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Complementizers in language contact (South Slavic and Albanian in Italy)

In my talk I will give an overview of the complementizers in object and less so in subject clauses of Standard Albanian as a core Balkan language on the one hand, and of typical properties of Italo-Albanian in this field on the other. As language contact plays an important role in the systems of the Italo-Albanian dialects, Molise Slavic in Southern Italy will be presented as a point of comparison. Molise Slavic is a minority language with the same historical basis as today's BCS Standard languages but with strong contact-induced changes, making it constitute a Slavic-Romance language type of its own.

Standard Albanian is characterized by a wide range of complementizers and – contrary to Slavic – by an additional indicative-subjunctive opposition, having an important role in differentiating complement types, too. The basic complementizing elements are the conjunctions *se* and *që* (which also introduces relative and purpose clauses) as well as the subjunctive particle *të,* with the negation particle depending on the mood, e.g. *s'* and *nuk* in the indicative, *mos* in the subjunctive. By and large, *se* is used with utterance and perceptual verbs when expressing bare factivity (1), while *që* seems to have a dubitative or distancing connotation (2). Whenever intentionality is involved, the subjunctive is used in the clausal complementation, introduced by the subjunctive particle *të* (3).

(1)　　*Disa banorë thanë **se** kanë frikë **se** mund të dënohen.*
　　　　'Some inhabitants said **that** they are afraid **that** they could be punished.'

(2)　　*Mos më thuaj **që** ke frikë!*
　　　　'Don't tell me **that** you (allegedly) are afraid.'

(3)　　*I thashë **të** vijë me mua.*
　　　　'I told her to come with me.'

The opposition of *se* (+ indicative) vs. *të* (+subjunctive) allows for a differentiation in verb meanings:

(4a)　　*Ai **mendonte se** ishte vërtet një figurë tragjike.*
　　　　'He thought that he really was a tragic figure.'

(4b)　　*Silva po **mendonte të** thoshte diçka gazmore.*
　　　　'Silva was intending to say something joyful.'

Both conjunctions may be used pleonastically, for example *që* with *të*, or *se* with interrogative pronouns in object clauses based on *wh*-questions, e.g. *ku (se)* 'where'. In indirect interrogative clauses, we find the complementizers *a, nëse, në* 'if' and *mos* 'if not'.

As for language contact, Italo-Albanian is not homogeneous. While in Calabro-Albanian the complementizer *se* is preserved (5), it has been replaced in Molise Albanian by the loan word *ke* (6), corresponding to Italian *che*, which apart from its function as a complementizer is also used as a relativizer and as the interrogative pronoun 'what' (functions that have not been copied into Italo-Albanian).

(5)　　*Nusja thot **se** ka shor, kat burthonj gjithsej.* (Frascineto, Calabria)
　　　　'The bride says **that** she has to see, has to show it all.'

(6)　　*Thonjën gjith **ke** Munxhufuni ka bukre gra.* (Montecilfone, Molise)
　　　　'All say **that** Montecilfone has beautiful women.'

As for *që*, it has disappeared completely in Italoalbanian: as a complementizer it was replaced by *se* and *ke* respectively, as a relativizer by *ç,* corresponding to Standard Albani-

an *çë* 'what'. The latter case is, of course, once again a result of language contact based on the model of the polysemous Italian *che*, but here in the sense of a structural (pattern) loan, contrary to the matter loan in the case of complementizing *ke*. On the other hand, the intentional function of the subjunctive with its complementizer *t(ë)* continues to exist, with Italian probably playing a role in its preservation, too.

In Molise Slavic the old conjunction *da*, being reduced to an optative particle, has completely lost its function as a complementizer. The overall complementizer is now *ka (~ke)* borrowed from Italian *che*. Contrary to Molise Albanian, in Molise Slavic it has kept its relativizing function, too. But it did not replace *što* 'what'. In adapting to the differentiation between factive (7) and intentional, expressed in Italian by *che* + indicative vs. subjunctive a special intentional construction has appeared (8), formed by *ka* + necessitative future (clitic *jimat* 'have, must' + infinitive). Just like in Italian the same function is synonymously expressed by an infinitive construction, in Molise Slavic introduced by the conjunction *za* 'for' (9):

(7)   *Je reka **ka** on nenadaša nišča.*
      'He said **that** he did not know anything.'

(8)   *Sa ti rekla **ka maš** hi **štrajit**.*
      'I told you to **that** you **should remove** them.'

(9)   *Je njimi reka **za sa skinit** dol.*
      'He told them **to descend** [down].'

As a matter of fact, Italo-Albanian and Molise Slavic show that contact-induced language change may, indeed, strongly influence the field of clausal complementation.