



# What is a morphological future doing in a *si*-clause? Traces of mirativity in Spanish

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## Abstract

This paper examines *si*-future exclamationatives in Spanish, both synchronically and diachronically, with the aim not only of identifying their possible contexts of use but also of distinguishing their various semantic interpretations. In addition to permitting the redefinition of the space of insubordination and assessing the role of analogy in the continuing independence of the marker *si*, this proposal provides an explanation of Spanish mirative future as emerging from the emancipation of a previous structure, albeit that it retains the deictic value of morphological future –which becomes a functional feature in its new discursive meaning. From this perspective, the grammaticalization of morphological future in Spanish is not contemplated as a closed cycle, but rather as a still ongoing process. More broadly speaking, this paper helps outline the semantic array of mirative meanings through providing evidence about the type of mirativity that can be conveyed in Spanish.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION: A SURPRISING PROBLEM

Grammars of Spanish clearly state that morphological future cannot occur in one of the structures where the marker *si* appears most frequently –namely, the protasis of a conditional construction–, as the anomaly in (1) shows:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) \**Si vendrás, llámame*  
'If you come [lit. *will come*], call me'  
(RAE / ASALE, 2009: 1774).

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<sup>1</sup> As revealed by the diachronic data (see Section 6) and explained in NGLE (RAE / ASALE, 2009: 1774), this construction was possible in Medieval and Renaissance Spanish and still exists as a variationist use in Salvadorean Spanish.

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However, the combination < *si* + morphological future > can be seen to be quite productive when creating a specific type of exclamative, as can be seen in (2):

(2) *Además, el alcalde de Tumbes ha talado los árboles de la plaza de armas de su población, para “remodelarla”. ¡En un lugar con tanto calor, talar árboles que dan sombra! ¡Si será bestia!*  
 ‘Furthermore, the mayor of Tumbes has felled the trees in the town’s main square, to ‘remodel’ it. In a place where it is so hot, cutting down trees that provide shade! [Si] (He is [Lit. will be]) Such an idiot!’  
 (RAE, CDH, Caretas, Peru, 21/12/1995).

According to *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* (RAE / ASALE, 2009: 1774), these structures usually serve to highlight a negative feature of something or someone; note that *bestia* actually means ‘stupid, fool, idiot’ in (2). It should also be stressed that *si* behaves as a covert quantifier (Bosque, 2017) in (2), as attested by the impossibility of the adjective being modified by any kind of explicit quantification in (3). Furthermore, (4) evidences that the *si*-clause can be followed by a second clause with a result interpretation:

(3) \**Si será tan bestia!*  
 ‘He is [lit. will be] such an idiot’  
 (4) *Si será bestia que ha talado todos los árboles que dan sombra.*  
 ‘He is such an idiot that he has cut down all the trees that provide shade’

*Si*-future exclamatives are especially interesting for two reasons. Firstly, they may shed new light on the space reserved for independent *si*-clauses within the frame of insubordination –that is, “the conventionalized use of what, on *prima facie* grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses” (Evans, 2007: 367). Independent *si*-clauses with a refutational interpretation, such as (5) and (6), have been extensively dealt with from this perspective (Schwenter, 1996; Porroche, 1998; Montolío, 1999):

(5) A: *¿Cuándo te vas?* B: *(Pero) Si no me voy*  
 ‘A: When are you leaving? B: (But) [Si] I’m not leaving!’  
 (6) *¡(Pero) Si me he dejado el grifo abierto!*  
 ‘(But) [Si] I forgot to turn the tap off!’

In contrast, *si*-future exclamatives such as the one in (2) have usually been excluded from the discussion. According to RAE / ASALE (2009: 3211–3212), *si* in (5) and (6) exhibits an adversative value –i.e. it contravenes a previous situation or provides an argument to contradict it; indeed, in both examples it can be preceded by *pero*. *Si* also shows, in these cases, compatibility with explicit quantification, as opposed to in *si*-future exclamatives. Likewise, Gras and Sansiñena (2017) point to their different origins as being key to distinguishing these two constructions: whereas the independent clauses in (5) and (6) derive from an original conditional protasis, *si*-future exclamatives have been linked to the truncation of the main verb in an original noun subordination context, as exemplified in (7):

(7) *Fíjate / Mira si será bestia > Si será bestia*  
 ‘Look if he will be an idiot > Look what an idiot he is [lit. will be] > [Si] (He is [Lit. will be]) Such an idiot!’

Nevertheless, a thorough diachronic analysis provides interesting data about the interaction of the two processes, also revealing clues pertaining to a new emancipation (Mithun, 2008): that of morphological future.

Secondly, *si*-future exclamatives relate to Spanish mirative future (Rivero, 2014; Rodríguez Rosique, 2015b; Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti, 2021), as illustrated in (8):<sup>2</sup>

(8) –*Quino: Manu, el piso ya está apalabrado*  
 –*Manuel: ¿Quéeee?*  
 –*Quino: Lo que oyes.*  
 –*Manuel: ¡Serás capullo! ¿Pero qué coño me estás contando?*

<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, this future has traditionally been labeled as *futuro de sorpresa* ‘surprise future’ (cf. Fernández Ramírez, 1986; Gili Gaya, [1951] 1993).

–Quino: Manu, the flat is already promised to someone  
 –Manuel: Whaaat?!  
 –Quino: You heard right.  
 –Manuel: [You are (lit. *will be*) Such an asshole! What the fuck are you telling me?  
 (RAE, CDH, 2004, Eduardo Galán y Pedro Gómez, La curva de la felicidad o la crisis de los 40)

Unlike what happens in other languages, including Italian (Squartini, 2018), mirative future in Spanish requires a negative interpretation, as inferred from the anomaly in (9). Indeed, this is the relevant reading in suspended structures such as (10):

(9) \*¡Será simpática!  
 '(You are [lit. *will be*]) Such a nice girl!  
 (10) ¡Serás. . .!  
 '[Lit. *you will be*] > Such a . . .!'

The morphological future used in these examples shows the speaker's evaluative distance towards a situation (Rodríguez Rosique, 2015b) or, expressed another way, a kind of negative assessment that counts as a reaction towards a certain piece of information, thus falling under the umbrella of mirativity (Aikhenvald, 2012).

This current paper aims to examine *si*-future exclamatives, synchronically as well as diachronically, seeking not only to identify their possible contexts of use but also to distinguish their various semantic interpretations. As a result, it will be possible to redefine the space of insubordination and measure the role played by analogy in the continuing independence of the marker *si*. The proposal developed here can equally explain mirative future as a discourse construction resulting from the emancipation of a previous structure that, at the same time, retains the deictic value of morphological future, converting it into a functional feature in its new discursive meaning. Seen in this light, the grammaticalization of morphological future in Spanish is not, then, viewed as a closed cycle if we include cooptation among the mechanisms available to renew grammar –or, more specifically, discourse grammar (Kaltenböck et al., 2011).

In order to achieve its aforementioned purposes, the paper is organized as follows. Both exclamatives and morphological future are related to mirativity –the category dealing with the status of a proposition as far as the participants' system of knowledge is concerned (DeLancey, 1997)– and Section 2 thus introduces the key notions of this category and pays particular attention to its boundaries with respect to its contiguous neighbors –particularly exclamativity. Section 3 reviews *si*-exclamatives in Spanish and points to a bifurcation that may prove useful for the analysis. In Section 4, *si*-exclamatives are situated within the wider map invoked by the marker *si*, while Section 5 offers a snapshot of morphological future in Spanish and proposes its deictic reformulation as a productive mechanism when it comes to describing its various values in a unitary fashion; more strictly speaking, an explanation is provided of how morphological future fits into the exclamative structure and how precisely its deictic value allows the verbal form to emancipate from its original matrix and play an interactive role. As for Section 6, it provides a diachronic analysis of *si*-future exclamatives; after contrasting this data with the synchronic behavior of the construction, the interaction between *si*-future exclamatives and mirative future is examined in greater depth. Finally, Section 7 brings together the most important conclusions derived from the analysis and defends the existence of two types of *si*-future exclamatives which, while having, to date, passed unnoticed, may explain mirative future in Spanish.

## 2. THE LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION OF SURPRISE

Both the *si*-exclamative in (2) and the morphological future in (8) can be linked to mirativity, that is, to the linguistic category that revolves around the semantic notion of *surprise*.

According to Peterson (2013: 11-14), the linguistic status of mirativity as a category is justified for three reasons. First, from the perspectives of psychology, cognition and acquisition, surprise is considered a primary emotion which is cognitively defined as a unique mental event in a chain of events that takes place when a speaker finds some

new information that he/she was not prepared for. Secondly, surprise stands out for being the original meaning of many lexemes –such as the Spanish verb *sorprenderse* ‘to be surprised’– as well as of several other linguistic elements –e.g. exclamative intonation. And lastly, typologically speaking, the fact that some languages resort to different categories to express mirativity in no way invalidates its grammatical status, it simply shows that mirativity does not behave in a homogenous way: the possibility exists for it to be expressed both lexico-semantically and grammatically, or morphologically.<sup>3</sup>

The notion of mirativity, in effect, arises within the linguistic space created by evidentiality. Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986) showed that the perfect in Turkish (*-mîş*) can serve to convey not only indirect –inferential or reportative– evidentiality but also a type of direct perception that denotes surprise or lack of psychological preparation to assimilate certain information on the part of the speaker.

DeLancey (1997) makes links between Aksu-Koç and Slobin’s data and what happens in other languages. In the Athabascan language Hare, the final sentence particle *-lō* has the capacity to express both indirect evidence about a past event and direct evidence about a current, unexpected one. The Tibetan languages Sunwar and Lhasa code a mirative distinction in their copular system, which in modern Tibetan also relates to the notions of control and volition, as well as to person markedness. The same author makes the connection with the peculiarity of Korean, where some markers of new knowledge appear immediately after the speaker discovers the information. These phenomena lead DeLancey (1997: 47-48) to define mirativity as a constellation which orbits around inferentiality, new information, and surprise, thus emerging as distinct from evidentiality since it can operate in different evidential contexts (either in direct experience situations or in indirect –inferential or reportative– evidential contexts).<sup>4</sup> Mirativity consequently captures languages’ natural tendency to draw a distinction between information that forms part of the speaker’s integrated worldview and that which does not belong to this general structure (DeLancey, 1997: 48-49). Nevertheless, DeLancey claims that languages differ in terms of the extent to which they integrate this tendency: while mirativity is optional both in English and in Hare –though the latter marks it morphologically and the former does not–, it has a compulsory status in other languages.

Following the same lines as DeLancey, Aikhenvald (2012: 437) tries to delimit the category in semantical terms by establishing an array of mirative meanings, among them: sudden discovery, realization, or revelation; surprise; the speaker’s unprepared mind; counter-expectation; and new information. In her view, mirativity can be conveyed via lexical means or independently –through complex verbal constructions, verbal affixes or particles, and a special series of pronouns. And replicating the approach used in relation to evidentiality (cf. Aikhenvald, 2004), Aikhenvald (2012: 462-473) separates the notion of grammatical mirativity from that of mirativity strategies –in other words, non-essentially mirative categories that acquire a mirative meaning in specific contexts (tense, aspect, the status of reality, evidentiality, person markedness systems, or interrogatives, to mention but a few). According to Aikhenvald, every language has the potential to express the full range of mirative meanings, albeit not necessarily via grammar; they may convey mirativity by means of a verb, exclamation, interjections, or an intonation.

If mirativity must be isolated from evidentiality in terms of its emergence, then, the consolidation of this category requires that its boundaries with respect to exclamation are specified. In Hengeveld and Olbertz’s opinion (2012: 490), exclamation is a type of utterance –i.e. an illocutionary notion conveying the speaker’s assessment of presupposed propositional content. Mirativity, on the other hand, has the status of a modal notion, which means that it neither represents a kind of utterance nor necessarily relates to the speaker<sup>5</sup> and, what is more, it forms part of the set of propositions that can be asserted and questioned. By contrast, Rett (Rett, 2011; Rett and Murray, 2012) places mirativity on a level with exclamation in English insofar as they both allow the coding of “exceeded expectations”, mirativity thus emerging as an illocutionary operator that shares a pattern with certain other illocutionary modality marks.

<sup>3</sup> It is not in vain that Peterson (2013: 16-18) differentiates parasitic mirativity –where mirativity appears implicated through other semantic or grammatical categories, including evidentiality– from non-parasitic mirativity –where it enjoys semantic as well as grammatical independence. Within the latter, he also draws a distinction between mirativity marked grammatically through prefixes (Nepali), suffixes (Chechen), or auxiliaries (Setswana) and that marked by other linguistic categories, for instance: verbs (*sorprenderse* ‘to be surprised’, *asombrarse* ‘to be amazed’), illocutionary adverbs conveying surprise (*sorprendentemente* ‘surprisingly’), or intonation patterns.

<sup>4</sup> Not all authors agree on the independence of mirativity as a category. Lazard (1999) considers that, unlike evidentiality, mirativity seldom occurs on its own, i.e. disconnected from the expression of other notions. In fact, for Lazard, some of the examples used by DeLancey simply illustrate an unspecific reference to the source of information interposed between the speaker and their utterance, thus better fitting the requirements of the category of *médiatifs* devised by Guentchéva (1996). For a subsequent critical review about the independence of mirativity as a category, see also Hill (2012).

<sup>5</sup> According to Hengeveld and Olbertz (2012: 80), mirativity relates to information that can be new to either the speaker or to the addressee. Along the same lines, Aikhenvald (2012: 437) argues that mirativity is linked to information that may be new to the speaker, to the audience or the addressee, or to the main character of a story.

One of the most controversial issues when approaching exclamation lies in the difference between exclamation and exclamatives. Exclamation is a subtype of expressive speech act that conveys emotion<sup>6</sup> –or expressed another way, it involves a non-neutral attitude on the part of the speaker (Alonso Cortés, 1999; Castroviejo, 2008)– and can be marked either grammatically (11) or simply using intonation (12):

- (11) ¡*Qué bonito es!*  
‘How nice! / It is so nice!’  
(12) ¡*He aprobado!*  
‘I’ve passed!’

As opposed to (11), which contains only one (expressive) speech act, (12) displays a main assertive speech act, along with an expressive one at the secondary level. The distinction illustrated by (11) and (12) leads Bosque (2017: 7) to differentiate primary exclamatives –those which include a lexical or syntactic clue which classifies the structure as exclamative– and secondary ones –where the exclamative sense relies exclusively on intonation.

Among primary exclamatives, the constructions introduced by a *wh*-constituent –e.g. *qué* [what], *cuánto* [how much], *cómo* [how], *cuándo* [when] (González Calvo, 1997; Alonso Cortés, 1999; RAE / ASALE, 2009; Bosque, 2017)– can undoubtedly function as a control group. These structures react to stimuli but cannot meet an information request, as attested by the anomaly in (13):

- (13) A: ¿*Qué te parece Juan?*  
‘What do you think of Juan?’  
B: # ¡*Qué simpático!* Vs. *Es muy simpático* / ¡*Es muy simpático!*  
‘How nice! vs. He is very nice / He is very nice!’

According to Castroviejo (2008: 48-62; 2010: 6-9), this happens because neither of the meanings provided by an exclamative count as an assertion. In fact, she considers that an exclamative structure supplies two values: an exclamative intonation –which constitutes a conventional implicature à la Potts (2005); and a set of linearly-arranged propositions that function as presupposed material.<sup>7</sup>

Apart from *wh*-exclamatives, certain other structures lexically or syntactically reflect their exclamative nature, as shown by the different repertoires catalogued in Spanish grammar (cf. González Calvo, 1997; Alonso Cortés, 1999; Bosque, 2017, among others).

### 3. SI-EXCLAMATIVES IN SPANISH

Spanish grammars have usually included *si*-exclamatives within primary exclamatives. However, no consensus exists among linguists as to which type of *si*-structure should be labeled as exclamative, nor on how many types of *si*-structures exist.

Alonso Cortés (1999: 4002) specifically refers to an exclamative *si* –classified as an unstressed adverbial–<sup>8</sup> which introduces structures such as those in (14) and (15) below. For him, this *si* can be replaced by *cómo* ‘how’ or *cuánto* ‘how much’ (16), the ponderative value of the construction deriving from its occurrence in particular contexts, and the utterance always corroborates a previous assertion.

- (14) ¡*Si me acordaré yo!* ¡*Si conoceré yo a las mujeres!*  
‘[Si] I remember that well! [Si] I know [lit. will know] women very well!’  
(15) *Vaya si es bravo cuando quiere; Mira si tiene dinero que se ha comprado un Rolls.*  
‘Look how brave he is when he wants to be; He has so much money that he has bought himself a Rolls’  
(16) ¡*Cuánto me acordaré yo!*

<sup>6</sup> The key notion behind the speaker’s emotional reaction tends to be surprise; hence its link to mirativity; nonetheless, disappointment, enthusiasm, frustration, etc. may also be found (Bosque, 2017: 2-4).

<sup>7</sup> For this author (Castroviejo, 2010: 6-9), the propositions in this group are linearly ordered because they exhibit a gradable property. Exclamative intonation therefore operates on a set of propositions divided into the following: a subset of false propositions; a subset of true propositions; and one true proposition which is stronger than the others. This set of propositions also counts as a presupposition, since it introduces non-controversial information (Atlas, 2004) that can be accommodated (Lewis, 1979) by the addressee if it does not form part of shared knowledge.

<sup>8</sup> Note that the prototypical assertion adverb in Spanish is the stressed *sí*.

'How I remember [lit. *will remember*] that!'

González Calvo (1997: 156-157) differentiates two types of *si*-structures which enable the expression of exclamations: (a) assertive sentences where *si* behaves as a linguistic element that emphatically reinforces the assertion, as in (17); and (b) properly exclamative sentences that convey ponderation at an extreme level, exhibit a particular morpho-syntactic and intonation pattern, and resemble *mira*-structures, thus implying some kind of textual subordination, as exemplified by (18) and (19):

(17) ¡*Si ha venido!*

'[Si] He has come!'

(18) ¡*Si le conoceré yo! ¡Si lo sabremos nosotros!*

'[Si] I know [lit. *will know*] him well! [Si] We know [lit. *will know*] too much about it!'

(19) *Caray si come; Mira si es tonto; Vaya si le conozco*

'He does eat; Look how stupid he is; I know him so well'

Bosque (2017: 29-32) locates *si*-exclamatives alongside *que*-exclamatives under the umbrella of "matrix complementizer exclamatives" and links them with the broader phenomenon of subordination. Furthermore, within each subtype –*si*-exclamatives and *que*-exclamatives– he identifies two groups depending on whether they occur in the indicative or the subjunctive.<sup>9</sup> Paralleling the division established by González Calvo, Bosque establishes two types of *si*-exclamatives –both of which, however, can be considered exclamatives in his opinion: on the one hand, some *si*-exclamatives introduce a justification, reply or counterargument that reinforces the speaker's position<sup>10</sup> (20); and on the other, *si*-exclamatives may suggest covert quantification (21), which explains why the adjectives and nouns occurring in this construction reject explicit degree modifiers (22) and nominals must be bare (23):

(20) ¡*Si estoy callado! ¡Si es una maravilla!*

'[Si] I'm keeping quiet! [Si] This is great!'

(21) ¡*Si será Juan tonto! ¡Si habrá escrito libros este hombre!*

'[Si] Juan is [lit. *will be*] such an idiot! [Si] This man has written [lit. *will have written*] so many books!'

(22) \*¡*Si será muy tonto!*

'[Si] He is [lit. *will be*] such an idiot'

(23) \*¡*Si habrá escrito muchos libros!*

'[Si] He has written [lit. *will have written*] so many books'

Most of the grammarians who have dealt with them agree –explicitly or implicitly– on the relationship that *si*-exclamatives conveying covert quantification have with a previous discourse which is simultaneously corroborated and emphasized. In fact, RAE / ASALE (2009: 3208) specifically labels them as "evidence exclamatives", thus placing them along with *si*-future exclamatives (2009: 3211–3212). As mentioned above, *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* describes these exclamatives as indicating the selection of the extreme value on a scale, the role of *si* as a quantifier being demonstrated in two ways: (a) the construction is blocked in the absence of a dimension that can be quantified (24); and (b) the role of *si* is assimilated to that of the adverb *tan* in a result construction (25). Note that result constructions denote that a particular magnitude achieves an extreme value, from which the state of affairs described in the second clause follows as a consequence (RAE / ASALE, 2009: 3445).

(24) \*¡*Si estaré de pie!*

'(\*Si) I am [lit. *will be*] standing!'

(25) ¡*Si será listo que no falló ninguna respuesta! > Es tan listo que no falló ninguna respuesta*

'[Si] He is (lit. *will be*) so smart that he has not got a single answer wrong!'

<sup>9</sup> Among the structures used with the subjunctive mood, Bosque includes those which can be regarded as pertaining to the earlier stages of insubordination from original conditional constructions, such as *Si yo fuera rico* 'If I were rich'. Bosque's paper thus shares the spirit of works focused on finding a unitary behavior of the marker *si* in the various syntactic environments where it may occur, along the lines of Hernanz (2012) and Sánchez López (2015, 2020). These papers will be discussed in the following section.

<sup>10</sup> However, as pointed out by Sánchez López (2015), Bosque stressed that these structures also admit a scalar interpretation: they reject any alternatives below a certain implicit point.

Following this short review of the studies that have dealt with *si*-constructions from the perspective of exclamation, two aspects deserve special mention: the existence of two types of *si*-exclamatives, each of which plays a different discursive role, namely, a counter-argumentative function and an expressive function; and also the link of the latter –which has a quantifying, ponderative value– to the evidence of a previous discourse or situation. In order to assess the first aspect, it is worth locating *si*-exclamatives within the complete map of possible meanings invoked by the marker *si* in Spanish. Concerning the second aspect, the restriction of *si*-future exclamatives to evidence exclamatives overshadows the connection between these constructions and the mirative future of (8): evidence exclamatives do not necessarily have to be pejorative –like mirative future– and nor do they explain how morphological future can occur in sudden realization-contexts, as shown by (8). Both these aspects will be addressed in the following sections.

#### 4. PORTRAITS OF *SI*

*Si* stands out as the marker *par excellence* of conditionality in Spanish. From studies on conditionality, it seems well-acknowledged that this marker introduces a sufficient non-asserted condition (cf. Dancygier, 1998; Montolío, 1999; Schwenter, 1999). The protasis becomes a sufficient condition for the apodosis because a suspended causal relationship operating at different meaning levels (cf. Sweetser, 1990) arises between the two clauses. At the content level (26), the fulfillment of the state of affairs described in the protasis suffices to accomplish that depicted in the apodosis; at the epistemic level (27), the protasis serves as a sufficient premise –i.e. a state of knowledge– that allows a conclusion to be drawn in the apodosis; and finally, at the utterance level (28), the circumstances specified in the protasis legitimize the speech act that appears in the apodosis:<sup>11</sup>

- (26) *Si hace sol, iremos a la playa*  
 'If it is sunny, we will go to the beach'  
 (27) *Si te ha dicho eso, es porque te quiere*  
 'If he has told you that, it is because he loves you'  
 (28) *Si tienes sed, hay cerveza en la nevera*  
 'If you are thirsty, there is beer in the fridge'

Likewise, the protasis introduced by *si* is a non-asserted clause in discursive terms (cf. Lavandera, [1983] 1990; Horn, 1986). Its non-asserted nature makes it the weaker member on the clausal scale (see Fig. 1) where the causal marker –*ya que* [since]– acts as the strongest (Gazdar, 1979; Levinson, [1983] 1989; 2000).

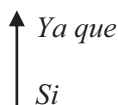


Fig. 1. Clausal scale {*si* [if], *ya que* [since]}.

The position of *si* as the weak member on the scale explains the hypotheticality often associated with conditionals as being a conversational implicature that arises by default (29) but which can also be contextually cancelled (30). When this happens –i.e. when the uncertainty implicature is cancelled– the proposition conveyed through the protasis simply remains at a secondary discursive level.

- (29) *Si hace sol, iremos a la playa*  
 'If it is sunny, we will go to the beach'  
 > *Puede que haga sol y puede que no*  
 'It may be sunny and it may not be'  
 (30) A: *Hace sol*  
 'It's sunny'  
 B: (Pues) *Si hace sol, iremos a la playa*  
 '(Then) If it is sunny, we will go to the beach'

Nevertheless, *si* also participates in another type of subordination in Spanish; in fact, *si* is the only marker that can introduce indirect polar interrogatives (Suñer, 1999: 2152):

<sup>11</sup> On the different metalinguistic possibilities for broadening the schema, see Dancygier (1998) or Montolío (1999).

(31) *Preguntó si estábamos ocupados*

'He asked if we were busy'

Unlike conditionals, indirect interrogatives are considered a type of noun subordination because the subordinate clause plays the same role as a noun (Girón, 1988; Suñer, 1999: 2151). Indirect interrogatives may be introduced either by the marker *si* (31) or by a *wh*-constituent (32), allowing the distinction to be drawn between, respectively, total and partial.

(32) *Preguntó dónde estábamos*

'He asked where we were'

However, it should be borne in mind that an indirect interrogative is not always equivalent to indirect speech, that is to say, an indirect interrogative does not always report a question in a corresponding direct speech situation (Girón, 1988). In truth, two types of indirect interrogative subordinate clauses can be distinguished in Spanish, both of which already existed in Latin (Girón, 1988; 2014b): properly indirect interrogatives, which reproduce a question (33); and non-properly indirect interrogatives (34), which, despite not being the same as a question, require an option to be chosen from among several –thus invoking a *variable* nonetheless (RAE / ASALE, 2009: 3259).

(33) *Dime dónde vives*

'Tell me where you live'

(34) *Ya sé dónde vives*

'I already know where you live'

In parallel with the existence of indirect interrogative subordinate clauses (35), and sharing many of their features, Spanish also boasts indirect exclamative subordinate clauses (36). Unlike indirect interrogatives –which involve the existence of several options (35)– indirect exclamatives (36) emphasize or stress the marked status of what is already known –in other words, they express emphasis or underestimation concerning a specific dimension (RAE / ASALE, 2009: 3266).

(35) *Es un misterio cómo lo resolvió* (indirect interrogative)

'How he solved it is a mystery'

(36) *Es un crimen cómo lo resolvió* (indirect exclamative)

'How he solved it is a crime'

According to *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* (RAE / ASALE, 2009: 3267), indirect exclamatives are defective because only those that are partial –those introduced by a *wh*-constituent– can be embedded; exclamatives introduced by the marker *si*, on the other hand, cannot be subordinated to predicates that usually feature indirect exclamatives, as (37) shows.

(37) *Si es rico > \*Llama la atención si es rico*

'[S*i*] He is so rich! > It attracts attention that/\*if he is so rich'

These total exclamatives only occur when preceded by the imperative forms of the verbs *fijarse* 'pay attention' or *mirar* 'look' (38). Nevertheless, doubts have been raised as to whether these imperatives represent a real process of subordination, as revealed by the anomaly in (39). Indeed, the imperatives *mira* and *fíjate* behave quite similarly to interjections.<sup>12</sup>

(38) *Mira si tiene dinero*

'Look how much money he has [lit. if he has money]'

(39) *Mira si tiene dinero > # Míralo*

'Look how much money he has > Look at it'

<sup>12</sup> For an analysis of *mira*, see Rodríguez Ramalle (2007); Sánchez López (2017); Maldonado and De La Mora (2021); Figueras (2022); and/or García Negroni and Libenson (2022). And for a diachronic study that tracks the path from verb to particle, see Hanegreefs and González Melón (2015) and Fernández Jaén (2012).



Girón (1988; 2014b: 3313–3317), however, considers cases such as (38) to be original discourse exclamative subordinate structures. In his view, the structure emerges around a perception verb<sup>13</sup> in imperative, present or future tense which provides a warning to the addressee with respect to the clause content. This construction already existed in Latin, and in its evolution into Spanish, it may be either partial –found even in the earliest texts– or total –especially frequent in the 15th and 18th century, coinciding with the peak of theatrical dialogue.<sup>14</sup> It is precisely during this evolution that the context for the grammaticalization of this structure is revealed, namely: subordination processes that, on the one hand, lead to the transformation of subordinate predicates into real interjections –as happens with *mira* and *fijate* (Girón, 2014a; Bosque, 2017)– and, on the other, allow for the emancipation of the subordinate clause.

Beyond its use as a subordinate marker, *si* also proves quite productive in terms of the creation of independent clauses (Contreras, 1956: 80–82; Almela, 1985; Porroche, 1998: 233–237; Montolío, 1999: 3681–3683; Pavón Lucero, 1999: 628–630; RAE / ASALE, 2009; Gras, 2011: 292–294). In this sense, one of the most transparent patterns is where the utterance emerges from the truncation of the apodosis in an original conditional construction. The resulting new independent clause begins to play an interpersonal role, thereby taking the first steps towards insubordination (Evans, 2007; Gras, 2011). Thus, although the apodosis in (40) can still be easily restored, the *si*-clause becomes an interpersonal coercion mechanism closely related to politeness and based on the non-assertive status of the original protasis, which in this case is interpreted as a way of softening the recrimination proffered by the speaker.

(40) *Si me hubieras avisado*  
'If you had warned me'

*Si*-structures with a refutational interpretation represent a further step in this independence-acquisition process. Example (5) –now repeated as (41)– provides evidence of this:

(41) A. *¿Cuándo te vas?* B: (Pero) *Si no me voy*  
'A: When are you leaving? B: (But) [Si] I'm not leaving'

Even though the hypothesis of a “quiet/silent apodosis” such as *si p, ¿por qué dices q?* ‘if p, why do you say q?’ may remain valid (Bello, [1847] 1970; Porroche, 1998; Montolío, 1999; Schwenter, 2016a), the behavior shown by this structure –it cannot occur in subjunctive mood; it does not admit coordination; it cannot be embedded within knowledge verbs or operate under the scope of adverbs such as *obviamente* ‘obviously’; and it blocks both negative polarity and the uncertainty implicature (Schwenter, 1996; 1999; 2016a)– points to it being an insubordinate clause (Evans, 2007; Schwenter, 2016a; Gras, 2011). These *si*-clauses are typical in conversation, where they usually occur as replies that highlight the non-relevance of the addressee’s previous utterance (Porroche, 1998: 233–237; Montolío, 1999: 3681–3683). That said, Porroche (1998) and Montolío (1999) also include here those cases where the *si*-clause appears in seemingly isolated utterances in which the speaker themselves also stresses the non-relevance of a previous proposition –i.e. his/her previous belief, assumption, or expectation. This is what happens in example (6), now recovered as (42).

(42) *¡Si me he dejado el grifo abierto!*  
'[Si] I forgot to turn the tap off!'

The marker *si* can also be present in direct polar interrogatives (Contreras, 1956 / 1957; Pavón Lucero, 1999: 628–630; RAE / ASALE, 2009: 3157). This particular use was common in Ancient Spanish (Girón, 1988: 172–173; 2014b: 3257–3264),<sup>15</sup> as exemplified in (43). However, this form does not prove very productive when it comes to introducing direct interrogatives in Contemporary Spanish, as shown by the anomaly in (44). Nonetheless, (45) provides proof that this use does prevail in dubitative (Pavón Lucero, 1999) and rhetorical (RAE / ASALE, 2009) interrogatives:

<sup>13</sup> According to Girón (2014b: 3313), the most frequently used verb is *mirar*, followed by *ver*.

<sup>14</sup> Girón (2014b: 3315) detects the absence of this structure in contemporary corpora, his explanatory hypothesis being that writers do not take the structure into consideration because it typically appears only in oral registers. Another hypothesis will be posed in Section 6: an emancipation in two steps –first, that of the *si*-exclamative followed by that of mirative future.

<sup>15</sup> As pointed out by Girón (1988, 2014b), the interrogative in Latin occurred in the subjunctive mood. Between 1251 and 1325, *si* began to appear in total questions. This phenomenon should be compatible with the formal proposal according to which every polar question contains an interrogative operator, even if it is not explicitly manifested in a particular language, as happens in Contemporary Spanish (cf. Rodríguez Ramalle, 2011). It cannot be denied that, from this period onwards, *si* started being used as a marker of subordination in the passage from a direct interrogative to an indirect one.

(43) ¿*Si será este don Florestán hijo del rey Perión y de la Condesa de Selandia?*

[S<sub>i</sub>] Is this Florestán be the son of King Perión and the Countess of Seeland?’

(44) \*¿*Si vendrá Juan mañana o no?*

[S<sub>i</sub>] Is [lit. *will*] Juan coming tomorrow or not?’

(45) ¿*Si estaré yo equivocada?*

[S<sub>i</sub>] Could [lit. *will*] I be wrong?’

Some grammarians (Contreras, 1956/1957; Pavón Lucero, 1999; RAE / ASALE, 2009) suggest a connection between such interrogatives and *si*-future exclamatives (46), which, once again, should in fact be limited to evidence exclamatives. Furthermore, this hypothesis fails to explain the occurrence of *si*-future exclamatives in sudden realization contexts as well as their link to mirative future.

(46) ¡*Si será tonto!*

[S<sub>i</sub>] (He is [Lit. *will be*]) Such a fool!’

Ever since Bello ([1847] 1970) took an interest in this marker, efforts have been made to trace the features shared by the various environments –subordinate or independent– where *si* occurs. More recently, Hernanz (2012) has once more brought this debate into focus by stating that what all *si*-uses share is their *irrealis* nature, in her opinion, the defining element of subordinate structures –regardless of whether they are conditionals or indirect interrogatives. As for independent constructions, Hernanz analyzes structures such as that in (40) as suspended conditionals which do not exhibit essential differences with respect to prototypical conditionals. When dealing with direct interrogatives (45), she considers that while these are also non-factual, they are also emphatic and therefore differ from indirect interrogatives due to both their temporal restrictions –direct interrogatives can only occur with future and conditional tense– and to the fact that *si* can be omitted and its meaning equals that of the adverb *acaso* ‘by chance’. In addition to the above, Hernanz extends the *irrealis* nature to *si*-future exclamatives, also linking them to direct interrogatives. In her opinion, as with prototypical *wh*-exclamatives, *si*-future exclamatives emphasize the extreme of a dimension; however, there are a number of differences between them: *si*-exclamatives are restricted in temporal terms (they appear exclusively in future or conditional tense)<sup>16</sup> but *wh*-exclamatives are not; *si* is dispensable; and, unlike *wh*-exclamatives, the *si*-clause may become the antecedent of a second clause that allows a result interpretation.<sup>17</sup> From Hernanz’s perspective, the explanation for all these differential features lies in the fact that, alongside the *irrealis* common to every use of *si*, exclamative *si* introduces a focus component because of its position.

However, a different position is adopted by Sánchez López (2015), who portrays *si*-exclamatives as being characterized precisely by their factuality, even if they are non-asserted. More specifically, she highlights that these structures do not assert propositional content; instead, they express a speaker’s emotional reaction towards presupposed –factual– content, exactly as prototypical *wh*-exclamatives do. This presupposed status acquires particular prominence when the possible discursive continuations of the construction are considered, as seen in (47B):

(47) A: ¡*Si será tonto!*

[S<sub>i</sub>] (He is [Lit. *will be*]) Such an idiot!’

B: *Sí, a mí también me {choca / llama la atención / sorprende}* vs. #*Sí, yo también lo he visto*; #*{Yo también me lo estoy preguntando / Yo tampoco estoy seguro}*

‘Yes, it also {surprises me} vs. Yes, I have seen that too; I am also wondering about that / I am not sure either’

(Apud. Sánchez López, 2015: 723)

Following the lines of the proposal by Bosque (2017), Sánchez López (2020) tries to capture the meaning associated with every use of the marker *si* –both subordinate and independent uses– and to compare them with those denoted through the marker *que*. From the standpoint of formal syntax, *que* and *si* both behave as complementizers –subordinators are treated as morphemes that code force, finiteness, and mode which makes it possible for clauses to become complements. Complementizers occur not only in subordinate contexts but also in main clauses. Based on these premises, Sánchez López (2020) claims that Spanish speakers choose the appropriate complementizer in Spanish (either

<sup>16</sup> Curiously enough, only evidence exclamatives can occur in the conditional; this tense is blocked in the sudden-realization, surprise contexts typical of mirative future.

<sup>17</sup> However, Grande Rodríguez and Grande Alija (2004) as well as Bosque (2017) argue that both *si*-exclamatives and prototypical *wh*-exclamatives admit a result extension: ¡*Qué bien lo haría que hasta le dieron un premio!* ‘He did it so well [lit. would do] that he was even awarded a prize!’.

*que* or *si*) depending on the nature of the contextual alternatives under which the proposition is assessed: *que* is selected if the addition of the proposition to shared knowledge seeks to reinforce the salient alternatives; on the other hand, *si* is used when adding the proposition involves contrast with, or the rejection of those salient alternatives. Complementizers in Spanish are consequently analyzed in relation to the feature *+/-contrast*, according to which *si* owns the positive feature (*+contrast*) and introduces a proposition that must be contrastively interpreted with respect to the salient alternatives.<sup>18</sup> In the case of *si*-exclamatives, Sánchez López considers that it is the complementizer's semantic feature *+contrast* in itself that accounts for their adversative, refutational or contrary-to-expectation meaning. In addition, specifically with respect to *si*-future exclamatives, she suggests that the feature *+contrast* operates at two levels: the force level, where it accounts for the interpretation of the utterance in connection with the previous discourse; and the focus level, where it triggers the degree interpretation –*si* emerges when a contrast exists between the degree conveyed by the operator and that of some presupposed alternative.

The contrastive nature of *si* as an element that encompasses distinctive values is also underlined by Rodríguez Ramalle (2011), who focuses on the link between independent clauses with a refutational interpretation and those in which *si* behaves as an interrogative operator. In her view, *si* requires the existence of two opposing alternatives: in indirect interrogatives, the speaker has to choose between two options, while in independent clauses, a previous discourse that acts as an alternative which the utterance introduced by *si* contradicts is essential. On this basis, Rodríguez Ramalle (2011) links the opposition invoked by the marker to the source of the information, whereby the relationship established between *si* and the previous discourse can rely on: indirect evidence reported by a third person (48); direct perceptual evidence (49); or indirect inferential evidence (50). *Si* thus emerges as a marker that builds the discourse from different sources of information.

(48) A. *Acuéstate y descansa.* B. *Si no estoy cansada*

'A: Go to bed and try to rest. B. (But) [Si] I am not tired'

(49) *¡Si María canta!*

'[Si] María can sing!'

(50) A. *¿Dónde está tu hermano?* B. *Si acabo de llegar*

'A: Where is your brother? B. [Si] I have just arrived'

(Rodríguez Ramalle, 2011: 215-218)

More recently, Schwenter (2016a; 2016b) has gone further in stating that not all the uses of independent *si* are essentially contrastive. He claims that when the subordinate conjunction becomes an insubordinate mark, *si* behaves as a multifunctional marker which expresses contrastive as well as causal meanings (2016a) (see (51) for an illustration). In this new paratactic use, where the need for a dialogical, refutational context does not even exist, the speaker provides a strong causal connection between a previous inferential conclusion and some particular evidence supporting it: the use of *si* in lieu of *porque* 'because' is related to the fact that the former is epistemically stronger than the latter – exactly the same rationale that explains why refutational *si* enjoys a stronger status than adversative *pero* 'but' (Schwenter, 2002).

(51) A. *No sé si quieres que sea una sorpresa para L.*

'I don't know if you want it to be a surprise for L'

B. *Él ya lo sabe. Si siempre dice que el tío S. viene en septiembre.*

'He already knows. [Si] He always says that uncle S is coming in September'

(Schwenter, 2016a: 106)

Based on Schwenter's approach, despite the prevalence of the adversative value –a mismatch arises in the common ground of the interlocutors, and the speaker thus tries to update the addressee's shared knowledge–, the main function of *si* consists in highlighting the epistemic force of the causal link between the two clauses.

Beyond its refutational use (50) and causal use with an adversative flair (51), Schwenter analyzes examples such as (52) –for him, clearly causal– to defend the idea that contrast is by no means a central part of the meaning invoked by *si*; it is exclusively a contextual effect.

<sup>18</sup> According to this author, the feature *+contrast* could explain all the uses of the marker *si*, the non-factuality of the conditional construction being a derived feature. This is somewhat in line with the pragmatic status of non-factuality, as argued above.

(52) A. *A Juana la han aceptado en Stanford.*

'Juana has been accepted at Stanford'

B. *Claro, si es muy inteligente*

'Of course, [Si] she's very intelligent'

(Schwenter, 2016b: 26)

In his opinion, all the uses of *si* in independent (in subordinate) clauses have in common that they introduce the proposition as being one that is obvious: its presentation by the speaker suggests that it should already form part of the shared knowledge. In this sense, such propositions become strong because they convert the speaker using them into possessors of a privileged knowledge that their addressee does not yet own, has forgotten or does not regard as relevant.<sup>19</sup>

In reality, both the contrastive nature of *si* maintained by certain authors and the obvious status of the proposition that it introduces (according to others) provide a suitable context for the occurrence of mirative future.

## 5. MIRATIVE FUTURE

Tense has traditionally been considered a deictic category since it locates the situation with regard to the moment of speech (Bello, [1847] 1970; Comrie, 1985). In order to perform this locating function, three temporal relationships are needed –namely: anteriority, simultaneity, and posteriority–, each of which may be either directly or indirectly oriented from the *origo*. Taking the deictic time/tense correlation as a reference, Spanish morphological future has usually been considered as an absolute form that indicates posteriority (Rojo, 1974; Rojo and Veiga, 1999); in other words, it locates the event after the moment of speech, as shown in (53), where Juan is coming after the now of the speaker. Nevertheless, the possibility also exists for this morphological future to appear in non-posteriority contexts (54), as already noticed by Bello ([1847] 1970). Such cases are mostly associated either with epistemic modality, since the speaker evaluates the proposition as probable –> It will be about / It is probably four o'clock (Rojo, 1974); or with inferential evidentiality, insofar as the speaker presents the proposition as resulting from an inference or a calculation –> As far as I know / Based on the available evidence, I conclude that it is four o'clock (Fernández Ramírez, 1986: 295).

(53) *Juan vendrá mañana*

'Juan is coming tomorrow'

(54) A. *¿Qué hora es?*

'What time is it?'

B. *Serán las cuatro*

'It will be about four o'clock'

When trying to explain this controversial behavior, the most recent studies on future have focused either on determining the modal or evidential meaning of cases such as (54) or on attempting to identify the status of this verbal form. Thus, numerous authors defend the temporal value of future even in (54) above, arguing that the difference between (53) and (54) resides in the nature of the event occurring in future, which evolves from *expressing p* (53) to convey a *verification of p* (53) (De Saussure, 2013). According to other scholars, though, future is essentially a modal form that acquires its temporal value as a contextually derived effect (cf. Giannakidou and Mari, 2012; Rivero, 2014).<sup>20</sup> This modal perspective has been supported from broader perspectives, not really due to a specific perception of future as a modal form, but rather because they tend to conceive time in general as a modal construct. This is actually the cognitive view of tense (Langacker, 1991; Brisard, 1997; Kratochvílová, 2019) which, together with mood, is seen as an anchoring device. Philosophically speaking, this perspective relates to a psychological, inner conception of time (cf. Jaszczolt, 2009) in accordance with which past, present, and future do not exist outside human experience. Future in Spanish has also more recently been defined as a grammatical evidential, in Aikhenvald's terms (2012); more specif-

<sup>19</sup> Schwenter (2016b) favors this perspective because it permits the analysis of the discursive projection of in subordinate *si*-clauses – being epistemically stronger than other alternatives, they serve to block an ongoing discussion– and also the connection with their adverbial origin –not with the prototypical or hypothetical ones, but with those where the protasis serves as a bridge to a preceding discourse.

<sup>20</sup> The modal perspective likewise connects with the issues concerning the representation of future time. Some authors (Martin, 1981; Stojanovic, 2014) argue that, in contrast to the past –which is immutable, because it has already taken place–, the future is necessarily speculative in nature. Hence their proposal according to which a linear representation of time will prove useful for the past (immovable) and the present (perceptible). However, they demand a ramified structure for the future which can account for its open and undetermined nature. This argument is in line with the view of those who claim that, whereas the difference between past and present is time-based, that between present and future is modal in nature (Bertinetto, 1979).

ically, as an inferential, given that it always introduces the event as stemming from a speaker's inner process, because the event happens either in another time (53) or in another space (54) (Escandell-Vidal, 2010; 2014).

Although these epistemic proposals are consistent with the undetermined nature of future time as well as with non-posteriority contexts, these models need to resort to *ad hoc* explanations to address discursive values, where mirative future belongs. The enunciative productivity of this verbal form is, in consequence, underused, since it ends up working as a mere rhetoric deviation. One possible way to broaden this perspective could be to contemplate recovering the essence of future as a *deictic* mechanism.

Despite the semantic and functional complexity of morphological future, all its uses can be unitarily explained through the utilization of a single space-based template which, in addition to underlying the time-related meaning, also proves productive at other meaning levels. The need for this template is justified by the spatial configuration of linguistic time as a whole (Clark, 1973; Evans, 2003; Fillmore, 1971; Haspelmath, 1997; Lakoff and Johnson [1980] 2001; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; Moore, 2014) and tense in particular (Traugott, 1978). The deictic reformulation involves assuming that the instruction may be abstracted and turned into a deictic schema that operates in a similar fashion at levels characterized by a more abstract nature (Rodríguez Rosique, 2019: 77-99).

Fig. 2 shows that morphological future in Spanish invokes a deictic 'distance forward' instruction (Fleischman, 1989) which can be projected over various levels of meaning (Sweetser, 1990) along an axis of (inter)subjectivity (Traugott, 1989; 2010) via successive scope enlargements (Bybee et al., 1994: 227; Traugott and Dasher, 2002: 40). At the content level, future operates within the proposition; distance then projects itself onto the event and is therefore interpreted in terms of posteriority. In turn, at the epistemic level, distance is projected onto the proposition, being understood in either modal or evidential terms. The modal approach conceives 'distance forward' as a positive distance, which is why the proposition lies in an intermediate space between hypotheticality and certainty –that is, in probability (Akatsuka, 1985; Cornillie, 2009; Rodríguez Rosique, 2011); the projection here makes sense because the proposition undergoes a *subsequent* corroboration (Pérez Saldanya, 2002; De Saussure, 2013). From an evidential perspective, 'distance forward' is instead understood as a speaker's inference, conjecture, or calculation (Squartini, 2008), and the projection makes sense because any given deduction always comes after its supporting evidence (Iglesias, 2000; Langacker, 2011; Martines, 2015). Nevertheless, one requirement needs to be fulfilled for future to operate at the epistemic level: this verbal form must be dislocated (Rojo, 1974; Rojo and Veiga, 1999) –that is to say, extracted from its natural context of posteriority and placed in one of simultaneity. Finally, as far as the utterance is concerned, the deictic 'distance forward' instruction projects itself onto the speech act; hence future's capacity to play a variety of interpersonal functions (Pérez Saldanya, 2002) that can likewise be related to Traugott's (2010) notion of intersubjectivity. Once again, there is a *sine qua non* condition for future to operate at this level: the information occurring in this verbal form must have been previously activated –or, to put it another way, it has to be *salient* (Chafe, 1994; Dryer, 1996). Mirative future is indeed one of the cases in which the deictic instruction is projected onto the utterance.

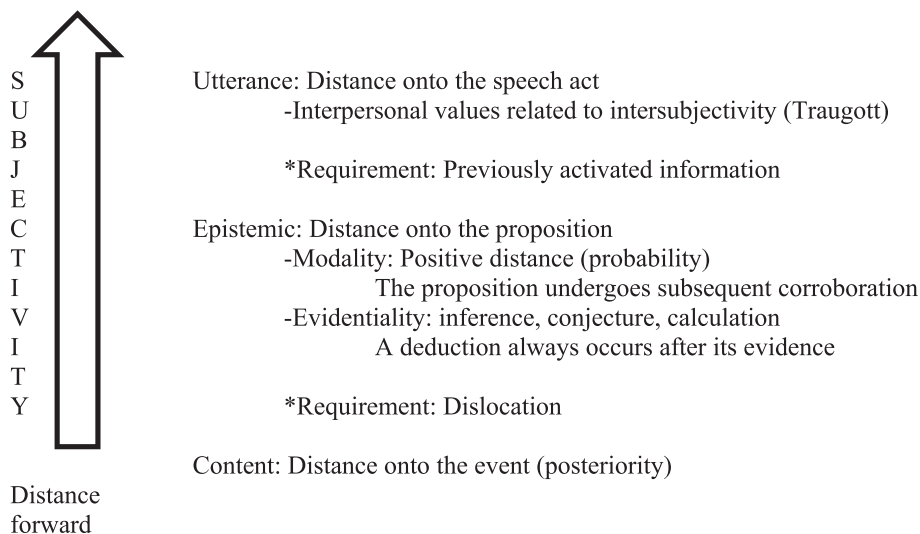


Fig. 2. Deictic reformulation of morphological future in Spanish.

Mirative future has aroused great interest in recent literature, although the explanation for it varies depending on the respective conceptions of morphological future employed. The various approaches, however, often neglect its potential proximity to *si*-exclamatives and, when they do establish a connection, either it is assumed as an *a posteriori* link or they fail to fully exploit the potential of future as a productive mechanism for discursive interaction and, therefore, as a trigger for the new emancipation.

Rivero (2014) finds an example of mirativity in concessive future. In her opinion, the epistemic value and the concessive exist as the two ends of a continuum, which justifies the conception of future as an evidential-based modal. Along this continuum, the epistemic value (55) emerges as a strong inferential that results from the combination of a realistic source with a set of anchoring conditions which require the involvement of an evaluator –the speaker or the subject– who must take responsibility for the utterance in order that the proposition can be understood as probable. The concessive value (56), in turn, arises as a weak mirative derived from combining a merely informational source –which the speaker does not assess because it may be unreliable or even false– and a set of flexible anchoring conditions –the only requirement being that the proposition has salience within the discourse. As a result, since it comes from another source, the speaker assumes no responsibility for the content and may even deny its validity.

(55) A. *La niña tiene muy mala cara hoy*

'Our little girl is not look good today'

B. *Tendrá fiebre. Voy a por el termómetro*

'She must have a temperature. I will go and get the thermometer'

(56) A. *Juan habla muy claro.*

'Juan speaks very clearly'

B. *Hablará muy claro, pero yo no le entiendo nada*

'He may speak very clearly, but I do not understand anything he says'

(Rivero, 2014: 197-199)

This current paper incorporates the distinction drawn by Malchukov (2004: 187) between adversativity/concessivity – considered as an inter-utterance relationship based on incompatibility between discursive segments– on the one hand, and mirativity –where a discursive segment is unexpected as such, and there is no need for incompatibility between segments– on the other. In this light, the term mirative is reserved for those cases in which morphological future expresses the speaker's reaction towards a certain salient situation (cf. Rodríguez Rosique, 2015a; 2015b).

Squartini (2012; 2018) utilizes interactional uses ((57), (58), and (59)) to explore the configuration of mirativity in Romance languages.

(57) *Sarò piemontese, ma mica scema!*

'I may be Piedmontese, but I am not stupid'

(58) *Sarò scema!? Mi sono dimenticata le chiavi!*

'I am [lit. will be] so stupid! I forgot my keys!'

(59) A. *Stupido!* B. *Stupido sarai tu!*

'A. Stupid! B. You are [lit. will be] stupid!'

(Squartini, 2018: 204-206)

More precisely, Squartini (2018) establishes a connection between evidentiality, epistemic modality, and mirativity in order to explain the different behaviors of mirative future in Italian and French. For him, future in French has an essentially modal nature and relies on the speaker's epistemic commitment; by contrast, in Italian, where it is basically evidential, it is governed by the feature [+self] and conveys that, whatever is asserted, stems from the speaker's own reasoning. Seen from this perspective, future in French may express a speaker's surprise towards a certain state of affairs that, in addition to failing to meet his/her expectations, appears as non-factual within the speaker's cognitive realm. On the contrary, future in Italian is incompatible with contexts where mirativity conveys the notion of a sudden discovery or realization ("I can't believe it") because the evidential nature of this future is based precisely on assuming the speaker's role as the main source of information.<sup>21</sup> The mirative readings of future in Italian therefore emanate from evidential knowledge modes and particularly apply to inferences, although they may also include cases where the

<sup>21</sup> Squartini (2018) realizes that the only possible contexts for future to occur in contexts of surprise for a speaker are those where a change of polarity has taken place, for instance, that triggered by the non-canonical form *mica*. For a recent approach to the interaction between Italian future and *mica*, see Mari (2023).

speaker calls the addressee's attention to something that everyone can easily perceive. In accordance with the typology that emerges from this view of the distribution of mirativity in Romance languages, it is Squartini's contention that Spanish forms a paradigm with Italian. Mirative future in Spanish can, however, combine perfectly with sudden realization contexts, as we saw in example (8) above.

Squartini points to the idea of mirativity as a multifactorial category, an approach later developed by Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti (2021) in their analysis of mirative future in Spanish.<sup>22</sup> They claim that there is nothing essentially mirative in the semantics of future, but rather that this interpretation emerges from the combination of several factors, including syntax, prosody, information structure, lexical aspect, context, and the speaker's evaluation. This proposal originates from the conception of future as an evidential –more specifically, an inferential one– which always conveys the instruction to represent the event as being outside the perception frame of a speaker who then accesses the information in an exclusively indirect manner –that is, through an inner process (Escandell-Vidal, 2010; 2014). As for the mirative interpretation, Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti (2021) argue that future still represents the event as something that the speaker has not directly experienced, only inferred. Even though this instruction conflicts with what the participants already know –insofar as mirative future constitutes an assessment towards an event that has just happened (recency requirement)–, it does not invalidate the meaning coded by future: the interpretive effect is triggered by precisely this clash between what is communicated to us and what we already know. Based on this approach, the mirative reading emerges within a particular syntactic environment that transforms the utterance into a rhetorical question: mirativity therefore arises from the pretense of a conjecture in cases where strong evidence supports the opposite conclusion. Thus, according to Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti (2021), though nothing intrinsically mirative exists in the meaning of future, the mirative interpretation can in fact only arise if future codes indirect evidentiality. For these authors, this explains why mirative values are not triggered in languages where future has no evidential use, such as Catalan<sup>23</sup> and French. Nonetheless, this conclusion contradicts the typological data provided by Squartini (2012) –according to which future in French may express surprise or the speaker's unprepared mind (60)– as well as those provided by Pérez Saldanya (2002) for Catalan –which specifically attest the existence of a “surprise future” (61).

- (60) *Quoi! ce gens se moqueront de moi!*  
 'What! These people are making fun (lit. will make fun) of me!  
 (Squartini, 2018: 198)
- (61) *¡Serà poca-solta!*  
 '(He/She is [Lit. He/she will be] Such a fool!  
 (Perez-Saldanya, 2002: 2638)

The explanation of the mirative interpretation as resulting from the simultaneous impact of various factors within a rhetorical question that has been proposed by Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti (2021) does seem efficient in accounting for the emergence of mirative markers such as *será posible* [lit. it will be possible > I can't believe it] or in the mirative constructionalization of structures such as *no ir <FUT.> a + infinitive* (Rodríguez Rosique, 2018; 2023). However, example (8) is an illustration of those cases where this explanation seems to miss the opportunity to analyze the discursive potential of morphological future by reducing it to a rhetorical device, and where the symbiosis between diachrony and synchrony also disappears.

The paper authored by Iglesias (2000), indeed, examines exactly this diachronic evolution of *si*-future exclamatives, and it points to the possibility of future being emancipated. According to Iglesias, the origin of this structure dates back to Medieval Spanish, when direct interrogatives preceded by *si* existed, where the speaker wondered about the authenticity of a conjecture extracted from the particular facts that functioned as premises (62). Although different tenses may occur in these contexts –such as the present in (62)–, future seems to appear quite often (63).

- (62) *Elicia: El perro ladra. ¿Si viene este diablo de vieja? (Celestina)*  
 'Elicia: The dog is barking. [Si 'if] Does this old devil [of a woman] come?'
- (63) *Válame Dios. ¿Si será también usanza en esta tierra lavar las barbas?*  
 'Oh, my god! [Si 'if] Is it (lit. will it be) also a custom here to wash beards?'  
 (Cervantes, *Quijote*)  
 (Iglesias, 2000: 533)

<sup>22</sup> However, Squartini (2018) labeled the uses found in (56)-(58) as mirative extensions.

<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, see Martines (2015) for diachronic evidence of evidential uses in Catalan that cannot simply be regarded as being influenced by Spanish (i.e. calques).

Iglesias argues that, if the inference relationship assumes the strength of what becomes evident, the structure is interpreted as a strong assertion, which justifies its evolution into an exclamative construction. As such, it has occurred embedded since the end of 15th century –(64) and (65). As for subordinating predicates, the speaker chooses verbs of perception –*mirar* ‘to watch’, *ver* ‘to see’, *fijar(se)* ‘to look at/pay attention to’– or conjectural ones –*imaginar* ‘to imagine’, *figurar(se)* ‘to figure out’, *calcular* ‘to calculate’– such that the conclusion appears not only plausible, but also obvious, visible or something which stands out. In Iglesias’ view, future turns out to be productive here, both as an inferential and as a discursive mechanism that organizes premises and conclusions and thus engages in an argumentation process.

(64) *Celestina: Pero dime si tomará*

‘Celestina: But tell me if he will come back/is coming back’

*Elicia: Mira si tomará. Tiénete dado una manilla de oro en prendas de tu trabajo, ¿y no había de venir? (Celestina)*  
‘Elicia: Of course [Lit. see if] he will come/he is coming back. He gave you a golden ring in return for your work, why wouldn’t he come back?’

(65) [. . .] *cuatro dedos de enjundia de cristiano viejo rancioso tengo sobre mi linaje: ¡miren si verá el tal retablo!* (Cervantes, *Entremeses*)

[. . .] ‘four fingers of rancid old Christian weight I have in my lineage: Of course [lit. look if] I will see the said altarpiece!’ (Iglesias, 2000: 533–534)

Iglesias, in addition, verifies the fact that the *si*-future direct exclamative (68) and the result structure (67) did not occur until the 19th century and that both the degree interpretation triggered by the original exclamative nature and its connection with the previous discourse in terms of justification (66) would lead to the subsequent development of a result clause. She argues that the last structures to appear were the *si*-future exclamative and the structure with mirative future, and that no notable differences exist between them. This leads Iglesias to propose that their origin results from a truncation of the indirect exclamative.

(66) *Ese chico se ha metido con su jefe. Fíjate si será tonto.*

‘That boy has messed with his boss. See how stupid he is [lit. if he will be stupid]’

(67) *¡(Fíjate) si será tonto ese chico que se ha metido con su jefe!*

‘Look, that boy is so stupid [lit. if this boy will be stupid] that he has messed with his boss’

(68) *Ese chico se ha metido con su jefe. ¡(Si) será tonto!*

‘That boy has messed with his boss. [Si] (He’s [Lit. will be]) such a fool/so stupid!’

(Iglesias, 2000: 529)

Iglesias’ proposal draws attention to the possibility of understanding mirative future as deriving from a diachronic process based on successive independence processes. However, despite her explanation being valid for evidence *si*-future exclamatives, it does not account for the restriction of mirative future to negative, pejorative contexts or for its occurrence in contexts of speaker surprise, that is to say, those involving sudden discovery or realization. The following section will analyze the behavior of *si*-future exclamatives in the diachrony of Spanish, linking the structure to the various syntactic and semantic environments invoked by the marker *si* and highlighting the appropriate contexts for mirative future to emerge as a new emancipation.

## 6. ANALYSIS: SI-FUTURE EXCLAMATIVES THROUGH THE HISTORY OF SPANISH

This section provides the most important data obtained following a search for, and examination of the combination <*si* + *será*> in Corpus del Diccionario Histórico del Español (CDH). The schema was chosen in the hope of it facilitating access to the various syntactic and semantic environments where the marker *si* may occur. The choice of the verb *ser* is justified as a natural way to examine the evolution of the exclamative into mirative future: static verbs usually block the temporal interpretation (cf. Rivero, 2023), and the verb *ser* can combine with the various different values that morphological future is likely to display.<sup>24</sup> Concerning the corpus, CDH has a diachronic nature and is compiled by RAE

<sup>24</sup> Concerning the choice of a person, third person singular was considered the most neutral option (as opposed to the appellative reading invoked by the second person or the expressive one conveyed through the first person). The initial objective was to access as many examples as possible in order to have a complete diachronic picture of the phenomenon. However, the search using the pattern <*si será*> also threw up cases with second person singular, which revealed interesting data about the meanings and contexts of *si*-future exclamatives, as will be further developed at the end of this section.



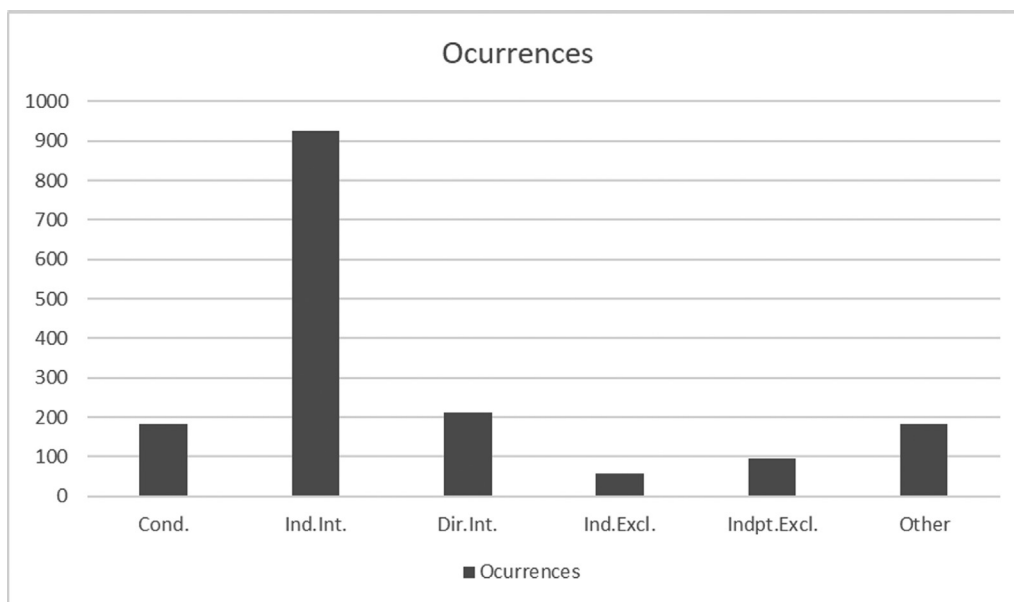


Fig. 3. *Si será* in Corpus del Diccionario Histórico del Español (CDH): Environments and total number of occurrences.

on an open access basis. The corpus, which currently contains 355,740,238 entries, covers the period from the 12th century to the year 2000.

A total of 1,651 occurrences of <*si será*> were analyzed and classified in accordance with the diverse environments reflected in Fig. 3 (horizontal axis), which also lists the total of occurrences corresponding to each environment (vertical axis).

Table 1 shows the distribution of occurrences corresponding to each environment during the different centuries included in the survey –i.e. from the 13th to the 20th century.

Furthermore, Fig. 4 below visualizes the behavior of each environment over the different centuries covered by CDH.

Concerning the data in Fig. 4, the group labeled as *other* (with 182 occurrences) includes those cases where *si* behaved as an adverb of assertion but had been wrongly transcribed –that is, without the corresponding graphical accent–, which explains why these instances sneaked into this particular schema.<sup>25</sup>

Fig. 3, likewise, provides evidence that a non-negligible number of examples (182 cases) match the conditional structure (labeled as *Cond.* in the graphic). As said in NGLE (RAE / ASALE, 2009: 1774) and also confirmed by other papers (Cano Aguilar, 2014), morphological future, in Medieval and Renaissance Spanish, could occur within a conditional protasis. The analyzed corpus shows that such cases began to appear at the very end of the 13th century (69) and the beginning of the 14th century (70), becoming especially productive in the 16th century (with 102 cases, as specified in Table 1 and also reflected in Fig. 4). This pattern of occurrence justifies the transfer of values between the syntactic environments of nominal and adverbial subordination featuring the marker *si* –hitherto usually regarded as two separate domains.

(69) *E de aquesto que se certificara el dicho sennor Rey e si sera trobado que asi sea Don Jayme Perez no ha feyto contra las posturas e si se trobara que asi no era el y fara todo lo que sea raçon.*

<sup>25</sup> The interaction between the tonic affirmative adverbial (*si*) and the unstressed marker (*si*) has been addressed many times since Bello first took an interest in it ([1847] 1970). Although the connection between them is compatible with the spirit of this research paper, an analysis of this interaction exceeds its scope.

Table 1

Distribution of occurrences of *si será* across the centuries included in CDH.

	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th	Total
Cond.	1	21	40	102	14	0	1	3	182
Ind.Int.	52	17	49	183	102	72	111	340	926
Dir.Int.	0	0	5	18	21	34	96	37	211
Ind.Excl.	0	0	1	10	6	1	13	26	57
Indpt.Excl.	0	0	0	0	0	1	16	78	94
Other	3	4	5	65	27	12	17	49	182

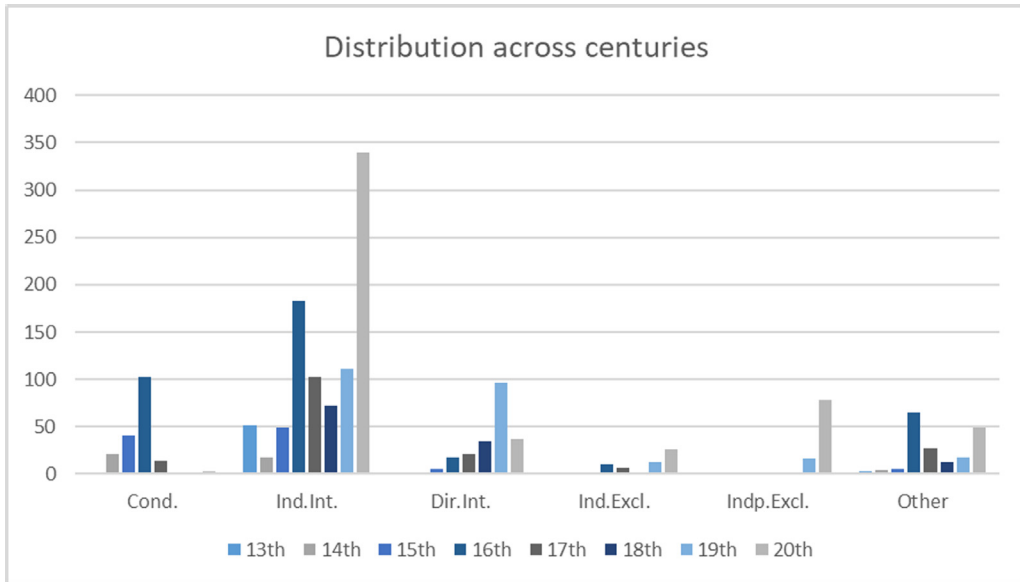


Fig. 4. Contrast of the behavior displayed by each environment between the 13th and the 20th century.

‘And let the King make sure of this and, if it is proven to be the case, Don Jaime will have no cause against the parties and, if it is proven that it was not the case, he will do everything necessary’

(RAE, CDH, 1297, Anónimo, Reclamaciones de Don Juan Manuel por incumplimiento de la capitulación de Elche) (70) *VI. cauallerias aya por su derecho. e todas estas partes. el iudeç las prenda segunt el fuero. Empero mando que si seran dalgun senyor o de otro conceyo mas partes prendan.*

‘has the right to *caballerías*. And to all these sections. The judge will take them according to jurisdiction. But if they belong [lit. *will belong*] to some lord or come from another district, they will have to take other sections’

(RAE, CDH, 1300, Anónimo, Carta de población de la ciudad de Santa María de Albarracín según el código romanecado de Castiel)

After examining all the occurrences obtained, the schema corresponding to an indirect interrogative (926 cases) undoubtedly stands out in every century. The structure appears quite frequently throughout the period under analysis, since it emerges in the 13th century –(71) and (72). Nonetheless, an important peak can be seen from the 16th century onwards, probably due to the number of texts which were available from then on. The earliest documents attest its presence in properly indirect interrogatives (72) as well as in non-properly indirect interrogatives<sup>26</sup> (71).

<sup>26</sup> It is worth highlighting the abundance of non-properly indirect interrogatives among the earliest examples collected in the corpus. In turn, properly direct interrogatives appear quite often with a subordinating *verba dicendi* in the imperative mood (probably due to the type of text –most of them epistolary in nature– where they occurred).

(71) [...] *et egual que quando el conçeio o los uezinos yxen en huest o en espediçion non saben si uençeran o si seran uençidos, enpero aquello prometen et lo an enproposito delo tener [...]*

'and just as when the council or the neighbors go out together or on an expedition, they do not know if they will win or if they will be defeated, but they promise and intend to do so'

(RAE, CDH, 1218-c1250, Anónimo, Fuero de Zorita de los Canes)

(72) *Diz el Rey pues este destroymiento & est hermamiento que dizes dim si sera en los mios dias. Diz el sabio. Non. Mas sera en dias de to fijo.*

'And the King says/asks if this destruction and this brotherhood [lit. *tell me if it*] will be in my days. And the Sage says. No. However, it will be in the days of your son'

(RAE, CDH, [siglo XIII] 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria, Cuarta parte)

Concerning the direct interrogative, 211 instances were found in the corpus. As already noted by Girón (1988; 2014b) and Iglesias (2000), the data collected in Table 1 and shown in Fig. 4 confirm that the structure emerged in the 15th century, although it was particularly common during the 18th and 19th centuries. While the marker initially occurs within a standard interrogative (73) that also admits an alternative coda (>*whether it would be good to hide this or not*), over the centuries, it became a conjectural mechanism which was compatible with the inferential function of morphological future –(74) and (75). As Squartini argued (2018: 200–224), the interrogative clause shows the speaker dubitatively displaying a conjecture that is meant to explain a certain state of affairs, while the affirmative clause presents the same conjecture in a more assertive fashion.

(73) 3. *Otro flayle dixo a aqeste abbat Pastor: — Sy yo viere a mi hermano pecar, ¿si sera bueno encobrirlo?*

'Another friar asked the abbot: If I saw my brother sin, [si] would it be [lit. *will it be*] good to cover it up?'

(RAE, CDH, c1400-c1421, Sánchez de Vercial, Libro de los exemplos por A. B. C.)

(74) *Fernando. Ruido parece que siento: ¿si será el viejo? Finjamos.*

'Fernando. I seem to hear some noise. [si] Is it [lit. *Will it be*] the old man? Let us hide'

(RAE, CDH, 1761, Ramón de la Cruz, La avaricia castigada).

(75) [...] *pero ha de saber V. que han dado en levantar ahora algunos raterillos que no nos dejan medrar, y quisiera que V. me los espantase. Señores filósofos, ¿si será Buonaparte ese raterillo que VV. quieren que les espantemos?*

'But you must know that some petty thieves are preventing us from prospering, and I would like you to shoo them away. Philosophers, [si] isn't it this petty thief Buonaparte [lit. *won't this petty thief Buonaparte be*] that you want us to make disappear?'

(RAE, CDH, 1811–1813, Fray Francisco Alvarado, Cartas críticas del Filósofo Rancio, II)

A total of 57 structures were classified as indirect exclamatives. Girón (1988; 2014b) and Iglesias (2000) both placed the emergence of such constructions in the 15th century. Indeed, Table 1 shows that the earliest example –reproduced in (76)– dates back to 1469–1479. Judging by the behavior of the construction within the corpus and according to what appears in Fig. 4, these structures proved especially productive in the 16th century (77), as well as in the 17th (78).

(76) *Para agena, es congoxosa de vella y también de oílla al que la tiene; pues ved si será enojosa al que, forçado, sufrilla le conviene.*

'From outside, it is sad to see her and also to hear her; imagine how annoying it must be [lit. *if it will be annoying*] for the one who is forced to bear her'

(RAE, CDH, c1469-1479 [s, XVI (1511)], Jorge Manrique, Los fuegos)

(77) *Pues entrad, cosmógrafos, por el estrecho que digo, e id a buscar, tierra a tierra, el cabo del Labrador a la parte del Norte, e veréis si será doblado el camino [...]*

'Well, enter, cosmographers, through the strait I'm talking about, and go looking, from land to land, for the Cape of Labrador in the northern part, and you will see how twisty the road is [lit. *if the road will be twisty*]

(RAE, CDH, 1535–1557, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Historia general y natural de las Indias)

(78) *Llora esperanças difuntas, llora viuos desengaños, por viuos y muertos llora, ved si sera largo el llanto.*

'Cry for the dead hopes, cry for the living disappointments, cry for the living and the dead, see how long the crying lasts [lit. *if the crying will be long*]

(RAE, CDH, 1605, Anónimo, Segunda parte del Romancero general y Flor de diversa poesía recopilados por Miguel de Madrigal)

Their use also experienced a remarkable increase between the 19th –(79) and (70)– and 20th century (81).

(79) *coadyuva más que nada el ejercicio corporal y la quietud del ánimo; lo que no se logrará perfectamente atemorizando al niño, ni obligándolo a estar sentado mucho tiempo; pues semejante posición le es tan violenta como natural el estado de la acción y movimiento. En virtud de lo que te digo, mira tú si será un sacrificio el enviar a los niños tan temprano a esas amigas o casas de enseñanza.*

'More than anything else, bodily exercise and peace of mind help; which will not be perfectly achieved by frightening the child, or by forcing him to sit for a long time; for such a position is as uncomfortable to him as the state of action and movement is natural. By virtue of what I tell you, you see if it is [lit. *will be*] a punishment to send the children so early to those friends or teaching houses.'

(RAE, CDH, 1818, José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, La Quijotita y su prima)

(80) *¡Ha de saber usted que Carlos, con sus impertinencias, ha llegado a lo que nunca creí: a malquistarme con mi abuelo, que también sospecha, también! Figúrese usted si será deliciosa mi existencia.*

'You must know that Carlos, with his impertinence, has achieved what I never believed: causing me to fall out with my grandfather, who is also suspicious, too! Imagine how delicious my existence is [lit. *if my existence will be delicious*]

(RAE, CDH, 1876, La segunda casaca)

(81) *¿Pero usted se ha dado cuenta de lo altísimos que vamos? Un viajero que va ahí delante, que parece persona instruida, dice que en esta altura ya no pueden vivir los pájaros. Así que fijese si será malo ir tan alto.*

'But have you realized how very high we are flying? A traveler who sits at the front, who seems to be an educated person, says that birds can no longer live at this height. So, see how bad it must be to go so high [lit. *if it will be bad*]

(RAE, CDH, 1972, Alonso Zamora Vicente, A traque barraque)

In all the contexts above, the indirect exclamative emerges as the conclusion of something mentioned previously and which constitutes its supporting evidence. The speaker in (79) justifies the fact that sitting is such an uncomfortable position for a child since being in motion is his/her natural state, from which derives the conclusion that sending little children to schools where they have to sit constitutes a punishment. Similarly, the speaker in (80) confesses that a person named Carlos has annoyed him in very different ways, the indirect exclamative following as an ironic conclusion. As for (81), the speaker relates that she has been told by a well-informed person that the height at which they are flying is not suitable for birds, from which she infers that flying so high must be very bad for humans too. The indirect exclamative thus exhibits a conclusive flavor that, because of the evidence the structure combines with, triggers the high-degree reading: the conclusion thus acquires argumentative strength. In fact, the obvious status of the conclusion and its argumentative strength legitimize the occurrence of certain interjections –*vaya, cuidado*– that behave as triggers, similarly to subordinating predicates (cf. Rodríguez Ramalle, 2007). This becomes obvious in example (82) extracted from the corpus.

(82) DAMA *¡El próximo será nuestro Marcelo Reiner! ¡Vaya si será!*

'The next one will be our Marcelo Reiner! Of course it will be!'

(RAE, CDH, 1976, Luis Riaza, Retrato de dama con perrito. Drama de la dama pudriéndose).

These indirect exclamatives that arise as an obvious, irrefutable conclusion drawn from some preceding evidence admit a result amplification through a *que*-clause, which contains a state of affairs derived from the scalar value emanating from the former clause. Thus, the intensity of the depth presented in the *mira si será* construction in (83) may eventually result in the possibility of the crime described in the *que* clause being committed:

(83) *Será una pasión absurda, loca, criminal, pero esa pasión es superior a toda ponderación, a todo raciocinio; un incendio de mis sentidos y una absorción de mi espíritu. Mira si será honda y perturbadora que he llegado hasta acariciar la esperanza criminal de una liberación que me permitiera ofrecerte mi nombre y mi fortuna*

'It will be an absurd, crazy, criminal passion, but that passion is beyond all deliberation, all reasoning; a fire of my senses and an absorption of my spirit. See how deep and disturbing it is [lit. *if it will be deep and disturbing*] that I have come to cherish the criminal hope of a liberation that would allow me to offer you my name and my fortune'

(RAE, CDH, 1909, Florencio Sánchez, Un buen negocio)

As far as independent clauses are concerned, the analysis shown in Table 1 and synthesized in Fig. 4 corroborates the fact that they began appearing in the 19th century, as mentioned by both Girón (1988; 2014b) and Iglesias (2000). This group does not, however, exhibit homogeneous behavior. What stands out most is the occurrence of certain causal

structures that resemble those identified by Schwenter (2016), which were also the earliest to emerge in the corpus. Furthermore, and surprisingly, in their early occurrences, dating back to the very end of the 18th century, these structures show contextual ambiguity with respect to direct interrogatives, as evidenced in (84).

(84) *Agatocles: Este dolor no ahuyentarás, amigo / ¿Bastará que este cuello / al sagrado cuchillo se someta?*  
*Herocles: No a ti te pide el dios; tu sangre en vano / derramada será.*  
*Agatocles: ¡Cruelles dioses!*  
*Herocles: ¿La muerte de un extraño te atormenta? / si a estos campos entrare un extranjero / destinado a la muerte será al punto.*  
*Agatocles: ¡Ah, si será el que temo! / Tú me cuentas / las palabras del dios y el caso todo; / Veré si en algo a mí me pertenece.*  
 'Agathocles: You will not drive away this pain, my friend / Will it be enough for this neck / to be submitted to the sacred knife?  
 Herocles: The god does not ask this of you; your blood will be shed in vain.  
 Agathocles: Cruel gods!  
 Herocles: Does the death of a stranger torment you? If any foreigner enters these fields, they will be immediately destined for death.  
 Agathocles: Ah, [Si] {should he be / will he be} the one whom I fear! Tell me what the god says and everything about the case; I will see if it suits me in any way'  
 (RAE, CDH, 1795, José María Blanco White, Alexis. Drama pastoral)

Indeed, (84) may be considered an interrogative –if we interpret the *si*-clause as a doubt that reflects a conclusion drawn from the reasoning process of the speaker (the latter wonders whether the gods should have chosen for the sacrifice his son, who counts as an alien and whose return he is awaiting)– or a causal –where the *si*-clause offers a strong argument that justifies the gods' cruelty.

In (85), however, the *si*-clause is clearly used as justification for Bernardo to provide an answer, thus playing an unequivocal causal function.

(85) *Don Deogracias: ¿A quién busca usted?*  
*Simón: ¿El señor conde del Verde Saúco está aquí?*  
*Bernardo: (Aparte.) ¡Qué nueva diablura! Don Deogracias. . .*  
*Don Deogracias: (Bajo a BERNARDO.) Responda usted. (Aparte) –Si será otro sastre.*  
 'Don Deogracias: Who are you looking for?  
 Simon: Is the Count of the Green Elder here?  
 BERNARDO: (Aside) What new mischief! Don Deogracias. . .  
 Don Deogracias: (Softly to BERNARDO.) You can answer yourself. (Aside) –[Si] It must be [lit. will be] another tailor'  
 (RAE, CDH, 1831, Larra, No más mostrador)

Bernardo is in fact usurping the Count of Verde Saúco's identity with Don Deogracias' acquiescence. Simon appears on the scene looking for the Count. Don Deogracias urges Bernardo to answer, knowing that nobody is going to discover the impersonation *because* the visitor will probably be yet another tailor who has never met the real count. Note that future is clearly operating at the epistemic level both in (84) and in (85).

According to Squartini (2018), whereas the speaker dubitatively expresses a conjecture that may explain a certain state of affairs in the direct interrogative, the inferential future in the affirmative counterpart presents that same conjecture more assertively. If we include these causal structures in the debate, the direct interrogative arguably conveys doubts about the capacity of the conjecture to explain a previous state of affairs, the morphological future displays the conjecture, and the causal structure turns the conjecture into a stronger justification for a previous state of affairs. Beyond this distribution, if the casual structure –considered an insubordination from a preceding, original conditional construction– can occur in the morphological future, the two syntactic environments that provide independent *si*-clauses will start to overlap.

The second value triggered by the independent *si*-future structures collected from the corpus matches those identified in NGLE (RAE / ASALE, 2009) as evidence exclamatives and coincides with that of example (2) –introduced at the beginning of this paper. Exactly like the indirect exclamatives illustrated by (76)-(81), these structures arise as a conclusion drawn from something previous.

(86) *Echa mucho de menos el ratito de cama después de sonar el despertador, y el paseito hasta casa los sábados por la tarde, viendo escaparates. Si será boba.*

'She really misses the short time in bed after the alarm goes off, and the short walk home on Saturday afternoons, window shopping. [Si] (She's [lit. 'll be]) Such a fool'

(RAE, CDH, 1976, Alonso Zamora Vicente, A traque barraque)

(87) *Aznar, con muchos menos escaños, está haciendo lo mismo, pero con resultados infinitamente mejores. En la economía no hay más que ver cómo estábamos hace un año y cómo estamos ahora. Si será notable la diferencia que los propios socialistas [...] dicen ahora que los buenos datos económicos se deben también a las medidas que ellos empezaron a tomar.*

'Aznar, with many fewer seats, is doing the same thing, but with infinitely better results. In the economy, all you need to do is see how we were a year ago and how we are now. The difference is so notable that the socialists themselves [...] now say that the good economic data are also due to the measures that they began taking'

(RAE, CDH, 20/04/1997, ABC Electrónico)

In fact, the speaker in (86) portrays the main character's foolishness as a natural consequence of her behavior, recently described in the preceding sentence. Likewise, (87) features the speaker deriving the remarkableness of the different (better) economic situation in Spain as the outcome of contrasting the data for 1997 (when the text was written) and that of the previous year. In this sense, these structures can be embedded in a main predicate constituted by *mira*, as (88) and (89) show.

(88) *Mira si será boba*

'See how foolish she is [lit. if she will be foolish]'

(89) *Mira si será notable*

'See how remarkable this is [lit. if this will be remarkable]'

Similarly, as exemplified in (87) and again in (90), these structures accept result amplification through a *que*-clause, which introduces a state of affairs that comes as a consequence of the scalar value emanating from the previous clause.

(90) *Si será notable la diferencia que los propios socialistas dicen ahora que los buenos datos económicos se deben a sus medidas.*

'The difference is so remarkable that the socialists themselves now say that the good economic data are due to their measures'

Despite being compatible with negative terms –*boba* in (86) means 'fool'–, their meaning is not limited to a pejorative interpretation, as (87) demonstrates.

These structures match the diachronic path drawn by Iglesias (2000), and align with Squartini's proposal to relate the mirative interpretation of Spanish and Italian morphological future to an evaluative conclusion derived from information which the speaker already knows. However, these structures do not explain the behavior of mirative future; in other words, they cannot account for the specialization of Spanish mirative future in pejorative readings or for its ability to occur in sudden realization contexts characterized by the speaker's surprise.

Nevertheless, the corpus contains a third group of independent *si será* structures which, unlike those within the second group, apparently may combine with sudden-discovery contexts, as seen in (91). The example reproduces a dialog where one of the participants is shocked by the meaning that the other has attributed to the expression *p.m.* By using the *si será* structure, the speaker shows his reaction to a sudden, on-going stimulus.

(91) –¿Te fijaste en la vendedora, qué muchacha tan linda? –me preguntó Palinuro.

–Me encantaría hacerle una p.m.

–¿Una qué?

–¿No sabes qué es p.m.?

–Pasado meridiano.

–Si serás imbécil. . . . p.m. quiere decir post mortem, necropsia, autopsia, ir a casa de Morgagni.

'–Did you notice the saleswoman, what a pretty girl? Palinuro asked me.

–I would love to make her a p.m.

–A what?

–Don't you know what p.m. means?

–Past meridian.

–[Si] (You're [Lit.'ll be]) Such an idiot... *p.m.* means *post mortem, necropsy, autopsy, going to Morgagni's house*' (RAE, CDH, 1977, Fernando Del Paso, Palinuro de México)

The occurrence of the exclamative in a sudden discovery context seems compatible with the anomalous result obtained when embedding the structure in the subordinating predicate *mira* (92).<sup>27</sup>

(92) #Mira si serás imbécil

'See what an idiot you are [lit. *See if you will be an idiot*']

The *si-será* structure also seemingly resists accepting result amplifications introduced by *que* (93). It may co-occur with *que*, but then the *que*-clause is regarded as a justification for the comment provided in the exclamative rather than as a subordinate clause that constitutes a result subordinate construction (94).<sup>28</sup>

(93) #Si serás imbécil que no sabes qué quiere decir p.m

According to the discourse flow, it is hard to interpret the sentence as 'You are such an idiot that you don't know what p.m. means'

(94) Si serás imbécil, que no sabes qué quiere decir p.m

'Such an idiot, you don't know what p.m means > You are such an idiot, and I say so because you manifestly don't know what p.m. means'

The contrastive nature of the marker *si* (Rodríguez Ramalle, 2011; Sánchez López, 2020) alongside the linking of the *si*-clause to prominent information (Schwenter 2016b) are of particular relevance in these environments. Nevertheless, another two aspects also deserve to be outlined in relation to this third group. Among the 13 cases that can be unambiguously identified as 'sudden-discovery *si*-future exclamatives', 12 occur in the second person singular –the person used for interaction– and all of them include clearly negative, pejorative terms.<sup>29</sup>

This third group of *si*-future exclamatives stands out precisely because of their close interaction with mirative future; in fact, mirative future could have occurred in (91), as (95) illustrates.

(95) -¿No sabes qué es p.m.? 'Don't you know what p.m means?'

-Pasado meridiano 'Past meridian'

-Serás imbécil. . . '[You are] Such an idiot'

Example (95) presents a future that largely resembles the one presented in (8) and now repeated in (96). This example reproduces the interaction between two friends, one of whom (Quino) was going to sell his flat to the other (Manuel). Mirative future captures Manuel's reaction when he suddenly realizes that his friend has just sold the flat to someone else.

(96) –Quino: *Manu, el piso ya está apalabrado*

–Manuel: ¿Quéeee?

–Quino: *Lo que oyes*.

–Manuel.- ¡Serás capullo! ¿Pero qué coño me estás contando?

–Quino: Manu, the flat is already promised to someone.

<sup>27</sup> As one of the reviewers pointed out, the use of *mira* implies some kind of reflection on the part of the speaker that does not seem possible here due to the spontaneity of the comment in question.

<sup>28</sup> As noted by one of the reviewers, these contexts are particularly prone to hosting another insubordinate clause introduced by *que*, thus triggering a kind of insubordinate concatenation –i.e. the insubordinate clause represented by *si será* plus the one starting with *que*: *Si serás imbécil, que no te enteras* 'Such an idiot [lit. *If you will be an idiot*], you have no idea'.

<sup>29</sup> A contrastive search followed by a tentative analysis of <*si serás*>, with second person singular, was subsequently carried out in CDH. As might be expected, the number of tokens turned out to be lower (43 cases). The typology of contexts as well as their respective dates of emergence matched those collected for <*si será*>, although the numbers varied: out of 43 examples, 25 corresponded to independent clauses. This outcome may have a twofold interpretation: on the one hand, it is in keeping with the importance assigned to the person in the occurrence of the different values of future (Arteaga Santos, 2022); and on the other, it validates future's productivity in face-to-face contexts which additionally favor the sudden-discovery interpretation.

-Manuel: Whaaat?!

-Quino: You heard right.

-Manuel: [You are (lit. *will be*)] Such an asshole! What the fuck are you telling me?'

(RAE, CDH, 2004, Eduardo Galán y Pedro Gómez, La curva de la felicidad o la crisis de los 40)

As explained above, mirative future requires negative terms such as *capullo* 'asshole' in (96); this indeed becomes the relevant interpretation in suspended structures –e.g. the one featured in (97). Likewise, this restriction explains the incompatibility of mirative future with positive readings (98).

(97) ¡Serás...!

'[Lit. *you will be*] > Such a...!'

(98) ¡\*Serás simpático!

'(You are [Lit. *will be*]) Such a nice boy!'

It admits no result amplifications either: the *que*-clause occurring after the mirative future no longer describes a state of affairs triggered by the high degree-effect of the previous clause, as shown by the impossibility of (99). Instead, it supplies a justification for the distanced evaluation performed by the speaker, which is corroborated by the need for a caesura between the segments (100).

(99) \*Serás capullo que has vendido el piso que me prometiste a otra persona

> It cannot be interpreted as 'you are such an asshole that you have sold the flat that you promised to me to someone else'

(100) Serás capullo, que has vendido el piso a otra persona

'Such an asshole, you have sold the flat to someone else > You are such an asshole, and I say so because you have sold the flat to someone else'

Although a thorough diachronic analysis of future would be required to confirm this, the similarity between sudden-discovery *si*-future exclamatives (91) and mirative future examples (96) seems to suggest that the latter may represent a new emancipation<sup>30</sup> (Mithun, 2008) from the former. The question is, though, why this emancipation is able to take place, and the answer relates to the definition of future as 'distance forward.' As predicted by Fig. 2, the deictic template invoked by morphological future is projected onto the utterance right after the information occurring in this verbal form has been activated. This happens in (96), where the *situation* triggering the mirative future is highly prominent –i.e. the focus of attention. By using morphological future, the speaker distances himself from the situation *in front of him*; he thus conveys a distanced –negative– attitude towards the ongoing situation. Both the contrastive nature of the marker *si* (Rodríguez Ramalle, 2011; Sánchez López, 2020) and the link of the *si*-clause to prominent information (Schwenter, 2016b) can be retrieved by means of the 'distance-forward' deictic template invoked by morphological future, which explains why the new emancipation is possible as well as why it specializes in negative contexts. In instances of mirative future, 'distance-forward' is interpreted as an evaluative distance which follows an activated situation.<sup>31</sup>

The specification of distance forward as an evaluative distance relates to the special exclamative-interrogative intonation that is usually attributed to mirative future and sometimes intuitively replaced by the speaker/reader despite not being graphically marked. In fact, mirative future can occur with exclamative marks (101), with question marks (102), with a combination of both (103), with ellipsis dots (104), and –more interestingly– with no punctuation marks at all (105).

(101) ¡Serás capullo!

(102) ¿Serás capullo?

(103) ¿¡Serás capullo!?

(104) Serás capullo...

<sup>30</sup> Although Mithun (2008) deals with insubordination –that is, the independent use of an original subordinate clause–, her proposal can be extended to certain other material even if it lacks the formal marks of original subordination. Her conception of independence revolves around the idea of extension, understood as a process through which the emancipated material starts to be used in contexts that do not require the complete structure due to the similarity between those contexts and the original ones where the complete sentences originally appeared.

<sup>31</sup> Distance is projected onto the situation (following a process of abstraction); and mirative future occurs *after* the triggering situation (following a metonymic process of contiguity that contributes to the distribution of mirative future in interaction).



(105) *Serás capullo*

The fact that the possibility exists for a reader to interpret a morphological future as mirative even in the absence of an explicit mark indicating intonation leads us to conclude that the mirative meaning does not (necessarily) have the compositional nature traditionally associated with it, being triggered instead as a new specification of the consubstantial deictic template invoked by future.

Mirative future therefore constitutes the result of a complex case of cooptation through which a structure pertaining to sentence grammar is extracted and redefined in order to operate in a different domain –i.e. that of interaction (Kaltenböck et al., 2011). This process develops in two steps: (1) an initial case of insubordination explains the evolution of the indirect exclamative to become a direct one; and (2) an emancipation of future takes place. The whole new construction exhibits a non-restricted meaning which differs from that characterizing sentence grammar since it conveys an evaluative value related to the speaker, shared knowledge and/or the relation between the speaker and the addressee. This cooptation process permits morphological future to abandon sentence grammar –as an inventory of conventional units, in Langacker's (2008) terms– and ultimately become a powerful interactional tool reflecting language in use, as predicted by Heine et al. (2013).

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

Two types of *si*-exclamatives have traditionally been distinguished in the grammar of Spanish: refutational and degree-related –a label likewise extended to *si*-future exclamatives. This paper has shown, firstly, that in fact two types of *si*-future exclamatives can be differentiated within the latter: evidence exclamatives –compatible with inferential contexts– and mirative ones –frequently found in sudden-realization contexts and constituting the source for mirative future, which represents a new emancipation. Without a more exhaustive contrastive analysis, a tentative search of *si será* in the synchronic corpus CORPES XXI (Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI) reveals that its use as a mirative mechanism is scarce in contemporary European Spanish (only 1 case out of 263 occurrences, in contrast to what was found in CDH), which suggests that the new emancipation –the morphological future– is a renewal of and will eventually displace the previous one –the *si*-future exclamative.<sup>32</sup>

Secondly, evidence has been provided that the two different syntactic and semantic environments related to insubordination in Spanish are not so clearly separated in *si*-future exclamatives. In fact, while the contrastive nature of *si*, the possibility of a causal reading, or the informational prominence attributed to the clause are usually related to the emancipation of the *si*-clause from a conditional construction (adverbial subordination), the *si*-future schema tends to be associated with the emancipation from a noun subordination in various diachronic studies. Mirative *si*-future exclamatives, though, emerge in shared ground where the role of analogy (Traugott, 2015) seemingly extends to insubordination as well.

Thirdly, concerning the role performed by morphological future, its behavior in mirative cases attests to the productivity of the deictic template, since the 'distance forward' instruction proves operational not only in temporal and epistemic terms but also discursively. The leap made by the morphological future towards the discourse domain is compatible with a new step along the path to grammaticalization. Although the creation of morphological futures in Romance languages supplies paradigmatic examples of grammaticalization because new grammatical units arise, its discursive behavior reveals a new possibility in the linguistic recycling process: the evolution from a sentence grammar to one that is discourse-based (Kaltenböck et al., 2011).

And as a corollary, more broadly speaking, this research work provides evidence to support the statement made by Aikhenvald (2012: 437, 474) about the need to both determine whether mirativity exists or not in a language and to identify the kinds of mirative values that can be invoked within the range of mirative meanings. In this regard, morphological future in Spanish appears not only in inferential contexts in order to express a contrary-to-expectation meaning but also –and more significantly– in sudden-realization contexts that convey the speaker's surprise, which ultimately constitutes the semantic core of mirativity.

<sup>32</sup> One of the reviewers recognizes the negative interpretation of mirative future, but also highlights the example of *Será guapa!!!* found through Google. This example seems anomalous from a mirative interpretation –though not with temporal, epistemic, or concessive interpretations– not only to me but also to a number of native speakers with whom I have tested it. This reviewer, however, suggests that the existence of such marginal examples could reveal a further step in the emancipation of mirative future and the decay of the *si*-future exclamative with a mirative value in contemporary usage insofar as it would point to the loss of the negative interpretation ascribed to mirative future while simultaneously broadening its scope to cover the function of the *si*-future exclamative.

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**Susana Rodríguez Rosique:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Methodology, Investigation, Data curation, Conceptualization.

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## Data availability

Data will be made available on request.

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## Further Reading

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