CLAUSAL ADJUNCTS OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES
– A CORPUS-DRIVEN COMPARISON –

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ABSTRACT. *Clausal Adjuncts of Romance Languages – a Corpus-Driven Comparison[2].* Continuing the traditional comparative analysis of Romance languages, the present paper brings evidence for the fact that the syntactic configuration (the word order) of a Romance complex sentence (henceforth CS) with clausal adjuncts is the result of many competing forces. The analysis is based on an original media discourse corpus, collected from three Romance varieties (Romanian, Italian, and French), and the focus will be both on the word order of the temporal, causal, and concessive adjuncts (their occurrence in sentence-initial, in sentence-final position, sometimes even in sentence-middle position), and on the comparative analysis of the results. What I intend to prove is that the ordering of a CS in the three Romance languages is motivated by three types of factors: discourse pragmatics, semantics, and parsing.

Keywords: *clausal adjuncts, morphosyntactic analysis, word order, Romance languages*

REZUMAT. *Adjuncţii propoziţionali din limbile romanice – o analiză de corpus din perspectivă comparativă.* Continuând tradiţia analizelor comparative dedicate limbilor romanice, lucrarea de faţă îşi propune să prezinte o serie de dovezi în favoarea ipotezei potrivit căreia configuraţia sintactică (ordinea constituenţilor) a structurilor sintactice complexe cu adjuncţi din limbile romanice este rezultatul mai multor forţe concurente. Analiza are la bază un corpus original de texte aparţinând discursului mediatic contemporan, colectat din trei varietăţi romanice (limba română, limba italiană şi limba franceză) şi

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se concentrează, pe de o parte, asupra descrierii poziției adjuncților temporali, cauzali și concesivi (de la începutul, sfârșitul sau chiar din mijlocul structurii sintactice complexe), iar, pe de altă parte, asupra comparării rezultatelor obținute în cazul celor trei limbi investigate. Scopul unui astfel de demers este de a demonstra că topica acestor structuri este motivată, atât în limba română, cât și în celelalte două limbi-*surori*, de trei tipuri de factori: pragmatico-discursivi, semantici și morfosintactici.

Cuvinte-cheie: *adjuncți propoziționali, analiză morfosintactică, configurație sintactică, limbi romanice*

0. The Latin grammatical structure (Graur, Avram 1966, 506) of all languages part of the *Romance family* is undeniable, and most comparative studies have as primary objective to reveal the common and/or <u>specific</u> linguistic features/phenomena. <u>The idea that Romance languages have a special type of morphosyntax has deep roots in the studies of the 19thc., and it directly influenced the subsequent research</u> (Mussafia 1888; Foulet 1930). Kayne (1975), Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Posner (1996), Zanuttini (1997), Rizzi (2004), Alkire, Rosen (2010), Maiden, Smith, Ledgeway (2011), Ledgeway, Maiden (2016) are just a few of the researchers interested in describing the Romance grammatical system and their analyses have resulted into a considerable number of publications. The complex sentences under analysis, hereafter dubbed "the target sentences", have at least two clauses (head/matrix clause and an adverbial subordinate clause) connected by a *node*, i.e. a temporal, causal, or concessive connector (relative or subordinator). The research questions I am trying to answer in this paper are:

> ➢ What motivates a journalist to select a certain syntactic configuration to deliver a message to their readers?
> ➢ Are there any differences between the three investigated Romance languages?
> ➢ What determines these differences?

The theme of the paper is a complex one, especially if we consider the short number of comparative Romance studies including Romanian data, thus being very difficult to get to valid descriptive cross-linguistic generalizations.

0.1. The purpose of this article derives from the above-mentioned research questions and is twofold. Firstly, the investigation aims at identifying the word order in the complex sentences with adjuncts (temporal, causal, and concessive) in French, Italian, and Romanian. Secondly, the focus will be on the factors that influence the journalists' preference for a certain word order.

0.2. The corpus was built by the author and contains articles in Romanian, French, and Italian, extracted from print media, more precisely, from 3 international magazines and 3 national newspapers. The data collected were then organized in a database, according to the target structures (based on the sentence connectors specific to the three types of adjuncts from the investigated languages). For the quantitative and qualitative analysis, I selected 474 CSs with temporal, causal, and concessive adjuncts. My premise was that a discourse unit of the *print press* (magazines and newspapers) provides an excellent locus for investigating the complex sentences with temporal, reason, and concessive clauses, as it expresses an embodiment of the speaker's experience, as a way of communication, and, ultimately, as a form of understanding the world. Starting from this premise, I describe the CSs with finite adverbial clauses as they appear in the present-day media discourse from the three Romance varieties (articles were published during 2010–2018). Using the concepts and the instruments of different domains (syntax, semantics, pragmatics), the methodology might seem miscellaneous, but I am aware of the fact that such a topic – the word order of the constituents from a CS – cannot be captured completely using only one methodological framework. Instead, an integrative approach used for the comparative analysis would be more appropriate, and capable of motivating the ordering of these sentences.

1. Despite the idea that adverbial clauses are adjuncts, i.e., optional constituents, it is well-known that the appearance of an adjunct brings significant information to the correct and complete understanding of the sentence. In addition, the position that such an adjunct takes into the CS's configuration is also important, and therefore I consider relevant the investigation of the factors that determine different orderings according to the speakers' intention of communication. As for the position of these constituents, the generally accepted idea is that they are "free constituents", i.e., adverbial clauses "readily precede or follow the main clause, or even interrupt it" (Glinert 1989, 338). In fact, following Diessel's model (2005), I intend to demonstrate that the "positional patterns of adverbial clauses" are also motivated in the three Romance varieties by "competing functional and cognitive forces" (2005, 449).

Starting from the *iconicity principle* postulated by Diessel (2008), the focus will be on the syntactic and pragma-semantic factors (*syntactic integration* and *semantic scope* in terms of Hasselgard 1996, 34) that determine the speaker to choose a certain order instead of the other.

1.1. In a very simple and straightforward way, it can be said that the word order of the CSs with adjuncts is relatively free but motivated in the

current print press communication of Romanian, French, and Italian, although the prototypic position of an adjunct is after the matrix clause. The numbers resulting from the following quantitative analysis sustain this premise. All the CSs investigated here were processed by hand by the researcher, and the corresponding abbreviations used are the following: ITA – initial temporal adjunct, ICA – initial causal adjunct, ICvA – initial concessive adjunct; FTA – final temporal adjunct, FCA – final causal adjunct, FCvA – final concessive adjunct; MTA – middle temporal adjunct, MCA – middle causal adjunct, MCvA – middle concessive adjunct.

1.2. The results of the quantitative analysis are summarized by two diagrams, and included in the tables below:
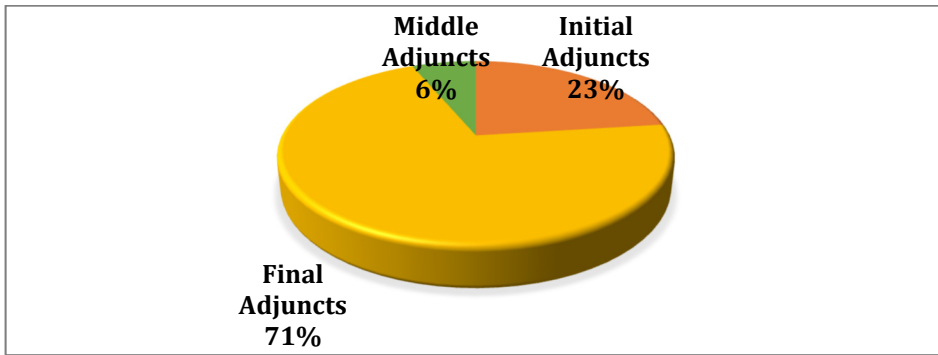

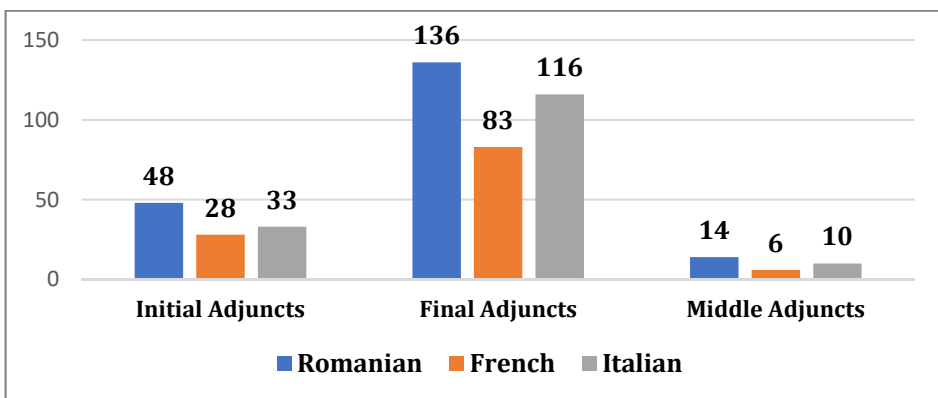**Diagram 1**. Proportions of IA, MA, and FA in the selected corpus

Diagram 2. Distribution of IA, MA, and FA in the three languages

Table 1. The distribution of initial adjunct clauses in the corpus

	Romanian	French	Italian	TOTAL
ITA	31	20	21	72
ICA	6	4	7	17
ICvA	11	4	5	20
TOTAL	48	28	33	**109**

1.3. As shown by Table 1, concessive clauses precede the main clause more often than causal adjuncts, which, in turn, are less frequently preposed to the main clause than temporal adjuncts. In addition, the percentages of initial causal adjuncts and initial concessive adjuncts are relatively low in the corpus compared to the percentages of initial temporal adjuncts.

(1) *Deşi considerat parte importantă dintr-un meniu sănătos, peştele este un aliment controversat.* (Ro.)
  'Although considered an important part of a healthy menu, fish is a controversial food'

(2) *Nonostante il tutore al polso, Elisabetta non sta ferma un momento.* (It.)
  'Despite the brace on her wrist, Elisabetta does not stand still for a moment'

For French, the complex causal subordinator *du fait que* 'because', and the simple connector *comme* 'as' are used in print press communication to place an adjunct in the initial position of the CS, to set down a causal frame of the events:

(3) *Du fait que mes parents m'obligent à lire dans ma chambre plutôt qu'aller jouer au foot, j'avais fini par repérer qu'il n'y a que trois sujets dans la littérature française: l'amour, la mort, la nature.* (Fr.)
  'Because my parents force me to read in my room rather than go play football, I ended up considering that there are only three subjects in French literature: love, death, nature'

1.4. As for the final adjuncts, the situation is presented in Table 2:

Table 2. The distribution of final adjunct clauses in the corpus

	Romanian	French	Italian	TOTAL
FTA	69	39	56	164
FCA	54	33	55	142
FCvA	13	11	5	29
TOTAL	136	83	116	**335**

If the number of initial and final concessive clauses is almost the same, the most significant difference is found with the causal adjuncts: only 17 CSs

with initial causal adjuncts, and 142 CSs with final causal adjuncts. Therefore, it is clear that journalists prefer to place the causal and the temporal adjuncts after the main clause.

(4) *Il ne viendra sans doute pas, <u>puisque</u> la RATP est en grève.* (Fr.)
   'He will probably not come, since the RATP is on strike'

(5) *Evitare le bevande zuccherate e gli alcolici, <u>perché</u> apportano solo calorie vuote.* (It.)
   'Avoid sugary drinks and alcohol, because they only bring calories'

(6) *Acestea sunt ideale și <u>când</u> mergi la plajă.* (Ro.)
   'These are great also when you go to the beach'

Sometimes, the use of a certain sentence connector imposes an ordering restriction, such as the Romanian causal conjunction *căci* that introduces only FCA:

(7) *În 1910, prietenia celor doi savanți a fost din nou sudată, <u>căci</u> J. a fost ales director al organizației.* (Ro.)
   'In 1910, the friendship of the two scientists has forged again, as J. was elected director of the organization'

Table 3. The distribution of middle adjunct clauses in the corpus

	Romanian	French	Italian	TOTAL
MTA	11	5	8	24
MCA	1	0	1	2
MCvA	2	1	1	4
TOTAL	14	6	10	**30**

The number of middle adjuncts is quite low, but it is worth considering it. In Romanian, this place is specific to the hypothetical concessive adjuncts taking the subordinator *deși* (Avram 2001, 449):

(8) *R. Ț. face performance-uri care, <u>deși</u> au loc în fața unui public, sunt realizate ca metode de autocunoaștere.* (Ro.)
   'R. Ț. makes performances that, although they take place in front of an audience, are realized as methods of self-knowledge'

Sometimes, the middle position of a concessive adjunct is determined by the appearance of a correlative in the matrix clause, such as the Romanian adverb *totuși/tot* 'yet/still', that rather has a discursive function: on the one hand, it resumes or it anticipates the information expressed by the adjunct (being an anaphoric element), and, on the other hand, it guarantees the cohesion of the complex sentence (Manea 2008b, 592-93).

(9) *Și <u>totuşi</u>, <u>chiar dacă</u> doar traversează stomacul, intestinul subţine şi colonul absorb tot felul de inamici ai sănătăţii.* (Ro.)
    'And yet, even if it only crosses the stomach, the intestine and the colon absorb all kinds of health enemies'

Other types of adjuncts are also compatible with the middle position of a CS. See, for example, the following temporal adjuncts:

(10) *Se întâmplă des ca medicul, <u>după ce</u> ne prescrie o reţetă, să ne informeze.* (Ro.)
     'It often happens that the doctor, after prescribing a prescription, informs us'
(11) *Ieri pomeriggio, <u>mentre</u> i due stavano disegnando, B. ha interrogato il suo bimbo.* (It.)
     'Yesterday afternoon, while the two were drawing, B. questioned her child'

2. The results of the corpus analysis revealed important linguistic features that Romanian and the other two Romance languages share. The starting point of the qualitative analysis will be Diessel's model of competing motivations (2005), and also the *iconicity principle* (2008), according to which the linear order of the main and subordinate clauses mirrors the sequential order of the described events (Diessel 2008, 465). In fact, the idea that there is a certain preference for the linguistic representation of the events according to their completion/accomplishment (*the conceptual order* - Diessel 2008, 476) was not new in the literature, going back to one of Grice's (1975) maxims: "Be orderly" (see Tenbrink 2007, 39).

2.1. Therefore, according to this principle, the temporal adjuncts will occur in different positions of the CS, influenced by the temporal order of the events. If the temporal relationship is that of anteriority, the event expressed in the adjunct clause is completed before the matrix event, and it should be placed before the matrix clause. In this case, all three languages use certain types of subordinators: Ro. *după ce* 'after', It. *dopo che* 'after', Fr. *après* 'after':

(12) *<u>După ce</u> usuci cu un prosop, adaugă o picătură de ulei.* (Ro.)
     'After drying with a towel, add a drop of oil'
(13) *<u>Dopo che</u> N. A. ha scelto G. M. a Uomini e Donne è successo di tutto.* (It.)
     'After N. A. chose G. M. for Men and Women everything happened'

2.1.1. If the temporal adjunct establishes a posteriority semantic relationship to its matrix, this involves that the subordinate event takes place after the main event, and therefore the temporal adjunct should be placed after the matrix. The corresponding complex subordinators used to introduce this type of adjunct are: Ro. *până când* 'until', *înainte (ca...) să* 'before' (+ the

subjunctive), It. *fino a quando* 'until', *prima che* 'before' (+ the subjunctive), *una volta che* 'as soon as', Fr. *avant que* 'before':

> (14) *Bea un pahar cu apă <u>înainte să</u> te bagi în pat!* (Ro.)
>   'Drink a glass of water before you go to bed'
> (15) *In pochi si erano accorti della regola europea, <u>fino a quando</u> un viennese ha deciso di* **denunciato** *il suo proprietario di casa.* (It.)
>   'Few had noticed the European rule until a Viennese decided to denounce the owner of his house'

2.1.2. There are also CSs with temporal adjuncts expressing simultaneity, and they usually represent a temporal frame for the events of the matrix clauses. In this case, the temporal adjunct appears in the initial position of the CS:

> (16) *<u>Mentre</u> festeggiava con le amiche, sul suo cellulare sono comparsi una serie di messaggi da un numero sconosciuto.* (It.)
>   'While celebrating with her friends, a series of messages from an unknown number appeared on her cell phone'

2.2. The iconicity principle can be discussed mostly for the temporal adjuncts, but there are also causal and concessive adjuncts that might appear in complex sentences following a conceptual order. For example, we know that a causal adjunct is a syntactic constituent that specifies the reason that determines the course of a certain event (Manea 2008a, 557), i.e., the causality relation requires that the action expressed by the verb of the causal adjunct be anterior to that expressed by the verb of the head clause. So, from this point of view, most of the causal adjuncts should appear in the initial position of the CS, but, according to the tables, only 17 contexts follow the rule.

> (17) *<u>Parce que</u> vos ongles sont durs, vous les croyez résistants.* (Fr.)
>   'Because your nails are hard, you think they're tough'
> (18) *<u>Perché</u> è l'approccio culturale a essere sbagliato, la convinzione è che l'unico modo per avere una forma invidiabile sia faticare.* (It.)
>   'Because the cultural approach is wrong, the belief is that the only way to have an enviable shape is to work hard'

3. Unlike the causal adjuncts, the examples with temporal adjuncts demonstrate that the three languages investigated follow, most of the time, the *iconicity principle*, but I can not ignore the significant number of CSs that break this principle. See, for instance, the example under (19), in which the anteriority relationship is marked by a final temporal adjunct, or the example under (20), in which the posteriority relationship is expressed by an initial temporal adjunct:

(19) *Senzația de epuizare apare la scurt timp <u>după ce</u> ai mâncat.* (Ro.)
    'The feeling of exhaustion appears shortly after eating'
(20) <u>*Prima che*</u> *il prete iniziasse la celebrazione, ha affermato...* (It.)
    'Before the priest started the celebration, he said...'

So, in what follows, I intend to find out and explain what determines these 'breaches' of the iconicity principle, and, of course, to describe the factors that influence the ordering of the other two types of adjuncts (causal and concessive). I advance the idea of certain syntactic (that correlate to the internal structure of the sentences) and/or semantic-pragmatic factors (that correlate to the contextual meaning of each adjunct) that influence the word order of the adjuncts (following Hasselgard 2010, 59).

3.1. Morphosyntactic factors. One of the important factors that influence the word order of the CSs is the syntactic function of the subordinate clause, i.e., that of an adjunct clause. Unlike other subordinate clauses – such as *complement clauses* or *restrictive relative clauses* – that are embedded structures, serving as obligatory constituents of the head clause, of a verbal head or a noun head, adjunct clauses are dependent, but they "do not fill an obligatory slot in the semantically associated clause" (Diessel 2013, 342). Considering this syntactic function, the adjunct clause doesn't need to follow the head (as it is for the complement and the relative clause). This idea is discussed by Hasselgard (2010, 45-6) in terms of *obligatoriness* vs. *non-obligatoriness*, but she also talks about other three syntactic factors that influence the adverbials position in English: *the canonical order*, *the syntactic weight*, and *the clause type*.

3.1.1. With respect to the first factor, it is said that the ordering of the main clause and adverbial clause presents, in a sense, the mirror image of the pattern OV or VO of that language (the canonical order). "In OV languages with consistent head-dependent ordering, adverbial clauses almost always precede the main clause, whereas, in VO languages and OV and OV/VO languages with mixed head-dependent and/or flexible word order, adverbial clauses commonly occur both before and after the main clause/predicate" (Diessel 2001, 447). This explains, in a certain way, the situation from the Romance languages that are (S)VO languages (Zafiu, 2013, 569) and display a relatively free word order of these constituents.

3.1.2. The second factor is *the syntactic weight* or the *weight principle* (Quirk *et al.* 1985, 1362). This concept has two defining elements: the length of the constituent and the complexity of the constituent. Therefore, according to this principle, a *heavier* constituent of the predication (such as a clause) tends

to be placed after a less heavy one, and this statement was sustained and demonstrated by Hasselgard (1996) for the English *clusters*. For the present analysis, this principle might account for the middle adjuncts, i.e., those clauses inserted/interpolated into the matrix clause. A short middle adjunct can be easily processed by the reader, while a long, heavier adjunct interrupts the discourse, slowing down or even blocking the communication.

(21) *Păstrarea confortului termic <u>când</u> temperaturile ating niveluri record nu înseamnă numai sănătate, ci şi frumuseţe.* (Ro.)
'Maintaining thermal comfort when temperatures reach record levels means not only health but also beauty'

3.1.3. Directly connected to this factor is another one – *the syntactic parsing* (Diessel 2008, 466) – based on Hawkins' opinion (1994) that "the human processor prefers linear structures that allow for fast and easy access to the recognition domain" (*apud* Diessel 2008, 466). In a simple, and obvious way, this principle resumes *the conceptual order* previously presented. Analyzing the CSs as bi-propositional configurations organised around a *mother node $S_{complex}$* (the sentence connector), Diessel (2005) notes that, in English, the CSs with an initial adverbial clause have *a longer recognition domain* as compared to those containing a final adverbial clause, and this is why the human processor prefers the second type (Diessel 2008, 467). Compare, for instance, the two situations:

(22) *Stratul de cremă se duce surprinzător de repede, mai ales <u>când</u> vine în contact cu apa.* (Ro.)
'The cream layer goes off surprisingly fast, especially when it comes in contact with water'
(23) *<u>Când</u> afară e rece, este normal să te simţi înfrigurată.* (Ro.)
'When it's cold outside, it's normal to feel chilled'

We notice that the recognition domain is much shorter in the first sentence, in which the adverbial clause follows the main clause, and thus, the complex sentence is easier to process. This idea also explains why the initial adjuncts tend to be shorter, Diessel (2008) arguing that the length of a complex sentence is determined by the ordering of the elements, i.e., the CSs with initial adjunct clauses are shorter than the CSs with final adjunct clauses.

3.1.4. In conclusion, I accept the idea that the journalists consider CSs with final adjuncts as being more easily processed by the readers, and syntactically motivated, but I still have to find the reasons that determine them to also place these adjuncts (frequently) in sentence-initial position, and this must be semantic-pragmatically motivated.

3.2. *Semantic-pragmatic factors.* The linear arrangement of matrix and adjunct clauses is also closely related to their pragmatic functions. Being discourse configurational languages (see Kiss 1995), the three Romance languages "display a relatively high freedom of constituent placement within the sentence, which serves discursive purposes: to mark the *topic-comment* informational structure (which leads to discourse coherence) and to produce emphatic effects (focalization)" (Zafiu 2013, 569. The influence of the semantic-pragmatic factors on the word order of the CSs with adverbial clauses has already been treated in many research studies (Chafe 1984; Thompson, Longacre 1985; Thompson 1985, 1987; Ramsay 1987; Givon 1990; Ford 1993; Hasselgard 1996; Declerck 1997; Verstraete 2004; Diessel 2005, 2013) that give prominence to *the information* or *the thematic structure* of the sentences. This implies the organisation of the CS according to the already known information (*theme/topic*) or according to the new information (*rheme/comment*).

3.2.1. On the one hand, when occurring in the prototypical final position, the temporal and the causal adjuncts may represent the new information (rheme) of the sentence (that can not be recovered from the linguistic or extralinguistic context – Halliday 1967, 204), and, in this case, the adverbial clause is the answer to the specific questions *when?* or *why?* (directly formulated or just presupposed) (Declerck 1997, 187):

(24) *Ouvrez donc votre flacon seulement <u>quand</u> vous en avez besoin, puis glissez-le dans sa boite.* (Fr.)
'So open your bottle only when you need it, then slip it into its box'

(25) *Miniștrii de la Sănătate nu au stat mult. De ce? <u>Pentru că</u> au fost puși oameni care nu se pricep.* (Ro.)
'The health ministers did not stay long. Why? Because they put people who don't know anything'

However, the sentence-final adjunct can also convey other types of information, elaborating or completing the matrix clause. For instance, there are temporal clauses used by the journalists as (simple) additions or afterthoughts to the matrix clause. In fact, the adjunct explains the information that is *pragmatically presupposed* (Diessel 2013, 345) by the prior temporal juxtaposed adjunct (non-clausal):

(26) *Autoarea romanului a povestit că L. S. i-a spus povestea <u>pe când</u> avea 87 de ani, <u>după ce</u> soția sa murise.* (Ro.)
'The author of the novel said that L. S. told her the story when he was 87 after his wife died'

3.2.2. On the other hand, the initial position of an adverbial clause is affectively motivated by two reasons:

(i) the adjunct is the *topic* of the message, functioning as a *temporal anchor* for the future events and organising the discourse (Declerck 1997, 188):

(27) <u>*Când*</u> *vine vorba despre SPF, există o mulțime de mituri.* (Ro.)
   'When it comes to SPF, there are a lot of myths'

(28) <u>*Quand*</u> *Franck Lepage était enfant, il n'apprenait pas ses leçons.* (Fr.)
   'When Franck Lepage was a child, he did not learn his lessons'

In these contexts, the sentence-initial adjunct is the *temporal setting* of the event described by the matrix clause or by other future events (Ford 1993, 32; Declerck 1997, 188). The results of my quantitative analysis revealed that temporal clauses are more often used to provide an orientation or framework for subsequent information than causal, and concessive clauses, which tend to be placed in the final position. Still, Dardano claims that in Italian, the position of the causal adjunct is directly influenced by the nature of the information contained by this subordinate clause (2012, 453-54). If in the expressed cause-effect rapport the cause is the given/known element and the effect is the new element, the causal adjunct tends to precede the matrix clause (the specific causal marker is *dato che* or *visto che* 'since'):

(29) <u>*Dato che*</u> *vi siete impegnati costantemente, vi promuoverà.* (It.)
   'Since you have been constantly engaged, he will promote you'

On the contrary, if the effect is the known element and the cause is the new element of the cause-effect relation (with the corresponding subordinator *perché* 'because'), then the causal adjunct is usually placed after the matrix:

(30) *È considerato un batterio molto antipatico,* <u>*perché*</u> *è un batterio opportunista.* (It.)
   'It is considered a very nasty bacterium, because it is an opportunistic bacterium'

In French, the same behaviour is displayed by *puisque* 'since': the final causal adjunct introduced by *puisque* has an explicative function, being a reason or an explanation that is supposed to be known by the reader (36). By contrast, the initial causal adjunct with *puisque* might be sometimes understood by the reader as a negative state of affair (reproach, regret) (37):

(31) *Il ne viendra sans doute pas,* <u>*puisque*</u> *la RATP est en grève.* (Fr.)
   'He will probably not come, since the RATP is on strike'

(32) <u>*Puisque*</u> *vous montrez tant de mauvaise volonté, nous nous retirons du projet.* (Fr.)
   'Since you show so much ill will, we withdraw from the project'

This function – also called *scene-setting topic* by Lambrecht (1994, 125) – can appear in the so-called *narrative adverbial clauses* (following Declerck's typology, 1997) in which the connector is synonymous to the structure "and then", having the pragmatic function of "an ax/a node that relaunches the story" (Gheorghe 2004, 183). Some French or even Romanian causal adjuncts have a similar function, and tend to use a specific subordinator to mark initial position, i.e., the French topic marker *car* 'because'. Note that these adverbial clauses are used "to bridge the boundaries between two paragraphs, that is, two thematic sections, enhancing discourse coherence" (Diessel 2013, 344).

(33) *Et d'après les experts, tout serait une question de CO2. <u>Car</u> si nous émettons tous naturellement du dioxyde de carbone, certains facteurs influenceraient ces émissions que les moustiques savent parfaitement détecter.* (Fr.)
'And according to experts, it is all about CO2. Because if we all naturally emit carbon dioxide, certain factors would influence these emissions that mosquitoes know perfectly how to detect'

(ii) the adjunct is the *focus* or the *rheme* of the sentence, "functioning as the new information that explains/identifies the topic" (Gorăscu 2008, 930), and in this situation, the adverbial clause is prosodically marked by a comma but also involved in syntactic rearrangements, such as cleft or pseudo-cleft constructions, linear dislocations or interpolations, topicalizations:

(34) *Il affirme que, lorsqu'il écrit, il n'a aucune intention… si ce n'est celle de ne pas en avoir. Or c'est justement <u>parce</u> qu'il ne veut surtout pas faire un livre que celui-ci surgit.* (Fr.)
'He says that when he writes, he has no intention … except that of not having any. But it is precisely because he above all does not want to make a book that this one arises'

Sometimes, the topicalization of an adverbial clause is associated with the concept of contrastive focus (Hasselgard 2010, 60). The focalization of an adjunct is also a technique of placing the discursive information into the core of the communicative interest of the journalist, according to his intentions (Gheorghe 2004, 315):

(35) *<u>De când</u> am intrat în politică, vin de zece ori mai mulți oameni la consultații.* (Ro.)
'Since I entered politics, ten times more people come to consultations'

4. In conclusion, I consider that the three investigated languages do not have a totally 'free' word order of the CSs with adjuncts, but rather a 'chosen' or

a 'determined' one. More precisely, I claim that the ordering of the main and the adverbial clause is not random, but it is always 'motivated' by syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors. *The iconicity principle*, *the conceptual order*, or *the theme/ rheme dichotomy* are just a few of these factors discussed and exemplified with contexts extracted from the original journalistic corpus, as I consider this type of communication to be a very open and straightforward way to share information with an extensive audience. According to Zafiu (2001, 14), "many characteristics of the journalistic style are determined by the fundamental need of publicists to provide new elements, to produce surprises, to arouse the reader's interest and to continue a communication always threatened by haste, boredom, overwork. As novelty does not always appear in ideas or information, few and repetitive, in the sphere of everyday life, the search for the original is often transferred to language" (my translation).

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