. Mitt plan *anländer* nu.
    ‘My flight *arrives* now.’

    *(S, T; T, E)*

b. Mitt plan *anländer* imorgon.
    ‘My flight *arrives* tomorrow.’

    *(S − T; T, E)*

5 Actually, it is never explicitly stated in SAG that the time of the event is indirectly related to the point of speech. Some wordings can even cause doubt as to the principle, e.g. when tense is initially said to indicate “directly or indirectly” how the event relates to the point of speech (SAG 4:204; cf. also SAG 1:231). However, the principle becomes clear from the further description of tense (see further below).
The past perfect furnishes only one possible configuration: the thematic time precedes the point of speech, the thematic time and $E_{aux}$ overlap, and $E_{main}$ precedes $E_{aux}$. See example (25) below. The present perfect is somewhat more complicated, since the auxiliary is in the present tense, which means that $T$ may either coincide with or succeed $S$. In the former case, $E_{aux}$ normally also coincide with $S$, meaning that $E_{main}$ precedes $S$; see (26). In the latter case, however, if $T$ and $E_{aux}$ follow $S$, $E_{main}$ can be placed both before and after the moment of speech. In (27), for example, $T$ and $E_{aux}$ mark the moment of the speaker’s arrival, but Kim’s leaving, $E_{main}$, can either be a fact at the moment of speech or assumed to occur at some time between the moment of speech and the arrival.\(^6\) The only requirement is that $E_{main}$ precedes $E_{aux}$.

(25) Kim hade redan åkt igår. \((T - S; T, E_{aux}; E_{main} - E_{aux})\)

‘Kim had already left yesterday.’

(26) Kim har redan åkt. \((S, T; T, E_{aux}; E_{main} - E_{aux})\)

‘Kim has left already.’

(27) Kim har nog redan åkt när vi landar. \((S - T; T, E_{aux}; E_{main} - E_{aux})\)

‘Kim will probably already have left when we land.’

When it comes to the future, the thematic time $T$ and $E_{aux}$ are most often considered to coincide with the point of speech $S$ (even though there is nothing to formally prevent $T$ and $E_{aux}$ from following $S$ when the auxiliary is in the present tense); see (28). The past future, on the other hand, locates $T$ and $E_{aux}$ before $S$, which means that it is in principle possible for $E_{main}$ to precede, coincide with, or succeed $S$. Most often $E_{main}$ precedes $S$; see (29). The two latter cases of (30) i.e. when $E_{main}$ is taken to coincide with or succeed $S$, seem to require that $E_{aux}$ is located before $S$ by reference to some previous prediction. Furthermore, the auxiliary skulle (corresponding to English should, would as well as was going to) is seen to frequently carry modal meaning that signals uncertainty concerning the realization of $E_{main}$. (See Section 4.1 on modal meaning.)

(28) Det kommer att regna om en liten stund. \((T, S; T, E_{aux}; E_{aux} - E_{main})\)

‘It will rain in a short while.’

(29) Igår åt vi tidigt eftersom vi skulle se en film på kvällen. \((T - S; T, E_{aux}; E_{aux} - E_{main})\)

‘Yesterday we ate early because we were going to watch a movie in the evening.’

---

\(^6\) The literal translation of (27) is ‘Kim has probably already left when we land.’

44
(30) Vi passade på att vara utomhus igår eftersom det skulle regna {idag/hela nästa vecka.}

‘We took the opportunity to be outdoors yesterday since it was going to rain {today/all next week}.’ (T − S; T, Eaux; Eaux − Emain)

To summarize so far: SAG’s account of tense follows the Reichenbachian tradition, but it has incorporated perspectives from more recent approaches to tense. For instance, Reichenbach’s reference time is replaced by the thematic time, defined as “the time that the clause is about.” If the finite verb of the clause is in the past tense, the thematic time falls within a temporal domain that precedes the point of speech, whereas a finite verb in the present tense places the thematic time within a temporal domain that encompasses or succeeds the point of speech. Another deviation from Reichenbach (1947) is that the time of the event is not linked directly to the point of speech, but is said to overlap with the thematic time at some point. This means that tense expresses at least two separate temporal relations, one between the event and the thematic time, and one between the thematic time and the point of speech. For compound tenses, there is a relation between the event of finite auxiliary and the event of the infinite verb as well.

It can be noted here that SAG, unlike e.g. Klein (1994), does not define the relationship between the time of the event and the thematic time as one of aspect. Furthermore, SAG maintains a link between the thematic time and the point of speech and, as such, it does not replace the latter with an evaluation time or the like.

In most cases, the temporal relations as described by SAG lead to the same organization of the times on the timeline as in Reichenbach 1947. However, a reason for not relating the time of the event directly to the moment of speech, but only presupposing an overlap with the thematic time can be seen from examples such as (31) below. In this example (from SAG 4:223), the past tense (låg ‘was located’) is used even though the castle mentioned remains on the other side of the river after the visit, i.e. at the point of speech and on. According to SAG, this use of the past tense is possible when the thematic time can be the time that a certain phenomenon was observed, experienced or learned, regardless of whether the reported phenomenon still applies at the point of speech.

(31) Hon besökte ett slott som låg på andra sidan floden.

‘She visited a castle that was located on the other side of the river.’

I will return to similar cases in Section 3.5.
3.4.2 SAG’s account of tense-related categories

SAG’s account of tense is fairly straightforward. It provides a semantics for the tenses in terms of a model in the Reichenbachian tradition with some modifications with regard to later perceptions. However, the amount of text spent on explicating said account is considerably small in comparison to the number of pages devoted to the account of tense-related categories, which involve a wide range of grammatical concepts. The summary of these concepts and their relation to tense, forms the subject matter of this section.

The tense-related categories are here distributed across six themes. The first two treat the relation of some temporal unit relative to another. Tense harmony describes how the tenses may be ordered with respect to each other in related clauses and sentences, and adverbials of time may further specify the temporal meaning of the tenses. The final four themes are less uniform. Aktionsart is a label for the internal workings of events. Mood and modality concern the meanings connected to the speaker’s attitudes to what (s)he is saying, and the two final themes hold phenomena related to the point of speech and deixis.

The tense-related categories in SAG are not only relevant to SAG’s account of tense; they are also important for SAG’s treatment of the incongruous tense forms addressed later on in Chapter 4.

**Tense harmony**

Tense harmony generally refers to a set of rules pertaining to the agreement between tenses of verbs in clauses and sentences. Such rules are also known in the literature as consecutio temporum, tense agreement, backshifting, and tense succession. One such rule is the previously mentioned *permanence of the reference point*, where one maintains the tense type on the finite verb for any related clauses (Reichenbach 1947). This rule is not obligatory in contemporary Swedish. According to SAG, it is more common to maintain the tense in question than to change it, but the choice is often free, and the thematic time may vary between clauses (SAG 4:254 f.). This is not to say that Swedish is devoid of patterns in this respect. SAG (4:254) states that there are general relations between superordinate and subordinate clauses which may affect the choice of tense, such as when the time of the event in the subordinate clause

1. coincides or overlaps with the event time in the superordinate clause (for clauses initiated by *medan* ‘while’, *då* ‘then’, *när* ‘when’)
2. occurs before the superordinate clause (for clauses initiated by *alltsedan* ‘all since’, *sedan* ‘since’, *efter det att* ‘after’)
3. occurs after the superordinate clause (for clauses initiated by *tills* ‘until’, *innan* ‘before’, *så att* ‘so that’).

Maintaining tense in related sentences is dependent on some combination of three types of anchoring: time adverbials, context, and our knowledge of the
These anchor points come into play in longer narratives consisting of declarative clauses, where the tense type is usually maintained (SAG 4:224 ff.). The thematic time of the tense sequence is then often established and specified in some initial clause, as in the next example.

(32) Förra året var hon i Tanzania. Hon arbetade med något last year-DEF was she in Tanzania she worked with some biståndsprojekt, som visst inte fungerade så bra. Men jag tror aid-project which sure not worked so well but I think ändå att hon trivdes där nere. anyhow that she liked-PASS there down

‘Last year, she was in Tanzania. She worked on some foreign aid project which apparently did not work so well. But I still think that she liked it down there.’ (SAG 4:224)

So, instead of a rule, we may discern something more like a tendency according to SAG, namely that it is more common that verbs of the same tense form co-occurs, than it is for verbs of different tenses. Yet, in any case, the choice of tense in complex sentences is said to be insufficiently studied (SAG 4:254).

**Time adverbials**

According to SAG (4:208), an adverbial of time may denote a stretch of time that is wider than that of the event time, and this is usually the case, as in example (33a) below. Yet, the reverse is also possible, where the time of the adverbial is narrower than the event, as in example (33b). If so, it may be specified by $T$ as long as $T$ and $E$ overlap at some point (SAG 4:209).

(33) a. I går kom Per hit. yesterday came Per here

‘Yesterday, Per came here.’ (SAG 4:208)

b. Kl. 12 var han hemma i alla fall, [...] cl.(ock) 12 was he home in all cases

‘In any event, he was home at 12 o’clock.’ (SAG 4:209)

If a clause contains two time adverbials, it is often the case that the one denoting the wider stretch of time marks the thematic time, while the one denoting the narrower stretch of time marks the event time (SAG 4:209). Note that this interpretation differs from Reichenbach (1947) where the reference time would connect to both adverbials. See the following example:

---

7 SAG describes phenomena related to the permanence of the reference point for sentences in several places; see SAG (4:219 ff., 235 ff.) for instance.
(34) Nästa vecka simmar jag på onsdag.
next week swim I on Wednesday
‘Next week, I will swim on Wednesday.’

In examples (33a–b) and (34) above, T and E are distinct from S. However, this is not always the case. Some time adverbials with a wide scope, such as calendrical units, can specify events which overlap the point of speech, but also events which in their entirety precede or succeed S (SAG 4:209). SAG (4:209) states that, sometimes, this wide stretch of time can be restricted by the choice of tense. Consider the example below where the event of visiting America, takes place within the scope of the adverbial i år ‘this year’.

(35) a. I år besöker han Amerika.
in year visits he America
‘This year, he’s visiting America.’ (SAG 4:209)
b. I år besökte han Amerika.
in year visited he America
‘This year, he visited America.’ (SAG 4:209)

Adverbials denoting the present time such as ‘this year’, ‘today’, and ‘now’, can occasionally combine with the past tense, if it is clear from context that T is in the past (SAG 4:210).

As for the compound tenses, a time adverbial may specify the event time, either for the superordinate verb phrase, or for the subordinate verb phrase. For the past perfect, a time adverbial may, for instance, modify both, but only one at a time as in the example below, where we either have that Per had left at 12 o’clock, or that Per left at 12 o’clock.

(36) Klockan 12 hade Per gett sig av.
clock-DEF 12 had Per left himself off
‘By twelve o’clock, Per had left.’ (SAG 4:209)

Aktionsart and event modifying verbs
While tense is used to place an event on the timeline, aktionsart is a label for the temporal details of the event per se. The choice of tense, as well as the interpretation of tense, is to some extent affected by aktionsart (SAG 4:213). And although there is no systematic way to express aktionsart in Swedish, it is usually signalled by the verb and its modifiers (SAG 4:323 f.). SAG assumes four aktionsarten: states, unbounded processes, bounded processes, and punctual events. Examples from SAG (4:324) follow:
SAG classifies the aktionsarten by considering the semantic properties of verbs. These properties concern the event’s boundary, sub-events, duration, and effect on some state of affairs (SAG 4:324). Let us consider these properties in turn.

An event may be bounded or unbounded. An event is unbounded if it lacks a natural endpoint (SAG 4:324). Examples (37a–b) above lack natural endpoints, since it cannot be inferred when the state of the equation ends, or when the heat limit has been reached. An event is referred to as bounded if the natural endpoint may be inferred (SAG 1:155). Example (37c) and (37d) are said to be bounded, since it may be inferred that the process of writing the letter, or the process of blinking, has come to an end.

An event with sub-events is referred to as a process. For instance, example (37b) evokes the process of a change in rate, and example (37b) evokes the process of: (i) writing a symbol, (ii) writing another symbol, and so on. The stative event of example (37a) and the transient event of (37d) are said to be non-processes since they are without distinctive sub-events.

While the events of examples (37a–c) are considered to have duration, the event of example (37d) is not. It is referred to as punctual, since it is often perceived to lack duration (SAG 1:215).

Examples (37b–d) involve some sort of change of state, such as the expanding fluids of a thermometer, the production of a letter, or the wetting of the eye. Such events are referred to as dynamic. The equation in example (37a) on the other hand is static in the sense that it describes an equation. Table 3.2 below summarizes the properties of the aktionsarten in SAG.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.2. The aktionsarten in SAG and their semantic properties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbounded process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bounded process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SAG discerns two tendencies for the choice of tense in relation to aktionsart. According to the first tendency, the present tense is favored over the past, when the aktionsart is unbounded (SAG 4:339 f.). The second tendency holds that the past tense is more commonly used for bounded events than the present tense (SAG 4:213). Both of these predispositions are seen at work in example (38) below, where the verb denoting a state in the present tense is interpreted as a punctual event in the past tense.

(38) a. Han inser att han har fel.
   he realizes that he has wrong
   ‘He realizes that he is wrong.’
   (SAG 4:213)

b. Han insåg att han hade fel.
   he realized that he had wrong
   ‘He realized that he was wrong.’
   (SAG 4:213)

All tenses are nonetheless compatible with the unbounded events as well as bounded events (SAG 4:213). For instance, an unbounded event in the past may denote an event that coincides with the point of speech, as in the example below from SAG (4:339). Still, it is normal, and often the case, for events in the past tense to come to an end before the point of speech (SAG 4:339).

(39) Martin åt av läckerheterna {men han blev avbruten/och han håller på med det fortfarande}.
   Martin ate of the delicacies-DEF but he became interrupted/and he holds on-PROG with it still
   ‘Martin ate of the delicacies {but he was interrupted/and he is still}.’

Unbounded events in the present tense are special due to their varied display of meaning. They are often ambiguous between different interpretations (SAG 4:337). For instance, in the following example from SAG (1:176) the subject, as well as the event, is said to display generic reference.

(40) I större hushåll sparar diskmaskinen mycket arbete.
   in larger households saves dishwasher-DEF lots work
   ‘The dishwasher saves a lot of work in larger households.’

It is implicitly understood that the generic event stretches over a longer time (SAG 4:354). But despite the quantitative aspect in the term generic, example (40), and examples like it, are not always intended to be interpreted in this strict generalizing manner, as if all dishwashers in every large household is running on some permanent program to save work. Just the same, the interpretations that sometimes follow from a generic event are those of ability, habit, or possibility rather than permanence, that is (SAG 4:354):
Some auxiliaries (or auxiliary-like) verbs in Swedish refer to certain parts of the event of the verb complement (SAG 2:510). There are five kinds of event focusing auxiliaries: the habitual, the progressive, the phasal, the accidental, and the tendentious auxiliaries. The first two are stative by definition, while the remaining three may shift between punctual or stative interpretations.

The habitual kind pertains to verbs like *bruka*, and *plåga* ≈ ‘be in the habit of’, and it is stative by definition. The habitual verb signals that the event of the subordinate verb phrase is iterated as a rule (SAG 2:510). The progressive kind pertains to verbal constructions such as *hålla på att* ≈ ‘be in the process of’. It is stative by definition, since it specifies that the event of the subordinate event is ongoing (SAG 2:511).

The phasal kind refers to a certain phase of the subordinate event, such as *börja* ‘begin’, *fortsätta* ‘proceed’, *sluta* ‘stop’, and *upphöra* ‘seize’. The accidental kind specifies that the event of the subordinate is happening by chance, as a random event. These verbs are *råka* and *komma* (att), both corresponding to ‘happen to’. Finally, the tendentious kind says that the event of the subordinate verb is about to happen. Typical verbs are *tendera* ‘tend’, *riskera* ‘risk’, *hota* ‘threaten’ and *undgå* ‘avoid’, *undslippa* ‘escape’.

In sum, SAG assumes four aktionsarten: states, bounded processes, unbounded processes, and punctual events, as well as three metaphorical aktionsarten: generic, iterative, and ingressive events. These interpretations are basically the same as the extended usage of the present in Reichenbach 1947. There are also tendencies in the choice of tense that spring from the type of aktionsart. The present tense is more common when the aktionsart is unbounded, and so is the past tense when the aktionsart is bounded. Moreover, there are event focusing auxiliaries that refer to some part of the event of the subordinate verb. The habitual and progressive auxiliaries are stative by definition, while the phasal, the accidental, and tendentious auxiliaries may shift between punctual and stative readings.

**Mood, modality, and modal auxiliaries**

The meaning of modality in SAG (1:198) can roughly be generalized to involve the speaker’s attitude towards what is being said. Modality can be expressed by lexical means as well as grammatically. Mood is a grammatical category that is morphologically marked on the finite verb. It is used to signal the speaker’s attitude towards the content of the clause, or to signal the speech act which the speaker has in mind (SAG 1:199). Some familiarity with mood and modality in Swedish is beneficial for understanding the various types of incongruous tense in SAG, since some of these are considered to have modal properties (see Chapter 4 on incongruous types).
In contemporary Swedish, mood is not as morphologically developed as tense is (SAG 4:215). The are two productive moods, the imperative, and the indicative, as well as residues of the optative, and the subjunctive. The imperative typically expresses a directive speech act, such as *speak!*, *read!*, *write!*.

It is the only finite verbform used in a directive main clause (SAG 1:181). The indicative mood lacks a specified modality, and remains semantically neutral (SAG 4:215). It is therefore frequently used in many clause types (SAG 1:181).

While the imperative and the indicative are productive in today’s Swedish, the optative and the subjunctive are not (SAG 4:215). The optative expresses wishes or directives, and it is only used in lexicalized expressions or archaic pastiches, for instance *vare ‘be-OPT’* (SAG 1:204). The subjunctive mood is used to mark an expression as unreal or unlikely, or to express hopes or wishes. The subjunctive form is not commonly used for other verbs than *vara ‘be’*, i.e. *vore ‘were’* (SAG 4:269).

Today, the indicative past tense is often used instead of the subjunctive to express hypothetical modalities (SAG 4:215); the same goes for the optative modalities (SAG 4:276). Although in younger Swedish, the optative was considered to be the present-tense flip side of the past-tense subjunctive (SAG 2:550). In addition, the past subjunctive mood used to mark reported speech in older formal settings (SAG 4:850).

There are four kinds of modal auxiliaries: the potential, the intentional, the epistemic, and the deontic kind (SAG 4:282 f.). The potential marks a possibility for something to happen due to the ability or circumstance of the subject referent. The intentional marks that the event takes place due to the intention or the will of the subject referent. Consider, for instance, example (42) below of a potential modal verb, and example (43) of an intentional modal verb from SAG (4:283).

(42) De *kunde* gå över bäcken *i höga stövlar.*
they *could* go over stream-DEF in high boots
‘They *could* walk across the stream in high boots.’

(43) Hon *ville* inte bli fotograferad.
she *wanted* not become photographed
‘She did not *want* to be photographed.’

The circumstances in example (42) entail that the subject has the ability to cross the brook. This makes the event of the auxiliary stative. The event lacks a natural endpoint, there are no sub-events, and the event of having of this ability endures for some unknown time. A similar reasoning holds for example (43). The potential and intentional verbs of SAG (4:289 f.) are summarized in Table 3.3 below with approximative translations.
The epistemic verb marks to what degree the content of the clause is considered true due to the judgment of the speaker, or to some more or less reliable source or hypothesis (SAG 4:282 ff.). Epistemic modals are what SAG refers to as *subject-autonomous*, meaning that there is no corresponding semantic argument to the subject in the event structure. In comparison, deontic verbs may evoke subject-autonomous event structures or otherwise. They are used to mark if the content of the clause is necessary or possible due to some decision, wish, consent, or from some norm or rule of society. Consider below the epistemic modal in example (44a), and the deontic in (44b) from SAG (4:283).

\[ (44) \text{ a. Det kan börja regna när som helst.} \]
\[ \text{it can begin rain when which ever} \]
\[ \text{‘It can begin to rain at any time.’} \]

\[ (44) \text{ b. Man får resa till Norge utan pass.} \]
\[ \text{one may travel to Norway without pass} \]
\[ \text{‘One may travel to Norway without a passport.’} \]

In example (44a), it has been deduced that it can begin to rain at any time. In (44a), the speaker is saying that it is permissible to travel to Norway without a passport. The events of examples (44a–b) are stative. There is no natural endpoint, there are no sub-events, and the events refer to stative possibilities or laws. The epistemic and deontic verbs of SAG (4:284 ff.) are shown in Table 3.4 below with approximative translations.

In sum, the modal auxiliaries evoke stative events that operate on the events of the subordinate verbal complements. SAG paraphrases the event of the auxiliary in example (44a) above as follows: *det är möjligt att x* ‘it is possible that x’ (SAG 4:283). By analogy, the typical deontic event is ‘it is permissible

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**Table 3.3. The potential and intentional auxiliaries in SAG**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary verbs</th>
<th>Modal meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kunna</em> ‘can’, <em>förmå</em> ‘be capable’, <em>hinna</em> ‘have time’, <em>mäkta</em> ‘have adequate ability’, <em>orka</em> ‘have stamina or strength’, <em>väga</em> ‘dare’, <em>töras</em> ‘dare’, <em>tåla</em> ‘endure or withstand’, <em>klara</em> ‘be able’, <em>(miss)lyckas (med)</em> ‘fail to’, <em>vara i stånd</em> ‘be capable’, <em>hinna med</em> ‘have time to’, <em>kunna med</em> ‘be able to’, <em>orka med</em> ‘have stamina or strength to’, <em>klara av</em> ‘be able to’, <em>ha svårt (för)</em> ‘have difficulty + -ing’, <em>ha möjlighet (till)</em> ‘have possibility to’, <em>[halfå] råd (med)</em> ‘[have/get] money for’, <em>stå ut med</em> ‘endure’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>skola</em> ‘intend (futural)’, <em>avse</em> ‘intend’, <em>ämna</em> ‘intend’, <em>tänka</em> ‘intend’, <em>vilja</em> ‘intend (willingly)’, <em>gitta</em> ‘bother to’, <em>idas</em> ‘bother to’, <em>nännas</em> ‘have the heart to, or to bring oneself to’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The epistemic verb marks to what degree the content of the clause is considered true due to the judgment of the speaker, or to some more or less reliable source or hypothesis (SAG 4:282 ff.). Epistemic modals are what SAG refers to as *subject-autonomous*, meaning that there is no corresponding semantic argument to the subject in the event structure. In comparison, deontic verbs may evoke subject-autonomous event structures or otherwise. They are used to mark if the content of the clause is necessary or possible due to some decision, wish, consent, or from some norm or rule of society. Consider below the epistemic modal in example (44a), and the deontic in (44b) from SAG (4:283).
Table 3.4. The epistemic and deontic auxiliaries in SAG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary verbs</th>
<th>Modal meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>skola</em> ‘shall/should’, <em>lära</em> ‘≈ is said to be’ <em>måste</em> ‘must’, <em>böra</em> ‘should/ought to’, <em>kunna</em> ‘can/could’, <em>behöva</em> (inte) ‘need (not)’, <em>verka</em> ‘seem’, <em>förefalla</em> ‘seem’, <em>tyckas</em> ‘seem’, <em>se ut</em> ‘seem’, <em>befinnas</em> ‘seem’, <em>må</em> ‘seem’</td>
<td>epistemic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>skola</em> ‘shall/should’, <em>måste</em> ‘must’, <em>behöva</em> ‘need’, <em>slippa</em> ‘need not’, <em>böra</em> ‘should/ought to’, <em>få</em> ‘be allowed to’, <em>kunna</em> ‘may/can’ (‘be allowed to’), <em>må</em> ‘may’, <em>måtte</em> ‘may’</td>
<td>deontic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

to *x*. The typical potential and intentional events are ‘*x* has the ability to *y*’ and ‘*x* wants to *y*’. Consequently, the events of the modal auxiliaries are stative.

The point of interpretation

According to SAG (4:218), the time of someone saying something normally coincides with the time of someone interpreting it. Still, this is not always so, since a person may write with the intention that the text is to be decoded at a time which succeeds the time of writing, as is the case with letters and with newspapers (SAG 4:218).

Given the circumstances for written discourse above, it is possible to interpret the point of speech (in the Reichenbachian sense), either as the point in time where the utterance is produced, or as the point in time where the decoding is supposed to be done, i.e. the point of interpretation (SAG 4:218). In the first case, the point of speech is intended to be considered from the perspective of the producer of the utterance. In the second case, the point of speech is intended to be seen from the recipient’s perspective. For instance, both examples (45–46) below from SAG (4:219), may be used as the opening line of a letter; the first letter takes the perspective of the writer, the second takes the perspective of the reader. Furthermore, in the past tense, it is virtually required to address the recipient in order take her/his perspective (SAG 4:219).

(45) Jag *skriver* detta utan att veta om någon kommer att läsa det.  
    *I write* this without to know if anyone will to read it  
    ‘*I am writing* this without knowing if anyone will ever read it.’

(46) Jag *skrev* detta speciellt för dig.  
    ‘*I wrote* this especially for you.’

SAG (4:218) states that the choice of perspective depends on the text type, and while the point of speech is more common in letters, the point of interpretation is more common in newspapers; see the next example from SAG on the topic of a Swedish sweet roll called *semla*, traditionally eaten during Lent.
I går var det premiär för årets semlor.

Yesterday was it premier for year-DEF’s Lent buns

‘Yesterday was the premiere of this year’s Lent buns.’

Naturally, this article was written the night before, on the day of the premier, which would favor the present. Still, when you open up the newspaper in the morning and face a text like example (47), it is written to suit your perspective and to function with your now from the point of interpretation. So, the point of interpretation in SAG, can be defined as a special instance of the point of speech, where the producer chooses a tense form which is incoherent from his/her perspective, so that it will be coherent to some future recipient within some assumed temporal interval. Furthermore, choosing the present tense as the point of interpretation may have a dramatic effect in that it seems as if the speaker is present at the moment of interpretation (SAG 4:218 f.), an effect which is also observed in the historical and the annalistic present.

Reported speech

When reporting the utterances or thoughts of other people, the speaker may choose to do so as if they were verbatim. This unvarnished style is referred to as direct speech (SAG 1:163). Two examples follow:

(48) a. Karin sa: Jag känner mig dålig.

Karin said I feel myself bad

‘Karin said: I am feeling bad.’ (SAG 4:266)

b. [Lena:] I går faxade Bo Johansson: ”Nu stannar jag här och väntar tills du har bestämt dig.”

[Lena:] yesterday faxed Bo Johansson now stay I here and wait until you have decided yourself

‘[Lena:] Yesterday, Bo Johansson faxed: “I am staying here now, and waiting until you have decided.”’ (SAG 4:844)

Direct speech is syntactically independent, and, in writing, it may be marked by quotes, an initial dash, the start of a new paragraph, or a superordinate reporting clause (SAG 4:847, 852). However, the speaker may also choose to report information with alterations to the original message, which is known as indirect speech (SAG 1:182). It differs from direct speech in that the indirect report is a syntactically dependent clause, and that the deictic expressions change, meaning that the words used to point to things in the surroundings of the original speaker, are modified to suit the perspective of the reporting speaker (SAG 1:160). This may be seen in the choice of pronouns where I change to (s)he, in the change of time adverbials, e.g. from now to then, or in the change of place from here to there. (For more on deixis see Fillmore 1997 for instance.) Moreover, tense is adapted to the S of the reporting
speaker (SAG 4:852). There is also a middle ground between direct and indirect speech, commonly called free indirect speech in which the clause is independent yet where certain parts of the original message are changed to fit the perspective of the reporting speaker, such as tense. Examples of indirect speech (49a) and free indirect speech (49b) are given below.

(49) a. Karin sa att hon kände sig dålig.
   ‘Karin said that she felt herself bad’ (SAG 4:266)

   b. [Lena:] Han tänkte stanna och vänta tills jag hade bestämt
   ‘[Lena:] He would remain and wait until I had decided
   mig, faxade Bo Johansson till mig i går.
   myself faxed Bo Johansson to me yesterday
   ‘[Lena:] He would remain and wait until I had decided, Bo Johansson faxed me yesterday.’ (SAG 4:845)

The general pattern is that the thematic time in the reported clause conforms to the thematic time of the main clause (SAG 4:266), but fidelity to the original utterance is not essential for direct and indirect speech (SAG 4:845). Both manners of formulation can be used for utterances that could have been spoken, as well as for those that might happen to be spoken. Furthermore, there is no apparent linguistic difference between reporting speech or reporting thought.

3.5 Points of departure for the empirical investigation

As my point of departure for the empirical investigation, I will take an account of tense that largely rests on that of regular tense use in SAG as described in Section 3.4.1. This means that I adopt SAG’s view of tense as relations between times of events, thematic times, and points of speech. I also assume that the time of the event of the finite verb in a clause is separate from the thematic time, but that it overlaps with the latter at some point. However, despite the fact that SAG treats the time of the event as not directly related to the point of speech (as is common today), I will nevertheless assume such a relationship to distinguish between congruous and incongruous tense use.

As mentioned above, a reason not to take the event as directly linked to the point of speech is that the past tense is sometimes used for phenomena that still apply when reported. One example was rendered in (31) above. Another example from SAG (4:223) is reproduced in (50) below.

(50) Bilen du såg var en Honda.
   ‘The car you saw was a Honda.’ (SAG 4:223)
Naturally, the car mentioned in (50) is still a Honda even when it is out of sight, but the phenomenon of ‘being a Honda’ clearly overlaps the thematic time as well, that is to say, the time when the car was observed. Thus, according to the principle of overlap, the tense use in (50) is regular.

However, I do not regard it as congruous in this study, because, in addition to the principles already mentioned, I define congruous tense use as based on a direct relationship between the time of the event and the point of speech. This means that congruous use of the present tense demands that the event encompasses or follows the point of speech, while congruous use of the past tense demands that the event ends before $S$.

One reason for taking this position is that there are clear restrictions for placing the time of the event in a different way than the thematic time in relation to the point of speech. If the thematic time encompasses the point of speech, it is practically impossible to use the present tense to express an event time that has been completed before $S$ (to the best of my knowledge). And the use of the past tense in examples like the one in (50) is possible given the condition that a reported, still valid, state of event was, as SAG (4:223) puts it, “observed, experienced or learned” in the past, as in (31) and (50) above and (51a) below. By contrast, using the past tense, as in the constructed example (51b), would be odd if Anna were the speaker’s cousin and an old acquaintance who is still alive at the point of speech.

(51) a. Jag dansade med en flicka som hette Anna.
   ‘I danced with a girl whose name was Anna.’ (SAG 4:223)

   b. Jag dansade med min kusin som hette Anna.
      ‘I danced with my cousin whose name was Anna.’

Also, the speaker can often choose between the past and the present tense when reporting something observed, experienced or learned in the past, given that the phenomenon is still valid, cf. (51a) and the constructed example (52).

(52) Jag dansade med en flicka som heter Anna.
   ‘I danced with a girl whose name is Anna.’

According to the principle declared above, I will regard (52) as congruous and (51a) as incongruous tense use. I see a point in being able to make this distinction, but I do not, of course, judge the past tense in examples such as (51a) as ungrammatical or odd in any way. Nor do I deny that the choice of tense, when possible, can have an impact on the message. I return briefly to this aspect in Chapter 9.

As further regards the outset of this study, I will not make additional theoretical assumptions on tense, such as viewing aspect as governing the location of the event time with respect to the thematic time or similar (cf. Section 3.2.2).
Of course, the choice of tense is, as already emphasized in Section 3.4.2, affected by interaction with various other grammatical resources, like aspect. However, I do not see it as expedient in this study to initially assume any specific hypothesis about what can be formally encoded (of these other resources); that would possibly also require a credible explanation for differences in tense use between Swedish and other relatively closely related languages. Also, it appears that the use of an incongruous tense in many cases can be understood from a pragmatic point of view as well, for instance one that involves conventions, conversational implicatures, or some choice of perspective.

I will also stick with SAG’s point of speech even if there are alternatives available in the literature, cf. Section 3.2.3. One reason for this position is that all utterances are in fact produced at some specific moment to which tense can almost always be anchored congruously. Thus, it is usually a kind of choice to use an incongruous alternative. It falls under the aim of this study to investigate these cases. Still, the choice of incongruous tense can often be understood as a shift in point of view, by substitution of the moment of the utterance for some other time. I will return to this aspect in Chapter 9, where I introduce a “vantage point”, which is reminiscent of many suggestions for points of view, such as the deictic center (Comrie 1985), shifting points of speech (Fleischman 1990), or evaluation time (Kratzer 1998; Larsson 2009).

The rule that both the thematic time, and the event time (of the finite verb) are directly related to the point of speech, makes it possible to capture congruous tense use in Reichenbachian style notation as times on a timeline. I will do this in the following by using $S$, and $E$ for the point of speech and the event time. I will however use $T$ for the thematic time (instead of $R$), as well as, when necessary, $E_{aux}$ and $E_{main}$ for the auxiliary verb and the main verb in the compound tenses. A formal representation of what I take to be congruous Swedish tense uses in Reichenbachian style notation is given below in Table 3.5. Also, note that my use of the comma represents an overlap between times.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense form</th>
<th>Congruous tense use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>simple past</td>
<td>$T, E - S$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple present</td>
<td>$S, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$S - T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past perfect</td>
<td>$E_{main} - T, E_{aux} - S$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>$E_{main} - S, T, E_{aux}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$S - E_{main} - T, E_{aux}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$S, E_{main} - T, E_{aux}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past future</td>
<td>$T, E_{aux} - E_{main} - S$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>$S, T, E_{aux} - E_{main}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.5. Congruous Swedish tense uses in Reichenbachian style notation
Now, having established what congruous tense is, it is in principle possible to designate all tense usage that does not follow the pattern in Table 3.5 as incongruous. However, I take incongruous tense as a matter of the placement of event times relative to the point of speech, which means that it is possible to focus on the position of the event of the finite verb on the timeline and disregard non-finite verbs that are not directly related to the time of speech. At the same time, this still means that not only the use of simple tenses, but also the use of compound tenses can be incongruous. Examples of this will be shown in Chapter 4. Moreover, some verb phrases headed by finite modal and aspectual auxiliaries will also be characterized as congruous or incongruous in the empirical study. Also note that the non-temporal auxiliaries are generally less grammaticalized than the temporal ones and carry (sometimes various) meanings that can often be made clear by paraphrasing; for instance, English equivalents (beside can and may) to Swedish kunna are be possible (that ...), be able (to ...), be capable (of + ing-form), be allowed (to ...) etc.; cf. Section 3.4.2.
4. Incongruous tense types

This chapter is devoted to an inventory of incongruous tense types which is chiefly based on the description of tense use in SAG. SAG explicitly distinguishes some types of past tense with present or future time reference as well as uses of the present tense with past time reference that diverge in varying degrees from the initially presented principles of “regular” tense use (cf. Section 3.4.1). Thus, it is reasonable to believe that these types are viewed as “irregular” to some extent, and that they constitute a subset of what here counts as incongruous. However, since my understanding of incongruous tense leads to a somewhat stricter view of tense than what follows from SAG’s principles (cf. Section 3.5), my inventory will also comprise additional incongruous types beyond those that can actually be perceived as irregular according to SAG.

Below, I will first, in Section 4.1, present SAG’s types of irregular tense use. In Section 4.2, I will draw attention to tense uses that are incongruous from my point of view, but not addressed or only briefly hinted at in SAG. Finally, Section 4.3 presents an overview of the tense types that I consider to be incongruous. This overview complements the account of congruous tense use in Section 3.5, and together they mark the starting point for the empirical investigation in what then follows.

4.1 Irregular tense types in SAG

Section 3.4.1 covers the main principles of “regular” tense use in SAG as presented in the introductory part of its chapter on tense. In its following paragraphs, SAG describes types that deviate from these principles in some sense. Five such “irregular” types are distinguished. There are three types of past tense with present or future time reference: the evaluative past (värderande preteritum; SAG 4:226 f.), the modifying past (modifierande preteritum; SAG 4:228), and temporal dislocation (tempusförskjutning; SAG 4:268), as well as two types of present tense with past time reference: the historical present, and the annalistic present (SAG 4:219 ff.). These are presented below, as indicated. Each type is given a general description and a summary of its distinguishing linguistic properties.

4.1.1 The evaluative past

The evaluative past is a label for the use of the simple past in subjective evaluative clauses, even though the event is presented as factual and has a present
The evaluative past tense can be understood in the way that the clause reports on an immediate previous experience of a state. Such an analysis can be natural, if the past experience is terminated, while the experienced state still holds in the present.

This remark is illustrated with three examples that are comparable to (31), (50) and (51a) above in the sense that the event concerns something that was “observed, experienced, or learned” in the past. One of these examples is reproduced next in (54), which could be uttered about a book one has read before, possibly even considerably before, the point of speech.

(54) Vad bra den boken var!
what good that book-DEF was
‘What a great book that was!’

However, the evaluative past is often used to signal an evaluation of something that the speaker definitely (still) experiences at the point of speech, even
though the experience itself, for natural reasons, must arise before it can be expressed. The use of the past tense in these cases also seems to be something of a Scandinavian specialty, as for instance, when actually seeing the jacket in (53a), experiencing the beautiful surroundings in (53b), or hearing the call of the cuckoo in (53c). Most languages would use the present tense for similar spontaneous emotional reactions; cf. the English translations of (53a–c).

For cases such as (54), where the reading of the book is terminated before the point of speech (and the past tense is more widely accepted), it is possible to argue that $T$ precedes $S$, but I find it more reasonable to state that $T$ encompasses $S$ when it comes to the evaluative past as exemplified in (53a–c).\footnote{The comparison between cases like (53a–c) and (54) may perhaps be seen as a way to enhance the appearance of regularity for the evaluative past.}

The properties of the evaluative past are summarized in Table 4.1 below. As for this table and the subsequent tables of the irregular tenses in SAG, the correspondence between a tense form and its temporal meaning is highlighted in gray. Other properties are presented in no particular order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.1. Linguistic properties of the evaluative past in SAG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>properties of form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common with var ‘was’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncommon with other verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common in exclamative clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prosodically marked in speech (surprise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often with gradable adjectives or adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often with expletive + attributive rel. clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2 The modifying past

The modifying past is used, as SAG (4:228) puts it, to make a speech act more indirect. It has a present or a future time reference, and it is found in simple and compound tenses. It concerns factual events that either overlap or follow the point of speech. It is used for indirect speech acts to make a request seem more polite by making it sound like a reminder of some previous plan, question, or statement. It is thus similar to the evaluative past in that $T$ can mark the time of experiencing something related to $E$.\footnote{As is also the case with the evaluative past, some instances of the modifying past may then appear to be less irregular than others.}

(55) a. Då var det dags för middag.
then was it time for dinner
‘Dinner is ready.’ or ‘It is time we had dinner now.’
b. Så var det slut för i dag från TV 2.
so was it over for today from TV 2
‘That was all for today here on Channel 2.’

There are several examples of constructions in SAG 4 in which the modifying past occurs. Although the details of these constructions are left unspecified, they do evince certain patterns. First of all, a clause with the modifying past can contain an initial short time adverbial då, så, nu ‘then’, ‘so’, and ‘now’, to indicate that the event is according to plan. Second, when the clause is polite in character, it is more or less lexicalized. See examples (56a–b) below from SAG (4:228) where E of the finite verb overlaps S.

(56) a. Då hade vi diskat, då.
then had we washed then
‘And now, we are done with the dishes.’

b. Hur var namnet?
how was name-DEF
‘What is your name again?’

The modifying past may be used in reported speech with a reporting clause as in (57a) below, or without one as in (57b–c) from SAG (4:228). Example (57b) contains an event and a thematic time that succeeds S. In, for example, (57c) below, SAG does not provide a temporal analysis for it, and it is here deemed difficult to ascertain whether the event of the finite verb coincides with S or succeeds it. As previously mentioned, this appears to be the case with the future auxiliaries in general; see SAG (4:208). Yet, as there is a general rule stating that $E_{aux}$ and $T$ must overlap at some point, the former analysis is to be preferred, since it violates fewer rules of SAG. Furthermore, it is stated in SAG that clauses containing skulle, ‘should’, are often interpreted as a reference to a previous commitment or plan.

(57) a. Vad var det du hette, sa du?
what was it you were-called said you
‘≈ What did you say your name was?’

b. Den där konserten var först i morgon, väl? [Det sa väl that there concert was first tomorrow well that said well Kent?].
Kent
‘≈ That concert wasn’t until tomorrow, was it? [Didn’t Kent say that?]’
c. Då skulle du översätta det där brevet, eller hur. [Det then should you translate that letter or how it promised you definitely]

‘You were (supposed) to translate that letter then, weren’t you? [You promised that definitely.]’

This concludes the description of the modifying past. The general properties of this type are summarized below in Table 4.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>properties of form</th>
<th>properties of meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>simple past</td>
<td>$S, E$ and $T - S$ or $S - E$ and $S - T$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past perfect</td>
<td>$S, E_{aux}$ and $T - S$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skulle + infinitive</td>
<td>$S, E_{aux}$ and $T - S$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in certain lexicalized expressions</td>
<td>indirect speech act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often with the adverbials då, så, nu</td>
<td>used for factual events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes in reported clauses</td>
<td>polite when lexicalized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>planned $E$ indicators: då, så, nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$T$ can mark ‘the time of experiencing $E$’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.1.3 Temporal dislocation

The speaker may use the past tense with a thematic time $T$ for a present or future event $E$ to mark that her/his proposition is to be considered unlikely or unreal, as in example (58a), or unreal, as in example (58b) below (SAG 4:268ff.). This is known as temporal dislocation, i.e. when the present or future time references have been dislocated from their typical present tense form and are expressed in the past tense instead.

(58) a. Om Karl var här, skulle han ge sig till känna. If Karl was here would he give himself to know

‘If Karl were here, he would make himself known.’

b. Om Karl hade varit här, skulle han ge sig till känna. If Karl had been here would he give himself to know

‘If Karl had been here, he would have made himself known.’

There are two kinds of temporal dislocation: *simple temporal dislocation*, and *double temporal dislocation*. Simple dislocation signals that the event is unreal or unlikely, as in example (58a) above. First, there is simple dislocation which semantically corresponds to the use of the simple present with
neutral factivity which can be used with the simple past, the subjunctive, or *skulle*, ‘would/should’ + infinitive. Second, there is simple dislocation semantically corresponding to the perfect for (improbable) events coinciding with S or succeeding S which can be used with *hade*, ‘had’, + supine, *skulle ha*, ‘would/should have’, + infinitive. Third, there is simple dislocation corresponding to the simple past with neutral factivity. The double dislocation in example (58b) above signals that the event is unreal. It is expressed with *hade* + supine or *skulle ha* + infinitive which corresponds to the simple present with neutral factivity.

The modalities that can be expressed with temporal dislocation can also be expressed by the subjunctive, and SAG discerns an array of constructions that meets that end, such as the conditional sentence, where a main clause is causally or logically dependent on a subordinate conditional clause. It is the typical case of temporal dislocation. Still, there are other ways to express the condition (SAG 4:273 f.), e.g. by a nominal dependent, by omitting the condition, by an infinitive phrase, or by an adverbial as in example (59).

(59) *Nu*  *skulle det vara gott med en kopp kaffe.*  
‘A cup of coffee would be nice right now.’ (SAG 4:273)

Dislocation may also be found in concessive and comparative clauses. See examples (60a–b) below from SAG (4:276).

(60) a. *Han känner inte av kylan, även om han *lade* sig att he feels not of cold-DEF even if he lay himself to 
    *sova i snön.*  
    sleep in snow-DEF  
    ‘He would not feel the cold, even if he were to sleep in the snow.’

b. *Han *linkar* som om han *var* skadad i foten.  
    he limps as if he was damaged in foot-DEF  
    ‘He limps as if he had an injured foot.’

It also appears in constructions for expressing wishes/desires, and hypotheses, as in examples (61a–b) below. A desiderative clause, such as example (61a), often contains an evaluative judgment of hope and dread (SAG 4:268).

(61) a. *Om bara ambulansen*  *ville*  *komma nu.*  
    if only ambulance-DEF wanted come now  
    ‘If only the ambulance would come now.’ (SAG 4:277)

b. *Föreställ dig att du*  *var*  *kurdisk flykting.*  
    imagine yourself that you was Kurdish fugitive  
    ‘Imagine that you were a Kurdish fugitive.’ (SAG 4:280)
Polite requests or statements are often expressed with temporal dislocation (SAG 4:279), as in example (62) below.

(62) *Kunde jag få lite mera köttbullar?* could I have little more meat-buns

‘Could I have some more meat balls?’ (SAG 4:279)

The polite effect follows from the conditional or hypothetical meaning of such utterances, where it seems as if the circumstances were out of the speaker’s control (SAG 4:279). Temporal dislocation overlaps the modifying past in this sense (SAG 4:228, 270). Finally, it should also be said that the tensed verbs in subordinate clauses may inherit the non-factual meaning from the verb in the main clause (SAG 4:281). Table 4.3 below summarizes the general properties of temporal dislocation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>properties of form</th>
<th>properties of meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple temporal dislocation</td>
<td>unlikely or unreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple past, subjunctive, <em>skulle</em> + infinitive</td>
<td>as simple present with neutral factivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hade</em> + supine, <em>skulle ha</em> + infinitive</td>
<td>as perfect for E covering or following S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hade</em> + supine, <em>skulle ha</em> + infinitive</td>
<td>as simple past with neutral factivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double temporal dislocation</td>
<td>unreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hade</em> + supine, <em>skulle ha</em> + infinitive</td>
<td>as simple present with neutral factivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in sub. clauses to</td>
<td>sometimes evaluative (hope and dread)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concessive clauses</td>
<td>may have polite meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comparative clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desiderative clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hypothetical clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.1.4 The historical present

The historical present is a label for metaphorical simple and compound present tense verbs exhibiting a thematic time $T$ in the past (SAG 4:219 ff.). It is used in many ways, and often to the effect that the speaker and the listener seems present in the past. This leads to the illusion that the past is present in the reader’s or listener’s now, as pictures or sequences of pictures. The examples below comes from SAG (4:219 f.), the first from a crime novel, and the second from spoken discourse.

(63) a. *Wallander försökte se det hela framför sig. Någon Wallander tried see the whole in-front-of himself someone* *skjuter två män rakt genom hjärtat. shoots two men straight through heart-DEF*

‘Wallander tried to see it all before his mind’s eye. Someone shoots two men straight through the heart.’
b. [...] Kycklingarna är så här små, kalkonen var så stor. Chickens-DEF are so here small turkey-DEF was so big Så ba’ “kolla vilken minikalkon” så här, visar ju upp den so just look what mini-turkey so here shows PTCL up it för oss då ba’ waaoohh ungefär så här. for us then just waaooohh approximately so here ‘The chickens are tiny like this, but the turkey was big like this. Like, “look at this mini-turkey” like this, shows it, and then it’s like waaooohh, sort of.’

According to SAG (4:220) the present tense in example (63a) is used for a string of events that lies before the past-tense event of the main clause, and it may be used to retell a story as if it was happening in front of the reader, like a mental motion picture. The situation is similar in example (63b), yet in this type of discourse there is often a systematic shift between the present and the past tense, so that the present tense is used for sequences of events while the past is used for subjective characterizations and evaluations (SAG 4:219).

The historical present is also used for summaries and documentary texts. Consider for instance the subsequent examples from SAG (4:220) of a summary of a play and of a documentary text.

(64) a. I [...] Fröken Julie tar huvudpersonen livet av sig. in Miss Julie takes main-person life-DEF of herself ‘In Miss Julie, the main character takes her own life.’

b. Här står det hur Hitler tar makten och hur de here stands it how Hitler takes power-DEF and how the fascistiska idéerna breder ut sig [...] fascist ideas spread out REF. ‘Here it says how Hitler takes power, and how the fascist ideas spread out.’

Future constructions and the present perfect are found in the historical present as well. See examples below from SAG (4:220 f.).

(65) a. Nu erövrar Vilhelm England. Snart har han makten i now conquers William England soon has he power-DEF in sin hand. his hand ‘Now, William conquers England. Soon he has the power in his hand.’

‘Now, William is at the height of his power. Four years earlier, he has conquered England.’

Although SAG does not explicitly write that the event time is in the past as well, this may be inferred from the examples. The general properties of the historical present are summarized in Table 4.4 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>properties of form</th>
<th>properties of meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>simple present</td>
<td>$T - S$ and $T,E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present perfect</td>
<td>$T - S$ and $T,E_{aux}$ and $E_{main} - E_{aux}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>$T - S$ and $T,E_{aux}$ and $E_{aux} - E_{main}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used in many ways</td>
<td>illusion of now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in spoken discourse</td>
<td>metaphorical meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in written discourse</td>
<td>past often for evaluations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present often for event sequences</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.5 The annalistic present

The annalistic present (SAG 4:221 ff.) is used in recorded utterances that report actions (often speech acts) accomplished in the past but still relevant at the time of interpretation. It occurs with verbs of communication but also with verbs of production, provided that the reported circumstance still applies or that the result of a reported effort is still possible to experience at the point of speech; see e.g. (66a–b).

(66) a. Geografen Strabo meddelar många intressanta fakta om antikens folkslag.

‘The geographer Strabo communicates many interesting facts about the peoples of the ancient world.’

b. Leonardo […] återger skickligt Mona Lisas mystiska leende.

‘Leonardo skillfully renders Mona Lisa’s mysterious smile.’
The annalistic present is often preferred in newspapers if a reported claim, admission, rejection, etc. is still valid during the time that the paper is intended to be read; see (67a–b).

(67) a. Tidningen medger att bedömningen är ganska subjektivt gjord.

‘The newspaper admits that the assessment is rather subjective.’

b. Moderaterna och folkpartiet avvisar bestämt centerns nya grepp […]

‘The Moderates, and the Liberal party firmly reject the Centre Party’s new tactic.’

The annalistic present can be understood so that one “pretends” that both the event $E$ and the thematic time $T$ include the time of the reader’s interpretation, that is, a fictive $S$, even though $E$ is actually completed in the past. If a text is open to this kind of interpretation at any time, the annalistic present is comparable to the present tense in generic sentences.

It is possible to exchange an annalistic present for the past tense, which means that both $E$ and $T$ are placed before the reader’s interpretation, as well as the time of producing the message. It is also possible to exchange an annalistic present for the perfect. Then, $T$ is taken to coincide with the time of interpretation, while the reported event ($E_{main}$) is placed in the past.

The annalistic present is similar to the historical present in that a past event is considered present in that it is possible to relive it at the point of speech. The annalistic present, however, refers to sources (annals), and mainly concerns the simple present. Furthermore, while the historical present can occur in multiple sentences in longer sequences, the annalistic present is preferred in single sentences. The linguistic properties of the annalistic present is summarized in table 4.5 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>properties of form</th>
<th>properties of meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>simple present</td>
<td>$T - S$ and $T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with verbs of perception</td>
<td>metaphorical meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with verbs of production</td>
<td>similar to historical present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with verbs of communication</td>
<td>illusion of now via recording</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2 Other types of incongruous tense

In addition to the tense uses described in Section 4.1, which are irregular also with regard to the principles given in SAG, I have identified three types of tense uses that I consider incongruous, as defined in Section 3.5. To some extent, the account in SAG leaves open to interpretation whether these deviate from the principles of regular tense use or not. The first type is here referred to as incongruous relayed events, which includes both regular and irregular usage according to SAG’s principles. The second type is the familiar phenomenon of direct speech, where SAG defines the point of speech in relation to the cited individual, whereas I define it from the citing person’s perspective. The third type concerns the use of the past tense from the perspective of some future time. This possibility is only briefly mentioned in SAG. I characterize this type as the anticipated past perspective. The three types mentioned are treated in Sections 4.2.1–4.2.3 below along with some hints on the specific comparative analyses in Chapter 8 to be used for answering research question 3.

4.2.1 Relayed events

As previously mentioned in Section 3.4, SAG’s principles of tense allow for past-tense forms where the event time overlaps the point of speech. The main reason for this appears to be the cases where the thematic time $T$ can be seen as marking the time that a certain phenomenon was observed, experienced, or learned even when said phenomenon still applies at the point of speech. See example (68) below, as well as (31), (50) and (51a) above.

(68) Olga lärde oss att kvadratroten ur 100 {var/lär} 10.
   Olga taught us that square-root-DEF of 100 {was/is} 10
   ‘Olga taught us that the square root of 100 is 10.’

Interestingly, it is also possible to use the past tense for reported or planned future events, with or without a reporting clause; see (69). In such cases, the past tense often signals that the speaker refers to another person’s utterance (SAG 4:267).

(69) Lars arbetade hemma hela nästa vecka (, sa dom).
   Lars worked home whole next week said they
   ‘(They said that) Lars will work at home all next week.’

Cases with a future event such as (69) do not follow the basic principles of tense use given in SAG, not only because $E$ succeeds $S$, but also because $E$ does not coincide with a time of experience in the past. Both $E$ and $T$, “the time that the clause is about”, succeed $S$. Here, the past tense simply signals that $E$ refers to some previously given information.
SAG offers no general label for the kinds of uses of the past tense just discussed. Whether “regular” as in (68) above or “irregular” as in (69), I will refer to such cases as incongruous relayed events with respect to the account of tense in Section 3.5. They are dubbed relayed rather than experienced, since it is not required for the speaker to have experienced E. It is sufficient that the information is relayed from some source such as recordings, or by hearsay as in (69) above, although the speaker may have experienced the event first hand as well, as in (51a) where someone says (s)he danced with girl named Anna.

Section 4.1 showed that the event of the evaluative, and the modifying, past may sometimes be relayed; cf. (54) and (57a–c). However, examples of the incongruous relayed event, such as (31), (50), (51a), (68), and (69), are not captured by the descriptions of the evaluative and the modifying past, which are more specific. (The evaluative past must contain an evaluative marker, such as a gradable adjective, and the modifying past is characterized as an indirect speech act).

The fact that an event is relayed does not entail that the past-tense form is incongruous. As previously seen, an event overtly marked as relayed may also appear in the present tense or in the past tense; see (70) below.

(70) I heard that \{lions are carnivores
Kim saw a lion yesterday\}.

The choice of tense in (70) above is congruous in both cases. The present tense expresses an S,T,E situation and the past tense expresses a T,E – S situation with T defined by the adverbial yesterday. Thus, a relayed event is incongruous only when the past tense is used for an event that coincides with, or succeeds, the point of speech, and when the choice of the past tense is due to an information source established in the past.

The known linguistic properties for the incongruous relayed event in the past tense are the T that marks the time of the observation etc., and the possibility of present-tense paraphrasing. Indeed, one may discern additional contextual markers that suggest the relayed interpretation from the examples in SAG’s account, such as indirect speech. Still, there may be other markers than these at work here. These would be cases where a form suggests that the experiential base of the incongruous relayed event in the past tense was gained in the past. For instance, a property not mentioned in SAG is hearsay adverbials such as ‘according to SOURCE’. This suggests that there may be types of contextual markers for the relaying T that are yet to be recognized. I will consider this further in Chapter 7, since the identification of such properties may be of use when treating research question 3, that is to say, to distinguish incongruous tense use from congruous use.

Arguably, some cases of the past perfect may also be viewed as incongruous relayed events. As previously seen, the past perfect occurs in the modifying past which is a special case of incongruous relayed events that is used in indi-
rect speech acts (cf. Table 4.2). It is, however, possible to imagine incongruous uses of a relayed event in the past perfect without an indirect speech act. For instance, consider the made-up example below and its alternative modifications.

(71) Kim said that Alice had done it \{ \begin{align*}
\text{yesterday} \\
\text{in her youth} \\
\emptyset
\end{align*} \}.

The first adverbial, yesterday, is deictic, and thus bounded to the speaker’s now. The second, in her youth, is not. Finally, there is an unmodified alternative, \emptyset. Consider next the change of tense in (71) to the present perfect in (72).

(72) Kim said that Alice has done it \{ \begin{align*}
*\text{yesterday} \\
\text{in her youth} \\
\emptyset
\end{align*} \}.

Notice that the deictic adverbial is incompatible with the perfect while the absolute adverbial, or the lack of modification, is not.\(^3\) Thus, it seems, that the past perfect is congruous only when \(E_{aux}\) is restricted to the past domain by a deictic past-time adverbial. Unless so, \(E_{aux}\) is interpreted to overlap \(S\). This makes sense. If Alice had done it, then surely she has done it, in her youth or otherwise. But if Alice had done it yesterday, she has only done so on the unique day following it, for the adverbial is bound to the ‘who’, ‘where’, and ‘when’ of the speech situation.\(^4\) That said, most past perfects are likely to be congruous in past-time discourse grounded in some past-time deixis.

The incongruous interpretation of the past perfect above stems from its definition which says that the perfect auxiliary states that \(E_{main}\) occurs before the state event \(E_{aux}\). Hence, the state \(E_{aux}\) would overlap \(S\) when it is not confined to the past by modifiers or discourse. Hypothetically, the incongruous past perfect is a special case, but the general conditions for time adverbials on the perfect are not treated in this thesis.

Modal auxiliaries in the past tense with deviant time reference may sometimes also be seen as incongruous relayed events. Since these auxiliaries are described as evoking stative events by SAG (cf. 3.4.2), many of them should appear to be incongruous by virtue of an \(S\)-overlapping or \(S\)-succeeding \(E_{aux}\). These events concerning abilities, circumstances, intentions, wills, judgments of truth, normative statements, and rule-like statements, are all states, and in order to mention some ability or circumstance, one must first have experienced them being there to begin with. This suggests that they have to be in place before speaking about them, an interpretation that motivates a \(T\) prior to \(S\). Furthermore, one cannot express a will to do something without first

\(^3\) This problem is sometimes referred to as ‘the present perfect puzzle’ (Klein 1992).

\(^4\) The switch of tense from example (71) to (72) holds for Swedish as well.
coming to an understanding of one’s intention. An act without intention is unintentional, and an act without will is merely a reflex. Judgment, norm, and rule, these too must be formed before S. Passing judgment or sentence without rhyme or reason, is merely an act based on impulse. Therefore, I will consider past tense modal verbs with a deviating time reference as incongruous.

4.2.2 Direct speech
In cases of direct speech, SAG ascribes the point of speech in the reporting clause to the reporting speaker, but in the reported clause it is ascribed to the quoted speaker (SAG 4:846). Thus, in the following translated example from SAG, imagine that Erik says “Now I am finally here with you”, and that Lena quotes Erik by saying that Yesterday Erik said as he arrived: “Now I am finally here with you”. For cases such as these, the point of speech of the subordinate clause is said to belong to Erik, and the S of the main clause to Lena. Furthermore, the deixis in these clauses, pertaining to time, place, and person, are said to conform to the person holding the point of speech.

While I agree with SAG that the deixis conforms to the reporting or reported speaker, I do not see how its definition of the point of speech applies to the quoted clause. To see why, recall that S is defined as the time when an utterance is produced and often interpreted (SAG 1:231). When faced with direct speech as in the example with Lena and Erik in the paragraph above, it is clear that both of the points of speech belong to Lena under the current definition of S. After all, she is the one that is actually uttering the sentence.

While I see the point in treatments of direct speech as in the paragraph above, they are nevertheless inconsistent with the Reichenbachian definition of S as the time of speech. Since the event of the reported clause has been instantiated prior to the reporting speaker’s point of speech, I will treat present tense forms in reported clauses of direct speech as a type of the incongruous present tense.

The observations mentioned in the paragraphs above suggest that deixis changes from reporter to reported in direct speech. Intuitively, this seems correct, but the strength of the observation has not been tested against a large empirical material. Indeed, it would strengthen the idea, if such a change in deixis could be observed on a larger scale, not only for the use of direct speech versus the congruous present, but for the incongruous and congruous present in general. And more, if it could be inferred from some recurrence of form, rather than from interpretation alone. Such a test is devised in Chapter 8.

4.2.3 Anticipated past perspective
In a brief remark in SAG (4:224, note 1), it is noted that an event that follows the actual point of speech can be expressed in the past tense if the thematic
time and the event time precede, as SAG puts it, a “fictive point of speech” in the future; see (73) below for instance. As can be seen from this example, the event (here the experience of the journey) does not necessarily need to be communicated at the given time in the future. The “fictive point of speech” can therefore be seen as a future time of reflection or something similar.

(73) När jag kommer fram efter den långa resan, kommer jag säkert att drömma om hur förfärlig resan var.

‘When I arrive after the long journey, I will surely dream of how terrible the journey was.’ (SAG 4:224)

Cases like (73) are incongruous, since both $E$ and $T$ succeed the actual point of speech. These cases are only briefly mentioned in a note in SAG, and there is no additional information on their properties. I will refer to this type of past tense as the anticipated past perspective, since the speaker expects a future point of view (rather than a point of speech) from which an event may be seen as past. I will return to this type of tense in Section 7.2.

4.3 Incongruous tenses, an overview

SAG covers five types of tense whose time references deviate from the rules of congruous tense in Table 3.5. These are the evaluative past, the modifying past, and temporal dislocation for the past tense and the historical present, and the annalistic present for the present tense. To these we may add, after some consideration, three additional types in SAG that clash with said rules, namely the incongruous relayed events in the past tense, direct speech in the present tense, and the anticipated past perspective in the past tense.

While there is some overlap between the incongruous relayed event in the past tense, and the well-established types of the evaluative, and the modifying past, there are also uses of the past tense that are incongruous and relayed without evaluative or indirect meaning. The proportion and properties of these cases are currently unknown, but they will be presented in the quantitative survey on incongruous tense (in Chapter 6). In sum, I will consider the following eight as incongruous types in my survey of incongruous tense: the evaluative past, the modifying past, temporal dislocation, the incongruous relayed event, the anticipated past perspective (in the past tense), the historical present, the annalistic present, and direct speech (in the present tense).
5. Material and methods of the empirical study

The previous chapters reveal a rich set of descriptive and theoretical claims for what I refer to as incongruous tense. What they do not contain is a quantifiable empirical base that describes the proportion of incongruous tense and its types in some domain of Swedish. The general method to fill this gap is fairly simple. Collect a representative number of tense forms, sort out the incongruous tenses from the congruous, and use statistical methods to derive an estimate of their proportion and quantify the uncertainty in that estimate. These procedures are presented in Sections 5.1–5.3.

Following the steps above has resulted in a corpus of sentences with annotated tense forms. This has been used to shed light on certain linguistic differences between the congruous and incongruous tenses, and the comparative procedure for doing so is described in Section 5.4.

5.1 Choosing and collecting the corpus data

The choice of data in this thesis has fallen on two large corpora of written discourse, namely the *The Gothenburg Post corpus*, a Swedish newspaper, and the *Discussion Group corpus*, consisting of texts from two Swedish web-based fora. The justifications for these choices form the content of this section, together with a description of the data and the sampling procedure.

One might first object to the neglect of spoken discourse. However, the resources for spoken language are more limited in comparison, as far as material and automated methods are concerned, and it would take too long to break new ground in this respect.

Concerns may also be raised as to the representativeness of the data. It is claimed that the individual variation is substantial in the use of some incongruous past tense constructions (SAG 4:227). So how can it be ensured that the incongruous tense forms found in this investigation are not the result of peripheral individual variation? It can be ensured since relatively large papers such as the Gothenburg Post are edited, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that if an incongruous tense type is found in the newspaper data, it must at least have passed through some editorial standard.

The choice of corpora can be questioned on other grounds as well. Taken alone, these collections can hardly be said to represent the full range of contemporary Swedish which encompasses a wide range of domains. So, why not use a balanced corpus representative of contemporary Swedish instead,
such as the *Stockholm Umeå Corpus* (SUC) (Gustafson-Capková & Hartmann 2006)? There are two reasons for not choosing SUC. First, it is quite small (approximately 1 million tokens). If the sample is small, there is a risk of not finding enough data for hypothesis testing. Second, it does not support extended context at the sentence level. The lack of context becomes problematic whenever an extended context is necessary for distinguishing between certain cases of incongruous and congruous past in homographic sentences.

So, if not a balanced corpus of contemporary Swedish, what other options are there? Let us focus on two of the largest corpora in the corpus collection of Swedish that are accessible via Korp, the corpus infrastructure of the National Language Bank (division Text) (Borin et al. 2012).

The Social Media corpus is the largest by far, comprising more than 10 billion tokens. It contains unedited material in the corpora *Discussion groups* (henceforth WebF, for web-based fora) with conversations from the two internet communities *Familjeliv*, ‘Family life’ and *Flashback*, which taken together roughly make up three quarters of the data. The remaining quarter consists of Twitter tweets (approximately 21 million tokens), and blogs (approximately 6 million tokens). Although the tweets and blogs are interesting, the former is similar to discussion groups yet smaller, and the latter does not support extended context.

The internet forum Familjeliv (FL for short) has 1.57 million visitors per week. The majority of their users are women between the age of 25 and 45 (84%), and the visitors generally have an academic degree and high income.¹ The forum Flashback (FB for short) has 2 million visitors per week. Its typical users are men between the ages of 26 and 35. It is a male dominated forum; out of the Swedish internet users, 40% of the males and 26% of the females use FB.² These fora are the best candidates to provide ample data for whatever types of incongruous tense they might hold. In addition, they provide extended context and consist of unedited conversations. Surely, moderators may step in if a user breaks the terms and agreements of the forum, but the climate is quite liberal.

The Newspaper corpus contains several subcorpora of different newspapers, and the largest one was chosen, The Gothenburg Post corpus (*News* for short), consisting of approximately 272 million tokens. It is a good example of one-way communication involving an editor. To be sure, there are some exceptions in the newspaper domain, such as debate articles and letters to the editor, but these modes of communication do not play by the same rules as the potentially quicker two-way conversation online.

As for temporal metadata, sentences in News and WebF are annotated with the time of publication. In WebF there is a time stamp giving both calendric information (year-month-date), as well as the time (hour:minute:second). The

metadata in News provides calendar information only. Both types may be used to resolve ambiguous cases.

News and WebF do not fully represent contemporary Swedish, or even written Swedish. It may be that some types of incongruous tense are specific for other domains. However, this choice of material appears to be the best one, not only for practical reasons, but also because it covers highly dissimilar texts.

The corpus tool Korp was used to collect the tense forms from the News and WebF corpora. The corpus queries below (Q1–Q2) return past and present tense forms respectively in either passive or active voice.

Q1: 
\[(\text{msd} = "\text{VB}\text{\textquoteright PRT}\text{\textquoteright SFO}" \mid \text{msd} = "\text{VB}\text{\textquoteright PRT}\text{\textquoteright AKT"})]\]

Q2: 
\[(\text{msd} = "\text{VB}\text{\textquoteright PRS}\text{\textquoteright AKT"} \mid \text{msd} = "\text{VB}\text{\textquoteright PRS}\text{\textquoteright SFO"})]\]

In sum, data from News and WebF was collected with Korp. Written data was chosen over spoken data for practical reasons. Both the News and the WebF data allow for extended context, and they are both large enough to be likely to prove helpful, not only for the purposes of this thesis but for future studies as well perhaps. News contains edited one-way communication, while WebF contains unedited, though moderated, two-way communication. Both corpora contain temporal metadata, which may facilitate disambiguation.

5.2 Sorting the data

The corpus data was sorted in two general steps. In the first step, the incongruous tense forms were sorted out from the incongruous ones. The second step involved sorting out the incongruous types identified in Chapter 4 from any other type. The specifics for these procedures are presented in Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2. These steps resulted in a database of congruous and incongruous tenses which is described in Section 5.2.3.

5.2.1 Sorting out the incongruous tenses

The result of the corpus queries (158 516 sentences) were manually sorted into either of four categories: (i) congruous tense forms, (ii) undecidable tense forms, (iii) incongruous tense forms, and (iv) non-applicable where the data is either mistakenly annotated in Korp as a tense form or where the data is erroneous in some other way, e.g. a misspelling. The criteria of congruous and incongruous tense in Chapters 3 and 4 guided the sorting process.

A sorting program was used to give structure to the sorting process. The program reads a selection of sentences, and prints a sentence to the terminal where the verbform in question is tab-separated for ease of reading. Next, it takes an input number (1, . . . , n) denoting the category in question, and the sentence is saved in the database. Another sentence is printed to the screen,
and the procedure is once again repeated until either the data, the linguist, or both are exhausted. A screenshot of the program is provided in Figure 5.1 below. While the program offers some additional ways to inspect and alter the data from the terminal user interface, the resulting corpus may also be accessed and altered by means of SQLite extensions which are available to most modern web browsers. (For more on the corpus, see Section 5.2.3.)

![Screenshot of sorting program](image)

**Figure 5.1.** Screenshot of sorting program

A characteristic trait of incongruous tense is that it may be paraphrased in the other tense (but not always, e.g. double temporal dislocation). For instance, the historical present may be phrased in the past tense, and the evaluative past may be phrased in the present tense without affecting the positioning of the event, $E$. Besides my assessment of time reference, this test has been taken under consideration while sorting out the incongruous cases. There is, however, a gray area in between the congruous and incongruous cases, where it is difficult, or sometimes even impossible, to tell the time reference. These are the cases lacking sufficient context, and they merit a demonstration as well as a specification. A tense form where the positions of $T$ or $E$ to $S$ cannot be ascertained under a given circumstance is here referred to as undecidable tense. As an example of undecidable tense, imagine that you find either of the texts of examples (74a–b) below scribbled down on a piece of paper.

(74)  

a. Väl ute i dalen går tåget något snabbare framåt.
   ‘Once we enter the valley, the train is moving forward faster.’

b. Tåget gick vid tio i fyra någon gång.
   ‘The train {left/leaves} at ten to four approximately.’

It would be difficult to decide with certainty the reference in time of either example above if you found them in isolation on a piece of paper somewhere. However, read instead example (75) below from the *Gothenburg Post* (News), and example (76) from the Swedish online forum *Familjeliv* (FL). These examples contain formally equivalent sentences to examples (74a–b) above, yet with additional differing contexts.
As we enter the valley, the train is moving forward faster. The valley is winsome and verdant. The soil is red and fertile. Here and there are grazing cattle. The white peaks of the mountain ridges gleam.’

Observe that what appeared to be congruous on the sentence level of example (74a), was in fact the historical present. Also, what appeared to be congruous in example (74b), was a past tense form with a future time reference. Indeed, tense may sometimes be disambiguated by interrogating additional context as in (75–76) above, yet from time to time, one simply has to surrender to the fact that there is no context available to shed light on the tenebrous tense form in question. Note that the undecidability of a tense form is contingent as to the information available to the interpreter. Where the reference of one tense form may be decided at the level of the sentence, another may require consulting a previous sentence, another chapter, or perhaps even the author. If the context provided by (75–76) had not been available, the tense congruity in (74a–b) would have been undecidable.

A rather intricate problem for the disambiguation between the congruous and incongruous past concerns the distinction between temporary- and permanent-state events. Take for instance, the previously mentioned example by Klein (1994:4), “There was a book on the table. It was in Russian.”, as uttered by a court witness. The main reason for calling the former case temporary is that the book may have been taken off the table before S, in contrast to the
permanent case where the book has remained in Russian up until S. While I agree with this particular interpretation, others may not. This is a problem with *abductive* justification, i.e. inference to the best explanation (Douven 2011), which is employed, not only by myself in this thesis, but by many linguists (cf. Beavers & Sells 2014:419). To see my point, consider the possible yet invented follow-ups by the witness to the Russian-book events. *There was a book on the table. It was in Russian. But ...*

(77) a. ... to my horror, I saw that some pubescent punk had erased the original writing and replaced it with Swedish vulgarities. By god, that book has been lying undisturbed on that table since its conception, and now it shall remain there in its vandalized condition as a sad reminder of parental neglect! I demand justice!

b. ... as you can see, [holding up the book] it was unscathed by the explosion, but, alas, the table was blown to smithereens.

In (77a), the book’s being on the table is actually more permanent than the book’s being in Russian, yet, in (77b), the temporary reading of its location and the permanent reading of its being in Russian are strengthened. Though the additional context of (77a–b) may feel contrived, my point is simply that the distinction between permanent and temporary states is a problematic one for linguistic analysis to which I see no reliable solution. Any limitation of the analysis to some chunk of data leaves the interpretation vulnerable to the fact that additional context may turn a seemingly reasonable analysis on its head. My sorting of an event as congruous, incongruous, or undecidable, has been based on abduction from the information at hand, i.e. what I consider to be the best possible interpretation. Due to this deficiency, I expect the degree of agreement to vary slightly, but not greatly, between scholars of tense. Therefore, I have made my observations available for intersubjective assessment in a corpus of annotated tense forms, as described below in Section 5.2.3.

5.2.2 Identifying the incongruous types

The incongruous data from the step described in the previous section were manually sorted as belonging to the types distinguished in Chapter 4. This section describes this sorting process, starting with the procedure for the incongruous past types, and proceeding with the one for the incongruous present types.

The first step of the procedure for identifying the past types concerned separating the tense forms evoking non-factual events, i.e. the cases of temporal

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3 One may also think of less dramatic examples where the book has ceased to be in Russian. The specific book in question may have been destroyed (e.g. *It was in Russian, but now it is lost to the world*). The reference may also be vague between a specific and a general reading (e.g. *It was in Russian, but nowadays it is only available in English*).
dislocation, from those evoking factual events. This was done by observing if the case evoked a non-factual event and if it met the criteria for temporal dislocation (Section 4.1.3). The further sorting aimed at separating the different types of incongruous factual events. The second step sorted out the evaluative past which was primarily recognized by its evaluative forms, such as gradable modifiers or expressive clauses (Section 4.1.1). The third step sorted out the modifying past by the properties listed in Section 4.1.2, e.g. its indirect speech act and its typical more or less lexicalized forms. The fourth and final step sorted out the incongruous relayed event, the anticipated past perspective, and the other types of incongruous factual events in the past tense, if they showed signs of having a relaying thematic time or a future point of speech under the criteria in Section 4.2, or if they did not apply to the criteria in the previous steps. The heuristics for the incongruous past is summarized in Figure 5.2.

The fourth and final step sorted out the incongruous relayed event, the anticipated past perspective, and the other types of incongruous factual events in the past tense, if they showed signs of having a relaying thematic time or a future point of speech under the criteria in Section 4.2, or if they did not apply to the criteria in the previous steps. The heuristics for the incongruous past is summarized in Figure 5.2.

![Heuristics for the incongruous past types in SAG](image)

The heuristics for the incongruous present types are given in the decision tree of Figure 5.3 below. The first step singled out direct speech, the second the annalistic present, and the third the historical present from any other type.

In the first step, it was decided whether or not an incongruous present case showed signs of direct speech or not. A clause was identified as direct speech if it showed signs of overt markers like quotes, dashes, and reporting verbs, but also if it met with the criteria for direct speech in SAG (4:852), namely that it is stated as if the clause type, the tense form, the first and second person, and the deictic expressions, all conform to the original statement. It has been difficult

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4 The method of viewing the sentences one at a time made it difficult to distinguish the modifying past with respect to its linguistic properties, e.g. indirect speech acts for which additional context is often needed as confirmation. Even if this method was considered to exclude many cases of the modifying past, it was reasoned that they would be captured in the final step instead among the other incongruous factual events. Similarly, other ambiguous cases such as skulle, ‘should’ + the infinitive construction could then be captured in the final step, in the instance that it should be impossible to decide on whether it was an instance of the modifying past, temporal dislocation, or an intentional, epistemic, or deontic modal auxiliary (cf. Section 3.4.2).
to identify those cases of direct speech where several graphical sentences are being quoted simultaneously. Thus, the method of identification where the linguist is forced to consider one sentence at a time is error prone, especially when the deictic clues are weak or when the neighboring sentences lead one to mistakenly record a clause as reported or non-reported. For these cases, I have striven to be restrictive and sort them as undecidable.

In the second step, if the finite verb was a verb of communication, perception or production, and if the event was observed to be expressed by a recording, it was considered annalistic. If it was not, it was further sorted as the historical present if it displayed an illusion of now. It would otherwise have been sorted as an “other type,” if it were not for the fact that the survey of incongruous tense types revealed no novel instances for the present tense. On a final note, it is worth mentioning that the historical present was favored for those instances where it was difficult to tell if the case was direct speech, annalistic or historical.

5.2.3 A database of annotated tense forms

The sorting process resulted in a corpus of sentences with annotated tense forms. There are 158 516 entries out of which 129 393 cases are judged to be congruous or incongruous tense forms. The remaining entries are undecidable or discarded. The linguistic details of its contents are presented in Chapters 6 and 7. The corpus is available as an SQLite database where each row of the table contains the information below. Note, however, that there may be slight variations in the actual implementation in comparison to how the content is presented here. For consultation on SQLite, see Allen & Owens (2006).5

**id:** an identifier for the entry

5 Additional labels for the rows: corpus, types, and temp_meaning are given in appendix 10.2.

82
The corpus material comes from the National Language Bank (division Text), hosted by the Department of Swedish at the University of Gothenburg, and the material is freely available under the CC-BY (attribution) license. In the resulting corpus of annotated tenses, the entries have been scrambled to hinder reassembling the original order of the sentences. The corpus is freely available at https://github.com/PerMalm/TheSwedishIncongruousTenseCorpus under the CC-BY (attribution) license.

5.3 Estimating the proportion of incongruous tense

Research question 1 of Section 1.1 asks how common incongruous tense is in Swedish. There are at least two ways to answer this question with respect to the material under consideration. The first is to manually analyze every tensed sentence found in newspapers and web-based discussion groups. The second is to analyze a sample of such texts and use statistical methods to derive an estimate of their proportion and quantify the uncertainty in that estimate. For practical reasons, the second route has been chosen. The sample is the corpus of annotated tense forms which is described in Section 5.2.3 above, and the statistical procedure used to derive the estimate is the one-sample proportion in the Z-interval (Woods et al. 1986:99). This procedure is here referred to as a z-test for short.

Before describing how the z-test was used, I will first state the terms necessary for understanding the procedure, and thereafter, the conditions for using it. The terms are described at a level of detail that is relevant for this thesis.

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6 https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/.
**sample size:** the number of observed tense forms \((n)\)

**sample proportion:** the share of incongruous tense forms in the sample \(\hat{p}\)

**true proportion:** the true proportion of incongruous forms that would be attained by manually observing every tense form in the corpus \(p\)

**proportion estimate:** the range defined by an upper and lower bound \((\pm e)\) in which the true proportion is estimated to be, which is expressed as an interval, e.g. \(20\% < p < 22\% \) or \(p = \hat{p} \pm e\)

**z-score:** a standardized value \(z^*\) corresponding to the probability that \(p\) falls within the proportion estimate.

The terms above are all involved in the \(z\)-test formula (5.1) below which is used for calculating the proportion estimate. Furthermore, the proportion estimates are expected to hold for the tense forms in the populations of newspaper text and fora text, under the assumption of the **central limit theorem** (Woods et al. 1986:103), which states that the sample distribution and the normal distribution converge in the limit as the sample size increases. Specifically, as regards tense forms and corpora, this means that the range of the proportion estimate gains precision for each observed and counted tense form. The more data, the narrower the estimate. Under this assumption, formula (5.1) yields the true proportion and its range thus:

\[
\hat{p} \pm z^* \sqrt{\frac{\hat{p}(1-\hat{p})}{n}} = \hat{p} \pm e. \quad (5.1)
\]

Three conditions must be met before using the \(z\)-test: (i) the distribution of the observations have to approximate normality; (ii) the data have to be randomly sampled; and (iii) the individual observations have to be independent from each other. The steps taken to ensure that the sample data meets these conditions are described next.

According to condition (i), the distribution of the observations has to approximate the **normal distribution** as regards the sample size \(n\), and the sample proportion \(\hat{p}\). The normal distribution is mathematically defined as an interval that must meet the conditions in (5.2) below. In practice, this means that none of the categories under observation can be abnormally dominant. This condition is met when:

\[
\text{condition (i)} = \begin{cases} 
\text{if } n\hat{p} \geq 10 \\
\text{if } n(1-\hat{p}) \geq 10.
\end{cases} \quad (5.2)
\]

Since the sample size is known, there is only one unknown in the inequalities above. It is therefore possible to specify the boundaries of a normal distribution of incongruous tense without the proportion estimate. Substituting \(n\) for the sample size, i.e. 129 393, yields:
\[
\text{condition (i)} = \begin{cases} 
\text{if } \hat{p} \geq \frac{10}{129,393} \approx 0.00008 \\
\text{if } (1 - \hat{p}) \geq \frac{10}{129,393} \approx 0.00008.
\end{cases}
\] (5.3)

Thus, condition (i) is violated in two extreme cases. First, if there are 10 or fewer of either the incongruous or congruous kind \((129,393 \times 0.00008 \approx 10)\). Second, if there are 129,383 or more incongruous or congruous forms \((129,393 \times 0.99992 \approx 129,383)\). The data was checked against condition (i).

Condition (ii) states that the data have to be randomly sampled. The observations were sampled in the order they were returned by the corpus queries (Q1–Q2) of Section 5.1. This could open up for some bias in the data. Still, the data is heterogeneous, and it is unclear what that bias would be. Furthermore, the subcorpora of News are divided into years of publication, while the subcorpora of WebF are divided into general conversational topics. To ensure balance, an equal number of verb forms were sampled from each subcorpus. A list of the subcorpora used, is provided in Table 10.1 in the Appendix 10.2. Thus, it is assumed that condition (ii) is met.

According to condition (iii), the individual observations have to be independent from each other. This is met as long as an observation of a tensed verb is considered independent from another tense observation in context. The corpus queries chosen do not guarantee independence, since they include verbs in sequence within a graphical sentence.

As a possible solution to the issue in the paragraph above, one could choose to count only some fraction of the observations as independent. Indeed, to consider every observation as independent would be an overestimation of the proportion estimate. On the other hand, to consider, say, only every tenth observation in the sample would be an underestimation of the proportion estimate since the average sentence in News and WebF contains approximately 1.4 and 1.9 tensed verbs, respectively.\(^7\) So, instead of arguing for some number in between these radicals, the choice fell on assuming the overestimate as a proportion estimate. The main justifications for this choice are simplicity and that the difference between the over- and underestimate above is negligible for this particular investigation. I will briefly show that it is so.

The proportion estimate was calculated by using formula (5.1) with a z-score of 3.891 ensuring a 0.9999 probability of \(p\) occurring within the proportion estimate \(e\). The resulting proportion estimate for incongruous tense is presented in Chapter 6. The same chapter contains proportion estimates for relevant subsets of tense as well, such as the incongruous past tense and the incongruous present tense and how they differ between News and WebF texts. These were calculated in the same way, due to the large size of these subsets.

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\(^7\) The average number of finite verbs in sentences was calculated by taking the absolute number from the corpus query (Q1–Q2) over the number of sentences in the corpus. For News that is 26,656,150 \text{ and } 19,568,053, and for WebF 914,052,329 \text{ and } 491,525,569.
Since the description of the procedure above is rather abstract, a more detailed example is provided below. Additionally, this is also an example of the method for stating when the range of the proportion estimate has the worst-case precision. As is the case, the worst-case precision is found when the categories under observation are evenly distributed, i.e. when the sample proportion for incongruous tense is 0.5. Since there is no previous quantitative study of incongruous tense, I have assumed the case that gives the worst precision. This is one of the reasons for the large sample size. There are two other reasons. First, the large sample size leads to the construction of a large corpus that can be used for various linguistic purposes. Second, the large size increases the chances of finding related yet low-frequency phenomena. At any rate, let us first calculate the proportion estimate as below.

\[(0.5) \pm 3.891 \sqrt{\frac{0.5(1-0.5)}{129393}} = (0.5) \pm 0.005 \quad (5.4)\]

The right side of the equation clearly states the interval for the proportion estimate, that is to say, 49.5% < p < 50.5%. This ensures that the true proportion is to be found within a range of ±0.5% for the proportion estimate of incongruous tense, and the z-score, 3.891, ensures a 99.99% confidence.

Now as previously mentioned, the difference between the proportion estimate for the overestimate and the underestimate is negligible. To show this, let us compare the overestimated interval of ±0.5% from calculation 5.4 above to the one for the underestimate below by calculating the proportion estimate for every tenth observation of the sample only (i.e. \(\frac{129393}{10}\)) as follows:

\[(0.5) \pm 3.891 \sqrt{\frac{0.5(1-0.5)}{129393}} = (0.5) \pm 0.017. \quad (5.5)\]

The right side of the equation elucidates the interval for the underestimate, 48.3% < p < 51.7%. Thus, the difference between the over- and underestimate is quite small, namely 1.7% – 0.5% = 1.2%.

Still, it is possible that there are preferences for considering some other number of observation in between the over- and underestimation, such as every second, or third, or seventh tense form. However, the difference would be of little importance for the purpose of this thesis. This is perhaps best conveyed by a visual comparison of the over- and underestimate, as well as their mean value such as the one below in Figure 5.4 which concludes this section.

5.4 Discriminating between congruous and incongruous tense

To answer research question 3 “Are there lexical or grammatical differences between congruous and incongruous tense use?”, the sentences with incongruous
tense have been compared to those with congruous tense, with consideration to their lexical and grammatical properties. The basis for these comparisons was obtained in two steps. First, by annotating the data with lexical and grammatical information. Second, by running the annotated data through a program that returns lists of the linguistic items that the congruous and the incongruous tenses either share or do not share, along with some descriptive statistics. These steps are described in Sections 5.4.1–5.4.2.

The nature of research question 3 opens up for the possibility of discovering an overwhelming range of differences, some of which may be deemed accidental and irrelevant upon scrutiny. Thus, for practical reasons, the question is broken up into, and limited to, three specific questions. These are based on a number of general observations made during the construction of the corpus of tense forms. However, the presentation of these questions and the exact procedures for treating them will have to wait until Chapter 8. I believe that this choice of disposition will facilitate the understanding of the results.

5.4.1 Annotating the data

The News and WebF sentences have been automatically annotated using the annotation tool Sparv, v.2 (Borin et al. 2016). Sparv takes input text, annotates it, and returns the annotated text. Although the tool allows for a variety of analyses, the data has only been marked with lexical and dependency information.

Sparv uses HunPos (Halácsy et al. 2007), a trigram tagger, for tagging parts-of-speech (abbreviated POS) with a model trained on the SUC 3.0 corpus. The tag set contains 20 POS-tags, and 35 morphosyntactic labels (msd) providing information on grammatical categories such as tense, voice, and gender. The accuracy of the tagger is roughly 95% according to personal communication with the developers at the National Language Bank (division Text).
The syntactic analysis is carried out by MaltParser (Nivre et al. 2006a), a statistical dependency parser, and the model, swemalt, is trained on the Swedish treebank Talbanken05 (Nivre et al. 2006b). The parser returns the position of a word in the sentence (a reference number), the head of the dependency (the reference number of the word which the current word modifies or is dependent on), and the dependency relation, which is the relation of the current word and its dependency head. There are 65 labels for dependency relations in Sparv. Most of them originate in the annotation scheme of Teleman (1974). The accuracy of the dependency parser is roughly 80% according to the developers at the National Language Bank (division Text).

The lexical analysis in Sparv involves tokenization, lemmatization, as well as the labeling of word senses, lemgrams, and compounds. A key element for the lexical analyses is the SALDO lexicon (Borin et al. 2013a) which serves as a hub for many of the lexical resources at the National Language Bank (division Text). Sparv labels the data with lemgrams and senses whose descriptions can be found in Karp, the National Language Bank’s main lexical resource (Borin et al. 2013b). The tokenizer is based on the PunktWordTokenizer from NLTK (Loper & Bird 2002). I have not been able to find information on the accuracy of the lexical analysis.

5.4.2 Comparative analysis

After the annotation, the incongruous tense types were compared to their congruous counterpart with the aid of the built-in functions of SQLite, the database described in Section 5.2.3, and by Uneek (Malm et al. 2018a), a web tool for comparative analysis of annotated texts. Uneek takes two files and returns a list of the linguistic items they have in common, as well as two additional lists for the items that are unique to each file. For instance, consider the examples from Malm et al. (2018a) below of the comparison of a sentence A, *Aegon forgave his goat*, and a sentence B, *Aegon hid his goat yesterday*.

\[
A = \{Aegon, forgave, his, goat\} \\
B = \{Aegon, hid, his, goat, yesterday\}
\]

The operations in Uneek can be described by set theory. The sentences are treated as sets, with the words as their elements. Uneek returns the elements that are unique to either set so that:

\[
A \setminus B = \{forgave\} \\
B \setminus A = \{hid, yesterday\}.
\]

---

8 A lemgram identifies the inflectional table of a word.
9 https://github.com/PerMalm/uneek
Also, Uneek returns the elements found in both \( A \) and \( B \) as below.

\[
A \cap B = \{ \text{Aegon, his, goat} \}
\]

See Figure 5.5 below where Uneek returns lists for the POS-layer for \( A \) and \( B \).

![Figure 5.5. A screenshot of Uneek operating on \( A \) and \( B \)](image)

Uneek returns lists of these set operations sorted by frequency. The tool allows the user to toggle between annotation layers, as shown in Figure 5.5 above, which highlights that the parts of speech are common for both \( A \) and \( B \). Lists like these becomes helpful in the comparative analyses of Chapter 8, where Uneek overcomes the problem of homographic tense forms (congruous and incongruous), by allowing the user to differentiate between the two through their contexts. In a sense, this method assumes the *statistical semantics hypothesis*, that statistical patterns of human word usage can be used to figure out what people mean (Weaver 1955; Furnas et al. 1983), which is also similarly expressed by Harris (1954), and even de Saussure (2013) and his notions of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations.\(^{10}\) The idea was also ardently popularized by Firth (1962), who wrote, “You shall know a word by the company it keeps.” Uneek has proven to be useful for such differentiating tasks (Malm et al. 2018b; Edgren 2018; Virk et al. 2023) and despite its coarse-grained functionality, it should suffice as a tool for discerning the general differences between congruous and incongruous tense forms.

The sampling procedure described in Section 5.3 affects the validity of the results. A sentence may contain several tense forms, and the tense forms were sampled in their order of appearance. Thus, any linguistic item in a sentence with several tense forms will occur by a factor of the number of tense forms

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\(^{10}\) See Sahlgren 2008 for a historical perspective.
in it. For this reason, most of the statistics of Chapter 8 should be taken as indicative, and not as exact.\footnote{An exception is the comparisons in Section 8.2 regarding the distributions of verb types across congruity. These comparisons operated solely on the verbs of the observed tense forms, so the results of those procedures are unaffected by the duplication deficit of forms in the sampling procedure. This, however, has not been the case for the comparisons in Sections 8.1 and 8.3.}
6. Statistics and remarks on incongruous tense

This chapter deals with research questions 1 and 2. Question 1, “How common is incongruous tense (of different types) in Swedish?”, is dealt with in two stages. The first stage provides a proportion estimate for incongruous tense, and the second presents a count for the incongruous tense types. Question 2, “What types of incongruous tense are there in Swedish?”, is partially treated in this chapter, because the empirical investigation reveals a number of other types for the incongruous past than those in Chapter 4. These are further presented along with their linguistic properties in Chapter 7.

The nature of research question 1 is simple, but its general character evokes further questions such as “How are the incongruous instances distributed across the past and present tenses?” and “How are the incongruous instances distributed across different text types?”. These questions are also treated here.

As previously said, the sorting process resulted in a collection of 158,516 sentences, including cases of congruous and incongruous tense as well as undecidable and discarded cases. These make up the general content of the database in accordance with Figure 6.1 below.

![Figure 6.1. The general content of the corpus](image)

The main concern here is the congruous and incongruous cases, but there is something to be said about the remaining categories. The discarded content, most of which is due either to errors in Korp’s annotation process, or to reporters’ or WebF-users’ slips on the keyboard, are not tensed verbs and of less importance for the research questions. As for the undecidable cases, I will assume the null-hypothesis that they reflect the distribution of the congruous and incongruous cases, since it is not obvious how its content would be skewed.
Setting aside the undecidable and discarded cases, the general result of the sorting process is summarized in Table 6.1 below where the sample proportions are given in parentheses next to the absolute numbers. They are rounded off to the nearest 3-decimal place.\footnote{Table 6.1 shows the data from the subcorpora FL and FB as subsumed under their parent corpus WebF. The reason for this is that the differences between FL and FB are rather small, and their differences are not highly relevant to the research questions for the time being. The congruous present cases differ by 67 instances, the congruous past cases by 504, the incongruous present cases differ by 102, and the incongruous past cases by 55.}

**Table 6.1.** The number of congruous and incongruous tense forms by tense and corpus in absolute numbers and relative numbers in parentheses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tense and corpus</th>
<th>congruous</th>
<th>incongruous</th>
<th>row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past News</td>
<td>29 672 (0.917)</td>
<td>2 698 (0.083)</td>
<td>32 370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past WebF</td>
<td>25 182 (0.745)</td>
<td>8 601 (0.255)</td>
<td>33 783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present News</td>
<td>13 706 (0.475)</td>
<td>15 153 (0.525)</td>
<td>28 859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present WebF</td>
<td>33 301 (0.969)</td>
<td>1 080 (0.031)</td>
<td>34 381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>101 861 (0.787)</td>
<td>27 532 (0.213)</td>
<td>129 393</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recall that the sample proportions in Table 6.1 have been used to calculate the proportion estimates as described in Section 5.3. While the sample proportion tells the exact proportions of incongruous tense in the sample corpus, the proportion estimates give a range for where the true proportion of incongruous tense lies for the text types in general. The proportion estimates for the incongruous forms across tense type are presented below.

**Table 6.2.** Proportion estimates for incongruous tense rounded off to whole numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>incongruous form</th>
<th>proportion estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past and present</td>
<td>(21% &lt; p &lt; 22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>(17% &lt; p &lt; 18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>(25% &lt; p &lt; 26%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result in Table 6.2 above shows that incongruous tense is quite common. More than every fifth tense form is incongruous in News and WebF together, and, for each respective tense type, every sixth past tense form, and every fourth present form is incongruous by approximation.

The proportion estimates for the tenses above shed light upon the frequency of incongruous tense in the News and WebF texts taken together. However, if one considers the distribution of the incongruous tenses across text types, the proportions are more varied, as is shown in Table 6.3 below.

The estimates in Table 6.3 paint a picture of disparity. In WebF, for instance, the incongruous past is three times as frequent as in News. To boot, there are about 18 times as many incongruous present forms in News as in WebF.
Table 6.3. Proportion estimates for incongruous tense and text type rounded off to whole numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>incongruous form</th>
<th>proportion estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present News</td>
<td>(52% &lt; p &lt; 54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past WebF</td>
<td>(25% &lt; p &lt; 26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past News</td>
<td>(8% &lt; p &lt; 9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present WebF</td>
<td>(3% &lt; p &lt; 4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proportion estimates are intuitive, yet abstract notions. Therefore, as a concrete example, let us now use these estimates to assess the absolute number of incongruous tense forms in the News and WebF corpora from which the sample was taken. These are provided in Table 6.4 below.\(^2\)

Table 6.4. The absolute number of tense forms in the News and WebF corpora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>corpora</th>
<th>past-tense forms</th>
<th>present-tense forms</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>7 249 513</td>
<td>19 406 637</td>
<td>26 656 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WebF</td>
<td>196 252 587</td>
<td>717 799 742</td>
<td>914 052 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>203 502 100</td>
<td>737 206 379</td>
<td>940 708 479</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using the proportion estimates of Tables 6.2–6.3 on the count of verb forms in Table 6.4, results in the estimation of Table 6.5 below (in whole numbers).

Table 6.5. An estimate for incongruous tense considering text and tense type, in absolute numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tense and corpus</th>
<th>incongruous tense forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past News</td>
<td>(579 961 &lt; p &lt; 652 456)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past WebF</td>
<td>(49 063 147 &lt; p &lt; 51 025 673)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present News</td>
<td>(10 091 451 &lt; p &lt; 10 479 584)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present WebF</td>
<td>(21 533 992 &lt; p &lt; 28 711 990)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>(81 268 551 &lt; p &lt; 90 869 703)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results in Table 6.5 show that there are roughly one tenth of a billion incongruous cases in these corpora for linguists and students of tense to consider further.

Let us now turn our attention to the distributions of the incongruous tense types. When it comes to instances of the incongruous present, no previously unnoticed types were found, and the distribution across types are shown in Figure 6.2 below. As can be seen, direct speech and the historical present

\(^2\) This statistics has been retrieved by using the corpus queries Q1–Q2 of Section 5.1 on Tuesday, February 9, 2021.
account for almost half of the instances each, whereas the annalistic present is a marginal category.

Regarding the incongruous past, a rather extensive group of other incongruous factual events (cf. the heuristics in Figure 5.2), were recorded. I will return to these cases, which are less noticed in SAG, and to possible ways to sort them into different types in Chapter 7 below. For the time being, they will all be considered under the label other incongruous factual events. As illustrated in Figure 6.3, this group makes up more than two-fifths of the excerpted instances of the incongruous past. Temporal dislocation covers almost half of the instances, whereas the evaluative and the modifying past account for a smaller portion.

Table 6.6 below shows the distribution of the different types of incongruous tense across text types. It contains the absolute number of instances ($N$) as well as the proportion ($N\%$) of each type in News and WebF, respectively.

94
While Table 6.6 above shows that the incongruous present is favored by News, and that the incongruous past is favored by WebF, it adds that each individual incongruous present type is favored by News, and that each individual incongruous past type is favored by WebF. This observation contributes to our understanding of tense by showing that the magnitude of some tense congruity is highly dependent on tense type as well as on text type. Such differences for tense and text types are investigated further in Chapter 8.

To conclude: Incongruous tense is quite common. In the corpus investigated, every fifth tense form is incongruous. In addition, the size of the incongruous proportion depends on the tense type. The incongruous present tense makes up a quarter of the present tense, while the incongruous past tense is observed to occur in every sixth case. However, the estimates become more dramatic if one considers the tense type as well as the text type. The incongruous present is favored in News, where it makes up more than half of the present tense data, while the incongruous past is favored in WebF making up a quarter of the past tense. Conversely, the incongruous past occurs in less than a tenth of the past cases in News, and the incongruous present is found in less than four percent of the present cases in WebF.

The statistics above provide an overall picture as to the commonness of incongruous tense. For sure, these proportions may vary in other domains of Swedish. Still, this is the only empirically grounded estimate available, and thus the best answer by default. The sample contains a broad range of language use, and its sheer size should provide ample coverage for the major patterns of tense use in Swedish.
7. A closer look at “other incongruous factual events”

The statistics in Chapter 6 shows that the bulk of the excerpted instances of incongruous tense can be sorted as one of the types already identified in Chapter 4. When sorting the instances of the incongruous present, no cases were discovered that needed to be categorized as “other types.” This means that the approximately 16 000 incongruous present cases could be taken as either direct speech, the historical present or, to a lesser extent, the annalistic present (cf. Table 6.6 above).

By contrast, it turned out that a large proportion of the incongruous cases in the past tense, almost 5 000 out of 11 000, were found not to be of any of the types recognized by specific labels in SAG (or elsewhere), i.e. temporal dislocation, or the evaluative or modifying past. Instead, these belonged to the group of “other incongruous factual events”, cf. Figure 5.2. This chapter takes a closer look at this group, which for instance includes incongruous relayed events (when not instances of the evaluative or modifying past, which can be relayed as well, cf. Sections 4.1.1–4.1.2), and cases of what I refer to as the anticipated past perspective.

The chapter is organized according to two kinds of relations between the point of speech and the event time. I refer to these as S-overlapping events (Section 7.1) and S-succeeding events (Section 7.2). The first section focuses on the linguistic properties of two types of the incongruous past that stand out in the material. The second discusses the anticipated past perspective and other cases of S-succeeding events. Section 7.3 concludes the chapter by presenting two properties that appear to be common for the other incongruous factual events.

7.1 S-overlapping events

The sorting of the instances of incongruous past tense resulted in 4 732 cases of other incongruous factual events. Most of these can be seen as S-overlapping (approximately 4 700), but, it seems impossible to reduce this group to one single type defined by some significant features, and, to boot, it is also difficult to divide the instances into clearly distinct types.

Some of the instances sorted as other incongruous factual events can simply be understood as examples of tense harmony in complex sentences as well as in sequences of sentences; see (78) and (79a–b) respectively.
(78) Redan 1996 lyckades Sydafrikas forskningsråd isolera den komponent i hoodia som undertryckte hungerkänslan. ‘Even in 1996 the South African research council managed to isolate the component in Hoodia that suppressed hunger.’ (News)

(79) a. Även Robin Johansson gjorde en stark insats när han slutade fyra i finalen i höga hopp. Johansson’s 380,04 var bara sex poäng från hans personbästa och lovar gott inför OS-kvalet i Aten om knappt två veckor. ‘Robin Johansson also made a strong effort when he finished fourth in the high jump final. Johansson’s 380,04 was only six points from his personal best and promises good before OS-qualifier in Athens in barely two weeks.’ (News)

b. Hälsovård var onsdagens bästa bransch med en uppgång på 0,5 procent. AstraZeneca var en bidragande faktor till detta. ‘Healthcare was the best industry of Wednesday with a 0.5 percent run up. AstraZeneca was a contributing factor to this.’ (News)

The cases in (78–79) are incongruous. Hoodia has a component that suppresses hunger, Johansson’s score is six points from his personal best, and AstraZeneca is a contributing factor to the run up, at the point of speech.

There are also cases that cannot, or cannot necessarily, be understood as tense harmony. One possibility, not very salient in the data but nevertheless worthy of some attention, is when the incongruous past tense is due to some word expressing lexical precedence as in (80).

(80) a. Vilken var din första bok? ‘What was your first book?’

b. Nya albumet fortsätter där det gamla slutade. ‘The new album continues where the old one left off.’
The events in (80) encompass S. The book in question is the first, and the old album leaves off where the new one begins. When something is described as the first of its kind, we know that its order is usually established in the past, and that it precedes any possible successor. This licenses the past tense in (80a), and a similar reasoning applies to (80b), where an old album (a unit of recorded music) is contrasted to a new one.

Besides the cases just mentioned, there are two types that stand out in the data. The first is the incongruous relayed event in the past tense. Its relaying thematic time marks that the time of experiencing something about the event is in the past independent of the time of the event. An example is shown below where the question of Person A is answered by Person B regarding the location of the Danish art museum Louisiana.

(81) [A:] Louisiana, ligger det i Köpenhamn eller? [B:] Nej, det ligger inte i Köpenhamn. Det låg på Jylland har jag för mig, men jag är inte säker. År inte så bra på danmark och detta var ca 5 år sedan.

‘[A:] Louisiana, is that in Copenhagen? [B:] No, it is not in Copenhagen. It was in Jutland as I recall, but I am not sure. I am not that informed on Denmark, and this was five years ago or so.’

Person B is speaking out of experience, and this is marked by the past tense. At some point in time, Person B visited Denmark where (s)he set up an unbounded event for *Louisiana is on Jutland*. Five years later, the event is unbounded still, but it is now used together with the past tense where T signals that the information was gained in the past. The typical tokens that evoke such interpretations of T have evidential meaning.

The source of the relay may be inanimate, generally a recording, or animate, generally the speaker or someone else. The relay applies to somebody’s past experience (insight, cognitive or emotional reaction etc.). Further, there is no clear-cut boundary to the cases of tense harmony, but the relayed events are not dependent on an explicit T in a previous clause. In example (82) below from WebF, for instance, T may be taken as a period in the past when MacDougall was alive and maintained the position in question, or as the time when the relaying person gained insight into his thoughts. As for the event in question, MacDougall meant that humans have souls.

(82) Och notera också att bara människor hade själar […] enligt MacDougall […]

‘And note also that only humans had souls according to MacDougall.’
The second type pertains to comments or requests concerning a topic that is already given to both sender and receiver, often due to some previously established matter, or communication, in dialogue. This may be observed next in (83) from WebF. For this example, the previous context in the thread is as follows: the thread starter posts an insurance question regarding a recent car accident, and the discussion begins to stray from the question which irritates the thread starter who responds as below.

(83) Frågan gällde alltså försäkringen, inte huruvida jag blir av med körkortet/hamnar i fängelse/[…]blablabla. ‘So the question was about the insurance, not whether I lose my driver’s license/end up in jail/blah-blah-blah.’  

The event above is incongruous because the question is about the insurance, and, henceforth, I will refer to such cases as the incongruous dialogical past tense. These are called dialogical rather than experienced or relayed for it is not necessary for the speaker to have experienced E directly, or to be relaying information of the event. It is sufficient that something previously established in the current dialogue relates to the event.

There is considerable overlap between the different types of incongruous factual events, and, as a result, these types are not suitable for quantification. Moreover, with respect to the difficulties of overlap, this closer look is non-exhaustive, and there is surely more to be discovered about these other incongruous factual events than what is currently possible within the limits of this thesis. There is, however, more to be said on the subject of incongruous relayed events and the dialogical past tense, which are described in Sections 7.1.1–7.1.2.

7.1.1 The incongruous relayed event

The thematic time T for the incongruous relayed event may be evoked by inanimate and animate sources. The section begins with a description of the linguistic properties that occur with the inanimate sources, and it is followed by those occurring with the animate sources.

There are at least three ways to evoke a relaying T from an inanimate source. In the first, the recorded source itself may be presented to communicate the relayed event, as in examples (84a–b) below from News.
(84) a. Bilden visade en låg byggnad med skylten "Polisstation".

   ‘The picture showed a low building with the sign “Police station”.’

b. För vad ska vi göra med våra erfarenheter och vrede? stod for what shall we do with our experiences and anger stood det i Ranelids roman Mästaren. it in Ranelid’s novel Master

   ‘“For what shall we do with our experience and our anger?” it was said in Ranelid’s novel The Master.’

The events of the italicized verbs in (84a–b) overlap the point of speech. The picture shows a low building, and the statement is said in the novel at the point of speech. If not relayed, but phrased in the present tense, cases like these correspond to the annalistic present.

The second way of evoking a relaying T is to state the source in an adverbial of hearsay. See example (85) from News below which reports on 52 children who are vaccinated and suffering from narcolepsy as a result. Clearly, hearsay adverbials may be used for animate sources as well, but, for the sake of presentation, the complements are exemplified thematically for animacy.

(85) Av 60 finska barn som drabbats av sömnsjukdomen of 60 Finnish children who was-affected by sleep-disorder narcolepsy var 52 vaccinerade, enligt en finsk studie. were 52 vaccinated according-to a Finnish study

   ‘Out of 60 Finnish children affected by the sleep disorder narcolepsy, 52 were vaccinated, according to a Finnish study.’

The third way to evoke a relaying T is to express that the relayed event takes place within a recording. This may be explicitly mentioned by adverbials, by a recorded source reporting the relayed event in a subordinate clause, or in a relative clause to the mentioned recording as in (86a–c) below, or implicit as in (86d) which refers to Quentin Tarantino’s Pulp Fiction where surf rock guitars are interspersed with smooth soul.

(86) a. I filmen lades röda mattan ut på den gamla in movie was-laid red carpet out on the old stenbelagda trappan som leder ner mot vattnet. stone-paved stairs which leads down towards water

   ‘In the film, the red carpet was laid out on the old stone paved stairs leading down to the water.’ (News)
b. Aktivisternas smygtagna filmer visade djur som åt activists’ taken-in-secret videos showed animals that ate av varandra, hade stora köttsår, avslitna kroppsdeler med of each other had big flesh wounds torn off body parts with mera.

‘The activists’ clandestine videos showed animals that ate each other, had large flesh wounds, torn body parts and more.’ (News)

c. Sex år senare kom filmen med samma namn där six years later came movie with same name where John Travolta och Olivia Newton John hade huvudrollerna. John Travolta and Olivia Newton John had lead parts

‘Six years later came the film of the same name where John Travolta and Olivia Newton John played the leading parts.’ (News)

d. Frätande råa surfrockgitarrer från bland annat Dick Dale varvades med len soul som Dusty Springfields Son of a preacher man och Al Greens Let’s stay together.

‘Corrosive raw surf rock guitars from, among others, Dick Dale were interspersed with smooth soul such as Dusty Springfield’s Son of a preacher man and Al Green’s Let’s stay together.’ (News)

Although the time of the S-overlapping E remains the same for the past and the present tense alike, the position of T does not. A shift from the past to the present tense takes the interpretation of T from the past domain of personal experience to the present domain of general, annalistic or historical statements.

The relaying T may also be evoked by constructions involving animate sources. There are at least four ways to do this. The first involves a human source and a verb of communication which mark that the event of the subordinate clause is relayed, as in the following cases from News:

(87) a. Ingemar visade ju alla ungdomar hemma i Tärnaby, Ingemar showed you know all youths home in Tärnaby att allt var möjligt.

‘You know, Ingemar showed all the kids back home in Tärnaby that anything was possible.’

b. Flickan erkänner att det var hon som sålde smyckena girl confesses that it was she who sold jewelry och är åtalad för häleri. and is accused for dealing with stolen goods

‘The girl confesses that it was she who sold the jewelry and she is accused of dealing in stolen goods.’
Above in (87a), the former Alpine ski racer Ingemar Stenmark did not show the kids that everything was possible in the past, but rather that everything is possible unboundedly. Also, the culpable state of the wrongdoer in (87b) still holds at the point of speech, for the girl is still the one who sold the contraband.

The second way of evoking a relaying $T$ is to state the animate source in an adverbial of hearsay. See example (88) below which reports on the architect Christopher Sykes who attributes the success of his craft to his social skills.

(88)  
Enligt Christopher Sykes berodde hans förmåga att bedöma arkitektur på att han var en så god människokännare.  
‘According to Christopher Sykes, his ability to judge architecture was due to the fact that he was such a good people-knower.’ (News)

The third way to evoke a relaying $T$ involves a human source (the experiencer) and a verb of experience, such as perception or cognition, which mark that an event of the subordinate clause is relayed. See the examples below from WebF. In (89a), the writer has seen that there is a thread about car problems with Hyundai (the thread still exists at $S$), and so (s)he starts a similar thread on problems with Toyota. In (89b), the writer has been to the gynecologist who suspected that the writer has fluids in her abdomen due to pregnancy, a suspicion confirmed by vaginal ultrasound. Thus, the woman has fluids in her abdomen from the time of the examination to $S$.

(89)  
a. Såg att det fanns en tråd om problem med Hyundai […]  
‘[I] saw that there was a thread about problems with Hyundai.’

b. Misstänkte att jag hade vätska i buken och fick en tid i dag.  
‘[I] suspected that I had fluids in my abdomen and got an appointment today.’

The fourth way to establish a relaying $T$ is by means of a human source (the experiencer) and a verb of experience, cognitive or emotional. Counter to (89a–b), the incongruity of (90a–b) below from WebF concerns the verb of experience itself which has a durative meaning so that $E$ overlaps $S$.

(90)  
a. Åt en påse [chips] med Ramslök-smak, tyckte det var gott, lite godare än vanliga sour-cream and onion, skulle kunna tänka mig att äta den igen.  
‘Ate a bag [of chips] with ramson flavor, thought it was good, a little tastier than regular sour cream and onion, wouldn’t mind eating it again.’
b. Ska använda Flubromazolam till att dämpa AT’n tänkte jag.
‘Will use flubromazolam to dampen the abstinence, I think.’

In (90a) above, the event overlaps $S$ since the writer still thinks that the chips are good at $S$. In (90b), the substance user’s previously established intention to dampen the abstinence goes beyond $S$.

The temporal reference for the $S$-overlapping events in this section stays the same for the past and the present tense alike. This creates opportunities for the language user who may choose freely whether to maintain or break tense harmony for any verb with an inanimate relaying source, or for verbs with durative events (generics, habituals, etc.) and animate relaying sources. Pairings of the incongruous tense and its counterpart may be freely used to smooth out the transition from one tense to another. See the italicized transition pair in (92) below about the movie Jaws. Note that any route is possible from one of the first to one of the last sentences (as is also the case in Swedish).

(91) \{I saw Jaws last night. \} \{I have seen Jaws. \}  \{People died in it! \}  \{Did you see it? \}  \{Have you seen it? \}

Transition pairs may be used similarly for animate sources as well, as in the next example, where someone is questioning a friend for a lost item.

(92) \{Where did it go? \}  \{Where is it? \}  \{According to you, it was here. \}  \{You said so. \}  \{I am sure. \}

By contrast, it is clear that the congruous present cannot form a transition pair with the congruous past where the event terminates before $S$. This is shown below in the previously mentioned example.

(93) Last year, she was in Tanzania. She worked on some foreign aid project which apparently did not work so well.

The relayed event is found with auxiliaries as well, as seen from example (94) below from News where there have been at least 25 casualties in the attack at the point of speech.

(94) Enligt uppgifter hade minst 25 personer omkommit i attackerna.
‘According to reports, at least 25 people had died in the attacks.’

The linguistic properties of the incongruous relayed $S$-overlapping event in the past tense are summarized below in Table 7.1 which concludes this section.
Table 7.1. Linguistic properties of the incongruous relayed S-overlapping event in the past tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>properties of form</th>
<th>properties of meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple past</td>
<td>S-overlapping $E$ and $T - S$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past auxiliary</td>
<td>S-overlapping $E$ and $T - S$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animate or inanimate source</td>
<td>anchors $T$ to the time of experiencing $E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INANIMATE SOURCE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mainly with communication verb in hearsay adverbial contains event</td>
<td>relayed annalistic event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with verb of communication in hearsay adverbial</td>
<td>relayed event of hearsay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mainly with verb of perception and cognition + event in subordinate clause</td>
<td>relayed event of experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mainly with verb of cognition and emotion</td>
<td>relayed event of experience</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.1.2 The incongruous dialogical past tense

The reason to distinguish the incongruous dialogical past tense is that it quite often appears as if the past tense is warranted by the fact that the matter under discussion has been raised in previous discourse, rather than by the relaying of some experience (or the like) in the past. An example is given below from WebF containing a reply to a previous post in the forum.

(95) Som jag antydde så medger jag att de begreppsdefinitioner du presenterat inte är orimliga, även om det i allra högsta grad går att ifrågasätta huruvida de är auktoritativa. Det som däremot var orimligt var din (outtalade) premiss att det du beskrev var den enda, entydiga riktiga beskrivningen av diskussionsämnet.

‘As I indicated, I agree that the definitions you presented are not unreasonable, although it is highly questionable whether they are authoritative. What was unreasonable, however, was your (unspoken) premise that what you described was the only, unambiguously correct description of the topic under discussion.’ (WebF)

The tense of the italicized incongruous verbs in (95) does not fit the description of incongruous relayed events. The premise is unspoken, and thus there can be no corresponding experience of it. Instead, the writer refers to that past point in time, i.e. the time of the past utterance in the dialogue for which the premise may have applied. This is to say that $T$ is anchored to some previous utterance or post in the dialogue.
The anchoring of $T$ in the previous dialogue is often signalled by a definite noun phrase which marks that the referent is known or under discussion in the conversation, such as *det* ‘it’ or *din premiss* ‘your premise’ in (95). And, I would like to call attention here to some other salient linguistic properties that evoke this interpretation of $T$.

The section gives a non-exhaustive description of the properties for the incongruous dialogical past. More specifically, I shall assume that the thematic time can mark the time of a previously established matter (a topic or an utterance) in dialogue for which the incongruous event is of relevance, and I will refer to this time as the *dialogical thematic time*.

The dialogical $T$ is particularly clear in adversative constructions such as: “(but/and) it was $x$ that we discussed (not $y$)”, where $x$ is the previously established subject matter, and $y$ is something deemed off-topic. While the thematic time for $x$ has been anchored to some topic in the previous dialogue, $y$ has not. An example from WebF is given below.

(96) Medelålder och medellivslängd är två olika saker and mean-life-expectancy are two different things och det var livslängden som diskuterades, inte and it was life-expectancy-DEF that discussed-PASS not populationens mean-age medelålder.

‘Average age and average life expectancy are two different things and it was life expectancy that was discussed, not the average age of the population.’

In (96), it is the topic of average life expectancy that is currently under discussion. After all, they are still discussing it at the point of speech. In addition to the adversative construction, the dialogical thematic time is signalled by the definite noun phrase referring to the previously established topic.

Adversative constructions are sometimes found with additional markers for a dialogical $T$. These are attitude adverbs such as *väl* and *ju* ≈ ‘you know’, and *egentligen* ≈ ‘actually’. According to SAG (4:114), *ju* typically (and often *väl*) refers to a source which the listener has access to, and it signals that the speaker holds the clause to be true (and that the listener should already know this). In short, *ju* and *väl* often signal that the content of the clause is a fact known to both speaker and listener. As for *egentligen*, it usually means that the speaker holds the utterance to be true (SAG 4:122). For the cases of the dialogical past, the source referent is a previous topic or statement. See example (97) below.
(97) a. Nu handlade ju inte tråden om sms jag fick efter now concerned PTCL not thread about sms-PL I got after x antal veckor utan mer om varför man gör så från x number weeks but more about why one does so from början [...] beginning

‘Now, the thread was not about the texts I received after x number of weeks, but rather about why one does so from the get-go.’

b. Sen var väl tråden om Venezuela egentligen fast du then was PTCL thread-DEF about Venezuela actually but you skrev fel land [...] wrote wrong country

‘Well actually, the thread was about Venezuela even though you wrote the wrong country.’

The threads in (97a–b) are not about the number of texts or any other country besides Venezuela. T is tied up to the topic, and this is indicated by the adverbs of attitude which refer to this conversational contract.

Both (97a–b) above begin with the time adverbs nu ‘now’ and sedan ‘then’, and it is possible that these contribute also to the interpretation of a dialogical T. Similar observations have been made for the modifying past (Section 4.1.2) where such adverbs signal that the event is according to plan, yet, in the case of (97a–b), the indirect speech act and the polite character are not necessarily in effect. Instead, adverbs like these signal that the event in question is of current relevance now or that it follows, as a consequence, from the topic. This is more clear in the dialogue of (98) below, between an anonymous interactant (A) and a man suffering from penis-related anxiety (B)

(98) [A:] Jag blir lite nyfiken på vilken storlek du har (cm)... kan I get little curious on what size you have (cm) can det vara så att du tror att du har mindre än du har?? it be so that you think that you have smaller than you have [B:] Då var det gjort, den mätte ganska exakt 15x14 [...] then was it done it measured quite exactly 15x14

‘[A:] I am a bit curious about what size you have (cm) ... can it be so, that you think you have a smaller one than you do? [B:] So, it is done, it measured quite exactly 15x14.’

The event in (98) straddles S, for the stative event of ‘the genital measurement is done’ is unbounded. And, just as there is no anaphora resolution for ‘it’ in the clause under scrutiny, there is none for T either. As for tense harmony, there is nothing in A’s post to harmonize with. Further, there is no explicit mention of a measurement, so it cannot be relayed. It is simply implicit in the
dialogue. Still, the inference between A’s and B’s posts is reasonable, and it is clear that the T of B is anchored to the post of A.

In addition to adverbs of attitude and time, the dialogical T may also be indicated by the use of interjections, as seen in examples (101a–b) below from WebF. While emotive interjections are a trait for the evaluative past, responsive interjections, like yes or no, appear to be common with the dialogical past. Furthermore, the event is overlapping S, since the topic and the question in (101a–b) are “Zlatan” and “What happens if no one will pay the prices”.

(99) a. Men ja, topic var ju Zlatan märkte jag [...] but yes topic was PTCL Zlatan noticed I ‘But yes, the topic was Zlatan, I noticed ...’

b. Nej, frågan var vad som händer om ingen vill betala no, question was what that happens if no one will pay priserna. prices-DEF ‘No, the question was what happens if no one wants to pay the prices.’

In sum, the choice of the past or the present tense is flexible as regards the placement of S-overlapping events like (95–101). The event encompasses S in any case, and the choice of tense is chiefly one between a past or a present thematic time. Table 7.2 below concludes this section with a summary of the linguistic properties of S-overlapping events in the dialogical past tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>properties of form</th>
<th>properties of meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dialogical topic or comment</td>
<td>anchors the dialogical T in dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject in definite form</td>
<td>referent established in dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple past: with adversative constructions</td>
<td>S-overlapping E and T − S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with adverbs of attitude</td>
<td>x (not y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with adverbs of time</td>
<td>content known from dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with interjections</td>
<td>event of relevance to dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>response to previous dialogue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2 S-succeeding events

All examples in the previous sections show S-overlapping events. They express an event, E, that was brought to the fore or initiated in the past yet with a duration that holds at the point of speech or beyond. These are states, or other
unbounded events such as those of generic, habitual, iterative, or progressive aktionsart. For these and similar cases, it is possible to identify $T$ as the time in the past when the event was discovered, initiated or experienced (or communicated, recorded, planned, discussed) etc. In such cases, the requirement of the past tense (according to the account of tense in Section 3.5) that $E$ and $T$ overlap at some point is fulfilled. The incongruence is then entirely due to $E$ not being completed before the point of speech.

However, there is also a group of $S$-succeeding events where it is not possible to speak of an overlap of the future event and a $T$ that precedes the point of speech. Some of them may be seen as instances of the anticipated past perspective where the use of the past tense is induced by the assumption of a fictive future point of view (cf. Section 4.2.3), but some of them may not. For these latter cases, the use of the past tense is less clear, but it may sometimes be seen as tense harmony or as a way to signal that the content of the clause is relayed. I will discuss these cases in the following.

While the $S$-overlapping events are numerous, the $S$-succeeding events are rare in my corpus.\footnote{Out of 5 807 factual incongruous past cases, there are only 30 unambiguous cases of $S$-succeeding events. However, there are also 218 additional cases that are ambiguous between an $S$-overlapping and an $S$-succeeding reading. Both event types are mainly found in the simple tense, but they also appear with auxiliaries, specifically 146 perfect auxiliaries and 2 041 other auxiliaries; see appendix, Table 10.3, for statistics on the types of auxiliaries. As for the clear-cut cases, 5 out of the 30 $S$-succeeding events, and 1 973 out of the 5 554 $S$-overlapping events, appear as auxiliaries. As for the ambiguous instances, 209 out of the 218 $S$-succeeding events are auxiliaries. Most of the ambiguous cases are due to the difficulty of interpreting the original meaning of the reported auxiliary skulde ‘should’.

1 Yet despite their rarity, the $S$-succeeding events in the data should not be unfamiliar to speakers of Swedish (or English for that matter). In fact, I would like to stress that they are perfectly natural, although probably specific to domains of informal and spoken language. My examples (of clear-cut cases) all appear in WebF. Consider for instance, examples (100a–b) below of the anticipated past perspective which involve instructions on how to carry out events in the future.

(100) a. ta en gurka eller dildo om du har, som du mäter på hur mycket du lyckades få in ... Sedan rapporterar du resultatet här.

‘Take a cucumber or dildo if you have one, which you measure for how much you managed to get in ... Then you report the result here.’

b. Kom igen, var lite snäll, skicka halva först sedan andra halvan för att se om första omgången kom fram.

‘Come on, please, send one half first then the second half to see if the first round arrived.’
In examples (100a–b), $E$ and $T$ succeed $S$ since the instructed people have yet to succeed with the insertion, or observe the arrival of the package at the time of speech. As described in Section 4.2.3, one may in these cases assume an additional future fictive point of view, call it $F$, from which $E$ and $T$ may be seen as past, i.e. $S − E, T − F$. I shall maintain that assumption for now even if it leaves the position of $E$ and $T$ incongruous with respect to $S$. This problem will be dealt with in Chapter 9 by assuming a “vantage point.”

The anticipated past perspective appears in interrogative clauses subordinate to indicative or imperative clauses, as illustrated below. Example (101a) comes from a thread about cake, where the writer promises that (s)he will try a recipe given in a previous post. Indeed, it is possible to assume a future fictive point of view from when the cake is done, but there can be no past thematic time for the event ‘cake turns out how’ with respect to $S$. The same holds for example (101b) where the writer is commenting on a post by a person who is about to go through with a medical procedure, and (s)he requests that the person report back on the future event.

(101) a. Återkommer med rapport om hur den blev.’
   return-FUT with report about how it became
   ‘[I will] return with a report on how it turned out.’

   b. KUL skriv o berätta sedan hur det var!!
      fun write and tell later how it was
      ‘FUN! Write and tell me later how it was!’

Examples (101a–b) invite an incongruous reading of both $T$ and $E$. And, in contrast to $S$-overlapping events in general, these cannot be congruously modelled with past thematic times (whether relayed or dialogical), due to the general definition of $T$ as the time that the clause is about. Consider below an analysis of (101a–b) above, but observe that the superordinate clauses of (101b) are in the imperative.

(102) a. 1^{st} clause: $S$ − $T_1,E_1$ [I will] return with [...] how it turned out
      2^{nd} clause: $S − T_2,E_2 − F$

   b. 1^{st} clause: $E_1$
      2^{nd} clause: $E_2$
      3^{rd} clause: $S − T,E_3 − F$ write (later) and tell me later how it was

In some sense, the $S$-succeeding events above must also be understood with respect to some past piece of dialogue, for one cannot simply use the past tense in these situations without reference to some previously established post or topic. This may further be observed by the definite form of the subjects which signals that the referent is known to the listener from previous discourse.

109
or similar. The anticipated past perspective resembles the dialogical past tense in that regard.

In contrast to the S-overlapping events, the events of the anticipated past perspective appear to occur freely with any verb type. In addition, the events in (101a–b) are bounded, for the unrealized reports depend on the future termination of the events. If paraphrased in the present tense, the events of (101a–b) are unbounded, as if they concern the progressive making of the cake, or the type of medical procedure in general. Cases like these cannot be paraphrased in the present tense without a change of aktionsart, and this is an uncommon property for the incongruous past. This raises the question of whether the choice of verb is as free in clauses with incongruous tense as in the congruous ones, and I shall consider this further in the comparative analyses of Chapter 8.

There are, however, S-succeeding events where it is does not work to assume a future fictive point of view. These are the cases where the message is relayed from another source, as in examples (103a–c) below.

(103) a. Han hade tid tidigast mars vilket är OK.  
    he had time earliest March which is okay  
    ‘He had time in March at the earliest, which is okay.’

b. - Vi brukar ha picknick med oss, men i dag tänkte vi äta i restaurangen, och kanske gå på tågbio, säger mamma Sanna, och ser på sina barn.  
    ‘- We usually have a picnic with us, but today we planned to eat in the restaurant, and maybe go to the train cinema, says mommy Sanna, and looks at her children.’

c. Jag snackade med min tatuerare om det och han sa att  
    I talked to my tattoo artist about it and he said that  
    det blev suddigt efter ett tag.  
    it got blurry after a while  
    ‘I talked to my tattoo artist about it and he said that it got blurry after a while.’

In example (103a), E succeeds S since the reported person has time for an appointment in the month of March, but not in between that time and the point of speech. T is not anchored to some past experience, but rather to the future time of E in March, the time that the clause is about. In example (103b), Sanna, who is waiting for the train, tells the reporter of her current plan to eat in the restaurant. In (103c), the writer replies to someone who wants to know if it works to get a tattoo on the inside of the lip. It is clear that the writer relays information from his/her tattoo artist who meant that it will get blurry after a while. But it is not clear how this is to be congruously modeled on the timeline, for T must be placed in succession of S since the subordinate clause...
is about a tattoo getting blurry in the future. An analysis of the incongruous tense use in (103c) is given next.

(104) 1st clause: $T_1, E_1 - S$
2nd clause: $T_2, E_2 - S$
3rd clause: $S - T_3, E_3$

Clearly, one cannot use the past tense in this construction without having a past experience of being told that tattoos blur in the future. At the same time, one cannot use $T$ to mark this past experience since the standard definition of $T$, as the time that the clause is about, demands the future anchorage. This is expected, for as mentioned in Section 4.2.1, it is not possible to have directly experienced an $S$-succeeding event since it has not happened yet at the point of speech. Indeed, the $S$-succeeding events may be relayed from thoughts or utterances as in (103a–b) above, but they cannot have a relaying $T$ prior to $S$ according to the interpretation in Section 4.2.1: ‘the time of experiencing something of the event.’ This is a notable difference between the $S$-overlapping and $S$-succeeding events in the past tense.

There are additional cases of $S$-succeeding events with a complex structure; see example (105) below. Here, it is difficult to say if the use of the incongruous past tense is due to the anticipated past perspective, a relay, tense harmony, or previous parts in dialogue. For sure, the use of the past tense for the $S$-succeeding events is not always syntactically determined, but it is clear that there must be some sort of past connection that licenses the past tense, whether by syntax or inference.

(105) a. Han bad mig göra en smörgåstårta så vi **kunde** äta tillsammans med familjen innan han går på krogen med ett par kompisar.
   ‘He asked me to make a sandwich cake so we **could** eat together with the family before he goes to the pub with a couple of friends.’

b. Okej tack för svaret, nej tänkte kolla här i okay thanks for answer-DEF, no thought check here in tråden innan jag köpte något eftersom jag inte är thread-DEF before I **bought** anything because I not am så insatt i priserna.
så familiar in prices-DEF
   ‘Okay thanks for the answer, no I thought I’d check this thread before I **bought** anything because I’m not that familiar with the prices.’

The anticipated past perspective and the other cases of the $S$-succeeding events differ from the $S$-overlapping events with respect to their aktionsart. As with the overlapping cases, the event may be durative as in (106a) below from WebF.
However, counter to the S-overlapping events, it may also be bounded, as in (106b) from WebF. (In the example below, ‘EC’ means ‘European Championship’.)

(106) a. Jaja . . . så att det var fika på fredag på Väla . . . yesyes so that it was ≈coffee on Friday on Väla ska verkligen försöka att komma [...] shall really try to come

‘Okay, so it is coffee at Väla on Friday . . . I’ll really try to come’

b. På vilket sätt kan det hjälpa dig att få reda på hur dags bussen gick till ex. Berlin, om du funderar på att åka till nästa EM?

‘In what way can that help you find out what time the bus went to e.g. Berlin, if you are thinking of going to the next EC?’

Although there are no clear-cut cases of unbounded S-succeeding events in the database, the constructed response to some request of information in (107) below should convince one of their existence. In fact, it seems as if constructions like these may take nearly any type of verb. (The same use of the past tense holds in Swedish as well.)

(107) Sure, I’ll find out \{ how the movie was, what the formula consisted of \}, and tell you!

In sum: The S-succeeding events differ from the S-overlapping events in that both T and E are incongruously placed after S. Consequently, the S-succeeding T must be taken as the general time that the clause is about, rather than the special case of ‘the time of experiencing something of the event.’ Some of these cases may be understood as the anticipated past perspective, where the thematic time is seen as past from a fictive future point of view. When this reading is unavailable, the use of the past tense is less clear, but may be taken to signal that the past tensed clause is relayed, prompted by previous dialogue, or otherwise be treated as tense harmony. Furthermore, the S-succeeding events are more flexible with respect to aktionsart than the S-overlapping cases, and it seems likely that constructions with S-succeeding factual events are fully productive with respect to the verb type.

Even though the S-succeeding events are rare, there is nothing extraordinary about them. It is a recurring phenomenon in Swedish, and possibly in other similarly structured Germanic languages as well. Also, these incongruous factual events of the past tense are more common in WebF than in News; see Table 6.6. In this respect, it is of further interest that the 30 clear-cut cases of S-succeeding events appear in WebF only. One may thus suspect that they are more common in other domains of Swedish. A likely candidate is colloquial
conversation in spoken discourse, for it is very much similar to the colloquial language in WebF. For sure, there are differences between written and spoken discourse, but it seems probable that this type of phenomenon should be at least as common in spoken discourse as in WebF.

7.3 Two common properties for the other incongruous factual events

Besides the linguistic properties that are specific to the relayed and dialogical cases, there are two additional ones that apply to the other incongruous factual events in general. These appear to be less common with the congruous past. The first property is the act of asking questions. Consider below the examples of questions for each type. As for the events of these questions, Pringles *is* a brand of chips, the question *concerns* some school in dialogue, and the first African-American president of America *is* Barack Obama.²

(108) a. VART FAN skrev jag att pringles *var* ett chips?
    where damn wrote I that Pringles *was* a chips
    ‘Where the hell did I write that Pringles *was* a chips?’ (WebF)

    b. Men vad *var* det för skola som frågan *gällde*?
    but what *was* it for school that question-DEF *concerned*
    ‘But what was the kind of school that the question *concerned*?’ (WebF)

    c. Vem *var* USAs förste färgade president?
    ‘Who *was* America’s first colored president?’ (News)

Now, the use of the past tense whilst asking questions may be rationalized with consideration to any type of $T$. In example (108a), the past tense is justified by the fact that the writing experience is in the past. In (108b), the question is anchored in the previous dialogue, and in (108c), Obama was, and is, the first president to any successor (with a past $T$ possibly due to lexical precedence).

The second general property for these types is that the past tense clauses containing the incongruous tense form appear to occur in conjunction with present tense clauses, i.e. in the same sentence, more often than their congruous counterpart does. For instance, consider (109) below containing a present tense main clause, and a subordinate clause with an incongruous form in the past tense.

² The excerpt is from May 2009. Obama took office in January, so he was president at $S$. 
The woman states that she was not welcome back for additional interviews. (News)

In nearly 40% (17/44) of the sentences in the authentic examples of this chapter, there is at least one present tense clause (excluding the one above). This merits investigation, and it will be considered further in the upcoming chapter which compares the lexical and grammatical properties of incongruous tense with those of congruous tense. It begins by comparing some characteristic linguistic properties for the specific incongruous factual past types that have surfaced in this section; see Tables 7.1–7.2, as well as the two general observations on questions and present tense clauses above. However, the comparisons in said chapter cover other relevant phenomena as well, to which we now turn.

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3 See examples: (79a), (80b), (81), (83), (84b), (86a), (87b), (90b), (96), (97a), (100a), (101a), (103a–b), (105a–b), and (106b).
8. Comparisons of congruous and incongruous tense

This chapter deals with research question 3: “Are there lexical or grammatical differences between congruous and incongruous tense use?” These comparisons reveal no categorical difference of importance, yet, as shall be seen, there are certain statistical differences between congruous and incongruous tense. The comparisons are far from exhaustive (cf. Section 5.4) but rather focus mainly on some aforementioned impressions of the corpus data.

Section 8.1 asks whether some of the linguistic properties identified in the previous chapter for different kinds of incongruous factual events in the past tense (cf. Table 7.2 and Section 7.3) are specific to the incongruous cases. Unlike the congruous past, most of these may be paraphrased in the present tense without altering the position of $E$ to $S$. Thus, it is reasonable to ask if there are distributional differences between the incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past regarding these linguistic properties.

Section 8.2 asks whether the choice of verb is as free in clauses with incongruous tense as in the congruous ones. The previous chapter revealed that the anticipated past perspective can appear with any aktionsart (cf. Section 7.2), but the $S$-overlapping factual events must be states, or durative processes of generic meaning or similar. Thus, it is reasonable to ask if such requirements affect the verb selection (i.e. the verb occurring with the tense form in question) of the incongruous past. For contrast, the verb selection of the incongruous present is also investigated, even though there is no particular indication of any deviation of this kind in comparison with the congruous present.

Section 8.3 concerns the incongruous present tense and the common idea that deixis changes from reporter/narrator to the reported or narrated person. It asks if this change can be observed in a distributional difference of personal pronouns between the congruous and the incongruous present tense? One may expect that it does, and, if so, there is quantitative support for theories that assume this change in deixis. It would also lay bare a common characteristic of the incongruous present types that distinguishes them from congruous tense.

The questions are all treated by using the general comparative method for answering research question 3 as outlined in Section 5.4. Yet, the exact procedures for testing them are described at the beginning of each respective section. While there is ample data for the comparisons in Section 8.2, there are several points in Sections 8.1 and 8.3 that rely on relatively small amounts of data. These are in need of additional inferential statistics, but, for simplicity, I will consider such results as descriptive and indicative, and leave further statistical tests aside for future work.
8.1 Incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past

This section asks whether there are distributional differences between the incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past with respect to some of the linguistic properties of the other incongruous factual events identified in Chapter 7. Since the “other” factual events in the past tense are difficult to divide into distinct categories, and since there is some overlap between the evaluative and the modifying past and the relayed events, the investigation has included all types of incongruous factual events in the past tense.

The analyses were based on comparisons of the 5,807 sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the same number of sentences in the congruous past tense. The latter were randomly sampled from both subcorpora, reflecting the number of incongruous cases in News (i.e., 1,672) and WebF (4,135). The comparisons were carried out using Uneek, as described in Section 5.4. To ensure that the choice of corpora did not have a major effect on the result, the procedure was also repeated for each specific subcorpus.

The comparison aimed to test if there were differences with respect to the congruous past tense in general. Another option would have been to sort out the congruous present cases that are paraphrasable in the past tense (and thus incongruous if phrased in the past tense), and contrast these to the incongruous data. This labor-intensive route has not been chosen here, but a comparison of that kind would probably reveal a set with substantially larger differences than the more general comparison opted for here, e.g., in the distribution of past time adverbials which forms the most lucid property of the congruous past (as shall be seen in Section 8.1.3).

Chapter 7 contains several properties associated with the S-overlapping events, but the comparisons of this section have been limited to a set of properties that are easily analyzed. These include adversative conjunctions, adverbs of attitude, adverbs of time, and interjections, which for instance can appear with the dialogical past (cf. Section 7.1.2), as well as the two properties that occur with all of the incongruous factual types, i.e., questions, and the presence of one or several present-tense clauses in the sentence context (cf. Section 7.3).

The details for the comparisons as well as the results are given in Sections 8.1.1–8.1.6 as indicated above. Closing remarks on the results are given in Section 8.1.7.

8.1.1 Adversatives

Adversative words are often found with the dialogical past, in constructions such as: “(but/and) it was x that we discussed (not y)”. The presence of such words have been considered by comparing a selection of words with adversative meaning over congruity. This includes the conjunctions men ‘but’, utan ‘but’ and fast ‘though’, as well the adverbs: ändå ‘still’ and dock ‘however’,
and däremot ‘on the contrary’.\(^1\) The result of that comparison is presented below in Table 8.1, i.e. the number of adversative words over congruity.\(^2\)

**Table 8.1. The number of adversative words in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (News&WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adversative word</th>
<th>congruous</th>
<th>incongruous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>men ‘but’</td>
<td>1 245 (50%)</td>
<td>1 267 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utan ‘but’</td>
<td>161 (48%)</td>
<td>173 (52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fast ‘though’</td>
<td>30 (45%)</td>
<td>37 (55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ändå ‘still’</td>
<td>90 (46%)</td>
<td>106 (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dock ‘however’</td>
<td>83 (45%)</td>
<td>101 (55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>däremot ‘on the contrary’</td>
<td>25 (47%)</td>
<td>28 (53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>1 634 (49%)</td>
<td>1 712 (51%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.1 shows the frequencies of three adversative conjunctions and three adversative adverbs. It may be observed that there are no notable differences in frequency between the congruous and incongruous data, and the pattern is consistent over text type; see appendix 10.2 Tables 10.4–10.5. The adversative property is simply a common feature for both congruities which may be used in congruous settings as well, as in (110) below for instance.

(110) Äh, nu dansar jag igen. Det var kryckor en sommar, men jag kunde ju ändå vara med, skrattar Alf.

‘Nah, now I’m dancing again. It was crutches one summer, but I could, you know, still join in despite that, laughs Alf.’ (News)

In sum, these adversative forms may function as indicators that the event is anchored in dialogue, but they are not a general feature of the incongruous factual events in the past tense. It is possible, however, that a distinguishing result may be gained by considering a more specific comparison on a selection of incongruous and congruous cases of the adversative construction (x, not y).

### 8.1.2 Adverbs of attitude

The adverbs of attitude have been considered by counting the number of attitude adverbials in general, as well as the top five most common attitude adver-

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1 The comparison operated on *lemmas*, i.e. the canonical form, or dictionary form of a word.
2 For simplicity, I have chosen to compare proportions from equal sample sizes. While this approach offers certain conveniences and simplifications, another reasonable approach would have been to compare normalized samples of varying sizes, e.g. by counting the number of occurrences of some word of interest per 1 000 words for each congruity.
The comparison of the number of attitude adverbials (MA) over congruity reveals that 60% of them (1 376 out of 2 281 cases), are found with incongruous factual events. The differences between certain adverbs are shown in Table 8.2 next, where the most notable differences are rendered in boldface. By ‘most notable,’ I will henceforth mean 60 percent or more, which is an arbitrary figure of convenience. Only a more detailed analysis could guarantee that the result is statistically significant, but since the investigation is based on a large sample, it is still likely that the differences in boldface (especially those in relatively large numbers) are representative of the investigated text types, and perhaps of Swedish in general.

### Table 8.2. The number of the top five adverbs of attitude in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (NewsWebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rank</th>
<th>attitude adverb</th>
<th>congruous N (N%)</th>
<th>incongruous N (N%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ju ‘≈ you know’</td>
<td>282 (41%)</td>
<td>406 (59%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kanske ‘≈ maybe’</td>
<td>93 (31%)</td>
<td>204 (69%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>väl ‘≈ well’</td>
<td>62 (30%)</td>
<td>145 (70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>verkligen ‘≈ really’</td>
<td>39 (42%)</td>
<td>54 (58%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>nog ‘≈ probably’</td>
<td>27 (34%)</td>
<td>53 (66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td></td>
<td>503 (37%)</td>
<td>862 (63%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems clear from the table above that discourse markers like väl ‘well’ and markers of uncertainty like kanske ‘maybe’ are more common with the incongruous past than they are with the congruous past. By further investigation, the difference could possibly be attributed to the dialogical past, perhaps in conjunction with relayed modal verbs like skulle ‘should’.

### 8.1.3 Adverbs of time

The adverbs of time have been considered by counting the number of time adverbials in general as well as the top five most common time adverbials. Uneek shows that only 37% of the time adverbials (4 236 out of 11 345) occur with the incongruous factual events in the past tense. Consider also Table 8.3

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3 This step operated on the dependency label for attitude adverbials (MA), and for the top five adverbials, it operated on the lemmas found under that label. (Cf. Section 5.4.1 for the labels of the various annotation schemes.)

4 The distributions of attitude adverbs in News and WebF are reflected in each subcorpus. In News, 65% of the attitude adverbials are found with the incongruous factual past (139 out of 215 cases), and for WebF it is 60% (1 231 out of 2 049).

5 This step operated on the dependency label for time adverbials (TA), and, for the top five adverbials, on the lemmas found under that label.
below which holds the numbers of the top five most frequent time adverbs in between the congruities.

**Table 8.3.** The number of the top five adverbs of time in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (NewsWebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N\%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rank</th>
<th>time adverb</th>
<th>congruous N (N%)</th>
<th>incongruous N (N%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>när ‘when’</td>
<td>1 065 (72%)</td>
<td>406 (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>då ‘then’</td>
<td>706 (65%)</td>
<td>384 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nu ‘now’</td>
<td>377 (41%)</td>
<td>541 (59%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sen ‘later’</td>
<td>362 (62%)</td>
<td>222 (38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>sedan ‘after/later’</td>
<td>317 (63%)</td>
<td>187 (37%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results in Table 8.3 suggests that the incongruous factual events are more underspecified in time than their congruous counterparts.\(^6\) This seems reasonable since there are recurring cases that often appear without time adverbials. For such, it seems unimportant, or even infelicitous, to specify when the event is taking place, since it is either obvious from, or inconsequential to the situation. Consider for instance the constructed infelicitous examples of the evaluative past below. (The infelicitous forms are marked by an octothorp.)

(111) The book was great \{# in 2022 # in my youth\}! I just love it!

The evaluative past is not the only case where such modification is inappropriate. Additional examples are given below, dialogical as well as relayed.

(112) a. What was unreasonable # recently, however, was your premise.

    \# In 1984 \# In my youth \# Then

b. , the book described that the universe was expanding.

As for (111) one need not specify when the book is good. The point here is simply to signal that the book has been experienced, as opposed to the present tense which may be used to state that a book is (generally considered) great,

\(^6\) The distributions of time adverbs in News and WebF are reflected in each subcorpus. In News, 39% of the time adverbs are found with the incongruous factual past (849 out of 2 190 cases), and for WebF it is 37% (3 387 out of 9 155). In addition, Uneek shows that 58% of the space adverbials (2 874 out of 4 998) occur with the congruous past. Currently, I have no answer as to why the incongruous past is underspecified in this respect.
even if the speaker has not actually read the book, e.g. “It is a great book (although I have not read it myself)”. Similar reasoning holds for (112a–b). It is obvious to the members of the forum that the premise was, or is, unreasonable in the current discussion, and it does not always matter if the book describes its content now or then, for in a sense, it always does. What matters is that the writer signals that the event is experientially grounded in the past.

By contrast, the present time adverbial *nu* ‘now’ often occurs with the incongruous past. The high frequency may be due to the use of time adverbials as discourse markers in the dialogical past (cf. Section 7.1.2). Another possible explanation for this may be found in the previous observation for the other incongruous factual events, namely that the past-tense clauses containing the incongruous tense form appear to occur in conjunction with present tense clauses more often than clauses in the congruous past do. (Cf. Section 7.3.) The validity of that observation is tested in Section 8.1.6.

8.1.4 Interjections

The interjections have been considered by counting the number of interjections, as well as the top ten interjections. There are 1 365 interjections in the context of the incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past. Fifty-two percent (704 cases) appear in incongruous contexts, and this pattern holds over the specific text types as well. These even distributions between congruities hold for some common interjections in the data, with a few exceptions as seen from Table 8.4 with the top ten interjections in the subset.

Table 8.4 below shows that some interjections connecting to previous elements of dialogue and the emotional outbursts associated with the evaluative past, are more popular with the incongruous past. Indeed, as we have seen, these are found with incongruous examples such as those below from WebF.

(113) a. Tack, det *var* jättebra info.
   ‘Thanks, that *was* great info.’

b. Oj det *var* en rejäl tillväxt!
   ‘Wow, that *was* a sizeable growth!’

Now, while interjections like these may be good predictors for dialogically anchored thematic times or surprise, they work similarly for the congruous past. So their presence, as suggested by Table 8.4, should matter little for deciding on tense congruity, for they may just as well appear with the congruous past. The examples below from WebF concludes the result for the interjections.

---

7 This step operated on the POS tag for interjections (IN), and on the top ten interjections found under that tag.
8 There are 1 299 interjections in WebF, and 674 (52%) of these are found with the incongruous cases. In News, there are 66 cases out of which 30 (46%) appear with incongruous factual events.
Table 8.4. The number of the top ten interjections in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (NewsWebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rank</th>
<th>interjection</th>
<th>congruous N (N%)</th>
<th>incongruous N (N%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ja ‘yes’</td>
<td>137 (51%)</td>
<td>131 (49%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nej ‘no’</td>
<td>61 (50%)</td>
<td>60 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>jo ‘yes’</td>
<td>37 (46%)</td>
<td>44 (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>haha ‘haha’</td>
<td>28 (40%)</td>
<td>42 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>va ‘what’</td>
<td>44 (65%)</td>
<td>24 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>oj ‘wow’, ‘oops’</td>
<td>16 (40%)</td>
<td>24 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>fan ‘damn’</td>
<td>49 (58%)</td>
<td>35 (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>hej ‘hi’</td>
<td>20 (39%)</td>
<td>31 (61%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>jaha ‘oh well’</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>hm ‘hm’</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| total: | 401 (50%) | 409 (50%) |

(114) Oj, jag glömde ”tax” i rubriken ...
‘Oops, I forgot “tax” in the header ...’

(115) [Minja:] men hittat den har vi ju i varje fall gjort.... but found it have we at least in any case done
[lovan:] Åh, så skönt Minja att ni hittade den!
oh so nice Minja that you found it
‘[Minja:] but we have found it anyway .... [lovan:] Oh, so nice Minja that you found it!’

8.1.5 Questions
The questions have been investigated by counting the number of question marks over congruity. There are 1 004 question marks in the sentences of the congruous past and the incongruous factual events in the past tense. Of these, 682 (68%) are found with the latter type. This preference for question marks is visible in each specific subcorpus as well. This means that it is more common to find questions with incongruous factual events than it is with the congruous past. Consider for instance the incongruous examples below. Example (116a) concerns Barack Obama’s opponent, John McCain, still alive at

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9 The sample from News contains 66 cases, out which 54 occur with the incongruous ones (81%). In WebF, there are 938 cases, of which 628 are found with the incongruous ones (67%).

121
the time of speech, and (116b) is about a character in Jean M. Auel’s novel The Valley of Horses whose name is Jondalar.\(^{10}\)

(116) a. Vann gjorde Barack Obama, men vad **hette** won did Barack Obama but what **was called** republikanen som han besegrade? republican-DEF that he defeated

   ‘Barack Obama won, but what **was** the name of the Republican that he defeated?’

   (News)

b. **Hette** han Jondalar förresten? **was-called** he Jondalar even

   ‘**Was** his name even Jondalar?’

   (WebF)

The difference in proportion is not entirely clear, since question marks are commonly used with the congruous past as well. One possibility that seems reasonable, though difficult to verify, is that we are more inclined to ask about events that are ongoing and thus present at the point of speech, than we are for terminated past events (perhaps due to some norm of relevance). The incongruous relayed events and the dialogical past are means to express S-overlapping events with a past thematic time, and, as such, they may be useful in conversation for maintaining an event of present relevance and a past time anchor while signalling evidentiality or regulating the dialogue. This possibility of present-time relevance is somewhat strengthened by the large proportion of the adverb *nu* ‘now’ (cf. Section 8.1.3), and, as we shall see in the next section, perhaps by a rather large proportion of co-occurring clauses in the present tense.

8.1.6 Co-occurring present-tense clauses

The presence of present-tense clauses that co-occur in sentences with clauses in the past tense was investigated by counting their number for each congruity.\(^{11}\) And, as mentioned in Section 7.3, the presence of a present-tense clause seems more common in sentences with the incongruous past tense as in (117a) below, than in sentences with the congruous past as in (117b).

(117) a. Använder man sig av de tre tabeller som en vänlig chaufför sagt behövdes för denna sträcka finner man en uppförande paus på 45 minuter i Hallinden om det är helg. ‘If you use the three timetables that a friendly driver said **were** needed for this route, you will find a refreshing break of 45 minutes in Hallinden if it is a weekend.’

   (News)

10 Example (116a) is from December 28, 2008 and McCain died on August 25, 2018.

11 More specifically, this was done with respect to their designated morphosyntactic labels (VB.PRS.- -) for the present tense, and (VB.PRT.- -) for the past tense. The final slot (- -) contained verbs either in active form (AKT), or with s-endings (SFO).
b. Och omspelsmatchen förlorade vi, säger Carnbäck.
‘And we lost the rematch, says Carnbäck.’ (News)

There are 12 036 present tense forms in the data, and 6 953 (58%) of them appear with an incongruous factual event, and the proportion is similar for News and WebF in isolation.12 The proportion (though not 60%) is odd as to the tendency for tense harmony in discourse and in indirect speech (cf. Section 3.4.2). Just about three out of five present-tense clauses in the sentences of the past tense data appear with incongruous factual events.

The result above implies that incongruous tense forms are used more often to break with tense harmony in the past tense rather than to maintain it. Tense harmony is kept if there is a sequence of similarly tensed clauses. Now, if there are a larger number of present-tense forms in sentences with incongruous cases than there are for the congruous ones, the former are more prone to shifts in tense. Thus, on the sentence level, the incongruous past seems to break tense harmony in the past tense more often than the congruous past.

In addition, the larger proportion of present-tense clauses in the data, may help explain three other things. The first concerns the larger distribution of the present time adverbial nu ‘now’ in the incongruous past tense (cf. Section 8.1.3), the second the larger distribution of questions in the incongruous past tense (cf. Section 8.1.5), and the third the transition pairs (cf. example (92) in Section 7.1.1). Examples with broken tense harmony are given below for the incongruous past with nu ’now’ (118a), where the posts are a hoax; for the question in (118b), on whether they know something of a beetle; and for the present-tense clause in (118c), where the crisis has been caused by extremists.

Example (118) a. Nu fattar ni alla då, att alla dom här inläggen var bluff.
‘Now you all realize, that all these posts were a hoax.’ (WebF)

b. Visste ni att tordyvlar lägger sina ägg i bajs?
‘Did you know that dung beetles lay their eggs in poo?’ (News)

c. På söndagen sade G8-ledarna i ett gemensamt uttalande att krisen i mellanöstern hade orsakats av ”extremister” och att Israel har rätt att försvara sig.
‘On Sunday, the G8 leaders stated in a joint statement that the crisis in the Middle East had been caused by “extremists” and that Israel has the right to defend itself.’ (News)

The statistical difference above makes sense considering the S-overlapping events. For if their temporal meaning is both past and present, it is reasonable to assume that the choice of tense in adjacent sentences is relatively free.

12 In WebF, 5 829 (57%) out of 10 215 present tense forms occur with the incongruous relayed event. In News, 1 124 (62%) out of 1 821 occur with the incongruous relayed event.
8.1.7 Closing remarks

Sections 8.1.1–8.1.6 above treated the question of whether there are distributional differences between the incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past with respect to some of the linguistic properties of the other incongruous factual events identified in Chapter 7. And even if the results reveal no categorical difference between the incongruous and congruous cases, there are some markers that are notably more common with either congruity. With respect to research question 3, this indicates that there are lexical and grammatical differences between the congruous past tense and the incongruous factual events in the past tense. Some noteworthy differences are summarized in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5. The number of properties for tense congruence in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (News&WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>congruous</th>
<th></th>
<th>incongruous</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N (N%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude adverbials</td>
<td>905 (40%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 376 (60%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time adverbials</td>
<td>7 109 (63%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 236 (37%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>questions</td>
<td>322 (32%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>682 (68%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present-tense clause (broken tense harmony)</td>
<td>5 083 (42%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 953 (58%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data offers no categorical results on these matters, and I believe that such results are nowhere to be found, not least because there are many congruous cases with thematic times that are relayed and dialogical as well. This may be observed, for instance, in the examples below of congruous cases with relaying and dialogical $T$s.

(119)  a. According to Kim, the shop was closed yesterday. (Relayed)

       b. No, she replied to my post before his post, not after. (Dialogical)

These thematic times occur with both congruous and incongruous cases, and this shows that there is nothing irregular about these thematic times per se. Consequently, the fact that incongruous tense is common, and that these types of $T$ regularly occur with both congruities, strongly suggests that the incongruous factual events of the past tense are regular in Swedish. However, before jumping the gun, let us first consider the possibility that incongruous tense is limited to specific sets of verb types. This possibility is tested in the next section.
8.2 Verb selection of incongruous and congruous tense

This section deals with the question of whether the verb selection in clauses with incongruous tense differs from those with congruous tense. Naturally, the relayed and dialogical S-overlapping events presuppose a durative meaning of the verb. However, in what follows, a statistical analysis is carried out to find out if this or any other peculiarity can be discerned in the choice of verb on a more general level. The statistical analysis focuses on two specific inquiries: (i) To what extent do the congruous and incongruous tenses select certain verbs?, and (ii) To what extent are the congruous and incongruous tenses’ selection restricted to certain verbs? The latter inquiry has identified verbs that only occur once and it has been supplemented with a substitution test to find out whether such verbs are possible in the opposite congruity as well. The statistical method is further explained in Section 8.2.1 below, while Sections 8.2.2 and 8.2.3 present the results for the past and present tenses respectively.

8.2.1 Statistical method

The question about the tenses’ verb selection has been considered by comparing various sets of incongruous and congruous verb lemmas in the database. Sparv’s lexical annotation provided the lemmas for the finite verbs which have been subjected to various comparisons by Uneek and by the aid of the built-in functions of SQLite (in the corpus). These comparisons are explained below. Further, the choice of lemmas, i.e. the dictionary form of a word, over lexemes, i.e. units of lexical meaning such as work₁ ‘to labor for wages’, or work₂ ‘to function according to plan’, was taken on the grounds of practicality. A comparison of lemmas was deemed sufficient for identifying any difference in verb selection, while the lemmas’ lexemes were deemed to add unnecessary complexity to the test. Also, observe that I will simply speak of verbs instead of lemmas in this and the upcoming sections on verb selection.¹³

Question (i), “To what extent do the congruous and incongruous tenses select certain verbs?”, was answered by randomly sampling an even number of congruous and incongruous verbs, and by listing the verb types, x, for each congruity in falling order of frequency, y, and by comparing the slope, k, from the position of the first verb type (with the highest frequency) in the list to the position of the last one (with the lowest frequency). A mock example is given in Figure 8.1 below which compares the slopes for two such lists.

The slope was calculated as 
\[ k = \frac{y_2 - y_1}{x_2 - x_1} = \frac{\Delta y}{\Delta x}. \]

The ks were compared and interpreted as follows: the lower the k, the more densely packed are the verb instances over verb types, i.e. the more selective the tense type. Thus, in the

¹³ The nonfinite verbs are not subject of investigation here due to the predictable positioning of their event, E_main, relative to the finite event, E_aux. In this sense, they are of little consequence for the account of incongruous tense.
made-up example above in Figure 8.1, incongruous tense has a lower coefficient, \( k \), than congruous tense. The former is therefore deemed to be more selective of verb types. Conversely, congruous tense is deemed less selective due to its higher coefficient. (There are other methods available, but this one was preferred since it allows for a concrete visualization of the difference by means of a plot chart.) Furthermore, since the analysis above lacks information on which the most common verbs are, I will present the top five most selected verbs of each congruity as a concrete supplement.

Question (ii), “To what extent are the congruous and incongruous tenses’ selection restricted to certain verbs?”, has been treated in two steps. The first step (ii.a) concerns the verb types that occur only once, the hapaxes. The second step (ii.b) concerns the verb types that are found to be unique to each congruity. Step (ii.a) operates on the same even dataset as in question (i), while step (ii.b) operates on the complete set of verbs in the database for each tense type and congruity.

As for (ii.a), hapaxes have been used in several works to interpret the productivity of a construction (e.g. Baayen & Lieber 1991; Aronoff & Lindsay 2014). The basic idea is: the more hapaxes, the larger the productivity. So the more productive a construction of tense morpheme and verb stem is, the less restricted it should be in its selection of verb types. By comparing the hapax proportions over tense congruity, one can at least ascertain that the congruity with the largest proportion of hapaxes is also the least restricted.

As for (ii.b), the unique verb types returned by Uneek for each congruity were subject to manual qualitative assessment. For practical reasons, a subset of unique verbs was chosen for analysis. The top five most frequent, yet
unique, verb types for one congruity were tested in some constructions typical
for the other congruity by means of a substitution test. If the substitutions were
deeded linguistically acceptable, it was taken to suggest that the uniqueness
was accidental; if unacceptable, the verb was restricted.

8.2.2 Verb selection of the past-tense congruities

Let us begin by examining the coefficients of the slopes for the congruous and
incongruous past with respect to question (i): To what extent do the congruous
and incongruous tenses select certain verbs? The answer is provided by the
coefficients corresponding to the dashed lines in Figure 8.2 below. The lower
coefficient for the incongruous past shows that its average verb type packs
more instances than the average one does for the congruous past. Thus, the
incongruous past is selective to a larger extent than the congruous past.14

![Figure 8.2. The slope coefficients for the congruous and incongruous past](image)

Note: Each dot stands for a verb type. The height of the dot on the
y-axis marks the times it occurs in the data. The
more frequent types appear to the left, and
the less frequent to the right. Blue marks the
congruous verb types, and red the incongruous
ones. The dashed lines mark the slope between
the rightmost and the leftmost verb type.

The top five most selected verbs for each respective congruity are presented in
Table 8.6 below along with their occurrences in absolute numbers (N) and in
relative numbers (N%). Observe that while the top five verbs of the congruous
past make up 29% of the 11 299 congruous cases, the top five incongruous
cases make up 77% of the 11 299 cases, which is considerably more.

However, the results in Table 8.6 may be further nuanced by answering
question (ii): to what extent are the congruities restricted to certain verbs? Let
us therefore turn to the verbs that occur only once, the hapaxes.

14 Also, it is worth mentioning that this difference is reflected in the subcorpora as well. Compare
the incongruous past in News, $k \approx -3.5$, with its congruous counterpart in News, $k \approx -0.3$, and
the incongruous past in WebF $k \approx -9.2$, with its congruous counterpart in WebF, $k \approx -1.0$. 
Table 8.6. The top five verbs for each congruity in the past tense in absolute numbers (N) and relative numbers (N%) for the verb type’s proportion in each congruity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>congruous</th>
<th></th>
<th>incongruous</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>top five verbs</td>
<td>N (N%)</td>
<td>top five verbs</td>
<td>N (N%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vara ‘be’</td>
<td>1 184 (11%)</td>
<td>skola ‘shall’</td>
<td>4 130 (37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>få ‘get’</td>
<td>645 (6%)</td>
<td>vara ‘be’</td>
<td>2 120 (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha ‘have’</td>
<td>602 (5%)</td>
<td>bōra ‘ought to’</td>
<td>1 117 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bli ‘become’</td>
<td>512 (5%)</td>
<td>ha ‘have’</td>
<td>1 049 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>såga ‘say’</td>
<td>357 (3%)</td>
<td>tänka ‘think’</td>
<td>286 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>3 300 (29%)</td>
<td>8 702 (77%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As previously mentioned, the more hapaxes, the larger the productivity. With this in mind, consider Figures 8.3–8.4 below where the points to the right of the vertical dashed lines mark the hapaxes for the congruous and the incongruous past respectively. (PST is short for the past tense.)

Figure 8.3. Congruous hapaxes (PST)  Figure 8.4. Incongruous hapaxes (PST)

The incongruous hapax proportion is 53% (hapaxes/verb types = 253/477 ≈ 0.53) in comparison to the congruous hapax proportion which is 52% (797/1546 ≈ 0.52). This suggests that the productivity of the incongruous past tense is on par with the congruous past. Therefore, one should be careful to interpret the incongruous past in general as limited or restricted to certain verbs, let alone to interpret it as a marginal phenomenon. To be sure, there are cases of the incongruous past that appear to have a limited verb selection such as those of the evaluative past (Section 4.1.1), but the same can be said for the congruous past; take the existential construction, for instance.

---

15 The hapax proportions are on par with each other across text type as well. For News, the congruous hapax proportion is 62% (487/780 ≈ 0.62) as is the incongruous hapax proportion (157/253 ≈ 0.62). For WebF, the congruous one is 54% (574/1061 ≈ 0.54) and the incongruous one 56% (198/354 ≈ 0.56).
Next, we turn to the verb types that are unique to each congruity. Uneek returns 2,419 unique verb types for the congruous past, and 48 unique types for the incongruous past. The top five of these are presented below:

**Table 8.7. The top five unique verb types for the congruous and incongruous past**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>congruous verbs</th>
<th>incongruous verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ringa ‘call’&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;förregå ‘precede’&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;starta ‘start’&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;inbegripa ‘comprise’&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;flytta ‘move’&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;symbolisera ‘symbolize’&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;lämna ‘leave’&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;tåla ‘endure’&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;testa ‘test’&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;digga ‘like’&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A striking difference between the congruous and the incongruous verbs in Table 8.7 is that while the latter are stative, one normally expects the former in clauses expressing bounded processes or punctual events. This result is perhaps not surprising, considering the fact that the S-overlapping factual events in the past tense extend from a T in the past over the point of speech, which implies a preference for unbounded durative verbs. However, a substitution test shows that you cannot group all clauses in the incongruous past tense together.

First, the choice of verb in cases of temporal dislocation does not seem to be limited by the aktionsart; cf. the constructed cases in (120).

(120) Jag önskar att du

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>called</th>
<th>started</th>
<th>moved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ringde&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;startade&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;flyttade&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;lämnade&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;testade&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;lämnade&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I wish that you

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>den</th>
<th>it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;nu&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;now&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;i framtiden&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;in the future&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second, the S-succeeding events are also flexible with respect to aktionsart, and the congruous verbs in Table 8.7 above can readily appear in clauses of the anticipated past perspective. Consider the made-up examples in (121).
Berätta, imorgon när det har hänt,

‘Tell me, tomorrow when it has happened,

how it rang
how it started
where they moved it
where they left it
why they tested it

Third, it actually seems possible to use all kinds of verbs even in $S$-overlapping events of the relayed type, provided that the relayed event is generic, habitual, iterative, or progressive, or that it is mentioned to take place within a recording (cf. Section 7.1.1); see constructed examples (122–123) below. This also applies to the dialogical past as in (124).

(122) De sade att de

‘They said that they

called
started
moved
tested

it.’

(123) Huvudpersonen

‘The protagonist,

called
started
moved
tested

it in the movie.’
Thus, according to the substitution tests in (120–124) above, the verb selection seems on the whole free for some common instances of the incongruous past. However, the congruous and dynamic verbs of Table 8.7 can be used incongruously only when a generic or habitual interpretation (or similar) is possible. If one were to remove the generic or habitual modifiers in (122) and (124), it would more likely evoke a congruous reading. So, while the choice of verb is not generally limited, it is clear that certain verb types are overrepresented with the incongruous factual events in the past tense (cf. Figure 8.2 above). Given the substitution tests above, and the durative nature of the S-overlapping events, it seems possible that the difference in verb selection could be, at least in part, explained by a restriction to durative aktionsarten for the incongruous factual events.

The question now remains if the verbs that are unique to the incongruous past can be placed in a typical congruous template. This is shown to be possible in the next example.

(125) Det föregicks inbegreps symboliserades tåldes diggades sällan av sådana förr i tiden.

‘It was seldom preceded involved symbolized endured liked by such back in the days.’

To summarize, the results are indicative of several things. The answer to question (i) is that the incongruous past is selective to a larger extent than the congruous past. This may be observed in the latter’s lower slope coefficient. However, this does not mean that the incongruous past appears with a very limited set of verbs, for the answer to question (ii) shows that the proportion of hapax verbs in the incongruous past is one percentage point larger than in
the congruous past. In this respect, their productivity is basically the same. And even if the incongruous past seems to favor certain verb types, it cannot be restricted to certain verb types if it is just as productive as the congruous past. Moreover, a substitution test shows that the most common verbs that are unique to each congruity may be used in the context of the other. This further suggests that neither congruity is restricted in principle. However, while the incongruous constructions may appear with any verb type, it is likely that some of them have restrictions with respect to aktionsart, although this possibility is in need of further investigation. In short, the incongruous past tense is more selective of certain verb types than the congruous past but may occur with any verb type, yet with possible restrictions on aktionsart. And as with congruous tense, some constructions are specific in their verb selection.

8.2.3 Verb selection of the present-tense congruities

By comparing the coefficients for the congruous and incongruous past, the previous section shows that the latter is more selective of verb types than the former. By contrast, consider the coefficients for News and WebF in Figure 8.5 below where the verb selection is more even.

---

**Note:** Each dot stands for a verb type. The height of the dot on the y-axis marks the times it occurs in the data. The more frequent types appear to the left, and the less frequent to the right. Blue marks the congruous verb types, and red the incongruous ones. The dashed lines mark the slope between the rightmost and the leftmost verb type.

*Figure 8.5.* The slope coefficients for the congruous and incongruous present

According to the slopes in Figure 8.5, the incongruous present is slightly less selective of verb types than the congruous present. The top five most selected verbs for each respective congruity are presented in Table 8.8 along with their absolute and relative frequency in the data.

Observe that while the top five verbs of the congruous present in the table above make up 45% of the 16 233 congruous cases, the top five incongruous
Table 8.8. The top five verbs for each congruity in the present tense in absolute numbers (N) and relative numbers (N%) for the verb type’s proportion in each congruity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>congruous</th>
<th></th>
<th>incongruous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>top five verbs</td>
<td>N (N%)</td>
<td>top five verbs</td>
<td>N (N%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vara ‘be’</td>
<td>3 687 (23%)</td>
<td>vara ‘be’</td>
<td>2 628 (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha ‘have’</td>
<td>1 328 (8%)</td>
<td>säga ‘say’</td>
<td>1 470 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunna ‘can’</td>
<td>1 006 (6%)</td>
<td>ha ‘have’</td>
<td>1 357 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skola ‘shall’</td>
<td>847 (5%)</td>
<td>kunna ‘can’</td>
<td>535 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>få ‘get’</td>
<td>425 (3%)</td>
<td>skola ‘shall’</td>
<td>494 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>7 293 (45%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 484 (40%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cases make up fewer, namely 40% of the 16 233 cases.\textsuperscript{16} These differences are considerably smaller than they are with the past-tense congruities, and there is no apparent cause for this discrepancy.

Let us now consider question (ii), regarding the verb type restrictions by comparing the hapax proportions in Figures 8.6–8.7 below. Again, the points to the right of the vertical dashed lines mark the hapaxes for the congruous and the incongruous past respectively. (PRS is short for the present tense.)

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure86.png}
\caption{Congruous hapaxes (PRS)}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure87.png}
\caption{Incongruous hapaxes (PRS)}
\end{figure}

Figures 8.6–8.7 show that the hapaxes constitutes 52% of the congruous verb types for the present tense \((684/1319 \approx 0.52)\) while the hapaxes for the incongruous types constitutes 52% \((820/1582 \approx 0.52)\). Like the hapaxes for the past tense, this suggests that the congruous and incongruous present are equally productive.\textsuperscript{17}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure88.png}
\caption{Congruous hapaxes (PRS)}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure89.png}
\caption{Incongruous hapaxes (PRS)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{16} It is also worth noting that the tenses’ verb selectiveness holds for WebF and News as well. Compare the coefficient for the incongruous present in News, \(k \approx -1.6\), to the congruous present, \(k \approx -2.6\). and, the incongruous present in WebF \(k \approx -0.5\), to the congruous present, \(k \approx -1.0\).

\textsuperscript{17} The hapax proportions are similar over text type. For News, the congruous hapax proportion is 50% \((627/1266 \approx 0.50)\) and the incongruous hapax proportion 53% \((762/1452 \approx 0.53)\). For WebF, the congruous one is 62% \((154248\approx 0.62)\) and the incongruous one 65% \((193296\approx 0.65)\).
As for the verbs that are unique to each congruity, the congruous present data holds 992 cases compared to the 484 cases in the incongruous present. The top five of these are given in the next table, but they do not obviously account for the difference in verb selection between the congruities.

Table 8.9. The top five unique verb types for the congruous and incongruous present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>congruous verbs</th>
<th>incongruous verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hata ‘hate’</td>
<td>konstatera ‘state’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lida ‘suffer’</td>
<td>gripa ‘seize’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>få nog ‘have enough’</td>
<td>förneka ‘deny’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sända ‘send’</td>
<td>poängtera ‘point out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hålla tummarna ‘keep fingers crossed’</td>
<td>berömma ‘praise’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, let us test by substitution if the congruous verbs above may be placed in the made-up contexts of the historical present and direct speech below.

(126) När Charlotte gör entré snyftar Werther

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jag hatar mig} \\
\text{Jag lider så} \\
\text{Jag får aldrig nog} \\
\text{Jag sänder efter vin} \\
\text{Jag håller tummarna}
\end{align*}
\]

‘When Charlotte enters Werther sobs

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I hate myself} \\
\text{I suffer so} \\
\text{I never get enough} \\
\text{I am sending after wine} \\
\text{I keep my fingers crossed}
\end{align*}
\]

The substitution test above is positive. Now, the same is shown to be the case for the incongruous verbs in the following made-up congruous cases:

(127) Jaha, här står du och

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{konstaterar saker} \\
\text{griper dagen} \\
\text{förnekar saker} \\
\text{poängterar saker} \\
\text{berömmer osten}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Well well, here you stand

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{establishing things} \\
\text{seizing the day} \\
\text{denying things} \\
\text{pointing things out} \\
\text{complementing the cheese}
\end{align*}
\]

The substitution tests in (126–127) hold. This suggests that the verb selection is free for some general cases of the incongruous present.
In sum, the results indicate that the answer to question (i) is that the congruous present is only slightly more selective of certain verbs than the incongruous present. This is seen from congruous present’s lower slope coefficient. In this sense, the relation between present tense congruities forms the opposite from that of the past tense, yet to an extent which is likely to be negligible since it may very well be explained by other factors such as random variance. As for question (ii), the equal proportion of hapax verbs in each congruity suggests that they are equally productive. It would therefore be difficult to argue that the verb selection of the incongruous present is more restricted than that of the congruous present. Also, the result of the substitution test indicates that the verb selection is free for common constructions of either congruity.

Even if the similar statistics for the present-tense congruities are to be expected, the result is not without practical use. In a sense, these statistics signal that there is nothing out of the ordinary, and as such they constitute a benchmark for “normal” verb selection. Against this benchmark, however, it is clear that the difference in verb selection between the congruous and incongruous past merits further investigation.

8.3 Deictic contrasts across congruity in the present tense

The third question is whether a change in deixis, from reporter/narrator to the reported or narrated person, may be observed in a distributional difference of personal pronouns between the congruous and the incongruous present tense. For ease of reading, and with consideration to the ambiguity of certain forms, the question has focused on a limited set of pronouns. These are the subject forms of the first-person pronoun, jag ‘I’, and vi ‘we’, and the third-person singular pronouns han ‘he’, and hon ‘she’, and I will assume that the remaining first- and third-person pronouns occur at a similar frequency. Also, in the comparisons performed by Uneek as described next, I have used the lemma of the deictic expressions as provided by the lexical annotation of Sparv.

The selection of deictic expressions has been subject to two general comparisons. In the first, the 7,894 cases of direct speech were compared to an equal number of randomly sampled congruous present cases from both News and WebF. In the second, the 7,811 cases of the historical present were compared to an equal number of randomly sampled congruous present cases from both News and WebF. In order to exclude effects of text type, I have performed supplementing comparisons on News and WebF respectively; these were also based on random samples of even numbers. Furthermore, since the number of cases for the annalistic present is rather small, I have assumed that its behavior is similar to that of the other incongruous present types. For, as previously indicated, it displays the same illusion of now as the historical present, and a similar use of reporting verbs as direct speech (cf. Section 4.1).
The comparisons on the deictic expressions of person are organized in two sections. Section 8.3.1 presents the distributions of the deictic expressions in direct speech and in the congruous present. This is followed by Section 8.3.2, which covers the distributions in the historical and the congruous present. Section 8.3.3 discusses the result of the comparisons and elucidates the meaning of the difference in use of personal pronouns between the congruous and incongruous present tense.

8.3.1 Deictic expressions and direct speech
The result of the comparison of deictic expressions over congruity is presented below in Table 8.10. This comparison concerns direct speech and the congruous present from both News and WebF. Again, I will highlight a result if its proportion is 60 percent or more and refer to it as a notable difference, without claims of statistical significance.

Table 8.10. Deictic expressions in 7,894 sentences with the congruous present, and in an equal number of sentences with direct speech (News&WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>deictic expressions</th>
<th>congruous</th>
<th>incongruous</th>
<th>row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jag ‘I’</td>
<td>1,024 (22%)</td>
<td>3,628 (78%)</td>
<td>4,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi ‘we’</td>
<td>649 (17%)</td>
<td>3,136 (83%)</td>
<td>3,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han ‘he’</td>
<td>529 (31%)</td>
<td>1,204 (69%)</td>
<td>1,733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hon ‘she’</td>
<td>288 (39%)</td>
<td>449 (61%)</td>
<td>737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>2,490 (23%)</td>
<td>8,417 (77%)</td>
<td>10,907</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result in Table 8.10 below indicates that these deictic expressions occur more often with direct speech than with the congruous present. This pattern holds when considering News alone, and the same goes for WebF. The overall proportions of these deictic expressions are 80% for direct speech in News, and 65% in WebF. See appendix 10.2 Tables 10.6 and 10.7 for specific information. Indeed, there is a considerable difference between the overall proportions in News and WebF, but the preference for these pronouns in direct speech is clear in both text types.

8.3.2 Deictic expressions and the historical present
Table 8.11 below shows the difference in pronoun distributions between 7,811 sentences with the congruous present and an equal number of sentences with the historical present. The comparison contains data from both News and WebF.
Table 8.11. Deictic expressions in 7 811 sentences with the congruous present, and in an equal number of sentences with the historical present (News&WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>deictic expressions</th>
<th>congruous N (N%)</th>
<th>incongruous N (N%)</th>
<th>row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jag ‘I’</td>
<td>876 (36%)</td>
<td>1 560 (64%)</td>
<td>2 436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi ‘we’</td>
<td>670 (36%)</td>
<td>1 176 (64%)</td>
<td>1 846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han ‘he’</td>
<td>522 (19%)</td>
<td>2 168 (81%)</td>
<td>2 690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hon ‘she’</td>
<td>210 (17%)</td>
<td>1 052 (83%)</td>
<td>1 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>2 278 (28%)</td>
<td>5 956 (72%)</td>
<td>8 234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distributional pattern in Table 8.11 above holds for each specific text type as well. For the deictic expressions in News, the overall proportion is 74% for the historical present, and it is 62% in WebF. See appendix 10.2 Tables 10.8 and 10.9 for specific information. There is a 12-percentage-point difference between News and WebF, but the pattern of preference is there.

8.3.3 Discussion on person deixis and tense congruence

The results of the comparative analyses in Sections 8.3.1–8.3.2 show that the incongruous present cases in the sample occur with the first- and third-person pronouns more often than they do with the congruous present. The overall proportion of pronouns in News and WebF is 77% for direct speech, and 72% for the historical present. This distributional difference signals a change in deixis.

As made clear in Sections 4.1–4.2, the incongruous present cases are similar in one respect: they are all typically used to speak about events that are not readily available in the actual speech situation but take place with respect to some other speech situation. Conversely, the congruous present cases are typically used for events that are readily available in the actual speech situation. In this regard, the results of the comparative analyses in Sections 8.3.1–8.3.2 make sense. For when we narrate or quote events that are not readily available to our recipients, we have to take extra care to make sure that they understand who we are talking about.

Now, in order to see this change in deixis from the actual speech situation to some non-present situation, let us consider some typical speech situations in News and WebF for the congruous and incongruous present.

A typical speech situation for the congruous present in News is when the reporter conveys news to the reader in a detached manner without personal involvement, as in example (128) below.
Företrädare för läkemedelsbolaget Pharmacia, som är den största tillverkaren av hjälpmedel för människor som vill sluta röka, kommer idag till Göteborg för att diskutera innehållet i rapporten.

‘Representatives of the pharmaceutical company Pharmacia, which is the largest manufacturer of aids for people who want to quit smoking, will come to Gothenburg today to discuss the contents of the report’

In a case like (128), we do not expect the reporter to make extensive use of first- and third-person pronouns, unless it is a more personal article such as a chronicle, review, or editorial where the writer’s identity is important for various reasons. Indeed, one would be surprised if the snippet above was reported as ‘I heard that representatives of Pharmacia are coming to Gothenburg today’. For as a matter of convention, we expect to have the news presented tersely, as a fact, or as a general event that holds at the point of interpretation.

There is a typical situation for congruous cases in WebF, and it is similar to that in the paragraph above due to its lack of first- and third-person pronouns. The omission of such pronouns may be explained with consideration to the information that is available to the recipient in the speech situation. For, in the discussions on WebF, one can always see the alias of a writer. Thus, it would be excessive to specify at all times who is doing the talking, for it is readily available in the speech situation. Consider, for instance, the dialogue below from WebF between A and B:


‘[A:] Better to go with memory type or large memory? Am a big noob so only easy answers Peace! [B:] Take the one with 512MB of memory, that GPU probably has no use at all of 1GB. [A:] GPUn? [B:] Graphics Processing Unit. It’s the brain of the graphics card.’

There are no first-person pronouns in (129), for there is no need to use them here in order to be understood. In my experience, this economical convention is found in spoken discourse as well as in newspaper text. As for the third-person pronouns, it seems reasonable to assume that people are more often talking to each other, rather than about other people.

The typical speech situations for the incongruous present stand in opposition to the ones for the congruous present above in (128–129). In News, the incongruous cases appear more often in reports of a narrative nature. Take the example below, for instance, where the reporter is narrating a past encounter with the reported person as if the situation takes place at the point of speech.

‘[Reporter:] When I meet Lena, she is at home in Gothenburg for a year to determine how much she longs to move home. [Lena:] – I can not choose. Here I have my family and my roots but in Norway I have my job and my students.’

The use of personal pronouns is more frequent in (130) than it is in (128). Now, these patterns are likely affected by conventions in the News genre, but if so, there are similar conventions in the present-tense retelling of an event in WebF, as shown by (131) below in a mother’s account of her son falling ill.


‘I patted him a little on the back and bounced him up and down a bit and tried to help him cough. Suddenly he becomes completely silent and begins to sprawl with arms and legs and becomes very distressed. Then I realize that he does not get any air. His head falls to the side and now I am completely terrified! The ambulance arrives after a while and when the boys step in through the door, Sixten meets them with a smile! They want us to follow for safety’s sake and we were again admitted to Östra [a hospital].’

For sure, the difference in frequency between the incongruous present in News and WebF, as shown in Tables 8.10–8.11, is partly due to text type. But the pronoun distributions in the incongruous present data of News and WebF are similar in that their frequencies are notably different from the ones in the congruous present. Thus, the difference is also due to tense congruity. So, before brooding on differences in text type, I think it worthwhile to remember the previously mentioned thoughts of Jespersen (1924:258) on the historical present.

But however popular the trick is, it must not be imagined that it is not popular in its origin; one need only listen to the way in which people of the humblest ranks relate incidents that they have witnessed themselves to see how natural, nay inevitable, this form is.
In sum: the distribution of personal pronouns is smaller with the congruous present than with the incongruous present, where the overall proportion of pronouns is 77% for direct speech and 72% for the historical present. I interpret this difference as signifying a change in deixis. However, where SAG considers it a change from one point of speech to another, I will attribute such changes in deixis to a shift in “vantage point,” which similar to many suggestions for changes in points of view (as previously stated in Section 3.5). I will return to this concept shortly in Chapter 9.
9. Comments on alternatives to the principles of identifying incongruous tense, and a look at memory

As a point of departure for this study, I have assumed that tense expresses relations between the time of the event $E$, the point of speech $S$, and the thematic time $T$, i.e. ‘the time that the clause is about’ (cf. Section 3.5). I have also assumed that $T$ and $E$ always overlap at some point. So far, this is consistent with the presentation in SAG (and modern tense theory for the most part). However, my outset has diverged from leading accounts of tense in two respects, first, by the assumption of a direct relationship between $E$ and $S$ as opposed to an indirect one (cf. Section 3.2.2) and second, by the assumption of a point of speech instead of a point of view (cf. Section 3.2.3). The reasons for these assumptions were briefly explained in Section 3.5. Now, as a complement to the empirical investigation, I will return to the alternative principles to discuss further the extent to which they can explain incongruous tense.

Section 9.1 considers the analytic consequences of assuming a direct link between $E$ and $S$ instead of an indirect one, and Section 9.2 considers the significance of the point of speech with respect to a point of view as well as the alternatives in tense use that they each entail. In addition, I have observed a parallel between the Swedish tense system and that of human memory. I believe that these are related, and I will therefore end this chapter by digressing from the thesis’ aim with a cursory outlook at tense and memory (Section 9.3).

9.1 On the relationship between the event time and the point of speech

According to SAG’s principles in Section 3.4, the thematic time $T$ is defined in relation to the point of speech $S$, while the event time $E$ is defined in relation to $T$, and not directly to $S$. The latter applies in most works on tense today. To be sure, there may be theoretical reasons to assume an indirect relationship between $E$ and $S$, but in practice $E$ also overlaps or follows $S$ if $T$ does so (regular present), and in most cases $E$ terminates before $S$ if $T$ is in the past (regular past tense).

It often happens, however, that the past tense is used when $E$ applies to a past $T$ but overlaps $S$ as well (cf. Chapter 6). If one does not start from a direct
relationship between $E$ and $S$, but from an indirect one, it covers these cases as well. Still, it is not explained when the past tense is possible or impossible in these cases, and the differences between incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (Sections 8.1–8.2) suggest that the matter is quite complicated. The closer look at the “other incongruous factual events in the past tense” in Chapter 7 indicates that these can often be paraphrased in the present tense without affecting the positioning of $E$ to $S$, as in the constructed example (132a) below, but there are nevertheless illicit cases such as (132b).

(132) a. Igår träffade jag hans fru som \{har hade\} en anmärkningsvärd accent. Jag bara älskade hur hon talade!

‘Yesterday, I met his wife who \{has had\} a remarkable accent. I just loved the way she talked!’

b. Igår träffade han min fru som \{har # hade\} en anmärkningsvärd accent. Han bara älskade hur hon talade!

‘Yesterday, he met my wife who \{has # had\} a remarkable accent. He just loved the way she talked!’

The use of the incongruous past tense in (132a) is licensed by the fact that the thematic time marks the time that the event was observed, learned or experienced. However, as indicated in Section 3.5, it will not do with simply any experience. The incongruous $S$-overlapping event in (132a) only seems to work if the event becomes known to the speaker at $T$ for the first time. By contrast, the speaker in (132b) already knows about his wife’s accent at $T$ i.e. yesterday in the superordinate clause, and even if he heard her accent (again) at that time, that experience alone is not enough to license the use of the incongruous past tense. Only the present tense will do here even if the subordinate clause is flanked by two clauses in the past tense, and thus prone to harmonize.

The examples in (51a–b) in Section 3.5, which were given as one reason for distinguishing between congruous and incongruous tense, are parallel to those in (132a–b) and can be given the same explanation. However, it is not difficult to find other types of examples where the incongruous past tense is normally avoided, i.e. where the same explanation does not work. For instance, the use of the incongruous past in (133a) below seems questionable even if the speaker experienced being hated (in an $S$-overlapping fashion) by some person for the first time. It seems more apt to use the past tense when the bounded or unbounded aspect is made explicit as in (133b).
(133)  a. Igår träffade jag en person som \{hatar \# hatade\} mig. Och nu fick jag det här stötande mejlet av henne.  
‘Yesterday, I met a person who \{hates \# hated\} me. And now I got this offensive email from her.’
b. Igår träffade jag en person som \{det visade sig, hatade mig\}, \{hatade mig på gymnasiet\}.
‘Yesterday, I met a person who \{as it turned out, hated me\}, \{hated me in high school\}.

The amount of time that has passed between the observation time \(T\) and \(S\) may also be of some importance. For instance, consider example (134a) below where the unbounded iterative meaning in the present tense seems close at hand, but perhaps less so in the past tense for which a bounded interpretation might seem more accessible depending on the situation. However, if one drastically extends the time since the time of the observation by one year as in (134b), the unbounded meaning of the present tense seems less fitting as opposed to the use of the past tense.

(134)  a. Igår träffade jag en dam som \{röker \# rökte\} pipa.  
‘Yesterday, I met a lady who \{smokes \# smoked\} pipe.’
b. Förra året träffade jag en dam som \# röker \# rökte \} pipa.  
‘Last year, I met a lady who \# smokes \# smoked \} pipe.’

The time passed between the start of a durative event and the thematic time may perhaps also have an effect on the choice of the past or present tense in cases of tense harmony. As previously stated in Section 7.1, it is possible to use both the incongruous past and the present tense in the case of (135a) below, but this option seems less apt if the thematic time is closer to \(S\) as in (135b).

(135)  a. Redan 1996 lyckades Sydafrikas forskningsråd isolera den komponent i Hoodia som \{undertrycker \# undertryckte\} hungerkänslan.  
‘Even in 1996 the South African research council managed to isolate the component in Hoodia that \{suppresses \# suppressed\} hunger.’
The reason why the incongruous past tense seems more proper in (135a) may find some explanation in the event’s lack of relevance at the point of speech. It is old news. This is not the case in (135b) where the discovery has been made quite recently with respect to \( S \), and this seems to affect the choice of tense.

Although the assumption of an indirect relation between the event time and the point of speech can explain some cases of incongruous past tense, examples (132–135) show that it circumvents the question of why the past tense is not always an option when the event time overlaps the thematic time in the past as well as the point of speech. This thesis cannot go into details about the rules that apply when it comes to the use of the types of incongruous past tense discussed here. But the examples above, and the observed statistical differences between congruous and incongruous past tense in the previous chapters show that an in-depth study of these rules would be justified.

9.2 The point of speech and the vantage point

The incongruous present types, i.e. the historical present, the annalistic present, and direct speech, are difficult to account for by means of the point of speech \( S \). The reason why is that these cases may be understood as involving an illusory point of view prior to the point of speech. This has led many to replace \( S \) with a point in time that marks the perspective of the speaker in one way or another (cf. Section 3.2.3). The results of this thesis support that idea, for the incongruous present is commonly used (cf. Chapter 6) without any apparent restrictions on verb types (cf. Section 8.2), and there are statistical differences in pronominal use between the congruous and incongruous present that imply contrasting points of view (cf. Section 8.3).

At the same time, the significance of \( S \) should not be underestimated. All utterances are by necessity produced at some time by someone or something, and incongruous tense use from another perspective in time may often be seen as an alternative to congruous tense use from the point of speech. As a point of departure, I have retained \( S \) so that I can investigate these alternatives.

The literature on tense holds several similar suggestions for a temporal point of view. I will for comparison assume a vantage point, \( V \), as a replacement for \( S \), defined as below.
**vantage point:** the time of the perspective of one or several language users

As seen in Section 3.2.3, the idea of taking another person’s perspective in language is ancient, so the vantage point is merely a concept that I have specified to suit a particular purpose, namely to shed light on incongruous tense and the interplay between vantage points and the point of speech. While there are other similar uses of points of view in circulation, I have defined the vantage point to ensure that nothing more, and nothing less than my intended meaning is read into the term.

The perspective in $V$ belongs to some language user (speaker, writer, thinker, or similar) which corresponds to some (implicit or explicit) first-person pronoun ‘I’ or collective ‘we’.

And the change in perspective, from actual speaker to some imagined speaker, causes the illusory effect of ‘now’.

I will view the vantage points as forming a hierarchy under the topmost $V$ of the actual speaker to whom the point of speech is ascribed traditionally. The hierarchy is a semantic one and not always due to clause hierarchies. This is something that I wish to stress, for even if there has been a strong syntactic focus in certain fields of research (cf. Section 3.2.3), there are also pragmatic reasons for a speaker to assume an imagined vantage point other than the vantage point for the actual speaker. There are descriptions of tense that involve the concept of point of view to some extent, also for Swedish (cf. Section 3.2.3), but, as far as I know, none of these has systematically looked for patterns in how vantage points may, or may not, be used considering their horizontal organization relative to $E$, as well as their vertical organization relative to the $V$ of the actual speaker. I will therefore take the opportunity to do so.

As a simple example of the vantage point, consider the previously mentioned example (136) of reported speech from Section 4.2.2. In this example Lena reports on a previous statement of Erik.

(136) Yesterday Erik said as he arrived: “Now I am finally here with you”.

In example (136), the ‘I’ of the subordinate clause is interpreted as belonging to the reported person (Erik). In the superordinate clause, however, the speaker (Lena) may be traced to the implicit ‘I’ of the reporting speaker. For it is below the actual vantage point that the reporter has set up the reported person’s vantage point in discourse. Naturally, the time of the actual vantage point succeeds the subordinate one, since the time of Erik’s utterance precedes the time of Lena’s utterance. Still, the important thing to notice here, is that by assuming a hierarchy of vantage points, it is possible to give a uniform analysis for direct speech and the congruous present, namely $V, T, E$, for, from the vantage point of the reported speaker, both $T$ and $E$ are happening now. Yet,

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1 This is based on the idea that the ‘I’ corresponding to the actual language user differs from the first-person pronoun corresponding to the narrated language user, as observed by Ducrot (1984) for instance. See Section 3.2.3.
from the vantage of the reporter in the superordinate clause, the event in the reported clause happened yesterday.

As an analogy, the vantage point may be illustrated by placing the speaker on the timeline. This is shown below in Figure 9.1 below where Alice, Bob and Chuck represent different vantage points. Formally, Alice’s vantage for the past tense may be expressed as \( T, E - V \), and Bob’s and Chuck’s vantages for the present tense are represented as \( V, T, E \) and \( V - T, E \) respectively.

![Figure 9.1. Three traditional tenses with vantage points](image)

**Figure 9.1.** Three traditional tenses with vantage points

In the following, different uses of the vantage point in the present and past tenses are discussed. For both tenses, the presentation is organized according to whether the event precedes, coincides with, or follows the point of speech, and I use the terms retrospective, synchronous, and prospective to denote these respective relationships. Sections 9.2.1–9.2.3 deal with the retrospective, synchronous, and prospective present, and Sections 9.2.4–9.2.6 cover the retrospective, synchronous and prospective past. Due to the focus on the incongruous tense types, I will limit the analyses to the finite verb. Finally, Section 9.2.7 contains conclusions and comments.

### 9.2.1 The retrospective present and the vantage point

**Direct speech and the vantage point**

In simple terms, the vantage point allows us to see through the ‘I’s of others, as well as ourselves at different times and places on the subjective timeline. The assumption of multiple vantage points also enables one to express nested temporal structures in a manner similar to congruous tense use with \( S \) (see Table 3.5 in the point of departure), as in the mock news report below from, say, May 25, 2001.

(137) *I am free, Bob said yesterday.*

The nested nature of this and similar structures is further illustrated by Figure 9.2 next, where Alice is the reporter, and Bob the reported. What Alice does is to present the output of Bob, from his perspective. This is seen in her use of person and time deixis, i.e. the pronoun ‘I’, and the present tense. That is to say, she is taking his vantage point. Bob’s \( T \) and \( E \), which are incongruous
from Alice’s vantage, may then be interpreted as the simple present from Bob’s vantage point.

Figure 9.2. A nested vantage point on the timeline

The temporal information of example (137) above may be captured by the use of boxes such as the one below. These are used here to capture different types of information as a unit. The top box contains a three-point analysis including $V$, $T$, and $E$ with clause indices, $C_n$, and vantage point indices, $V_n$. These are presented in their order of appearance. An exception is made for $V_1$ which always has the special status of belonging to the actual language user, and it always coincides with $S$. The bottom box specifies the time of each vantage point with respect to each other, and they are anchored at the date of publication or the time of writing when such information is available.

Box 9.2.1: Temporal information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three-point analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$C_1$: $V_2, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_2$: $T, E - V_1$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V-anchors: time and person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$V_1 = 2001-05-25$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_2 - V_1$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the complexity of a text increases, so may the need for a stratified analysis of tense. Imagine for instance that Alice says that *Bob said “Chuck says ‘I*

---

2 Note that the temporal points in the three-point analysis are unaligned. The reason for this is that their horizontal order in said analysis is of less importance for the general discussion, and it is therefore not considered here, even if such an analysis is possible.

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147
like ducks’. In cases such as these, which should not be too uncommon, the vantage points nest according to Figure 9.3 below.

Figure 9.3. A third-level ordering of vantage points

The sentence in Figure 9.3 above may then be represented as in the box below.

Box 9.2.2: Temporal information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three-point analysis</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$C_1$: $T,E - V_1$</td>
<td>$Bob$ said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_2$: $V_2, T, E$</td>
<td>$Chuck$ says</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_3$: $V_3, T, E$</td>
<td>$I$ like ducks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V$-anchors: time and person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$V_1$ = unanchored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_2 - V_1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_3 - V_2$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lastly, discerning a vantage point amounts to two very basic things: (i) identify who is talking and (ii) pay attention to when and where that is. Vantages may be inferred from context, deixis, and extra-linguistic knowledge, but the important thing to note here is that while a subordinate vantage point allows for incongruous direct speech in the present tense to be represented like the simple present in a Reichenbachian style notation, the content of direct speech in the present tense can always be rendered congruously from $V_1$, for instance by means of indirect speech in the past tense: ‘Yesterday, Bob said that he was free’.
The historical present and the vantage point
Consider the recounted affairs below in the historical present. The first is from News and it concerns a report on a sports team in Chile. The second is from WebF and it is written by ‘gookie’, who tells a story about a dog that she found to be treated poorly.

(138) a. Det förstår vi när vi möter gänget, som nästan alla kommer i rödvita träningsoveraller till morgonsamlingen.

‘We understand this when we meet the gang, who almost all come in red and white tracksuits to the morning gathering.’ (News)

b. Jag hörde den när jag vek av mot en väg en bit från huset.

‘I heard it as I turned off onto a road some distance from the house.

Thought that yes it is probably some poor dog. When I ride past half an hour later, I get the sight of it.’ (WebF)

The context of (138b), taken together with the fact that the writer is not texting clause 4–6 on horseback while experiencing the dog, leads us to conclude that the ‘I’ of the first three clauses in the past tense is located in a different time and at a different place than the ‘I’ of the last three clauses in the present tense. A temporal analysis of (138b) is given in the box below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box 9.2.3: Temporal information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three-point analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₁₋₃: T,E − V₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₄₋₆: V₂,T,E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I heard it when I turned …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes it is probably a dog …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-anchors: time and person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V₁ = 2009-04-05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V₂ − V₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V₁ held by gookie at WebF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V₂ held by gookie on horseback</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The time of gookie’s reported vantage point in C₄ as well as V₂ of C₅₋₆ in the historical present, precedes V₁, a time that coincides with the actual utterance. However, the speaker may also choose to use the congruous past tense from V₁: ‘It was probably some poor dog …’. Similarly, we may capture the historical
present like the congruous present in (138a) by assuming that the actual writer
is writing from a subordinate vantage point as in the temporal analysis below.
(After all, the morning gathering is hardly taking place at the time of pub-
lication.) However, in this particular example, $V_1$ has to be assumed, for there
is no actual clause from which we may infer an ‘I’ to match the actual writer.
I will consider such implicit senders to be present through a null-instantiated
clause, $C_0$, and take them to mean something like ‘I, the author, write that’.

**Box 9.2.4: Temporal information**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three-point analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$C_0$: $V_1, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_{1-3}$: $V_2, T, E$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(I, the reporter, write that)

we understand this when . . .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V-anchors: time and person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$V_1 = 2001-05-27$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_2 - V_1$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$V_1$ held by writing reporter
$V_2$ held by reporter on site

The lack of a clause written from the actual writer’s $V$ does not exclude the
fact that there is a point of speech and therefore a first level vantage point, $V_1$.
There must always exist some language user responsible for an utterance and
our unawareness as to who or what that might be does not change that fact.

**The annalistic present and the vantage point**

Annalistic verbs may be interpreted like the simple present from a subordinate
vantage point, as is also the case with direct speech and the historical present.
Consider example (139) below.

(139) I senaste numret *skriver* exempelvis Lars Myrberg (OS-brons i
lätt weltervikt i Söul 1988) om boxning.

‘In the latest issue, for example, Lars Myrberg (Olympic bronze in
light welterweight in Seoul 1988) *writes* about boxing.’

(News)

Example (139) may be read in two ways; see description in Section 4.1.5. In
the first, the event is read as preceding $S$ with the same illusory effect as in the
historical present. In the second, it is read as overlapping $S$ due to the influence
of generic aktionsart. Both of these cases may be captured by vantage points
at different levels, and the analyses are presented in the box below. The first
illusory case may be interpreted to mean that the writer assumes a subordinate
vantage point $V_2$ of reading the latest issue. The second case, may be viewed as a synchronous (generic) event from the actual speaker’s $V_1$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box 9.2.5: Temporal information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three-point analysis (illusory interpretation)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_0$: $V_1, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_1$: $V_2, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$(I, \text{ the reporter write that})$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>in the latest issue, Lars writes</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Three-point analysis (generic interpretation)** |
| $C_1$: $V_1, T, E$ |
| *in the latest issue, Lars writes* |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V$-anchors: time and person (illusory interpretation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$V_1 = 1994-10-16$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_2 = V_1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_1$ held by writing reporter, $V_2$ held by reporter reading issue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V$-anchors: time and person (generic interpretation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$V_1 = 1994-10-16$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_1$ held by writing reporter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analyses in the box above do not cut the Gordian knot regarding the choice between the illusory and the generic reading. But the analyses are the same apart from the difference in vantage point. Another option would have been to express example (139) using the congruous past: ‘In the latest issue, Lars Myrberg wrote about boxing.’ This ends the description of vantage points for the incongruous types of the retrospective present.

9.2.2 The synchronous present and the vantage point

As previously seen, the $V, T, E$ structure of the retrospective present is the same as with the congruous present, yet with one important difference, the $V$-index. Consider the synchronous events in the present tense in (140a–b) below and the fact that these cases are expressed from $V_1$ as opposed to $V_2$ in the retrospective present.
Example (140a) has two vantage points at level 1. The ‘I’s of Anne and Engla belong to them only, and the statement of Engla follows that of Anne. Thus, the events are synchronous, which is illustrated in the analysis below. A similar interpretation can be given from $V_1$ of the writing reporter in (140b).

Box 9.2.6: Temporal information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three-point analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$C_1$: $V_1^a, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_2$: $V_1^b, T, E$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V$-anchors: time and person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$V_1^a = 2006-07-28$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_1^a - V_1^b$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The synchronous present may occur from a subordinate vantage point as well. For instance, see (141) where it is possible to interpret the speaker’s imagined experience in the tattoo shop (“I step in there . . .”) as simultaneous with $V_1$, as defined by the superordinate matrix (“I imagine”), but nevertheless reported from a parallel world and thus a $V_2$.

(141) Jag föreställer mig att jag kliver in där bland alla tattade, coola människor med dödsstallar på armarna, så kliver jag in, blond med lockigt hår och ba “eeeh .. jag vill ha en liten blomma”

‘I imagine that I step in there amongst all the tattooed, cool people with skulls on their arms, then I step in, blonde with curly hair and like “eeeh .. I want a little flower”’ (WebF)
Thus, the synchronous events in the present tense are not restricted to any particular level in the V-hierarchy, as opposed to the retrospective events in the present tense which must appear below $V_1$. This is a crucial difference between the incongruous present types and the congruous present.

9.2.3 The prospective present and the vantage point

The present tense can also be used to talk of prospective events. A person may consider an event in the future as factual, in which case the vantage point is $V_1$. For instance, see (142) next.

(142) Matchen *startar* 18.00 svensk tid.

‘The game *starts* 6:00 pm Swedish time.’ (News)

One may also speak of future events as non-factual, such as imagining future events of science fiction, or simply muse over what one might do in the future, as in the made-up example (143) below. Here, the imagined future events are reported from a subordinate vantage point, see $C_{2-3}$ in the box below. It is also worth noting that the $V_2,T,E$ analysis for $C_{2-3}$ necessitates the use of the present tense, whereas the future event of (142) could also be rendered with a future construction such as: *kommer (att)/ska starta* ‘will/shall start’.

(143) I imagine myself on the beach next summer. Ahhh... yes! I see the ocean now, waves pounding against the unyielding shore while a flock of seagulls *dive in* to pester some poor guy having lunch. So it goes.

**Box 9.2.7: Temporal information**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three-point analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$C_1$: $V_1, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_{2-3}$: $V_2, T, E$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V-anchors: time and person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$V_1 = 2021-08-27$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_1 - V_2$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is even possible to set up prospective events from $V_2$ that are believed to be factual. This may for instance be seen by placing example (142a) inside...
a reporting clause of direct speech: “He said that ‘the game starts 6:00 pm Swedish time’, that is tomorrow”. The difference between prospective events at $V_1$ and those at the lower levels is that the latter requires the speaker to imagine a different ‘I’ (of oneself or someone else) at another time or place than the one currently occupied.

9.2.4 The retrospective past and the vantage point

The past tense is special in that it is consistently used to speak about something that is not readily available in the actual speech situation. The retrospective events in the past tense may be uttered from $V_1$ as in (144) or from a subordinate vantage point that precedes $V_1$, as in the travelogue from the Galápagos Islands in (145). An analysis of the first sentence in (145) is given in Box 9.2.8 below.

(144) Är det någon paus eller så nu? Hörs ingenting här på Live-streamen. Konstigt, för det funkade igår.

‘Is there some recess or something now? Nothing to be heard here on the Live-stream. Strange, for it worked yesterday.’ (WebF)

(145) – Här på grannön Santiago var det bara ett lavafält för 50 år sedan […], säger Thomas Edison. Vi närmar oss den lilla lavaön Bartolomé […]

‘– Here on the neighboring island of Santiago, there was only a lava field 50 years ago, says Thomas Edison. We approach the small lava island Bartolomé …’ (News)

Box 9.2.8: Temporal information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three-point analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$C_0$: $V_1, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_1$: $T, E - V_2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_2$: $V_3, T, E$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$(I, $the$ reporter, $write$ that)$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V$-anchors: time and person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$V_1 = 2005-02-19$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_2 - V_1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_2, V_3$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$V_1$ held by writing reporter

$V_2$ held by Thomas Edison

$V_3$ held by reporter on site
While the forum user in (144) above is writing from the vantage point of his/her computer, the reporter in (145) is not. (S)he is writing from the perspective of the guide Thomas Edison (but also from the subordinate vantage point in the Pacific Ocean, as seen by the last sentence).

Non-factual retrospective events are also uttered from subordinate Vs, and I will discuss this in more detail in the upcoming section. For now, consider example (147) from News (regarding a missing person) which contains the reported speaker’s vantage point nested under the reporter’s vantage point.

(147) Antagligen utomlands. Ingenting tyder i alla fall på att han vistats i Sverige. Då hade vi hittat honom, konstaterar Ehrenborg-Staffas.

‘Probably abroad. In any case, there is no indication that he (has been) staying in Sweden. Then we would have found him, states Ehrenborg-Staffas.’

A temporal analysis of the final sentence in (147) below closes this section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box 9.2.9: Temporal information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three-point analysis</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_0$: $V_1, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_3$: $T, E - V_2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_4$: $V_3, T, E$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V-anchors: time and person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$V_1 = 2011-02-08$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_2 - V_1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_2, V_3$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.2.5 The synchronous past and the vantage point

The synchronous past covering factual events includes the evaluative and modifying past as well as various cases of $S$-overlapping events in the past tense. The choice of tense, especially regarding the latter categories, could be understood as viewing the past tense as a restricting device, i.e. as a means of capturing only the subset of the event time that is simultaneous with the thematic time of experience (or the like) in the past. Let’s denote it $E'$. This
interpretation, which can basically be equated with the retrospective past, is in some cases reasonable from a pragmatic standpoint. For instance, in the case of (50) repeated below, we can view the utterance as primarily concerning a state of affairs in the past, viewed from $V_1: T, E' - V_1$. Example (148) is a similar case, though viewed from a subordinate $V$ as shown in the box below.

((50), repeated)  Bilen du såg var en Honda.

‘The car you saw was a Honda.’ (SAG 4:223)

(148)  I september 1925 skriver han till sin mor: “Han [. . .] fick reda på vad jag hette, tog min hand och så svajade vi fram och tillbaka medan vi svettades och skrek om frihet och den nye Byron på franska. Det var mycket tillfredsställande.”

‘In September 1925, he writes to his mother: “He found out what my name was, took my hand and then we swung back and forth while we sweated and shouted about freedom and the new Byron in French. It was very satisfying.”’ (News)

### Box 9.2.10: Temporal information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three-point analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$C_0$: $V_1, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_1$: $T, E - V_2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_2$: $T, E' - V_2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_3-6$: $T, E - V_2$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V$-anchors: time and person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$V_1 = 2003-11-16$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_2 - V_1$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By accepting an analysis based on an $E'$ that coincides with a $T$ that precedes $V$, as in the examples above, the use of the past tense seems congruous. At the same time, it should be noted that this is not a consequence of introducing vantage points, but rather of disregarding the event time at the point of speech.

Also, in several cases of synchronous past, it is less satisfactory to interpret the choice of tense as a way of focusing a restricted event $E'$ in the past. Many instances of the evaluative and the modifying past apply to the point of speech, and not to some time in the past as in example (1) repeated below. The same
holds true for various cases of $S$-overlapping past as well. Consider (149) for instance, where the use of the past tense is possible since the hole in the bag of chips can be assumed to have already been there when it was purchased. Nevertheless, the primary message must be that “there is a small hole in the bag now”, which rather talks in favor of a $V_1,T,E$-analysis. As a consequence, the pragmatic understanding of the choice of the past tense in this example cannot be congruously captured by a three-point analysis, either with $S$ or with $V$.

[(1), repeated] Vad kallt det var här ute i dag!
‘How cold it is out here today!’

(149) Köpte chips idag och nu såg jag att det var ett litet hål i påsen. […] Jag undrar då, kan man äta ändå.
‘Bought chips today and now I saw that there was a small hole in the bag. I wonder then, can you eat (it) anyway.’ (WebF)

While factual events in the past tense can be stated at any level in the hierarchy of vantage points, non-factual events in the past tense can only be expressed at a subordinate level, $V_{1+n}$, as is the case for non-factual events in general. In case of temporal dislocation, as in (150) below, there is also the problem that the analysis is difficult to reconcile with only one timeline; if you speak about an imagined event that is assumed to deviate from the timeline you are on, then you are – strictly speaking – talking as if you were on a different timeline.

(150) Jag önskar att det fanns någon homeopat som ville komma och förklara allt som vi inte förstår.
‘I wish there was a homeopath who wanted to come and explain everything we do not understand.’ (WebF)

The events of wishing and understanding in (150) occur on the speaker’s actual timeline. The other events do not. Still, the former factual events and the latter non-factual events of temporal dislocation coincide, yet on parallel timelines. This can be described by simply placing the factual and the non-factual timelines next to each other as in Figure 9.4 below.

The analysis in Figure 9.4 does not solve the deviant positioning of $E$ and $T$ for temporal dislocation, but the addition of vantage points captures its specific trait, for, in contrast to the synchronous present, temporal dislocation cannot occur with a vantage point of the actual speaker ($V_1$). Thus, there is no ambiguity on the first level of $V_1$, but there is on the lower levels $V_{1+n}$. At any rate, a full temporal analysis of (150) is provided below, and it concludes this section.
Figure 9.4. Parallel timelines for factual and non-factual events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box 9.2.11: Temporal information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three-point analysis</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_1$: $V_1, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_2-3$: $V_2, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_4$: $V_1, T, E$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$I wish$ \ldots

| there was a homeopath \ldots |

we do not understand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V$-anchors: time and person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$V_1 = 2011-05-07$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_1, V_2$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$V_1$ held by actual writer

$V_2$ held by imagined writer

9.2.6 The prospective past and the vantage point

Factual prospective past events may be uttered from $V_1$ as in (151a–b), or lower (e.g. by quotation). Furthermore, they may be relayed as in (151a) and anticipated as in (151b). The non-factual ones occur at $V_2$ or lower as in (151c).

(151) a. Så bidde det ingen sommar-bebis till nästa år, men augusti so became it no summer-baby till next year but August är ju nästan sommar det med nu för tiden, och is PTCL almost summer it too now for time-DEF and blir det ännu lite senare gör det inget […] becomes it even little later does it nothing

‘So there will be no summer baby till next year, but August is almost summer these days, and if it’s even a little later it doesn’t matter.’ (WebF)
b. gnäll inte sen att du inte fick jobbet!
complain not later that you not got job

‘Don’t complain later that you didn’t get the job!’ (WebF)

(c. Om jag blir världsmästare finns det alltid de som if I become world-champion, is it always they who kommer att säga att jag fick den serverad på silverfat, will to say that I got it served on silver-platter säger Hill. says Hill

‘If I become world champion, there is always those who will say that I got it served on a silver platter, says Hill.’ (News)

The woman in (151a) has found out that she will not be giving birth next summer. She need not imagine this, for the future event of not having a baby is a fact observed by means of a pregnancy test or similar which may be taken as a source of the relay. Here, the analysis is $V_1 - T, E$ and the introduction of a $V$ does not help to capture the use of the past tense, which seems to require an extra $T$ (cf. Section 7.2) to convey the relay of the past experience.

By contrast, the anticipated past perspective in (151b) offers a second $V$, here explicitly “later” (than $V_1$), from which it may appear that the addressee did not get the job. This future $V$ would warrant the use of the past tense to be treated like the simple past: $T, E - V_2$. Other cases of the anticipated past may be treated similarly, e.g. (100a–b), (101a–b) and (107). Also, the similar imagined future, yet non-factual, event of (151c) may be analyzed as below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box 9.2.12: Temporal information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three-point analysis</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_0$: $V_1, T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_{1-3}$: $V_2 - T, E$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_4$: $T, E - V_3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_5$: $V_4, T, E$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>V-anchors: time and person</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$V_1 = 1994-10-14$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_2 - V_1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_2 - V_3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$V_2, V_4$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The reported person in (151c), Hill, may be seen as having imagined him/herself to be in the future as world champion. As such, the analysis of (151c) in the box above is quite complex, and it may therefore be useful to visualize its hierarchical order of vantage points in a tree structure as in Figure 9.5 below.

Figure 9.5. A tree structure representation of the vantage points in example (151c)

I should now like to take the opportunity to digress on the hierarchical representations of tense, and its uses for studies beyond the sentence boundary, especially for linguistic accounts of temporal structure at separate levels of narration. To see what I mean, observe that $V_1$, in Figure 9.5 above, is on a level separate from $V_2$ and $V_4$. This is probably due to vantage holders’ not speaking with each other across levels. They are too far apart in time and/or space. However, as indicated in Figure 9.5, the holders of $V_2$ and $V_4$ can speak to each other, for they appear on the same secondary level. They in turn cannot speak to the holder of $V_3$, for this person is imagined to be somewhere else on a third level.

Additional temporal information may be recorded with recourse to the extended context of example (151c). One could, for instance, mark that the statement of Hill succeeds some previous statement of Hill in the interview. But this is not the type of sequence that I am trying to model here. The point is merely to show that a three-point analysis can be maintained from specific vantage points at specific levels, and that it is from these vantage points, from these particular conceptions of now, that a person may be represented as using language. $V_1$ is merely forming an overarching temporal structure under which several analytical choices present themselves. One may choose to form a timeline of events for a specific $V$, for a set of $V$s on a specific level, or for the full set of events under $V_1$. It all depends on what one wishes to accomplish, and the corpus on tense, as well as the account thereof, should be of use for natural language processing tasks that lean on Reichenbachian frameworks, such as Mirza and Tonelli (2016).
9.2.7 Conclusions and comments

In the sections above, I have looked for patterns of present and past tense use with respect to the retrospective, synchronous and prospective events. By doing so, I have, on the one hand, made some observations regarding vantage points and their horizontal organization relative to $E$, and, on the other, regarding their vertical organization relative to the vantage point of the actual speaker ($V_1$). These are presented next in the indicated order.

As for the horizontal analyses above, it appears that the choice of tense with regard to the types of the incongruous present (historical and annalistic present as well as direct speech) appears sound if you relate the event to a vantage point instead of the point of speech, which is also the main reason for various similar proposals in the literature.

However, one cannot draw the same conclusion for the types of the incongruous past. The change of perspective from one vantage point to another not only rarely affects the incongruence of $E$ to $V$, but when it does, it is only in the case of the anticipated past perspective, where the event can be placed before a secondary vantage point in the future but after $S$. As a consequence, the vantage point appears to be asymmetrically used between the past and the present tenses, in that it only helps in specific cases.

Sometimes, cases of the synchronous past, such as relayed incongruous events, the dialogical past, and other types of tense harmony, can be understood as focusing on a subset of the event, $E'$, that falls within an identifiable period in the past, which is then perceived as “the time that the clause is about”, i.e. $T$. But this explanation has nothing to do with $S$ being replaced by $V$. In addition, it is not possible for all instances of the synchronous past tense to place “the time that the clause is about” in the past, and it is simply impossible for cases of the prospective past – even in the cases where the past tense signals some kind of relay.

As for the vertical analyses of vantage points above, the introduction of an analysis that allows for multiple vantage points clarifies a basic distinction between the past and present tenses. The incongruous present types cannot be expressed from $V_1$, the vantage point of the actual language user. For sure, the present tense may be used to intellectually traverse the boundaries of the speaker’s present time by imagining an ‘I’ from $V_2$ or lower, but not from $V_1$. The past tense, on the other hand, has this quality of displacement built in. When speaking from $V_1$ in the past tense, the language user is most often reproducing some fraction of his or her past experience.

There is also a general difference in the use of vantage points for speaking about factual experiences, on the one hand, and imagined experiences or non-factual events, on the other. The former may be expressed from any $V$, while the latter are restricted to subordinate $V$s which require the assumption of an alternative timeline as is the case with temporal dislocation.
Now, this is not to say that imagined or non-factual events are necessarily incongruous. Consider for instance example (143) above or the following congruous non-factual case in the past tense: “If I had taken my medicine yesterday, I would feel better now.” The same goes for congruous factual events in the past tense that require a subordinate vantage point, such as direct speech “Kim said that ‘I ate yesterday’”, where the tense form in the reported clause must be attributed to an imagined vantage point that is specific to the time and place of Kim.

Finally, it seems that the present tense is special in that it is the only tense form that we use from V₁ for events that are readily available, such as sensory experiences and events that appear general to us. The past tense, on the other hand, is special in that it is the only tense form that we use from V₁ for memories of factual events that are specific to us.³ In light of this, I suspect that the tense use from V₁ has been the source of inspiration for proponents of evidentiality, mirativity, and the specific/generic divide between the tenses, e.g. Kjederqvist (1898). And, in this regard, one may further assume that the types uttered from V₁+n have been the source of inspiration for those engaged in the study of displaced events like temporal dislocation and the historical present.

The various levels of vantage points partly explain the difficulties in deciding on the specific or generic reference for some events. For instance, when spoken from V₁, the utterance ‘Lions are dangerous’ is a generic statement, yet when uttered from V₂ by relay or narration, the statement is only general for the holder of V₂. Also, for the relaying or narrating speaker at V₁, the utterance “(x said that) lions were dangerous” is tied to some specific x, time and place.

Of course, the uses of vantage points distinguished above do not provide a conclusive answer regarding the choice of tense, but they do point out some general differences between sets of tense types. In addition, these hierarchical distinctions suggest a possible way forward for future research on tense. This way takes us from the Swedish tense system to the system of human memory, which is described next in Section 9.3.

### 9.3 A cursory look at tense and memory

Research on the relation between tense and human memory is not extensive, but it is not unprecedented either. From the psychological side, the use of tense has, for instance, been investigated in autobiographical narration with the purpose of discovering signs of memory disorders (Irish et al. 2016). From the linguistic side, Dahl (2013) sees connections between memory and some common grammatical categories (tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality) in the

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³ However, the Mainland Scandinavian phenomenon of the evaluative past is special in that it straddles this divide. On the one hand, the evaluative past tense is used for events that are readily available at the point of speech, and on the other, it signals that the evaluation is subjective with respect to the speaker’s past experiences, typically that the event is unexpected.
world’s languages. He adds, however, that the area is relatively unexplored. With that in mind, I will draw a parallel between the Swedish system of tense and that of human memory. First, I give a brief introduction to some theories of memory that are necessary for understanding the parallel that I see between tense and memory (Section 9.3.1). Second, I present the parallel as well as a suggestion as to what it might reveal about tense in Swedish (Section 9.3.2).

9.3.1 Memory and memory retrieval

At a general level, the human memory system comprises three types of memory (Baddeley et al. 2020:9 ff.). Sensory memory holds information from a sensory input for a brief time. Short-term memory retains a small and limited amount of information for a few seconds. And, finally, long-term memory stores information over long periods of time. As a system, long-term memory is further divided into explicit and implicit memory. The former memory is available for intentional retrieval, while the latter memory manifest itself by the body’s procedural remembering of how to do something, such as walking or standing up. Finally, the explicit long-term memories are divided into episodic and semantic memory. Figure 9.6 below contains the types of memory discussed above.

![Figure 9.6. Memory types (adapted from Baddeley et al. 2020:9 ff.)](image)

The explicit memory system is divided in two, and I believe that these parts have special relationships to our tenses. On the one hand, there is episodic memory, a system that enables one to remember specific personal events in a spatiotemporal context. On the other hand, there is semantic memory, a system that enables one to know general things about the world, without information regarding the personal involvement and the spatiotemporal context for the experience. The semantic information roughly corresponds to factual generic statements without a specific reference to the event, e.g. ‘lions are carnivores,’ while the episodic memories concern specific events, such as ‘I had a cold Pepsi with lemon when I was six,’ with episodic information such as when and where you experienced the cold beverage.
As for the example of the episodic memory in the paragraph above, I have a very vivid memory of having Pepsi with lemon. I was six, I think. It was in Portugal, and my father and I were seated at a table to the left of an almost empty bar. Palm trees were stoically scorching in the sun while we were sitting comfortably in the shade. And Pepsi with lemon just hit the spot for a heat-dazed six-year-old! This string of events is meaningful to me on a personal level, and I could expound on it as well as my emotional state for some time, I think. In contrast, I feel little for the example of semantic memory on lions above, for I have no personal experience of it. I simply know that lions are carnivores and I know this without an episodic memory of a lion tearing through a wildebeest.

The distinction between episodic and semantic memory comes from Tulving (1972). He maps these memories to three types of consciousness involved in memory retrieval (Tulving 1985). The first consciousness is anoetic (non-knowing). This pertains to the ability to react to external or internal stimuli, which is something we share with plants and computers. The anoetic ability implies implicit memory, such as the procedural knowledge of how to walk. The second consciousness is noetic (knowing) which makes it possible for us to be aware of our memories of the internal and external world, i.e. world knowledge. The noetic ability is mapped to semantic memory. The third consciousness is autonoetic (self-knowing), and it provides the individual with a sense of self and one’s role in subjective time, from the past via the present and into the future. It maps to episodic memory which:

 [...] affords the additional capability of acquisition and retention of knowledge about personally experienced events and their temporal relations in subjective time and the ability to mentally “travel back” in time. (Tulving 1985:387 f.)

Mental time travel is a characteristic feature of episodic memory retrieval, and it allows a person to travel anywhere in subjective time, not only to the past but to hypothetical times as well (Tulving 2005:17 f.).

According to Tulving (1985), the mapping between memories and consciousness forms a chain of implications, as summarized below in Table 9.1. Vertically, the episodic memory implies (marked by ↓) that there is a semantic system, and the semantic system implies that there is a procedural system. Horizontally, each memory system implies the form of consciousness to its right, and each form of consciousness implies the memory system to its left. Although widely recognized, the distinction between episodic and semantic memory is not unchallenged. In fact, it has been proposed to be less strict than supposed, and that memories specific to our personal lives appear in episodic as well as semantic memory. The idea of memory for episodic events as well as self-related semantic memory such as our name and place of birth is introduced by Conway & Pleydell-Pearce (2000), and it is referred to as autobiographical memory. Nonetheless, the concepts introduced in this section
Table 9.1. *Schematic arrangement of three memory systems and three kinds of consciousness (adopted from Tulving 1985)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Memory system</th>
<th>Consciousness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Episodic</td>
<td>Autonoetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic</td>
<td>Noetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedural</td>
<td>Anoetic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

should suffice to point out the similarities between tense and memory, which is the subject of the next section.

9.3.2 A parallel between tense and memory in Swedish

As you may have noticed, there are similarities between the account of the past tense and Tulving’s (1972) concept of episodic memory. The empirical investigation suggests that the past tense is used mostly for speaking about factual events to which the speaker has an experiential link, which is typically modeled by a $T$ preceding $V_n$. By comparison, episodic memory is used to store memories of personal experiences along with information on their spatiotemporal context. Thus, arguably, when someone says, ‘(When I was a kid, I learned that) the square root of 100 was 10,’ the use of the past tense implies that the event is retrieved from one’s memory of a personal experience. In this sense, such events may be described as autonoetic.

You may also have noticed the similarities between the account of the present tense and Tulving’s (1972) concept of semantic memory, as well as sensory memory. The empirical investigation shows that the present tense is often used to speak of events that the speaker knows of as a readily available fact or sensation, which is modeled by a $T$ to the right of $V_1$, or coinciding with $V_1$. By comparison, semantic memory is used to store impersonal memories of general world knowledge. And by comparison, sensory memory is used to briefly hold information regarding the sensory input of the world around you. Thus, arguably, when someone says ‘the square root of 100 is 10,’ or ‘I feel cold,’ the use of the present tense implies that the event is retrieved from one’s semantic or sensory memories of the world. Such events may be described as noetic. (Observe that generic, habitual and iterative events in the present fall under this category as well.)

With respect to the similarities above, I think it possible that the past tense is used primarily to speak about autonoetic events, and that the present tense is used primarily to speak about noetic events. Let us consider this idea more carefully in relation to the various levels of vantage points.
The difference between the past and the present tense is visible in their pairings of event times and vantage points. For as seen in Section 9.2, any event time (retrospective, synchronous or prospective) may be expressed from $V_1$ in the past tense, but not all may be so in the present tense. The use of $V_1$ in the present tense is restricted to synchronous or prospective events. In other words, at the first level in the $V$-hierarchy, the past is used to signal autonoetic retrieval, while the present tense is confined to signal noetic retrieval. Moreover, at this first level, $V_1$ for the past tense is confined to experiences on the subjective timeline of the actual speaker.

As we move down the $V$-hierarchy to an arbitrary level subordinate to $V_1$, we see that both past and present tense are used for autonoetic events. This has to do with the capacity for mental time travel. In order to set up a subordinate vantage, $V_2$, the vantage holder appears elsewhere by means of mental time travel on the actual timeline, or on some alternative timeline.

The differences mentioned above regarding the tenses abilities to signal memory retrieval may be summarized as below in Table 9.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modes of retrieval</th>
<th>Events</th>
<th>Past tense</th>
<th>Present tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noetic</td>
<td>synchronous</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>$V_1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prospective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>retrospective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>autonoetic</td>
<td>synchronous</td>
<td>$V_n$</td>
<td>$V_1+n$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prospective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the past and the present tenses are used to speak about experiences. The difference between them is that the past tense is used primarily for events that are remembered from episodic memory, while the present tense is not. By ‘primarily’, I mean, from $V_1$. From $V_2$ or lower, however, the past and the present tense both imply autonoetic consciousness. For the past tense, this is where the alternative hypothetical or unreal timelines becomes available. For the present tense, this is where the vivid accounts of the retrospective events, and the hypothetical or unreal timelines of the synchronous and prospective events becomes available (as if they were noetic).

The schematic arrangement of the three memory systems and the three kinds of consciousness in Table 9.1 above fits rather neatly with the distinguishing parts of the account of tense. See Table 9.3 below.

The supplemented arrangement in Table 9.3 is not a fact, however. It is merely a linguistic hypothesis in need of psychological support. But, it does seem reasonable to assume that when we speak about events displaced in time, we need the autonoetic capabilities to do so, and that when we speak about the events that are readily available to us, we need only the noetic faculty. Last, if one speaks of events by accident in glossolalia, i.e. when speaking in tongues.
Table 9.3. The role of tense in Tulving’s (1985) schematic arrangement of memory and consciousness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Memory system</th>
<th>Consciousness</th>
<th>Tense system</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Episodic</td>
<td>Autonoetic</td>
<td>Past $V_n$, and present $V_{1+n}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic</td>
<td>Noetic</td>
<td>Present $V_1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedural</td>
<td>Anoetic</td>
<td>Glossolalia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or the like, it seems we need only rely on the articulatory motor functions stored in our implicit procedural memory system to do so.

The correspondence between the memory system and the Swedish tense system, as drawn up in Table 9.3, makes sense with consideration to the result in Irish et al. 2016, in which a set of labels for episodic and semantic categories were matched to the past and the present tenses. Their study concerns the language use of amnesic patients, and it demonstrates that patients with Alzheimer’s decease or semantic dementia display a significantly reduced use of past tense verbs for episodic content during autobiographical narration, as well as an elevation of present-tense verbs. The findings were corroborated by neuroimaging data suggesting that the reduction is due to a decrease of gray-matter intensity in relevant brain regions. Their hypothesis for future research is that the levels of present tense usage increase as patients’ memories of past-related content dwindle (Irish et al. 2016:306). From the perspective of theoretical conceptions of tense, I find this hypothesis probable. Yet, to echo Dahl (2013), this interdisciplinary area is far from charted, least of all on the linguistic side of things.

While I see similarities between these systems, I do not wish to overstate their importance or rush to any other implications than those of Table 9.3. Additional thought is required, and so is corroborating evidence showing that the types of consciousness, as illustrated by Table 9.3, actually imply the components of tense in Swedish and similar languages. That said, I think that further work may be worthwhile, for researchers on tense as well as memory. On the side of linguistics, it would press us to seriously consider that the distinction between past and present tense could be something else, perhaps one of autonoetic and noetic tense or mood. On the side of psychology, it would enable researchers on tense and memory, such as Irish et al. (2016), to consider their annotation (coding) guidelines for episodic and semantic content, as well as tense, with respect to a linguistic terminology that has a strong affinity to their research object.
10. Summary and conclusions

The aim of this thesis has primarily been to supplement the account of tense in Swedish with extensive empirical data focusing on the use of the past tense(s) for events that overlap or follow the point of speech and the present tense(s) for events that precede the point of speech, here labeled incongruous tense. Additionally, the thesis project has also resulted in a corpus of sentences with annotated tense forms covering the domains of newspaper text and web-based discussion fora. This final chapter reflects upon the research outcomes of this thesis (Section 10.1), and on some of the remaining problems and challenges for future research (Section 10.2).

10.1 Research outcomes

The empirical investigation largely took the account of tense in the Swedish Academy Grammar (SAG) as its point of departure. This account has clear roots in Reichenbach 1947, where tense is taken to relate the event time \(E\) to a reference time \(R\) in addition to the point of speech \(S\). Important differences, however, are that SAG introduces a thematic time \(T\), defined as “the time that the clause is about,” instead of Reichenbach’s \(R\), and that it only assumes an indirect relation between \(E\) and \(S\) mediated by \(T\). This study has followed SAG on the former point, but nevertheless deviated from the latter by assuming a direct link between \(S\) and \(E\). In practice, \(T\) and \(E\) are usually positioned in the same way with respect to \(S\), and the rules for when it is possible to deviate from this pattern are not fully elucidated. This study has also deviated from leading accounts of tense (other than the one in SAG) by retaining the point of speech of the actual speaker (to which it is actually always possible to anchor tense) instead of a point of view or the like. In most cases, incongruous tense, given my principles, can be exchanged for congruous tense without actually affecting the temporal interpretation of the event, which in itself has been taken as a reason to make the distinction.

SAG explicitly distinguishes some types of tense that diverge in varying degrees from their initial principles of tense use, namely temporal dislocation, the evaluative past, the modifying past, the historical present and the annalistic present (cf. Section 3.4.1). These types have here been counted as incongruous tense use as well. However, my understanding of incongruous tense has led to a slightly stricter view of tense than what follows from SAG’s principles, which means that I have distinguished three additional types. These
were the well-known *direct speech* in the present tense, and past tense uses for what is here referred to as *incongruous relayed events* and *the anticipated past perspective*. The use of the past tense for incongruous relayed events indicates that *T* refers to an experience in the past, although the reported phenomenon still applies at the point of speech, whereas, when it comes to the anticipated past perspective, both *T* and *E* precede an additional fictive point of speech (or the like) in the future. The linguistic properties of the incongruous types identified were used as heuristics in the collection and construction of the corpus of tense forms which formed the basis for the empirical investigation.

The finite verb forms of the approximately 160 000 sentences of the resulting corpus (Section 5.2.3) have mainly been sorted with respect to their tense type (past or present), their congruity (congruous, incongruous or undecidable), and their incongruous tense type. The sentences were also annotated with lexical and grammatical information (as XML). One should keep in mind, however, that the quality of the corpus has not been subjected to external assessment or tests of consistency. It has primarily been developed for the specific purposes of this thesis, and not as a general-purpose corpus. That said, this “byproduct” is a unique linguistic resource of Swedish which is freely available as an SQLite database under a Creative Commons license.

Question 1, “How common is incongruous tense (of different types) in Swedish?”, was regarded by providing a statistical estimate for the proportion of incongruous tense, and its types in the corpus of tense forms (Chapter 6). The estimate for the proportion of incongruous tense shows that incongruous tense is quite common. In fact, every fifth tense form in the investigated corpus is incongruous. However, there are notable differences between the distributions of the past and the present incongruous tense types across text type. The incongruous past types are favored by the subcorpus based on Web fora (WebF), while the incongruous present types are favored by the subcorpus based on newspaper texts (News). The former make up a quarter of the past tense forms in WebF, and the latter more than half of the present tense forms in News. Conversely, the incongruous past types make up a mere tenth of the cases in News, and the incongruous present types 4% or less in WebF. The differences between the text types suggest that studies of tense in other domains of Swedish may reach other results. However, this is the only empirically grounded estimate available, and thus the best assessment by default. Also, the large size of the sampled corpus, with its wide range of language use, justifies the view that incongruous tense is common in Swedish.

The estimate for the proportion of incongruous tense types shows that some incongruous types are more common than others. The incongruous present types are largely made up of direct speech and the historical present, in nearly equal measure. The annalistic present is far less common. Out of the incongruous past types, temporal dislocation make up nearly half, in contrast to the evaluative and the modifying past, which constitute about a tenth. The remaining two fifths of the incongruous past (nearly 5 000) form a group of other
incongruous factual events which does not represent any of the known types of temporal dislocation, or the evaluative or modifying past.

Question 2, “What types of incongruous tense are there in Swedish?”, was considered by surveying the corpus of tense forms for incongruous tense types (Chapter 7). The survey revealed no previously unnoticed types for the incongruous present. This was not the case for the incongruous past tense, which revealed a rather large group of other incongruous factual events that cannot be seen as instances of the evaluative past or the modifying past. Some of its instances can be explained by tense harmony, and some can be seen as incongruous relayed events or as the anticipated past perspective, but there are cases that cannot, at least not necessarily, be seen as any of these, such as the incongruous dialogical past tense where $T$ is anchored to some previous utterance in the current dialogue. Although the survey describes the more prominent types and their linguistic properties, it has not been possible to find a common feature, or a way to divide all of the instances of the other incongruous factual events into distinct types due to the substantial overlap between them. As a consequence, the survey of the other incongruous factual events is non-exhaustive, and the types of this group have not been fully quantified.

It was nonetheless possible to distinguish and quantify two types of other incongruous factual events: on the one hand, those that overlap the point of the speech, and, on the other hand, those succeeding it. The former is common, and the latter is rare in the corpus, yet perfectly natural and likely specific to domains of informal and spoken discourse such as the following instance of the anticipated past perspective: *Jag berättar hur det gick imorgen* ‘I’ll tell you how it went tomorrow’. Cases like these recur in Swedish, and probably in similarly structured Germanic languages as well. In contrast to the $S$-overlapping events, the instances of $S$-succeeding events have both $T$ and $E$ incongruously positioned after $S$, and they cannot therefore be interpreted as having a $T$ that marks the past experience of $E$. Furthermore, the $S$-succeeding events differ from the $S$-overlapping events in that they need not be durative and in that they cannot always be paraphrased in the present tense without affecting the aktionsart of the event.

Question 3, “Are there lexical or grammatical differences between congruous and incongruous tense use?”, was handled by comparing annotated sentences with incongruous tense to sentences with congruous tense (Chapter 8). The comparisons were prompted by impressions of the corpus data, and they revealed differences between congruous and incongruous tense use.

The first comparison concerned the incongruous factual events in the past tense and the linguistic properties of the other incongruous factual events. The result thereof indicates that there are distributional differences between the incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past tense with regard to the linguistic properties of the other incongruous factual events. However, the linguistic properties are found with the congruous past tense as well,
even those denoting a relaying or dialogical point of reference, such as adversials of attitude or time.

The second comparison concerned the finite verbs of the congruous and incongruous tenses. As for the incongruous past tense in the data, the results show that it is more selective of certain verb types than the congruous past tense is. However, the proportion of hapaxes, i.e. verbs that occur only once, of the congruous and incongruous tenses are roughly the same, and this suggests that they are equally productive. The productivity of the incongruous past tenses were further supported by substitution tests, which indicate that they may occur with any verb type, yet with possible restrictions on aktsart. As for the incongruous present tense, it is slightly more selective than the congruous present, but the difference is likely negligible and due to other factors like random variance. Also, their identical hapax proportions coupled with the result of the substitution tests, suggest that they are equally productive. In a sense, the statistics for the present tense signals a “normal” verb selection. However, against such a benchmark it is clear that the verb selection of the congruous and incongruous past warrants further investigation.

The third comparison concerned the incongruous present tense and the common idea that deixis changes from reporter/narrator to the reported or narrated person. The comparison was performed on a limited set of person pronouns, and the results show that the incongruous present cases in the sample occur with the first- and third-person pronouns more often than they do with the congruous present; the difference in distribution was observed for each text type, and it was attributed to changes in deixis.

The results were discussed further in relation to the principles of identifying incongruous tense (Chapter 9). This discussion identified some issues with two common assumptions in leading accounts of tense, one regarding the relationship between the event time and the point of speech, and another suggesting that the point of speech should be replaced by a point of view or the like.

As for the first issue, the assumption of an indirect relation between the time of the event and the point of speech explains some cases of incongruous past tense. However, there are cases where this assumption merely circumvents the question of why the past tense is not always an option when the event time overlaps the thematic time in the past as well as the point of speech.

When it comes to the second issue, the idea of anchoring tense not to the point of speech but to some other “point of view” seems reasonable as a means to understand the incongruous present types, which is also the main reason for similar proposals in the literature. As for the incongruous past tense types, however, this line of thinking only helps with the case of the anticipated past perspective. Still, the identification of hierarchically arranged vantage points from the topmost vantage point which is simultaneous with the point of speech, as outlined here (Section 9.2), can still be a useful tool when discussing differ-
ences between the past and the present tenses. In doing so, the thesis found a parallel structure in the system of human memory (Section 9.3).

10.2 Remaining issues and challenges for future work
The results of the empirical investigation shed light on the proportion of incongruous tense, the types of incongruous tense, and a number of lexical and grammatical differences between congruous and incongruous tense use. This does not mean that the subject is exhausted, and there is potential for improvement in several respects such as: the problem with abductive reasoning about linguistic data (Chapter 5), the generalizability of the statistics to Swedish in general (Chapter 6), the non-exhaustive survey of the other incongruous factual events (Chapter 7), and the need for additional statistical tests (Chapter 8). Having said that, the resulting corpus of annotated tense forms mitigates the problems above to some extent, by facilitating future research that seeks to consider these and other matters further.

A specific challenge for future work on incongruous tense that I can see concerns incongruous past tense and its types. While the idea of an indirect link between the event time and the point of speech (or a point of view or similar) circumvents the problem of S-overlapping events in the incongruous past, there is no general explanation that states when it is possible, or not, to use the past tense for S-overlapping events. In addition, the assumption of an indirect relation does not help with the S-succeeding events in the past tense. In order to investigate these matters, it seems important to identify the full range of types for the incongruous past tense, and to analyze a large sample of S-succeeding events in the past tense. The results of the empirical investigation suggests that there is more to learn about these cases.

Another challenge concerns the extent to which it is warranted to anchor tense to some other identifiable point of time rather than the actual point of speech. While it is clear that such an assumption makes sense for the incongruous present types, it does not, for the most part, help with the incongruous past tense. As such, it does not present a general way to model tense symmetrically for the past and the present tenses, as is the case with the positioning of the thematic time or the point of speech for instance. However, a model with hierarchically arranged vantage points, as tested here, could possibly be a viable way to study asymmetries between the present and past tenses, and it merits further investigation.

A possible approach to meet the two challenges above is to construct a database with full-text annotations of tense. This would allow the researcher to track thematic times, and vantage points beyond the sentence boundary. The chosen method of this thesis, i.e. considering one sentence at a time, has been lacking in this respect. Also, considering the fact that the incongruous past types are more common in WebF, a natural step would be to focus on tense
in conversational data, preferably spoken discourse, since that kind of data is hard to come by, and likely to offer results in contrast to those for written discourse. The suggested approach might also help clarify how the choice of tense works in complex sentences, which is said to be insufficiently studied (SAG 4:254).

Finally, the corpus on tense forms (Section 5.2.3) may also be of use for various natural language processing (NLP) tasks for Swedish that deal with time in language, especially those focused on positioning the event time with respect to the point of speech (or the document creation time as it is referred to in some settings). In addition, with respect to the outlook on tense and memory (cf. Section 9.3), it may also be worthwhile to consider the parallel between tense and memory further, not only for linguists but also for researchers on tense and human memory.
I gängse grammatiska beskrivningar brukar preteritum beskrivas som ett tempus för aktioner som föregår talögonblicket och presens som ett tempus för aktioner som sammanfaller med eller följer efter talögonblicket. Detta stämmer emellertid inte med tempusbruket i exempel (1a–c) och (2a–b) nedan. Yttrandena i (1a–c) är giltiga vid talögonblicket, och preteritumformerna i dessa exempel skulle kunna bytas till presensformer. I (2a–b) är det tvärtom så att aktionerna är förlagda till förfluten tid och presensformerna skulle kunna bytas mot preteritumformer.

(1) a. Vad kallt det var här ute i dag!
   b. Casablanca var verklig bra! Jag bara älskar den!
   c. Vad hette du nu igen?

(2) a. Efter slaget vid Kalkafloden återvänder Djingis till Mongoliet.
   b. Boken beskriver Djingis återtåg till Mongoliet.

Tempusbruket i (1)–(2) ovan är några exempel på vad jag här (efter Klang 2021) kommer att referera till som inkongruent tempus, vilket är själva ämnet för denna avhandling. Det inkongruenta tempusbruket består till stor del av enkelt preteritum för aktioner som sammanfaller med eller följer på talögonblicket, samt enkelt presens för aktioner som föregår talögonblicket, men det inkluderar också vissa användningar av komplexa verbfraser.


Avhandlingens huvudsakliga syfte är att komplettera beskrivningen av svensks tempusbruk med omfattande empirisk data som fokuserar på användningen av inkongruent tempus. Mig veterligen saknas det en större kvantitativ undersökning som precisar omfattningen av det inkongruenta tempusbruket i svensk och dess egenskaper i övrigt.

Den empiriska undersökningen utgår ifrån följande frågor:

¹ SAG (Teleman et al. 1999) är uppdelad i fyra volymer, vilka här hänvisas till som SAG, eller SAG 1–SAG 4 för enskilda volymer.
1. Hur vanligt är inkongruent tempus (av olika typer) i svenskan?
2. Vilka typer av inkongruent tempus finns det i svenskan?
3. Finns det lexikala eller grammatiska skillnader mellan kongruent och inkongruent tempusbruk?

Jag har huvudsakligen undersökt frågorna ovan genom att sammanställa, anotera och analysera en korpus bestående av cirka 160 000 meningar med annoterade tempusformer. Dessa blev primärt sorterade manuellt med avseende på tempusform och om formen användes kongruent eller inkongruent och i det senare fallet på olika typer av inkongruens, men belägen har även annoterats automatiskt med lexikal och grammatisk information. Korpusen utgör materialet för den empiriska undersökningen och denna kompletteras även med en diskussion av de principer för identifieringen av inkongruent tempus som tillämpas i denna studie med avseende på alternativa principer i ledande teorier om tempus. Korpusen utgör även en resurs som kan användas för vidare forskning om tempus.


Utgångspunkter för den empiriska undersökningen

Den empiriska undersökningen utgår i huvudsak från beskrivningen av tempus i SAG. SAG:s redogörelse har tydliga rötter i Reichenbach 1947 där tempus används för att relatera aktionstiden (E) till en referentstid (R) utöver talögonblicket (S). Viktiga skillnader är dock att SAG introducerar en tematisk tid (T), definierad som “den tid en sats handlar om”, istället för Reichenbachs R, och att den endast antar en indirekt relation mellan E och S förmedlad av T.

SAG särskiljer uttryckligen vissa typer av tempus som i varierande grad avviker från deras övergripande principer för tempusbruk, varav en del exemplifieras i (1) och (2) ovan: värderande preteritum (jfr 1a), modifierande preteritum (jfr 1c), historiskt presens (jfr 2a) och annalistiskt presens (jfr 2b). En femte typ är s.k. tempusförskjutning där man använder preteritum i stället för presens för att ange att aktionen är irreal eller osannolik (SAG 4:268), se t.ex. (3) nedan. Vid tempusförskjutning går det i regel inte att växla till presens med bibehållen icke-faktisk betydelse.

(3) Om jag var rik skulle jag köpa ett hus här.

De typer som SAG explicit betraktar som avvikande har här också räknats som inkongruent tempusbruk. Min förståelse av inkongruent tempus har dock lett till en något striktrare syn på tempus än vad som följer av SAG:s principer, vilket innebär att jag har urskiljt ytterligare tre typer. Det gäller det välkända fenomenet direkt anföring i presens; se (4) nedan. I preteritum gäller det dels aktioner i preteritum där $T$ antas markera tiden då ett visst fenomen observerades, upplevdes eller lärdes in även om fenomenet fortfarande gäller vid talögonblicket, se t.ex. (5) från SAG 4:223; jfr även (1b) ovan, dels fall där både den tematiska tiden och aktionstiden föregår en ytterligare fiktiv ”point of view” (eller liknande) i framtid, se (6) nedan från SAG 4:224.

(4) Nu är jag här, sa han när steg innanför dörren i förrgår.

(5) Jag dansade med en flicka som hette Anna.

(6) När jag kommer fram efter den långa resan, kommer jag säkert att drömma om hur förfärlig resan var.

Flickan i (5) heter fortfarande Anna vid talögonblicket (vilket möjliggör ett byte till presens). Denna typ av inkongruent preteritum har ingen särskild benämning i SAG, och inte heller den typ som demonstreras i (6). De kallas här vidare för incongruous relayed events i preteritum respektive anticipated past perspective.
Kriterierna för de inkongruenta typerna, dvs. deras lingvistiska egenskaper, användes som heuristik vid insamlingen och sammanställningen av den korpus av tempusformer som låg till grund för den empiriska undersökningen.

Genomförandet av den empiriska undersökningen


De insamlade meningarna sorterades manuellt i två övergripande steg enligt kriterierna för kongruent och inkongruent tempus. I det första steget sorteras tempusformerna i en av följande fyra kategorier: (i) kongruenta tempusformer, (ii) inkongruenta tempusformer, (iii) flertydiga tempusformer och (iv) felaktiga belägg. I de flertydiga fallen har tidsreferensen inte kunnat fastställas, och de felaktiga beläggen är sådana som felaktigt annoterats som tempusformer i Språkbankens korpusar eller där uppgifterna är felaktiga på annat sätt, t.ex. genom stavfel. I det andra steget sorteras de inkongruenta tempusformerna som någon av de åtta tidigare identifierade inkongruenta typerna, eller som en ”annan typ” om så var fallet.

Resultatet av den manuella sorteringsprocessen är en korpus av 160 000 meningar med annoterade tempusformer (även inräknat flertydiga och felaktiga belägg). Av dessa bedömdes ungefär 130 000 fall som kongruenta eller inkongruenta. Korpusen innehåller ytterligare information om tempus, manuellt såväl som automatiskt annoterad, och den finns fritt tillgänglig som en SQLite-databas under Creative Commons licensen CC-BY (attribution).²

² Se https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/.
För att uppskatta andelen inkongruent tempus i nyhetstext och webbaserade diskussionsforum, och för att kvantifiera osäkerheten i uppskattningen, användes det statistiska förfarandet *one-sample proportion in the Z-interval* (Woods et al. 1986:99). De samlade resultaten så långt belyser forskningsfråga 1 och 2 om hur vanligt inkongruent tempus (av olika typer) är, och vilka typer det finns i svenskan.


Formuleringen av forskningsfråga 3 öppnar för möjligheten att upptäcka ett överväldigande spektrum av skillnader, där inte nödvändigtvis alla skulle visa sig relevanta vid närmare granskning. Av praktiska skäl är därför frågan begränsad till tre specifika jämförelser som följer av ett antal allmänna observationer som gjorts under arbetet med korpusen av tempusformer. Dessa beskrivs mer ingående i anslutning till redovisningen av resultaten för forskningsfrågorna.

**Resultatet av den empiriska undersökningen**

Fråga 1, ”Hur vanligt är inkongruent tempus (av olika typer) i svenskan?”, undersöktes genom en statistisk uppskattning av andelen inkongruenta respectie kongruenta tempusformer i materialet (kapitel 6). Uppskattningen visar att inkongruent tempus är ganska vanligt; var femte tempusform i den undersökta korpusen är inkongruent.

Fördelningen skiljer sig dock mellan de två delkorpusarna. Inkongruent presens är vanligare i News, där det utgör mer än hälften av presensformerna, medan inkongruent preteritum är vanligare i WebF där det utgör en fjärdedel av fallen. Omvänt förekommer inkongruent preteritum i mindre än en tiondel av fallen i News, och inkongruent presens i mindre än fyra procent av fallen i WebF. Man bör därför iakta viss försiktighet vad gäller slutsatser om andelen inkongruent tempus i svenska språket generellt. Å andra sidan representerar materialet ett brett register, så resultatets vitnesbörd är inte oviktigt.

Den kvantitativa uppskattningen av andelen inkongruenta tempustyper visar att vissa typer är vanligare än andra. Ungefär hälften av fallen av inkongruent presens utgörs av direkt anföring och den andra hälften av historiskt presens, medan annalistiskt presens är mer marginellt i sammanhanget. Vad gäller
inkongruent preteritum så täcker tempusförskjutning med sina irreella aktioner in nästan hälften av fallen, medan värderande och modifierande preteritum med sina faktiska aktioner endast täcker in en tiondel. Den återstående andelen av inkongruent preteritum utgörs av andra typer av faktiska aktioner (bland annat så kallade ”incongruous relayed events” i preteritum, och ”anticipated past perspective”, jfr (5)–(6) ovan); se vidare nedan.

När det gäller fråga 2, ”Vilka typer av inkongruent tempus finns det i sven-
skän?”, visar undersökningen inget nytt vad gäller inkongruent presens, men däremot vad gäller inkongruent preteritum där en stor del, nästan 5 000 av 11 000 fall, inte kunde sorteras som vare sig tempusförskjutning, värderande preteritum, eller modifierande preteritum (kapitel 7). Vissa av dessa fall är svåra att förklara som något annat än tempusharmoni medan vissa kan ses som instanser av ”incongruous relayed events” i preteritum eller som ”anticipated past perspective”. Men det finns även fall som inte, eller åtminstone inte nödvändigtvis, passar in i dessa klassificeringar. En av dessa typer identifierades som incongruous dialogical past tense med T förankrat i något tidigare yttrande eller ämne i den aktuella dialogen. Se t.ex. (7) från WebF där skribenten använder preteritum för att uttrycka vilket land den aktuella tråden handlade om, trots att tråden faktiskt handlar om landet i fråga.

(7) Sen var väl tråden om Venezuela egentligen […]

Den stora gruppen av faktiska aktioner med inkongruent preteritum (inklusive värderande och modifierande preteritum), låt sig emellertid inte indelas i tydliga undertyper. För de något mer framträdande fallen var det dock möjligt att identifiera ett antal lexikala och grammatiska egenskaper, t.ex. att incongruous dialogical past tense typiskt tycks förekomma med attitydsadverbial. Sådana egenskaper beskrivs närmare i anslutning till fråga 3 nedan.

I ett avseende gick det dock att göra åtskillnad, nämligen mellan aktioner som överlappar talögonblicket, vilket gäller exemplet i (5) och (7) ovan, och sådana fall som infaller efter talögonblicket, se t.ex. anticipated past perspective i (6) ovan, eller (8) nedan från WebF som handlar om att skribenten har en tidsbokning för att tatuera sig i mars.

(8) Han hade tid tidigast mars vilket är OK.

Medan man i fall som (5) och (7) kan förstå preteritumbruket utifrån det faktum att aktionerna var giltiga också före talögonblicket även om de fortfarande gäller vid talögonblicket, så fungerar inte något motsvarande för exempel som det i (8). Det är tydligt att preteritumformen hade i (8) inte kan användas om det inte är så att talaren tidigare har erfarit att personen i fråga har tid i mars, men samtidigt kan inte den tematiska tiden markera detta eftersom den måste överlappa aktionstiden. Fallet av anticipated past perspective likt det i (6) kan dock förstås som att den tematiska tiden föregår en fiktiv point of view.
Av naturliga skäl fungerar S-överlappande inkongruent preteritum endast med durativ aktionsart. Detta gäller inte för den typ där aktionen infaller efter S. En annan skillnad är att den förra typen, till skillnad från den senare, ofta kan parafraseras med presens utan nämnvärd påverkan på betydelsen. En sådan parafrasering fungerar inte för anticipated past perspective, men i regel för fall som (8).

I materialet är meningar med S-överlappande inkongruent preteritum väldigt vanliga, medan fall där preteritum avser en aktion som infaller efter S, som de i (6) och (8), är ganska få. Intressant nog framstår de senare fallen trots detta som mycket naturliga. En rimlig hypotes är att de i första hand förekommer i informellt språkbruk, kanske ofta i informellt tal som inte har undersökt här. I materialet för avhandlingen är de endast belagda i WebF.

Fråga 3, ”Finns det lexikala eller grammatiska skillnader mellan kongruent och inkongruent tempusbruk?”, diskuterades utifrån jämförelser av annoterade meningar med inkongruent och kongruent tempus (kapitel 8). Jämförelserna föranleddes av iakttagelser som indikerade skillnader i bruket mellan kongruent och inkongruent tempus. Dessa iakttagelser uppdagades under arbetet med sammanställningen av kroppen.

Den första jämförelsen gäller kongruent preteritum och de inkongruenta faktiska aktionerna i preteritum. Dessa jämfördes med avseende på de lexikala och grammatiska egenskaperna som identifierades för några av de mer framträdande fallen i kapitel 7. Resultatet visar att de inkongruenta fallen skiljer sig från kongruent preteritum genom att de oftare förekommer i frågor, eller tillsammans med attitydsadverbial (t.ex. väl och ju). De utmärker sig även genom att oftare förekomma i komplexa meningar som innehåller satser med finita tempusformer i presens. Vidare gäller att kongruent preteritum skiljer sig från de inkongruenta fallen genom att oftare förekomma med vissa tidsadverbial. Skillnaderna är emellertid inte absoluta utan en fråga om frekvens; alla de nämnda egenskaperna förekommer alltså vid både kongruent och inkongruent tempusbruk, fast i olika grad.

tydligt att verbvalet för kongruent och inkongruent preteritum behöver studeras vidare.

Den tredje jämförelsen gäller inkongruent och kongruent presens samt den allmänna uppfattningen att deixis ändras från den anförande eller berättande personens perspektiv till perspektivet för personen för vilken anförandet eller berättandet gäller. Jämförelsen gäller distributionen av ett antal personliga pronomener (jag, vi, han och hon) i kongruent och inkongruent presens. Valet av pronomener grundades i iakttagelsen att kongruent presens typiskt verkar förekomma med få fall av personliga pronomener när man i nyhetstext sakligt beskriver ett fenomen utan personlig inblandning, eller när man diskuteras saker i diskussionsforum. Se avsaknaden av personliga pronomener i de kongruenta exempen nedan från News och WebF.

(9) Företrädare för läkemedelsbolaget Pharmacia, som är den största tillverkaren av hjälpmedel för människor som vill sluta röka, kommer idag till Göteborg för att diskutera innehållet i rapporten. (News)

(10) [A:] [...]. Bäst med minnetyp eller stort minne? Är en big noob så endast lätta svar Peace! [B:] Tå det med 512MB minne, den GPU:n har förmodligen ingen som helst nytta av 1GB. [A:] GPU:n? [B:] Graphics Processing Unit. Det är hjärnan i grafikkortet... (WebF)

Vidare gjordes iakttagelsen att de inkongruenta fallen typiskt tycks förekomma med många fall av personliga pronomener när man i News och WebF återger ett skeende som om det sker i nuet. Se exempel (11–12) nedan.

(11) [Reporter:] När jag träffar Lena är hon hemma i Göteborg för att under ett år känna efter hur stor längtan är efter att flytta hem. [Lena:] – Jag kan inte välja. Här har jag min familj och mina rötter men i Norge har jag mitt jobb och mina elever. (News)

(12) Jag dunkade honom lite i ryggen och guppade honom lite upp och ner och försökte hjälpa honom att hosta. Plötsligt blir han helt tyst och börjar sprattla med armar och ben och blir väldigt orolig. Då inser jag att han inte får någon luft [...]. Huvudet ramlar åt sidan och nu är jag fullständigt skräckslagen! [...] Ambulansen kommer efter en liten stund och när killarna kliver in genom dörren möter Sixten dem med ett leende! De vill att vi följer med för säkerhets skull och vi blev åter igen inlagda på Östra. (WebF)

Dessa iakttagelser vann stöd i resultatet av jämförelsen som visar att fallen med inkongruent presens förekommer med första- och tredjepersonspronomen oftare än vad de gör i kongruent presens. Den distributionella skillnaden observerades för varje texttyp och anses primärt bero på förändringar i deixis vid skiften från kongruent till inkongruent presens och vice versa, snarare än texttyp.
Kommentarer angående principerna för att identifiera inkongruent tempus

De principer som har fått styra vilket tempusbruk som anses inkongruent i den empiriska undersökningen har, som nämnts ovan, frångått två vanliga antaganden inom modern tempusteori. Ett vedertaget tempusteoretiskt antagande är numera att aktionstiden endast är indirekt relaterad till talögonblicket via en tematisk tid (som i SAG) eller något motsvarande. Flera forskare vill också hellre se tempus som förankrat i någon sorts ”point of view” än i själva talögonblicket. En del tempusbruk som här betecknas som inkongruent skulle kunna förklaras utifrån dessa principer. Samtidigt gäller i de flesta av dessa fall att talaren kan välja ett, med mina utgångspunkter, kongruent alternativ. Förklaringsvärdet hos dessa alternativa principer diskuteras emellertid i ett särskilt kapitel (9) som ett komplement till den empiriska undersökningen.

Antagandet om ett indirekt förhållande mellan aktionstiden och talögonblicket kan förklara vissa fall av inkongruent preteritum. Antagandet i sig ger dock inget svar på frågan om varför preteritum inte alltid är ett alternativ när aktionstiden överlappar den tematiska tiden i dåtid såväl som talögonblicket. Genomgången av de ”andra inkongruenta faktiska aktionerna” i kapitel 7 antyder att dessa ofta kan parafraseras i presens utan att påverka aktionstidens position i förhållande till talögonblicket, som i exempel (13a) nedan. Men inkongruent preteritum är inte alltid ett gångbart alternativ (jfr 13b) när det borde vara det, givet principen om en indirekt relation mellan $E$ och $S$ (avsnitt 9.1).

(13) a. Igår träffade jag hans fru som \{har hade\} en anmärkningsvärd accent.  
   Jag bara älskade hur hon talade!

   b. Igår träffade han min fru som \{har # hade\} en anmärkningsvärd accent.  
   Han bara älskade hur hon talade!

Den inkongruenta $S$-överlappande aktionen i (13a) verkar bara fungera om händelsen blir känd för talaren vid $T$ för första gången. I (13b) känner talaren redan till sin hustrus accent vid $T$, dvs. igår i den överordnade satsen, och även om han hörde hennes accent (igen) vid den tiden, är den erfarenheten i sig inte tillräcklig för att licensiera användningen av inkongruent preteritum. Endast presens är pragmatskt gångbart här, trots att bisatsen flankeras av två satser i preteritum vilket i sig borde föranleda tempusharmoni. Avhandlingen går inte in på detaljerna för vilka regler som gäller för de inkongruenta typerna av preteritum som har identifierats här, men en sådan undersökning vore befogad. De ”andra inkongruenta faktiska aktionerna” utgör en stor del av materialet (kapitel 6) och det är oklart vilka typer de består av (kapitel 7). Dessutom visar de statistiska skillnaderna mellan kongruent och inkongruent preteritum att problemet är komplicerat (kapitel 8).
När det gäller principen att förankra tempus i en valfri ”point of view” har jag testat ett alternativ som utgår ifrån vad jag kallar vantage points. En vantage point avser en viss talares perspektiv vid en viss tidpunkt. I komplexa meningar kan flera vantage points förekomma, vilka då ses som hierarkiskt ordnade. Överst står den faktiska talarens vantage point i det faktiska talögonblicket. Denna betecknas $V_1$, medan underordnade vantage points betecknas $V_2$, $V_3$ etc. Ett konstruerat exempel ges nedan där den faktiska talaren inleder meningen från $V_1$ i preteritum men sedan berättar en historia från $V_2$ i presens. Meningen är uppdelad så att varje sats presenteras på en ny rad och följs av en analys med vantage points.

$$14\text{a. }$$ Jag var på disko igår . . . $R, E - V_1$

$$14\text{b. }$$ och när jag går ut på dansgolvet . . . $V_2, R, E$

$$14\text{c. }$$ så snubblar jag. $V_2, R, E$

Arrangemanget med vantage points medger att man både kan göra en ”horisontell” analys av aktionstidens placering i relation till den vantage point som avser enskilda belägg, och en ”vertikal” analys som avser relationen mellan $V_1$ och underordnade vantage points.

Utifrån den horisontella analysen förefaller tanken att förankra tempus till en vantage point för en föreställd talare, $V_2$, (istället för talögonblicket) som ett rimligt sätt att förstå de inkongruenta typerna av presens. Detta är också den huvudsakliga anledningen till liknande förslag i litteraturen, vilka även stöds av jämförelsen av deiktiska pronomen (avsnitt 8.3). Men det blir också tydligt att ett skifte av $V$ inte påverkar tolkningen av $E$ för inkongruent preteritum i samma utsträckning, utan endast beträffande typen anticipated past perspective där $E$ kan förstås som att det föregår en framtida vantage point. Det är på så vis oklart om en vantage point, eller liknande, bör utgöra en del av en grundläggande modell för tempus på samma sätt som till exempel den tematiska tiden vars placering är symmetrisk mellan presens och preteritum.

Den vertikala analysen föranleder några observationer gällande tempus och relaterade ämnen såsom möjliga världar eller skillnaden mellan allmän och specifik referens. Dessa observationer kan kopplas till en grundläggande skillnad mellan preteritum och presens. Presens är speciellt eftersom det är det enda tempus som vi använder från $V_1$ för aktioner som är tillgängliga för talaren i talsituationen, såsom sensoriska eller generaliserade upplevelser. Preteritum är speciellt eftersom det är det enda tempus som vi använder från $V_1$ för minnen av faktiska aktioner vilka är specifika för talaren. För att tala om retrospektiva aktioner i presens, eller för att tala om icke-faktiska aktioner på en annan tidslinje i presens eller preteritum, krävs att den faktiska talaren gör det från en underordnad vantage point $V_{1+n}$. Värderande preteritum är dock speciellt i sammanhanget. Å ena sidan används typen för aktioner som sammanfaller med talögonblicket, och å andra sidan signalerar det att värderingen
är subjektiv med avseende på talarens tidigare erfarenheter, vanligtvis att aktionen är oväntad.

Genom att strukturera tempussystemet utifrån hierarkier av vantage points kunde en parallell identifieras till en struktur i systemet för mänskligt minne; se avsnitt 9.3. Det noterades där att användningen av presens från $V_1$ kan kopplas till ett specifikt minnessystem och dess motsvarande typ av medvetande, men även att vilken vantage point som helst ($V_n$) i preteritum såväl som vilken underordnad vantage point som helst ($V_{1+n}$) för presens, kan kopplas till en annan specifik uppsättning av minne och medvetande. Enkelt uttryckt antyder detta att specifika användningar av tempus förlitar sig på distinkta delar av minnet och medvetandet. Denna observation är dock spekulativ och i behov av vidare forskning.

Slutord

Resultatet av den empiriska undersökningen belyser andelen inkongruent tempus (och dess typer), de inkongruenta typerna av tempus, och några lexikaliska och grammatiska skillnader mellan kongruent och inkongrent tempus. Det betyder inte att ämnet är uttömt och det finns förbättringspotential i flera avseenden, till exempel vad gäller: problemet med abduktiva resonemang om språkliga data (kapitel 5), statistikens generaliserbarhet till svenska i allmänhet (kapitel 6), den icke uttömmande kartläggningen av de "andra inkongruenta faktiska aktionerna" i preteritum (kapitel 7) och behovet av ytterligare statistiska tester (kapitel 8). Med det sagt kan det framhållas att den annoterade korpusen kan underlätta för framtida forskning som vill gå vidare med dessa eller andra frågor.


En annan utmaning handlar om i vilken utsträckning det är motiverat att föranvända tempus till någon annan identifierbar tidpunkt än det faktiska talögonblicket. Även om ett sådant antagande belyser de inkongruenta typerna av presens, så hjälper det för det mesta inte med inkongruent preteritum. I det avseendet ger inte en vantage point, eller liknande, möjligheten att på
ett generellt sätt modellera tempus symmetriskt för preteritum och presens, som till exempel är fallet med placeringen av den tematiska tiden eller talögonblicket. En modell med hierarkiskt ordnade vantage points, som testats här, skulle dock möjligen kunna vara ett gångbart sätt att studera asymmetrier mellan presens och preteritum.

Ett möjligt tillvägagångssätt för att möta de två utmaningarna ovan vore att skapa en korpus med fulltextannoteringar av tempusbruk. Detta skulle göra det möjligt för forskaren att spåra tematiska tider och vantage points som sträcker sig över meningsgränsen. Metoden i denna avhandling, dvs. att betrakta en mening i taget, har inte visat sig lämplig för detta. Med tanke på att inkongruent preteritum är vanligt i webbaserade diskussionsforum, skulle nästa naturliga steg vara att fokusera på tempus i dialog, gärna talad sådan, då detta verkar vara understuderat för svenskans del.

Slutligen skulle korpusen med annoterade tempusformer (avsnitt 5.2.3) även kunna vara till nytta för språkteknologiska tillämpningar gällande tid och tempus i svenska, i synnerhet de som fokuserar på att identifiera aktionstiden med avseende på talögonblicket (eller ”document creation time” som det kallas i vissa sammanhang). När det kommer till tid och minne (jfr avsnitt 9.3) kan det dessutom visa sig värdefullt att undersöka parallellen mellan tempus och minne ytterligare, inte bara för lingvister utan även för forskare om tempus och mänskligt minne.
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Details on the corpus data

Table 10.1. Last corpus update of WebF (Familjeliv, Flashback), and News (The Gothenburg Post)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpora</th>
<th>Last update (year-month-date)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Familjeliv subcorpora</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoption</td>
<td>2017-07-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allmänna rubriker – Ekonomi &amp; juridik</td>
<td>2017-09-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allmänna rubriker – Familjeliv.se</td>
<td>2017-09-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allmänna rubriker – Fritid &amp; hobby</td>
<td>2017-09-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allmänna rubriker – Hus &amp; hem</td>
<td>2017-09-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allmänna rubriker – Husdjur</td>
<td>2017-09-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allmänna rubriker – Kropp &amp; själ</td>
<td>2017-09-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allmänna rubriker – Nöje</td>
<td>2017-09-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allmänna rubriker – Samhälle</td>
<td>2017-09-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allmänna rubriker – Sandlådan</td>
<td>2017-09-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fråga experten</td>
<td>2017-07-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Förälder</td>
<td>2017-08-02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gravid</td>
<td>2017-07-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Känsliga rummet</td>
<td>2017-09-04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medlemstrådar – Allmänna</td>
<td>2017-07-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medlemstrådar – Föräldrar</td>
<td>2017-07-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medlemstrådar – Planerar barn</td>
<td>2017-07-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medlemstrådar – Väntar barn</td>
<td>2017-07-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pappagrupp</td>
<td>2017-06-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planerar barn</td>
<td>2017-08-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex &amp; samlevnad</td>
<td>2017-08-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svårt att få barn</td>
<td>2017-07-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Änglarum</td>
<td>2017-07-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Flashback subcorpora</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Dator &amp; IT</td>
<td>2017-04-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Droger</td>
<td>2017-04-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Ekonomi</td>
<td>2017-04-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Fordon &amp; trafik</td>
<td>2017-04-04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Hem, bostad &amp; familj</td>
<td>2017-04-05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Kultur &amp; media</td>
<td>2017-04-06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Livsstil</td>
<td>2017-04-07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Mat, dryck &amp; tobak</td>
<td>2017-04-07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Politik</td>
<td>2017-04-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Resor</td>
<td>2017-04-09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 10.1 continued from previous page

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Samhälle</td>
<td>2017-04-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Sex</td>
<td>2017-04-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Sport &amp; träning</td>
<td>2017-04-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Vetenskap &amp; humaniora</td>
<td>2017-04-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Övrigt</td>
<td>2017-04-07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback: Om Flashback</td>
<td>2017-03-30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Gothenburg Post subcorpora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subcorpus</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GP 1994</td>
<td>2017-02-07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP 2001</td>
<td>2017-02-06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP 2002</td>
<td>2017-02-06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP 2003</td>
<td>2017-02-07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP 2004</td>
<td>2017-02-07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP 2005</td>
<td>2017-02-07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP 2006</td>
<td>2017-02-07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP 2007</td>
<td>2017-02-07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP 2008</td>
<td>2017-02-07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP 2009</td>
<td>2017-02-01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP 2010</td>
<td>2017-02-01</td>
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<tr>
<td>GP 2011</td>
<td>2017-02-01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP 2012</td>
<td>2017-02-01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP 2013</td>
<td>2017-02-01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GP – Två dagar</td>
<td>2017-02-07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 10.2. List and clarifications of the row labels: corpus, temporal_meaning, and type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Row labels</th>
<th>Label clarification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>corpus</td>
<td>GP, FL, and FB</td>
<td>GP = ‘News’, and FL&amp;FB = ‘WebF’ (see Section 5.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(S, E)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(S, E</td>
<td>S − E), (S − E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal_meaning</td>
<td>dislocation,</td>
<td>dislocation = ‘temporal dislocation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>evalulative_past,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>modifying_past,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other_types,</td>
<td>other_types = ‘other_incongruous_factual_types’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>annalistic_present,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>historical_present,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>direct_speech</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Auxiliaries for incongruous factual events in the past tense

Table 10.3. Verb lemmas of auxiliaries for the incongruous factual events in the past tense in absolute numbers (N) sorted by frequency in falling order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb_lemma</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>böra ‘shall/must’</td>
<td>1087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skola ‘shall’</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tänka ‘think’</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hal ‘have’</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vilja ‘want’</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunnal ‘can’</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>måste ‘must’</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tordel ‘shall’</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fäl ‘may’</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(unrecognized by lemmatizer)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gå ‘worked’</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behöva ‘need’</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verkal ‘appear’</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slippal ‘need not’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tänktänka oml ‘think’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tvingal ‘force’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klaral ‘be able’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>törasal ‘dare’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tänktänka sigl ‘think/ithink REFL’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tendaral ‘tend to’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stål ‘stand’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selse oml ‘see if’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lorkal ‘have the strength to’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>näl ‘reach’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lätal ‘let’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kommal ‘come’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hållal ‘hold on PROG’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hjälpal ‘help’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glömmal ‘forget’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>försökmal ‘try’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fortsättal ‘proceed’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>börjal ‘begin’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 2 187
Additional comparisons regarding the markers for the factual incongruous types in the past tense

**Table 10.4.** The number of adversative markers in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (News) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adversative Marker</th>
<th>Congruous N (N%)</th>
<th>Incongruous N (N%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>men</em> ‘but’</td>
<td>198 (50%)</td>
<td>196 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>utan</em> ‘without’</td>
<td>34 (60%)</td>
<td>23 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fast</em> ‘though’</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ändå</em> ‘still’</td>
<td>15 (47%)</td>
<td>17 (53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dock</em> ‘however’</td>
<td>11 (42%)</td>
<td>15 (58%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>däremot</em> ‘however’</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>268 (50%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>268 (50%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 10.5.** The number of adversative markers in equal numbers of sentences of incongruous factual events in the past tense and the congruous past (WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adversative Marker</th>
<th>Congruous N (N%)</th>
<th>Incongruous N (N%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>men</em> ‘but’</td>
<td>1 047 (49%)</td>
<td>1 071 (51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>utan</em> ‘without’</td>
<td>127 (46%)</td>
<td>150 (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fast</em> ‘though’</td>
<td>25 (47%)</td>
<td>28 (53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ändå</em> ‘still’</td>
<td>75 (46%)</td>
<td>89 (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dock</em> ‘however’</td>
<td>72 (46%)</td>
<td>86 (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>däremot</em> ‘however’</td>
<td>20 (50%)</td>
<td>20 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 366 (49%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 444 (51%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Additional comparisons regarding the deictic differences across congruity in the present tense

Table 10.6. Deictic expressions in 7,351 sentences with the congruous present, and in an equal number of sentences with direct speech (News) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N\%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>deictic expressions</th>
<th>congruous N (N%)</th>
<th>incongruous N (N%)</th>
<th>row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jag ‘I’</td>
<td>616 (17%)</td>
<td>2,985 (83%)</td>
<td>3,601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi ‘we’</td>
<td>578 (16%)</td>
<td>2,952 (84%)</td>
<td>3,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han ‘he’</td>
<td>439 (31%)</td>
<td>998 (69%)</td>
<td>1,437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hon ‘she’</td>
<td>228 (41%)</td>
<td>329 (59%)</td>
<td>557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>1,861 (20%)</td>
<td>7,264 (80%)</td>
<td>9,125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.7. Deictic expressions in 543 sentences with the congruous present, and in an equal number of sentences with direct speech (WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N\%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>deictic expressions</th>
<th>congruous N (N%)</th>
<th>incongruous N (N%)</th>
<th>row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jag ‘I’</td>
<td>408 (39%)</td>
<td>643 (61%)</td>
<td>1,051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi ‘we’</td>
<td>71 (28%)</td>
<td>184 (72%)</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han ‘he’</td>
<td>90 (30%)</td>
<td>206 (70%)</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hon ‘she’</td>
<td>60 (33%)</td>
<td>120 (67%)</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>629 (35%)</td>
<td>1,153 (65%)</td>
<td>1,782</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10.8. Deictic expressions in 7,355 sentences with the congruous present, and in an equal number of sentences with the historical present (News) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>deictic expressions</th>
<th>congruous</th>
<th>incongruous</th>
<th>row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jag ‘I’</td>
<td>587 (24%)</td>
<td>1,154 (76%)</td>
<td>1,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi ‘we’</td>
<td>614 (36%)</td>
<td>1,107 (64%)</td>
<td>1,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han ‘he’</td>
<td>438 (18%)</td>
<td>2,002 (82%)</td>
<td>2,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hon ‘she’</td>
<td>180 (16%)</td>
<td>938 (84%)</td>
<td>1,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>1,819 (26%)</td>
<td>5,201 (74%)</td>
<td>7,020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.9. Deictic expressions in 456 sentences with the congruous present, and in an equal number of sentences with the historical present (WebF) in absolute numbers (N) and in relative numbers (N%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>deictic expressions</th>
<th>congruous</th>
<th>incongruous</th>
<th>row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jag ‘I’</td>
<td>289 (42%)</td>
<td>406 (58%)</td>
<td>695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi ‘we’</td>
<td>56 (44%)</td>
<td>71 (56%)</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han ‘he’</td>
<td>84 (34%)</td>
<td>166 (66%)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hon ‘she’</td>
<td>30 (21%)</td>
<td>114 (79%)</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>459 (38%)</td>
<td>757 (62%)</td>
<td>1,216</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


20. Adrian Sangfelt: Syntaktiska strukturer i tiden. OV- och bisatsledföljd i svensks historia. (Syntactic structures in time. OV and subordinate clause word order in the history of Swedish.) 2019.


24. Karin Senter: Att göra förort. Om språkliga resurser hos gymnasieungdomar med mångspråkig förortsbakgrund. (Staging Suburbness. Linguistic resources of adolescents with a multilingual urban background.) 2022.
