

Prepositionless *Home* in some Northern Italian dialects: from N to Particle (to P)

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1. It is well-known that Modern English *home* obligatorily appears without the directional P *to*, while stative *at* is usually—though not obligatorily—present, becoming mandatory only in adjunct PPs (*I'm eating *(at) home*). A comparable phenomenon is found also in some Northern Italian dialects (NIDs) (Venetan, Penello 2003; Bellinzonese, Cattaneo 2009), in which *casa* “home/house” is not introduced by a P in locative adpositions (examples from the ASIt database <http://asit.maldura.unipd.it/>):

- (1) a. J' vaghi cà (Borgomanero, NO)
I go home
b. Go da portarlo casa (Treviso)
I-have to take.it home “I have to take it home”

Similarly, Modern Greek allows null directional Ps with both *home* and some other few nominals, but only *home* is acceptable with a null stative P (cf. Terzi to appear).

2. The major syntactic accounts of these facts attribute the exceptional behaviour of *home* in locative adpositions to a silent directional P which incorporates into V and takes *home* as its complement in a fully-fledged DP. Alternatively, *home* is viewed as a “light noun” moving out of its DP to SpecPP thus making the edge of PP overt and allowing P to be null (see Terzi to appear for references and discussion). As for Romance *casa*, Longobardi (1997, 2001) analyses it as a “construct state” noun, which moves from N° to D°, and in NIDs, where null Ps are allowed, *casa* can further incorporate into a null P°, yielding the cases in (1). More recently, Terzi (to appear) accounts for the Modern Greek null spatial Ps in a Split-PP framework, proposing that *spiti* “home” is in fact an instantiation of the otherwise silent PLACE head, which moves for lexicalization requirements to the Specs of PPLoc/PPGoal (the projections encoding stativity and directionality in the fine-grained PP):

- (2) a. Pao (sto/sti) spiti/gimnastirio/sxolio/grafio/eklisia.
I-go (se.the-neut/fem) home/gym/school/office/church
b. [VP V [PPGoal spiti/grafio Pgoal 0 [PPLoc PLoc 0 [DP/NP spiti/grafio]]]]]

3. However, some NIDs exhibit clear evidence that prepositionless *home* does not always behave like any other proper spatial PP. Rather, in many dialects, *home* has the same distributional properties of *particles* (Prts), such as *in/out* and *up/down*. This is the case, for instance, in Borgomanerese, a Gallo-Italic variety of north-eastern Piedmont, which, as argued in Tortora (2002), has vP-oriented clitics surfacing as enclitics to finite verbs, past participles and to some “higher” adverbs of the functional hierarchy (Cinque 1999), like *anymore* and *already*. Enclisis however does not occur on lower adverbs like *always* and *well*. Interestingly, Borgomanerese exhibits verbal enclitics on directional Ps which look like Prts, suggesting that these are hosted in a specific and rather high projection in the functional domain of the clause (Tortora 2002: 746).

- (3) a. i porti denta-**la** vs. *i porti-la denti
I take in=her (“I take her in”) I take=her in
b. Al pensa da pudi purtè **viggù** (ASIt; Borgomanero, NO)
He thinks of can take away=him=it “He thinks he can take it away from him”

Crucially, verbal enclitics are found also on *ca* “home” (Tortora 2002: 746), clearly suggesting that *home* in Borgomanerese is hosted in the same structural projection of Prts:

- (4) i porti ca-**tti**. vs. *i porta-ti ca.
I take home=you I take=you home

Further evidence of the particle-like behaviour of *home* in NIDs comes from the fact that in some Venetan varieties *home*—just like the Prts *in/out* and *up/down*—can be modified by another PP (5a), but this PP has to follow the Prt otherwise the sentence becomes ungrammatical (examples from Gazzolo, VR):

- (5) a. Vo/Sto casa in leto/sul divan (cf. Vo/Sto fora in giardin)
I.go/I.stay home in bed/on.the sofa (cf. I.go/I.stay out in garden)

b. *Vo/Sto in leto/sul divan casa (cf. *Vo/Sto in giardin fora)

4. In the light of the split-PP hypothesis, I propose an alternative analysis of prepositionless *home* in NIDs, suggesting that it should be considered a *modifier* within the DPPlace hosting the Ground object of P, and not an instantiation of the null PLACE head. Specifically, adopting Cinque's (2010) PP structure, I claim that *home* is hosted in AbsViewP, a projection introducing modifiers of the Ground which indicate how the Ground is to be located w.r.t. an *absolute* (geographical) viewpoint, i.e., *home* may provide a prototypical viewpoint for the speaker/linguistic community much like *north* or *inland*.

(6) [PPdir [PPstat AT [DPPlace [... [AbsViewP *home* [... [AxPartP [NPplace *Ground DP PLACE*]...]

Following Cinque (2010:9), Prts like *up/down* and *in/out* are hosted in RelViewP, a projection right under AbsViewP, forming together with it a *field* for viewpoint modifiers. Under the proposal in (6), P-less *home* in NIDs is structurally similar to, i.e. is in the same position of, locative adverbs like *out/in* and *up/down*. This claim is further supported by cross-linguistic evidence—together with the fact that P-less *home* is in complementary distribution with the typical RelViewP adverbs. As *viewpoint* modifiers in the higher portion of DPplace, *home* and *up/down/in/out* can remain inside their PP, thus forming fully-fledged adverb(ial)s or, in the case of (1), (3-5) they can move as *weak* adverbs, i.e., Prts, out of their PPs into a dedicated projection in the functional domain of the clause (cf. Koopman 2000 on Dutch Prts moving out of their PP).

5. As to why *home* can be hosted in AbsViewP, I suggest that this is a direct consequence of its being a “construct state” noun (Longobardi 1997, 2001): *home*—clearly originated as the Ground/DP object of P—can move as a bare element from N° to D°, thus entailing the presence of an overt/understood genitive argument. By virtue of this genitive argument, *home* becomes a perfect candidate for AxPartP, the lowest modifier projection of DPPlace directly above the Ground, which hosts lexical Ps indicating how the Ground is to be put in *relation* to the Theme (=the subject/object to be located). Once entered the modifier layer of the DPplace, *home* can move further up to AbsViewP becoming an adverb/Prt, and in some cases, grammaticalises even more by moving up into the PP functional field (PPStat/PPGoal) to become a proper P, cf. French *chez*.

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