

# The Characterization of Exclamative Clauses in Paduan\*

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## ABSTRACT

In this descriptive report we outline the structural pattern of exclamative clauses in Paduan. Because of the close similarity between exclamative and interrogative clauses in this language, we begin by developing a number of tests which allow us to distinguish these two clause types. We then present the range of exclamative structures. A variety of factors interact to mark a clause as an exclamative, yielding a quite complex array of facts. We view this work as the basis for future study in the syntax and semantics of exclamatives.

## 1 Grammatical form and clausal type

Grammatical description traditionally assumes a set of universal clause types including declaratives, imperatives, and questions. In addition to these clear cases, more minor types such as exclamatives have been discussed as well (see Sadock & Zwicky 1985, among others). Our goal in this paper is to present some new data which broadens the basis for understanding the nature of exclamatives.

Given that exclamatives have been understudied in comparison to other clause types, a detailed description of their properties in any language is a useful undertaking. Moreover, the language we will examine, the Romance variety spoken in the north eastern Italian city of Padua, is particularly worth studying for two reasons: First, it is spoken in a limited geographical area and is in competition with standard Italian in most situations for the majority of speakers fluent in both varieties; more generally it exists in a sociolinguistic situation which might lead to the loss of some of its distinctive characteristics. And second, it allows a revealing look at how exclamatives are similar to, and different from, another clause type: questions.

In many languages there is a close similarity between exclamatives and questions (cf. Elliott 1974, Obenauer 1994, ch. 3). The following data from Paduan illustrates this point:

- (1) a. Cossa che l magnava! (exclamative)  
      what that s.cl ate  
      ‘What things he ate!’

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\*We thank Paola Benincà for both providing all of the Paduan data and contributing her insights through numerous discussions of the facts and patterns. This work would not have been possible without this contribution as well as her earlier scholarship (Benincà 1995, 1996). We also thank the Linguistic Society of America for granting us permission to reprint this work, which was first published in *Language* 76(1):123-132, 2000.

- b. *Cossa magna-lo?* (question)  
what ate-s.cl  
'What did he eat?'

In both examples, the *wh* word *cozza* is fronted. Despite this similarity, 1a is interpreted as an exclamative, while 1b is interpreted as a question. The former contains the complementizer *che* and shows the same relative order of the subject clitic (glossed as 's.cl')<sup>1</sup> and the verb as is found in declaratives, while the latter lacks the complementizer and places the verb to the left of the subject clitic, what we will call 'inversion'.

Our data is relevant to the issue of what grammatical property or properties determine the contrast between exclamatives and questions. Though 1 suggests that Paduan may use inversion to distinguish questions from exclamatives, matters are not so simple, as we will see. Our description of the pattern of interpretation for *wh*-movement and inversion structures in this language reveals a number of different factors which are relevant to making a clause an exclamative.

From a broader perspective, we note that, while core cases of different clause types are easy to distinguish, the precise boundaries between them are often difficult to determine. Assuming that there are grammatical classes of declarative and exclamative, what criteria could be used to settle which one the English example 2 belongs to?

- (2) He's so cute.

While intonation clearly plays a crucial role in determining its use, the question remains of what grammatical class or classes it belongs to. The Paduan data we will present brings up a similar issue concerning the question/exclamative boundary. We hope that by presenting these new facts, we can make this particular distinction more precise, as well as make a contribution to the more general issue of what distinguishes clausal types.

## 2 Criteria for distinguishing exclamatives from questions

In this project, it is important to establish some objective criteria for identifying exclamatives and distinguishing them from other clausal types. Based on the literature on the syntax and semantics of exclamatives (in particular, Elliott 1974, Grimshaw 1979, Portner & Zanuttini 2000), we will identify three main semantic/pragmatic properties of exclamative clauses, which we will refer to as FACTIVITY, SCALAR IMPLICATURE, and QUESTION/ANSWER RELATIONS. Each of these gives rise to a number of empirical tests for being an exclamative. In addition to the Paduan, we provide data from English to aid the reader.

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<sup>1</sup>Subject clitics are pronominal elements present in many Romance varieties which manifest some of the same properties as complement clitics (cf. Kayne 1975). Through their agreement features they are clearly associated with the subject argument, and they occur only with finite verbs. As is manifested in our examples, they sometimes take on different forms in pre- vs. post-verbal positions. For further details, see Rizzi 1986, Poletto 1993a, 1993b, 1996 and references therein.

## 2.1 Factivity

As first pointed out by Grimshaw 1979, exclamative clauses are factive, that is, they presuppose their propositional content. This leads to two properties which are useful for distinguishing exclamatives from questions. In what follows we use the modifier *very* internal to the *wh* phrase in English to force the clause to be interpreted as an exclamative, since (as pointed out by Elliott 1974) *very* disallows interpretation as a question.

First, exclamatives can only be embedded under factive predicates (Grimshaw 1979):<sup>2,3</sup>

- (3) a. He knows how very nice it is to go to the mountains.  
b. Lu l sa che belo che ze ndare in montagna. (Paduan)  
he s.cl knows how beautiful that is go.inf in mountain
- (4) a. \*He asked me how very nice it is to go to the mountains.  
b. \*El me ga domandà che belo che ze ndare in montagna.  
he me has asked how beautiful that is go.inf in mountain

Second, it is impossible to negate a present tense verb of the sort *know* or *realize* when it has a first person subject and embeds an exclamative, as in 5.<sup>4</sup> One may do so when the same predicate embeds a question (Elliott 1974, Grimshaw 1979: 283), as in 6:

- (5) a. \*I don't know how very tall he is.  
b. \*No so che alto che l ze.  
neg know.1sg how tall that s.cl is
- (6) a. I don't know how tall he is.  
b. No so quanto che l ze alto. (or quanto alto che el ze.)  
neg know.1sg how that s.cl is tall

Negating *I know...* with the exclamative, that is, denying the speaker's knowledge of the exclamative's propositional content, is in conflict with the fact that this content is presupposed. If the subject is other than the first person or the tense is other than present, this conflict disappears. For example, in *Mary doesn't know how very tall he is*, there's no conflict between Mary's lack of knowledge and the speaker's presupposition that he is very tall. These points are discussed in more detail in Portner & Zanuttini 1999.

## 2.2 Scalar implicature

Exclamatives indicate that the fact they express is surprising or noteworthy in some way. More precisely, they convey a conventional implicature based on a contextually given scale of propo-

<sup>2</sup>As noted by Grimshaw, some basically nonfactive predicates have special factive uses, and then exclamatives are possible, e.g. *I can't believe how very cute he is*.

<sup>3</sup>Notice that in 3b, there is homophony between the *wh* word *che* 'how/what' and the complementizer *che* 'that'.

<sup>4</sup>The relevant property of these verbs is that they attribute to the referent of their subject knowledge of their propositional complement. That is, both *x knows p* and *x realizes p* entail that *x knows p* (in the first case trivially).

sitions to the effect that the one presupposed to be true is at the top of the scale.<sup>5</sup> The fact that this component of meaning is an implicature, and not part of what the sentence asserts, has two results which may be used as tests for being an exclamative:

First, if the exclamative is embedded under a predicate like *amazing*, this predicate may not be negated, as in 7 (Elliott 1974).<sup>6</sup> This is not simply due to the unnegatability of clauses embedding an exclamative, since 8 is fine.

- (7) a. \*It isn't amazing how very cute he is.  
 b. \*No ze incredibile che belo che el ze.  
       neg is incredible how cute that s.cl is
- (8) She doesn't know how very cute he is.

7 attempts to negate the 'amazingness', or extreme scalar quality, of his degree of cuteness. However, as Grice notes, conventional implicatures are non-defeasible. Thus, the result is incoherent.

And second, one cannot question the scalar implicature:

- (9) a. \*Is it amazing how very cute he is?  
 b. \*Ze incredibile che belo che el ze?  
       is incredible how cute that s.cl is

The examples in 9 are ungrammatical because questioning the main predicate *amazing* amounts to questioning the scalar implicature itself.<sup>7</sup>

### 2.3 Question/Answer Relations

Compared to declaratives and interrogatives, exclamatives have a very limited ability to function in question/answer pairings. First, contrasting them with interrogatives, they cannot be answered (Portner & Zanuttini 1999, 2000). The ability to be answered is the defining characteristic of questions. We illustrate this property with 10–11. A's question in 10 introduces a set of possible answers {He is five feet tall, He is five foot one, ...} (e.g., Hamblin 1973, Rooth 1992). B's response constitutes an answer because it draws from this set. In contrast, A's exclamation in 11 does not have the function of introducing a set of possible answers, and so B cannot respond with *seven feet*.

<sup>5</sup>The details of what criteria are used to order this scale are a subtle matter, and we will not go into them here. Often they have to do with the proposition expressed being surprising, but apparently not always; for example, saying 'What a good dinner you've made!' to a host needn't indicate that you didn't expect it to be good.

<sup>6</sup>Grimshaw 1979: 321 has an example of this sort as grammatical. While it seems correct that certain contextual or intonational factors can improve such examples, the details of how and when this happens are unclear.

<sup>7</sup>9 contrasts minimally with two other question types in a way that supports our account. A question is acceptable when the matrix predicate does not convey a meaning similar to the implicature, such as *know* in (i). In addition, there is one context where it is possible to form a question with *amazing* embedding an exclamative: when it is a negative question, as in (ii). This is because negative yes/no questions expect a positive answer, and so (ii) confirms the exclamative's implicature that he is amazingly cute.

- (i) Does she know how very cute he is?  
 (ii) Isn't it amazing how very cute he is?

More precisely, B's response cannot be taken as an answer, and replies like *He really is!* are taken as indicating agreement; in fact, with appropriate intonation *seven feet!* could be understood in this way as well.

- (10) a. A: How tall is he? B: Seven feet.  
 b. A: Quanto ze-lo alto? B: Un metro e novanta.  
 how is-s.cl tall one meter and ninety
- (11) a. A: How very tall he is! B: \*Seven feet. / He really is! / Indeed! / No he's not!  
 b. A: Che alto che l ze! B: \*un metro e novanta/ Eh, el ze proprio alto!/ Eh sí,  
 how tall that s.cl is one meter and ninety s.cl is really tall yes  
 sul serio/ Ma no che no l ze alto!  
 on-the serious but no that neg s.cl is tall  
 'A: How tall he is! B: A meter ninety / Yea, he's really tall! / Yea, indeed! / No he's not!'

The difference in meaning between exclamatives and questions may also be seen in the following contrast:

- (12) a. How tall is he? Seven feet or eight feet?  
 b. Quanto ze-lo alto? Un metro e novanta o do metri?  
 how-much is-s.cl tall One meter and ninety or two meters  
 'How tall is he? A meter ninety or two meters?'
- (13) a. How very tall he is! \*Seven feet or eight feet?  
 b. Che alto che l ze! \*Un metro e novanta o do metri?  
 how tall that s.cl is A meter and ninety or two meters  
 'How tall he is! A meter ninety or two meters?'

The phrase *Seven feet or eight feet?*<sup>8</sup> narrows the preceding question; it presupposes that a set of possible answers has been introduced into the discourse, and then presents two of them to be chosen between. In 12, its presupposition is satisfied, while in 13 it isn't.

And second, distinguishing them from declaratives, exclamatives may not be used to answer a wh question (Grimshaw 1979: 321):

- (14) a. A: How tall is Tony's child? B: \*How very tall he is!  
 b. A: Quanto alto ze-lo l Putin de Toni? B: \*Che alto che l ze!  
 how tall is-s.cl the child of Tony how tall that s.cl is

The wh question in 14 requires an answer providing a degree of tallness. The exclamative appears unable to provide the right kind of answer,<sup>9</sup> though in some cases an exclamative may provide an answer to a yes/no question (McCawley 1973):

- (15) A: Is Tony's child tall? B: Boy is he ever!

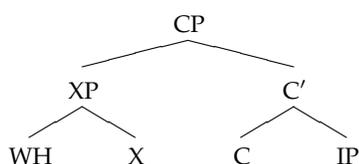
<sup>8</sup>On the relevant reading, the phrase has focus on *seven* and *eight* and the overall intonation contour of a yes/no question.

<sup>9</sup>Explaining why an exclamative cannot provide a degree answer (something like *very tall* in this case), would require more detailed semantic discussion than is appropriate here; cf. Portner & Zanuttini 2000

### 3 Wh Exclamatives in Paduan

Now that we have established some criteria for distinguishing exclamatives from questions, we turn to describing the ways of forming exclamatives in Paduan, contrasting them with questions in cases where they form minimal pairs. We should mention that, though we classify sentences as exclamatives based on the tests mentioned above, for reasons of space, we will not present the relevant examples. We are also limiting our discussion to sentences with an indicative mood verb; sentences with a use similar to exclamatives can also be formed with infinitives or other moods, but we leave them aside here because they do not contrast with questions.

Our description of the pattern will make reference to material in three syntactic positions, labelled WH, X, and C:



All that is relevant about this structure for our purposes here is the contents of these three positions; other details, such as the node labels or precise constituency, are not crucial. We'll begin in section 3.1 with structures which contain *che* 'what/how' or *quanto* 'how (much)' in the WH position. What these cases have in common is that the wh elements correspond to the element which is being exclaimed about. In this respect, they are parallel to English examples like *How tall he is!*, which exclaims about his degree of height. We will refer to cases such as this as WH EXCLAMATIVES. It is also possible for the speaker to exclaim about the proposition as a whole by using what we call YES/NO EXCLAMATIVES, a variety which we'll discuss in section 4. Among wh exclamatives, position X may host a noun, adjective, or adverb; we will focus on the contrast between nouns and adjectives. Finally, C may contain the complementizer *che* 'that' or the finite verb. We will refer to the case in which the verb (along with associated clitics) is in C as 'inversion'. In what follows, we will detail what combinations of these elements give rise to an exclamative clause.

#### 3.1 Cases where the element in C determines the clause type

Let us begin with examples containing a noun in position X. These give rise to a simple contrast between structures containing the complementizer *che* and structures involving V in position C.

The presence of the complementizer *che* in C gives rise to an exclamative, regardless of whether the wh word is *che* or *quanto*:

- (16) a. [<sub>XP</sub> Che libro] [<sub>C</sub> che] te lezi!  
          what book     that s.cl read  
          'What a book you are reading!'

| <i>Che</i>         | Simple Inversion |
|--------------------|------------------|
| che libro che !    | che libro V ?    |
| quanti libri che ! | quanti libri V ? |

Table 1: Content of C

- b. [<sub>XP</sub> Quanto late] [<sub>C</sub> che] te ghè comprà!  
 how much milk that s.cl have bought  
 ‘How much milk you bought!’

In contrast, inversion always gives rise to a question:

- (17) a. [<sub>XP</sub> Che libro] [<sub>C</sub> lezi-to]?  
 what book read-s.cl  
 ‘What book are you reading?’  
 b. [<sub>XP</sub> Quanto late] [<sub>C</sub> ghe-to] comprà?  
 how much milk have-s.cl bought  
 ‘How much milk did you buy?’

Table 1 summarizes these points, where ‘!’ marks an exclamative and ‘?’ a question.

### 3.2 Cases where the Wh element and the element in C must agree

Examples involving an adjective in position X give rise to an interestingly different contrast between structures containing the complementizer *che* and structures involving V in C. In this case, the nature of the wh element matters: when *quanto*+A is present, the sentence must be interpreted as a question. Thus, it is incompatible with the complementizer *che*, which marks an exclamative. In contrast, when the wh-word *che* is present, the sentence must be interpreted as an exclamative; it is therefore incompatible with inversion, which marks a question.<sup>10</sup>

- (18) a. [<sub>XP</sub> Che bravo] [<sub>C</sub> che] te si!  
 what good that s.cl are  
 ‘How good you are!’  
 b. \* [<sub>XP</sub> Che bravo] [<sub>C</sub> si-to]  
 what good are-s.cl  
 (19) a. \* [<sub>XP</sub> Quanto belo] [<sub>C</sub> che] te si  
 how much beautiful that s.cl are  
 b. [<sub>XP</sub> Quanto belo] [<sub>C</sub> si-to]?  
 how much beautiful are-s.cl  
 ‘How beautiful are you?’

The data we have seen so far are summarized in table 2.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup>As pointed out to us by Cecilia Poletto and Manuela Ambar, strong stress on the adjective makes the counterpart of 19a grammatical in Venetian and Portuguese.

<sup>11</sup>*Cossa* (‘what’), *chi* (‘who’), PPs, and adverbs pattern with nouns, while *parcosa* (‘why’) patterns with adjectives.

|   | <i>Che</i>       |   | Simple Inversion |
|---|------------------|---|------------------|
| N | che libro che    | ! | che libro V ?    |
|   | quanti libri che | ! | quanti libri V ? |
| A | che belo che     | ! | che belo V *     |
|   | quanto belo che  | * | quanto belo V ?  |

Table 2: *Quanto+A* vs. *Che+A*

While the data in the N row suggests that it may be the content of the C position which determines clause type, that in the A row shows the situation to be more complicated. In the latter case, it is the interaction between the content of the C and WH positions which is relevant. So we can describe the pattern thus far by saying that the content of X (N vs. A) determines whether the content of WH (*quanto* vs. *che*) plays a role. In all cases, the material in C (*che* vs. the verb) is crucial in determining whether the clause is an exclamative or a question, in that *che* is never present in a question and inversion is never present in an exclamative.

### 3.3 Cases where the Wh word determines the clause type

Further complications arise when we look at examples involving the negative morpheme *no* and inversion. Overall, *no* plus inversion is an intermediate case between simple inversion and the presence of the complementizer *che*. Whether the clause is an exclamative or a question depends on the lexical material in the X position. When it is a noun, *no+V* acts like *che* in bringing about an exclamative, as in 20. When it is an adjective, *no+V* acts like simple inversion, so that when the wh element is *quanto*, it brings about a question, as in 21a, while when it is *che*, the result is ungrammatical, as 21b:

- (20) a. [<sub>XP</sub> Che libro] [<sub>C</sub> no lezi-to]!  
           what book    neg read-.scl  
           ‘What a book you are reading!’
- b. [<sub>XP</sub> Quanto late] [<sub>C</sub> no ghe-to] comprà!  
           how much milk   neg have-s.cl bought  
           ‘How much milk you bought!’
- (21) a. [<sub>XP</sub> Quanto belo]   [<sub>C</sub> no si-to]?  
           how   beautiful   neg are-s.cl  
           ‘How beautiful are you?’
- b. \* [<sub>XP</sub> Che belo]   [<sub>C</sub> no si-to]  
           how beautiful   neg are-s.cl  
           ‘How beautiful you are!’

Because the combination of *no*+inversion sometimes acts similarly to having *che* in the C position and sometimes similarly to simple inversion, we see it as intermediate between the other two cases. The question arises as to why it would have such an intermediate status. Without trying to give a detailed explanation, we’d like to point out that this form of *no* has a semantic contribution related to that of exclamation. Portner & Zanuttini 1996 show that Paduan *no* has two distinct

|   | <i>Che</i>                            |  | <i>No</i> +inversion                                   |  | Simple Inversion                  |
|---|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| N | che libro che !<br>quanti libri che ! |  | che libro [no V] !<br>quanti libri [no V] !            |  | che libro V ?<br>quanti libri V ? |
| A | che belo che !<br>quanto belo che *   |  | che belo [no V] *<br>quanto belo [no V] ? <sup>R</sup> |  | che belo V *<br>quanto belo V ?   |

Table 3: *No*+inversion

syntactic forms. The one seen here is a clitic on the verb, as seen by the fact that it inverts along with the verb, and it contributes, in addition to negative force, a scalar implicature very similar to the one which characterizes exclamatives. We would like to suggest that it is the fact that *no* gives the clause one of the properties which define exclamatives that allows some sentences containing it to receive an exclamative interpretation.<sup>12</sup>

We wouldn't want to say that the similarity of *no*'s meaning to that of an exclamative simply makes a clause containing it an exclamative. In the case with an adjective, 21a above, the sentence is not an exclamative by our criteria. It has the scalar implicature introduced by *no*; thus, this sentence might be addressed to a child to indicate that the degree to which he or she is cute is extreme. However, it is unlike an exclamative in that it may be answered.<sup>13</sup> It is better characterized as a rhetorical question.<sup>14</sup> Once again we summarize with a table; in table 3, the question mark with a superscripted R (?<sup>R</sup>) indicates such a 'rhetorical question'.

## 4 Yes/No exclamatives in Paduan

Next we turn to yes/no exclamatives, those where the truth of the entire proposition, not the value of a particular phrase, is being exclaimed over. In one type, there is nothing in the XP position preceding C. The verb appears in C in combination with *no*, as in 22. *Che* by itself is ungrammatical (23); simple inversion, without *no*, gives rise to a question (24).

(22) No vien-lo!  
neg comes-s.cl

'He's coming!'

(23) \*Che el vien.  
that he comes

<sup>12</sup>The other form of *no*, not present in these examples, is an independent lexical item, blocks inversion, and only contributes the ordinary meaning of negation.

<sup>13</sup>Many of the other tests don't apply for independent reasons. None of the tests based on an embedding structure can be applied, since inversion structures cannot be embedded in Paduan, as in many other languages. The final test, focusing on whether the clause can be used as an answer, is useful for distinguishing exclamatives from declaratives, and isn't relevant for questions.

<sup>14</sup>The reading is similar to the English rhetorical question *How much did they spend?*, with appropriate intonation (involving in particular stress on *did*). An appropriate context for this case would be a situation in which we knew they had bought an expensive new object (e.g., a car), but where we have just seen that it is a particularly high-end one. An expected response would be something like *I don't know, but it must have cost a fortune*, accompanied by a sigh and head shake.

- (24) Vien-lo?  
comes-s.cl  
'Is he coming?'

Example 22 contains an instance of expletive negation (that is, an instance of negation which does not seem to contribute negative force to the sentence, cf. Horn 1989), as indicated by the non-negative translation, and must be an exclamative. In some cases inversion with *no* can form a question, but some other material must be present as well (and hence 22 could never be interpreted as a question). Example 25, with the negative adverb *miga*, is interpreted as a question (in particular, a biased question that expects a positive answer):

- (25) No vien-lo miga?  
neg comes-s.cl neg  
'He's not coming?'

Overall, the pattern that emerges here is similar to that with *wh* exclamatives. Simple inversion is only able to produce a question, while *no*+inversion has an intermediate status, compatible with both questions and exclamatives (25 vs. 22).

Another type of yes/no exclamative is the following:

- (26) Ecome se l ga pianto!  
and how if s.cl has cried  
'And how he cried so!'

This type is introduced by *ecome* (literally 'and-how') and *se*, an element which is identical to, or at least homophonous with, the Paduan counterpart of *if*. Note that *ecome* is considered obligatory by our informant, and it is not merely an introductory particle along the lines of *Wow!*, since there is no intonational break between it and the rest of the clause. We speculate that *ecome* and *se* are in the XP and C positions. A typical context in which 26 would be used is following a yes/no question such as *Did/Didn't he cry?* Its use in this context emphasizes the yes/no character of the exclamative, that is that it pertains to the whole proposition that she cried.

There are differences in meaning between the two types of yes/no exclamatives exemplified by 22 and 26. In the case of those marked by negation, the truth of the proposition expressed by the sentence is contrary to expectation; in 22, it's surprising that he's coming, as opposed to his not coming. In contrast, those introduced by *ecome* exclaim at the degree of certainty in which the speaker holds the proposition expressed.

A third variety of yes/no exclamative exists in Paduan. The structure is parallel to English sentences like 27a or French ones like 27b:

- (27) a. How she sings beautifully!  
b. Comme elle est grande! (French)  
how she is tall  
'How she's tall!'

These examples are introduced by a version of ‘how’, though not that which corresponds to a manner adverbial. In the English case, this can be seen by the fact that *how* cooccurs with the adverb *beautifully* (and in English, unlike other languages, it could not be a modifier split off from this adverbial).<sup>15</sup> In the French case, the form *comme* does not even correspond to the word used to question manner, *comment*. Parallel examples in Paduan contain *come* (‘how’) along with the complementizer *che*:

- (28) a. Come che tutti me trata da stupida!  
           how that everyone me treats as stupid  
           ‘How everyone treats me as an idiot!’  
       b. Come che nissuni me bada!  
           how that nobody me minds  
           ‘How nobody pays attention to me!’

This non-manner form of *come*, like *how*, also occurs in embedded contexts:

- (29) Ze incredibile come che nissuni no lo bada più.  
       is incredible how that nobody neg him minds anymore  
       ‘It’s amazing how nobody pays attention to him anymore.’

A question which we will not try to answer here is whether this *how/come* is the same as that introducing certain non-exclamative embedded clauses, as exemplified in English below:

- (30) a. We discussed how it’s getting cold outside.  
       b. Do you remember how we went on vacation in Provence?

(Of course the complement clauses here also have an (irrelevant) manner reading, in addition to the intended ‘We discussed the fact that it’s getting cold outside’ and ‘Do you remember our going on vacation in Provence?’)

The data in this section leads to a few points. First, exclamatives may only be formed with some material other than just the verb in the C position, be it *che*, *no*+inversion, or *se*. (The verb by itself in this position leads to a question.) Second, which material is in C correlates with what is in XP. And third, the *no*+inversion case is once again underdetermined for clause type, in that it may produce either a question, when in combination with *miga* for example, or an exclamative. This is summarized in table 4.

## 5 Conclusion

In this report, we have described the pattern of exclamative formation in Paduan. In future work of a more theoretical nature, we intend to explain the similarities and differences between exclamatives and questions; more generally one would hope to understand the complex ways in which this language (and other languages) mark clause type distinctions.

<sup>15</sup>Not all speakers of English find exclamatives like these fully acceptable. Those who accept them may find them to belong to a certain type of formal style. Furthermore, even speakers who accept the structure have restrictions which we don’t understand on its distribution; for instance, *How he left!* is unacceptable on a yes/no interpretation.

|                          | <i>Che</i> | No+inversion                            | <i>Se</i> | Simple Inversion |
|--------------------------|------------|---|-----------|------------------|
| ∅                        | *          | ! or ? <sup>R</sup> (with <i>miga</i> ) | *         | ?                |
| <i>Ecome</i>             | *          | *                                       | !         | *                |
| <i>Come</i> (non-manner) | !          | *                                       | *         | ?                |

Table 4: Yes-No exclamatives

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