

Evolution of the Romance Evidentiality along the 20th Century: a Coserian Approach

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Abstract: The future tense and the conditional are said to convey evidential meaning in most Romance languages. Whereas the former expresses conjecture, the latter is used to mark reportativity. However, the evidential readings of both tenses could be a very recent semantic extension at a vernacular level, since they are still frequent to express time and modality in nearly all the vernaculars. This study aims to show the geolinguistic and dialect distribution of both tenses along the 20th century in order to determine whether the future and the conditional were already evidential one hundred years ago or they have become so during the last century. Furthermore, I will also show the likely directionality for these tenses to become evidential and I will discuss whether there is a language that has worked as the focus of the Romance evidentiality. In doing so, I will not only apply the Coserian variables of diatopic and diaphasic restraints, but I will compare the differences among the dialects and the norms that rule all of them, analysing the systemic behaviour that favours the future as well as the conditional for marking evidentiality.

Keywords: evidentiality; Romance languages; future tense; conditional; geolinguistics

1. Introduction

The Romance morphological future (MF) and the conditional tense (COND) can convey time, modality and, according to some authors, evidentiality. However, the literature does not agree in determining what can be understood by evidential, since this criterion is established because of the conjectural and reportative uses that both tenses can express (1-3):

(1) No sé dónde está Pedro. **Estará** en el bar, supongo.

(‘I don’t know where Pedro is. He must be in the bar, I guess.’)

(2)Supongo que ayer, sobre esta hora, Pedro **estaría** en el bar.

(‘I guess that yesterday, by this time, Pedro might have been in the bar.’)

(3)De acuerdo con las últimas informaciones, las partes **estarían** a punto de firmar un acuerdo.

(‘Based on latest information, the parts might be about to sign an agreement.’)

Examples (1-3) show in Spanish the evidential reading of both the MF and the COND. Instance (1) exhibits the employment of the MF to mark a conjecture referred to a present event, and tokens (2-3) present the COND for two different kinds of evidential meanings. The former shows an inference about a past event, while the latter connotes information that comes from a third source (reportative). The researcher that has put forth that the Romance MF and COND are evidential is Squartini (2001), who pinpoints the following distribution (table 1):

	Portuguese	Spanish	French	Italian
MF	I / R	I	I	I
COND	I / R	I / (R)	I / R	R

Table 1: Evidential values of the Romance MF and COND [I=inferential / R=reportative] (Squartini, 2001)

Based upon the investigations by Squartini (2001), the Romance varieties depicted in table 1 possess evidential MF and COND. Whereas the MF works for inferences or conjectures in all languages, and even for reportative uses in Portuguese, the COND swings between inferential values and reportative ones. Whilst it is both in Portuguese, French and Spanish (though this author affirms that the reportative meaning is not completely established yet), it can only be reportative in Italian. Nevertheless, this author

does not address Galician and states that Catalan lacks evidential reading in its MF and COND. Furthermore, Romanian is dismissed in his classification, due to the fact that this language did not develop a MF and a COND stemming from the Latin infinitive plus HABEO / HABEBAM. The data that Squartini (2001) provides come from his own introspection, qualitative corpora as well as standard language. Nevertheless, we do not rely on studies that account quantitatively for the dialect and non-cultivated reality of the semantic nuances that both the MF and the COND can have in all the Romance languages that possess them. As a result, this article aims to show the vernacular distribution of the MF and the COND along the 20th century, in order to find the diatopic and diaphasic restraints of these tenses, as well as the differences with respect to the standard language. In addition, I will pinpoint whether either the MF or the COND can be assessed as evidential and, if so, what linguistic path they have followed.

2. Corpus, methodology and theoretical framework

In order to analyse the diachronic evolution of the MF and the COND from 1900 up to now, I have extracted occurrences from a number of dialect corpora that were elaborated in the early 20th century. These are the *Atlante linguistico ed etnográfico dell'Italia e della Svizzera meridionale* (AIS) for Italian, the *Atlas linguistique de la France* (ALF) for French and the *Atlas lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI) for Ibero-Romance. I have also consulted the *Atlasul lingvistic român* (ALR) for Romanian, but this language did not develop the type of MF and COND found in the other Romance languages; as a consequence, this language is ruled out from this study.

The relevance of these atlases resides in the fact that they represent the first available dialect corpora. Their methodology consisted of pre-established sentences and words that informants

had to repeat based upon their vernacular particularities. The goal of the researchers was to elicit as many vernacular phenomena as possible and to pinpoint the linguistic differences that existed at that time. The speakers they surveyed were always non-mobile elderly people from rural areas, without any standard or cultivated priming. Altogether, I will show the results from 1,525 municipalities that cover most of Romance Europe. As for the envisaged sentences, it is necessary to underline that no atlas foresaw any phrase with a MF or COND with evidential meaning, but all of them included FM and COND sentences that referred either to a temporal event or to a modal value. Only the ALPI pre-established a single phrase with a MF inflected for perfect that denoted a conjecture, but the responses the speakers gave did not have anything to do with the semantic meaning of such a sentence.

The data from these atlases will be compared to more recent ones. However, the latest dialect corpora that have been compiled only show tokens from Spanish, Portuguese, Galician and Catalan, and we lack current sources that provide vernacular occurrences in French and Italian. As a result, the comparisons regarding these two last languages will be based upon the statements in scholarly articles and metalinguistic works. For the Ibero-Romance spectrum, the instances that refer to the late 20th century and the early 21st century I have collected come from the following corpora: *Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Rural* (COSER) for Spanish; *Corpus Dialectal para o Estudo da Sintaxe* (CORDIALSIN) for Portuguese; *Corpus Oral Informatizado de la Lengua Gallega* (CORILGA) for Galician; and *Corpus Oral Dialectal* (COD) and *Corpus Dialectal del Català* (DIALCAT) for Catalan. All of them are based upon the semi-conducted interview with the same profile foreseen by the early-20th-century atlases. In this sense, the entire analysis I will apply will be

founded on the speaker the least likely to exhibit normative or standard uses.

This diachronic study is coherent in this respect and guarantees the dialect evolution of the MF and the COND during the last one hundred years. As well, the total number of municipalities surveyed in these corpora reaches up to 300 localities.

The collected data will be mapped based upon the percentage of usage of each tense in their non-evidential meaning. Firstly, I will depict the results concerning the MF and, afterwards, the COND. Once I have commented on these, I will further proceed with the Ibero-Romance maps that show current speech, always commencing with the MF to later finish with the COND. The preponderance of the non-evidential value will be the starting point to assess these tenses as evidential or not. In line with this criterion, I will justify what evidentiality will be understood as in this paper.

Evidentiality is quite a discussed term, about which authors do not agree. Whereas some scholars point out that it is merely source of information and, as such, any strategy (including a given tense) that may express source of information has by default evidential meaning (see for instance Squartini, 2001), others insist that evidentiality needs some requirements to fulfil such a category. The main author that supports the latter is Aikhenvald (2004, 2018), who claims that evidentiality is a morphological system that coherently, primarily or univocally conveys source of information. Thus, according to her, tenses like the MF or the COND are not evidential only because they can express some type of information, but they become so only if their primary, systematic or unique semantic meaning is source of information. In this sense, if the MF and the COND appear mainly to express time or modality and every now and then they are resorted to for

conjectures or reportativity, they cannot be catalogued as evidential. In this stage, the MF and the COND have further extended an ulterior semantic reading (conjecture and reportativity) that works secondarily, because time and modality are still the most frequent semantic values. However, if the opposite is the case, then they can be evaluated as evidential. In this article, I will apply Aikhenvald’s theory.

The existence of evidentiality does not mean the obligatoriness in the marking of the source of information or its expression in all the possible cases. Evidentiality is usually defective, since it emerges for some type of information and leaves others zero marked. Furthermore, source of information is divided as described in figure 1.

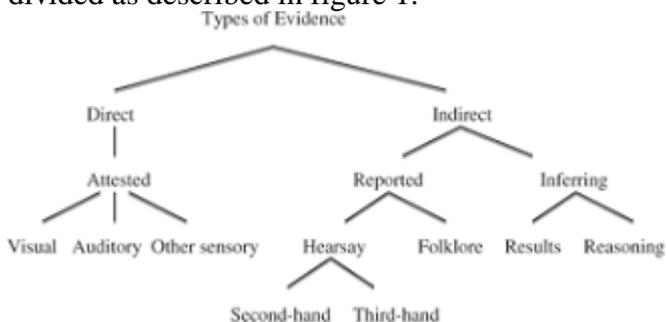
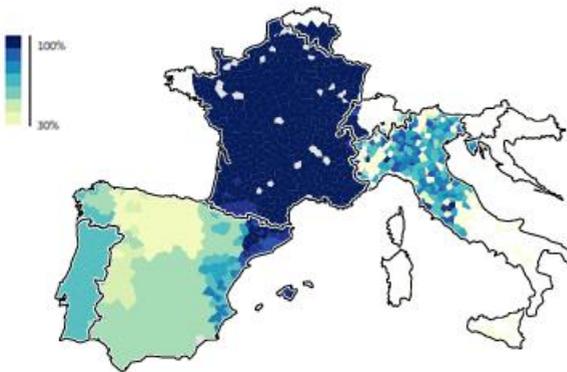


Figure 1: Types of evidence (Aikhenvald, 2004, 2018)

The types of evidence are split between direct and indirect, the former originating in the attested experience of the speaker (what s/he has seen, heard...). In contrast, the origin of indirect evidence can be the inference and the reportativity. While inference is born in the speaker himself/herself, reportativity refers to third-hand information. The results I will provide below will confirm whether the MF is inferential and the COND is reportative.

3. Data

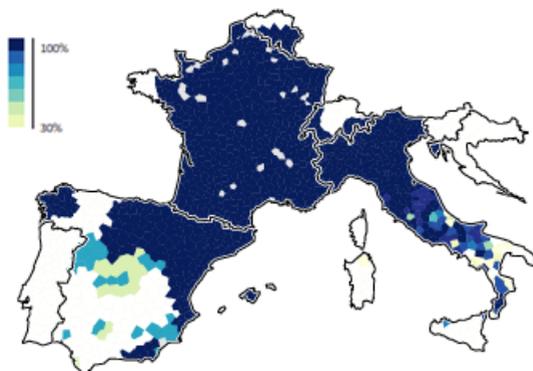
Below, I present the data taken from the different dialect corpora I have described above. It is necessary to take into account that there are certain areas that do not exhibit Romance varieties: Brittany (France), Flanders (Belgium), the German-speaking region within Switzerland, the Basque Country (Spain) as well as nearly all of Slovenia and Croatia. Corsica did not provide any occurrences and neither did the Canary Islands, the Azores and Madeira. Firstly, I will depict the geolinguistic distribution of the MF, followed by the COND (maps 1 and 2).



Map 1: The non-evidential MF in the first half of the 20th century

Map 1 provides the percentage of usage of the MF in non-evidential contexts. The French-speaking region prefers the MF for temporal readings in almost all of its territory, except for a few localities bordering Spain, where it slightly decreases. The Catalan-speaking area resembles that of French although it varies depending on the dialect. Thus, Catalonia and the Balearic Islands

show high preponderance of MF as non-evidential while Valencia exhibits fewer and fewer occurrences. Italian can be split in two well defined zones: one in the north, where the MF is quite employed for non-evidential contexts; and another one, in the south and the islands, where the MF hardly emerges. Finally, the Iberian Peninsula provides different realities, depending on the language. As a result, Galician and Portuguese supply 50% of the temporal readings by means of the MF, while Spanish is characterised by prompting fewer occurrences of non-evidential MF the further westwards we move, but never reaching 70% at the border with Catalan.



Map 2: The non-evidential COND in the first half of the 20th century

Map 2 shows non-evidential occurrences of the COND. Unlike map 1, the COND is more established in the first half of the 20th century for non-evidential contexts than the MF. It is the only possibility in French, most of Galician, most of Italian (excepting the southernmost area and the islands), Catalan and

some areas in north-eastern Spanish. However, it is non-existent in Portuguese and most of Spanish.

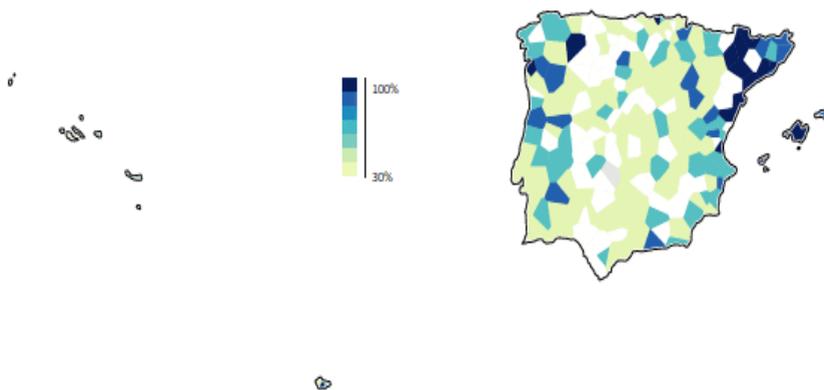
It is relevant to remember that no atlas provides any sentence with an evidential meaning, that is, inferential or reportative. Only the ALPI pre-established a single phrase with a conjectural meaning, but with a perfect MF. This is quite important, since the MF inflected for perfect lends itself to being reanalysed as conjectural much more than its simple version. It is the case of French, for instance, where the perfect MF can be employed for conjectures in the standard language, but the simple MF is not accepted for this same purpose (Stage 2003). Moreover, the responses given by the informants in the ALPI suggested that the elicitation of the perfect MF for conjectures was not successful, for the occurrences did not have anything to do with an inferential value.

In any case, the fact that the researchers of these atlases did not provide any sentence with a MF or a COND with evidential meaning indicates that the evidential nuance was not frequent at all at a dialect level. This hypothesis is underpinned by the references and the studies that can be found in this respect in the literature. For example, Aaron (2014) investigates the semantic evolution of the Spanish MF and comes to the conclusion that both the temporal and the evidential meanings have coexisted since the emergence of the MF, but the latter has historically been scarce and restricted to cultivated speech. Still, in the early 20th century, she finds more tokens of conjectural MF in cultivated contexts than in non-cultivated ones, but in all the cases, the MF as a conjecture is minor. However, she notes that as the 20th century advances, the conjectural MF increases in non-cultivated speech, but it never outnumbers the temporal nuance.

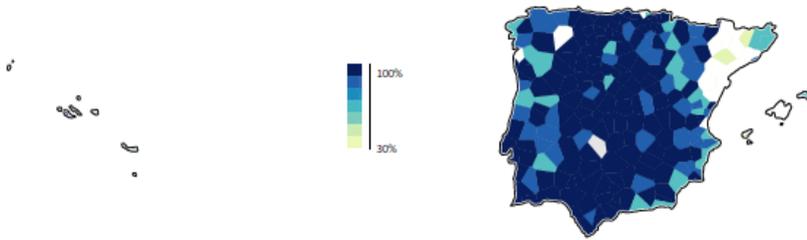
The different diachronic grammars that address French refer to the MF and the COND for temporal and modal contexts, but

never for evidential ones (Nyrop, 1925, Togeby, 1974). In Italian, Rohlf's (1968) points out that the MF is quite diffused for conjectures and the COND can be resorted to for reportativity. However, these statements are made in the second half of the 20th century and do not refer to the reality attested in the previous half. Only Ledgeway (2009) assures that the MF has been more and more evidential in the south since the 19th century, but he does not say anything about the likely evidential meaning of the COND. Likewise, Martines (2017) clarifies that the conjectural MF in Catalan was only possible in Medieval times, but not anymore.

Before analysing in depth the data I have shown and in order to pinpoint the existence or not of the evidentiality system in Romance, it is convenient to illustrate the current geolinguistic distribution of both tenses. However, as mentioned above, the only corpora on which we rely about the current dialect behaviour show tokens from the Ibero-Romance languages. As a result, I cannot give instances of the current reality in French and Italian. Map 3 depicts the percentage of usage of the MF in temporal readings, while map 4 does so for evidential contexts.



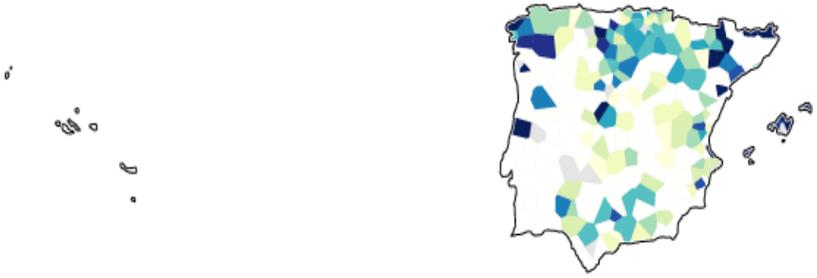
Map 3: MF with temporal reading nowadays



Map 4: MF with evidential reading nowadays

The comparison of maps 3 and 4 clearly demonstrates that, currently, the Ibero-Romance MF is mainly employed for conjectures referring to a present event. It is the case in Galician, Portuguese and the Valencian area within the Catalan-speaking region. In fact, in most of the Spanish-speaking area, the evidential meaning is the unique possibility. In other words: in these areas, the MF does not arise for time, but only for conjectures. On the other hand, the Catalan in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands shows low incidence of inferential MF, since it is still mainly resorted to for time.

As for the COND, map 5 shows the percentage of usage of non-evidential contexts, whilst map 6 does so for evidential contexts.



Map 5: COND with non-evidential reading nowadays



Map 6: COND with evidential reading nowadays

Map 5 shows that the COND with modal or temporal reading appears mostly in Catalan and Galician, but it is minor or non-existent in nearly all of Portugal and many areas of Peninsular Spanish. Nonetheless, map 6 reveals that this tense is evidential in Portuguese and Spanish, but not in Catalan and

Galician, and that the type of evidence is inferential relative to a past event. No occurrence of reportative meaning has emerged.

The data altogether suggest several facts: evidentiality was not the norm in the first half of the 20th century, except in southern Italy; the diffusion of evidentiality along the last century follows very specific diatopic patterns; the diaphasic factor is crucial; and the grammatical behaviour obeys certain rules too. In the next section, I will deal with all these features, applying a Coserian perspective that helps comprehend all the variables that play a role in the creation of the Romance evidentiality.

4. Analysis

The geographic and dialect distribution of both the MF and the COND in all the Romance spectrum reveals that the 20th century is a turning point for these two tenses. Below, I will defend that evidentiality has established itself in some parts of Italy, in some area within the Catalan-speaking region, as well as in all of Portuguese, Galician and Peninsular Spanish. Likewise, I will analyse the diatopic behaviour that evidentiality exhibits and the importance of the diaphasic feature in the conversion of the MF and the COND towards evidential. Finally, I will show the directionality of evidentiality at a dialect level and what differences it may have with regard to the standard variety.

4.1. Evolution of the Romance evidentiality

The geolinguistic distribution I have shown in the previous section allows for clearly pinpointing the evolution of the Romance evidentiality. The maps referring to the early 20th century suggest that evidentiality was not the norm in the Romance spectrum, except in southern Italy and incipiently in western Spain. In the first place, the non-evidential MF is virtually non-existent in the southern half of Italy whereas the non-evidential COND hardly

emerges in the southernmost part of this country. Secondly, the non-evidential MF is scarce in western Spain and so is the COND.

The lack of temporal MF in southern Italy dates back in the 19th century, after Ledgeway (2009). In the 1800's, the MF passed from being used to express time to being employed for conjectures. Simultaneously, the future time started being produced by means of the present indicative. As a result, the MF tended to specialise itself for inferences and the present indicative tended to diffuse to express future events. The results from the early 20th century indicate that the complementarity of both strategies had completely settled. Hence, the MF in southern Italy one hundred years ago was a strategy that mainly emerged to convey source of information, embodied in conjectures or inferences, while the present indicative denoted a future event.

The situation in Ibero-Romance partly resembles that of Italy. The low percentage of usage of the MF to express time in western Spanish may justify the incipient transformation of this tense towards evidential. Even though the 19th-century grammars already remarked the acceptability of the MF to convey conjectures, the inexistence of pre-established sentences in the atlases reveals that this was not the common reading dialectally. The maps that refer to the current situation highlight that, nowadays, the MF is completely evidential in Spanish, Portuguese, Galician and nearly all of Catalan, western Spanish being the diffuser of evidentiality. In other words: the epicentre of the evidential MF in Ibero-Romance is the same one as the area where the temporal MF was scarce a century ago. This feature supports my putting forth the idea that in the early 19th century, western Spanish showed the first signs of evidentiality in Ibero-Romance.

The evolution of the COND also reflects the epicentres of evidentiality. It is scarce or non-existent in southernmost Italy,

exactly around the same area as the MF, while it is scarce and non-existent in most of Spain and Portugal. However, whereas the results that refer to Italy can be analysed in depth, those pertaining to the Iberian Peninsula are more difficult to grasp. The COND has historically behaved by analogy to the development of the MF. They have shared a common origin and a simultaneous evolution, but the MF has mostly taken the lead. Thus, the variation that may have affected the MF has later reproduced in the COND by analogy. This means that the tendency for the MF to turn itself into evidential has also conditioned the COND to become evidential as well. The higher preponderance of the COND for non-evidential contexts in the early 20th-century Italy in comparison to the MF suggests that it was also becoming evidential, but this transformation was being made by analogy to the MF and, as a result, it was happening later than it was in the MF. This is why the non-evidential COND was still more diffused than the MF.

In the Iberian Peninsula, this may also have been the case one hundred years ago, but the popularity of the COND in the west of the Peninsula has not been historically very high (Oliveira, 1985), being usually substituted by the imperfect indicative for expressing both time and modality. In this sense, it is impossible to pinpoint whether the non-existence of the COND in the Iberian Peninsula at that time was subject to this feature or it hinted that it might be becoming evidential. In any case, the current situation in Ibero-Romance is identical to the one witnessed by Italian in the early 20th century: the evidential nuance is rather more widespread in the MF than in the COND.

Altogether, the diachronic data lead to determine that the creation of the Romance evidentiality undergoes a very specific path. The geolinguistic distribution pinpoints that the MF is the first tense to become evidential and once it has done so, then the

COND tends to turn itself into evidential, too. In this directionality, inference or conjecture is the first type of source of information to appear and only when it has established itself, can the reportative meaning also arise. This cannot only be observed when comparing the MF and the COND, but also in the behaviour of the MF itself, at least in Portuguese. As mentioned above, the MF in Portuguese can express inference and reportativity and it can denote reportative meaning because it previously acquired inferential nuance. In Spanish, the COND is both inferential and reportative, but the former meaning appears both dialectally and in the standard language, while the latter only in journalistic registers. Inference comes always earlier than reportativity. In any case, the evidentiality system that appears in Romance favours indirect evidence versus direct evidence, which is zero marked. As depicted above, evidential systems distinguish between direct evidence (which has been acquired by the speaker through visual, auditive or any other sensorial means) and indirect evidence, within which inferential or reportative values are included. Romance prioritises indirect evidence that comes from the speaker himself/ herself and only later does it accept morphological marking for the information that comes from a third source. Any other kind of information remains zero marked.

4.2. Diatopic model

Evidentiality is likely to emerge in any language. It consists of a morphological system that primarily marks the source of information. Although some languages usually adopt it influenced by a neighbouring variety (Aikhenvald, 2004, affirms that Turkish is the main irradiator of evidentiality towards its surrounding languages), there is nothing to suggest that Italian has conditioned Spanish or vice versa. Evidentiality has arisen in both languages in different periods and autonomously. Nonetheless, Spanish has

influenced the rest of the Ibero-Romance region, for it emerges as the diffuser of evidentiality in the Iberian Peninsula, based upon the geographic results. The focus lies in the west of the Spanish-speaking area, imitating the case of Turkish and its bordering languages.

Furthermore, the polygenesis of the Romance evidentiality and the fact that they have been born first in those places and not elsewhere responds to the evolution of the MF and the COND from the Latin periphrasis. The diachronic data underlie the fact that the success of the MF and the COND emerged in the area that covers Occitania, the Provence, northern Italy and north-eastern Catalan. Not only do we find previous tokens of MF and COND, but the degree of grammaticalization of both tenses is higher there than elsewhere in the Romance region. Additionally, neither of these tenses ended up very much rooted in the westernmost part of the Iberian Peninsula and the southernmost area of Italy. This does not mean that they have not existed there (see Loporcaro, 1999, for the southern Italian varieties), but their emergence has been historically scarce or these areas have known both tenses much later than in any other place. As a result, evidentiality has appeared in the areas that have historically resorted to the MF and the COND to express future time or modality less than elsewhere.

The emergence of evidentiality in southern Italy dates back in the 19th century, when the MF started to convey conjecture rather than time, and future time began to be expressed by means of the present indicative (Ledgeway, 2009), to the extent that, by the early 20th century, as map 1 depicts, the MF was hardly ever resorted to for time. The same applies to nearly all the Ibero-Romance languages. The western part of the peninsula that exhibited so little preponderance of the MF preferred to use the present indicative or the periphrasis *ir (a)* ('to go to') plus infinitive to denote future time. This tendency increased along the

1900's, as maps 3 and 4 demonstrate, for the MF is scarce for time and quite frequently employed for conjectures. By collating the results from the early 20th century and nowadays, it is possible to suggest that evidentiality in Ibero-Romance dates back in the beginning of the 1900's, one century later than in southern Italy.

The geolinguistic behaviour in the Iberian Peninsula allows for determining that evidentiality was born in western Spanish and has spread throughout Portuguese, Galician, the rest of the Spanish-speaking region and southern Catalan, specifically, Valencia. This pattern is not random, since the Iberian Peninsula represents an area whose varieties have historically conditioned each other. The western part usually shares specific grammatical features that are not attested dialectally in the east and vice versa. Furthermore, Spanish has nearly always conditioned Catalan through Valencia.

Unlike the grammatical pattern in almost all of the Iberian Peninsula and the southern half of Italy, the rest of the Romance spectrum does not exhibit evidentiality, at least not in the early 20th century. The MF in northern Italy, the French-speaking region as well as Catalan resorted to this tense for time and only Valencia has developed the evidential meaning in recent years. It is impossible to pinpoint the current reality of French and Italian, because we lack dialect corpora, but it is possible to establish the way the MF and the COND become evidential thanks to the diatopic pattern witnessed in Catalan.

I have already explained above why it is convenient to assess the current MF and the COND in certain Romance varieties as evidential and why it is not in others. But the transition of the MF and the COND from conveying time to specialising themselves as evidentiality markers undergoes a series of stages attested in current Catalan. In the first place, the tense expresses time and every now and then it may further extend a new semantic

nuance, in this case, conjecture or reportativity: this is the stage in the Balearic Islands. Afterwards, the new semantic nuance starts increasing, entering in competition with the non-marked reading (time); in this phase, the percentage of conjectural or reportative reading is higher, but it is not the major one: this is the case of Catalonia. Later, the inferential or reportative value outnumbers the temporal or modal ones, becoming the main reading; in this stage, the tense is already evidential, because its primary function is to denote source of information: this is the case of Valencia. Lastly, either the MF or the COND appears only to express source of information and their temporal or modal reading arises very sporadically or is non-existent; in this stage, the temporal or modal readings are conveyed by means of the present / imperfect indicative or a periphrasis: this is the case of western Spanish.

4.3. Diaphasic variable

The development of evidentiality is completely restrained to the genre: cultivated speech versus non-cultivated speech. It starts emerging in elevated contexts and, at a certain point, it shifts onto colloquial ones. The resource of both the MF and the COND with evidential meaning appears in literary texts as well as in other cultivated registers, such as the journalistic or the juridical ones. This evidential nuance coexists with the temporal and the modal ones in the same elevated contexts, but at a colloquial level, it is either hardly attested or non-existent. Aaron (2014) documents the conjectural reading of the MF in Spanish along its history, but this possibility is completely restricted to cultivated speech, whereas it begins to slightly increase colloquially in the early 20th century. The same applies to other Romance languages: specifically, Martines (2017) points out that in Catalan, the MF was possible in Medieval elevated speech, but it is dismissed in the vernacular or in the colloquial register. Rohlfs (1968) only provides instances of

literary excerpts when he admits that Italian exhibits evidential MF, but he does not underpin this statement by also supplying occurrences of non-elevated speech. Jensen (1990) or Stage (2002, 2003) give examples of conjectural MF in French, but all of them stem from literary texts and the like. In addition, Stage (2003) affirms that the conjectural MF in French is only possible when it is inflected for perfect, while it is not accepted by the standard variety in its simple form.

The behaviour of the COND in this respect is crucial for the understanding of the diaphasic variable. In the first place, its inferential value relative to a past event is attested both at a colloquial level and in elevated contexts, but its reportative meaning is restricted to cultivated speech. The likelihood for the COND to behave as reportative has increased with time, but even today, this possibility is conditioned by the genre. Romero Gualda (1994) remarks the gradual increase of the COND to mark reportativity in journalistic texts in Spanish; Van de Weerd (2018) shows instances of reportative COND in French in 18th-century juridical documents; Vatrican (2010) established the usage of the evidential COND in French in journalistic contexts; Rohlf's (1968) also restrains the usage of the reportative COND in Italian to journalism; and, finally, Oliveira (1985) also refers to evidential COND as a typical strategy from journalistic texts to mark reportativity.

Consequently, the origin of both the evidential MF and the COND is cultivated, coexisting with the other semantic readings they may have: temporal and modal. Colloquially, the two tenses mainly work to convey time and modality, but not evidentiality. However, the MF tends to be replaced by other strategies and so does the COND in the Romance languages, because both tenses come from the same Latin periphrasis. In fact, they have evolved simultaneously, but the COND has historically behaved by

analogy with regards to the development of the MF. This prompts the spreading of the evidential meaning also in non-cultivated contexts, but following the same directionality as argued above.

On the one hand, the emergence of the evidential COND happens in cultivated speech, only after the MF has done so in the same contexts. Moreover, nowadays the MF is evidential vernacularly in almost all of the Ibero-Romance spectrum and southern Italian (it is not possible to assess the current situation of the other Romance varieties), but the COND is not yet so in Galician and Catalan, whilst it already is in Portuguese and Spanish. On the other hand, the maps also show that more than one hundred years ago, the usage of non-evidential COND was higher than that of the MF, which had already become evidential dialectally before the COND. Regardless of the time, the path repeats itself: the emergence of evidential meaning in cultivated speech and, later, its establishment in non-cultivated speech; the emergence of the MF as evidential and, afterwards, of the COND.

The establishment of the evidential MF and the COND dialectally and colloquially triggers the reversion of the diaphasic pattern. Once these tenses have specialised as evidential in non-cultivated speech, their temporal and modal readings become restricted to cultivated contexts, completely reverting the diaphasic origin of evidentiality. It is the case of Spanish, as Escandell Vidal (2019) states, since the usage of the MF to express future time appears in elevated contexts. As a matter of fact, this author notes that the learning of this tense by L1 speakers favours the evidential meaning first and only when the speakers start acquiring the standard pattern at school, do they adopt the temporal reading too. In other words: speakers first use the MF to express conjectures and only when they are aware of the standard variety, may they also employ it to convey time, but only in elevated situations. The same applies to Portuguese, as

suggested by Oliveira (1985) and Cunha & Cintra (1992), though Italian seems to undergo the same stage nowadays, according to Berretta (1994).

4.4. *Dialect versus standard*

The maps have also demonstrated the differences between dialect and standard. Although there was no contradiction between the standard and the vernacular in French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish, Catalan contradicts the norm by allowing the evidential reading in the MF and the COND despite its impossibility in the standard. Badia i Margarit (1962) argues that the inferential meaning must be expressed by means of the modal *deure* ('must') and so is stated in Wheeler et al. (1999) or Solà & Rigau (2002), but they all make sure that the MF may emerge vernacularly as an influence from Spanish. The illustrations show that in the early 20th century, the Catalan dialects followed the standard variety, but nowadays some of them have undertaken the conversion of time marker into evidentiality marker.

The first Catalan-speaking region to assume evidentiality as the primary value is the southernmost part, in Valencia. This is not random, since Valencian Catalan possesses certain grammatical features adopted from Spanish that are not attested in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. For example, the morpheme *-ra* as a synonym of *-se* in past subjunctive is exclusively witnessed in Valencia, as an influence from Spanish. Even though it was perceived as a dialect characteristic, the standard has already accepted this possibility. Evidential futures are widely spread in the same region, but the standard has not incorporated this innovation yet. Hence, it remains a dialect feature that contradicts the norm and which cannot be conveyed in cultivated speech.

5. Conclusions

The geographic distribution of the MF and the COND along the last one hundred years has revealed the complexity they present. From conveying mainly time and modality, the two tenses have gradually turned themselves into evidentiality markers, since they primarily and, on some occasions, uniquely express source of information. The creation of evidentiality in Romance dates back in the beginning of the 19th century, but its establishment is produced in the early 20th century, when southern Italian varieties already showed this feature in the MF and the western part of Spanish started to tend to it. One century later, not only has the MF become evidential in Spanish, southern Italian, Portuguese, Galician and southern Catalan, but also has the COND, at least in Spanish and Portuguese.

However, the behaviour of both tenses is constrained to multiple factors, among which the diatopic and the diaphasic variables as well as the opposition vernacular-standard stand out. The evidential reading emerges in cultivated speech and later jumps into non-cultivated situations, where they establish themselves leaving aside other values, such as time or modality. The system of evidentiality appears in geographical areas in which neither the MF nor the COND have been historically rooted and, in the case of the Ibero-Romance, Spanish is the clear diffuser of this phenomenon. In Catalan, the evidential meaning of both tenses is still a dialect feature, for the standard does not accept this semantic possibility. As a result, even though the MF can be resorted to for conjectures, the norm prohibits it.

Moreover, the grammatical pattern that affects the creation of evidentiality in Romance clearly pinpoints that the MF is the first tense to become evidential, followed by the COND. While the former usually conveys inferences about a present event, the latter is specialised for reportative uses though it may also convey

conjectures about a past event. However, if a given tense can express both readings, the inferential one is earlier in time. The system of evidentiality in Romance favours indirect evidence versus direct evidence, which remains zero marked. Additionally, first it usually produces indirect evidence stemming from the speakers themselves and, once this type of information is widespread, then it also accepts third-hand information. Nevertheless, this last kind of information is currently circumscribed to journalistic registers.

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