ECCO-LOCATION

The Italian presentative *ecco* and its spatial interpretation

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Submitted to the faculty of
the Department of Linguistics in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

Yale University
April 2015

Abstract:

Presentative elements such as the Italian lexical item *ecco* display peculiar properties that have caused them to resist precise syntactic analysis. Indeed, although *ecco* is one of the most frequently used words in the Italian language, the syntax of sentences containing *ecco* is little understood. In order to improve the understanding of such sentences, the present paper provides an exploration of the properties of *ecco*, with particular emphasis on constructions that combine *ecco* with a following noun phrase, which I refer to as the *ecco-NP* construction.

The paper is split into three parts. The first part provides a descriptive overview of *ecco*, discussing its status as a presentative as well as its distribution and the general properties of the *ecco-NP* construction.

In the second part, I discuss the spatial interpretation of *ecco*-sentences, identifying a relation between their interpretation and the coordinates of the speaker and suggesting that recent linguistic proposals encoding pragmatic features (including speaker information) into the syntactic structure may serve as a way to explain this correlation. Comparisons between *ecco* and other lexical items proposed to occupy positions within the syntax-pragmatics interface reveal similarities that support the hypothesis that *ecco* may belong in a speaker-associated syntactic position.

In the final part, I describe a study that I executed to help disambiguate how the spatial interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction is determined. The study probed for interpretive biases in cases of potential ambiguity and provides empirical evidence for a special relation between *ecco* and the coordinates of the speaker. This result supports the hypothesis that *ecco* occupies a speaker-associated syntactic position.

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Introduction: The Italian *ecco*

Although the Italian lexical item *ecco* is one of the most frequently used words in the language (De Cesare 2010:105; De Mauro et al. 1993), the syntax of sentences containing *ecco* ('*ecco*-sentences') remains little understood. The lexical item originates from the Latin verbal form ECCE ('Lo!'/'Behold!'), which was used to introduce a nominative or accusative NP with the meaning 'Look!', as in 1 (Kragh & Strudsholm 2013:215).

(1)   ECCE HOMO/HOMINEM
          'Behold the man'

 The demonstrative ECCE was later replaced in Vulgar Latin by the form ECCUM (Rohlfs 1969:257; Serianni 1997:356), which is a composite of the forms ECCE + EUM ('behold' + 'him'). It is from this Latin term that the modern Italian *ecco* is derived (Kragh & Strudsholm 2013:215, De Cesare 2011).

In its modern usage, the Italian *ecco* has been attested in both spoken and written contexts (cf. De Cesare 2011, 2010; Kragh & Strudsholm 2013),[1] and it is employed in a variety of different ways. *Ecco* can appear on its own, constituting an independent utterance (as in 2) or it can be followed by assorted subordinate structures. These structures can take the form of a noun phrase– either with a lexical (3a, 3c) or pronominal head (3b)– a pseudo-relative clause (called a 'deictic relative clause' by Kragh & Strudsholm 2013) (4), an infinitival clause (5a), a finite clause (5b-c), or a headless relative clause (called an 'interrogative clause' by De Cesare 2010:100) (5d-g; from Sabatini & Coletti 1997).

(2)   Ecco!

(3)   a. Ecco Maria!
              ecco Maria
                'Here/There's Maria!'
          b. Ecco lei! / Eccola!
              ecco her / ecco-her
                'Here/There she is!'

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[1] Interestingly, De Cesare (2011) estimates that *ecco* is approximately ten times more prevalent in spoken contexts than in written contexts.

     c. Ecco la mia giacca!
       ecco the my jacket
        'Here's/There's my jacket!'

(4)   a. Ecco Maria che arriva.
       ecco Maria that arrive.3SG
        'Now Maria is arriving'

     b. Eccola che arriva in ritardo.
       ecco-her that arrive.3SG in late
        'She's arriving late now'

     c. Ecco il professore che perde la patienza.
       ecco the professor that lose.3SG the patience
        'Now the professor is losing his patience'

(5)   a. Ecco avanzare la sposa. [De Cesare 2010:110]
       ecco arrive.INF the bride
        'Here comes the bride'

     b. Ecco che esce il sole. [Zanuttini 2014:4]
       ecco that come-out.3SG the sun
        'Here comes the sun'/'Now the sun's coming out'

     c. Ecco che il professore perde la patienza.
       ecco that the professor lose.3SG the patience
        'Now the professor is losing his patience'

     d. Ecco perché non sono più venuto.
       ecco why neg be.1SG anymore come.PP
        'Here's/That's/See why I did not come anymore'

     e. Ecco come sono andate le cose.
       ecco how be.1SG come.PP the things
        'Here's how things went'

     f. Ecco chi può andarci.
       ecco who can.3SG go.INF-there
        'Here's who can go there'

     g. Ecco quale proposta ci fanno.
       ecco which proposal to.us make.3PL
        'Here's which proposal they made us'

As seen in the examples above, *ecco* does not have a direct translation into English, though it is most commonly translated as 'here/there's' or 'now'. In each sentence, *ecco* appears to have an OSTENSIVE function; it may be used presentationally to introduce an entity or event or it may serve as an evidential hortative with the general meaning 'look' used to draw attention to some entity or event (Kragh & Strudsholm 2013:214). When *ecco* appears on its own, as in 2, it does not provide any information regarding the nature of the entity or event to which it is calling attention, nor does it

provide any specification regarding its location (it does not provide any information about the general direction of the entity, whether it is close or far from the speaker or hearer, etc.); rather, it serves a pure ostensive, or pointing, function (De Cesare 2010:112). The ostensive property of *ecco* has lead several linguists to propose that the lexical item falls within the pragmatic class of presentatives, a proposal further discussed in §1 of Part I.

In addition to the usages described above, *ecco* can also appear as a discourse marker, in which case it can appear in various locations within an utterance; it may appear utterance-initially (6a), mid-utterance (6b), or utterance-finally (6c-d).

(6)   [Bazzanella 1995:231, 227, 252; emphasis added]
   a. **Ecco**, cioè, voglio dire, non sono del tutto d'accordo.
        'ECCO, that is, I want to say, I don't completely agree'
   b. La verità, **ecco**, non so se posso dirtela.
        'The truth, ECCO, I don't know if I can tell you that'
   c. Sei proprio indisponente, **ecco**.
        'You are really sullen/irritating, ECCO'
   d. È una questione difficile, **ecco**… Non so proprio che cosa cosigliarti.
        'It's a difficult question, ECCO… I don't know what to advise you'

In instances when *ecco* functions as a discourse signal, it is realized as a separate intonation-information unit from the rest of the sentence (De Cesare 2010:111). This usage of *ecco* has been shown to be the most prevalent realization of *ecco* in spoken language (cf. De Cesare 2010, 2011). Depending on the context as well as *ecco*'s position within the utterance, the lexical item can have different interpretations (cf. Bazzanella 1995; De Cesare 2010: 115); in an utterance-initial position, it may express disappointment or resume the principal topic of conversation (with a meaning similar to the Italian *dunque* 'therefore'/'thus'); in final position, *ecco* may be used to comment on, justify, or mitigate previous statements; and *ecco* may also appear within the utterance to fill moments of uncertainty or transition.

The present analysis

The present paper provides an investigation of the properties of the Italian *ecco* and the way that it is interpreted, with particular emphasis on the *ecco + NP* (hereafter *ecco-NP*) construction. The body of the analysis is broken up into three sections:

Part I serves as a descriptive overview of *ecco*. In §1, I discuss *ecco*'s status as a presentative item, comparing it to the established French presentatives *voici/voilà*. In §2, I explore the general properties of *ecco* and the presentative *ecco-NP* construction including how and when it may be used.

In Part II, I discuss the spatial interpretation of *ecco-NP* sentences and their apparent bias towards the coordinates of the speaker (§1). I introduce recent proposals that encode pragmatic information about the speaker into syntactic structure, which may help shed light on this relation (§2). Comparisons between *ecco* and other lexical items proposed to occupy speaker-associated syntactic positions reveal similarities that support the hypothesis that *ecco* too belongs in such a position (§3).

Part III of the paper describes a study probing for biases in the spatial interpretation of *ecco* in search of empirical evidence to help explain how the location of the NP referent in an *ecco-NP* presentation is determined. Although further investigation is necessary for fully conclusive results, the data indicate a bias in the interpretation of the construction that suggests a special relation between *ecco* and the coordinates of the speaker. This result supports the hypothesis that *ecco* occupies a speaker-associated syntactic position.

Part I: A descriptive overview of *ecco*

1 *Ecco* as a presentative

Sentences such as those in 3-5 suggest that *ecco* serves a presentational function of introducing an entity or event into the discourse. In fact, similar lexical items in other languages, such as the French *voici* ('here is') and *voilà* ('there is'), are often classified as PRESENTATIVES in the linguistic literature (Porheil 2012; Oppermann-Marsaux 2006).

(7)　PRESENTATIVE: a lexical item that serves the pragmatic presentative function of introducing and directing the addressee's attention to one or more entities, situations, or ideas.[2]

A similar status has been hypothesized for the Italian *ecco* (cf. Kragh & Strudsholm 2013; De Cesare 2011).

Through an investigation of the morphosyntactic, lexical, textual, enunciative, and pragmatic properties displayed by the French *voici/voilà*,[3] Porhiel (2012) established a set of five criteria that can be used to analyze and identify when the item used as a presentative. These criteria are listed below (quoted from Porhiel 2012:441).

(8)　i)　*Voilà* introduces a referent and poses [i.e. presupposes] its existence;
　　ii)　*Voilà* can have a textual function (textual level) [pointing to a non-physical referent] or a non textual function (perceptual level) [pointing to an extra-linguistic entity];
　　iii)　*Voilà* introduces a discrete or a non-discrete referent;
　　iv)　*Voilà* introduces a referent linguistically or non-linguistically expressed;
　　v)　*Voilà* presents or represents (the writer's viewpoint is taken into account)

Ecco constructions share these five properties (as discussed in §1.1-1.5), thereby implying that they too fall within the presentative class.[4] In fact, De Cesare (2011)

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[2] The class of presentatives is sometimes considered to be a subcategorization of a broader INTRODUCER class (cf. Grevisse 1988:1591).

[3] Although *voici* and *voilà* historically have two distinct uses, the former being used to present nearby referents and the latter to present more remote referents, in modern French the two items are for the most part interchangeable (Porhiel 2012:437); they will thus be used interchangeably for the purposes of this paper.

[4] For the sake of consistency, my discussion of *ecco* in the present section will employ the same terminology used by Porhiel (2012) to describe the properties of *voilà*; the use of such terminology will allow me to draw a more consistent parallel between the properties of *ecco* and Porhiel's (2012) observations regarding the French presentative.

concludes through a corpus study of spoken and written French and Italian that *ecco* and *voilà* share almost all of the same usages.[5]

1.1 The presentative introduces a referent and poses its existence

As shown in 9 and 10, sentences containing *ecco* and those containing *voilà* can both be used to present an entity; these entities may either be concrete (9a-b, 10a-b) or abstract (9c, 10c).

(9)   a. Voilà   Martin.
              voilà   Martin
                 'There's Martin'
        b. Voici   mon chapeau.
              voici   my   hat
                 'Here's my hat'
        c. Voici une idée.
              voici   an   idea
                 'Here's an idea'

(10)   a. Ecco Martin.
              ecco Martin
                 'Here/There's Martin'
        b. Ecco il   mio cappello.
              ecco the my   hat
                 'Here's my hat'
        c. Ecco un' idea.
              ecco an idea
                 'Here's an idea'

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[5] The notable exception is that the French *voici* and *voilà* can be used to refer to temporal expressions, whereas *ecco* cannot, as shown in (i).

(i)   [from De Cesare 2011; emphasis added]
        a. **Voilà plus de quatre ans** que, chaque matin, Bernard Guetta propose aux auditeurs de France Inter sa vision de l'actualité internationale. [MD, 11.1995]
              'For over four years, every morning, Bernard Guetta has offered listeners of France Inter his vision of international news'
        b. […] le gouvernement allemend a adopté **voici quelques années** une politique d'incitation […] [MD, 5.2009]
              '…a few years ago, the German government adopted an incentive policy…'
        c. *il governo Tedesco ha adottato **ecco qualche anno** […]
              '…a few years ago, the German government adopted…'

Porhiel (2012) places *voilà*-sentences introducing temporal complements outside of the category of *voilà*-presentatives, however, so this difference in usage does not affect *ecco*'s status as a presentative element.

Porhiel (2012:442) asserts that in *voilà*-presentative constructions, the "presented referent must first and foremost exist [or be believed to exist] before being introduced into the extra-linguistic context." For instance, it would not be licit to utter the sentence in 11a if there is no bucket nearby [from Porhiel 2012:442]. The same holds true for sentences with *ecco*; it is not possible to utter 11b if there is no bucket.

(11)   a.   Ah! violà un seau.
                'Ah! here is a bucket'
        b.   Ah! ecco un secchio!
                'Ah! here's a bucket!'

Although not explicitly stated by Porhiel (2012), the above example seems not only to require the existence of the bucket, but also its presence within the utterance context; this requirement of *ecco*-sentences is further discussed in §2.1.1.

Porhiel (2012:443) suggests that this restriction on the existence of the introduced referent inhibits declarative sentences containing presentatives like *ecco* or *voilà* from being negated; the entity introduced by the presentative is presumed to exist within the context, therefore it is not possible to negate its existence.

(12)   a.   [Porhiel 2012:443]
                *Ne voilà pas   un seau
                 neg voilà not   a   bucket
        b.   *Non   ecco un secchio
                 neg   ecco a   bucket

A presentative sentence thus serves as an implied statement of the existence of the referent in addition to a presentation of the referent; the speaker and hearer both accept and pose the existence of the referent.[6]

1.2 The presentative can have a textual or non-textual function

Porhiel (2012) explains that *voilà* can either be used on a "non-textual level" to point to extra-linguistic entities (consider the sentences in 9a-b above) or on a "textual-level" to point to referents that are not physically present but can be deduced from the

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[6] Interestingly, this condition does not require that the referent actually be produced or correctly identified in order for the utterance to be licit; it only requires that the speaker have the intention to produce or present the referent (Porhiel 2012:443). It is also possible for the referent not to be physically present or produced in make-believe situations (Porhiel 2012:443).

linguistic environment. For instance, the French *voici* and *voilà* can be used to refer to sequences of text that precede or follow it, as in 13 below [from Porhiel 2012:444].

(13)   a. Voici l'origine de cette phrase: […]   [Hergé 1974:21]
           'The origin of this saying is as follows: […]'
       b. […] Et voilà toute mon histoire, monsier Rastapopoulos.   [Hergé 1955:17]
           '[…] So there you are, Mr. Rastapopoulos. That's my story.'

In 13a, *voici* is said to have a prospective function (looking forward to a referent about to be presented), whereas in 13b *voilà* is said to have a retrospective function (looking back to a referent that has already been expressed); in this manner, textual-level presentatives can have anaphoric or cataphoric functions.

Similarly, *ecco* can be used with a non-textual function to refer to extra-linguistic entities (as in 10a-c) as well as with a textual function (cf. De Cesare 2011), as shown in the examples below.

(14)   a. Ecco l'origine di questa espressione…
           'The origin of this saying is as follows…'
       b. … Ed ecco tutta la mia storia.
           '…So that's my story'

Ecco serves a prospective (cataphoric) function in 14a and a retrospective (anaphoric) function in 14b.

1.3 The presentative introduces a discrete or a non-discrete referent

Porhiel (2012) observes that the types of referents that a *voilà*-presentative may introduce can be divided into two categories: they may either be discrete units that are spatially located, such as *mon livre* ('my book') in 15a, or non-discrete units that cannot be spatially located, such as *la nuit* ('the night') in 15b. The same is true of *ecco*, as shown in 16.

(15)   a. Voilà mon livre.
           'Here/There's my book'
       b. Voilà la nuit.
           'Now it is night'

(16)   a. Ecco il mio libro.
           'Here/There's my book'
       b. Ecco la notte.
           'Now it is night'

1.4 The presentative introduces a referent either linguistically or non-linguistically expressed

The referent pointed to by a *voilà*-presentative may be either linguistically expressed (typically in the form of a NP) or it may be left unexpressed, in which case the referent is clear from the pragmatic context. Consider the following scenario.

(17)　A train passenger has taken his seat, and the conductor is walking up the aisle checking tickets. When the conductor reaches the passenger, the passenger may either respond:
　　a.　Voici mon billet. [presenting the conductor with the ticket]
　　　　'Here's my ticket'
　　b.　Voilà. [presenting the conductor with the ticket]
　　　　'Here you go'

In both 17a and 17b, it is clear that the speaker is presenting his ticket, though the presented referent is only linguistically expressed in 17a.

The same paradigm holds for *ecco*-sentences; the referent presented by *ecco* may be either expressed or unexpressed. For instance, if the passenger from 17 were Italian, he would be able to respond either 18a or 18b.

(18)　a.　Ecco il mio biglietto. [presenting the conductor with the ticket]
　　　　'Here's my ticket'
　　b.　Ecco. [presenting the conductor with the ticket]
　　　　'Here you go'

1.5 The presentative presents or represents

According to Porhiel (2012), the presentative *voilà* can have two different interpretations when it s used on a non-textual level to point to a perceptual extra-linguistic entity: it may either present or represent the referent. In instances of presentation, *voilà* is used to draw the listener's attention to an entity, asking him/her to look at it (as in 19). In instances of representation, on the other hand, *voilà* is used to point to an entity with the purpose of commenting on that entity (as in 20); the speaker perceives an entity and then relates/represents it to the listener.

(19)　[Porhiel 2012:448]
　　a.　Voici Monsieur Tintin, un de vos compatriotes …　　　　[Hergé 1947:42]
　　　　'Here is Mr. Tintin, one of your compatriots…'
　　b.　Voyez, le PEARY se trouve là … Et voici notre position.　　[Hergé 1941:37]
　　　　'Look, the Peary is there … And this is our position'

(20)   [Porhiel 2012:448-449]
    a.   Ah! te voilà! … Où donc étais-tu caché?
        'Ah! there you are! … Where were you hiding?'
    b.   Voilà une heureuse chute!   [Hergé 1932:20]
        'I sure hit the jackpot!' [literally: Here's a happy fall]

Porhiel (2012) explains that the interpretation of *voilà*-sentences is dependent upon the context and the pragmatic situation, or the viewpoint of the speaker; when the speaker serves as an intermediary to a interlocutor (as in 20), the referent is represented (the speaker relates/represents an entity to the hearer); otherwise, the referent is presented (as in 19). A *voilà*-presentative can present or represent both discrete (19a, 20a) and non-discrete (19b, 20b) entities.

Similarly, *ecco* can also be used to either present or represent referents based on the viewpoint of the speaker, as shown in 21-22 below.

(21)   a.   Ecco Signor DeLorenzo
        'Here is Mr. DeLorenzo'
    b.   Guarda, loro sono là … ed ecco la nostra posizione.
        'Look, they're over there … And this is our position'

(22)   a.   Ah! eccoti! … Dove ti nascondevi?
        'Ah! there you are! … Where were you hiding?'
    b.   Ecco una felice coincidenza!
        'What a happy coincidence!'

Using the properties described in §1.2-1.5, Porhiel (2012) categorizes presentative utterances into twelve possible subclasses. The distribution of these subclasses is given in the flowchart on the following page.
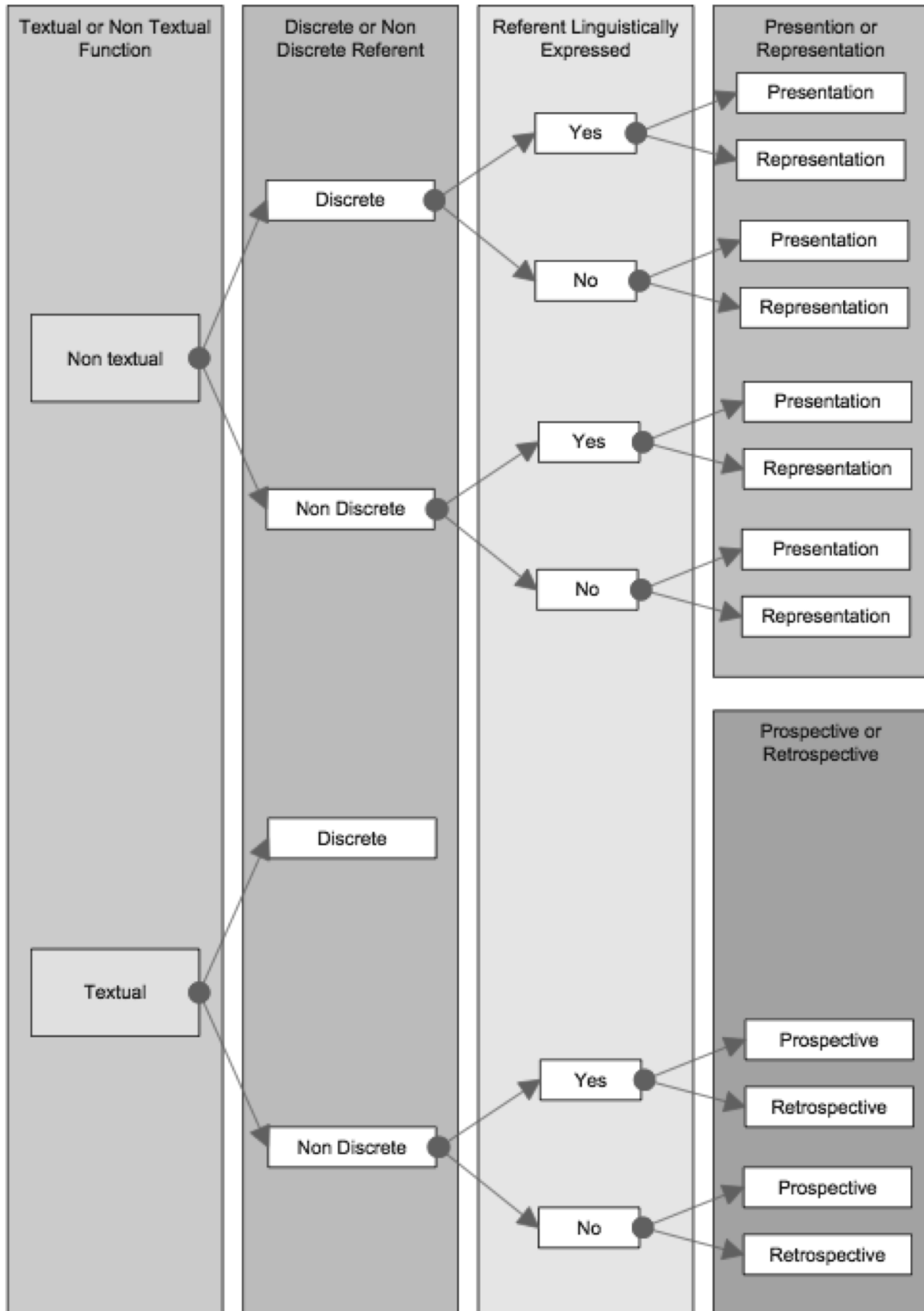
2 The *Ecco-NP* construction

Porhiel (2012:438) identifies the prototypical form of *voilà*-sentences from a morphosyntactic perspective as being of the structure *presentative + NP*. Analogously, the present paper will focus on the *ecco-NP* construction.

In presentative constructions, *ecco* can be followed by definite (23a) or indefinite (23b) NPs as well as proper nouns (23c).

(23)   a. Ecco la   penna.
              ecco the   pen
                  'Here's the pen'
      b. Ecco una   penna.
              ecco a   pen
                  'Here's a pen'
      c. Ecco Gianni.
              ecco Gianni
                  'Here's Gianni'

Ecco may also be combine with pronouns. If the pronoun is unmodified, it cliticizes onto *ecco* (24a-b); if the pronoun is modified, then it is not cliticized (24c). A sentence such as 24c [modified from Zanuttini 2014:6] could be uttered felicitously in a context where the speaker and hearer are looking at photographs.

(24)   a. Eccomi / Eccoti   / Eccolo   / Eccola
          ecco-me ecco-you(sg)   ecco-him/it(masc) / ecco-her/it(fem
              'Here I am'/ 'Here you are' / 'Here he/it is' / 'Here she/it is'
      b. Eccoci / Eccovi   / Eccoli   / Eccole
          ecco-us   ecco-you(pl)   ecco-them(masc)   ecco-them(fem)
              'Here we are' / 'Here you (pl) are' / 'Here they (masc) are'/ 'Here they (fem) are'
      c. Ecco me a   5   anni.
          ecco me at 5   years
              'Here I am at age 5'

Ecco cannot simply appear with any NP, however; there are certain quantifiers with which *ecco* cannot co-occur, such as *poco* ('few') or *ogni* ('each') (Zanuttini 2014:3).

(25)   [Zanuttini 2014:3]
      a. *Ecco poche persone.
          ecco   few   people
              'Here's few people'
      b. *Ecco ogni libro.
          ecco   each book
              'Here's each book'

In the present section of the paper, I discuss several properties of the *ecco-NP* construction including restrictions on its use (§2.1), *ecco*'s status as a deictic element (§2.2), the use of *ecco* in narrative contexts (§2.3), and *ecco*'s syntactic behavior (§2.4-2.5).

2.1 Restrictions on the *ecco-NP* construction

In this section, I discuss some restrictions on the usage of the *ecco-NP* construction, focusing on three principal observations:

- The referent introduced by *ecco* must be deictically accessible to the speaker (Zanuttini 2014) (§2.1.1)

- The usage of *ecco* gives the sense that the referent has recently entered or re-entered the context or set of entities under discussion (§2.1.2)

- In interactive contexts, the introduced referent cannot be entirely discourse new (Zanuttini 2014) (§2.1.3)

2.1.1 Accessibility to the speaker

The entity introduced in an *ecco-NP* construction must be accessible to the speaker in some way– either physically or otherwise within the speaker's perceptual range or space of mental possibilities. This condition recalls the requirement of presentatives to introduce a referent that exists or is believed to exist (cf. §1.1); as was explained with reference to 11, a speaker may not use the presentative to point to a referent that does not exist (and is therefore not accessible) in the utterance context. Similarly, *ecco* cannot be used to present the absence of an entity, as in 26.[7]

(26) a. *Ecco niente.
           ecco   nothing
              'Here's nothing'
      b. *Ecco nessuno.
           ecco   no one
              'Here's no one'

It is important to note, however, that the NP referent need not actually be visibly accessible to the speaker; *ecco* may present an entity that is perceived within the context

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[7] It is possible, however, to use the *ecco + finite clause* construction to covey the fact that something is absent, as in (ii). Note that this sentence is not directly presenting the absence of an entity itself, however; rather, it is presenting a situation.

(ii)   Ecco che non c'è nessuno.
            'Look, there is no one here'

through another sense (Zanuttini 2014:2). For instance, an individual may utter a sentence like 27 upon smelling the aroma of coffee even if he/she cannot see the coffee itself [from Zanuttini 2014:2].

(27)   Ecco il caffé.
        'Here/There's the coffee'

Similarly, if an individual is waiting for guests to arrive at his/her home, and he/she hears a knock on the door, the individual may utter a sentence like 28 below.

(28)   Eccoli!
        'Here they are!'

In fact, the NP referent does not even need to be proximal to the speaker; for instance, if an individual is waiting for his/her friend Gianni to call from another country, it would be possible for him/her to utter 23c upon hearing the phone ring, even though Gianni himself is not physically entering or even near the speaker's context.

Furthermore, the entity introduced by *ecco* does not need to be directly accessible to the speaker through one of the five senses if it is accessible within the space of mental possibilities (Zanuttini 2014:3). For instance, it is possible to have sentences such as those in 29 even though ideas and solutions are not directly perceivable to one of the senses.

(29)   a. Ecco la soluzione che cercavo!
            'Here's the solution I was looking for!'
        b. Ecco un'idea che mi piace.
            'Here's an idea that I like'

These observations indicate that the NP in an *ecco-NP* construction must be "deictically accessible" to the speaker (Zanuttini 2014:4).

2.1.2 The NP referent enters/re-enters the context

The accessibility of the referent is not the only restriction on presentative *ecco*-sentences. It is also important to note that an *ecco* presentation gives the sense that the entity or event to which it draws attention is entering (or has recently entered) the utterance context or set of entities under discussion in some way. When the referent is animate (as in 3a-b, 10a-b, 23c), the *ecco*-sentence gives the impression that the referent has just walked into the utterance context. When the referent is an event (as in 4, 5a-c),

ecco "presents to the interlocutor the perception of [the] event at the same time as the event takes place" (Kragh & Strudsholm 2013:214).

It is therefore not possible for the referent to be an entity that is already established in the utterance context or discussion. For instance, if two individuals are seated in a room together with their cat, it would not be possible for one of them to say to the other a sentence like 30 out of the blue.

(30)   Ecco il gatto.
          'Here/There's the cat'

A sentence such as 30 would only be felicitous if the cat had recently entered the room or if the presence or location of the cat within the context was uncertain and the individuals were discussing where it might be.

2.1.3 In interactive contexts, the referent cannot be discourse-new

Interestingly, although the referent introduced by *ecco* seems to be restricted to those that newly enter or re-enter the utterance context or set of entities under discussion, in interactive spoken language this entity is not allowed to be entirely discourse-new (Zanuttini 2014:3). As explained by Zanuttini (2014:3), "[i]ts existence, or relevance to the conversation, must have been under discussion in the previous context."

For instance, it would not be possible to utter sentences like those in 31 that introduce entities without precedent in the conversation.

(31)   a.   Che sorpresa! #Ecco mio zio!
                'What a surprise! Here/There's my uncle!'
       b.   Guarda! #Ecco un ragno sul muro!
                'Look! Here/There's a spider on the wall!'

This contrast is clearly shown with the example of sentence 32 below. This utterance is not felicitous if the speaker is not expecting someone to arrive at the door. The utterance is felicitous, however, if the speaker is hosting a party and thus expecting people to arrive.

(32)   Oh! Ecco qualcuno alla porta!
          'Oh! Here's/There's someone at the door!'

The restriction that the NP referent not be discourse-new is not apparent in narrative contexts, however, which are discussed in §2.3.

2.2 *Ecco* as a deictic element

2.2.1 *Ecco*'s interpretation depends on context

The observations in §2.1 suggest that the use of the presentative *ecco*-construction is directly grounded in the speech event and utterance context. Indeed, the interpretation of an *ecco*-sentence is closely related to the context in which it is uttered; the *ecco*-sentence itself does not specify the exact location of the referent it introduces (ex. whether it is close or far from the speaker or hearer) or how this referent is present in the utterance context (ex. whether it is directly visible or whether it is perceivable through another sense). For instance, sentence 23c (repeated below for convenience) could be uttered in numerous circumstances, including i) if Gianni enters the room in which the speaker is located, ii) if the speaker hears a sound that indicates the arrival or presence of Gianni (ex. a knock on the door, footsteps in an upstairs apartment, etc.), or iii) if the telephone rings when the speaker is expecting Gianni to call.

(23)   c. Ecco Gianni.
             'Here/There's John'

The interpretation of *ecco*-sentences is thus dependant upon the utterance context. The need for pragmatic context to disambiguate the meaning of *ecco* is particularly salient in instances when the lexical item appears on its own as an independent utterance, as in 2.

In order to help disambiguate the location of the referent within the context, it is possible for *ecco* to co-occur with a locative element, as in 33.

(33)   a. Eccolo   qui.
            ecco-it(masc) here
                'Here it is'
     b. Eccolo   là.
            ecco-it(masc)   there
                'There it is'
     c. Eccolo   (qui/là)   sulla   sedia.
            ecco-it(masc) here/there on.the chair
                'Here/There it is on the chair'

The Italian locative *qui* ('here'), as in 33a, is used to convey a sense of proximity to the speaker whereas the locative *là* ('there'), as in 33b, conveys a sense of distance. The entity introduced by *ecco* is thus interpreted as being farther away from the speaker in 33b than in 33a; for instance, 33a could be said while holding the entity in question, yet 33b would be infelicitous in that context. The sentence in 33c also uses a locative

element (namely, a locative PP) to help specify the location of the referent by indicating that the entity is upon a chair within the utterance context; if the locative PP co-occurs with *qui*, the chair is interpreted as being close to the speaker, whereas if it co-occurs with *là*, the chair is interpreted as being farther from the speaker (though still within the speaker's range of perception). Even with such specification, however, the interpretation of the *ecco*-sentence is still ultimately based on the context in which it is uttered.

2.2.2 *Ecco*-sentences require both a speaker and a hearer

Not only are the interpretation of *ecco*-sentences and the situations in which they are felicitous dependent on the utterance context, but the use of *ecco*-sentences seems furthermore to be anchored in situations of interactive communication requiring the presence of both a speaker and a listener (Kragh & Strudsholm 2013:214); indeed, it would be odd to present an entity or event to no one. Interestingly, although the construction requires both a speaker and a hearer, it does not necessitate that they be distinct individuals; in certain contexts, the listener is allowed to be the same person as the speaker, such when one is talking to oneself in an internal monologue. For instance, if one is searching for one's pen, it would be felicitous upon finding it for one to utter to oneself the sentence in 34.

(34)   Eccola!
            Here/there it is!

It is possible for the addressee of the utterance to overtly appear in an *ecco*-sentence as a dative pronoun (typically realized as a clitic), as in 35. This construction is most often used when addressee is the beneficiary, and it is limited to second and first person pronouns.[8]

(35)   a. [Wood et al. 2015]
            Eccoti   una   bella cioccolata calda.
            here-you(sg) a   nice   chocolate   hot
                'Here's a nice hot chocolate for you' / 'Here's you a nice hot chocolate'

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[8] Such constructions appear to be parallel to American English SOUTHERN PRESENTATIVE DATIVES (discussed by Wood et al. 2015), which take the form *Here/There/Where's* DATIVE + DP, as in (iii).

(iii)   [Wood et al. 2015]
            a. Here's **you** a piece of pizza.
            b. Where's **me** a piece of pizza.

b. Eccomi una bella cioccolata calda.
    ecco-me a   nice chocolate hot
        'Here's me a nice hot chocolate'
c. *Eccogli/le   una bella cioccolata calda.
    ecco-him/her a   nice chocolate hot
        'Here's him/her a nice hot chocolate'

2.2.3 *Ecco* is deictic

The observation of the close link between *ecco* and the pragmatics of the speech event and utterance context have led several linguists to classify it as a DEICTIC element (cf. Kragh & Strudsholm 2013; De Cesare 2010, 2011). As described by Fillmore (1982:35),

> *Deixis is the name given to uses of items and categories of the lexicon and grammar that are controlled by certain details of the interactional situation in which the utterances are produced. These details include especially the identity of the participants in the communicating situation, their locations and orientation in space, whatever on-going indexing acts the participants may be performing, and the time at which the utterance containing the items is produced.*

In this manner, deixis "concerns ways in which the interpretation of the utterance depends on the analysis of that context of utterance" (Levinson 1983:54). The set of presentatives (including the French *voici* and *voilà* and the Italian *ecco*) is often classified as a means for spatial deictic reference (Senft 2014: 47). This classification is particularly fitting, as the term DEIXIS is derived from the Greek for 'pointing' or 'indicating' (Senft 2014:42), and pointing out an entity or event is the principal function of presentatives.

The classification of the presentative *ecco* as a deictic element is appropriate, as its interpretation and use closely linked to the utterance context and the interaction between the speaker and addressee. Furthermore, *ecco*'s principal function is to draw attention to the presence of an entity or event, and in so doing it indicates information about the referent's spatial location (further discussed in Part II); Anderson & Keenan (1985:277) explain that "elements most commonly cited as 'deictics' are those designating spatial location relative to that of the speech event."

2.2 *Ecco* in narrative contexts

Although the majority of the discussion thus far has dealt with the use of *ecco* as a presentative in interactive contexts, it is important to note that *ecco* may also appear in

narrative contexts. The use of *ecco* in narratives has been attested both in spoken and written contexts (cf. De Cesare 2010, 2011). In narrative contexts, *ecco* retains a similar function to that discussed in the previous section and is still considered to be deictic and presentative (De Cesare 2011); indeed, Opperman-Marsaux (2006) identifies a particular subcategory of presentatives called "présentati[ves] de narration" (presentatives of narration). In such contexts, the referent introduced by *ecco* refers to an entity or event within the world described by the narrative (be it a real or imaginary world); it serves an intra-narrative deictic function. Consider the following examples.

(36)   Avendo passato tutta la mattina a prepararmi, ero finalmente pronta a partire per la spiaggia, ed **ecco** che si è messo a piovere.
      'Having spent the entire morning getting ready, I was finally ready to leave for the beach, and lo and behold, it started raining.'

(37)   Camminavamo per la strada e tutto all'improvviso, **ecco** il nostro amico Marco!
      'We were walking down the street and all of a sudden, there was our friend Marco!'

(38)   [Radio Due, 5.12.1994, in Berretta 1995:137]
      C'era una volta una violinista […] si mise a suonare […] poco dopo, **ecco** venire un- LUPO!
      'There was once a violinist […] she began to play […] shortly after, there came a- WOLF!'

As seen in the examples above, when *ecco* is used in a narrative, the relative time and space are shifted from those of the present utterance context to that of the narrative, thereby allowing *ecco* to present an entity or event that appeared or occurred in the past. As shown in 36, when *ecco* is followed by a finite clause in a past narrative, this clause is in the past tense.

When the speaker is present as a character in the narrative (as in 36 and 37), the spatial and temporal coordinates of the entity or event introduced by *ecco* are interpreted with reference to this speaker's coordinates in the narrative. In instances when the speaker is not present in the narrative (as in 38), the *ecco*-sentence is interpreted from the point of view of the character in the story (in this case, the violinist); it is as if the narrator assumes the perspective of the story's protagonist.[9]

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[9] Such a switch in point of view in narrative contexts is not unprecedented. In instances of Free Indirect Discourse (FID), the narration has the effect of coming from a story-internal source (i.e. one of the characters), thereby giving the reader the impression of

Interestingly, the usage of *ecco* in a narrative context differs from that in other contexts in that it allows for the presentation of a discourse-new referent, expressing surprise at the arrival or presence of the introduced entity. Consider the example in 38; it is clear that the arrival of the wolf was unexpected.

2.4 *Ecco-NP* as a clause

Zanuttini (2014) hypothesizes that the *ecco-NP* construction acts as a declarative clause, even though it lacks an obvious predicative element such as a verb. She bases this hypothesis on two principal observations:

- The *ecco-NP* construction appears to have propositional content, making an assertion similar to a declarative clause (§2.4.1)

- The construction can be resumed using the same type of element that can be used to refer to a clause (§2.4.2)

2.4.1 *Ecco* adds a proposition to the discourse

Zanuttini (2014:4) bases her hypothesis that *ecco* has propositional content on the fact that an *ecco*-sentence makes an assertion to which one can object. Consider the following example.

(39)   [Zanuttini 2014:4]
      a.   Speaker A: Dove sono le zucchine?
           'Where are the zucchinis?'
      b.   Speaker B: Eccole!
           'Here they are!'
      c.   Speaker A: Quelle non sono zucchine, sono cetrioli.
           'Those are not zucchinis, they're cucumbers'

The fact that Speaker A is able to correct Speaker B's statement in 39b implies that it makes an assertion.

A similar line of evidence is used by Bergen & Plauché (2001) to suggest that the French presentatives *voici* and *voilà* add a proposition to the discourse. Bergen & Plauché (2001) apply the *Oui, je sais* test (Jones 1996:181) to indicate the presence of a proposition in *voilà*-sentences. According to the test, if a sentence is answerable using

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listening to this character's thoughts or speech; indeed, in FID, indexicals refer to coordinates of the internal source (Giorgi 2010:183-184). Thus, the observation that *ecco*'s interpretation in narrative contexts is evaluated with respect to intra-narrative coordinates is in-keeping with observations about FID.

the expression *Oui, je sais* ('Yes, I know'), then it has expressed a proposition.

Declarative sentences (such as 40) and *voilà*-sentences (41) pass this test, whereas

imperative constructions (42) do not. Examples 40-42 are adapted from Bergen &

Plauché 2001.

(40)   a.   Speaker A: Je lui ai parlé hier.
              'I talked to her yesterday'
       b.   Speaker B: Oui, je sais.
              'Yes, I know.'

(41)   a.   Speaker A: Voilà tes clés.
              'There are your keys'
       b.   Speaker B: Oui, je sais.
              'Yes, I know.'

(42)   a.   Speaker A: Regardez les petites vaches!
              'Look at the cute little cows!'
       b.   Speaker B: #Oui, je sais.[10]
              'Yes, I know.'

The same paradigm holds true in Italian with *ecco*.

(43)   a.   Speaker A: Le ho parlato ieri.
              'I talked to her yesterday'
       b.   Speaker B: Sì, lo so.
              'Yes, I know.'

(44)   a.   Speaker A: Ecco le tue chiavi.
              'There are your keys'
       b.   Speaker B: Sì, lo so.
              'Yes, I know.'

(45)   a.   Speaker A: Guarda i vitellini!
              'Look at the cute little cows!'
       b.   Speaker B: #Sì, lo so.
              'Yes, I know.'

The examples in 44-45 suggest that the *ecco-NP* construction, like sentences with

the French *voilà*, does not merely convey the meaning of 'look at the NP' similar to an

imperative verb, but it also expresses that the NP is there. This propositional quality of

ecco and *voilà* recalls the property of presentatives described in §1.1– namely, that they

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[10] Bergen & Plauché (2001) explain that this response can be felicitous under the
condition that the speaker is indirectly expressing a meaning such as 'I want you to look
at the cows', however it is not possible for the response to apply to the directive
command itself.

serve as an implied statement of the existence of the referent in addition to a presentation of the referent.

Another line of evidence that suggests that the *ecco-NP* construction has propositional heft is that it may be used to answer questions. *Ecco*-sentences may be used to answer both yes/no questions (46) as well as wh-questions (47).

(46) a. Speaker A: Hai la mia penna?
            'Do you have my pen?'
      b. Speaker B: Eccola! [presenting Speaker A's pen]
            'Here/There it is!'

(47) a. Speaker A: Dov'è la mia penna?
            'Where is my pen?'
      b. Speaker B: Eccola! [presenting Speaker A's pen]
            'Here/There it is!'

2.4.2 *Ecco*-sentences may be resumed

Zanuttini (2014:4) also points out that *ecco-NP* sentences may be referred to using the same type of element that resumes clauses and propositions in Italian, such as the demonstrative *questo* ('this'), *quello* ('that'), and *ciò* ('this'/'that'). For instance, both the *ecco*-sentence in 48a and the clause in 48b can be resumed by the expression in 48c.

 (48) [adapted from Zanuttini 2014:4]
        a. Ecco Cristina!
              'Here's Christina!'
.   b. Cristina è arrivata.
              'Christina has arrived'
        c. Questo/Quello/Ciò mi fa pensare che fra poco arriveranno anche Lucio e
            Bruno.
              'This/That makes me think that soon Lucio and Bruno will arrive as well.'

2.5 *Ecco* is not a verb, though it may have verbal features

The fact that *ecco*-sentences express a proposition and display clause-like behavior may lead one wonder if the lexical item *ecco* functions as a verb in the sentence. Over the years, there have been several attempts to classify presentatives such as *ecco* or *voici/voilà* using traditional parts of speech; they have been described as prepositions (Robert et al. 2007), adverbs (Sabani & Coletti 2005), and even as verbs (Morin 1985; Moignet 1969). Morin (1985) in particular describes the French *voici* and *voilà* as "subjectless finite verbs with a single tense and mood." There is no clear consensus in the linguistics literature, however, as to the precise categorization of these items, given

that the various uses and distributions of such elements are not easily capture-able by a single category (Bergen & Plauché 2001; Porhiel 2010:435). Nevertheless, as expressed by Kragh & Strudsholm (2013:213), "it is widely agreed that in their use these [elements such as *ecco* and *voici*/*voilà*] share both morphological and syntactical features with the verb."

2.5.1 *Ecco*'s similarity to Italian verbs

Ecco displays several similarities to Italian verbs. For instance, as previously discussed, *ecco* can host clitic pronouns; *ecco* appears with direct object clitics (49a), indirect object clitics (49b), combined clitics (49c), and *ne*-cliticization (49d).

(49) a. Eccomi.
　　　　ecco-me
　　　　　 'Here I am'
　　　b. Eccoti　　una　penna.
　　　　ecco-you　a　　pen
　　　　　 'Here's a pen for you'
　　　c. Eccotelo.
　　　　ecco-you-it
　　　　　 'Here it is for you'
　　　d. Eccone　due.
　　　　ecco-ne　two
　　　　　 'Here are two of them'

The ability to host clitics is a characteristic property of Italian verbs; in fact, verbs constitute the only known syntactic category in Italian that can host clitics.

Ecco may also appear with limited verbal morphology– in particular, the iterative verbal prefix *ri-* ('re-'), as in 50 (Kragh & Strudsholm 2013:213).

(50)　Rieccomi!
　　　re-ecco-me
　　　　 'Here I am again'

The fact that *ecco* is compatible with both *ne*-cliticization and *re*-affixation suggests that it behaves similarly to an unaccusative verb, which can have internal arguments but lacks external ones.

From a syntactic point of view, *ecco* seems to pattern similarly to Italian perception verbs such as *guardare* ('to look at'), *vedere* ('to see'), *sentire* ('to hear'), etc., which like *ecco* may either occur on their own (51) or combine with an NP (52, 53), an infinitival clause (54), a finite clause (55), or a pseudo-relative clause (56).

(51) a. Ecco!
          'Here/There!'
      b. Guarda!
          look.at.IMP.2SG
          'Look!'

(52) a. Ecco un aeroplano!
          ecco an airplane
          'Here/There's an airplane!'
      b. Guarda,   un aeroplano!
          look.at.IMP.2SG an airplane
          'Look, an airplane!'

(53) a. Ecco Maria.
          ecco Maria
          'Here/There's Maria.'
      b. Vedo   Maria.
          see.1SG Maria
          'I see Maria.'

(54) a. Ecco arrivare   Maria.
          ecco arrive.INF Maria
          'Maria is arriving now'
      b. Vedo   arrivare   Maria.
          see.1SG arrive.INF Maria
          'I see Maria arriving'

(55) a. Ecco che canta   Maria.
          ecco that sing.3SG   Maria
          'Maria is singing now'
      b. Sento   che canta   Maria.
          hear.1SG   that sing.3SG Maria
          'I hear Maria singing'

(56) a. Ecco Maria che canta.
          ecco Maria that sing.3SG
          'Maria is singing now'
      b. Sento   Maria che canta.
          hear.1SG Maria that sing.3SG
          'I hear Maria singing'

2.5.2 *Ecco* is not a verb

Despite the similarities described in §2.5.1, there are several crucial ways in
which *ecco* differs from typical Italian verbs. For instance, *ecco* has no conjugation; it
does not inflect for tense or agreement (neither subject-verb or object-verb agreement).
Furthermore, unlike verbs, *ecco* cannot be negated (57).

(57)   *Non ecco Maria

In addition, unlike declarative clauses with a verbal element (58b), *ecco*-sentences may not be embedded (as in 58a). *Ecco* also may not be used in questions (59).

(58)   a. Dico   che è   arrivata   Maria.
           say.1SG that be.3SG arrive.PP Maria
             'I say that Maria arrived'
       b. *Dico   che   ecco Maria.
           say.1SG that   ecco Maria
             'I say that here/there's Maria'

(59)   a. È   arrivata   Maria?
           be.3SG   arrive.PP   Maria
             'Did Maria arrive?
       b. *Ecco Maria?
           ecco   Maria
             'Is Maria here/there?'

In these ways, *ecco* resembles an imperative verb form, which also resists embedding and use in questions (60).

(60)   a. *Dico   che   guarda   Maria!
           say.1SG that   look.at.IMP.2SG   Maria
             'I say that look at Maria!'
       b. *Guarda   Maria!?
           look.at.IMP.2SG   Maria
             'Look at Maria!?'

Yet, as discussed in §2.4.1, *ecco* behaves differently from imperatives– namely, *ecco* introduces a proposition whereas imperative verbs do not.

        Ecco also differs from most Italian verbs in that it may not be preceded by contrastive Focus (61) or Topic (62) elements, even though such elements are typically allowed to appear preverbally in Italian. This distinction suggests that *ecco* may occupy a different syntactic position from standard Italian verbs.

(61)   a. LA PENNA ho   trovato (non la matita).
           the pen   have.1SG find.PP not the pencil
             'THE PEN I found (not the pencil)
       b. *LA PENNA ecco (non la   matita).
           the pen   ecco not the pencil

(62)   a. La penna l'   ho   trovata.
           the pen   it   have.1SG find.PP
             'The pen, I found it'

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b. *La   penna   eccola. [11]
    the   pen   ecco-it
       'The pen, here it is'

The present observations lead me to conclude that *ecco* itself is not a verb, though it may possess verbal features.

3 Summary

Part I provided a descriptive overview of the Italian presentative *ecco*, with particular emphasis on the *ecco-NP* configuration (the prototypical presentative construction), making the following key observations:

- *Ecco* displays the five properties of presentative elements identified by Porhiel (2012), thereby confirming its status as a presentative element.

- The presentative *ecco-NP* construction exhibits several interesting restrictions on its use:

    o   The referent introduced by *ecco* must be deictically accessible to the speaker.

    o   The use of *ecco* implies that the referent enters or re-enters the context or set of entities under discussion; the referent may not already be established in the context.

    o   The referent cannot be entirely discourse new in interactive utterance contexts (although it may in narrative contexts).

- *Ecco* serves as a deictic element, as there appears to be a close link between the interpretation and use of the lexical item and the pragmatics of the speech event and utterance context.

- *Ecco* may be used as a deictic presentative in both interactive utterance contexts as well as in narratives.

- The *ecco-NP* construction behaves similarly to a clause in that it adds a proposition to the discourse and may be resumed using the same elements that resume clauses and propositions in Italian.

- Despite the clause-like behavior of the *ecco-NP* construction, *ecco* is not a verb. Nevertheless, the lexical item displays several similarities with verbs that lead me to conclude that it may have verbal features.

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[11] This sentence becomes more grammatical if one allows for a sufficient intonation break after the NP *la penna* ('the pen'). In such instances, however, it becomes unclear whether or not the NP remains part of the same utterance; indeed, the required intonation break is significantly larger than that occurring after the NP in instances of standard topicalization, as in 62a.

Part II: The spatial interpretation of the presentative *ecco*

1 *Ecco* contributes locative information

When *ecco* is used to present an entity in the *ecco-NP* construction, it appears to provide information regarding its location; not only is *ecco* frequently translated into English using the locative 'here' or 'there', but *ecco*-sentences can even be used to answer questions concerning the location of an entity, as in 63.

(63)   [adapted from Zanuttini 2014:9]
   a. Speaker A: Dove sono le chiavi?
          'Where are the keys?'
   b. Speaker B: Eccole.
          'Here they are.'

It is thus clear that *ecco* contributes a sense of location. The question that then arises is how this sense of location is determined. I explore three possibilities:

- *Ecco* itself a locative element (§1.1)
- *Ecco*-sentences receive a spatial interpretation similar to that of locative *ci*-sentences (§1.2)
- The spatial interpretation of *ecco* is based on some other factor, in particular a strong association with the coordinates of the speaker (§1.3)

1.1 *Ecco* is not a locative

Despite the fact that *ecco* contributes spatial information, Zanuttini (2014:5) points out that *ecco* itself does not appear to be a locative element. *Ecco* does not share the same distribution Italian locatives, including overt locative PPs as well as the locative elements such as *qui* ('here'), as shown in 64.

(64)   [Zanuttini 2014:5]
   a. Le tue chiavi sono   qui/ sulla sedia/ *ecco.
      the your keys   be.3PL here on.the chair   ecco
          'Your keys are here/on the chair.'
   b. Ho   messo la giacca qui/ nell' armadio/ *ecco.
      have.1SG put.PP the jacket here in.the closet   ecco
          'I put the jacket here/in the closet.'
   c. Abitano qui/ in questa casa/   *ecco.
      live.3PL here in this   house ecco
          'They live here/in this house.'
   d. In casa/ qui/ *ecco troverai   tutto quello che ti   serve.
      in house here ecco find.2SG.FUT   all   which that you   serve/need
          'In the house/here you'll find everything you need.'

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Crucially, unlike Italian locatives, *ecco* cannot co-occur with a verb.

On the other hand, Italian locatives cannot appear in all of the same contexts that *ecco* can. For instance, the locative *qui* and locative PPs cannot appear on their own preceding a NP and constitute a grammatical utterance, whereas *ecco* can.

(65) a. *Qui/*Sulla sedia le chiavi.
          'Here/On the chair the keys.'
      b. Ecco le chiavi.
          'Here are the keys.'

Furthermore, *ecco* is able to host clitics, which locative elements cannot (Zanuttini 2014:5).

(66) a. Eccomi/Eccoti/Eccolo/Eccola
          'Here I am'/ 'Here you are'/ 'Here he/it is'/ 'Here she/it is'
      b. *Qui-mi/*Qui-ti/*Qui-lo/*Qui-la'
          'Here I am'/ 'Here you are'/ 'Here he/it is'/ 'Here she/it is'

Such observations lead Zanuttini (2014:6) to hypothesize that *ecco* is not a locative element itself but that co-occurs with an abstract locative element (cf. Kayne 2005; Frances 2007; Irwin 2012), which can sometimes be overt or modified by an overt element such as the Italian locative *qui* ('here') or *là* ('there'), which are used to convey distance relative to the speaker (cf. Part I, §2.2.1).

The hypothesis that *ecco* is not a locative element is further supported by the fact that an *ecco*-sentence can contribute more than spatial information; it can also contribute temporal information. Consider the examples in 67.

(67) a. Ecco la risata del bambino.
          'Here's the child's laughter'/ 'The child is laughing now'
      b. Ecco il latrato di un cane.
          'Here's the barking of a dog.'/ 'Listen, a dog is barking now'

Both 67a and 67b convey the sense that the sounds presented by *ecco* are heard at the time of the utterance. The temporal contribution of *ecco* is also apparent in constructions where *ecco* is followed by a finite (68a) or pseudo-relative (68b) clause.

(68) a. Ecco che arriva il presidente.
          'The president is arriving now'
      b. Ecco il presidente che arriva.
          'The president is arriving now'

Pure locatives such as the Italian *qui* and locative PPs do not display the same capability of conveying temporal information, thereby suggesting that *ecco* is not merely a locative element.

1.2 Comparison with locative *ci*-sentences

If *ecco* itself is not a locative element, then this begs the question of how the spatial interpretation of *ecco*-sentences is derived. Consider the Italian construction that combines the clitic *ci* ('there') and a form of the verb *essere* ('to be'). These constructions, referred to as *ci*-sentences by Cruschina (2012), can serve several purposes including a locative function. Consider the following sentence [from Cruschina 2012:84].

(69)   C'è Gianni in giardino.
            'John is in the garden'

Cruschina (2012:84) argues that sentences like 69 serve a locative function (as opposed to an existential function) given that they may be used to answer questions about location (ex. *Who is in the garden?*) and they can have a locative predication counterpart (70).

(70)   [Cruschina 2012:84]
            Gianni è in giardino.
            'John is in the garden'

Similar to *ecco*, although the *ci + essere* construction provides information regarding the location of the entity it presents, *ci* is typically not considered to be a locative on its own; rather, *ci* is believed to act as a resumptive clitic for some locative element. As explained by Cruschina (2012:95), "the pronoun *ci* functions as a locative pro-predicate referring to a locative phrase. The locative constituent can be explicitly present within the same sentence, in the form of a dislocated locative PP, or can be implicit in the context."

Thus, in locative *ci*-sentences, the location of the presented NP is determined based on the utterance and linguistic context. Consider the following examples; in 71 the location is mentioned overtly, in 72 the location is deduced from the utterance context, and in 73b the location is previously mentioned in the discourse.

(71)   C'è mio fratello in cucina.
            'My brother is in the kitchen'

(72)   C'è mio fratello.
            'My brother is here' [in the location salient from utterance context]

(73)   a.   Speaker A: Ho sentito un rumore dalla cucina.
              'I heard a sound from the kitchen'
        b.   Speaker B: C'è mio fratello.
              'My brother is there' [in the kitchen]

It has been suggested that the lexical item *ecco* may contain a locative morpheme (represented by the *c*) similar to that found in the locative pronoun *ci* (Zanuttini 2014:12). In fact, it has been posed that the Latin form ECCE from which *ecco* derives may similarly be broken up into morphemes; Julia (2013:1) proposes that the second part of the Latin presentative EC-CE is a form of the proto-Indo-European deictic particle *ke.* This morphological analysis may lead one to hypothesize that *ecco*-sentences and *ci*-sentences have similar spatial interpretations.

However, in addition to various other differences between *ecco*-sentences and *ci*-sentences (cf. Zanuttini 2014:8-10), *ecco*'s locative meaning does not appear to pattern the same way as that of *ci*. Consider the following example from Zanuttini (2014:10).

(74)   a.   Speaker A: Ho sentito che hai hospiti a casa.
              'I heard that you have guests at home'
        b.   Speaker B: Ci sono i miei genitori e mia sorella.
              'My parents and sister are there' [at home]

(75)   a.   Speaker A: Ho sentito che hai hospiti a casa.
              'I heard that you have guests at home'
        b.   Speaker B: #Ecco i miei genitori e mia sorella.

The *ci*-sentence in 74b is felicitous in the given context and is interpreted as meaning that Speaker B's parents and sister are at her house. The *ecco*-sentence in 75b, on the other hand, is infelicitous in this context and is obligatorily interpreted as meaning that Speaker B's parents and sister are near her.

The contrast in 74 and 75 points to a difference in the spatial interpretation of *ecco*-sentences and locative *ci*-sentences. In particular, the spatial interpretation of sentences with *ecco* appears to be more tightly constrained than those with *ci*; as explained by Zanuttini (2012:10), "in sentences with *ecco*, the location is always determined on the basis of the location of the speaker."

1.3 Association with the speaker's coordinates

Consider the sentences in 76.

(76) a. Ecco le chiavi.
            'Here are the keys'
      b. Ecco Allegra.
            'Here's Allegra'
      c. Ecco la pioggia.
            'Here's the rain'

These sentences are all interpreted as asserting that the entity under discussion (the keys, Allegra, or the rain) is present in the discourse context and accessible to the speaker either physically or otherwise. The spatial interpretation of the *ecco*-NP construction is thus tied to the speaker's location.

There are two potential ways to view this association with the speaker's location. One possibility is that the location conferred by *ecco* is based on the coordinates of the utterance context, which typically coincide with the speaker's location. Indeed, as discussed in the Introduction, *ecco* is said to derive from a form of the Latin command ECCE ('Lo!'/'Behold!'), which was used to draw someone's attention to some entity or event with a meaning similar to 'Look!' Given that the presentational *ecco* is derived from this command, it would make sense that the referent introduced by the lexical item is generally interpreted as being temporally and physically close to the speaker; it is difficult to draw someone's attention to or ask him/her to look at something that is not present in the utterance context. As the utterance context typically coincides with the speaker's location, such an analysis could explain the apparent relation between the spatial interpretation of the NP referent introduced by *ecco* and the coordinates of the speaker.

On the other hand, as pointed out in §2.1.1 of Part I, it is possible to use the *ecco-NP* construction to present a referent that is not visibly accessible to the speaker or physically present in the utterance context. This fact suggests that the interpretation of *ecco* may not be constrained by the same factors as the 'Look!' command of its Latin root. Indeed, Julia (2013:2) takes the fact that the classical Latin ECCE co-occurs with both accusative and nominative elements to indicate that the lexical item had become fixed and was no longer treated as a verbal form, similar to the way in which the French *voici/voilà* is no longer dependent on the verb *voir* ('to see'). Thus, the interpretation of the Latin form may not be governed by the same physical restrictions that constrain the

verbal command 'Look!', thereby suggesting that *ecco* similarly does not face such limitations.

The second way to approach the relation between the spatial interpretation of an *ecco*-*NP* sentence and the speaker's location is to analyze the location of the NP as being determined based on the spatial and temporal coordinates of the speaker (rather than those of the utterance context). Indeed, *ecco*'s morphological *-o* ending recalls the first person present tense singular verb marking in Italian, thus it is fitting to hypothesize a strong association between the lexical item's interpretation and the point of view of the speaker. Moreover, it is not unprecedented for a lexical item to be hypothesized to encode the spatial or temporal coordinates of the speaker as well as the speaker's point of view[12]; in fact, not only has it been suggested that such items exist, but it has also been proposed that such items occupy a special position in the syntax that encodes information about the speaker. I will turn to a discussion of these items in the following sections.
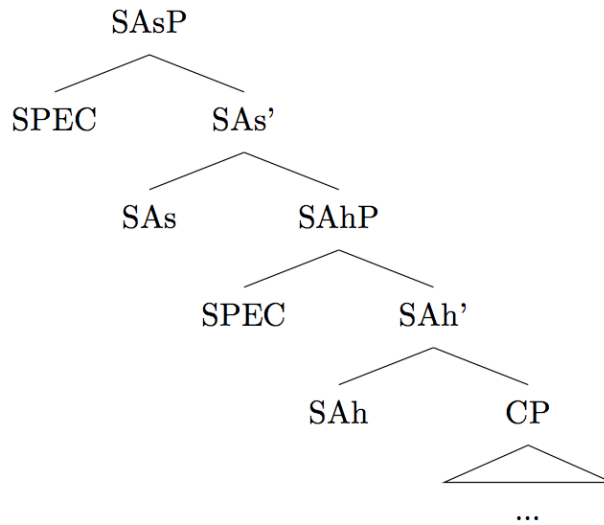
2 Encoding speaker coordinates in syntactic structure

There have been several recent proposals in the linguistics literature that incorporate pragmatic information into syntactic structure (Bianchi 2003; Speas & Tenny 2003; Hill 2007, 2014; Haegeman & Hill 2013; Giorgi 2010; Haegeman 2014). In particular, these proposals argue that features of the discourse context and the utterance event, including information about the viewpoints of the speaker and hearer, are represented syntactically in the left periphery of the clause.

Certain syntactic programs following the work of Speas & Tenny (2003) propose the existence of a SPEECH ACT (SA) DOMAIN above the CP that consists of a series of SPEECH ACT PROJECTIONS (SAPs). In recent proposals, such as those of Haegeman (2014) and Hill (2007, 2014), this domain is said to contain at least one Speech Act head associated with the hearer and another associated with the speaker; depending on the specific approach these SA heads may project one or more saP shell layers, akin to the vP/VP shell structure. The basic structure of this SA domain, omitting any shell layers, is given in 77 below.

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[12] cf. Giorgi's (2010) discussion of the SPEAKER PROJECTION, Haegeman's (2014) discussion of West Flemish particles, and Hill's (2007, 2014) discussion of Romanian particles of address.

(77)

```
                    SAsP
                 /        \
             SPEC          SAs'
                        /        \
                      SAs         SAhP
                                /        \
                            SPEC          SAh'
                                       /        \
                                     SAh          CP
                                               /  |  \
                                              /___|___\
                                                 ...
```

The higher SA projection (SAsP) is associated with the speaker in the discourse and the lower projection (SAhP) is associated with the hearer. The lower SA head (SAh) takes the CP as its argument.[13] Haegeman (2014) and Hill (2014) place several different elements within this SA domain including vocative phrases, discourse markers, and pragmatic particles.

Other proposals, such as that of Giorgi (2010), similarly posit that information about the extra-sentential context is represented in the left-periphery of the clause, though they argue that such information in encoded in a set of syntactic projections within the CP layer, following the cartographic approach to the CP domain articulated by Rizzi (1997). As Giorgi (2010:2) explains,

> *Rizzi's (1997) seminal work on split-Comp implicitly shows that the left periphery of the clause is projected out of functional items which typically play a discourse role: Topic, signaling old information, Focus, signaling new information, and the Complementizer positions named Force and Fin(ite), also playing a role in the contextual interface.*

Giorgi (2010) proposes that there exists a syntactic position in the highest, left-most projection of the C-layer that encodes the temporal and spatial coordinates of the speaker; she refers to this projection as *C-SPEAKER*. Giorgi (2010) explains that this position is

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[13] It is proposed that this CP may move to the specifier position of a saP shell projection in certain constructions, either in order to receive special readings (cf. Hill's (2014) discussion of [emphatic] and [attention] features) or because it is required by the language (cf. Haegeman's (2014) discussion of West Flemish).

associated with speaker-related features that represent the coordinates of the speaker of the following clause, and she argues that this position can be occupied by specific forms that are overtly marked with first person features, such as the Italian verbal items *credo* ('I believe/think'), *penso* ('I think'), and *immagino* ('I imagine') (Giorgi 2010:65).

Recent proposals have suggested that presentative elements such as Romanian ostensive particles (cf. Hill 2007, 2014), the French *voici* (Hill 2014:157), the English presentative *here/there's* (cf. Wood et al. 2015), and even the Italian *ecco* (cf. Zanuttini 2014:12) belong in speaker-associated positions in the left periphery of the clause, either in a structure such as that in 77 or one more similar to that of Giorgi (2010). Indeed, if *ecco* were to occupy such a speaker-associated position, that would help explain the apparent relation between the speaker's coordinates and the spatial interpretation of *ecco-NP* sentences discussed in §1; if *ecco* occupies a position in the syntax that is uniquely associated with the speaker, it would reasonably follow that the meaning of the sentence should be interpreted with reference to this speaker's temporal and spatial coordinates. In order to help identify how the spatial interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction is determined and if its interpretation displays a bias towards the coordinates of the speaker that may indicate that *ecco* occupies such a speaker-related syntactic position, I executed an online survey probing the interpretation of *ecco*-sentences in cases of potential ambiguity. This study is described in Part III.

3 Does *ecco* belong in a speaker projection in the left periphery?

There are several factors that lead me to hypothesize that *ecco* belongs in a speaker-associated syntactic position in the left periphery of the clause.

First of all, *ecco*'s distribution indicates that it is situated in a rather high syntactic position to the left of the clause. As previously discussed, *ecco* may not be embedded following the complementizer *che* (58b), which shows that it does not appear hierarchically below ForceP (Force° hosts the complementizer; Rizzi 1997, Hill 2008). In addition, *ecco* is able to select a CP with a lexical complementizer (5b-c), thereby suggesting that it cannot be in ForceP (Force° is already occupied). *Ecco* may not be preceded by elements that are situated below ForceP, such as Topic (62b) and Focus (61b) elements, thereby reinforcing the observation that *ecco* is rather high up in the left

periphery of the clause. These observations suggest that *ecco* may be located in the functional field that embeds ForceP.

In addition, the placement of *ecco* high up in the left periphery of the clause could also help explain from a syntactic point of view why it cannot co-occur with negation. Indeed, both the proposed SA domain and Giorgi's (2010) *C-speaker* projection are situated too high in the clause to be negated; they are both above the proposed hierarchy of NegPs in the CP domain (cf. Zanuttini 2001 for a description of this hierarchy).

Furthermore, *ecco* displays several similarities with items hypothesized to be located in the pragmatics-syntax interface (discussed in §3.1-3.3), including Romanian speech act particles (hypothesized to be overt SA heads by Hill 2014), the Italian epistemic head *credo* (posited to occupy Giorgi's 2010 speaker projection), and the English *here/there's* (proposed to be located in the SA domain by Wood et al. 2015). These similarities suggest that *ecco* occupies a similar syntactic position, thereby supporting the hypothesis that *ecco* belongs in a speaker-associated syntactic projection.

Please note that the present paper does not aim to distinguish between or evaluate the various different proposed structures of the left periphery or to specify *ecco*'s precise location within this layer (including identifying whether it is generated in such a position or if it arrives there through movement); rather, this investigation is intended to show that the placement of *ecco* in speaker-related syntactic position is a reasonable hypothesis.

3.1 A comparison between *ecco* and Romanian SA heads

The SA domain elaborated by Hill (2007, 2014) and Haegeman (2014) contains two SA projections: one associated with the speaker and the other with the hearer. Hill (2007, 2014) argues that it is possible for languages to have overt speech act heads and provides a discussion of their characteristics, focusing primarily on Romanian particles of address, which allows one to see how they may be identified.

3.1.1 General similarities

Several of the properties of SA heads described by Hill (2014) are shared by presentatives and the Italian *ecco*. For instance, Hill (2014:136) explains that particles of address that occur as SA heads often have verb-based etymology, which may give them the appearance of "impoverished verb forms"; the Romanian ostensive particle *uite* ('look-here', 'see', 'here-it-is'), for example, appears to stem from a re-analysis of the

reflexive verb *se uita* ('to look') (Hill 2013:166). This description seems also to apply to presentatives like *voici/voilà*, which have an unmistakable relation to the French verb *voir* ('to see'), and *ecco*, which derives from the Latin imperative verb form ECCE (as described in the Introduction). In fact, Hill's (2014:136) reference to "impoverished verb forms" recalls Morin's (1985) description of presentatives as "subjectless finite verbs with a single tense and mood."

Moreover, Hill (2007, 2014) proposes that speech act heads have [V] features and display verb-like qualities, although they themselves are not verbs (they are not able to project a vP or TP structure). She explains that Romanian speech act particles are "not lexically but interpretively equal to verbs" (Hill 2014:136) and points out that some particles are even able to display verbal morphology– for instance, *uite* displays limited verbal inflection, having two different forms: *uite* (2sg) and *uitaţi* (Hill 2013:166). This description recalls the discussion of *ecco* in §2.5 of Part I, which led me to conclude that although *ecco* is not a verb, it may have verbal features. In fact, Hill's proposal that SA heads have [V] features may help explain *ecco*'s verb-like properties.

Similar to *ecco*, Hill (2014) shows that SA heads may either appear on their own (78) or followed by lexical material. When the particles appear in isolation, they are semantically underspecified and require context for interpretation. For instance, when the Romanian ostensive particle *na* ('there-it-is') occurs in isolation (78b), it conveys the general sense of being a presentational hortative but context is needed for a more precise interpretation (Hill 2014:165), much like *ecco* when it occurs as a stand-alone utterance.

(78)   a. Hai/haide/haidem/haideţi!
       b. Na!
       c. Uite/uitaţi!

Hill (2014) furthermore shows that, like *ecco*, the Romanian speech act heads cannot be embedded (79), may not be negated (80), and do not allow preceding contrastive Focus (81). For ease of identification, the speech act particles are bolded in the examples below.

(79)   [Hill 2014:147]
       *A   declarat/scris   (că)   **hai**   (că)   va   veni
       has declared/wrote   that   hai   that   will   come
           'He declared/wrote that ok, he will come'

(80)   [Hill 2014:141]
        *Nu **haideţi/haidem**   prea repede!
        neg hai   too   fast
            Intended: 'Don't go too fast!'

(81)   [Hill 2014:160]
        *In clasă   **lasă/las'** că   scrie, nu acasă
        in class.FOC   lasă   that writes not home
            Intended: 'It's okay for him/her to write in the classroom, not home.'

Like *ecco*, Romanian speech act particles can also select for finite clauses with overt complementizers (indicating that they show selectional properties), as in 82, which leads Hill to conclude that they occupy a position above ForceP.[14]

(82)   [Hill 2014:139]
        Hai/haide/haideţi (că) avem   timp.
        hai   that have.1PL   time
            'We do have time (it is obvious to me)'

Hill (2014) additionally explains that the SA particles may occur either clause-initially or clause-finally as discourse markers, though there are interpretive differences related to each position. Consider contrast in the interpretation of the particle *hai* ('c'mon', 'ok', 'really') between sentence 83a and 83b.

(83)   [Haegeman & Hill 2013:378-379]
        a. **Hai** să   citim.
           hai   SUBJ   read.1PL
               'C'mon, let's read'
        b. Să   avem   **hai**.
           SUBJ   read.1PL   hai
               'Let's read, please'

When *hai* appears in a clause-initial position (83a), it conveys the sense of giving a command; when *hai* appears clause-finally (83b), on the other hand, it conveys a sense of mitigation (Haegeman & Hill 2013:379). *Hai* may also appear mid-clause with an assertive, negotiating, conciliatory, or hedging function (84).

(84)   [Hill 2014:140]
        sânteţi nesimţiţi **hai/haideţi**, ce   să   mai.
        are.2PL not.feeling hai   what SUBJ   more
            'You are inconsiderate, c'mon, that's all there is'

---

[14] Note that although the presence of the complementizer *că* 'that' is optional in this context (as indicated by the parenthesis), its presence is preferred (Hill 2014:138).

As discussed in the Introduction, when *ecco* is used as a discourse marker, it may similarly appear in clause-initial (6a), clause-final (6c-d), and mid-clause positions (6b), receiving varying interpretations based on its position.

3.1.2 Similarities between *ecco* and Romanian ostensive particles

Hill (2014) classifies Romanian speech act particles into two groups: those with an injunctive or hortative function and those with an ostensive function. Hill (2014:157) likens particles in the latter group to the French *voici*, explaining that they may have evidential or presentational functions. The ostensive group is further broken down into two categories: (i) particles with a presentational function, like *na* (there-it-is'), and (ii) verb-based evidential hortatives with the meaning 'look', such as *uite* ('look-here'). In form and function, *ecco* most resembles the SA heads of the ostensive class, particularly the particle *na*, which conveys the meaning of 'here-it-is'/'take-it'/'there!'/etc. (typically used in cases when the speaker is annoyed).

Similar to *ecco*, the form *na* is invariable in Romanian (it is not inflected and does not show agreement), and it serves a presentational function. *Na* may appear on its own (as in 78b) or it may combine with subordinate structures; *na* may combine with NPs (85), giving the sense of presenting the NP with a meaning akin to 'take it', as well as with finite clauses (86), giving the sense of presenting an event.

(85)   [Hill 2014:165]
        Na cartea!
        na book.the
            'Here, take the book!'

(86)   [Hill 2014:165]
        Na că-ţi   iei   maşină.
        na that-you buy.2SG car
            'There you are, you are buying yourself a car'

Romanian ostensive particles may furthermore appear in a configuration similar to *ecco*'s pseudo-relative construction; the example in 87a with *uite* is equivalent to the *ecco*-sentence in 87b.

(87)   a. [Hill 2014:167]
            Uite-l   cum/că vine.
            uite-him how/that come.3SG
                'Look, he's coming'

b. Eccolo   che viene.
     ecco-him   that come.3SG
        'He's coming now'

Romanian ostensive particles like *na* may additionally combine with imperative

verbs, as in 88.

(88)   [Hill 2014:165]
        a. Na ia-ţi   cartea!
           na take.IMP.2SG-you book.the
             'Here's your book! Take it!'
        b. Na trimite   cartea!
           na send.IMP.2SG   book.the
             'Here, send the book!'

The omission of the imperative verb is possible from a *na*-construction when the verb has

the same presentational semantics as the *na* particle. For instance, it is possible to omit

the verb *ia* ('take') from 88a, resulting in 89a which has an equivalent meaning. It is not

be possible to omit the verb *trimite* ('send') from 88b, however (89b); the deletion of the

imperative results in an obligatory 'take'/presentational interpretation for *na.*

(89)   [Hill 2014:165]
        a. Na-ţi   cartea!
           na-you   book.the
             'Here, take the book!'
        b. #Na cartea!
           na   book.the
           Intended: *'Here, send the book!'

Ecco may similarly be combined with imperative verbs when the complementizer

che is omitted (90).

(90)   a. Ecco,   prenditi   il   libro!
           ecco   take.IMP.2SG-you   the book
             'Here, take the book for yourself!'
        b. Ecco, spedisci   il   libro!
           ecco   send.IMP.2SG   the book
             'Here, send the book!'
        c. Ecco, guarda   l' uomo   che   arriva!
           ecco   look.at.IMP.2SG   the man   that   arrive.3SG
             'Here/There, look at the man arriving!'

Just as with the *na* constructions in 86, the imperative may be omitted from such *ecco*-

constructions while retaining the same meaning in cases where the verb has the same

presentational semantics. For instance, it would be possible to omit the verb from 90a,

resulting in 91a, which presents the NP *il libro* ('the book') with the same suggested meaning of 'take it'. Similarly, omitting the verb *guarda* ('look') from 90c results in a sentence of a similar attention drawing meaning in 91c. The meaning of 90b, on the other hand, is not maintained when the imperative verb *spedisci* ('send') is omitted (91b).

(91)   a.   Eccoti   il   libro!
               ecco-you the   book
                 'Here, take the book!'
        b.   #Ecco il   libro!
               ecco   the   book
                 Intended: *'Here, send the book!'
        c.   Ecco l'   uomo   che   arriva!
               ecco the man   that arrive.3SG
                 'Look at the man arriving!'

In fact, there is precedent for such a verbal omission paradigm in *ecco*'s Latin root ECCE. As mentioned in the Introduction, the Latin verbal form ECCE has been shown to appear followed by both nominative (92a) and accusative (92b) forms (Kragh & Strudsholm 2013:215; Julia 2013).

(92)   a.   ECCE HOMO
               'Behold the man'
        b.   ECCE HOMINEM
               'Behold the man'

Although on the surface the contrast between 90a and 90b may appear to suggest that the Latin ECCE has two different constructions, Kragh & Strudsholm (2013:215) show that the two different forms ultimately arise from the same type of construction, as in 93.

(93)   [Kragh & Strudsholm 2013:215]
        a.   ECCE ADEST HOMO
        b.   ECCE VIDEO HOMINEM

In 93a, the nominative HOMO is the subject of the presentational verb ADEST (a form of 'to be present'/'to arrive'), whereas the accusative HOMINEM in 93b is the direct object of the verb VIDEO (a form of the verb 'to see'). The verbs in 93 may be omitted from the sentences, resulting in the constructions in 92, given that "[i]n both constructions the verb, whether the presentative or perception verb, appears to be redundant due to the deictic features of ECCE, which imply both presentation and perception" (Kragh & Strudsholm 2013:216).

Interestingly, the Greek ostensive particle *ná* (considered to be a SA head by Hill 2014), similar to *ecco*'s Latin root, can also be followed by either an accusative (94) or nominative (95) element, be it a full NP (94a, 95a) or a pronoun (94b, 95b).

(94)   [Joseph 2013:25-26]
    a. ná   ton   jáni
       na   the.ACC   jáni
          'Here's John'
    b. ná   ton
       na   he.ACC
       'Here he is'

(95)   [Joseph 1981:140]
    a. ná   o   Yánis
       na   the.NOM   Yanis
          'Here's John'
    b. ná   tos
       na   he.NOM
          'Here he is'

As suggested by the examples above, Hill's (2014) ostensive SA heads are able to host clitics, similar to the Italian *ecco*. For instance, the Romanian presentative particles can occur with object clitics (as in 87a, 89a), and the Greek *ná* can occur with Nominative/subject clitics (which Romanian does not have) (95b). Hill (2014) analyses the clitics hosted by the speech act particles as being the clitics of a deleted verb in the sentence. Indeed, she uses the following paradigm with *uite* to show that the particle does not have clitics of its own; whenever there is an imperative verb present, the clitic is attached to the verb rather than to *uite*.

(96)   [Hill 2014:166-167]
    a.   Uite-l! // Uite priveşte-l! // *Uite-l   priveşte!
        uite-it   uite   look.at.IMP.2SG-it
           'There it is!' // 'There, look at it!'
    b.   Uite să-l   păstrezi!   // Uite păstrezi-l!
        uite SUBJ-it keep.2SG // uite keep.IMP.2SG-it
          'You better keep it!'
    c.   *Uite-l să   păstrezi! // *Uite-l păstrezi!
        uite-it   SUBJ keep.2SG // uite-it   keep.IMP.2SG

It may be possible to apply a similar analysis to explain why *ecco* is able to host clitics even though the lexical item is not a verb; historically, the construction may have

involved an optional verbal element that has since been dropped, leaving *ecco* as the only available clitic host.

The SA heads described by Hill (2014) thus have numerous similarities with the Italian lexical item *ecco*, which suggests that they occupy similar syntactic positions. Indeed, an analogous analysis of *ecco* would help explain several of the observations regarding *ecco*'s distribution that were made in Part I; an analysis of *ecco* as a SA head with [V] features may help explain its verb-like behavior, and the placement of *ecco* in a SA domain above the CP would syntactically explain *ecco*'s restriction on embedding and negation as well as its inability to appear with preceding Topic and Focus elements.

3.2 A comparison between *ecco* and the epistemic head *credo*

Giorgi (2010) proposes that there is a syntactic position in the left-most periphery of the C-layer that is imbued with speaker-related features representing the speaker's temporal and spatial coordinates. She argues that in certain circumstances, this position may be overtly realized in Italian; Giorgi proposes that the speaker projection may be occupied by lexical items with overt first person features. She includes amongst such items first-person verbal forms such as the Italian lexical item *credo* ('I believe'). It has been argued that like *credo*, *ecco* may occupy Giorgi's (2010) speaker projection (cf. Zanuttini 2014:12).

3.2.1 The epistemic *credo*

Giorgi (2010) explains that when the verbal form *credo* appears on its own without a lexical subject, it has a specific interpretation and distribution that distinguishes it from other forms of the epistemic verb *credere* ('to believe'). To begin her discussion, Giorgi (2010:66) explains that in Italian, when a predicate selects for a subjunctive sentence complement, it generally also admits complementizer deletion, as in 97.

(97) [modified from Giorgi 2010:67]
    a. Mario crede   (che)   sia   partita.
        Mario believe.3SG that   be.3SG.SBJV leave.PP
          'Mario believes that she left'
    b. Mario crede   (che)   sia partita   Luisa.
        Mario believe.3SG that   be.3SG.SBJV Luisa
           'Mario believes that she left'

There is a certain group of Italian speakers, however, who do not allow complementizer deletion when the sentence complement contains a preverbal lexical subject, as shown in 98.[15] The notation '(*)' will be used to indicate when a sentence is not acceptable for this group of speakers.

(98) a. Mario crede   che Luisa sia   partita.
          Mario believe.3SG that Luisa be.3SG.SBJV leave.PP
              'Mario believes that Luisa left'
      b. [Giorgi 2010:67]
          (*)Mario crede   Luisa sia   partita.
            Mario   believe.3SG Luisa be.3SG.SBJV   leave.PP
                'Mario believes that Luisa left'

Interestingly, there is a difference for this group of speakers when the sentence complement is introduced by *credo* as opposed to a different form of the verb *credere*; consider the contrast displayed in 99.

(99) [Giorgi 2010:68]
      a. (*)Gianni crede   Luisa abbia   telefonato.
          Gianni   believe.3SG Luisa have.3SG.SBJV   call.PP
              'Gianni believes Luisa called'
      b. Credo   Luisa abbia   telefonato.
          believe.1SG Luisa have.3SG.SBJV   call.PP
              'I believe Luisa called'

The group judges 99b to be acceptable, whereas 99a is considered ungrammatical. In fact, even for speakers who accept both sentences, there is a clear distinction between the interpretation of 99a and 99b. Giorgi (2010:68) explains that in 99a, the speaker is providing information about Gianni's beliefs, attributing to Gianni an epistemic state; the sentence thus has a meaning equivalent to *"Gianni has the belief that Luisa called"*. In sentence 99b, on the other hand, the speaker is not attributing to him/herself an epistemic state; the sentence is not equivalent to *"I have the belief that Luisa called"* (Giorgi 2010:68). Rather, sentence 99b indicates that the assertion following *credo* is not a complete certainty, conveying a meaning similar to *"perhaps Luisa called"* (Giorgi 2010:69). This type of reading is not possible for the sentence in 99a.

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[15] Giorgi (2010:67) explains that this variation is not based on regional or dialectal differences but rather falls under the category of intra-linguistic microvariation.

Giorgi (2010) uses observations such as those above to argue that the verbal form *credo* in sentences like 99b does not behave as a 'real' verb the way that *crede* does in 99a; Giorgi posits that *credo* does not take a complement clause, which would result in a bi-clausal sentence like 99a, but rather it serves as an epistemic head whose function is to "[specify] the epistemic status of the speaker with respect to the proposition that follows" (Giorgi 2010:69). The sentence in 99b is consequently analyzed as a mono-clausal structure, similar to the sentence in 100 [Giorgi 2010:69].

(100) Probabilmente Luisa ha   telefonato.
       probably   Luisa have.3SG call.PP
          'Luisa probably called'

Giorgi (2010) hypothesizes that in sentences like 99b, *credo* originates in a lower Modifier position in the C-layer and then moves up to the *C-speaker* projection. She explains that the first-person features of the epistemic head are what allows *credo* to assume this position. Giorgi (2010) restricts such an analysis to first person indicative present tense subjectless verbal forms, however; she points to analysis by Giorgi & Pianesi (2004) that shows that other forms such as *io credo* ('I believe'), *io ho creduto* ('I believed'), *io credo che* ('I believe that'), *tu credi* ('you believe'), etc. behave the same way as *Gianni crede* ('Gianni believes') in 99a, differing from the epistemic *credo* in all relevant respects.

3.2.2 Similarities between *ecco* and the epistemic head *credo*

There exist several similarities between epistemic heads such as *credo* discussed by Giorgi (2010)[16] and the presentative *ecco*, thereby suggesting that they occupy similar syntactic positions. From an interpretation standpoint, both items have a clear relation to the point of view of the speaker, and from a morphological perspective, both lexical items are invariable forms with the ending *-o*, resembling Italian first person indicative present tense verb marking. Thus, it may be the case that *ecco*, like *credo*, has the relevant first-person features that would allow it to appear in Giorgi's speaker projection. In addition, the restriction of *credo* to the subjectless first person indicative present tense form recalls

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[16] Note that although Giorgi (2010) focuses on *credo* specifically, she posits that the same analysis holds for other epistemic first person verbal forms such as *penso* ('I think') and *immagino* ('I imagine').

Morin's (1985) description of presentatives as "subjectless finite verbs with a single tense and mood." Furthermore, similar to *credo*, presentatives such as *ecco* show verb-like qualities although they do not behave as 'real' verbs.

From a syntactic point of view, the epistemic *credo* patterns similarly to *ecco* in that it cannot be negated, it is incompatible with questions, and it shows restrictions on embedding. As shown in 101, the form *credo* may not be negated while retaining its epistemic reading; the negated sentence is obligatorily interpreted as having a bi-clausal structure similar to that in 99a, giving the meaning that the speaker does not have the belief that Luisa called.

(101)   #Non credo   Luisa   abbia   telefonato.
        neg   credo   Luisa   have.3SG.SBJV   call.PP
            Intended: *'It is not probable that Luisa called'
            'I do not have the belief that Luisa called.'

The epistemic *credo*'s inability to co-occur with negation may be explained by its proposed syntactic position; *C-speaker* is in the highest, left-most projection of the C-layer and thus above all NegPs in the CP domain (cf. Zanuttini 2001). The *credo* in 101 therefore cannot be an epistemic head in the speaker projection given that it is preceded by negation; it must rather be a form of the verb *credere*. If *ecco* were also situated in Giorgi's (2010) speaker projection, as suggested by Zanuttini (2014), this positioning would explain similarly *ecco*'s inability to appear with negation.

Credo additionally does not retain its epistemic reading in questions (102).

(102)   [Giorgi 2010:90]
        a.   *Chi credo   abbia   vinto   la gara?
             who credo   have.3SG.SBJV   win.PP   the race
                'Who do I believe won the race?'
        b.   *Perché credo Gianni   abbia   vinto   la gara?
             why   credo Gianni   have.3SG.SBJV   win.PP   the race
                'Why do I believe Gianni won the race?'
        c.   *Credo   chi   abbia   vinto   la gara?
             credo   who have.3SG.SBJV   win.PP   the race
                'I believe who won the race?'/'Who do I believe won the race?'
        d.   *Credo   perché Gianni abbia   vinto   la gara?
             credo   why   Gianni have.3SG.SBJV   win.PP   the race
                'I believe why Gianni won the race?'

As an epistemic head, *credo* is obligatorily speaker-oriented, however Giorgi (2010:90) points out that questions are typically hearer-oriented (they ask about the point of view of

the addressee). Giorgi (2010) thus argues that sentences like 102a and 102b must be interpreted as bi-clausal in order to be grammatical, as the speaker-oriented epistemic *credo* is incompatible with hearer-oriented interrogative phrases, thereby preventing a mono-clausal analysis.[17] Examples 102c and 102d in which *credo* occupies the speaker-related position in the C-layer, on the other hand, cannot even be rescued by a bi-clausal interpretation due to the sentences' syntactic ordering; they are thus unequivocally ungrammatical (the mono-clausal analysis is not available due to the same contradiction occurring in 102a-b).

The epistemic head *credo* also resists embedding, as in 103a.

(103) [Giorgi 2010:92]
    a. (*)Maria   ha   detto   che   credo   Gianni   si   sia
         Maria   have.3SG say.PP   that   credo   Gianni   REFL be.3SG.SBJV
        sbagliato.
        mistaken
           'Maria said that I believe Gianni was wrong'
    b. Maria ha   detto   a   tutti   che io credo   che   Gianni
        Maria have.3SG say.PP   to everyone that I   believe.1SG that   Gianni
        si sia sbagliato.
        3SG be.3SG.SBJV
           'Maria told everybody that I believe that Gianni was wrong'

Sentence 103a is ungrammatical for speakers of Italian who do not allow complementizer deletion in bi-clausal utterances with a preverbal lexical subject in the embedded clause, thereby suggesting that the epistemic interpretation of *credo* is not possible in 103a.[18] Giorgi (2010:93) proposes that a mono-clausal interpretation of 103a is not possible for interpretive reasons; she explains "by means of a communication verb such as *dire* (say), the speaker reports the content of a speech act by the subject, so that it is impossible to assign *credo* an epistemic interpretation obligatorily referring to the actual speaker, while being embedded under a communication predicate." In other words, epistemic anchoring

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[17] Note that in these sentences *credo* has not moved to the high speaker position in the C-layer; thus, if *credo* is interpreted as an epistemic head, it must be assumed to occupy a lower Modifier position (Giorgi 2010:90).

[18] Giorgi (2010:92) explains that the presence of *Gianni* in 101a can serve as a test for the epistemic reading of *credo*, as such an interpretation is only possible in mono-clausal structures, and the presence of *Gianni* in such a position is only acceptable under such a mono-clausal analysis.

is local, but *credo* can only refer to the speaker, so there is a mismatch when it appears in the epistemic context of another individual. Sentence 103a must therefore have an interpretation equivalent to the sentence in 103b; the epistemic head analysis is not available.

If *ecco* is assumed to be uniquely semantically-tied to the coordinates of the speaker, representing the speaker's attitude similar to the epistemic head *credo*, analogous explanations based on interpretive contradictions may potentially be used to explain *ecco*'s incompatibility with questions and embedding.

The epistemic head *credo* thus shares semantic, morphological, and syntactic similarities with *ecco*, which suggests that the two may occupy a similar speaker-associated position in the syntax[19]– namely, the speaker projection in the left-periphery of the CP domain proposed by Giorgi (2010).

3.3 A comparison between *ecco* and the English presentative *here/there's*

A recent proposal by Wood et al. (2015) situates the English presentative construction *here/there's* within the speech act domain elaborated by Speas & Tenny

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[19] It is important to note that although *ecco* and *credo* can appear in the same sentence, as in (iv), that does not necessarily contradict the proposal that both *ecco* and the epistemic head *credo* can occupy a speaker-projection in the left-periphery of the C-layer.

(iv)   Ecco, credo, il   tuo   zaino.
        ecco credo the   your   backpack
           'Here, I believe, is your backpack'

In (iv), *credo* serves as a qualification indicating that there may be some uncertainty as to whether the presented entity is actually the speaker's backpack, not that there is any doubt as to the presented entity's location; *credo* thus only modifies a portion of the proposition (namely the part of the utterance that follows it), not the entire sentence.

In this example, the intonation is obligatorily broken up around the item *credo*; it is presented as an aside or a parenthetical. Giorgi (2010:85) notes that in addition to being used as a verb or appearing as a speaker-associated epistemic head, *credo* may also appear as a mono-verbal parenthetical, as in (v).
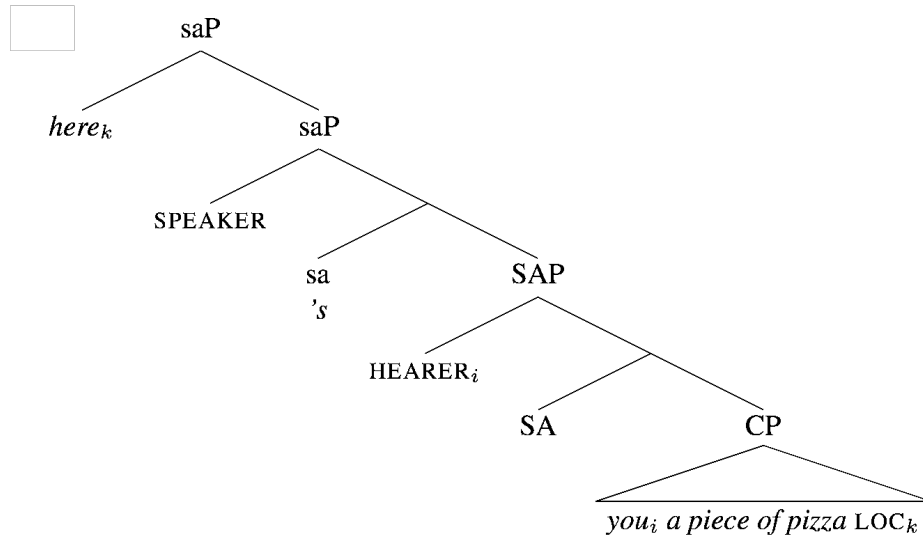
(v)   Maria (credo)$_1$ è (credo)$_2$ andata (credo)$_3$ a Parigi (credo)$_4$
              'Maria (I believe) has (I believe) gone (I believe) to Paris (I believe)

Giorgi (2010:85-88) explains that this form of *credo* is distinct from the epistemic head *credo* that she proposes occupies the speaker projection. Accordingly, sentence (iii) does not rule out the hypothesis that *ecco* occupies the speaker projection; *credo* is inserted here as a parenthetical, therefore it is not vying for the same syntactic position as *ecco*.

(2003), Hill (2007), and Haegeman (2014). For instance, Wood et al. (2015) propose that the sentence in 104 has the structure in 105.

(104)   Here's you a piece of pizza.[20]

(105)   [from Wood et al. 2015].

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                        saP
               ┌─────────┴─────────┐
            here_k               saP
                          ┌───────┴───────┐
                       SPEAKER
                              ┌──────┴──────┐
                             sa            SAP
                             's        ┌────┴────┐
                                   HEARER_i
                                          ┌──────┴──────┐
                                         SA            CP
                                               ┌───────┴───────┐
                                             you_i a piece of pizza LOC_k
```

As seen in 105, Wood et al. (2015) assume a single SAP projection with a saP shell layer. They split the construction *here's* into two parts, placing the deictic element *here* in the speaker layer of the SA domain and the *'s* ending in the head of the saP.

There are several similarities between the Italian *ecco* and the English presentative construction *here/there's*, which suggests that *ecco* may also occupy a speaker-associated position within the left periphery of the sentence. These similarities are described in §2.3.1-2.3.3. Please note that a full description of the properties of the English presentative construction is beyond the scope of this paper; the present section provides a general survey of some of the properties that the English presentative *here/there's* appears to share with the Italian *ecco*.

3.3.1 A note about the form of the English presentative

On the surface, the English presentative construction has the appearance of being a combination of the English locative *here* or *there* with a contracted form of the copula

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[20] Note that this sentence displays the SOUTHERN PRESENTATIVE DATIVE construction described in footnote 8.

be. In this section, however, I suggest that the form *here/there's* is not compositional but rather a conventionalized construction with special presentational properties.[21]

In English, the construction *here/there's + NP* can be used to present an entity, as in 106.[22]

(106)   a.   Here/There's John!
        b.   Here/There's your pen!

The sentences in 106 do not merely describe the location John or the pen, but they also give the sense of presenting these entities to the addressee. In this way, the *here/there's + NP* construction differs from English locative sentences such as those in 107, which do not convey the same sense of presentation.

(107)   a.   John is here/there
        b.   Your pen is here/there

In fact, the constructions in 106 and 107 display the same interpretive asymmetry as that described in 74-75 between Italian *ecco*-sentences and locative *ci*-sentences, as is shown in 108-109.

(108)   a.   Speaker A: I heard that you have a guest at home.
        b.   Speaker B: My brother is there. [at home]

(109)   a.   Speaker A: I heard that you have a guest at home.
        b.   Speaker B: #There's my brother.

Similar to the *ci*-sentence in 72b, Speaker B's reply in 108b is felicitous in the given context and is interpreted as indicating that the speaker's brother is at her house. The

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[21] Note that similar to the Romanian pragmatic particle *uite*, the English presentative construction has both a singular and a plural form: *here/there's* (vi-a) and *here/there're* (vi-b).

(vi)   a.   Here/There's the book!
        b.   Here/There're my keys!

For the purposes of this discussion, I will only be focusing on the singular form of the presentative construction, though it should be noted that the observations made in this section also hold for the plural *here/there're*.

[22] Although both the construction *here's* and *there's* can be used present an entity within the perceptual range of the speaker, in certain contexts, they may have a slight difference in interpretation; the use of the form *here's* implies that the entity is fairly proximal to the speaker, whereas *there's* implies that it is further away (though still within the relevant context). Similar to the French *voici* and *voilà*, however, these two forms can often be used interchangeably.

sentence in 109b, on the other hand, is infelicitous in this context and is obligatorily interpreted as meaning that Speaker B's brother is somewhere in the vicinity of the speaker. The fact that the *here/there's + NP* construction patterns similarly to *ecco-* sentences supports the hypothesis that it serves a similar presentative function.

The presentative *here/there's* appears to be a conventionalized form rather than simply a contracted version of the construction *here/there is*; the two different constructions have different interpretations and distributions.[23] Consider a situation in which a group of individuals is awaiting their friend John. When John enters the room, it would be completely natural for one of the individuals to utter a sentence like 110a. The sentence in 110b, on the other hand, does not sound as natural to native English speakers; although not completely unacceptable, the sentence is clearly degraded.

(110) a. Here/There's John!
       b. ?Here/There is John!

In certain circumstances, it is possible for a construction like that in 110b to sound more natural. For instance, if an individual is busy searching for his/her pen, upon finding it he/she may either utter 111a or 111b.

(111) a. Ah, here/there's my pen.
       b. Ah, *here/there* is my pen.

Although sentence 111b is grammatical in this instance, the presentative quality of the utterance is diminished; the emphasis in the utterance is on the specific location of the pen rather than on the presence of the pen. In fact, this distinction in emphasis is apparent in the intonation of the sentence; sentence 111b requires that the locative element *here/there* be heavily stressed (as if with contrastive focus).

It is also possible to have sentences of the form *here/there is + NP* similar to that in 112.

(112) Now, here/there is a man who appreciates good food.

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[23] It should be noted that the apparent relation between the form *here/there's* and *here/there + be* is quite salient, which makes identifying such a distinction rather difficult; if directly asked, native speakers will typically state that the *here/there's* and *here/there is* forms are equivalent. Nevertheless, when then probed to produce sentences, speakers display a clear preference for the *here/there's* form in presentational contexts.

Such a sentence could be uttered in a situation in which the speaker had been lamenting that most people do not have a proper appreciation for fine dining and then noticed an individual who appeared to have the proper respect for impressive culinary creations and wanted to point out this individual to her companions. The sentence receives a reading similar to *'There is a man over there who appreciates good food.'* [24] While a sentence such as 112 may serve as an introduction of an entity, the sentence does not have the same presentative feel as a sentence like 110a; rather than simply presenting an entity, the sentence gives the impression of commenting on the introduced entity (i.e. the man) with particular emphasis on a property of that entity (i.e. the fact that the man appreciates good food). Indeed, the intonation of sentence 112 also differs from that of presentational sentences like those in 106, 110a, or 111a; there is more stress on the element *here/there*. In addition, this type of sentence is typically introduced by some transitional element such as *now*; unlike the aforementioned presentative sentences, this *here/there is+ NP* construction does not occur as naturally in isolation.

In fact, the sentence in 112 seems to be of a different type from sentences like 106, 110a, or 111b. Consider the following contrast. The sentences in 113 have the same function as that in 112 of introducing an entity with emphasis on a specific property of that entity. Note that this sentence type is compatible with both the un-contracted (113a) and contracted forms of the verb *be* (113b).

(113)   a.   Ah, now there is a man who looks good in purple.
        b.   Ah, now there's a man who looks good in purple.

Now consider a scenario in which an individual is talking with a group of friends and one of them states that there are very few men who look good in purple. If the individual then spots a man across the street who does look good in the purple, he/she may naturally utter a presentational sentence like 114a in order to bring this man to the attention of his/her friend. Sentence 114b, on the other hand, does not sound as natural in this circumstance.

(114)   a.   There's a man who looks good in purple.
        b.   ?There is a man who looks good in purple.

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[24] When read with the introduction 'there is' rather than 'here is', sentence 112 may also be interpreted with an existential reading, equivalent to *'There exists a man who appreciates good food'*.

In this context, the sentences in 114 are clearly presenting an entity with a reading similar to that of a presentative *ecco*-sentence. The fact that the construction in 113 permits both the contracted and un-contracted forms of *there + be* whereas the context in 114 has a preference for the contracted *there's* suggests that, despite their similarities in form, the construction in 112 and 113 is of a different sentence type from that in 114 and does not have the same presentative function. These observations indicate that the English presentative construction has a specific form and is not simply a contracted form of a *here/there + be* construction.

This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that *here/there's* and *here/there is* do not have the exact same distribution in narrative contexts. The forms *here/there is* cannot appear in narrative contexts, as it leads to a tense mismatch, as shown in 115.

(115) a. *We were walking down the road chatting, and all of a sudden, there is John on the opposite side of the street!
       b. *We were walking down the road chatting, and all of a sudden, here is John coming down the sidewalk towards us!

The acceptability of these sentences is improved, however, when the forms *there is* and *here is* are replaced with the presentative *there's* and *here's* constructions, as in 116.

(116) a. We were walking down the road chatting, and all of a sudden, there's John on the opposite side of the street!
       b. ?We were walking down the road chatting, and all of a sudden, here's John coming down the sidewalk towards us![25]

When presented with these sentences, the hearer has the impression of listening directly to the thoughts of the individuals in the story, as if the narrator assumes their temporal and spatial point of view when presenting the presence of John. The fact that the presentative *here/there's* can more easily appear in such narrative contexts than *here/there is* suggests that the former is not simply a contracted form of the latter. Although it may be suggested that in such narrative contexts the presentative forms are actually a contraction of *here/there was*, as in 117, there are no attested instances of *was* contracting to *'s* in English.

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[25] The use of *here* to refer to a displaced location lowers the acceptability of this sentence in the eyes of some speakers.

(117) a. We were walking down the road chatting, and all of a sudden, there was John
           on the opposite side of the street!
       b. ?We were walking down the road chatting, and all of a sudden, here was John
           coming down the sidewalk towards us![25]

On the basis of these observations, I suggest that the English presentative has the

conventionalized form of *here/there's* and that, although it may be derived from a

here/there + be construction, it is no longer interpreted as compositional in modern

English. The form of the English presentative is for the most part invariable; the only

circumstance under which the presentative *here/there's* construction varies in form is

when it is combined with a pronoun, in which case it takes the form *here/there +*

pronoun + be, as in 118.

(118) Here I am! / Here you are! / Here he/she/it is! / Here we are! / Here they are!

3.3.2 Presentative properties

The English *here/there's* displays four out of the five properties of presentatives

identified by Porhiel (2012) that *ecco* has been shown to exhibit (cf. Part I, §1).

The English presentative *here/there's* can be used to introduce a referent (as in

106), and it presupposes the existence of this referent; it would not be licit to utter a

sentence like 106a if John is not nearby, and it is also not possible to negate the English

presentative (119), as the construction may not present a referent that does not exist.

(119) a. *Here/There's not John.
       b. *Here/There's not your pen.

The English presentative can also be used with both a textual function, pointing to

extra-linguistic entities such as those in 106, or a non-textual function, pointing to

referents in the linguistic environment, as in 120.

(120) Here's what you should do: …

Interestingly, the prospective textual function is only possible with the form *here's*; the

presentative form *there's* cannot be used to point towards a referent as a cataphor (121).

(121) *There's what you should do:…

The retrospective reading of the English presentative construction is more difficult to

achieve (122-123), though it is more acceptable with the form *there's*. The same function

would be typically achieved in English using a construction like that in 124.

(122)　a.　…?and there's my story.
　　　　b.　…*and here's my story.

(123)　a.　…?and there's all there is to it.
　　　　b.　…*and here's all there is to it.

(124)　a.　…and that's my story.
　　　　b.　…and that's all there is to it.

In addition, similar to *ecco*, the English presentative may introduce discrete
referents (125) as well as non-discrete referents (126).

(125)　a.　Here/There's John!
　　　　b.　Here/There's my book!

(126)　a.　Here's what we're going to do.
　　　　b.　Here/There's romanticism at its finest.

The English presentative may also both present (127a) and represent (127b) extra-
linguistic referents based on the viewpoint of the speaker.

(127)　a.　Here's Mr. Smith, my physics teacher.
　　　　b.　Ah, here you are! … Where were you hiding?

Unlike *ecco*, however, the English form *here/there's* may not be used to introduce
a referent that is not linguistically expressed; in such instances, the form *Here/There!* or
Here/There you go! is used instead (128).

(128)　A train passenger has taken his seat, and the conductor is walking up the aisle
　　　　checking tickets. When the conductor reaches the passenger, the passenger may
　　　　respond:
　　　　a.　Here's my ticket! [presenting the conductor with the ticket]
　　　　b.　*Here's! [presenting the conductor with the ticket]
　　　　c.　Here! / Here you go! [presenting the conductor with the ticket]

3.3.3 Other similarities

In addition to having similar meanings and both displaying Porhiel's (2012)
presentative properties, the English and Italian presentative constructions share several
other similarities. First of all, both constructions resemble impoverished verbal forms;
ecco seems to behave similarly to an Italian verb but lacks conjugation and inflection,
and the form *here/there's* has an obvious relation to the English verb *be*, yet (as discussed
in §3.3.1) it does not behave exactly the same way as structures containing the contracted
verbal form. In addition, the English and Italian presentative forms both appear in
interactive as well as narrative contexts. Moreover, the English *here/there's* resembles

ecco with respect to its distribution (§3.3.3.1), the restrictions on its use (§3.3.3.2), the deictic nature of its interpretation (§3.3.3.3), and its clause-like behavior (§3.3.3.4).

3.3.3.1 *Ecco* and *Here/There's* have similar syntactic distributions

The Italian and English presentatives share similar syntactic distributions; they may combine with several of the same subordinate structures and display similar syntactic restrictions.

For instance, like *ecco*, the English presentative can be followed by a subordinate NP. As in the *ecco-NP* construction, this NP may take the form of a definite (129a) or indefinite (129b) NP as well as a proper name (129c) or a pronoun (118).[26]

(129) a. Here/There's the key!
      b. Here/There's a key!
      c. Here/There's Mary!

In addition, the form h*ere/there's* can also combine with headless relative clauses (130) as well as with an NP + small clause construction (131).

(130) a. Here's how I want things to be done.
      b. Here's why I decided to leave the party early.

(131) Here's the cat playing with the ball.

The English presentative furthermore displays similar syntactic constraints to *ecco* regarding embedding (132a-b), negation (132c), and questioning (132d).

(132) a. *She said that here/there's the bus.
      b. *You don't know that here/there's the key.
      c. *Here/There's not my jacket.
      d. *Is here John?[27]

The English presentative even shows similar restrictions to the *ecco-NP* construction regarding with which quantifiers it is allowed to appear, as in 133.

(133) a. *Here/There's few people.
      b. *Here/There's each book.

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[26] Unlike in *ecco*-constructions, the pronoun is not cliticized when appearing after the English presentative– a fact that is not surprising given that English does not have subject or object clitics.

[27] It is possible to have a sentence such as *'Is John here?'*, however this sentence is the interrogative counterpart of the locative sentence *'John is here'* rather than of the presentative *'Here's John!'*

The distributions of the English and Italian presentatives are not identical, however; the distribution of the English *here/there's* is more limited than that of *ecco*. For instance, the form *here/there's* may not stand on its own (128b), does not appear as a discourse marker, and cannot combine with pseudo-relative (134a),[28] infinitive (134b), or finite clauses (134c).

(134)   a.   *Here/There's Mary that is preparing her speech.
        b.   *Here/There's to arrive the bride.
        c.   *Here/There's that Mary is preparing her speech.

3.3.3.2 *Ecco* and *Here/There's* display similar restrictions on their use

Similar to the referent in *ecco*-constructions, the entity presented by the English presentative must be deictically accessible to the speaker in some way, either physically or otherwise. For instance, it is not licit to utter a sentence such as 135 if there is no book accessible to the speaker.

(135)   Here/There's my book!

Similarly, like *ecco*, the English presentative cannot be used to introduce or present the absence of an entity, as in 136.

(136)   a.   *Here/There's nothing.
        b.   *Here/There's nobody.

As with *ecco*-sentences, the referent introduced by the English presentative construction may be accessible to the speaker in a variety of ways; it may be accessible visibly or physically (137a), through another sense (137b-c), or in the space of mental possibilities (137d).

(137)   a.   [Context: upon seeing one's jacket on a nearby chair]
             Here/There's my jacket!
        b.   [Context: upon hearing preparations to make coffee and smelling the aroma
             from the next room]
             Here/There's the coffee!
        c.   [Context: upon hearing a knock at the door after waiting for guests to arrive]
             Here/There they are!
        d.   Here's a possible solution.

In addition, similar to *ecco*, the use of the *here/there's* construction gives the sense that the introduced entity is entering or re-entering the discussion or utterance

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[28] This fact is not surprising, as English doesn't have pseudo-relatives in general.

context (or has recently finished doing so); as with *ecco*-sentences, it is not possible for the introduced referent to be already established in the context or discussion. For instance, if two individuals are seated in a room with their cat, it would not be acceptable for them to utter a sentence like 138 unless the presence or location of the cat within the room was previously uncertain.

(138) Here/There's the cat.

Interestingly, the English presentative does not display the same sensitivity as the *ecco-NP* construction to the restriction that the introduced referent cannot be discourse new. Although it would not sound completely natural for one to utter a sentence like 139a out of the blue, there are contexts in which a discourse-new referent can be introduced by the *here/there's + NP* construction. For instance, it would be possible to utter a sentence like 139b if one were looking through the mail and was surprised to find a letter from the president. It is also acceptable to utter a sentence like 139c even if one had not been not talking about or expecting John. It is unclear whether the ability of the construction to introduce discourse-new referents is based on the nature of the introduced NP (whether it is a non-specific entity such as *a spider* versus a more precisely defined entity like *a letter from the president* or a specific individual such as *John*) or whether it is based on the pragmatics of the utterance. Furthermore, it is unclear in such circumstances whether the sentence is truly equivalent to the Italian presentative *ecco*-construction or whether it is more similar to an Italian *ci*-sentence in its interpretation.

(139) a. What a surprise! #Here's a spider.
       b. What a surprise! Here's a letter from the president.
       c. Oh, look! There's John!

3.3.3.3 *Ecco* and *Here/There's* are both deictic

Similar to *ecco*-constructions, sentences with the English presentative depend on context for interpretation; the sentences themselves do not specify the exact location of the referents that they introduce (although the location of the presented referent is assumed to be within the discourse context) or exactly how these referents are present in the utterance context (whether they are accessible physically, through another sense, or within the space of mental possibilities). In fact, the English and Italian presentatives seem to have similar interpretations; the spatial interpretation of the English presentative patterns similarly to that of *ecco*, as was shown in 109.

The use of the English presentative construction also requires an interactive communicative context with both a speaker and an addressee (it would be odd to present an entity to no one), though as with *ecco* the speaker and addressee can be the same person; for instance, it would be perfectly acceptable to say to oneself a sentence like 137a if one had been searching for one's jacket.

In fact, similar to *ecco* constructions, English speakers of certain dialects allow the addressee to appear in the sentence, as in 140; this is the SOUTHERN PRESENTATIVE DATIVE construction mentioned in footnote 8. As with *ecco*-sentences, this construction is restricted to the first and second person (Wood et al. 2015).

(140) [from Wood et al. 2015]
    a. Here's **you** a piece of pizza.
    b. Here's **me** a piece of pizza.

(141) *Here's **her/him** a piece of pizza.

Thus, both the English and the Italian presentative constructions exhibit a close connection to the pragmatics of the speech event and utterance context that suggests that they are both deictic.

3.3.3.4 *Ecco* and *Here/There's* both display clause-like behavior

Similar to the *ecco-NP* construction, sentences of the form *here/there's + NP* may be considered clauses that add a proposition to the discourse. The English presentative makes an assertion to which one can object (142), sentences containing the presentative construction pass the *Oui, je sais* 'Yes, I know' test (143), and the sentences may be used to answer questions (144-145), thereby suggesting that the construction conveys a proposition.

(142) a. Speaker A: Where are my shoes?
       b. Speaker B: Here they are!
       c. Speaker A: Those aren't my shoes– those are John's!

(143) a. Speaker A: Here/There's your coat!
       b. Speaker B: Yes, I know.

(144) a. Speaker A: Do you have my pen?
       b. Speaker B: Here/There it is! [presenting Speaker A's pen]

(145) a. Speaker A: Where is my pen?
       b. Speaker B: Here/There it is! [presenting Speaker A's pen]

Furthermore, a sentence of the form *here/there's + NP* may be resumed using the same type of element used to resume clauses and propositions in English (146).

 (146) a. Speaker A: Here's John! / John has arrived!
           b. Speaker B: That means that Bill is going to arrive soon.

The Italian presentative *ecco* thus shares numerous properties with the English presentative construction with respect to its function, distribution, and interpretation. Consequently, if the English presentative is situated within the left periphery of the clause in a syntactic layer associated with the speaker as suggested by Wood et al. (2015), it would not be unreasonable to hypothesize that *ecco* occupies a similar position.

4 Summary

Part II discussed the spatial interpretation of *ecco*-sentences and its potential implications for the syntax of *ecco*-constructions. The key points from this section are presented below.

- *Ecco*-sentences provide locative information, however *ecco* itself is not a locative.

- The spatial interpretation of *ecco*-sentences patterns differently than that of locative *ci*-sentences, suggesting that the interpretation of *ecco*-sentences is more constrained.

- In particular, there seems to be a special relation between the interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction and the coordinates of the speaker.

- It is not unprecedented for lexical items to be hypothesized to encode the spatial or temporal coordinates of the speaker or the speaker's point of view; such items have been posited to occupy special positions within recently a proposed pragmatics-syntax interface at the left periphery of the clause.

- *Ecco* may belong in a speaker-associated position in the left periphery of the clause.

    o Several presentative elements have been hypothesized to occupy such positions within the pragmatics-syntax interface.

    o *Ecco*'s distribution indicates that it is situated rather high up in the left periphery of the clause.

    o *Ecco* displays several similarities to lexical items proposed to occupy speaker-associated syntactic positions.

Part III: Probing for biases in *ecco*'s spatial interpretation

1 The purpose of the experiment

In order to shed some light on the questions discussed in Part II regarding *ecco*'s locative interpretation, I performed an experiment probing for biases in the interpretation of *ecco-NP* sentences in cases of potential ambiguity. The goal of the study was to help identify how the location of the NP referent in an *ecco-NP* sentence is determined– more specifically, whether it is determined based on context or whether the lexical item *ecco* itself is imbued with locative information (distinct from that contributed by context) that influences the sentence's interpretation.

The experiment focused on the interpretation of *ecco-NP* sentences in a narrative-style context. Narratives allow for the presentation of multiple spatial contexts and individuals, including a character representing the speaker. As discussed in §2.3 of Part I, an NP referent introduced by *ecco* in a narrative may either be interpreted with respect to a speaker character or with respect to a third-person individual. Therefore, it is possible to set up narrative scenarios with distinct spatial contexts for different individuals (ex. the speaker and another individual) in which the interpretation of an *ecco-NP* sentence may be ambiguous.

I set out to answer the following research questions: i) Does *ecco* contribute locative information distinct from that obtained simply through context? ii) Is the locative context of the NP in an *ecco-NP* construction obligatorily interpreted as sharing the same coordinates as the speaker or do other interpretations arise naturally? iii) If other interpretations arise, are they determined based on the most recently-mentioned context, a broader utterance context, or some other factor? iv) Is there a stronger bias towards interpreting the location of the NP as sharing the coordinates of the speaker in the *ecco-NP* construction than in other presentational constructions whose interpretation is based on context (such as *ci*-sentences)?

If *ecco* appears to contribute locative information distinct from that available in the context and to bias the interpretation of the sentence towards the coordinates of the speaker, this could support the hypothesis that *ecco* occupies a syntactic position associated with the speaker's point of view and spatial and temporal coordinates. Else, if the interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction appears to be based on context, then that

could indicate that *ecco*-sentences behave more similarly to locative *ci*-sentences and require a similar syntactic analysis.

2 Methods

In order to investigate the locative properties of *ecco*, I conducted an online survey probing the interpretation of *ecco*-sentences in contexts where more than one interpretation is possible. The survey was administered online via Qualtrics (http://www.qualtrics.com).

During the survey, participants were instructed to read several short passages (hereafter referred to as 'scenarios') and respond to corresponding multiple-choice interpretation questions. The survey involved 16 experimental items, with 24 fillers intermixed. The participant pool was restricted to native speakers of Italian aged 18 or older. Non-native speakers were excluded from the study, as it has been proven that native speakers have different intuitions from non-native speakers (cf. Coppieters 1987).

3 Materials

3.1 The experimental scenarios

On each page of the survey, participants were presented with a scenario and a multiple-choice interpretation question, as in 147. Each experimental scenario was composed of three sentences: a sentence presenting the spatial context of the speaker, a sentence presenting the spatial context of another individual, and a sentence presenting a NP that could plausibly appear in either context. The corresponding interpretation questions asked in which location this NP appeared, presenting four options: the location of the speaker, the location of the other individual, both, or neither.

(147) Io ero a Torino, nel mio ufficio, che lavoravo. Lei era a Roma, a casa, che cucinava. All'improvviso, ecco un fortissimo temporale.
   'I was in Torino, in my office working. She was in Rome, at home cooking. All of a sudden, *ecco* a strong storm.'

Dov'è stato il temporale?
   'Where was the storm?'
    a) A Torino   'In Torino'
    b) A Roma   'In Rome'
    c) Sia (a) che (b)   'Both (a) and (b)'
    d) Né (a) né (b)   'Neither (a) nor (b)'

In the scenarios, the speaker was represented by the first-person singular pronoun *io*, while the other individual was represented by either a third-person singular pronoun (*lui* or *lei*) or a proper name. The experimental items were balanced for the gender of the third-person individual as well as for the individual's method of representation (using a pronoun or a proper name). The scenarios avoided the use of the first-person plural and the second-person pronouns in order to exclude the participant from the context and thus avoid interpretations biased by the participant's spatial coordinates.

3.1.1 Contexts

The spatial contexts in the scenarios were presented in the form of a geographic location paired with one or two additional pieces of information in the form of either a non-geographic location or an activity that the relevant individual was performing. The geographic locations serve to distinguish the two different contexts in each scenario as distinct and far apart, and they also facilitate questioning in the interpretation question. These locations were chosen so as not too seem too foreign to an Italian audience, comprising principally of Italian cities and European capitals. The additional information (a non-geographic location and/or activity) was included to convey a sense of narrative and situation in the scenarios as well as to provide variability in the prompts to prevent them from seeming too similar or too trivial to the participants. Within each scenario, both the speaker context and the third-person individual's context were presented with the same amount of additional information in order to prevent narrative-based confounds; for instance, if more narrative is devoted to one individual, the participant may be biased towards that individual's context. The experimental items were balanced according to whether the contexts in the scenario were presented using either one or two additional pieces of information beyond the geographic location.

3.1.2 Conditions

The experimental items followed a 2 x 2 Latin Square design; each scenario set had four different conditions based on two lines of variation. I manipulated the order of context presentation (whether the speaker's context was presented first or second) and the presentation method of the NP (using *ecco* or an alternative presentation whose interpretation is based on context; these alternative presentations are discussed in §3.1.3.1). Consider the scenario set below.

(148) a. Io ero a Torino, nel mio ufficio, che lavoravo. Lei era a Roma, a casa, che
          cucinava. All'improvviso, ecco un fortissimo temporale.
          'I was in Torino, in my office working. She was in Rome, at home
          cooking. All of a sudden, *ecco* a strong storm.'

       b. Lei era a Roma, a casa, che cucinava. Io ero a Torino, nel mio ufficio, che
          lavoravo. All'improvviso, ecco un fortissimo temporale.
          'She was in Rome, at home cooking. I was in Torino, in my office
          working. All of a sudden, *ecco* a strong storm.'

       c. Io ero a Torino, nel mio ufficio, che lavoravo. Lei era a Roma, a casa, che
          cucinava. All'improvviso, c'è stato un fortissimo temporale.
          'I was in Torino, in my office working. She was in Rome, at home
          cooking. All of a sudden, there was a strong storm.'

       d. Lei era a Roma, a casa, che cucinava. Io ero a Torino, nel mio ufficio, che
          lavoravo. All'improvviso, c'è stato un fortissimo temporale.
          'She was in Rome, at home cooking. I was in Torino, in my office
          working. All of a sudden, there was a strong storm.'

In passages 148a and 148c, the speaker context is presented first, whereas in 148b and
148d, the speaker context is presented second. In 148a and 148b, the NP is presented
using *ecco*, whereas in 148c and 148d, the NP is introduced using an alternative
presentation. This variation corresponds to four different conditions, which I have
labeled 1E, 2E, 1NE, and 2NE, which are to be interpreted following the key in 149.

(149) 1: The speaker context is presented first
       2: The speaker context is presented second
       E: The NP is presented with *ecco*
       NE: The NP is not presented with *ecco*

The 16 experimental items, each containing 4 conditions, were organized into 4
different lists using a Latin Square paradigm such that only one condition per
experimental item appeared in each list. The 16 experimental scenarios in each list were
mixed with 24 filler scenarios and presented in a random order. The participants were
divided equally amongst the 4 lists.

3.1.3 The NP presentation

3.1.3.1 The NE conditions

Half of the experimental scenarios introduced intangible NPs in the third sentence
(ex. a storm, a smell, or a sound), and the other half introduced concrete NPs (ex. a
person or object). In the NE conditions, the NP was introduced using either the form *c'è
stato/a + NP* ('there was' + NP) or *è arrivato/a + NP* ('there arrived' + NP); the form *c'è*

stato/a was used to present intangible NPs (as in 150a), and the form *è arrivato/a* was used for concrete NPs (as in 150b).[29]

(150) a. Io ero a Torino, nel mio ufficio, che lavoravo. Lei era a Roma, a casa, che cucinava. All'improvviso, c'è stato un fortissimo temporale.
   'I was in Torino, in my office working. She was in Rome, at home cooking. Suddenly, there was a strong storm.'

   b. Io ero a Londra, che camminavo per la strada. Allegra era ad Amsterdam, alla fermata dell'autobus. Tutt'a un tratto, è arrivata un'ambulanza.
   'I was in London, walking along the street. Allegra was in Amsterdam, at the bus stop. All of a sudden, there arrived an ambulance.'

The presentations *c'è stato/a* and *è arrivato/a* were chosen, as neither expression contributes locative information on its own; the location of NPs following the forms *c'è stato/a* or *è arrivato/a* is determined based on context. Consider the examples below.

(151) a. Ieri a Parigi, c'è stata una tempesta di neve.
   'Yesterday there was a snowstorm in Paris.'

   b. L'ultima volta che ho visitato la Roma, c'è stata una tempesta di neve.
   'The last time I visited Rome, there was a snowstorm.'

(152) a. Ieri a Parigi, è arrivata la regina d'Inghilterra.
   'Yesterday the queen of England arrived in Paris.'

   b. L'ultima volta che ho visitato la Roma, è arrivata la regina d'Inghilterra.
   'The last time I visited Rome, the queen of England arrived'

Although the NP *una tempesta di neve* ('a snowstorm') is presented with the same construction *c'è stata* in both 151a and 151b, in 151a the snowstorm is interpreted as having occurred in Paris, whereas in 151b it is interpreted as having occurred in Rome. Similarly, in 152, even though the NP *la regina d'Inghilterra* ('the queen of England') is introduced by *è arrivata* in both 152a and 152b, in the latter she is interpreted as having arrived in Rome, whereas in the former she arrived in Paris. Thus, in both 151 and 152, the spatial interpretation of the NP introduced with the *c'è stata + NP* or the *è arrivata + NP* construction is based on context.[30] Consequently, the constructions themselves are not contributing locative information that determines the spatial interpretation.

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[29] Two different presentation methods were required, as there exists no singular form (besides *ecco*) that is compatible with introducing both intangible and concrete referents.

[30] Recall that in locative *ci*-sentences, "the pronoun *ci* functions as a locative pro-predicate referring to a locative phrase." (Cruschina 2012:95). The clitic *ci* is thus not imbued with locative information on its own distinct from the context in which it appears.

3.1.3.2 Introducing the NP presentation

In the third sentence of each scenario, the presentation of the NP was introduced by a transitional phrase. In half of the scenarios, the presentation was introduced using the phrase *all'improvviso* ('all of a sudden'), as in 150a, and in the other half, it was introduced with the phrase *tutt'a un tratto* ('all of a sudden'), as in 150b. Such an introduction is necessary for the scenarios to flow as a narrative, as without the inclusion of *all'improvviso* or *tutt'a un tratto*, the *ecco*-sentence sounds strange and out-of-context.

(153)   Io ero a Londra, che camminavo per la strada. Allegra era ad Amsterdam, alla fermata dell'autobus. #Ecco un'ambulanza.
>   'I was in London, walking along the street. Allegra was in Amsterdam, at the bus stop. #Here/There was an ambulance.'

It is important to maintain the flow of the narrative so that the NP introduced by *ecco* is interpreted within the narrative context; otherwise, the *ecco*-sentence could be read as distinct from the narrative established by the previous two sentences, presenting an NP in the participant's spatial context. It is also important that the scenario read naturally and fluidly in order to prevent confounds based on perceived ungrammaticality or oddity in the prompt.

The transition elements *all'improvviso* and *tutt'a un tratto* in particular were chosen, as they can naturally precede a presentative element and maintain the flow of the narrative. Moreover, the presentative *ecco-NP* construction already implies a sense of suddenness in narrative contexts, therefore the addition of the element *all'improvviso* or *tutt'a un tratto* does not significantly affect the meaning of the *ecco*-sentence. In fact, Kragh & Strudsholm (2013:214) explain that the use of the presentative gives an "effect of immediateness", and Julia (2013:1) identifies the basic function of presentatives as drawing the attention of the listener to "un événement soudain" ('a sudden event'), including the arrival of a person or the identification of an object.

Indeed, the NP introduced by *ecco* in a narrative must appear in the story context only shortly before it is presented (it cannot already be present/recognized in the narrative setting, as discussed in §2.1.2 of Part I), thereby leading the NP to be interpreted as appearing out-of-the-blue or suddenly. Consider the example in 154.

(154)   a.   [Context: the narrator was seated by the window next to a bird]
>   #Io ero seduto vicino alla finestra aperta ed ecco un uccello sul davanzale.
>>   'I was seated by the open window, and *ecco* a bird on the windowsill'

b. [Context: the narrator was seated by the window, and a bird landed on the windowsill]
Io ero seduto vicino alla finestra aperta ed ecco un uccello sul davanzale.

The sentence in 154 is only licit in a narrative context in which the bird newly enters the setting (as in 154b); the clause *ecco un uccello sul davanzale* cannot be used when the bird is already established in the context (as in 154a). Furthermore, the use of *ecco* implies a sense of surprise at the arrival of the bird, thereby suggesting a sense of suddenness. The sentence in 154b accordingly has an interpretation equivalent to that in 155 below.

(155) Io ero seduto vicino alla finestra aperta e tutt'a un tratto/all'improvviso ecco un uccello sul davazale.
'I was seated by the open window and all of a sudden, *ecco* a bird on the windowsill.'

In addition to having the ability to naturally precede the presentative *ecco*, the transitions *all'improvviso* and *tutt'a un tratto* do not require the scenario to establish a numeric timeline, which also prevents potential confounds; transitions that establish a timeline, such as *dopo qualche ora* ('a few hours later') or *alle tre e mezzo* ('at three thirty'), may bias the interpretation towards the speaker context, as it is assumed that the speaker is the one keeping track of time in the narrative.

3.2 The questions

All of the interpretation questions followed the same format in order to prevent potential confounds; the questions were given in the form *Dov'è stato/a + NP* ('where was' + NP), as in 147. The multiple-choice answers corresponded to the geographical location of the speaker, the geographical location of the third-person individual, both locations, or neither location. The spatial contexts in the multiple-choice answers were presented in order of their appearance in the scenario. Below each interpretation question, participants were provided with space to write comments if they so desired.

3.3 Fillers

In addition to the 16 experimental scenarios in each survey list, the participants were also presented with 24 filler scenarios in order to prevent strategic response patterns. Similar to the experimental scenarios, the filler scenarios each consisted of three sentences and were accompanied by multiple-choice interpretation questions. The

format of the sentences differed from those of the experimental sentences in order to vary the types of sentences seen by the participant (thereby keeping the participant engaged), though the sentences in the filler scenarios matched those in the experimental items in length and complexity. In addition, the filler scenarios typically included similar types of information to that presented in the experimental scenarios; for instance, they introduced different individuals in different contexts and referenced geographical locations as well as non-geographic locations and activities. Moreover, several of the filler scenarios involved the lexical items *ecco*, *all'improvviso*, and *tutt'a un tratto*.

Each filler scenario was accompanied by an interpretation question that could be answered (a), (b), 'both (a) and (b)', or 'neither (a) nor (b)' in order to match the interpretation questions of the experimental items. A portion of the questions asked about location, whereas others inquired about different information presented in the scenario.

4 Procedure

Participants were presented with an untimed online survey, consisting of 40 total scenarios (16 experimental, 24 filler), presented in a randomized order. Each page presented the participant with a single scenario and a corresponding multiple-choice interpretation question. After reading the scenario and answering the question, the participant clicked a button to view the next scenario. Participants were not allowed to go back and change their responses once they proceeded to the next page.

5 Hypotheses

It is assumed that if *ecco* is imbued with locative information distinct from that contributed by context, then the interpretation of the location of the presented NP in the E conditions should differ from the interpretation in the NE conditions. If the locative interpretation of *ecco* is obligatorily tied to the speaker's coordinates, then the NP should consistently be interpreted as being in the speaker's context in the E conditions. If the responses to the interpretation questions for the E conditions show a stronger bias towards the speaker context than the responses for the NE conditions, this result would indicate that *ecco* contributes special speaker-related locative information to the spatial interpretation of the referent it introduces, thereby suggesting that it occupies a speaker-associated syntactic position.

On the other hand, if the interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction is determined based on context in the same way as locative *ci*-sentences or the *è arrivato/a +NP* construction, then there should be no difference between the responses in the E conditions and the NE conditions. There is more than one way that context may influence the interpretation of *ecco-NP* sentences, however. For instance, if the interpretation of *ecco*-sentences is based on the most recently-mentioned context, then the NP should be interpreted as being in the context of the third-person individual in the 1E condition and in the speaker context in the 2E condition. If the locative interpretation is based on a more broadly-construed utterance context, on the other hand, it is possible that the NP may be interpreted as appearing simultaneously in both contexts in the 1E and 2E conditions.

Please note that the present study is not intended to serve as a fully-comprehensive investigation of the issues under discussion; rather, the experiment was designed as a preliminary study to test if the *ecco-NP* construction shows biases in its interpretation that may merit further investigation.

6 Participants

A total of 59 subjects (+3 excluded) participated in the study.[31] Of these individuals, 16 (27.12%) were male and 43 (72.88%) were female. The mean age range of the participants was 25-34 years; the overall distribution of age ranges is provided in Figure 1. At the beginning of the survey, participants were asked to provide their hometown (i.e. the place where they spent the majority of their childhood); these locations are plotted in Figure 2. 64.41% of participants indicated that they grew up in Northern Italy, 27.12% indicated that they grew up in Central Italy, and 87.47% indicated that they grew up in Southern Italy (Figure 3). The subjects represent 13 out of the total 20 regions of Italy; the geographical distribution of the participants broken down by region is presented in Figure 4.

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[31] The excluded participants were omitted for either not responding to the survey questions or for indicating that they grew up outside of Italy.
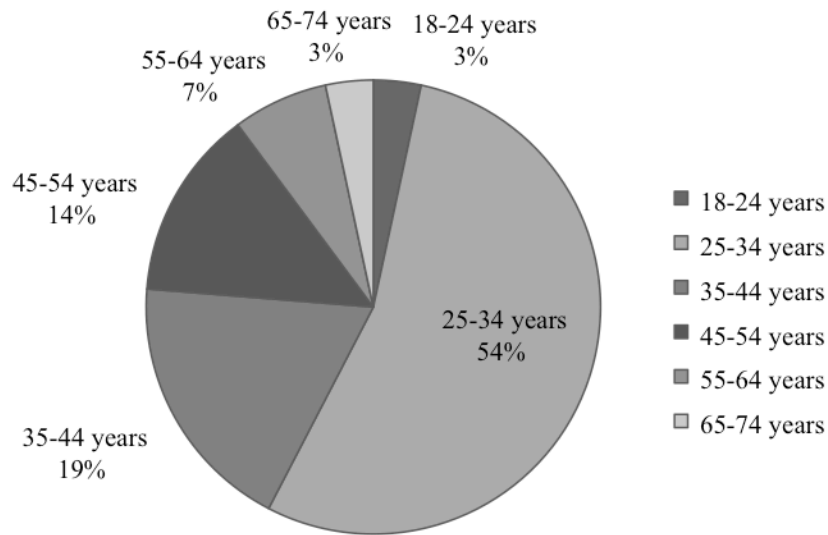
Figure 1
Pie chart of the age range distributions of the subject pool. The majority of respondents
were between 25 and 34 years of age.

Figure 2
Map plot of the hometowns of the participants. Latitude and longitude coordinates were
determined from location names using the geocoding function on HamsterMap.com. The
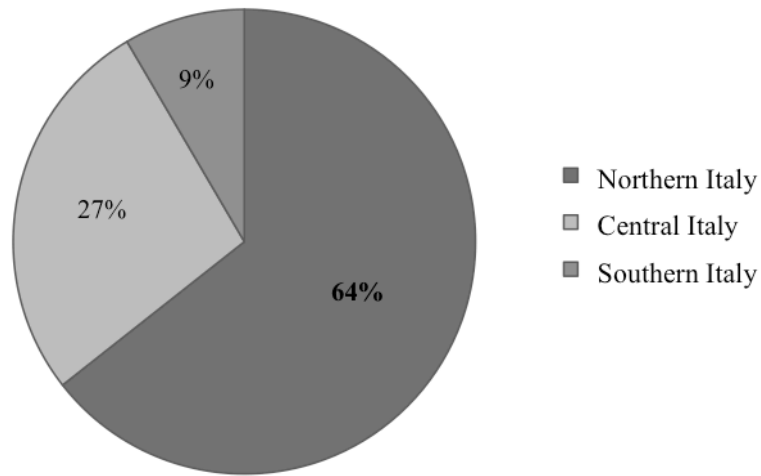points were then plotted using the HamsterMap mapping tool.

Figure 3

Pie chart of the geographical distribution of the subject pool by area (Northern, Central, or Southern Italy). The division of regions into areas was based on standard conventions.
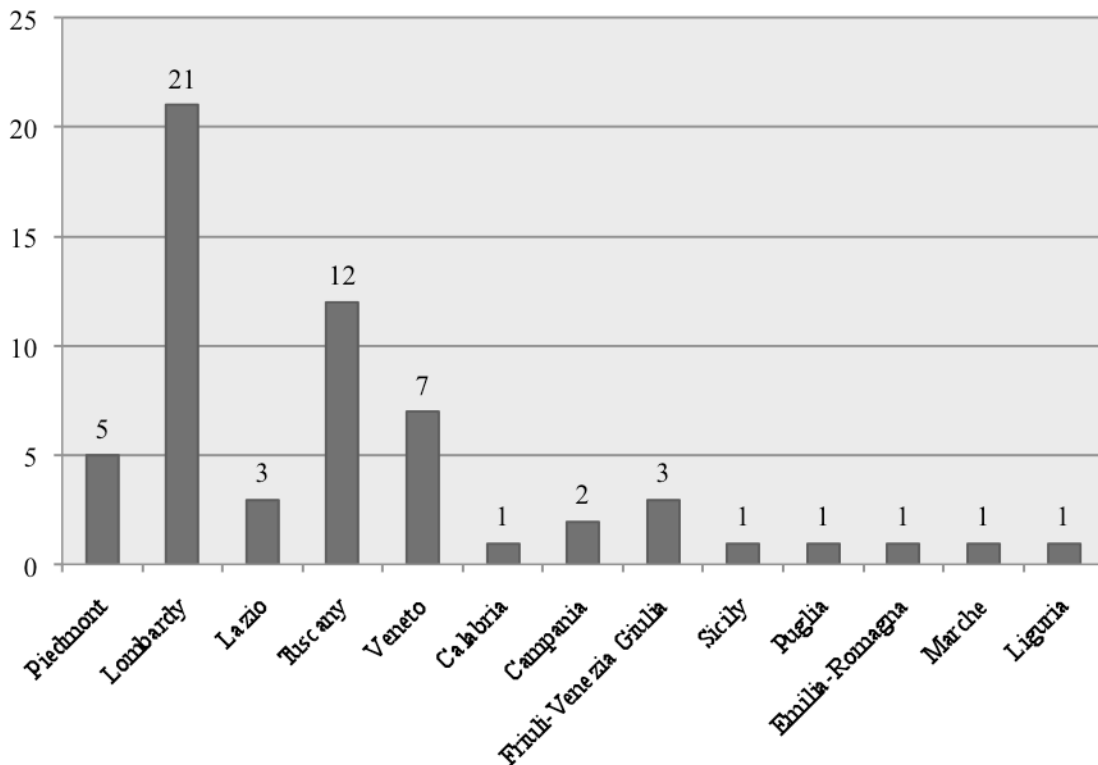
Figure 4

Bar chart showing the breakdown of the subject pool by geographic region. Participants hailed from 13 of the total 20 regions of Italy.

7 Results

The interpretation question responses by type for each of the 4 experimental conditions (1E, 1NE, 2E, 2NE) are presented in Table 1; R1 refers to the speaker's context, R0 refers to the context of the third-person (non-speaker) individual, R3 refers to both contexts, and R4 refers to neither context. The responses broken down by the E-NE and 1-2 variation parameters are presented in Table 2.

Condition	R1	R0	R3	R4	Total
1E	148	32	36	20	236
1NE	134	50	32	20	236
2E	188	7	28	13	236
2NE	194	14	20	8	236
Total	664	103	116	61	944

Table 1
Total responses by type for the 1E, 1NE, 2E, and 2NE experimental conditions.

Condition	R1	R0	R3	R4	Total
E	336	39	64	33	472
NE	328	64	52	28	472
1	282	82	68	40	472
2	382	21	48	21	472
Total	664	103	116	61	944

Table 2
Total responses by type broken down by the E-NE and the 1-2 conditions.

As is evident in Tables 1 and 2, there appears to be a strong bias across conditions towards the speaker's context (R1). This bias is even more obvious when one views the results as a bar chart, as in Figures 5-7. This lack of asymmetry suggests that the interpretation of the NP's spatial location is not determined primarily based on the most recently-mentioned context in either the *ecco-NP* presentation or the alternative presentation constructions; were the interpretation based on the most recently-mentioned context, then there should be more R0 than R1 responses in the 1 conditions, yet R1 appears to be the most prevalent response type across all conditions. Nevertheless, presentation order does appear to have an effect on the responses (cf. Figure 7), as will be confirmed in §7.1-7.2.
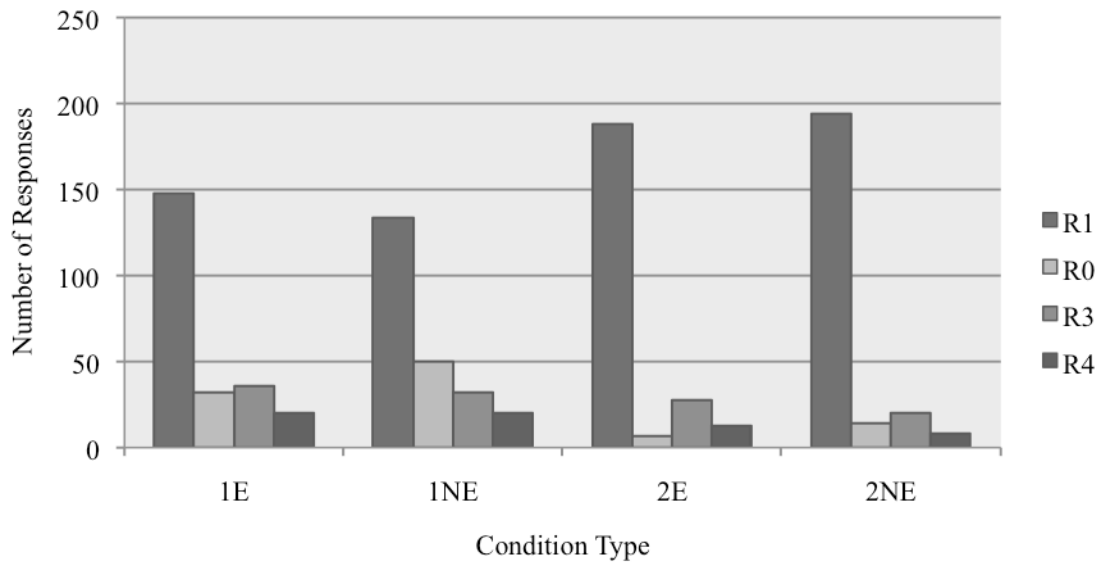
Figure 5
Bar chart of responses for the 1E, 1NE, 2E, and 2NE experimental conditions.
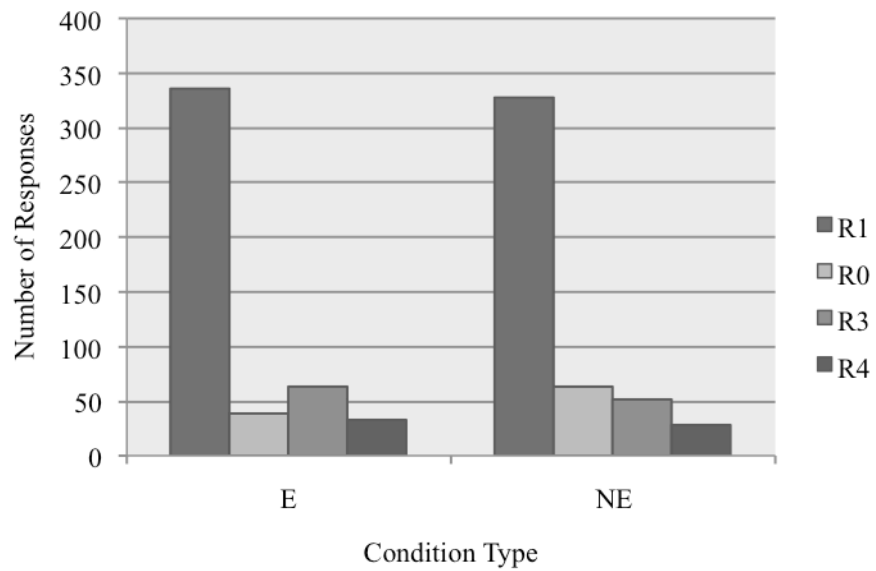
Figure 6
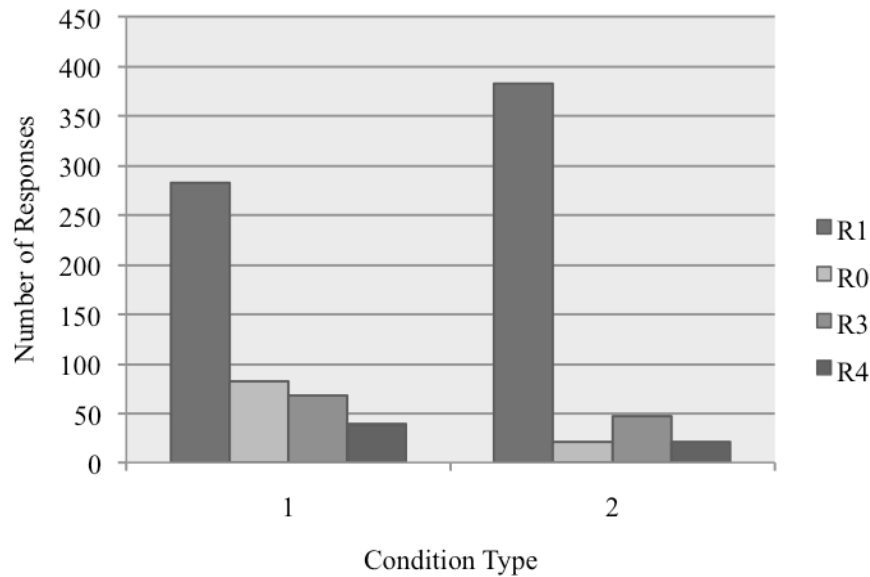Bar chart of responses for the E and NE conditions.

Figure 7
Bar chart of responses for the 1 and 2 conditions.

Based on comments left by participants, it appears that the subjects primarily used the choices R3 *'both (a) and (b)'* and R4 *'neither (a) nor (d)'* in order to indicate uncertainty in their responses; the comments indicated that they felt that the NP could appear in either context (a) or (b) (though not in both simultaneously) and they were hesitant or unwilling to choose. There were a few instances, however, in which subjects noted that when the NP referent was something intangible (ex. *la pioggia* 'rain', *una raffica di vento* 'a gust of wind', or *un temporale* 'a storm'), they believed that it could plausibly appear in both contexts simultaneously (leading to the selection of R3 as a response). In order to determine if the intangibility of the NP referent was a significant predictor of R3 responses (which would suggest that a significant number of R3 responses were chosen to indicate simultaneity, as scenarios with intangible NPs were the only ones described as having such a possible reading), I used R (R Core Team 2015) and the *lme4* package (Bates et al. 2014) to create a linear mixed effects model examining the relationship between the percentage of R3 responses out of the total responses and a variety of other factors. I entered the presence of *ecco* (i.e. whether *ecco* was used in the NP presentation), presentation order, and the whether the NP referent was concrete or intangible as fixed effects (with interaction terms) and list and scenario set as random

effects; the scenario variable accounts for variations based on the different lexicalizations of the prompts, and the list variable accounts for individual variations of the respondents in aggregate under each of the four lists. Using the *step* function in the *lmerTest* package (Kuznetsova et al. 2014) to eliminate unnecessary terms in the model, I found that the intangible-concrete distinction did not have a significant effect on the model (the term was eliminated).[32] The intangibility of the NP referent thus does not serve as a significant predictor for R3 responses in the data, thereby suggesting that the majority of R3 responses were chosen to indicate uncertainty rather than an interpretation of the NP referent as being located in two contexts simultaneously. One can thus reasonably rule out the number of R3 and R4 responses as indicating important biases in the interpretation of the spatial context of the NP referents in the scenarios.

The relevant distinction for the present analysis is therefore whether participants had a stronger preference for R1 (the speaker context) over R0 (the third-person, non-speaker individual's context) in scenarios where the NP referent was presented by *ecco* than in those when an alternative presentation based on context was used. Such a preference may either be realized as a bias towards choosing R1 in the E conditions or as a negative bias against choosing R0 in the E conditions. In order to test for such biases, I performed linear mixed effects analyses of the percentage of R0 responses (§7.1) and the

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[32] Interestingly, the *step* function retained both the presence of *ecco* and the presentation order as significant fixed effects factors (without interaction terms). According to the final outputted model, which had the presence of *ecco* and the presentation order as fixed effects and list and scenario as random intercepts, the presence of *ecco* increased the percentage of R3 responses by approximately 2.8% ± 1.3% (standard errors), and the percentage of R3 responses decreased by approximately 4.4% ± 1.4% (standard errors) when the speaker context was mentioned second. The fact that participants are more unwilling to choose between the two contexts when *ecco* is present may indicate that *ecco*-sentences are interpreted differently than the other presentation constructions; the interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction may be less flexible and thus less easily determined in cases of ambiguity. The fact that the percentage of R3 responses decreased when the speaker context was mentioned second (i.e. directly before the presentation of the NP) indicates that the spatial interpretation of the NP presentation is less ambiguous when the speaker context is the most recently-mentioned, readily-available context. This observation is in-keeping with the apparent overall bias towards interpreting the presented NP as appearing in the speaker context; when this preferred context is displaced and thus less readily accessible (i.e. when it is presented first), the interpretation becomes more ambiguous, as it is harder to default to the speaker context.

percentage of R1 responses (§7.2) out of the total. The analysis in the following sections was performed using R (R Core Team 2015)– in particular, the *lme4* package (Bates et al. 2014) and the *lmerTest* package (Kuznetsova et al. 2014).

7.1 Percentage of R0 responses

I tested to see how the presence of *ecco* affected the percentage of R0 responses (hereafter %R0) out of the total responses. Looking at a boxplot showing the relationship between the presence of *ecco* and %R0 out of the total (Figure 8), the use of *ecco* as a presentation method appears to have an impact %R0 with relatively few outliers; although there is some overlap, the median line is lower for the E condition than for the NE condition. The difference between the two conditions is also evident in Figure 9, which displays the %R0 out of the total as a bar chart.
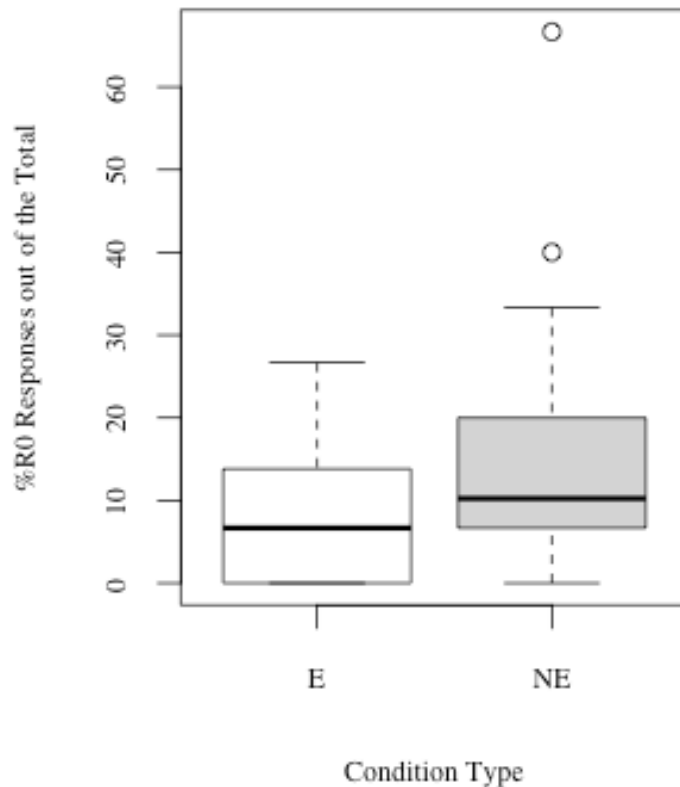
Figure 8

Boxplot showing the relationship between the presence of *ecco* (represented by the E and NE conditions) and the percentage of R0 responses out of the total.
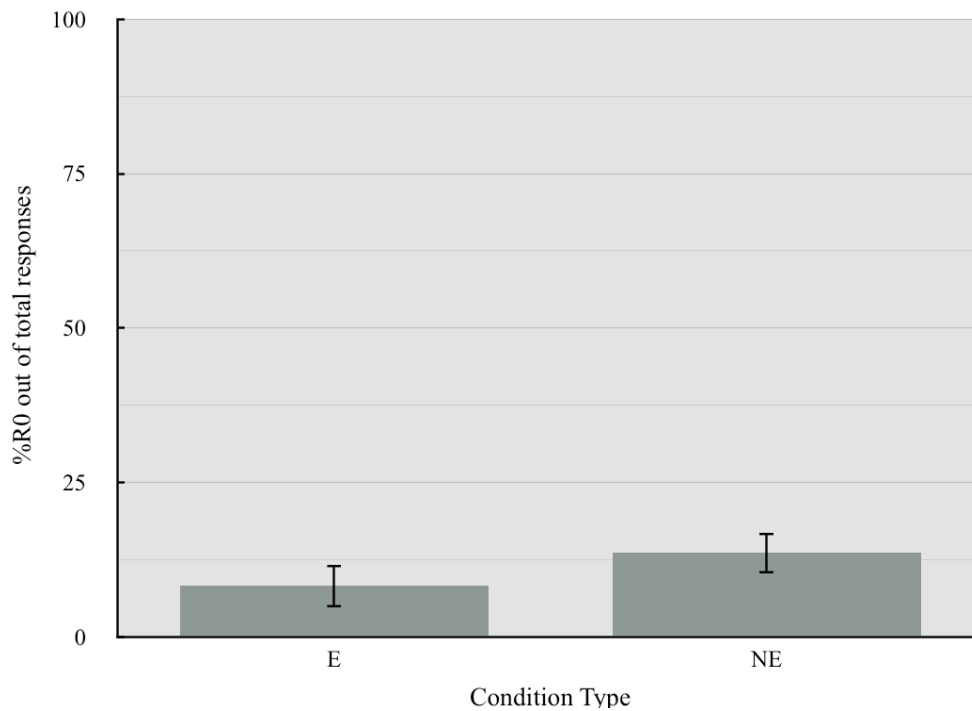
Figure 9
Bar chart showing the percentage of R0 responses out of the total for the E and NE
conditions, with error bars indicating standard error.

I used R to perform a linear mixed effects analysis of the relationship between
%R0 out of the total responses and the presence of *ecco*. I constructed a preliminary
model in order to determine what kinds of factors have a significant effect on %R0; in
particular, I wanted to test how variation in the experimental items affected the responses.
As fixed effects, I entered the presence of *ecco* and presentation order as well as the lines
of variation between the experimental scenarios including the gender of the third-person
individual, whether the third-person individual was introduced by a pronoun or a proper
name, how many pieces of information beyond the geographic location were included in
the description of the contexts, whether the NP referent was intangible or concrete, and
whether the item involved the transition element *all'improvviso* or *tutt'a un tratto*. As
random effects, I included by-list and by-scenario random slopes for the effect of the
presence of *ecco*.

The *step* function eliminated all of the random effects in the model as being
insignificant, both as by-variable slopes and as intercepts. In addition, *step* eliminated all

of the fixed effects except for presentation order and the presence of *ecco* as insignificant terms. This result indicates that variation by list and scenario (including the different characteristics of the experimental scenario sets) does not have an effect on %R0. I was thus left with a linear model of the relationship between %R0 and the effects of the presence of *ecco* and the presentation order (without interaction terms). This model was significant ($F(2,61)=17.6$, $p=9.45e-07$), and visual inspection of residual plots did not reveal any obvious deviations from normality (linearity) or homoscedasticity. The model predicted that the presence of *ecco* had a significant effect on %R0 ($p=0.027$), lowering it by approximately $5.3\% \pm 2.3\%$ (standard errors). The model also predicted a significant effect of presentation order ($p=8.70e-07$); the presentation of the speaker context second was estimated to decrease %R0 by approximately $12.8\% \pm 2.3\%$ (standard errors).

I then constructed a second model in order to test how variations within the subject pool affected %R0.[33] As fixed effects, I included the presence of *ecco* and presentation order as well as gender, age range, and geographical area of Italy. As random effects, I included by-list and by-participant random slopes for the effect of the presence of *ecco*. Running the *step* function on this model in order to eliminate any unnecessary terms, I was left with a final mixed effects model with the presence of *ecco*, presentation order, and gender as fixed effects (without interaction terms) and an intercept for participant as a random effect. As this model retained the factors found significant in the previous test (namely, the fixed effects of presentation order and the presence of *ecco*), I determined this model to be the best fit for the data.

Visual inspection of residual plots did not reveal any obvious violations of homoscedasticity or any obvious deviations from normality. Following the program described by Winter (2013), in order to determine the significance of fixed effects, I compared the full model against a reduced model without the effect in question using an

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[33] Tests for the effects of variation within scenarios and variations within the subject pool were performed independently, as the relevant data was contained in two separate files; due to the fact that the present analysis examines the %R0 responses out of the total it was not possible to combine these two data sets into a single format (the %R0 responses per participant cannot be broken down by experimental scenario set, as each individual only saw one scenario condition per set, meaning that in all cases %R0 would either be 0% or 100%; the %R0 responses per participant was therefore broken down by condition type instead).

ANOVA likelihood ratio test. The ANOVA test revealed that the presence of *ecco* affects the percentage of R0 responses ($\chi^2(1)$=4.68, p=0.031), lowering it by approximately 5.3% ± 2.4% (standard errors). The model also predicts that the presentation order has a significant effect on %R0 ($\chi^2(1)$=26.2, p=3.08e-07); when the speaker context is presented second, %R0 decreases by approximately 12.9% ± 2.4% (standard errors). Note that the estimations for the effects of presentation order and the presence of *ecco* made by this model are almost identical to those predicted by the linear model returned from the application of the *step* function on the first preliminary model, thereby confirming that the present model accounts for the factors from the first test and that it is thus an accurate fit for the data. The final model also showed a significant effect for gender ($\chi^2(1)$=5.19, p=0.023) on %R0; the model predicts that %R0 decreases by approximately 8.0% ± 3.4% (standard errors) for male participants.

I executed a series of ANOVA likelihood ratio tests to confirm that the fixed effects in the final model are independent and do not interact with each other; there was no significant interaction between presentation order and the presence of *ecco* ($\chi^2(1)$=0.921, p>0.1), between presentation order and gender ($\chi^2(1)$=2.20, p>0.1), between the presence of *ecco* and gender ($\chi^2(1)$=0.122, p>0.1), or between all three mixed effects ($\chi^2(1)$=3.41, p>0.1).

7.2 Percentage of R1 responses

In addition to the analysis above, I also tested to see if the presence of *ecco* affected the percentage of R1 responses (hereafter %R1) out of the total responses. The boxplot in Figure 10 shows the relationship between the presence of *ecco* and %R1. From this plot, it is not easy to distinguish a clear positive correlation between the presence of *ecco* and %R1. The representation of %R1 as a bar chart (Figure 11) illustrates the similarity of the responses of both the E and NE conditions.
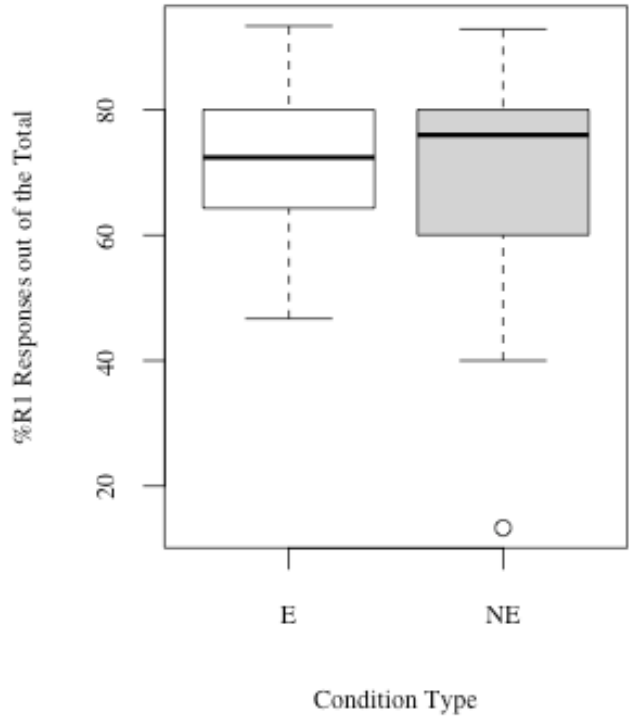
Figure 10

Boxplot showing the relationship between the presence of *ecco* (represented by the E and NE conditions) and the percentage of R1 responses out of the total.
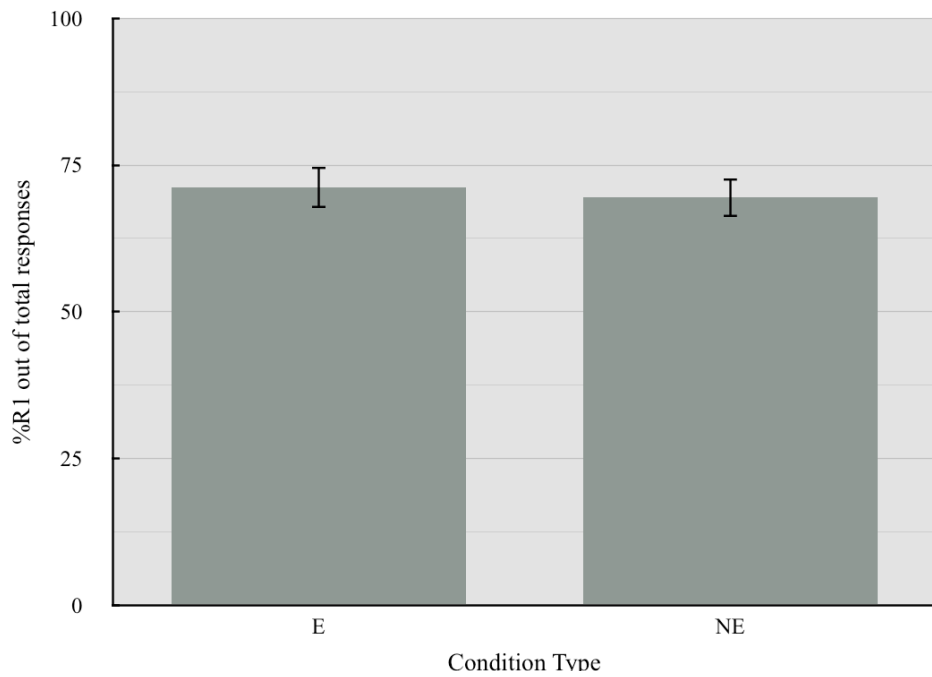

Figure 11

Bar chart showing the percentage of R1 responses out of the total for the E and NE conditions, with error bars indicating standard error.

A boxplot of the data broken up by the four different experimental conditions (1E, 1NE, 2E, 2NE) is presented in Figure 12. This plot suggests that R1 responses may be more common in the 1E condition than the 1NE condition, however there is a fair amount of overlap between the two. In this plot, %R1 does not appear to vary significantly between the 2E and the 2NE conditions. Figure 12 does clearly show, however, that presentation order seems to have a significant effect on %R1; the median lines of the 1E and 1NE conditions are noticeably lower than those of the 2E and 2NE conditions, and there is little overlap in the plot between the 1 and 2 conditions. These differences are also visible when the data is viewed as a bar chart (Figure 13); it appears that R1 responses are somewhat more common in the 1E condition than the 1NE condition, and slightly more common in the 2NE conditions than the 1E condition. The chart also shows a clear difference in %R1 between the 1 and 2 conditions.
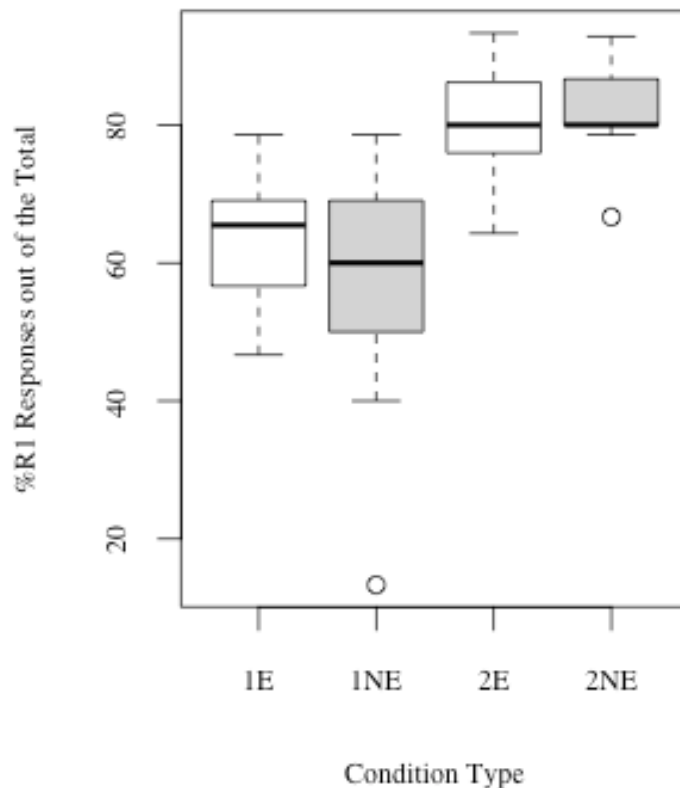
Figure 12
Boxplot showing the relationship between the four experimental conditions (1E, 1NE, 2E, 2NE) and the percentage of R1 responses out of the total.
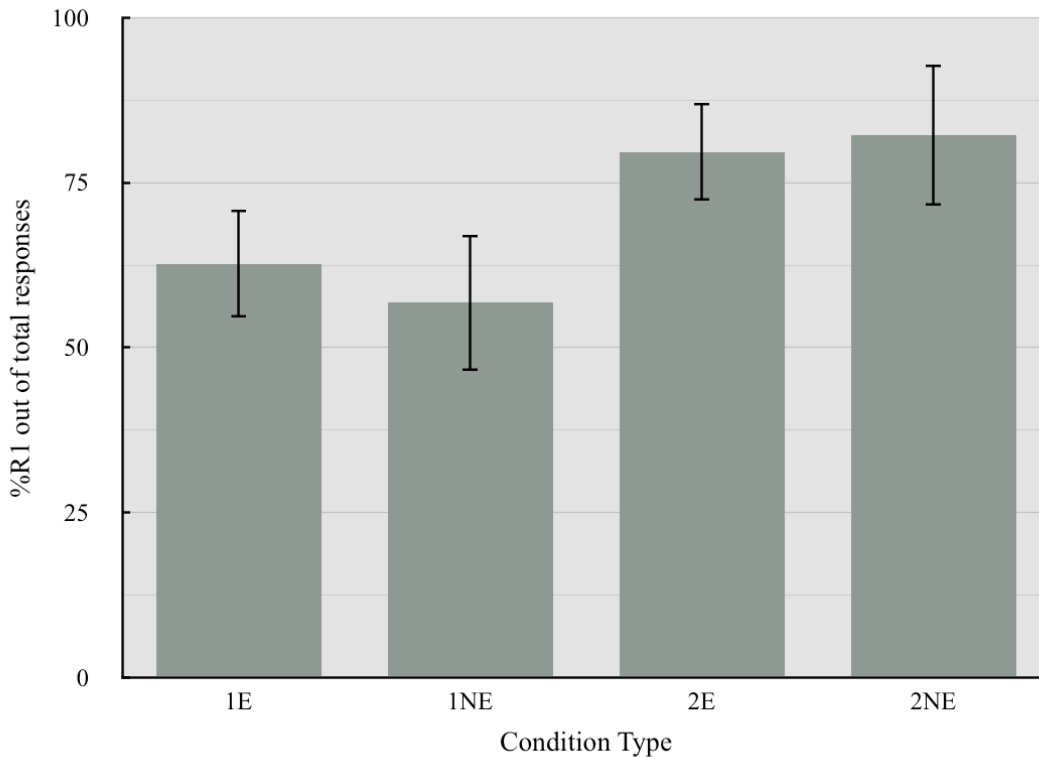
Figure 11
Bar chart showing the percentage of R1 responses out of the total for all four conditions
(1E, 1NE, 2E, 2NE), with error bars indicating standard error.

In order to more rigorously examine the relation between the presence of *ecco* and %R1, I repeated on %R1 the same analysis I performed on %R0 in §7.1. I constructed two linear mixed effects models modeling the relationship between %R1 and a variety of fixed and random effects. The first model included as fixed effects the presence of *ecco*, presentation order, the gender of the third-person individual, whether the third-person was introduced by a pronoun or a proper name, how many pieces of information beyond the geographic location were included in the description of the contexts, whether the NP referent was intangible or concrete, and whether the item involved the transition element *all'improvviso* or *tutt'a un tratto*; as random effects, the model included intercepts for list and scenario.[34] The second model included as fixed effects the presence of *ecco* and

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[34] The random variables were included as intercepts instead of by-variable random slopes, as the study did not have a large enough sample size to support a model using the random slopes; including by-list and by-scenario random slopes for the effect of *ecco* resulted in convergence errors.

presentation order as well as the gender, age range, and geographical area of Italy of the participants; as random effects, the model included by-list and by-participant random slopes for the effect of the presence of *ecco*.

Both models were run through the *step* function in order to eliminate unnecessary terms. Interestingly, the presence of *ecco* was determined by *step* to be an insignificant term in each model, thereby suggesting that the presence of *ecco* does not have a significant effect on %R1. The first model returned no significant random effects, though it determined presentation order as well as the intangible-concrete distinction to be significant fixed effects; I was therefore left with a linear model of the relation between %R0 and the fixed effects of presentation order and the intangible-concrete distinction (without interaction terms). This model was significant ($F(1,61)=33.6$, $p=1.48e-10$), and visual inspection of residual plots did not reveal any obvious deviations from normality (linearity) or homoscedasticity. The model shows a significant effect for the tangibility of the NP referent on %R1 ($p=0.036$), predicting that the presence of an intangible NP referent decreases %R1 by approximately 5.7% ± 2.7% (standard errors). The model also predicts that presentation order has a significant effect on %R1 ($p=6.25e-11$) and that %R1 increases by approximately 21.0% ± 2.7% (standard errors) when the speaker context is mentioned second.

The second model returned an intercept for participant as a significant random effect and presentation order as a significant fixed effect. The fact that presentation order was determined to have a significant effect on %R1 in both models is in-keeping with the previous observations about the boxplot in Figure 11. An ANOVA likelihood ratio test reveals that the presentation order has a significant effect on %R1 ($\chi^2(1)=42.5$, $p=66.2e-11$); when the speaker context is presented second, %R1 increases by approximately 21.1% ± 3.0% (standard errors). Note that this estimated value is almost identical to the prediction made by the linear model described above. Visual inspection of residual plots did not reveal any obvious violations of homoscedasticity or any obvious deviations from normality.

8 Discussion

The most striking interpretive bias illustrated by the present results is an overall apparent bias towards interpreting the presented NP as sharing the location of the

speaker; there was a significant majority of R1 responses in each condition type, broken down both by NP presentation method as well as context presentation order (cf. Figures 5-7). This result suggests that within narrative contexts, in cases of ambiguity when there is no salient locative, deictic elements (including *ecco*-sentences, *ci*-sentences, and the *è arrivato/a+NP* construction) may have a default interpretation of sharing the coordinates of the narrative speaker.

This overall bias towards the speaker coordinates recalls Giorgi's (2010) account of the syntactic encoding of speaker information in instances of Free Indirect Discourse. According to Giorgi's (2010) proposal, the first person coordinates in a narrative serve as a reference set from which the interpretation of indexicals and deictic elements are determined; she hypothesizes that these spatial and temporal coordinates are encoded within the C-layer.[35] Giorgi (2010:195) explains that once these first person coordinates are set as those of the speaker, they cannot easily be modified or reset. Consequently, the fact that the deictic presentational constructions in the experiment were most often interpreted with respect to the coordinates of the speaker across conditions may be explainable by Giorgi's (2010) hypothesis; the coordinates of the speaker character were established in every scenario before the presentation of the NP, thereby setting the reference coordinates to this speaker's location and thus influencing the interpretation of the deictic presentations.

The fact that the majority of the responses for the E conditions corresponded to the speaker context in each experimental condition independent of presentation order suggests that it is possible to rule out dependence on the most recently-mentioned context as the principal way in which the *ecco-NP* construction is determined; as shown in Figure 5, there does not appear to be a significant bias towards the context of the third-person individual in the 1E condition as would be predicted by an interpretative method based on the recently-mentioned context. In addition, there does not appear to be a significant bias towards interpreting the NP referent based on a more broadly-construed utterance context that would allow it to appear in two contexts at the same time; not only was the number

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[35] More specifically, Giorgi (2010:209) hypothesizes that this type of information is encoded in an *informational layer* at the left of the C-layer.

of R3 responses in the E conditions clearly outweighed by the number of R1 responses, but as discussed in §7, the selection of both contexts (R3) as a response to the interpretation questions seemed to be used primarily as a method of indicating uncertainty (manifested in an unwillingness to choose between contexts) rather than as an indication of a simultaneous interpretation. This result consequently implies that interpretations of the locative context of the NP in an *ecco-NP* construction other than that of sharing the same coordinates as the speaker (including interpretations based on the most recently-mentioned context or a broader utterance context) do not arise naturally, which suggests that the spatial interpretation of the NP may be obligatorily interpreted as sharing the speaker coordinates.

Although further investigation is likely required for fully conclusive results, the results of the present study point to a bias in the spatial interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction that causes it differ from the interpretation of other presentation forms based on context. Crucially, it appears as if the alternative presentation forms were more easily interpreted as corresponding to the context of the third-person, non-speaker individual than the *ecco-NP* presentation construction. As discussed in §7.1, statistical analysis found a significant relation between the percentage of R0 responses and the use of *ecco* as a presentation method. The fact that the use of *ecco* was determined to have a significant effect on the percentage of R0 responses suggests that *ecco*-sentences are not interpreted based on context in the same way as locative *ci*-sentences or the *è arrivato/a+NP* construction, thereby indicating that *ecco* is imbued with locative information distinct from that simply contributed by context. The data show a negative bias in the interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction against the spatial context of the third-person individual. The fact that NP presented by the *ecco-NP* construction is less likely to be interpreted in the third-person context (i.e. a context other than that of the speaker) than the NP presented using alternative methods suggests that the interpretation of *ecco*-sentences has a stronger bias towards the speaker context, realized in the fact that it does not allow other interpretations as easily.

Curiously, although the analysis of the percentage of R0 responses indicated a potential relation between *ecco* and the coordinates of the speaker, the use of *ecco* as a presentation method did not have a statistically significant effect on the percentage of R1

responses in the data (cf. §7.2; it was eliminated as an insignificant term by the statistical analysis). This result is fairly odd, as the fact that the *ecco-NP* construction has a negative bias against the interpretation corresponding to the context of the third-person individual (and no apparent bias towards being interpreted in simultaneous contexts) implies that there should be a correlate bias towards the interpretation corresponding to the speaker context. The lack of an apparent effect may result from a combination of the study's relatively small subject pool and the overall preference for R1 as a response type; with smaller amounts of data, such an overall bias may mask more subtle variations between conditions. Consequently, although the present data may not illustrate a significant relation between the use of *ecco* as a presentation method and the interpretation of the presented NP as appearing in the speaker context, such an effect may be revealed in potential future experimentation.

The statistical tests described in §7.1-7.2 determined that for the most part, variation within the subject pool did not have a significant effect on the percentage of R0 or R1 responses, thereby indicating that the interpretation of deictic elements in Italian (including *ecco*-sentences) within narrative contexts does not vary significantly across age groups, geographical area, or (in the case of the R1 responses) gender groups. Interestingly, the step function returned gender as an important fixed effect for the percentage of R0 responses (cf. §7.1), thereby suggesting that the gender of an individual affects the way in which he/she interprets deictic elements in a narrative; the analysis predicts that gender has an effect on one's likelihood of interpreting the deictic presentation of an NP in cases of ambiguity as appearing in the context of an individual other than the speaker. More specifically, the male participants interpreted the deictic constructions as appearing in the context of the narrative speaker more reliably than the female participants. It has been shown that women are more likely to be innovative in their language usage than men when there are no overtly prescribed sociolinguistic norms, as in interpretation judgments (Labov 2001:293); consequently, assuming a default spatial interpretation of deictics corresponding to the coordinates of the narrative speaker in cases of ambiguity, the fact that women were more permissive of other spatial interpretations is not anomalous. This result may have been biased by the fact that the subject pool of the present study was not equally balanced for gender, however; indeed,

with only 16 male respondents out of the total 59 participants, it is quite plausible that the general trends of the male response category may not have matched those of the female category (thereby resulting in a statistical relation based on gender) due to mere numeric asymmetry. I therefore anticipate that were I to obtain more results from male subjects, the relation between gender and the percentage of R0 responses would disappear or decrease.

Furthermore, lines of variation within the experimental scenarios (the gender of the third-person individual, whether the third-person was introduced by a pronoun or a proper name, how many pieces of information beyond the geographic location were included in the description of the contexts, whether the NP referent was intangible or concrete, and whether the item involved the transition element *all'improvviso* or *tutt'a un tratto*) were also determined to be for the most part insignificant regarding the scenarios' interpretation. Interestingly, the tangibility of the NP referent was found to have a significant relation with the percentage of R1 responses, lowering the percentage of R1 selections in scenarios with intangible NPs. Given that this line of variation was not determined to have a significant relation with any other answer choices (the term was eliminated by the *step* function in mixed effects models constructed examining the percentage of R0, R3, and R4 responses), this effect is quite curious. Further investigation with a more controlled experimental design as well as more subjects and test items may be useful to help disambiguate this apparent effect.

Although it is not directly relevant to the aims of the present study, it is also important to note that the presentation order of the contexts in the scenarios appears to have a significant impact on the interpretation of the NP presentation; statistical analysis revealed a significant relation between the percentages of R0 and of R1 responses and presentation order, independent of whether the NP was presented using *ecco* or an alternative method. These relations suggest that when the context of the speaker is mentioned most closely to the ambiguous NP presentation, participants are statistically less likely to interpret the NP as appearing in any previously-mentioned contexts and are more likely to interpret the NP as sharing the coordinates of the speaker. Spatial interpretations of the NP referent in locations not coinciding with the coordinates of the narrative speaker were more likely when another context intervenes between the

introduction of the speaker context and the NP presentation. These results suggest that the interpretation of deictic elements in narratives without salient locative referents is to some extent affected by the most recently-mentioned context, despite the overall apparent bias towards the context of the narrative speaker.

8.1 Conclusions

The results of the present study accordingly reveal some interesting information about the behavior of deictic items in Italian and, more specifically, about the interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction in narrative contexts. In narratives involving a character corresponding to the speaker, when there is no salient or clearly implied locative in the narrative, deictic items appear to be most commonly interpreted with reference to the narrative speaker's coordinates even when there is another possible spatial interpretation. This phenomenon recalls Cruschina's (2012:95) discussion of *ci*-sentences in which he posits that "if no locative is implicit or salient in the discourse, the clitic *ci* assumes a strong deictic value, that is, a default interpretation of 'here and now'"– in narrative contexts, this 'here and now' setting appears to be displaced to reflect the coordinates of the narrative speaker. Despite this overall bias towards the speaker coordinates in cases of locative ambiguity, however, the results also showed that the interpretation of deictic elements is somewhat dependent on the most recently-mentioned context; the analysis revealed that in instances when a spatial context other than that of the speaker is discussed directly before the ambiguous presentation, subjects were more likely to interpret the deictic element with reference to coordinates other than those of the speaker.

The spatial interpretation of the deictic *ecco-NP* construction in a narrative context appears to differ from that of other deictic presentational constructions, such as locative *ci*-sentences and the *è arrivato/a+NP* construction, whose interpretations have been shown to be context-dependent. The data suggest that the *ecco-NP* construction is interpreted as referring to a location other than that of the speaker in the narrative significantly less often than the other tested deictic constructions. These results suggest that *ecco* itself is imbued with locative information, thereby distinguishing *ecco*-sentences from deictic presentational constructions whose interpretation is based purely

on context. More specifically, the locative information contributed by *ecco* shows a relation to the coordinates of the speaker.

The empirical evidence provided by the present study therefore supports the hypothesis that *ecco* occupies a specific syntactic position associated with the coordinates of the speaker, although further investigation is required to show this effect more conclusively.

8.2 Factors to control for in potential future investigations

In addition to increasing the number of experimental items, fillers, and subjects, there are several other changes that should be made to the present experimental design in any future investigations.

For instance, it would be prudent for future investigations to analyze responses from a more constrained subject-pool. First and foremost, the participant pool should be more evenly balanced for gender; indeed, as previously discussed, the gender asymmetry in the present study may have falsely contributed a significance term to the analytical model. In addition, it may also be sensible for future investigations to focus on responses from participants within a constrained age group to avoid potential differences in the data based on generational variation in language usage.

Furthermore, although geographic factors were not determined to have a significant effect on the percentages of R1 and R0 responses (cf. §7.2-7.1), for future work, it may be appropriate to examine the responses of a more geographically-constrained subject pool in order to avoid variation within the responses based on dialectal factors. It may additionally be prudent for future investigations to restrict the subject pool to native speakers of Italian who are currently living in Italy; the present study included responses from native Italian speakers residing in English-speaking countries, which could have contributed potential confounds.

Given that the results of the present study suggest that the responses R3 and R4 were selected primarily to avoid having to choose between the speaker context and the context of the third-person individual rather than to indicate preferences in the interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction, it may behoove future studies to eliminate these two response types from the set of possible answers to the interpretation questions, restricting the answer choices to either the speaker context or the context of the third-

person individual. By restricting the answer choices and forcing respondents to choose from either the speaker context or the context of the third-person individual, differences between the interpretation of the E and NE conditions may become clearer; one would be able to analyze the results as a proportion between the speaker context and the other context, which may make potential interpretive biases towards or against either context more apparent.

In fact, restricting the data from the present study to just the R1 and R0 responses (treating R3 and R4 responses as being equivalent to no response) and analyzing them as a proportion with respect to the E and NE conditions already appears to show clearer interpretive biases in the data on the surface level, as is illustrated in Figure 14.
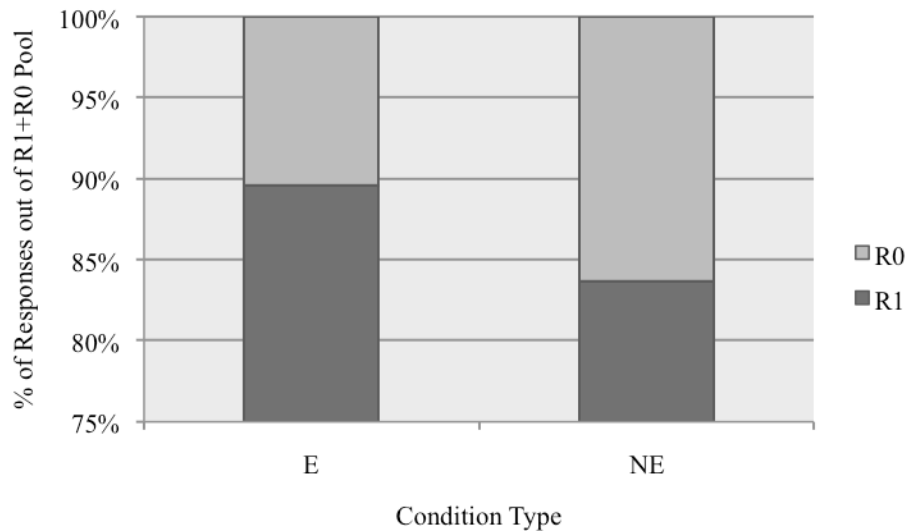

Figure 14
Bar chart showing the relationship showing the proportion of R1 and R0 responses for the E and NE conditions out of the R1+R0 response pool.

The proportions exhibited in Figure 14 indicate that participants are more likely to interpret the location of the NP referent as coinciding with the speaker's coordinates when the NP is presented with *ecco* than when it is presented using an alternative method; as a correlate, the interpretation of the NP referent as appearing in a location differing from that of the speaker appears to be more available when the NP is not introduced with *ecco*.

This bias is also apparent when one views the relation between the use of *ecco* as a presentation method and the percentage of R0 and R1 responses out of the R0+R1 response pool as boxplots. The relation between %R1 and the presence of *ecco* is given in Figure 15, and the relation between %R0 and the presence of *ecco* is given in Figure 16; note that as this analysis treats %R0 and %R1 as a proportion, these boxplots are essentially mirror images of one another. As seen in Figure 15, the median line for the percentage of R1 responses is higher for the E conditions, thereby suggesting that Italian speakers are more likely to interpret the location of a presented NP as coinciding with the speaker context when it is presented using the *ecco-NP* construction. Figure 16 shows that the median line for the percentage of R0 responses is lower for the E conditions, indicating that an interpretation of the NP as not coinciding with the speaker's location is less prevalent or salient when the NP is presented using *ecco*.
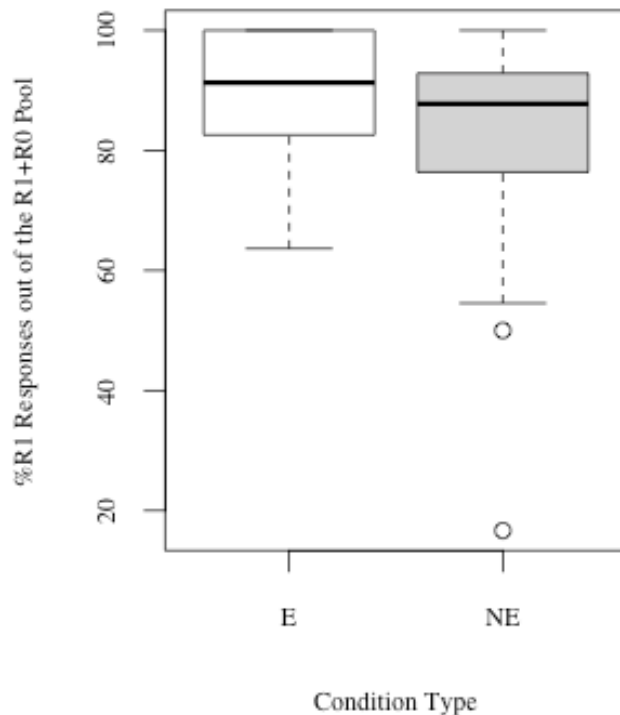

Figure 15
Boxplot showing the relationship between the presence of *ecco* and the percentage of R1 responses out of the R1-R0 proportion.
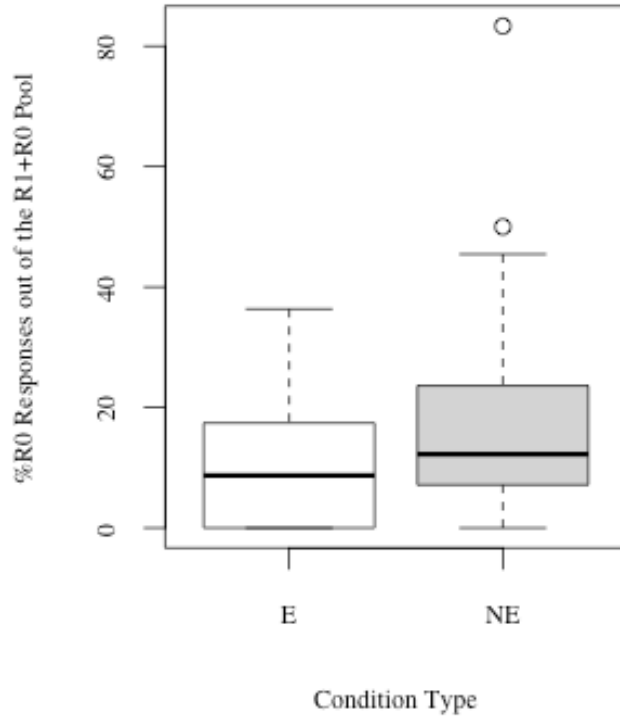
Figure 16
Boxplot showing the relationship between the presence of *ecco* and the percentage of R0 responses out of the R1-R0 proportion.

Indeed, an execution of the Chi Square test on this restricted dataset (Table 3) reveals a significant relation between the use of *ecco* as a presentation method and the spatial interpretation of the NP ($\chi^2(1)=7.82$, p=0.016); the speaker context was chosen more often when the NP referent was introduced with *ecco* than when it was introduced in another manner.

Response	Condition		
	E	NE	**Total**
R1	336	328	664
R0	39	64	103
Total	375	392	767

Chi square=7.82 df=1, p=0.016

Table 3
A Chi Square test on the results from the present study restricted to the R1 and R0 response pool indicates that there is a relationship between the selected responses and whether the NP referent was presented using *ecco* or an alternative method.

These observations serve as grounds that potential biases in the interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction may be more clearly illustrated using a forced-choice experiment whose results could then be treated as a direct proportion between the speaker and non-speaker contexts.

In order to be able to draw a stronger relation between the behavior of *ecco* and speaker-associated syntactic positions, it may also be interesting for future experimentation to investigate not only the locative interpretation of *ecco* but also how the temporal coordinates of the NP referent presented by the *ecco-NP* construction are determined; indeed, such syntactic positions are hypothesized to have a clear relation with the temporal coordinates of the speaker in addition to the spatial coordinates (cf. Giorgi 2010).

9 Summary

Part III described and presented the results of a study that I executed in order to help disambiguate how the spatial interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction is determined. The study probed for potential biases of *ecco*-sentences in narrative contexts in cases of ambiguity; I chose to focus on narrative contexts, as narratives most easily allow ambiguous set-ups. The obtained data reveal the following key points about the interpretation of *ecco*-sentences.

- *Ecco* contributes locative information distinct from that obtained simply through context.
- The spatial interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction is not primarily based on the most recently-mentioned context or a broader utterance context.
- The interpretation of *ecco*-sentences is closely tied to the speaker coordinates; interpretations corresponding to the coordinates of individuals other than the speaker do not arise as naturally.

These results support the hypothesis that *ecco* occupies a special syntactic position associated with the coordinates of the speaker.

Conclusion: Ecco la fine ('Here's the ending')

In the present paper, I have laid out some of the general properties of the Italian lexical item *ecco* and its interpretive behavior. In the first part of my analysis, I described *ecco*'s categorization as a presentative item and discussed its distribution as well as various restrictions on its use. In the second part, I introduced some of the puzzles regarding *ecco*'s spatial interpretation and its apparent inherent relation to the coordinates of the speaker, suggesting that recent proposals encoding pragmatic features (in particular, information regarding the speaker) into syntactic structure may serve as a way to explain this correlation. Indeed, comparisons between the Italian *ecco* and lexical items proposed to occupy positions in this pragmatics-syntax interface (including Romanian particles of address, the Italian epistemic head *credo*, and the English presentative construction *here/there's*) reveal similarities that support the hypothesis that *ecco* belongs in a speaker-associated syntactic position.

In the third part of my analysis, I described a preliminary study that I executed in search of empirical evidence to help disambiguate how the spatial interpretation of the *ecco-NP* construction is determined. The results of this study point to interpretive biases that indicate that the lexical item *ecco* may be imbued with locative information (distinct from that contributed by context) that influences the interpretation of *ecco*-sentences. In particular, the data seemed to reveal an association between *ecco* and the coordinates of the narrative speaker and that supports syntactic theories placing *ecco* in a speaker-related syntactic position in the left periphery of the clause. The presence of such an effect in the preliminary study suggests that the locative interpretation of *ecco*-sentences merits further investigation, which may provide even more significant results.

The present exploration of the properties of the Italian presentative *ecco* may prove useful to the discussion and understanding of presentative constructions cross-linguistically. Indeed, presentative elements have been attested in several languages including the Russian *vot* and *von* (cf. Grenoble & Riley 1996), the Latvian *re* and *lük* (cf. Petit 2010), the Lithuanian *anà*, *aurè*, and *šìtai* (cf. Petit 2010), the Hebrew *hinneh* (cf. Miller-Naudé & van der Merwe 2011), and the Serbian *evo* and *eto* (Browne 2008:196-197). As discussed in Part I with relation to the French *voici* and *voilà* and the Italian *ecco*, there is no clear consensus in the linguistics literature as to how presentative

items should be treated syntactically. The issues and analysis raised in the present study, however, suggest that although the precise syntactic treatment of presentative elements is a mystery that has '*ecco*-ed' through the years, the application of recent linguistic proposals regarding the intersection between pragmatics and syntax may hold the key to solving it.

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