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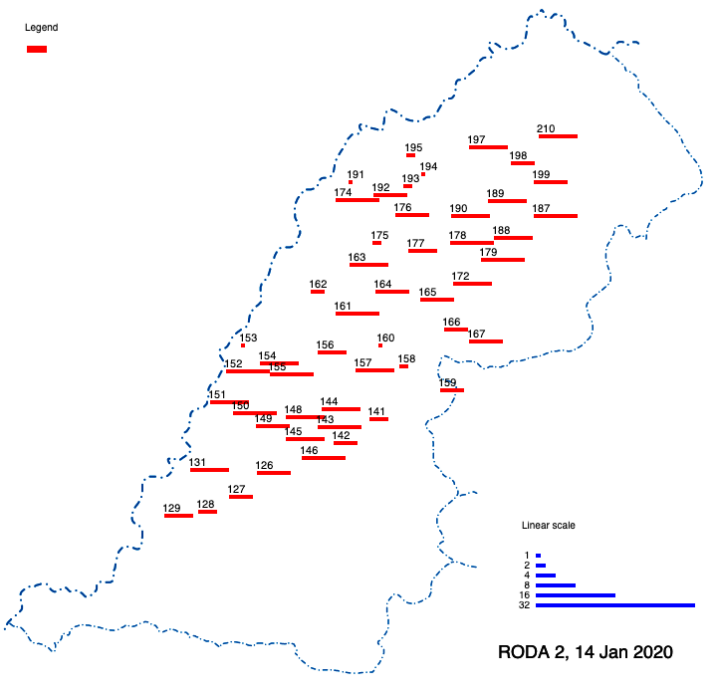
ON THE SUBJUNCTIVE MORPHEME *ȘI* IN NORTHWESTERN AND OTHER MARGINAL AREAS OF DACO-ROMANIAN. STYLISTIC DIFFERENCES IN LATIN AND THE ROMANIZATION OF DACIA

1.0. DIALECTAL AREAS OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE MORPHEME *ȘI* IN DACO-ROMANIAN

In several lateral dialects of Daco-Romanian the subjunctive morpheme is not *să*, as in more central areas and in literary Romanian, but *și*, which has certainly another historical source than *să*.

This *și* is found in three discontinuous areas: Crișana, northern Moldavia and eastern Modavia, in the Republic of Moldova (Todoran 1984, p. 114–116). The area of Crișana is best documented by the *Noul Atlas lingvistic român – Crișana* (NALR–Crișana). I reproduce here one interpretive map made in the online version of this atlas (Uritescu *et al*. RODA 2):



Map 1: *Area of the subjunctive morpheme* ***și*** *in Crișana* (*apud* Uritescu *et al.* RODA 2)

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1.1. Proposed explanations for *și* 'să'

I will not revise in detail all the explanations proposed by the scholars. They are very well analyzed by R. Todoran (1984, p. 116–125).

Two main explanations seem to me worth mentioning, one proposed by I. Gheție (1963) and one proposed by N. Drăganu (1923–1925) and reevaluated by Romulus Todoran (1984, p. 122–130).

1.2.1. In one of his explanations, Gheție (1963, 1965) considers the emergence of *și* as related to a different form of Latin SI, namely one with long *i*, which according to the regular phonetic evolution of Romanian would give exactly *și*. According to the author, the fact that the existence of this subjunctive morpheme cannot be demonstrated for Old Romanian (the XVIth century texts, for instance) could be explained by the pressure of a literary norm which imposed the morpheme *să* in written texts, as well as by the homonymy between the coordinating *și* and the subordinating one (see also the comments in Todoran 1984, p. 120–122).

His main argument is based on the existence of the two reflexes in the Romance languages, one of them, the Provençal (and Engadin), showing, as Romanian, the coexistence of the continuants of the two Latin forms, *sī* and *se* (REW 7889; Gheție 1963; Uritescu 1991).

However, Gheție sees *se* as an innovation penetrated from the south and pushing the continuant of *sī* towards lateral areas. So, like other scholars, he interprets *se* as an innovation showing the transformation of *ī* in *e* in unstressed position (see details in Uritescu 1991), a hypothesis which is contradicted by the Latinists' factual analysis.

In reality, the relation between the two forms is exactly the reversed one. Indeed, this relation reflects a stylistic difference in Latin: the form with *e* represents an intermediary stage between an Indo-European **sei*, with a diphthong which is first transformed in *e*, preserved in popular Latin, and afterwords in *ī*, as in Classical Latin (Uritescu 1991; Adams 2013, p. 52).

M. Niedermann (1959, p. 59) cites in this respect Varro: "*spīca*, quam rustici, ut acceperunt antiquitus, uocant: *specam*", as well as the forms OFr. *estoive*, Fr. *voisin*, which have to be explained as continuants of Lat. **steua*, **uecinus* (cf. also Uritescu 1991)

As J. Adams (2013, p. 3 ff., *passim*) points out, although a fine sociolinguistic distinction cannot be made for Latin, there was certainly a difference between an educated or cultivated Latin, used also in the literature and called Classical Latin, and a variety used by uneducated people, for which some classicists use Vulgar Latin. The latter is spoken by many categories of people, difficult to categorize linguistically (soldiers, vulgus of Rome, freed slaves, etc.). The speakers of the former are easier to characterize since their variety was used, at least for the most part, in the literature. However, J. Adams (2013, p. 3 ff, *passim*) advocates for a more subtle distinction, consisting of registers between which in many cases there is just a distinction of degree.

The form *se* certainly pertained to the second register, the Latin of uneducated people (Niederman 1959, p. 59; Adams 2013, p. 52).

1.2.2. The other hypothetic explanation is proposed by N. Drăganu (1923–1925, p. 253) and reevaluated in detail by R. Todoran (1984, p. 122 ff.). According to the authors, the phenomenon could be explained by internal evolution in Romanian dialects. The coordinating conjunction *și* replaced the subjunctive morpheme *să* because of the overlapping final-consecutive function of the two conjunctions in contexts such as *le duc acasă* [florile] *și le pun bine* 'I take them [the flowers] home and depose them well', in which the sentence introduced by *și* could be interpreted as a coordinated sentence, as well as a subordinated one expressing the goal (*ibidem*, p. 125).

1.2.3. In my opinion, such an explanation raises many questions. I will limit myself to some data which contradict this explanation.

1.2.3.1. One cannot explain the forms with *de și* 'să', used with the subjunctive in certain contexts in many dialects of Crișana, which most probably serve (or at least served initially) as a means for distinguishing the subjunctive from coordination. In some dialects (as in the dialect of Roșia, county Bihor, NALR–Crișana, point 141), at least at the level of some idiolects or groups of speakers, *de și* in the subjunctive is extremely frequent in the context of the question: *nu vreau* (*vrea*, etc.)*...* [*de și asântă, de și iau*, *de și ținem*, etc.] (see NALR–Crișana, ms., maps 1042, 1044, 1045, 1049, 1057, 1062, 1063, etc., leg. II, point 141)[1].

This compound conjunction is certainly generalized in order to distinguish the two values, subordination and coordination. This function is clear in contexts like: *vin eu **de și** te văd* 'I come to see you'; *dacă nu muncești **de și** obosești* (nu poți avea un lucru bun) 'if you don't work until you get tired (you cannot get a good thing)'; *când vine vremea **dă și**-o lucri...* 'when the time to work on it comes…' (I recorded this kind of examples in the locations 127, 128, 141, 142, 151, 156, 157, 159, 161, 162, 164 from NALR–Crișana; see Uritescu 1984, p. 307).

Consequently, one cannot accept that at a one time (late, according to R. Todoran), the coordinating conjunction invaded the territory of *să*, becoming a morpheme of the subjunctive, and at another time the dialects in question tried to find means to distinguish the two values.

This *de și* continues the Old Romanian *de să* (see Drăganu 1923–1925, p. 251 ff.), extremely frequent in Old Romanian texts and probably related, as Densusianu hypothesizes, to the use of *de* for expressing goal in constructions with the long infinitive (Densusianu 1961, p. 260).

[1] As an anecdote, I should note that in 1982, when I was a visiting (Foolbright) scholar at the University of Chicago, I met the grandfather of a student (the father of Leo Lauzen, a quite well known millionaire, from Aurora, near Chicago) who didn't speak well English, and spoke a vary archaic dialect from the region of Satu Mare, Romania. Without any contact with standard Romanian (for more than fifty years), he was using only subjunctives preceded by *de și* in his dialectal Romanian. Unfortunately, he passed away before I got the chance to record him.

1.2.3.2. In addition, *și* is attested in Romanian manuscripts from Bihor in the XVIIIth century, contrary to what R. Todoran asserted as argument in favor of his hypothesis of a late dialectal change. I found it in a ms. from the village Cheț (county Bihor) written in 1785 – *dară amu* ***și nu fie*** *așe ca și atunci, că nu-i bine tineri c-aceșste* ***să șază*** *în două laturi* 'but now it should not be as then, because it is not good that youngsters like these ones be parted (be split on two sides)' (my free translation; see Uritescu 1984, p. 307; cf. also Uritescu 2018)[2]. As one could see, the author uses both *și* and *să*, which could support Gheție's (1963, 1965) hypothesis concerning the replacement of *și* with *să* probably due to a sort of literary norm which imposed *să* (a phenomenon which continues nowadays).

So, as one could see, even though the existence of *și* 'să' in Old Daco-Romanian texts from the XVIth century cannot be demonstrated with certaintity (see Gheție 1963; Todoran 1984, p. 121), the phenomenon is not a recent one.

1.2.3.3. For *și* as a conjunction with the meaning 'if', see however the minimalist analysis of A. Ledgeway (2013, p. 25–26), who reaches the conclusion that in the subjunctive forms with inflected auxiliary of the type *să fiu cântat* 'that I have sung' (or, in Crișana – see map 2 – *și fiu cântat(ă)*), *să* (respectively, *și*) retains its original complementizer status (from Lat. *sī* 'if') lexicalizing the C position.

1.2.4.1. I think that in order to explain the Romanian phenomenon one should take into consideration what is common to all discontinuous areas with *și* 'să', namely the fact that all of them are situated in regions which historically were not conquered by Romans.

Consequently, the Romanization of these regions took place in a different way, through commercial, diplomatic, cultural and/or military relations. The Latin used in this kind of relations was certainly different from Vulgar Latin, namely a register used by educated and cultivated people, as J. Adams characterizes it.

The form of Latin SI used in this register would be normally closer to the Classical Latin *sī*, whereas in the conquered Dacia, the Vulgar Latin forma, *se* was certainly used, as the Romanization took place through a normal stage of popular bilingualism.

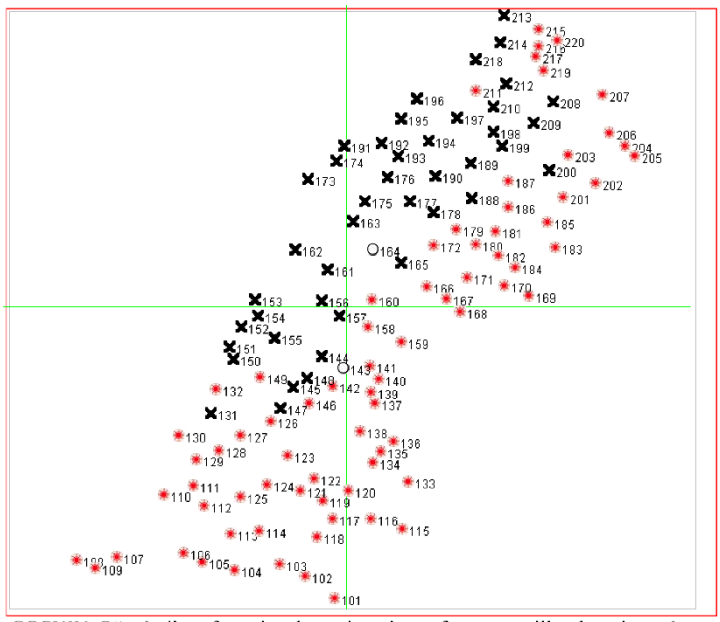
The difference between the to Romanian morphemes reflects thus a stylistic difference in Latin which points to a difference in the process of Romanization.

1.2.4.2. The evolution ei > ī is reflected more generally in Romanian and other Romance languages, but it was wrongly interpreted. On this I will refer the reader to my article (Uritescu 1991).

In fact, in all the forms I cite, there is no change of *ī* to *ē* in unstressed syllables, since the old forms had a diphthong *ei* originally, which evolved to *ī* through an intermediary form in *ę̄*, preserved mostly in uneducated Latin (as Adams 2013, p. 3ff. shows, similar to modern languages, the sociolinguistic variation in Latin supposed, most probably, a difference in quantity).

[2] I should note that I have not read but a very small number of these unbelievably numerous manuscripts, which were all unclassified. In fact, I found the example cited above after reading about ten manuscripts.

In fact, we might also envisage this on the basis of the reflexes of Latin SI in different Romance languages.



CCCXIV. Răspândirea formelor de conjunctiv perfect cu auxiliarul conjugat în SĂ FI CÂNTAT (278)

Auxiliar invariabil (să/și fi…)
Auxiliar conjugat (să/și fiu…)
și fi[i̯]… [ĭ]

Map 2: *Area of the perfect subjunctive with variable auxiliary in SĂ/ȘI FIU CÎNTAT(Ă)* (NALR–Crișana, II, map CCCXIV; Uritescu *et al.* RODA 2, map CCCXIV)

The situation of Romanian, with two reflexes of *ei* in Lat. *se*/*sī* is found in Provençal and in Engadin (Uritescu 1991), for which I don't have an explanation, except, probably, the geographic and historical situation of the two areas: one (the Provençal), at the southern border of the Empire (as the dialects of Romanian, situated at the northern borders of the same empire), the other (Engadin) in the vicinity of non Romanized areas.

How could we explain the different reflexes of Lat. *si* in the Romance languages: *sē* in Old French, Italian, Romanian (and Aromanian[3]), Engadin, Friulan, Provençal, Portuguese; *sī* in Old Venitian, Logudorese, Old Engadin, Provençal, Catalan, Spanish? In Provençal, there were probably two waves of Romanization

[3] The presence of *și* in Aromanian is not sure in my opinion. G. Ivănescu (1980) cites the form of some Aromanians that lived in a Daco-Romanian region for a while. ALR I, II, that I cite, is given by Th. Capidan, who is not always reliable (so I am not sure I'm right in Uritescu 1986).

(one old, starting in Marseille, probably in great part through relations commercial, diplomatic/military relations, not as a result of conquering; the second, with *se*, following conquest and colonization of the other regions of southern Gaul and, later on, of the entire Gaul). The other areas, including Spain, were for a long time at the borders of the Empire, so probably they were Romanized to a great extent through commercial, cultural and military relations.

These are, however, mostly speculations. What is clear is that for Dacia there is a clear correlation between the two aspects of the Romanization.

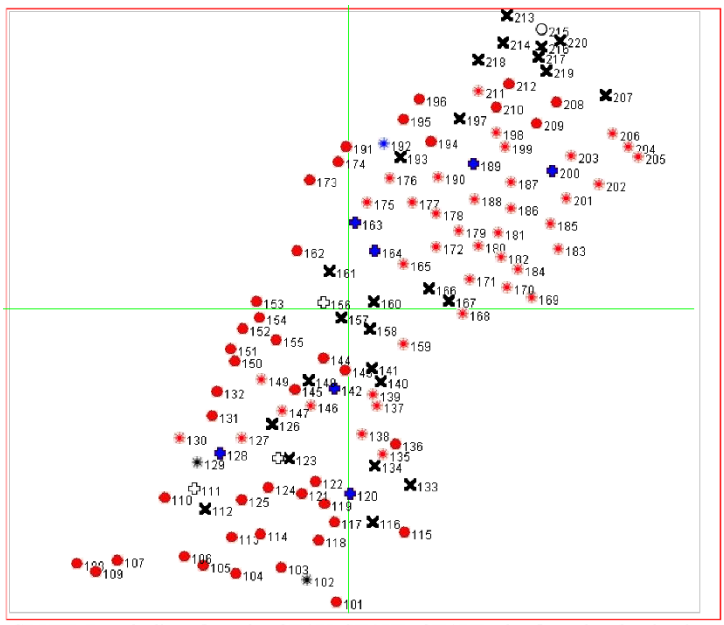
1.2.4.3. There could be other traces of the difference between Daco-Romanian areas with the two types of reflexes of Latin SI, reflecting the two types of Romanization. One of them is the situation of the syncope, which, in J. Adams' opinion, characterises the whole Latin. However, it is clear that the forms without syncope of high intertonic syllables (accent and grammatical mark), are less frequent in educated Latin, as attested by literature. From this perspective, a form like *staur* 'stable, cowshed', from Latin STABŬLUM, with regular change of intervocalic [l] to [r], cannot be but significant, although the area is bigger than that of *și*; compare the maps 3 and 1)[4]. Ov. Densusianu (1915) explained the form with [r], which supposes a Latin intervocalic [l], as an analogical formation based on the plural, in which [r] could be explained through an assimilation in the form ending in the neuter pl. *-uri*. However, as the area in Crisana shows (see map 3), the singular *staur* is far from corresponding to a pl. in *-uri*:

1.2.4.4. One should also mention that, contrary to what R. Todoran (1984, p. 121) asserts, there is also at least another form which shows this double treatment in Romanian. Indeed, while Daco-Romanian preserves only **uecinus* (*vecin* 'neighbour'), Aromanian preserves both *uīcinus*, with palatalization of [v] before [i], and **uecinus* (Uritescu 1991; DDA, s.v. *viță*).

1.3. In **conclusion**, as our new dialect data show, the occurrence of *și* as a morpheme of the subjunctive is not a recent phenomenon and cannot be related to the grammaticalization of coordinating conjunction *și*. On the contrary, it seems to be an old phenomenon, related to a different etymological source, *sī*, a more recent form characterizing the Latin used by educated speakers, as opposed to the archaic, popular *se*, used by different category of uneducated speakers.

The difference between marginal Daco-Romanian dialects and the more central ones and standard Romanian, is related to stylistic variation in Latin and ultimately to two different types of Romanization: by popular bilingualism in regions conquered by the Romans, where the popular *se* became regularly *să* in Romanian, and commercial, cultural, diplomatic and/or military relations, in the regions not conquered by the Romans, where the form used by educated speakers, namely *sī*, used also in the literature, emerged as the conjunction which later on became the subjunctive morpheme in the marginal Daco-Romanian dialects.

[4] As a pastoral term, *staur* could easily spread, following the movements of the shepherds.



CDXIII. Răspândirea formelor STAU, STAUL, STAUR şi a formelor de plural corespunzătoare (472)

staur; staure
staul; staule
stau; staule
staul; stauli
stau; stauri
staur; staure, stauri
staur; stăuri
alţi termeni

Map 3: *Area of different forms for* ***staul*** *'stable' in Crișana with their corresponding plural* (NALR–Crișana, II, and Uritescu *et al.* RODA 2, map CDXIII)

As to the traces of the old conjunction, which used to have the meaning 'if', I think one should take into consideration Ledgeway's minimalist analysis, which demonstrates that in the perfect subjunctive with conjugated auxiliary (including the type *și fiu cântat*) the conjunction retains its original complementizer status (from Lat. *sī* 'if') lexicalizing the C position.

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ASUPRA MORFEMULUI *ȘI* AL CONJUNCTIVULUI ÎN ARIA NORD-VESTICĂ ȘI ÎN ALTE ARII MARGINALE ALE DACOROMÂNEI: DIFERENȚE STILISTICE ÎN LATINĂ ȘI ROMANIZAREA DACIEI *(Rezumat)*

Autorul discută problema morfemului *și* al conjunctivului în dialectul dacoromân, pornind de la noile datele lingvistice oferite de materialul dialectal.

Ocurența lui *și* ca morfem al conjunctivului nu este un fenomen recent și nu poate fi legată de gramaticalizarea conjuncției coordonatoare *și*. Dimpotrivă, pare a fi un fenomen vechi, în conexiune cu un etimon diferit, *sī*, mai recent, prezent în latina utilizată de vorbitori educați, spre deosebire de popularul și arhaicul *se*, folosit de diferite categorii de vorbitori needucați.

Diferența dintre subdialectele dacoromâne marginale și cele centrale sau româna standard este legată de variația stilistică din latină și de cele două tipuri de romanizare: cea prin bilingvismul popular, în regiunile cucerite de romani, unde popularul *se* a devenit *să*, și cea prin relațiile comerciale, culturale, diplomatice și/sau militare în regiunile libere, unde forma utilizată de vorbitorii instruiți, *sī*, folosită și în literatură, s-a impus drept conjuncție, care, ulterior, a devenit morfemul conjunctivului în subdialectele marginale ale dacoromânei.

Cuvinte-cheie: ***și*** *– morfem al conjunctivului, arii dialectale marginale, diferențe stilistice în latină, romanizare.*

Keywords: ***și*** *– subjunctive morpheme, dialectal marginal areas, stylistic differences in Latin, Romanization.*

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