

On the use of *dar și* [but also] in current RomanianAdina Chirilă^{A R S}*

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Abstract

In more recent normative works of the Romanian language, the way in which the sequence *dar și* [but also] is discussed indicates an acceptance of it among the copulative coordinating constructions, along with those organized in correlative pairs. As in the case of *nu numai ...*, *dar și* [not only..., but also], the correct involvement in the discourse of *dar și* is necessarily controlled by the latent adversative semantic content of the conjunction *dar* [but] from its structure. In everyday use, however, the transmitter no longer takes into account the fact that *dar și* “focuses the syntactic limb it precedes, presenting it as less likely, therefore more significant”. In situations as such, *dar și* appears as a verbal excess, instead of the simple coordinating conjunction *și* [and]. The tendency could be justified by the speaker’s need to compensate, through the formal note and lexical agglomeration, for the simplicity (sometimes pauperity) of the content that is to be transmitted.

1. The construction *but also* in normative works

The repertoire of the copulative correlatives in current Romanian records—along with *atît ...*, *cît și* and *nu numai ...*, *ci și* [Engl.: not only... but also]—the construction *nu numai ...*, *dar și*¹, between dependent syntactic components, indicating, like the other conjunctions of the same class, a cumulation or “the association, the most direct connection between two elements that must be interpreted together” (GBLR 2016, p. 334):

- (1) Ascultă **nu numai** muzică clasică, **dar și** jazz.
Cf:
- (2) Ascultă **nu numai** muzică clasică, **ci și** jazz.
[They listen not only to classical music but also to jazz.]
- (3) Ascultă **atît** muzică clasică, **cît și** jazz.
[They listen to both classical music and jazz.]

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¹It must be said that from the point of view of literary language the structure *nu numai ...*, *dar și* is not in the same position as the other two mentioned here. Iorgu Iordan considered it a serious deviation, determined by the fact that the speakers ignored the semantic difference between the conjunctions *ci* and *dar*, the former being the only one that correctly supports that complex copulative conjunctive structure (Iordan, [1943] 1948, p. 404–405). The justification of the critical position (also encountered in Avram, 1986, p. 229) is supported by the clarifications regarding the types of semantic relations marked by the connectors *dar* and *ci*, given by GALR 2005, I, p. 643: “[f]rom a semantical-pragmatic point of view, [...] *dar* [...] marks the contradiction of the expectations triggered by the first term of the adversative syntactical report (*Îi strig pe nume pe câțiva dintre ei, dar e de prisos*. [I call a few of them by name, but it’s superfluous], Camil Petrescu, *Ultima noapte*); *ci* indicates a correction of a hypothesis negated by the previous cocurrent term (*Mitul nu trebuie să fie recunoscut, ci crezut*. [The myth does not have to be recognized, but believed], N. Manolescu, *Teme*)”.

Frequently² and despite older grammatical instructions (see Avram, 1986, p. 229; cf. DIG 2020, p. 218–219), *dar și* [Engl.: but also] is used without the adverbial correlative to the opposite term of the expressed syntactical ratio:

- (4) Ascultă muzică clasică, **dar și** jazz.
[They listen to classical music but also to jazz.]
- (5) „Ediția 2021 este motivată, mai întâi, de necesitatea revizuirii formei discursive, în conformitate cu noile regului ortografice, impuse de DOOM2 (2005), **dar și** cu actualele opțiuni ale autorului” (Dorcescu, 2021, p. 5–6; s.n., A.C.).
[„The 2021 edition is motivated, first of all, by the need to revise the discursive form, in accordance with the new spelling rules, imposed by DOOM2 (2005), but also with the current options of the author.”]
- (6) „În plus, așezarea în paralel a unor tălmăciri diferite ale textelor comentate oferă posibilitatea de a aprecia valoarea feluritelor versiuni românești [...], care se disting prin acuratețe, **dar și** prin rafinamente și subtilități de detaliu” (Subi, 2021, p. 11–12; s.n., A.C.).
[“In addition, the parallel placement of different interpretations of the commented texts offers the possibility to appreciate the value of the various Romanian versions [...], which are distinguished by accuracy, but also by refinements and subtleties of details.”]

2. The logical-pragmatic condition of the use of *dar și*

From a pragmatic point of view, however, the elements that constitute the informational cumulation are charged differently – a fact determined by the latency of the semantic adversative content of the conjunction *but* from the structure of the conjunctive locution (Avram, 1986, p. 229) *dar și*, and of the correlative construction *nu numai ..., dar și*. In this respect, DIG 2020, p. 218 states that *dar* plays here “a specific role: it focuses the syntactic limb it precedes, presenting it as less likely, therefore more significant”. Thus, in a sentence like:

- (7) În pivnițele șvabilor din Banat se păstrau pînă la Crăciun **nu numai** mere, frumos rînduite în lădițe, **dar și** smochine, de cu vară învelite în paie și gheață.,
[In the cellars of the Swabians of Banat were kept until Christmas not only apples, beautifully arranged in crates, but also figs, from summer wrapped in straw and ice.]

the second element in the pair *mere – smochine* [apples – figs] stands out as unusual, rare in the general known context (i.e. season, storage period, perishability of fruits, etc.), in opposition to the first, which is common, unsurprising; and it is also the element on which is based, within the complex message of the predicational structure, the implicit characterization of the respective household type – ‘rich’, ‘foresighted’, ‘meticulous’. The reversal of the topic of the two elements attached to the fixed structure *nu numai ..., dar și* [not only ... but also] (8) generates a message essentially different from the first regarding the characterization, namely: ‘thrifty’, ‘moderate’, ‘sober’, since the discursive component to which attention is drawn is different, and the two (i.e. *măr* [apple] and *smochină* [fig]) do not share the same connotation.

- (8) În pivnițele șvabilor din Banat se păstrau pînă la Crăciun **nu numai** smochine, de cu vară învelite în paie și gheață, **dar și** mere, frumos rînduite în lădițe.
[In the cellars of the Swabians of Banat were kept until Christmas not only figs, from summer wrapped in straw and ice, but also apples, beautifully arranged in crates.]

²In fact, the frequency with which *dar și* [but also] substitutes copulative coordinating conjunctive locutions organized in correlative pairs seems to indicate a trend in the current use of the Romanian language. CoRoLa (racai.ro), for example, provides for *dar și* 93.755 occurrences; but only 9.646 for [*nu*] *numai ..., dar [și]*, and 14.200 for [*nu*] *numai ..., ci [și]*; even if a possible statistic that will follow the phenomenon is mandatory to be based on numbers refined by the nonmechanical evaluation of contexts, the gross numerical difference is suggestive.

Sometimes the focus of the syntactic limb preceded by *dar și* is justified by the speaker through developments, explanations and co-textual details. These, in fact, resume or support the implications of the initial bipartisan statement/discourse, making it easier to reach the complex and precise message:

- (9) „E sigur, în plus, că Piranesi a studiat cu mare atenție **nu numai** pasajele cu implicații topografice din sursele antice, **dar și** sutele de fragmente din uriașul (18 × 13 m, scara 1:250) plan de marmură al Romei din vremea dinastiei Severilor. Aceste fragmente din Forma Urbis Romae fuseseră descoperite cu două secole mai devreme, desigur nu prin săpături profesionale, *dar aici contează doar că ele fuseseră făcute de topografi romani profesioniști și că Piranesi le cunoștea.*” (Pavel, 2019, p. 81; s.n., A.C.);

[It is certain, moreover, that Piranesi studied very carefully not only the passages with topographical implications from ancient sources, but also the hundreds of fragments of the huge (18 × 13 m, 1:250 scale) marble plan of Rome from the time of the Severus dynasty. These fragments of the Forma Urbis Romae had been discovered two centuries earlier, not by professional excavations, of course, but here it only matters that they had been made by professional Roman topographers and that Piranesi knew them.]

- (10) „Bucla de păr pe care o avea asupra lui un soldat australian mort în Franța e încă identificabilă după o sută de ani. Un simbol, de altfel, pentru riscurile arheologiei iubirii, aflate, s-ar zice, la interfața cu dulceața. **Dar și** cu trufia – *căci de unde altundeva ar putea veni misiunea de a cuantifica imponderabile, lucrând cu indicii minimale, ca firele de hirtie rămase dintr-o poză.*” (Pavel, 2019, p. 17–18; s.n. A.C.).

[The loop of hair that an Australian soldier who died in France had on him is still identifiable after a hundred years. A symbol, moreover, for the risks of the archaeology of love, found, one would say, at the interface with sweetness. But also with pride – for from where else could come the mission to quantify weightlessness, working with minimal clues, like the strands of paper left over from a picture.]

Without such discursive extensions (5), (6), (11), the receiver may not reach the exact informational content (historical, cultural, etc.) envisaged by the transmitter to the syntactic limb focused by *dar și*; however, under the authority of the logic held by the connector (alone or in the composition of the copulative coordinating construction) and as long as the context supports the “reading” of the text in this direction³, the receiver will interpret the sequence of the two connected elements as a **progression in terms of their meaning and importance in building the message.**

- (11) „Mai găsim aici [la Oxyrhynchos, pe Nil, în gropile antice de gunoi ale orașului; n.n., A.C.] și corespondența a nenumărate cupluri locale de egipteni, **dar și**, în funcție de perioadă, greci, macedoneni, romani și alții.” (Pavel, 2019, p. 61; s.n., A.C.).

[We also find here [at Oxyrhynchos, on the Nile, in the ancient landfills of the city; o.n., A.C.] the correspondence of countless local couples of Egyptians but also, depending on the period, of Greeks, Macedonians, Romans and others.]

³We consider, in this respect, the idea of Tatiana Slama-Cazacu, (1959, p. 307): „Înțelegerea prin context necesită un exercițiu de suplețe, o acceptare – teoretică – a unei pluralități de posibilități, dar și o alegere – în practică – a aceleia care este mai adecvată pentru un anumit moment. Principiul adaptării la context înseamnă exprimarea prin sistematizări contextuale și receptarea exprimării printr-o interpretare care să se refere la această organizare. Aplicarea intenționată a acestui principiu – prin orientarea în raport cu contextele – permite utilizarea la maximum a posibilităților limbajului uman.” [Understanding through context requires an exercise in suppleness, an acceptance – theoretical – of a plurality of possibilities, but also a choice – in practice – of that which is more appropriate for a particular moment. The principle of adaptation to the context means expression through contextual systematizations and the reception of expression through an interpretation that refers to this organization. The intentional application of this principle – through its orientation in relation to the contexts – allows the maximum use of the possibilities of human language.]

- (12) „*Solidaritate, dar și haos în vămi*”⁴.
[Solidarity but also chaos in customs]

Around the sequence *dar și* appears, therefore, with necessity, a type of copulative construction in which one or another of the options for placing the syntactical members is a) rigorously controlled by what the transmitter wants to communicate (this is not only the sum of the meanings of the elements in the “enumeration”, as is usually the case with recurrent and reversible copulative constructions), b) in harmony both with the semantic and connotative load of the linguistic material with which the transmitter operates, as well as c) with the contextual elements in which the communication takes place.

3. Negligent use

Often, however, the use of the correlative construction *nu numai...*, *dar și*, and of *dar și* loses sight of the conditions that ensure their purpose and, therefore, their correctness in speech.

Sentences like the ones below are negligent: grammatically, *dar* of the conjunctive construction *dar și* focuses the syntactic limb that follows it, thus presented as “less likely” (see *supra*; o.e., A.C.); however, its semantic content in relation to a) that of the syntactic limb on the first position, with b) other elements of the co-text, and with c) the entire context in which the communication takes place does not justify such a linguistic option:

- (13) „Pînă să ajungă în România, *Anastasia, mama ei, dar și fiul* de șapte ani au dormit nouă nopti într-un buncăr.”⁵
[Before arriving to Romania, Anastasia, her mother but also her seven-year-old son slept nine nights in a bunker.]
- (14) „Alte cinci sute de persoane sînt cazate *în căminele studențești, dar și în blocul social* pus la dispoziție de Primărie.”⁶
[Another five hundred people are accommodated in the student dormitories but also in the social block provided by the City Hall.]
- (15) „Cele mai frumoase produse hand-made (sic), lucrate cu migală și talent, sînt expuse *pe esplanada Teatrului Național «Marin Sorescu» [...], dar și în zona Doljana, pe Calea Unirii.*”⁷
[The most beautiful hand-made (sic) products, painstakingly crafted, are exhibited on the esplanade of the “Marin Sorescu” National Theatre [...], but also in the Doljana area, on Calea Unirii.]
- (16) „Printre vedetele care s-au alăturat campanie[i] se numără *jurnalista și realizatoarea campaniei «Pacient în România» și «Transplant, misiune posibilă», Carla Tănasie, dar și jurnaliștii «Digi Sport», (sic) Radu Naum și Andrei Niculescu.*”⁸
[Among the stars who joined the campaign are the journalist and the producer of the campaign «Patient in Romania» and «Transplant, possible mission», Carla Tănasie but also the journalists «Digi Sport», (sic) Radu Naum and Andrei Niculescu.]

Not infrequently, the deviation from the norm harms the message⁹ to a deeper level, circumscribing it to the involuntary contextual comical (17) and compromising its gravity (18):

⁴Sequence title in DIGI24 reportage, min. 0.33, in *Sute de voluntari de la vama Siret au făcut un culoar de sprijin pentru refugiații din Ucraina – YouTube*, o.e., A.C.; on 05/01/2022.

⁵DIGI24 reportage, video, min. 19.08, in *Bombardamente intense în Ucraina, în timp ce rușii cîștigă teren la Mariupol – YouTube*, on 05/01/2022.

⁶DIGI24 reportage, video, min. 15.22, in *Știrile orei 10 la Digi24 – 1 martie – YouTube*, on 03/12/2022.

⁷*Zilele Craiovei 2022. Delia, Proconsul și Carla's Dreams vin în Bănie! (gds.ro)*, o.e., A.C.; on 04/01/2022.

⁸*Campanie de donare de sînge „Digi donează viață” – Romania Pozitiva*, o.e., A.C.; on 04/01/2022.

⁹Compare with the situation in which the anti-peak is used deliberately, with ironic, comical intentions: “The general had survived the War of Independence, the First World War, *but also* the 25 years of marriage to the his wife.”

- (17) „...manifestații de susținere a poporului ucrainean, dar nu doar în Danemarca – vedeți deja informația pe ecran –, și în Franța, la Paris, în Marea Britanie, în Estonia, chiar în *Japonia, în Grecia, dar și în România* [...]”¹⁰
 [...demonstrations in support of the Ukrainian people, but not only in Denmark – you already see the information on the screen – and in France, in Paris, in the UK, in Estonia, even in Japan, in Greece but also in Romania...]
- (18) „Cei care vin în vamă spun că au fost nevoiți să-și lase acasă *părinții bătrâni*[,] **dar și micile lor locuințe**.”¹¹
 [Those who come to customs say that they had to leave their old parents at home but also their small dwellings.]

4. Instead of conclusions

In cases of the kind exemplified by (13) to (16)¹², *dar și* [but also] appears as a verbal excess, instead of the simple coordinating conjunction *și* [and].¹³ The tendency could be justified by the speaker's need to compensate, through the formal note and lexical agglomeration, for the simplicity (sometimes pauperity) of the content that must be transmitted. Not accidentally, the occurrences of *dar și* [but also] meaning 'and' are particularly frequent in *the accounts on the ground* or in *the special correspondences* specific to the media, vitiated by other types of mistakes as well – marks of the spontaneous character of speech (see Borchin, 2006, p. 88 *et seq.*). However, when the transmitter is in a framework that gives them the chance to check the components of the sentence, the mistake does not occur or is corrected, as suggested by the difference in wording *dar și* – *și* [but also – and] in the following excerpt, present twice on the news site, as the speech of the announcer (19) and as a written reproduction¹⁴ of it (20):

- (19) „Zeci de mii de familii din Ucraina trăiesc, simultan, drama războiului, **dar și** a despărțirii, după ce autoritățile de la Kiev au decretat legea marțială și le-au interzis bărbaților care își pot apăra țara să plece peste granițe.”¹⁵
 [Tens of thousands of families in Ukraine live simultaneously the drama of war but also of separation, after the authorities in Kiev decreed martial law and banned men who can defend their country from going abroad.]
- (20) „Zeci de mii de familii din Ucraina trăiesc, simultan, drama războiului și a despărțirii, după ce autoritățile de la Kiev au decretat legea marțială și le-au interzis bărbaților care își pot apăra țara să plece peste granițe.” (s.n., A.C.).
 [Tens of thousands of families in Ukraine are simultaneously living the drama of war and separation, after the authorities in Kiev decreed martial law and banned men who can defend their country from going abroad.]

¹⁰ DIGI24, video, min. 08.06, in *Război în Ucraina, proteste în toată lumea – YouTube*, on 03/03/2022.

¹¹ O femeie refugiată din Ucraina a murit în Republica Moldova, la punctul de trecere a frontierei de la Palanca, după o călătorie de 50 de ore. Mii de ucraineni caută refugiu | stiri.tvr.ro – Site-ul de stiri al TVR, o.e., A.C.; on 05/05/2022.

¹² The formulations under (17) and (18) have more stylistic errors, so that simply replacing *dar și* with the copulative coordinating element *și* would be ineffective in trying to save the message.

¹³ In some situations, another option is the correlative *și ..., și* [Engl., lit. “and ..., and”], in which the copulative connector, of adverbial nature *și* focuses both connected elements (see DIG 2020: 512): e.g., *(15) „Cele mai frumoase produse hand-made (sic), lucrate cu mîgală și talent, sînt expuse și pe esplanada Teatrului Național «Marin Sorescu» [...], și în zona Doljana, pe Calea Unirii.”

¹⁴ Maybe the initial version of the prompter.

¹⁵ DIGI24, video, min. 00.00, at *Mii de familii din Ucraina trăiesc drama despărțirii (digi24.ro)*, on 03/28/2022.

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