

Studies in Generative Grammar

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Elements of Comparative Syntax

Theory and Description

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**DE GRUYTER
MOUTON**

*For Raffaella,
Thank you so much
for all these years
of friendship, and
for all the stimulating
collaborations,
Love
Jo*

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Raffaella Zanuttini

Presentatives and the syntactic encoding of contextual information

1 Presentatives and the challenges they present

1.1 Is contextual information encoded in the syntax?

Linguists and philosophers have long noticed that there are linguistic elements whose interpretation is tightly related to the context of utterance. For example, the referents of pronouns like *I* and *you* can only be determined if we know who the speaker and addressee are; similarly, temporal elements like *now*, *today*, *tomorrow* and a locative like *here* are interpreted in relation to the time of the utterance and the location of the speaker, respectively. We label these elements *indexicals* and commonly assume that the information we need to interpret them comes from the semantics and pragmatics, and is not necessarily represented in the syntax. This raises the question of whether information regarding the context is ever encoded in the syntax. The possibility that it might be was prominently raised in Ross (1970), an article that proposed that all root clauses contain syntactic structure (sometimes overt, sometimes phonetically null) encoding information concerning the speaker, the addressee, and the illocutionary force of the clause – a hypothesis that proved problematic (cf. Fraser 1974; Gazdar 1979) and was later largely set aside. More recently, that possibility has been revived in works like Speas and Tenny (2003), Sigurðsson (2004, 2014), Bianchi (2006), Hill (2007a, 2007b, 2014), Baker (2008), Giorgi (2010), Miyagawa (2012), Haegeman and Hill (2013), Haegeman (2014), Heim et al. (2014) and Wiltschko (2017). For example, Haegeman's work undertakes a systematic study of discourse particles in West Flemish, focusing on their syntactic distribution and asking which of their properties (if any) is best analyzed by assuming that certain aspects of the discourse context are encoded in the syntax. Her work forcefully argues that their distribution supports a syntactic representation of speaker and addressee in the left-periphery of the clause, above the CP layer.¹

¹ I am writing this article as a tribute to Liliane Haegeman, thanking her for her willingness to share her thoughts and ideas in person and in writing, for never being afraid to change her mind when new evidence requires it, for the time and effort she puts into making her work clear and accessible, and for setting a very high standard for her work. On a more personal level, I am also writing to thank her for taking me to a wonderful café in Geneva (Chocolaterie Micheli), when I was a student, and engaging in an interesting discussion that led to our two joint publications (Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991 and Haegeman and Zanuttini 1996), and to lifelong gratitude and admiration on my part.

I will be addressing a question that is related to but distinct from the one discussed by Haegeman, namely whether information concerning the time and the location of the speaker is encoded in the syntax. I will do so by investigating utterances of a type that has not yet received much scrutiny from syntacticians, exemplified in (1):

- (1) a. *Voilà Liliane.* (French)
 b. *Ecco Liliane.* (Italian)
 c. *Evo Liliane.* (Serbian)
 d. *İşte Liliane.* (Turkish)
 e. *Here's Liliane.* (English)

I refer to utterances of this type as PRESENTATIVES.² They have several remarkable properties, as I will highlight throughout the paper. One is that, regardless of whether they contain an overt locative and/or temporal element, they have a 'here and now' interpretation: the examples in (1), for instance, convey that Liliane is here now (perhaps she was not here earlier, or perhaps she was here but we were not aware of it). How do they get such an interpretation? It is not usually the case that sentences (or sentence fragments) convey this kind of information about time and location in the absence of overt material expressing it.

In this article, I focus on presentatives in Italian that contain *ecco*.³ They may exhibit *ecco* followed by a noun phrase; in (2a) we see a lexical noun phrase, in (2b) a clitic:

- (2) a. *Ecco Liliane.* (Italian)
 ecco Liliane
 'Here's Liliane.'
 b. *Ecco-la.*
 ecco-her
 'Here she is.'

² Grammatical descriptions often mention 'presentative particles' (cf. Petit 2010, 2011; Julia 2016; Porhiel 2012, a.o.), elements like French *voici*, *voilà*, Latin *ecce*, *em*, etc. Petit (2010, 2011) points out that this label was first applied to the Biblical Hebrew particle *hinneh* and then used to refer to French *voici*, *voilà*. Following Wood et al. (2015), I will use the term *presentative* to refer to the entire utterance, not to the particle.

³ I will not discuss *ecco* used as a discourse marker (cf. Bazzanella 1995 and De Cesare 2011), as in (i):
 (i) *La verità, ecco, non so se posso dirtela.* (Bazzanella 1995: 227)
 'The truth, well, I don't know if I can tell you that.'

In such cases, *ecco* is separated from the rest of the clause by an intonational break, and can occur in different positions within the utterance, with different discourse functions, which are not obviously related to that of presentatives.

They may also consist of *ecco* followed by a clause:⁴

- (3) a. *Ecco che Liliane scrive un altro articolo.*
 ecco that Liliane writes an other article
 'Here's Liliane writing another article.'
 b. *Ecco Liliane che scrive un altro articolo.*
 ecco Liliane that writes an other article
 'Here's Liliane writing another article.'

I will focus on the syntax of presentatives in which *ecco* co-occurs with a noun phrase as a first step toward a deeper understanding of presentatives more generally.⁵ I will argue that presentatives like those in (2) have more structure than meets the eye; in particular, they have clausal structure. They consist of a functional head T and a small clause complement, which has the noun phrase as the subject and a null locative as the predicate. The null T and the null locative get their interpretation from functional elements in the left periphery that encode the time and the location of the speaker. I take *ecco* to be the overt realization of such features in the left-periphery.

1.2 On the inadequacy of a simple solution

One might wonder whether it is necessary to postulate the presence of a null locative element and a null temporal element. Why not analyze *ecco*⁶ as a locative (or temporal) element that functions as the predicate? If so, Italian presentatives would involve small clauses with predicate inversion:

⁴ Example (3b) contains a so-called pseudo-relative; see Cinque (1995: Ch. 8) and Casalicchio (2013). Casalicchio (2013: 2.5.3) contains an interesting discussion of *ecco* and points out that it takes the same range of complements as a perception verb: a DP, a finite clause, a pseudo-relative and an infinitival clause (*Ecco arrivare Elisa*, 'Here comes Elisa').

⁵ As pointed out in De Cesare (2010), *ecco* is more common in speech than in writing in Italian. I will translate it into English using *here's*, which is appropriate in informal contexts. But *ecco* can also be used in formal contexts, and in such cases *behold* would be a more appropriate English translation. For example, the ritual prayer said in preparation for communion during mass contains *ecco* in Italian and *behold* in English, as we see in (i) and (ii) below. In the gospel of John (1:29), this sentence has *ecco* in Italian and *behold*, *look* or *here's* in different English versions.

(i) *Ecco l'agnello di Dio che toglie i peccati del mondo.*

(ii) *Behold the lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world.*

⁶ Etymologically, *ecco* stems from Vulgar Latin *eccum*, in turn derived from Latin *ecce* 'behold' and *eum* 'him' (Rohlf's 1969: paragraphs 910, 911, 702). The origin of *ecce* can be traced to two deictic particles (*ed+ke) (Petit 2010). For a detailed study of Latin *ecce* and the Romance forms derived from it, see Adams (2013: 465–480).

1.3 Roadmap

The article is organized as follows. I begin by characterizing the semantic and pragmatic contribution of Italian presentatives and discussing the felicity conditions that govern their occurrence (section 2). We will see that the noun phrase must denote an entity, or quantify over a set of entities, that were not in the attention sphere of the interlocutors, but whose existence is presupposed or can be inferred from the context. Then I examine the syntactic structure of Italian presentatives with *ecco* followed by a noun phrase (section 3). I argue that they have clausal structure, and in particular that they contain a temporal element and a locative predicate whose interpretation is restricted to the time and place of the speaker. The null temporal and locative elements are licensed by *ecco*, which I take to be the spell-out of features that provide information about the time and place of the utterance (section 4). I also discuss similarities and differences between presentatives and locative sentences with which (in some cases) they form minimal pairs (section 5). Finally, I provide a summary and frame the discussion in a broader context.

2 Restrictions on the noun phrase

Before we discuss the syntax of presentatives with *ecco* and a noun phrase, let us discuss the felicity conditions on their use. This will help us characterize their semantic and pragmatic contribution, and understand the discourse properties of the noun phrase.

Consider the presentatives in (12). Informally speaking, they are used to convey that the entity denoted by the noun phrase is now saliently present in the context of utterance:

- (12) a. *Ecco Lilliane.*
 ‘Here is Lilliane.’
 b. *Ecco le chiavi.*
 ecco the keys
 ‘Here are the keys.’
 c. *Ecco una giacca.*
 ecco a jacket
 ‘Here’s a jacket.’

The entity or entities whose presence is being pointed out need not be visible. They can be perceived through other senses, as in the examples below:

- (13) a. *Ecco il caffè.* (said upon smelling coffee)
 ‘Here’s the coffee.’
 b. *Ecco i primi ospiti.* (said upon hearing knocks on the door)
 ‘Here are the first guests.’

In fact, such entities do not have to be perceivable to one of the senses; they can also be in the space of mental possibilities being contemplated.⁷ For instance, (14) is felicitous in a context where the interlocutors have been discussing a problem that needs a solution, and (15) in one where they have been considering a number of possible ideas or ways to tackle an issue:

- (14) *Ecco una possibile soluzione:*
 ecco a possible solution
 ‘Here’s a possible solution: ...’
 (15) *Ecco un’idea che mi piace.*
 ecco an.idea that me pleases
 ‘Here’s an idea I like.’ or ‘There’s an idea I like.’

Hence the entities denoted by the noun phrase must become present either in the physical space of the interlocutors, or in the space of possibilities that they are contemplating.

There seem to be felicity conditions associated with these utterances: the entity (or entities) denoted by the noun phrase must be a member of a set that has been evoked in the previous discourse (‘disourse-old’ in the terms of Prince 1992), or is somehow salient in the context. For example, (12a) is felicitous if the speaker was expecting to see Lilliane or hear from her, and she arrives or calls.⁸

⁷ This seems to be true of biblical Hebrew *hinne* as well, according to Sadka (2001: 481).

⁸ If the speaker was not expecting to see the entity that enters the context, a presentative with *ecco* can be used only if preceded by a marker like *Oh!*:

- (i) *Oh, ecco Lilliane!*
 (ii) *Oh, ecco le chiavi!* ‘Oh, here are the keys.’

Informally, that *oh* seems to evoke a context in which the speaker was expecting Lilliane, or was looking for his or her keys. The context was not salient at the moment of utterance, but *oh* brings it into the picture, and makes it salient. (I thank Martina Wiltschko for asking me probing questions that helped me realize this.)

Similarly, (12b) is felicitous if the speaker or the addressee have misplaced the keys, and now find them. As Larry Horn pointed out to me (personal communication), this example is evidence that the noun phrase does not necessarily have to refer to an entity that has been explicitly mentioned in the discourse – the existence of such an entity must have either been previously mentioned, or be inferrable from the context. For example, speaker and addressee might both know that one of them has misplaced their keys, and might utter (12b) in a situation where they have not been recently mentioned. For the utterance to be felicitous, though, that shared knowledge is essential; if the speaker simply happens to find a pair of keys that are not somehow salient, (12b) would not be felicitous. This suggests that the notion of ‘discourse-old’ relevant for these presentatives is one that includes information that can be inferred, as in Birner (2006).

This salience requirement holds regardless of whether the noun phrase is indefinite or definite. For instance, *Ecco una giacca* (12c) is felicitous only if the speaker or the addressee have been looking for a jacket, or for some set of items of which a jacket is a member (for example, warm clothes, or clues of someone’s presence). The same holds if we take a proper name like *Obama*. We can safely assume that, when this article is being written, everyone is aware of the existence of President Obama; yet the following example is infelicitous if uttered out of the blue:

- (16) #*Guarda, ecco Obama.* (infelicitous if uttered out of the blue)
 look ecco Obama
 ‘Look, here’s Obama!’

The utterance in (16) is felicitous only if Obama, or the possibility of seeing him, is salient either because it has been previously mentioned in the conversation, or because the speaker has been waiting for him (as a reporter might). This is in contrast with other ways of calling attention to the same entity, which are felicitous when uttered out of the blue, as in (17):

- (17) a. *Guarda, Obama!*
 ‘Look, Obama!’
 b. *Guarda, c’è Obama!*
 look there.is Obama
 ‘Look, Obama is there!’

I take the contrast between (16) and (17) to confirm that, in presentatives with *ecco*, the noun phrase must refer to an entity that is not discourse-new.

This conclusion helps us explain which noun phrases can and which cannot occur in presentatives. *Ecco* can co-occur with certain quantified noun phrases, as we see in (18):

- (18) a. *Ecco tutti i miei amici.*
 ecco all the my friends
 ‘Here are all my friends.’
 b. *Ecco molti dei miei libri.*
 ecco many of.the my books
 ‘Here are many of my books.’

However, it cannot occur with certain bare quantifiers, or indefinites, like those in (19):

- (19) a. #*Ecco qualcuno.*
 ecco someone
 b. #*Ecco qualcosa.*
 ecco something

The ungrammaticality of these examples is now expected: if the entity or set of entities introduced by the noun phrase must be discourse-old (cf. Birner 2006), then indefinites like ‘someone’ or ‘something’ are predicted to be impossible, at least when used to introduce new entities. Indeed, examples like those in (19) become acceptable if we manipulate the context. For example, if the speaker is expecting people to arrive, he or she can say *Ecco qualcuno!* ‘Here’s someone!’ upon hearing some noise. In this case, *qualcuno* picks out an individual whose identity is not known, but who is a member of a set that is salient in the context, and the utterance is acceptable.

Because they share several properties, it is worth comparing presentatives with existential and locative sentences. I will devote section 5 to a comparison with the latter, so I will mention only the former here. As is well known, existential sentences can be used to assert the existence of an entity or set of entities. For instance, the sentences in (20) can be used to assert the existence of the entities denoted by the noun phrases that follow the copula *sono*:

- (20) a. *Ci sono delle persone che si lamentano sempre.*
 there are some people that self complain always
 ‘There are people who complain all the time.’
 b. *Ci sono tanti tipi di mele.*
 there are many types of apples
 ‘There are many kinds of apples.’

- c. *Ci sono degli angeli che ci proteggono.*
 there are some angels that us protect
 'There are angels that protect us.'

Presentatives differ sharply from existential sentences in that they cannot be used to assert the existence of some entity or entities (either in general or in some unspecified location).⁹ In contrast to the examples in (20), those in (21) do not convey that the entities denoted by the noun phrases exist, but rather that they are present at the time and place of the utterance:

- (21) a. *Ecco delle persone che si lamentano sempre.*
 ecco some people that self complain always
 'Here are some people who complain all the time.'
 b. *Ecco tanti tipi di mele.*
 ecco many types of apples
 'Here are many kinds of apples.'
 c. *Ecco degli angeli che ci proteggono.*
 ecco some angels that us protect
 'Here are some angels that protect us.'

In sum, the pragmatic function of *ecco* followed by a noun phrase is that of bringing to the attention of the addressee the presence of an entity (or entities) in the context of utterance. Such entities can be introduced with a definite or indefinite noun phrase, or with a quantificational element, as long as they have been previously evoked or can be inferred from the context (they are "familiar topics" in the terms of Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007; "referential topics" in the terms used in Cruschina 2012: 80–81, note 3, and references therein).

⁹ In addition to this stark difference in interpretation, presentatives and existential sentences also differ in that existentials can be negated (i) and embedded (ii), whereas presentatives cannot (as we see in (iii) and (iv)):

- (i) *Non ci sono angeli che ci proteggono.* (existential, negated)
 neg there are angels that us protect
 'There are no angels who protect us.'
 (ii) *Lui è convinto che ci siano angeli che ci proteggono.* (existential, embedded)
 he is convinced that there are angels who us protect
 'He's convinced that there are angels who protect us.'
 (iii) **Non ecco gli angeli che ci proteggono.* (presentative, negated)
 neg ecco the angels that us protect
 (iv) **Lui è convinto che ecco gli angeli che ci proteggono.* (presentative, embedded)
 he is convinced that ecco the angels who us protect

The impossibility of being negated and embedded sets presentatives apart not only from existentials, but also from other types of clauses (cf. Lakoff 1987), and makes them similar to imperatives.

3 The structure of presentatives with *ecco*

The presentatives under investigation exhibit *ecco* followed by a noun phrase (DP or QP). In this section, I will argue that they also contain a null functional head T and a null locative predicate, which provide the time and location of the speaker. I will propose that they have a restricted interpretation because they receive their value from a temporal and a locative feature syntactically encoded in the left periphery of the clause.

My proposal consists of several independent components that I will introduce one at a time, both to highlight their independence and to make the exposition clearer.

3.1 Evidence for the presence of T

Based on evidence from pronominal clitics, I will make the following proposal:

Proposal 1: The structure of presentatives contains the functional head T.

As is well known, Italian has both strong and clitic pronouns.¹⁰ In presentatives, strong pronouns follow *ecco* as independent phonological words:

- (22) *Ecco me quando avevo cinque anni.*
 ecco me. acc when had five years
 'Here's me when I was five years old.'

Clitic pronouns, in contrast, cliticize onto *ecco*:

- (23) *Ecco-mi. / Ecco-ti. / Ecco-la.*
 ecco-me / ecco-you / ecco-her
 'Here I am.' / 'Here you are.' / 'Here she is.'

Since the seminal work of Kayne's (Kayne 1981, 1989, 1990, 1991), a widely accepted assumption about Italian clitics is that they are adjoined to a functional head in the inflectional domain of the clause.¹¹ Hence I propose that presentatives have a T head to which pronominal clitics are adjoined.¹²

¹⁰ See Kayne (1975) for an early, foundational study of the systematic differences between strong and clitic pronouns in French, and Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) for a more recent and broader investigation of the properties of different classes of pronouns in French, Italian, and a number of other languages.

¹¹ The proclitic versus enclitic order is taken to result from different extents of verb movement (Kayne 1991), with non-finite verbal forms raising to a higher position than finite verbal forms.

¹² Another possibility would be that clitics are adjoined to a functional head in the left periphery of the clause, like the heads proposed for phenomena that highlight the role of the speaker, such as the Speaker head in Giorgi (2010), or the Speech Act head in Haegeman and Hill (2013), Haegeman (2014), Hill (2014).

Assuming that the structure of the presentatives contains T makes the presence of clitics unremarkable. What is still puzzling is that clitics always lean on verbal elements in Italian,¹³ but here they lean onto *ecco*, which does not look like a verb: it does not exhibit the morphological properties that characterize finite or non-finite verbs (like tense and agreement marking; infinitival, participial, or gerundival morphology).¹⁴ Might *ecco* be a verb despite the lack of verbal morphology? Two pieces of evidence (independent of the behavior of clitics) suggest that it might be. The first one, pointed out in Casalicchio (2013), is that *ecco* takes the same range of complements as perceptual verbs:

- (24) a. *Ecco / vedo / sento Maria.*
 ecco / see. 1SG / hear. 1SG Maria
 ‘Here’s Maria’, ‘I see/hear Maria.’
 b. *Ecco / vedo / sento Maria che sale le scale.*
 ecco / see. 1SG / hear. 1SG Maria that climbs the stairs
 ‘Here’s Maria.’, ‘I see/hear Maria climbing the stairs.’
 c. *Ecco / vedo / sento Maria ubriaca.*
 ecco / see. 1SG / hear. 1SG Maria drunk
 ‘Here’s Maria drunk.’, ‘I see/hear Maria drunk.’

The second piece of evidence is that a strong pronoun following *ecco* bears accusative case, as we saw in (22).¹⁵ In many approaches to Case, this suggests that the structure contains an element with verbal features. In light of these considerations, I propose that we see *ecco* as a defective verb that only has an invariant form.¹⁶

¹³ Though clitic pronouns always cliticize onto verbs in Italian and many other well-known Romance languages, there is at least one variety of Romance where they also cliticize onto the past participle and on certain prepositions: Borgomanerese, spoken in Northern Italy and described extensively in Tortora (2014).

¹⁴ So-called “true imperatives” also lack tense marking and infinitival, participial, or gerundival morphology. They consist of a verbal root and a thematic vowel, which can be -a or -i, hence they differ from *ecco* in their morphology.

¹⁵ Default case is nominative (and not accusative) in Italian.

¹⁶ Italian has other defective verbs, such as *bisogna* (cf. Benincà and Poletto 1994) and *fa* (cf. Benincà et al. to appear), so *ecco* would not be the only one. Morin (1985) views French *voici* and *voilà* as invariant forms of a finite verb – present indicative forms (cf. also Bouchard 1988 and Morin 1988). The -o ending of *ecco* could be analyzed by today’s speakers as the first person singular morpheme of present tense indicative forms; but it could also be taken to be a default word marker, along the lines of Harris (1991). A wild speculation would be that *ecco* contains more than one morpheme: *e-*, a form of *essere* ‘be’, plus *-cco*, which could in turn consist of the locative morpheme *-c-* (as in the clitic locative form *ci*) plus the -o ending. I leave this as an unsupported speculation for now. Note that the Indoeuropeanist A. L. Prosdocimi studied Latin *ecce* and a colloquial imperative form (*cetto*) and proposed that *ecce* be viewed as an imperative with an incorporated locative (Paola Benincà, personal communication). Indeed, Casalicchio (2013) views Italian *ecco* as an imperative form.

3.2 Evidence for an indexical temporal element

The presentatives under discussion are interpreted as conveying that the entity denoted by the noun phrase is present at the time of the utterance. For example, if a speaker is on the phone and her children (somehow salient) arrive, she can utter (25) meaning that they entered the context where she is, at the time of the utterance:

- (25) *Ecco i ragazzi.*
 ecco the kids
 ‘Here are the kids.’

In other words, presentatives are interpreted as if they contained an indexical element that is interpreted as simultaneous to the utterance time, like *adesso* ‘now’.¹⁷

I propose that we capture the restricted temporal interpretation of presentatives as follows:¹⁸

Proposal 2: In presentatives, the functional head T is an indexical element.

The similarity between the temporal interpretation of presentatives and that of sentences containing an indexical temporal expression goes one step further. There is one case where indexicals are not interpreted in relation to the time of

¹⁷ Languages often exhibit both *indexical* and *anaphoric* temporal elements: the former can only get their interpretation from the context of utterance, while the latter can get it from the linguistic context. To exemplify this distinction, consider the contrast between an indexical like *domani* ‘tomorrow’ and an anaphoric temporal element like *il giorno dopo*, ‘the day after’ (Giorgi 2010):

- (i) *Gianni disse che sarebbe partito il giorno dopo.*
 Gianni said that would.be left the day after
 ‘Gianni said that he would leave the next day.’
 (ii) *Gianni disse che sarebbe partito domani.*
 Gianni said that would.be left tomorrow
 ‘Gianni said that he would leave tomorrow.’

The anaphoric temporal expression *il giorno dopo* is interpreted with respect to the time of Gianni’s speaking (if he spoke on December 25, it picks out December 26, even though the speaker might utter the sentence on December 30). In contrast, the indexical temporal expression *domani* ‘tomorrow’ is interpreted with respect to the time of the speaker; so, if the speaker utters the sentence on December 30, the indexical *domani* picks out December 31.

¹⁸ One reviewer suggests that we should test whether presentatives are compatible with *adesso* ‘now’: assuming that a temporal adverb can only merge in the presence of a TP, that would be evidence for postulating a null T. Presentatives with *adesso* are natural if they can be interpreted as pointing to a contrast between now and another point in time; for example, looking at two pictures of Lilliane, it would be possible to say:

- (i) *Ecco Lilliane adesso e quando era piccola.*
 ‘Here’s Lilliane now and when she was a child.’

the utterance: Free Indirect Discourse. This is a style in which the narrative takes the point of view of one of the characters in the story, as if that character had become the speaker/writer. As pointed out in the literature on this topic (Banfield 1982; Doron 1991; Schlenker 2004; Guéron 2006, 2007; Giorgi 2010; Eckardt 2015), in this style the verb is in the past tense, the character that is narrating is identified by means of a third person pronoun, and spatial and temporal indexicals are interpreted in relation to the coordinates of that character (and not in relation to the spatial and temporal coordinates of the writer of the sentence). We see this in the following examples, from Giorgi (2010: 183–185):

- (26) a. *It was, he now realized, because of this other incident that he had suddenly decided to come home and begin the diary today.* (Orwell, 1984, New York, Penguin, Ch.1)
 b. *Tomorrow was Monday, Monday, the beginning of another school week.* (Lawrence, *Women in Love*, London, Heinemann, 1971: 185)

As discussed in Giorgi (2010), narratives in Free Indirect Discourse in Italian exhibit the same characteristics as they do in English, with the verb in the past tense (the imperfect), the main character referred to with a third person pronoun, and spatial and temporal indexicals interpreted in relation to the coordinates of that character (the ‘internal source’, in Giorgi’s terms).

Interestingly, in Free Indirect Discourse presentatives with *ecco* behave like indexicals: their temporal interpretation is shifted to the time of the character that assumes the role of narrating:

- (27) *Stava passeggiando in silenzio, da sola. Ecco un momento di pace.*
 ‘She was strolling in silence, alone. Here was a moment of peace.’

In this case, the moment of peace is not at the time of the utterance, but rather at the time when the character was walking in silence. The proposal that presentatives contain a temporal indexical allows me to capture their restricted temporal interpretation and the fact that, in Free Indirect Discourse, their interpretation shifts.

The most straightforward way of expressing the interpretative restriction of a temporal indexical would be to invoke what is called a ‘context parameter’, which can be thought of as an n-tuple, $\langle c_t, c_p, c_w \rangle$, where c_t, c_p, c_w are, respectively, the time, the location, and the world of the context c .¹⁹ The restriction on the interpretation of T in presentatives could then be stated as a semantic restriction

¹⁹ Information concerning the speaker and addressee might also be included.

that does not have a syntactic representation: we can say that the temporal value of T must coincide with the temporal value provided by the context parameter.

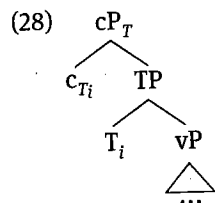
Alternatively, the restriction on the temporal interpretation of presentatives could be seen as rooted in their syntactic representation. As mentioned in the introduction, a significant body of recent literature addresses the question of whether any of the coordinates of the context parameter (time, location, speaker and addressee) are represented in the syntax. Let me review briefly the proposals by Sigurðsson (2004, 2014) and Giorgi (2010), which concern time/tense (time’s grammatical representation) and location.

Sigurðsson (2004, 2014) argues that all the elements of the context parameter are encoded in the syntax as features in the left periphery of the clause. In his view, there are features concerning the time of the utterance, T_s (S stands for ‘speech event’) and the location of the utterance or speech event, L_s , as well as features for the speaker and the addressee. Sigurðsson (2014: 178) proposes that T_s and L_s correspond to Fin, which, as the lowest category in the CP layer, appears above TP but below TopicP (Rizzi 1997).

Giorgi (2010) also proposes that the time of the utterance event is encoded in the syntax, in the CP layer. She discusses two cases. One is that of clauses (such as ‘John said that Mary is pregnant’) that exhibit a so-called ‘double access reading’, by which the eventuality denoted by the embedded clause (Mary’s pregnancy) needs to hold both at the time of the utterance (when the speaker is uttering the sentence) and at the time of the reported speech event (when John is speaking). For her, the characteristic property of these sentences is that the CP layer encodes what she calls the ‘coordinates of the speaker’, that is, information about the speaker’s time and location. The other case concerns Free Indirect Discourse, where indexicals are interpreted not with respect to the speaker or writer of the sentence, but to that of the character that is leading the narration, as we saw above. For these cases as well, she invokes a layer of structure that she calls the ‘informational layer’, at the left of the C-layer, where the information concerning the speaker or writer is replaced with the information concerning the character doing the narration. In Giorgi’s (2010) terms, in these cases the syntax encodes either the speaker’s coordinates or, in the case of narratives in Free Indirect Discourse, the coordinates of the internal source.

Building on these proposals, I suggest that we view the T of presentatives as dependent on some element in the left periphery that encodes the time of the utterance (in Giorgi’s terms, the time coordinates of the speaker). Both Sigurðsson and Giorgi envision such an element as a feature of one of the functional heads that make up CP, though they do not discuss empirical or theoretical evidence in support of associating this feature with a particular functional head. Because I also lack evidence to determine its exact structural position, I will leave this issue

open: it might be a feature within CP, or a feature in a functional layer above CP, which brings in contextual information. I will represent it as c_T :



Note that I am postulating that Italian presentatives have a T head that never has phonetic content and is always dependent for its interpretation on the temporal value of the context parameter. In this respect, it is reminiscent of PRO, which also lacks phonetic content and is referentially dependent on its antecedent. Livitz (2014) proposes that the silent nature of PRO is not an intrinsic property of this element, but rather a result of its syntactic properties. She argues that pronouns that are referentially dependent on a sufficiently local antecedent are featurally and structurally deficient, consisting of only a bundle of unvalued ϕ -features, and that this structural deficiency forces them to enter an Agree relation to acquire their values, while also allowing them to be silent (because their features are a subset of the features of the probe). Along these lines, we can think of the T of presentatives as a structurally deficient T, which is forced to enter an Agree relation with a higher head that values its features and allows it to remain silent.

3.3 The locative component

In addition to a characteristic temporal interpretation, presentatives also have a characteristic locative interpretation, namely 'in the same context as the speaker'. I will argue that they contain a locative element, as follows:²⁰

Proposal 3: Presentatives contain the locative [DEM reinf/REINF PLACE].

When an overt locative phrase is present, it is separated from what precedes it by an intonational break, similar to the break that separates a right dislocated element from the rest of the clause:

- (29) a. *Ecco le chiavi, per terra.*
 ecco the keys for ground
 'Here are the keys, on the ground.'

²⁰ The notation follows the convention of using small caps to indicate a phonetically null element.

- b. *Ecco la giacca di Gabriele, sulla sedia.*
 ecco the jacket of Gabriel on.the chair
 'There is Gabriel's jacket, on the chair.'

I take this as evidence that the overt locatives, when present, are adjuncts that provide additional information. Indeed the examples in (29) convey that the entity under discussion is in the same location as the speaker, with the overt locative specifying where exactly it is.

The postulation of a null locative element also finds indirect support in the fact that presentatives with *ecco* can exhibit an overt *qui* 'here' (also *qua*, *lì*, *là*, which indicate proximity to or distance from the speaker), as shown in (30):

- (30) a. *Ecco qui le chiavi, per terra.*
 ecco here the keys for ground
 'Here are the keys, on the ground.'
 b. *Ecco qui la giacca di Gabriele, sulla sedia.*
 ecco here the jacket of Gabriel on-the chair
 'Here is Gabriel's jacket, on the chair.'

Let me explain why. Outside of presentatives, in Italian, *qui* can occur alone with a locative interpretation, as in (31a), or with noun phrases introduced by demonstratives, as in (31b):

- (31) a. *Abito qui.*
 live here
 'I live here.'
 b. *questo libro qui*
 this book here
 'this here book'

I will adopt the proposal put forth in Kayne (2004) for the English counterparts of these elements, which takes them as being reinforcers of some (possibly null) noun. For Kayne, even when English *here* and *there* have a locative interpretation, as in (32), they are not to be analyzed as locatives themselves, but rather as reinforcers of an unpronounced noun. That is, they are the same kind of reinforcers as the ones that we find co-occurring with demonstratives in the nonstandard English constructions discussed in Bernstein (1997), given in (33):

- (32) *I live here and she lives there.*
 (33) a. *this here book, these here books*
 b. *that there book, those there books*

Kayne proposes that the English locatives *here* and *there* correspond to a more complex structure, with an unpronounced noun and an unpronounced

demonstrative. Using PLACE to indicate the unpronounced noun and THIS, THAT to represent the unpronounced demonstrative, he proposes that locative *here* and *there* have the structure indicated in (34):²¹

- (34) a. THIS *here* PLACE
b. THAT *there* PLACE

Adopting this analysis, I propose that in Italian, too, locatives consist of a null demonstrative, a null noun corresponding to PLACE, and an overt reinforcer, which I represent as in (35a) or, more abstractly, as in (35b):²²

- (35) a. QUESTO *qui* POSTO
THIS *here* PLACE
b. DEM reinf PLACE

Hence a declarative like (31a) contains a complex locative element consisting of a null demonstrative, a null noun and a phonetically overt reinforcer, most likely introduced by a null P:²³

- (36) *Abito* [P DEM *qui* PLACE]
live [P DEM *here* PLACE]
'I live here.'

Turning back to presentatives, I propose that they also contain a locative constituent that consists of a null demonstrative, a null noun corresponding to place, and a reinforcer. What is special is that, in presentatives, the reinforcer has the option of being null.

Moreover, I propose that the locative constituent and the noun phrase merge and form a small clause that has the noun phrase (DP or QP) as the subject and the locative as the predicate:²⁴

- (37) [_{Small Clause} XP_{Subject} YP_{Locative Predicate}]

²¹ Movement operations then alter the underlying order, but they are not strictly relevant to the present discussion and I will not describe them here.

²² Once again, I will omit discussion of further movements, as they are not strictly relevant.

²³ The reinforcers in Italian are *qui*, *qua*, *lì* and *là*, corresponding to English 'here' and 'there'. I will continue to limit my examples to *qui* for simplicity.

²⁴ In presentatives where *ecco* is followed by a clause, the clause will be the subject and the locative the predicate.

3.4 Restrictions on the locative interpretation

In presentatives, the location is always interpreted in relation to the speaker. If the subject refers to an entity, it is interpreted as being present in the context where the speaker is (38a); if the reinforcer is overt, it specifies whether the entity is close to (38b) or distant from the speaker (38c):

- (38) a. *Ecco Liliane.*
b. *Ecco qui Liliane.*
'Here's Liliane.'
c. *Ecco là Liliane.*
'There's Liliane.'

This interpretive restriction is not simply a subjective impression. Kandel (2015) devised and conducted a small but carefully designed experimental study and showed that, even when two locations are equally available from the context, the one near the speaker is favored. I will express this as the following component of my proposal:

Proposal 4: The locative predicate in presentatives is an indexical element.

Indeed, the locative predicate in presentatives always has an indexical interpretation and cannot have an anaphoric one, unlike other locatives. This can be seen in the examples that follow:

- (39) Speaker A to Speaker B, in a context that is not B's home:
Ho sentito che hai ospiti a casa.
'I heard that you have guests at home.'

Speaker B can follow up with a locative sentence like (40), providing further information concerning the guests who are at home. However, B could not felicitously use a presentative:

- (40) *Ci sono i miei genitori e mia sorella.* (locative sentence)
there are the my parents and my sister
'My parents and my sister are there.'

- (41) *#Ecco i miei genitori e mia sorella.* (presentative)
ecco the my parents and my sister
'Here're my parents and my sister.'

This shows that the locative sentence in (40) can be interpreted with the location interpreted as corresponding to the one previously introduced in the discourse ('My parents and my sister are at home') – anaphorically. In contrast, the presentative

in (41) cannot: even though the previous context explicitly mentioned a location, the presentative can only be interpreted as saying that the parents and sister are near the speaker (thus it is not an appropriate follow up to (39), as it does not provide information concerning the guests who are at home). In other words, while the location can be interpreted anaphorically in a locative sentence like (40), it can only be interpreted indexically in a presentative. This is encoded in Proposal 4.

Viewing the locative of presentatives as an indexical makes a prediction: since the interpretation of indexicals shifts in Free Indirect Discourse narratives, the locative interpretation of presentatives should also shift in those contexts. Indeed, it does: in narratives, the location is interpreted with respect to the place where the character leading the narration is, and not the place where the speaker is speaking or the writer is writing.

As we discussed in the case of T, there is more than one way to account for this restriction. It could be stated as a semantic restriction that does not necessarily have a syntactic representation: we can say that the value of the null locative predicate in presentatives must coincide with the locative value provided by the context parameter ($\langle c_p, c_p, c_w \rangle$).

Alternatively, we might think that this locative predicate gets its reference from an element that encodes the location of the speaker in the syntactic structure. This could be a single functional head that brings in the speaker's coordinates for time and location, as in Giorgi (2010), or two independent heads, each of which brings in one piece of information, as in Sigurðsson (2014).

Building on these proposals (as I did in the case of T), I suggest that we view the null locative of presentatives as dependent for its interpretation on some element in the left periphery that encodes the location of the speaker. This element might be a feature in the articulated structure of CP or in a higher functional layer. I will represent it as c_L , and indicate its relation with the locative predicate as one of co-indexation:

$$(42) c_{Lj} [T_i [_{\text{Small Clause}} \text{XP}_{\text{Subject}} \text{YP}_{\text{Locative Predicate}}]]$$

The structure in (42) gives us the base position of the subject and the predicate of the small clause contained in a presentative, but does not say anything about *ecco*, or about how we derive the word order that we see in the data. For example, in (43) we see that the locative reinforcer precedes the subject of the small clause if it is lexical, but follows it if it is a clitic pronoun:

- (43) a. *Ecco qui Liliane.*
 ecco here Liliane
 ‘Here’s Liliane.’

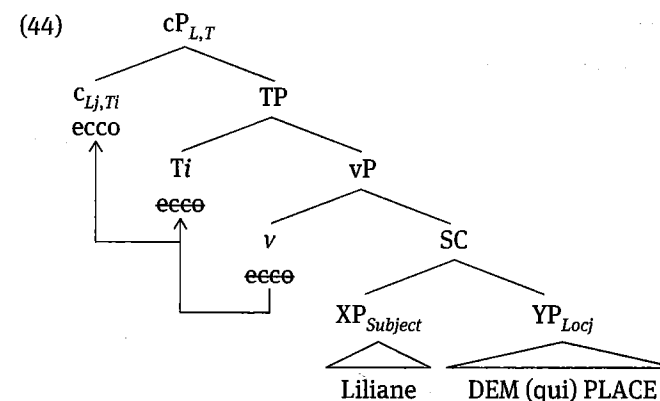
- b. *Ecco-la qui.*
 ecco-her here
 ‘Here she is.’

I will address the status of *ecco* in section 4 and the word order issues in section 5.

4 What is *ecco*?

Earlier I pointed out that *ecco* behaves like a verb in being able to host pronominal clitics and taking the same range of complements as perception verbs, but differs from a verb in that it is an invariant form lacking any marking for tense, aspect or agreement. Here I suggest that, in addition to having verbal features, *ecco* also spells out the temporal and locative feature of *c*. I view it as a defective verb that starts out in *v* and raises to *c*.

The features c_L and c_T bring in information concerning the time and place of the speaker and restrict the temporal and locative interpretation of the sentence. They may reside on two distinct functional heads²⁵ or on one, perhaps as a result of movement, as in the structure in (44):



²⁵ A single morpheme that spells out multiple adjacent heads would be an instance of “spanning” in the terms of Williams (2003), Svenonius (2012), Merchant (2015).

In this view, *ecco* takes as its complement a small clause, whose subject can be a noun phrase or a clause.²⁶ This way of thinking about *ecco* nicely captures the intuition that its semantic contribution comprises both a temporal and a locative component – ‘here and now’. When it co-occurs with a noun phrase, even if it does not denote a concrete, tangible object, as in (45), the interpretation is that the entity denoted by the noun phrase is present in the context where the speaker is:

- (45) a. *Ecco il fischio dell'arbitro.*
 ecco the whistle of.the.referee
 ‘Here’s the referee’s whistle.’
 b. *Ecco il canto della civetta.*
 ecco the singing of.the owl
 ‘Here’s the owl’s call.’

Similarly, when *ecco* takes a finite clause, both a locative and a temporal meaning are clearly present. The examples in (46) convey that a certain state of affairs holds here and now:²⁷

- (46) a. *Ecco che i presidenti si stringono la mano.*
 ecco that the presidents self squeeze the hand
 ‘The presidents are shaking hands here and now.’
 b. *Ecco che si mette a piovere.*
 ecco that self starts to rain. INF
 ‘It’s starting to rain here and now.’

In section 6 I will return briefly to the status of *ecco*, and compare it to other elements that have been argued to occur in a layer of syntactic structure higher than CP.

²⁶ Hill (2014: Ch.5) examines particles of direct address with injunctive and ostensive function in Romanian. She argues that, though they have verbal features, they do not originate in V or v but rather in the left-periphery of the clause: they are the spell-out of Speech Act heads. The Romanian particles *na* and *uite* seem particularly similar to Italian *ecco* because of their presentational function, though they differ in being able to take imperatives as their complement (*ecco* may co-occur with an imperative clause, but only with an intonational break separating the two). Hill (2014) analyzes *na* as selecting an imperative clause; when the imperative contains the verb for ‘take’, the verb can be deleted, and *na* can host a pronominal clitic; but *na* itself is said to have no argument structure and no TP field. Similarly, *uite* is analyzed as selecting an imperative with the verb for ‘look’; when the verb is deleted, the particle is the host for the clitic.

²⁷ In a narrative, the proposition is interpreted as holding at the time of the narrated event, as also noted in Casalicchio (2013). We see an example below, from the Gospel of Matthew:

(i) *E Gesù, emesso un alto grido, spirò. Ed ecco il velo del tempio si squarciò in due.* (Matteo, 27: 50–51) ‘Then Jesus shouted out again, and released his spirit. And behold, the curtain of the temple was torn in two.’

5 Comparison with locative sentences

I will now further probe the syntax of presentatives by comparing them with locative sentences that in some respects form a minimal pair with them: ‘locative *ci*-sentences’ (Cruschina 2012).

Italian has two types of locative sentences. One consists of a noun phrase, a form of the copula and a locative element:

- (47) a. *Maria è in giardino.*
 Maria is in garden
 ‘Maria is in the garden.’
 b. *Mio papà è in cucina.*
 my dad is in kitchen
 ‘My dad is in the kitchen.’

The other consists of a noun phrase, a form of the copula, the clitic pronoun *ci* ‘there’ and an optional locative element:

- (48) a. *C’è Maria (in giardino).*
 there.is Maria in garden
 ‘Maria is in the garden.’
 b. *C’è mio papà (in cucina).*
 there.is my father in kitchen
 ‘My father is in the kitchen.’

Cruschina (2012) labels sentences like (48) locative *ci*-sentences. Though they resemble existential sentences, they differ from them in being able to have a definite noun phrase (Moro 1997a; Zucchi 1995; Zamparelli 2000), and having a clearly locative interpretation.

The presentatives we have been examining resemble locative *ci*-sentences in being able to have a definite noun phrase and having a locative interpretation. However, they also exhibit some interesting differences. I will devote this section to examining two of these differences:

1. Locative *ci*-sentences can introduce new entities:

- (49) a. *Senti! C’è qualcuno alla porta.* (locative *ci*-sentence)
 listen there.is someone at.the door
 ‘Listen! There’s someone at the door.’
 b. *Guarda! C’è una volpe in giardino!*
 loo there.is a fox in garden
 ‘Look! There’s a fox in the yard.’

In contrast, as we discussed in section 2, presentatives cannot:

- (50) a. *Senti! *Ecco qualcuno alla porta.* (presentative)
listen ecco someone at.the door
b. *Guarda! *Ecco una volpe in giardino!*
look ecco a fox in garden

Sentences like those in (50) can be used felicitously only if the previous discourse context contains mention of someone being expected, or of an animal in the backyard, as in (51):

- (51) a. *Gli ospiti dovrebbero cominciare ad arrivare. (...) Ecco qualcuno alla porta.*
'The guests should be about to arrive. (...) Here's someone at the door.'
b. *A volte degli animali arrivano fino a qui, e vengono in giardino a cercar da mangiare. (...) Ecco una volpe in giardino!*
'Sometimes animals come all the way here and come inside our backyard looking for something to eat. (...) Here's a fox in our yard!'

The noun phrase that follows *ecco*, even when indefinite, must pick out an entity whose existence has been previously mentioned or can be inferred from the context.

2. Locative *ci*-sentences are appropriate answers to questions concerning the nominal element, while presentatives are not:

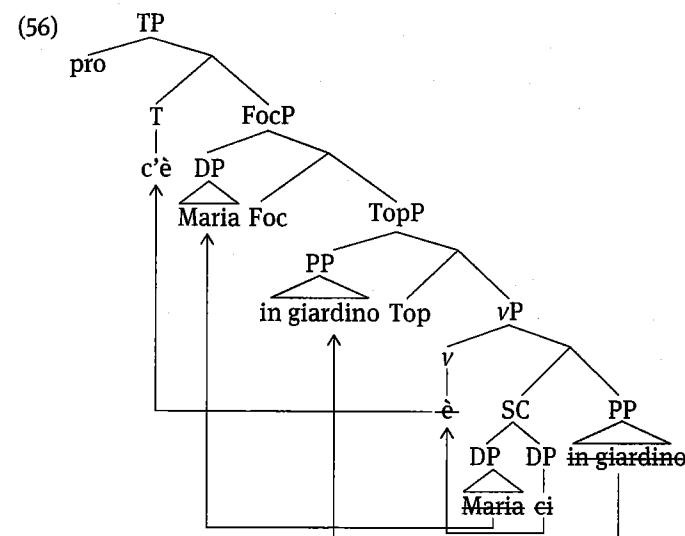
- (52) a. *Chi c'è?*
who there.is
'Who's there?'
b. *C'è Gianni (in cucina).* (locative *ci*-sentence)
there.is Gianni (in kitchen).
'Gianni (in the kitchen).'
c. **Ecco Gianni.* (presentative)
- (53) a. *Cosa c'è in garage?*
what there.is in garage
'What's in the garage?'
b. *Ci sono le macchine di Maria e Gianni.* (locative *ci*-sentence)
there are the cars of Maria and Gianni
'Maria's and Gianni's cars.'
c. **Ecco le macchine di Maria e Gianni.* (presentative)
ecco the cars of Mary and Gianni

Presentatives can answer questions concerning the location of an entity (or the time of an event), directly or indirectly, something that locative *ci*-sentences cannot do:

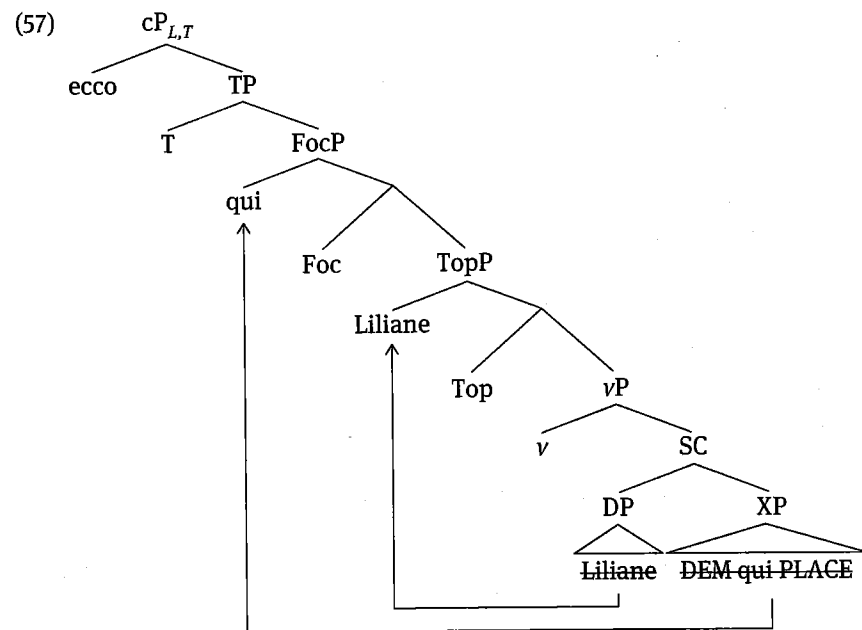
- (54) a. *Dove sono le chiavi?*
where are the keys
'Where are the keys?'
b. *Eccole.* 'Here they are.' (presentative)
c. **Ci sono (qui / in cucina).* (locative *ci*-sentence)
there are (here / in kitchen)
- (55) a. *A che ora arriva Gianni?*
at what time arrives Gianni
'At what time will Gianni get here?'
b. *Eccolo.* 'Here he is.' (presentative)
**C'è (qui / in cucina).* (locative *ci*-sentence)
there.is (here / in kitchen)

In sum: the entity denoted by the noun phrase is new in locative *ci*-sentences, old in presentatives; the information concerning location is old in locative *ci*-sentences, new in presentatives.

Let us start from the analysis of locative sentences of the type exemplified in (47). Following Moro (1997b, 2000), we assume that they contain a small clause with *Maria* as the subject and *in giardino* as the predicate, and that the subject raises to a subject position higher than the copula. Next consider the locative *ci*-sentences in (48). Cruschina (2012) (building on Moro 2009) proposes a derivation in which the subject of the small clause moves to a clause-internal FocusP:



Now we turn to the presentatives under investigation. I propose a derivation that is similar to the one for a locative *ci*-sentence, but with one crucial difference: in the case of presentatives it is the locative predicate, not the subject, that moves to a clause-internal FocusP:



This derivation can account for the two properties of presentatives we highlighted earlier. (i) The fact that the noun phrase must be discourse-old is captured by viewing it structurally as a topic (it moves to the specifier of TopicP). (ii) The fact that the information concerning the location is new follows if the locative predicate is focused (it moves to the specifier of FocusP). This derivation also accounts for the fact that non-specific indefinites (like 'someone, something') are not possible, as we saw in (19): they could not possibly be topics.

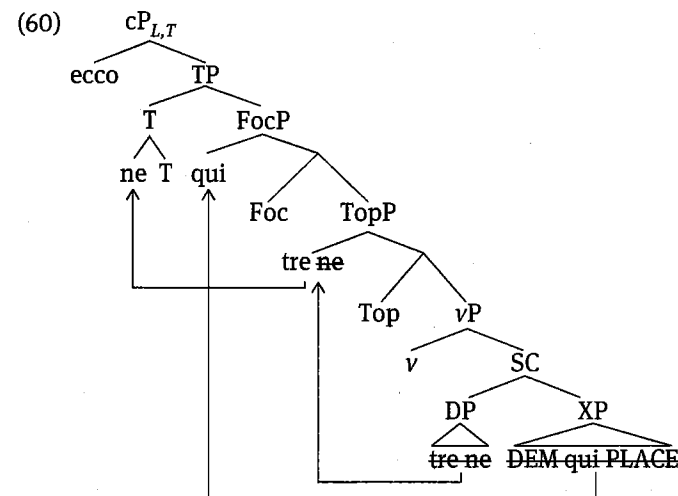
Moreover, it accounts for the word order we see in presentatives, in particular the different position exhibited by the noun phrase when it is lexical and when it is a clitic pronoun. When the reinforcer *qui* is overt, a lexical noun phrase follows it (*ecco – qui – lexical DP*), as in (58):

- (58) *Ecco qui Liliane.*
 ecco here Liliane
 'Here's Liliane.'

In contrast, a clitic precedes the reinforcer *qui* (*ecco – clitic – qui*), as in (59):

- (59) a. *Ecco-la qui.*
 ecco-her here
 'Here she is.'
 b. *Ecco-ne qui tre.*
 ecco-PART here three
 'Here's three of them.'

This contrast in word order follows straightforwardly from the structure assigned to presentatives, in combination with independently established differences between lexical noun phrases and clitic pronouns: the former can stay low in the structure (in presentatives, they move to the specifier of the low TopicP projection); the latter are structurally higher, adjoined to T. If the reinforcer *qui* is in the specifier of the FocusP, it is in a position lower than a clitic but higher than a lexical noun phrase, hence it will follow a clitic but precede a lexical noun phrase in linear order:



6 Summary and further issues

6.1 Summary

This work addresses the question of whether and when information concerning the speaker is encoded in the syntax. I focused on Italian presentatives like (61), which convey that the entity denoted by the noun phrase (already present in the

discourse, or inferrable from the context) is salient at the time and place of the speaker:

- (61) *Ecco (qui) Liliane.*
'Here's Liliane.'

The 'here and now' interpretation seems to come from *ecco*, yet I showed that *ecco* does not have the distribution of a temporal or spatial adverb or PP. I argued that the syntactic structure of presentatives contains features that encode information usually thought to be supplied outside the syntax by the context parameter – in particular, features that express the time and the location of the speaker – and that these features, encoded in the left periphery, are spelled out as *ecco*.

In my analysis, *ecco* contributes to the locative and temporal meaning through two null elements that it c-commands: a null T, and a locative constituent headed by a null noun with locative meaning. The reasoning can be summarized as follows:

- Evidence for the presence of a phonetically null T comes from the fact that clitic pronouns can occur in presentatives (as in *Eccola!* 'Here she is'). Given the well-supported assumption that clitics adjoin to T in Italian, postulating the presence of a phonetically null T is less problematic than postulating that clitics have exceptional behavior in these clauses. This null T is similar to an indexical element like 'now' in that its interpretation is restricted to the time when the speaker is speaking (or, in Free Indirect Discourse, the time when the main character is speaking). I capture this by viewing the null T as dependent for its tense value on a feature in the left-periphery that expresses the time of the speaker (c_T).
- Evidence for the presence of a null locative element comes from the following observations: overt locative adverbs or PPs are separated from the presentative by a comma intonation, suggesting that they are adjuncts; only *qui* (*qua*, *lì*, *là*) can be part of the same intonational phrase as *ecco* and its complement. Following Kayne (2004), I analyze *qui* and its counterparts as reinforcers of a null noun denoting place. I take their presence within the same intonational phrase as *ecco* as evidence for the presence of a null locative constituent in presentatives. I further suggest that we view the null locative as dependent for its interpretation on a feature in the left-periphery that expresses the location of the speaker (c_L).

6.2 Further issues

There are several issues left open and worth mentioning. One concerns the exact nature of the relation that holds between the features in the left periphery (c_T , c_L) and the null T and null locative whose interpretation they restrict. A second issue concerns the cross-linguistic extension of my proposal: assuming that I have correctly identified the 'ingredients' of a presentative, we should expect to find them in other languages as well. Is there cross-linguistic evidence in support of the structure I proposed for Italian presentatives? In particular, do we find evidence for the components of the null locative that I postulated, or for T? I cannot provide a full answer to this question here, but I have reasons to think that the answer is positive. Petit (2010) points out that four strategies seem to exist for expressing presentatives across languages: (i) a locative element in co-occurrence with a form of *be*, such as English *here's* or German *hier ist*; (ii) a demonstrative, such as Polish *oto* or Serbo-Croatian *evo*; (iii) forms that can be traced back to imperatives meaning 'see' or 'look', such as English *lo* (from *look*) and *behold*, French *voici* and *voilà* (from *vois ci*, *vois là* 'look here, look there'); (iv) forms like Latin *ecce*, for which the etymological relation with a predicate is no longer transparent. The presence of locatives and demonstratives certainly supports the proposal put forth in this paper. Moreover, the fact that some presentatives are expressed using an overt form of the copula provides support for the presence of T in the structure of presentatives. Finally, the use of forms originally derived from verbs with the function of getting the addressee's attention supports the idea that presentatives involve a layer of syntactic structure higher than CP, where such elements have been argued to be (see Haegeman and Hill 2013, and Hill 2014).²⁸

Going back to Italian presentatives, they have another interesting property: they cannot have a goal argument realized as a PP (62), but they may have a dative clitic (63). This dative clitic can only refer to the addressee: it can be 2nd person, singular or plural, or a formally 3rd person singular clitic that refers to the addressee (the so-called 'polite form', shown in [63c]). But it

²⁸ See also Kandel (2015) for a comparison between Italian *ecco* and the Romanian verb-based particles of address discussed in Hill (2014).

cannot be a form that refers to someone other than the addressee, as we see in (64):

- (62) **Ecco le chiavi a te.*
ecco the keys to you

- (63) a. *Ecco-ti le chiavi.*
ecco-you. SG.FAMILIAR the keys
b. *Ecco-vi le chiavi.*
ecco-you. PL.FAMILIAR the keys
c. *Ecco-Le le chiavi.*
ecco-you. SG.POLITE the keys
'Here are the keys for you.'

- (64) a. **Ecco-mi le chiavi.*
ecco-me the keys
b. **Ecco-gli le chiavi.*
ecco-him the keys

This dative clitic is not an argument, and shares some of the properties of ethical datives. Due to time and space restrictions, I will leave this as something to investigate at a later date.

The final issue that I want to mention is the following: I chose to analyze *ecco* as a morpheme that reflects the syntactic encoding of contextual information because I want to account for the 'here and now' interpretation of presentatives. One might object that this amounts to creating a new syntactic category just for *ecco*. But this is not the case. In my view *ecco* is a member of a class of elements that express syntactically encoded information about the context, and are in the left periphery of the clause (above CP). Evidence in support of the existence of such a class of elements comes from different empirical domains. I will briefly discuss two here:

(1) Haegeman and Hill (2013) examine verb-based discourse particles in West Flemish and Romanian that express the speaker's relation to the addressee and argue that they are part of the syntactic structure of the clause, as they exhibit strict ordering restrictions and can show agreement.²⁹ In particular, they view them as part of a layer of syntactic structure above the CP domain, which they represent building on (and modifying) the proposal in Speas and Tenny (2003).

²⁹ For example, the Romanian particles *hai* and *lasă* can bear 2nd person singular and plural agreement, as well as 1st person plural marking. They may co-occur, but only in a fixed order; when they co-occur, the agreement marker can only occur on the second particle.

(2) Oyharçabal (1993) discusses the presence of a special agreement marker in Basque that conveys whether the addressee is a peer of the speaker or has higher status, is male or female:³⁰

- (65) a. To a male friend:
Pettek lan egin dik. (Basque)
Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF aux-3.S.ABS.2.S.C.MSC.ALLOC-3.S.ERG
'Peter worked.'
b. To a female friend:
Pettek lan egin din.
Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF aux-3.S.ABS.2.S.C.FEM.ALLOC-3.S.ERG
'Peter worked.'
c. To someone older or higher in status:
Pettek lan egin dizü.
Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF aux-3.S.ABS.2.S.F.ALLOC-3.S.ERG
'Peter worked.'

Miyagawa (2012) argues that allocutive agreement is truly syntactic on the basis of the observation that it competes with 2nd person subject and object agreement (i.e., if the auxiliary already marks agreement with a 2nd person subject or object, allocutive agreement cannot be expressed). Like Haegeman and Hill (2013), he also builds on Speas and Tenny (2003) and provides an analysis of allocutive agreement involving a syntactic layer above CP that encodes information about speaker and addressee traditionally relegated to the semantic and pragmatic component.

Ecco shares with the elements just mentioned the properties that it expresses information concerning the speaker and that it cannot be embedded:

- (66) **Ti dico che ecco Maria.*
you tell that ecco Maria
(intended meaning:) 'I'm telling you that Maria is here now.'

I see my proposal that Italian *ecco* is the realization of features expressing the time and location of the speaker as being in line with the observations and results of these other works: they all show that information concerning the context of utterance is sometimes encoded syntactically, in the left periphery of the clause.

³⁰ Umbundu, a Bantu language, is also said to have allocutive agreement; cf. Hill (2014) and references therein.

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