

From Scrambling to Weak Pronoun to Clitic

Roberts (forthcoming) (following Mavrogiorgos (2006) and, very indirectly, Marantz (2001)): minimal categories can be phasal (since they are non-distinct from maximal categories in terms of bare phrase structure). As such, they can attract material to their left edge, and that left edge, unlike all other material inside the minimal category, may be accessible to elements outside the minimal head. This provides a basis for accounting for the puzzling property of clitics: that they act in some respects like affixes, i.e. as parts of the words that host them, and in some respects as syntactically autonomous items.

More concretely, suppose a category α is minimal iff α dominates no category β whose label is distinct from α 's. This definition allows for head-movement in a highly restricted set of cases, one of which is cliticisation. The crucial properties of clitics are (i) they are minimal categories (Muysken (1982)), and (ii) they are defective in that they do not have a label distinct from their host. More specifically, I assume (following Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), Déchaîne, R. & M. Wiltschko (2002) and many others) that Romance clitics are ϕ Ps, rather than DPs. Romance clitics thus differ from the strong complement pronouns of a language like English in being $\phi^{\min/\max}$, rather than $D^{\min/\max}$ (more on this below).

Since the label of (active, transitive) v^* contains ϕ -features, in fact, unvalued versions of the very ϕ -features that make up the clitic, the clitic's label is not distinct from v^* 's. More precisely, the clitic's ϕ -features form a proper subset of v^* 's features. This defines the clitic as a defective goal and makes incorporation into v obligatory.

Many authors have observed that clitics may be either "C-oriented" or "V-oriented" (although in the latter case, the term "I-oriented" or "T-oriented" is often used): see, among others, Benacchio & Renzi (1987), Cardinaletti & Starke (1999:196), Renzi (1989), Halpern (1995) and Rivero (1997). Taking "V-/I-/T-orientation" to mean that the clitics target v , we see that this is exactly what is expected if clitics target phase heads. So the fact that clitics behave in these ways follows directly from a general tenet regarding the relation of phases and movement in Chomsky (2005). Suppose that clitics which target v are $\phi^{\min/\max}$, while clitics which target C are $D^{\min/\max}$. In order for Ds to target C, the system must have a "permeable" v P-edge, i.e. it must allow scrambling. So we can suppose that 2nd-position clitics develop from scrambled topic DPs; unstressed pronouns make particularly good topics (as old information) and so naturally tend to be more regularly scrambled. Hence the feature of C which attracts a topic becomes specialised for licensing a weak pronoun (see Richards (1994)): a minimal/maximal D-element. This approach to 2nd-position cliticisation applies quite well to some South Slavic languages (Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian; see in particular Bošković (1995, 2001), Ćavar & Wilder (1994), Franks & Progovac (1994), Franks & King (2000:298-31), Starke (1993), Wilder & Ćavar (1994)).

If it is correct that C-oriented clitics/weak pronouns are Ds while v -oriented clitics are ϕ s, and, if feature-loss is a natural mechanism of diachronic change (see in particular Roberts & Roussou (2003), although in essence this is a traditional idea), then we might expect clitics to develop from D to ϕ . In that case, the approach proposed here predicts that clitics will shift their "orientation" from C to v , so that a diachronic shift from second-position to adverbial cliticisation should be observed, possibly in tandem with the loss of scrambling, i.e. a diachronic phenomenon of "rigidification of word order." This in fact has been observed for a range of languages: Romance (Wanner (1987), Salvi (1994)), , Greek (Horrocks (1997), Taylor (1990)), and Macedonian-Bulgarian (Pancheva (2005)).

So we can account readily for the "grammaticalisation path" from scrambled DP to cliticised weak pronoun ($D^{\min/\max}$) to clitic (ϕ).