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**ROMÂNĂ  
DIN PERSPECTIVĂ  
ROMANICĂ**

**LE ROUMAIN DANS LA ROMANIA  
RUMÄNISCH: DIE ÖSTLICHSTE SPRACHE  
DER ROMANIA**

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## SPLIT GRAMMATICALIZATION: LAT. SIC, ROM. ȘI (and MARIA MANOLIU-MANEA)

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### 1. SIC AS ADVERB AND / OR CONJUNCTION

In our opinion, thanks to its anaphoric value of “in this way, so, yes”, Lat. *sic* must have been used in spoken registers, first of all, for intensifying the value of *et* as a marker of confirming the addition of another argument of the predicate, which enabled it to invalidate a contrary expectation. In fact, it has always been considered that a copulative *sic* ‘thus, so’ could be found already in Latin texts. It is rather interesting that in the same Vulgar Latin text, namely *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, *sic* can co-occur with *et* or stand alone for fulfilling the same function. In (1) *sic* follows *et* for the purpose of expressing the equal treatment of both categories (the catechumens and the faithful); or to put it in pragmatic terms, *sic* as a so-called “intensifier” or “reinforcing device” served to deny any expectation that both of them received the benediction:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Lat. *benedicuntur catechumini et sic fideles, et inde denuo [...] itur ad Anastase* (Aeth. 43,7).

‘both the catechumens and [lit. in the same way] the faithful [people] were blessed, and then they went to Anastasis’.

In (2) *sic* alone occurs in the same context:

- (2) *benedicuntur catechumini sic fideles* (Aeth. 43,6).

‘both the catechumens and the faithful [people] were blessed.’

Let us not forget that *et* could already link terms in contrast, in opposition, becoming contextually synonymous with a weak adversative conjunction (see (3)). When connecting sentences with non-coreferential subjects, *et* may fulfill two functions:

<sup>1</sup> As Robert Martin (1983) puts it, “expectation is a way of representing a possible world which has the best chances of realization according to the speakers universe of beliefs”. For more details on the concept of “expectation” see Manoliu (1994, 183): “Unlike presupposition or entailment, expectation does not satisfy the criterion of ‘uncontradictability’. For example, an utterance such as *If I could take a trip to Venus, I would be very happy* has the expectation *I am not very happy*, as shown by the fact that it may be cancelled by an afterthought such as *but I am very happy anyway*”. For an updated view on the predicate logic and the propositional semantics see Jaszczolt, 2002, especially Chapter 6.

(i) When the connected terms are logical contraries (expressing opposite referents or events), the copulative conjunction takes a contextual adversative value (see (3)).

- (3) Lat. *si tuus servus nullus fuerit et omnes alieni ac mercenarii* (Ciceron, Caecin. 58).  
 'if there were none of your servants **but** all foreigners and mercenaries'.

In a pragmatic framework, the adversative value is a contextual value, an 'effet de sens' brought in by the conversational implicature that denies an expected entailment of the type "a non b", asserting "non-a and b". This conversational implicature will attract the use of a marker carrying a synonymous conventional implicature denying an expected entailment, namely *sic*.<sup>2</sup>

(ii) Within larger contexts, *et* can function as a discourse marker connecting utterances that belong to the same narrative unit, with a super-ordinate topic (see (4)).

- (4) Megadorus:  
*Nam meo quidem animo si idem faciant ceteri,*  
*Opulentiores pauperiorum filias*  
*Vt indotas ducant uxores domum,*  
*Et multo fiat ciuitas concordior,*  
*Et inuidia nos minore utamur quam utimur,*  
*Et illae malam rem metuunt quam metuunt magis,*  
*Et nos minore sumptu simus quam sumus.* (Plautus, Aulularia, v. 480–486).  
 'Megadorus:

Since I think that if everybody else would do as I did,  
 If the rich people would marry without dowry the poor citizens daughters,  
 Then (lit. And) there would be more agreement in the city,  
 And we would be less envious,  
 And they [= our women] would fear more our severity than they do now,  
 And, as for us, we would have to spend less than we do now.'

Once *sic* replaced *et* in contexts where it expressed the denial of an expectation as in (3), it could also be used in larger narrative units for insisting upon the fact that they make a unitary compound, despite a previous negative expectation.

<sup>2</sup> For the concept of "conversational and conventional implicature" see Levinson (1983 and 2000) and, more recently, the survey of various positions concerning Grice's "Principle of Cooperation" in Jaszczolt (2002, 207–223). Conversational implicatures are intended inferences that may be calculated on the basis of Grice's Principle of Cooperation. They are cancellable or defeasible, non-detachable, and non-conventional. Conventional implicatures are a kind of non-truth-conditional inferences that are not derived from superordinate pragmatic principles like the maxims, but are simply attached by convention to particular lexical items or expressions: e.g., adversative conjunctions such as *but* (vs. *and*); *same*; *even* (*if*), *however*, *although*, etc.

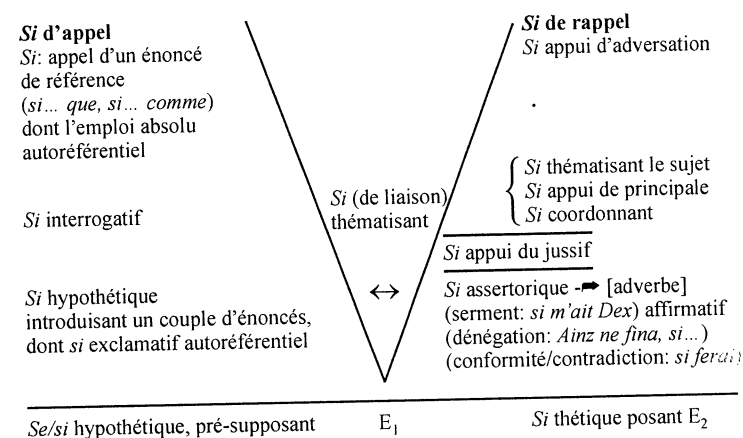
## 2. FRENCH *SI*

The hypothesis concerning the discourse function of Lat. SIC as an intensifier contributing to the coherence of the discourse in spoken registers can explain the function of Old French *si* as a topic continuity marker. According to Thomasset and Ueltschi (1993, 118), "*si* fait de la première proposition un posé préalable, «un thème», qui rend possible l'énonciation de la deuxième proposition." Unlike *et*, *si* always has an anaphoric function. It signals the temporal succession of events or the logical consequence similar to the use of *alors* in contemporary French (see Moignet 1973, 287). Here are a few examples from Reenen & Schøsler (2000): (i) Sentence-initial *si*: when the coreferential subject of the sentence introduced by *si* is not expressed (zero anaphor). In this case, *si* has no corresponding translation in English:

- (5) *Quant il eut che fait, si prist deux grandesmes pierres, si leur fist lier as cous et puis si les fist geter en le mer. Après si se fist coroner tot a force a empeureur* (Clari XXI, 18–21).  
 'When he had done this, he took two very big rocks, had them tied around their necks and then had them thrown into the sea. After that he had himself crowned emperor by force.' (Reenen & Schøsler 2000, 86).

Buridant (2000, 505–515) gives a detailed description of the discourse functions of O.Fr. *se* / *si* as a marker of topical continuity / discontinuity:

Scheme (Buridant, 2000, § 506)



Similar uses of *si* may be found in Northern Italian dialects (see Rohlfs 1969, 165–166).

(ii) Its combination with *adont* 'then' when the subject follows the verb shows clearly that *si* was losing its adverbial value:

- (6) *Adont si atorna li rois mout rikement se sereur...*  
 Then [si] adorned the king very richly his sister  
 'Then the king adorned his sister richly' (*Clari* XX, 1; in Reenen & Schøsler 2000, 80)

(iii) In (7) *si* carries the implicature of denying an expected entailment, traditionally labeled as an adversative value, which recalls one of the contextual values of Latin *et*:

- (7) Et s' or en deviez crever,  
 And if now of.it must.you perish  
*Si diroie je tote voie [...]* (*Perc.* 5498–5500)  
 [si] would.say I every way [...]  
 'And if you had to perish now, I would say however...'

Cf. the French translation in Thomasset et Ueltschi (1993, 118):

- (7a) 'Et même si vous deviez périr sur le champ, je dirai pourtant...'

(iv) As in contemporary French, *si* may have the function of a pragmatic marker contradicting a previous negative statement:

- (8) *Por quoi le demandez vos? fet li roi.*  
*Por ce, fet messier Gauvains, que ge ne cuit pas que vos le sachiez.*  
*Si sai bien, fet li rois, mes vos ne le savez pas.* (*Artu*, 29, 30, in: Moignet, 1979, 288)  
 'Why are you asking this? the king asks.  
 Because, Sir G. says, I do not want you to know it.  
 But I know it very well, the king says, but you do not know this.'

In symbolic terms Gauvain's statement, which is denied by the king's answer, can be formulated as follows:

$S_G: \exists x$  ('king')  $\exists y$  ('what G. knows').  $\sim (V$  'knows' $_{(x),(y)})$

By using *si*, the interlocutor invalidates this statement by asserting:

$S_k: \exists x$  ('I / king') .  $\exists y$  ('what G. knows') .  $\sim (\sim V$  'knows' $_{(x),(y)})$ .

This use of *si* as a pragmatic marker is preserved in Contemporary French:

- (9) "Nous ne nous déroberions pas."  
*Jacques ouvrit la bouche pour crier: "moi, si!"*  
 (R. Martin du Gard. *Thib.* PL 2, 524 in: Grevisse 1991, 1595).  
 '“We shall not steal away.”  
 Jack opened his mouth to shout: “As for me, yes [I would].”'

EXP<sub>9</sub>:  $\exists x$  ('we') .  $\sim (V$  'se dérober' $_{(x)}) \Rightarrow \exists y$  ('I') .  $(\sim (V$  'se dérober' $_{(y)}))$ .

By using *si*, the interlocutor invalidates this expectation by asserting:

$\exists y$  ('I') .  $(\sim (\sim V$  'se dérober' $_{(y)}))$ .

(v) It is only in its use as an intensifier for justifying a derived consequence that *si* recalls its adverbial value of *ainsi* and its synonymy with Engl. *so*:

- (10) *Je trouve cela si beau, que je me sens vraiment très émue* (Maupassant, *Notre Cœur*, II, 1, in: Grevisse 1991, 1457)  
 'I find this so beautiful, that I am really overwhelmed.'

The spread of *et* and the very restricted use of *si* (only as an adverbial intensifier and as a pragmatic marker) in French is probably due to two factors:

(a) The competition with synonymous items such as *alors* carrying a conventional implicature of "temporal sequencing" or *ainsi*, *car*, *alors* to express the relation of "consequence".

(b) The homonymy with *si* (O.Fr. *se* / *si*), derived from Lat. conditional conjunction *si*.

Since the evolution of its synonymous replacements as well as the contemporary functions of French *si* are well known thanks to a variety of studies (Moignet 1973, Marchello-Nizia 1995, Fleischman 1992, Hansen 1998, Reenen & Schøsler 2000, Buridant 2000, 505–515, to mention only a few), we shall now turn our attention to the evolution of its Romanian counterpart, *și*.

### 3. OLD ROMANIAN ȘI

Like Old French, Old Romanian had also two copulative conjunctions:

- (i) the pan-Romance *e* originating in the Lat. conjunction ET 'and'; and  
 (ii) *și*, which originates in Lat. *sic*. In the oldest attested forms the two copulative conjunctions were not interchangeable but had a different distribution. Most of the time, O.Rom. *e* occurs in sentence-initial position when the conjoined sentences do not have coreferential subjects (see (10)).

Unlike O.Fr. *si(e)*, Rom. *și* did not have a homophonous hypothetical counterpart originating in Lat. *si* 'if', which resulted in O.Rom. *se*:

- (11) *se întrebări sîmtu* (CV 229, 1505–1525)  
 if questions are  
 'if there are any questions'.

Moreover, the hypothetical *se* was early replaced by *deacă* (Cont. Rom. *dacă*) 'if':

- (12) *deacă ne grijimu noi de ale trupuriloră noastre, datori sântemă mai vârtosă să avemă și să grijimă de a sufletului* (CI, 3)  
 'if we take care of our body, even more so we have to take care of our soul.'

When introducing the subjunctive of a complement-clause, *se* was replaced by *să*. Com. *să* in (12) above with *se* in (13) below.

- (13) *toți ceia ce viia întru Asia se audză*  
 all those who came to Asia that hear:SUBJ  
*cuvîntul Dommului Isus* (CV, 232)  
 word Lord Jesus  
 ‘all those who came to Asia to hear the word of Lord Jesus’.

### 3.1. ȘI AS A DISCOURSE MARKER

As already emphasized, thanks to its anaphoric value signaling “identity” (“in the same way”), Lat. *sic* was more appropriate than *et* for expressing a closer connection between the conjoined terms. Even in Vulgar Latin *et* could combine with *sic* (see above 1.1, Iliescu 1991), which shows that *et* was on its way to losing its conventional implicature signaling a close connection between the conjoined entities. This conventional implicature can account satisfactorily for the fact that, in Old Romanian, unlike *e*, the conjunction *și* (< lat. *sic*) is the preferred choice when the subjects are coreferential. In CV, in a sample of 2000 words, there are 170 occurrences of *și* and only 15 of *e*. So, out of a total of 185 occurrences of copulative conjunctions, *și* represents 0.92% of occurrences versus 0.08% for *e*. In (14) *și* conjoins clauses (intra-sentential use) with the coreferential subject “they”, whereas *e* introduces a new sentence with a different subject, *Alexandru*:

- (14) *Era băseareca turburată și mai mulți nu-ș știa derep ce au veritu. Din gloată aleaseră Alexandru și-l scoaseră elu iudeiloru. E Alexandru măhăi cu mînra și venre se rrăspundză gloateei. Înțeleaseră că iudeianinu easte ...* (CV, 239).

‘In the church, the crowd was in uproar and (= because) most of them did not even know why they had come. From the crowd [they] chose Alexander and took him in front of the Judeans. And Alexander motioned with his hand for the crowd [to be silent] and tried to answer the crowd. They understood that he was a Judean.’

In sermons of the same period sentence-initial *e* is retained mainly in quotations from the Bible, whereas *și* replaces *e* as the preferred marker of topic continuity. For example, in a sample of 10,000 words from Coresi's *Carte cu învățătură* there are 101 occurrences of sentence-initial *și* (after a stop or after a semi-colon). In (15) *și* occurs after a full stop:

- (15) *Învăță pre noi cu bună înțelepție calea spăseniei. Și să ne întoarcă pre noi cu bună înțelepție pe calea spăseniei. Și să ne întoarcă den întunearecă cătră lumină, acesta amu trudele și boalele noastre rabdă; să se muncească, și să moară dereptă păcatele noastre vru. Și ranele lui noi toți ne-amu vindecatu.* (Coresi CÎ 2).

‘He taught us with good wisdom the way of repentance. And, to bring us back from darkness to light, he endures our pains and illnesses, to suffer and to die for our sins, he wished. And [thanks to] his wounds we are all healed.’

As marker of discourse continuity *și* is very frequent in Modern Romanian spoken registers (see Iordan 1975, 219; Manoliu 1998).<sup>3</sup> For example, in (16) sentence-initial *și* occurs repeatedly in the same paragraph, after a full stop, to mark the relation between successive events belonging to the same narrative unit (narrated events in opposition to the previous dialogue):

- (16) – *Ei, măi Ștefane și Smărănducă, mai rămâne și cu sănătate, că eu m'am dusu-m'am. Hai, nepoate, gata ești?*  
 – *Gata, hunicule, haidem, zisei, necăjindu-mă cu niște costite de porc afumate și cu niște cărnați fripți, ce mi-i pusese mama dinainte.*  
*Și luându-mi rămas bun de la părinți, am purces cu bunicul spre Pipirig. Și era un pui de ger în dimineața aceea, de crăpau lemnele! Și din sus de vânători, cum treceam puntea peste apa Neamțului bunicul în urmă cu caii de căpăstru, și eu, înainte, mi-au lunecat ciubotele și am căzut în Ozana cât mi și-i băietul! Noroc de bunicul! “Și scroambele ieste a voastre is pocite,” zise el scoțându-mă repede, murat până la pele și înghețat hăt-bine, căci năboise apa în toate părțile. Și iute mi-a scos ciubotele din picioare, că se făcuse bocnă* (Creangă PAP 193–194).  
 – ‘ “So, dear Ștefan and Smaranda, take care of yourself, since I am leaving. Come, dear grandson, are you ready?”  
 – “Ready, grandfather,” I said, while I was trying to swallow as quickly as possible a few pork chops and fried sausages, which my mother put in front of me.  
 And after taking leave of my parents, my grandfather and I started our journey for Pipirig. And that morning it was so cold that the logs would split! And from “the hunting [place]”, as we were crossing the bridge over the river Neamț, my grandfather behind, leading the horses by the bridle, and I in front, my boots slipped and I fell into the Ozana, all of me [lit. as long as the boy was]! But I was] lucky to have my grandfather there! “And these boots of yours are messy, he said while pulling me quickly out of the water, [as I was] soaked to the skin and frozen, since the water was springing up everywhere. And quickly he pulled off my boots, which were frozen stiff.” ’

<sup>3</sup> Iordan ([1939–1940] 1975, 219 emphasizes that *și* at the beginning of a chain of sentences is “a filler” (Rom. *un cuvânt de umplutură*), which serves to build a syntactic unit, in spite of the fact that the conjoined clauses are independent. The replacement of the full stop by *și* does not affect the failing intonation characterizing the end of a sentence.

In conversation *și* is not only a “structural coordinator of ideas” but also a conversation marker with a variety of functions.<sup>4</sup> It can signal the fact that the speaker refuses to relinquish the turn or – with a rising (interrogative-like) intonation – it plays the role of a back-channel: it then signals the fact that the addressee encourages the speaker to continue talking, that he is interested in hearing more about the topic in question and does not want to take the turn (see (17)):

- (17) – *D'a ce-a fost aici, copile ?*  
 – *Ce să fie mămucă? Ia, cum te-ai dus de-acasă, n'a trecut tocmai mult și iaca cineva s'aude bătând la ușă și spunând:*  
*“Trei iezi cucuieți*  
*Mamei ușa descuieți...”*  
 – *Și? ...*  
 – *Și frate-meu cel mare, nătâng și neastâmpărat cum îl știi, fuga la ușă să deschidă.*  
 – *Ș-atunci?*  
 – *Atunci, eu m-am vârât iute în horn, și frate-meu cel mijlociu sub cheresin, iară cel mare, după cum îți spun, se dă cu nepăsare după ușă și trage zăvorul!...*  
 – *Și-atunci?*  
 – *Atunci, grozăvie mare! ... (Creangă, PAP 21)*  
 ‘– What has happened here, child?  
 – What could [have happened]? As soon as you left home, shortly [after that], we heard somebody at the door saying:  
 “Three cute kids  
 Open the door to your mother.”  
 – And?  
 – And my older brother, stupid and naughty as you know, ran to the door to open it.  
 – And then?  
 – Then, I went into the stove, and my brother under the tub, and my older brother, as I am telling you, ran to the door and unlocked it.  
 – And then?  
 – Then, what a horror!’

### 3.2 ROM. *ȘI* AS A PRAGMATIC MARKER

Though much more frequently than French *et*, Romanian *și* can also function as a pragmatic marker. When strongly stressed, adverbial *și* (< Lat. *sic*) occurs very frequently as an expression denying an expected non-inclusion into a superordinate unit in both Old and Contemporary Romanian. For example, in *Carte cu învățătură*

<sup>4</sup> See Schiffrin's (1987, 152) characterization of English *and*.

(in a corpus of 10.000 words), there are 93 occurrences of adverbial *și*. In most cases the intensive *și* includes a new candidate in the set of arguments to which the predicate applies, despite the fact that the preceding co-text does not announce in any way this possibility. Such an inclusion carries the implicature of denying a negative expectation as shown by the utterance that follows the NP preceded by *și* in (18):

- (18) A: – *Bine, dar vă admiră, zise Niculae.*  
 B: – *Da, dar vrea să fie și el admirat. Ori eu n-am nevoie de asta, cum o să-l admir eu pre el? (Preda, MS 202)*  
 ‘A; – O. K., but he admires you, said Nicholas.’  
 ‘B: – Yes [of course], but he wants also to be admired. Or, as for me, I do not want that, how could I admire him?’

In brief the expectation expressed by B may be formulated as follows:

Expectation<sub>B</sub>:  $\exists x$  (‘he’)  $\exists y$  (‘the speaker B’) . ( $\sim$  V ‘be admired’<sub>(xy)</sub>).

In fact this expectation is confirmed by the following utterance *cum o să-l admir eu pe el*. B asserts that, contrary to the expectation B, the one who admires the writer also wants to be admired. In brief the writer's assertion is:

Assertion<sub>B</sub>:  $\exists x$  (‘he’)  $\exists y$  (‘the speaker B’) . (V ‘be admired’<sub>(xy)</sub>).

Interestingly enough, in Old Romanian texts the stressed intonation that differentiates the adverbial intensifier from the conjunction is usually transcribed with an accent over the vowel, i.e. *și*. Depending upon the type of syntactic constituent it determines, adverbial *și* has the following contextual meanings attested since the 16th century:

- (a) Before NPs *și* means ‘also’:

- (19) *Dzise: “Fiindu acolo, cade-mise și Rrîmul a vedea”. (CV 235)*  
 ‘He said: “Once I am there, I should also see Rome”.’

By using the stressed *și*, the speaker includes the city of Rome within the group of things he intends to see.

- (b) Before verbs it may have two values: (i) ‘even’ (see (20)) or (ii) ‘right away’ (see (21)).

- (20) *E s'ai și luată, pentru ce te lauzi că n'ai luată? (Coresi CÎ 16)*  
 ‘And even if you took [it], why do you claim that you did not take [it]?’

- (21) *domnii au și trecut Dunărea cu ostile lor fără de știrea veziriului (Ureche 37)*  
 ‘the kings crossed the Danube right away with their troops without the vizier's knowledge.’

This value is already attested in Vulgar Latin, when *sic* accompanies *statim* to convey the meaning of unexpected immediacy (see Iliescu 1991):

- (22) *Vbi cum peruentum fuerit, statim sic in Anastase ingreditur episcopus* (Egérie 25,7)

'As soon as we arrived there, the bishop went right away to Anastasis.'

#### 4. HEDGING *ȘI*

In contemporary Romanian the adverbial *și* 'also' has become a pragmatic marker of 'hedging' (see Jordan 1975, 155).<sup>5</sup> An interesting example of contexts favoring the semantic change from an intensifier to a hedging device diluting the responsibility of the agentivity may be found in the speech of peasants in Marin Preda's novel *Marele singuratec*:

- (23) – *De ce, Dine? Se putea să fi și murit, chiar dacă era băiat tânăr. Parcă numai bătrânii au dreptul ăsta?*

– *La asta aș putea să-ți răspund printr-o simplă negație, zise celălalt. Dar eu consider că e mai bine să intrăm și noi undeva, spre o pildă la "Carul cu bere", unde am auzit că e plin de silișteni, și să bem și noi o bere...* (Preda, MS 7)

'– Why, Dinu! It could be that he died, even if he was a young boy. [You think] that only old people have this right?

– To this I could answer you with a mere denial, the other said. But, I think that it would be better if we went [lit. also we] somewhere, for example to [the inn] "Carul cu bere", where I heard it is full of the inhabitants of Siliștea, and if we had a beer too.'

The invitation to go to the inn is supported by the argument that it is the preferred place of the inhabitants of the speaker's village, Siliștea. By including themselves in the more general category of the villagers, *și (noi)* diminishes the responsibility of the agents: because they drink just like any other inhabitants of Siliștea. This type of context suggests that the starting point must have been the inclusion of the referent of the (pro)noun into a more general class, into the class of everybody as in (21). This inclusion has the role of diluting the referent's responsibility (see Kerschbaumer 1968, 371; Manoliu 1998).

<sup>5</sup> Jordan (1955, 155) gives a few interesting examples of the use of the hedging *și* in combination with another hedging device, the adverb *acolo* 'there':

*fă și tu, acolo, ce- i putea!*  
do also you, there, what would you can  
'Do what you can!'

- (24) *Când a auzit sirenele, a ieșit și el în stradă,*  
When has heard sirens-the, he went-out also he in street,  
*ca tot omul, să vadă ce s' a întâmplat.*  
as every man-the, that sees:SUBJ what REFL has happened.

'When he heard the sirens [also] he went out in the street, like everybody else, to see what had happened.'

Such an inclusion into a plurality of referents is similar to the use of the pronoun in the first person plural 'we' for 'you'. For example, in English a mother can use the plural of inclusion 'we' when she wants the child to do something he is rather reluctant to do (see Cole 1975):

- (25) We've got to get dressed now

meaning 'you've got to get dressed now'. A similar use may be found in Romanian familiar registers when one spouse asks the other spouse to do something rather unpleasant but necessary around the house. For example, by uttering (26), the enunciator wants for the addressee to do the job:

- (26) *trebuie să facem curat în garaj*  
must:3rd/SG that make:1st/PL clean in garage  
'we've got to clean the garage'.

Both Rom. *și* and Engl. 'we' serve as hedging devices. By including the referent in a larger class, they dilute the responsibility of the referent. The difference between these two types of inclusion consists in the degree of the speaker's affective perspective (empathy): 'we' for 'you' is a signal of empathy, whereas the intensive *și* is a signal of hedging excluding any empathy.

The attenuating *și* has various contextual values, such as hedging a demand, expressing "self-depreciation" or modesty. In this case it cannot be translated by any adverb or conjunction into another Romance language or English. In (27), for example, *și* introduces a nuance of irony by denying the expectation that the children are not usually so quiet:

- (26) – *Ei apoi! minte ai, omule?*  
– Well then! mind have-you man?  
*Mă meram eu, de ce -s și ei așa de cumiști, mititeii.*  
me wondered I, why are also they so quiet, little.PI  
'– Well! Are you out of your mind, man? I was wondering, why are they so quiet, the little darlings.' (Creangă, PAP 36).

In (28) and (29) *și* is a pragmatic marker indicating a lowering of the illocutionary force of the request:

– late 19th century:

- (28) *Ia lasă-i și tu, măi nevastă, lasă-i* (Creangă, PAP 35).  
 Look leave-them also you dear wife, leave them  
 'Look, leave them [alone], you, woman, leave them [alone]'

– second half of the 20th century:

- (29) *Toarnă-mi, mă, și tu niște vin aici,*  
 Pour me, man, also you a bit of wine here,  
*ce fel de admirator ești tu,...* (Preda, MS 205)  
 what kind of admirer are you,...

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

(i) In Old French *si* was a discourse marker of topic continuity and a pragmatic marker of surprise (denying a contrary expectation). Unlike *et*, *si* carried the conventional implicature of "succession (temporal or logical)". In modern French *si* is no longer a discourse marker of continuity but has retained its pragmatic function carrying the implicature of denying a negative expectation expressed in the previous utterance. Its restricted role must have been the result of the spread of its synonymous competitors: *alors* 'then', *puis* 'then, after', *ensuite* 'then, after that' for expressing temporal succession or *alors* 'then', *or*, and *car* 'since' for signalling a logical relation of consequence. In Old Romanian, unlike in Old French, there was no possible confusion between *și* and the hypothetical conjunction, *se*, originating in Lat. *si* 'if'. Later on *se* was replaced by *deacă* (Contemporary Romanian *dacă* 'if') and by *să* as a marker of the subjunctive.

By comparing the evolution of Lat. *sic* in French and Romanian, we could advance a hypothesis designed to explain the semantic links between all the functions of *și*, despite its split grammaticalization: on the one hand, *sic* evolved into a conjunction and a discourse marker, on the other hand, it became a pragmatic marker. The value of "equality" carried by the adverbial *sic* developed into equality by "inclusion in the same superordinate unit". This feature became the invariant semantic feature underlying all the functions of Rom. *și*:

(a) As a discourse marker *și* connects all the conjoined constituents. It then expresses inclusion in the same syntactic or discourse / conversational unit. As marker of cross-sentential continuity *și* may fulfill two conversation functions:

(i) Like O.Fr. *si*, Rom. *și* (occurring in sentence-initial position after a full stop) may connect various sentences within the same turn-unit and as such it can signal the speaker's intention to block any attempt at turn-taking.

(ii) Unlike French *et* but like Engl. *and*, *și* may be a back-channel, a sign of interaction between the speakers: this is the case when *și* is uttered by the co-enunciator in order to mark his interest in encouraging the enunciator to continue providing more information about the topic in question.

(b) As a pragmatic marker *și* can co-occur with all the conjoined constituents or with only one explicit constituent.

(i) When repeated before each connected term, it carries the conventional implicature denying an unexpected addition or inclusion.

(ii) When co-occurring with only one explicit constituent, the adverbial *și* has two functions:

A. Marker of surprise: It carries the conventional implicature of an unexpected inclusion in a certain paradigm (the class of arguments for which the same predicate applies, the class of predicates that apply to coreferential arguments, etc.).

B. Hedging device. The contexts in which it expresses an inclusion in an extensive general class favoured its reinterpretation as a means of diluting the agent's responsibility.

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