

## Cross-linguistic evidence for the three types of wh-exclamatives

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This paper reports on a cross-linguistic study of exclamatives (e.g., *What big trees you have in your garden!*; *How big this tree is!*). It involved the data from 11 genealogically (un)related languages (Basque, Bulgarian, Estonian, Georgian, Hebrew, Hindi, Korean, Lithuanian, Ossetic, Russian, and Turkish) collected via the questionnaires native speakers had to translate, with some additional correspondence or personal communication. The goal of this paper was to provide further cross-linguistic evidence for the hypothesis of insubordination w.r.t. wh-exclamatives which states that matrix wh-exclamatives have diachronic origins as subordinate clauses, see Evans (2007) a.o. Firstly, I advocated the idea by Elliott (1974: 233) that the word order of matrix wh-exclamatives is identical to the word order of subordinate wh-exclamatives as well as to the word order of subordinate interrogatives, w.r.t. the following parameters: (i) obligatoriness of wh-movement, (ii) the position of a (moved) wh-phrase, and (iii) obligatoriness of subject-verb inversion. If the structures are identical, this is compatible with the hypothesis of insubordination. Secondly, I showed that the other idea by Elliott (1974: 232) that a set of wh-words acceptable in subordinate exclamatives forms a superset of wh-words acceptable in matrix exclamatives (matrix-embedded asymmetry), cross-linguistically, is true under certain circumstances. I tested, on the one hand, exclamative constructions of wh-words and gradable adjectives or adverbs (qualitative wh-exclamatives) and, on the other hand, wh-exclamatives which involve the following wh-words: inanimate object ('what'), personal ('who'), quantitative ('how many/ much'), locative ('where'), temporal ('when'), causal ('why'), kind ('what kind'), individual ('which') and manner ('how'). Thirdly, I argued for the 3 types of wh-exclamatives cross-linguistically which differ with respect to the matrix-embedded asymmetry. One group comprises qualitative and quantitative wh-exclamatives which, as I demonstrated, are felicitous in matrix and subordinate contexts in all the languages of the sample. I tested them in the following 5 contexts: wh-word + NP with a gradable adjective in an attributive position; wh-word + NP with an elided gradable adjective in an attributive position; wh-word + gradable adjective in a predicative position; wh-word + gradable adverb; wh-word + an elided gradable adverb or a verb. Both qualitative and quantitative wh-exclamatives seem to be prototypical instances of wh-exclamatives in the world's languages. That is, if a language allows for wh-exclamatives at all, it allows for qualitative and quantitative wh-exclamatives. The other group consists of kind, individual, and manner wh-exclamatives. I showed that their felicitousness is subject to cross-linguistic variation and is identical in matrix and subordinate contexts in all the languages of the sample. The third group includes the rest of wh-exclamatives, which demonstrate an implicit hierarchy ranging from the most to the least appropriate matrix clause exclamatives cross-linguistically: inanimate object/ personal/ locative > temporal > causal. To illustrate, if a language allows for causal matrix wh-exclamatives, it should also allow for inanimate object, personal, locative, and temporal matrix wh-exclamatives. The proposed classification of wh-exclamatives partially resembles the classification proposed in Nouwen and Chernilovskaya (2015), henceforth N&Ch. Qualitative and quantitative wh-exclamatives seem to correspond to N&Ch's scalars, whereas the other types of wh-exclamatives seem to correspond to N&Ch's non-scalars. However, N&Ch's classification lacks 'how'-exclamatives which are present in the proposed study.

### References

Elliott, D. 1974. *Foundations of language* 11(2), 231–246. Evans, N. (2007). In Irina Nikolaeva (ed.), *Finiteness: Theoretical and empirical foundations*, 366–431. Nouwen, R. & A. Chernilovskaya. (2015). *Linguistic Variation* 15(2), 201–224.