

# Coordination of Iterative Terms in Romanian – A contrastive study

Gabriela Bîlbîie  
LLF, Université Paris 7

## I. Introduction

The *correlative coordination* (2) distinguishes itself from the *simple coordination* (1) by repeating the conjunction not only before the second conjunct, but also before the first one:

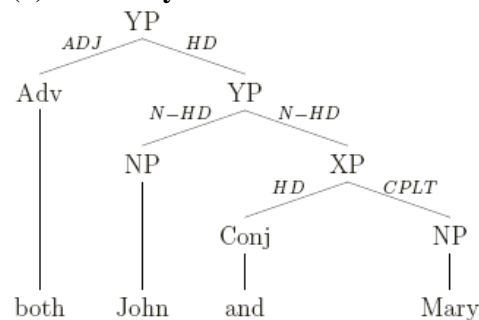
- (1) a. Paul a appris [l'espagnol **et** le français]. (French)  
 b. Paul has learnt [Spanish **and** French]. (English)
- (2) a. Paul a appris [**et** l'espagnol **et** le français]. (French)  
 b. Paul has learnt [**both** Spanish **and** French]. (English)

The representative elements of the correlative coordination (that we discuss here) are the disjunction<sup>1</sup> type *either...or*, the negative type *neither...nor* and the conjunctive type *both...and*. In the literature, one can find two analysis:

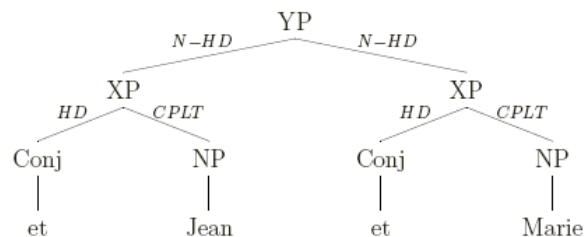
a) an asymmetric structure A (cf. (3a)), available for Germanic languages (such as English, Dutch or Norwegian) (cf. Johannessen 2005, Hendriks 2004), where the initial element of the structure is a Focus Particle (relatively free distribution, restrictions by focus and intonation, scopal effects), modifying the whole coordination; thus, the term *initial coordination* would be motivated for these cases.

b) a symmetric structure B (cf. (3b)), available for French (cf. Mouret 2005, 2007) (and a priori for Romance languages more generally), where the two items are conjunctions (due to the lack of syntactic properties specific to adverbs), correlative items combining with the first term of each conjunct rather than with the whole coordinated phrase. Thus, the French case would justify the term of *conjunction doubling*.

### (3) a. Asymmetric Structure A



### b. Symmetric Structure B

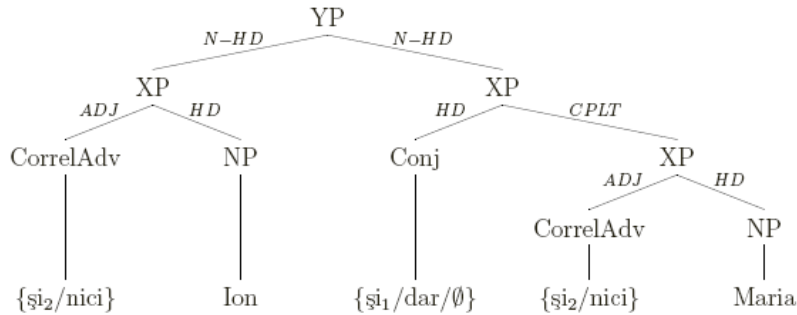


A superficial Romance overview may suggest a common analysis for Romance data. Here we provide new data from Romanian which seems to be a hybrid case: apart from the symmetric structure B (available for the disjunction type – cf. table 1), we have a third pattern, an asymmetric analysis, where the correlation takes place between two adverbs. An appropriate analysis accounting for these cases would be the structure C (cf. (4)). As for terminology, we would use a more general term (*coordination of iterative terms*, for example) in order to include both patterns found in Romanian correlative coordination.

Contrary to what is generally assumed in Romanian grammars (Guțu Romalo 2005), this study argues that Romanian pairs *și...și* ('both...and') and *nici...nici* ('neither...nor') are adverbs, rather than conjunctions. Furthermore, we give a formalization of these data within a construction-based HPSG framework.

<sup>1</sup> We use these terms (disjunction type, negative type, conjunctive type) for the sake of simplicity.

(4) **Asymmetric Structure C**



**II. Romanian data in Romance perspective: *și...și* and *nici...nici* structures**

After a superficial examination of the following data concerning Romance languages, we might conclude that Romanian resembles French and Italian, but not Spanish which lacks the equivalent of Romanian *și...și*, French *et...et* and Italian *sia...sia* or *sia...che*.

- (5) a. **Et** Jean **et** Marie sont venus à la fête. (French)
  - b. **Sia** Gianni **sia** Maria sono venuti alla festa. (Italian)
  - c. **Și** Ion, **și** Maria au venit la petrecere. (Romanian)
  - d. \***Y** Juan **y** Maria han venido a la fiesta. (Spanish)
- ‘Both John and Mary came to the party.’

**Table 1. Correlative pairs of Romance languages**

	Romanian	French	Italian	Spanish
<b>Disjunction Type</b>	<i>sau...sau,</i> <i>ori...ori</i> <i>fie...fie<sub>c</sub></i>	<i>ou...ou</i> <i>soit...soit<sub>c</sub></i>	<i>o...o</i>	<i>o...o</i>
<b>Negative Type</b>	<i>nici...nici</i>	<i>ni...ni</i>	<i>nè...nè</i>	<i>ni...ni</i>
<b>Conjunctive Type</b>	<i>și...și</i>	<i>et...et</i>	<i>sia...sia<sub>c</sub></i> <i>sia...che<sub>c</sub></i>	—

The index c in the left indicates that the form is always employed in correlative structures.

A closer scrutiny of the data shows that this likeness is only apparent. The pairs *și...și* and *nici...nici* in Romanian behave in many aspects as adverbs. They can be preceded by a coordinating conjunction which exclusively realizes the coordination relation; they combine with conjunctions like *și*<sup>2</sup> ‘and’ or *dar* ‘but’ (6). Even if the first correlative item is absent<sup>3</sup>, a conjunction may always be placed before the second (7).

- (6) a. Manolescu scrie **și** poezie {*și / dar*} **și** proză.  
Manolescu writes **also** poetry **CONJ also** prose  
‘Manolescu writes both poetry and prose.’
- b. Ioana **nici** nu cântă {*și / dar*} **nici** nu dansează.  
Ioana **either** not sings **CONJ either** not dances  
‘Ioana neither sings nor dances.’
- (7) a. La petrecere va veni Paul, {*și / dar*} **și** Mircea.  
To the party will come Paul, **CONJ also** Mircea  
‘Paul will come to the party, and Mircea too’.
- b. Nu vin la birou azi (*și*) **nici** mâine.  
[I] not come to the office today, (**CONJ**) **either** tomorrow  
‘I don’t come to the office today and tomorrow either.’

<sup>2</sup> Romanian has two homonym words: a (never doubled) *și*<sub>1</sub> conjunction and an adverb *și*<sub>2</sub> (which may be doubled in correlative coordination).

<sup>3</sup> In these cases, we interpret the ‘end-attachment’ coordination as a stripping / ‘split’ conjunct (cf. Abeillé 2005).

These items can occur outside coordinated phrases, in independent sentences, having a commonly accepted adverbial status: *și* ('too' / 'also'), *nici* ('either') (see table 2):

- (8) a. La petrecere, vor veni **și** prietenii, **și** colegii lui Ion.  
To the party, will come **also** friends, **also** colleagues of Ion  
'Both Ion's friends and colleagues will come to the party.'  
b. La petrecere, vor veni **și** {prietenii / colegii} lui Ion.  
To the party, will come **also** {friends / colleagues} of Ion  
'Ion's friends / colleagues will come to the party, too.'
- (9) a. Din păcate, **nici** Ion **nici** Maria n-a venit la petrecere.  
'Unfortunately, neither John nor Mary came to the party.'  
b. Din păcate, **nici** {Ion / Maria} n-a venit la petrecere.  
'Unfortunately, {John / Mary} didn't come to the party, **either**.'

In Romanian, the phrase composed by a semiadverb<sup>4</sup> and its host is always accented in communication; and it just so happens that, prosodically, the constituent modified by *și* and *nici* becomes stressed.

A significant difference between conjunctions and adverbs is that one can insert an incidental phrase between the conjunction *fie* and the conjunct, but not between the correlative *și* or *nici* and the element that it modifies:

- (10) a. Ion vine **fie** azi **fie** poate mâine.  
'Ion comes **either** today **or** perhaps tomorrow.'  
b. \* Ion vine **și** azi, **și** poate mâine.  
Ion comes **also** today, **also** perhaps tomorrow  
'Ion comes both today and perhaps tomorrow.'  
b'. Ion vine **și** azi, poate **și** mâine.  
Ion comes **also** today, perhaps **also** tomorrow  
'Ion comes both today and perhaps tomorrow.'  
c. \* Ion nu vine azi, **nici** poate mâine.  
Ion not comes today, **either** perhaps tomorrow  
'Ion doesn't come today and perhaps tomorrow either.'  
c'. Ion nu vine (**nici**) azi, poate **nici** mâine.  
Ion not comes **either** today, perhaps **either** tomorrow  
'Ion comes neither today nor tomorrow.'

Furthermore, the item *și* shows a closer likeness with adverbs, since it can appear between the auxiliary and the lexical verb or between the subjunctive marker and the verb inside the verbal complex, position exclusively reserved to a restricted class of adverbs (affixal items, cf. Barbu 2004) in Romanian.

- (11) a. Ea [a **și** învățat, a **și** scris] lecția pentru mâine.  
[Aux ADV Vb, Aux ADV Vb]  
'She has both learnt and written the homework for tomorrow.'  
b. Cît despre noul roman, Mirela vrea [să-l **și** citească, să-l **și** traducă].  
[Cptizer-Clit Adv Vb, Cptizer-Clit Adv Vb]  
'As for the new novel, Mirela wants both to read and to translate it.'

We therefore conclude that the four Romance languages have in common the type **Conjunction...Conjunction**. As for Romanian, the conjunction doubling phenomenon is available only for the disjunction type. However, unlike English focus particles (e.g. *either*, cf. (12a)), 'initial' elements such as *sau / ori / fie* are not able to appear in other positions than the position preceding the first conjunct (12b-c):

<sup>4</sup> *Semiadverbs* (cf. Ciompec 1985) behave differently from circumstantial adverbs, since they have modal or aspectual meaning (=intensifiers, so that they always need a head to be modified), they can modify almost everything, they have relatively rigid order, in immediate neighbourhood of the selected element. Barbu 2004 operates a distinction inside this class between lexical adverbs and affixal adverbs (the last mentioned only occurring inside the verbal complex, just near the lexical verb).

- (12) a. John **either** ate [rice **or** beans].  
 b. Ion a mâncat [**sau** orez **sau** fasole].  
 ‘Ion ate [**either** rice **or** beans].’  
 c. \*Ion **sau** a mâncat [orez **sau** fasole].  
 ‘Ion **either** ate [rice **or** beans].’

On the other hand, the *correlative coordination* term is not appropriate for adverbial elements like *și...și* and *nici...nici*. In these cases, the conjuncts are coordinated either by juxtaposition<sup>5</sup> or by a simple conjunction: (**Adv...{Ø / Conj} Adv**).

**Table 2.**

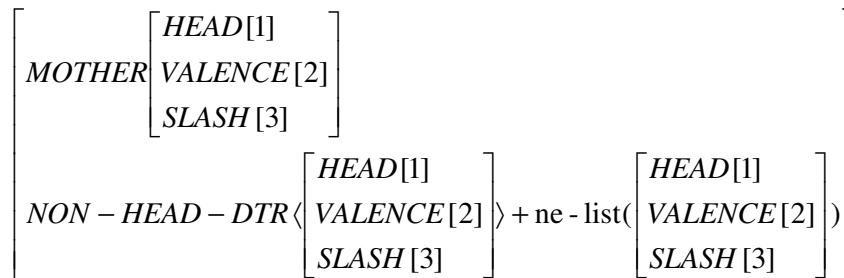
		Romanian	French	Italian	Spanish
« <b>NI</b> »	simple conjunction	—	<i>Ni</i>	<i>nè</i>	<i>ni</i>
	correlative conjunction	—	<i>ni...ni</i>	<i>nè...nè</i>	<i>ni...ni</i>
	simple adverb	<i>nici</i>	<i>non plus</i>	<i>neppure</i>	<i>tampoco</i>
	correlative adverb	<i>nici...nici</i>			
« <b>ET</b> »	simple conjunction	<i>și<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>Et</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>Y<sub>1</sub></i>
	correlative conjunction	—	<i>et...et</i>	<i>sia...sia<sub>c</sub></i>	—
	simple adverb	<i>și<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>Aussi</i>	<i>anche</i>	<i>tambien</i>
	correlative adverb	<i>și<sub>2</sub>...și<sub>2</sub></i>			
	discourse marker				<i>Y<sub>2</sub></i>

Coming back to the language contrast, this new perspective shows that Romanian doesn't resemble Italian or French, but Spanish, since they both share the double nature of *și / y*, which can be conjunction and adverb in Romanian, conjunction and discursive marker in Spanish.

### III. An HPSG analysis

Turning to the syntax of coordination, we follow Tseng 2002 and Abeillé 2003 in treating conjunctions as ‘weak’ heads passing a CONJ feature to the phrase projected while inheriting most of their other syntactic properties from their sister complement. On the other hand, we follow Pollard and Sag 1994, Abeillé 2005 and 2006 in treating the coordinated phrase as a non-headed construction (13):

- (13) *coordinated-phrase* ⇒



In order to give a common account for Romance data, we further posit two subtypes of coordinated phrases: (i) correlative-coordinated-phrase (cf. (14), to account for symmetric structures in French<sup>6</sup> and for disjunction type in Romanian), and (ii) a simplex-coordinated-

<sup>5</sup> Juxtaposition phenomenon can be found in Romanian coordinations:

- (i) Ion vorbește franceza, spaniola, portugheza.  
 ‘John speaks French, Spanish, Portuguese.’  
 (ii) Merele, perele sunt fructe care se culeg toamna.  
 ‘Apples, pears are fruits that one picks in the fall.’

<sup>6</sup> French seems to share with Italian and Spanish the structure of these coordinations. Consequently, French will be taken as representative and contrasted with Romanian.

phrase (cf. (15), to account for the simple coordination in general, including also Romanian structures with correlative adverbs).

(14) *correlative-coordinated-phrase*  $\Rightarrow$   
 $[NON - HEAD - DTR_{ne} - list ((CONJ[1]_{fie} \vee ori \vee sau))]$

(15) *simplex-coordinated-phrase*  $\Rightarrow$

$$\left[ NON - HEAD - DTR_{ne} - list \left( \begin{array}{c} CONJ \textit{ nil} \\ LEFT \textit{ CORREL}[1] \end{array} \right) + list \left( \begin{array}{c} CONJ[1]_{ori \vee sau \vee dar \vee \textit{ \textless}i} \\ LEFT \textit{ CORREL}[1] \end{array} \right) \right]$$

(16) a.  $\textit{ \textless}i_2$  Ion  $\textit{ \textless}i_1$   $\textit{ \textless}i_2$  Maria  
 ADV Ion CONJ ADV Maria  
 ‘both Ion and Maria’  
 b. **nici** Ion  $\textit{ \textless}i_1$  **nici** Maria  
 ADV Ion CONJ ADV Maria  
 ‘neither Ion nor Maria’

(17) a. \***nici** Ion] [ $\textit{ \textless}i$  Maria]  
 b. \* $\textit{ \textless}i$  Ion] [**nici** Maria]  
 c. **nici** [Ion  $\textit{ \textless}i$  Maria]

As for the representation of correlative adverbs, we follow Miller 1992 and Tseng 2003 in assuming an EDGE Feature Principle which allows feature propagation along the right and left edges of phrases. We then build from Abeillé and Borsley 2006, using a LEFT feature [CORREL] to identify the adverbial correlative forms in the lexicon and to percolate the information on the left edge of the phrase.

(18) EDGE feature Principle

*phrase*  $\Rightarrow$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} MOTHER \mid EDGE[LEFT/[1], RIGHT/[2]] \\ DAUGHTERS \langle [SYNSEM \textit{ EDGE LEFT}/[1]], \dots, [SYNSEM \textit{ EDGE RIGHT}/[2]] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

(19) Lexical entry for the adverb  $\textit{ \textless}i_2$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} HEAD \textit{ adv} \\ MOD[CONT/[1]] \\ LEFT \textit{ CORREL} \textit{ \textless}i \\ CONT \left[ \begin{array}{l} RELS \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{ additive\_rel} \\ ARG[1] \\ \textit{ set}[2] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ CONTXT[2] \textit{ alternative\_set} \end{array} \right]$$

(20) Lexical entry for the conjunction  $\textit{ \textless}i_1$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} CONJ \textit{ \textless}i \\ HEAD [1] \\ COMPS \langle [HEAD[1], LEFT[CORREL[2]], CONJ \textit{ nil}] \rangle \\ LEFT[CORREL[2]] \end{array} \right]$$

#### IV. Outlooks

As a secondary problem, it would be interesting to observe the semantic features of the correlative adverbs  $\textit{ \textless}i_2$  and **nici** (i.e. *focus particles*, cf. Rooth 1985). More particularly, we have to clarify the semantic status of the element **nici** in respect to the negation phenomenon. A superficial data overview would determine us to consider **nici** as a negative polarity item, i.e. its occurrence is licensed by the presence of the negative marker:

- (21) a. *Nici eu nu* îndrăgesc comportamentul lui.  
 ‘I don’t like his behaviour either.’  
 b. **Nu** vine *nici azi, nici* mâine.  
 ‘He comes neither today, nor tomorrow.’

However, we can find cases where *nici...nici* occur in contexts where the verbal form is positive:

- (22) a. Ion vrea ca mașina sa să fie *nici* roșie, *nici* galbenă.  
 ‘Ion wants the car to be neither red, nor yellow.’  
 b. Bătrâna își trăia viața în singurătate, **nici** de nepoți vizitată, **nici** de vecini înțeleasă.  
 ‘The old woman was living in loneliness, neither visited by her nephews, nor understood by her neighbours.’

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