

Home Sweet Home*

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1. Introduction

The word “home” can be used as a directional or a (non-directional) locative, as shown in the following examples:

- (1) a. They went home. (directional)
- b. They stayed home. (locative)

There is reason to believe that there is a null preposition in these structures. In general, locative nouns following the verbs “stay” and “go” must be preceded by overt prepositions:

- (2) a. They went *(to) John’s house/that party.
- b. They stayed *(at) John’s house/that party.

Given that (1a) has the interpretation “They went to their home(s)”, and that (1b) has the interpretation “They stayed at their home(s)”, I will assume that the null prepositions involved are TO and AT. The representations of the sentences in (1) are the following, to a first approximation (on null prepositions, see McCawley 1988, and Kayne 2005a: 71):

- (3) a. They went TO home.
- b. They stayed AT home.

This paper will attempt to explain the following asymmetry between the overt realization of “to” and the overt realization of “at” with the word “home”:

- (4) a. I went (*to) home.
- b. I did my homework *(at) home.
- c. I stayed (at) home.

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When “home” is used with “go”, the directional preposition is obligatorily null. When “home” is used as a locative adjunct, as in (4b), the preposition “at” is obligatorily present. When “home” is used with “stay”, the preposition “at” is optionally null. I will show that understanding the paradigm in (4) requires (a) a theory of how prepositions can remain unpronounced, and (b) a theory of the syntactic category of “home”.

The main theoretical conclusions of the paper are as follows. First, the condition governing the pronunciation of prepositions is a generalization of the Doubly-Filled Comp Filter, reformulated as an economy condition on Spell-Out. The reformulation makes no reference to the category COMP, and so has a much broader empirical scope. Second, I show that the notion of “light noun” as put forth in Kishimoto (2000) to account for the properties of expressions like “somebody” and “nothing”, also plays a role in the syntax of “home” and other locative expressions in English. Third, my paper makes a contribution to the growing literature on the internal structure of PPs (see Koopman 2000). In particular, I show that “from” should be analyzed as “from AT”, and that locative particles such as “in” should be analyzed as AT/TO in”.

Section 2 gives a general theory of preposition pronunciation as it applies to r-pronouns (e.g., “here”, “there”). Section 3 extends the theory developed in section 2 to the light noun “place”. Section 4 shows how the theory developed in section 3 applies to directional “home”. Section 5 discusses the syntactic category of “home”. Section 6 explains the obligatorily overt preposition in (4b) in terms of Predicate Incorporation (Koster 1994). Section 7 gives an analysis of the optional preposition in (4c). Section 8 discusses the use of “home” with nouns (e.g., “my trip home”). Section 9 summarizes the analysis, and points to some cross-linguistic implications. Section 10 analyzes particles in terms of light nouns. Section 11 is the conclusion.

2. English r-pronouns

Before giving an analysis of directional and locative “home”, I will discuss “here”, “there”, “where”, “somewhere”, “nowhere”, “everywhere”, and “anywhere”, which are in some ways similar to “home”. Using the terminology of Van Riemsdijk 1978, I call these r-pronouns. This section will provide a basic licensing condition for null prepositions that will be used throughout the paper.

There is good reason to believe that the r-pronouns can be accompanied by null prepositions. First, they follow “stay” and “go” which normally take PP complements (see Kayne 2005a: 71):

- (5)
- a. I went there.
 - b. I stayed there.
 - c. I went to that place.
 - d. I stayed at that place.

One possibility that can be discarded immediately is that “here” and “there” are prepositions themselves. Such an analysis would fail to capture the fact that the initial “th” of “there” seems to be related to such forms as “th-e”, “th-is”, “th-at”, all of which are determiners, and hence project DPs (see Bernstein 2005 who analyses “th” uniformly as a third-person D). Similarly, the initial “wh” of “where” seems to be the same morpheme as the initial “wh” of

“which”, again a determiner. Furthermore, the complex r-pronouns “every-where”, “some-where”, “no-where”, and “any-where” behave like “here” and “there” with respect to preposition pronunciation (“I went somewhere”). Yet, these forms are bi-morphemic, where “every”, “some”, “no” and “any” head the construction. Since “every”, “some”, “no”, and “any” are not prepositions, it is hardly likely that “somewhere”, “nowhere” and “anywhere” are PPs. Given these considerations, the absence of a preposition in (5a,b) cannot be accounted for by saying that “here” and “there” are themselves prepositions.

In order to capture the distributional fact that “there” can follow “go” and “stay” (and so must satisfy the subcategorization requirements of “go” and “stay”), and in order to capture the fact that “there” can have two different interpretations (directional and locative), I will postulate null prepositions in the following representations:

- (6) a. I went TO there.
b. I stayed AT there.

Following Katz and Postal (1964: 128, 135)) (see also Kayne 2005a: 70), I assume “here”, “there” and “where” can be accompanied by null prepositions. As Katz and Postal put it “...there is a fairly uncomplicated rule ... to drop the preposition to yield pro-forms *somewhere*, *here*, *there* (but note *to there*, *since then*, etc.) versus non-pro-forms *at some place*, *at this place*, *at that place*.” Katz and Postal do not actually give the “uncomplicated” rule of preposition drop, which I will attempt to rectify in this paper.

I propose that the non-pronunciation of “to” and “at” follows from a more general version of the Doubly-Filled Comp Filter (for a recent discussion see Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000: 4, 40), which I take to be a principle of UG:

- (7) a. Edge(X) must be phonetically overt.
b. The condition in (a) applies in a minimal way so that either the head, or the specifier, but not both, are spelled-out overtly.

In this condition, Edge(X) includes both X (the head) and the specifier of X. The importance of defining Edge(X) in this way (as including the head and the specifier and nothing else) is that these two elements seem to interact with each other as far as spell-out goes, as shown by this paper, and by the literature on the Doubly-Filled Comp Filter.

I put aside the possibility that a lexical item has no phonological features. If such lexical items exist, then (7a) will have to be modified by adding “If X has phonological features...”.

In the theory of cyclic spell-out put forth by Chomsky (2001), the edge of a strong phrase (the head and the specifier) is spelled-out at a later point in the derivation than the complement. This implies that for strong phrases there can be no interaction at the time of spell-out between the members of the edge and the complement. If condition (7) only applied to strong phase heads X, we would explain why (7) makes reference to edge elements.

The condition in (7) does not make specific reference to CP, and thus it is considerably more general than the Doubly-Filled Comp Filter. If we restrict it to strong phase heads, we can plausibly include CP, PP, DP, and vP. I put aside all these cases (with the exception of PP) for further research.

There is no need to stipulate whether the head or the specifier is spelled-out. When nothing has been merged as the specifier, then X will be spelled-out overtly. When the specifier

has been extracted, then X will be spelled-out overtly. Consider the case of Y, a lexical item with phonological features, where Y occupies the specifier of X. By condition (7), Edge(Y) must be phonetically overt. Since Y is a lexical item with no specifier, Y itself must be overt. Since Y must be phonetically overt, when evaluating Edge(X), X will not be spelled-out.¹

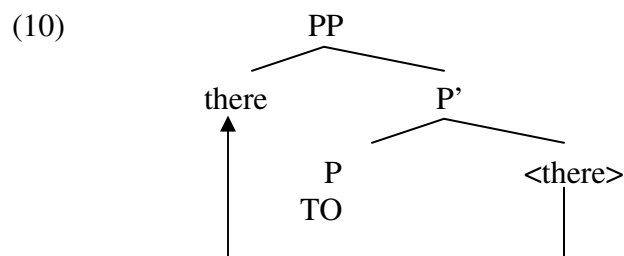
Recalling Van Riemsdijk’s discussion of the movement of r-pronouns in Dutch (see Van Riemsdijk 1978: 41, 87, see Abels (2003: 195) for a critique), I postulate the following:

- (8) r-pronouns obligatorily move to the specifier of TO/AT in English.

The r-pronouns in Dutch are *daar* “there”, *waar* “where”, *overal* “everywhere”, *nergens* “nowhere”, *ergens* “somewhere”. These r-pronouns all raise overtly to Spec P in Dutch, on Van Riemsdijk’s analysis. It cannot be a coincidence that these are a subset of the elements that take a covert preposition in English:

- (9) a. We went (*to) there.
 b. Who went (*to) where.
 c. We went (*to) everywhere/nowhere/somewhere.

On my analysis the reason that these r-pronouns trigger an unpronounced P is that they move to Spec P². Since “there” is in Spec “to”, “to” is not spelled-out³.



There is some independent evidence that “there” involves a covert preposition. Consider the following data:

- (11) a. I went there and to the place next door.
 b. I went *(to) the place next door.
 c. ?I went there and the place next door.

¹ On apparent counter-examples in the domain of CP, see Koopman (2000: 331). I do not assume that (7) is the only principle licensing null heads (see Bošković and Lasnik 2003 on null complementizers). For reasons of space, I put aside the case of an XP where both X and the specifier of XP have been extracted. I will also put aside the implications of (7) for multiple specifiers.

² Abels (2003: 103, 110, 158) rules out movement of the complement of P to the specifier of P using Last Resort. Such a constraint rules out (10). On the other hand, Liu (2006) argues that “to” and “at” in Chinese head clausal functional projects. If this is also true for English, the movement of “there” to Spec P, would not involve movement of the complement of P to its specifier.

³ In the cases discussed by Van Riemsdijk (1978: 87), the preposition is spelled-out. This suggests that in Dutch the r-pronouns do not occupy Spec P at spell-out (even though they pass through it) (see Koopman 2000: 216). Similarly, for “herein”, “therefore”, etc. in English, I do not assume that the r-pronoun is in Spec PP, although the precise structure remains obscure. When *er* in Dutch is used as a locative pronoun (see Van Riemsdijk 1978: 211), I assume that it occupies the specifier of an unpronounced AT (see also Koopman 2000: 215).

If “there” is a PP, then (11a) is simply the coordination of two PPs. Since a bare DP following “went” is impossible (11b), the only way that (11c) could be acceptable is if the constituent structure were [_{PP} TO [_{DP} there and the place next door]]. By the Coordinate Structure Constraint, “there” cannot be extracted from the first conjunct. Instead, I assume that there must be pied-piping⁴, as illustrated below:

- (12) a. [_{PP} TO [_{DP} there and the place next door]]
 b. [_{PP} [_{DP} there and the place next door] [_{P'} TO <DP>]]
 c. [_{PP} there [_{P'} TO [_{DP} <there> and the place next door]]] *CSC

The above theory based on (7) (“Edge(X) must be phonetically overt”) makes the following prediction: If the r-pronoun is extracted from the specifier of the PP headed by “to” or “at”, then the P head should be spelled-out overtly. More generally, we have the following consequence of the above analysis of null prepositions:

- (13) Null prepositions cannot be stranded.

The following data support this condition:

- (14) a. We drove to the Camp.
 b. The Camp can be driven to in six hours.
- (15) a. We can drive (?to) nowhere interesting.
 b. Nowhere interesting can be driven to in six hours.
 c. *Nowhere interesting can be driven in six hours.

The data in (15c) shows that if “nowhere” is moved to Spec IP in the pseudo-passive, it cannot strand a null preposition. This result follows immediately from (13)⁵.

Even though a null preposition cannot be stranded, it can be pied-piped. Consider the following data:

- (16) a. Where did you go?
 b. Where did you stay?
 c. Somewhere over the rainbow, skies are blue.
 d. It was somewhere in Cleveland that I met your mother.

I assume that these sentences have the following structure (assuming the r-pronouns raise to Spec P):

⁴ Note that pied-piping is possible in general with coordinate structures: “Who and John left early?”

⁵ Richard Kayne gives me the following argument against (13).

- i. I need a closet in which to keep my books
 ii. *... where to keep my books
 iii. *... which to keep my books in

The fact that (iii) patterns like (ii) suggests that (ii) involves moving a DP to Spec CP, stranding a null preposition. See McCawley (1988: 583, fn. 3) whose discussion of a similar paradigm is consistent with my pied-piping approach.

- (17) a. [Where TO] did you go?
 b. [Where AT] did you stay?
 c. [Somewhere over the rainbow AT], skies are blue.
 d. It was [somewhere in Cleveland AT] that I met your mother.

In colloquial English, the following alternation exists (see Kayne 2005: 71):

- (18) Where is he staying (at)?

On my theory, when there is no overt preposition, “where” has pied-piped the null AT. Stranding results in an overt preposition. The two structures are given below:

- (19) a. [_{PP} where [_{P'} AT <where>]] is he staying <PP>?
 b. [_{DP} where] is he staying [_{PP} <DP> [_{P'} at <DP>]]?

Heidi Harley informs me of the following contrast in Newfoundland English:

- (20) a. *You are at there.
 b. Where are ya at?

In (20a), the r-pronoun “there” must raise to Spec P by (8), which gives rise to an unpronounced “at”. In (20b), “where” has raised to Spec P, but has then been extracted. By Edge(at), “at” must be overt.

Assuming that null prepositions must be pied-piped (and cannot be stranded), data on the distribution of pied-piping in embedded clauses independently confirms that r-pronouns move to Spec P. Consider first the fact that pied-piping of a preposition is disfavored in embedded clauses:

- (21) a. I wonder what you are thinking about.
 b. *I wonder about what you are thinking.
 c. I wonder which campsite you are staying at.
 d. ??I wonder at which campsite you are staying.

On the other hand, pied-piping of a possessed DP is fine:

- (22) I wonder whose mother John talked to.

We can describe the difference between (21) and (22) in the following way: pied-piping in embedded clauses is OK when the wh-phrase is the specifier of the pied-piped constituent. In (21b,d), the wh-phrase is not the specifier of the PP. In (22), the wh-phrase is the specifier of the DP.

Now note that pied-piping of PPs with null TO/AT is fine:

- (23) a. I know where you are staying.
 b. I wonder where he wants to go.

These facts support my proposal that “where” (an r-pronoun) raises to the Spec P. If “where” did not move to Spec P, we would expect (23) to be as unacceptable as (21b,d), contrary to fact.

An apparent counter-example to (8) (“r-pronouns obligatorily move to the specifier of locative TO/AT in English”) comes from expressions such as “from there” in English, where “there” does not look like it raises to the specifier of “to” or “at”⁶. I propose in these cases that “from” is actually “from AT there”, or more generally that locative “from” is always “from AT”. If this is correct, then “from there” has the following derivation⁷:

- (24) a. [PP AT there] → Move “there”
 b. [PP there [P' AT <there>]] → Merge “from”
 c. [PP from [PP there [P' AT <there>]]]

A number of pieces of evidence support this analysis. First, “there” following “from” can be modified by “right”, which normally only modifies PPs. Following Koopman (2000: 216), I assume that “right” heads a DegP projection taking a PP complement.

- (25) a. From right here to over there
 b. From (*right) the bottom to the top
 c. From right at the bottom to the top
 d. ??From at the bottom to the top

It would be natural to assume that locative “from” always takes a PP complement. But if so, why is (25b) unacceptable? I propose that “at” must either be (a) overt, (b) covert by reason of a filled specifier (see (7)), or (c) covert by reason of incorporation (in the sense of Baker 1988). In (25b), since the specifier of AT is not filled, AT must be incorporated, which would be blocked by “right”. More precisely, “right” as a head blocks head movement of null AT into “from”. The marginality of (25d) shows that as the complement to “from”, covert “at” is preferred.

Second, consider the following Internet (Google) examples, where “at” appears when conjoined with the preposition “near”.

- (26) a. These electrons must be coming from at or near the surface of the crystal.
 b. This suggests two shots were fired from at or near the same spot on Chen's motorcade route.
 c. There always were those whose careers took them from at or near the bottom of the Service to at or near the top.

These sentences are all better than:

- (27) a. ??These electrons must be coming from at the surface of the crystal.

⁶ Kayne (2005: 75, 76 fn. 20) argues that “here” is not the complement of the preposition in examples like the following: “It’s warm under here” and “I’m in here”.

⁷ I assume a similar structure for “since AT then”, “from AT within”, and “he ran out of/past/through/by AT there/here”, etc.

- b. ??This suggests two shots were fired from at the same spot.
- c. ??There always were those whose careers took them from at the bottom.

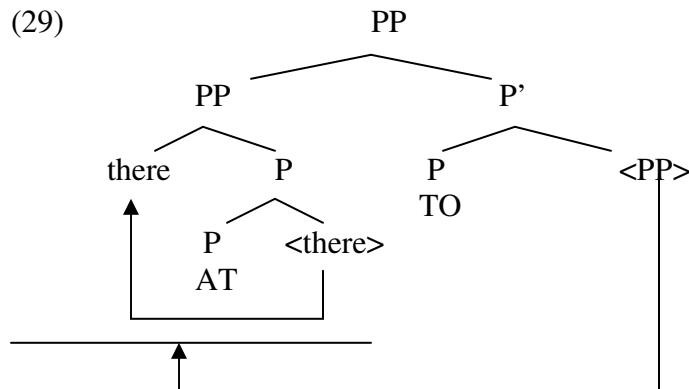
Incorporation of “at” into “from” in (26) is blocked by the coordinate structure “at or near”. The evidence based on coordination supports the results of the evidence based on the distribution of “right” in (25). Both coordination and “right” modification show that “from” takes a PP complement, even in structures like “from the bottom”.

Another piece of evidence that “from” is actually “from AT” comes from the syntax of locative prepositions in Ewe, where the preposition *tso* “from” is optionally accompanied by *le* “at” (thanks to Komlan Essizewa for the judgments):

- (28) a. Me fu du tso (le) Kpalime yi Lome.
 1sg run course from at Kpalime go Lome
 “I ran from Kpalime to Lome”
- b. Tso (le) Kpalime yi Lome, e didi.
 from (at) Kpalime go Lome 3sg far
 “From Kpalime to Lome is far”

The reason why the data in (28) bears on the analysis of English “from” is the following: I assume that Ewe and English are both instantiations of UG. Therefore conclusions about the structure of Ewe carry over to English, unless it can be shown that there is some parametric difference between the two that would make such an inference invalid.⁸

Both “from” and “to” are directional prepositions. The fact that “from” selects a PP headed by “at” suggests that “to” also selects a PP headed by “at”. If this is so, (10) needs to be modified in the following way⁹:



⁸I leave out discussion of non-locative “from” in examples such as “I never heard from Steve” or “the response from the IRS”. The unacceptability of (i) and (ii) suggest no null AT is present:

- i. *I never heard from right at Steve.
- ii. *The response from right at the IRS

⁹See Koopman (2000) and Den Dikken (2006) for structures making use of Path and Place projections which “to” and “at” spell-out in English.

On this approach, the difference between “from” and “to” is that “from” simply doesn’t allow any movement to its specifier. I will give further evidence favoring (29) over the simpler (10) in section 4 (see (41)).

3. Place and Light Nouns

In the previous section, I claimed that English r-pronouns (“here”, “there”, “somewhere”, etc.) raise to Spec P, where P is “to” or “at”. In this section I will show that a larger range of elements can move to Spec P, triggering the non-pronunciation of P. This result will set the stage for my analysis of *home* in section 4.

There are other cases involving a null preposition that do not obviously involve an r-pronoun:

- (30)
- a. We went someplace different.
 - b. We went everyplace we could think of.
 - c. We went no place in particular.
 - d. We didn’t go anyplace in particular.
 - e. We’ll go anyplace you want.

As Larson (1985: 596) notes “...aside from locative proforms and deictics, the only bare-NP adverbs of location are those headed by the common noun *place*.” Common nouns that have a meaning similar to that of “place” do not permit null prepositions:

- (31)
- a. You have lived *(at) some location/address/area near here.
 - b. We went *(to) some location/address/area near there.

Following Kishimoto (2000), I assume that the word “place” has two variants: it can be either a light noun or a regular noun. The light nouns in English include: “place”, “thing”, “body”, and “one”. These are the nouns used in DPs that Postal (2004: 138) calls nonchromatic (as opposed to chromatic DPs such as “some fox”, “any fox”, etc.). One diagnostic of light nouns is that adjectives must follow them. Furthermore, light nouns do not combine with “this” “that”, “a” and “the”:

- (32)
- a. Something special, everything special, nothing special, anything special
 - b. *this thing special, *that thing special, *the thing special, *a thing special
 - c. someplace special, everyplace special, no place special, anyplace special
 - d. *this place special, *that place special, *the place special, *a place special

Following Katz and Postal (1964: 98), and Kayne (2005b), I assume that “somewhere” and “there” involves a null PLACE, as in [somewhere PLACE] [there PLACE]¹⁰. Furthermore, I propose that null PLACE is a light noun. Given this assumption, the unacceptability of “this where” is due to the same factor which gives rise to the unacceptability of “this body” (interpreted as “this person”).

¹⁰ I do not analyze “someplace” as [someplace PLACE]. “place” itself is the light noun; there is no need for a null PLACE.

Analyzing PLACE in “there” as a light noun explains why the plural *“theres” is unacceptable (e.g., *“I went theres” versus “I went to those places”). Light nouns do not allow plurals: *“somethings special”.

Why couldn’t “there”, “here” and “where” be analyzed as light nouns themselves, without postulating a null PLACE? Such an analysis would also account for the lack of the plural *”theres”. This analysis would lose the parallel between “where” and “which place”, and the parallel between “there” and “that place”. In particular, the “wh” at the beginning of “where” seems to be the same “wh” at the beginning of “which”, and such a parallel would be lost if “where” itself were a (monomorphemic) light noun.

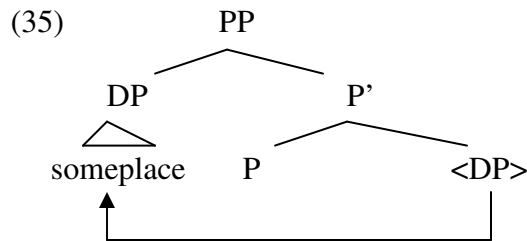
The regular noun “place” does not trigger an unpronounced preposition¹¹:

- (33) a. *We went this/that place.
- b. *We went a place.
- c. *We went the place.
- d. *They took John that place in the jungle.
- e. *They keep the dog a place in the back.
- f. *They stayed this place in the jungle.

Given the above discussion, we need to reformulate the rule of r-pronoun movement as follows:

- (34) The light noun place/PLACE obligatorily moves to the specifier of locative TO/AT in English.

I assume in examples like (30a), “place” itself is moving to Spec PP, pied-piping the rest of the DP “someplace”. The reason for this is that it is the presence of the light noun place/PLACE which determines non-pronunciation of the preposition. Given the condition in (34), the structure of “we went someplace” is as follows:



Movement of light noun “place” pied-piping DP

¹¹ In the following contexts, the parallelism between “where” and “place” breaks down:

- i. You have lived places in the North.
- ii. *You have lived wheres in the North.
- iii. We went each place you did.
- iv. *We went each were you did.
- v. I put it the place you wanted. (acceptable to some people)
- vi. *I put it the where you wanted.

Assuming that only light noun “place” can raise to Spec P triggering non-pronunciation, these examples show that light noun “place” has a much wider syntactic distribution than the light noun PLACE, in a way that is far from clear at the moment.

If “place” by itself moved to Spec P, without pied-piping “some” we would get the order “place some” which is incorrect.

I do not have any answer at this point to the deeper question of what drives movement of light noun place/PLACE (including the r-pronouns) into Spec P.

My analysis makes a prediction about the interaction of word order in the DP, and preposition pronunciation. When “place” follows the adjective (regular noun), the preposition is overt. When “place” precedes the adjective (light noun), the preposition is null. This prediction is borne out:

- (36) a. They went someplace beautiful/mysterious.
 b. *They went some beautiful/mysterious place.
 c. They went to some beautiful/mysterious place.
- (37) a. They didn't go anyplace famous during their vacation.
 b. *They didn't go any famous place during their vacation.
 c. They didn't go to any famous place during their vacation.

4. Directional Home

As shown in the introduction, directional “home” never occurs with “to”. Other examples illustrating the same point are given below:

- (38) a. They went (*to) home.
 b. He headed (*to) home.
 c. I sent him (*to) home.
 d. They brought him (*to) home.

In this respect, “home” is like directional “here”, “there”, “where”, “somewhere” and “someplace”:

- (39) a. They went (*to) there.
 b. The squirrel came (*to) here on its own.
 c. We wanted to go (?? to) somewhere special.
 d. We tried to go (* to) everywhere on our vacation.

Furthermore, in contexts where “to home” is permitted, “to there” is also permitted:

- (40) a. As I was close to home... (Google)
 b. I was close *(to) there.
 c. Our nearness *(to) home.
 d. Our nearness *(to) there.
 e. ?Caught a bus from there to home. (Google)
 f. Even then I couldn't even walk from there to home. (Google)
 g. So I needed a car to go from there to home. (Google)

- h. From here *(to) there

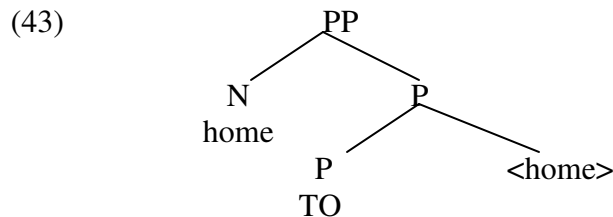
The examples in (40a-d) are non-directional uses of “to”, which can accompany “home”. Similarly, non-directional “to” can accompany r-pronouns. The example in (40e) shows that in the [from X to Y] construction, overt “to” can accompany “home”. Similarly, in the same construction overt “to” can accompany “there” (see (40h)). The reason for the lack of raising to Spec P in the [from X to Y] construction seems to be parallelism. Recall that an r-pronoun following “from” raises to Spec “at”. I propose that in phrases such as “from here to there”, “there” exceptionally fails to raise to Spec “to”, in order to maintain parallelism with the from-phrase:

- (41) [[PP from [PP here AT <here>] [PP to [PP there AT <there>]]]

The similarity between “home” and the r-pronouns in the above paradigm would be explained if “to” were unpronounced with “home” for the same reason that “to” is unpronounced with the r-pronouns. In particular, I will assume that “home” raises to Spec “to”, in exactly the same way that the r-pronouns raise to Spec “to”, triggering non-pronunciation of the preposition.

I propose that “home” is a light noun¹² of the same type as place/PLACE. I will call them locative light nouns. This assumption accounts for the fact that “home” can move to Spec P¹³. I restate the generalization in (34) as follows:

- (42) Locative light nouns obligatorily move to the specifier of locative TO/AT in English.



If “home” as a light noun were analyzed as [home PLACE], in a way similar to the analysis of “there” as [there PLACE], the condition in (42) could simply make reference to place/PLACE instead of the category “locative light noun”.

¹² In Italian, “casa” (meaning “home”) is evidently not a light noun, since it does not trigger a null preposition (thanks to Andrea Cattaneo for the data):

- i. Sono andato a casa.
am gone to house

¹³ Bollinger (1971: 247) argues that in the progressive in (i), there is a null AT, and that *-ing* is nominal. In my theory, *-ing* could be a light noun, forcing raising of V-ing to Spec AT accounting for why AT is not pronounced. Such a theory could also extend to the cases in (ii) and (iii):

- i. John is AT leaving.
ii. John went TO swimming.
iii. That prevented John from AT leaving. (p.c., Richard Kayne)

Note that I am not claiming that *-ing* is a locative light noun (of the home/place/PLACE type), nor am I claiming that the null AT in the progressive is locative. In a form like “Daddy’s gone a-huntin”, “huntin” is not moved to Spec P, for reasons that are unclear to me.

Bresnan and Grimshaw (1978: 347) present the following example, which seems acceptable:

(44) She wants to move (to) someplace new.

This example indicates that the word “obligatory” in condition (42) may be too strong. It seems that there is a ranking of place words according to how strongly they trigger the non-pronunciation of the preposition:

(45) a. home/here/there/where >
 b. somewhere/anywhere/nowhere/everywhere/
 someplace/anyplace/no place/everyplace

(46) a. We went (*to) home/there.
 b. We went (??to) somewhere/someplace new.

Furthermore, overt “to” gets even better as the r-pronoun is modified:

(47) We went to someplace new that I had never heard of before.

One possibility is that in (47), the complex r-pronouns are able to move into Spec “to”, and then subsequently move out, leaving the specifier position phonetically empty and triggering pronunciation of the preposition. Such a derivation would be impossible for “there” and “home” for reasons that are not clear at present. I leave this variation to further research.

5. The Syntactic Category of Home

Having proposed that “home” can be a light noun, this section elaborates on the categorical status of “home”. I propose that it has three different syntactic categories, determined by the functional projections that dominate it. It can be a regular noun, a bare noun or a light noun.

(48) a. home = regular noun
 = DP with full functional structure
 b. home = bare noun
 = DP with no functional structure between DP and NP
 c. home = light noun
 = NP with no functional structure

When “home” is a regular noun, it takes determiners, allows adjectival modification, and can appear in the plural: “the beautiful homes.” I assume that adjectives are generated in the specifier of a functional projection which I will label F_{ADJ} . Furthermore, I assume that the plural morpheme $-s$ projects to NumP (see Bernstein 2001 for discussion of the functional projections of DP). Therefore, regular nouns are potentially dominated by DP, FP_{ADJ} , and NumP.

Presumably the second “home” in “home-sweet-home” is also a regular noun, as indicated by the presence of the adjective.

When “home” is a bare noun, it is like other bare nouns such as “school”, “bed”, “work”, “jail”, “college”, “campus”, “town”, “camp”, “church”, and “court” (on bare nouns see Stvan (1998, in press)).

- (49) a. We studied at school.
 b. I stayed in bed this morning.
 c. John sang at work.

The following sentences contain bare noun “home”:

- (50) a. He was thinking about home.
 b. They were talking about home.
 c. We did our homework at home.
 d. He left home last year.
 e. There is no place like home.
 f. Home is where I’m off to.

Bare nouns do not have the full functional structure associated with DPs (see Pérez-Leroux and Roeper 1999). In particular, this paucity of functional structure accounts for the fact that (a) they do not have plurals and (b) they do not permit adjectival modification:

- (51) a. *John stayed at schools he liked.
 (OK, but not necessarily John’s schools).
 b. *Go to beds! (said to two people)
 c. *John went to works.
 d. *They did their homework at homes.
- (52) a. John stayed at (*certain/*other/*comfortable) home.
 b. John went to (*great/*damn/*former/*wealthy) school.
 c. John went to school (*that I liked).

I assume that examples such as “grade school” and “elementary school” are nominal compounds, involving different structure than plurals or adjectival modification. Even though bare nouns lack an overt determiner, I will assume that “home” as a bare noun is headed by a null D (see Longobardi (2001) for a discussion of Romance, and English “home” along these lines). This assumption may be the most straightforward way to explain why bare noun “home” appears in normal DP positions, such as subject, object, and object of a preposition (see (50)).

“home” is a member of the subset of bare nouns that can give rise to a familiarity implicature, which Stvan (1998: 206) defines as follows: “...when a bare singular noun is used to pick out a location which is not just the currently most relevant place named by the noun, but is the particular one made salient due to its being connected to the speaker, hearer or locatum.” The familiarity implicature of “home” is related to the fact that “home” acts as an anaphor (see Fillmore 1992, Jackendoff, Maling and Zaenen 1993, Pérez-Leroux and Roeper 1999) (on differences between “home” and the other bare nouns see Stvan (1998: 216)):

(53) John stayed at home. (John's home, not somebody else's)

Following the above sources, I assume that anaphoric "home" is represented as [PRO home]. Anaphoric "home" is not possible with an overt determiner:

(54) a. I studied at home.
b. I studied at the beautiful home.

The lack of anaphora in (54b) can be related to the fact that an overt complementizer in English is incompatible with PRO in sentences like *"I wonder if PRO to leave." Overt "the" as the head of DP blocks control, just like overt "if" as the head of CP.

In order to account for the null determiner in (54a), we can invoke NP movement to Spec D.

(55) [_{DP} [_{NP} PRO home] [_D THE <NP>]]

Such a structure accounts immediately for the non-pronunciation of the determiner (given condition (7)). Furthermore, since covert THE does not even c-command PRO in this structure, it is natural that it does not block control.

I propose that "home" can also be a locative light noun. The main evidence for this is that "home" triggers non-pronunciation of a preposition just like the other locative light nouns "place" and PLACE, as we saw in (43).

When "home" is a light noun, it falls into the same series as "place", "thing", "body", and "one" (see section 3):

(56) a. someplace nice (light noun)
b. a really nice place (regular noun)

(57) a. He went home. (light noun)
b. He went to a nice home. (regular noun)

Just like bare nouns, light nouns cannot be pluralized (see Kishimoto (2000)):

(58) a. *somethings special
b. *no places special
c. *they went homes
d. *they stayed homes

As with bare nouns, we can attribute the lack of a plural with light nouns to the lack of a NumP projection dominating the light noun (see also Kayne 2005b: 7).

Just like bare nouns, light noun "home" cannot be modified by adjectives:

(59) a. John stayed (*certain/*other/*comfortable) home.
b. John stayed home (*certain/*other/*comfortable).

- c. light nouns: [DP NP [D' D <NP>]]
place, thing, body, one
[QP Q NP]
- d. light noun "home": NP (no DP, no Case feature)

Given this categorization of the different types of "home", consider again the following paradigm from the beginning of the paper:

- (63) a. I went (*to) home.
b. I did my homework *(at) home.
c. I stayed (at) home.

Consider again the directional (63a): "I went (*to) home". If "home" is analyzed as a light noun, it must move to Spec P, and the preposition "to" will remain unpronounced. The question is what forces "home" to be analyzed as a light noun, instead of a bare noun here. If "home" were a bare noun, then "I went to home" would be possible, just like "I went to school" and "I went to church".

I propose that directional "home" must be analyzed as a light noun for the same reason that in languages that have both object clitics and non-clitic pronouns (French), the object clitics must be used in preference to the non-clitic pronouns:¹⁴

- (64) a. *Jean connaît moi.
Jean knows me
"Jean knows me."
- b. Jean me connaît.
Jean me knows
"Jean knows me."

In this example, the clitic form of the 1sg is used in preference to the non-clitic form. Similarly, the light noun "home" is used in preference to the bare noun "home". I put this forth as a generalization (having no theoretical explanation for it at present):

- (65) If light noun "home" and bare noun "home" are both possible in a given position, choose the light noun "home".

6. Predicate Incorporation

When "home" is used as the locative complement of a verb, the overt preposition is optional. Some examples that illustrate this are given below:

¹⁴In Kayne's (2000: 163) analysis, (64a) is blocked because "Pronominal arguments that are structurally case-marked in French must be doubled by a clitic." Anticipating the discussion in section 7, a similar account of (65) would be that "to/at home" ("home" a bare noun) must be doubled by covert HERE/THERE. I put this aside for future work.

- (66)
- a. They stayed (at) home.
 - b. While he sat (at) home feeling guilty...
 - c. Students should remain (at) home for 48 hours....
 - d. I was lying (at) home, watching TV...
 - e. He was (at) home.
 - f. With John (at) home...
 - g. I kept him (at) home.
 - h. I want him (at) home at least a couple nights a week.
 - i. I need him (at) home every evening.
 - j. I am thankful to have him (at) home...
 - k. We can now leave him (at) home with Jeff...
 - l. There wasn't anybody (at) home.
 - m. I found him (at) home (more often than not)

Sentences (66a-d) illustrate the use of “home” as the complement of locational verbs such as “stay”, “sit”, “remain” and “lie”. The rest of the examples illustrate the use of “home” with various kinds of locative small clauses.¹⁵ As these examples show that the locative use of “home” almost always alternates with “at home”.

When “home” is used as an adjunct, it must be accompanied by an overt preposition.

- (67)
- a. He worked *(at) home¹⁶.
 - b. I noticed him *(at) home.
 - c. I did my homework *(at) home.

These data can be described by the following generalization:

- (68) “home” (without an overt preposition) cannot be a locative adjunct.

Other locative expressions such as “here”, “there”, and “somewhere” do not require “at” when used as adjuncts.

- (69)
- a. He worked here/there/somewhere around here.
 - b. I noticed him here/there/somewhere around here.
 - c. I did my homework here/there/somewhere around here.

I assume that “here/there/somewhere around here” are adjuncts in the examples (69a,b,c) since they are not arguments of the verb. Furthermore, I will make the simplifying assumption that as adjuncts they are right adjoined to the VP: [_{VP} VP here]. For the r-pronouns, I assume that they move to the specifier of an adjunct PP, triggering non-pronunciation.

Why can't “home” be a light noun in the sentences in (67), giving rise to a null preposition? I propose that the reason that the sentences in (67) are unacceptable with a covert

¹⁵Huddelston and Pullum (2002: 683) claim that “Home marks location only as a subject-oriented complement.” Counter-examples to this generalization are (66g,k).

¹⁶Paul Postal informs me that in a certain corporate register, “I am working home” is acceptable. This fact, for which I have no explanation, conflicts with the generalization in (84).

preposition is that a PP with the light noun “home” as its specifier must incorporate into the verb, and is prevented from doing so as an adjunct. In the rest of this section, I elaborate this idea.

Recall that when “home” is a light noun, it is an NP, not a DP (see (62d)). The r-pronouns, on the other hand, are all QPs or DPs. For example “somewhere” contains the functional projection headed by “some”. A similar claim could be made about “there”, which contains a functional projection headed by “th” (the same morpheme found in “th-e” and “th-en”). I propose that because of the absence of functional structure, light noun “home” does not check Case (of any kind). More concretely, I assume that the Case feature of a DP is a feature of the D head. If “home” moves to Spec PP, creating [_{PP} home [_P AT <home>]], AT checks no Case feature.

Now let us define a light PP, as a PP where no Case checking takes place. This can be done in one of two ways (on Case in PPs, Koopman 2000, Noonan 2005, Bošković 2004, and Abels 2003: 233 on suppression of Case in PPs):

- (70) a. The head TO/AT does not check Case, or equivalently,
 b. The head TO/AT does not embed a KP.
 (in whose specifier DPs check Case)

Given this definition, I propose the following condition:

- (71) Light PPs obligatorily move into Spec PredP.

In this condition, I use the functional projection PredP in the sense of Koster (1994). Koster distinguishes “predicate incorporation” with “head incorporation” (in the sense of Baker 1988). In Dutch, certain constituents in the VP move to Spec PredP, giving rise to a preverbal position (in an embedded clause). Koster (1994) gives the following condition: A complement of V is either an argument or part of the predicate. More specifically, a complement of VP moves to Spec AGRO, or it moves to Spec PredP.

I propose that light PPs obligatorily move to Spec PredP in English because they contain a NP that has no Case feature associated with it. Since light noun “home” is not part of a DP that can occupy a Case position, it must be moved to Spec PredP¹⁷. Furthermore, I propose the following about PredP in English:

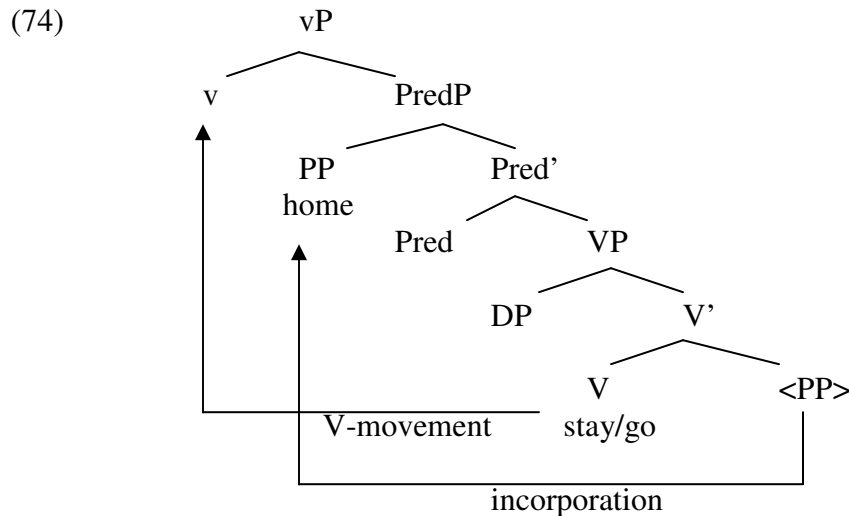
- (72) PredP immediately dominates the lowest VP-shell.

Consider how this theory works with the following simple examples:

- (73) a. John went home.
 b. John stayed home.

When “home” moves to Spec PredP, the following structure is formed (see Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000: 32) for closely related structures).

¹⁷See also Baker (1988: 106) who proposes that incorporated nouns satisfy the Case Filter without being assigned Case.



In this structure, the internal argument for the unaccusative verb is located in the specifier of the lower VP-shell. Ultimately, the internal argument raises to Spec IP. I assume that unaccusatives have a higher vP shell, which does not project a specifier (since there is no external argument).

I assume that the condition in (71) holds for both locative and directional PPs. Movement of “home” to Spec PredP can help to explain the following data:

- (75) a. John stayed home with Mary.
 b. *John stayed with Mary home.
 c. John stayed at the party with Mary.
 d. John stayed with Mary at the party.

- (76) a. John went home with Bill.
 b. *John went with Bill home.
 c. John went to the party with Bill.
 d. John went with Bill to the party.

Since “home” in both cases has been moved to Spec PredP, and PredP is the complement of v (where the verb has moved to), “home” cannot be separated from the verb by “with Mary”.

Consider the following data where “home” is not contiguous with the verb (the examples in (77) have directional “home”, and those in (78) have locative “home”):

- (77) a. I sent John home.
 b. They brought John home.

- (78) a. I kept John home.
 b. We can now leave the child home with Jeff.
 c. There wasn’t anybody home.

If “home” were head-incorporated into the verb (in the sense of Baker 1988), we would expect that “home” would be immediately adjacent to the overt verb: [home-sent], [sent-home], or even [send-home-ed]. But in these examples, “home” is not even adjacent to the verb. These examples show that after “home” moves to Spec PredP, the direct object must move even higher to a Case licensing position above PredP.

The condition in (71) accounts for the unacceptability of *‘‘I did my homework home’’, the structure of which is given below:

(79) I did my homework [PP home [P' AT <home>]]

Since AT does not check Case, PP is light, and so must move to Spec PredP. But the light PP in this example is an adjunct. Since the light PP is an adjunct, it is plausibly outside the lowest VP shell. To be more concrete, I assume that the lowest VP shell is reserved for the “theme” argument, resultative predicates, and PP arguments of the verb. Furthermore, I assume that the adjunct is not even dominated by PredP. Given these assumptions, there is no way for the light PP to move to Spec PredP. Since the light PP must move to Spec PredP, the structure is unacceptable.

The fact that “home” needs an overt preposition when acting as an adjunct can explain the following data:

- (80) They danced home.
 a. “they went home dancing”
 b. *‘‘they danced at home’’

By (71), “home” cannot be locative, since it would be an adjunct. Therefore, it must be directional. But then, the preposition “to” must then be covert, since directional “home” obligatorily raises to Spec PP.

There are certain verbs where “at home” is clearly a complement (not an adjunct), but “at” is nevertheless obligatorily present. Consider the following non-locative verbs:

- (81) a. He seems *(at) home.¹⁸
 b. I feel *(at) home.
 c. Make yourself *(at) home.
 d. I’m *(at) home in French.

These data show that the condition in (71) needs to be modified to ensure that the verb that “home” incorporates into is locative/directional:

- (82) Light PPs obligatorily move to Spec PredP, immediately dominating a locative/directional VP.

In some cases, “at home” seems to be a locative complement to a verb, but it is still the case that the preposition is obligatory. Consider the following contrast:

¹⁸For some people this sentence without “at” is good with the locative interpretation “He seems to be home”. In the framework of this paper, there would need to be a null verb BE.

- (83) a. John stayed (at) home.
b. John lived *(at) home.¹⁹

There is no reason to believe that “at home” is an adjunct in (83b) instead of a complement. I propose that the obligatory “at” in (83b) relates to the fact that “live” (but not “stay”) is unergative. Note that “live” can take a cognate object, as only unergatives can: “he lived an easy life at his parents house” (cf., **he stayed an easy stay*). If “live” is unergative, it takes a nominal complement according to Hale and Keyser (2002: 15): [VP V N]. Given this representation “home” could not be the complement of “live” which is filled with the covert nominal complement. I make the following prediction:

- (84) Locative “home” without an overt preposition cannot be used with unergative verbs.

The list in (66) which contains all the cases of locative “home” without a preposition that I have been able to find supports the above generalization on the assumption that “stay”, “sit”, “remain”, “lie”, “be” are all unaccusatives.²⁰ Of course, there are many unaccusatives that do not take “home”: **He died/fell/collapsed/shivered/froze home*. My explanation of the unacceptability of “home” with unergatives does not naturally extend to these cases. I leave an explanation of them for further work.

7. Optional “at”

Lastly, consider the fact that “at” is optional when “home” follows verbs like “stay”:

- (85) I stayed (at) home.

Recall, “home” as a light noun is obligatory with directional PPs: **I went to home*. The reason is that the light noun “home” is used in preference to the bare noun “home”. We can ask why “I stayed home” (light noun “home”) does not block “I stayed at home” (bare noun “home”). I propose that in “I stay at home”, “at home” is an adjunct.

¹⁹Curme (1983: 338) gives “I won’t live home – even if the old gent would let me.” Similarly, on Google (all of which are unacceptable to me):

- i. For my first 16 years, I lived home with my parents and sister.
ii. When I lived home, we had a Lab.

It is possible “live” in this dialect is more like Italian “live” which can select “be” (see footnote 20 below).

²⁰Andrea Cattaneo informs me that in Italian “stay”, “sit” and “remain” all select the auxiliary verb “be” in the past tense. On the other hand, “live” selects either “have” or “be” as an auxiliary, as opposed to “stay” which only selects “be” (I thank Andrea Cattaneo and Guglielmo Cinque for judgements):

- i. John è/*ha rimasto a casa.
John is stayed at home.
ii. John è/ha vissuto a casa.
John is/has lived at home.

On the assumption that auxiliary selection indicates whether or not a verb is unaccusative, (ii) shows that “live” in Italian can be either unaccusative or unergative (unlike English, where it is unergative).

If “at home” were an adjunct in examples like “stay at home”, then it should be optional, and when “at home” is absent it should not change the meaning of the main verb. In some cases, this is true, but not always:

- (86) a. They stayed (at home).
 b. while he sat (at home) feeling guilty.
 c. He was *(at home).
 d. With John *(at home)...
 e. I want him *(at home) at least a couple of nights a week.
 g. I need him *(at home) early.

With the verbs “stay” and “sit”, “at home” is optional, confirming its adjunct status. When “at home” is a locative predicate, as in “he was at home” and “with John at home”, it cannot be omitted. These facts argue against the adjunct analysis of “at home” in “I stayed at home”.

Note that with “there”, “at” is obligatorily pronounced:

- (87) a. They stayed there *(at) home.
 b. While he sat there *(at) home feeling guilty...
 c. He was there *(at) home.
 d. With John here *(at) home...
 e. I want him here *(at) home at least a couple of nights a week.
 g. I need him here *(at) home early.

I propose when “at home” appears in examples like “stay at home” there is a covert *HERE/THERE*: “stay *THERE* at home”, “with John *HERE* at home”.

Fillmore (1992: 53) discussing the distinction between “be home” and “be at home” notes that “in British English the prepositionless form requires the ‘fresh arrival’ meaning, and in American English the ‘fresh arrival’ meaning requires the prepositionless form.” The second part of Fillmore’s generalization is just the fact that “home” always raises to Spec “to” (triggering non-pronunciation), presumably a feature of both British and American English. If the first part of Fillmore’s generalization is correct, it may be that locative “at home” in British English always requires the null *HERE/THERE* (forcing “at home” to be an adjunct), whereas the null *HERE/THERE* is only optional in American English.²¹

A piece of evidence that “at home” in “stay at home” is an adjunct comes from the following data, noted by Fillmore (1992):

- (88) a. Is there any food *(at) home?
 b. Is there anybody (at) home?
 c. Mary said the money was ??(at) home

²¹Other cases where a null *HERE/THERE* may play a role are:

- i. He ran all the way (here/there).
 ii. down (there) inside the cave (see Svenonius 2004: 3)

As seen in (55) above, anaphoric “home” is represented as follows: [_{NP} PRO home] (see Fillmore 1992: 55, and Jackendoff, Maling, Zaenen 1993). The structures of (88a) with and without overt “at” are given below:

- (89) a. Is there food₁ [_{PP} [_{NP} PRO₁ home] [_P AT <NP>]]
 b. Is there food₁ THERE [_{PP} at [_{NP} PRO₂ home]]

I propose that the binding of the PRO in “home” is governed in part by the conditions that govern obligatory control in infinitival clauses. In particular, Landau (2000: 99) proposes that if an infinitival clause with a PRO subject [_{IP} PRO....] is the complement or specifier of a VP shell, then the controller must be the complement or specifier of the same VP shell. Suppose that PRO in the light PP is governed by a similar condition. Then (89a) with covert “at” is unacceptable because the PRO in “home” cannot take “food” as an antecedent (“food” does not have a “home”). (89a) with overt “at” is acceptable because even though the PRO “home” is anaphoric, it is contained in an adjunct. Since PRO is contained in an adjunct, it is not subject to Landau’s condition (which only concerns complements and specifiers of a VP shell).

Consider again (86). Given the possibility of covert HERE/THERE, what blocks (86c) with the representation “He was HERE/THERE”? I propose that the null HERE/THERE must be licensed by an overt adjunct, such as “at home”.

A difference between locative “at home” and directional “to home” is that directional “to home” is never an adjunct. I state this as follows:

- (90) A directional PP headed by “to” (covert or overt) is always the complement of a verb.

This condition explains facts such as the following, since in these cases “to John’s house” is not a verbal complement²².

- (91) a. At John’s house (*to John’s house), there was trouble.
 b. At John’s house (*to John’s house), everybody had a good time.

In fact, there is cross-linguistic evidence that a directional PP is always the complement of the verb “go”, which may be covert in certain cases. For example, consider the following examples from ꞤHoan (see Collins 2002):

- (92) Ꞥi-si a- kala ka l’on ci qll’am.
 bird-DIM PROG- fly go.to tree Poss on.top
 “The bird is flying to the top of the tree.”

This suggests that in the English case there is a verb “go” in the translation of (92) as well, although I will not pursue this for reasons of space. Given these facts, I assume that the adjunct analysis is not available for directional “to home”.

²²The following contrasts are relevant:

- i. There at home is where John wants to stay.
 ii. *There to home is where John wants to go.
 iii. John stayed here at home.
 iv. *John came here to home.

8. “Home” with Nouns

Consider now how the analysis above applies to “home” in noun phrases. In some environments, “at” is obligatory with locative “home”:

- (93) a. My work *(at) home.
 b. Dinner *(at) home.
 c. My problems *(at) home are slowing me down.

Of course, a PP headed by “at” can be a noun modifier:

- (94) a. My work at the construction site.
 b. Dinner at my parent’s house.
 c. My problems at work are slowing me down.

In (93), “at home” is an adjunct of the noun “work”. Therefore, the light noun “home” is blocked, so “home” must be bare noun, and overt “at” is used.

There are some examples of locative “home” occurring without the preposition “at” in noun phrases. Consider the following Internet (Google) examples (the examples in (96) are marginal for me):

- (95) a. I have enjoyed my stay home.
 b. Naturally this extra time I had to spend will cut short my stay home.
 c. During my stay home I realized how much I take for granted.
- (96) a. The rest of my time home was very relaxing.
 b. My time home was just way too short.
 c. After a few months home from their traveling.

In (95), I assume “stay” is derived from a verb, so “at home” is the complement of the verb “stay”, and “at” is optional. In (96), for those who find this example acceptable, I assume that there is a null verb “spend” underlying the example, “the rest of my time SPENT (at) home”, and that “at home” is the complement of this verb.

Directional “home” is always possible in noun phrases:

- (97) a. My trip (*to) home
 b. The way (*to) home
 c. A path (*to) home
 d. My return (*to) home
 e. A visit (*to) home
 f. On the flight (*to) home... (Fillmore 1992)
 g. The journey (*to) home... (Fillmore 1992)

Compare these examples to the following, where the directional preposition is obligatory.

- (98) a. My trip to John's house
 b. The way to John's house
 c. A path to John's house
 d. My return to my village
 e. A visit to my village
 f. On the flight to my village
 g. The journey to my village

In (97), I assume for all of these cases that there is a null verb “go”: “the way GO home”, since directional “home” must be the complement of a verb (see (90)). As the complement of the verb, “home” is preferentially a light noun and raises to Spec “to” triggering non-pronunciation²³.

Consider now the r-pronouns in nominals:

- (99) a. My work there is finished.
 b. My problems here are slowing me down.
 c. I have enjoyed my stay there.
 d. The rest of my time there was very relaxing.
- (100) a. My trip there
 b. The way there
 c. A path there
 d. My return there

After “there” moves to Spec TO/AT, the PP is not light (since “there” is a DP, needing Case internal to PP), and it is not forced to incorporate into V.

9. Summary of Analysis

In summary, here is the explanation of all the cases:

- (101) a. I went home.
 Light noun “home” raises to Spec PP (P is silent),
 light PP moves to Spec PredP.
- b. *I went to home.
 Light noun “home” blocks bare noun “home”.
- c. *I did my homework home.
 Light noun “home” raises to Spec PP,

²³See Van Riemsdijk (2002) on null verbs in general. See Collins (2005: 94, fn. 9) for null verbs in constructions like “a book by Chomsky”. See also (i) from Quirk et. al. (1985: 525), where presumably directional “home” incorporates into a null verb.

i. Mr. Toyota was allowed (to go) home.

light PP must move to Spec PredP, but can't.

- d. I did my homework at home.
Since light noun "home" is blocked,
bare noun "home" is complement of "at".
- e. I stayed home.
Light noun "home" moves to Spec PP,
light PP moves to Spec PredP.
- f. I stayed at home.
Locative PP can be an adjunct (null HERE/THERE present),
as adjunct, light noun "home" is blocked,
bare noun "home" is complement of "at".

I note here that Cattaneo (2006) has shown that the distribution of "home" in English shows uncanny similarities to the distribution of *ca'* "home" in Bellizzone:se:

- (102) a. Te scte (a) ca'.
 2sg stay at home
 "You stay at home"
- b. Te cüsina *(a) ca'.
 you cook at home
 "You cook at home"

Just like in English, when *ca'* "home" is used an adjunct, the preposition is obligatory, as shown in (102b). These facts strongly suggest that *ca'* "home" is moving to Spec PredP, just like in English and that movement is blocked for adjuncts.

A similar argument/adjunct effect shows up with the locative clitic *g(h)* in Bellinzone:se:

- (103) a. Te g scte.
 2sg Cl stay
 "You stay there"
- b. Te g cüsina.
 2sg Cl cook
 *“you cook there”

Cattaneo analyses *g* as [_{PP} P [_{NP} PLACE *g*]], where PLACE is a light noun which obligatorily moves to Spec P. The PP the obligatorily moves to Spec PredP, just like in English.

10. Particles

In the above section, I have argued that “home” can be either a bare noun or a light noun, and that this ambiguity allows us to account for the properties of directional versus locative “home”. In this section, I will argue that all locative particles are formed by moving a locative light noun into Spec TO/AT, and subsequent movement of the particle into Spec PredP.

I have argued that in the case of “there” and “home”, null prepositions are needed to satisfy the subcategorization requirements of “go” and “stay”, and to capture the difference between the directional and locative interpretations.

- (104) a. He went TO there/home.
b. He stayed AT there/home.

Since particles are usually analyzed as intransitive prepositions in generative syntax, there does not seem to be any reason to postulate a null TO/AT preceding them. In other words, the argument based on subcategorization does not go through. However, in order to account for the difference in interpretation between locative and directional “in”, two different null prepositions are still needed: TO and AT.

- (105) a. He went TO in/out/under.
b. He stayed AT in/out/under.

The fact that the prepositions in (105) are null can be accounted for if particles raise to Spec TO/AT, triggering non-pronunciation. The fact that particles raise obligatorily to Spec P, just as the light noun “home” does, is accounted for if particles are also light nouns. The question arises of whether the particle is itself a light noun, or whether the particle should be analyzed as “in-PLACE”²⁴. The existence of the following forms argues for the latter:

- (106) in-side, out-side, under-neath, on top, be[by]-side, along-side

In all of these cases, it is plausible to analyze the second part as an overt realization of PLACE. In other words, I hypothesize “side” in “in-side” is a light noun.²⁵ These examples show that “in” can combine with a place nominal. The minimal hypothesis is that it always combines with such a place nominal. Therefore, even particles in sentences such as “we went

²⁴Analyzing particles as in-PLACE should probably be distinguished from the “NPs in disguise”, which Conway (1996) analyses as [N PP]:

i. Under the bed is a nice place to hide.

If Conway’s analysis is correct, I assume that (i) has two PLACE nouns:

ii. [NP PLACE [PP under-PLACE the bed]]

²⁵I assume that the unacceptability of *‘‘I was swimming inside the water’’ is due to the semantics of ‘‘side’’ (a light noun) versus PLACE (a different light noun). The distinction between ‘‘in’’ and ‘‘inside’’ parallels the distinction between ‘‘somewhere’’ (PLACE covert) and ‘‘someplace’’ (‘‘place’’ overt) (on which see Kayne 2006):

i. I read in (*inside) the ballpark of 20 articles.

ii. I read somewhere (*someplace) between 10 and 20 articles.

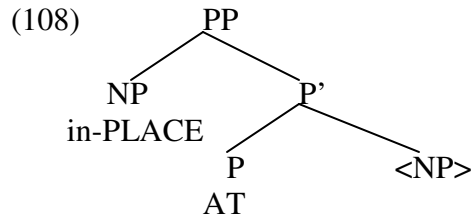
in”, will be analyzed as “in-PLACE”. Following Terzi (2006), I assume that “in” is a modifier of PLACE. The exact syntactic category of “in” as a modifier of PLACE awaits further research²⁶.

Given the proposals in this paper, the totality of light nouns so far is:

- (107) a. Non-place light nouns: body, one, thing
- b. Place light nouns: home, place, PLACE, -side, -neath

Functional prepositions, such as “to” (dative, directional), “at” (locative), “by” (passive), “with” (instrumental), “of” (dummy preposition), “from”, and “through” do not take “side”/”top”/”neath” as second components: *”to-side”, *”at-side”, *”with-side”, *”of-side”, *”from-side”, “through-side”. Furthermore, they do not translate as inalienable locative nouns into languages like Ewe, or the Khoisan languages (see Collins 2001). Lastly, they cannot be particles: “I went to”, “I stayed at”. I propose that functional prepositions are never analyzed as x-PLACE.

Putting the above assumptions together, the structure of a locative particle is the following²⁷:



Since particles involve a light noun PLACE, we predict that they should have the same properties as the light noun “home”. For example, just as the light noun “home” cannot appear as a locative adjunct, neither can particles:

- (109) Particles cannot be adjuncts.

The following examples support this generalization:

- (110) a. *She did her homework in/out.
- b. She did her homework inside/outside.
- c. *She was jumping around on.
- d. She was jumping around on top.

²⁶The assumption that “in” is a modifier of the light noun PLACE/side goes against the generalization of section 5 that bare nouns cannot be modified.

²⁷I assume that all locative PPs have such a structure. E.g., in “in the house”, [in-PLACE] raises to the specifier of “at” triggering non-pronunciation. Strong evidence for this view comes from Ewe, where the locative nouns do not raise to Spec “at”, and correspondingly “at” is pronounced, yielding the following example (see Ameka 1995):

i. me- kpɔ awu la le ka-a dzi.
 1sg see garment DEF at rope-DEF upper surface
 “I saw the garment on the line” (Ameka 1995)

In future work, I examine the systematic differences between Ewe and English that this difference in the movement of locative nominals gives rise to.

- e. *He swam around under.
- f. He swam around underneath.
- g. *The dog ran around around out.
- h. The dog ran around outside.

A light PP would have to move to Spec PredP (see (71)), which would be impossible when the particle is an adjunct. These examples contrast with cases (both locative and directional) where the particle is the complement of the verb:

- (111) a. They stayed in/inside.
- b. The pool is cold, but you should try to stay in another 20 minutes.
- c. You should have tried to stay on a little longer (e.g., a bike).
- d. We kept the dog in/inside.
- e. We left the dog out/outside.
- f. Leave it in! (e.g., of a CD)
- (112) a. She jumped on.
- b. He swam under.
- c. The dog ran out.

Surprisingly, locative particles are allowed as adjuncts if they are modified by a measure phrase:

- (113) a. She did her homework 20 meters in. (e.g., the cave)
- b. She fixed a rig 20 meters out. (e.g., into the ocean)

Following Svenonius (2004), I assume that when locative particles are modified by a measure phrase, there is a place-to-path function, so that the structure of these examples is actually:

- (114) ...AT END OF 20 meter JOURNEY to in/out-PLACE.

If this is correct, the acceptability of (113) reduces to the acceptability of “the journey in” and the “the journey out”, which are directional (see section 8 for directional “home” with nouns).

Just as in the case of locative “home”, modification of a locative particle by “right” is impossible (see Svenonius 2004: 27), a fact for which I have no explanation:

- (115) a. They went right home.
- b. He headed right home.
- c. I sent him right home.
- d. They brought him right home.
- (116) a. They stayed right ??(at) home.
- b. I found him right ??(at) home (more often than not).
- c. He was right ??(at) home.

- d. With John right ??(at) home...
 e. I am thankful to have him right ??(at) home.
- (117) a. I went right in.
 b. I brought the dog right in.
- (118) a. *I stayed right in.
 b. *I kept the dog right in.

Unlike locative “home” (in “I stayed (at) home”), neither locative particles nor “side” nouns can be the complement of overt “at”:

- (119) a. *They stayed at in/at inside.
 b. *We kept the dog at in/at inside.
 c. *We left the dog at out/at outside.

Unlike “home”, neither “in” nor “inside” has a corresponding bare noun. “in” is “in-PLACE”, a light noun. “in-side” is also a light noun. As light nouns, they obligatorily raise to Spec P, and trigger non-pronunciation. This is why “in” and “inside” cannot appear as the complement of overt “at”.

Lastly, locative particles in nominals behave like “home”, although more work is needed:

- (120) a. My work *in/*out/*on/*home was dangerous.
 b. The way in/out/on/home is dangerous.

11. Conclusion

I started this paper considering an asymmetry between directional and locative “home”.

- (121) a. I went (*to) home.
 b. I did my homework *(at) home.
 c. I stayed (at) home.

I proposed that the above facts can be understood in terms of the syntactic category of “home” (bare noun or light noun), a theory of preposition pronunciation, properties of light nouns and light PPs, and an independent asymmetry between locative and directional phrases, listed below:

- (122) a. Edge(X) must be phonetically overt.
 b. Light locative nouns obligatorily raise to Spec AT/TO.
 c. Light PP obligatorily moves to Spec PredP.
 d. A directional PP is always the complement of a verb.
 e. If light noun “home” and bare noun “home” are both possible in a given position, choose the light noun “home”.

Principles (a-d) are needed independently of the analysis of “home”. (a) is a generalization of the Doubly-Filled Comp Filter, restated in terms of Spell-Out. (b) holds not only of “home”, but of many elements including “here”, “there”, etc. (c) also holds of the locative particles, which I have analyzed as containing a light noun. In Dutch, movement to Spec PredP may be even more general (see Koster 1994). (d) is a general fact about directional PPs. In fact, at a more abstract level it may be true that directional PPs are only introduced by a null verb GO. The only principle specific to the analysis of “home” is (e), and this may be related to more general principles determining when a clitic pronoun blocks a non-clitic pronoun.

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