Exclamative constructions: An overview

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This overview paper examines exclamative constructions (Excls) cross-linguistically. It provides a comprehensive overview of all the debatable issues regarding the essential characteristics of Excls, their defining features and syntactic analyses. The paper shows that the reason behind the debate in the literature is related to the fact that Excls have a unique syntax that takes some, but not all, properties one expects to find in clauses. Moreover, the paper shows that the defining properties of Excls – factivity, scalar implicature, and question/answer pairs – are controversial and cross-linguistically invalid because Excls are not inherently factive, they are not always scalar, and wh-Excls are different from clause types syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically. Apart from the aforementioned controversial properties, the two defining features of Excls, viz., evaluation and referentiality, seem more feasible and less controversial. Regarding syntactic analyses of Excls, the paper shows that there is no consensus in the literature on the position targeted by the moved wh-phrase and the number of features and phrases at the left periphery of Excls. Each study claims several projections in the CP domain which are different from those in other studies in their number, categories, functional heads, and features. Moreover, this paper shows that the same inconsistency and disagreement exist in studies on Arabic Excls as well.

Keywords: exclamation, factivity, scalar implicature, evaluation, clause type, referentiality

1. *Introduction*

This paper provides an overview of exclamatives (hereafter, Excls) focussing on the distinct properties that set them apart from full clauses/sentences. This overview considers the general characteristics of Excls, their defining features, and their syntax, respectively. This paper focusses on proper Excls (1a, b), rather than exclamations (1c, d):

(1)   a.   What an amazing house he bought!
       b.   How beautiful she is!
       c.   John came!
       d.   Look, he is coming!

Sentences in (1a, b) are proper Excls whose syntactic constructions are indicative of their force (i.e., the use of *how* and *what*), whereas (1c, d) are exclamations which can be of any clause type (i.e., declaratives, interrogatives or imperatives) with falling intonation (for a de-

tailed differentiation between Excls and exclamations, see Miró 2008 and Zevakhina 2013). Compared with other clause types such as interrogatives, Excls are relatively understudied. Apart from limited studies in the seventies (e.g. Elliott 1974; Grimshaw 1979; Oomen 1979), only recently, Excls have gained some interest. The consequences of being ignored and poorly investigated include the lack of a precise and unique definition as indicated by Moutaouakil (2005, 351, cited in Zevakhina 2013, 158) and Cruschina et al. (2015, 267), and as a clause type, Excls are "not as unambiguously defined as the major clause types" (Siemund 2015, 706) because they are "not prominent in typological work" (Potsdam 2011, 660), and as a result, "there seems to be no comprehensive research on Excls, and each author is working on his own framework" (Oda 2008, 216, cited in Zevakhina 2013, 158).

This paper shows that the analysis of Excls is not unified, and there are several debatable issues regarding the defining features and the syntactic structure of Excls. The reason behind this debate is that Excls have a unique syntax that takes some, but not all, properties one expects to find in clauses. That is, they resemble both interrogatives and declaratives but only partially, and they do not have the general properties of clauses. Portner & Zanuttini (2000) suggested three criteria for identifying Excls: factivity, scalar implicature, and question/answer pairs. These properties or criteria are criticized in subsequent studies. The factivity feature seems controversial cross-linguistically, and Excls are not inherently factive. Secondly, Excls are not always scalar. Brandner (2010, 99) points out that the notions 'extreme degree' and 'emotional affectedness' are hard to define in any precise way and cannot be distinguishing features since they exist in declaratives and interrogatives as well. The third property related to question/answer relations is also controversial. The use of *wh*-elements cannot be considered as a defining feature of Excls because the syntactic strategies utilized to form Excls vary across languages, and *wh*-Excls are different from clause types syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically. Apart from the aforementioned controversial properties, there are two defining features of Excls which seem more feasible and less controversial. The first is 'evaluation,' all exclamative constructions involve the feature [EVAL] which codifies the speaker's appreciation or deprecation of a particular entity, situation or event. The second property is related to referentiality, in Zevakhina's (2013, 163) words, "a referent, which might be an object or a situation, should be accessible in discourse" and "identifiable". Referentiality seems a plausible property because whereas declarative and interrogative constructions allow non-identifiable referents, Excls allow only identifiable referents.

Regarding syntactic analyses of Excls, the paper shows that although most, if not all, studies follow Bennis, Corver, & Den Dikken's (1998) argument for the existence of [+EXCL] feature in the highest functional projection of the clausal (CP), and this abstract [+EXCL] feature must be realized as a lexical element, usually in the form of a wh-phrase, they do not agree on two issues. First, as highlighted by Bosque (2017, 20), "no consensus exists on the specific projection targeted by the wh-phrase" in Excls, that is to say, the wh-phrase may move to Spec/CP, Spec/FocusP, Spec/CP1 (a low CP under CP2), or Spec/ForceP to satisfy the [+EXCL] feature, as explained below in section 4. The second issue of disagreement is related to the features and phrases involved in Excl structures, and it seems that there are several projections and heads within the clausal domain under which

the same [+EXCL] feature is lexicalized differently. Previous analyses (e.g., Benincà 1995; Munaro 2003; Miró 2006; Portner, Zanuttini 2005; Villalba 2008; Beyssade 2009; Burnett 2010; Marandin 2008, among many others) disagree on the internal structure of the highest projection and its divisions (mostly argued to be discourse-related projections) at the C level. In sum, the literature seems to disagree on the position targeted by the moved *wh*-phrase and the number of features and phrases at the left periphery of Excls. Each study claims several projections in the CP domain which are different from those in other studies in their number, categories, functional heads, and features. Moreover, this paper shows that the same inconsistency and disagreement exists in studies on Arabic Excls.

This paper is organized as follows: section 2 reviews previous studies that describe the general characteristics of Excls and their unique properties that differentiate them from other clause types (i.e., declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives). Section 3 focuses on the defining features of Excls (e.g., factivity, scalar implicature, question/answer relation, evaluation, and referentiality). Section 4 provides an overview of the various syntactic analyses of Excls and of the proposed functional projections within the CP domain of Excls. Section 5 discusses previous studies on Arabic Excls. Section 6 summarizes and concludes the paper.

2. *General characteristics of Excls*

To the best of my knowledge, the first comprehensive study that draws attention to the unique syntactic and semantic characteristics of Excls is that of Elliott (1974). He (1974, 231) highlights that "there is a syntactically definable set of sentences" which are "absolute exclamations" (i.e., Excls), and this set of sentences has unique properties that differentiate it from other sets involving declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. Excls include *wh*-forms *what* and *how* (as in (1a, b) above), but not other *wh*-words such as *why*, *who*, *where*, *when*, etc., consider the ungrammaticality of (2a, b), for example.

(2)   a.   *Why he bought that coat!
         b.   *Where our campus is located!   (Elliott 1974, 232)

The fact that Excls can be initiated only by *what* and *how*, but not with other *wh*-words seems to be not specific only to English; Elliott (1974, 244) provides supportive evidence that the same phenomenon exists in other languages such as French, German, Turkish, Japanese, Romanian, Russian, among others. Villalba (2008, 32) highlights that "*why* Excls are lacking universally". Despite the superficial similarities between Excls and interrogatives, they are distinct structures, and Excls cannot be considered as a type of question, as evidenced in several issues (Elliott 1974, 233-235). First, while questions involve subject-auxiliary inversion, Excls do not. Consider (3a, b).

(3)   a.   What lovely teeth you have, my dear!
         b.   *What lovely teeth do you have, my dear!   (Elliott 1974, 233)

Second, questions allow *ever* and *any* in (4a, b), but Excls do not in (5a, b).

(4)   a.   What did you ever do for me?
       b.   How does Joe save any money?

(5)   a.   *What you ever did for me!
       b.   *How Joe saves any money!   (Elliott 1974, 234)

Third, embedded questions allow *whether* or expressions like *the hell*, but Excls do not (Elliott, 1974, 234).

(6)   a.   It's unknown whether Bill will be here (or not).
       b.   *How incredible whether Bill will be here (or not).

(7)   a.   I don't know where the hell he is.
       b.   *It's unbelievable where the hell he is.

Fourth, some 'forceful' adverbs such as *very*, *unbelievably*, and *extremely* can occur only with Excls, but not with embedded questions.

(8)   a.   How {very/unbelievably/extremely} long he can stay under water.
       b.   *I wonder how {very/unbelievably/extremely} long he can stay under water.
                                                              (Elliott 1974, 234)

An interesting observation regarding the difference between Excls and questions is that while both can be embedded as *wh*-complements, only Excls cannot be readily used as matrix Excls. Consider how *wh*-complements can occur as embedded Excls and questions in (9a, b), but the same *wh*-phrases cannot be root Excls in (10a, b). Grimshaw (1979, 282) maintains that "the reason for this is not yet understood"[1].

(9)   a.   It's amazing {who/what} John saw.
       b.   Fred asked {who/what} John saw.

(10)   a.   *Who John saw!
       b.   *What John saw!

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[1] It is not clear whether embedded Excls have the same syntax of root Excls, and embedded Excls may not count as proper Excls; they are more like interrogative structures used for non-interrogative semantics. Moreover, the matter is even less well understood than Grimshaw claims, as her generalization does have exceptions. Consider (1a-c), and notice that some *wh*-complements can be root Excls:
(1)   a.   It's amazing how big a house John has.
       b.   Fred asked how big a house John has.
       c.   How big a house John has!
Furthermore, Grimshaw's generalization does not apply to some *wh*-complements. Notice in (2) that the *wh*-complement can be used in embedded Excls, but not in embedded questions:
(2)   a.   It's amazing what an idiot John is.
       b.   *Fred asked what an idiot John is.

Obenauer (1994, cited in D'Avis 2016, 161) highlights another distinction related to preposition stranding. While the preposition can be pied-piped along with the DP in both declaratives and interrogatives in (11a, b), the preposition must be stranded in Excls in (11c).

(11)   a.   In a big house they live.
       b.   In what house do they live?
       c.   *In what a house they live!

Oomen (1979) highlights other characteristics of exclamations in general. First, they cannot be introduced by rhetorical questions indicating that the speaker is providing new information, as shown in (12a), as opposed to declaratives (12b).

(12)   a.   *Did you hear this? Isn't Larry successful!
       b.   Did you hear this? Larry is successful.   (Oomen 1979, 162)

Second, since exclamations are about facts, they cannot include expressions denoting doubt (13a) or denoting contrast to the reality (13b).

(13)   a.   *Isn't Larry {perhaps/reportedly/conceivably} successful!
       b.   *Isn't Larry {theoretically/apparently} successful!   (Oomen 1979, 163)

Oomen (1979, 163) proposes that "for exclamations the proposition must not only be believed to be true, but has to refer to some fact, established in reality". Hence, adverbs asserting or commenting on the factivity of the proposition are not acceptable. In other words, factivity is "a part of the meaning of exclamatory sentences that it cannot be asserted by additional lexical means" (*ibidem*). Consider (14).

(14)   *Isn't Larry {undoubtedly/actually/factually} successful!

Furthermore, Oomen (1979, 167) examines exclamations in dialogue and maintains that the properties that differentiate between exclamations and questions in dialogues "do not necessarily hold for exclamations of the type *what a bright kid Larry is*!, *how bright Larry is*!" and this supports the differentiation between exclamations and proper Excls highlighted in this paper. Consider, for example, that *wh*-Excls can be used to contradict the speaker, as in (15), but exclamations cannot in (16).

(15)   A: Larry is quite bright.
       B: On the other hand, what a stupid guy in many ways!   (Oomen 1979, 167)

(16)   A: Larry is very bright.
       B: *On the other hand, isn't he lazy!   (Oomen 1979, 163)

Moreover, exclamations cannot be introduced by expressions indicating additive information, as in (17), whereas *wh*-Excls can be, as in (18a, b).

(17)   A: Larry is very bright.
        B: *And what is more, isn't he successful!   (Oomen 1979, 164)

(18)   a. Besides, how bright Larry is!
        b. By the way, how bright Larry is!   (Oomen 1979, 167)

Oomen (1979, 170) draws attention to the fact that not any subject-verb inversion can be utilized for exclamation, as in (19), and the intensification of this type of exclamation seems strange or ungrammatical, as the pairs in (20-22) show.

(19)   *Didn't he judge the situation!

(20)   a. Isn't Larry worried!
        b. *Isn't Larry worried to death!

(21)   a. Didn't he talk!
        b. *Didn't he talk for hours!

(22)   a. Isn't that dress green!
        b. *Isn't that dress grass-green!

Apart from the aforementioned studies in the seventies (i.e. Elliott 1974; Grimshaw 1979; Oomen 1979), other studies have not discussed other properties or even considered the possibility of offering a unified approach that can account for the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic intricacies and peculiarities of Excl constructions, especially the significant differences between Excl and interrogative patterns. In the last two decades, much work has been done on Excls in several Romance languages, including Italian (Benincà 1995; Munaro 2003; Munaro 2005; Munaro 2006; Portner & Zanuttini 2005; Zanuttini & Portner 2000; 2003), Catalan (Miró 2006; Miró 2008; Villalba 2001; Villalba 2003; Villalba 2008), Brazilian Portuguese (Bastos-Gee 2011), French (Beyssade 2009; Burnett 2010; Marandin 2008), among other languages, but "there seems to be no comprehensive research on Excls, and each author is working on his own framework" (Oda 2008, 216, cited in Zevakhina 2013, 158).

Despite the obvious unique syntax and semantics of Excls, the existing literature does not reach a consensus with regard to the sentence type of Excls. While traditional grammars characterize Excls as a sentence type distinguishable from interrogatives, declaratives, and imperatives (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2001, 168), recent studies disagree on the clause status of Excls whether it is a separate clause type (e.g., Elliott 1974; Gutiérrez-Rexach 2001; Ono 2006; Bennis, Corver, Den Dikken 1998) or just a derivation of other clause types (e.g., Rosengren 1997; Zanuttini, Portner 2000; Miró 2008; Siemund 2015). It seems that the reason behind this debate is that Excls have a unique syntax that takes some, but not all, properties one expects to find in clauses. That is, they resemble both interrogatives and declaratives but only partially, and they do not have the general properties of clauses.

3. *Defining features of Excls*

Drawing on Elliott (1974) and Grimshaw's (1979) observations, Zanuttini and Portner in several works (Portner, Zanuttini 2000; Portner, Zanuttini 2005; Zanuttini, Portner 2000; Zanuttini, Portner 2003) discuss in detail the defining features of Excls and claim that there are two syntactic properties that define the class of Excls; (i) Excls contain a wh operator-variable structure, and as a result of this operator, Excls denote a set of alternative propositions, and (ii) Excls contain an abstract morpheme fact in the CP domain, and the result of this morpheme, Excls are factive, that is, their propositional content is presupposed (Zanuttini, Portner, 2003, 40). To capture the different meanings associated with Excls (e.g., surprise, unexpectedness, extreme degree), Zanuttini and Portner argue that Excls include a fundamental concept of widening, that is, "Excls widen the domain of quantification of the wh operator, which gives rise to the set of alternative propositions denoted by the sentence" (2003, 40). Based on the given properties, a sentence that is factive and denotes a set of alternatives cannot have sentential forces of asserting, asking, or ordering. Therefore, the criteria for identifying Excls include three distinguishing properties: factivity, scalar implicature, and question/answer pairs. Factivity can be shown in two facts. First, Excls can only be introduced by factive predicates, as shown in (23), and second, the factive predicate cannot be negated when they are in the present tense and with a first person subject, as shown in (24):

(23)   Mary knows/ *thinks/ wonders how very cute he is.

(24)   *I don't know/realize how very cute he is.   (Zanuttini, Portner 2003, 46-47)

Scalar implicature indicates that "the proposition [Excls] denote lies at the extreme end of some contextually given scale. Thus, *How very cute he is*! indicates that his degree of cuteness is greater than the alternatives under consideration" (Zanuttini, Portner 2003, 47). Scalar implicature can be supported by two facts. First, Excls cannot be embedded under *it isn't amazing* although embedding under the positive counterpart is grammatical, as shown in (25a, b):

(25)   a.   *It isn't amazing how very cute he is!
        b.   It is amazing how very cute he is!

Second, forming a question of the given sentences yields the opposite patterns of grammaticality; (25a) becomes acceptable and (25b) becomes ungrammatical, as shown in (26a, b), respectively:

(26)   a.   Isn't it amazing how very cute he is?
        b.   *Is it amazing how very cute he is?   (Zanuttini, Portner 2003, 47)

The reason for these patterns is that the scalar implicature cannot be denied (hence the ungrammaticality of (25a)) or questioned (i.e., casting doubt on the implicature); hence the ungrammaticality of (26b).

The third property, question/answer pairs, distinguishes Excls from declaratives or interrogatives. This property indicates that Excls cannot be used to ask a question. Consider (27) and (28).

(27)   A. How tall is he?
        B: Seven feet.

(28)   A. How very tall he is!
        B: *Seven feet.   (Zanuttini, Portner 2003, 47)

Another criterion related to this property is that Excls cannot be narrowed by a follow-up phrase, as in (29b).

(29)   a. How tall is he? Seven feet or eight feet?
        b. How very tall he is! *Seven feet or eight feet?   (Zanuttini, Portner 2003, 48)

Relatedly, unlike declaratives, Excls cannot be used as answers. Consider (30).

(30)   A: How tall is Tony's child?
        B: *How very tall he is!   (Zanuttini, Portner 2003, 48)

However, the aforementioned properties seem to work only for *wh*-Excls. Zanuttini & Portner (2003, 49) admit that Excls with *so* or *such* (e.g., *He is so cute*!) do not have these properties. Such constructions (i) fail the factivity test; they can be embedded under non-factive predicates (31a) which can be negated (31b), and (ii) lack the scalar implicature; they can be negated (31c) or questioned (31d), and they can be used as answers (31e)[2].

(31)   a. I think he's so cute!
        b. ?I don't know that he is so cute!
        c. It isn't amazing that he's so cute!
        d. Is it amazing that he's so cute!
        e. A: Is he cute? B: He's so cute!   (Zanuttini, Portner 2003, 49)

In addition to not being applicable to Excls with *so* or *such*, the given properties or criteria are criticized in subsequent studies. The factivity feature seems controversial cross-linguistically. Yamato (2010, 55) points out that "Japanese Excls may not be embedded under factive predicates." Gutiérrez-Rexach (2001, 183) indicates that in Spanish, "the factivity property of Excls is lost in [C-Excls] constructions". Miró (2006, 16) states that "*wh*-Excls in Catalan [...] are not easily introduced by factive verbs". According to Abels (2010, 146) "there are predicates that are classified in present terminology as antifactive by Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970) and that do appear with embedded *what-a* Excls and *how-very* Excls". These studies show that Excls are not inherently factive, and the whole argument may fail to make a plausible generalisation.

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[2] The given constructions seem to be embedded exclamations rather than proper Excls.

Scalar implicature, which involves two widespread notions in the literature, namely, gradability and emotional affectedness, is also criticized. Gutiérrez-Rexach (2008, 121, citing Miró 2006, 118-119) points out adjectives like *dry, empty* or *full* can be used in Excls, such as *How empty the cinema was*!, although they denote a closed scale that cannot be widened beyond a specific point (i.e., they are 'absolute' (context-invariant) adjectives which involve a maximum or a conventional endpoint, as opposed to 'relative' adjective like *tall* which have an open scale (see, e.g., Schumacher 2019), and their "high/extreme degree meaning hardly fits in with the standard Gricean typology of implicated meanings" (Villalba 2008, 15, see also Rosengren 1997, 179, for similar views). The second related notion is emotional affectedness, which denotes that emotions such as surprise and amazement are caused by situations that go beyond the speaker's expectations. The surprise/amazement effect cannot account for some contexts like (32):

(32)   What a delicious dinner you have made!   (Badan, Cheng 2015, 401)

In this context, the speaker does not imply that s/he is surprised by the taste which s/he does not expect to be delicious. Furthermore, in Mandarin Chinese, surprise cannot be considered as an essential property of Excls even in constructions like '*How tall he is*!' (Badan & Cheng 2015, 401). In support of this view, Cruschina et al. (2015, 12), agreeing with Nouwen & Chernilovskaya (2013), argue that Excls are not always scalar. Brandner (2010, 99) points out that the notions 'extreme degree' and 'emotional affectedness' are hard to define in any precise way and cannot be distinguishing features since they exist in declaratives and interrogatives as well.

The third property related to question/answer relations is also controversial. The use of *wh*-elements cannot be considered as a defining feature of Excls because the syntactic strategies utilized to form Excls vary across languages, and *wh*-Excls are different from clause types syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically. Moreover, the limited ability of Excls to be used as answers is not always true, as shown in (33)[3]:

(33)   A: Why don't we go to Cala S'Alguer?
        B: What a wonderful idea!   (Miró 2008, 50)

Apart from the aforementioned controversial features, there are two defining properties of Excls which seem more feasible and less controversial. The first is 'evaluation,' that is, "the speaker has an attitude towards the degree expressed and judges it in some way or other. The hearer can agree or disagree with this evaluation" (Brandner 2010, 101, see also Cinque 1999, 84). The plausibility of this feature to characterize Excls stems from the claim that all Excls 'always' involve the evaluational attitude component that requires only one type of response from the addressee (i.e., (dis)agreement). Thus, Excls are used by the

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[3] The supporting example does not seem to be a question, but a proposal or a suggestion; hence, the argument that Excls can be used as answers in the given context may not be a strong refutation of Zanuttini & Portner's (2003) arguments.

speaker to express his/her evaluation of a particular situation; more precisely, all exclamative constructions involve the feature [EVAL] which codifies the speaker's appreciation or deprecation of a particular entity, situation or event. This feature goes hand in hand with the agreed upon [EXCL] feature which provides the illocutionary force of the utterance.

The second property is related to referentiality, in Zevakhina's (2013, 163) words, "a referent, which might be an object or a situation, should be accessible in discourse" and "identifiable" (Michaelis 2001, 1041). To illustrate, let us consider (34a-c):

(34) a. Someone/a man knocked on your door yesterday.
b. Did anyone call me today?
c. How generous *someone/*a man/ *anyone is!

Whereas declarative and interrogative constructions allow non-identifiable referents in (34a, b), Excls allow only identifiable referents, hence, the ill-formedness of (34c) (*a man* has non-generic meaning, e.g., "What a piece of work is a man!" (in Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act II Scene 2)). The fact that the referent must be identifiable is the direct result of Excls as tenseless syntactic constructions, more specifically, as small clause non-sententials or as root small clauses that have "no Tense node [and must be] situated/anchored in Time by the context of the utterance" (Progovac 2006, 44). Since the context is the only means to provide Time for Excls, the referent must be "one for which a shared representation already exists in the speaker's mind and the hearer's mind at the time of utterance" (Lambrecht 1996, 77-78). The analysis of Excls as root small clauses also explains why the identifiability requirement is not imposed in complement small clauses (e.g., I don't consider [*anyone* smart].) whose time depends on the temporal content in T in the main clause, rather than the utterance time.

The two features (i.e., evaluation and referentiality) are essential to account for the syntax of Excls since they are associated with the main components of Excls as non-TP constructions, namely, the small clause which involves the subject (i.e., the identifiable referent) and the property ascribed to it (i.e., the exclamative expression) which connects with the [EVAL] and [EXCL] features.

4. *Syntactic analyses of Excls*

Although most, if not all, studies follow Bennis, Corver, Den Dikken's (1998) argument for the existence of [+EXCL] feature in C that must be lexically realized, they do not agree on two issues. First, as highlighted by Bosque (2017, 20), "no consensus exists on the specific projection targeted by the wh-phrase" in Excls. Although the literature agrees that Excls involve *wh*-movement, the *wh*-phrase may move to the following positions:

(35) a. The wh-phrase moves to Spec/CP (e.g., Bosque 1984; Brucart 1994; Masullo 2013; Miró 2006).
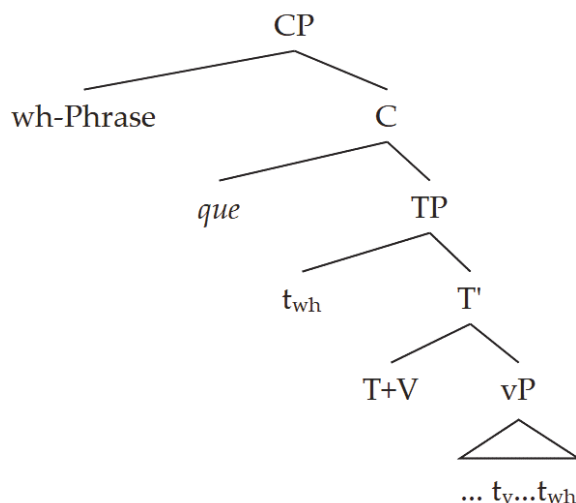b. The wh-phrase moves to Spec/FocusP: (e.g., Hernanz 2006; Hernanz, Rigau 2006).

c. The wh-phrase moves to Spec/CP1, a low CP under CP2: (e.g., Zanuttini, Portner 2003).
d. Wh-phrases are split, as in Kayne's (1994) analysis of relatives: (e.g., Gutiérrez-Rexach 2008).

Therefore, according to Bosque (2017, 19-20), a Spanish Excl like (36) can have different representations illustrated in (37a-d):

(36) *¡Qué bien (que) canta María!*
'How well M. sings!'

(37) a. [CP [Wh-degP *qué bien*] [C' [C° *que* [IP *canta María* [Wh-degP e…]]]]]
b. [FocusP [Wh-degP *qué bien*] [Foc' [Foc° *que* [FinP *canta María* [Wh-degP e…]]]]]
c. [CP2 [Wh-degP *qué bien*] [C' [C° [CP1 [C' [C° *que* [IP *canta María* [Wh-degP e…]]]]]]]]
d. [ForceP [Wh-degP *qué$_i$*] [Force' [FocusP/DegP° [e$_i$] *bien*] [TopicP' *que canta María* [Wh-AdvP e…]]]]

Regarding the first derivation, Miró (2006, 40), for example, proposes that in Catalan, *wh*-phrases in *wh*-interrogatives move to spec-TP, whereas the *wh*-phrases in *wh*-Excls move a step further to spec-CP, as evidenced in the presence of the overt C *que* in the diagram below.
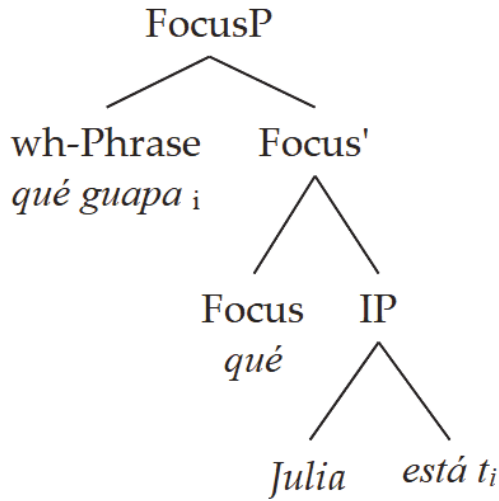
(38)

Regarding the second derivation where the *wh*-phrase moves to spec-FocusP, Hernanz (2006, 122) suggests that "the function of *bien* when preposed to C is to focus on the truth of the whole assertion rather than just the event of the proposition", and the *wh*-phrase "targets FocusP in order to express emphatic affirmation [... and] to check off an interpre-

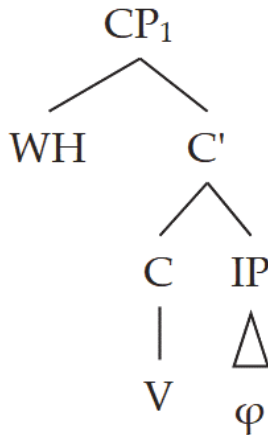table feature [+EMPH(atic)] (Hernanz 2006, 137). Accordingly, an Excl like (39) has the derivation in (40).

(39)   *¡Qué guapa que está Julia!*
       'How beautiful Julia is!'

(40)

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                    FocusP
                  /        \
          wh-Phrase        Focus'
          qué guapa ᵢ      /     \
                      Focus       IP
                       qué       /    \
                             Julia    está tᵢ
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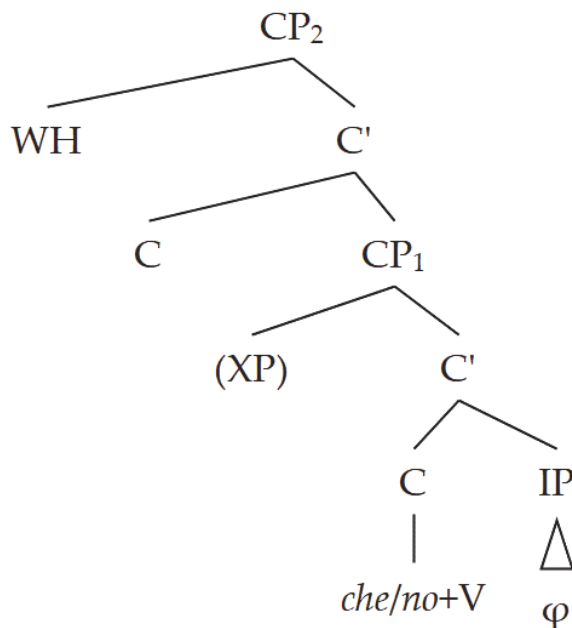
The third derivation assumes the projection of two CPs to differentiate between interrogatives and Excls, Zanuttini & Portner (2003, 61) argue that questions and Excls have the following representations in Italian, respectively.

(41)   a.   Questions

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              CP₁
            /     \
          WH       C'
                  /   \
                 C     IP
                 |     △
                 V     φ
```

b. Excls

$$CP_2$$

WH   C'

C CP_1

(XP)   C'

C   IP

che/no+V   φ

These two derivations are based on the following assumptions (Zanuttini, Portner 2003, 61).
- The *wh*-phrase occurs in the higher CP in the syntax, leaving room for another phrase in the spec of the lower CP.
- The lower C is always filled either by the complementizer *che* or the negator *no* plus the verb; the fact that the *wh*-phrase in the higher projection allows for the presence of *che* without a doubly-filled-COMP filter violation.
- The higher specifier of CP position must be filled, giving rise to the obligatoriness of movement in Excls.

While in the previous three analyses the *wh*-phrase forms a single constituent, the fourth derivation proposed by Gutiérrez-Rexach (2008) suggests that the *wh*-phrase is not a syntactic constituent as it splits along the derivation into two elements, that is, *qué bien* 'how well' splits into *qué* which occupies spec-ForceP and *bien* which stays in spec-FocusP. The motivation for this analysis is related to the different features in Excls, Gutiérrez-Rexach (2008, 131) argues that "a degree feature is checked in the Focus layer and the exclamative feature is checked in the Force layer".

The second issue of disagreement is related to the features and phrases involved in Excl structures (see, e.g., Ambar 2002; Castroviejo 2019; Cruschina et al. 2015; Gutiérrez-Rexach 2001, 2008; Honda 2011; Jónsson 2010; Ono 2006; Yamato 2010). Studies disagree on the internal structure of the highest projection and its divisions (mostly argued to be discourse-related projections) at the C level. Gutiérrez-Rexach (2001) argues that Spanish Excls are derived by raising/merger of an element to/in the specifier of the CP which is divided into three phrases, viz., ForceP, FocusP, and TopicP, represented as

follow: [$_{\text{Force}}$ V/C/Adv/P/Det/Wh [$_{\text{Focus}}$ (A/N/ [+F]) [$_{\text{Topic}}$ ...]]], based on the existence of [+EXCL] feature which merges with Force and connects with Focus to generate semantic effects, especially scalar implicature (supposedly a defining feature of Excls, although extremely debatable as discussed in the previous section). Consequently, the derivation of Excl structures follows either the Move+Merge strategy diagrammed in (42a) or the Move+Move strategy in (42b).
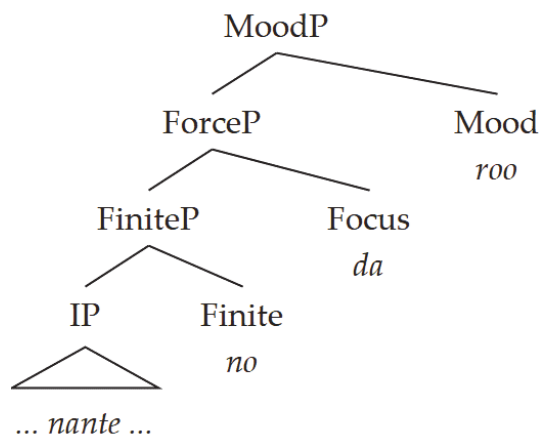
(42)

a.   b.
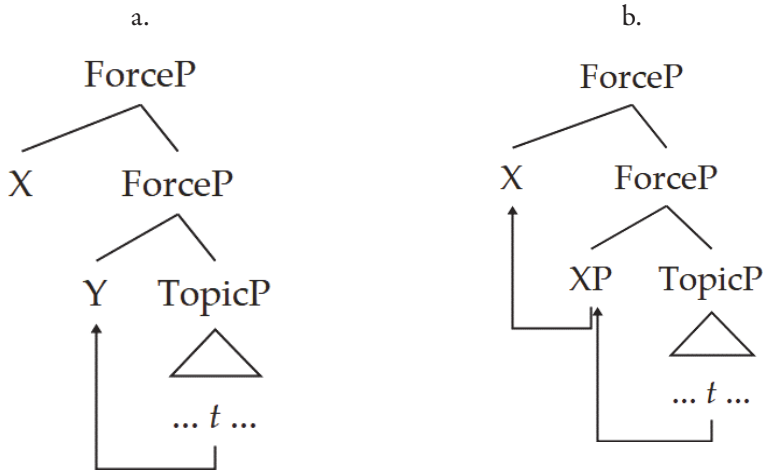
In these derivations, an element with the categorial feature +A(djective) or +N(oun) is moved to check a focus feature, and further raising or merger of the highest element to Force is triggered by the need to check the interpretable [Excl] feature. The given derivations are assumed to explain the general properties of Excls (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2001, 172-175). First, word order shows sensitivity to focus; Excls follow an inverted pattern which indicated that the raised element is in a focus position. Second, the element in Force triggers a scalar implicature associated with Excls, that is, the raised adjective or noun semantically encode the implicature that marks a high point in a scale on degrees (for adjectives) or on kinds (for nouns). Third, the checking of Force [+Excl] is associated with factivity; the checking of this feature prevents embedding Excls by non-factive verbs. Fourth, when the raising element is an adjective, the attraction to a Focus position requires that only gradable adjectives with [+degree] feature can move to the left periphery layer.

As opposed to the preceding analyses which differentiate between Excls and *wh*-interrogatives, Ono (2006) and Yamato (2010) argue that Excls in Japanese have a declarative syntax despite the fact that the *wh*-phrase *nante* 'how' is utilized in Japanese Excls. The different projections, namely, MoodP, FocusP, and FiniteP are argued for to account for the order of *no*, *da*, and *roo* particles as indicated in (43):

(43)   CP structure of Excls (Ono 2006)

MoodP
ForceP   Mood
                    roo
FiniteP   Focus
                    da
IP   Finite
              no
… *nante* …

The mood morpheme *roo* "indicates the judgment of the speaker toward the proposition to which the morpheme attaches" (Ono 2006, 24). The focus particle *da* is assumed to be the Focus head because Japanese Excls "may not be embedded under factive predicates but they may be embedded under a set of assertive predicates" (Yamato 2010, 55), and complements of assertive predicates such as *say* and *think* involve a focalized argument DP which indicates that these predicates project a FocusP. The particle *no* is assumed to be the morphological realization of Finite as "the presuppositional clause in the cleft construction is always marked with the particle *no*"[4]. The strict order of these three particles can be seen in the following example.

(44)   *John-wa   nante   kasiko-i-no-da (-roo)*
        John-TOP   NANTE   intelligent-PRES-FIN-FOC-MOOD
        'How very intelligent John is!'   (Ono 2006, 7)

A different analysis is proposed by Jónsson (2010) for Icelandic Excls in which the WhP and HDegP (High Degree Phrase) are argued to be headed by Excl (cf. Cruschina et al. 2015). These three functional projections can be illustrated in the following example.

(45)   [EXCLP *Mikið* [HDEGP *rosalega* [WHP *hvað* [TP *hann   var   fljotur*]]]]
                much   extremely   what   he   was   quick
        'How unbelievably quick he was!'

In this example, the WhP is projected to host the *wh*-word *hvað* 'what' which moves to check the [+WH] feature. The HDegP is needed to host phrases that denote a high degree,

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[4] The assumption that tense can be morphological realized as an article is argued to be cross-linguistically valid, not only in well-studied languages like Japanese, but also in under-studied languages like Tłı̨chǫ Yatı̀ (Dogrib). See, e.g., Al-Bataineh (2021b, 2022).

such as *rosalega* 'extremely' above. ExclP dominates both HDegP and WhP as evidenced in the rigid word order of Icelandic Excls.

Ambar (2002) adopts a split CP approach but with more projections higher than the FocusP to account for cross-linguistic variations in exclamative and non-exclamative constructions. Her approach is based on the following assumptions (Ambar 2002, 16–17):

> (46) a. XP [$_{\text{EvaluativeP}}$ [$_{\text{Evaluative'}}$ [$_{\text{AssertiveP}}$ [$_{\text{Assertive'}}$ [XP $_{\text{whP}}$ [$_{\text{Wh'}}$ [$_{\text{FocusP}}$ [$_{\text{Focus'}}$ [XP [$_{\text{IP}}$...
> b. XP is a landing site for dislocated elements;
> c. WhP is an operator projection where *wh*-phrases move to; its head has two features: *wh*- and *V*-features which trigger *wh*-movement and Verb-Inflection raising;
> d. AssertiveP is a projection located above WhP – it projects whenever assertive properties (i.e., those related to 'factive' interpretation) are involved in the construction;
> e. EvaluativeP is a projection located above AssertiveP, which codifies the speaker's evaluations (usually expressed by adjectival elements).

Ambar (2002) argues that the projection of EvaluativeP and AssertiveP are essential for the syntax of *wh*-Excls since they trigger the movement of the *wh*-element to check the [+EVALUATIVE] and [+ASSERTIVE] features which belong to Common Ground.

In sum, the literature seems to disagree on the position targeted by the moved *wh*-phrase and the number of features and phrases at the left periphery of Excls. Each study claims several projections in the CP domain which are different from those in other studies in their number, categories, functional heads, and features. These differences seem to be triggered by the different frameworks adopted by the researchers who analyse different languages. This indicates that the presence of several projections and features within the clausal domain may be related to the assumption that each language is unique in its lexicalization of the [+EXCL] feature, and the discussed projections and heads are required to be different based on the differences between languages; that is to say, these differences are argued to be language-specific. However, even for the same language, several analyses are proposed. For example, we can notice that the same inconsistency and disagreement among researchers is also prevalent in studies on Arabic Excls. The following section summaries the main arguments and hypotheses proposed for this construction in Arabic.

5. *Excls in Arabic*

Moutaouakil (1999; 2005) discusses Excls in general and in Arabic[5] in specific and argues that they cannot be considered as a sentence type. Assuming that Excls constitute a sentence type faces several problems. First, there is no precise or clear definition of the notion 'sentence type' in traditional or generative grammar; hence, there are no criteria to include/

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[5] For similar constructions and an overview of Arabic syntax and phonology, see, e.g., Al-Bataineh (2019, 2020, 2021a).

exclude Excls in the set of sentence types. Second, while interrogatives, declaratives, and imperatives have discriminatory features that make them possible to be recognized and differentiated from each other, Excls have diverse forms that differ from one language to another, except for prosodic features, which are shared among languages. Third, Excls have no specific forms in contrast with declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives; except for some idiomatic expressions, Excls borrow their structures from the other sentence types, and in most cases, Excls can be seen as an interrogation with exclamatory interpretation. Fourth, based on the connection and the mutual implication between sentence type and illocution, that is, "sentence types are grammaticalized carriers of basic illocutions [e.g., declaratives code the illocution of declaration]" (Moutaouakil 1999, 2), Excls cannot form a sentence type because they do not have an illocution as evidenced in the following. First, Excls "do not necessarily involve an interactional relationship between the speaker and the addressee, which is one of the defining features of illocutionary force" (Moutaouakil 1999, 2). Consider (47a-d), and notice how *be amazed* behave differently than the illocution-ary-indicating predicates *tell*, *ask*, and *order*.

(47)   a.   I tell you that John will come back tomorrow.
       b.   I ask you whether Mary will meet John.
       c.   I order you to leave now.
       d.   *I am amazed (to) you that John is here already!   (Moutaouakil 1999, 3)

This leads to the observation that "the primary function of exclamation is to establish a relation between the speaker and the content of the expression he utters rather than be-tween him and the addressee" (Moutaouakil 1999, 3). Second, while basic illocutions can undergo an illocutionary conversion process (e.g., a change from a declaration to an inter-rogation), there are no cases demonstrating the conversion of an Excl into another type of construction. Third, while adverbial expressions such as *frankly*, *honestly*, *sincerely*, etc., can modify or specify the illocutionary value of the clause, exclamative adverbials such as *surprisingly*, *wonderfully*, *amazingly*, etc., do not specify or modify the content of the prop-osition. Notice that (48a) can be paraphrased by (48b) but not by (48c).

(48)   a.   Amazingly, John has greeted his enemy.
       b.   It is amazing that John should greet his enemy.
       c.   *I tell you amazingly that John has greeted his enemy.   (Moutaouakil 1999, 4)

Forth, exclamation is a gradable notion in the sense that the speaker can express different degrees of exclamation. Consider that (49a-d) represent increasing exclamation.

(49)   a.   She is nice!
       b.   Is she nice!
       c.   Isn't she nice!
       d.   How nice she is!   (Moutaouakil 1999, 4)

The gradability of exclamation indicates that Excls do not involve a speech act since the performance of a speech act cannot be conceived as a matter of degree. Consider the grammaticality of (50a) as opposed to (50b-c)[6].

(50)   a.   I am very surprised that John is here.
       b.   *I tell you very much that John is ill.
       c.   *I ask you very much whether John has met Mary.
       d.   *I order you very much to leave.   (Moutaouakil 1999, 4)

Fifth, unlike declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives, exclamation is "an additional optional feature which is superimposed on a linguistic expression which already has an illocutionary value" (Moutaouakil 1999, 5). This is evident in the fact that Excls have the illocutionary force of assertion independently of the fact they are exclamative. Several studies (e.g., Gyuris & Szalontai 2013; Sorianello 2011, 2017, 2019, 2020) demonstrated that the illocutionary force of excls lies in its intonation realization. Similarly, the scalar implicature and its wide (and gradual) meaning, upwards or downward, lie in the pitch range of the sentence.

This claim is supported by four pieces of evidence. First, while coordination is possible only when the two clauses have the same illocution (51a, b), the coordination of an Excl with a declarative or a rhetorical interrogative is possible (52a, b).

(51)   a.   Mary is rich and she is generous.
       b.   *Is Mary rich? and she is generous.

(52)   a.   Mary is rich and how generous she is!
       b.   Isn't Mary rich?! and how generous she is!   (Moutaouakil 1999, 5)

Second, Lakoff (1987, 475–479, cited in Moutaouakil 1999, 5) notes that Excls can occur in *because*-clauses whereas interrogatives and imperatives cannot, and that is because Excls are assertive, as shown in (53a-c).

(53)   a.   I am gonna have breakfast now, because am I ever hungry!
       b.   *I'm leaving because I ask you which girl pinched me.
       c.   *I'm staying because I order you to leave.

Third, Excls can take a tag question that is associated with declaratives, as shown in (54a, b), and in dialogues, the addressee can react with the same expressions as to declaratives, as shown in (55) as opposed to (56).

(54)   a.   She has grown, hasn't she?
       b.   She has GROWN, hasn't she?

---

[6] This assumption is open to a debate. Consider, for example, that *I order you <u>very strongly</u> to leave* is grammatical.

(55) A: Isn't she nice!
      B: I know. / I see. / That's true.

(56) A: Is she nice? (please tell me)
      B: *I know. / *I see. / *That's true.   (Moutaouakil 1999, 6)

Based on the aforementioned arguments, Moutaouakil (1999) maintains that Excls do not constitute a sentence type, and they represent a subjective modality defined by Dik (1997) as follows:

> **Subjective modality**:
> The source of the speaker's evaluation is
> (i)   personal opinion: it is the speaker's personal opinion that X is certain, probable, possible
> (ii) volition: it is the speaker's wish/hope that X is/will be realized.

Moutaouakil (1999, 8) adds a third notion to the given definition to define exclamative modality as follows:

> (iii) impression/emotional reaction[7]: it is the speaker's impression that X is surprising, unexpected, or otherwise worthy of notice.

Drawing on this definition, Moutaouakil (1999) explains that Arabic Excls can be explained according to two criteria: (a) the different values that exclamation can take, and (b) its different degrees. With regard to the first criterion, Excls indicate two values, viz., positive or negative (appreciative or depreciative), as the speaker expresses his/her approval or disapproval towards the propositional content. In Arabic, these two values have morphosyntactic correlates. In Modern Standard Arabic, for example, the particle *niˤma* is used in appreciative exclamative constructions whereas the particle *biʾsa* is utilized in the depreciative counterpart, as in (57a, b):

(57) a. *niˤma*   *al-fatāt-u*   *hind-u-n*
         good   the-girl-NOM   Hind-NOM-INDEF
         'What a good girl Hind is!'
      b. *biʾsa*   *al-jār-u*   *zayd-u-n*
         bad   the-neighbor-NOM Zayd-NOM-INDEF
         'What a bad neighbor Zayd is!'   (Moutaouakil 1999, 9)

In other constructions, some particles are used exclusively for appreciation, for example, *ʾafˤil* in (58a), which cannot carry a depreciative attitude (58b).

(58) a. *ʾakrim*   *bi-zayd-i-n*
         generous   with-Zayd-GEN-INDEF

---

[7] For more details on this notion, see Gurrado (2020).

'How generous Zayd is!'

    b.   *ʾaqbiḥ   bi-zayd-i-n
         bad   with-Zayd-GEN-INDEF
         'How bad Zayd is!'   (Moutaouakil 1999, 9)

This morphosyntactic correlation between the exclamative modality and the value expressed by the Excl is not specific to Arabic; as can be seen in French (59a, b), the fronted adjective predicate can denote only the negative attitude.

(59)   a.   *Sotte que tu es!*
             'Stupid that you are!'
       b.   **Géniale que tu es!*
             'Genious that you are!'   (Moutaouakil 1999, 9)

Regarding the second criterion that Excls have different degrees of exclamation, this criterion can be explained by the fact that the different degrees can be expressed either lexically or morphosyntactically[8]. Lexically, predicates can display gradual meanings such as those in (60a, b).

(60)   a.   fantastic > marvelous > nice > beautiful
       b.   incredible > astonishing > amazing > surprising   (Moutaouakil 1999,10)

Morphosyntactically, some predicate forms are used for a natural, low degree of exclamation (61a), and others are used for a higher degree (61b).

(61)   a.   *mā ʾakrama   zayd-a-n*
           generous. EXCL   Zayd-ACC-INDEF
           'How generous Zayd is!'
       b.   *ʾakrim   bi-zayd-i-n*
           generous. EXCL   with-Zayd-GEN-INDEF
           'How very generous Zayd is!'   (Moutaouakil 1999, 10)

Relatedly, the degree of exclamation can also be increased by a grammatical means, for instance, by the use of a reinforcement particle (62).

(62)   *ʾalā   mā   ʾakrama   zayd-a-n*
        REINF   generous. EXCL Zayd-ACC-INDEF
        'How very generous Zayd is!'   (Moutaouakil 1999, 11)

---

[8] As far as I know as a native speaker of Arabic and based on my consultation with other native speakers, the intonation contour of Arabic exclamatives is the same regardless of the use of reinforcement particles and predicate forms. Thus, it seems that in Arabic, exclamatives are differentiated only by lexical and morphosyntactical means. Assuming the correctness of this claim (which needs to be confirmed by future studies), Arabic exclamatives seem to be different from exclamatives in other languages such as Italian in which the different degrees of exclamation are realized by means of specific phonetic cues such as intonation (contour, pitch range), duration and intensity (See, e.g., Sorianello 2011, 2017, 2019, 2020).

In sum, Moutaouakil (1999) maintains that Excls in Arabic and other languages are "subjectively modelized declarative, interrogative, or imperative constructions typically conveying an assertion as their basic or (derived) illocution" (Moutaouakil 1999, 20).

The two exclamative templates ʾafʿala and ʾafʿil require the change of the adjective *karyīm* 'generous' to ʾakrama and ʾakrim in (61a, b), respectively. These two templates are analyzed as verbs in Al-Seghayar (2002), who claims that these forms are one place predicates that have unusual requirements. ʾafʿala in (61a) is argued to be a "one place predicate which selects a theme argument which surfaces as an object and is assigned accusative case [...] this verb form assigns accusative case to an internal argument that it chooses without having to have an external argument" (Al-Seghayar 2002, 177). Therefore, (61a) has the following derivation:

(63)   [CP [C' [C ma [IP Pro EXPL [I' [I [VP [V' [V ʾakrama [NP zayd-an]]]]]]]]]]

The second form has the same analysis; it is a one place predicate and has an internal argument, a direct object, but this verb cannot assign case, and it needs a case assigner, a preposition. Consequently, (61b) has the following derivation:

(64)   [IP Pro EXPL [I' [I [VP [V' [V ʾakrim [PP bi- [NP zayd-in]]]]]]]]

This analysis may seem faulty and difficult to defend for several reasons. To mention just two problems, the given claims that the same verb can and cannot assign case simultaneously is hardly justifiable, and they overlook the fact that the so-called verbs are semantically adjectives that modify the referent, that is, both verbs denote a property exclaimed about related to the generosity of Zayd. Moreover, Al-Seghayar (2002) overlooks the well-known debate in the literature that the given exclamative forms are both verbs and nouns. Owens (1988, 142–147) summarizes the main arguments of the form ʾafʿala in traditional grammar books and shows that this form is hard to be classified as either a verb or a noun since it has the properties of both simultaneously.

It behaves as a noun because (i) it has a single fixed form, and unlike other verbs, does not have derived forms (i.e., perfect, imperfect, verbal noun, etc.); (ii) it has a diminutive form which is associated exclusively with nouns; (iii) when the second consonant is a semivowel [w] or [j] and followed by [a], the consonant does not change as in other nouns. This contrasts with verbs where the same sequence yields long vowel [ā] (cf. ʾa**qw**ama 'straighter' vs., ʾa**q**ā**ma** 'make someone/something stand'); (iv) the interpretation of the exclamative form does not have the denotation of a transitive verb, rather a property exclaimed about. However, the same form behaves also as a verb, as evidenced in three issues. (i) When the referent is a first person pronoun, it requires the insertion of [n] which is typical of verbs (cf. *raʾā-**nī*** 'saw-me' vs., *bayt-ī* 'house-my'); (ii) the referent behaves like a direct object in being possible to be definite, and this rules out the nominal analysis since nominals in the same position are only indefinite; (iii) ʾafʿala has the form of a past verb, and it ends with the vowel [a] (cf. ʾakrama 'be hospitable'), and if it is a nominal, it must ends with [u] because it the same context it is a nominative comment (*ʾakram-**u***). This debate shows that the given exclamative form shares the syntactic properties of verbs and nouns simultaneously, as opposed to the simplified view of Al-Seghayar (2002).

Similarly, the second form ʾafˁil is also problematic as it behaves differently than its equivalent imperative verbal form. As discussed Ibn Yaʿīsh (2001, 420), among many others, although this form looks like an imperative verb, it allows only the spurious preposition *bi-*, rather than the semantically required one ʾilā 'to', and it does not agree with the addressee, as the contrast between the declarative and exclamative constructions show in (65a, b), respectively.

(65) a. *yā   rijāl-u,   ʾaḥsin-**u**   ʾilā   zayd-i-n*
          Oh   men-NOM   do good-3PL.MASC   to   Zayd-GEN-INDEF
          'Oh men, do good to Zayd.'
      b. *yā   rijāl-u,   ʾaḥsin-***u**   bi-Zayd-i-n*
          Oh   men-NOM   do good-*3PL.MASC   PREP-Zayd-GEN-INDEF
          'Oh men, how excellent Zayd is!'

Apart from the given conventional structures of Arabic Excls, Vinet (1991) discusses the simple exclamative constructions formed only of an adjective and an argument DP in both French and Moroccan Arabic. Due to the similarities of the structure in both languages, the discussion below focuses only on Moroccan Arabic Excls, like those in (66a, b):

(66) a. *zwīna   had   d-dar*
          beautiful   this   DEF-house
          'Beautiful this house!'
      b. *magrabiyya   had   l-hafla*
          Moroccan   this   DEF-feast
          'Moroccan this feast!'   (Vinet 1991, 100)

Vinet (1991) argues for a non-clausal analysis of such constructions; that is, he maintains that these Excls are not TPs, but DPs with an A' movement of the predicate to the topic position diagrammed in (67) (Vinet 1991, 90).

(67)
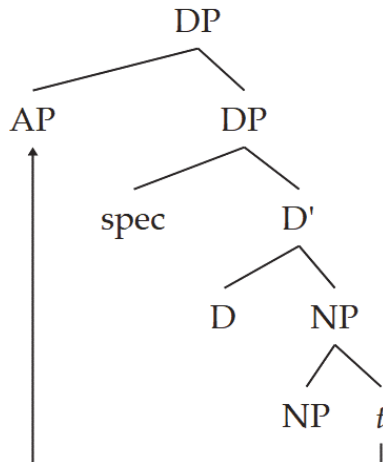
This proposal is based on several pieces of evidence. First, it is ungrammatical to include a time adverbial or a copula in these Excls, as in (68a, b), respectively.

(68)   a.   *zwīna   had   d-dar   ibarah
            beautiful this   DEF-house yesterday
            'Beautiful this house yesterday!'
       b.   *zwīna   had   d-dar   kan
            beautiful this   DEF-house was
            'Beautiful this house was!'   (Vinet 1991, 100)

Second, only non-referential elements (adjuncts) can be moved. Referential NPs or adjectives which can function as arguments are ruled out. Consider (69).

(69)   *magrabiyya had   l-harb   maʿa   l-jazāʾir
       Moroccan   this   DEF-war   with   DEF-Algeria
       'Moroccan this war with Algeria!'   (Vinet 1991, 101)

Third, objective adjectives like color adjectives without a degree form (70a) or classifying adjectives are also impossible (70b).

(70)   a.   *khla   had   l-qahwa
            black   this   DEF-coffee
            'Black this coffee!'
       b.   darriyah   had   l-qunbula
            atomic   this   DEF-bomb
            'Atomic this bomb!'   (Vinet 1991, 101)

Fourth, the movement of the predicate must be local to satisfy the adjacency constraint on the movement of the predicate, as shown in (71a, b).

(71)   a.   ʿajīb   had   l-ktāb
            marvellous this   DEF-book
            'Marvelous this book!'
       b.   *ʿajīb   tandun   blli   tantetabar   had   l-ktāb
            marvellous think.I that   consider.you this   DEF-book
            'Marvelous I think that you consider this book!'   (Vinet 1991, 101)

Based on these facts, among others related to the use of PPs and (in)alienable possession, Vinet (1991) maintains that these simple Excls have nominal, rather than clausal, structure, and the predicate is an adjunct modifier, rather than an argument. Hence, "T (or an abstract Tence) must be rejected in the deep structure" (Vinet 1991, 102).

6. *Conclusion*

This paper shows that the analysis of Excls is not unified, and there are several debatable issues regarding the defining features and the syntactic structure of Excls. The reason behind this debate is that Excls have a unique syntax that takes some, but not all, properties one expects to find in clauses. The defining properties of Excls – factivity, scalar implicature, and question/answer pairs – are shown to be controversial and cross-linguistically invalid. Excls are not inherently factive, and they are not always scalar. The use of wh-elements cannot also be considered as a defining feature of Excls because the syntactic strategies utilized to form Excls vary across languages, and wh-Excls are different from clause types syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically. Apart from the aforementioned controversial properties, the two defining features of Excls, viz., evaluation and referentiality, seem more feasible and less controversial.

Regarding syntactic analyses of Excls, the paper shows that although most, if not all, studies follow Bennis, Corver, & Den Dikken's (1998) argument for the existence of [+EXCL] feature in C that must be lexically realized, they do not agree on two issues. First, as highlighted by Bosque (2017, 20), there is no agreement among researchers with regard the specific projection that hosts the wh-phrase. That is, there is no consensus on the position at the left periphery to which the extraposed wh-phrase moves in sentential Excls. The second issue of disagreement is related to the features and phrases involved in Excl structures. Previous analyses differ markedly on the internal structure of C which includes several divisions and projections with various interpretable features that attract the wh-element and trigger its movement. In sum, the literature seems to disagree on the position targeted by the moved wh-phrase and the number of features and phrases at the left periphery of Excls. Each study claims several projections in the CP domain which are different from those in other studies in their number, categories, functional heads, and features. Moreover, this paper shows that the same inconsistency and disagreement exists in studies on Arabic Excls.

To reduce the complexity and the inconsistency of the syntactic structure of Excls and to reach a unified analysis that is valid across-linguistically, Al-Bataineh (2021c) argues for a new approach which assumes that Excls are not full clauses since they are temporally deictic to the here and now; that is, they are tenseless expressions that largely lack Tense specification because they are anchored by the context of the situation rather than Tense. Consequently, Excls are not finite clausal projections; they are just small clauses formed of the referent and the property exclaimed about and headed by Excl that provides the illocutionary force of utterance, as represented below.

(72)

```
                              ExclP
              ┌────────────────┴──┐
            XP                   Excl'
                         ┌─────────┴──────┐
                       Excl               RP
                    [u-Excl] [u-Eval]  ┌───┴────────┐
                       [EPP]          AP            R'
                             (the property exclaimed about)
                                                 ┌──┴──┐
                                                 R    DP
                                                  (the referent)
```
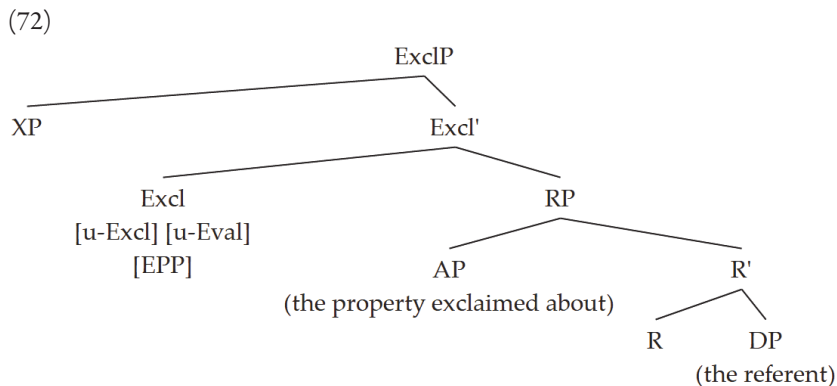
This structure is argued to be more adequate as it is more closely associated with the defining properties of Excls (i.e., evaluation and referentiality), and it accounts for all types of Arabic Excls, viz., Wh-Excls, vocative Excls, and verbal Excls. See Al-Bataineh (2021c) for detailed discussion and exemplification. The assumption that Excls are nonsententials implies several empirical and theoretical consequences on Excls across languages discussed in the aforementioned study. Needless to say, the possible implications are just preliminary predictions that need to be argued for or against by other cross-linguistic studies in the future.

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