TYPES OF EXCLAMATIVE CLAUSES IN ROMANIAN

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Abstract. I argue for the distinction between sentences with an affective meaning manifested in prosody (notated with the exclamation mark) and exclamatives as a distinct clause type (incompatible with the other clause types – declarative, interrogative, directive, optative – and not restricted to main clauses). I show that the defining criteria of exclamatives – presuppositionality and non-canonicity – are satisfied by clauses which always show a non-prosodic marking at the clause level (verbal mood, complementizers, fronted constituents). Based on the alternatives involved by non-canonicity, I propose a general classification of exclamatives in which the main divide is between scalar and non-scalar. I present the main types of exclamatives in Romanian, as well as some types that can be considered intermediate between exclamatives and declaratives.

Key words: exclamatives, clause typing, focus fronting, scalarity.

1. INTRODUCTION. EXCLAMATIVES AS A SPECIAL CLAUSE TYPE

Although exclamatives are traditionally recognized as a clause or sentence type, their definition and identification still raise problems. Even in the recent literature, they do not possess a universally accepted set of identifying criteria.

Various studies have shown that exclamatives as a special clause type must be distinguished from sentences characterized by a linguistic manifestation of the speaker's feelings (often consisting in a particular intonation, notated with the exclamation mark)[2]. This distinction is not made in traditional grammar and some of the recent studies on Romanian, including GALR 2008, which defines exclamatives as follows:

"Enunțurile exclamative aparțin construcțiilor de tip afectiv şi exprimă o stare afectivă a locutorului în legătură cu un eveniment care l-a emoționat, l-a surprins, l-a nemulțumit" (GALR 2008, II: 29)

[Exclamative sentences belong to affective constructions and express an emotional state of the speaker related to an event that has moved, surprised or annoyed him/her]

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[2] See Grimshaw (1979), Sadock and Zwicky (1985), Michaelis (2001), Zanuttini and Portner (2003), a.o.

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According to this definition, characterizing a sentence as exclamative is compatible with its being assigned to one of the standard sentence types – declarative, interrogative, imperative. Thus, (1)a can be pronounced with a marked lengthening of the last stressed syllable and of the following one, expressing the joy after a long waiting or the astonishment, if the event was no longer expected to happen; however, the sentence expresses an assertion and can be considered a declarative; in (1)b, the intonation can express the irritation of the speaker at the addressee's behavior, but the sentence, built with the imperative mood, is clearly a directive (imperative) sentence; (1)c is an interrogative, in which the particular intonation expresses surprise at the possibility of a positive answer:

(1) a. A venit autobuzul!
has come bus.the
"The bus came!"
b. Lasă-mă în pace!
leave.IMPV.2SG-me.ACC in peace
"Leave me alone!"
c. Chiar nu mă crezi?!
really not me.ACC believe.2SG
"Do you really not believe me?"

In fact, GALR (2008) acknowledges that sentences treated as "exclamative" simultaneously belong to other sentence types:

> "Exclamativele care transmit o informație referitoare la un eveniment din universul real, fiind susceptibile de a primi o valoare de adevăr, pot fi considerate *asertive subiective* (..). Exclamativele prin care se solicită o informație sunt denumite *interogative afective* (ex.: *Cum de nu te-ai hotărât mai demult!*)" (GALR 2008 II: 29) [The exclamatives that convey information about an event in the real world, being able to receive a truth value, can be considered *subjective assertives*. (..) The exclamatives by which information is requested are called *affective interrogatives* (e.g. *How come you didn't made up your mind sooner!*]

Here are some clear examples of sentences belonging to another well-established type, that have been characterized as exclamative in GALR:

(2) a. Cum de şi-a permis? (GALR 2008 II: 31)
how that REFL.3SG.DAT-has permitted
"How dared he?"
b. Arză-l-ar focul! (GALR 2008 II: 971)
burn-him-would.3SG fire.the
"Damn him!" (lit. "May the fire burn him!")
c. De-aş ajunge mai repede!! (GALR 2008 II: 975)
if would.1SG arrive more quickly
"If only I could arrive sooner!"

(2)a is an interrogative – although normally rhetorical – as can be seen from the fact that it can be answered (the addressee can reply "He dared because you too don't show him

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any regard"); (2)b-c belong to a special type, not recognized by all grammars – the *optative* type.

Unlike such sentences endowed with a special affective marking – which we may call "exclamatives in a broad sense", or "impure exclamatives", exclamatives as a special clause type must satisfy the following criterion:

(3) A clause identified as exclamative cannot be assigned to another clause type (declarative, interrogative, directive, optative)

The proposal of a special clause type is supported by the existence of some clause-level markers that do not appear in any other clause type. The clearest example is *ce* 'what' as a degree word (b-c show that degree *ce* cannot appear in interrogatives, d shows that it cannot appear in a directive, e shows that it is excluded from optatives):

(4) a. Ce tare vorbește!
ce loud speaks
"How loud (s)he's speaking!"
b. *Ce tare vorbește?
c. *De ce ce tare vorbește?
why *ce* loud speaks
d. *Ce tare vorbiți! (as an imperative)
ce loud speak.2PL.IMPV
e. *De-ați vorbi ce tare! / * Ce tare de-ați vorbi!
if would.2PL speak *ce* loud *ce* loud if would.2PL speak

As can already be seen from these data, the problem is to distinguish exclamatives as a special type from declaratives: as the speaker's feeling is caused by a fact, by a proposition the speaker takes to be true, exclamatives, to the extent they have propositional content (as opposed to expressive interjections such as *uh, oh, ah*), convey this fact, i.e., they report something considered by the speaker to be true, which is characteristic of declaratives.

We will see below that certain criteria have been proposed for distinguishing exclamatives from declaratives. The study of Romanian and other Romance languages I carried out in joint work with Eva-Maria Remberger (see Giurgea and Remberger forth.) supports the relevance of these criteria, on the basis of the following generalization:

(5) Clauses that satisfy the semantic criteria of the exclamative type always bear a non-prosodic marking at the clause-level: introductory words, word order (fronting of a constituent into the left periphery of the clause), verbal mood. Exclamatives are not distinguished from declaratives solely by intonation or by in situ exclamative words[3].

Beside the (in)compatibility with another clause type, a further difference between exclamatives in a narrow, specialized sense and "impure" exclamatives or exclamatives in a

[3] Some exclamatives introduced by wh-items are distinguished from interrogatives by intonation alone. But they have a marker of the exclamative force at the beginning of the clause anyway (the wh-item), so the generalization in (5) is satisfied.

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broad sense is that exclamatives in the specialized sense can be subordinated – as shown by (6); admitting, based on (4), that degree *ce* is always exclamative, we are led to conclude that in (6) the (subject) clause selected by *surprinde* 'surprise' is an indirect (subordinate) exclamative.

(6) Mă surprinde ce bine ştie.
me surprises *ce* well knows
"I'm surprised how well (s)he knows."

The broad, non-exclusive definition of exclamatives seems to apply to whole sentences rather than clauses (especially if the intonation notated with the exclamation mark is used as a criterion) – indeed, GALR (2008) defines exclamatives as types of "enunț" (*utterance/sentence*). Thus, examples such as (6) lead to the conclusion that exclamatives in the specialized/narrow sense are a *clause* type (for subordinate exclamatives in Romanian linguistics, see Neamțu 1985). Exclamative sentences are exclamative clauses not embedded in another clause.

In the grammatical literature on Romanian, we can cite some works that use a definition characteristic of exclamatives in the narrow sense: GBLR (2010) and Vişan (2002) recognize the criterion of presuppositionality (or the +factive feature); but both works adopt a too restrictive definition, considering that exclamatives necessarily contain a gradable element, which is not the case, as we will show. Moreover, GBLR (2010:609-610) includes among exclamatives clauses that contain in situ affective degree words, such as *Merge aşa de greu!* "(S)he's walking with such difficulty!", which are in fact declarative.

The studies that recognize exclamatives as a special clause type use, for the most part, the following defining criteria (see Zanuttini and Portner 2003, Michaelis 2001):

(7) (i) the propositional content of exclamatives is presupposed rather than asserted: „exclamations, unlike declaratives, presuppose that the proposition expressed is mutually known by speaker and hearer" (Michaelis 2001);
(ii) the situation described is presented as exceptional, non-canonical; the speaker usually expresses a positive or negative evaluation of this situation.

The presuppositional character (criterion (i)) was first recognized for indirect exclamatives (Elliot 1971, 1974). Grimshaw (1979) extended it to direct exclamatives (exclamative sentences). The proposition is not presented as new information, but as information the addressee has or can already have access to. The speaker's conversational move consists in proposing to the addressee to acknowledge the situation as exceptional or noteworthy and (sometimes) to share a certain evaluation.

As (7)(ii) is more intuitive, I will present the tests that follow from (7)(i). To argue for this point, I will use, again, the degree word *ce*, which, as we have seen, is restricted to exclamatives. From presuppositionality it follows that exclamatives, in principle, cannot represent new information. Thus, as noticed by Grimshaw (1979) for English, they cannot be used as answers. Examples (8)a-b, (9)a, (10)a,c show that this holds for sentences with degree *ce*, but not for other sentences which, likewise, indicate a particularly high degree of a quantity or quality, which qualify thus as declarative; notice that these sentences – examples (8)b–c, (9)b, (10)b,d – contain what seem to be in situ exclamative expressions

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(and are indeed taken to be exclamative in most Romanian grammar studies) – degree *aşa* 'so' (when it is not equative), *la*-PPs instead of direct objects used for expressing a big quantity, the excessive lengthening of the vowel that bears the main sentence stress:

(8) Ce-a cumpărat?
what-has bought
"What did (s)he buy?"
a. # Ce cadou frumos a cumpărat!
ce present beautiful has bought
"#What a nice present (s)he bought!"
b. # Ce de vechituri a cumpărat!
ce of old-things has bought
"#How much old stuff (s)he bought!"
c. A cumpărat un cadou aşa frumos!
has bought a present so beautiful
"(S)he bought such a nice present!"
d. A cumpărat la vechituri...!
has bought at old-things
"(S)he bought so much old stuff!"

(9) Cât de înalt e? / Ce dimensiuni are?
how-much of tall is what sizes has
"How tall is it ? / What are its dimensions?"
a. # Ce înalt e!
ce tall is
" # How tall it is!"
b. E extrem de înalt!
is extremely of tall
"It's extremely tall!"

(10) Ce mai ştii de Mariana?
what more know.2SG of Mariana
"Do you have any news of Mariana?"
a. # Ce rochie frumoasă şi-a cumpărat
ce dress beautiful REFL.3SG.DAT-has bought!
"# What a beautiful dress she bought!"
b. Şi-a cumpărat aşa o rochie frumoasă!
REFL.3SG.DAT-has bought such a dress beautiful
"She bought such a beautiful dress!"
c. # Ce mai vorbeşte de la o vreme!
ce more talks from a time
"# How much she talks lately!"
d. De la o vreme vorbeeeeşte
from a time talks
"She's been talking SO much lately!"

The same behavior is found in other contexts typical of introducing new information (see (11)–(12)); (12)b is possible, but with an additional requirement: the hearer is

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supposed to know the information – the arrival time; no such presupposition is involved in (12)a:

(11) Să-ți zic ceva! Vine (așa) repede! / # Ce repede vine!
"Let me tell you something! (S)he's coming so soon! / #How soon she comes!"

(12) a. Ai auzit? O să vină așa de târziu!
"Have you heard? (S)he'll come so late!"
b. Ai auzit? Ce târziu o să vină!
"Have you heard? How late (s)he'll come!"

We can conclude that the criterion (i) supports the generalization in (5): what we may call "in situ exclamative markers" are not sufficient to turn the whole clause into an exclamative; this can be achieved by raising of the constituent marked as exclamative in the left periphery of the clause (see *ce* and other wh-words) or by other non-prosodic markers at the clause level, as we will see in what follows.

It is true that in certain conversational contexts, exclamatives can be used in order to inform about facts unknown to the addressee. In this case, very often they appear as subordinate, introduced by certain formulaic expressions (underlined in the examples; in b-c, note the use of the verbs *a vedea* "to see" and *a ști* "to know", whose literal meaning implies the independent access of the hearer to the information):

(13) a. [Context: Ce mai știi de Mariana?]
Vai, nu pot să-ți spun ce rochie frumoasă și-a cumpărat!
oh not can.1SG SBJV-2SG.DAT tell.1SG what dress beautiful 3REFL.DAT-has bought
"[Any news about Mariana?] Oh, I can't tell you what a nice dress she bought!"
b. Să vezi ce rochie frumoasă și-a cumpărat Mariana!
SBJV see.2SG what dress beautiful 3REFL.DAT-has bought Mariana
"You should see what a nice dress Mariana bought!"
c. De-ai ști ce multă lume îl crede pe acest mincinos!
if-would.2SG know how many people CL.3MS.ACC believes DOM this liar
"You wouldn't believe how many people believe this liar!" (lit. "If only you knew how many people believe this liar!")

When such exclamatives are main clauses, as in (14), we can consider that the speaker gives up the assertive marking in order to insist on the expression of emotion:

(14) a. Ce bine îmi pare că te văd!
how well me.DAT seems that you.ACC see.1SG
"How glad I am to see you!"
b. Ce mă doare capul!
what me hurts head.the
"What a headache I have!"
c. Ce-o să se bucure când o să audă vestea!
what-will SBJV REFL enjoy.3 when will SBJV hear.3 news.the
"How glad (s)he'll be when (s)he hears the news!"

Criterion (i) was first described for indirect exclamatives (Elliot 1971, 1974 for

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English), which, as was noticed, are always selected by *factive* predicates. The examples (15) illustrate this property: a subordinate introduced by degree *ce* (which, as we have seen, can only be exclamative) can appear in contexts of the type *know p* where the truth of *p* is presupposed (I rendered *p* by using a high degree word, *foarte* 'very') – see (15)a,c,d; when used in the 1st person present indicative with negation, *şti* 'know' is no longer factive; therefore, the indirect exclamative is impossible (see (15)b):

(15)	a.	Nu ştiam ce rău e să nu dormi.	|= E foarte rău să nu dormi.
		"I didn't know how bad is not to sleep."	|= Not sleeping is very bad."
	b.	*Nu ştiu ce rău e să nu dormi.	
		not know.1SG *ce* bad is SBJV not sleep.2SG	
	c.	Nu ştie ce rău e să nu dormi.	|= E foarte rău să nu dormi.
		"(S)he doesn't know how bad it is not to sleep.	|= Not sleeping is very bad."
	d.	Ştiu ce rău e să nu dormi.	|= E foarte rău să nu dormi.
		"I know how bad it is not to sleep."	|= Not sleeping is very bad."

2. TOWARDS A GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF EXCLAMATIVES

The criterion (ii) in (7) indicates the communicative function and informative part of exclamatives. It is also this criterion which allows us to draw a general classification of exclamatives and to gain some understanding of their internal structure.

A situation is exceptional or non-canonical in contrast to others. This means exclamatives involve a comparison. To take an example, as Zanuttini and Portner (2003) noticed, the sentence in (16) cannot simply express something unexpected (as in Michaelis's 2001 characterization of exclamatives), because in that case this sentence, addressed to the hostess, would not be polite:

(16) What a delicious dinner you've made!

But even in these situations we can talk about "unusual" (or "non-canonical", "exceptional") based on a wider comparison – between dinners in general (in similar conditions of epoch, country, income etc.), not between the dinners cooked by that particular hostess.

We can conclude that, in general, characterizing a situation as unusual / non-canonical involves a comparison – a set of alternatives that are compared. Based on this, we can identify the element of the clause that makes the situation non-canonical, distinguishing it from the canonical ones: it is the element that varies among alternatives. On the model of other constructions involving alternatives, we can call this element *exclamative focus*.

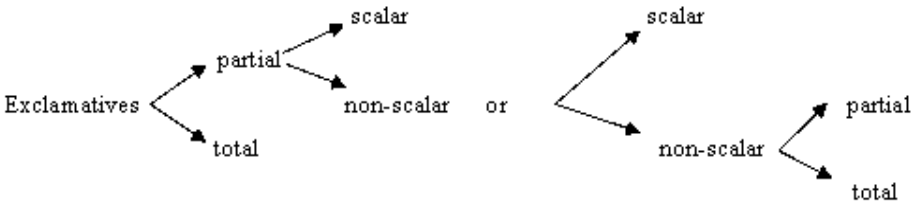
This element can serve as a basis for classifying exclamatives as well as for explaining some of their formal properties. Thus, if the exclamative marking involves a sub-constituent of the clause, we expect it to represent the exclamative focus or to be in a part-whole relation with it.

The general classification of exclamatives is shown in (17). On the model of interrogatives, exclamatives can be divided into partial and total (see Benincà 1995),

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depending on whether the exclamative focus is a part of the clause or embraces the whole clause (in total exclamatives and interrogatives, the alternatives are *p* and *non-p*). Moreover, as we will see, it is crucial for interpretation whether the focus involves the degree of a scalar property; therefore, besides the schema on the left, which foregrounds the partial/total divide, I proposed an alternative schema (on the right), that might be more appropriate from a semantic point of view:

(17)



2.1. Scalar exclamatives

Usually the exclamative focus is on the degree of a scalar property – *delicious* in (16), *rău* 'bad' in (15), *tare* 'loud' in (4); an object or event has the scalar property P to a degree higher than usual. In scalar exclamatives, the alternatives are provided by the comparison class that scalar properties normally introduce (more precisely, a sub-type of them, the so-called *relative* properties). It is known that *tall, big* etc., in the positive degree, can only be evaluated by resorting to a comparison class in which the object to which they apply is included: *tall for a little child* can mean *short for an adult*, *small for an elephant* refers to other dimensions than *small for a cat*.

I propose that scalar exclamatives exploit the existence of comparison classes provided by relative scalar properties in order to obtain the alternatives that need to be compared with respect to canonicity. Thus, the alternatives comprise pairs of the type < object of type X (from the comparison class C), degree of property P >. The presupposed proposition describes a certain object of type X (*e.g*, in (16), the dinner prepared by the hostess), which is associated on the P scale to a degree *d*, higher than that of the situations considered as canonical (normal).

The part presented as not-presupposed, informative, does not consist in attributing a very high degree *d* (otherwise, exclamatives should be able to answer questions about the degree, which is not the case, see (9) in section 1 above), but only in judging the fact that x has P to the degree d as non-canonical and in the (positive or negative) evaluation of this fact. Indeed, in subordinate exclamatives the high degree is part of the presupposed content (of the clause introduced by a factive predicate), while the matrix predicate can itself introduce the unusual, surprising character:

(18) E surprinzător / Nu pot să cred ce bine vorbește.
"It's surprising / I can't believe how well he's speaking."

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2.2. Non-scalar exclamatives

In non-scalar exclamatives, the alternatives are of the same type as in interrogatives. The examples (19) illustrate main non-scalar exclamatives, (20) exemplifies a subordinate[4]:

(19) a. Pe cine a invitat!
DOM whom has invited
"The people (s)he invited!"
b. Ce să-mi spună el!
what SBJV-me.DAT tells he
"The thing(s) (s)he told me!"
c. Unde s-a ascuns!
where REFL-has hidden
"The place (s)he hid!"

(20) Nu-mi vine să cred pe cine a invitat!
not-me.DAT comes SBJV believe.1SG DOM whom has invited
"I can't believe what people (s)he invited!" (lit. "I can't believe whom (s)he invited!")

The element that varies across alternatives is here directly indicated by the wh-operator; *e.g.*, for (19)a and (20), the alternatives are of the type {(s)he invited x; (s)he invited y; (s)he invited z ...}.

It should be insisted on this type, because a considerable number of studies claim that exclamatives always contain a scalar component (see Vişan 2002, GBLR 2010, for Romanian; for other languages – Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996, Alonso-Cortés 1999, Michaelis 2001, Castroviejo Miró 2006, Marandin 2008, Gutiérrez-Rexach 2008, Rett 2011; Michaelis 2001 takes as a defining property of exclamatives "expression of commitment to a particular scalar extent"). Some of these studies ignore examples of the type in (19), others, such as Rett (2011), consider that even in this case what is characterized as surprising / non-canonical is a degree, the degree of a/some implicit property(-ies) of the entities the wh-constituents correspond to (*e.g.*, of the invited person(s) in (19)a, of the place of hiding in (19)c etc.)[5]. I consider that, at least in Romanian, this account does not apply to all cases. It is not necessary that the speaker who utters such sentences has in mind exceptional properties of those referents. (19)a can simply mean that, given the relations between the host and the invited person, such an invitation was unexpected. Likewise, (19)c just indicates that the place where the person has hidden is unexpected (had we been asked before, we would have predicted other places, we wouldn't

[4] It can be shown that (20) is an indirect exclamative: it cannot be an indirect interrogative, because *a crede* "believe, think" does not select indirect interrogatives; the meaning is not that of a free relative, as in *Nu cred ce mi-a spus* "I don't believe what (s)he told me", because in that case it would have to mean "I can't give credit to the people (s)he invited"; thirdly, expressions such as *a nu putea crede* "to not be able to believe", conveying surprise, select indirect exclamatives, see *Nu-mi vine să cred ce repede scrie* "I can't believe how (lit. what) fast (s)he's writing" (we have seen that degree *ce* is always exclamative).

[5] Rett gives this account in a footnote for Italian examples like those in (19). In English (the language she discusses in her article), the wh-element in exclamatives cannot be *who, where* or pronominal *what*.

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have thought of that one); we need not have in mind a scalar property that place has to a very high degree. The existence of non-scalar exclamatives has also been pointed out for other languages: Nouwen and Chernilovskaya (2014) argue that in Dutch and Hungarian, but not in English and Swedish, wh- exclamatives are not necessarily scalar.

It is nevertheless true that certain partial exclamatives without an explicit scalar element are interpreted as scalar exclamatives where the property which has an exceptional degree is not explicit – it can even be a cluster of properties, usually correlated with a positive or negative evaluation:

(21) Ce oră am avut!
what class have.1 had
"What a class we had!"

(22) Ce om / Ce profesor am pierdut!
what man /what professor have.1 lost
"What a man / professor we lost!"

In (21), we could derive the scalar meaning from a non-scalar one if what we compare are possible situations in which the lesson has different properties (rather than situations characterized by different individuals that exist independently of the situation described, as in (19)). In (22), the scalar interpretation is manifest – what is compared is the exquisite quality of the deceased with that of individuals in a comparison class in which that person is included. The covert scalar predicate seems to always be evaluative (*i.e.*, involving a positive or negative appreciation – for (22), a positive one).

Coming back to non-scalar interpretations, they are obvious in total exclamatives such as the following (unlike its English version, (23) is not a rhetorical question – it doesn't allow an answer and it has a presupposed content):

(23) Să nu-mi spună el că se însoară!
SBVJ not-me.DAT tell.SBJV he that REFL marries
"How could he not tell me that he was going to get married?!"

Here, like in total interrogatives, the alternatives are just *p* and *non-p* – in (23), the expected situation was one in which the person referred to by *el* 'he' tells the speaker that he will get married. Concerning the form, note that (23) is clearly distinguished by intonation from a directive with the subjunctive, just as wh-exclamatives such as (21)-(22) are distinguished by intonation from interrogatives.

The tests derived from presuppositionality confirm that such sentences where there is no high degree involved are indeed exclamative:

(24) Ce mai ştii de Maria?
"Do you have any news about Maria?"
Pe cine a invitat la nuntă!
DOM whom has invited at wedding
"The people/person she invited at the wedding!"
Să nu-mi spună că se căsătoreşte!
SBJV not-me.DAT tell.SBJV.3 that REFL marries
"How could she not tell me that she was going to get married?!"

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3. TYPES OF EXCLAMATIVES IN ROMANIAN

An exhaustive presentation of exclamatives in Romanian cannot be done in the space of this article. What I am interested in here is to illustrate the major formal types and to argue for the generalization (5) (the correlation between the semantic criteria of the exclamative type in (7) and the existence of a non-prosodic marking at the clause level).

The following table summarizes the major types found in Romanian:

Formal marking:	Semantic type (according to the classification in section 2):
verbal mood (subjunctive)	Total
wh- items	Scalar; Partial non-scalar; (with *cum*) Total
focus-fronted scalar items (including Adj.+Noun phrases)	Scalar

These types are found in the other Romance languages, except for the third, which is more restricted in some languages (Ibero-Romance, Italian) and absent in others (Gallo-Romance). In addition, other Romance languages present a type which is absent in Romanian – definite DPs embedding a relative clause (*e.g.* Sp. ¡*La casa que tiene*! "What a house (s)he has!").

3.1. Total exclamatives with the subjunctive

The subjunctive in main clauses can be used to mark a total exclamative. This type of sentence usually has a depreciatory meaning – besides characterizing the fact as surprising, it expresses the speaker's discontent at that fact (see also (23)):

(25) a. Să uit eu cheile!
SBJV forget.1 I keys.the
"How could I forget the keys!?"

b. Să nu-mi spună el că se însoară!
SBJV not-me.DAT tells he that REFL marries
"How could he not tell me he was getting married!?"

Other Romance languages use either the infinitive or the subjunctive introduced by the complementizer *que/che* (see Giurgea and Remberger forth., Giurgea 2015). The use of a non-realis mood (subjunctive, infinitive) is probably related to presuppositionality: the proposition is not asserted (as when the indicative is used), but rather the fact, already established, is presented as a possibility towards which the addressee is invited to share the attitude expressed by the speaker.

3.2. Total exclamatives with *cum* "how"

Some exclamatives that seem to be partial, being introduced by the wh-word *cum* "how", can be interpreted as total exclamatives. Thus, the following examples have two readings, a total exclamative one (given in (i)) and a scalar exclamative one (given in (ii)):

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(26) Cum a venit el acasă singur!
how has come he home alone
"How he came home all by himself!"
(i) The fact that he came home all by himself is exceptional/extraordinary (e.g., about a baby, a dog)
(ii) The way in which he came home all by himself is exceptional/extraordinary

(27) Cum a răspuns el la toate întrebările!
how has answered he to all questions.the
"How he answered all the questions!"
(i) The fact that he answered all the questions exceptional/extraordinary
(ii) The way in which he answered all the question is exceptional/extraordinary

This ambiguity might reflect the existence of two words *cum*: manner wh-adverb and exclamative complementizer (in the reading in (i), *cum* would be an exclamative C)[6].

3.3. Partial exclamatives with wh- words

This type is the most discussed in the literature, because of its frequency and probably also because it shows very clearly the existence of a special clause type – the form is non-declarative, similar to interrogatives, but the meaning is clearly not interrogative.

The wh-words are most often degree words or words referring to scalar properties – degree heads, see (28)a (with a predicative adjective), (28)b (with an adnominal adjective, fronted to the DP-initial position, and pied-piping of the entire DP), quantitative pro-forms, see (28)c (adnominal), (28)d (adverbial), qualitative pro-forms, see (28)e (adverbial), (28)f (adjectival):

(28) a. Ce înalt e acel turn / Cât de înalt e acel turn!
what(how) high is that tower / how-much of high is that tower
"How high that tower is!"
b. Ce frumoasă casă şi-a cumpărat!
what(how) beautiful house REFL.3-has bought
"What a beautiful house (s)he bought!"

[6] The wh-word "how" used as an exclamative complementizer is also found in French and Italian, but with a different interpretation – a scalar exclamative, with the exclamative focus in situ (underlined in the examples):
(i) Comme il chante <u>bien</u>! (fr.)
how he sings well
"How well he sings/is singing!"
(ii) Come sarà stanco! (it.)
how be.FUT.3SG tired.MSG
"How tired he'll be!"
As Fr. *comme* can never appear in the same constituent as the adjective or adverb to which it is semantically associated, it has been analyzed as an exclamative C rather than as an extracted wh-degree word (see Gérard 1980, Marandin 2008).

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c. Câte cărți a scris!
how-many books has written
"How many books (s)he has written!"
d. Cât îmi place!
how-much me.DAT likes
"How I like it!"
e. Cum a vorbit!
how has spoken
"How (s)he spoke!"
f. Cum era țara pe atunci!
how was country.the by then
"How the country was back then!"

When the fronted wh- element is not scalar, we can have, as shown in section 2 above, either an instance of a non-scalar exclamative (see (19)–(20) above), or an implicit evaluative scalar property (see (21)–(22)above).

Almost all wh-words can have an exclamative use; a possible exception is *care* "which".

Negation in wh-exclamatives yields a big quantity interpretation:

(29) a. (Da') ce n-a cumpărat!
(but) what not-has bought
"How many things (s)he bought! / Is there anything (s)he didn't buy?"
b. Unde n-a fost!
where not-has been
"Is there any place he hasn't been to?"
c. Ce n-aş da să fiu acolo!
what not-would.1SG give SBJV be.SBJV.1SG there
"I would give anything to be there!"

This interpretation can be obtained on the basis of the literal meaning as follows: from the fact that the values of *x* for which the sentence is not true are surprising, it follows that for most values of *x*, the sentence is true, which implies that the number of *x* for which the sentence is true is exceptionally big. Thus, although the meaning seems scalar (big quantity), the structure is based on a non-scalar exclamative type (in which what differs between alternatives is the value of an individual-type variable).

There are several differences between wh-exclamatives and partial interrogatives:

(i) **Intonation**: exclamatives differ from interrogatives by intonation, and sometimes this is the only formal difference:

H L
(30) a. Ce carte şi-a cumpărat?
what book REFL.3.DAT-has bought
"What book did (s)he buy?"
H L H L
b. Ce carte şi-a cumpărat !
what book REFL.3.DAT-has bought
"What a book (s)he bought!"

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(ii) **Wh-words specialized for exclamatives**: *ce* "what", when used as a degree head (the same property is found in the other Romance languages – see it. *chè,* sp., ptg. *que*, fr. *qu'est-ce que*, *ce que*); the wh-degree word used in interrogatives and relatives is *cât*, which can also appear in exclamatives; it differs from *ce* by the fact that it triggers the insertion of *de* before the adjective/adverb, which is indicative of its phrasal status (Cornilescu and Giurgea 2013):

(31) a. Ce înalt e! / * Ce înalt e? / * E înalt ce trebuie.
what high is what high is is high what needs
"How high/tall he/she/it is!"

b. Ce bine vorbeşte! / * Ce bine vorbeşte? / * Vorbeşte ce repede poate.
what well speaks what well speaks speaks what fast can.3SG
"How well (s)he's speaking!"

(32) a. Cât de înalt e! / Cât de înalt e? / E înalt cât trebuie.
how-much of high is how-much of high is is high how-much needs
"How high/tall he/she/it is!" "How high/tall is he/she/it?" "He/She/It is as high/tall as needed."

b. Cât de bine vorbeşte! / Cât de bine vorbeşte? / Vorbeşte cât de repede poate.
how-much of well speaks how-much of well speaks speaks how-much of fast can.3SG
"How well (s)he's speaking/speaks!" "How well does (s)he speak?" "(S)he's speaking/speaks as fast as (s)he can"

Ce can also apply to quantity (realizing degree + quantity, *how much*). In this case, in the noun phrase, it is followed by *de* 'of' (see Tănase-Dogaru 2008 for an analysis of this construction):

(33) Ce plouă!
what rains
"How much/heavily it's raining!"

(34) Ce de oameni au venit!
what of people have come
"How many people have come!"

(iii) **Non-local relation inside the fronted constituent**

Scalar exclamatives can be marked by fronting a DP headed by the wh-determiner *ce* "what", which contains the scalar adjective that bears the exclamative focus:

(35) Ce casă frumoasă şi-a construit!
what house beautiful 3.REFL.DAT-has built
"What a beautiful house (s)he has built!"

Here *ce* must be the wh-determiner rather than the degree word, because degree *ce* cannot be separated from the AP/AdvP, unlike *cât* (which may be explained if degree *ce* is a head whereas *cât* is a specifier, the Deg head being realized as *de*, see Cornilescu and Giurgea 2013):

(36) a. * Ce era frumos! / Ce frumos era!
what(how) was.3SG beautiful what(how) beautiful was.3SG

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b. Cât era de frumos! / Cât de frumos era!
how-much was.3SG of beautiful how-much of beautiful was.3SG
"How beautiful it/he was!"

Moreover, *cât* "how(much)", although it can be separated from the adjective (see (36), cannot occur in the construction in (35):

(37) * Cât (de) casă (de) frumoasă şi-a construit!
cât (of) house (of) beautiful 3.REFL.DAT-has built

This use of *ce* can be included under the exclamatives with a non-scalar form but a scalar meaning, discussed in section 2. This means that (35) is possible only because (38) can have a scalar meaning:[7]

(38) Ce casă şi-a construit!
what house 3.REFL.DAT-has built

(iv) **Specific additional marks**. Scalar exclamatives based on quantity (especially those with adverbial *ce*) can contain **the clitic adverb *mai*** (lit. "more, still, again, besides"), devoid of its normal additive meaning (see (39)a compared to (39)b):

(39) a. Ce mai scrie! ⊭ (S)he continues to write, is writing/writes again, has written other things
what *mai* writes
"How much (s)he's writing!"
b. Mai scrie ⊨ (S)he continues to write, is writing/writes again, has written other things
mai writes
"(S)he writes again / is still writing."

(v) **Free standing wh- phrases.** Whereas interrogatives without an overt verb can only be interpreted by ellipsis, in exclamatives the wh-constituent can appear free-standing, without requiring the recovery of a verb or VP from the context (see (40)). The phenomenon is general in Romance and is encountered in other language families – Germanic, Greek; it may be a universal property of wh-exclamatives.

(40) a. Ce piață frumoasă!
what square beautiful
"What a beautiful square/market!"
b. Câte flori!
"How many flowers!"
c. Ce frumos!
"How beautiful!"

[7] Indeed, English uses the same special construction in both cases: *what a*, in which *what* appears to refer to the degree of a quality and the determiner is *a*, cf. the type *such a book*:
(i) What a beautiful house he built!
(ii) What a house he built!

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Here, the object whose quality or quantity is characterized as remarkable is present in the context of utterance (perceptually accessible or previously mentioned). It can be identified based on the overt N inside the wh-phrase (see (40)a-b), but can also be an ongoing event (a possible interpretation of (40)c, *e.g.* in the context of a performance).

This construction can be explained based on the semantics of scalar exclamatives proposed in section 2: scalar exclamatives introduce a comparison, based on the degree of a property, between an object/event and the other object/events in a comparison class; the rest of the sentence serves at identifying this object/event:

(41) What a (delicious) dinner you made! = How delicious the dinner you made was!

Thus, what seems to be a clause, in scalar exclamatives, is interpreted as a definite description used to pick out the event/object to which the property is assigned. Where this object/event can be inferred by the addressee, it is sufficient to express just the scalar property – to which the noun that offers the comparison class can be added.

(vi) **Exclamative particles**, originating in interjections, can introduce wh-exclamatives. In the examples (42), the fact that the "interjection" is syntactically integrated is shown by prosody – the particle bears the main sentential stress and the rest of the sentence is deaccented:

(42) a. VAI ce multă mâncare ai făcut!
wow how much food have.2SG prepared
"Wow, how much food you prepared!"
b. VAI ce vreme urâtă!
oh what weather ugly
"Oh, what a bad weather!"

3.4. Scalar exclamatives with focus fronting

Scalar exclamatives can also be built by focus fronting of a noun phrase with a quantitative or qualitative adjective in the first position (see (43)), of a predicative adjective or of an adverb (see (44)). The label "focus fronting" is based on intonation: the main stress (marked by capitals in the examples) falls on the initial adjective/quantitative/adverb, the rest of the sentence is deaccented.

(43) FRUMOASĂ rochie şi-a cumpărat Ioana!
beautiful dress REFL.3SG-has bought Ioana
"What a beautiful dress Ioana bought!"
(44) a. (Da') PROST mai eşti!
(but) stupid *mai* are.2SG
"How stupid you are!"
b. (Da') REPEDE mai merge!
(but) fast *mai* goes
"How fast it runs / (s)he's walking!"

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This construction was not much discussed in the literature, probably because it was not always distinguished from declaratives with focus fronting and because it has a more restricted distribution in the other Romance languages[8]. In Romanian, it has been registered by recent grammars, but without an argumentation for its inclusion in the exclamative type.[9] Because, unlike the types discussed so far, this construction looks like a declarative with focus fronting (the type *Pe ROXANA am văzut-o (nu pe Carmen*) "ROXANA I saw (, not Carmen)"), such an argumentation is needed.

Moreover, in the literature on Italian and Portuguese, a type of focus fronting has been observed in which the focus is not contrastive and not even informational (i.e., the rest of the sentence need not be "context given"), but is justified by the surprising / exceptional character that the focalized element introduces – in other words, the proposition is compared with alternatives obtained by replacing the focalized element with other entities, and the situation described is qualified as unusual in comparison with these alternatives. This is the so-called *mirative focus* (also encountered in Romanian, but seemingly more restricted than in Italian[10]; the most acceptable examples are those with the mirative focus on quantity, see (45)b-c):

(45) a. (Sapessi che sorpresa:) [UN ANELLO DI DIAMANTI] mi ha regalato!
know.COND.2SG what surprise a ring of diamonds me has offered
(It., Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina 2013)
"What a surprise! He offered me A DIAMOND RING!"

b. TREI ORE am întârziat! (Ro.)
three hours have.1PL been-late
"We are THREE HOURS late!"

As I have recently shown (see Giurgea 2014), the construction in (43)–(44), although it satisfies the broad definition of mirative focalization as "focus fronting licensed by the unexpected/surprising character of the focus element", must be distinguished from the mirative focus fronting in (45): the construction in (43)–(44) represents a type of exclamative, whereas the one in (45) is found in declaratives. I will now present the evidence in favor of this distinction:

(i) In the first type, the sentence cannot constitute new information (like for the other exclamatives, due to presuppositionality) – see (46)a; the "mirative" focus fronting, on the other hand, behaves on a par with declaratives in this respect, see (46)b:

(46) Context: Ai auzit de Maria? / Ce-a făcut Maria aseară?
"Did you hear (about Maria)? / What did Maria do last evening?"

[8] See Cruschina *et al*. (forth.): the construction exists in Portuguese and Spanish, but is more restricted. In Italian, it appears to be limited to the adjective *bello* "beautiful", which receives an ironical interpretation.

[9] In the most recent grammar, *The Grammar of Romanian*, issued by Oxford University Press, this type is registered (see Vasilescu 2013), but we can infer that it is considered non-prototypical, because the section on exclamatives begins by saying that "exclamatives (...) are headed by wh-exclamative words".

[10] This impression is based on a 34 Italian sentence questionnaire communicated to me by Silvio Cruschina. I found just around half of the examples clearly acceptable in Romanian.

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a. # BUN vin a băut! (exclamative: exclamative focus fronting)
good wine has drunk
b. TREI STICLE DE VIN a băut ! (declarative: mirative focus fronting)
three bottles of wine has drunk

(ii) The first type allows exclamative *mai*, which is not interpreted as additive (see (39) above):

(47) FRUMOASĂ maşină şi-a mai cumpărat!
beautiful car 3REFL.DAT-has *mai* bought
"What a beautiful car (s)he bought!"

In mirative focalization, *mai* has its regular additive interpretation:

(48) TREI ORE am mai stat!
three hours have.1 *mai* stayed
"We waited three more hours!"

This test shows that the fronting may also involve a predicative adjective or adverb (see (44)); in the absence of *mai* (or of *que*, in Spanish), the examples are ambiguous, because predicative adjectives and adverbs can also undergo focus fronting in declaratives (contrastive or mirative).

(iii) Like in wh-exclamatives (see 3.3 above, ex. (40)), the fronted constituent can appear free-standing, without requiring the recovery of a verb from the context:

(49) a. FRUMOASĂ rochie! b. GREA problemă!
beautiful dress hard problem

(iv) The anteposition of the adjective in this construction functions as an (exclamative) clause type marker. This is shown by the fact that it forces the fronting of the entire noun phrase to the beginning of the sentence:

(50) * Şi-a cumpărat frumoasă rochie!
3REFL.DAT-has bought beautiful dress
(51) Grea problemă au rezolvat! / *Au rezolvat grea problemă!
hard problem have.3PL solved have.3PL solved hard problem

In (50)–(51), the fronted object contains a count singular noun, where the bare (determiner-less) use is very constrained, as is well-known (see Dobrovie-Sorin, Bleam and Espinal 2006, Dobrovie-Sorin 2013); *cumpăra* 'buy' allows bare count singulars, but with a non-specific meaning, which excludes prenominal quality adjectives, which are non-restrictive (see Cornilescu and Giurgea 2013) and therefore must appear in a referential phrase; *rezolva* 'solve' does not allow bare count singulars at all: **am rezolvat problemă* 'have.1 solved problem'.

The adjective must be strictly NP-initial in order for the fronting to mark the sentence as exclamative, and this prenominal position is different from the position of prenominal

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quality adjectives in other circumstances: thus, whereas (52) is common in colloquial Romanian, (53) is stylistically marked (the prenominal placement of quality adjectives is characteristic for a higher register) and is not acceptable with focal accent on the adjective; moreover, exclamative *mai* is possible in (52), but not in (53) (where *mai* has an additive interpretation):

(52) FRUMOASĂ rochie şi-a (mai) cumpărat!
beautiful dress 3REFL.DAT-has (*mai*) bought
"What a beautiful dress she bought!"

(53) O (frumoasă / ?? FRUMOASĂ) rochie şi-a (mai) cumpărat!
a beautiful dress 3REFL.DAT-has (also) bought
"She (also) bought a nice dress"

This contrast suggests an analysis of the construction with exclamative focus fronting: the adjective has a null degree head marked +excl (a counterpart of exclamative *ce*), which requires the fronting of DegP to SpecDP and of the whole DP to a position that marks sentence type (SpecCP) – just like in wh-exclamatives:

(54) $[_{DP}[_{DegP}\ [_{Deg}$+excl$]\ [_{AP}$ frumoasă$]]\ [_{D}$ Ø $[_{NP}$ rochie $t_{DegP}]]]$

(55) $[_{CP}\ [_{DP}[_{DegP}\ [_{Deg}$+excl$]\ [_{AP}$ frumoasă$]]\ [[_{D}$Ø$]\ [_{NP}$ rochie $t_{DegP}]]]\ [[_{C}$ +excl$]\ [_{TP}$ a cumpărat $[_{vP}\ t_{DP}]]]]$

(v) The position of the adjective in this construction can be occupied by particles originating in interjections, which we might treat as adjectives lexically marked +excl (they appear in an adjective position only in this construction):

(56) a. HALAL maşină (mi-am cumpărat)!
halal car me.DAT-have.1 bought
"What a bad car I bought!"

b. * Mi-am cumpărat (o) halal maşină / (o) maşină halal
me.DAT-have.1 bought (a) *halal* car (a) car *halal*

c. *maşina halal...
car.the *halal*

Summing up, although focus fronting exclamatives seem to be, at first sight, a counterexample to the generalization in (5), because focus fronting is also found in declaratives, an in-depth look at this type shows that the generalization is in fact satisfied, because the fronting in the exclamative type is different from the fronting in declaratives: it involves a null degree operator, similar to wh-words, that forces the fronting of the adjective, of the adverb or of the DP that contains the adjective to a sentence-peripheral position (and, in the latter case, also the fronting of the adjective to SpecDP). Unlike this type of fronting, focus fronting in declaratives in never obligatory:

(57) BUNĂ întrebare ai pus! / *Ai pus BUNĂ întrebare! (exclamative)
good questions have.2SG put have.2SG put good question
"What a good question you asked!"

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(58) a. Pe MARIA am văzut-o! / Am văzut-o pe MARIA! (contrastive (corrective) focus)
DOM Maria have.1 seen-her have.1 seen-her OBJ Maria
"(It is) MARIA I saw! / I saw MARIA!"
b. DOUĂ ORE am mers! / Am mers DOUĂ ORE! (mirative focus)
two hours have.1 walked have.1 walked two hours
"We walked for TWO HOURS!"

The fact that mirative focalization does not mark clause type can also be seen from its compatibility with interrogatives, noticed for Italian by Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina (2013):

(59) Ma domani AL MARE andate? (It., Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina, 2013)
but tomorrow at sea go.2PL
"Are you going TO THE SEASIDE tomorrow?"

In Romanian, it is harder to decide whether a mirative interpretation is possible in such examples, because focus fronting in total interrogatives is normally interpreted as informational focus (*e.g.*, for the counterpart of (59), *Mâine LA MARE mergeți*?: "I know you're going somewhere, but I don't know if it is to the seaside or to another place"; here, *la mare* "to the seaside" is narrow focus). I think however that examples with a clear mirative reading can be found, when the mirative focus is on quantity (in (60)b, this quantity refers to duration, treated as a quantity of time):

(60) a. TREI SUTE DE EURO ați dat pe astea?
three hundreds of euros have.2SG given on these
"Did you give THREE HUNDRED EUROS on these?"
b. De IERI aşteptați?
since yesterday wait.2PL
"Have you been waiting since YESTERDAY?"

The structure proposed in (54)–(55) for the exclamative focus fronting is very similar to that of wh-exclamatives. We may wonder, then, what is the difference (especially in meaning) between focus fronting exclamatives and those with wh-words – e.g., between the following examples:

(61) a. FRUMOASĂ rochie ți-ai cumpărat!
beautiful dress you(SG).DAT-have.2SG bought
b. Ce frumoasă rochie ți-ai cumpărat!
what beautiful dress you(SG).DAT-have.2SG bought

To answer this question is not easy. One observation is that the focus fronting type (ex. (61)a) is more often used ironically (Andueza 2011, for Spanish, even calls the construction "rhetorical exclamative") and to express discontent, but it is not obligatorily ironical or pejorative (including in Spanish, according to the native speakers I could consult).

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Another difference is that focus fronting exclamatives are not normally used as polite exclamations:

(62) a. Ce frumos cadou mi-ai adus!
what beautiful present me.DAT-have.2SG brought
b. ?# Frumos cadou mi-ai adus!
beautiful present me.DAT-have.2SG brought

This fact might be linked to the greater availability of ironical or depreciative interpretations in focus fronting exclamatives, or to another difference, which I will present in what follows.

In focus fronting exclamatives, the degree of the property, at least sometimes, seems not to be as high as in wh-exclamatives – not to be an extreme degree[11]. Should we then assume that the null degree head is the positive head, endowed with an +excl feature? However, at least in some cases, the degree appears to be higher than the one necessary for the use of the adjective in the positive degree.[12]

The intuition that in the focus fronting type the degree is not extreme can be explained in two ways: either the degree is not unusually high in general, but only for the given situation (i.e., the alternatives do not involve every object in the comparison class, but include the whole situation described by the sentence, being alternatives to the given situation in the epistemic model of the discourse participants, differing from one another by the degree of the property), or the degree is not *unusually* high, but rather *sufficiently high as to trigger an affective effect*, causing admiration or discontent. In the latter case, the criterion (ii) of the definition of exclamatives in section 1 (see (7)) should be modified, by accepting, at least for the scalar type, replacing non-canonicity with the capacity of bringing about a certain affective attitude. A definition of this type has been proposed, for exclamatives in general, by Gutiérrez-Rexach (1996, 2008)[13].

Syntactically, the focus fronting type differs from the wh-type by not allowing embedding:

(63) Uitasem / Mă minunez ce voce frumoasă are
had-forgotten.1SG / me astonish.1SG what voice beautiful has
"I had forgotten / I am astonished what a beautiful voice (s)he has"
* Uitasem / Mă minunez frumoasă voce are
had-forgotten.1SG / me astonish.1SG beautiful voice has

[11] The same intuition has been expressed, for the German counterpart of this construction, by Eva-Maria Remberger (see Cruschina *et al.* forth.).

[12] If the +excl feature is added to the positive head, we expect to find overt degree words in this construction. Indeed, some degree head such as *foarte* "very"*, prea* "too" are possible:
(i) FOARTE frumoasă rochie şi-a cumpărat!
very beautiful dress 3.REFL.DAT-has bought
(ii) PREA mare casă şi-a construit!
too big house 3.REFL.DAT-has built

[13] This author does not recognize the existence of non-scalar exclamatives. He defines exclamatives in general as sentences that express an affective attitude towards a certain degree (described by that sentence, which is presupposed).

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A further formal difference is that in focus fronting exclamatives the preposed constituent can be preceded by the complementizer *că* "that", in the oral register:

(64) Că mult mai doarme!
that more *mai* sleeps
"How much (s)he sleeps!"

4. INTERMEDIATE TYPES

There are some constructions which pattern with exclamatives by showing a particular clause-level marking or clause shape correlated with an affective meaning, but do not seem to satisfy the presuppositionality criterion. We might consider these clauses affective declaratives or, if intermediate clause types are allowed, we might assume a mixed type, intermediate between declaratives and exclamatives.

(i) Nominal sentences (*i.e.*, sentences without a verb) with predicate-subject order and emphatic stress on the predicate:

(65) FRUMOASĂ primirea pe care mi-ați făcut-o!
beautiful reception.the DOM which me.DAT-have.2PL made-CL.ACC
"It was really nice, the way you received me!"

This type may be the origin of the focus fronting exclamatives discussed in the previous section. It is found in all Romance languages and has been treated as an exclamative, in some studies (Vinet 1991, Alonso-Cortés 1999, Munaro 2006, Zendron da Cunha 2012, Sibaldo 2013). However, it is not clear if it satisfies the criteria in (7): the content of the main clause, which is exactly the assignment of a quality to the subject, does not appear to be presupposed.[14] Moreover, the degree of the predicate is not necessarily interpreted as exceptionally great, but rather the speaker insists on the fact that the degree is sufficient for the use of the adjective in the positive. On the other hand, the subject is obligatorily definite or at least specific (see Sibaldo 2013), which might follow from a general requirement that the described object be familiar to the addressee, which reminds the presuppositionality requirement (however, as we saw in section 2.1, what is presupposed in scalar exclamatives includes the assignment of the property to a high degree).

(ii) *If*-clauses with a high quantity meaning: *dacă* 'if', combined with expletive negation, heads clauses that make reference to a very big quantity and expresses discontent:

(66) Dacă n-am vorbit cu o mie de persoane!
if not-have.1 spoken with a thousand of persons
"I (must have) talked to a THOUSAND persons!"

The big quantity can be expressed not only by a quantitative expression, but also by other means – as ca be seen from (68); the contrast between (67) and (68) shows that

[14] This intuition is shared by Munaro (2006:204), who discusses Italian.

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reference to a big quantity is necessary:

(67) * Dacă n-am pierdut-o şi am recuperat-o!
if not-have.1 lost-it and have.1 recovered-it

(68) Dacă n-am pierdut-o, şi am recuperat-o, şi iar am pierdut-o şi tot aşa!
if not-have.1 lost-it and have.1 recovered-it and again have.1 lost-it and on-and-on like-that
"I lost it and got it back and lost it again and so on!"

This construction, although it has a marker at the clausal level, appears to be declarative according to the presuppositionality test (it can be used in contexts typical for new information, such as answers). On the other hand, the use of a marker at the sentential level to express the speaker's evaluation and the incompatibility with other types of clauses (*i.e.*, non-declaratives) make this construction similar to exclamatives (as the big quantity is what motivates the evaluation, it would be a scalar exclamative).

5. CONCLUSIONS

The data of Romanian support the existence of a special exclamative clause type on a par with the other types (declarative, interrogative, directive, optative). Since exclamatives, like declaratives, have a propositional content considered by the speaker as true, the main difficulty is to distinguish exclamatives from declaratives. I have shown that the clauses that satisfy the semantic criteria proposed for the exclamative type always have a clause-level non-prosodic marker that distinguishes them from declaratives (such markers are: complementizers, fronted constituents, verbal mood). Some types of exclamatives are distinguished by intonation alone from other non-declarative sentences, but we never find exclamatives distinguished by prosody alone from declaratives. Semantically, exclamatives differ from declaratives by having a presupposed propositional content. The informative part consists in presenting the situation as non-canonical (compared with others, which brings about alternative sets) and/or in expressing a certain affective attitude towards this situation.

For the general theory of exclamatives, the data of Romanian are interesting because they attest the existence of non-scalar exclamatives, which goes against the opinion, quite widespread in the literature, that exclamatives obligatorily contain a scalar element. I proposed that the two types – scalar and non-scalar – differ in the way the set of alternatives is obtained: in the scalar type, this set only consists of assignments of a degree of the scalar property to entities in the comparison class of the referent to which the property is applied in the presupposed proposition; in the non-scalar type, the set is obtained in the same way as for interrogatives (in partial exclamatives, the alternatives differ by the values the focalized constituent takes; in total exclamatives, they consist in the presupposed proposition and its negation).

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