Following the Path from *'follow'* to *'according to'*. Interpreting Layering of Functions of Italian *secondo*, *seguendo* and *a seconda di* as Clues to the Grammaticalisation of Latin *sequor* via *secundum*.

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Abstract

The existence of a grammaticalisation path of the type FOLLOW > ACCORDING TO has been noted in the literature, but has not been investigated in detail yet. The evolution of the Italian preposition *secondo* 'following', 'according to' 'depending on' tracing back to the Latin *sequor* 'follow' (via the preposition/adverbial *secundum*), is analysed in this light, relying on data from *The Latin Library* corpus for Early and Classical Latin and the *LIZ* and *CORIS* corpora for Old and Contemporary Italian, respectively, as well as information gathered from grammars and dictionaries. The discussion, restricted to the construction *secondo NP* and the related constructions *seguendo NP* and *a seconda (di/che) NP/S*, covers the semantic and syntactic levels, as they are both involved in the grammaticalisation process. In particular, the syntactic analysis highlights the typical phenomenon of 'decategorialisation' and the semantic analysis points out the role of the 'intermediate' meaning of functional dependency (co-variation and conformity) in the semantic development of the forms under analysis, according to phenomena of 'desemanticisation' and 'extension'. Finally, the analysis also benefits from the contribution that cross-linguistic data can bring to the identification of paths of development when monolingual data only show layering of functions.

1 Introduction[7]

While pointing out the existence of a grammaticalisation path of the type FOLLOW > ACCORDING TO with reference to Latin (1) and Swahili (2), Heine & Kuteva (2002, p. 139) observe that "more research is required on the exact nature and the genetic and areal distribution of the process".

(1)   Latin

Sequi 'follow', *secundus* 'following' (gerund, de-verbal adjective) > preposition *secundum* 'along', '(immediately) after', 'according to', 'for (the benefit of)' (Kühner & Holzweissig   [1912] 1966, p. 935, quoted in Heine & Kuteva, *ibid.*)

(2)   Swahili

Ku-fuatana na 'to follow each other' > *kufuatana na* 'following, according to'.

(Heine & Kuteva *ibid.)*

To my knowledge, the process has not been studied in detail as yet, one exception being the cognitive linguistics account of the semantic change of Latin *secundus* by Matos Rocha (1998).

In light of this, researching the relationship between Italian *seguendo* 'following' (3),[8] *secondo* 'according to' (4) and *a seconda di* 'depending on' (5), ultimately tracing back to Latin *sequor* 'follow' (Cortelazzo Zolli, 1999) is likely to add to the understanding of the grammaticalisation path suggested by Heine & Kuteva.

(3)   a.   *il   motorino   rosso   procede seguendo la macchina blu*

                 the   moped red   moves.along   following the car   blue

                 'the red moped moves along following the blue car'

         b.   *il   mobile   deve essere   montato seguendo le istruzioni*

                 the   piece.of.furniture must be mounted following the instructions

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[8] All examples are constructed unless specified.

(4)   a.[9]   ? *il   pullman   avanza   secondo il canale*

                the   coach   moves.forward along   the canal

        b.   *il tribunale   giudica secondo la legge*

            the court   judges according.to   the law

        c.   *la giuria premia   secondo   i meriti*

            the panel awards.prizes in.proportion.to the merits

(5)   a.   *Giulia è loquace o silenziosa   a seconda dell'   umore*

            Julia   is talkative or quiet   depending on.the   mood

Whereas *seguendo* takes only an NP complement (its direct object), *secondo* and *a seconda* enter a variety of constructions. *Secondo* can take both a nominal complement and a sentential complement headed by the complementiser *che* 'that' or by the demonstrative-relative 'double' pronouns[10] (Serianni, 1989, p. 320). Similarly, also *a seconda di* enters two constructions, taking either a nominal complement or a sentential complement headed by pronouns/adjectives[11] or the complementiser *come* 'how'. Furthermore, the construction *a seconda di* is related both to the construction *a seconda che*, followed by a sentence, and to the adverbial *a seconda*. Mainly for reasons of space, this paper focuses mainly on the constructions *secondo NP* and *a seconda (di/che NP/S)*. For similar reasons, only the Latin

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[9] An anonymous reviewer points out that this use is not fully acceptable. However, similar examples have been found:

(i)   *viaggiare   secondo   la strada   che   impone la gravità*

       Travel.INF along   the road   that   imposes the gravity

       'to travel along the road imposed by gravity'

       (www.youtube.com/video/Uw2ImIGN7lU, accessed Feb. 3rd 2011)

(ii)   *Fiat: Quagliano, procede   secondo la strada   tracciata*

       Fiat Quagliano   moves.forward along   the road   laid.out

       'Fiat: Quagliano, (he/she/it) moves.forward along the road layout'

       (headline, http://www.milanofinanza.it/news/, accessed Feb. 3rd 2011)

An empirical investigation of this construction's degree of acceptability, e.g. with experimental techniques such as Magnitude Estimation of Acceptability (Bard et al., 1996) would allow one to ascertain how marginal it is in contemporary Italian.

[10] Such pronouns introduce relative clauses which are to be considered expansions of the nominal complement rather than sentential complements themselves.

[11] See fn. 3.

construction *secundum NP* is considered, i.e. the (later)[12] construction *secundum quod* followed by a sentence is not analysed here.

The investigation of the gerund and the de-verbal prepositions tracing back to Latin *sequor* 'follow' is carried out by considering three periods corresponding to Early and Classical Latin (II century B.C., first quarter of the I century A.D.), Old Italian (XIII-XIV century) and Contemporary Italian (1980s-1990s). In order to carry out the analysis, information from grammars (Allen & Greenough, 1904; Gildersleeve & Lodge, 1895; Hammond, 1976; Lindsay, 1963; Palmer (undated)); Panhuis, 2006; and dictionaries (Georges Calonghi, 1964; Lewis & Short, 1879; Simpson, 1959) gathered for Early and Classical Latin is checked against the texts in *The Latin Library*[13]. A similar approach is taken to Italian, by comparing data from the *Letteratura Italiana Zanichelli* (*LIZ*) corpus for XIII-XVI century prose and the *Corpus di riferimento per l'italiano scritto* (*CORIS*) to information obtained through grammars (Dardano & Trifone, 1985; Renzi, Salvi & Cardinaletti, 1995; Serianni 1989; Serianni, Castelvecchi & Patota, 1997; Tekavčić, 1972) and dictionaries (*GRADIT,* 1999; Treccani, 2008; Volit, 1997; Zingarelli 2011).

As grammaticalisation is a process involving both the semantic and the morpho-syntactic level (Heine 2003, p. 579 among others), this study presents an analysis of the behaviour of *secondo NP*, *seguendo NP* and *a seconda di/che NP/S* along these two axes for Latin (sections 2 and 3), Old Italian (sections 4 and 5) and Modern Italian (section 6). The study is qualitative in nature, although some quantitative observations are also made regarding the development of *a seconda di/che* (section 7).

The analysis suggests that cross-linguistic data and knowledge about similar grammaticalisation chains can help identify paths of development when monolingual data only show layering of functions (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, pp. 124-126) and points out the role played by the 'intermediate' meaning of functional dependency (conformity and co-

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[12] An initial consultation of some Medieval Latin texts (e.g. *Regulae Sancta Clarae*, *S. Bonaventura Bagnoregis Commentaria in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum* etc.) seems to suggest that this construction is widespread in this period. Further investigation into Late and Medieval Latin would be needed in order to prove this hypothesis.

[13] The Corpus of Early and Classical Latin prose and poetry consists of 2,710,600 words (number of tokens used for creating wordlists in *WordSmith 4*). In the whole corpus, only 272 occurrences of *secundum NP* were found, thus corresponding to a frequency of 100.3 per M words. The Old Italian prose corpus (3,205,175 according to *LIZ*) returned 2,814 items in response to a query for *secondo.* Out of a sample of 322 token, 248 items corresponded to the preposition/conjunction *secondo*, thus allowing me to calculate its frequency in Old Italian at 676.2 per M words. Finally, because of technical limitations of the *CORIS* software, the Contemporary Italian prose corpus (100 M words) allowed me to extract only 300 random occurrences of *secondo* out of a total of 78,783. Out of this sample, only 162 items corresponded to the preposition *secondo*. In response to a separate query for *secondo che S*, only

variation) in semantic change. This is achieved by showing overlaps in meaning between earlier uses and later uses and suggesting a directional path of change.

2 Layering in Latin: Syntactic Observations

The grammaticalisation process leading from the verb *sequor* to the adverb/preposition *secundum* does not seem to be observable in its unfolding by looking at the Latin data available in grammar books, dictionaries and the corpus consulted. In particular, the 'divergence' or 'functional split' (Heine & Reh, 1984, pp. 57-59; Hopper, 1991, p. 22) between the two forms *sequendum* 'following' and *secundum* 'according to' is not recorded. Even if there is no clear historical evidence of the grammaticalisation cline FOLLOWING > ACCORDING TO, observing forms belonging to different stages of grammaticalisation that co-exist at a given stage in language can suggest the existence of a pathway of change. Interpreting layering of functions (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 125) can in fact "point to a cline even when no direct documentation exists" since "typical pathways of change identified through cross-linguistic diachronic study can be seen in the synchronic system" (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 109). The presence of cognate forms like Latin *secundum* (adverb, preposition) and *sequendum* (verb) or the Italian *seguendo* (verb), *secondo* (adverb, preposition) and *a seconda di* (preposition) seems to be a case in point. In fact, the "categorial downshifting" (Giacalone Ramat & Hopper, 1998, p. 8) from verb to preposition is considered to be a typical case of grammaticalisation, and is described extensively through a vast number of case studies (see references in Heine & Kuteva, 2002).

As grammaticalisation is a process of language change originating at the semantic level and having repercussions on the form of the expressions involved (see Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer, 1991, p. 27 ff. among others), both the formal and the semantic levels are considered here in order to give a complete representation of the phenomenon. This section focuses on the formal level, presenting some observations relative to the phonology, morphology and syntax of Latin *secundum* (preposition), compared to *sequendum* (verb) and *sequor* 'follow' (verb). Particular attention is paid to the clues that might help postulate the existence of a grammaticalisation path of the type V > PREP for Latin *sequor > secundum*.

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69 instances were found over the whole corpus. These data allowed me to calculate the frequency of *secondo (NP/S)* on *CORIS*, corresponding to 425.5 per M words.

As mentioned above, the available historical data do not show the moment of functional split between the phase in which *secundum* fulfilled only a predicating function and that in which it came to fulfil a relational function. Data from Old Latin consulted via *The Latin Library* show that both functions are already attested in this phase, thus making it possible to hypothesise that the divergence must have happened in pre-literary Latin (i.e. before the first half of the III century B.C.), when most Latin prepositions are thought to have originated (Hammond, 1976, p. 132). Nevertheless, what follows suggests that the existence of such a functional split can be postulated on the basis of internal and external (i.e. cross-linguistic) grounds.

Internal evidence shows that the gerund is a non-finite form of the verb derived by attaching the suffix **-ndo* to the stem of the present (Vineis, 1998, p. 308) and for this reason it can be considered a later formation. However, by taking a closer look at *secundum*[14] and *sequendum*, it can be noted that they differ in their stems and not in their endings. Out of the two, the former is an older formation and the latter is comparatively more recent. The innovative character of the newer form is shown by its phonetic shape, namely by the thematic vowel *–u* replaced by *–e* "on the analogy of the present participle active" (ib.).

The observations presented so far, however, only allow us to establish a temporal relation of succession between the two forms, which is not equivalent to positing the existence of a grammaticalisation process linking them historically. In this situation, an important role is played by cross-linguistic evidence. On the basis of examples like (6) from Japanese (from Heine & Kuteva, 2007, pp. 71-72), it can be observed that since this type of grammaticalisation path (V > ADP) is attested for other languages of the world, it is not possible to exclude in principle the notion that it might also have operated in Latin (see also Heine & Kuteva, 2007, pp. 82-87).

(6)   Japanese

a.   *Taroo wa*   *[kare   ni   tuite]*   *doko   made   mo   itta*

        Taroo TOP he   DAT follow   anywhere   to   even   go   PST

        'Taro went anywhere, following him'

b.   *Taroo wa*   *[sono   koto   ni tuite]*   *setumee sita*

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[14] The relationship between the gerund *secundum* and the gerundive *secundus, -a, -um* is still quite controversial. In fact, there is a debate on whether "the gerund emerged from the gerundive, or whether the entire functional paradigm of the gerundive developed from original forms of the gerund" (Vineis, 1998, p. 308).

Taroo TOP   the   matter about (PREP)   explain did

'Taro explained about the matter'

Alongside cross-linguistic evidence, other factors internal to Latin syntax suggest the loss of verbal properties characteristic of verbs grammaticalising into prepositions ('decategorialisation'). First of all, it can be noted that the gerund/preposition *secundum* cannot enter the purposive construction ad + gerund/gerundive, whereas *sequendum* can (7).

(7)   *Scipio,   ad sequendum/*secundum   paratus…   equitatum   praemisit*

Scipio.M   to follow.GER   ready-M   cavalry sent

'Scipio, ready to pursue (him), sent off the cavalry' (Caesar, De Bello Civili, XXXVIII)

The gerundive *secundum* does not also participate in the passive periphrastic construction (gerundive + *esse* 'be'), where the 'newer' form *sequendum* is attested instead (8).

(8)   *tamen etsi   nihil   aliud   sequendum/* sequendum   est,*

yet   even though   nothing else   to.be.followed   is

quaerimus quid faciamus

we.wonder what we.do.SUBJV

'yet even though we need think of nothing else, we consider to whom we should do

(the benefits)' (Seneca, De Beneficiis IV, 9)

A similar phenomenon, i.e. the absence of *secundum* from the passive periphrastic construction - having a passive obligative meaning - might, however, be attributed to a different factor rather than grammaticalisation per se. In fact, the "gerundive is a passive adjective that connotes immediate futurity, duty, obligation or necessity" (Hammond, 1976, p. 197), but "occasional gerundives", such as *secundus*, -*a*, -*um*, "are active and intransitive in meaning" (ib.). As Vineis notes (1998, p. 308) "the meaning of gerundives was 'involved in the action of …ing' which clearly accounts for how these participles came to develop also an active use". Therefore in the periphrastic construction where both the gerundive and the gerund have the same form (*secundum*), the contrast in voice between the gerund, which is

usually "a verbal noun with active force" (Hammond, 1976, p.194) and the gerundive, which is a passive adjective, was probably blurred. In the periphrastic construction, thus, another form appeared, *sequendum*[15], possibly emerging in Classical Latin when it is first attested according to *The Latin Library*.[16] Again, no direct evidence of this process is available due to lack of documentation for the period in which these phenomena are thought to have happened. Nevertheless, such a hypothesis is sufficient to suggest that factors other than grammaticalisation per se might have contributed to the characterisation of *secundum* as a preposition, gradually pushing it outside the verbal paradigm of *sequor*. In this specific case, factors that might have facilitated this process relate to the Latin voice system.

Summing up, the absence of *secundum* from both the purposive and the passive periphrastic constructions has been put forward as evidence for decategorialisation. Even if, in the case of the latter, pressure from other mechanisms of language change other than grammaticalisation per se cannot be excluded, the result is still one of decategorialisation that 'feeds into' the grammaticalisation process. As *secundum* appears to be phonetically conservative, the following evolution path can be hypothesised.
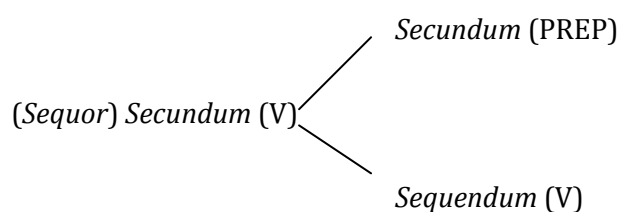

FIGURE 1. FOLLOW > ACCORDING TO in Latin: evolution in form and function.

Finally, frequency consideration within the Early and Classical Latin corpus might lend some support to the grammaticalisation hypothesis. In fact, only 15 instances of *sequendum* (V) vs 272 occurrences of *secundum* (PREP) were retrieved. Despite the fact that the data available do not show an increase in frequency of the grammaticalised form compared to its lexical sources, a clear disproportion in frequency is recorded, which is usually a correlate of grammaticalisation (Bybee, 2003).

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[15] It must be noted however that the forms of the gerundive and adjective *secundus, -a, -um* appears to be the only one used in all ages, i.e. there is no form **sequendus, -a, -um*.

[16] In the Early and Classical Latin corpus, only 15 instances of *sequendum* are found, coming from the works of Manilius, Livy, Caesar and Varro.

So far, it has been shown that a grammaticalisation path leading from *sequor* 'follow' to *secundum* 'according to' can be posited in Latin on internal and external grounds, with specific reference to phonological clues and morpho-syntax. However, as was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this section, the grammaticalisation process is thought to have primarily originated via changes at the semantic level.

3 Layering in Latin: Semantic Observations

According to grammaticalisation theory, modifications in the syntactic behaviour are tightly linked to semantic modifications. One well-known pattern of evolution is that by which concrete categories (which include person, object, and process) come to express more abstract categories (including space, time and quality) (Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer, 1991, p. 157). Similarly, the so-called 'localist hypothesis' (Anderson, 1971, 1987), states that concrete spatial meanings are interpreted as more basic and central than more abstract, non-spatial meanings, even when the two co-exist in time (layering). One such example is (9), showing that in Old Latin traces of the central meaning of the verb *sequor* 'follow' persist in the adverb[17] *secundum*.

(9)   AMPHITRUO   *age*   *i*   *tu*   *secundum*[18]

HORT   ?   you   following/after

'come on, come after me / come following!'

    SOSIA   *sequor, subsequor*   *te*

I.follow, I.follow.right.behind you.

'yes, I'll follow, I'll come right after you.'

(Plautus, *Amphitruo*, act II, I, 1-2)

In addition to the residual meaning of 'following' shown in (9), and the spatial meanings in (10)-(11), already in Latin the preposition *secundum* had a range of meanings that can be thought of as less concrete, i.e. more schematic and abstract ((12)-(16), all examples and translations from Hewitt Key, 1864, pp. 334-335, but (13) from Lewis & Short, 1879):

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[17] *Secundum* in (9) can also be interpreted as a PREP if the pronoun *me* 'me' is understood as supplied by context. Thus the status of *secundum* as an adverb or preposition at this stage is not clear, but this is not surprising as many items in various languages show a pattern of polyfunctionality of the type adposition/adverb, and the Latin prepositions are believed to have originated from adverbs (Hammond, 1976, p. 131).

[18] It is clear here that this is an adverb/preposition and not a subject complement, because otherwise it would be *second-us*, agreeing with the subject in gender, number and case.

(10)   'Along'

       Legiones iter secundum mare superum faciunt

       'The legions are marching along the upper sea'

(11)   'Behind without motion'

       Volnus accipit secundum aurem

       'He received a wound behind the ear'

(12)   'After, of time'

       Spem ostendi secundum comitia

       'You hold out a hope of improvement after the elections'

(13)   'During'

       Secundum quietem

       'in the course of a dream'

(14)   'Second, in order'

       Secundum te nihil est mihi amicior solitudine

       'Next to you, I have no better friend than solitude'

(15)   'In accordance with'

       Omnia quae secundum naturam fiunt sunt habenda in bonis

       'Everything that happens in accordance with nature is to be reckoned among blessings'

(16)   'In favour of'

       Pontifices secundum eum decreverunt

       'The pontifical college decreed in his favour'

Examples (11) and (12) still belong to the domain of spatial relations, but (12) differs from (11) because the dimension of physical motion typical of the basic semantic scenario of 'following', i.e. 'going behind', is lost. Examples (13) and (14) are a further step removed from the central meaning of 'going behind' because they express a relation in the temporal domain, in line with a general evolution pattern *space > time*. Examples (14)-(16) belong to the logical domain, expressing a relationship of order/hierarchy between two entities (14), a relationship of conformity (15) between a process and an entity and a relation concerning the force-dynamics sphere (Talmy, 1988, 2000), even if Lewis and Short (1879), by suggesting the gloss "according to the will of somebody", seem to relate it directly to the meaning of conformity (16).

Some of these meanings appear to be preserved in Old Italian, while some are lost and new ones appear.

4 *Secondo* in Old Italian: Syntactic Observations

A sample of 132 occurrences of *secondo*[19] NP for Old Italian taken from the *LIZ* corpus (XIII and XIV century prose) has been interpreted with reference to the *GDLI* dictionary, considering both the semantic and the syntactic level.

Regarding the latter, it can be observed that Latin is predominantly[20] a prepositional language, thus favouring a construction having the form *secundum NP*. At the same time, word order in Latin is quite free, thus allowing both VO and OV. A similar degree of flexibility is maintained in Old Italian, where both the constructions *O seguendo* (17) and *seguendo O* (18) are found.

(17)   *l'ordine   quale ancora servano i marinari   nel navicare,   quel segno seguendo*

           the order which still   serve   the mariners in.the sail.INF that sign   following

           'the order which sailors still obey today, following that sign'

           (Boccaccio, G., *Esposizioni sopra la Comedia*, Canto 4, Esposiz. litterale)

(18)   *valicaro   seguendo il marchese   nel   Piemonte*

           they.passed following the marquis in.the Piedmont

           'they passed [the Alps] following the marquis in Piedmont'

           (Villani M. e F., *Cronica*, Libro 10, 43)

Old Italian, thus, still behaves very much like Latin: word-order fixation – one of the features of decategorialisation (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 106 ff.) – is not a phenomenon emerging in Old Italian but one that has already appeared in Latin *secundum NP* and carried on to Italian *secondo NP*. In Italian the loss of case simply made the original VO relationship linking the former verb – then preposition - and its complement more opaque. However, it must be pointed out that a more general trend towards VO order in Modern Italian seems to blur the effects of word-order fixation in the grammaticalisation process OV/VO > PREP NP.

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[19] Further investigation could be carried out using alternative spellings such as *seconno*, *secudo*, *secunno*, *segondo*, *sicondo*.

[20] Notable exceptions are forms like *mecum* 'with me', *tecum* 'with you' etc.

Whereas word-order fixation appears to be a weak indicator of decategorialisation for *secondo NP*, a more indicative feature of decategorialisation is the inability of the former verbal expression to take a subject. *Seguendo* can enter constructions of the type *NP₁ seguendo NP₂*, where the two NPs work as the subject (*il conte* 'the count') and the object (*suo viaggio* 'his journey') of the verb (19).

(19)   *e*   *seguendo*   ²¹   *il conte*   *suo viaggio*   *per tornare*   *in Proenza*

       and   following   the count   his journey   to come.back   to Provence

       and going on with his journey to come back to Provence, the count

       (Villani M. & F., *Cronica*, Libro 1, 96)

On the other hand, *secondo* enters only in one construction, *V secondo NP*, opening only one nominal slot, corresponding to the object slot of the *seguendo* construction. The inability of *secondo* to take a subject can be considered as evidence of the fact that it is no longer a verb, but a preposition.

One further indicator of the fact that *secondo*, as already *secundum*, has lost verbal properties consists in the fact that, unlike *seguendo* (20), it cannot be modified by manner adverbials.

(20)   *animosamente seguendo(/*secondo) il consiglio di messer Bonifazio Lupo da Parma*

       bravely   following   the suggestion of Sir   Bonifazio Lupo from Parma

       'bravely following Sir B.'s advice' (Villani M. & F., *Cronica*, Libro 11, 2)

Finally, other typical verbal properties, such as the ability to inflect for tense and person and to be passivised do not hold for the gerund, which is a non-finite nominal form of the verb.

5. *Secondo* in Old Italian: Semantic Observations

Leaving the territory of syntax to focus on the semantics of Old Italian *secondo* versus Latin *secundum*, it can be observed that the original meaning of 'going behind someone/something' survives only in very limited contexts such as the following example from Dante (21):

(21) *io sarò primo e tu   sarai   secondo*

I will.be   first   and   you   will.be second/after/behind

'I will go first and you will come behind me'

(Dante, *Commedia*, Inferno, IV, 15)

As the line is pronounced by Vergil, one can legitimately suspect that it is an intentional Latinism[22] to characterise the speech of the Latin poet for stylistic purposes, thus not truly reflecting the use of XIV century Florentine. Not only does it seem that the 'going behind' meaning is thus heavily marginalised in Old Italian, but also the 'being behind' meaning and some other more abstract meanings are not attested in the *LIZ* sample, such as the benefactive use 'in favour of'. Instead, the spatial relational meaning '(going, being) along' is still present in Old Italian (22):

(22)   *adonqua secondo questa via trovamo   lo cielo montuoso   e valloso*

thus   following   this   way we.find   the sky mountainous   and rich.of.valleys

'Thus, following this way (or 'along this way', we find a territory rich of mountains and   valleys' (Restoro d'Arezzo, *La composizione del mondo*, II, 5.3)

While some meanings that were present in Old Latin disappear and only some are maintained, new meanings emerge, like the limitative use illustrated in (23)-(25).

(23) *io ti   saprò   bene secondo   donna fare un poco d'onore*

I you.DAT   will.be.able.to (lit. will.know)   well   within.the.limits.of   woman of do   a bit   of honour

'I will be able to honour you as far as my being a woman allows'

(Boccaccio, G., *Decameron*, Giornata 2, Novella 5)

(24) *è fratello   della mia cognata   secondo   la carne, ma sorella in Cristo*

is brother of.the my sister.in-law within.the.limits.of the flesh, but sister in Christ

'he is my sister-in-law's brother as far as the flesh is concerned, but sister in Christ'

(Caterina da Siena, *Lettere*, Lettera 15)

[21] Here *seguendo* means *proseguendo* 'continuing', thus expressing duration in time.

[22] Alternatively, as the co-occurrence with the adjective *primus* 'first' may suggest, *secondo* 'second' is an adjective entering a nominal predicate as a subject complement. The convergence of both the ending *–us*, via Late Latin *–u(m)*, and *–um* in *–o* does not allow one to distinguish between the adverb and the adjective form.

(25) *quivi, secondo cena sproveduta, furono assai bene e ordinatamente* here,
serviti

within.the.limits.of dinner unprepared they.were very well and in.an.orderly.way
served

'here they were served very well and in an orderly fashion, as far as the fact that
the dinner had not been prepared in advance allowed'

(Boccaccio, G., *Decameron*, Giornata 10, Novella 9)

While *secondo NP* seems to lose the temporal meaning[23] of Latin *secundum* (cf examples (12)
and (13) above), *seguendo* shows a tendency to evolve in the direction of a temporal/causal
connective, similar to *poiché* 'as, since', (26) and towards a temporal preposition, similar to
dopo, poi 'after' when used as an adverb (27) or to a purposive conjunction similar to *affinché*
(15). It must be noted that *seguendo* in (28) and (29) enters into constructions other than
seguendo NP, namely *seguendo* (ADV) and *seguendo di* + infinitive.

(26) *parando la mano al colpo li fu tagliata: e seguendo*

putting.forward the hand to.the strike to.him was cut and following

i colpi contro a lui, fu morto

the strikes against him was dead (i.e. killed)

'while stopping the strike with his hand, [his hand] got cut off: and as a
consequence of the strikes given to him, he died' (Villani, M. & F., *Cronica*,
Libro 1, 55)

(27) *secondo che seguendo dimostreremo*

according.to what following/later we.will.demonstrate

'in line with what we will demonstrate later'

(Villani, M. & F., *Cronica*, Libro 3,100)

 (28) *Il legato del papa avendo fatto guastare intorno a Viterbo, seguendo
d'abattere il prefetto*

the delegate of.the Pope having had damage.INF around Viterbo
following/aiming.to of kill.INF the prefect

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[23] A residual of this use remains in a nonce example of the *secondo che S* construction.

(i) *il giovane si cominciò a confessare, e secondo che procedeva la confessione,*
the youngster REFL started to confess and as/while that was.going.on the confession,
così a poco a poco
so little by little
'The young man started to confess, and as the confession went on, thus little by little…"

'after having the territory around Viterbo damaged, the Pope's ambassador, aiming   at killing the prefect' (Villani M. & F., *Cronica*, Libro 4, 10)

As mentioned above, thus, some of the meanings that were typical of *secundum* in Latin seem to be lost in Old Italian. On the other hand, some of the meanings that were already present in Latin are preserved and new meanings emerge. The meaning of conformity that had already appeared in Latin (15) is still present in Old Italian *secondo* (29).

(29) *neuno possa   buono advocato essere né perfetto se non   favella secondo l'arte di rettorica*

nobody can.SUBJV good lawyer   be   nor perfect if not   speaks according.to the art of rhetoric

'No one could be a good or complete lawyer if s/he cannot speak according to the art of rhetoric' (Latini, B., *La rettorica*, Argom. 76.4)

Alongside the meaning of conformity, a meaning of co-variation appears (30). The meaning of conformity and that of co-variation are close to one another, and could perhaps be considered expression of a more general meaning of 'functional dependency'. In fact, the former indicates that a certain process obtains in a certain way in line with a given variable that is conceptualised as given and stable, while the latter indicates that one process or alternative processes obtain in relationship to a variable that is conceptualised as varying between values.

(30) *a volere secondo   i meriti   mordere   e   premiare*

to want in.proportion.to   the merits   bite (i.e. punish)   and reward

'to want to punish and reward according to the merits'

(Boccaccio, G., *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, 66)

Sharing similarities both with the meaning of conformity and co-variation is the meaning of proportion, illustrated in (31).

(31) *quando di laurea corona secondo   i meriti precedenti onoravano   i valorosi*

when   of laurel crown in.proportion.to the merits preceding they.honoured the valiant

'when they honoured the valiant with bay-leaves crowns according to their merits'

(Boccaccio, G., *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, 2)

The meanings of co-variation and proportion can be thought of as representing extensions of the meaning of conformity already present in Latin. Alongside these meanings, a new one emerges, i.e. the reportative meaning. A reportative expression is a linguistic item signalling that a message uttered by the speaker has actually been previously uttered by someone else and may or may not indicate reference to the source of the original utterance (Aikhenvald, 2004; Frawley, 1992; Squartini, 2001; van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998; Willett, 1988). Overtones of non-commitment by the speaker to the message s/he utters can be understood, but are not an inherent part of the meaning of the reportative expression headed by *secondo*.

A nonce example of such a use can already be found in Latin, where it can be interpreted as having scope over a constituent either below the clause level (a.) or the whole clause (b.).

(32) *militum   milia   LXXX occisa colonum   et lixarum   XL   (secundum Antiatem) apud Arausionem*

of.soldiers thousands 80   killed of.servants   and camp.followers 40 according.to Antias   near Aurasio

   a. '80,000 soldiers and 40,000 servants and camp followers, according to Antias, were killed   near Aurasio'

   b. 'according to Antias, 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 servants and camp followers were killed   near Aurasio' (Livy, *Periochae*, 67, 2)

Nevertheless, this nonce example can still be interpreted with reference to the more established meaning of conformity, in this case 'in accordance with what Antias said/wrote'. Albeit isolated, this instance is important as it suggests a possible overlap in meaning between the conformity and the reportative use, thus providing the context for the context-induced reinterpretation (Heine, 2003) triggering the semantic change at the basis of grammaticalisation.

In Old Italian, the NP headed by reportative *secondo* can encode both the original speaker (or writer) (33), as in the Latin example mentioned above, or an expression referring to the product of speaking and writing (34) or again an expression referring to a generic, underspecified, original speaker (hearsay use) (35).

(33) *bugia, secondo Cain,   è di celare la verità delle cose   issute.*

   lie, according to Caino, is to hide   the truth of.the things.F.PL been-F.PL

   'A lie, according to Caino, is to hide the truth of the things that have been'

   (Pucci, A., *Libro di varie storie*, 36.56)

(34) *la qual cosa, secondo   il detto de' savi astrolagi,   è segno di grandi novitadi*

the such thing, according.to the said of.the wise astrologers is sign   of great news

'which, according to what is said by the wise astrologers, is a sign of great news'

(Villani, G., *Nuova Cronica*, 6, 2)

(35) *guerreggiava   le terre   del detto duca, secondo   la comune boce*

he.was.waging.war.on the lands of.the said duke according.to the common voice

'he was waging war on the lands of the above mentioned duke, according to rumours'

(Villani, M. & F., *Cronica*, Libro 3, 20)

The scope of the *secondo NP* expression with reportative meaning can either be over constituents below the sentence level, or over the whole sentence, as in (32)-(34). An increase in scope can be understood as a feature of a higher degree of grammaticalisation (Traugott & Dasher, 2002).

The switch in scope has probably not been sudden, but instead it might have originated from situations in which there was an ambiguity in scope. It was presumably in contexts like (36) that an ambiguity was perceived regarding the scope of the adverbial and its meaning.

(36) *il secondo è da fuggire, secondo   la sentenza di Sofoldeo e di Senocrate,*

the second is to avoid, according.to the saying of Sopholdeus and Xenocrates

dicenti che è la lussuria da fuggire   come furiosa signora

saying that is the   lust   to flee.INF as   violent lady

'the second is to avoid, according to the saying of Sopholdeus and Xenocrates, who say that   lust is to be avoided as if she were a raging woman' (Boccaccio, G., *Filocolo*, 4,32)

In fact, under the conformity interpretation, the *secondo* adverbial may be thought of as indicating the principles in conformity to which it is necessary to avoid the element referred to as *il secondo* 'the second'. A reportative interpretation is facilitated by the subordinate clause modifying the NPs referring to the philosophers whose words are supposed to be followed and containing a verb of saying (*dicenti* 'saying.M.PL'). In the latter interpretation, the adverbial may be understood as having scope over the whole proposition, and the message *il secondo è da fuggire* may be ascribed to Sopholdeus and Xenocrates instead of the speaker. The presence of the lexeme *la sententia* 'the aphorism' highlights the reportative meaning component over the more general attribution of thoughts. There are contexts,

however, in which the reportative meaning seems to be the only one available (see example (34) above).

Besides the reportative construction, *secondo* enters another expression with sentential scope, which emerged as the Latin case system collapsed and functions expressed by case came to be expressed by PPs. Whereas in Early and Classical Latin[24] the speaker can use expressions like the ablative *mea sententia*, *meo iuditio* 'in my opinion' to reinforce the fact that what s/he utters corresponds to his/her own thought, and is not regarded as general truth or a report of someone else's words, Old Italian uses PPs headed by *secondo* where the complement is a word like *oppionione* (37), *parere* (38), *avviso* (all 'opinion'), *iudicio*, *giudizio* (both 'judgment').

(37)   *maggior festa fare   dee   di   te,   nè essere, secondo   la mia oppinione più allegro*

   greater feast   do.INF s/he.must than you, nor to.be, according.to the my opinion, more happy

   's/he has to celebrate more than you and should not be, in my opinion, happier'

   (Boccaccio, G., *Filocolo*, 3,5)

(38)   *le quali cose   con ciò sia cosa che, secondo   il mio   parere, sieno   in me*

   the such things despite.that   according.to the my opinion, be.SUBJV in me

   'despite the fact that I think that such things are in me'

   (Boccaccio, G., *Decameron*, Giornata 2, Novella 8)

In spite of the similarities between the *secondo NP* expression with reportative meaning and the signalling of personal opinion, it seems that the former is more related to the meaning of conformity at the logical level, while the latter seems to refer more to the interpersonal level, and is possibly linked to the limitative use of the *secondo NP* construction.

6 From Old Italian to Contemporary Italian

Research on contemporary Italian conducted on a sample from the *CORIS* corpus suggests that the uses of *secondo NP* are quite stable, while the innovative uses of *seguendo* (purposive, after (in time), after (consequence), after (in text)) seem to be lost. Among the physical domain, *secondo* has a very similar function to the preposition *lungo* 'along' (39):

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(39) *procedi   secondo   il canale*

       move.along following the canal

Moving on to the logical domain, both the meaning of conformity[25] (40) and co-variation (dependency and proportion) (41) are present, plus an 'intermediate' meaning of 'co-ordination of movement' between two entities (42), which can be treated as 'co-variation of position'.

(40) *agii   secondo   il piano previsto*

       I.acted according.to the plan foreseen

       'I acted in line with the pre-defined plan' (*CORIS*)

(41) *il ritmo   con cui   si   dimagrisce varia   da individuo   a individuo,*

       the rhythm with which REFL.3P loses.weight varies from individual to individual

       a seconda di   quanto   peso dovete   perdere

       depending.on   how.much weight you.PL.must lose

       'the speed with which one loses weight varies from person to person, depending on how   much weight one has to lose' (*CORIS*)

(42) *il girasole ruota   secondo   il sole*

       the sunflower turns.around according.to the sun (*CORIS*)

In the reportative use, the NP can be either a person's name, or an institution's (*la Corte* 'the Court') or nouns meaning 'data', 'information', 'sources' and similar (*i dati del Censis* 'the Census data', *recenti informazioni* 'recent information', *indiscrezioni* 'rumours', *alcune fonti* 'some sources', *un rapporto dell'Istat* 'an Istat report' etc.). The adverbial can be followed either by a direct quote or a re-elaboration/reinterpretation of the reported message.

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[24] With reference to this, it would be interesting to explore both Late Latin and Medieval Latin data.

[25] Unlike French *selon* 'according to' (i), which also occurs as an adverb with the meaning 'accordingly', Italian second is only a preposition.

Il   faudra   agir   selon

It   will.have.to   to.act   accordingly

'one will have to act accordingly', 'it will be necessary to act accordingly'

(43)   *a trarne   vantaggio,   secondo gli analisti,   saranno   i   mercati emergenti*

to take.from.it advantage   according.to   the analysts   will.be   the market emerging

'to turn the situation to profit, according to the analysts, will be the emerging markets' (*CORIS*)

Considering the corpora consulted so far[26], it can be tentatively suggested that the main innovation of Contemporary Italian seems to consist of the construction *secondo* + first/second person pronouns (*secondo me/noi*, *secondo te/voi*), co-existing with the more 'Latinate' forms *secondo il mio parere*, *secondo la mia opinione* 'in my opinion, in my view, for me'.

(44)   *secondo te,   perché molti giocatori italiani riescono comunque a piazzarsi ai primi?*

according.to   you,   why   many players   Italian   succeed anyway to come at.the first

'For you, why do many Italian players succeed in coming among the first classified anyway?' (*CORIS*)

(45)   *"secondo   me le due mancanze si   compensano a vicenda" disse Masson*

according.to me the two shortages REFL.3P compensate one.another said Masson

' "In my opinion, the two shortages compensate each other" said Masson' (*CORIS*)

It is not possible to carry out a detailed investigation of this construction's values on the basis of *CORIS* because of the extremely restricted context it allows to be recovered (160 character max.). A preliminary hypothesis is that such a construction fulfils a modal function (expressing opinion), and an evidential/inferential function (Giacalone Ramat & Topadze, 2007; Pietrandrea, 2007). On the basis of a preliminary exploration of a corpus of spoken Italian (*CORAL*) and examples similar to (44), it seems to be plausible to put forward the tentative observation that the *secondo* + first/second personal pronoun construction has also developed some functions typical of discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987; Traugott & Dasher, 2002). However, more systematic analysis needs to be carried out in this area.

So far, the analysis has concentrated only on diachronic considerations on *secondo* and *seguendo* by considering data from Latin, Old Italian and Contemporary Italian, leaving aside *a seconda di/che*. The development of this construction is described in section 7 below.

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[26] More information about Late Latin and Italian texts (1400- 1900) would be needed to support this claim.

7 The History of *A Seconda* (di/che)

Based on an exploration of *LIZ* encompassing the period XIII century – XXI century, it seems that the complex preposition *a seconda di* is first attested only in the XVI century. In the vast majority of cases identified in the 1500-1600 section, the expressions *a seconda* (*di/che*) appear to be mostly used in nautical contexts, where they indicate the movement of a vessel, either downstream on a river (46) or transported by the tide, or of people alongside elongated objects, such as a river, a shore, a road (47).

(46)   *la maggior parte dei   vescovi italiani si   mise in barca a seconda del*

the bigger part   of.the bishops Italian REFL.3P   put in boat   following

fiume Adice   per recarsi a Verona

the river Adige to   get   to Verona

'the majority of Italian bishops set off on a boat along the river Adige to get to Verona'

(Sarpi, P., *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, 4,41.1)

(47)   *non potendo   dar   notizia di sé   a quelli di Cevola, a seconda del fiume fan
                  ritorno   alle   navi*

not being.able.to give.INF news of REFL.3P to those of Cevola following the river they.do return   to.the ships

'given that they could not let Cevola's people know that they were there, they went back to   the ships walking along the river bank'

(Ramusio, G.B., *Relazione di Fernando Alarcon*, cap. 7)

In other cases, an object is described as being moved by the wind, as if it were transported by the flow of air.

(48)   *mi   abbandonavo   con tutto il corpo dondolante a seconda del vento*

REFL.1P was.abandoning with all   my body swinging   following the wind

'I let myself drop hanging down with all my body swinging along with the wind'

(Boito, A., *Le novelle*, Il Trapezio 75)

Already at this time, extensions were produced of the specific nautical situation involving objects moving along the flow of water and wind. These extensions are far from homogeneous, but they seem to cluster around two ideas, depending on the volitionality and degree of control of the item to which they apply:

(i)   volitional interpretation: an object or an individual moves[27] in the same direction of another, as the vessel moves in the same direction of water (49).

(49)   *Saffo   aveva sempre ... guardato a seconda della prora*

         Sapphus had   always   looked   towards   the prow

         'Sapphus had always ... looked in the direction of the prow'

         (Verri, A., *Le avventure di Saffo*, 2, 7)

(ii)   non-volitional interpretation: something obtains as the result of the individual being determined by abstract forces (e.g. sin, vice, passions, thoughts etc.) in the same way as vessels are dragged by the flow of water (50).

(50)   *Omero dovette   andare   a seconda de' sensi   tutti volgari*

         Homer must.PAST   go.INF   along.with sense-M.PL all vulgar-M.PL

         'Homer must have gone along with 'common' senses'

         (Vico, G.B., *Principi di scienza nuova*, 3, 1, 1)

Indeed, the very first instances of this meaning in the *LIZ* corpus, dating back to 1642[28], are found in the extreme context of sexual intercourse, in which individuals usually exhibit little rational control.

(51)   *è facile l'andar   a seconda di qualunque più stravagante capriccio*

         is easy the go.INF along.with   any   most eccentric   whim

         'it's easy to go along with any eccentric whim'

          (Pallavicino, F., *La retorica delle puttane*, Conclusion)

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[27] The verb *guardare* 'to look' shares some similarities with motion verbs.

[28] Three out of the four instances of *a seconda (di/che)* found in the 1600 section of *LIZ* belong to Pallavicino's *La retorica delle puttane* (1642). All three examples can be considered as either expressing a meaning of 'being dragged by' or a meaning of co-variation.

The situation in (i) cannot really be considered metaphorical insofar as it still involves physical movement, and is not conceptually very different from the original 'water and wind' examples. On the other hand, the situation in (ii) seems to require a major leap, moving from the physical domain into the mental domain. In this context the meaning component of 'movement' is not in focus, to the advantage of the idea of conformity/dependency. Such a meaning becomes stronger with the use of volitional mental verbs, as in (52) and (53):

(52)   *ella spesso e   a seconda de' suoi pensieri apertamente ragionava*

she often and following   her thoughts openly   used.to.reason

'she used to talk openly and often, going along with her thoughts/in conformity with her   thoughts, i.e. speaking her mind'

(Verri, A., *Le avventure di Saffo*, 3, 5)

(53)   *giudica… a seconda delle sue passioni*

judges   following   his passions

'he judges… according to his passions' (Tasso, T., *Lettere*, G1561)

Taking a closer look at the data, it seems that while more abstract meanings appear later and consolidate over time, other more concrete meanings disappear.[29]

TABLE 1. Shift in meaning of the a seconda (di/che) adverbials.

Period (*LIZ*)	1500-1600		1700		1800		1900	
Meaning	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Nautical	42	**91**	4	**19**	5	**5**	0	**0**
Be transported or dragged	3	**7**	3	**14**	2	**2**	0	**0**
Dependency/Conformity	1	**2**	9	**43**	86	**85**	20	**83**
Incomplete	0	**0**	5	**24**	8	**8**	4	**17**
Total	46	**100**	21	**100**	101	**100**	24	**100**

raw figures, % percentage over the total number of instances retrieved within each subcorpus.

As for the two closely related meanings 'in accordance with' and 'depending on', statistical data on such restricted figures would only allow very tentative statements. However, these data mildly support the native speaker intuitions that *a seconda (di/che)* is a marker of

relations of co-variation or dependency in contemporary Italian. Historical data shown in Table 2 seem to suggest such a trend: in 1700 the two meanings are almost equally attested, while *a seconda (di/che)* came to code the relation of dependency more and more often during 1800 and 1900.

TABLE 2. Conformity and dependency expressed by a seconda(che/di).

Period (*LIZ*)	1500-1600		1700		1800		1900	
Meaning	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**
Conformity	0	**0**	4	**19**	15	**15**	1	**4**
Dependency	1	**2**	5	**24**	71	**70**	19	**79**
Others	45	**98**	12	**57**	15	**15**	4	**17**
Total	46	**100**	21	**100**	101	**100**	24	**100**

\# raw figures, % percentage over the total number of instances retrieved within each subcorpus.

In the XIX century, *a seconda* came to codify a relationship of dependency appearing as a holophrase in response to yes/no questions in a way that parallels the more common *dipende* 'it depends' (54).

(54)　　- *Senti freddo d'inverno? - A seconda… - rispose egli indifferente*

You.feel cold in winter　　depending　　replied he indifferent

'- Do you feel cold in winter? – It depends… - he replied with an air of indifference'

(Pirandello, L., *Appendice alle novelle*, La signorina, 5)

This adverbial use of *a seconda* shows that the only meaning attached to the construction is purely abstract, indicating only a relation of dependency, whose participants can be inferred in context.

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[29] It cannot be excluded that the original meaning of *a seconda di* is retained in Contemporary Italian, at least in specialised nautical jargon. However, an initial exploration of the Internet did not support such a view.

8 Concluding Remarks

This paper aimed at providing an insight into the grammaticalisation path FOLLOW (V) > ACCORDING TO (PREP) by looking at data from Latin and Italian.

Firstly, morpho-syntactic considerations were put forward showing evidence of decategorialisation, one of the concurrent phenomena connected to grammaticalisation. Secondly, at the phonetic level, no evidence of erosion was found, but looking at the root vowels in Latin *secundum* vs *sequendum* allowed a relative chronology to be established between the two. Thirdly, semantic bleaching and meaning extension were identified through a semantic analysis, revealing three clusters of meaning, namely a spatial-temporal area ('behind', 'along', after', 'during'), a logical area (co-variation and conformity) and a modal-evidential-interpersonal area (reportative use, inferential use, expression of uncertainty, discourse marker). Bridging contexts were also pointed out, promoting context-induced reinterpretation. Finally, cross-linguistic evidence relative to the grammaticalisation chain V > PREP and the hypothesis of localism helped postulate the V > PREP functional split and establish a chronological order of appearance between the spatio-temporal meanings on the one hand and the logical, modal, evidential and interpersonal uses on the other.

Despite the fact that these initial results may sound promising, the analysis carried out here also shows some limitations. In fact, this study is based on three corpora, two of which contain only literary language. The periods considered for *secundum/secondo* are also very far apart from one another (about 700-1000 years), and the emergence of some phenomena might have been completely overlooked. In particular, it would be very interesting to take a closer look at Late Latin, to see whether some of the meanings that are found in Old Italian can actually be backdated.

Furthermore, it would be necessary to go beyond the sentence level in order to disentangle the modal and evidential values of *secondo me*, and better understand its functions as a discourse marker.

Finally, cross-linguistic investigation would show whether other languages exhibit a similar evolution pattern or point out alternative possible paths. Although on the basis of Italian it was possible to identify clusters of meanings, only cross-linguistic analysis would allow preferred multifunctionality patterns and directions of change to be outlined.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1P = first person, 3P = third person, ADP = adposition, ADV = adverb, DAT = dative, F = feminine, GER = gerund, HORT = hortative particle, INF = infinitive, M = masculine, NP = noun phrase, O = Object, PL = plural, PP = prepositional phrase, PREP = preposition, PST= past, REFL = reflexive, S = sentence, SUBJV= subjunctive, TOP = topic, V = verb