Meaning Through Language Contrast

Volume 2

Edited by

K.M. Jaszczolt
University of Cambridge

Ken Turner
University of Brighton

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

From temporal to conditional*

Italian *qualora* vs English *whenever*

Jacqueline Visconti
University of Birmingham, UK

1. Introduction

Grammaticalization, the process whereby "lexical material in highly constrained pragmatic and morphosyntactic contexts is assigned functional category status" (Traugott & Dasher 2002:81), plays a crucial role in the evolution of 'complex conditional connectives', such as Italian *qualora* or English *supposing (that)* (Visconti 2000), which 'originate' from lexical material of various kinds – verbs, nouns, adjectives, prepositions. The cross-linguistic diachronic investigation of these connectives, for reasons that will be highlighted in this paper, sheds a new light on the interaction between lexicon and structure in the development of clause linkage markers.

The first part of this paper focuses on Italian *qualora* (§2). The analysis identifies the basic semantic structure underlying the evolution of this connective, highlighting the role of mood and aspect in the process. The second part focuses on English *whenever*, one of its 'equivalents' as suggested by bilingual dictionaries (§3). The data are related to two important issues in semantic change theory: (i) unidirectionality, i.e. the tendency of meanings to shift from one domain to the other (e.g. from TEMPORAL to CONDITIONAL) but not *vice versa*; (ii) subjectivization, "the development of a grammatically identifiable expression of speaker belief or speaker attitude towards what is said" (Traugott 1995:32). The question is addressed whether the evolution of *qualora* constitutes a case of grammaticalization (vs other phenomena, such as lexicalization) (§4). Finally, the nature of the *tertium comparationis* (Krzeszowski 1990; Fisiak 1990; Jaszczolt 1995) and the importance of the diachronic dimension in contrastive analysis are discussed (§5).

2. *Qualora*: From temporal to conditional

According to dictionaries and grammars of Present Day Italian, *qualora*, which is defined as *"nel caso che"*, *"nell'eventualità che"* 'in the event that', *"se"* 'if', *"se eventualmente"* (GDLI), *"se mai"*, *"se per caso"* 'if per chance' (Zingarelli), has conditional value and selects the subjunctive mood, as in the examples:

(1) *Qualora* avvenissero dei mutamenti, vi prego di informarmene tempesti-
     vamente [Zingarelli].
     'Should any changes occur, please inform me immediately'.

(2) *Qualora* restituisca il mal tolto, rinuncerò a denunciarlo [Devoto-Oli].
     'If he gives back what he has stolen, I won't report him to the police'.

Most dictionaries refer also to a "temporal" value of the connective, which is in-
dicated as *"desueto"* 'obsolete', *"antico"* 'archaic' (DISC; Treccani), or *"letterario"*
'literary' (Garzanti; Zingarelli). In fact, the latest example provided by dictionaries
of such a temporal value dates back to the XIX century:

(3) Naturalmente l'animale odia il suo simile, e *qualora* ciò è richiesto
     all'interesse proprio, l'offende.   (G. Leopardi, *Pensieri* [GDLI]).
     'By nature animals hate their kin, and whenever it is their interest to do
     so, they will offend them'.

To trace the different fates of the temporal and conditional values, I examined
qualora in texts from previous centuries. The data are taken from two *corpora*:
(i) *Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini* (henceforth *TLIO*), elaborated by the
Opera del Vocabolario Italiano, which comprises a data-base of nearly 1400 texts
from the period prior to 1375;[1] (ii) *Letteratura Italiana Zanichelli* 3.0. (henceforth
LIZ), which contains a data-base of 770 literary texts from 1250 to approximately
1950.[2]

In *TLIO qualora* occurs 77 times. The first element that strikes us in the *corpus*
is the prevalence of the indicative mood, *vs* the subjunctive found in Present Day
Italian: only 9/77 subjunctive (12%); *vs* 68 indicative (88%).
Of the indicative examples, 49 (64%) are present indicative, as in:

(4) *Qualora* vol, la femena se mostra sempl'e plana e mena relegione como
     fose nonana; mai s'ela se vé l'asio, ben fai volta sotana: per l'un no lassa
     l'autro cortese né vilana. (*Proverbiaquediceuntur*, XIII in.- venez. [TLIO])
     'When she wants, the female shows herself simple, plain and religious,
     but given the chance, she lifts up her skirt: she won't leave one [man] for
     another, whether she's a gentlewoman or a peasant'.

eleven (14%) are imperfect, as in:

(5) Omè, dove lascio io i cari amici? Dove le feste e il sommo diletto? Ove i
     cavalli, omai fatti mendici del lor signore? Ove quel ben perfetto ch'amor
     mi dava, *qualora* i pudici occhi d'Emilia vedeva e l'aspetto?
                                        (Boccaccio, *Teseida*, 1339–1341? [TLIO])
     'Oh my, where do I leave my dear friends? Where the parties and the great
     pleasure? Where the horses, who have lost their master? Where that perfect
     good that love gave me, *whenever* I looked at Emilia's honest eyes and
     face?'

five (6%) future, as in:

(6) Ma noi non negheremo però che i savi non conoscano il male, e pur lo
     fanno; ma diremo che essi per quello non perdono il senno, con ciò sia
     cosa che, *qualora* essi vorranno, con la ragione ch'elli hanno, la volontà
     raffrenare, elli nell'usato senno si rimarranno.
                                        (Boccaccio, *Filocolo*, 1336–1338 [TLIO])
     'But we won't deny however that the wise know evil, and indeed practise it;
     but we will say that they don't thereby lose their wisdom, since whenever
     they want, with the reason that they have, to curb their will, they will stay
     with their usual wisdom'.

and only three (4%) perfect, as in:

(7) Perdonami, o figliuolo di Maria, Per lo prezioso sangue che succhiasti Da
     Lei, *qualora* entrasti Nel verginal suo seno immaculato.
                                        (Petrarca, *Disperse e attribuite*, 1374 [TLIO])
     'Forgive me, o Mary's son, for the precious blood that you sucked from
     Her, *when* you entered her immaculate virginal bosom'.

The second surprising fact is that, in nearly all examples, as in the four quoted
above, *qualora* has a temporal, rather than a conditional value: (4), (5), (6), (7), (8):

(8) Elglì à due campane in Gallia, che suonano spessamente per lo vento; sonsi
     aveduti quelli della contrada, che *qualora* elle suonano per abbattenza ad
     uno punto, nascie nella contrada uno huovo, che non sanno d'onde si
     vengnia, il quale poi ricolgono le lor servigiali, e nasciene uno animale c'
     à ffatte le menbra come huomo.
                                        (Fr. da Barberino, *Regg.*, 1318–1320 - tosc. [TLIO])
     'There are two bells in Gaul, that often toll because of the wind; the in-
     habitants have noticed that *when(ever)* they ring per chance at one point,
     an egg is born of unknown origin, which their servants collect and from
     which an animal is born that has limbs like a man'.

Thus, the value of *qualora* would appear to have undergone a transformation from essentially temporal to conditional. In the first part of this paper, I shall try to account for this semantic shift.

2.1 The data: Moods and tenses

To capture the trend from temporal to conditional in a more systematic way, I searched *LIZ* for all occurrences of *qualora*, subdividing the results according to centuries.

The results are summarized in Tables 1 and 2.

Despite the non-representativeness of some of the data (in particular for the XV century, which yielded nine occurrences from the same text), the chart highlights a few interesting trends:[3]

i.   the ratio between subjunctive and indicative is inverted in the XVIII century, eventually leading to a total disappearance of the indicative two centuries later (as confirmed by search of synchronic *corpora* in Visconti 2000);

ii.   the overwhelming majority of the examples throughout the centuries are of present indicative, followed by the present and imperfect subjunctive and by the imperfect and future indicative;

iii. the occurrences of perfective tenses, such as simple past and present perfect, are extremely rare.

Table 1. Occurrence of *qualora* by mood, tense and century (LIZ)

Mood and tense	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	Total
Indicative									
Present	2	30	2	16	31	20	6	–	107
Imperfect	–	10	1	1	3	3	1	–	19
Simple Past	–	4	–	1	–	3	1	–	9
Future	–	5	4	5	–	2	–	–	16
Pres. Perfect	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	2
Total ind.	2	49	7	23	34	29	9	–	153
Subj.									
Present	–	–	–	6	3	26	6	–	41
Imperfect	–	8	2	1	3	8	8	1	31
Pluperfect	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	3
Total subj.	–	8	2	7	6	34	15	3	75
Total examples	2	57	9	30	40	63	24	3	228

Note that, though not in *LIZ*, the subjunctive is present, although marginal, right from the start:

(9)   *Qualor que l'un de questi non fose* [SUBJ.] *a Venezia… vogo que ser Marco Çen… sia en logo de quello commesario.*
(*Testi veneziani*, 1282 [GDLI])
'Should any of these not be in Venice … I want sir Marco Çen… to be commissary at his place.'

(10) A cui la donna rispose: "Signor mio dolce, il quando potrebbe essere *qualora* più ci piacesse [SUBJ.], per ciò che io non ho marito a cui mi convenga render ragione delle notti; ma io non so pensare il *dove*".
(Boccaccio, *Decameron*, c. 1370 [TLIO])
'To whom the woman replied: "My sweet Lord, the when could be *whenever* we like most, as I don't have a husband to whom I have to explain where I spend my nights, but I cannot think of a *where*".'

Hence, the questions arise: (i) what triggers the change in mood selection? (ii) what is the role of the subjunctive in the semantic shift from temporal to conditional? (iii) is aspect (in particular the opposition between imperfective and perfective) a relevant factor in this process?

Table 2. Percentage occurrence of *qualora* by mood, tense and century (LIZ)

Mood and tense	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	Total
Indicative									
Present	100	52.5	22	53	77.5	32	25	–	47
Imperfect	–	17.5	11	3	7.5	5	4	–	8
Simple Past	–	7	–	3	–	5	4	–	4
Future	–	9	44.5	17	–	3	–	–	7
Pres. Perfect	–	–	–	–	–	2	4	–	1
Total ind.	100	86	78	77	85[4]	46	38	0	67
Subj.									
Present	–	–	22	20	7.5	41	25	–	18
Imperfect	–	14	22	3	7.5	13	33	33	14
Pluperfect	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	67	1
Total subj.	0	14	22	23	15	54	62	100	33
Total p. century	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

To address these questions, the precise mechanism underlying the evolution of *qualora* needs to be pinned down. I shall turn to this question in the following sections.

2.2 Generic and habitual contexts

The distribution of tenses noted in the previous section is not casual. The overwhelming majority of the examples across the centuries consists of 'generic' sentences, in which two sets of eventualities are set in an ideal correspondence without reference to a specific time or entity in a defined context:

(3) Naturalmente l'animale odia il suo simile, e *qualora* ciò è richiesto all'interesse proprio, l'offende.

(G. Leopardi, Pensieri, XIX cent. [LIZ (GDLI)])

'By nature animals hate their kin, and whenever it is their interest to do so, they will offend them.'

followed by 'habitual' sentences,[5] in which two sets of eventualities are said to co-occur/have co-occurred with some kind of regularity:

(11) [...] *qualora* non era con la sua Ambrosia, ogne contentezza e piacere in summa tristicia se convertia.   (Masuccio Salern., Novellino [LIZ])

'[...] whenever he was away from his Ambrosia, all happiness and pleasure turned into deepest sadness.'

Cases of semelfactive interpretation, such as (7) above, or (12) and (13) below, are rare:

(12) Tamas perdon mi chiede d'avermi a torto offesa/Me lo scordai *qualora* sposa d'Alì fui resa.   (C. Goldoni, Ircana in Ispaan, XVIII cent. [LIZ])

'Tamas asks my pardon for having wrongly offended me/I forgot about it when I was given as Alì's bride.'

(13) Vinsi pugnando, e non usata forza/Provai nel braccio mio, *qualora*, o bella,/Il tuo nome invocai.   (C. Goldoni, Belisario, XVII cent. [LIZ])

'I won fighting, and unusual strength/I felt in my arm, when, oh beautiful one,/I invoked your name.'

vs cases of generic or habitual interpretation, even with the future (14) or the simple past (15):

(14) [...] delle quali cose tutte avendo fatta copiosa conserva la buona madre di famiglia, *qualora* avverrà che per alcuno impedimento non sian portate vivande di piazza a bastanza per la tavola o per la famiglia, o *qualora* da

qualche forestiero saran sopragiunti, potrà in un punto arricchire la mensa in modo che non lassi desiderar la copia delle vivande comprate.

(T. Tasso, Il Padre di famiglia, XVII cent. [LIZ])

'[...] having made copious provision of all of which the good housewife, should it happen that for any reason not sufficient fresh food is brought from the piazza for the family table, or should they be joined by a visitor, will readily be able to enrich the table so that a lack of fresh produce is not felt.'

(15) So che, a pugnar *qualora*/Partisti armato o vincitor tornasti,/Gli ultimi e i primi baci erano i suoi.   (P. Metastasio, Siroe, XVIII cent. [LIZ])

'I know that, to fight whenever/you left armed or returned the victor,/the last and first kisses were hers.'

2.3 Qualora: A universal quantifier?

To try to account for the data noted in §§2.1–2.2, let us look more closely at the meaning of the connective.

Visconti (2000) argues that the distinctive feature of the semantics of *qualora* is the introduction of a particular quantificational structure over instants or intervals (*ibid.*:132–135). The existence of such a component and its nature are related to the analysis of the two lexical units which form the connective, *quale* and *ora*. Among the values of *quale* (Lat. *quale(m)*, of Indoeuropean origin) the dictionaries list that of indefinite adjective, with the meaning of "*qualsiasi*", "*qualunque*", 'any', 'whichever' (GDLI; Zingarelli; Treccani), as in the example:

(16) Petre rotonde veloce, che venner dal fossato; da *quale* parte volgome, rompreece il costato.   (Iacopone, XIII sec. [GDLI])

· 'Fast and round stones, coming from the ditch; whichever way I turn, they break my ribs.'

If *quale*, like *qualsiasi* or *qualunque* ("any", or "whichever"), assumes within *qualora* the function of denoting one arbitrarily chosen element of a class, thus evoking a potentially indefinite set of elements, the elements of the set are identified by the second component: *ora*, which, among its various meanings, is a "*momento particolare del tempo in cui si determina un evento*", "*circostanza, frangente*", and, archaic, "*volta*" = 'time' (GDLI). Hence, it is argued: "it makes sense to hypothesize that the lexical semantics of *qualora* contains a component expressing a generic universal quantification over the set of instants in which p (the denotation of an element *quod libet* of the class of moments in which the state of affairs evoked in p

is realized), to assert that in those instants, i.e. "at any time", or "every time" p, q" (Visconti 2000:135) [my translation].

In this definition the denotation of an element *quod libet* of the class of moments in which the state of affairs in p is realized is equated with the expression of a generic universal quantification over the same set of instants, following Longobardi's (1988) definition of *qualsiasi* and *qualunque* as "quantificatori universali [...] intrinsecamente generici" 'intrinsically generic universal quantifiers' (*ibid.*: 645–651).[6]

This description does indeed account for a certain type of contexts in which Present Day Italian *qualora* is frequently found – i.e. normative, 'atemporal' propositions, of ideal validity, hypothetical precepts, which establish that every time a certain state of affairs occurs a certain effect takes place, such as (17) and (18):

(17) Tali disposizioni indicano quale legge debba essere applicata dal giudice italiano *qualora* egli sia chiamato a risolvere controversie che non coinvolgono soltanto cittadini italiani o che riguardano fatti che non si sono svolti soltanto nel territorio italiano. (L. Bobbio, Corso di diritto [IRC])
'Such provisions indicate which law should be applied by Italian judges should they be called to resolve controversies which do not involve only Italian citizens or which concern acts which were not only enacted on Italian territory.'

(18) Il deputato eletto attraverso l'organizzazione del partito diventa un mandatario, se non degli elettori, del partito che lo penalizza revocandogli la fiducia *qualora* egli si sottragga alla disciplina, la quale quindi diventa un surrogato funzionale del mandato imperativo da parte degli elettori.
(N. Bobbio, Stato, governo, società [IRC])
'Deputies elected through the party organisation become mandated, if not by the electorate, by the party which penalises them by withdrawing confidence should they shirk discipline, which thus becomes a functional surrogate of the necessary mandate from the electorate.'

However, the characterization of *qualora* as a universal quantifier does not account for examples such as (2) above, in which the connective seems to operate an existential, rather than universal, quantification:[7]

(2) *Qualora* restituisca il mal tolto, rinuncerò a denunciarlo [Devoto-Oli].
'If he gives back what he has stolen, I won't report him to the police.'

Although I have so far spoken of "universal quantification", following Visconti (2000:133–135), I believe a more precise characterization of this function to be the key to the diachronic puzzle outlined in the preceding sections.

2.4 Arbitrariness and intensionality

In §2.3 I have argued that *quale* within *qualora* has the function of denoting one element *a piacere* of a class, thus evoking a potentially indefinite set of elements. According to this definition, *qualora* is not a universal quantifier such as "every", but a free-choice operator of the "any"-type, which selects an element *quod libet* of the class of moments in which the state of affairs evoked in p is realized.[8]

Crucial to this definition are (i) the *arbitrariness* of the object on which *qualora* operates; (ii) the consequent intrinsic *intensionality* of *qualora*. Consider examples (19) and (20):

(19) Che il timore sia, come ho detto altrove, più naturale all'uomo della speranza, e che l'uomo inclini più a quello che a questa, veggasi che *qualora* gli uomini ignorano le cagioni degli effetti o naturali o artifiziali, ordinariamente ne temono. (G. Leopardi, Zibaldone, XIX cent. [LIZ])
'That fear is, as I have said elsewhere, more natural for men than hope, and that men are more inclined to the former than the latter, can be seen in that whenever men ignore the causes of effects either natural or artificial, ordinarily they fear them.'

(20) E di questo albero e di questa fontana vi dirò mirabile cosa: che *qualora* l'amiraglio vuole far pruova della virginità d'alcuna giovane, egli nell'ora che le guance cominciano all'Aurora a divenire vermiglie, prende la giovane, la quale elli vuol vedere se è pulcella o no, e menala sotto questo albero... (Boccaccio, Filocolo, 1336–1338 [TLIO])
'And of this tree and of this fountain I will tell you an admirable thing: that whenever the admiral wishes to prove the virginity of some young lady, he, in the moment that Aurora's cheeks start to blush, takes the young lady, the one he wants to see if she is a virgin or not, and leads her under this tree...'

In (19), *qualora* selects an arbitrary member of the set of times in which the eventuality of human beings not knowing the causes of natural or artificial effects is true, to assert a correspondence between the selected member and a member of the set of times in which the eventuality of human beings fearing those effects is true. Similarly, in (20), *qualora* selects an arbitrary member of the class of times in which the eventuality of the admiral being willing to prove the virginity of a certain young lady is true, to assert a correspondence between that member and a member of the set of eventualities of the admiral taking the young lady under a certain tree. In both cases, *qualora* can be paraphrased by "at any time".

Indeed, both the free-choice meaning of *qualora* and its intensional nature are mirrored in the current debate on the nature of *any*.[9] Of particular interest to the present study is the account offered by Tovena and Jayez (1999). Opposing current

views of *any* as either a universal or an existential quantifier, the authors point at the (more abstract) logical notion of "arbitrariness" – in the sense of Fine (1985)[10] – as the key notion in the analysis of both free-choice and negative polarity *any*. The two cases, state the authors, "are parallel in that the type of the situation, as described by the sentence, is not reducible to a finite conjunction of individual subtypes" (*ibid.*:55). An object, following Fine, "is arbitrary with respect to a set P of properties if it has all and only the properties in P" (Tovena & Jayez 1999:46) and hence it can be replaced by any object with the same properties. This definition provides us with a useful means of capturing a key feature – arbitrariness – in the semantics of *qualora*. The temporal entity over which *quale* operates is arbitrary because it can be replaced by any other one in which p is true: the eventuality over which *qualora* operates is arbitrary because it can be replaced by any other eventuality of the set. This defines the intrinsic *intensionality of qualora*.

I shall now turn to another important element in the evolution of *qualora*: aspect.

2.5 Aspect

As noted in §2.2, the majority of the examples of *qualora* from the XIII to the XX centuries consists of generic sentences, in which two sets of eventualities are set in an ideal correspondence without reference to a specific time or entity in a defined context, such as (3), and habitual sentences, in which two sets of eventualities are said to co-occur/have co-occurred with some kind of regularity, such as (11). The characterization which I have so far outlined for *qualora*, and in particular its intensional nature, explains this interesting finding. What the two types of examples have in common is namely their intensional character: they do not refer to a particular, specific eventuality, nor to a finite list of eventualities belonging to the real world, but to the infinite set of possible worlds in which p is true.

In this respect, although I have so far distinguished generic and habitual sentences (the subject of the former being interpreted in a classlike way, whereas the subject of the latter is an individual object), these two categories can be subsumed into one, which I will name 'intensional'. This feature is related to the aspectual configuration of the examples, viz. (habitual) imperfective vs perfective. Further support for this idea is found in a recent study on the interaction between aspect and intensionality. Starting from the assumption that imperfective habitual sentences contain a quasi-universal quantification over events (cf. Bonomi 1995; Delfitto & Bertinetto 1995), Lenci and Bertinetto (2000) argue that the habitual imperfective aspect is typically intensional, whereas the perfective aspect, as well as introducing a different quantification (i.e. existential), differs from the former in

---

that it is typically extensional. Following Dahl (1975) and others, they reserve the term "habitual" only for nomic generalisations about events:

> The most salient feature of nomic sentences is that they express lawlike generalisations, which cannot be reduced to quantifications over specific and limited sets of objects and which show sort of intensional behaviour.
> (*ibid.*: 254–255)[11]

This is precisely the kind of contexts in which temporal *qualora* is most frequently found: present and imperfect indicative sentences that do not have an episodic, factual interpretation and that concern possible, non-actual cases.

On the basis of the arguments outlined so far, I argue that: (i) the free-choice semantics of *qualora* leads to a potential ambiguity of the connective between a temporal and a conditional reading;[12] (ii) the intensional character of temporal *qualora* favours its presence in intensional contexts ('nomic', or 'habituals'); (iii) such contexts, which realize "the extrapolation of a regularity to be projected in the infinite intensional universe" (Bertinetto 1997:212 [my translation]), 'attract' the subjunctive mood; (iv) the more and more frequent association of *qualora* with the epistemically marked subjunctive mood triggers in the speakers' consciousness the association of *qualora* with the expression of a modal value.

2.6 A model diachronic anaysis for *qualora*

What I am arguing is that the semantic shift of *qualora* from temporal to conditional can be explained by reducing its semantics to a more abstract structure, the basic component of which is a free-choice operator over intervals, or eventualities. The arbitrariness of the temporal entities on which *quale* operates and the consequent intrinsic intensionality of *qualora* encourage its appearance in contexts that enhance the co-occurrence with the subjunctive. Consider how the indicative can be replaced by the subjunctive in 'intensional' (11), but not in 'extensional', semelfactive, contexts (7):

(11)   [...] *qualora* non era [IND.]/fosse [SUBJ.] con la sua Ambrosia, ogne contentezza e piacere in summa tristicia se convertia.
                    (Masuccio Salern., Novellino [LIZ])

'[...] whenever he was away from his Ambrosia, all happiness and pleasure turned into deepest sadness'.

(7)   Perdonami, o figliuolo di Maria, Per lo prezioso sangue che succhiasti Da Lei, qualora entrasti [IND.]/*entrasti [SUBJ.] Nel verginal suo seno immaculato.
                    (Petrarca, Disperse e attribuite, 1374 [TLIO])

'Forgive me, o Mary's son, for the precious blood that you sucked from Her, when you entered her immaculate virginal bosom'.

Thus, intensionality is the key factor in the diachronic analysis of the connective: (i) it triggers the switch in mood selection (from an 'extensional' to the 'intensional' mood by definition); (ii) it accounts for the modal value that *qualora* has in Present-Day Italian, if we conceive modality as the "relativization of the validity of sentence meanings to a set of possible worlds" (Kiefer 1994:2515). Note the affinity between free-choice operators, which evoke "a potentially indefinite set of events", and the subjunctive mood, as identified by Wandruszka (1991): "The subjunctive is found after [...] *qualsiasi* ['any']. The representation of the totality of a set is here communicated analytically by means of the semantic structure 'it is irrelevant which element is concerned',[13] which may evoke the impression of a potentially indefinite set, even more so if it is a future event. The subjunctive is obligatory" (*ibid.*: 462–464 [my translation]).

Two types of contexts are of particular interest in following the gradual enhancement of the frequency of the combination with the subjunctive in intensional contexts:

i. those in which the opposition between present indicative and subjunctive is neutralized in a morphologically ambiguous form, such as:

(21) Se l'imagine di Polemone Filosofo [...] veduta da quella meretrice dentro una camera, valse a spaventarla ed a raffrenarla mentre ch'era già in procinto di commettere disonestà, che dovrà fare il sembiante dell'onnipotente Iddio, giustissimo Giudice di tutte le nostre operazioni, *qualora*, o persuasi dalle lusinghe del senso o sollecitati dagli stimoli dell'affetto, a violare le divine leggi ci apparecchiamo con qualche scelleratezza?
(G. B. Marino, Dicerie Sacre, XVII cent. [LIZ])

'If the image of Polemone Filosofo [...] seen by that prostitute in a room, was enough to scare her and curbed her while she was already in the process of being dishonest, what will the image of the omnipotent God do, just Judge of all our acts, whenever, either persuaded by the allurements of the senses or solicited by the stimuli of desire, to violate the divine laws we prepare ourselves for some wickedness?'

(22) In che pecco *qualora* altrui mostr'io le cose belle?
(G. B. Marino, Adone, XVII cent. [LIZ])

'How do I sin when I show beautiful things to others?'

ii. those in which indicative and subjunctive co-occur, such as:

(23) Negli uomini, grandi sono le varietà di forze, di spirito, di corpo e di condizione, varietà tutte che pongono l'uomo sociale in istato di avvedersi della sua debolezza e de' suoi bisogni, *qualora* si trova [IND.] solo, e della

sua perfezione, *qualora* venga [SUBJ.] dagli altri soccorso ed aiutato.
(AA.VV. Il Caffè, XIX cent. [LIZ])

'In men, great are the varieties of strength, of spirit, of body and of status, all varieties which place the social man in the position to notice his weakness and his needs, whenever he finds himself alone, and of his perfection, whenever he is succoured and helped by others.'

(24) La gloria, gli onori, le ricchezze, il potere, tutti diventano mali, e mali insopportabili all'uomo, tosto che accompagnino tenacemente ogni momento della sua esistenza. Chi possede questi beni, e da lungo tempo s'è abituato a possederli, ritrova i momenti più deliziosi della vita *qualora* gli riesca [SUBJ.] di confondersi col popolo ed essere dimenticato nella folla de' gregari [...] L'uomo in somma si consola *qualora* esce [IND.] da quello stato che incessantemente lo accompagna, e il villano entrando nella città prova quella gioia che sente il cittadino all'uscirne.
(AA.VV. Il Caffè, XIX cent. [LIZ])

'Glory, honours, riches, power, all become evils man cannot tolerate, as soon as they accompany tenaciously every moment of his existence. He who has these gifts, and has been used to having them for a long time, finds life's most delicious moments when he manages to mingle with the people and be forgotten in the gregarious crowd [...] Man in short consoles himself whenever he leaves the state which is incessantly with him, and the yokel entering the town tastes the same joy that the townsman feels on leaving it.'

It is interesting to note the analogy with the use of *quando* with the imperfect subjunctive, as in (25):

(25) Ma *quando* voi aveste [SUBJ.] a determinare un'altezza, come, per esempio, quanto sia alto questo palco dal pavimento che noi abbiamo sotto i piedi; essendo che da qualsivoglia punto del palco si possono tirare infinite linee [...] di quali di coteste linee vi servireste voi?
(Galileo, Dialogo sopra i massimi sistemi: 13, XVII cent.)

'But when you had to measure a height, like, for example how high this ceiling is from the floor beneath our feet; given that from whichever point on the ceiling an infinite number of lines can be drawn [...] which of the said lines would you make use of?'

According to historical grammars of Italian: "*Solo nel caso in cui un avvenimento perfettivo è pensato in modo iterativo, la lingua (specie in antico) può usare il congiuntivo imperfetto*" 'only when a perfective event is thought of in an iterative

way,[14] Italian (especially Old Italian) may allow the imperfect subjunctive' (Rohlfs 1969:76), as in:

(26) Molte volte io mi dolea, *quando* la mia memoria movesse [SUBJ.] la fantasia ad immaginare quale Amore mi facea.
(Dante, Vita Nuova, 16 [Rohlfs])

'Many times I suffered, when my memory moved my imagination to imagine what Love did to me.'

"The subjunctive", it is stated, "is justified here by the fact that we are not decribing a precise event, but simply considering a potential case" [my translation] (*ibid.*: 76–77).[15]

In this respect, the difference between *quando* and *qualora* is on the diachronic axis: the use of the subjunctive and hence the conditional value remain an option for the former in Present Day Italian (cf. Visconti 2000:72, 76), whereas the change in mood selection provokes the insurgence of a modal component of the epistemic kind[16] in the semantics of the latter, conventionalized in Present Day Italian.

3.   Whenever

Modality seems to be the key to understanding the differences between *qualora* and *whenever*, which is suggested as a straightforward equivalent to *qualora* by several bilingual dictionaries (Cambridge; Cassell's; Skey), qualified as "*antico*" 'archaic', or "*antico letterario*" 'archaic literary' by a few others (Hazon Garzanti; Sansoni-Harrap).

Clearly, the equivalence of these two connectives in Present Day Italian/English is problematic, as shown by the oddity of the translations, in which *qualora* is used in purely hypothetical contexts and in counterfactual conditionals:

(27) *Qualora* la seduta fosse rimandata, avvertimi subito.
'*Whenever the meeting should be/were postponed, let me know at once.'

(28) *Qualora* avessi perso l'aereo, sarei rimasto a Parigi.
'*Whenever I had missed the plane, I would have stayed in Paris.'

On the other hand, most of the examples of Old Italian *qualora* may be translated by *whenever*:

(29) Omè, dove lascio io i cari amici? Dove le feste e il sommo diletto? Ove i cavalli, omai fatti mendici del lor signore? Ove quel ben perfetto ch' amor mi dava, *qualora* i pudici occhi d'Emilia vedeva e l'aspetto?
(Boccaccio, *Teseida*, 1339–1341? [TLIO])

'Oh my, where do I leave my dear friends? Where the parties and the great pleasure? Where the horses, who have lost their master? Where that perfect good that love gave me, *whenever* I looked at Emilia's honest eyes and face?'

(30) E dicovi così che, *qualora* egli avvien che noi insieme ci raccogliamo, è maravigliosa cosa a vedere i capoletti intorno alla sala dove mangiamo e le tavole messe alla reale e la quantità de' nobili e belli servidori, così femine come maschi [...].
(Boccaccio, *Decameron*, 1370 [TLIO])

'[...] And so I tell you that, *whenever* it happens that we gather all together; it is a marvel to see the drapes around the walls of the hall where we eat and the tables [...].'

To trace both the roots of the original equivalence and its disappearance, I looked at some early texts. The data are from the diachronic component of the *Helsinki Corpus* (850–1707), the *Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English* (1640–1740), the *Corpus of Early English* (1418–1680) and the online *Oxford English Dictionary*.[17]

3.1   The data

Tables 3 and 4 summarize the results of the scrutiny of moods and tenses selected by *whenever* throughout the centuries.

With all the caution that such an examination induces (the data are less numerous than for *qualora*, most of the texts are from the Early Modern period), the tables provide evidence of two facts:

i.   the subjunctive is virtually non-existent in combination with *whenever*;
ii. the clear majority of the examples are present indicative, followed by simple past, future and present perfect indicative.

Such a tense and mood configuration has an interesting semantic counterpart. The examples, with a few exceptions that we shall consider later, fall within two categories:

Type (i), *ca.* 75%, in which a systematic correlation between two series of eventualities is established,[18] such as:

(31) As þe popis clerkis feynen þat þei done miraclis *whanne evere* þei syngen, moo and more woundirful þan ever dide Crist or his apostlis.
(Wyclif, c. 1380 [OED])

(32) After the Miser had Bought what he had left, for half the value, he forbid him his House, and *whenever* he met him, he pass'd by him as a Stranger.
(Edward Ward, *Labour in vain*, London, 1700 [Lampeter])

Type (ii), where an unspecified moment in time is evoked, in which the eventuality expressed in the main clause is located, as in:

(33) I know it has been alledged, that the Test Act has been the Security of the Church; and whenever it is repealed, the Church will be in Danger. But this cannot possibly be made appear to be true. On the contrary, it will be found to be the Discredit and Ruin of it.

> (Anon. *The rights and liberties of subjects vindicated*,
> London, 1732 [Lampeter])

(34) These things, together with the known Endeavours of the French to procure an Interest amongst the Natives of that Country, and especially with Don Pedro and Corbet, in order to a Settlement, make it evident enough that it is the Interest of Spain the Scots should rather have it than the French, who have already been tampering with the Spaniards as well as with the Indians, and doubt not to have a large share of America *whenever* the King of Spain dies.

> (A. Foyer and A. Fletcher (attr.), *A defense of the Scots settlement at*
> *Darien*, Edinburgh, 1699 [Lampeter])

Table 3. Occurrence of *whenever* by mood, tense and century

Mood and tense	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	Total
Present	–	1	2	1	13	13	1	31
Imperfect	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
Simple Past	–	–	–	–	3	6	2	11
Future	–	–	–	1	–	3	–	4
Pres. Perfect	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	3
Total ind.	0	1	2	2	16	24	4	49
Present	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	2
Imperfect	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
Pluperfect	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
Total subj.	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
Total examples	0	1	3	2	16	25	4	51

Table 4. Percentage occurrence of *whenever* by mood, tense and century

Mood and tense	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	Total
Present	–	100	67	50	81	52	25	60
Imperfect	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
Simple Past	–	–	–	–	19	24	50	22
Future	–	–	–	50	–	12	–	8
Pres. Perfect	–	–	–	–	–	8	25	6
Total ind.								96
Present	–	–	33	–	–	4	–	4
Imperfect	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
Pluperfect	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
Total subj.								4
Total p. century	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Even though *whenever* appears to operate two different kinds of quantification in type (i) – universal – and type (ii) – existential, these two categories share one important feature: the disanchoring of the eventuality in p from a specific temporal localization in the actual world. In other words, according to the definition suggested in §2.5, both types are 'intensional': they do not refer to a specific eventuality or to a list of eventualities belonging to the real world, but to the infinite set of possible worlds in which p is true.

An (apparent) exception to this statement is offered by particular, 'extensional' examples, such as (35):

(35) He gave me a good supper last night *when ever* I came within his doors.

> (Sorel's Com. Hist. Francion VIII, 1655 [OED])

paraphrased as "at the very time or moment when; as soon as" by the OED. However, the almost total disappearance of this structure, "now only in Scottish and Irish use" (OED), provides a further argument to the hypothesis of the intensional nature of *whenever*.

3.2 Whenever: A free-choice operator

If we look more closely at the semantics of the connective, we notice that *whenever* is characterized by the same structure as that underlying *qualora*: the *wh*-element *when*+the indefiniteness marker *ever*, together denoting an unspecified moment in time, resulting in a free-choice indefinite marker such as: "at any time when".[19]

In the case of *whenever* the free-choice component is etymologically related to universal quantification: *ever*, as pointed out by Leuschner (1996), derives from the Proto-Germanic adverb *aiw (> Old English ā + either *in feore* 'in life' or + *byre* 'in the event' > ǣfre > Middle English *efre* > ModE. *ever*); it is argued: "There is no doubt that both ā and ǣfre, in contrast with Modern English *ever*, can be translated as either 'ever' or 'always'" (*ibid.*:474):

(36) *aiw > ā (+in feore/byre) > ǣfre > efre > ever.

The free-choice semantics of *whenever*, in analogy to *qualora* (§2.3), would explain its frequency within intensional contexts, such as (37) and (38):

(37) And therefore if no Laws must be made to promote the Making or Consumption of our own Goods, nor to hinder the Importation or Consumption of any from abroad, it must inevitably follow, that *when ever* a Nation falls into Luxury, and the People to Idleness, or to spend their Time in Employments unprofitable to a Nation, such a Nation must be reduced to beggery by Trade. (J. Pollexfen, England and East India inconsistent in their manufactures, London, 1697 [Lampeter])

(38) It appears from what has been said, that our Saviour has given no Commission to exercise the Office of a Bishop in such a particular Place, but to such as submit to the Government of that Country in which they reside: and if they are not Bishops but in that one Place where first they were design'd to preside, if they have not (I say) any larger Commission, then *whenever* they refuse to acknowledge the Civil Government, their whole Commission is void, and they are not any longer Bishops. (H. Humphry, A letter [...], Oxford, 1692 [Lampeter])

The question, however, arises: if *whenever* and *qualora* are both intensional in nature, why has *whenever* not undergone the same process as *qualora* and acquired conditional value?

3.3 Mood and modality

The difference, I shall argue, concerns the lack of interaction between *whenever* and the subjunctive mood. Only 2 instances (of which example 40 is rather marked) were found out of 51 occurrences (4%):

(39) Ser, on to hir loggyng, *When euer* it please yow, I shall be your gyde. (Generydes, c. 1440 [OED])

(40) *Whenever*, and which way soever it be; great is the peculiar and distinguishing Excellence of This Charity. (J. Trapp, The dignity, and benefit, of the priesthood, London, 1721 [Lampeter])

A first relevant factor is clearly the loss of importance of the subjunctive mood throughout the history of the English language, starting from Old English onwards.[20] Instead, the expression of modality in English came to reside with modal verbs such as *can, may, shall, etc.*[21] Nevertheless, only 3 cases (6%) does *whenever* co-occur with modal verbs.[22]

The explanation I propose is the following: as *whenever*, like *qualora*, is intensional in nature, it would be expected to attract the subjunctive mood. However, given the different mood configuration in the two languages and in particular the loss of importance of the subjunctive in the history of English, the mechanism for the transition from temporal to conditional was not available in the case of *whenever*, the lack of contexts in which the connective interacts with the subjunctive not allowing modality to become a conventionalized feature in its semantics.

4. Conditionals and grammaticalization

The mechanism for the shift in mood selection (and hence in value) of Italian *qualora*, according to the analysis presented in this paper, is grounded *compositionally* in the lexical semantics of the connective, which results from the combination of *quale* as free-choice adjective + *ora*, a noun indicating time. An interesting question to be addressed, which I shall only mention here,[23] is to what extent the development of *qualora* constitutes an instance of *grammaticalization*.

The boundary between grammaticalization and, e.g., lexicalization, is a fascinating issue itself.[24] As "hallmarks" for identifying changes that fall within the domain of grammaticalization, Tabor and Traugott (1998) suggest: (i) "morphosyntactic change"; (ii) "pragmatic/semantic change"; (iii) "gradualness in the sense that some subtypes of a new construction become possible before others" (*ibid.*:235). In Traugott (1998) the "decategorialization of a V, N, or A in a con-

struction and eventual reanalysis as a grammatical one, e.g. case, tense, aspect, mood marker, complementizer, discourse particle" and the "shift to specifier or operator status" (*ibid*.:9) are considered as essential correlates for grammatical as well as semantic change.[25]

In this respect, as a case of categorial downshifting from Adjective + Noun to Preposition/Connective, *qualora* constitutes an instance of grammaticalization, its development differing from clear cases of lexicalization, such as compounding, as in *black + board*, or shifts within major categories, such as that from *bottle* (N) to *bottle* (V), and also from more borderline cases, such as the fusion of the parts of a compound noun into stem-suffix, as in *child + hood*, or *king + dom*.[26]

Another argument in favour of this hypothesis is the presence in the evolution of *qualora* of other features typical of grammaticalization: (i) the increase in structural scope, following Tabor and Traugott (1998); the development of a meaning which is both (ii) more abstract[27] and (iii) more subjective: the assumption of an epistemic value in the evolution of *qualora* is indeed an interesting case of subjectivization, "the process whereby speakers/writers come over time to develop meanings for lexemes that encode or externalize their perspectives and attitudes [...]" (Traugott & Dasher 2002:30).[28] Thus, the history of *qualora* provides a further case in favour of the much-debated hypothesis of the unidirectionality of language change.[29] structurally, as an example of functional shift towards the role of operator; semantically, as an example of the tendency of meanings to shift from a more objective to a more subjective domain (from TEMPORAL to CONDITIONAL) and not *vice versa*.

If we focus on the step-by-step change of *qualora* from an [Adjective + Noun] sequence to a connective, we notice another important feature confirming the evolution of *qualora* as a case of grammaticalization. The first occurrences in the Italian data-bases are the following, all from the same XIV–XV century text:

(41) Vigilate adunque; imperò che non sapete in *qual ora* il vostro Signore debba venire.
(Bibbia, XIV–XV (tosc.) [TLIO])
'Thus stay awake; because you do not know in which hour your Lord should come'.

(42) Ma questo sappiate, che se il padre della famiglia sapesse in *qual ora* venisse il ladro, certamente egli vigilarebbe, e non permetteria che fosse scavata la sua casa.
(*ibid*.)
'Of this be aware, that if the father knew at which time the thief would come, he would surely watch and would not allow his home to be dug'.

(43) E voi siate apparecchiati; imperò che in *qual ora* non pensate, il Figliuolo dell'uomo verrà.
(*ibid*.)
'Be prepared; because at which hour you think not, the Son of man will come'.

In (41) and (42) *qual ora* appears within a PP in an indirect interrogative, in (43) in a PP with adverbial function modified by a relative clause. The indirect interrogative is overwhelmingly the most frequent configuration also in Latin, as shown by a search of the Latin data-bases of the *Patrologia Latina* and the *Acta Sanctorum*.[30] Consider the Latin 'equivalents' of the above quoted biblical examples:

(44) Vigilate quia nescitis *qua hora* Dominus vester venturus sit.
(Historia Mortis et Miraculorum ex Mss. Strozziano, Caput I [*Acta Sanctorum*])

(45) Nam si scires pater-familias *qua hora* fur veniret, vigilaret vtique & non sineret perfodi domum.
(Vita et Translatio S. Valentini, Caput III [*Acta Sanctorum*])[31]

(46) Vigilate utique, milites Christi, quia *qua hora* non putatis, Filius hominis veniet.
(Luc. XII, 40 [*Patrologia Latina*])

The first feature to be noted is the loss of case marking from the Latin ablative *qua hora*, the function of which is fulfilled in the Italian examples by the preposition *in* (*qual ora*). An interesting case for the reanalysis of *qual ora* as adverbial conjunction is (43), in which the preposition *in* could be omitted: '*qual ora* non pensate [IND], il Figliuolo dell'uomo verrà'. More data are necessary before we can come to a conclusion. My prediction is that the analysis of a larger *corpus* will allow the identification of (43) as one of the contexts in which the syntactic reclassification of *qual ora* as a temporal connective is favoured.

5.   Conclusion

This paper provides a contrastive diachronic analysis of two connectives, Italian *qualora* and English *whenever*, in which the relationship between temporal and conditional values is crystallized in different forms. Whereas in Old Italian *qualora* is constantly used with the indicative mood and has temporal value, in Present Day Italian it is exclusively found with the subjunctive and has conditional value (§2.1). Despite their apparent homomorphism as free-choice operators over temporal entities (§§2.4; 3.2), the same semantic shift does not occur for English *whenever*, which maintains its temporal value from Middle and Early Modern to Present Day English (§3). The explanation offered for such contrastive evidence focuses on

the role of aspect, mood and modality in the evolution of the connectives (§§2.5; 2.6; 3.3).

Sharing the assumption that "in order to contrast languages methodically, a comprehensive 'criterion of measurement' is required [which] will differ from one level of analysis to another" (Jaszczolt 1995:562), I propose that the *tertium comparationis* (Krzeszowski 1990; Fisiak 1990) between *qualora* and *whenever* consists in their free-choice semantics. This is defined on the basis of the notions of (i) the arbitrariness of the temporal entities on which the connectives operate; (ii) the intrinsic intensionality of the connectives, which favours their appearance in nomic, or habitual contexts (§2.4; 2.5). The difference on the diachronic axis is due to the different organization of (aspect and) moods in the two languages,[32] and, in particular, to the different role played by the subjunctive mood in adding a component of epistemic modalization to the meaning of *qualora* (whereby p is presented as non-factual), which is lacking in *whenever*. Hence the oddity of the examples, in which *qualora* is used, as it is in Present Day Italian, in purely hypothetical contexts and in counterfactual conditionals:

(47) *Qualora* la seduta fosse rimandata, avvertimi subito.
'Should the meeting be postponed, let me know at once.'

(48) *Qualora* avessi perso l'aereo, sarei rimasto a Parigi.
'If I had missed the plane, I would have stayed in Paris.'

(49) *Qualora* la seduta fosse rimandata, avvertimi subito.
'*Whenever the meeting should be/were postponed, let me know at once.'

(50) *Qualora* avessi perso l'aereo, sarei rimasto a Parigi.
'*Whenever I had missed the plane, I would have stayed in Paris.'

As the instantiation of the value of the connective as either temporal or conditional is dependent upon mood selection (i.e. indicative vs subjunctive), this paper underlines: (i) the relevance of considering a whole construction[33] rather than a single expression as a source of semantic change; (ii) the importance of a systematic investigation of the interaction between lexicon and structure in the development of clause linkage markers; (iii) the role of specific semantic and pragmatic contexts (in this case, 'generic' and 'habitual') in favouring semantic change. An interesting area for further research is a more general diachronic evaluation of the role of the subjunctive mood in phenomena of semantic change, both in Italian and in other Romance languages.

Notes

1. Thanks to Pietro Beltrami for his help with this data-base.

2. Data for diachronic research, which are obviously found in written texts, are not necessarily representative of changes shared by the whole speech community, as they are usually produced by the upper strata of the society and often belong to text-types which require particular rhetorical strategies, such as literary, religious, pedagogical, legal, etc. (cf. Traugott & Dasher 2002: 45–47). However, this limitation does not affect substantially the present account, since most of the connectives analysed belong to high and formal varieties of the language.

3. For a more in-depth account cf. Visconti (in preparation).

4. Note the apparent anomaly in the trend marked by the Seicento, which could be related to puristic influences, in analogy with the phenomena identified in the history of the Italian language by D'Achille (1990). Bembo, for instance, uses *qualora* with the indicative only, as in: 'Ma *qualora* esse la lettera del mezzo lasciano [IND], adietro [...]' (Prose 1525); similarly, in the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1612), which refers back to examples from Petrarch and Boccaccio, *qualora* is defined as a "temporal adverb", with the value of *ogni volta che* 'every time that', *alcuna volta* 'any time', *quando* 'when", as in: '*Qualora* egli avviene che insieme ci raccogliamo' (Boccaccio 1370).

5. In this paper I follow the traditional distinction between "generic" sentences, the subject of which is interpreted in a classlike way ("kind-referring NPs" in Krifka et al. 1995:2), and "habitual" sentences, expressing regularities, the subject of which is an individual object ("characterizing sentences" in Krifka et al. 1995:2–3) (on the terminology cf. also Lenci & Bertinetto 2000, n. 4). The two phenomena share an interesting property: with the former we abstract from particular objects, with the latter we abstract from particular events (cf. Krifka et al. 1995:4). We shall see the relevance of this property to our analysis in §2.5.

6. His definition, however, runs into the following problem (Tovena, p.c.): if *qualsiasi* realized a universal quantification, then the expression "*in qualsiasi momento*" 'at any time' could be paraphrased by "*continuamente*" 'at all times' (for all the x that are moments), which is not the case. Rather, *qualsiasi* and *qualunque* seem to express the same concept of free-choice that captures more appropriately the semantic value of *qualora*, as we shall see in §2.5.

7. For *qualora*, it was pointed out to me (Tovena, p.c.), one finds the same alternance between universal and existential quantification which is so intriguing in 'any' (cf. §2.4 and references therein).

8. On the difference and relationship between free-choice elements and universal quantifiers cf. Haspelmath (1993:87–91, 153–154); Haspelmath (1995).

9. For a synthesis cf. Hand (1999:180ff.); Haspelmath (1993:87–91); Tovena and Jayez (1999:40–43).

10. Cf. also Tovena and Jayez (1999:46, 55).

11. Cf. also Jayez (1999): "As pointed out by Giannakidou, habitual sentences license non-veridical determiners such as *any*, in contrast with the progressive form. If non-veridicality is a form of negative sensitivity to actual events (see Giannakidou 1998), this is as expected. Habitual sentences do not refer to actual events but to series of events with global properties" (*ibid.*:§5.1).

12. It will be interesting to reflect on the ontological status of what I call so far 'ambiguity' ('underspecification'?) (cf. Visconti in preparation).

13. Cf. the notion of arbitrariness as the "irrelevance of individual choice with respect to a judgement" (Tovena & Jayez 1999:55).

14. Note the cross-linguistic importance of iterativity in this process: "The overlap between iterative temporal and 'real' conditional clauses is quite clear: an antecedent which has on more than one occasion been fulfilled and has on each occasion led to a given outcome gives rise to a (factual) statement '*whenever* x, then y' (= '*if* x, then always y'). *When* and *if* are primarily distinguished by the degree of certainty they convey. Such an epistemic notion is just not relevant to generic statements: hence in this case the very significant degree of overlap between *if* and *when (ever)*" (Harris 1986:430). Cf. also the conditional reading of a *when*-clause such as: '*When* Bill came home, John left', where *when* is treated as *whenever*, i.e. the "frame of the set of occasions" (Traugott 1985:295).

15. Cf. the use of Middle English *when* with the "modally marked form" (Visser 1966:879), as in '*Whan* an unaged prynce is made knyght or be crowned king', in which "the contrast between the certainty and the uncertainty of a future action is expressed [...] (The prince will become a knight but may become a king)" (*ibid.*:879).

16. Cf. Tekavcic (1972:520–524): "to the subjunctive belongs the sphere of subjectivity: first of all the domain of will [...] and finally the rather intellectual domain of doubt, uncertainty" [my translation] (*ibid.*:521); Rohlfs (1969:59–60, 76–77): "the subjunctive is the mood of the uncertain, of the doubt, possibility, supposition [...]" [my translation] (*ibid.*:59). Cf. also Wandruszka (1991:15ff.); Visconti (2000:76–78, 86) and references therein.

17. Thanks to Geoff Barnbrook, Mike Fraser, Sharon Krossa, Paul Taylor, and Glen Worthey for their help with the *corpora*. The periods for English are approximately as follows: Old English (450–1150); Middle English (1150–1500); Early Modern English (1500–1770); Modern English (1770–1970); Present Day English (1970–).

18. Cf Quirk et al. (1986): "*Whenever* is primarily used to introduce a frequency adverbial clause [indefinite frequency] indicating that the situation is repeated: It may also imply that the two clauses overlap in time if at least one of the clauses is durative" (*ibid.*:1083; 529), as in: 'They come here *when(ever)* they feel like it'; 'It rains *whenever* we're camping'.

19. On the derivation of free-choice determiners from a *wh*-determiner plus an indefiniteness marker and on the hypothesis that universal distributive determiners derive from free-choice cf. Haspelmath (1995:371–374); Leuschner (1996:472).

20. Cf. Denison (1998:160ff.); Visser (1966:786–941 [789]) and references herein.

21. Cf. Denison (1998:164; Visser (1966:1632–1674, 1705–1734, 1742–1791).

---

22. The examples are:

(a) For whereas the former would look like the putting themselves into a condition of giving check to their Prince, *whenever* a 'Capricio' should take them, and they should fancy themselves agrieved; all that can be aimed at, or possibly compassed by the latter, is to have Justice equally administred according to the known Laws, which is no less his Majesties Interest than his Duty, to make wise and careful Provision for.

(R. Ferguson, The late proceedings and votes of the parliament of Scotland, Glasgow, 1689 [Lampeter])

(b) The Pleasure we receive from external Objects, must be suited to the Appetite we intend to gratify. And that which results from the Actions of our Lives, *whenever* we would have it intense or durable, must be supposed adapted to our reasonable Faculties, and to spring from a Consciousness of having done well.

(Anon., The rights and liberties of subjects vindicated, London, 1732 [Lampeter])

(c) *Whenever* an Englishman would cry 'All right!' an American cries 'Go ahead!'

(Dickens, Amer. Notes, 1842 [OED])

23. For a more in-depth discussion cf. Visconti (in preparation).

24. Cf. Ramat and Hopper (1998); Traugott (1998).

25. Cf. the criteria in Traugott and Dasher (2002:84–85, 87).

26. On the ambiguous status (lexical or grammatical?) of the category of Preposition cf. Traugott (1998:1).

27. Cf. Tabor and Traugott (1998:229) and references herein.

28. Cf. also Traugott (1995).

29. For a synthesis cf. Traugott (2000).

30. The *Acta Sanctorum* contain materials on the lives of the saints (*Vitae, Passiones, Miracula, Translationes, Gloriae posthumae*, inscriptions, etc.) from the beginning of the Christian era to the end of the sixteenth century. The *Patrologia Latina Database* comprises the works of the Church Fathers from Tertullian in 200 AD to the death of Pope Innocent III in 1216.

31. One also finds a few cases of *quali hora* (much rarer: in the *Patrologia Latina* the ratio is 545 hits of *qua hora* vs 1 hit of *quali hora*): 'Si videres quoque in Quadragesima *quali hora* damus operam ut dormiamus, utique fatereris satis nos mature surgere posse ad nocturnos (Udalricus Cluniacensis, *Antiquiores consuetudines cluniacensii monasterii*, Liber I, Caput XLI, MLXXXVI)'. The precise relation of the more marked form *quali hora* vs *qua hora* (*qualis* deriving from **quo* (QVI)+ -*alis*) to the Italian marker *qualora* needs to be investigated.

32. Cf. Bertinetto (1997:183–203); Bybee et al. (1994).

33. 'Construction' is used here to refer to the sequence [connective+verb]. (For an overview of the notion of construction in cognitive and functional linguistics cf. Thompson 2001; on the role of constructions in grammaticalization cf. Traugott forthcoming.)

References

Bertinetto, P. M. (1997). *Il dominio tempo-aspettuale*. Torino: Rosenberg and Sellier.

Bonomi, A. (1995). Aspect and quantification. In P. M. Bertinetto et al. (Eds.), *Temporal Reference, Aspect and Actionality*, Vol. 1 (pp. 93–110). Torino: Rosenberg and Sellier.

Bybee, J., Perkins, R., & Pagliuca, W. (1994). *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.

D'Achille, P. (1990). *Sintassi del parlato e tradizione scritta della lingua italiana*. Roma: Bonacci.

Dahl, Ö. (1975). On generics. In E. L. Keenan (Ed.), *Formal Semantics of Natural Language* (pp. 99–111). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Delfitto, D., & Bertinetto, P. M. (1995). A case study in the interaction of aspect and actionality: The imperfect in Italian. In *Temporal Reference*, Vol. 1 (pp. 125–142).

Denison, D. (1998). Syntax. In S. Romaine (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. 4 (pp. 1776–1997). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fabricius-Hansen, C., & Sæbø, K. J. (1983). Über das Chamäleon *wenn* und seine Umwelt. *Linguistische Berichte*, 83, 1–35.

Fine, K. (1985). *Reasoning with Arbitrary Objects*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Fisiak, J. (Ed.). (1990). *Further Insights into Contrastive Analysis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Harris, M. B. (1986). The Historical Development of Conditional Sentences in Romance. *Romance Philology*, 39/3, 405–436.

Hand, M. (1999). Semantics vs pragmatics: *Any* in game-theoretical semantics. In K. Turner (Ed.), *The Semantics-Pragmatics Interface from Different Points of View* (pp. 179–198). Oxford: Elsevier.

Haspelmath, M. (1993). A Typological Study of Indefinite Pronouns. Ph.D., Free University of Berlin.

Haspelmath, M. (1995). Diachronic Sources of *All* and *Every*. In E. Bach et al. (Eds.), *Quantification in Natural Languages* (pp. 363–382). Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Jaszczolt, K. (1995). Contrastive analysis. In J. Verschueren, J. Östman, & J. Blommaert (Eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics* (pp. 561–565). Benjamins.

Jayez, J. (1999). Imperfectivity and Progressivity: The French Imparfait. SALT.

Kiefer, F. (1994). Modality. In R. E. Asher & J. M. Y. Simpson (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (pp. 2515–2520). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Krifka, M., Pelletier, F. J., Carlson, G. N., ter Meulen, A., Chierchia, G., Link, G. (1995). Genericity. An Introduction. In G. N. Carlson & F. J. Pelletier (Eds.), *The Generic Book* (pp. 1–124). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Krzeszowski, T. P. (1990). *Contrasting Languages*. Mouton.

Lenci, A., & Bertinetto, P. M. (2000). Aspect, Adverbs, and Events. Habituality vs Perfectivity. In Higginbotham et al. (Eds.), *Speaking of Events* (pp. 245–287). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leuschner, T. (1996). *Ever* and Universal Quantifiers of Time: Observations from some Germanic Languages. In K. Jaszczolt & K. Turner (Eds.), *Contrastive Semantics and Pragmatics* (pp. 469–484). Oxford: Elsevier.

Longobardi, G. (1988). I quantificatori. In L. Renzi (Ed.), *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*, Vol. 1 (pp. 645–696). Bologna: Il Mulino.

Marques, R. R. (2000). *Semantic and Pragmatic Constraints on Mood Selection*. Paper presented at the Second International Conference in Contrastive Semantics and Pragmatics (Cambridge, 10–13 September 2000).

Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Ramat, A. G., & Hopper, P. (Eds.). (1998). *The Limits of Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Rohlfs, G. (1966–1969 [1954]). *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, 3 voll. Torino: Einaudi.

Tabor, W., & Traugott, E. C. (1998). Structural scope expansion and grammaticalization. In *The Limits of Grammaticalization* (pp. 229–272).

Tekavcic, P. (1972). *Grammatica storica dell'italiano*, 3 voll. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Tovena, L. M., & Jayez, J. (1999). *Any*: from scalarity to arbitrariness. In F. Corblin et al. (Eds.), *Empirical Issues in Formal Syntax and Semantics*, Vol. II (pp. 39–57). The Hague: Holland Academic Graphic.

Thompson, S. A. (2001). *Constructions and Conversation*. Plenary paper presented at the International Cognitive Linguistics Conference (UCSB, 22 July 2001).

Traugott, E. C. (1985). Conditional Markers. In J. Haiman (Ed.), *Iconicity in Syntax*, Proceedings of a Symposium (Stanford, California, 24–26 June 1983), (pp. 289–307). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Traugott, E. C. (1995). Subjectification in grammaticalization. In D. Stein & S. Wright (Eds.), *Subjectivity and Subjectivisation* (pp. 31–54). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Traugott, E. C. (1998). Lexicalization and grammaticalization. In A. A. Cruse, F. Hundsnurscher, M. Job, & P. R. Lutzeier (Eds.), *Lexikologie-Lexicology* (pp. 1–14). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Traugott, E. C. (2000). *From Etymology to Historical Pragmatics*. Plenary paper presented at the Studies in English Historical Linguistics Conference (UCLA, May 27, 2000).

Traugott, E. C. (forthcoming). Constructions in Grammaticalization. In R. D. Janda & B. D. Joseph (Eds.), *A Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Traugott, E. C., & Dasher, R. B. (2002). *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Visconti, J. (2000). *I connettivi condizionali complessi in italiano e inglese*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Visconti, J. (in preparation). Conditionals and Grammaticalization.

Visser, F. Th. (1966[–1969]). *A Historical Syntax of the English Language*, Vol. II. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Wandruszka, U. (1991). Frasi subordinate al congiuntivo. In *Grande grammatica*, Vol. 2 (pp. 415–481).

Dictionaries

Battaglia, S. (1961). *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* [GDLI]. Torino: UTET.

Devoto, G., & Oli, G. C. (1979). *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*. Firenze: Le Monnier.

Il grande dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana. (1987). Milano: Garzanti.

Sabatini, F. (1997). *Dizionario Italiano Sabatini-Coletti* [DISC]. Giunti: Firenze.

Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana. (1986–1994). Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani. 5 voll.

Zingarelli, N. (1996). *Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana*. Bologna: Zanichelli.

Simpson, J. A., & Weiner, E. S. C. (1989). *The Oxford English Dictionary* [OED]. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Cassell's Italian Dictionary. (1967 [1958]). New York: Macmillan.

Reynolds, B. (1985). *Cambridge Italian Dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press/Milano, Signorelli.

Hazon (1990). *Grande dizionario inglese-italiano italiano-inglese*. Milan: Garzanti.

Skey, M. (1995). *Dizionarion inglese-italiano italiano-inglese*. Oxford University Press, Oxford/SEI, Torino.

Sansoni-Harrap (1970–1976). *Standard Italian and English Dictionary*. London, Harrap & Florence/Rome, Sansoni.