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## Evidential futures in Ibero-Romance

Il futuro morfologico può esprimere diverse letture semantiche in tutta l'area iberoromanza: tempo, modalità e inferenza o congettura. Eppure, sempre più autori segnalano che attualmente questo tempo è impiegato per l'evidenzialità, senza mantenere per le altre due letture. I ricercatori si sono focalizzati sull'introspezione ma mancano degli studi empirici quantitativi che mostrino il vero impiego di questo tempo in varietà non standard. Questo articolo ha lo scopo di descrivere l'uso attuale del futuro morfologico nel discorso dialettale e non colto, per scoprire fino a che punto è diventato una marca morfologica di evidenzialità in tutta la Penisola Iberica.

The morphological future can convey several semantic readings in the whole Ibero-Romance spectrum: time, modality and inference or conjecture. However, more and more authors point out that the current validity of this tense emerges for evidential nuances, leaving aside the other two readings. Researchers have mainly focused on their own introspection, but we lack quantitative empirical data that show the actual and non-standard usage of this tense. This paper aims to pinpoint the current employment of the morphological future in non-cultivated and dialect speech, in order to find to what extent it has become an evidentiality morphological marker all throughout the Iberian Peninsula.

*Parole chiave:* Futuro morfologico, evidenzialità, iberorromance, corpora dialettali

*Keywords:* Future tense, evidentiality, Ibero-Romance, dialect corpora

### 1. Introduction

The morphological future (MF) in the Ibero-Romance languages has been widely studied. Researchers have focused on the different readings it may have as well as its usage in (non-)cultivated speech. To summarise, the main works that deal with the MF in Spanish point out its scarce use to express time, both in the American and European varieties. Instead of the MF, future time is mainly conveyed by means

of the periphrasis *ir a* ('to go to') plus infinitive or the present indicative and, as a result, it emerges above all for modal readings, among which the conjectural one stands out (Real Academia Española 2009; Escandell Vidal 2014; Lara Bermejo 2016). In the case of Portuguese, Oliveira (1985) remarks the low incidence of the MF for time, as well as its scarce usage in non-cultivated registers. Moreover, Portuguese splits the MF into indicative and subjunctive, being the former useful mainly for conjectures. The latter, on the contrary, is quite employed and it is syntactically obligatory in adverbial and relative subordinates without antecedent. To replace the MF in indicative, Portuguese, as does Spanish, favours the periphrasis *ir* ('to go') plus infinitive or the present indicative. Galician also exhibits the competition between the MF and the strategies to which I have referred (Álvarez & Xove 2002; Freixeiro Mata 2006). Lastly, the literature about Catalan underlines the great validity that the MF with a temporal value has today, unlike the inexistence or scarcity of the periphrasis *anar a* ('to go to') plus infinitive or the present indicative to convey the same semantics (Wheeler et al. 1999; Pérez Saldanya 2002).

The problem with the investigations on the MF is the fact that they are based on very few data and, mostly, on examples that do not reflect orality or spontaneity. Likewise, the comparisons among dialects always refer to the distinction between the American and the European variety, without going more in depth into the different dialects that exist in each variety. Additionally, the likelihood for the MF to appear is also constrained to other nuances, such as the cultivated speech (Escandell Vidal 2019). In any case, all authors agree in determining the increase of the MF to express conjectures in all the Ibero-Romance spectrum, even in Catalan, albeit to a lesser extent (Badia i Margarit 1962).

In order to shed light and to show the real behaviour of the current MF, as well as its evolution during the last century, I have extracted data from a series of dialect corpora that cover all the Ibero-Romance languages and which I will describe below in the following section. I must underline that this paper does not focus on the strategies that appear to express a future event, but it is exclusively restricted to pinpointing the behaviour of the MF *per se* and to analysing its geolinguistic and semantic distribution in the whole Iberian Peninsula.

The importance of the corpora I have employed lies on two facts: the sociolinguistic type of the informant as well as the geographical diffusion of the MF. As will be explained below, the speakers' profile guarantees a real time change study, for it will provide the responses of NORM informants from several generations along the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Additionally, the cartographic drawing of these responses will make it possible to establish whether evidentiality has a spatial focus, a specific language has spread it towards its neighbouring varieties or it has appeared simultaneously in some or all of them.

## 2. *Corpus and methodology*

The sources from which I have taken out occurrences pertain to a number of dialect corpora that cover the last hundred years. On the one hand, I have analysed the data that can be found in the *Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula* (ALPI), which was carried out in the first half of the 20th century. This is the first dialect work from the Ibero-Romance spectrum and its methodology consisted in the repetition on the part of rural and non-mobile informants, with a low educational background, and over fifty years old, of a series of pre-established words and sentences in their vernaculars. This method lacks spontaneity, but it is the first corpus we can rely on that shows dialect occurrences from people who were not conditioned by the standard. Likewise, ALPI's researchers only elicited one answer per sentence and locality. In the case of the MF, thirteen sentences were pre-established with a MF within. This means that, in a given town, the person that was surveyed could have produced the MF in every sentence out of the thirteen or in fewer. Eleven of out these thirteen sentences envisaged a future event; one denoted a modal non-conjectural reading, and another one had a conjectural value. As a result, the maps that I will show will provide the percentage of usage of the MF in each locality, taking into account that the maximum is eleven times (if the reading is temporal), or one in the case of both modal non-conjectural and conjectural.

On the other hand, I have extracted occurrences from other corpora carried out in the late 1990's and the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, whose data will compared to those from the ALPI. The more recent corpora are based on the semi-conducted interview and are the following: *Corpus*

*para o estudo da dialetal syntax* (CORDIAL-SIN), for Portuguese; *Computerized Oral Corpus of the Galician Language* (CORILGA), for Galician; *Oral and Sound Corpus of Rural Spanish* (COSER), for Spanish; and *Corpus Oral del Català Dialectal* (COD), as well as *Corpus Dialectal del Català* (DIALCAT), for Catalan. The relevance of these corpora lies in the fact that they show oral and spontaneous speech of older informants from rural areas, without a high educational background and with little mobility; therefore, these sources guarantee dialect samples not conditioned by cultivated uses. However, not all these corpora supply the same availability of recordings. Thus, COSER provides 5,197,838 words; the CORDIAL-SIN, 600,000; the CORILGA, 29,400; and the sum of the two Catalan corpora grants 54,300 words.

Below, I will present the results on the basis of three semantic parameters, following the taxonomy that the abovementioned bibliography established for the MF: temporal MF versus non-temporal MF, and within the latter, modal non-conjectural MF versus modal conjectural MF.

### 3. Results

Below, I will show the results, first those belonging to the ALPI, and afterwards those from the current corpora.

Map1 - Temporal MF in the ALPI



Map 1 illustrates the frequency of the temporal MF in the ALPI. There were eleven sentences that exhibited a temporal future and, based on map 1, only Catalan in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands has systematically chosen the MF to express future time, since they provide 90%-100%.

In the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, this percentage decreases, especially in western Spanish, where 30% of the sentences were expressed through the MF, while the other 70% of informants selected another strategy, such as the present indicative or the periphrasis *ir a* plus infinitive. In any case, the incidence of the MF to convey a future time is approximately over 60% on average in all of the peninsular area, though it rises up to 80% or more in the Catalan-speaking region.

Map 2 - *Modal non-conjectural MF in the ALPI*



Map 2 offers the distribution of the single sentence that expressed a modal non-conjectural nuance, not associated with the conjecture. This was *The more you reap, the better*. The results show that the MF for this semantic reading was common in the Catalan from Catalonia as well as Portuguese, whereas the rest of the peninsula

does not give a single utterance of MF for this value, with a few exceptions.

Map 3 - *Modal conjectural MF in the ALPI*



Finally, Map 3 reveals the distribution of the modal conjectural MF: *He must have not arrived yet*. However, this sentence was envisaged in perfect future, but not in simple future. Furthermore, the responses from certain areas, such as Galicia or Asturias, raise doubts about how the sentence was prompted, since the informants' answers had nothing to do with a conjecture. In any case, the conjectural MF appears in all the peninsular languages, although it is hardly produced in Portuguese and, for some reason impossible to clarify, it does not appear in much of western Spanish or in Galician. It is generalised in the centre-east, as well as in Catalan, despite the fact that the literature affirmed that this possibility was scarce or non-existent in Catalan.

The data from the ALPI are scarce, but they suggest that the MF in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century emerged mostly to express time and it was infrequent to convey other readings. Below, I will present the incidence that has been found in current corpora. The results are shown in table 1.

Table 1 - *Current MF, based on the language*

	<i>Catalan</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Galician</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>
Indicative	100 (100%)	1,882 (100%)	39 (100%)	63 (14.5%)
Subjunctive	0	0	0	371 (85.5%)
TOTAL	100	1,882	39	434

As has been warned, not all corpora provide the same amount of recordings and, as a result, the divergences in number respond to this fact. Therefore, the results I will analyse have to be read taking into account this shortcoming. In any case, table 1 allows for pinpointing the current semantic validity of the MF. However, the numerical discrepancies make it necessary to count the occurrences based upon the frequency of each corpus per 10,000 words. In the case of COSER, this is 3.62073616; in CORDIAL-SIN, 7.233333333; in CORILGA, 13.265306122; finally, for Catalan, the frequency is 18,416206262.

If the results are distributed in accordance with the semantic nuances described in the corpus and methodology section, it is possible to observe that the MF depends on them, in combination with the language (table 2).

Table 2 - *Current MF, based on the semantic nuance and language*

	<i>Catalan</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Galician</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	
Temporal	84 (84%)	359 (19%)	11 (28.2%)	Ind. 7 (12.5%)	Subj. 122 (33%)
Modal conjectural	16 (16%)	1,523 (81%)	28 (71.8%)	Ind. 49 (87.5%)	Subj. 0 (0%)
Modal non-conjectural	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	Ind. 0 (0%)	Subj. 247 (67%)
TOTAL	100	1,882	39	434	

Table 2 states that Catalan is the only language to exhibit the MF for expressing mainly time (84 examples with a temporal value compared to 16, that is, 84% compared to 16%). Spanish, however, offers the opposite pattern, since it presents 1,523 (81%) with a non-temporal value compared to 359 (19%) with a temporal reading. The same applies to Galician, where 11 (28.2%) occurrences with a temporal value are opposed to 28 (71.8%) without this nuance. Portuguese is the single language to possess the MF both in indicative and subjunc-

tive: the primary reading of the MF in indicative is not temporal (7 or 12.5% versus 49 or 87.5% for non-temporal nuances). Neither is it in subjunctive (247 or 67% non-temporal versus 122 or 33% temporal).

Below, I present the spatial diffusion of the MF, in line with the semantic readings foreseen in this paper: firstly, temporal MF versus non-temporal MF and, within the latter, modal non-conjectural MF versus modal conjectural MF.

Map 4 - Current temporal MF



Map 4 shows the preponderance of the current MF with a temporal value. In virtually all of Peninsular Spanish, the uses of MF with a temporal value do not go beyond 30% out of the total number of times an MF has been expressed. Moreover, in great part of the Spanish-speaking region, mainly in western Spain, no MF has been produced to convey time. Portuguese and Galician offer higher rates of temporal MF, though these are not the main values, while Catalan varies, depending on the dialect. Thus, temporal MF is hegemonic in the Balearic Islands and most of Catalonia, but the Catalan from Valencia exhibits more occurrences with a non-temporal MF than with a temporal one. In (1-6) I present some instances from all languages.

- (1) *Lo que enguany ia, segurament pues... eixe problema pues el, el tenim solucionat, segurament para este mes de octubre tindrem ia el pantano arreglat (Alicia, Valencia)*  
'It can deceive, that's the problem, but we have solved it. We are sure to have the swamp by October'
- (2) *Es nitrats és per fer créixer molt. I clar i sa gent lo que passa, clar, diven jo si sa terra... Es qui fa de pagès, i clar, no saps si s'aparsero o s'aparser, no saps si s'any venidor seguirà, entonses què fa?, que lo que va és a*



*treure es profit as màxim. I i aquí ve es problema, clar* (Menorca)

‘The nitrates are to grow it very much. And, well, the people say that if the soil... Who does the farmer you don’t know if he is a sharecropper and you don’t know if next year he *will still be* and then, what does he do? He wants to profit as much as he can and here is the problem’

- (3) *Y ya, cuando fuimos a llevale los regalos a los niños, nos dieron un cesto grande de caramelos y de cosas, y dice la señorita: «Se lo daremos a esta parejilla de..., que parece más formal.»* (Bacares, Almería)

‘And when we went to bring the presents to the children, we were given a basket full of sweets and the lady says: We *will give* it to this couple, which seems more formal’

- (4) *El día que vayas verás tú doña [NP] lo que te va a decí* (San Francisco de Olivenza, Badajoz)

‘The day you go, you *will see* what Mrs. [NP] is going to tell you’

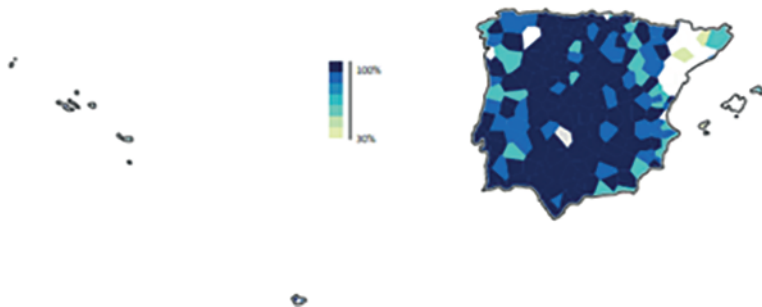
- (5) *Eu, quando eu fizer, eu vou fazer, mas vai ser com a madeira* (Ponta Garça, Azores)

‘When I *do* it, I’ll do it, but it will be with wood’

- (6) *Se vir cedo, alguma coisa há-de-se arranjar* (Alvor, Faro)

‘If it *comes* early, something must be done’

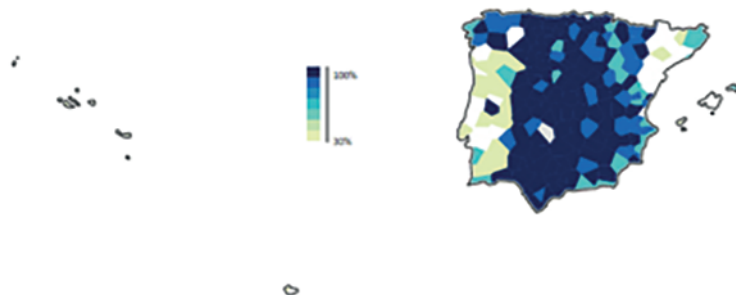
Map 5 - Current non-temporal MF



Map 5 offers the distribution of non-temporal MF. It is unanimous in most of the Spanish-speaking area, also in Portuguese and Galician and, to a lesser extent, in the Catalan from Valencia. Nevertheless, it is unusual in Catalonia and practically non-existent in the Balearic

Islands. In the following maps, I will show the incidence based upon the values conjectural and non-conjectural.

Map 6 - *Current modal conjectural MF*



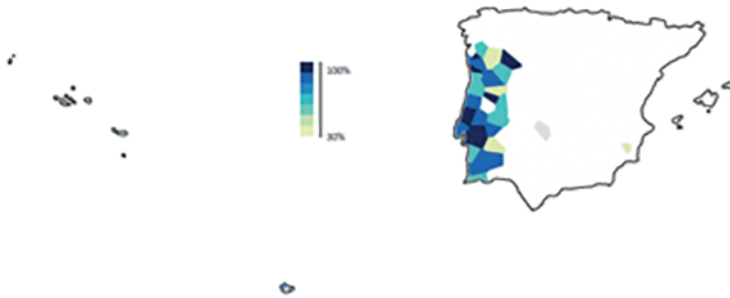
Map 6 offers the MF distribution with a modal conjectural value. The illustration is almost identical to that of map 5, but the frequency of this value decreases in Portugal. This is because the modal conjectural in Portuguese is only expressed by the indicative MF and this has slightly emerged, in contrast with the subjunctive. However, altogether, the 87.5% of indicative MF is used for conjectural reading, compared to 12.5% for a temporal one. In (7-11), I exemplify some of the occurrences of this nuance in all languages.

- (7) *Si eres municipal saberás as leyes saberás como tes que aparcar*  
(Monforte de Lemos, Lugo)  
'If you are a policeman you *must know* the laws, you *must know* how you have to park'
- (8) *Supoño que estará no xulgado* (Matalobos, Pontevedra)  
'I guess he *must be* in the court'
- (9) *Hoy tengo yo una boronia que tú no sabrás lo que es tampoco una boronia* (Jerez de la Frontera, Cádiz)  
'Today I'm cooking a boronia, you *must not know* what a boronia is'
- (10) *Será verdad, claro, cuando lo dicen* (Valeria, Cuenca)  
'It *must be* true, of course, if they say so'
- (11) *Lo que io sí que crec que fora de a millor de Lleida o de Girona, probablement, o no sé si la ciutat de Mallorca com ho com ho tindran, però probablement de en quant a iús de carrer i de tendes*

*i de tot això pues, pues possiblement serà el que més. S'ha de dir, fora millor Girona o Lleida com a màxim, però no crec que ni Tarragona ni ni Barcelona, a lo millor (Castellón)*

‘What I do believe is that outside perhaps Lleida or Girona, probably, I don’t know how it *must be* like in the city of Mallorca, but probably with regards to the use of street and shops and all that it *must be* the first one. Perhaps outside Girona or Lleida but I don’t think that in Tarragona or Barcelona’

Map 7 - Current modal non-conjectural MF



Map 7 presents the MF frequency with a modal non-conjectural value. The image depicts that this reading only occurs in Portuguese, although only if the MF inflects in subjunctive. The majority of the data in subjunctive refer to modal non-conjectural readings, but 33% of responses in this mood expresses time. In (12-13), I supply some of the occurrences in this regard.

- (12) *E depois de a pelar, fia-se também. Fia-se nas rocas também, como o linho. Só (...), não se põe (...). Não se fazem estrigas é tudo em manelos. Depois depende da lã. Se a lã for boa, a gente fia (...) melhor. Se for ruim, não se pode fiar tão boa. Mas, quando é assim para urdir, tiram-lhe mais... (Outeiro, Bragança)*

‘And after peeling it, you spin it, you spin it in the woods, as the linen. Then it depends on the wool. If the wool *is* good, the people spin it better. If it *is* bad, you cannot spin it well’

- (13) *Pronto, se for de bois é junta... Se for um boi só, é singelo. (...) E se for os dois, é uma junta (Alcochete, Setúbal)*

‘If it *is* with two oxen, it is a joint. If it *is* a single ox, it is single. And if it *is* the two of them, it is a join’

Once I have shown the data, below I will analyse them, by taking into account the diachronic evolution of the MF and the semantic evolution it has undergone during the last hundred years.

#### 4. *Analysis*

The data described in the previous section show the evolution in the last hundred years of the usage of the MF at a dialect, oral and spontaneous level. The previous maps can be synthesised in tables 3 and 4.

Table 3 - *The MF in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century*

	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>Galician</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Catalan</i>
Temporal	+	+	+	+
Modal (non-conjectural)	+	–	–	+
Conjectural	–	–	–	–

Table 4 - *The MF nowadays*

	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>Galician</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Catalan</i>
Temporal	–	–	–	+
Modal (non-conjectural)	+(subjunctive)	–	–	–
Conjectural	+(indicative)	+	+	+/- (Valencia)

The occurrences in the ALPI indicated that the temporal value was the most widespread reading in all languages (regardless of the greater or lesser geographic incidence within each linguistic area), and it was also an established resource for the non-conjectural modality. However, the fact that the single question that was envisaged with a conjectural nuance was in perfect future as well as the fact that researchers only foresaw one sentence with such a reading, suggest that the conjectural nuance was not frequent at all one hundred years ago. In fact, the MF in perfect is cross-linguistically more inclined to convey conjectures rather than its simple version. For example, in current French, using the MF in perfect is acceptable for conjectures, but the simple future is ungrammatical for the same reading (Stage 2003). In other words: the MF in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was above all a strategy to express time throughout the Iberian Peninsula.

The situation in table 4 is precisely the opposite to that which currently arises in the same territory. The temporal nuance is barely constructed through the MF, since it has been replaced by other strategies, such as the present indicative or the periphrasis *ir (a)* plus infinitive, with the exception of Catalan, where it continues to be hegemonic, although not as much in the Valencian area. The modal non-conjectural value is currently valid only in Portuguese, as long as it is expressed by means of the subjunctive mood. Finally, the conjectural reading has become the least marked, the most frequent in nearly all the linguistic areas, even in Catalan, whose varieties affect the likelihood for the MF to appear as conjectural. Specifically, it is the most usual reading in Valencia, but not in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, where it is minor or non-existent.

The specialisation of the MF to mark conjecture suggests that currently this verb tense has become a morphological marker of evidentiality. According to Aikhenvald (2004), evidentiality means source of information or, rather, it deals with a grammatical category whose primary meaning is the expression of the source of information. And this is nothing more than the way in which the information has been acquired, regardless of the degree of certainty that the speaker has about the assertion or whether it is true or false.

The expression of the source of information occurs in all languages, but the development of a grammatical category for this purpose is not so frequent at all. Although a modal verb, an adverb like *apparently* or a sentence such as *I have been told* express source of information, for Aikhenvald (2004), this does not imply that a language possesses evidentiality. The author insists on the fact that evidentiality entails a grammatical category, such as morphemes or verb tenses, and that these morphemes or verb tenses arise systematically to express source of information, regardless of whether they may also be useful for other purposes. Consequently, even though the MF may denote source of information in the Romance languages, this does not mean that the MF is an evidential strategy. I am aware that other authors do not agree on this detail, but in this paper I follow Aikhenvald's theories.

I insist that the MF can only be considered as evidential, provided its primary or single meaning is source of information. Its usage as conjectures, for instance, does not turn it into an evidentiality morphological marker, since, as Aikhenvald (2004) states, a verbal tense

can also further extend a semantic reading by conveying not only time but also modality, conjecture, reportativity, etc. Nevertheless, if this semantic extension is secondary, that is, if the likelihood for the evidential nuance to appear is lower than that for time, the verbal tense cannot be labelled as evidential. In this case, the verbal tense is probably journeying towards its conversion into a morphological evidential, but it has not reached such a status.

Therefore, the MF in Catalan is not evidential, since the numbers show that the conjectural nuance is secondary compared to the temporal one (84 examples with temporal value compared to 16, that is, 84% compared to 16%). However, Spanish exhibits the opposite pattern, since it presents 1,523 (81%) with conjectural value compared to 359 (19%) with a temporal nuance. The same applies to the Galician area, since 11 (28.2%) occurrences with a temporal value are opposed to 28 (71.8%) with a conjectural nuance. Portuguese offers the identical behaviour if the MF agrees in indicative (87.5% of conjectural occurrences), but if the subjunctive is the chosen verbal mood, the dichotomy is established between temporal and modal (247 or 67% compared to 122 or 33% temporal).

Likewise, the comparison of the maps I have provided allows for determining the evolution of the MF and its conversion from tense to morphological marker of evidentiality. Whereas in Catalan, the MF is more likely to appear as temporal, the rest of linguistic areas prefer to use the MF for other values. As a matter of fact, among these three languages, the MF for time is more frequent in Galician, followed by Portuguese and Spanish in this order. Nevertheless, the expression of morphological evidentiality is usually optional or it is defective. This is the case of the Ibero-Romance, for it has created an evidential system that opposes indirect evidence that comes from inference versus the rest, which is zero marked. And it is possible to put forth that almost all of the Ibero-Romance spectrum has come up with an evidentiality system embodied in the MF because the primary meaning of this tense is to express source of information, rather than time or any other strategy. This is even the case in some of Catalan, specifically in the Catalan from Valencia, but not elsewhere throughout the Catalan-speaking region, where conjectures represent the secondary meaning of the MF.

The conversion of the MF into an evidentiality marker is not rare. According to Aikhenvald (2004), the nature of the future prompts its reanalysis as a conjecture strategy, since it conveys uncertainty. In fact, thanks to the maps shown in the previous section, it is possible to depict the different stages through which the MF has undergone from expressing time to conveying evidentiality. In the first place, the MF occurs to denote time, whereas conjectures are mainly conveyed by means of modal verbs; only every now and then, the MF can further extend another semantic nuance and also be useful for inferences: this is the case of the Catalan from the Balearic Islands.

In a second phase, the likelihood for the MF to express conjectural readings increase, but these are still minor in comparison to temporal ones; in this stage, the secondary reading is conjectural and the primary, temporal, so the conjecture continues to be a mere semantic extension of the MF, but not an evidential resource. This is the case of the Catalan from Catalonia. Subsequently, in a third stage, the conjectural occurrences outnumber the temporal ones, even though the latter are still quite frequent; in this stage, the MF is already evidential and, secondarily, it expresses time: it is the case of the Catalan from Valencia. The next phase is precisely the one witnessed in Galician, Portuguese and part of the Spanish-speaking region, where the conjectural value is nearly the unique, but tokens with a temporal value are still possible. In this phase, the MF is also evidential, but exhibits temporal behaviours as a secondary extension. Lastly, the MF disappears for temporal values and has specialised to only express source of information. This is the case of most of Spanish, mainly the west, where no example of MF to express time has been produced. In this phase, the MF as a tense has been completely replaced by other strategies, such as the present indicative or the periphrasis *ir a* plus infinitive.

## 5. *Conclusions*

The data I have analysed from different dialect corpora that comprise the last one hundred years have allowed for tracing the evolution of the MF during the last century. Based on the results, the MF was above all a resource to express future time in all linguistic areas, although it could also arise for modal readings. Currently, this situation has re-

versed and the MF is mainly employed to express source of information in Spanish, Portuguese, Galician and the Catalan from Valencia, while it is still a strategy for time in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. This fact suggests that the MF has become a grammatical marker of evidentiality, by systematically or primarily conveying source of information (in the case of Portuguese, if it inflects in indicative).

Catalan, nonetheless, varies depending on the dialect area. Thus, Valencia is similar to the distribution of the rest of the Peninsula, since the conjectural values are more frequent than the temporal ones. This is not the case of the Catalan from Catalonia, where the conjectural MF is becoming more frequent, but it is a mere secondary extension of this tense. On the opposite extreme emerge the Balearic Islands, in which the conjectural MF is rare or non-existent, since this verb tense is used only with a temporal nuance.

The evolution of the MF follows a pattern that occurs cross-linguistically, since the nature of the future lends itself to being employed for conjectures and, therefore, to becoming an evidential strategy. Consequently, the expression of a future time in oral, dialect and spontaneous registers has been replaced by other strategies, such as the present indicative or the periphrasis *ir* a plus infinitive.

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