Southern Italian dialects (SIDs) are traditionally claimed to use a dual finite complementiser system. In these varieties it is possible to distinguish between a complementiser derived from *QUIA* (>ca), which introduces propositional indicative complements, and a complementiser derived from *QUID* (>che, chə, chi), *MODO* (>mu, ma, mi), or *QUOD* (>cu) heading irrealis subjunctive complements (Rohlf 1969: 190; Ledgeway 2000: 70-74; 2005, 2009, 2012; 2016; Manzini & Savoia 2005, I: 455-501, 650-76; Colasanti 2015a, b). However, in this paper it will be shown that in the Southern Italian Dialects (SID) of Ferentino (province of Frosinone) is displayed a triple complementiser system (i.e. ca (<QUIA), chə (<QUID) and cu (<QUOD)), which is not only synchronically productive, but is also diachronically documented.

Key-words: morphosyntax, Italo-Romance, complementiser systems, Romance complementation.

1. Introduction

Complementation in Southern Italian Dialects (henceforth SIDs) has made an important contribution to our understanding of the discourse-domain. Both the varieties of the upper South and the extreme South of Italy are reported to make use of dual complementiser systems. Rohlf (1969: 190) observes the presence of dual complementiser systems in the extreme South, in which it is possible to find a distinction between *ca* (<QUIA; cf. 1a), *mu/ma/mi* (<MODO; cf. 1b) and *cu* (<QUOD; cf. 1c). While *ca* introduces declarative complements (traditionally marked with the indicative), *mu/ma/mi* (Calabria and Sicilia regions) and *cu* (Salento) introduce irrealis complements (usually marked with the subjunctive).

1. (a) pensu ca vêni
    I-think that s/he-come.3SG.IND
    ‘I think that s/he will come’ Southern Calabria (Rohlf 1969: 190)

    (b) ògghiu mi mancia
    I-want that s/he-eat.3SG.SUBJ
    ‘I want that s/he should eat’ Messina (Rohlf 1969: 190)

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2 In this paper, translation of examples will be provided only when the meaning is not understandable from glosses.
Similarly, traditional descriptions report the presence of dual complementiser systems in upper-southern Italian dialects (henceforth USIDs). Specifically, semantico-functional factors (viz. realis/declarative = *ca* and irrealis/volitives = *chə/che/chi*) seem to influence the distribution of the two complementisers *ca* (*<QUA*; cf. 2a) and *chə/che/chi* (*<QUID*; cf. 2b) (cf. Rohlfs 1969, 1983; Ledgeway 2000, 2003 *inter alia*).

2. (a) *chəsta sə nə pənti ca i era pətutə chəlıə*
this-one self CL repented that CL she-was asked that
‘She regretted having asked her for it’

(b) *i risse n’auta vota chə se fussə rəcurdata*
CL he-said another time that CL she-was reminded
‘He told her again that she should not forget’
Arpino (Battisti 1914: 102)

After the postulation of the left periphery by Rizzi (1997; see also Benincà and Poletto 2004), different varieties from the Italian peninsula have been shown to be crucial in mapping the structure of the clausal domain (see among others Ledgeway 2000, 2003, 2005; Paoli 2003, 2007; Vecchio 2006; Damonte 2006, 2008; Cruschina 2012). However, in this respect, data from Southern Lazio dialects (USIDs) have not yet been fully considered (cf. Colasanti 2015). As shown in (3-5), different varieties from the Southern Lazio area still display two distinct finite complementisers, which have been gone more or less unnoticed and unanalysed so far:

3. (a) *mao ditto ca ve addemane*
to-me they-have told that s/he-comes tomorrow

(b) *era meʎʎo chə li ěra sımo ʃatto*
it-was better that them= I-are done
Sonnino (M&S³ 2005)

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3 Manzini and Savoia (2005).
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4. (a) m avə diccə ca tu ve addumanə
to-me they-have told that you come tomorrow
(b) ε mmeʎʎə chə mme nə vavə
it-is better that I= CL go.1SG Pontecorvo (M&S 2005)

5. (a) dichə ca Mariə və
I-say that Mario come.3SG.IND
(b) vogliə chə Maria və
I-want that Maria come.3SG.IND Ceprano (Colasanti 2015)

In what follows, I will introduce and analyse new data from Southern Italian dialects, especially from the variety of Ferentino (Southern Lazio). Ferentinese displays not only a synchronically productive triple complementiser system (viz. ca (<QUAIA), chə (<QUID) and cu (<QUOD))⁴ but also an attested diachronic one (viz. ca (<QUIA), che (<QUID) and cu (<QUOD))⁵. The unique Ferentinese triple complementiser system will be investigated with the aim of introducing new data and testing traditional and current assumptions about the distribution of multiple complementiser systems in SIDs. In particular, complementation in Ferentinese seems to be sensitive not only to the semantics of the matrix predicate, to mood (viz. the morphological overt expression of modality), modality and the structure of the left periphery (cf. Ledgeway 2003, 2009), but it also offers more dimensions of micro-variation (e.g. factivity selection).

⁴ As observed by Rohlfs (1969: 785), the archaic complementiser cu (<QUOD) is attested in ‘modern’ Italo-Romance only in the variety of Gallo Matese (CE) on the Campanian Apennines (cf. I), which appears to be geographically isolated but not so far from Southern Lazio.

(1) (a) vogliə cu bbivə
I-want that you-drink
‘I want you to drink’
(b) so tre bbɔtə cu bbé a nnioga
be.IND.PRES.1SG three times that come.IND.3SG to us
‘He has been three times to our (house)’
Gallo Matese (Rohlfs 1969: 188)

⁵ In this paper, the complementiser forms from the Latin QUID are chə in modern Ferentinese and che in earlier Ferentinese. In the case of earlier Ferentinese, I am respecting the orthography used in the texts underlying that in Italo-Romance there is no specific grapheme for [a] that is usually represented with the grapheme <e>. Hence, I consider chə and che as two different representations of the same lexical item.
2. Ferentinese triple complementiser system

In this paper, only the Southern Italian dialects of earlier and modern Ferentinese will be taken into consideration. While for earlier Ferentinese we have few attestations between the late 19th and the 20th century, data from modern Ferentinese have been elicited by me, through questionnaires, grammatical judgements, translations from Italian to Ferentinese and free speeches.

The distribution of the triple complementiser system in earlier (cf. §2.1) and modern Ferentinese (cf. §2.2) will be described taking into consideration four variables which proved to be significant in every description concerning Italo-Romance complementation. In particular, the semantics of the selecting matrix verb (i.e. declarative, factive, volitive), mood (i.e. indicative/subjunctive), modality (i.e. realis, factive, irrealis) together with the fine structure of the left periphery (cf. Rizzi 1997, 2001, 2004; Benincà and Poletto 2004) will be investigated below.

2.1. Earlier Ferentinese

Earlirer Ferentinese shows a triple complementiser system. According to traditional descriptions (Rohlfs 1969: 190), the distribution of *ca* (*<QUIA*), *che* (*<QUID*) and *cu* (*<QUOD*) is influenced by the semantics of the selecting matrix verb (i.e. declarative, volitive, factive). In earlier Ferentinese, after factive verbs, such as *sapere* ‘to know’, in the matrix clause, it is possible to find the complementiser *ca*, after verbs like *dire* ‘to say’, it is possible to find *che*, and after verbs that express a desire or a wish, such as *volere* ‘to want’ and *sperare* ‘to hope’, the complementiser *cu* is found.

6. (a) Sacci * ca * tu nun si ‘na bbona pezza
    I-know that you not are.PRES.IND a good patch

(b) Curi mu dissu, dacciforte, che tu si magnatu lu pane
    Curi to-me he-said with-power that you are.PRES.IND eaten.PTP the bread

(c) Vuria * cu* gli vénto m’ annariàsse
    I-want.COND that the wind to-me areate.IMP.SUBJ earlier Ferentinese

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6 The earlier Ferentinese corpus consists of eight texts written during the end of the 19th and the very beginning of the 20th century.
7 March 2015.
8 In this paper I will follow Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970)’s classification of factive and non-factive predicates.
At the same time, as we can also see in (6), earlier Ferentinese complementation is also sensitive to mood (i.e. indicative/subjunctive) and modality (i.e. realis, factive, irrealis). In fact, it is well-known that in Romance, the opposition between the indicative and the subjunctive mood reflects a realis (/factive) vs. irrealis expression of modality (Quer 2009, 2016). Specifically, while in (6a) and (6b), both in the matrix and the embedded sentences, we can find verbs with indicative mood, in (6c) we find an irrealis conditional in the matrix and a subjunctive in the embedded sentence. Consequently, we can also observe that mood choice is linked, together with complementiser selection, to the modality of the sentence, namely factive (6a), realis (6b) and irrealis (6c)?

Concerning the structure of the CP, in the case of earlier Ferentinese it is impossible for us to test if different functional heads are activated in a richer CP structure. In fact, the earlier Ferentinese corpus of written texts does not present sentences in which the complementisers are spelt out after topics/foci. Hence, we do not have any evidence for the activation of a split CP (Rizzi 1997, 2001; Benincà and Poletto 2004), as it is found in many other Italo-Romance varieties (see, among others, Ledgeway 2000, 2003, 2005; Paoli 2003, 2007; Vecchio 2006; Damonte 2006, 2008; Cruschina 2012; cf. modern Ferentinese in §2.2).

2.2. Modern Ferentinese

Modern Ferentinese displays a triple complementiser system as well. As shown for earlier Ferentinese, modern Ferentinese complementation is influenced by the semantics of the matrix verb (i.e. declarative, factive, volitive). In particular, while the complementiser ca (<QUIA) is selected after declarative verbs, such as dire ‘to say’ (7a), and factive verbs, such as credere ‘to believe’ (7a), both complementisers chə (<QUID) and cu (<QUOD) are found after volitive verbs, such as volere ‘to want’ (7b, c):

7. (a) Peppu dicə\sa ca Angilu pò unì a casa
Peter say\know.IND.3SG that Angelo can come at home
‘Peter says/knows that Angelo can come at home’

(b) Maria ulessu\ularia chə Peppu laora sempre
Mary want.SUBJ\COND.3SG that Peter work.IND.3SG always
‘Mary would like that Peter would always drink’

(c) Giua\gni ulessu cu ie nə ci issi alla festa
John want.SUBJ.3SG that I not CL go.SUBJ.3SG to-the party
‘John would like that you wouldn’t go to the party’
Moreover, the distribution of *ca* (<QUA>, *cha* (<QUID) and *cu* (<QUOD) is also influenced by mood (i.e. indicative/subjunctive) and modality (i.e. realis, factive, irrealis). In both realis and factive sentences, the mood of the matrix and the embedded predicate is in indicative (7a), as we would expect. However, in volitive sentences the situation is more complex. In fact, in the example in (7b) we would expect a verb in the subjunctive mood in the embedded clause, but we find a predicate with an indicative mood (i.e. *laora* ‘work.PRES.IND.3SG’). This could be explained by the fact that the indicative/subjunctive opposition in the varieties of the South of Italy is not so strong anymore because of the loss of both the present and the imperfect subjunctive. More specifically, while the present subjunctive is frequently found only in certain specific contexts (i.e. jussives, exclamatives, see Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014), the imperfect subjunctive has not been completely eradicated. As we can see in the contrast between (7b) and (7c), the imperfect subjunctive is still maintained in modern Ferentine, but only in a precise context. In (7b), the verb of the embedded sentence is a present indicative, which has, of course, an irrealis value due to the modality of the sentence, which is irrealis (due also to the matrix volitive selecting verb, which is intrinsically irrealis). In this sentence, the complementiser selected is obligatorily *cha*. In (7c), the irrealis sentence presents an imperfect subjunctive predicate which is selected by a volitive irrealis one in the matrix clause. In that specific case in which the imperfect subjunctive is retained, the only complementiser to be found is *ca*. So, it seems that there is a strong correlation between the use of the subjunctive mood in the embedded clause and complementiser selection, namely cu+SUBJ vs. cha+IND.IRREALIS. More generally, the replacement of the subjunctive with the indicative seems to be also found in early Italian texts and the question is not very new (see Rati 2016 for a detailed analysis). However, what is new here is the fact that because of the presence of a triple complementiser system in modern Ferentinese, the language is marking modality through the choice of a specific complementiser.

As already demonstrated for other Italo-Romance varieties, modern Ferentine complementation is also sensitive to the structure of the CP. In fact, a richer articulated structure of the CP, namely a split-CP (Rizzi 1997, 2001; Rizzi and Bocci 2015; cf. 8, 9) can be found in the varieties spoken within the Italian peninsula. As shown in the minimal pair in (9), in Italian there is a strong structural parallel in the distribution of the finite and non-finite complementisers *che* ‘that’ and *di* ‘of’, which demonstrate to be able to occupy distinct positions within the discourse-domain (Rizzi 1997: 288; Ledgeway 2012: 10, 2016: 1014). Specifically, whereas finite *che* precedes topics and foci (9a), occupying the leftmost position within the left periphery of the sentence (viz. *Force*), non-finite *di* can only follow them (9b), occupying the right part of the left periphery (viz. *Fin*), as schematised in (10).
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9. (a) Credo che il tuo libro, loro lo apprezzerebbero molto
   I.believe that the your book they CL appreciate.COND much
   ‘I believe that they would value your book a lot’

   (b) Credo, il tuo libro, di apprezzarlo molto
   I.believe the your book of appreciate.INF.CL much
   ‘I believe I value your book a lot’

10. [cF *Top (che)] [Top [Foc [Fin (di) [IP ...]]]]

In modern Ferentinese, for instance, in declarative or factive clauses, while *ca can be spelt out only before Topics/Foci (i.e. *Angilu ‘Angelo’ and *addumanu ‘tomorrow’ in Force; cf. 11a), as schematised in (11b), *ca and chə are only found after Topics/Foci (hence in Fin, cf. 12a, b), as schematised in (12c). Like in Italian, at least in volitive contexts, in modern Ferentinese the activation of a richer and articulated left periphery of the sentence is possible.

11. (a) Peppu dicə/sa *ca Angilu ADDUMANU
    Peter say/know.IND.3SG ca Angelo tomorrow
*ca pò unì a casa
    ca can.IND.3SG come.INF to home
    ‘Peter says/knows that Angelo can come at home tomorrow’

   (b) [cF *ca] [Top [Foc [Fin ... [IP ...]]]]

12. (a) Maria ulessu ADDUMANU cuFin Giuagni unesse
    Mary want.SUBJ.3SG tomorrow cu John come.SUBJ.3SG
    ‘Mary would want that tomorrow John would come’

   (b) ‘Ndoni ulessu la figlia ALLOCU chəFin ‘n ci
    Antony want.SUBJ.3SG the daughter there chə not CL
    ua più send.IND.3SG anymore
    ‘Antony wants that his daughter wouldn’t go there anymore’

   (c) [cF *Top [Foc [Fin (cu/chə) [IP ...]]]] modern Ferentinese
2.3. Comparing earlier and modern Ferentinese

Four factors seem to play a role in the distribution of the three complementisers in both earlier and modern Ferentinese: (i) the semantics of the matrix predicate; (ii) mood (viz. the morphological overt expression of modality; Quer 2009, 2016); (iii) modality; and (iv) the structure of the left periphery. However, these four factors play different roles, hence the distribution of ca, chə, and cu is different from earlier to modern Ferentinese. As illustrated in Table 1, in earlier Ferentinese the distribution of the three complementisers mirrors exactly three different kind of modality (viz. realis, irrealis, factive) and the three classes of matrix selecting verbs (viz. declarative, volitive, factive).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Semantics matrix verb</th>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Complementiser</th>
<th>Position in the CP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>earlier Ferentinese</td>
<td>declarative</td>
<td>realis</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volitive</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>cu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factive</td>
<td>factive</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td></td>
<td>Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modern Ferentinese</td>
<td>declarative</td>
<td>realis</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volitive</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>cu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volitive</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>cha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factive</td>
<td>factive</td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td></td>
<td>Force</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While che introduces declarative/irrealis clauses and cu volitive/irrealis clauses, ca is selected by factive verbs in factive clauses (cf. §2.1). However, in modern Ferentinese there is no exact correspondence between the semantics of the matrix verb/modality and the choice of a specific complementiser. Specifically, in modern Ferentinese, the complementiser ca is selected in declarative/realis clauses and factive clauses and both chə and cu are found in volitive contexts. In particular, the declarative/realis earlier Ferentinese complementiser che in modern Ferentinese can be selected only in volitive/irrealis contexts depending on the embedded mood (viz. morphological indicative which substitutes a morphological subjunctive; see §2.2). Hence, there is no dedicated factive complementiser in modern Ferentinese anymore because in factive contexts the complementiser selected is the declarative/realis ca. Moreover, structurally speaking, now the complementiser che/chə, which in earlier Ferentinese occupies the leftmost position in the CP (hence, Force), in modern Ferentinese lexicalises the rightmost position in the CP (hence, Fin). Comparing the two complementiser systems of earlier and modern Ferentinese, what has not changed is the selection of the complementiser cu, which is still selected in volitive/irrealis clauses preceding an embedded subjunctive (which do not appear to be yet interchangeable with the indicative in the earlier variety of Ferentinese).
3. Conclusions

In the passage from earlier to modern Ferentinese, we witness a diachronic change highlighted by the different distribution of the three complementisers ca, cu and che/chə (cf. 2.3; see Colasanti 2016, 2017 for an historical account). In this paper, our main concern is to show a new pattern in Romance complementation, hence factivity selection (see Colasanti 2016 for a syntactic account of factivity selection in Ferentinese). More generally, the presence of a specific factive complementiser is shown in different languages of the world, i.e. Modern Greek, Italo-Greek varieties, but it has never been highlighted in Romance.

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