

THE DIACHRONY OF ABRUZZESE COMPLEMENTATION

ROBERTA D’ALESSANDRO, CLAUDIO DI FELICE¹

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 identify 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 Dialects² (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. <i>ca</i> | [default complementizer, factive subordinate clauses] |
| | b. <i>chi/chə</i> | [unselected <i>irrealis</i> clauses] |
| | c. <i>occhə/nocchə</i> | [(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

¹ Leiden University Centre for Linguistics; r.dalessandro@hum.leidenuniv.nl, c.di.felice@hum.leidenuniv.nl.

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”.

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 diocese, 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.

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 Rohlf'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 subjunctive⁵.

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 orthographic 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).

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 deslacça.
 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*:

Table 1

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

| | Proverbia | Pianto | Orationi | Transito | tot |
|------------|-----------|--------|----------|----------|-----|
| <i>ka</i> | 2 | 1 | | 19 | 22 |
| <i>ke</i> | 11 | 12 | 2 | 39 | 64 |
| <i>tot</i> | 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. |
|-----------|----------|------------|
| <i>Ka</i> | 2 | -- |
| <i>Ke</i> | 11 | 22 |

Table 3

Ka/ke in subordinate clauses in Cronaca isidoriana

| | subord | relative |
|-----------|--------|----------|
| <i>Ka</i> | -- | -- |
| <i>Ke</i> | 409 | 187 |

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

‘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 encreceme 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 | |
|-----------|-----------|--------|----------|------------|----------|----|
| <i>Ka</i> | 23 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 9 | 49 |
| <i>Ke</i> | 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.

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]

- (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 pigrizia
 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 istituto...
 nobility in this place be-subj out of-the our institution

‘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]

- (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** tanti de questoro sono revolti
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 histhus 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

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 whoyou 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]

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:

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.

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).
- Fiorita di Armannino*. [Medin (1919), ed., *Una redazione Abruzzese della Fiorita di Armannino* Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, LXXVII: 487–547].
- 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.

- 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].
- Leggenda del Transito della Madonna* [Elsheikh, S. (1995), ed., *Leggenda del Transito della Madonna. Testo aquilano del Trecento*. Studi e problemi di critica testuale, LI: 7–42].
- Leggenda di Santa Caterina*, di Buccio da Ranallo [Mussafia (1885). *Mittheilungen aus romanischen Handschriften. II. Zur Katharinenlegende*. Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, CX: 355–421].
- Orationi* [Francesco A. Ugolini, *Le "Orationes"*, in *Testi volgari abruzzesi del Duecento*, Torino, Rosenberg e Sellier, 1959, pp. 105–106].
- 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].
- Proverbia pseudoiacoponici*. [Bigazzi (1963). I «Proverbia» pseudoiacoponici. *Studi di filologia italiana*, XXI: 5–124].
- Recordanza in volgare sulmonese*. [Boccafurni (1979). Una “recordanza” in volgare sulmonese del 1325. *Bollettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria*, LXIX: 165–199].
- Statuti dell'arte della lana* – L'Aquila (1544) [L. Ludovisi, Documenti inediti dell'archivio municipale dell'Aquila, in *BDASP* 1896: 1–119].
- Statuti di Altino* (1470) [Altino: lo statuto del 1470 a cura della Pro-loco. – Buccianico, Tinari, stampa 1994].
- Statuti di Castiglione della Valle* (XVI c.) [Statuto municipale di Castiglione della Valle / a cura di Adelmo Marino. Atri, Colleluori, 1975].
- Statuti di Campli* (XVI c.) [Statuto municipale della città di Campli. Atri: Colleluori, 1973].
- Statuti di Pianella* (1549) [Lo Statuto di Pianella del 1549 / Eliseo Marrone. – [S.l.: s.n.], 1979 (Montesilvano, Superstampa)].
- Statuti di Schiavi d'Abruzzo* (1687) [Statuti rurali di Castiglione della Valle / a cura di Adelmo Marino. Atri, Colleluori, 1975 (comprende anche gli statuti di Altino, S. Eusanio del Sangro e Schiavi d'Abruzzo)].
- Statuti di S. Eusanio del Sangro* (XVI c.) [Statuti rurali di Castiglione della Valle / a cura di Adelmo Marino. Atri, Colleluori, 1975 (comprende anche gli statuti di Altino, S. Eusanio del Sangro e Schiavi d'Abruzzo)].
- Statuti di Penne* (post 1487) [Il *codice Catena di Penne riformato negli anni 1457 e 1468 / edito a cura di Giovanni De Caesaris. Casalbordino: N. De Arcangelis, 1935].
- Statuti di Poggio Umbricchio* [In Marino (1975). *Gli statuti di Poggio Umbricchio*. Atri: Colleluori].
- Statuti di Silvi* (1553) [Statuto comunale del castello di Silvi / a cura di Bruno Trubiani. Atri: Colleluori, 1977].
- Statuti di Sulmona* (XVII c.) [Il *bilancio municipale del 1614 e gli antichi statuti del reggimento della città di Sulmona / Nunzio Federico Faraglia. Napoli, per tipi del commendatore Gaetano Nobile, 1879].
- Statuti di Tocco da Casauria* (XVI c.) [Statuto municipale di Tocco da Casauria: secolo 16. – L'Aquila: Japadre, 1982].
- Supplica dei mercanti di zafferano al Magistrato dell'Aquila* [In *Bollettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 1907, p. 59].
- Zu matremonio azz'uso*, di Romualdo Parente. [Morelli (1992). *Romualdo Parente. Zu matremonio azz'uso e la figlianna e il Lamento della vedova a lui attribuibile*. Poemetti abruzzesi del sec. 18. in dialetto di Scanno. Pescara, Nova Italica].

REFERENCES

- Bybee, J. L., 1985, *Morphology: A study of the relation between meaning and form*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins.
- Cecchetto, C., R. Oniga, 2002, "Consequences of the Analysis of Latin Infinitival Clauses for the Theory of Case and Control", *Lingue e linguaggio*, 1, 151–189.
- Cruschina, S., 2008, *Discourse-related features and the syntax of peripheral positions. A comparative study of Sicilian and other Romance languages*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge.
- D'Alessandro, R., A. Ledgeway, 2010, "At the C-T boundary: Investigating Abruzzese complementation", *Lingua*, 120, 8, 2040–2060.
- Damonte, F., 2006, "Complementatori e complementi congiuntivi in alcuni dialetti Sardi", in: A. Padovan, N. Penello (eds), *Osservazioni sul sardo* (Quaderni di lavoro ASIt n.6), Padua, Unipress, 71–95.
- Ledgeway, A., 1998, "Variation in the Romance infinitive: the case of the southern Calabrian inflected infinitive", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 96, 1–61.
- Ledgeway, A., 2003, "Il sistema completivo dei dialetti meridionali: la doppia serie di complementatori", *Rivista italiana di dialettologia*, 27, 89–147.
- Ledgeway, A., 2005, "Moving through the left periphery: the dual complementiser system in the dialects of southern Italy", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 103, 336–396.
- Ledgeway, A., 2009a, *Grammatica diacronica del napoletano*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Ledgeway, A., 2009b, "Aspetti della sintassi della periferia sinistra del cosentino", in: D. Pescarini (ed.), *Studi sui dialetti della Calabria* (Quaderni di lavoro ASIt n.9), Padua, Unipress, 3–24.
- Ledgeway, A., 2012a, La sopravvivenza del sistema dei doppi complementatori nei dialetti meridionali, in: P. Del Puente (ed.), *Atti del II Convegno internazionale di dialettologia – Progetto A.L.Ba. Rionero in Vulture*, Calice Editore, 151–176.
- Ledgeway, A., 2012b, *From Latin to Romance. Morphosyntactic Typology and Change*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Maiden, M., 1998, *Storia linguistica dell'italiano*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Palmer, F. R., 1986, *Mood and modality*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Paoli, S., 2002, "Il doppio 'che' nei dialetti piemontesi", in: G. Marcato (ed.), *La dialettologia oltre il 2001*, Padua, Unipress, 231–236.
- Paoli, S., 2003, *COMP and the Left-Periphery: Comparative Evidence from Romance*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Manchester.
- Paoli, S., 2007, "The fine structure of the left periphery: COMPs and subjects. Evidence from Romance", *Lingua*, 117, 1057–1079.
- Prins, K., 2014, *Overt complementizers in root clauses in southern Italian dialects*, Research Master thesis, Leiden University.
- Rohlf, G., 1969, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. III. Sintassi e formazione delle parole*, Einaudi, Turin.
- Sabatini, F., 1997, *Italia linguistica delle origini*. Saggi editi dal 1956 al 1996, Lecce, Argo.
- Tekavčić, P., 1980, *Grammatica storica dell'italiano. II. Morfosintassi*, Il Mulino, Bologna.
- Vecchio, P., 2010, "The distribution of the complementizers /ka/ and /ku/ in the north Salentino dialect of Francavilla Fontana (Brindisi)", in: R. D'Alessandro, A. Ledgeway, I. Roberts

- (eds), *Syntactic Variation: The Dialects of Italy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 312–322.
- Villa-García, J., 2015, *The Syntax of Multiple-que Sentences in Spanish. Along the left periphery. Issues in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics, Vol. 2*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Vincent, N., 2006a, “Il problema del doppio complementatore nei primi volgari d’Italia”, in: A. Andreose, N. Penello (eds), *LabRomAn: Giornata di lavoro sulle varietà romanze antiche*, Padua, Università di Padova, 27–42.
- Vincent, N., 2006b, “Double complementizer constructions in the dialects of Medieval Italy”. Paper presented at CIDS1, Cambridge.