

The Exclamative Clause Type
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We present an analysis of the exclamative clause type on the basis of French. We assume Ginzburg & Sag's 2000 (henceforth G&S) overall approach to clause types (CTs), and in particular their claim that content contributes the essential property of CTs. We challenge their analysis of exclamatives, claiming that (i) exclamative content is a proposition rather than a fact, (ii) exclamative words specify an epistemic status for the content (immediate knowledge) rather than a specific quantification (*unusual-rel*) and (iii) exclamative words are degree modifiers akin to other degree modifiers (e. g. comparative words).

1. What are exclamatives?

We define exclamatives as clauses containing an exclamative word and having the five properties A-E below.

Exclamative words are categorially diverse: adverb (*wh* or not), adjective, determiner and complementizer.

Wh-adverb	<i>combien, que (de N),</i>	{Combien que de rêves fous} tu fais ! <i>How many foolish dreams you make !</i>
Complementizer	<i>comme, que, ce que, qu'est-ce que si</i>	Comme il regrette sa décision ! <i>How (much) he regrets his decision !</i> S'il est beau, ce type ! <i>How beautiful he is, this guy !</i>
Adverb	<i>si, tant, tellement</i>	Il est si beau ! <i>He is so beautiful !</i>
Adjective	<i>tel</i>	Il a une telle audace ! <i>He has such a daring !</i>
Wh-determiner	<i>quel</i>	Quel chapeau il portait ! <i>What a hat she had!</i>

Property A : Lexical selection. When complement clauses, exclamatives are selected by a family of predicates which cuts across verbs of saying or experiencing, factive or not. A predicate can select an exclamative if it does not describe a (potential) change of belief of the speaker, or a (potential) disagreement among agents. (1b) is ungrammatical because *admettre* (a factive verb) implies that a difference of opinion between the subject and the speaker has been patched up.

- (1) a. Paul a admis que Sue travaille beaucoup. *P. admitted that S. worked a lot*
b. * Paul a admis comme Sue travaille *P. admitted how much S. worked*

Property B: Incompatibility with overt perspective markers. Exclamatives are incompatible with overt perspective markers (referring to the speaker, the subject or someone else):

- (2) a. * Selon moi / * d'après Marie, qu'il est beau
According to me / in Mary's opinion, how beautiful he is
b. Il_j m'a écrit que, * d'après lui_j / * d'après Marie, il est si beau
c. Je lui ai rappelé comme, * d'après moi / * d'après Marie, il est beau
I reminded him how according to me / in Mary's opinion, ...

The incompatibility in (2) is in keeping with the selection data in (1): exclamatives are incompatible with any specification of an attitude towards the content.

Property C: Dialogue inertia. Root exclamatives are immune to dialogical refutation.

- (3) A.: Paul est si beau! / Qu'il est beau ! *Paul is so beautiful / How beautiful he is*
B.: # Non, c'est faux! *No, that's not true*

Although exclamative content behaves in this matter like the non-main content in declaratives (presupposition (pp) or conventional implicature (CI)), it makes up the main content of the exclamative clause.

Property D: Speaker's perspective. When complement clauses, their content is preserved under negation whatever the type of the embedding verb, in particular under presupposition plugs. Both forms of (4a) implies (4b).

(4) a. Pierre m'a écrit / ne m'a pas écrit combien il avait souffert hier.
P. wrote me how much he suffered yesterday

b. Pierre a beaucoup souffert hier *P. suffered a lot yesterday*

Like CI content, exclamative content expresses the speaker's belief, but in embedded contexts, it can express the subject's belief (« perspective shift ») (Bonami & Godard 2007, *pace* Potts 2007). In (5), the belief that Pierre was very good in Dupond's case is Marie's, not the speaker's.

(5) Marie admire beaucoup Pierre. Elle m'a encore répété hier combien il avait été bon dans le procès Dupond. Pourtant, je sais qu'il a été lamentable dans cette affaire.

Marie admires Pierre a lot. She told me again how good he was in Dupond's affair. Yet, I know that he was miserable in that case.

Property E: Illocutionary monofunctionality. Contrary to declaratives or interrogatives, root exclamatives license only one type of discourse act (or dialogue move) that we call *exclamation*. Exclamations have a dialogical potential different from assertions. For example, root exclamatives are never appropriate answers or replies. They never convey a questioning or a directive move.

(5) A.: Comment va Pierre ? *How is Pierre doing?*

B.: # Il est si malade ! / Qu'il est malade ! *He is so sick / How sick he is!*

Properties A, B and E are strong motivations in favor of an exclamative CT. Lexical selection is a common argument for CTs since Grimshaw 1979 (see G&S: 60)). Gazdar 1981 casts doubts on the use of illocutionary potential to define CTs because of the polyfunctionality of declaratives and interrogatives. In that, the monofunctionality of exclamatives is remarkable – although it is not unexpected with a « minor CT » (Sadock & Zwicky 1985). Finally, complement exclamatives are different from other embedded clauses: either they trigger a CI or their content has a status analogous to that of CIs.

The five properties A-E taken together allow one to single out the exclamatives proper from other sentences conveying the speaker's emotive attitude. In particular, they exclude rhetorical interrogatives (wrongly adduced to motivate analyzing exclamatives on a par with interrogatives, e. g. Zanuttini & Portner 2003) or the declaratives with marked mirative NPs. Mirative NPs in French (6) express an underspecified emotive attitude (ranging from admiration to disgust) towards the referent.

(6) a. Pierre a acheté un de ces cheval ! *P. bought one.of.these.horse*

b. Pierre est d'un calme! *P is of.a.calm*

Clauses featuring such NPs have none of the five properties of exclamatives. They are selected as other declaratives are (7). They can be answers and are compatible with overt perspective markers (8).

(7) Paul a admis qu'il avait eu une de ces chance *P. admitted that he had une.de.ces (= such a) luck*

(8) A.: Comment va Pierre? *How Pierre is doing?*

B.: Selon Marie, il a une de ces pêche! *According to M., he is in such a great shape!*

In other words, mirative or emotive content is happy with declaratives or interrogatives.

Property A does not support the claim that exclamatives are factive. Property D is at odd with both factive or presuppositional status of (part) of content: it strongly indicates that exclamative content does not belong to Common Ground. Properties B and C do not follow from the claim that exclamatives convey non-canonicity judgment or mirativity (G&S, Michaelis 2001). More generally, non-canonicity and mirativity cannot be evoked to explain why exclamatives differ from declaratives, because of the properties of declaratives with mirative NPs (see (7) and (8) above).

2. Proposal

Exclamative words are at the center of the analysis. They combine two components: (i) an ordinary degree modification and (ii) an indication of the epistemic status of the content. In that they resemble ego-evidential markers (Garrett 2001).

Syntactically, exclamative words are adjacent to the gradable predicate (qua adverbial adjuncts, determiners, adjectives) or fillers (qua extracted complements (Abeillé & Godard 2003, 2007 (A&G)) or complementizers. Semantically, they modify predicates corresponding to any category in the three dimensions of gradability (quantity, quality or intensity). Like other degree modifiers, exclamative words are sensitive to whether the standard of comparison associated with the gradable predicate is absolute or relative, i.e. whether it is context-dependent or lexically fixed. They select predicates with a relative standard, like *beautiful*. The adjective *plein* ('full'), which is a gradable absolute adjective (9a), does not yield a felicitous exclamative (9b), unless used imprecisely (9c) (Kennedy & McNally 2005b (K&Mb)).

- (9) a. Le verre de Marie est moins plein que celui de Paul. *Marie's glass is less full than Paul's*
 b. i. * Ce que le verre de Marie est plein *How full Marie's glass is*
 ii. * Le verre de Marie est tellement plein *Marie's glass is so full*
 c. Comme la salle est pleine ce soir ! *How full the theater is to-night !*

They can modify 'bare' predicates, intensifier+predicate combinations (excluding high degree modifiers, e. g. *très, beaucoup*) (10a) and comparatives (10b,c), behaving just like intensifiers (K&Ma).

- (10) a. Comme il est peu généreux ! *How little generous he is*
 b. Comme elle est plus intelligente que toi ! *How more intelligent than you she is*
 c. Elle est tellement plus intelligente que toi ! *She is so more intelligent than you*

What characterizes exclamative words is the combinaison of two components: an evidential index and a relation between a degree and a standard of comparison. We claim that the degree relation is simply that which is at the core of *much* in English (K&Mb): the degree/quantity/intensity to which the predicate holds exceeds by a large amount the standard of comparison used for that quality/quantity/intensity.

As for the index, responsible for the speaker's perspective (Michaelis 2001), tradition has it that it points to the speaker's emotive attitude towards the degree judgment (surprise or an emotion ranging from admiration to disgust). While emotions do not belong to the realm of truth, exclamatives are presented as true content. A way to account for such a specific truth conditional status is to consider exclamative content akin to ego evidentiality: both are grounded in immediate knowledge (IK) (Garrett 2001). Exclamative content is true by virtue of being (presented as) IK: the speaker's intimate and direct belief (IK includes belief based on perception— see Garrett 2001 or Delancey 2001 for what counts as IK).

Thus, *Paul est si beau* or *Comme Paul est beau!* means that Paul has a degree of beauty that exceeds by a large amount the degree of beauty to which a person is said to be beautiful (viz. the standard of comparison which depends on the speaker and the context), a judgment which is grounded in the speaker's certainty.

The properties A-C arguably follows from the semantic contribution of exclamative words, and more precisely from their evidential component. It accounts for the fact that exclamatives are incompatible with any markers of propositional attitude. For example, utterances of personal report, which involve IK without IK marking, (*Je t'aime* 'I love you', *Je suis triste* 'I am sad') have properties B and C. Exclamatives are true because of their being the speaker's intimate belief, hence property D and their family resemblance with CIs and expressive meaning (Potts).

3. A grammar of exclamatives

Following G&S, we assume that clauses are cross-classified along two dimensions: CLAUSALITY and HEADEDNESS. The exclamative clause type inherits a CLAUSALITY type constrained as in (12). Their content, like that of declaratives, is a proposition. However, the two clause types are disjoint given the exclamative-relation that we treat here as a quantifier. The analysis of the content of exclamative words as a quantifier is meant to account for two observations: (i) potential scope ambiguities with a universal quantifier (*Combien d'idées ont tous ces enfants !*) and (ii) the fact that the exclamative

content is interpreted at the top of the clause, even when the exclamative word is syntactically embedded (*Il a une telle audace!* He has such a daring). Note that we leave aside the verbless exclamatives here.

(12) *exclam-cl* \Rightarrow

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CONT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{proposition} \\ \text{SOA} \mid \text{QUANTS} \langle \textit{exceed-scalar-rel} \rangle \circ \boxed{A} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CAT} \left[\text{V-FORM} \textit{indicative} \right] \\ \text{WH} \{ \} \end{array} \right]$$

Inheritance in the HEADEDNESS dimension gives rise to several subtypes of exclamative clause, which is the common fate of CTs.

Exclamative words abide by (13).

(13) *exclam-word* \Rightarrow

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CONT} \left[\textit{exceed-scalar-rel} \right] \\ \text{CONX} \{ \textit{ego-believe} \} \end{array} \right]$$

They combine two relations. The relation *ego-believe* holds between an individual who is the source of the content (usually the speaker unless there is perspective shift) and the degree-relation: it says that the speaker truly believes that the relation is the case on the basis of her intimate certainty. The other relation *exceed-scalar-rel* holds between the degree to which a property holds and a standard of comparison. It says that the degree to which the property holds exceeds by a large amount the standard of comparison for the property at hand. It is analogous to the relation noted « > !! » K&Mb propose to analyze the meaning of *much* in English. Thus, we claim that exclamative words are closer to *much* than to *very*.

(14) *exceed-scalar-rel*

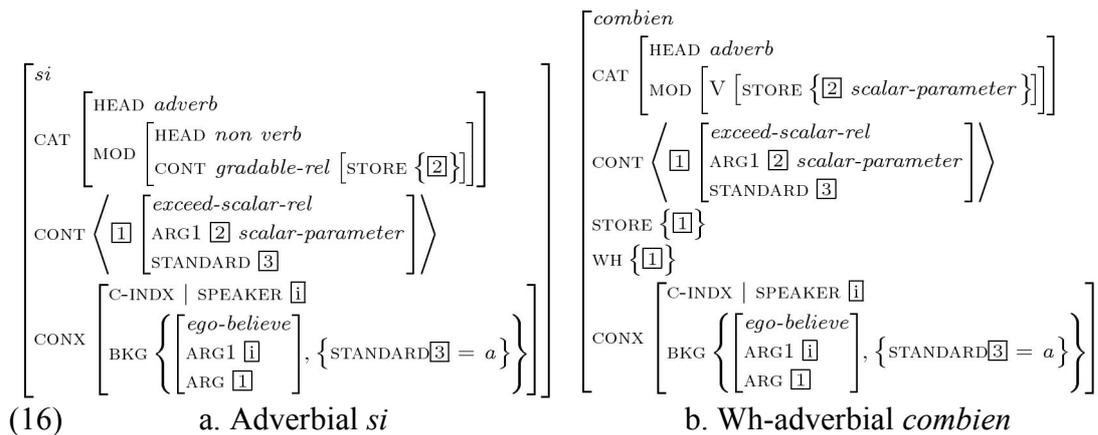
$$\left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{exceed-scalar-rel} \\ \text{ARG1} \boxed{2} \textit{scalar parameter} \\ \text{STANDARD} \boxed{3} \textit{scalar value} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle$$

Furthermore, exclamative words select the predicate they associate with on a semantic basis: they must have access to a scalar parameter. Scalar parameters originate in the content of gradable relations (of which they are an argument) and becomes available through the store mechanism. A gradable relation holds between an individual, the degree to which it holds and a standard of comparison that we analyze here as being fixed in the context (simplifying K&M's proposal).

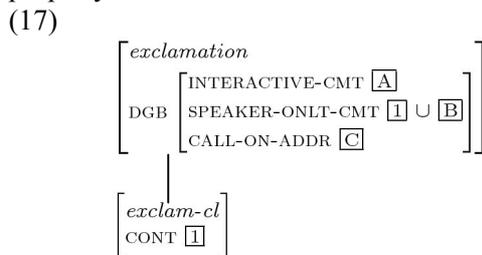
(15) *gradable-word* \Rightarrow

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CONT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{gradable-rel} \\ \text{ARG1} \boxed{1} \textit{ind} \\ \text{SCALAR-ARG} \boxed{2} \textit{scalar parameter} \\ \text{ARG3} \boxed{3} \textit{scalar value} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{STORE} \{ \boxed{2} \} \\ \text{CONX} \{ / \boxed{3} = a \} \end{array} \right]$$

Following A&G 2003, we analyze the exclamative degree adverbs as syntactic adjuncts and semantic modifiers. The entry for *si* is as in (16a). Note that adverbial *si* is not a pure 'polymorphic' adverb: it cannot modify verbs (* *Il travaille si !* vs *Il travaille tant/tellement*). As for *comme* (16b), it is a filler. Syntactically, it corresponds to a gap complement of the verb (A&G 2007). Semantically, it can associate either with the main relation (*Comme il est beau !*) or a gradable relation within a daughter, (*Comme ils habitaient dans de belles maisons !* literally : how they lived in beautiful houses). It is accessed via the store inherited by the verb (store amalgamation principle). For simplicity sake, we do not cater for the perspective shift here.



Following Beyssade & Marandin 2006, we claim that exclamations qua dialogical moves do not trigger any update of the part of the speaker's gameboard cooperatively incremented by the assertions and queries of the Discourse Participant's (DGB|INTERACTIVE-COMMITMENT). They only enrich the speaker's only commitments, which gives the hearer(s) a hint of her stance towards the current discourse. Furthermore, they do not specify any call-on-addressee, which explains their inability to convey a questioning or a directive move. We describe exclamations as in (17), which accounts for property E of root exclamationives.



Conclusion

I conclude that we should give up the elegant one-to-one pairing between CTs and types of content posited by G&S: both declaratives and exclamationives denote propositions. Still, they form a system in Sadock & Zwicky's sense: « the types are mutually exclusive, no sentence being simultaneously of two different types » (ibid.: 158). Exclamationives are constructionally sharply different from declaratives, even though they share the same syntactic construals and identical meaning components.

References

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