MORPHOSYNTACTIC FEATURES OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSES IN ROMANCE LANGUAGES -CONSEQUENCES OF LANGUAGE CONTACT OR LATIN INHERITANCE?-

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Abstract

The starting point of the present paper is a simple question: To what extent do linguistic facts encountered in Romanian exist in other Romance varieties? In order to answer this question, I put forward a cross-linguistic study of the Romance languages that aims at an interdisciplinary effort, a perspective that is going to add new and useful information to the literature, especially at the international level, that lacks, in many cases, examples from Romanian. On the basis of an original media discourse corpus, collected from three Romance varieties (Romanian, Italian and French), I advance a comparative perspective, focused on the connectors of the complex sentences. Since the aim of this paper is neither to defend/to contradict some linguistic theory of the syntactic variation, nor to develop a new grammatical theory, the focus will be on the description of the identified linguistic data, and on the motivation of their existence/absence in the three related languages.

Keywords

Adverbial Clauses, Morphosyntactic Analysis, Romance Languages

1. Introduction

1.1 The Romance Family

The interest for the study of this *language family,* descending from Latin, started a long time ago, with the unfinished essay of Dante (written after 1304) – *De vulgari eloquentia* –, in which the Romance languages are classified in three groups, based on the terms used for "yes": *si, oc, oui* (Posner, 1996, p. 2). It is only in 1831 that Lorenz Diefenbach proposes the first systematic study of the Romance languages, proving that the origin of these languages tracks back to *Latina vulgata* that has undergone, along the centuries, several modifications determined by language contact (Posner, 1996, p. 3). Starting from this observation or maybe from their own perceptions and ideologies, the language researchers have exaggerated, in certain periods, the influence exerted by the contact languages on one or the other of the Romance languages. This is the case of French, considered in certain studies as *creole based* (see Posner, 1996, p. 3), but also of Romanian, for which certain linguists exaggerate the influence of Slavic at the end of the 19th c. (see Dragomirescu, 2015, p. 2).

Starting from the previously mentioned studies, there has been written a vast literature dedicated to the Romance languages, but the detailed presentation of this literature is not the subject matter of this paper, as I do not intend to answer all the questions addressed by the researchers (concerning different linguistic phenomena, such as those related to word order). My intention is to extend the existing research on the Romanian language (Nicolae, 2015; Dragomirescu, 2015; Hill & Alboiu, 2016) and to offer new and relevant information based on a corpus of Contemporary Romanian, French and Italian (online press/media corpus) and concerning a less investigated subject – the connectors of adjunct clauses. As far as I know, there has not been done yet a systematic attempt to examine this linguistic phenomenon existing in the present-day Romanian from a modern syntactic and semantico-pragmatic perspective. Previous approaches, while fruitful, have treated the syntactic constituents of a complex sentence using a general descriptive perspective, and avoided any comparative details.

1.2 Object of Study – Research Questions

The target structures have the following syntactic configuration: head/matrix clause + connector + adjunct/adverbial clause = complex sentence (CS). Based on this configuration, the inventory, and the distribution of the sentence connectors are going to be analysed here. The research questions resulting from the above mentioned object of study are:

- Is there cross-linguistic and language-internal variation inside the family of Romance languages?

- What is the common core of these syntactic variations as far as the CS with adjuncts are concerned?

- What sentence connectors are specific to each language (of the three Romance languages investigated)?

1.3 Objectives of the Paper

The aim of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it aims at identifying certain syntactic and semantico-pragmatic features of complex sentences with adjuncts in Contemporary Romanian language. Secondly, the focus is on the comparative analysis between different Romance languages (Romanian, Italian, and French) as concerns the features above mentioned. The research is oriented towards two aspects: on the one hand, it investigates the corpus extracted from online media (international magazines and national newspapers), containing articles collected and organized by the researcher in a database, and, on the other hand, it provides arguments to sustain the specific features of the Romanian language in the Romance context.

1.4 Description of the Corpus

As I have not encountered any electronic or published Romanian corpus containing online press articles from the last ten years, the first step was to find the international magazines and the national newspapers published during this period, to extract an equal number of words from each of these publications, and to build a Contemporary Romance corpus. After organizing the corpus, I searched for the CS with temporal, causal/reason and concessive adjuncts, I extracted all the contexts in which they appear, and I created a database according to the linguistic features that are going to be examined both from a qualitative, and a quantitative point of view (a total number of 474 CSs extracted). The qualitative analysis consists in the formal description of the sentence connectors (using the theoretical instruments of Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics), and also in the comparison of the Romanian features with the other two Romance languages, so as to discover the similar linguistic units (many of them considered as inherited from Latin (see Nicolae, 2015)), but also the subordinating elements that can be interpreted as specific to Romanian (many of them considered Slav(on)ic (Stan, 2013) or Balkan (Kortmann, 1997; Hill & Alboiu, 2016) influences).

1.5 Methodology

The present paper represents an attempt to describe the CS with adjuncts in Romanian and in other two related languages, as they appear in the articles from the contemporary online media.

Within the broad research area of media discourse, one may distinguish a particular type of discourse, online press/journalistic, which focuses on publishing articles addressed to the mass audience, and this is why I have chosen one international magazine and one representative daily newspaper from each of the three languages (published during the last eight years: 2010-2018). The descriptive framework is modern, yet still fairly traditional, using not too technical apparatus, and different from the discourse analysis perspective. I should emphasize that this is not an attempt to deny or to minimize the importance of any other perspectives previously undertaken in the syntactic or pragmatic studies based on Romanian data, or in Romance comparative linguistics.

2. CS with Adverbial Clauses/Clausal Adjuncts in Romance Languages

2.1 Sentence Connectors

According to the syntactic configuration previously presented, the *connectors* are the most important formal instruments of marking the subordination. The term *connectors* covers simple and complex conjunctions, the relative or the indefinite pronouns/adjectives/adverbs that connect a subordinate constituent to its head. As defined by GALR (2008, II, p. 728), sentence connectors "are characterized by certain syntactic and semantic connective restrictions imposed to the co-occurent syntactic units and by some relational meaning enhanced in a certain context". My interest is on adverbial sentence connectors (temporal, causal, and concessive), but it should be mentioned the fact that all Romance languages have diverse and complex inventory of subordinating elements. The classification of these elements has been a long-standing concern for many well-known researchers, such as Halliday & Hasan (1976), Quirk et al. (1985), Biber et al. (1999), Martin & Rose (2003), Carter & McCarthy (2006), Shopen (2007), Nordström (2010), among others, and they proposed different definitions and taxonomies. I retain here Nordström's classification (2010, p. 95) of subordinators in: *complementizers*, *relative subordinators*, and *adverbial subordinators*, and their corresponding definitions: "complementizers introduce embedded clauses that function as arguments, whereas relative subordinators introduce subordinate clauses that function as modifiers (mostly of nouns). (…) Adverbial subordinators introduce subordinate clauses that function as adverbials (adjuncts)". So, we have two important classes: the complementizers and the subordinators. There are many morphosyntactic and semantic differences between the two classes, but the most relevant one is the fact that complementizers are used to place a structure in an argumental syntactic position, and include also some relative pronouns /adverbs (Rosenbaum, 1967, as cited in Sava, 2012, p. 9), while the subordinators "carry

semantic information, as they indicate the circumstances of the action expressed by the head verb"
(GALR, I, 2008, p. 637).

As we shall see in the next section of the paper, the temporal, causal, and concessive clausal
adjuncts, as well as other clausal adjuncts, are *connected* to the matrix clause by means of *specific*
and *non-specific subordinators* (simple and complex), many of them inherited from Latin. Ever
since 1912, Meillet noticed the natural tendency to refresh the Latin, and also the Romance
connectors' inventory. Out of a total number of 214 conjunctions (67 coordinating conjunctions
and 147 subordinating conjunctions) attested in Latin, only 8% survived in Romance languages,
most of them being also used in Vulgar Latin (Dimitrescu, 1978, p. 54). The rest of the Latin
inventory has been eliminated (for instance, the resultative UT, NE and QUO, the concessive
QUAMVIS, ETSI, LICET, QUAMQUAM – Dardano & Trifone, 1995, p. 435) or replaced in the old and
especially in the modern Romance languages with new, complex subordinators, made of a
prepositional, nominal, adverbial or even verbal element + the conjunction *that* lat. QUID: fr. *afin*
que 'in order that', ctl. *tot i que* 'although', sp. *a pesar de que* 'although', it. *allorché* 'at the hour
that' (Kabatek & Pusch, 2011, p. 89). Still, it is very important to include here an observation that
belongs to Kortmann (1997, p. 238), a researcher that investigated the adverbial subordinators
from many languages of Europe in his attempt to bring evidence that "the very core of the Balkan
languages, i. e., Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian and Rumanian, constitute t h e p r o t o t y p e
of a n area of convergence in Europe". He insists that Romanian has the special status of a Balkan
Romance language, viz. "it behaves like a typical Romance language only with respect to the
formal makeup of adverbial subordinators (its high proportions of phrasal subordinators and of
adverbial subordinators incorporating prepositions and quantifiers), but not with respect to the
semantic composition of its inventory of adverbial subordinators. In this latter respect, Rumanian
is **a** typical Balkan language".

Here is a list of specific temporal, causal and concessive subordinators in Romanian (Manea, 2013,
p. 415):

- **Temporal:** *imediat ce, (de) îndată ce, pe dată ce* 'as soon as', *până ce* 'until', după ce 'after',
  abia ce 'hardly', *(ori) de câte ori* 'every time when'

- **Causal:** *căci, deoarece, fiindcă, întrucât, din pricină că, din cauză că, pentru că, pe motiv că,*
  de vreme ce, din moment ce 'because, as, since'

- **Concessive:** *deşi, chiar dacă, chiar de, cu toate că, chit că,* (regional) *măcar că* 'although, even
  though', (regional) *măcar să* 'if only'

For Italian, Dardano & Trifone (1995, p. 429) enumerates:

- **Temporal:** *quando* 'when'*, come, appena che, dopo che* 'after'*, allorché, prima che, mentre* 'while'*, finché* 'until'*, ogni volta che* 'since'

- **Causal:** *perché, poiché, giacché, siccome, visto che, dal momento che, dato che, per il fatto che* 'because, as, since'

- **Concessive:** *benché, seppure, sebbene, ancorché, per quanto, quantunque, malgrado che, nonostante che, anche se* 'although, even though'

French has a similar inventory of specific connectors (Batchelor & Chebli-Saadi, 2011, p. 632):

- **Temporal:** *alors que*, *à mesure que* 'while, according as', *après que*, *au moment où*, *aussitôt que* 'as soon as'; *avant que* 'before', *après que*, *en attendant que*, *jusqu'à ce que* 'after'.

- **Causal:** *attendu que* 'since', *comme* 'as/since', *du fait que* 'given the fact that', *étant donné que* 'given that', *parce que*, *puisque* 'since', *sous prétexte que*, *vu que* 'seeing that';

- **Concessive:** *alors que*, *en dépit du fait que*, *pendant que*, *tandis que*, *en admettant que*, *bien que*, *quoique*, *encore que* 'although', *malgré que* 'despite the fact that';

2.2 Sentence Connectors in (Online) Press Communications – Corpus Analysis

2.2.1 Temporal Sentence Connectors

Among the adverbial clauses identified in (online) press communications, the most frequent are those functioning as temporal adjuncts that are linked to the matrix clause by means of relatives or subordinators – simple and complex. They establish a temporal relationship between the head clause and the adjunct clause. Functioning as a simple cohesion element or as a *focal marker* (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2009, p. 3), the connector *când, quando, quand* 'when' of a CS with temporal adjunct has its etymology in the Latin QUANDO (Posner, 1996, p. 309).

Another element that connects Italian and Romanian is the inventory of temporal complex subordinators used in the old and medieval stages of language in order to express the semantic relationship of posteriority: it. *dopo che, poi che, dappoicché, da poi che, poseía che, appresso che* 'after, as soon as' (Dardano, 2012, p. 285) and rom. *după că/ce, îndată ce, imediat ce, numai cît/ce, de cum* 'after, as soon as'. Both languages use the indicative for the verb of the temporal adjunct expressing posteriority (ILR, I, 1965, p. 331).

For the other important temporal relationship – anteriority –, Latin had two conjunctions: ANTEQUAM and PRIUSQUAM 'before', while the Romance varieties preserved only the the first one – Old French: *ainz que* –, or they created other complex subordinators: fr. *avant que, primes que, premier que*; it. *avanti che, prima che*; sp. *antes que, primero che*, rom. (old rom.) *(mai) (în)ainte*

până când, (mai) (în)ainte ca să, (mai) (în)ainte de ce, (mai) (în)ainte decât, (mai) denainte (ca...)să, and *până (când) nu*. Besides the common inventory of sentence connectors, most of the Romance languages also have the same modal-temporal pattern for the CSs that express anteriority: the use of subjunctive is, in fact, an imitation/a reiteration of the Latin model (ILR, I, 1965, p. 322). For the simultaneity temporal relation, Latin provided only the forms QUANDO (fr. *quand*, it. *quando*, rom. *când*), and QUOMODO (fr. *comme*, it. *come*, rom. *cum* (iterativ)), all the other elements of the Romance inventory being original creations: fr. *pendant (durant, tandis) que, au moment que, tant (ausssi longtemps) que, lorsque* 'while/until'; it. *allorche, allorquando, mentre, al tempo in cui, nel momento che* 'while'; rom. *în timp ce*, *pe când, în vreme ce* 'while', *câtă vreme, cât timp* 'as long as', *(ori) de câte ori* 'every time (when)' (ILR, I, 1965, p. 337). Still, there where linguists to sustain that this miscellany of temporal connectives seems to be artificial, and represents "an automatic copy of the foreign corresponding structures" – like the Slav(on)ic ones (Dinică, 2016).

After this presentation of the Romanic inventory of temporal connectors, I shall focus on the contexts extracted from the corpus, in order to highlight the features of the (online) press communications in the three investigated languages. My first observation is simple and quite intuitive: most of the temporal connectives identified are complex (see Diagram 1), although the most frequently used is the specialized connector *when*.
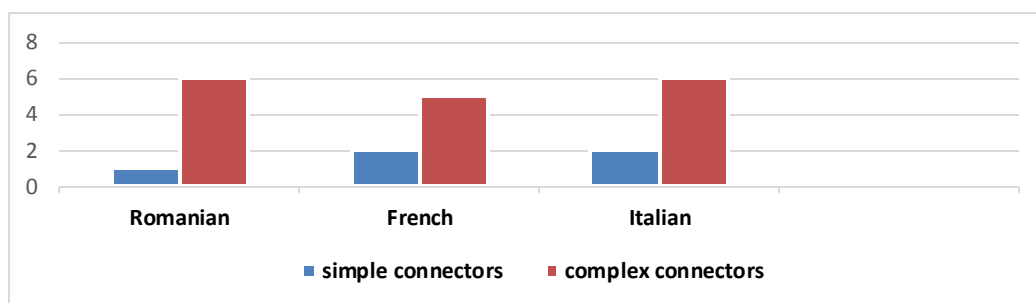

Figure 1: *The Distribution of Simple and Complex Subordinators in the Corpus*

In Romanian, the complex subordinators have one adverbial, conjunctional, or prepositional element (such as *înainte* 'before', or *până* 'after'), followed by a conjunction (*ca să* 'in order to'), a complementizer (*dacă* 'when'), or a relative (*ce* 'what'), and, sometimes, a negation (*de ce nu* 'why not') (Dinică, 2016, p. 494). In Italian, the temporal adjunct may be introduced by a conjunction (*quando* 'when', *mentre, come*), by a preposition followed by the conjunction *che* (*prima* 'before'/*dopo che* 'after'), or by a set phrase (*nel momento che* 'when'). These sentence connectors have the function of expressing the chronological order and the

aspectual nature (durative/continuous, punctual, inchoative) of the action stated by the verb of the subordinate clause (Dardano & Trifone, 1995, p. 457).

Then, I noticed that depending on the point of reference, temporal adjuncts are introduced by different specific and non-specific subordinators. Based on the chronological order of the events expressed by the verb of the matrix clause and by the verb of the adjunct clause, it is possible to distinguish between three types of temporal relations: simultaneity, anteriority, and posteriority. Therefore, in order to express the semantic relation of simultaneity (the event in the matrix clause is simultaneous with the event in the subordinate clause), the matrix and the adjunct clauses of the CS may be connected by: rom. *când* 'when'*, pe când* 'while'*, ori de câte ori* 'whenever'*, it. quando, nel momento in cui* 'when', fr. *quand* 'when'*, alors que* 'while'.

(1) *În lista alcătuită de Lev Tolstoi în 1891, **pe când** avea 63 de ani, titlurile aparţin literaturii engleze.*

'In Lev Tolstoi's list from 1891, while he was 63 years old, the titles belong to English literature'

(2) ***Ori de câte ori** eşti supărată sau tristă ai tendinţa să dai iama în frigider.*
'Whenever you are upset or sad you tend to take it in the fridge'

(3) *Il dolore si manifesta **quando** aumentano di volume, causando sensazione di fastidio.*
'Pain occurs when they increase in volume, causing discomfort'

(4) *Stefano pensava che la Addati avrebbe abbandonato il trono **nel momento in cui** lui se ne fosse andato, ma non è stato così.*

'Stefano thought that Addati would abandon the throne when he left, but it was not so'

(5) ***Quand** nous manquons de sommeil, le teint est souvent terne et les traits sont tirés.*
'When we lack sleep, the complexion is often dull and the features are drawn'

(6) *«On va retravailler ce budget », indique M. Bachelier au Monde **alors que** le montant de l'enveloppe réservé à l'institution doit être voté en première lecture vendredi.*

'"We will rework this budget," declares Mr. Bachelier to Le Monde while the amount of the envelope reserved for the institution must be voted in first reading Friday'

The temporal clause expressing simultaneity usually represents a temporal frame for the event of the matrix clause. In this case, the temporal adjunct appears in initial position of the CS.

(7) ***Mentre** festeggiava con le amiche, sul suo cellulare sono comparsi una serie di messaggi da un numero sconosciuto*

'While celebrating with her friends, a series of messages from an unknown number appeared on her cell phone'

(8) **Când** *ai chef de o gustare, îi poţi mesteca (mugurii).*

'When you are in the mood for a snack, you can chew them (buds)'

(9) **Quand** *Franck Lepage était enfant, il n'apprenait pas ses leçons.*

'When Franck Lepage was a child, he did not learn his lessons'

For the anteriority relationship (the event expressed in the subordinate clause is prior to the matrix event), the three languages use the following subordinators: *după ce* 'after', it. *dopo che* 'after' (followed by an indicative verb), fr. *apres* 'after':

(10) *Senzaţia de epuizare apare la scurt timp* **după ce** *ai mâncat.*

'The exhaustion sensation appears shortly after you have eaten'

(11) **Dopo che** *Nilufar Addati ha scelto Giordano Mazzocchi è successo di tutto.*

'After Nilufar Addati chose Giordano Mazzocchi, everything happened'

(12) **Après** *avoir soutenu sa thèse de macroéconomie monétaire en 2006, il repart au Sénégal l'année suivante.*

'After supporting his thesis on monetary macroeconomics in 2006, he returned to Senegal the following year'

Even the plurifunctional connector *when* can be involved in expressing such a temporal relationship, either alone, or preceded by a preposition. In Romanian, as well as in Italian, the temporal adjunct introduced by preposition *de/da + când/quando* 'since' suggests the starting point of the event from the head clause.

(13) **De când** *am intrat în politică, vin de zece ori mai mulţi oameni la consultaţii.*

'Since I entered politics, ten times more people come to consultations'

(14) **Da quando** *Angelina ha presentato i documenti del divorzio sotto casa è un inferno.*

'Ever since Angelina filed divorce papers under the house it's hell'

For the posteriority semantic relationship (the subordinate event is subsequent to the matrix event), the subordinators used to connect the two clauses of the CS are: rom. *până când* 'until', *înainte să, înainte ca…să* 'before' (+ the subjunctive), it. *fino a quando* 'until', *prima che* 'before' (+ the subjunctive), *una volta che* 'as soon as', fr. *avant que* 'before':

(15) *Bea un pahar cu apă* **înainte să** *te bagi în pat!*

'Drink a glass of water before you go to bed!'

(16) *una volta arrivata al fianco del fidanzato,* **prima che** *il prete iniziasse la celebrazione…*

'once she arrived at her fiance's side, before the priest began the celebration…'

(17) *ont profité d'une faille du dispositif en jouant sur le calendrier fiscal en déposant leur demande trois mois **avant que** les chiffres de 2017 soient communiqués.*

'we took advantage of a loophole in the system by playing on the tax calendar by filing their application three months before the 2017 figures are provided'

The corpora analysis revealed other important features that the three languages share:

• when the CS contains two coordinated temporal adjuncts, the connector of the second adjunct is deleted or replaced (see the uses of *que* in French).

(18) ***Când** tenul devine tern și √ are nevoie de o revigorare, tot roșiile sunt soluția.*

'When the skin becomes dull and needs a refreshing, all tomatoes are the solution'

(19) ***Quand** le mercure grimpe et que le soleil cogne, la prise de certains médicaments peut gêner l'organisme dans la régulation de sa température.*

'When mercury rises and the sun bounces, taking certain drugs can interfere with the body's temperature regulation'

• all three languages have contexts in which the clausal temporal adjunct is coordinated (juxtaposed) with a non-clausal temporal adjunct (a noun phrase, denoting a year, an era, a season – the temporal frame of the action), and in these cases the appositive relationship cannot be accepted, as the two temporal adjuncts are not coreferential.

(20) *Totul părea să decurgă bine până în <u>1912</u>, **când** lucrurile s-au schimbat.*

'Everything seemed to be going well until 1912, when things changed'

(21) *En <u>2016</u>, **quand** le bilan net de l'investissement direct du Canada à l'étranger a atteint un nouveau pic, le stock d'actifs s'élevait à 231 milliards de dollars.*

'In 2016, when the net balance of Canada's foreign direct investment reached a new high, the stock of hidden assets was $ 231 billion'

(22) *L'Impero cessò ufficialmente nel <u>V secolo</u>, **quando** i cristiani erano neanche il dieci per cento della popolazione.*

'The Empire officially ceased in the fifth century, when Christians were not even ten percent of the population'

• there are many contexts in which the temporal values of the sentence connectors can interfere with the semantic value of cause (rom. *când* 'when') (23), opposition (it. *mentre* 'while') (24), or it can function as an adversative coordinating conjunction (it. *mentre*, rom. *pe când* 'while') (25, 26).

(23) **Când** această glandă secretă prea puțini hormoni, metabolismul e încetinit.

'When this gland secretes too few hormones, metabolism slows down'

(24) Spesso questa patologia è asintomatica, **mentre** in altri casi possono insorgere disturbi specifici che devono far scattare "l'allarme rosso"

'Often this pathology is asymptomatic, while in other cases specific disorders can arise which must trigger the "red alert"'

(25) Alcuni ingredienti possono essere sostituiti ad esempio la camomilla può sostituire il tè di calendula, **mentre** l'olio di vinaccioli può sostituire l'olio di mandorle.

'Some ingredients can be substituted for example chamomile can replace calendula tea, while grape seed oil can replace almond oil'

(26) Apa fierbinte te face să transpiri, **pe când** cea călâie va menține o temperatură optimă a corpului.

'Hot water causes you to sweat, while the horse's water will maintain optimum body temperature'

- generally, the connector takes the initial position of the adjunct syntactic structure, but there are situations in which certain focal markers (ususally, an adverb) appear in front of this connector: rom. *doar (atunci)* 'only', *mai ales* 'especially', *imediat* 'immediately, right', fr. *seulement* 'only', *juste* 'just, right', it. *specie, soprattutto* 'especially', *anche* 'even'.

(27) Stratul de cremă se duce surprinzător de repede, <u>mai ales</u> **când** vine în contact cu apa.

'The cream layer goes surprisingly fast, especially when it comes in contact with water'

(28) Dermatologii recomandă aplicarea cremelor <u>imediat</u> **după ce** ieșim din apă.

'The dermatologists recommend applying creams immediately after leaving the water'

(29) Ouvrez donc votre flacon <u>seulement</u> **quand** vous en avez besoin!

'Open your bottle only when you need it'

(30) Les conséquences peuvent être nombreuses si vous avez l'habitude de vous coucher <u>juste</u> **après** vous être lavé les cheveux.

'The consequences can be many if you are used to sleep just after washing your hair'

(31) Dimagrire facendo bene al cuore, al respiro e ai sensi è un regalo che non vi pentirete di esservi fatte, <u>specie</u> **quando** si ha voglia di rinnovare la propria vita.

'To lose weight doing good to the heart, to the breath and to the senses is a gift that you will not regret being made, especially when you want to renew your life'

(32) Devo ancora trovare il vero amore, bisogna seguire il cuore <u>anche</u> **quando** fa male.

'I still have to find true love; we must follow the heart even when it hurts'

- between the elements of a complex temporal subordinator (*înainte (ca)să, avant que* 'before'), it can be inserted one or even more syntactic constituents, such as the subject of the adjunct clause, or a prepositional phrase.

(33) *Înainte cu câteva zile să-ţi vopseşti părul, aplică un tratament de îngrijire intens.*

'A few days before dyeing your hair, apply an intensive care treatment'

(34) *Régler l'heure la veille présente aussi l'avantage d'habituer l'organisme au changement d'heure **avant** même **qu**'il ne survienne.*

'Setting the time the day before also has the advantage of getting the body used to changing the time before it even happens'

2.2.2 Causal Sentence Connectors

The causal adjunct is a syntactic constituent that specifies the reason that determines the course of a certain event (GALR, II, 2008, p. 557). The causality relation requires that the action expressed by the verb of the causal adjunct be anterior to that expressed by the verb of the head clause. The internal order of the CSs with causal adjuncts is granted by using a specific or non-specific connector.

In Romanian, the inventory of causal adjuncts includes the **specific subordinators**: *căci, deoarece, întrucât, fiindcă* 'because', the set phrases (linguistic collocations): *de vreme ce, din cauză că, din pricină că, pentru că, pe motiv că* 'because', but also **non-specific connectors**, such as *că, dacă, unde, cum, odată ce.* According to GALR (II, 2008, p. 559), *întrucât* 'because' is mostly used in the scientific and administrative stile of writing, while *din moment ce, pe motiv că, odată ce* are preferred in literature. Based on the subordinating element – conjunction/subordinator or relative –, Romanian CSs may have conjunctional or relative causal adjuncts. Nevertheless, the conjunctional realisation is dominat in the actual stage of language, the relative causal adjunct being set aside by the Romanian speakers.

Like other Romance languages, Romanian inherited the multifunctional subordinators *că* (< QUOD) and *ca* (< QUIA) (Uţă Bărbulescu, 2016: 503), very productive in Old Romanian, but less productive or part of complex subordinators in the Contemporary Romanian. As illustrated by the diagram below, the most frequent complex subordinator (considered a *collocation* by the traditional grammar) in our multilingual (constructed) corpus is *pentru că* 'lit. for that! because' that exclusively mark the causal relation (in opposition to the polyfunctional connector *că*).

(35) *Freud cumpărase însă deja cartea **pentru că** auzise că numele său era menţionat.*

'But Freud had already bought the book because he had heard that his name was mentioned'
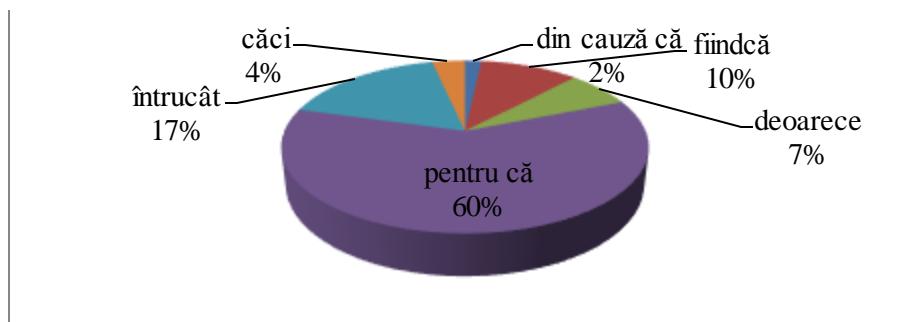

Figure 2: *The Frequency of Causal Connectors in Romanian (online) Press Communications*

A particular status has the Romanian causal subordinator *fiindcă*, considered not a Latin inheritance, but the result of language contact with other Balkan languages from the Balkan *Sprachbund*. Providing a significat number of examples and arguments, Kortmann (1997, p. 234) demonstrates that this subordinator has the characteristics of the adverbial subordinators from the Balkan languages, viz. it incorporates the copula (*fiind* = GER 'be') + the complementizer 'that' ('că' = 'that') (as in Albanian: *me-qene-se* with-be-COMP, *duke qene se* GER be COMP; in Serbian/Croatian *buduci da* be: PRS.PART COMP).

The other two important subordinators used by the Romanian journalists are *întrucât* (17%) and *fiindcă* (10%), but the diagram also displays the variety of causal connectors' Romanian inventory.

(36) *alimentele prăjite supun sistemul digestiv la o muncă suplimentară, **întrucât** grăsimile sunt greu de prelucrat*

'fried foods subject the digestive system to additional work, because fats are difficult to process'

(37) *Chipul este cea mai revelatoare parte a corpului, **fiindcă** oferă o privire către o serie de organe interne.*

'The face is the most revealing part of the body, because it provides a look at a number of internal organs'

Although less frequent in this type of communication, the subordinator *căci* 'because' had a very interesting evolution in Romanian, being considered a *complex grammaticalization case*. Used as a simple subordinator today, *căci* is actually a complex connector, containing the complementizer *că* 'that' and the interrogative *ce* 'what' (with the initial form *căce*). This is why, in the Old Romanian, the subordinator had "the same distribution as the adverbial collocation *de*

ce 'why''', and occurred in interrogatives or in quasi-collocational phrases *derep(t) căce, derep(t) căce că, pentru căce, pentru căce că* and *căce că* 'because' (Uţă Bărbulescu, 2016, p. 504).

(38) *În 1910, prietenia celor doi savanţi a fost din nou sudată, **căci** Jung a fost ales director al organizaţiei proaspăt fondate, Asocţiaţia Internaţională de Psihanaliză.*

'In 1910, the friendship of the two scholars was again welded, because Jung was elected director of the newly founded organization, the International Psychoanalytic Association'

Unlike Romanian, the other two Romance languages have a less diversified inventory of causal connectors used in online press communications, but a common feature is the dominant position of *because - parce que*, *perché*. Therefore, French has the following causal subordinators: *parce (pour) que, car, puisque, du fait que* 'because', *comme* 'as'.

(39) *Je suppose que Calmann-Lévy a procédé ainsi **parce que** le deuxième opus d'Offill a eu un succès plus retentissant que le précédent.*

'I assume that Calmann-Lévy did so because the second opus of Offill had a more resounding success than the previous one'

(40) *Il est d'ailleurs difficile de se raisonner, **car** cela va au-delà de la raison.*

'It is difficult to reason because it goes beyond reason'

(41) ***Du fait que** mes parents m'obligent à lire dans ma chambre plutôt qu'aller jouer au foot avec les potes de mon HLM, j'avais fini par repérer qu'il n'y a que trois sujets dans la littérature française: l'amour, la mort, la nature.*

'Because my parents forced me to read in my room rather than going to play football with the friends of my HLM, I ended up spotting that there are only three subjects in French literature: love, death, nature'

The complex subordinator *du fait que* is rarely used in French press communications to express a cause (sometimes with no particular indication, just a 'fact'), and, as the other simple connector *comme* 'as', it appears in initial position of the CS in order to set down a causal frame of the events.

The Italian causal adjunct (called *le causali esplicite* by Dardano & Trifone 1995, p. 453) has three specific subordinators in the investigated corpus – *perché, poiché*, and *visto che* –, although the general inventory is more complex.

(42) *È considerato un batterio "molto antipatico", **perché** è un batterio opportunista.*

'It is considered a "very unpleasant" bacterium, because it is an opportunistic bacterium'

(43) *Il terzo esercizio è uno dei più completi, **poiché** allena glutei, pettorali, tricipiti, addominali e muscolo ileo-psoas.*

'The third exercise is one of the most complete, since it trains the buttocks, pectorals, triceps, abdominals and ileo-psoas muscle'

From a semantic point of view, Italian distinguishes between causal adjuncts that express an *efficient* cause (*causa «efficiente»*) and a *formal* cause (*causa «formale»*). The former is an assertion about a specific event (44), while the latter refers to an assertion with a general character (45) (Dardano & Trifone, 1995, p. 454). I identified the two types in the online press corpus:

(44) *Pronta la risposta di Filippa. "Il mio medico mi ha consigliato di rimuoverlo **perché** stava crescendo e poteva diventare un neo pericoloso".*

'Filippa's reply is ready."My doctor advised me to remove him because he was growing up and could become a dangerous neo."'

(45) *bere almeno 2 litri di acqua al giorno, soprattutto **perché** l'acqua è la principale fonte di calcio per il nostro organismo.*

'drink at least 2 liters of water a day, especially because water is the main source of calcium for our body'

As in the case of the temporal adjuncts, it can be noticed the journalists' disposition to place an adverbial phrase before the causal connector (46-49), or to delete the subordinator of a second, third coordinated adjunct (50-52).

(46) *Astăzi nu mai e atât de apreciată în bucătăria autohtonă, <u>probabil</u> **pentru că** am uitat ce ne-au tot repetat bunicile, şi anume că varza este doctorul săracilor.*

'Today it is no longer so appreciated in the local cuisine, probably because we forgot what our grandparents repeated, namely that the cabbage is the doctor of the poor'

(47) *N-am să renunţ la dreptul la opinie, <u>doar</u> **pentru că** o mână de neterminaţi, isterici, agresivi şi îmbâcsiţi de ură mi-l neagă*

'I will not give up the right to opinion, only because a hand of the unfinished, hysterical, aggressive and hatred denies me'

(48) *<u>Probabilmente</u> **perché** è l'approccio culturale a essere sbagliato, la convinzione che l'unico modo per avere una forma invidiabile sia faticare e rinunciare ai peccati di gola.*

'Probably because it is the cultural approach that is wrong, the belief that the only way to have an enviable form is to toil and renounce the sins of gluttony'

(49) *Si può anche lavorare su ciocche più spesse, <u>proprio</u> **perché** lo stacco tra la colorazione di base e quella scelta non è molto netto.*

'It is also possible to work on thicker locks, precisely because the separation between the basic coloring and the chosen one is not very clear'

(50) *Te îngraşi **pentru că** mănânci mult, n-ai o dietă echilibrată şi nu faci deloc mişcare.*

'You get fat because you eat a lot, you do not have a balanced diet and you do not move at all'

(51) *Va però combinate con altre farine **perché** è molto calorica e poco panificabile.*

'However, it should be combined with other flours because it is very caloric and of little bread-making'

(52) *La Planète au trésor (2002) est une catastrophe NP (entre autres **parce qu**'en avance dans son esthétique plus adulte et son usage marqué des images de synthèse).*

'The Treasure Planet (2002) is a NP disaster (among other things because it is ahead of its more mature aesthetics and its use of computer-generated images)'

2.2.3 Concessive Sentence Connectors

GBLR (2010, p. 576) defines the adjunct of concession as "an event that might block the accomplishment of the action or the achievement of a characteristic, but it doesn't". This is probably the reason why Tiktin (1945) talks about the concessive clause as a particular type of the causal/reason clause (1945, p. 233), and Romanian grammar includes both of them in the category of optional syntactic constituents that express logical-semantic relations (GALR, II, 2008, p. 592).

(53) ***Deşi** s-a pregătit, a picat examenul.*

'Although he prepared, he failed the exam'

In Romanian (GALR, II, 2008, p. 595), concessive adjunct clauses are grouped in two classes, both of them present in the print press corpus:

- **conjunctional conccesive clauses**, introduced by the specific simple or complex subordinators: *deşi* 'although' (54), *chiar dacă* 'even if' (55), *cu toate că* 'with all that' (56):

(54) ***Deşi** considerat parte importantă dintr-un meniu sănătos, peştele este un aliment controversat.*

'Although considered an important part of a healthy menu, fish is a controversial food'

(55) ***Chiar dacă** nu te umplu de energie, fibrele alimentare sunt şi utile, şi necesare.*

'Even if you are not full of energy, dietary fiber is also useful and necessary'

(56) *În realitate, râul nu era îngheţat, **cu toate că** era iarnă.*

'In reality, the river was not frozen, although it was winter'

The third example is particularly interesting and important for my analysis, as it contains a complex subordinator that I couldn't find in any other Romance language. This is not surprising if we take into consideration Kortmann's interpretation of these concessive subordinators (more precisely, the complex subordinators made of a preposition 'with/at/beside' + a free-choice quantifier 'all, any' + a complementizer) as a Balkan phenomenon. Kortmann (1997, pp. 233-234) characterizes "examples as in (57) as *typically Balkan* expressions representing *multiple calques*, which spread due to multifold interference processes":

(57)   Alb   *me-gjithe-se*   with-all-COMP

         Blg   *pri vsicko ce*   at/with alhACC COMP
         Grk   *m-ol-on-oti*   with-all-ACC: SG: NT-COMP
         Med   *pri se sto*   at/with all COMP
         Rum   *cu toate că*   with all COMP

The idea had been also sustained by a Romanian linguist ever since 1977, Frâncu considering that this subordinator may be a translation from Greek, occurring, at first, in legal texts (Frâncu, 1977, pp. 18-19).

- **relative concessive clauses** introduced by indefinite adverbs *oricât* 'however' (and *oricum* 'any way')

(58) *Şi, **oricât** de obosiţi am fi, brusc căpătăm putere şi acţionăm.*
    'And, however tired we may be, we suddenly gain power and act'

The corpus analysis revealed that the Romanian journalists prefer the conjunctional realisation, only one example with relative concessive adjunct being found.

Another important classification is based on a semantic criterion: the real or hypothetic character of the obstruction that blocks the accomplishment of the action expressed by the verb of the matrix clause. This classification also involves a selection of the concessive subordinators, as these elements might bring certain information about the real or unreal character of the action (Dimitriu, 1982, p. 307). Therefore, according to this criterion, the three Romance languages distinguish between proper/factual or conditional/hypothetical concessives. Both types were identified in the constructed corpus, and are exemplified below:

- proper or factual concessives (in which both the matrix clause and the concessive adjunct are factual):

(59) ***Deşi** nu toate fac sport intensiv, multe dintre noi aleargă sau merg la sală.*
    'Although not all do sports intensively, many of us run or go to the gym'

(60) *Il arrive aussi que cette forme de pancréatite découle d'une prise médicamenteuse **même si** l'origine de la pancréatite demeure inconnue.*

'It also happens that this form of pancreatitis results from taking medication even though the origin of pancreatitis remains unknown'

(61) *Oggi sono più riflessiva, **anche se** quando mi innamoro perdo lucidità*
    'Today I am more reflective, even if when I fall in love I lose lucidity'

- conditional or hypothetical concessives (in which at least the adjunct is hypothetical)

(62) *Conform lui Jack Adler, detaliile în legătură cu trecerea sa în nefiinţă sunt incerte, dar o anumită relatare pare apropiată firii sale **chiar dacă** este posibil să fie apocrifă*
    'According to Jack Adler, the details of his passing into being are uncertain, but a certain relationship seems close to his nature even though it may be apocryphal'

(63) ***nonostante** molte acque micellari possano essere utilizzate senza risciacquarle, vi consigliamo sempre di rimuoverne i residui dopo averla applicata.*
    'although many micellar waters can be used without rinsing them, we always advise you to remove the residues after applying it'

The first type uses verbal forms of indicative (present) that express certainty, while the other makes use of the conditional (as the name itself suggests) or contains a probability adverb. It can be added another class, that of "unconditionals or irrelevance conditionals, containing a 'free choice' marker or a positive/negative disjunction and a universally valid apodosis (matrix clause)" (Zafiu, 2016, p. 533). Irimia (1997, p. 455) also notes that the Romanian complex subordinator *fie că* "introduces a concessive clause if it also marks a disjunctive coordination".

(64) *Este una dintre culorile de top ale verii, **fie că** vorbim de haine, farduri, păr sau unghii.*
    'It is one of the top colors of summer, whether we are talking about clothes, shades, hair or nails'

As expected, the journalists are interested in being as truthful and realistic as they can in the writing of their articles, and this is why they use mostly factual concessives, in order to convey the idea that their observations are based on real facts, not imaginary. The proportions from the diagram below are revealing for Romanian.
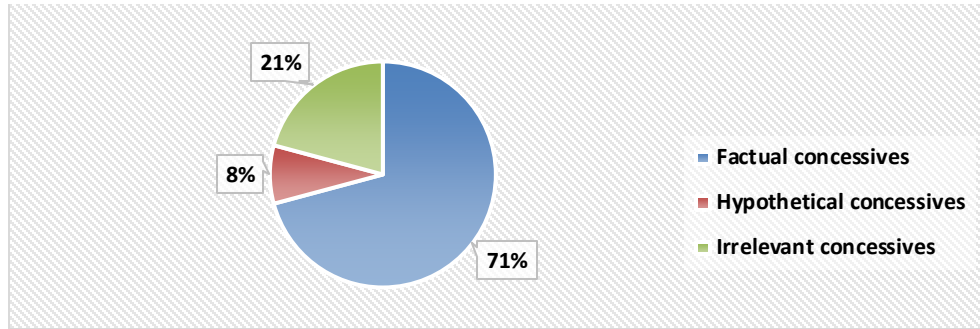
Figure 3: *The frequency of Factual, Hypothetical, and Irrelevant Concessives in Romanian (online) Press Communications*

Quite often, the concessive adjunct may have a correlative in the matrix clause (such as the Romanian adverb *totuşi/tot* 'yet' or the Italian *tuttavia* 'however') that has more a discoursive function: on the one hand, it resumes or it anticipates the information communicated by the adjunct (being an anaphoric element), and, on the other hand, it guarantees the cohesion of the complex sentence (GALR, II, 2008, pp. 592-593).

(65) *Şi* <u>*totuşi*</u>, ***chiar dacă*** *doar traversează aproape intacte stomacul, intestinul subţire şi colonul, pe acest traseu absorb tot felul de inamici ai sănătăţii.*

'And yet, even if it only crosses the stomach almost intact, the intestine also supports the colon, on this route it absorbs all kinds of health enemies'

(66) ***sebbene*** *avessi ragione,* <u>*tuttavia*</u> *non ho voluto insistere*

'although I was right, however I did not want to insist'

As compared to the Old Romanian, the inventory of concessive connectors displays a low degree of variation in Contemporary Romanian (see diagram below), and this fact can be interpreted as a consequence of the complex processes of grammaticalization and specialization in which they were involved along the years (Zafiu, 2016, p. 534).
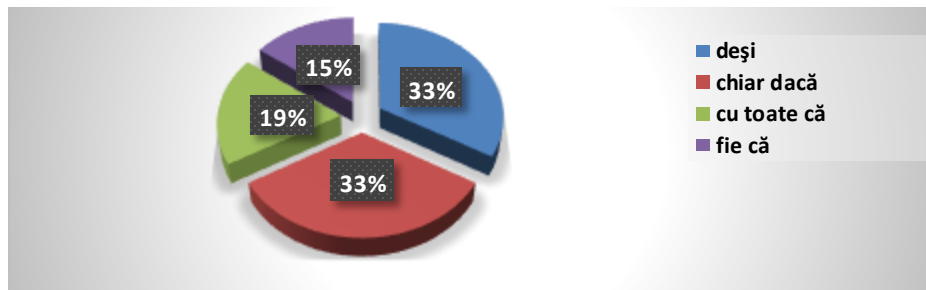

Figure 4: *The Frequency of Concessive Connectors in Romanian (online) Press Communications*

Like most Romance languages, Romanian lost the Latin concessive connectors, but it rebuilt new subordinators, sometimes using the same pattern. As results from the diagram, one of the most productive pattern for new concessive markers is the association of a conditional conjunction *de* 'if' with a scalar additive focus particle *şi* 'also' = *deşi* 'although'. Used in the 16th c. as a dislocated causal subordinator, *de (...) şi* 'although' becomes a fully grammaticalized (factual) concessive marker in the 18th c. (GALR, II, 2008, p. 597). Later on, many other conditional concessive connectors followed the same pattern on their grammaticalization path (*chiar de, chiar dacă* 'even if, even though'), and were preferred by the Romanian speakers (Zafiu, 2016, pp. 534-535).

From a diachronic point of view, Dardano & Trifone (1995, p. 464) also insists on the delayed development of the Italian concessive markers that underwent a similar process. Actually, the Romanian pattern (focalizing particle + conjunction) was identified in the other two Romance languages – It. *benché,* Fr. *bien que,* It. *anche se*, Fr. *meme si* –, and are exemplified below:

(67) *Pas forcément liée au passé colonial -* **bien que** *pour les ados issus de cette immigration algérienne, elle ait son importance.*

'Not necessarily related to the colonial past - although for teenagers from this Algerian immigration, it is important'

(68) *Il piercing all'ombelico o navel piercing esiste da un bel po' di tempo,* **anche se** *non tanto come scrive nel suo pamphlet del 1998.*

'Navel piercing or navel piercing has existed for quite some time, though not as much as it writes in its 1998 pamphlet'

(69) *Elles sont nombreuses et,* **même si** *elles sont le plus souvent chroniques, elles ne sont pas toutes graves.*

'They are numerous and, although they are most often chronic, they are not all serious'

The expression of concession is very rich and miscellaneous in Contemporary French, as well as Italian, but not quite explored by the journalists. A reason might be the fact that in this type of communication, the adversative coordination is preferred for the expression of the logical association of two contrastive facts/events. Instead of a CS such as **sebbene** *fossi sazio, ho assaggiato la torta* 'although I was full, I tasted the cake', it is preferred *ero sazio,* **ma** *ho assaggiato la torta* 'I was full, but I tasted the cake' (Dardano & Trifone, 1995, p. 464). In French, the concessive subordinators *encore que*, *bien que* and *quoique* are frequently used in every-day communication as adversative adverbs. *Bien que* 'although' is one the most frequent French

concessive markers, introducing an adjunct in the initial position or in the final position of the CS, the latter being used as a comment that shades the idea of the matrix clause.

(70) *La plupart du temps, aucun symptôme se manifeste, **bien que** la moitié des personnes touchées l'ignore.*

'Most of the time, no symptoms occur, although half of those affected are unaware of it'

3. Conclusions

In conclusion, considered in the actual context of Romance languages research, the present paper brings a certain contribution to the existing linguistic literature on complex sentences in Romanian, and also in the field of Romance comparative linguistics, as I strongly believe that the generous data offered by the Romanian language must not be absent from any comparative study dedicated to the Romance family.

In this context, the innovative character of my paper was based on the idea that I investigate an original linguistic material, which was not previously described within the modern morphosyntax or semantic frameworks. Such approach may also lead to the identification of certain typological features of the investigated languages, and, at the same time, reveal some interesting aspects concerning the cross-linguistic diversity of the Romance varieties.

The investigation of the online press constructed corpus, using an integrative theoretical framework, which combines concepts/instruments of Morphology, Syntax and Semantics resulted into an analysis that emphasizes both the homogeneity and the diversity of the Romance *sister* languages. In order to answer the question-title, I brought evidence in this paper that there are many sentence connectors in the (online) press communications of the three Romance languages investigated that can be interpreted as Latin inheritance. This was, undoubtly, a natural and expected result of the analysis. Still, in addition, Romanian has also specific subordinators that could be interpreted as consequences of the language contact in the Balkan peninsula (the influence of Classical Greek on the Orthodox Church in the East Europe, i. e., primarily the Balkan peninsula (including Romania) and the area inhabited by the East Slavic peoples). I am sure – and it is not just my intuition – that French and Italian also have many connectors that might be considered results of external influences.

Therefore, instead of pleading for the exclusive introduction of Romanian in one of the two categories, viz. languages with Latin influence or languages with Balkan influence, I preferred to

accurately describe and compare the linguistic facts, and, in the end, to consider Romanian (along with Kortmann, 1997) a *Balkan Romance language*.

CORPUS

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