

Inversió, C i Força en les exclamatives-*qu* romàniques

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Slides available at: <http://blogs.uab.cat/xaviervillalba/downloads/>

Outline of the talk

- 1 Romance *wh*-exclamatives
- 2 Some cartography
- 3 A proposal
 - Checking features
 - Encoding force
 - Putting all the pieces together
 - A pending issue (one of many!)
- 4 Conclusions

wh-interrogatives

Wh-interrogatives pattern quite consistently across Romance languages with respect to inversion (b-examples), and the doubly filled COMP (c-examples):

- (1) a. *¿Qué querían esos dos?* Sp. Torrego (1984, ex.2)
'What did those two want?'
b. **¿Qué esos dos querían?*
c. **¿Qué que querían esos dos?*
- (2) a. *Cosa volevano questi dui?* It.
b. **Cosa questi dui volevano?*
c. **Cosa que volevano questi dui?*
- (3) a. *Ce-au vrut cei doi?* Rom.
b. **Ce cei doi au vrut?*
c. **Ce că au vrut cei doi?*

wh-interrogatives

Let's set aside Brazilian Portuguese, which is totally anomalous in this picture:

- (4) a. *Onde você mora?*
where you live.2SG
- b. *Onde que você mora?*
where that you live.2SG
- c. *Onde é que você mora?*
where is that you live.2SG
- d. *Você mora onde?*
you live.2SG where

This picture is completely different when *wh*-exclamatives are involved, for variation exists across two dimensions:

- verb inversion
- complementizer

Typology

- Type 1. [-inversion], [-complementizer]
- Type 2. [-inversion], [+complementizer]
- Type 3. [+inversion], [-complementizer]
- Type 4. [+inversion], [+complementizer]

French

Jones (1996, 467):

- (5)
- Quel bruit les voisins ont fait!
'What a noise the neighbours made!'
 - Quelle chance Pierre aeu!
'What a luck Pierre had!'
- (6)
- Comme elle est jolie! 'How pretty she is!'
 - Qu'elle est jolie!
 - Ce qu'elle est jolie!
 - Qu'est-ce qu'elle est jolie!

European Portuguese

Exclamatives lack inversion, and quantitative exclamatives systematically lack the complementizer: (Brito et al. 2003, ex.31):

- (7)
- Quantos disparates ela diz!
'How many stupid things she said!'
 - Que aldrabices ele conta!
'What scams he explains!'

Brazilian Portuguese

- (8)
- Veja como ele é lindo!!! Queiroz, *Os donos do céu*
 - Como o Tom era bonito! Quando estava com meus amigos eu dizia: “Como ele é lindo, o Tom é lindo!” Márcia Cezimbra, *Tons sobre Tom*

Benincà (1999), Munaro (2003):

- (9) Quanti libri **che** Gianni è riuscito a leggere! (It.)
 'How many books John has succeeded in reading!'
- (10) Quanto **che** el kamina! (Pad.)
 how.much that CL-SUB walk.3SG
- (11) Quanti (bei) libri **che** l'a ledest! (Bell.)
 how.many (beautiful.PL) books that CL-SUB.has read

Google:

- (12) "Quanto **che** el brodeto de pesse ghe piazeva a tuo papà!" she
 exclaimed in dialect. (Venice)
 'How your father loved fish stew'.
- (13) Quanto **che** el ga fato a favor dei esuli! (Fiume)
 'How much he has done for the exiles!'

Unlike quantitative ones, qualitative exclamatives typically require the complementizer in European Portuguese (Brito et al. 2003, ex.34):

- (14) a. Que inteligente ***(que)** ele é!
 how intelligent that he is
 b. Que casa simpática ***(que)** ele tem!
 what house friendly that he has

but not necessarily in Brazilian Portuguese (da Cunha 2012):

- (15) a. Que alto **que** ele é!
 how tall that he is
 b. Quanto doce a Maria come!
 how.much sweet the.F Maria eats
 c. Quanto livro **que** você comprou!
 how.much book that you bought

Giurgea (2015):

- (16) a. Ce înalt e acel turn!
 what high is that tower
 b. Cât de înalt e acel turn!
 how-much of high is that tower
 'How high that tower is!'

This is exactly the form of interrogatives (Gönczöl-Davies 2008):

- (17) Cât de departe e stația?
 how of far is station.THE.F
 'How far is the station?'

- (18) Que fàcil \emptyset és veure què passa quan ens limitem a observar i que difícil \emptyset és fer-ho quan s'és part de la situació. Mendieta y Vela, *Ni tu ni jo*, p. 36
 'How easy seeing what happens is when we just limit ourselves to observing and how difficult it is when you are part of the situation.'

- (19) Davies' Corpus NOW
 a. Qué poco \emptyset nos conocen. Qué mal \emptyset nos valoran!!!
CubaDebate, 19-01-30
 'How little they know us! How badly they value us!'
 b. Qué malito \emptyset estoy y qué poco \emptyset me quejo. *Cana/SurWeb*, 19-01-27
 'How sick I am and how little I complain!'

- Álvarez Blanco and Xove (2002):
- (20) a. ¡Que de sorte ten esta muller!
 what of luck has this.F woman
 b. ¡Cantas desgracias lhe caen encima a esa
 how.many.F.PL miseries her(DAT) fall upon to that.F
 muller!
 woman
 c. ¡Que ollos mais grandes tes!
 what eyes more big.PL have.2SG
 'What a big eyes you have!'

- Benincà et al. (1988), Benincà (1999), Munaro (2003):
- (21) (It.)
 a. Quanti libri è Gianni riuscito a leggere!
 'How many books John has succeeded in reading!'
 b. Che bel romanzo (che) ha scritto, Umberto!
 what beautiful novel has written Umberto
- (22) Quanto camine-lo! (Pad.)
 how.much walk.3SG.CL-SUB
 'How much he walks!'
- (23) Quanti (bei) libri a-lo ledest?! (Bell.)
 how.many (beautiful.PL) books has-CL-SUB read
 'How many (beautiful) books he has read!'

(24) da Cunha (2012)

- a. Como é lindo aquele homem!
'How handsome that man is!'
 - b. Como é lindo o Léó e a Maria!
'How handsome Leo and Maria are!'
- (25) Como é linda esta fogueira! Como é lindo o seu clarão! Murillo
Araujo, *O palacinho quebrado*.

Quim Monzó, Del tot indefens davant dels hostils imperis alienígenes, p. 105

- (26)
- a. Que fàcil **que** és firmar qualsevol paperot.
'How easy signing any piece of paper is.'
 - b. Que fàcil **que** és ser tolerant i antixenòfob només de boca.
'How easy being tolerant and antixenophobic is paying lip service only.'
 - c. Que fàcil **Ø** és exigir als altres solidaritat. . .
'How easy demanding solidarity to others is. . .'

2.16. Es uso popular, que debe evitarse en el habla culta, la presencia superflua de *que* en oraciones ponderativas encabezadas por *qué*, *cuánto* o *menudo*: *¡Qué simpático que es tu amigo!*; *¡Qué bien que canta este pájaro!*; *¡Cuánto trabajo que tengo esta semana!*; *¡Menuda cara que tienes.*

RAE (2005, s.v.que)

(27) RAE (2010, 42.15f)

- a. ¡Menudos trajines **que** te traes, tía Eugenia! (Pombo, *Héroe*)
'What monkey business you play, aunt Eugenia!'
- b. ¡Menuda familia **que** le tocó! (Paz Soldán, *Materia*)
'What a family (s)he got!'
- c. ¡Menuda sorpresa **que** me tenía preparada! (Mañas, *Kronen*)
'What a surprise (s)he had prepared for me!'

- (28) a. ¡Qué fuerte **que** está la Correa, la puta que la parió!
(CORPES: 2001, Argentina, Río de la Plata).
'How strong Correa is, what a bitch!'
- b. Qué bárbaro **que** es ese cura! (CORPES: 2001 Nicaragua)
'How wild this priest is!'

- Álvarez Blanco and Xove (2002, 596)
- (29) ¡Que bonito **que** quedou!
that pretty that stay.PST.3SG
'How pretty it was!'

- (30) Benincà et al. (1988), Benincà (1999)
- a. Che grande **che** è la sua casa!
b. Che bel quaderno (**che** è questo)!
c. Che strano (**che** è tutto ciò/**che** era suo fratello)!
d. Che bella casa **che** si è fatto Giorgio!
- (31) Google
- a. Ma **che** bella **che** è la vita!
b. Mi dispiace, mi dispiace. Che bravo, **che** bravo **che** era il suo papà...
c. Ah! Che bravo **che** sei tu! Sei una gioia.

Padovan (Benincà 1999):

- (32) a. Che malinconia **che** me fa sta musica!
'What a melancholy this music produces to me!'
b. Che bela caza **che** se ga fato Giorgio!
'What a beautiful house that Giorgio has build.'

Abruzzese (Roberta d'Alessandro, pc)

- (33) Che mmalungunije **chi** mme fa sta musiche!
what melancholy that CL.2SG make.3SG this.F music
'What a melancholy this music produces to me!'

Summary

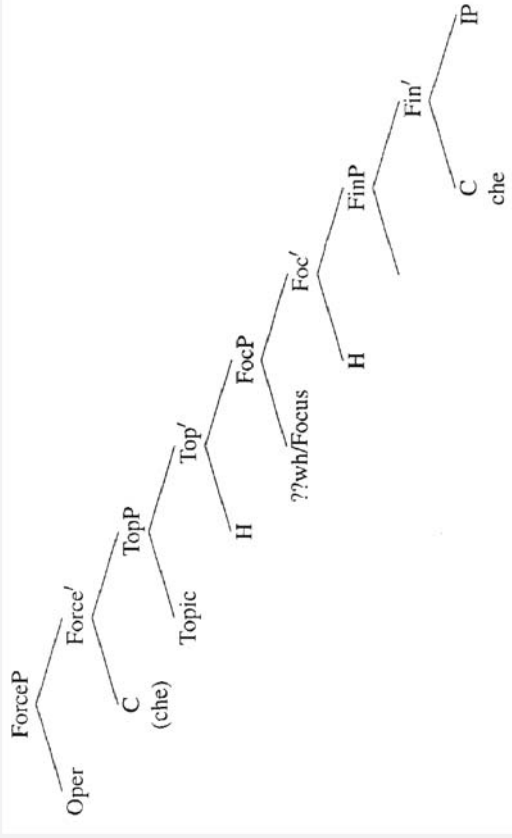
	Fr.	Port.	Rom.	It.	NID	Abruzz.	Gal.	CAt./Sp.
obligatory inversion	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes?	yes
que/che	no	yes/no	no	yes/no	yes/no	yes	yes	yes

Two most problematic patterns:

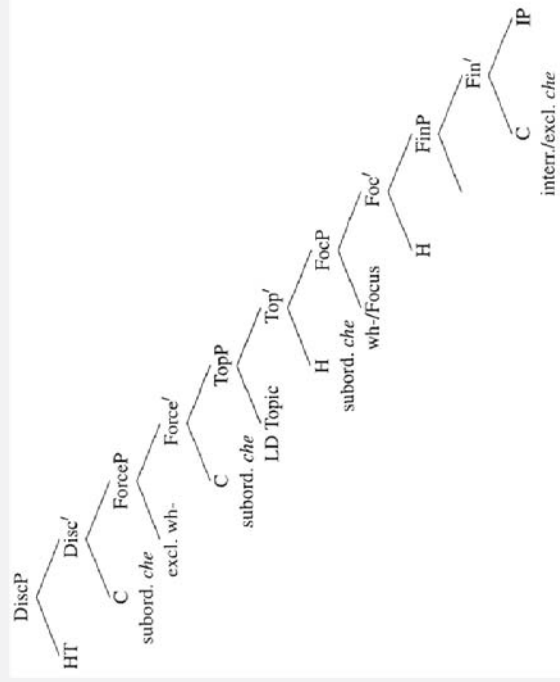
- inversion and complementizer in complementary distribution
- inversion is obligatory regardless of the complementizer

Basic structure

Benincà (2001)



che is a lexicalization of Fin



che is a lexicalization of Foc

(34) [_{ForceP} Force [_{FocP} Che bel romanzo [_{Foc} ha scritto] [_{FinP} Fin [_{IP} Umberto]]]]

(35) [_{ForceP} Force [_{FocP} Che bel romanzo [_{Foc} che] [_{FinP} Fin [_{IP} Umberto ha scritto]]]]

Cf. *wh*-interrogatives in Venetian Poletto (2000):

(36) Cosa *che* la magna?
what that she eat.3SG

Problems: synchronic take

- languages of Type 4: inversion AND complementizer

(37) Che mmalungunije **chi** mme fa sta musiche!
what mezlancholy that CL.2SG make.3SG this.F music
(Abruzesse)

If *chi* is linked to the activation of FocP, just as inversion, then only a complementary distribution is expected.

Problems: synchronic take

The complementizer is usually associated with different force values across Romance (Villalba 2017), but not with focus constructions. E.g. Abruzesse (Roberta d'Alessandro, pc):

(38) Che libbre **chi** ti sti llege!
what book that you you read.PRS.2SG
'What a book you are reading!'

(39) **Chi** non chische!
that not fall-2sg
'Pay attention or you'll fall.'

Problems: synchronic take

We also find inversion and *che* in Italian:

(40) Che bella casa **che** si è fatto Giorgio! Benincà (1999)
'What a beautiful house that Giorgio has build.'

(41) Ma che bella **che** è la vita!
but how beautiful that is the.F life

(42) Che bravo, **che** bravo **che** era il suo papà...
how good how good that was the his daddy

(43) Ah! Che bravo **che** sei tu!
ah how good that are you

Problems: diachronic take

In Catalan, the emergence of the complementizer is totally dissociated from inversion (Villalba 2016) by at least five centuries:

(44) Cant éls víran asò, sí dixéran que bel comensament los à Déus
mostrat... (CICA: Questa del sant grasal, XIVb)
'When they saw this, they said this: 'what a beautiful beginning
God has shown them,...''

(45) O, com és bella e pura la vostra sanctíssima ànima, Senyora
excel·lent... (CICA: Vita Christi, XVb)
'O, how beautiful and pure your sacred soul is, magnificent Lady,
...!'

(46) O com són plenes de alegria les mies orelles ...! (CICA: Tirant,
XVb)
'O, how filled up with happiness my ears are...!'

Inversion is already found in the first texts, as in the *Poema de Mio Cid* (c. 1140):

- (47) a. ¡Dios, qué alegre fue el abbat don Sancho!
 'God, how happy abbott Sir Sancho was!'
 b. ¡Dios, qué alegre era todo cristianismo...!
 'God, how happy all christians were!'
 c. ¡Dios, qué bien tovieron armas el Cid e sus vassallos!
 'God, how well Cid and his vassals fought!'

In the XV century, inversion is very common with *cuánto* and *qué*, and also attested with *cómo* (from CORDE):

- (48) ¡Oh muerte, muerte, a cuántos privas de agradable compañía, a cuántos desconuela tu enojosa visitación!
 'O death, death, how many people you deprives of likeable company, how many people your annoying visit disheartens!'
 (49) Oh cuántos pecados cometen los rapaces...!
 'O how many sins the boys commit...!'
 (50) Y ¡oh qué dulce, oh qué apazible es su entrada...!
 'And, o, how sweet, how quiet its entrance is...!'
 (51) ¡oh cómo te quiere aquella malvada hembra engañar con su alto nombre...!
 'O how that evil woman wants to deceive you with her high name...!'

Romanian

Inversion is already a clear property in the first written documents (XVI century) (Dindelegan 2016):

- (55) a. Gustați și vedeți cât e dulce Domnul!
 taste.IMP.2PL and see.IMP.2PL how is sweet Lord.NOM
 'Taste and see how sweet is the Lord!' (1581)
 b. Cât era el de putearnic (...)!
 how be.IMP.F.3SG he of strong
 'How strong he was!' (1581)

In Old Tuscan (XIII-XIV), inversion with *quanto* and *come* is very common (Benincà and Munaro 2010):

- (52) Quanto fu maggiore il Signore Nostro, che fé il cielo e la terra,
 que non fu Lancialotto!
 'How much bigger Our Lord was, who created heaven and earth,
 than Lancelot!'
 (53) Com'è ampia, Signor mio, la casa tua, e com'è grande e
 maravigliosa la tua possessione!
 'How big, My Lord, your house is and how large and marvelous
 your possessions are!'
 (54) O anima bellissima, come è beato colui che ti vede!
 'O most beautiful soul, how happy who sees you is!'

- Obligatory inversion is a general phenomenon related to the checking of [wh]/[focus] features.
- Moreover, *wh*-exclamatives must check also the [exclamative] feature in ForceP (Munaro 2003, Gutiérrez-Rexach 2008).
- *che/que* is the lexicalization of the Force head, hence it is much higher in the structure.

- (56) [ForceP [Force que_[EXCL]] [FocP [Foc [WH]]] [TP la soprano dice que cosas_{[EXCL]/[WH]]]]}
- (57) [ForceP [Force que_[EXCL]] [FocP que cosas_{[EXCL]/[WH]}] [Foc [WH] +dice] [TP la soprano dice que-cosas]]
- (58) [ForceP que cosas_[EXCL]] [Force que_[EXCL]] [FocP que-cosas] [TP la soprano dice que-cosas]]

The complementizer

Catalan degree exclamative type analyzed by Villalba (2003):

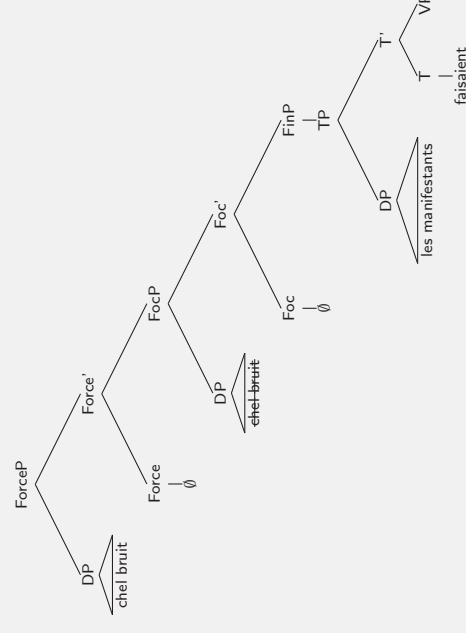
- (59) a. *Que n'és de ximple, aquest noi!*
 that CL.PART be.3SG of fool this boy
 'What a fool this boy is!'
 b. *Ai filla, que en vas d'equivocada!*
 ouch daughter that CL.PART go.2SG of-mistaken.F
 'Oh dear, how mistaken you are!'

Also French:

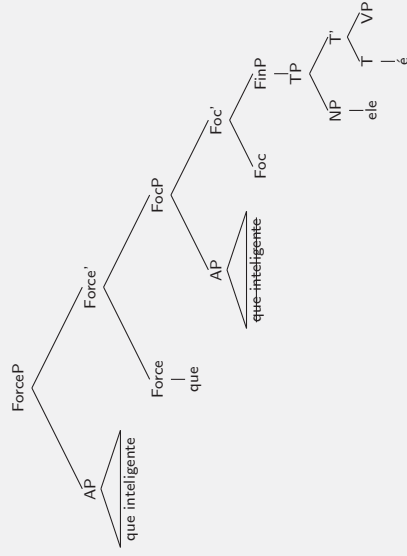
- (60) *Qu'elle est jolie!*
 'How pretty she is!'

On a comparison with Germanic *that*-exclamatives, see Trotzke and Villalba (in progress).

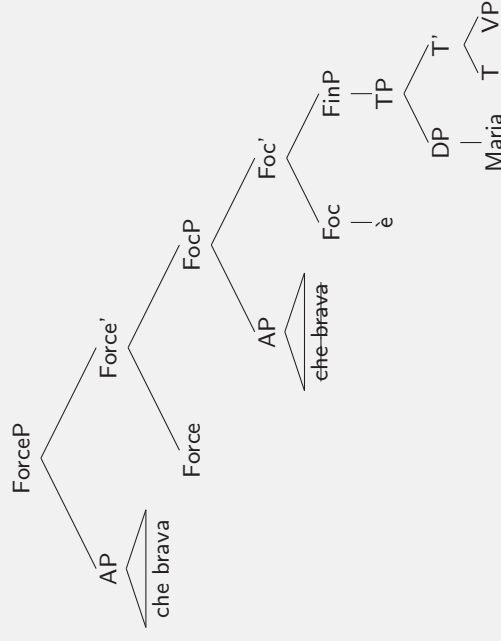
Type 1. [-inversion], [-complementizer]



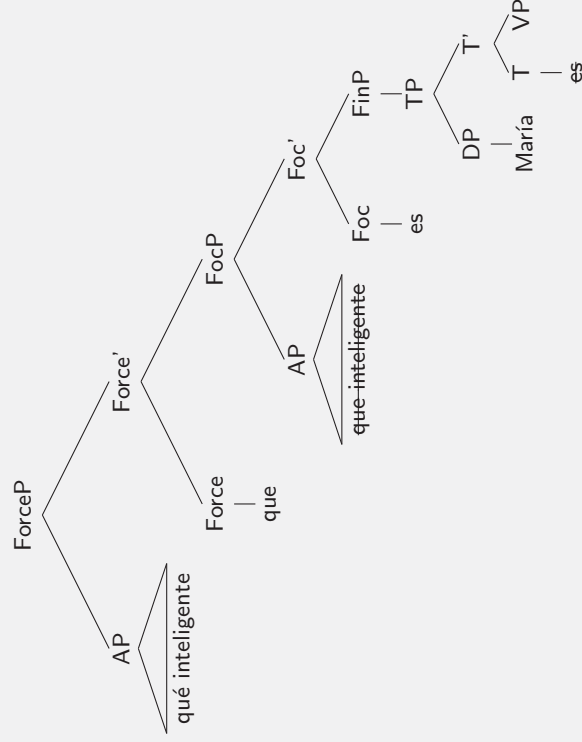
Type 2. [-inversion], [+complementizer]



Type 3. [+inversion], [-complementizer]



Type 4. [+inversion], [+complementizer]



Good news

- Exclamatives must pass through Spec,FocP to its final position in Spec,ForceP.
- Inversion is movement of V to Foc.
- The force head is either null or *que/che*, in accordance with other uses of this complementizer.

Problem

In Type 4 languages, CLLD systematically precedes *wh*-interrogatives and exclamatives.

- (61) A la Maria, quines feines que li encarreguen!
to the.F Maria which.F.PL tasks that 3.SG.DAT assign.3PL
- (62) iCon la familia qué fácil (que) resulta enojarse!
with the.F family how easy that result.3SG get.angry.INF.REFL

In several Italian dialects, CLLD tend to follow *wh*-exclamatives:

(63) Italian (Benincà 1999, 2001)

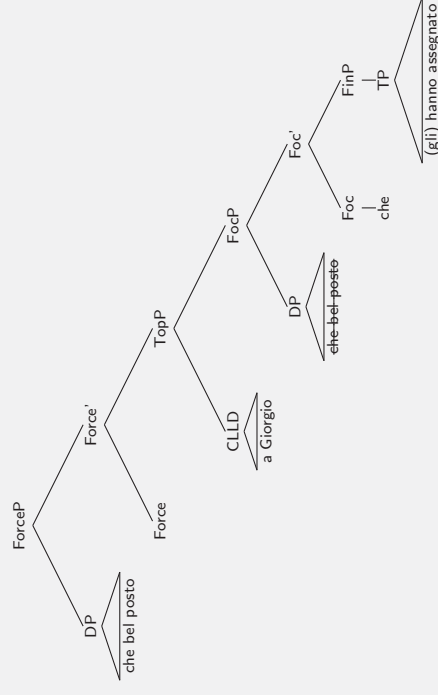
- a. ??A tua sorella, che bel libro ha regalato Giorgio!
'To your sister, what a nice book Giorgio gave her as a gift!'
- b. Che bel posto, a Giorgio, che (gli) hanno assegnato! 'What a good place they assigned to Giorgio!'

Padovano (Munaro 2003):

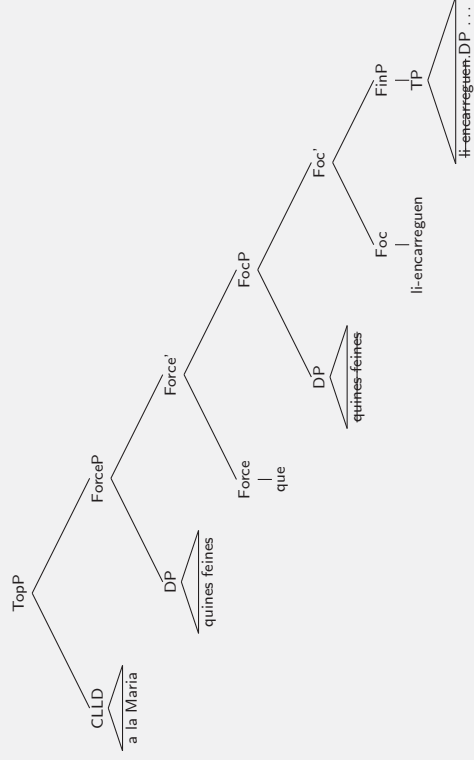
- (64) a. In che bel posto, to fjolo, che te lo ghe mandà!
b. *Dove, to fjolo, che te lo ghe mandà!
'What a good place they have sent your son to!'

Bellunese (Munaro 2003):

- (65) a. Che/Quanti bei vestiti, to sorela, che la a compra!
b. ?To sorela, che/quanti bei vestiti che la a compra!
'Your sister, how (many) beautiful dresses your sister has bought!'
- (66) a. *Quant, par sta festa, che ave laora!
b. ?Par sta festa, quant che ave laora!
'How hard you have worked for this party!'



Putting CLLD into the picture



Espinal (1992, 1997, 2000), ?González-Rodríguez (2017), Andueza and Gutiérrez-Rexach (2010), Delfitto and Fiorin (2014) or Greco (2019)

(67) ¡Cuántas veces **no** te he advertido!
how.many.F times NEX you(ACC) have.PRS.1SG warn.PTPC
Campos (2012, ex.30)

(68) Que problemas ele **não** teve de enfrentar!
what problems he NEX have.PST.3SG of face.INF
Brito et al. (2003, ex.33a)

(69) In quanti bei posti **no** so-i sta!
in how.many.PL beautiful places NEX be.1SG stay.PTPC
Benincà (1999, 34)

Explicative negation

(70) *¡Qué atrocidades **no** cometería **nadie** así!
which atrocities not commit.cond.3sg nobody this

(71) *Quantes mentides **no** deu haver dit **ni** una sola vegada!
how.many lies not must have said neither a only time

Cf.

(72) ¡Cuántos libros **no** pudiste leer **jamás**!
how.many.PL books not can.PST.2SG read.INF never

Explicative negation

Espinal (1992, 1997, 2000), ?González-Rodríguez (2017), Andueza and Gutiérrez-Rexach (2010), Delfitto and Fiorin (2014) or Greco (2019)

(67) ¡Cuántas veces **no** te he advertido!
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in how.many.PL beautiful places NEX be.1SG stay.PTPC
Benincà (1999, 34)

Explicative negation

Question

Is explicative negation in complementary distribution with *que/che*?

(73) ¡Cuántos libros (que) **no** leyó esta mujer!
how.many books that not read this.F woman

(74) ¡Qué de privilegios (que) **no** fueron dispensados a las artes!
what of privileges that not were given to the arts

But:

(75) ¡Los libros que **no** leyó esta mujer!
the.PL books that not read this.F woman

Question

Why should expletive negation be related to the presence of *que/che* in Force?

Answer

This might be a case for a Polarity/Focus position in the lower left periphery (Hernanz 2007, 2010), hosting both expletive negation and *que/che*, as argued by Benincà (1999).

However, the complementizer is compatible with **standard negation** or **emphatic affirmatives**:

(76) ¡Cuántos libros que **no** pudiste leer **jamás!**
how.many.PL books that not can.PST.2SG read.INF never

(77) Quants llibres que **sí** que vas llegir!
how.many.PL books that yes that PST.2SG read.INF

(78) Quants llibres que **prou** que vas llegir!
how.many.PL books that enough that PST.2SG read.INF

- There is much more variation in the field of Romance inversion than previously assumed.
- Whereas *wh*-interrogatives systematically pattern inversion, *wh*-exclamatives show at least four patterns, and languages show internal variation.
- Whereas inversion in *wh*-exclamatives is probably linked to movement to FocP, the presence of the complementizer is not clearly connected to Focus, but rather to Force.

Merci! Thanks!

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<http://grupsderecerca.uab.cat/intcat/en>

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