Reportative evidentiality, attribution and epistemic modality: A corpus-based diachronic study of Latin *secundum* NP ('according to NP')

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Abstract

Based on data drawn from the *Latin Library* corpus, this paper discusses some previously under-researched meanings of the *secundum* NP construction and traces their evolution across a period of over 800 years. The discussion focuses on the meanings of reportative evidentiality and a new conceptual category called "attribution", whose function consists in ascribing a proposition to someone's mental content (opinion, thought or belief). Two sub-categories of attribution are identified: other-attribution and self-attribution. Whereas the former is modal epistemic in nature, the latter is not. The data analysed in this paper suggest that the attribution and reportative meanings are distinct senses, as evidenced by their different semantic/pragmatic functions, development paths and preferences for different sets of arguments. Particular attention is paid to the spread of Christianity as a relevant socio-cultural context for the emergence of reportative constructions. From a pragmatic/interactional point of view, the notion of interpersonal evidentiality plays a central role in the emergence of the reportative evidential sense. Abstracting away from the case of the Latin *secundum* NP ('according to' NP) construction, this paper argues that both reportative evidentiality and attribution presuppose extended intersubjectivity and are deictic categories, even if they convey different meanings.

Keywords

Historical, Latin, evidentiality, attribution, epistemic, metonymy

Abbreviations

1P First person; 3P Third person; ABL Ablative; ACC Accusative; COMPTV Comparative; F Feminine; FUT Future; GEN Genitive; GER Gerund; INF Infinitive; IND Indicative; M Masculine; N Neuter; NOM Nominative; PL Plural; PASS Passive; PLUPERF Pluperfect; POSS Possessive; PRF Perfect; PRS Present; REL Relative pronoun; SBJV Subjunctive; SG Singular.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Using a narrow definition of evidentiality as a grammatical category (Jakobson [1957]1963/2002, Anderson 1986, Willett 1988, Guentchéva 1996, Aikhenvald 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2007, Guentchéva & Landaburu 2007), Latin can be considered a language without evidentiality. However, based on a notional understanding of this category, defined on semantic/pragmatic grounds (e.g. Givón 1982, Mithun 1986, Jacobsen 1986, Ramat 1996, Ramat & Ricca 1998, Wiemer 2005, 2006, Pietrandrea 2007, Squartini 2007, Pietrandrea & Stathi 2010, Disney 2012), I claim that Latin does express reportative evidentiality (see also Magni 2010 and Greco 2013).

This article discusses the rise of the reportative evidential meaning of the *secundum* ('according to') NP construction, a PP which has been so far under-explored in Latin studies on prepositions (Pinkster 1972: 145 ff., 1990: 65-72, Baldi 1979, 1999: 358-360, Lehmann 1983, Luraghi 1989, Joseph 1991, Baños Baños 1994, Vincent 1999, Bubenìk 2006, Martìn Puente & Conde Salazar 2006, 2012, 2014, 2015, Luraghi's 2010, Brucale & Mocciaro 2011, Short 2013, Trabelsi 2014, 2015), the only exceptions being the rather sketchy observations in Matos Rocha (1998), Vieira Ferrari (1998) and Heine & Kuteva (2002: 139).

In this paper, reportative constructions, expressing the source of information the speaker has for uttering a proposition, are contrasted with attribution expressions. Within the function of attribution, two sub-domains are identified: by using other-attribution constructions, the speaker assigns a proposition to someone other than him/herself, whereas by using self-attribution constructions, the speaker ascribes a proposition to him/herself. Under a definition of epistemic modality as a subjective performative category, self-attribution expressions are modal epistemic in nature, whereas other-attribution ones are not. The functional similarities shared between self-attribution and other-attribution expressions allow us to account for the fact that in some languages one and the same construction can express both (e.g. Italian *secondo* 'according to' NP).

1.2 Theoretical preliminaries: Evidentiality and attribution

As mentioned in section 1.1 above, I share a view of evidentiality as a conceptual category instead of a grammatical one. The core function of evidentiality is to present a proposition to the addressee, signalling how the speaker has acquired it (see Tantucci 2013 for a similar view). Reportative evidentiality is a sub-category indicating that the source of information a speaker has for uttering a proposition is something communicated by someone else (in speech or writing). The English *according to* NP expressions in sentences (1) and (2) below qualify a statement made by the writer, who indicates his/her source of information. Therefore, *according to [the] police* in (1) and *according to our correspondent* in (2) are reportative evidential constructions.

(1)   Man arrested after he beheaded his 'nagging' mother, **according to police**. (Levi Winchester, *Express*, 2nd January 2015)[1]

(2)   Security sources say the situation has never been so grim, said BBC home affairs correspondent Margaret Gilmore. […] Each cell has a leader, a quartermaster dealing with weapons, and volunteers. **According to our correspondent**, each cell works on separate, different plots, with masterminds controlling several different cells. (Author unknown, "UK 'number one al-Qaeda target'", *BBC News*, 19th October 2006)[2]

Attribution, on the other hand, is a semantic category expressing that the speaker explicitly assigns a certain proposition to a person who may or may not be directly involved in the speech situation (speaker, hearer, third party). Crucially, this ascribed proposition, understood as someone's mental content (thought, opinion, belief etc.), need not be overtly communicated to the speaker, who may simply infer, guess or even invent it. *In his eyes* in (3) and *for him/for her* in (4) qualify the modified statements as the opinions held by someone other than the writer.

(3)   Butler had shown a keen personal interest in the preparation of the White Paper which underwent at least four drafts before it reached the finished version. **In his eyes** it came to rank on a par with his Education White Paper of 1943. (BNC 44 EEC)

(4)   **For him**, Ireland was best served by deep cultural transformation; **for her**, the first requirement was for bombs and bullets. (BNC 9 AK4)

The conceptual category of attribution can be split into two sub-domains: other-attribution and self-attribution. In the case of other-attribution, a proposition is assigned by the speaker to someone else, be it a third party as in (1) and (2) above, or the hearer as in (5), below.

(5)   The language of desire is rich and complex. It excludes you. **For you**, desire is a mobile flung in all directions and getting nowhere. (BNC 36 C9S)

Self-attribution can be seen as a particular case of other-attribution, when the speaker construes him/herself as "split" or "divided" in two (Lakoff 1996, Talmy 2000) and assigns a proposition to the rational part of him/herself (conceived of as a separate individual).

(6)   This comment was, **in my opinion**, justified. (BNC 97 FD2)
(7)   **To my mind**, age does not matter; love is what matters. (BNC 6G1A)
(8)   **In my eyes** it's the hardest hole on the course. (BNC ASA W_misc)
(9)   **For me** Ilona is one of the world's great artists. (BNC 14 AHA)

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[1] Available at http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/549820/Man-beheaded-nagging-mother. Accessed October 1st 2015.
[2] Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6065460.stm. Accessed October 1st 2015.

Evidential expressions can be paraphrased as *I have come to know that p [based on <source of information>]* whereas attribution expressions can be paraphrased *someone thinks that p* (other-attribution), *I think that p* (self-attribution).

Self-attribution constructions express epistemic modality, understood as a performative category conveying the speaker's subjective evaluation of a state of affairs (commitment or likelihood of occurrence). In contrast, other-attribution expressions, being descriptive and not performative (see Nuyts 2001a: 39 for a definition of these terms) are non-epistemic in nature.

Some constructions express both other-attribution and reportative evidentiality: a case in point is the Italian *secondo* 'according to' NP construction, with the NP indexing someone other than the speaker (second person, third person). The meaning relation between other-attribution and reportative evidentiality can be expressed as follows: if the speaker has obtained a piece of information from someone else, s/he may construct this knowledge as a thought entertained by the person who passed the information on. Crucially, the opposite does not hold: other-attribution does not entail reportative evidentiality. In the case of constructions expressing both meanings, it is crucial to examine the pragmatic intention of the speaker, which emerges in context. In order to achieve this, usage-based research, including corpus-based studies, is more suitable than introspection or the examination of occurrences in isolation.

Self-attribution expresses the fact that a speaker ascribes a certain proposition to him/herself as mental content (thought, opinion, belief) instead of presenting it as a factual statement. Such expressions impart the speaker's viewpoint on a proposition, which may be interpreted as expressing doubt or uncertainty on the factuality of a state of affairs, but really convey the speaker's commitment to the modified proposition (whose factuality is not asserted).

Self-attribution expressions can also convey inferential evidentiality (e.g. Pietrandrea 2007 on Italian *secondo me* 'in my view', lit. 'according to me'), but since this is not the case in my data-set, I shall not concern myself with this meaning here.

1.3 Previous scholarship and contribution to the theoretical debate

Attribution is a semantic/pragmatic category which has not been previously identified in the literature. The notion of attribution as used in this paper bears some resemblance to the notions of "attribution" in Sinclair (1988), Hunston (2000), and Bednarek (2006), but it is intended as a conceptual category rather than a discursive strategy. The term "attribution" is also used by Sanders (2008: 58), who defines the concept of "perspective" as a function expressing the "attribution of the validity claim of some units of information to a particular person in the narrative" (i.e. a character) (see also Sanders & Redeker 1996 and the related concept of "perspectivisation" in Sanders & Spooren 1997). Also, for Sanders, perspective is a discursive/narratological concept. Rosier (2008) uses the term "attribution" to refer to the function of reported speech, whereas my understanding here

is narrower and does not encompass constructions with a reporting verb (whether explicit or contextually/co-textually available). Attribution is also similar to the notion of "inferred thought" (Semino & Short 2004), falling under the category of reported thought. However, as the authors themselves admit, this notion involves no reporting. The concept of attribution employed here also bears similarities to White's "endorsements" (2003: 270), the main difference being that attribution does not necessarily signal the speaker's commitment to the attributed proposition (see section 1.2, above). The concept of attribution is also similar to the function called "judicantis" (Dressler 1970, van Hoecke 1996, Draye 1996, Haspelmath 2003). However, "judicantis" seems to indicate a close relationship with the experiencer and beneficiary roles, which may be language specific. Finally, attribution bears some similarities to the notion of "ascription" in Nuyts (2001a: 131 and 114, fn.5) but not elsewhere (2001a: 25, 78, 212), where it indicates dynamic modality or cause. The concept of attribution as proposed in this paper is radically different from the meaning of the term in psychology, where it indicates the process through which a person identifies and refers to the causes of behaviours and events (see 'attribution theory' in Heider 1958, Jones & Davis 1965, Kelley 1967, Weiner 1992; see Gordon & Graham 2006 for a review). The term "attribution" in my research is also used differently than in the Gricean analysis of comprehension as a mind-reading activity, within theory of mind (Wilson & Sperber 2005).

The conceptual category of attribution is a novel category introduced in this article to account for some uses of 'according to' NP which would not be otherwise adequately captured by either reportative evidentiality or epistemic modality (see infra), as evidenced by the case study on *secundum* NP discussed here. Being a novel category, "attribution" has not been the topic of any dedicated studies to date. Similarly, I am not aware of any study focussing specifically on 'according to' constructions.

My case study shows that attribution and evidentiality are separate categories appearing at different points in time and via different paths. These are analysed in turn in sections 2 and 3 below. Investigating the diachronic development of the reportative meaning brings into focus the socio-historical dimension in which it emerged (sections 2.2 and 2.3). The analysis of the cultural context of early Christianity lends support to the development of this meaning out of the meaning of conformity via extended intersubjectivity (interpersonal evidentiality) (section 2.2.4), a heretofore under-researched path suggested in Tantucci (2013). My study elaborates on and refines the fleeting suggestion in Wiemer (2005: 115) that there may be a connection between conformity and reportative evidentiality (see section 2.2.4 below).

Many studies based on a conceptual/functional definition of evidentiality show a lexicographic approach aiming at testing the semantics of lexical units for evidential meaning, with the intention of constructing an inventory of evidential expressions (Wiemer 2010: 66; see also Wiemer 2005, 2006; Giacalone Ramat & Topadze 2007; Pietrandrea 2007; Squartini 2008). Some studies rely on a dichotomy between lexicon and grammar (e.g. Dendale & Van Bogaert 2007, Squartini 2008), whereas others view

them on a cline (e.g. Wiemer 2010, Wiemer & Stathi 2010). Ultimately, inventories of (more or fewer) lexical units are compared with inventories of grammatical evidential markers in order to refine and achieve consensus on one or more evidentiality models/systems (Willett 1998, Frawley 1992, Plungian 2001, Aikhenvald 2004).

After blossoming in the 2000s, the investigation of lexical evidentiality seems to have lost considerable momentum. This paper suggests that there is still potential in this field, provided that the focus is shifted towards the socio-cultural context for the emergence of lexical evidentials, and that the pragmatic/interactional motivations for evidential usage are explored further. A crucial point in many studies on lexical evidentiality is the relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality (e.g. De Haan 1999, Squartini 2004, Pietrandrea 2007, Cornillie 2009). My research suggests also that the relationship between evidentiality and attribution would be an interesting area to investigate in greater detail. In fact, the category of attribution was previously overlooked altogether or erroneously conflated with evidentiality (Pietrandrea 2007, Wiemer 2010).

1.4 Data and method

The analysis in this chapter is based on data drawn from the *Latin Library* corpus, a 12M-word POS-tagged resource created by Andrew Hardie and me at Lancaster University with digital materials gathered by William L. Carey (George Mason University and the University of Maryland) and structured for analysis in the CQP workbench (Hardie 2012). The *Latin Library* corpus is freely available on the UCREL website (https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/).

This corpus includes literary production (and some documents) written over a 1,130-year period, ranging from 285 BC to 845 AD, and encompasses both prose and poetry. My analysis focuses on prose only.

The internal periodisation of the corpus comprises nine periods (285-149 BC; 106 BC - 17 AD; 4 BC - 140 AD; 100-258; 250-350; 330-469; 474-580; 530-704; 672-845), each lasting an average of 139 years. For reasons of feasibility, my study is based on four periods only:[3] Classical Latin (106 BC - 17 AD), Silver Latin (100-258), Late Latin (330-469) and Early Medieval Latin (530-704) (see table 1, below).

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[3] The name chosen for each period is just a label, which does not reflect the traditional periodisation used in Latin literature or the history of Latin, which are: (a) Early/Archaic/Old Latin (241-78 BC), (b) Golden/Classical Latin (78 BC-17 AD), (c) Silver Latin (14-117), and (d) Late/Christian/Vulgar/Brazen Latin (117-476 or 117-845). These traditional labels are based on the perceived quality (gold-silver-bronze) or content (Pagan-Christian) of the works produced over time, whereas my labels are neutral in this respect. Furthermore, the traditional periodisations produce time spans of different lengths, which are difficult to compare. Instead, my periodisation results in periods of similar lengths, with a range (i.e. the difference between the longest and shortest period) of only 74 years in contrast to the periodisations by Conte (1994; range = 249 years), Mazzini (2007; range = 433 years) and Clackson (2011; range = 700 years). In sum, the *Latin Library* corpus provides more uniformly spaced data points than the previous periodisations.

Within this sub-corpus (amounting to 6,138,896 words), a random sample of 250 instances per period was analysed, with the exception of the Early Medieval period only featuring a population of 140 occurrences, thus yielding a total sample of 890. This is a representative sample of the expected occurrences of *secundum* NP, which is estimated to be between 2,263 and 2,356.

Within this 890-word sample, I identified 100 instances of *secundum* NP with reportative or attribution meaning. Their distribution is shown in table 1 below. In the category of attribution, the sub-category of other-attribution is attested throughout, whereas self-attribution is rare and attested only in Silver Latin (see table 2, below). The results presented in this chapter rely on a qualitative analysis only.

	Classical Latin 106 BC-17 AD	Silver Latin 100-258		Late Latin 330-469		Early Medieval Latin 530-704			Total out of 890
	#,%	#	%	#	%	# out of 140	# normed to 250	%	
Attribution	0	12	4.8	6	2	12	21.42	8.6	30
Reportative Evidentiality	0	42	16.8	10	4	18	32.14	12.9	70
Total	0	54	21.6	16	6	30	53.56	21.5	100

Table 1. Frequency of *secundum* NP with reportative and attribution meanings.

	Silver Latin 100-258	
	#	%
Self-Attribution	4	1.6
Other-Attribution	8	3.2
Reportative Evidentiality	42	16.8

Table 2. Self-attribution and other-attribution in Silver Latin (Tertullian).

This paper is organised as follows. Sections 2 and 3 compare and contrast reportative and attribution expressions. Section 2.1 examines the arguments taken by the two constructions. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 discuss the emergence of the reportative meaning, and the micro-construction *evangelium secundum* N$_{evangelist}$ 'the Gospel according to', respectively. Next, section 3 describes the emergence of attribution constructions, focussing on the distinction between other- and self-attribution. Section 4 examines attribution expressions in contexts of contrast. Section 5 goes beyond the specific facts of Latin to present a theoretical discussion of the categories of attribution and reportative evidentiality in relation to the concept of extended intersubjectivity. Finally, section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Reportative evidentiality

2.1 Arguments of reportative and attribution *secundum* NP

The arguments of *secundum* NP with reportative meaning have 'information' as a salient meaning component. This is clear in the case of arguments meaning 'spoken or written media', such as *praedicatio* 'prophecy', *prophetia* 'prophecy', *psalmum* 'psalm', *Scripturae* 'Scriptures', and *dictum* 'saying'. For instance:

(10) ***Secundum   evangeli-um***
      According.to   Gospel-ACC.N.SG
      'According to the Gospel' = 'according to the information in the Gospel' (Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5, 6, 7)

If an argument of *secundum* indicates a human participant, for instance *propheta* 'the prophet', *Daniel* 'Daniel', and *quisdam* 'someone', by metonymy this is to be understood here as 'the information conveyed by a person' (cfr. Wiemer 2007: 186 for a similar analysis regarding Lithuanian *pagal* 'according to').

(11) ***Secundum   apostol-um***
      According.to   apostle-ACC.M.SG
      'According to what the apostle said/wrote.' (Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 3, 24, 11)

The central notion of attribution is that of 'mental content' (thought, belief, opinion), which is reflected in the set of arguments taken by *secundum* NP with attribution function: two examples are *opinio* 'opinion' and *consilium* 'opinion' (one occurrence of each word in the Silver Latin sample only). Also nouns indicating person or personified God appear as complements of *secundum* (e.g. *homines* 'human beings', *Cicero* 'Cicero', *Deus* 'God'): for these human participants, a metonymy is active whereby a person stands in place of his/her thoughts, beliefs or opinions. This metonymy is different than the one active in contexts of reportative evidentiality, which suggests that different construal operations are in place for the two meanings.

2.2 Emergence of the reportative meaning

This section analyses various reportative constructions in order to offer a possible account of how this meaning emerged and evolved during the history of Latin. The reconstruction proposed here suggests that the reportative sense stemmed from the conformity meaning of *secundum* NP with VP scope. My analysis also argues for the importance of the socio-cultural context connected to the spread of Christianity as a key factor for the language change examined.

Overall, my study argues for a gradual emergence of the reportative meaning via inference (a metonymical process, as suggested in Traugott & Dasher 2002: 78 ff.), instead of supporting the idea of the metaphorical leap THOUGHT IS TRAVEL, suggested in the literature (Vieira Ferrari 1998, Matos Rocha 1998).

In order to reconstruct a possible evolution of the reportative meaning of *secundum* NP, it is necessary to identify three sub-categories of reportative constructions, which contrast with one another on semantic and syntactic grounds. First, there are *secundum* NP expressions used in contexts of prophecy; second, such expressions appear in non-prophecy contexts; and third, there is the partly filled construction *evangelium secundum* N$_{evangelist}$ 'the Gospel according to N$_{evangelist}$'(e.g. *evangelium secundum Marcum* 'the Gospel according to Mark'). I argue that the first two constructions possibly arose out of the conformity meaning via extended intersubjective uses, whereas the expression *evangelium secundum* N$_{evangelist}$ emerged through a different path, i.e. as a calque from Biblical Greek.

2.2.1 Prophecy contexts

In this section and 2.2.2 below, I claim that the reportative sense of *secundum* NP emerged in close connection to the meaning of conformity (exemplified in 12 and 13 below). The conformity meaning is the most frequent meaning of *secundum* NP throughout the history of Latin (91/250 occurrences in Classical Latin, 36.4%; 156/250 in Silver Latin, 62.4%; 148/250 occurrences in Late Latin, 59.2%; and 82/250 occurrences, normalised data, in Early Medieval Latin, 32.8%). This meaning captures a 'logical' relation of compliance between two entities.

(12)　　*Ita fin-is*　　　*bon-orum*　　*exist-it,*　　　　　**secundum**　　　**natur-am**
　　　　So end-NOM.F.SG　good-GEN.N.PL exist-IND.PRS.3P.SG　in.accordance.with　nature-ACC.F.SG
　　　　viv-ere.
　　　　live-INF.PRS
　　　　'Thus arises "the end of goods", namely to live in accordance with nature.' (Cicero, *De Finibus* 5, 24)

(13)　　*Accep-erat*　　　　　　　　　*a*　　*domin-o*　　*su-o…*　　　　　*disciplin-am*
　　　　Took(PRF)-IND.PLUPERF.3P.SG　from God-ABL.M.SG POSS.3P.SG-ABL.M.SG rule-ACC.F.SG
　　　　secundum　　　**leg-em**　　　*viv-endi.*
　　　　in.accordance.with *law*-ACC.F.SG　live-GEN.GER
　　　　'He had received from his Lord… the rule to live according to the law.' (Tertullian, *Liber Scorpiace* 5, 11)

The crucial context for the extension of *secundum* NP from conformity to reportative evidentiality appears in Christian Latin (i.e. from the second century AD onwards), specifically in theological treatises mentioning events fulfilling Biblical prophecies. The realisation of such prophecies is crucial for Christians (and Jews) as proof validating the divine inspiration of the Bible. Specifically, for Christians, many prophecies which find their accomplishment in the person and the life of Jesus are regarded as proof that he is indeed the Messiah. These prophecies link the Old to the New Testament by viewing the

latter as fulfilling the former. One clear example of this is found in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed[4] (381 AD).

(14) *Cred-o…*   *in un-um*   *Domin-um*   *Ies-um*
      Believe-IND.PRS.1P.SG   in one-ACC.M.SG.   Lord-ACC.M.SG   Jesus-ACC.M.SG
      Christ-um…   *qu-i…*   *resurrex-it*   *terti-a*
      Christ-ACC.M.SG   REL-NOM.M.SG.   resurrect(PRF)-IND.PRF.3P.SG   third- ABL.F.SG
      die,   ***secundum***   ***Scriptur-as.***
      day(ABL.F.SG)   according.to   Scripture-ACC.F.PL
      'I believe in Jesus Christ, our (lit. the only) Lord, who rose <from the dead> on the third day, according to the Scriptures.' (Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, 381, *Missale Romanum*, editio typica tertia, 2002)

Sentence (14) above affords three interpretations. According to the first, the writer wants to communicate that the event codified in the predicate took place as a fulfilment of what was foretold in a prophetic text ('the Scriptures'). For convenience I refer to this sense as a 'narrow' conformity meaning, because of its narrow scope over constituents below the sentence, typically the VP. The *secundum* NP construction in (14) encodes a manner specification of the verb (answering the question *In what way did Christ resurrect?*). This reading can be rendered with the paraphrase in (15):

(15) I believe in Jesus Christ, our Lord, who [[[rose] [from the dead] [on the third day]] [*fulfilling/accomplishing* the Scriptures]].

The second possible interpretation for (14) is that the state of affairs encoded in the whole relative clause holds in conformity to what is written in the Bible. For convenience I refer to this sense as a 'broad' conformity reading, because of its broad scope over the whole sentence. This interpretation can be rendered as in (16):

(16) I believe in Jesus Christ, our Lord, [[who rose from the dead on the third day], [*as is written* in the Scriptures]].

The third interpretation of *secundum* NP in (14) is evidential-reportative. Under this reading, the speaker qualifies his/her source of information for the state of affairs coded in the whole sentence, which s/he clearly has not witnessed directly. The knowledge of this state of affairs is qualified as learnt from the Bible. Just like in the case of the broad conformity interpretation paraphrased in (16), the scope here is sentential. The reportative reading can be rendered as in (17):

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[4] The Creed was originally written in Greek, and then translated into Latin. However, as Criniti (2014) points out, there is a lack of contemporary written tradition of the Creed in Latin. Criniti (ibid.) observes that this lack of documentation was justified in late antiquity and Early Medieval works by the fact that the Creed was considered so sacred that it would be blasphemous to write it down; hence, oral transmission was preferred. Therefore, the first complete Latin transcription of the Creed is quite late (Cesarius, bishop of Arles, *ante* 542; see also Rufinus of Aquileia, *Commentarium Symbolum Apostolorum*, end of the fourth century). The Latin translation included here is from the *Missale Romanum*, *editio typica tertia* (2002).

(17)   I believe in Jesus Christ, our Lord, [[who rose from the dead on the third day], [*which I know/have learnt based on* the Scriptures]].

Examples of contexts in which all three interpretations are available can be found in Silver and Late Latin, but not in Classical Latin where the only possible interpretation is one of narrow conformity, i.e. a meaning pertaining to the logical domain and not to the interpersonal sphere.

A similar example to (14) above, but showing 'person' as the NP argument of *secundum*, is (18) below, taken from the Silver Latin section of the *Latin Library* corpus (second-third century AD):

(18)   *Denique ostend-amus   et   ven-isse   iam   Christ-um*
        In.fact   show-SBJV.PRS.1P.PL also come-INF.PRF already Christ-ACC.M.SG
        secundum   prophet-as…
        according.to   prophet-ACC.PL
        (Tertullian, *Adversus Iudaeos*, 13, 8).
        (a) in fact let us show that Christ is already come as foretold through the prophets/accomplishing what the prophets wrote (narrow conformity).
        (b) in fact let us show that Christ is already come, as the prophets said/wrote (broad conformity).
        (c) in fact let us show that Christ is already come, which I know because of what the prophets wrote (reportative).

The first interpretation available for *secundum* NP in example (18) is one of conformity with narrow scope on the verb (18a). Here *secundum prophetas* is a manner modifier of the verb, answering the question *How did Christ come?* The second interpretation is one of broad conformity with wide scope over the sentence (18b). The third is reportative, signalling the source of information available to the writer for his statement *venisse iam Christum* 'Christ has already come' (18c).

A further example in which all three interpretations of *secundum* NP are available is (19) below, from Late Latin, for which both a narrow (19a) and a broad conformity meaning (19b) are available, as well as the reportative interpretation (19c).

(19)   *Ita enim ven-iat…   **secundum   auctoritat-em***   *qu-ae*
        So truly come-SBJV.PRS.3P.SG   according.to authority-ACC.F.SG   REL-NOM.F.SG
        in Act-ibus   Apostol-orum   contin-etur.
        in act-ABL.M.SG   apostle-GEN.M.PL contain-IND.PRS.3P.SG.PASS
        (Augustine, *De fide et symbolo*).
        (a) He [[will come back] fulfilling the authoritative testimony which is contained in the Acts] (narrow conformity).
        (b) [[He will come back] in accordance with what is said in the authoritative testimony which is contained in the Acts] (broad conformity).
        (c) [He will come back] – I know it because it is said in the authoritative testimony which is contained in the Acts (reportative).
        [Note: here 'authority' is understood as 'authoritative testimony'.]

2.2.2 Non-prophecy contexts

Alongside contexts of prophecy, from Silver Latin onwards there are also non-prophecy contexts in which the reportative meaning of *secundum* NP is nevertheless available, alongside the meaning of broad conformity. Unlike in prophecy-contexts, the meaning of narrow conformity is not available. A clear example of this is (20) from Late Latin:

(20)   **Secundum   Luc-am**…   *non… hoc   dic-it*
According.to   Luke-ACC.SG   not   this.ACC.N.SG   say-IND.PRS.3P.SG -
domin-us…
God-NOM.M.SG
'According to Luke, the Lord did not say this.' (Augustine, *Sermones* 71, 34)

The meanings of broad conformity and reportative evidentiality can be contrasted effectively through the translations in (21) and (22):

(21)   *In accordance with what Luke wrote*, the Lord did not say this.
(22)   The Lord did not say this – *I know it based on/because of* what Luke wrote.

The unacceptability of the translation in (23) shows that the meaning of narrow conformity is not available for (20):

(23)   *The Lord did not say this *fulfilling/accomplishing what Luke wrote*.

Other examples of non-prophecy contexts are found in Silver Latin (24), Late Latin (25), and Early Medieval Latin (26).

(24) *Jes-us*…   **secundum** *nostr-um*   **evangeli-um**
Jesus-NOM.M.SG   according.to POSS.1P.PL-ACC.N.SG   Gospel-ACC.N.SG
diabol-us   *quoque in temptation-e*   *cognov-it…*
devil-NOM.M.SG   even   in   temptation-ABL.F.SG   know(PRF)-IND.PRF.3P.SG
(Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5, 6, 7)
'Even the Devil at the temptation knew who Jesus was – according to our Gospel.'
(a) [[Even the Devil at the temptation knew who Jesus was] in accordance with what is written in our Gospel] (broad conformity)
(b) [[Even the Devil at the temptation knew who Jesus was,] a fact I know because it is written in our Gospel] (reportative evidentiality)

(25) *"Primogenit-us"*   *utique "a   mortu-is"*   **secundum**
First.born-NOM.M.SG   surely   from dead-ABL.M.PL   according.to
eundem   **apostol-um.**
the.same-ACC.M.SG   apostle-ACC.M.SG
(Augustine, *De Trinitate* 14, 19, 24)
'<He was> "The first born" surely "among the dead" – according to the very Apostle'
(a) [[<He was> "The first born" surely "among the dead"] – in accordance with what the Apostle said/wrote] (broad conformity)
(b) [<He was> "The first born" surely "among the dead"] – I know it because of what the Apostle said/wrote] (reportative evidentiality)

(26) *Praeterea **secundum Victorin-um** enthymemat-is*
Moreover according.to Victorinus-ACC.M.SG enthymeme-GEN.SG
est alter-a definitio.
is other-NOM.F.SG definition(NOM.F.SG)
(Isidore, *Etymologiae* 2, 9.14)
'Moreover, there is another definition of the enthymeme, according to Victorinus.'
(a) [[Moreover, there is another definition of the enthymeme,] in accordance with what Victorinus says] (broad conformity)
(b) [[Moreover, there is another definition of the enthymeme,] which I know because of what Victorinus wrote] (reportative evidentiality)

As examples (24)-(26) demonstrate, the narrow conformity meaning, providing a manner specification of the verb phrase, is unavailable in contexts not related to prophecy. For this reason, I argue that the *secundum* NP construction in these contexts is less tightly related to its logical meaning of conformity, which has scope over the VP.

2.2.3 Chronology

Table 3 below shows that the reportative meaning of *secundum* NP is absent in Classical Latin, and emerges in Silver Latin as an extension of the narrow conformity meaning. The table also shows that in Early Medieval Latin, there is a separation between the narrow conformity meaning on the one hand and the reportative meaning on the other, which is still compatible with the broad conformity meaning. This reflects the lack of prophecy contexts in my Early Medieval Latin corpus.[5] Overall, the data suggest that the reportative meaning does not acquire full independence from the conformity meaning.

		Classical	Silver	Late	Early Medieval
Conformity adjunct	(a) **narrow conformity** meaning with scope on the VP *Example: The judge punishes **according to the law**.*	x	x	x	x
Prophecy contexts (adjunct, disjunct)	(a) **narrow conformity** meaning with scope on the VP (b) **broad conformity** meaning with scope over S (c) **reportative** meaning with scope over S *Example: Christ arose on the third day **according to the Scriptures**.*		x	x	
Non-prophecy contexts (adjunct)	(b) **broad conformity** meaning with scope over S (c) **reportative** meaning with scope over S *Example: **According to the Bible**, the world was created in six days.*		x	x	x

Table 3. Multi-functionality patterns of *secundum* NP: conformity and reportative meanings.

[5] Data from the Early Medieval period, however, needs to be interpreted with caution because the Early Medieval sub-corpus is smaller. If the prophecy meaning was available in Early Romance languages, this would suggest continuity through Late Latin. However, this investigation falls outside the scope of this article.

2.2.4 Extended intersubjectivity and interpersonal evidentiality

In order to understand the semantic extension from conformity to reportative, the notion of 'extended intersubjectivity' introduced by Tantucci (2013: 217, elaborating further on Nuyts 2001b: 393) is particularly relevant. This notion captures the involvement of a third party, singular or plural, who is not participating directly in the speech event, but is construed as sharing the information conveyed by the speaker/writer to the listener/reader. According to Tantucci (2013: 219), an example of extended intersubjectivity can be found in (27):

(27)   It has been argued that Abelard's theory is too subjective. (BNC ABV 1365 from Tantucci ibid.)

In (27), "the information communicated… pertains to a type of common knowledge shared by the SP[eaker]/W[riter] and an assumed 3rdP[arty] constituted by those people who actually argued on Abelard's theory and those ones who – in one way or another – came to know about it" (ibid.). Importantly for the present discussion, expressions like *it has been argued* in (27) may acquire evidential meaning by virtue of their being extensively intersubjective. As Tantucci (2013: 219) says, "this sort of evidential substance is grounded in the assumed social agreement upon an assertion"; therefore, he calls this type of evidentiality "interpersonal evidentiality".[6]

Reportative expressions are found in Christian Latin and specifically in apologetic writings (e.g. Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*, Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*); dogmatic-polemical-moral works (e.g. Tertullian's *De Anima*, Augustine's *De Trinitate*); practical-ascetic treatises (Tertullian's *De Monogamia*); sermons (Augustine's *Sermones*); and encyclopaedias (Isidore's *Sententiae* and *Etymologiae*). It is important to consider the intended audience of these texts in order to understand the shared knowledge between the writer, reader, and community at large.

Some texts are explicitly directed to believers, and others to heretics (i.e. professed believers who maintain religious opinions contrary to those accepted by their church). An example of the former is Augustine's *Sermones* and examples of the latter are Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem, Adversus Valentinianos, Adversus Hermogenem* and *Adversus Praxean*. Some texts are apparently directed against the pagans or members of other religions, such as the Jews (e.g. Tertullian's *Adversus Iudaeos*, Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*). However, as argued by Dunn (2008: 51-56) for Tertullian's *Adversus Iudaeos* on the one hand, and by Edelheit (2008: 275) and van Nuffelen (2012: 16) for Augustine's

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[6] An anonymous reviewer pointed out the fact that interpersonal expressions such as "it is argued that" suggest a shared view – i.e. a general consensus bearing some commitment on the proposition – in contrast to reportative expressions, which often bear low speaker commitment. It is possible that expressions of extended intersubjectivity convey only a feeble sense of group commitment – which may well exclude the speaker altogether. In fact, extended intersubjectivity suggests that information is shared and known within a community, without necessarily implying that the speaker vouches for it.

De Civitate Dei on the other, even if the explicit target of the work is the pagans, in actual fact the writers address the community of Christians, or those who may already be on the way to conversion.

An important point made by Dunn (2008: 56) when discussing *Adversus Iudaeos* is that writing is seen as a means of creating a sense of identity within the Christian community by setting it apart from other groups (or groups of 'others'), e.g. Jews, heretics or pagans. Turnau (2006: 113), quoted in van Nuffelen (2012: 16) refers to a "three way dialogue" when reflecting on the readership of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, and points out that Augustine "argues against the pagans to convince his intended audience who, as it were, have to judge the rhetorical debate between him and the pagans" (ibid.). Augustine's intended audience "is not necessarily pagan" (ibid.), but it is more likely made up of Christians. The observations made on the basis of Tertullian's *Adversus Iudaeos* and Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* can be generalised to the apologetic-polemical-dogmatic literature written by other authors, who address their message to people who are part of their own in-group.

It is reasonable to assume that the writer shares with his intended Christian readers the common belief that all true knowledge derives from the Bible ("For the Lord gives wisdom, from his mouth come knowledge and understanding", *Proverbia* 2:6; see also *Proverbia* 1:7, 9:10 and *Job* 28:28). The knowledge of the Bible and its relevance for understanding the world are key features setting the Christian community apart from the pagans and promoting its sense of identity (Dunn 2008: 56). Furthermore, Christians differ from Jews because of their belief in the so-called New Testament, a body of scriptures expressing faith in Jesus Christ by putting him in direct relationship to the Old Testament, which therefore receives a "Christological interpretation" (Ratzinger 2001).

This sense of identification is particularly important at a time when Christians are persecuted. Persecutions in the Roman Empire started in the first century (see the martyrdom of Stephen and James in the *Actus Apostolorum* 6:8-7:60 and 12:1-2 respectively) and continued until (at least) 313 when the Edict of Milan proclaimed freedom of religion within the Roman Empire. The period from the second to the fifth century is also one of intense theological and doctrinal elaboration on the key concepts of Christianity on behalf of the so-called Fathers of the Church. In this period, the need for creating a sense of identity and community was felt at various levels of society.

Given this social and cultural background, it is reasonable to assume that both the writers and readers of the apologetic texts hosted in the *Latin Library* corpus knew the most relevant Biblical episodes. Therefore, it may seem surprising to find so many explicit references to Biblical sources.

For instance, going back to the Creed (example 14 above, here reproduced as 28), it seems implausible that the addressee does not know that Christ was "resurrected on the third day as foretold by the Scriptures" and needs to be told the source of information by the writer:

(28)   *Cred-o…*   *in un-um*   *Domin-um*   *Ies-um*
       Believe-IND.PRS.1P.SG   in one-ACC.M.SG.   Lord-ACC.M.SG   Jesus-ACC.M.SG
       Christ-um…   *qu-i…*   *resurrex-it*   *terti-a*
       Christ-ACC.M.SG REL-NOM.M.SG. resurrect(PRF)-IND.PRF.3P.SG   third-ABL.F.SG
       die,   **secundum**   **Scriptur-as.**
       day(ABL.F.SG)   according.to   Scripture-ACC.F.PL
       'I believe in Jesus Christ, our (lit. the only) Lord, who rose <from the dead> on the third
       day, according to the Scriptures.' (Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, 381, *Missale
       Romanum*, editio typica tertia, 2002)

However, as Tantucci argues (2013: 219), sometimes the main pragmatic motivation that a speaker/writer has when providing source of information for his/her statement is not to communicate new information to the hearer, but simply to share the source of information with somebody else. Therefore, in contexts like (28), the reference to the Scriptures is instrumental for the speaker in explicitly constructing his/her identity as a Christian, i.e. as an individual whose spirituality and identity are defined by his/her belief in the fulfilment of the messianic prophecies contained in the Old Testament (e.g. *Psalmi* 22:16-18, *Psalmi* 68:18, 21-21; *Psalmi* 16:10, *Psalmi* 24:7-10). In doing so, while addressing his reader, the speaker/writer also implicitly calls on the community of believers as a third party, who share the knowledge of the relevant source of information. Therefore, for the speaker/writer, the main pragmatic reason for explicitly mentioning his source of information is to construe himself as a reliable and credible member of the Christian community.

Even if the writer's primary pragmatic motivation is not to communicate his source, the *secundum* NP construction may actually end up providing extra information for the reader, especially when lesser-known episodes from the Bible are presented, for which the source may in actual fact turn out to be obscure to the (less educated) reader. This is to say that in these situations, even if the main pragmatic intention of the writer is not to communicate the source of information, the reader may actually reinterpret the *secundum* NP construction as supplying relevant information regarding a new source of knowledge. This outcome is nevertheless consistent with the educational goals of the Christians, interested in preaching the word of God and promoting an understanding of the world mediated by the Scriptures.

This educational interpretation is more obvious in those occurrences in which there is a literal quotation of the source, for which *secundum* NP fulfils a function somewhat similar to referencing in academia today. This usage is typical of Isidore's style, appearing in 13 out of 18 occurrences from the Early Medieval period (*Sententiae* 1: 3.1b, 3.2b, 10.8, 14.15, 14.17, 25.3; *Sententiae* 2: 24.1, 39.18; *Sententiae* 3: 1.13, 44.3; *Etymologiae* 7,2,46; 9,2,4; 15,1,1). Interestingly, Isidore's works are deliberately educational. An example of Isidore's usage is (29) below, containing a direct quotation from Paul's epistle *Ad Philippenses* (4:7-9). A further example is (30), in which Augustine literally quotes some words taken from Paul's letter *Ad Colossenses* (1:18).

(29) *Human-a…   natur-a…   vid-ere   tamen   eius*
      Human-NOM.F.SG   nature-NOM.F.SG see-INF.PRS   yet   POSS.3P.SG.GEN
      essenti-am   plen-e   non   val-et,   qu-am   nec
      essence-ACC.F.SG   complete-ly   neither succeed-IND.PRS.3P.SG REL-ACC.F.SG   nor
      ips-a   perfectio   angelic-a   in tot-um
      herself-NOM.F.SG perfection(NOM.F.SG) angelic-NOM.F.SG in all-ACC.N.SG
      *adting-it   sc-ire,   **secundum apostol-um**   qu-i*
      reach-IND.PRS.3P.SG know-INF.PRS according.to apostle-ACC.M.PL   REL-NOM.M.SG
      ait: "Pax   De-i,   qu-ae
      say.IND.PRS.3P.SG Peace(NOM.F.SG) God-GEN.M.SG REL-NOM.F.SG
      exsuper-et   omn-em   sens-um…"
      exceed-SUBJV.PRS.3P.SG   all-ACC.M.SG sense-ACC.M.SG
      'Human nature is not able to completely see his essence, which not even this angelic
      perfection (= the angels) can fully appreciate, as the Apostle says/according to the Apostle
      (who says): "God's peace goes beyond every sense…"' (Isidore, *Sententiae* 1, 3.1b)

(30) *"Primogenit-us"   utique "a   mortu-is"   **secundum***
      First.born-NOM.M.SG   surely from dead-ABL.M.PL   according.to
      *eundem   **apostol-um**.*
      the.same-ACC.M.SG   apostle-ACC.M.SG
      '<He was> "The first born" surely "among the dead" – according to the very Apostle'
      (Augustine, *De Trinitate* 14, 19, 24)

So far, I have discussed cases in which there is a Biblical source, whose knowledge is
supposed to be shared between writer and reader, and whose validity and credibility are
assumed by the broader Christian community to which both the writer and reader
belong. The same assumptions are not shared in the case of non-Biblical sources, for
which the reportative interpretation is the only possible (or at least plausible) one. No
extended intersubjectivity is pre-supposed in these cases.

(31) *Arbor-es   viv-ere   nec tamen   sap-ere   **secundum Aristotel-en***
      Tree-ACC.F.PL   live-INF.PRS   nor however   know-INF.PRS according.to Aristotle-ACC.M.SG
      'Trees have life, but have no knowledge, according to Aristotle.' (Tertullian, *De Anima* 19,
      2)

(32) ***Secundum Livi-um**   legat-i   pac-is*
      According.to Livy-ACC.M.SG   ambassador-NOM.M.PL   peace-GEN.F.SG
      "caduceator-es"   dic-untur.
      caduceator-NOM.M.PL say-IND.PRS.3P.SG.PASS
      'Based on Livy, the ambassadors of peace are called "caduceatores".' (Isidore, *Etymologiae*
      8, 45, 48)

In sum, my analysis suggests that the reportative meaning of *secundum* NP arises out of
the extended intersubjective function of the construction as a case of interpersonal
evidentiality. Contexts of prophecy represent the bridging context for this semantic
development, which is then extended to non-prophecy contexts and finally to non-biblical
contexts. I argue that the meaning change happens because of the reader's pragmatic
reinterpretation of the writer's intentions.

In the scant literature on the *secundum* NP construction (Vieira Ferrari 1998: 112, Matos Rocha 1998: 177), it has been suggested that the reportative meaning of *secundum* has emerged directly out of a meaning of sequence conveyed by the verb *sequor* 'follow', via the metaphor THOUGHT IS TRAVEL. Specifically, Vieira Ferrari argues that "just like in the space domain one traveller follows another, in the epistemic domain it is possible to 'follow' a person's ideas" (1998: 112, translation mine)[7] and Matos Rocha (1998: 177) points out that "if 'thought is travel', it is possible to follow, to accompany this travel" (translation mine).[8]

Instead of arising from a metaphorical mapping, my analysis suggests that the reportative meaning has gradually emerged out of the conformity meaning via contextual inferences, which are metonymic in nature (Traugott & Dasher 2002: 78 ff.). My explanation, therefore, supports the rather fleeting observation by Matos Rocha (1998: 177) that there is a link between the conformity and reportative meaning, and brings it to the centre of my discussion on the emergence of the latter. My analysis is also compatible with Wiemer's observation that the reportative meaning of 'according to' NP constructions in Polish "has probably to be regarded as a direct offspring of their basic [sense: CG] of conformity" (2005: 115).

2.3 The construction *evangelium secundum* N_evangelist and the word of the Lord

In my sample there are no occurrences of *secundum* NP which could be interpreted as expressing pure reportative evidentiality, i.e. without accessing the meaning of broad conformity. There is, however, a construction in which the reportative meaning is clearly foregrounded, and that is the *evangelium secundum* N_evangelist construction ('the Gospel according to N_evangelist'). Here are two examples from Late Latin:

(33) *Nam in evangeli-o   secundum Iohann-em   ita   leg-itur*
     So   in Gospel-ABL.N.SG according.to John-ACC.M.SG like.this read-IND.PRS.3P.SG.PASS
     'So it reads like this in the Gospel according to John.' (Augustine, *De Trinitate* 15, 19)

(34) *In evangeli-o   secundum   Ioann-em   vald-e   grav-e*
     In Gospel-ABL.N.SG   according.to   John-ACC.M.SG serious-ly grave-NOM.N.SG
     ostend-it   esse   peccat-um.
     show-IND.PRS.3P.SG be.INF.PRS   sin-NOM.N.SG
     '(He) demonstrates that it is a serious sin in the Gospel according to John.' (Augustine, *Sermones* 71)

This usage of *secundum* translates Ancient Greek *katà* (taking a noun in the accusative case), which spread in Christian Greek.[9] As Mazzeo (2001: 48, fn.30) points out, the usage of the construction *euaggélion katà* N.ACC_evangelist is attested only from the second century, as documented by the papyrus 66 Bodmer II, the Muratori Fragment, and the works from

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authors such as Ireneus (130-202 AD, *Adversus Haereses* 3,11,7) or Clemens of Alessandria (150-215 AD, *Stromata* 1,21, 14-15). Mazzeo (2001: 48) points out that in the title of the Gospels the construction with *katà* is used "to indicate the author of each book and not the origin or the belonging of the message". This is in contrast to the use of the genitive of belonging (e.g. *euaggélion toû Matthaíou* 'the Gospel of Matthew'), which is dispreferred[10] because the Gospel always belongs only to God as his own word, even if it is communicated to the people through the evangelists, that is, in accordance to their words.[11] The evangelist is therefore portrayed as a mouthpiece, instead of the author of the message. The evangelist's role can be seen as Goffman's (1981) "animator", i.e. a speaker producing speech which is not his/her own (i.e. as a "a sound-box") or Ducrot's (1984) "speaking subject". The role of "author", in Goffman's (1981) terms, or "enunciator" in Ducrot's (1984), is therefore God's.

The need to express this theological distinction (ownership of the sacred word and means of dissemination) may have been the reason why a new construction was created in Greek. This construction was obtained by extending the conformity sense of *katà* (with the accusative) to express reportative meaning. Since the Gospels were translated from Greek, this distinction might be a calque, facilitated by the fact that Latin *secundum* already corresponded to *katà* in its conformity sense at the time of the translation. The partly-filled construction 'the Gospel according to N$_{evangelist}$' may have strengthened the reportative meaning of *secundum* NP.

(Inter)subjective *secundum* NP constructions, however, do not only convey reportative evidentiality, but also attribution, a meaning to which now I turn.

3. Attribution meaning

3.1 Other-attribution

The conformity meaning of *secundum* NP is prominent in those instances where the argument is 'opinion', as in (35) below, where *secundum nostrorum praeceptorum opinionem* is rendered as 'in line with the opinion of our authorities'. This is a case of broad conformity, having scope over the whole direct-object clause *nihil aliud per praeceptionem legari posse* 'nothing can be left to perception'.

(35)　*Unde*　　　*intellig-imus*　　　*nihil*　　　*aliud*　　**secundum**
　　　From.where　understand-IN.PRES.1P.PL　nothing.NOM.N.SG　else.NOM.N.SG　according.to
　　　nostr-orum　　　*praecept-orum*　　**opinion-em**　　*per praeception-em*
　　　POSS.1P.PL-GEN.M.PL　authority-GEN.M.PL　opinion-ACC.F.SG　by　perception-ACC.F.SG
　　　leg-ari　　　*posse...*
　　　leave-INF.PRS.PASS　can.INF.PRS

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[10] The genitive nevertheless appears, as is shown in the Muratori fragment par.10: *quarti evangeliorum Iohannis* 'the fourth Gospel [is that] of John'.

[11] In today's Roman Catholic Mass, the lector still concludes the readings from the Gospel with the *clausola*: "The Word of the Lord" (http://catholic-resources.org/ChurchDocs/Mass.htm).

'We perceive from this that *in accordance with* the opinion of our authorities nothing can be left to perception…' (Gaius, *Institutiones*, 2, 220)

In (35), a limitative interpretation is also available, possibly arising via inference, suggesting that the validity of the qualified clause is restricted to the opinion of the authorities invoked by the author. Under this limitation reading, (35) can be paraphrased as (36):

(36)   We perceive from this that *as far as the opinion* of our authorities *is concerned*, nothing can be left by perception

The attribution meaning can be paraphrased as (37):

(37)   We perceive from this that *for our authorities* nothing can be left by perception/We perceive from this that *our authorities think that* nothing can be left by perception

The semantic extension from conformity to limitation is attested in the domain of logical relationships between entities, even if it is not very frequent (there are no instances in Classical Latin, one instance only in Silver Latin, four instances in Late Latin and eleven (normalised) instances in Early Medieval Latin). An example of *secundum* NP expressing conformity and limitation is (38):

(38)   *Antea enim dict-um   est ex voc-e   passion-is   eius,   quia*
        Before in.fact said-ACC.N.SG is   by voice-ABL.F.SG passion-GEN.F.SG POSS.3P.SG.GEN because
        secundum carn-em   *cum demonstr-aret*   *humilitat-is*
        as.far.as   flesh-ACC.F.SG when demonstrate-SUBJ.IMPF.3P.SG humility-GEN.F.SG
        exempl-um
        example-ACC.N.SG
        'Previously in fact (it) was said from the voice of his passion, because in accordance with his flesh/as far as his flesh is concerned when he demonstrated the example of humility' (Augustine, *Sermones* 75)

I argue that in examples like (35), above, the meaning of attribution arises from the conformity and limitation senses via invited inference.[12] In fact, if a certain state of affairs holds in conformity with somebody's opinion – or as far as someone's opinion is concerned – then, by inference, it can be said that it actually is someone's opinion. This type of reasoning correlates with inferential steps *à la* Grice (1975) and especially Levinson (2000). Specifically, the interpretation of conformity can be seen as responding to Grice's maxim of Relation ('Be relevant'), and that of limitation to his maxim of Quantity ('Make your contribution as informative as it is required'). In those instances where *secundum* co-occurs with a person or (personified) God, the attribution meaning is more

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[12] I use the terms *inference* and *implicature* as umbrella terms, just as they are used in the literature on grammaticalisation (e.g. Hopper & Traugott 2003) in which (cancellation of implicature) tests are not regularly used in an attempt to distinguish them from entailments. In fact, allowing implicature and entailment to overlap is not entirely unproblematic. However, drawing a line between them does not detract from the fact that both involve a particular meaning/interpretation derived from the text as a result of some reasoning process (logical or pragmatic). The difference between implicature and entailment and how it might impact processes of language change could benefit from future research.

prominent than the conformity/limitation meanings, which are nevertheless still accessible.

Example (39) below, from Silver Latin, is taken from a chapter in which Aulus Gellius discusses the meaning of various legal terms (such as *lex* 'law', *privilegium* 'legal privilege', *rogatio* 'public consultation about a proposed law', and *plebisscitum* 'decree binding on the plebs') by listing different definitions given by various authorities in the field. The glosses capture the broad conformity, limitation and attribution interpretations for (39).

The reportative meaning in (39d), although plausible in isolation, does not capture the author's intention in the text, which is to list a series of possible definitions of the terms considered and assign each one to their author. In other words, the author's intention is not to qualify the information he conveys as acquired knowledge.

(39) *Plebisscit-um*   *igitur*   *est* **secundum** *eum*   ***Capiton-em***
Plebisscitum-ACC.N.SG   therefore   is   according.to   he-ACC.3P.SG Capito-ACC.M.SG
lex,   *qu-am*   *pleb-es,*   *non popul-us,*
law(NOM.F.SG)   REL-ACC.F.SG   plebs-NOM.F.PL   not   people-NOM.F.SG
accip-it.
adopt-IND.PRS.3P.SG
'Therefore, according to (this person) Capito, a plebisscitum (a decree binding on the plebs) is a law which the commons adopt, and not the people.' (Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 10, 20, 6)
(a) Therefore, in accordance with what Capito writes/thinks, a *plebisscitum* is a law which the commons adopt – and not the people. (broad conformity)
(b) Therefore, as far as Capito is concerned (= as far as Capito's thoughts are concerned), a *plebisscitum* is a law which the commons adopt – and not the people. (limitation)
(c) Therefore, Capito believes that a *plebisscitum* is a law which the commons adopt – and not the people. (attribution)
(d)*Therefore a *plebisscitum* is a law which the commons adopt – and not the people; a fact I know based on Capito's writings. (reportative evidentiality)

Example (39) above shows that the meanings of conformity and limitation on the one hand and attribution on the other are connected by inference. Specifically, if a definition holds true in accordance with an author's thoughts or words (conformity), then it may be valid just for the author who formulated it (while other definitions may also be possible) (limitation). The text type and immediate context foreground the limitative interpretation, since the text's main feature is to list (and compare) definitions in association with their authors. Next, the inferential connection between limitation and attribution is the following: if a definition is valid for one author, then it can be said that that author holds the contents of that definition as an opinion or a belief.

The following two examples from Early Medieval Latin are even clearer than (39) in allowing the broad conformity, limitation and attribution meanings, while ruling out the reportative interpretation altogether. Example (40) is taken from Isidore's *Etymologiae*,

an encyclopaedia listing various traditions belonging to different peoples regarding the time conventionally agreed upon to mark the beginning of the day.

(40) *Di-es*   ***secundum Aegypti-os***   *incho-at*   *ab*
      Day-NOM.M.SG   according.to Egyptian-ACC.M.SG begin-IND.PRS.3P.SG from
      occas-u   *sol-is;*   ***secundum Pers-as***   *ab*   *ort-u*
      setting-ABL.M.SG   sun-GEN.M.SG according.to   Persian-ACC.PL from rising-ABL.M.SG
      sol-is;   ***secundum Atheniens-es***   *a*   *sext-a*   *hor-a*
      sun-GEN.M.SG according.to Athenian-ACC.M.PL from   sixth-ABL.F.SG hour-ABL.F.SG
      die-i;   *secundum Roman-os*   *a*   *medi-a*   *noct-e.*
      day-GEN.M.SG according.to Roman-ACC.M.PL from mid-ABL.F.SG night-ABL.F.SG
      'The day according to the Egyptians begins at sunset; according to the Persians at dawn; according to the Athenians at the sixth hour of the day; according to the Romans at midnight.' (Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5, 4)

In (40) it is clear that the author intends to compare a set of contrasting beliefs, and not to communicate his knowledge about a series of states of affairs while pointing out how (i.e. from whom) he acquired his knowledge. Therefore, the reportative meaning is ruled out as a possible interpretation (41d), whereas the broad conformity (41a), limitation (41b), and attribution (41c) meanings are all available.

(41) *Di-es*   ***secundum Aegypti-os***   *incho-at*   *ab*
      Day-NOM.M.SG according.to Egyptian-ACC.M.SG   begin-IND.PRS.3P.SG from
      occas-u   *sol-is.*
      setting-ABL.M.SG   sun-GEN.M.SG
      'The day according to the Egyptians begins at sunset.' (Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5, 4)
      (a) The day in accordance with what the Egyptians say/write/believe begins at sunset. (broad conformity)
      (b) As far as the Egyptians are concerned,/Regarding the Egyptians, the day begins at sunset. (limitation)
      (c) The Egyptians believe/think that/hold the opinion that the day begins at sunset. (attribution)
      (d) *The day begins at sunset, which I know based on what the Egyptians say/wrote.

The reportative meaning is also incompatible in (42) below. In this example, in which the broad conformity and limitation meanings are still accessible (42a and 42b), the writer intends to communicate (and contrast) the opinions held by God and the people (the other-attribution meaning in 42c), not to state two contrasting states of affairs qualifying the source of information he has for each of them (the reportative meaning in 42d).

(42) *Qu-i*   ***secundum saecul-um***   *sapiens*   *est,*
      REL-NOM.M.SG   according.to   world-ACC.N.SG   wise(NOM.M.SG)   is
      secundum De-um   *stult-us*   *est.*
      according.to   God-ACC.M.SG stupid-NOM.M.SG   is
      'The person who is wise according to the [people of this] world is foolish according to God.' (Isidore, *Sententiae* 2, 1.2)
      (a) The person who is wise in line with the (judgment of the people of this) world is foolish in accordance with the judgment of God. (broad conformity)
      (b) The person who is wise as far as the people of the world are concerned is foolish as far as (the judgment of) God is concerned. (limitation)

(c) The person who is wise in the eyes of the people of this world is foolish in the eyes of God. (attribution)

(d)*The person who is wise (which I know it based on what the people of this world say) is foolish (which I know based on what God says). (reportative evidentiality)

The examples described in this section show that the reportative and other-attribution meanings may be incompatible since they reflect fundamentally different communicative intentions on the part of the speaker. This counts as evidence that the two categories of reportative evidentiality and other-attribution are distinct. In all the examples examined in this section, both the broad conformity and limitation meanings are still accessible. It appears therefore quite clear that the attribution meaning is an extension of the conformity and limitation meanings, which has not completely separated from its source. In other words, there is no evidence that this inference ever fully semanticised in Latin.

3.2 Self-attribution

In the *Latin Library* corpus, there are only four instances of self-attribution, all from Tertullian.[13] On the basis of this, one may argue that this construction belongs to Tertullian's idiolect (or dialect).

The construction *secundum meum consilium* 'in my view' involves an interpretation of the speaker/cogniser as a "split" or "divided" self (Lakoff 1996, Talmy 2000: 430 ff.), inasmuch as the rational component of the individual is singled out and a belief is attributed to it (see section 1.2 above). The interpretations of broad conformity and limitation are prominent in this construction, but an interpretation of self-attribution is also possible, as shown in (43).

(43)   *At enim   felic-ior   er-it,   inqu-it,*
        But in-fact happy-COMPTV.NOM.M.SG be-IND.FUT.3P.SG say-IND.FUT.3P.SG
        *si sic   permans-erit,   **secundum**   me-um*
        if like.this remain-IND.FUT.PRF.3P.SG according.to   POSS.1P.SG-ACC.N.SG
        ***consili-um**.*
        opinion-ACC.N.SG
        '"But happier will she be", he says, "if she shall remain permanently as she is, in accordance with my opinion/as far as my opinion is concerned/in my view".' (Tertullian, *De Exhortatione Castitatis* 4, 4)

The metonymy by which an argument codifying a human participant stands in place of a person's thoughts, opinions or beliefs, is active also in the case of *secundum nos* 'in our view' (lit. 'according to us'), in examples (44) and (45) below, and *secundum me* 'in my view' (lit. 'according to me') in (46). In (44) and (45) the first person plural is a form of *pluralis modestiae* 'plural of modesty' (Head 1978: 164-165 and fn. 10), and it has a singular referent, i.e. the author. For all these examples, readings of both broad conformity and limitation are accessible, but the attribution meaning is foregrounded,

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[13] Three occurrences were captured by querying the *Latin Library*'s Silver Latin sample for the preposition *secundum*, whereas the fourth was obtained by interrogating the whole corpus for the construction *secundum me* 'in my opinion'.

reflecting the pragmatic intention of the author to explicitly ascribe a certain proposition to himself as his own opinion.

(44) *Sive   enim   Christ-us   iam   tunc in semetips-um*
      Either in.fact Christ-NOM.M.SG   already then   in himself-ACC.M.SG
      [pronunti-abat]   **secundum   nos,**   *sive prophet-es*
      pronounce-IND.PRS.3P.SG   according.to   we.ACC   or   prophet-ACC.M.SG
      de   semetips-o   secundum   Iudae-os   pronunti-abat…
      about   himself-ACC.M.SG according.to Jew-ACC.M.PL pronounce- IND.PRS.3P.SG
      'For whether, as we interpret it (in line with what we think/as far as opinion is concerned/in our mind), it was Christ so early as that making a pronouncement regarding himself, or whether, as the Jews would have it, the prophet was speaking of himself.' (Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 3, 5, 3)

(45) *At   quanto   credibil-ius*   **secundum   nos**   *eius*
      But how.much credible-COMPTV.NOM.N.SG   according.to   we.ACC   POSS.3P.SG-GEN.F.SG
      r-ei   disposition-em   scriptur-a   subiunx-it![14]
      thing-GEN.F.SG   disposition-ACC.F.SG scripture-NOM.SG subjoin(PRF)-IND.PRF.3P.SG
      'But how much more credible that, in line with what we think/as far as our opinion is concerned/in our eyes, the Scripture has only subjoined the arrangement of the subject!' (Tertullian, *Adversus Hermogenem* 26, 2).

(46) *Superest*   *ut* **secundum me** *quidem credibil-e*   *sit…*
      Remain.IND.PRS.3P.SG   that   according.to I.ACC indeed   credible-NOM.N.SG be.SUBJ.PRS.3P.SG
      virtut-es   et potestat-es   creator-is   de-um…
      Virtue-ACC.F.SG and power-ACC.F.SG creator-GEN.M.SG God-ACC.M.SG
      crucifix-isse
      crucify-INF.PRF
      'Indeed it remains [the fact] that in accordance with my thoughts/as far as my thoughts are concerned/in my opinion it is credible that the virtues and the powers of the Creator crucified God.' (Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5, 6)

The function which I call "self-attribution" is subjective, and modal epistemic in nature.

A word of warning is in order here. Because of my very small data-set (consisting of four instances only), one needs to be very cautious in making generalisations about self-

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[14] 'But how much more credible is our opinion, which holds that Scripture has only subjoined the arrangement of the subject!' is the translation provided by Holmes (1885[1870]). Example (45) is controversial because the matrix *At quanto credibilius [est]* is followed by a subject complement clause which in classical Latin would be expected to display the *accusativus cum infinito* (ACI) construction, that is, a complement clause with the subject in the accusative case and the verb in the infinitive. Instead, here the complement clause displays an 'anomaly', namely the subject in the nominative (*scriptura*) and the verb in the indicative (*subiunxit*). However, this may just be a sign of the language evolving towards the Romance *nominativus cum indicativo* pattern for complement clauses. Finally, it could also be a 'symptom' of the fact that the final –m was feebly pronounced, as already pointed out by the grammarian Quintilian in the first century AD, well before Tertullian's time (155-240 AD).
Different interpretations about this syntactic structure, however, do not impact on the meaning of *secundum nos*, which can be interpreted as an instance of either conformity ('in line with what I think'), limitation ('as far as I am concerned'), or self-attribution ('in my opinion, for me, in my eyes, from my point of view').

attribution based on these examples. One may in fact either assume that *secundum me/nos* attribution constructions were more frequent than has been recorded for Latin or, alternatively, one may speculate that the Romance self-attribution expressions derived from Latin *secundum* (Italian *secondo me* 'for me' and French *selon moi*, lit. 'according to me') are subsequent, independent innovations. Finally, it is also possible that the very few instances attested in Latin are just the beginning of a typical S-curve development (Croft 2000: 184), which gathers pace later on in Romance.

4. Contrast in opinion is not contrast in evidence

Because of their limitation reading, *secundum* NP constructions are ideal for contrasts of opinion. In some cases this contrast is explicit (examples 40, 42, and 44 above), whereas in others it is implicit (but may be inferred). This is the case for (47) below, in which there is an implicit contrast between people who think like Varro and people who do not.

(47) *De-os   enim ver-os   anim-am   mund-i   ac part-em*
      God-ACC.M.SG in.fact true-ACC.M.SG soul-ACC.F.SG world-GEN.M.SG and part-ACC.M.SG
      eius   ist-e   [Varr-o: CG]   definiv-it: ac
      he.GEN.M.SG   that-NOM.M.SG Varro-NOM.M.SG define(PRF)-IND.PRS.3P.SG and
      per hoc,   quidquid   hoc   non   est,
      for this.ACC.N.SG   anything.NOM.N.SG   this.NOM.N.SG   non   is
      *non est utique   **secundum   ist-os**   ver-us   de-us.*
      not is   undoubtedly according.to   that-ACC.M.SG true-NOM.M.SG God-NOM.M.SG
      'Varro defined the Gods to be the soul of the world, and the parts of it. And therefore whatever falls not within this definition (lit. whatever this is not) is certainly not a true God, according to them.' (Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 7, 9)

The association of the attribution and limitation meanings also makes attribution expressions ideal for contrasts of opinion when self-attribution is involved (examples 43-46 above). Furthermore, in the case of self-attribution, possible opinions contrasting with the ones expressed by the speaker may be simply inferred (examples 45 and 46).

It is possible to see alternative opinions (explicitly mentioned or inferred) as "Q contrast-sets", i.e. non-entailment sets correlating with Grice's (1975) maxim of Quantity and Levinson's first heuristic (2000: 35). Example (50) gives a non-entailing contrast-set consisting of colour terms (in curly brackets) (a speaker saying *yellow* implicates *not red*, *not blue* and so on).

(48)   {yellow, red, blue, …} > "yellow" +> "not red, not blue etc." (Levinson 2000: 36).

Importantly, attribution expressions signal a contrast in attribution, and not a contrast in evidence, and the two notions should not be conflated. In this, my analysis differs substantially from the one offered by Pietrandrea (2007: 54) in her study of Italian *secondo me* 'in my view' (lit. 'according to me'). In contrast to Pietrandrea (ibid.), I maintain that if an 'according to' NP expression has evidential but also attribution meaning, it may express a contrast in opinion, as well as a contrast in evidence, depending on the context.

5. Discussion

Despite being two different concepts, reportative evidentiality and attribution share some similarities because they both presuppose extended intersubjectivity (Tantucci 2013: 217; see section 2.2.4 above). That is, both of them relate the speaker and the addressee to a "third party", thus showing that the "awareness of the other persona(s) is not limited to the here-and-now of the discourse" (ibid.). Figure 1 below (taken from Tantucci 2013: 218) outlines the basic structure of extended intersubjectivity, displaying the connection between the speaker/writer (SP/W), the addressee/reader (AD/R) and a third party (3rdP), which can be singular or plural, identified or generic.
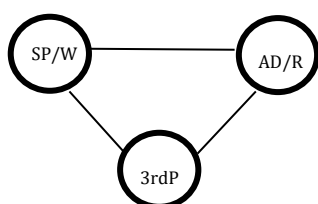
**Figure 1.** The basic structure of extended intersubjectivity.

Considering this basic structure, expressions of reportative evidentiality (49), interpersonal evidentiality (50) (Tantucci 2013: 219-220), and attribution (51) can be visually captured and compared clearly.

(49)   *Tiago   di-ñami-**pida***
        Tiago   3sgnf-die-PRES.REP
        'Tiago has died.' (the speaker has just learnt it [from someone: CG])
        (Tariana, Aikhenvald 2003: 101, sg=singular, nf=non feminine)

(50)   ***Allegedly** Abelard's theory is too subjective.*

(51)   ***In Paul's eyes**, John is an idiot.*

The thick lines in figures (2) and (4), below, indicate that the third party is profiled (Langacker 1987: 288). The direction of the arrows may symbolise (a) that the SP/W is the recipient of information on the basis of something said by a third party (figure 2); (b) that information is shared between the speaker and third party (figure 3); or (c) that the SP/W actively attributes information to a third party (figure 4). The dashed arrows in figure (3) indicate that interpersonal evidentiality is compatible with reportative evidentiality and attribution but does not necessarily involve both.
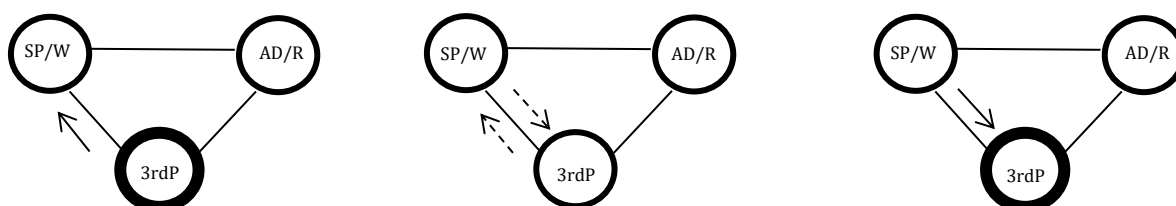
Figure 2. Reportative evidentiality and extended intersubjectivity.

Figure 3. Interpersonal evidentiality, attribution and extended intersubjectivity (from Tantucci 2013: 218).

Figure 4. Attribution and extended intersubjectivity.

Attribution and reportative evidentiality may overlap, and the conceptual connection between the two categories can be explained as follows:

(52)   Phase 1. *Attribution*: I, the speaker, assign a proposition p to a person P.
Phase 2. *Ambiguous context:* I, the speaker, assign a proposition p to a person P, and I may know p because it has been communicated to me via P's speech (or writing).
Phase 3. *Reportative evidentiality*: I, the speaker, say p specifying that I know/learnt it based on something that P has said (or written).

As discussed in sections 1.2 and 3.2 above, self-attribution can be seen as a particular case of other-attribution, when the speaker construes him/herself as 'split' into two parts (Lakoff 1986, Talmy 2000a) and refers to one part as if it was someone else. Latin *secundum* NP expresses both other-attribution and self-attribution. Additionally, *secundum* NP displays a multi-functionality pattern encompassing reportative evidentiality and attribution. Whether it is possible to establish a crosslinguistically valid unidirectional diachronic evolution path is an issue for future investigation.

In languages like contemporary Italian, the 'according to' construction (e.g. *secondo* NP) expresses other-attribution (53), self-attribution (54), reportative evidentiality (55), and (56) inferential evidentiality.

(53)   ***Secondo   Marco***, *Roma è bella*.
According.to   Mark   Rome is beautiful
'According to Mark, Rome is beautiful.'

(54)   ***Secondo   me***, *Roma è bella.*
According.to   me   Rome is beautiful
'For me, Rome is beautiful.'

(55)   ***Secondo   la stampa***, *il   presidente è arrivato alle   3.*
According.to   the press   the   president is arrived   at.the 3
'According to the press, the president arrived at 3.'

(56)   *[La luce è accesa].* ***Secondo   me***, *Marco è in casa.*
The light is lit.up   According.to   me   Mark is in house
'The light is on. For me/In my opinion, Mark is in.

As shown in this study, Latin *secundum* NP codifies only the first three functions. Variation is expected regarding the multi-functionality pattern of 'according to' constructions, both intra-linguistically and cross-linguistically.

This paper is based on the direct contrast of attribution and reportative evidentiality. As stated in section 1.2, the relationship between self-attribution and inferential evidentiality is not pursued further here due to the lack of Latin data. The preliminary data from Italian in (53)-(56) above suggests that a deictic model can be proposed both

for evidentiality and attribution. According to Frawley's (1992) deictic model, reportative evidentiality gives the other as the source of information, whereas inferential evidentiality is centred on the speaker's self (i.e. the speaker is seen as the locus of reasoning). A similar model is suggested here for attribution (table 4, below): self-attribution assigns a proposition to the speaker's self, whereas other-attribution assigns a proposition to the mental content of someone other than the speaker. Despite both being deictic categories, attribution and reportative evidentiality are distinct in their functions, as shown in this paper.

	Self	**Other**
Evidentiality	Inferential	Reportative
Attribution	Self-attribution	Other-attribution

Table 4. Deictic dimensions of evidentiality and attribution.

6. Conclusion

This paper has presented an overview of *secundum* NP constructions with reportative evidentiality and attribution meanings, thus filling a gap in the literature on Latin prepositions. Abstracting away from the specific facts of Latin analysed here, my research provided evidence for identifying two separate categories, evidentiality and attribution. I argued that attribution and evidentiality express different pragmatic intentions on the part of the speaker. Furthermore, the two categories show different development paths, reportative evidentiality being tightly connected to conformity, and attribution to limitation (arising as an extension of conformity). In addition, the evidential and attribution meanings differ in the arguments they take: products of speech and writing for the reportative meaning, versus mental content (opinion, thought and belief) for the attribution sense. In the case of arguments indicating human participants, the attribution and reportative constructions rely on different metonymies: person in lieu of speech or writing product for reportative evidentiality, versus person in lieu of mental content for attribution. Differences in arguments mirror a major conceptual difference between reportative evidentiality and attribution: whereas the former presupposes an act of communication, the latter does not. Despite their different functions, I argued that they both presuppose extended intersubjectivity and are deictic categories.

This analysis of the rise of *secundum* NP's reportative evidentiality meaning shows the importance of socio-cultural phenomena (in this case the spread of Christianity) in language change. This was shown in relation to the role of prophecy contexts in the development of the reportative sense, and the theological relevance of the *evangelium secundum* ('the Gospel according to') NP$_{evangelist}$ construction. In emphasising the importance of socio-historical factors in language change, my study takes a similar approach to Hartmann (2014) and echoes Hollmann & Siewierska (2011).

Finally, my results concerning the reportative use of *secundum* NP suggest that extended intersubjectivity may be the source of evidentiality, which is a subjective category, via the intermediate stage of interpersonal evidentiality. This suggests a development path of

extended intersubjectivity > subjectivity, whose generalisability needs further investigation.

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