FOCUS FRONTING BETWEEN DECLARATIVES AND EXCLAMATIVES

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Abstract. In many languages, including Romance and German, Focus Fronting (FF) is generally associated with an emphatic intonation and interpretation, so that sentences hosting FF are often indiscriminately mistaken for exclamative clauses. In this paper we demonstrate that, despite its special interpretive and prosodic properties, FF is a syntactic construction that is independent from illocutionary force and from clause-typing since it typically marks declaratives, but may also be found in interrogative and exclamative clauses. An interpretation of surprise and unexpectedness is present in these structures with FF, which we thus call Mirative Focus Fronting (MFF). On the basis of criteria such as presuppositionality and the position of the prosodic main prominence, we show, on the one hand, that in non-interrogative contexts, sentences featuring MFF have in fact an assertive force and are therefore genuine declaratives; on the other, a special type of Focus Fronting must be identified which occurs in genuine exclamatives (hence the name Exclamative Focus Fronting, EFF), but which is associated with a special prosodic pattern and is limited to specific types of constituents (mostly, scalar adjectives and adverbs).

Keywords: focus fronting, declaratives, exclamatives, mirative focus, scalarity.

1. INTRODUCTION

Recent research on Focus Fronting (FF) in Romance, Germanic and other languages has highlighted a special interpretation triggered by this syntactic operation which is neither contrastive nor merely informational, but is often described in terms of emphasis, surprise, unexpectedness, mirativity, affectedness or exclamative flavour (Ambar 1999, Brunetti 2009, Paoli 2010, Frey 2010, Trotzke 2010, Cruschina 2012, Frascarelli and Ramaglia 2013, Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina 2015a, Giurgea 2014, a.o.). Despite this special meaning, sentences hosting this kind of FF qualify as declaratives (1−3). In some languages, however, FF is found also in sentences that would translate into genuine exclamative sentences (4−5):

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(1) It. Pensavo che non avessero nemmeno un soldo! Indovina
think.PST.1SG that not have.PST.SBJ.3PL even a cent guess
un po'?!**Alle MalDIve** sono andati in viaggio di nozze!
A little to-the Maldives are.3PL gone in journey of wedding
'I thought they were penniless! Guess what? They went *to the Maldives* on honeymoon!'

(2) Ge. Unglaublich, weißt du, wo sie ihre Hochzeitsreise verbracht haben?
unbelievable know you where they their honeymoon passed have.3PL
Auf die MaleDIven sind sie gefahren![1]
to the Maldives are.3PL they gone
'Unbelievable, do you know where they spent their honeymoon? They went *to the Maldives*!'

(3) Ro. ***Două LUNI*** *mi-a luat să scriu acest articol!*
two months me.DAT-have taken SBJV write.1SG this paper
'It took me two months to write this paper!'

(4) Ro. a. ***FruMOAsă maşină*** *şi-a mai cumpărat!*
beautiful car 3.REFL.DAT-has *mai* bought
'What a beautiful car s/he bought! / That's a BEAUTIFUL car s/he bought!'
b. ***MULte case*** *a construit!*
many houses has built
'(How) many houses s/he built!'

(5) Ge. ***SCHÖnes Auto*** *hat er sich da gekauft!*
beautiful car has he 3.REFL.DAT *da* bought
'That's a NICE car s/he bought!'

The interpretation associated with this type of sentences raises three crucial questions:

(i) Are they exclamative sentences or 'special' declaratives?
(ii) What role does FF play in the marking of the clause type?
(iii) How can we reliably distinguish and discriminate between declarative sentences with an exclamative nuance or reading and exclamative sentences proper?

We will claim that FF may occur in both declaratives and exclamatives, but we need to distinguish two sorts of fronting constructions, depending on the sentence type: (a) Mirative FF (MFF) in declaratives (1-3), and (b) Exclamative FF (EFF) in genuine exclamatives (4-5).

Several common properties contribute to the blurring between these two types of FF, so that FF is often considered to be proper of exclamative sentences due to the emphatic interpretation it brings about. First of all, as far as the word order is concerned, a constituent is fronted to the beginning of the sentence, to the position immediately before the verb (in Romance, the fronted constituent can be preceded by left-dislocated topics). In both FF types, the interpretation is closely bound to the expression of the speaker's

[1] Being a V2-language, in German it is very common to have fronted constituents other than the subject in the preverbal position. However, prosodic emphasis shows that the fronted constituent is indeed emphatically focused (cf. Frey 2010).

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evaluation, and to a sense of emphasis, surprise or unexpectedness. Another property that MFF and EFF share is determined by focus semantics: in both cases, narrow focus on the fronted element introduces a set of alternatives, forming a scale ordered by (un)expectedness or stereotypicality. Note that MFF and EFF do not require an explicit antecedent in the context, unlike contrastive/corrective focus (cf. Bianchi and Bocci 2012).

On a more careful scrutiny, however, it emerges that MFF and EFF differ on various levels. Exclamatives must be presuppositional or factive, while matrix declaratives are not (Michaelis 2001, Zanuttini and Portner 2003). Indeed, EFF occurs in sentences whose proposition content is presupposed, while MFF features sentences with an assertive force. In addition, MFF is independent from the sentential clause-type as witnessed by the fact that it can also be found in interrogatives, whereas we are going to show that EFF is directly used to mark the exclamative sentential force. EFF is restricted to *scalar* elements (adjectives or adverbs) and its interpretation is bound to a degree property: what is surprising or unexpected is the degree of the scalar element (Rett 2011). Although scalar elements are more commonly found with MFF too, this is not a necessary requirement: in sentences hosting MFF it is the comparative likelihood of focus alternative propositions that gives rise to an effect of surprise and unexpectedness. Another difference concerns the compatibility of certain elements (e.g. exclamative/spurious *mai* in Romanian) with one sentence type but not with the other. Prosodically, moreover, the main prominence aligns with the rightmost stressed syllable of the fronted constituent with MFF, while the main prominence is on the prenominal adjective with EFF of an A(djective)+N constituent, at least in Romanian and German, indicating that only the prenominal adjective is in focus.[2] Finally, FF seems to be optional with MFF: the fronted constituent can remain in situ and the sentence can still retain the same or a very similar interpretation – whether it is a case of real optionality, however, is yet to be confirmed. The in-situ option is not possible with EFF for DPs with DP-initial quality adjectives (cf. 4a).

In the next sections we will discuss the two constructions separately (§2 and §3, respectively), highlighting precisely the properties that allow us to tell them apart, and will then concentrate on the structural analysis of EFF (§4), comparing this structure with other similar constructions found in Romance (§5).

2. MIRATIVE FOCUS FRONTING

The research of the felicity conditions of FF in Romance has led to the recognition of several types of focus, especially in light of the fact that mere information focus is not sufficient to trigger FF. The traditional concept of focus as "new information" corresponds to the notion of *information focus*. Roughly speaking, this represents the part of the sentence that is not "given" or repeated. A more precise formal definition can be found in Schwarzschild (1999): whereas for referential terms "givenness" can be described as co-reference with an antecedent, for non-referential expressions the focus/given partition is defined in relation with an antecedent *sentence*, via entailment: a sentence A contains

[2] Unlike other Romance languages, which must always assign the main prominence to the rightmost element within the fronted constituent, Romanian allows the focus part of the fronted constituent to receive main prominence. Similar observations are valid for German.

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narrow focus constituents (F-marked constituents) iff it has an antecedent B such that if we construct A' by replacing the F-marked constituents in A with existentially closed variables, B entails A'; e.g., in the sequence *Bill cited me; then Alice cited me*, the first clause entails *∃x.x cited me*, therefore the second clause contains narrow focus on *Alice*, which is necessarily reflected in prosody (*ALICE cited me*). Narrow informational focus typically features in congruent answers to questions where the focal constituent in the answer corresponds to the wh-phrase in the question (e.g. *Who did you see? I saw* [*Mark*]$_{\text{FOCUS}}$). The function of information focus in this context is therefore to provide the missing information that will directly answer the question under discussion (Roberts [1998] 2012). This notion of focus has been found to be insufficient for a characterization of FF in Romance: further conditions seem to be required for a focus constituent to be fronted (see Rizzi 1997, López 2009, Cruschina 2012). The first condition that was identified is contrast: a focus is contrastive if, in addition to being an information focus, the sentence in which it appears is used to reject focal alternatives (the "correction focus", e.g. A: *They met [John]*. –B: *They met [Mary]*$_{\text{FOCUS}}$, *not John*) or to highlight an alternative as opposed to others that are given in the context (e.g. with some focal particles: *Anche MARIA hanno invitato* 'They also invited [Mary]$_{\text{FOCUS}}$'). Further research discovered another type of focus that licensing fronting in Italian – the so-called *mirative focus* (see Cruschina 2012, Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina 2015a,b). Consider a sentence with MFF like (6):

(6) It. **Una collana di PERle** mi hanno regalato!
a necklace of pearls me.DAT have.3PL given
'They gave me a pearl necklace!'

This sentence asserts the proposition 'they gave me a pearl necklace'. Narrow focus in (6) is not information focus: the proposition ∃x. *they gave me x* need not be given in the context, as typical of sentences containing an information focus and a *given* background. It could actually be uttered in an out-of-the-blue context, without any antecedent (e.g. *Sai che cosa è successo? Una collana di PERle mi hanno regalato!* 'Do you know what happened? They gave me a pearl necklace!'). Prosodically, then, the stress pattern in (6) does not follow from the destressing of the given part. Rather, focal stress signals mirativity: narrow focus in (6) yields a contextually relevant set of alternative propositions of the form 'they gave me *x*', where x is an entity, but there need not be a single salient alternative proposition in the context (unlike with contrastive focus). The special interpretation associated with MFF, thus, derives from (7)[3]:

[3] Bianchi and Bocci (2012) provide a similar characterization for corrective focus, which differs from mirative focus in that an explicit alternative has to be present in the discourse:

(i) A: Hanno invitato Marina.
have.3PL invited Marina
B: GIULIA hanno invitato, (non Marina).
Julie have.3PL invited, (not Marina).

The corrective import can therefore be defined as follows: there is one alternative proposition, already introduced in the context (iA), which is incompatible with the proposition expressed in the corrective reply (iB) (see also Bianchi 2013, and Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina 2015a).

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(7) *Mirative import* (Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina 2015a):
There is at least one focus alternative proposition which is *more likely* than the asserted proposition with respect to a contextually relevant modal base and a stereotypical ordering source (representing the normal course of events).[4]

The mirative import can sometimes be interpreted with a bouletic nuance, whereby the asserted proposition is less (or more) desirable than another alternative. This corresponds to the use of a bouletic ordering source instead of a stereotypical one (cf. Grosz 2011), and indicates the speaker's approval or disappointment at the state of affairs described:

(8) It. Pensa te: **con MaRIANgela** si è messo!
think.IMP.2sg you with Mariangela REFL.3SG is put
'Guess what! He's dating Mariangela!'

From this characterization it is clear that FF does not contribute to the propositional content of the sentence, but rather to the non-at-issue meaning. In fact, the mirative import corresponds to a conventional implicature (in the sense of Potts 2005, 2007). As typical of conventional implicatures, the mirative import is a speaker commitment, and it is not backgrounded (i.e. already part of the common ground) contrary to presuppositions. The mirative import cannot be denied by the speaker, as shown in (9) (cf. also Frey 2010), contrary to conversational implicatures, and is not sensitive to higher operators (e.g. the question operator in (10)), contrary to at-issue/descriptive entailments:

(9) It. Credevo che non sapesse cucinare, invece...
thought.1SG that not know.SBJ.PST.3SG cook.INF instead...
Il pollo tanDOOri ha preparato!
the chicken tandoori has prepared
Ma la cosa non mi sorprende...
but the thing not me surprises
'I thought he couldn't cook, instead... he made *tandoori chicken*! # But that doesn't surprise me.'
(Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina 2015a, (10))

(10) a. It. Ma domani **al MAre** andate?
but tomorrow to-the seaside go.2PL
'Are you (really) going to the *seaside* tomorrow?'
(Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina 2015a, (12))

b. Ro. **O SUtă de EUro** ai dat pe el?
a hundred of euros have.2SG given on it
'Did you (really) pay a *hundred euros* for it?!'

The continuation in (9) is pragmatically odd because it gives rise to a contradiction with respect to the mirative import conveyed by MFF in immediately preceding sentence. In (10)

[4] A stereotypical ordering source is a conversational background assigning to every world the set of propositions which represent "the normal course of events in that world" (Kratzer 1991, 645).

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we can observe that the speaker is not committed to the truth of *p* (i.e., the proposition that the interlocutors are going to the seaside tomorrow in (10a), and the proposition that the hearer paid a hundred euros for something in (10b)): being questions, the truth value is suspended. The speaker is however committed to the mirative import that *p* is unlikely. This means that the mirative import is not in the scope of the question operator; only the propositional content *p* is. The examples in (10) also show that MFF is not limited to declarative sentences, but is also possible in interrogatives, playing the same function, that is, adding non-at-issue meaning to the propositional content of the question.

In MFF contexts FF is associated with its typical prosody: the rightmost lexically stressed syllable of the focus phrase systematically bears the main prominence in the utterance (cf. Bocci 2013, a.o.). As for the optionality of FF, it seems that the focus phrase may remain in situ and the sentence would still convey a similar meaning if the focus stress is particularly emphatic (graphically indicated by the exclamation mark). Compare (11) with (6) above:

(11) It. Mi hanno regalato **una collana di PERle**!
to-me have.3PL given a necklace of pearls
'They gave me a pearl necklace!'

From the evidence discussed so far, we conclude that sentences with MFF are not exclamatives.[5] In particular, we have seen that the propositional content of sentences with MFF is not presupposed; moreover, the scalarity (or gradability) of the fronted element is not a necessary condition (see (1)-(2), (6), (8), (9))[6]. In the next section we will see that all these properties contrast with those of EFF, which unlike MFF, directly contributes to the clause-typing of the sentence as exclamative.

3. EXCLAMATIVE FOCUS FRONTING

In sentences with EFF, the focus is on a scalar adjective (including here quantitatives as in (12b)) or adverb. If the adjective is DP-internal, it must be DP-initial in Romance (see (12a-b) for Romanian, and §5 for other Romance languages) and it can appear without the (singular) indefinite article in German (see (12c-d)). The position of the focal adjective within the fronted DP is a distinctive trait of EFF in Romance (in German, this property is less obvious, because adjectives are normally prenominal, and the indefinite article may sometimes occur before the adjective):

(12) Ro. a. **FruMOAsă rochie** a cumpărat!
beautiful dress has bought

[5] That fronting constructions with a surprise reading are not necessarily exclamatives, contrary to what has been claimed in literature, is also shown by Mensching and Remberger (2010, 267–268) for Sardinian.

[6] However, in Romanian the availability of MFF decreases if the mirative component is not associated with a high degree. The most acceptable examples of MFF are those that involve a high quantity.

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'What a beautiful dress (s)he bought! / That's a beautiful dress (s)he bought!'

b. **MULte case** a construit!
many houses has built
'(How) many houses (s)he built!'

Ge. c. **IntereSSANtes Buch** liest du da!
interesting book read.2SG you there
'That's an interesting book you're reading!'

d. **SCHRECKliches Kleid** hat sie da an!
terrible dress has she there on
'That's a terrible dress she's wearing! / Is it terrible, the dress she's wearing!'

Such sentences have been argued to be exclamatives by Giurgea (2013, 2014), for Romanian. They are also treated as exclamatives by recent grammars of Romanian (see GBLR 2010, Vasilescu 2013), but without argumentation. A similar type has been recognized for Spanish but treated as a verum focus construction by Leonetti (2009), Leonetti and Escandell-Vidal (2009). We present below the arguments for an exclamative status.

The propositional content of exclamative sentences must be presupposed (Grimshaw 1979, Michaelis 2001, Zanuttini and Portner 2003; see Elliot 1971, 1974 for indirect exclamatives). Presuppositionality is indeed a hallmark of EFF as confirmed by the fact that, unlike MFF (13b), EFF cannot occur in sentences that are supposed to introduce new information, for instance, in an answer to a question (13a):

(13) Ro. CONTEXT: Ai auzit (ce-a mai făcut Maria)? / Ce şi-a cumpărat Maria?
'Did you hear (about Maria)? / What did Maria buy?'

a. # **FruMOS iaht** şi-a cumpărat! EFF
beautiful yacht REFL.3.DAT-has bought
'(What a) nice yacht she bought!'

b. **Treizeci de BLUze** şi-a cumpărat! MFF
thirty of blouses REFL.3.DAT-has bought
'She bought 30 blouses!'

c. N-o să-ţi vină să crezi.
not-will SBJV-you.DAT come.3 SBJV believe.2SG
Un IAHT şi-a cumpărat! MFF
a yacht REFL.3.DAT-has bought
'You won't believe it. She bought a YACHT!'

The contrast in (13) clearly shows the main differences between EFF and MFF. The latter can be used to introduce new information, qualifying as a declarative clause with assertive force, while the former cannot perform such a function because it must be associated with a presupposed content. A scalar item occurs in the DP-initial position in (13a) (cf. also (12)), whereas no such item is present in (13b-c), which have a canonical DP-structure. The emphatic stress is on the DP-initial adjective in (13a) (cf. also (12)), but

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occurs on the last element of the fronted DP in (13b-c) (possibly doubled by a further emphatic stress inside this DP, see (13b)).

Another indicator of the exclamative nature of sentences hosting EFF is the presence in Romanian of what we label 'spurious' *mai*. The clitic adverb *mai* has a (usually temporal) additive interpretation, meaning 'again', 'still', 'also', 'more' (cf. 14b-c); in certain exclamative sentences, however, such as those with quantitative *ce* 'how much/many', this interpretation disappears (cf. 14a)[7]:

(14) Ro. a. Ce mai scrie!
what more writes
'How much (s)he's writing/(s)he writes!'
|≠ (S)he has been writing / (S)he has written before / (S)he wrote other things

b. Mai scrie.
more writes
'(S)he's still writing / (S)he still writes / (S)he writes again/more'
|= (S)he has been writing / (S)he has written before / (S)he wrote other things

c. Ce mai scrie?
what more writes
'What else is (s)he writing / What is (s)he still writing?'
|= (S)he wrote other things / (S)he has been writing / (S)he has written before

The same 'spurious' *mai* is found in EFF, providing further evidence that this type of sentence is in fact exclamative (15a). By contrast, in MFF sentences *mai* preserves its adverbial meaning (cf. 15b):

(15) Ro. a. **FruMOS** **iaht** şi-a mai cumpărat! EFF
beautiful yacht REFL.3.DAT-has more bought
'What a nice yacht (s)he bought!'
|≠ (S)he bought other things/did other similar things, in addition to (buying) the yacht

b. **Un** **IAHT** şi-a mai cumpărat! MFF
a yacht REFL.3.DAT-has more bought
≠ (S)he bought a yacht!
= (S)he **also** bought a yacht!
|= She bought other things/did other similar things, in addition to (buying) the yacht

[7] German situative *da* is particularly frequent in this construction, but is not restricted to exclamatives. This use is correlated to the fact that these exclamations are always contextually restricted to specific reference situations, for which *da* acts as a stage topic marker.

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Based on this test, EFF proves to be possible not only with A+N fronted constituents, but also with predicative adjectives and adverbs:

(16) Ro. a. (Da') **Repede** mai merge!
(but) fast more walks
'(How) fast (s)he's walking! / Is (s)he walking fast!'
b. **PROST** mai eşti!
stupid more are.2SG
'How stupid you are!'

Like in wh-exclamatives (17b, 18b), the fronted constituent of the EFF construction can appear alone, as a non-verbal exclamative sentence, without involving ellipsis: no implicit contextual verb is required, for instance, for the interpretation of (17a, 18a):

(17) Ro. a. FruMOS iaht!
beautiful yacht
'What a nice yacht!' / 'That's certainly/definitely a NICE yacht!'
b. Ce IAHT!
what yacht
'What a yacht!'
(18) Ge. a. SCHÖnes Kleid!
beautiful dress
'What a beautiful dress!' / 'That's certainly/definitely a NICE dress!'
b. Was für ein Kleid!
what for a dress
'What a dress!'

EFF is correlated with a special internal syntax of the fronted constituent, when this is a nominal. The scalar element bearing the focus, which is a quantitative or a quality adjective, must occupy the initial position in the DP in Romanian. This can be shown for qualitative adjectives, whose normal position is postnominal (quantitatives as in (12b) normally appear DP-initial in indefinite DPs anyhow). Thus, if we insert a determiner in Romanian examples such as (12a), the example becomes degraded if we keep the intonation typical of EFF:

(19) Ro. ?? Un fruMOS iaht şi-a cumpărat.
a beautiful yacht REFL.3.DAT-has bought

This example sounds strange because it is hard to find an appropriate context for it (as EFF is not available); MFF has the normal placement of the main stress at the end of the fronted constituent (see (3)), and stressing just the adjective suggests a contrastive focus, but a contrastive adjective is normally postnominal – as the prenominal position of quality adjectives in Romanian is associated with a non-restrictive reading (see Cornilescu and Giurgea 2013, a.o.). Moreover, this position is characteristic of a higher register, which is not the case of the colloquial EFF. We can thus safely conclude that the position of the

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adjective in EFF is not its usual prenominal position, but a position related to exclamative marking.

The fact that EFF requires the adjective to be DP-initial can also be illustrated by using spurious *mai* as a test: no matter the stress pattern, (19) does not allow the spurious *mai*:

(20) Ro. Un frumos iaht şi-a mai cumpărat.
a beautiful yacht REFL.3.DAT-has more bought
'(S)he **also** bought a beautiful yacht.'

In German, the adjective inside the fronted nominal can be preceded by the indefinite article *ein*. The interesting situation, which is a hallmark of EFF, is the variant in which *ein* is absent. In both German and Romanian, it can be shown that the DP-initial position of the adjective is contingent on EFF. The lack of the determiner, which characterizes this construction, is otherwise subject to various constraints. Thus, with singular count nouns (and quality adjectives) such as in (12a,c,d) if the constituent is not fronted, the sentences are ungrammatical:

(21) Ro. a. * Şi-a cumpărat frumoasă rochie
3.REFL.DAT-has bought beautiful dress
Ge. b. * Du liest (da) interessantes Buch
you read (there) interesting book

(22) Ro. a. GREA problemă au rezolvat!
hard problem have.3PL solved
'What a hard problem they solved!'
b. * Au rezolvat grea problemă
have.3PL solved tough problem
Ge. c. SCHWIEriges Problem hast du dir da ausgesucht!
hard problem have.2SG you you.DAT there chosen
'What a hard problem you chose (for yourself)!' / 'That's certainly a HARD problem you solved!'
d. * Du hast dir (da) schwieriges Problem ausgesucht
you have.2SG you.DAT there hard problem chosen

The constraints on A-initial orders when the nominal is not fronted reflect the general constraints on bare nouns, together, for Romanian, with the usual constraints on prenominal adjectives: bare count singulars are known to be severely restricted (see, for Romanian, Dobrovie-Sorin, Bleam and Espinal 2006, Dobrovie-Sorin 2013). Verbs such as *rezolva* 'solve' (see (22)) do not allow bare count singulars at all, whereas *cumpăra* 'buy' in Romanian allows them only with a non-specific interpretation and on the condition that the verb+noun complex refers to a conventionalized / stereotypical activity (Dobrovie-Sorin 2013, Dobrovie-Sorin and Giurgea 2015). Therefore, nouns modified by descriptive epithets are not allowed (see (23)).

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(23) Ro. Şi-a cumpărat iaht (?? frumos) / maşină (?? frumoasă)
3.REFL.DAT-has bought yacht beautiful car beautiful

Moreover, prenominal quality adjectives are non-restrictive, which triggers a specificity effect on the DP they attach to (see Cornilescu and Dinu 2012). As bare nouns are non-specific (see Dobrovie-Sorin, Bleam and Espinal 2006, Espinal and McNally 2011, Dobrovie-Sorin and Giurgea 2015), prenominal quality adjectives (as in (21)) are excluded with bare nouns in general in Romanian (even in the plural). We may thus conclude that, in spite of the lack of determiner, the DPs that occur in EFF are not run-of-the-mill bare nouns, but they have a particular syntax, whereby the adjective does not occupy the normal prenominal position of adjectives, and which, furthermore, *requires fronting*. This property further differentiates EFF from other instances of focus fronting, in which fronting is never an obligatory requisite of the fronted constituent. Although it might appear at first sight as a peculiarity if we tried to understand EFF based on focus fronting, it can be captured straightforwardly if we recognize the exclamative status of EFF: since this fronting is used to mark sentence type, we expect it to be obligatory (compare wh-fronting in interrogatives and wh-exclamatives).

The position of the adjective in EFF can also be occupied by a dedicated exclamative word – Ro. *halal*, otherwise used as an interjection, with a deprecatory meaning in the present-day language[8]; when occurring inside a clause, this word requires fronting and cannot stay in situ:

(24) Ro. a. HaLAL maşină (mi-am cumpărat)!
halal car me.DAT-have.1SG bought
'What a bad car I bought!'
b. * Mi-am cumpărat (o) halal maşină / (o) maşină
me. DAT-have.1SG bought (a) *halal* car (a) car
halal
halal
c. * maşina halal...
car-the *halal*

4. A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF EFF

Besides presuppositionality, there is no consensus on the proper definition of exclamatives. We will only present here the ingredients necessary to understand the core properties of EFF: the relation to focus (manifested in prosody), the marking by fronting of a particular constituent, and the condition that fronting involves a scalar element.

According to a widespread view, exclamatives characterize the situation described as exceptional, non-canonical (Michaelis 2001, Zanuttini and Portner 2003), or suprising (Rett 2011). In most types of exclamatives, there is a highlighted element (see the wh-phrases in wh-exclamatives and the fronted constituent in EFF). In the non-canonicity analysis of

[8] In the past, it expressed positive evaluation. It comes from a noun meaning 'gratitude, grace, luck' (still in use at the beginning of the XXth century) < Turkish *halâl* 'lawful' (< Arabic).

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exclamatives, the role of this element can be characterized as follows: treating a proposition as non-canonical involves *a comparison between alternatives*, such that there is at least one alternative proposition which is *more likely* than the proposition expressed by the sentence. The highlighted element is the element that makes the proposition surprising, that is, the element that varies across alternatives. According to this view, alternatives have focus semantics: the highlighted element can be treated as an exclamative focus.

Examining the way in which these alternatives are obtained, Giurgea (2015) finds an important difference between *scalar* and *non-scalar* exclamatives.[9] In the latter, alternatives are given by abstracting over an element of the clause, or, for total exclamatives, are reduced to the proposition and its negation. In scalar exclamatives, the alternatives are given by the comparison classes used in degree assignment. By highlighting a property P (or the degree of this property), the speaker conveys that the degree to which an object or event has the scalar property P is higher than usual, exceptional or noteworthy in some way. The rest of the sentence serves to identify this object or event, which explains why scalar exclamatives can dispense with a verb (see (17)-(18)). The degree of the property P is itself part of the content taken to be presupposed; the conversational move consists in inviting the hearer to recognize the exceptionality/ noteworthiness of this degree. Thus, the alternatives comprise pairs of the type <object x of type X (from the comparison class C), degree d of property P>, the common part being just the predication P(d)(x).

We assume that the syntactic correlate of this interpretation is the placement of the exclamative focus on the degree. In the case of wh-exclamatives, this is overtly manifested by a wh-degree word (17b, 18b). In the case of EFF, we propose that, likewise, the exclamative focus feature, [ExclF], is on the Deg head of the adjective or adverb. Since this Deg is covert, the [ExclF] is manifested by focus stress (in Romanian and German): thus, EFF has the stress pattern of focus fronting declaratives (i.e., with destressing of what follows the fronted element) and not of wh-exclamatives:

(25) Ro. a. Ce grea VIAță DUcem!
how hard life bear.1PL
'What a hard life we live!'
b. GREA viață ducem!
hard life bear.1PL
'Hard, isn't it, the life we live!'

The [ExclF] feature, like the Wh- feature, must end up in a checking configuration with a left-peripheral head for clause typing to be fulfilled. In order to be visible, the null Deg bearing [ExclF] first requires moving the DegP to SpecDP, if the DegP is DP-internal; in this case, Det must be null (at least in Romanian):

[9] Nouwen and Chernilovskaya (2013) also argue that exclamatives are not always scalar, contra Elliott (1974), Gutiérrez-Rexach (1996, 2008), Castroviejo Miró (2006), Rett (2011). Their analysis differs however from the analysis presented here in several respects ('unexpectedness' is replaced by 'noteworthiness', there is no reference to alternatives, scalarity is not considered to be relevant for classifying alternatives). For non-scalar exclamatives in the Romance domain, see also Giurgea and Remberger (forth.).

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(26) Ro: $[_{DP}\ [_{DegP}\ [Ø_{+ExclF}]\ grea]\ [_{D}\ Ø\ [...\ viață\ t_{DegP}]]]$

Ge.: $[_{DP}\ [_{DegP}\ [Ø_{+ExclF}]\ schwieriges]\ [_{D}\ Ø\ [..\ t_{DegP}\ Problem]]]$

The same behaviour is found with wh-scalar exclamatives: either the wh-Deg is moved to the DP initial position (27a), or D is occupied by a wh-determiner (27b):

(27) Ro. a. $[_{DP}\ [_{DegP}$ Ce frumoase] poezii] scrie! / $[_{DP}\ [_{DegP}$ Cât de frumoase] poezii] scrie!
how beautiful poems writes / how-much of beautiful poems writes

b. $[_{DP}$ ce [poezii frumoase]] scrie!
what poems beautiful writes

In order for the Deg^0 inside SpecDP to establish a checking relation with the peripheral head, the entire DP is fronted, by pied-piping (as in (27) with wh- exclamatives):

(28) $[_{Foc/WhP}\ [_{DP}\ [_{DegP}\ [Ø_{+ExclF}]\ grea]\ [_{D}\ Ø\ [...\ viață\ t_{DegP}]]]\ [Foc/C^0\ [...ducem\ [..\ t_{DP}]]]]$

In German, the landing position is SpecCP (the sentence-initial position preceding the V2 position; the construction is confined to matrix clauses)[10].

In Romanian, as shown in Giurgea (2014), the landing position appears to be the same as in wh- exclamatives and interrogatives (no subject or topic can intervene between the fronted constituent and the verb (29), topics may appear to the left (30)):

(29) Ro. BUN răspuns (*Merkel) le-a dat (Merkel) jurnaliștilor!
good answer Merkel CL.3PL.DAT-has given Merkel journalists-the.DAT
'What a good answer Merkel gave to the journalists!' /
'Good, indeed, the answer Merkel gave to the journalists!...'

(30) Ro. Maria fruMOAsă rochie și-a luat!
Maria beautiful dress 3REFL.DAT-has taken
'What a beautiful dress Maria bought herself!' / 'As for Maria – nice, indeed, the dress she bought!'

[10] For those cases where an indefinite article appears, it remains yet to be determined whether they are proper exclamatives or not, and, in case they are, how the exclamative force is checked. We leave this issue open for future research.

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Depending on the preferred analysis of the preverbal field of Romanian, the peripheral head involved in EFF can be identified either with an independent Foc head or with a multifunctional head Fin[11]. The Force head can be overtly realized by the complementizer *că* (a construction that is rather substandard or dialectal)[12]:

(31) Ro. a. Că fruMOAsă rochie şi-a luat!
that beautiful dress 3REFL.DAT-has taken
'What a beautiful dress she bought herself!' / 'That's really beautiful, the dress she bought!'
b. Că MULT mai doarme!
that much *mai* sleeps
'How much (s)he's sleeping! / sleeps!'

The analysis presented here makes EFF very similar to scalar wh-exclamatives. However, these constructions are not merely formal variants. It appears that the degree in EFF is less 'extreme' than in wh-exclamatives. If we were to rephrase the two constructions by using declaratives, we might say that the wh-exclamative *Ce frumoasă rochie şi-a cumpărat!* 'What a beautiful dress she bought!' corresponds to 'the dress she bought is VERY/EXTREMELY beautiful', whereas the corresponding EFF *FruMOAsă rochie şi-a cumpărat!* is roughly equivalent to 'the dress she bought is REALLY beautiful!'[13]. This may explain why EFF in Spanish has been characterized as a verum focus construction by Leonetti (2009), Leonetti and Escandell-Vidal (2009). We propose that this meaning difference is encoded in the specifications of the two exclamative degree operators [wh] and [Ø]:

(32) a. [$_{\text{Excl-Deg}}$ wh]: the degree is extreme, unusually high
b. [$_{\text{Excl-Deg}}$ Ø]: the degree is above the domain for which the use of the adjective/adverb in the positive degree would be debatable

The interpretation of [$_{\text{Excl-Deg}}$ Ø] might be obtained by adding an [ExclF] feature to the positive Deg, which would explain why this head is null (the positive Deg head is always null). If this is so, we may wonder whether it is not possible to add the [ExclF] feature to other Deg heads. It appears that this is indeed possible for the Deg head 'very' –

[11] For the use of a multifunctional Fin head, which can attract topics, foci and wh-, as well as subjects, see Giurgea and Remberger (2012a,b). A multifunctional head was also proposed by Hill (2002) and, for other Romance languages, by Zagona (2002), Sheehan (2007).

[12] This is impossible in German, because the fronted constitutents are in SpecCP, and C is not realized when SpecCP is filled.

[13] This intuition also holds for German: *SCHÖnes Auto hat er sich da gekauft! ~ Ein **WIRKlich** SCHÖnes Auto hat er sich da gekauft!* 'A REALLY nice car he bought!' [or: 'He bought a REALLY nice car!']

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Ro. *foarte*, Ge. *sehr* (notice that the focal stress falls on *foarte/sehr*, as expected if [ExclF] were on Deg):

(33) a. Ro. FOARte frumos cadou mi-a adus!
very beautiful present me.DAT-has brought
'Very nice indeed, the present (s)he gave me!'
b. Ge. SEHR schönes Kleid hast du da an !
very beautiful dress have.2SG you there on
'The dress you're wearing is very nice indeed!'

There are also pragmatic differences between EFF and scalar wh-exclamatives: EFF is more often used to express discontent and irony (cf. Escandell and Leonetti 2014 for Spanish) and, correlatively, less used in polite compliments.

5. SYNTACTIC VARIATION: OTHER ROMANCE LANGUAGES

The formal hallmark of EFF in other Romance languages is the DP-initial placement of an adjective triggering obligatory fronting of the DP (Leonetti 2009, Escandell and Leonetti 2014):

(34) Sp. Bonita faena me has hecho. / ?? Me has hecho bonita
nice job me have.2SG done me have.2SG done nice
faena.
job
'Nice job you've done for me!'

Unlike in Romanian and German, there is no focus stress on the fronted adjective, followed by the destressed rest of the sentence. The intonation is rather similar to that of wh-exclamatives (see (25a)):

(35) Sp. ¡Bonita fiESta me organiZASte! (Andueza 2011: 128)
nice party me organized.2SG
'What a nice party you organized for me!'

This construction has been described as a verum focus construction (by Leonetti 2009, Leonetti and Escandell 2009) and as 'rhetorical exclamative' associated to an ironic interpretation (by Andueza 2011[14]) for Spanish, and as 'evaluative focus fronting' (by Ambar 1999) and 'evaluative exclamatives' (by Martins 2012, Costa and Martins 2014) for Portuguese. Unlike in Romanian, the construction obeys lexical restrictions in these languages, being used only with certain evaluative adjectives – Sp. *bonito* 'pretty', *menudo*

[14] Even though the interpretation is often ironical, a literal reading is not excluded, according to our informants.

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'small, trivial', *valiente* 'brave, great' (Tirado Camarena, p.c.); for Portuguese, Martins (2012) only cites DPs with *muito* 'much', *grande* 'big', but examples with *belo* 'beautiful' and *lindo* 'pretty, beautuiful' are also be found in the literature:

(36) Ptg. a. Belo trabalho me fizeste tu! (Ambar 1999: 42)
nice work me.DAT did.2S you
'You did a good work!'

b. Linda casa lhe comprou o pai!
beautiful house him.DAT bought.3SG the father
'His father bought him a beautiful house!'

Like in Romanian (see *halal* in (24)), an exclamative particle (also used as an interjection) can occur in the position of the adjective in Spanish (see (37)). Notice also the possibility to intercalate the complementizer *que* after the fronted constituent, which is characteristic of exclamatives:

(37) Sp. ¡Vaya coche (que) te has comPRAdo!
wow/damn car that you.DAT have.2SG bought
'What a car you bought!'
(Tirado Camarena 2013)

A possible candidate for EFF in Spanish, which is more productive, has the fronted adjective/adverb preceded by *bien* "really, very" and followed by *que*[15]:

(38) Sp. a. ¡Bien tarde que has llegado!
well late that have.2SG arrived
'You arrived really late!'
(Gutiérrez-Rexach 2008: 130)

b. ¡Bien contentos que están!
well happy that are.3PL
'They are really happy!'

In Portuguese, a property typical to exclamatives is the allowance of expletive negation (39). In Italian, EFF is very restricted: it is only possible with the adjective *bello* 'beautiful, nice', and has an ironical interpretation (40)[16]:

[15] Gutiérrez-Rexach (2008) translates these examples by declaratives with "really" for *bien*, which suggests a smaller degree than in wh-exclamatives.

[16] There is another construction in Romance that has been described as 'exclamative' (Vinet 1991, Alonso-Cortés 1999, Munaro 2006, Zendron da Cunha 2012, Sibaldo 2013), which has the form of a non-verbal predication with the Predicate-Subject order and focal stress on the predicate:

(i) It. Straordinario, questo vino! (Munaro 2006: ex. (14))
extraordinary this wine
'This wine is extraordinary!'

This is a pan-Romance construction which is not lexically restricted (as opposed to the EFF in Ibero-Romance and Italian). However, it is not clear if it satisfies the presuppositionality criterion: the content of the main clause, which is exactly the assignment of a quality to the subject, does not appear to be presupposed (this intuition is shared by Munaro (2006: 204), who discusses Italian). On the

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(39) Ptg. Muito não bebe aquele rapaz! (Martins 2012: ex. (57))
much not drinks that boy
'That boy drinks so much!'

(40) It. Bella MACchina hai comPRAto!
beautiful car have.2SG bought
'What a beautiful car you bought!'

Further research is needed in order to establish with certainty whether these constructions are identical or partially similar to Romanian and German EFF. From our survey, it clearly emerges that language-specific constraints and restrictions operate across Romance with respect to this structure.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Declarative and exclamative sentences featuring FF show several similarities – word order, evaluative meaning involving non-canonicity, and narrow focus that evokes a set of alternatives. However, we have shown that, further to closer scrutiny, the two structures must be analysed as distinct at several levels, and, in particular, semantically and syntactically: MFF is an instance of focus fronting unrelated to clause typing; it can occur in declaratives and interrogatives and is not limited to scalar foci; EFF involves a Deg(ree) head that bears an [excl] feature. This analysis captures the fact that in these exclamatives the fronted element can only be (i) a DP that begins with a scalar adjective, (ii) a scalar predicative adjective or (iii) a scalar adverb. Fronting is necessary for clause typing and therefore obligatory.

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other hand, the subject is obligatorily definite or at least specific (see Sibaldo 2013), which might follow from a general requisite that the described object be familiar to the addressee, which reminds the presuppositionality requirement. As for the interpretation of the degree, it appears that it is not exceptionally high, but rather the speaker insists on the fact that the degree is sufficient for the use of the adjective in the positive degree. This makes this type similar to EFF (see section 4).

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