Brenda Laca UMR 7023 SFL - Université Paris 8/ CNRS **Future conjectures: losing confidence.**

In some American Spanish varieties, future morphology is not felicitous for the expression of predictions or statements of intentions, but always conveys a component of "uncertainty". After showing that future morphology does not determine a forward-shifted temporal orientation, although it is compatible with such an orientation, and that every Spanish tense-aspect combination has a 'future' counterpart, we address the question of the semantic contribution of future morphology.

Non-temporal uses of future morphology are standardly treated as universal quantification over epistemic (ignorance) alternatives (Condoravdi 2003, Giannakidou & Mari 2014, Kush 2010, Tonhauser 2010 among many others). However, the Spanish epistemic future only partially patterns as a restricted universal quantifier: a number of distributional facts show that it expresses a lower degree of epistemic commitment than universal epistemic modals.

Building on the approach developed by Giannakidou & Mari (2014), we propose a two-dimensional analysis of future morphology and we show that its distinctive semantic contribution lies in its expressive, not-at-issue meaning, namely that (the Speaker believes that) the relevant epistemic agent attributes to the prejacent proposition a degree of subjective probability that is lower than the quality threshold for assertions.

Future morphology participates in the anchor-shift that has been well-described for evidentials and epistemic modals (see MacCready 2010), so that the relevant epistemic agent coincides with the Speaker in main declaratives, but is identified with the Attitude Holder in complement clauses, and with the Addressee in questions. We propose that in (root or embedded) questions the not-at-issue meaning distributes over every proposition in the set denoted by the question radical, with the effect that no posible congruent answer to the question is supposed to have (for the Addressee) a subjective probability equal or higher than the contextual threshold for assertions.

Discourse functions of sentences containing future morphology can be derived from the proposed not-at-issue meaning. We pay special attention to polite questions and to rhetorical questions, and we outline an analysis for two uses of future sentences which seem at first sight incompatible with the postulated not-at-issue meaning, concessives and emphatics.

To conclude, we suggest that a minimal change in the conveyed not-at-issue meaning - 'losing confidence'- is responsible for the differences between the future in these American varieties and the standard Spanish varieties in which the future can be used for predictions and statements of intention.

Condoravdi, C. 2003. Moods and Modalities for *Will* and *Would*, Handout of a talk given at the Amsterdam Colloquium; Davis, Ch., Pott, Ch. & Speas, M. 2007 The Pragmatic Values of Evidential Sentences, *Proceedings of SALT 17*; Giannakidou, A. & Mari, A. 2014 The Future in Greek and Italian: Truth Conditional and Evaluative Dimensions. ms. Univ. of Chicago and Inst. Jean Nicod; Krifka, M. 2012 Negated Polarity Questions as Denegations of Assertions, ms. Humboldt Univ./ZAS- Berlin; Kush, D. 2011 Height-Relative Determination of (Non-Root) Modal Flavor: Evidence fom Hindi. *Proceedings of SALT 21*; Laca, B. 2010. The Puzzle of Subjunctive Tenses. *Selected Proceedings of Going Romance 2008.*; MacCready, E. 2010. Evidential Universals. *Evidence from Evidentials*, ed. by T. Peterson & U. Sauerland, The University of British Columbia Working Papers in Linguistics 28. 105-128; Tonhauser, J. 2009. The Paraguayan Guarani Future Marker -ta: Formal Semantics and Cross-Linguistic Comparison. *Tense Accross Languages*, ed. by R. Musan & M. Rathert.