Romanian Correlative Coordination – A contrastive study
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Goal
- o Identify the distribution of correlative items, concluding with the existence of two kinds of structures: **Conj…Conj** et **Adv… (Conj) Adv**
- o Argue that *și… și (and... and)* and *nici… nici (neither... nor)* are adverbs, instead of conjunctions.
- o Provide a syntactic analysis suitable for these two structures (symmetric vs. asymmetric)
- o Describe Romanian data in HPSG

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

1. Introduction
- 2 kinds of coordinate structures:
(i) Simple coordination (1a-b), where the connector will appear before the last coordinate, and optionally between the precedent terms:

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

(ii) Doubling coordination (2a-b), where the connector must take place before every coordinate term:

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

-     Proposed terminologies for second type of coordination :

➢ *Double conjunctions* (Progovac 1998, Piot 2000 et Mouret 2005): appropriate terminology for languages such as French (where couples *et… et (and... and), ni… ni (neither... nor), ou… ou, soit… soit (either... or),* are conjunctions instead of adverbs). They are inappropriate for Germanic languages, where the correlative items are lexically and syntactically different: *and, nor* and *or* are considered as simple conjunctions, whereas initial elements *both, neither* and *either* are taken as focus-sensitive adverbs.
➢ *Discontinuous conjunctions, ConjP adverbs, conjunctional adverbs, correlative adverbs, initial coordination:* to stand for the morphosyntactic status of initial items; these terms are useful for Germanic languages, but not for Romance.
➢ *Correlative coordination, Doubled coordination* (Mouret 2005 et 2007). These are the terms preferred for the present analysis, for they allow us to describe Romanian data in a uniform way within the frame of Romance

languages, taking into account the phenomena of correlative coordination of adverbs.

This definition has different dimensions (cf. Deulofeu 2001):
- ➢ morphologic : clear cut marking (belonging to morphologically related series)
- ➢ syntactic : particular behaviour of items
- ➢ phonologic : specific intonation
- ➢ semantic: association with focus

2. Inventory of correlative items and their categorical status
2.1. Inventory of correlative items

table 1. Correlative structures of romance languages

	Romanian	French	Italian	Spanish
Disjunctive Type	*sau...sau, ori...ori fie...fie$_c$*	*ou...ou soit...soit$_c$*	*o...o*	*o...o*
Negative Type	!*nici...nici*	*ni...ni*	*Nè...nè*	*ni...ni*
Conjunctive Type	!*și...și*	*et...et*	*Sia...sia$_c$*	—

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

According to the data presented in table 1, the following observations can be made:

- Correlated terms are identical (*isomorphic*[1]) in the four Romance languages.

- Most items may appear as simple conjunctions in non-correlative coordination: *sau, ori* (Rom.), *ou, ni, et* (French.), *o, nè* (Italian.), *o, ni* (Spanish.):

(3)   a. Nu l-am văzut pe Ion **sau** pe Paul
         b. I have not seen John **or** Paul

- Some structures are exclusively used in correlative coordination: *fie… fie* (Rom), *soit… soit* (Fr.), *sia… sia* (it.):

(4)   a. Predau *(**fie**) spaniola **fie** italiana.
         b. I teach (**either**) Spanish **or** Italian.

- According to the meaning conveyed by the correlative construction, three types can be distinguished: *conjunctive* (where a *collection* of items is implied), *disjunctive* (if a *disjunction* of items is to be found) and *negative* (which stands for a polar negative variant of disjunction).

- Initial marking of coordination is only possible in doubled coordination constructions in Romance (5a-b for French); Conversely, Romanian allows the presence of *și…și* and *nici…nici* in constructions different from coordination (6a-b). This justifies its interpretation as an adverb in a morphosyntactic level, as well as an asymmetric syntactic analysis:

(5)   a. Paul a invité **et** Jean **et** Marie.
         *Paul has invited **and** John **and** Marie*

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[1] We leave aside the structures like Adv… Conj of type *nu numai…ci şi* (Rom.), *non seulement…mais aussi* (Fr.), *non solo…ma anche* (It.), *no sólo…sino* (Spa.), (*not only…but also)*, where the terms in correlation are different (heteromorphic).

b. *Paul a invité **et** {Jean / ses deux amis}.
'Paul has invited **and** {John / his to fiends}'

(6) a. Paul i-a invitat **şi** pe Ion **şi** pe Maria.
b. Paul {l-a / i-a} invitat **şi** {pe Ion / pe cei doi prieteni ai săi}.
'Paul has invited John and Mary'

2.2. Categorical status
- General schema for doubled coordination in Romance languages:

> *Conj* XP *Conj* YP

Romanian – a different case
- This Scheme is only applied for disjunctive meaning in Romanian; for the rest, the structures *şi…şi (and... and)* and *nici…nici (neither... nor)*, the appropriate scheme is the following:

> *Adv* XP (Conj) *Adv* YP

Arguments for the interpretation of *şi…şi* and *nici…nici* as adverbs:
- A coordinating conjunction can be placed before the second coordinating item: *şi* ('and') or *dar* ('but') (7):

(7) a. Manolescu scrie **şi** poezie *şi* **şi** proză.
Manolescu écrit ADV poésie CONJ ADV prose
'Manolescu writes poetry **and** prose.'
b. La petrecere, va veni **şi** Daniel, *dar* **şi** Mircea.
To the party, will come ADV Daniel CONJ ADV Mircea
'Daniel and Mircea will come to the party'
c. Ioana **nici** nu cîntă {*şi / dar*} **nici** nu dansează.
Ioana ADV NEG sing CONJ ADV NEG dance
'Jean neither sings nor dances.'

- Semantically, they are modifiers which may appear in other constructions: *şi* (also), *nici* (neither)) (see table 2):

(8) a. A venit **şi** Traian la petrecere, deşi nu mă aşteptam.
'**Also** Traian has come to the party, even if I didn't expected it.'
b. Din păcate, **nici** Ion n-a venit la petrecere.
'Unfortunately, John hasn't come to the party **either**.'
c. De cînd te aştept, am **şi** terminat romanul început ieri.
'While waiting for you, I've **even** finished the novel I started yesterday.'
d. De rău ce mi-a fost, **nici** n-am mîncat azi.
'I've been so sick that **even** today I haven't eaten anything.'

- Even if the first coordinating item is absent, a conjunction may always be placed before the second (9):

(9) a. Va veni Paul, { ??, / *dar / şi*} **şi** Mircea.
'Paul will come, and Micea also'
b. N-am văzut-o pe Maria {, / *şi*} **nici** pe Ioana.

'I haven't seen Mary and neither Johanna. '

- *și* may appear in a complex verbal form (though this position is limited to a restraint category of adverbs); Romanian conjunctions are never placed between auxiliary and verb (10):

(10) a. Cît despre noul roman, Mirela vrea [să-l **și** citească, să-l **și** traducă].

          [SUBJ le ADV lire, SUBJ le ADV traduire]
   'As for the new novel, Mirela wants to read and translate it.'
   b. Ea [a **și** învăţat, a **și** scris] lecţia pentru mîine.
    [Aux ADV Vb, Aux ADV Vb]
   'She has learnt and written the homework for tomorrow.'

- *nici* is never a simple conjunction (11) :

(11) a. * Dan **nici** Maria n-au plecat.
   Dan ni Marie NEG sont partis.'
   b. Dan n-a plecat {, / *și*} **nici** Maria.
   'Dan hasn't left, and Mary neither'

The different distribution of *și* and *nici* regarding verb coordination must be noted: *nici* precedes always the verb (auxiliary included) (12a-b). By contrast, *și* can appear between the auxiliary and the lexical verb (13a-b).

(12) a. **Nici** nu am mîncat, **nici** nu am băut astăzi.
   Adv NEG AUX VB, Adv NEG AUX VB aujourd'hui
   'I have neither eaten nor drank today'
   b. * Nu am **nici** mîncat, **nici** băut astăzi.
   NEG AUX Adv VB, Adv VB aujourd'hui
   'I have neither eaten nor drunk today'

(13) a. Astăzi, am **și** băut, am **și** mîncat.
   aujourd'hui AUX Adv VB, AUX Adv VB
   'Today, I have drunk and eaten'
   b. * Astăzi, **și** am băut, **și** am mîncat.
   aujourd'hui Adv AUX VB, Adv AUX VB
   'Today I have drunk and eaten'

Conclusions about the categorical status:
- Even though Romanian's correlative behaviour resembles the rest of Romance languages', only disjunctive structures are of type Conj… Conj en Romanian (*sau… sau, ori… ori (ou... ou), fie… fie(soit... soit)*)
- Romanian presents a specificity: there is a type Adv… (Conj) Adv, in structures with *și… și* and *nici… nici*. Correlation between these adverbs can be achieved through juxtaposition, or conjunctions *și* ('and'), and *dar* ('but')
- Romanian seems to have two homonyms words: a (never doubled) *și₁* conjunction and an adverb *și₂* (which may be doubled in correlative coordination)
- Correlative coordination is achieved in Romanian either by conjunctions (with a disjunctive meaning), or by adverbs (with conjunctive or negative meaning).

Table 2.

		Romanian	French	Italian	Spanish
« NI »	simple conjunction	—	*ni*	*nè*	*ni*
	correlative conjunction	—	*ni...ni*	*nè...nè*	*ni...ni*
	simple adverb	*nici*	*non plus*	*neppure*	*tampoco*
	correlative adverb	*nici...nici*			
« ET »	simple conjunction	*și₁*	*et*	*e*	*y₁*
	correlative conjunction	—	*et...et*	*sia...sia_c*	—
	simple adverb	*și₂*	*aussi*	*anche*	*tambien*
	correlative adverb	*și₂...și₂*			
	discourse marker				*y₂*

3. Syntax of doubled coordinations
3.1. Functions
3.1.1. Conjunction status
- 2 hypothesis concerning the function of conjunction:

(i) Coordination = exocentric construction (without head) → **conjunction is a marker** (Sag *et al.* 1985, Beavers & Sag 2004, Huddleston & Pullum 2002 and generally non-transformational grammar researchers)

Counterarguments:

- Abeillé 2005 : Marked clauses can be coordinated, and conjunctions must preserve their marking identity:

(14)　a. Vreau să vin acasă **și** (*să) mănînc repede.　　　(Romanian)
　　　　　que_SUBJ　　　　et que_SUBJ
　　　'I want to come to the house and eat quickly'
　　　b. J'essaye d'arriver à temps **et** ?? (de) résoudre ton problème.　(French)
　　　'I try to arrive in time and solve your problem'
　　　c. Un garçon que j'ai vu hier **et** (*qu') on le cherchait depuis des semaines
　　　'A boy who I've seen yesterday and (who) we had been searching for weeks'

- Conjunctions may block case assignation (Spanish):

(15)　a. para él　　**y** { yo　　　/ * mi }　　　　(Spanish)
　　　For him_ACC **and** {me_NOM / * me_ACC}
　　　b. * para yo　　**y**　él
　　　for me_NOM **and** him
　　　c. para {mi / * yo}
　　　for {me_ACC / me_NOM}

(ii) Coordination = endocentric construction → **conjunction – head** (Kayne 1994 et Johannessen 1998)
- Conjunction is a *semantic functor*, contributing to the interpretation of coordinate items: conjunction / disjunction /semantic negation
- Conjunction is responsible for plural verb agreement with two singular subjects:

(16)　Une pomme **et** une orange {sont / *est} fortement recommandées quand il fait très chaud.
　　　'An apple and an orange are strongly recommended when it is very hot'

- Differently from other items (complements or adjuncts), conjunctions cannot be repeated:

(17) a. souvent **et** souvent
  b. * une pomme **et** une orange **et**

- The head determines complement order in the sentence (in head-initial (SVO) languages the head precedes the complement, whereas the head follows it in head-final (SOV) languages)
- The conjunction – **weak** head (Tseng 2001, Abeillé 2003 et 2005) : inherits most of syntactic features of its complement ; therefore, the conjunction will not project a Conj' phrase, but a clause whose category will be a projection of the complement's category : a conjunction taking a nominal complement will project a nominal clause, etc.

3.1.2. Status of Romanian adverbs *și* and *nici*

Adverbs *și* and *nici* – are intensifying modifiers (a different subclass among the adverbs: They behave syntactically as *clitics*, and have particular syntactic and semantic properties: they are partially autonomous, and they can appear only with a phonetic and lexical support with which they form a syntactic and accentual unit.

3.1.3. Status of coordinate clauses

- Two kinds of coordinate clauses (cf. Abeillé 2005) : (i) non-head clause (18a) where coordinates are at the same hierarchical level, and (ii) head-adjunct clauses (18b) for disparate and mobile conjuncts.
- Every clause presents he feature CONJ, which is empty for the first member, and non-empty for the second, which is introduced by a conjunction :

(18) a.   b.
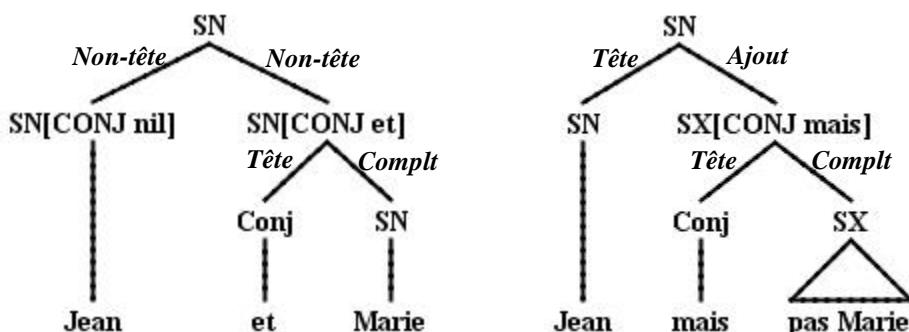
3.2. Syntactic structures

3.2.1. Asymmetric structure for Germanic Languages (Johannessen 1998 et 2005, Hendriks 2004)

- Asymmetric analysis consider correlative items as modifiers of the entire coordination; In English, every conjunction selects for a specific correlative, (*both… and, either… or, neither… nor*), which is in free distribution:

(19) a. Jane ate [*either* rice *or* beans].
  b. Jane *either* ate [rice *or* beans].
  c. *Either* Jane ate [rice *or* beans].
  d. [Jane *either* ate rice, or she ate beans].

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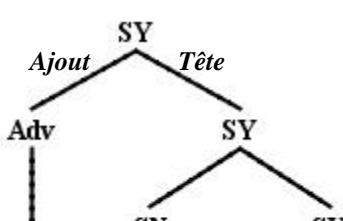
(20)

3.2.2. Symmetric structure for Romance Languages (Conj… Conj type)
- Each conjunction is at the same level within each conjunct –there is no movement of the correlative element:

(21) a. *Paul a **ou** acheté des pommes **ou** des bananes.
  b. *Paul **fie** a cumpărat mere **fie** banane.
 'Paul has either bought apples or bananas'

- Regarding French correlative coordination, Mouret (2005) proposes an asymmetric structure (22a). His arguments : correlatives combine with the first term of the coordination, instead of the whole coordinated clause (every sequence [Correl / Conj X] forms a prosodic group distinguished by an initial accent). Furthermore, they do not present any of the syntactic characteristics of adverbs
- Regarding Romanian, only structures of the type *sau… sau, ori… ori, fie… fie*) present a symmetric structure (22b) :
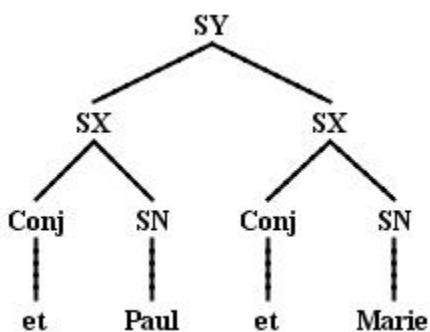
(22) a.   b.
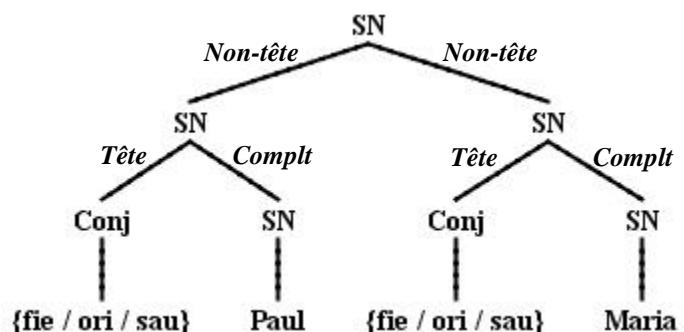
3.2.3. Asymmetric structure for Romanian *Adv… (Conj) Adv* type (for conjunctive meaning *și… și* and for negative *nici… nici*)
- The first occurrence of the correlative adverb is the highest in the structure regarding the second verb, since a conjunction can be placed before the second conjunct:

(23) Am mâncat **și₂** ceapă **și₁ și₂** usturoi.[2]
  'I've eaten onion and garlic'

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[2] See the first part conclusions about the homonymy of Romanian word *și*.

(24)


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                        SN
          Non-tête  ╱        ╲  Non-tête
              SN                SN
          ╱      ╲          Tête ╱    ╲ Complt
    CorrelAdv    SN      Conj        SN
       ┊          ┊       ┊       ╱      ╲
       ┊          ┊       ┊   CorrelAdv   SN
       ┊          ┊       ┊       ┊        ┊
   {şi / nici}   Ion  ( {şi / dar} )  {şi / nici}  Maria
```
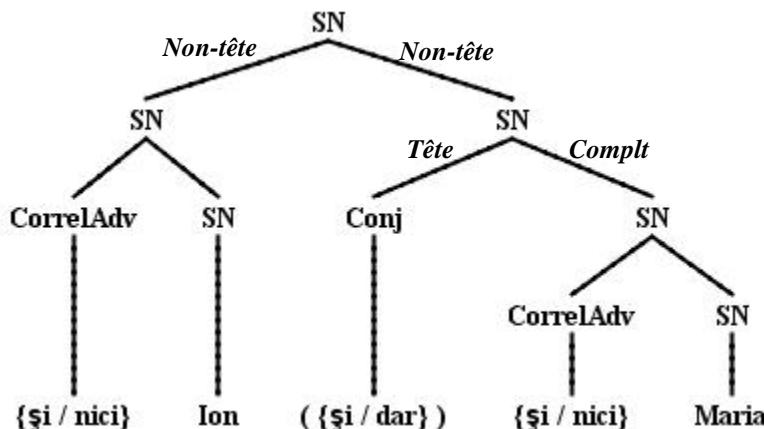
- But this asymmetry is different from the one observed for Germanic languages (where the correlative scopes over the entire coordination.

4. HPSG representation of Romanian data

The conjunct phrase (clauses with the form [Conj X]) **or** *head-complement-phrase*

(25)   <u>HFP : Head Feature Principle</u>

Headed phrase $\Rightarrow$

$$\begin{bmatrix} CLAUSE\,[SYNSEM\,/[1]] \\ HEAD-DTR < [SYNSEM\,/[1]] > \end{bmatrix}$$

(26)   <u>Head-complement-phrase representation</u>

Head-complement-phrase $\Rightarrow$

$$\begin{bmatrix} CLAUSE\,[COMPS[A]] \\ HEAD-DTR < [COMPS < [1],..,[n] > +[A]] > \\ NON-HEAD-DTR < [SYNSEM[1]],...,[SYNSEM[n]] > \end{bmatrix}$$

- Coordinated clause – non-head phrase (Pollard et Sag 2004, Abeillé 2005) :

(27)   <u>Coordination phrase representation</u>

Coordinated-phrase $\Rightarrow$

$$\begin{bmatrix} PHRASE\begin{bmatrix} HEAD\,[1] \\ VALENCE\,[2] \\ SLASH\,[3] \end{bmatrix} \\ NON-HEAD-DTR \langle \begin{bmatrix} HEAD\,[1] \\ VALENCE\,[2] \\ SLASH\,[3] \end{bmatrix} \rangle + \text{non-empty-list}(\begin{bmatrix} HEAD\,[1] \\ VALENCE\,[2] \\ SLASH\,[3] \end{bmatrix}) \end{bmatrix}$$

(28) <u>Lexical entry for the conjunction *sau* ('or'):</u>

$$
\textit{Conj-word} \Rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} \quad /\text{ sau }/ \\[4pt]
\text{CAT}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CONJ} & \textit{sau} \\
\text{HEAD} & [1] \\
\text{CORREL} & [2] \\
\text{COMPS} & < [\text{HEAD } [1],\ \text{CORREL } [2],\ \text{CONT } i] >
\end{bmatrix} \\[20pt]
\text{CONT}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{INDEX } k \\
\text{RESTR } \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \textit{sau} - \textit{rel} \\ \text{ARGS } <...,\ i > \end{bmatrix} \right\}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

This analysis is appropriate for asymmetric structures (simple and type Adv… (Conj) Adv) coordination:

(29) *simple-coordinated-phrase* $\Rightarrow$
$$\left[NON-HEAD-DTR\ \text{liste}-\text{ne}\,([CONJ\ \text{nil}]) + \text{list}\,([CONJ\,[1]\,\text{ori/sau/si/dar}]) \right]$$

Analysis for symmetric structures (Conj… Conj type):

(30) *correlative-coordinated-phrase* $\Rightarrow$
$$[\ NON-HEAD-DTR\ \textit{liste-ne}\ ([CONJ[1]\ \textit{fie / ori / sau}])]$$

(31)
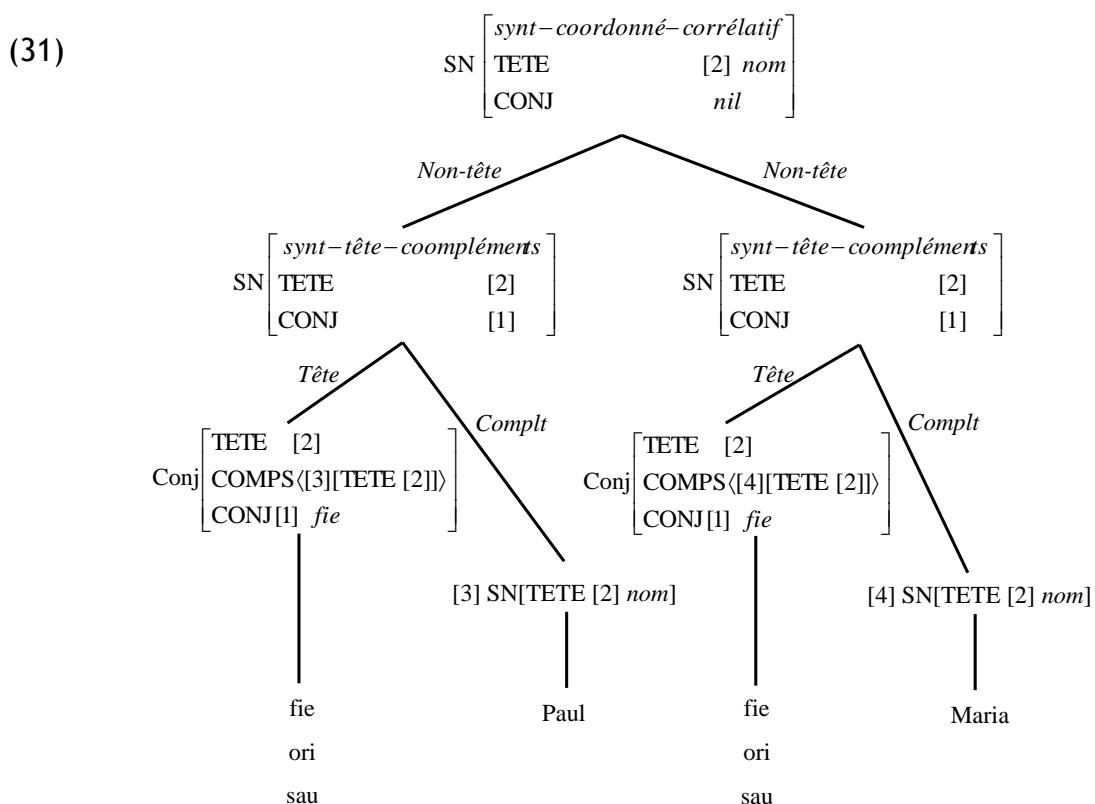
(32)   a. *și Ion și și Maria*
Adv Ion et Adv Maria
'John and Mary'
b. *nici Ion și nici Maria*
Adv Ion et Adv Maria
'Neither John nor Mary'

-Structures in (32) resemble French comparatives of type *Plus il court (et) plus il est fatigué* (the more he runs, the more tired he is) (Abeillé et Borsley 2006)
- to account for distributiveness we have used a feature *CORREL*

(33)   Lexical entry for the adverb *și₂*

$$\begin{bmatrix} ADV & și \\ MOD & [1] \\ GAUCHE\ CORREL & și \end{bmatrix}$$

(34)   Lexical entry for the conjunction *și₁*

Conjunction *și* ⇒

(35)
$$\begin{bmatrix} CONJ & și \\ TETE\ [1] \\ COMPS\ \langle[TETE\ [1], GAUCHE\ [CORREL[2]]]\rangle \\ GAUCHE\ [CORREL[2]] \end{bmatrix}$$

(36)

SAdj [*syntagme−coordonné−corelatif* / CORREL nici, CONJ nil]

Non-tête — *Non-tête*

SAdj [*syntagme−tête−ajout* / CORREL nici]

SAdj [*syntagme−tête−compléments* / CORREL nici, CONJ nil V şi]

Ajout — *Tête*

Adv[CORREL nici] — SAdj

Tête — *Complt*

Conj[CONJ şi]

SAdj [*syntagme−tête−ajout* / CORREL nici]

Ajout — *Tête*

Adv [CORREL nici] — SAdj

nici — frumos — (şi) — nici — inteligent

'ni' — 'beau' — 'et' — 'ni' — 'intelligent'
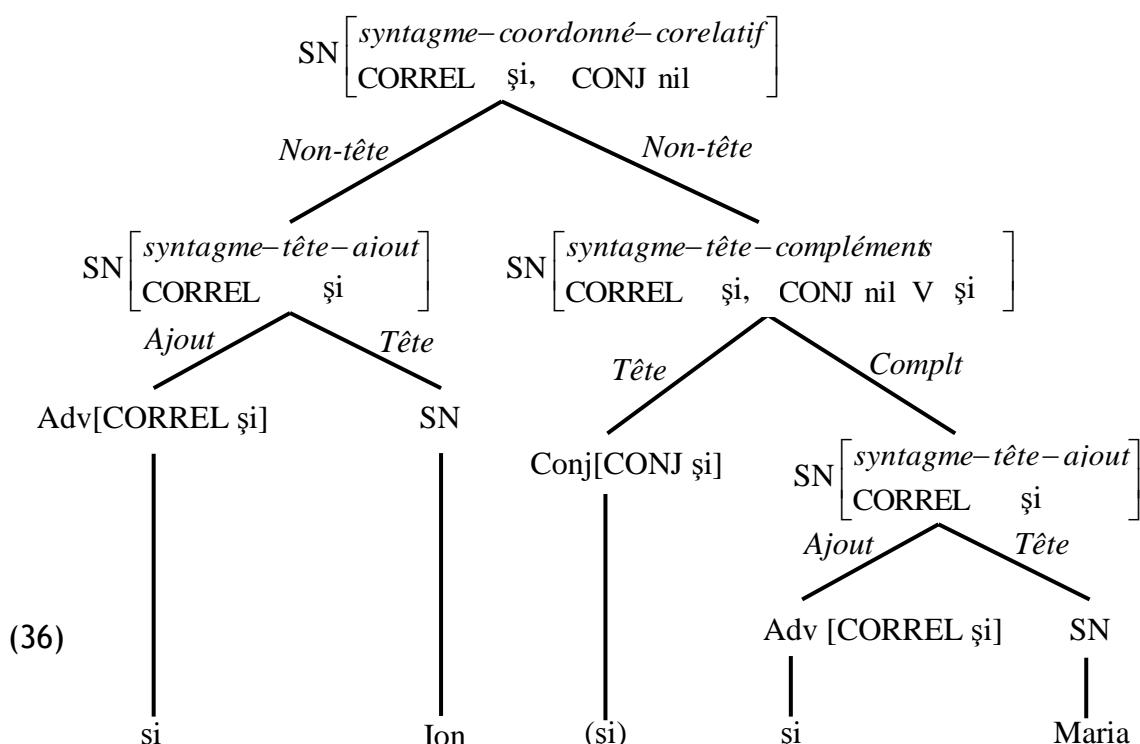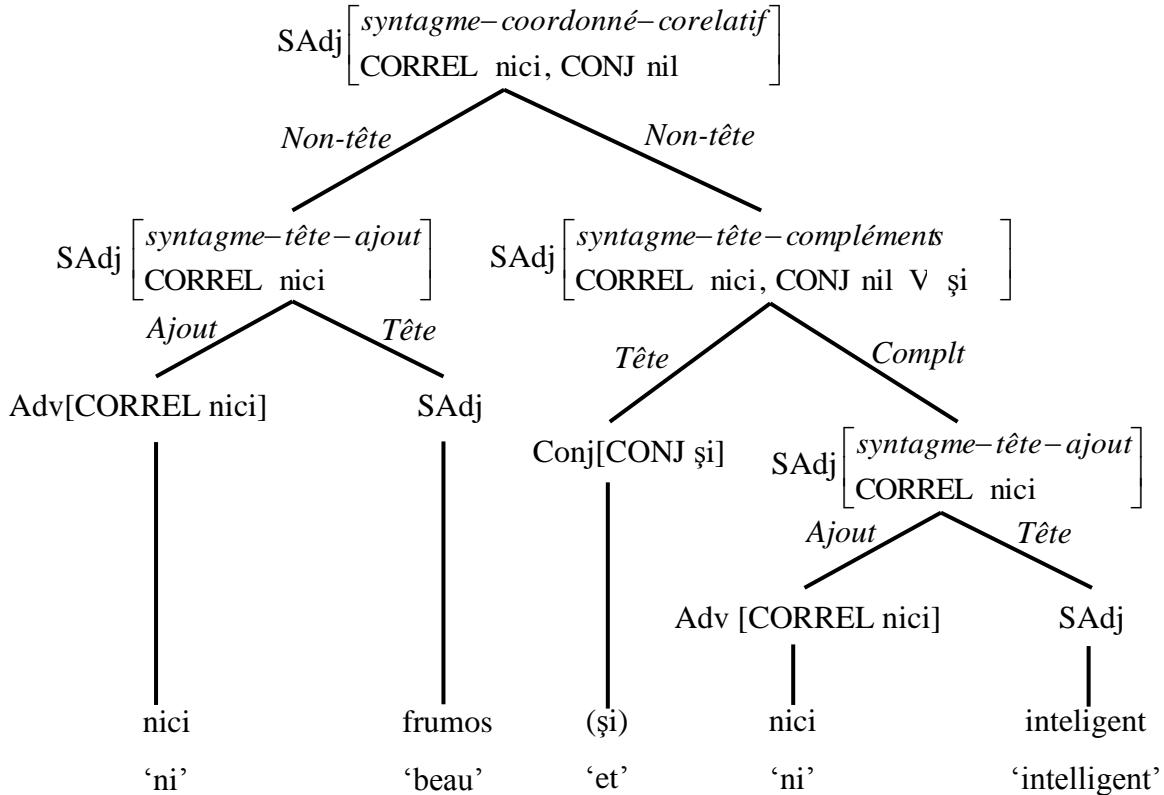
Oulooks

- Treatment of elliptic and constructions (for structures with singular agreement when a plural is expected)
- A semantic approach of correlative structures: The notions of *focus, as* applied to adverbs (*focus particles*?), and negation for negative meaning (Rom. *nici... nici* et Fr. *ni... ni,(neither... nor)*).

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Sémantique Semantics of doubled coordinations
- Simple coordination – 2 interpretations depending on whether they are interpreted within the propositional domain or not:

()   a. Paul [chante et danse].   *Paul sings and dances*
         b. Paul est allé [à Paris et à Londres].   *Paul has been to P. and London*
         c. Paul est [riche et intelligent].   *Paul is rich and intelligent*

()   a. [Paul et Marie] forment un couple heureux.
         'Paul and Mary for a happy couple'
         b. Plusieurs [médecins urgentistes et infirmiers] de l'hôpital ont été convoqués.
         'Many urgency doctors and nurses of the hospital have been appealed'
         c. Le drapeau est [rouge et bleu].
         'The flag is red and bleu'
         d. Paul viendra dans [deux ou trois] jours.
         'Paul will arrive in two or three days'

-Doubled coordination: only the propositional interpretation is available:

()   a. Paul a et chanté et dansé.
         b. Paul est allé et à Paris et à Londres.
         c. Paul est et riche et intelligent.

Constraints:
- Doubled conjunctive coordination of NP are incompatible with a collective interpretation
()   *Et Paul et Marie forment un couple heureux.
         'Paul and Mary for a happy couple'

- Coordination of nominal sequences under the scope of a determiner are excluded:
()   *Plusieurs et médecins urgentistes et infirmiers de cet hôpital ont été convoqués.

'Many urgency doctors and nurses of the hospital have been appealed'

Conclusion: Doubled coordinations are always interpreted in the propositional domain as a conjunction or a generalised disjunction.

Discursive Proprieties
- Symmetric relation, and asymmetric for simple coordination; only symmetric relation for correlative coordination.
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Contextual Proprieties
- « emphatic » variant of simple coordination