THE DIACHRONY OF ABRUZZESE COMPLEMENTATION

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Abstract. Complementizer systems in southern Italian varieties have received a lot of attention in the traditional dialectological literature. In this paper, we try to trace the diachronic development of complementizers in a scarcely documented vernacular Upper southern variety, Abruzzese. We indentify five stages in the development of this system, and two main developmental paths: one extending the *ke/che* to subordinate clauses, and the other extending *ka* to all clauses, including declarative unselected ones.

Keywords: Italo-Romance dialects; complementizers; diachronic syntax; Abruzzese.

1. INTRODUCTION

Complementizer systems in Southern Italian Dialects[2] (SIDs) display a certain degree of complexity. Rohlfs (1969: 190) already notes that "After verbs which express will or intention, a dedicated conjunction is used (*chi, chə, cu, mu* or *mi*) which is not used after declarative verbs"[3].

Modern Abruzzese, as described by D'Alessandro and Ledgeway (2010), exhibits a more complex system, featuring three complementizers, as illustrated in (1):

(1) a. *ca* [default complementizer, factive subordinate clauses]
b. *chi/chə* [unselected *irrealis* clauses]
c. *occhə/nocchə* [(negative) jussive clauses – T element lexicalising modal features]

(1a), *ca*, is the default declarative complementizer. *Chə/chi* is the irrealis complementizer. D'Alessandro and Ledgeway (2010) show that their distribution does not coincide with that described by Rohlfs as characterizing all southern Italian varieties. Specifically, *chi/chə* can only introduce *irrealis* clauses if they are unselected; in other words, it only appears in predicative, copular constructions of the kind "it is wise, it is better", but crucially does not appear in deontic or epistemic constructions of the sort "I

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[2] In this paper, we use the term "dialect" and "language" interchangeably to indicate Italo-Romance varieties. It should be kept in mind that such varieties are full-fledged languages, and not dialects of Italian.

[3] "Dopo i verbi che esprimono una volontà o un'intenzione, viene usata una particolare congiunzione (*chi, chə, cu, mu* o *mi*) che non si userebbe dopo i verbi dichiarativi".

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want you to do this, I think that it must have rained" or the like. The third complementizer (*occhə/ccò, nocchə* when negative) conveys a jussive modality: it is used roughly to express third person imperatives.[4] The three uses are exemplified in (2):

(2) a. Vujə ca ti sti zittə
want that yourself stay quiet
'I want him to keep quiet' [selected *irrealis*]
b. Je mmejə chi ti sti zittə
is better that yourself stay silent
'It's better for you to keep quiet' [unselected *irrealis*]
c. Dijə occhə zi sta zittə
tell=him that himself stays quiet
'Tell him to keep quiet' [jussive]

Furthermore, Abruzzese features what we will call *evidential* complementizers, i.e. complementizers expressing evidentiality, i.e. the epistemic modality expressing the speaker's assessment of the evidence for their statement (Bybee 1985, Palmer 1986). These complementizers appear at the beginning of declarative clauses, and are commonly found, in different fashions, through all the southern varieties (Prins 2014). Examples of evidential use of complementizers in modern Eastern Abruzzese are in (3) and (4).

(3) Ca nin chischə!
that not fall
'You won't fall!' [Don't worry. It is the case that you will not fall]
(4) Chi nin chischə!
that not fall
'You might fall!' [Watch out! It is the case that you might fall]

This article investigates the development of these complementizers, by following their evolution through the centuries. We will not be concerned with *occhə* in this paper, firstly because its occurrence is too scarcely documentable for us to be able to draw any sensible generalization on it, and secondly because we wish to concentrate on the factive/ *irrealis* split.

A disclaimer is in order before going into detail: first, the term "Abruzzese" refers to two separate varieties: the eastern/coastal one, roughly spoken in the provinces of Teramo, Pescara and Chieti, belonging to the Upper Southern group, and the western one, roughly spoken in and around L'Aquila, belonging to the Central Sabino group. These two languages are quite different in many respects, and also for what concerns their literary/written tradition: while the *Aquilan* variety was written early on, being the city of Amiternum/Aquila a very important center during the Middle Ages, hosting a diocesis, and having strict contacts with Rome, the Eastern variety has very few attestations. We have

[4] We refer to *occhə* as a complementizer because of its morphology: it has however been shown that this is rather a tense-mood marker (D'Alessandro and Ledgeway 2010). We will return to this later on.

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attempted to collect as many data as possible from both varieties, with different degrees of success.

A second disclaimer regards the attribution of these phenomena to Abruzzese. It is well known that, since the Middle Ages, the language used in Abruzzo for writing, when not Latin, was influenced by Tuscan. Administrative, literary and historical texts mainly exhibit some form of Tuscan/Italian. Nevertheless, vernacular features can be found in all texts (see also Ledgeway 2009a for Neapolitan, and the *Antea database of Old Abruzzese texts*). It is hence more correct to say that this article deals with vernacular Italian as written in Abruzzo through the centuries. As the reader will see, there are many differences with respect to Tuscan/Italian. In the 15th–16th century texts, in particular, we have found strong divergences in the complementizer systems in literary, Tuscan-oriented, texts vs vernacular, Abruzzese-oriented ones.

The distribution of *ca* and *che/chi.* Complementizers in SIDs have been the object of several studies. Their different distribution has been attributed to different causes. The best known classification of these complementizers is Rohlfs's (1969), according to whom a division of labor is established between factive and *irrealis* complementizers; this opposition is modal in nature: *ka*, in all its forms, introduces the indicative, while *ki* (*chi/chə* etc) introduces the subjunctive[5].

On another, partially overlapping, track, complementizer selection has been linked to the semantics of the verb (Tekavčić 1980, Maiden 1998). According to Maiden (1998: 212): "...the outcomes of QUIA (usually, *ka*), serve as generic complementizers with perception and assertion verbs, while verbs expressing will or command are accompanied by different outputs of QUOD, QUID or MODO (= 'in this way')"[6].

All other analyses oscillate between the two positions: Paoli (2003, 2007), for instance presents an overview of complementizer systems in Romance as expressing different functional heads; according to Paoli (2003, 2007): « low » *che (che2)* must co-occur with subjunctive when subjunctive paradigms are defective; *che* is hence a subjunctive marker (as in Romanian *să*). Ledgeway (2009a,b, 2012a,b), on the other hand, outlines an analysis which attributes complementizer selection to a combination of semantic selection and structural requirements. Finally, D'Alessandro and Ledgeway (2010) analyze complementizers like *ka* as Force complementizers, following Paoli, while low complementizers like *occhə* as expression of a T-Mood head, like *mu* > MODO in Calabrian, according to Ledgeway (1998). *Ka* is also considered as the default complementizer, which is used in complementizer doubling constructions.

In this paper, we take a very general, descriptive point of view, linking complementizers to both the semantics of the verb and their modality. We will not be concerned with their structural analysis, for which we refer the reader to D'Alessandro and

[5] For the transcription of the complementizers, we will select the ortographic form which is most common for every given period. Obviously, *ka* and *ca* are the same complementizer.

[6] "…gli esiti di QUIA (di solito ka) fungono da complementatori generici con i verbi di percezione e asserzione, mentre con i verbi di volontà e di comando vengono impiegati esiti diversi di QUOD, QUID O MODO (= 'in questo modo')…" (our translation).

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Ledgeway (2010). For a complete overview of complementizer systems in southern Italian varieties the reader is referred to Ledgeway (2012a).

2. A SHORT HISTORY OF COMPLEMENTIZERS IN ABRUZZESE

Written prose in Old Abruzzese is not easy to find, hence this overview has no pretence of exhaustivity. However, it seems to us that some generalizations regarding the development of Abruzzese complementizers can nevertheless be drawn. The first data generalization that we have come across is that the development of the Abruzzese complementizer system was asymmetrical, in that it seems that the modal subordinating complementizer developed before the other. In what follows we present a diachronically-organized overview of the complementizers that we found, which we will then discuss in section 4. We analyzed 30 texts from different periods. These texts are listed at the end of the article.

2.1. 13th-14th c. Abruzzese

2.1.1. *Subordinate clauses*

13th−14th c. Abruzzese exhibits only one form of subordinating complementizer: *ke*. In (5)−(7) we have three examples of this use:

(5) qualumqua cosa [...] Tomasso dicerà **ke** esse facza
any thing [...] Tommaso will-say that he should-do
'anything Tommaso will tell him to do' [*Recordanza in volgare sulmonese*, 1325]

(6) bolemo **ke** lo dica Ianny de Petri Balduino
we-want that it said Ianny of Pietro Balduino
'we want Ianny son of Pietro Balduino to say it' [*Recordanza in volgare sulmonese*, 1325]

(7) Gridatore non placeme, volio **ke** tte desplacça.
shouter not pleases=me I-want that to-you displeases
'If I don't like the crier, I want you to dislike him too'
[*Proverbia pseudoiacop*, v. 154, pg. 33, l. 18]

Ka is quite rare in subordinates. *Ke* is *de facto* used everywhere as a factive complementizer. This is exactly what Ledgeway (2003, 2005) also finds in other medieval southern Italian varieties. This use is illustrated in (8).

(8) [LVII] Say **ke** lo bene noceli a cquillu ked è rreu,
you-know that the good hurts=him to that who is guilty
'You know that the good hurts he who is guilty'
[*Proverbia pseudoiacop* v. 225, pg. 37, l. 15]

In Table 1 we illustrate the distribution of *ka* and *ke* across four medieval Abruzzese texts. In almost 75% of cases the subordinating complementizer is *ke:*

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Table 1

Ka/ke *in subordinate clauses in* Proverbia, Pianto, Orationi, Transito

	Proverbia	Pianto	Orationi	Transito	tot
ka	2	1		19	22
ke	11	12	2	39	64
tot	13	13	2	58	86

In *Proverbia* and in *Cronaca Isidoriana*, we also looked for the use of *ke* as a relative pronoun: unsurprisingly, *ke* is used in 100% cases, as illustrated in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2

Ka/ke *in subordinate clauses in* Proverbia

	sub.comp	rel. pron.	
Ka	2	--	2
Ke	11	22	33

Table 3

Ka/ke *in subordinate clauses in* Cronaca isidoriana

	subord	relative	
Ka	--	--	--
Ke	409	187	596

The split between *ka* and *ke* is thus almost completely absent from subordinate clauses.

2.1.2. *Main clauses*

While *ka* (< QUIA) is almost absent in subordination, it is quite often present in main clauses as an evidential complementizer:

(9) In quisto mundo, contrario vi non ène./
in this world contrary there not is
Ad tucti lo re dicea: «**Ca** vollio»; /
to all the king said that I-want
Ma non se accordava, insumma, la vollia.
but not refl matched all in all the will

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'In this world, he was against nobody./ To everyone the king would say: "Let it be so"/ but then his will was never in accordance' [Buccio di Ranallo, *Cronaca aquilana*, 8.15, 1362]

(10) in veritate; / **Ca** non vegio le vollie adericzate, / Anchi ce vegio
in truth that not see the desires straightened also there I-see
lo foco pennace;
the fire tormenting
/ **Ca** allo palese dicono: «**Ca** me piace»; /
that at-the evidence they-say that to-me pleases...
'In truth, I don't see desires straightened, I still see the painful fire. For when they face the evidence they say: I like it' [Buccio di Ranallo, *Cronaca aquilana*, son. 2, v. 7 – pag. 100:7]

(11) Madompna, multu encrésceme la vita, se me dura». /
Lady much pains the life if to-me lasts
La dompna disse:
the woman said
'Lady, life is very hard on me. The lady said":
«Iannj, no plorare; / **cha** io te verragio ad recercare, e no smagare
Ianni not cry that I you will-come to look for and not get lost
'Iannj, do not cry/ **for** I will come to look for you, and do not lose your faith.'
[*Legg. Transito della Madonna*, XIV. 253, p. 28, l 3]

Che/ke is sometimes also found in main clauses, but to a much lesser extent than *ka*, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Ka/ke *in main clauses* Proverbia, Poesia, Leggenda, Cronaca, S. Caterina, Transito

	Proverbia	Poesia	Leggenda	S.Caterina	Transito	
Ka	23	3	9	5	9	49
Ke	4	4				8
	27	7	9	5	9	57

The data just considered show an interesting picture of the *ka/ke* split in Middle Age Abruzzese, which has nothing to do with the modern Abruzzese one: while *ka* was used to mark evidentiality, plausibly because of its Latin antecedent QUIA served that use too, and introduce main clauses, *ke* was mainly used to introduce subordinate clauses. Very few instances of *ka* in subordinate clauses are also found.

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2.2. 15th–16th c. Abruzzese – Literary writings

The period between the 15th and the 16th century is characterized by a division between more 'literary' and more 'vernacular' writings. The few Abruzzese literary writers are heavily affected by Humanism tendencies. They write either in Latin or in a vernacular which reflects the Tuscan one. In what follows, we will keep the two writing styles separate. The literary writings we analyzed are the *Dialogo dell'origine della città dell'Aquila* by Tommaso Massonio (L'Aquila, 1594), which represents the central-Sabino group, and *Il padre di fameglia* by Muzio Muzii (Teramo, 1591), which represents the Eastern group. Once again, this classification is purely taxonomic and does not have any pretence of being scientifically justified, given that we are, in fact, dealing with two (Tuscan) Italian texts written in Abruzzo, and which thus present only some Abruzzese vernacular features.

The grammar of this period exhibits an opposition between *irrealis*, usually marked with *che* plus subjunctive, and factive, usually marked with indicative or with some form of *accusativus cum infinitivo* (ACI), which is widely re-introduced following the humanistic style. The split in subordinate clauses is hence present, but it is not marked by means of different complementizers. Factive and declarative subordinates are characterized by ACI, while *che* is exclusively used for *irrealis*. *Ca/ka* is not found in these texts. (12) and (13) illustrate the different ways of marking modality in subordinates. We assume that *ch'* means *che* given that *ka/ca* is never found in these texts:

(12) Alcuni altri han detto, **ch**'ella **sia** chiamata Aquila
some others have said that-she be-subj. called Aquila
'Some others said that it should be called Aquila'

(13) Giovanni Ioviano Pontano [...] dice **questa Città esser detta** Aquila
Giovanni Ioviano Pontano says this city be named Aquila
'Giovanni Ioviano Pontano says this city to be called Aquila' [Massonio 1594: 99−100]

Che thus marks *irrealis*, and almost exclusively selects the subjunctive mood. Its distribution mostly, but not completely, overlaps with modern standard Italian subjunctive clauses. *Irrealis* in the 15th-16th century comprises volitional verbs, (14) and (15), epistemic verbs, expressing belief or plausibility, (16), or expectation/deontic modality, (17), persuasion (18), epistemic modality as plausibility or doubt (19), or hypothesis (20):

Volitional verbs (command/will)

(14) gli **commanderete,** **che** nel vendere, et nel comprare
to-him you-will-command-2nd pl that in selling and in buying
sia di non molte parole
be- subj3rd sg of not many words
'You will command that he should not use many words in selling or in buying' [Muzii 1591, p. 88]

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(15) Ma ben **vi dico, che vogliate** fuggir l'occasioni
but well you I-tell that you-want-2nd pl escape the-occasions
d'intrar nelle nemicitie
of-enterin into enmity
'But so I tell you, that you should escape the occasion of becoming somebody's enemy' [Muzii, p. 151]

Belief/plausibility

(16) Vogliono alcuni, **che** l'otio, et la pigritia
want-3.PL some-3.PL that the-idleness and the-laziness
sia l'istesso difetto; ma se si pongono
be-3RD.SG.SUBJ the-same weakness but if REFL put
à ben considerare, **troveranno** **esservi** differenza
to well consider will-find-3rd.pl be=there difference
'Some believe that hate and laziness are the same thing; but if considered carefully, they will find there to be a difference' [Muzii, p. 129]

Expectation

(17) Questo **vogliamo,** **che sieno** franchi, liberi,
this we-want-1st pl that they-be. 3rd.pl.subj freed free
et esenti per quindici anni d'ogni tributo, et gravezza
and exempt for fifteen years from-every tribute and fee
'This is what we want: that they are freed, free and exempt from any form of taxation for fifteen years' [Muzii, c. +*6v*]

Persuasion

(18) ma **rendetevi** **certo, che** con l'osservanza di questi
but make-2nd pl imp. sure that with the-observance of these
documenti **acquisterete** ad un tempo ricchezza, lode, et honore.
documents you-will-acquire at a time wealth praise and honor
'But do persuade yourself that by observing those documents you will acquire wealth, praise and honor altogether' [Muzii, pp. 119−120]

Plausibility/opinion/doubt

(19) Et la giustizia **si** **può dir c'habbia** il seggio in voi,
and the justice refl can say that have-SUBJ the seat in you
et mai non se ne **scompagni**
and never not REFL of it disjoin-3RD.SG.SUBJ
'And justice can be said to reside in you and never leave you' [Muzii, c. +3v]

Hypothesis

(20) Et se qualcuno **volesse** **dire,** **ch**'el ragionar della
and if someone wanted to-say that the reasoning of-the
nobiltà in questo luogo **sia** fuori del nostro instituto...
nobility in this place be-subj out of-the our institution

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'And if someone wanted to say that discussing nobility in this context is beyond us' [Muzii, p. 17]

Observe, finally, that *che* can also be selected by a noun:

(21) quali **sono cagione, che** i figliuol **nascano**
which are cause that the sons are-born
d'animo, et di corpo bruttissimi
of soul and of body awful
'Which ones cause the children to be born ugly in soul and body' [Muzii, p. 57]

We do find *che* with assertion verbs, but only when stylistic requirements need to be met or in hearsay contexts (Vincent 2006 a,b):

(22) Ha detto san Paulo esser statuito à tutti gli huomini,
has said saint Paul to-be established at all the men
ch'una volta habbiano à morire.
that-one time they-have-subj to die
'St Paul said that it is established for all men that they must die once' [Muzii: 183]

If we observe the complementary distribution between *che* and ACI, we can see that it overlaps almost completely with the split complementizer system in SIDs. However, we do not see two complementizers, but only one: *che*, while *ca* has almost completely disappeared, in literary texts. Also observe that in jussive/deontic contexts, like that in (17), we do not find any trace of *ocche* yet. Furthermore, we have not found any *che/ca* in main clauses.

2.2. 15th–16th c. Abruzzese – Vernacular writings

Also in vernacular texts, *che* is the only subordinator. Subordinating *ca* is not found in any of the texts we checked, with one notable exception to which we will return later on in this section.

Differently from literary texts, which present a factive/declarative vs *irrealis* split, *che* is used for all kinds of subordination in vernacular texts from both eastern and western Abruzzo. We find it thus in *irrealis* contexts, as illustrated in (23)-(24), as well as in declarative/factive contexts, as in (25):

Che *in* irrealis *contexts*

(23) Però sarrei di parere **che** la nostra città havendo consideratione ale cose già dicte, come madre de tutti i buoni **procurassi** repararci che [la mercantia delle zafferane] se levassi di mano a costoro, che oggi pesano...
'But I would believe that, our city considering the issues already mentioned, as the mother of all good, would act so that the saffron merchandise would be taken away from those, who are in power today'
[Supplica dei mercanti di zafferano al Magistrato dell'Aquila – Aquila 1573]

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(24) Item facimo **che** quando se matura luva tutti li cani **degia** portare li uncini perfine che sarra vindignata
'At the same time we establish that, when the grapes are ripe, all dogs should be on the leash until harvest' [*Statuti di Poggio Umbricchio*]

Che *in factive contexts*

(25) allora dice Enea, **che** tanty de questoro sono revolty
then says Enea that many of them are rebels
'Then Enea says, that many of them are rebels' [Armannino, *Fiorita*, post 1418]

One of the first occurrences of subordinating *ca* is found in a very rare wall inscription in Secinaro (L'Aquila), dated from 1524 (the meaning of which is unclear):

(26) Frappaturi iateve ad anegare; or non videte
Weavers you-go-imp. to drown-yourself now not see-2nd pl
ca la casa ci fa pigita non pigitare"
that the house us makes does-penance not do-penance
'Weavers go drown yourself; don't you see that the house is in a terrible state. Do not add more pain for us' [cfr. Sabatini 1997, pp. 210-211]

The fact that *ca* is so rare might be due to it being perceived as "less prestigious", and characterizing the spoken language, hence *ca* might be avoided on purpose in writing. Furthermore, it seems that *ca* is no longer present in main clauses; example (27) features what seems to be a main clause *che* (the first one) and a subordinating *che* (the second one), suggesting that even if the complementizer keeps being used in main clauses, it is not *ka/ca.*

(27) Mandò una masciata a Re Aloisci/
he-sent an embassy to King Aloisius
Che l'Aquila è la soa così favella
that L'Aquila is the his thus he-says
Che mande un capitan de so paisci
that he-snd a captain of his town
'He sent a request to King Aloisius, that L'Aquila is his, or so he says, that he should send a captain from his land'
[Niccolò Ciminello, Cantari sulla guerra di Braccio da Montone, 1425-1430]

We could not find any instance of *ka/ca* in these texts. The *ke/ka* split related to the main/subordinate status of the clause seems to have thus completely disappeared. The split between factive/*irrealis* which was only very marginally present in subordinate clauses of the earlier period has been reinforced, but it is not expressed in the same way. In literary texts, the *irrealis/realis* contrast is expressed by means of a *che*/ACI alternation; in vernacular texts *che* extends to all contexts instead, although the one attestation of *ka* that

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we found was for a factive subordination. The complementizer introducing a main clause is only found in vernacular texts, but no alternation is found there.

3. 18TH C. ABRUZZESE

We could not identify any prose text dating from the 17th c. Abruzzese reappears in prose texts around the 18th c, in some writings by Romualdo Parente. In Parente's text we find a modern complementizer system: *che* marks an *irrealis*, *ca* a default/declarative subordinator:

(28) Solamente ì vurriè **che** la Patrona/
only I would-like that the Lady
Quanno chiù prima pozza stenga vona
when more early can stay good
'I would only just want that the Lady would get well as soon as possible'
[Parente, Zu Matremonio azz'uso, 49.8-9]

(29) Cummare me, chi te l'avesse ditto/
Friend my who you it-would-have said
Ca te tuccheva per marito Nanno
that to-you would-have for husband Nanno
'My friend, who would have guessed, that you would get Nanno as your husband'
[Parente, Zu Matremonio azz'uso, 8.6-7]

We can attempt a reconstruction of what happened in the meantime. The ACI started to disappear from Tuscan, and consequently from literary Abruzzese. We have not found many instances of *ca* between the 16th and the 18th century, but this complementizer was most plausibly still present in the spoken language and possibly expanding to the factive subordination, as (26) suggests. When the ACI disappeared, *ca* was enforced again (at least) in literary texts. The split was very plausibly reinforced by the influence of Neapolitan, which featured this split throughout (Ledgeway 2009a).

4. MODERN ABRUZZESE

In modern Abruzzese, *ca* is the unmarked, default subordinating complementizer employed in declarative contexts:

(30) a. Penze **ca** Marje ve' sicuramende
I-think that Maria comes.indic. surely
'I think that Maria will definitely come'
b. M' a ditte **ca** ti dole li pide
me= he-has said that to-you= ache.indic. the feet
'He told me that your feet hurt' [D'Alessandro and Ledgeway 2010: 2041]

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Moreover, *ca* is the default complementizer delimiting the borders of topicalized or focalized phrases (see also Paoli, 2002, 2003; Ledgeway, 2003, 2005; Damonte, 2006; Vincent, 2006; Vecchio, 2010, Villa Garcia 2015):

(31) Ji so ditte **ca** dumane, a Urtone, gni lu zie, **ca** nin gi da' ji
I am said ca tomorrow to Ortona with the uncle ca not there= must to-go
'I told him that tomorrow he shouldn't go to Ortona with his uncle'
[D'Alessandro and Ledgeway 2010: 2041]

Ca has thus been extended in its use, from a factive complementizer (both in main and subordinate clauses) to a "default" complementizer, also delimiting topicalized and focalized phrases.

Che/chi is instead found in a subclass of *irrealis* subordinates, i.e. unselected ones, as in (32).

(32) Jè mmeje **chi** ti sti zitte
it-is better that yourself= you-stay.indic. quiet
'You'd better keep quiet' [D'Alessandro and Ledgeway 2010: 2042]

Observe however that in evaluative and desire/need expressing contexts we find *ca* instead of *che.* This means that *ca* is quickly expanding at the expenses of *che* which is restricted now to *irrealis* contexts in unselected clauses, as well as in warning main clauses, like (4).

(33) Vuje **ca** /*chi ve'
I-want ca chi he-comes.indic.
'I want him to come'
(34) Nin penze **ca** /*chi li vo' fa
not I-think ca chi it= he-wants.indic. to-do
'I don't think he wants to do them' [D'Alessandro and Ledgeway 2010: 2042]

5. THE DIACHRONY OF THE COMPLEMENTIZER SYSTEM IN ABRUZZESE

We have identified five stages characterizing the evolution of complementizers in Abruzzese. In general, we can describe the evolution of the complementizer system as operating in two big waves: the first one culminating in the expansion of *ke/che* to all possible subordinating and main contexts, and the second one moving in exactly the opposite direction, slowly extending *ka* to cover all contexts: those that were traditionally attached to *ca* (factive contexts) and those which were traditionally attached to *ke*, both in main and subordinating environments.

In particular, we have identified five stages:

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STAGE 1 (13TH-14TH C.). We find a main vs. subordinate split:

− *ka/ke* in declarative sentences with evidential function;

− *ke* in subordination.

STAGE 2 (15TH-16TH C.). This stage presents an evident split between more literary and more vernacular texts.

In literary texts we find a *realis/irrealis* split; declarative sentences continue featuring a complementizer, but it is *che*, and no longer *ca:*

− *che* in declarative sentences;

− *che* in *irrealis/*subjunctive subordinates;

− ACI in factive subordinates;

− absence of *ca*.

In vernacular texts, we find instead very few instances of the *realis/irrealis* split in subordinates:

− *che* in subordinates and main clauses;

− *ca* used as subordinator.

STAGE 3 (17TH C.). We cannot find data from the 17th c. Abruzzese. Based on the trend that we observed in previous centuries and data we find in the following century, we tentatively propose the following plausible reconstruction of complementizers in this century.

For literary texts, we still find complementizers in main clauses. Specifically, we find the following distribution:

− *che* (and *ca*?) for declarative sentences;

− *ca* and ACI co-existing for factive subordinates;

− *che* used for *irrealis* subordinates.

In vernacular texts,

− *ca* and *che* are both used for declarative sentences;

− *ca* starts expanding as a subordinator over *che.*

STAGE 4 (18TH-19TH C.)

− *ca* and *che* are used for declarative sentences;

− *ca* takes over completely as a factive subordinator;

− *che* is exclusively used as an *irrealis* subordinator.

STAGE 5 (TODAY)

As we have seen, the situation today has changed radically, in that *ca* is now expanding to all *irrealis* contexts, as well as being used as a default complementizer to mark focalized/topicalized phrases.

− *ca* and *che* evidential markers in declarative sentences;

− *ca* default subordinating complementizer;

− *che/chi* for unselected *irrealis* subordinates;

− *ocche*: jussive complementizer.

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6. CONCLUSION

Complementizer systems in Abruzzese, both more literary and more vernacular, have followed a quite neat evolutionary path. Aside from the reconstruction of the different stages, which sees the alternative expansion of one of the two forms (*ke*/*chə* and *ka*/*ca*), what is particularly striking is the fact that the factive vs *irrealis* split is expressed from very early on in the complementizer system. This split is however very feeble during the Middle Ages, where the main split seems to be that between main and subordinate clauses.

Around the 15th-16th c., we witness that this disappearance of the main/subordinate split and the strong expansion of the factive/*irrealis* split. This split is however not marked on complementizers in literary texts, which very likely mirror the Tuscan tradition. In these texts, the split is present in the grammar, but expressed syntactically, though the alternation between a structure with an overt complementizer and an *Accusativus cum infinitivo*[7]. In vernacular texts we observe an overextension of *che* to all contexts, both in main and subordinate clauses.

The *che/ca* alternation plausibly gets to mark the split between factive and *irrealis* only in the 17th-18th century. The different evidential meanings of *che* and *ca* in modern Abruzzese seem a very recent innovation instead. Finally, *ca* is extending to cover many contexts in which *che* was previously used.

The modality split was hence always present in the language, since its very birth, but it was instantiated in very different ways. *Che* characterizes the period that goes from Early Romance to the Renaissance, while *ca* expands after that, until today.

TEXTS

Cantari sulla guerra di Braccio da Montone di Niccolò Ciminelli [In Giammarco, E. (1969) Storia della cultura e della letteratura abruzzese. Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo]

Capitoli di Pietranico (1525) [Capituli de Pretanico: gli statuti comunali di Pietranico / a cura di Silvio Zappacosta. [S.l. : s.n.], 1996 (Montesilvano, Grafica SIVA)]

Codice diplomatico sulmonese. [Faraglia (1888), ed. Lanciano: Carabba].

Cronaca aquilana rimata di Buccio di Ranallo [De Bartholomaeis (1907), ed., *Cronaca aquilana rimata di Buccio di Ranallo di Aquila*. Roma: Istituto storico italiano].

Cronaca volgare isadoriana [La «Cronaca volgare» isidoriana. Testo tre-quattrocentesco di area abruzzese, a cura di Paolo D'Achille, L'Aquila, Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria, 1982]

Dialogo dell'origine della città dell'Aquila di Tommaso Massonio (L'Aquila, 1594).

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Il padre di fameglia, di Muzio Muzii. Teramo, 1591.

[7] Observe however that according to some scholars (Cecchetto and Oniga 2002, Ledgeway 2012b), ACI does feature a complementizer, which is null.

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Lamentazioni [*Lamentatio Beate Marie de filio*, in Testi volgari abruzzesi del Duecento, a cura di Francesco A. Ugolini, Torino, Rosenberg e Sellier, 1959, pp. 42−46].

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Pianto [Anonimo, *Pianto delle Marie*, in *Testi volgari abruzzesi del Duecento*, a cura di Francesco A. Ugolini, Torino, Rosenberg e Sellier, 1959, pp. 119−128].

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