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 muk in the indicative, mos in the subjunctive. By and large, se is used with utterance and perlocutional 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 gijthseq. (Frascineto, Calabria)
‘The bride says that she has to see, has to show it all.’

(6) Thonjn gijth 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 ţ(ê) 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 skinut 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.