

The Syntax and Semantics of Romanian Locative, Temporal and Manner Clauses introduced by *unde*, *când* and *cum*

The paper aims at describing the internal and external syntax of *unde* (“where”), *când* (“when”) and *cum* (“how”) clauses (1-3), as well as at offering a compositional semantic analysis of these clauses, which occur in two positions: in argument position and in adjunct position. Here is the empirical domain of the paper:

TEMPORAL

- (1) a. Am vorbit cu el [când a venit acasă]. [Adjunct]
 (I) have talked with him when (he) has come at home
 “I talked to him when he came home.”
 b. Nu mi-a plăcut [când ai venit acasă]. [Argument]
 not CL_{1SG.DAT}-have liked when (you) have come home
 “I didn’t like it when you came back home.”

LOCATIVE

- (2) a. L-am dus [unde a intrat Ion]. [Adjunct]
 CL_{3.SG.M.ACC}-have taken where has entered Ion
 “I took him to the place where Ion entered.”
 b. I-am arătat [unde a intrat Ion]. [Argument]
 CL_{3.SG.M.ACC}-have shown where has entered Ion
 “I showed him where Ion had entered.”

MANNER

- (3) a. M-am îmbrăcat [cum mi-ai spus]. [Adjunct]
 CL_{1.SG.ACC}-have dressed how CL_{1.SG.DAT}. (you) have told
 “I got dressed the way you told me.”
 b. Am ascultat [cum a vorbit]. [Argument]
 (I) have listened how (he) has talked
 “I listened to the way he talked.”

The markers *unde*, *când*, *cum* also introduce (direct or indirect) interrogative clauses, as well as restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. The bracketed clauses in (1-3) and those which are indirect interrogatives are formally identical, but they receive different interpretations as they are complements selected by different matrix predicates, a state of affairs which we will account for following Caponigro (2003) and Caponigro & Pearl (2009). Moreover, we will show that at least partially, these free relatives exhibit maximality, (Caponigro 2003), i.e. they denote maximal places, patterning like definite DPs, which always refer to a maximal entity (Link 1983)(4):

- (4) a. Am fost [FR unde mi-ai spus să merg].
 (I) have been where CL_{1SG.DAT}-(you) have said SĂ go
 “I went [FR where you told me to]”
 b. Am fost [FR în locul unde mi-ai spus să merg].
 (I) have been in place.the where CL_{2SG.ADAT}-have said SĂ go
 “I went [FR to the place you told me to]”

Interestingly, when the locative, temporal and manner clauses are adjuncts, they can appear at the left periphery of the clause, in correlative constructions in the sense discussed by Bianchi (1999). The overt correlative strategy involving the proforms *acolo* (“there”), *atunci* (“then”) and *așa* (“in this way”) is very productive in Romanian and is different from the correlatives in other languages (Srivastav 1991, Dayal 1996, Bhatt 2003). They occupy a structurally different position from the position they occur in when they are integrated in the host clause (5)(i.e., they are merged as hanging topics):

- (5) a. [Unde a intrat Ion], **acolo** m-am dus.
 where has entered Ion there CL_{1.SG.M.ACC}-have taken

“It is where Ion entered that I went. “

b. [Când a venit acasă], atunci am vorbit cu el.
when (he) has come at home then (I) have talked with him
“It is when he came home that I talked to him.”

c. [Cum mi-ai spus], așa m-am îmbrăcat.
how CL_{1.SG.DAT.} (you) have told CL_{1.SG.ACC.}-have dressed
“It is how you told me that I dressed myself “

The internal and external syntax will be compared to those when these locative, temporal and manner markers *unde* (“where”), *când* (“when”) and *cum* (“how”) introduce other types of clauses. For instance, *când*-clauses sometimes have a meaning close to conditional clauses introduced by *dacă* ‘if’ (6-7).

(6) Când e soare, mă simt fericită.
when is sun, CL_{1.SG.ACC} (I) feel happy
“When it is sunny I feel happy”

(7) Dacă e soare, mă simt fericită.
If is sun, CL_{1.SG.ACC} feel (I) happy
“If it is sunny I feel happy”

Când can also introduce cause and concessive clauses, as well as clauses expressing opposition, as exemplified in (8-10).

(8) Și cum m-aș putea comporta altfel, [când el este atât de drăguț] ?
and how CL_{1.SG.ACC.}-would can behave differently when he is so of nice
“Since he is such a nice person, I could not behave differently.” CAUSE

(9) Ține cu tot dinadinsul să vină și el, [când știe că nu mai sunt
(he) wants with all intention SĂ comes also he when (he) knows that not any more are
locuri în mașină]! CONCESSIVE
seats in car
“He has his heart set on coming with us although he knows that there isn’t any room left in the car.”

(10) Albert e leit tatăl său, [când (de obicei) băieții seamănă mai mult cu mama].
Albert is exact father his when as usual boys.the resemble more much with mother
“Albert Is the very image of his father, whereas boys usually resemble their mothers.”
OPPOSITION

Key words: free relatives, *wh*-words, adverbial clauses, maximality

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