

## 6

### Expressive insubordination

#### A cross-linguistic study on *that*-exclamatives

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#### 6.1 Introduction

Many languages of the world feature *wh*-exclamatives, and some of them also exhibit *that*-configurations that can be used as root clauses expressing an exclamatory speech act; the Germanic languages Dutch (1a), German (1b), and Swedish (1c) are prominent examples (e.g., Bennis 1998; Delsing 2010; d’Avis 2016):

- (1) a. Dat hij die boeken kan lezen! (Dutch)  
that he those books can read  
‘Wow, he can read those books!’
- b. Dass er diese Bücher lesen kann! (German)  
that he those books read can  
‘Wow, he can read those books!’
- c. Att du hann till mötet! (Swedish)  
that you reached to meeting.DEF  
‘What a surprise that you reached the meeting!’

However, Romance languages feature *that*-exclamatives as well; we will detail this observation in section 6.2, but for now observe the following examples from Catalan (2a) and French (2b); see Gérard-Naef (1980); Villalba (2003); Trotzke and Villalba (2020):

- (2) a. Que n’és, de car! (Catalan)  
that of.it-is of expensive  
‘How expensive it is!’

- b. Que cette histoire est obscure!<sup>1</sup> (French)  
that this story is dark  
'How dark this story is!'

In this chapter, we will compare *wh*- and *that*-exclamatives in Germanic and Romance languages, and we will show that at least in the two languages Catalan (Romance) and German (Germanic), the two exclamative types differ in many respects. The chapter is structured as follows. In section 6.2, we will first introduce exclamatives in Germanic and Romance languages at a general level. Section 6.3 then points out semantic parallels and differences between the two language groups. We will mainly draw on Catalan and German, but we indicate that the generalizations hold across other languages of the respective language families. Section 6.4 provides a detailed account of the different systems of complementation in the expression of *that*-exclamatives in Catalan and German, and on this basis sketches the syntax-semantics properties that distinguish exclamatives in the two languages more generally. Section 6.5 summarizes and concludes the chapter, and points out broader implications that go beyond the empirical domain of exclamatives.

## 6.2 Two different syntactic forms of Catalan and German exclamatives

Exclamations are expressive speech acts that convey that a particular state-of-affairs has violated the speaker's expectations. As is well known from the literature, exclamations can be conveyed by different syntactic forms. Consider the following English examples, which are taken from Rett (2011: 412):

- (3) a. (Wow,) John bakes delicious desserts!  
b. (My,) What delicious desserts John bakes!  
c. (Boy,) Does John bake delicious desserts!  
d. (My,) The delicious desserts John bakes!

One could thus claim that exclamation is a speech act that does not correspond to a particular sentence type, but rather to specific uses of several sentence types, as exemplified in (3). In other words, potentially any sentence type can receive an exclamatory interpretation, but this is due to non-syntactic features such as intonation and lexical means.

<sup>1</sup> Catalan also features 'French-style' *that*-exclamatives, namely, exclamatives without the partitive clitic or the preposition *de* 'of,' but with obligatory subject-verb inversion:

- (i) Que és fosca aquesta història!  
that is dark this story  
'How dark this story is!'

On the other hand, there are many accounts that postulate the category of an exclamative sentence type. In what follows, we will assume (in accordance with, e.g., Siemund 2015 and many others) that at least forms like English (3b) can be categorized as a separate sentence type because they do not work as regular *wh*-questions due to their word order. The same holds for the two languages we would like to compare in what follows: Catalan (4a) and German (4b). The following syntactic forms can only be interpreted as exclamations, and we can thus safely conclude that both languages feature the sentence type ‘*wh*-exclamative’:<sup>2</sup>

- (4) a. Que car que és!  
how expensive that is  
‘How expensive it is!’  
b. Wie teuer das ist!  
how expensive that is  
‘How expensive it is!’

Crucially, in both languages we find another syntactic configuration that unambiguously expresses an exclamation speech act: so-called *that*-exclamatives. Look at the following examples and note that the translations are slightly different due to a semantic difference we will explain in more detail in section 6.3:

- (5) a. Que n’és, de car!  
that of.it-is of expensive  
‘How expensive it is!’  
b. Dass das so teuer ist!  
that this so expensive is  
‘How surprising that it is so expensive!’

Let us for the moment leave aside the semantic differences between (5a) and (5b) and focus on the syntactic structures. In this domain too, there is a crucial difference between Catalan and German. In German, configurations like (5b) exemplify a phenomenon that has been termed ‘insubordination’ by Evans (2007) in a cross-linguistic perspective: the use of embedded clause structures as root clauses (see also D’Hertefelt 2018 for recent typological work).<sup>3</sup> For German,

<sup>2</sup> In Catalan, the complementizer and the degree modifier of the adjective in exclamatives are homophonous: they are unstressed and, hence, they are pronounced with a schwa ([kə]) in Eastern dialects and as [ke] in Western dialects.

<sup>3</sup> Obviously, insubordination is also attested in Romance languages, including Catalan (see Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2009; Gras 2016; Etxepare 2018). The crucial point is that *that*-exclamatives in Catalan are not insubordinated structures.

these constructions have already received some attention in the literature, which has discussed them in terms of ‘independently used verb-final clauses,’ so-called ‘solitaires’ (Schwabe 2006, 2007), and ‘V-final root clauses’ (Truckenbrodt 2006). The point is that (5b) instantiates exactly the same word order as a subordinated (declarative) *that*-clause (5’b); this is why these clauses—when used as exclamatives—are called ‘insubordinated’ structures.

- (5’) b. ([<sub>VP</sub> ‘I know’] [<sub>CP</sub> ∅ [C dass [<sub>IP</sub> das so teuer ist]]])  
           that       this so expensive is

In Catalan, the situation is different. Sentences like (5a) above are not possible as a complement of a declarative (5’a) and not even possible when the embedding predicate is a surprise predicate (5’’a).

- (5’) a. (\*[<sub>VP</sub> ‘I know’] [<sub>CP</sub> ∅ [C que [<sub>IP</sub> n’és, de car]]])  
           that       of.it-is of expensive

- (5’’) a. (\*[<sub>VP</sub> ‘I’m amazed’] [<sub>CP</sub> ∅ [C que [<sub>IP</sub> n’és, de car]]])  
           that       of.it-is of expensive

Note that *que* in Catalan (and its cognates in further Romance languages) is also the form of a relative pronoun, which would have phrasal status.<sup>4</sup> However, the element *que* in the exclamative in (5a) clearly is the complementizer *que* (and thus the head of the CP projection). To see this, look at data like the following. When *que* is used in an exclamative, it can co-occur with phrasal elements like the adverb *si* (‘so’) in its specifier:<sup>5</sup>

- (6) [<sub>CP</sub> si ‘so’ [C que [<sub>IP</sub> n’és, de car!]]]

From data like this, we would like to conclude that *que* in Catalan *that*-exclamatives such as (5a) above is a complementizer rather than a pronoun. This is further corroborated by the possibility of *que* following the *wh*-phrase in *wh*-exclamatives; cf. example (4a). Data like this additionally suggest that there is

<sup>4</sup> Complementizer and relative pronoun *que* are homophonous in Catalan, hence they are pronounced with a schwa ([kə]) in Eastern dialects and as [ke] in Western dialects (see fn. 2). Catalan also has a stressed relative pronoun *què* (pronounced [ˈkɛ]) used in prepositional phrases. There is a debate on the pronominal vs. complementizer nature of relative *que* in Romance: see, e.g., Rinke and Aßmann (2017) or Poletto and Sanfelici (2018) for recent discussion.

<sup>5</sup> The unstressed intensifier particle *si* (not to be misinterpreted by the affirmative particle *sí* ‘yes’) comes from the Latin modal adverb *sic* ‘so,’ which in Old Catalan also developed into the standard modal adverb *així* ‘this way.’

indeed a complementizer position in exclamation speech acts that can be filled by *que* (underlined in the example):<sup>6</sup>

- (7) ([<sub>VP</sub> ‘I’m amazed’]) [<sub>CP</sub> que car [C que [<sub>IP</sub> és el vi]]]  
how expensive that it-is the wine

(7) also shows that in contrast to Catalan *that*-exclamatives (where the complementizer *que* is the clause-initial element and no phrasal item precedes *que*), Catalan *wh*-exclamatives can be embedded under predicates of surprise (with restrictions; see Gutiérrez-Rexach and Andueza 2017). The same holds for German, where, however, the C position must remain empty:

- (8) ([<sub>VP</sub> ‘I’m amazed’]) [<sub>CP</sub> wie teuer [C ∅ [<sub>IP</sub> das ist]]]  
how expensive this.one is

Up to this point, let us summarize that in both Germanic and Romance languages there are at least two syntactic configurations that can clearly be categorized as exclamative sentence types: *wh*- and *that*-exclamatives. In particular, we have demonstrated for German that the sentence type ‘exclamative’ can not only be realized by *wh*-verb-final configurations, but also by insubordinated *that*-constructions; and for Catalan, we have shown that in addition to *wh*-exclamatives, this language features a root-only exclamative headed by the complementizer *que* (‘that’), which can be preceded by phrasal material (e.g., *si* ‘so’). In sum, we have seen some similarities and differences in the syntactic inventory of expressing exclamation speech acts in both languages. Let us now look at the semantics of these syntactic means across the two languages.

### 6.3 Two different interpretations of Catalan and German exclamatives

In this section, we would like to introduce a distinction that refers to the semantics of the propositional object (‘the descriptive content’) of the different types of exclamatives introduced in section 6.2. In particular, the propositional object can feature a degree component, based on a scalar predicate, or it can lack such a component. We hasten to add that we are not talking here about the degree interpretation that is a signature property of all exclamation speech acts

<sup>6</sup> The complementizer *que* and its cognates are found in *wh*-exclamatives all across Romance languages, with the exception of French and Romanian. Yet, its distribution is very complex not only from language to language, but also from one type of exclamative to another; see Villalba (2017: 1.1.3) for a summary.

(Castroviejo Miró 2006, 2008, 2019; Rett 2008, 2011), namely the expression of surprise based on expectation and/or noteworthiness scales (i.e., ‘the expressive content’). Rather, we are concerned with ‘the subject’ of the expressive component: the propositional content of the exclamation.

To introduce our observations in this domain, let us consider a German example again. As already illustrated above, as soon as a *dass*-clause is used as a root clause, it takes on emotive force and is interpreted as an exclamation:

- (9) Dass der schön singen kann!  
that this.one beautiful sing can  
‘How surprising that he can sing beautifully!’

What is now important in our context is that the speaker in (9) is surprised that the referent of *der* can sing beautifully at all and not about the degree of the beauty of his singing (Truckenbrodt 2013b: 580–1). Truckenbrodt calls this difference *Emotion zu Proposition* ‘emotion towards proposition’ vs. *Emotion zu implizitem Grad* ‘emotion towards implicit degree’; see also d’Avis (2002) for seminal work.

As already mentioned in section 6.1, other Germanic languages feature ‘insubordinated’ exclamative configurations such as (9) as well. Crucially, the possibility of a non-degree reading of *that*-exclamatives has also been observed for those languages. Delsing (2010), for instance, argues on the basis of his Swedish examples that Swedish *that*-exclamatives (formed with the complementizer *att*) can be characterized as so-called ‘polar’ exclamatives. That is, the likelihood/expectation scale that serves as the semantic basis for the surprise reading of exclamatives is polar in these cases, according to Delsing’s terminology. That is, the speaker presupposes that the likelihood of the proposition (e.g., ‘X can sing beautifully’ in our case) is low and the exclamation conveys that the proposition is in fact true. Crucially, the surprise effect is only based on a binary situation: that *p* is true or not true. In the case of *wh*-exclamatives (*How beautiful he can sing!*), by contrast, the surprise interpretation is based on a graded scale; that is, these configurations express to what extent/degree some property expressed by *p* is the case (variable scales, in Delsing’s 2010 terms).

In sum, Germanic exclamatives can express surprise towards both graded and binary alternatives. While the binary interpretation of *that*-exclamatives can hence be demonstrated for Germanic languages, this restriction to binary readings does not hold for Romance languages. Consider again our Catalan example of a *that*-exclamation, repeated here for convenience:

- (10) Que n’és, de car!  
that of.it-is of expensive  
‘How expensive it is!’

We can show that Catalan *that*-exclamatives obligatorily feature graded alternatives as part of their propositional content by using non-gradable predicates like intransitive *die* in an exclamative. Predicates like *die* are infelicitous in Catalan *that*-exclamatives (11a); on the other hand, the binary set that those predicates introduce is perfect in German *that*-exclamatives (11b):

- (11) a.# Que ha mort!  
that has died  
'It is surprising that (s)he died.'
- b. Dass er gestorben ist!  
that he died has  
'It is surprising that (s)he died.'

Note that the problem with (11a) has to do with degree, not with the lack of the partitive clitic and the preposition, as the possibility of 'French style' *that*-exclamatives in Catalan *with degree meaning* proves (see fn. 1). We can thus conclude that Catalan *that*-exclamatives like (10) have essentially the same semantic requirement of containing a gradable predicate (in our case:  $\lambda x.\lambda d$  expensive(x)(d)) as the corresponding *wh*-exclamatives (12):

- (12) Que car que és!  
how expensive that is  
'How expensive it is!'

Crucially, in Catalan this gradable predicate must have an open variable in both *that*- and *wh*-exclamatives. As a consequence, as soon as the degree of the respective predicate is already fixed—like in superlative (13a) or other quantifier constructions (13b)—exclamative syntax is ungrammatical:

- (13) a. \*Que n'és, de caríssim!  
that of.it-is of expensive.SUPL  
'How most expensive it is!'
- b. \*Que massa car que és!  
how too.much expensive that is  
'How too much expensive it is!'

Note that these patterns cannot be due to semantic incompatibilities between the illocutionary force of exclamations and the expression of implicit (and already fixed) degrees like superlatives. Both the declarative exclamation counterpart in Catalan (14a)—featuring the same illocutionary force—and the German exclamation expressed by a *that*-exclamative (14b) are totally fine with corresponding superlative forms:

- (14) a. És caríssim!  
it-is expensive.SUPL  
'It is so expensive!'  
b. Dass das am teuersten ist!  
that this.one at expensive.SUPL is  
'It is suprising that it is so much expensive!'

We would like to mention at this point that the same semantic requirement of containing a gradable predicate holds across Romance exclamatives, and not only for Catalan. Observe, for instance, French *that*-exclamatives, which also always involve a gradable predicate according to the literature; examples from Obenauer (1976: 105):

- (15) a. Que ta soeur m'agace!  
that your sister me-annoys  
only possible reading: 'How much your sister annoys me!'  
b. Que la vie est amère quand on la boit sans sucre!  
that the.F life is bitter when one her drinks without sugar  
only possible reading: 'How bitter life is when you drink it without sugar.'

As a consequence, the literature claims that *that*-exclamatives in French (just as in Catalan) are synonymous with their corresponding *wh*-alternatives, as Gérard-Naef (1980: 16–21) points out by means of the following sentence pairs:

- (16) a. Que la vie est courte!  
that the.F life is short  
b. Oh! que courte est la vie!  
alas how short is the.F life  
both exclamative types: 'Alas, how short life is!'

To sum up, we have seen on the semantics side that all Romance *that*-exclamatives express surprise towards graded alternatives, in contrast to what we observe for Germanic languages, where they can also express surprise towards binary alternatives. A hypothesis that now suggests itself is that this is due to the different lexical origins of the complementizer systems in Germanic and Romance. In particular, while 'that' in Romance languages like Catalan lexically corresponds to *wh*-elements, 'that' in Germanic is homophonous with and historically derived from a demonstrative pronoun. In the following section, we will elaborate on this distinction in more detail and connect it to our observations in the domain of exclamatives.



## 6.4 Exclamatives and the cross-linguistic syntax of complementation

In the last section, we saw that Germanic and Romance *that*-exclamatives differ in either featuring a non-degree (German) or a degree reading (Catalan). We hypothesize that this difference can be explained based on the different nature of the complementizer ‘that’ in both language families. Let us first have a look at the Germanic complementizer.

For many Germanic languages, the standard assumption is that the demonstrative ‘that’ has developed into a complementizer by a shift of the clause boundary from a paratactic structure such as *He knows that: it is very expensive* to a subordination like *He knows that it is very expensive* (see, e.g., Hopper and Traugott 1993: 185–9 for a grammaticalization approach; and Baunaz and Lander 2018 for a synchronic perspective). This is also the most influential approach for German *dass*—and even accounts that argue against this traditional account by proposing that *dass* has actually been a relativizer still acknowledge that this relativizer too is of demonstrative origin (Axel 2009; Axel-Tober 2017). Note that in present-day German, the complementizer *dass* is homophonous with both the relative and the demonstrative pronoun *das*. In Romance languages, however, the situation is different.

According to Ledgeway (2012: chs 4 and 5), Romance complementizers like Catalan *que* and its Spanish, Portuguese, French, or Italian equivalents derive from the Latin complementizer *quod*, which was originally a causal complementizer (finite declaratives were typically introduced by *ut* ‘that’). In late Latin, *quod* replaced *ut* in many contexts, and the variants of *quod* became predominant in early Romance.

Turning now to the difference between German and Catalan exclamatives, it is relevant that Romance ‘that’ overlaps with the *wh*-systems in all Romance varieties, and there is a lot of morphosyntactic evidence that this is not just a case of homophony, but that Romance elements like Catalan *que*, when used as a ‘that’ complementizer, actually do the same job as their interrogative *wh*-counterparts, namely acting as a quantifier that introduces a variable. This claim has most notably been put forward by Manzini and Savoia (2003) for Italian and its varieties, and it has recently been summarized in Manzini (2014); see also Baunaz and Lander (2018) for a wider perspective.

In particular, the only difference in the Logical Form of the Italian *wh*-pronoun *che* and the homophonous complementizer is that in *wh*-interrogatives (17a) *che* binds the internal argument of a verbal predicate, while *che* in declaratives (17b) ranges over sentential content (i.e., propositions); see Manzini and Savoia (2003: 95):

- (17) a. [che x [fai (x)]] *Che fai?* ‘What are you doing?’  
 b. [che x [x: vieni domani]] (...) *che vieni domani* ‘that you come tomorrow.’

Based on this approach, let us now account for the difference between Catalan and German *that*-exclamatives discussed above. As we have already illustrated in section 6.3, *dass* ‘that’ in German *that*-exclamatives can range over the whole proposition (18a). In other words, *that*-exclamatives inherit the quantifying properties of the declarative complementizer from embedded constructions (18b).

- (18) a. [dass x [x: er stirbt]]  
           that           he dies  
 b. ([<sub>VP</sub> ‘I know’] [<sub>CP</sub> ∅ [C dass [<sub>IP</sub> er stirbt]])]  
           that           he dies

This is why Germanic *that*-exclamatives have commonly been termed ‘insubordinated’ configurations: in German these root exclamatives display exactly the same word order as a subordinated declarative *that*-clause (see section 6.2), and, what is more, we hypothesize here that *that*-exclamatives also feature the same quantifying properties as the declarative-complementizer configuration.

Regarding the scoping properties sketched above, it is interesting to see that in its use as a pronoun as well, *das* ‘that’ in German can range over propositional entities (19a) and not only over nominal constituents (19b):

- (19) a. [Ingo kam spät]<sub>i</sub> und das<sub>i</sub> verärgerte mich.  
           Ingo came late and that annoyed me  
 b. [Das Ereignis]<sub>i</sub>, das<sub>i</sub> mich verärgerte, war (...)  
           the event that me annoyed was

Now let’s have a closer look at Catalan and the specific properties of *que*. As we have already indicated above, Catalan *que*—in contrast to German *dass*—cannot range over sentential content in *that*-exclamatives, but can only range over a gradable predicate internal to the proposition (20a):

- (20) a. [que [+degree] [n’és de car [+degree]]]  
           that           of.it-is of expensive  
 b. (\*[<sub>VP</sub> ‘I know’] [<sub>CP</sub> ∅ [C que [<sub>IP</sub> n’és, de car]])]  
           that           of.it-is of expensive

As already exemplified in section 6.2, we thus see that Catalan *that*-exclamatives cannot be analyzed as insubordinated structures derived from a subordinate

clause (20b). Moreover, the root use of *that* in an exclamative also does not feature the semantic mechanism of the embedded use of *que* of ranging over a proposition. As a consequence, the domain of quantification in *that*-exclamatives has to be like in all forms of *wh*-quantification (i.e., quantification over a degree) and crucially not like in the declarative-complementizer configuration (i.e., quantification over a proposition). This is in line with the lexical situation that distinguishes Catalan and German. In Catalan, ‘that’ is homophonous with the relative *wh*-pronoun *que* ‘that,’ while in German it is homophonous (and possibly derived from) a demonstrative. To add further empirical support to these distinctions, have a look at the following data.

The following examples show that Catalan *que* in relative clauses is used for quantification over nominal elements (21a), but it cannot quantify over a proposition-level entity (21b), in contrast to German ‘that’ (19a). In the Catalan cases, either an additional nominal (*cosa* ‘thing’ in (21b)) or a neuter demonstrative (*això* ‘that’ in (21c)) must be used:<sup>7</sup>

- (21) a. La situació que em molesta . . .  
‘The situation that annoys me . . .’  
b. En Pere va arribar tard, \*(cosa) que em va molestar.  
‘Peter arrived late, which annoyed me.’  
c. En Pere va arribar tard i això em va molestar.  
‘Peter arrived late and this annoyed me.’

Accordingly, when used as a relative pronoun, *que* (like in its use as a complementizer) can never quantify over the whole proposition.

In sum, we thus arrive at a picture that makes perfect sense in the light of what we have already suggested for the semantic side of exclamatives in section 6.3: German *that*-exclamatives can express a non-degree reading, while Catalan *that*-exclamatives (like *wh*-exclamatives) must convey a degree reading. We now account for this difference by claiming that Catalan *that*-exclamatives are not insubordinated versions of the corresponding declarative-complementizer configuration, and therefore the domain of quantification has to be like in all forms of *wh*-quantification. Accordingly, we submit that Catalan *que* in *that*-exclamatives semantically corresponds to the Catalan *que* following the *wh*-phrase in *wh*-exclamatives. In German, on the other hand, *that*-exclamatives instantiate

<sup>7</sup> Note that Spanish relatives with a propositional antecedent like Catalan (21b) must be construed with the neuter article *lo* ‘it’:

- (i) a. Pedro llegó tarde, \*(lo) que me molestó.  
‘Peter arrived late, which annoyed me.’  
b. Pedro llegó tarde y eso me molestó.  
‘Peter arrived late and this annoyed me.’

the same syntactic configuration as their embedded counterparts and therefore can also feature quantification over the whole proposition. We thus postulate that German *dass* in *that*-exclamatives indeed corresponds to the declarative complementizer, and we thus claim that, according to our analysis, only German *that*-exclamatives are true instances of ‘insubordination.’

What this also means, vice versa, is that only Catalan *that*-exclamatives are *syntactically* distinguished from declarative *that*-complements, while there is no syntactic distinction in German. Based on our comparative discussion about complementation above, we would like to summarize the cross-linguistic patterns as follows:

- (22) German  
[<sub>CP</sub> {∅, \*so} [C *dass* [<sub>IP</sub> *er stirbt*]]] [declarative complement +  
so that he dies root exclamative]
- (23) Catalan  
a. [<sub>CP</sub> [+degree] *si* [C [+degree] *que* [<sub>IP</sub> *n'és de car!*]]] [root  
so that of.it-is of expensive exclamative]  
b. [<sub>CP</sub> {∅, \*si}[-degree] [C *que* [-degree] [<sub>IP</sub> *és car*]]] [declarative  
so that it-is expensive complement]

(22) illustrates that in German, there is no way that the phrasal position SpecCP can be filled by degree elements in both root exclamatives and declarative complements; that is, SpecCP must remain empty. In Catalan, on the other hand, declarative complements and root exclamatives are syntactically distinguished by the fact that only declarative complements do not allow an element in SpecCP (23b). Root exclamatives have this position available for different kinds of elements: adverbial *si* ‘so’ as in the *that*-exclamative in (23a), but also [*que* + Adj] (as in *wh*-exclamatives), or a DEGREE operator as in bare *that*-exclamatives, resulting in the obligatory degree reading of Catalan *that*-exclamatives (see Villalba 2003 for a detailed approach and the articulation of such a DEGREE operator in connection with the partitive clitic).

Once again, according to our claim and the illustrations in (22) and (23), only German *that*-exclamatives can thus be classified as ‘insubordination’ proper, and their interpretation in terms of the expressive speech act of an exclamation is probably due to pragmatic processes of inferencing and not part of grammar at all, along the lines of what has already been proposed in the literature (Truckenbrodt 2006). By contrast, Catalan makes a syntactic distinction between subordinated structures (declarative complements featuring ‘that’ in our case) and root exclamatives involving the same complementizer. The sentence type ‘*that*-exclamative’ is thus a distinct syntactic configuration in that Romance language.

## 6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have for the first time systematically compared so-called ‘*that*-exclamatives’ in Germanic and Romance languages. We have first discussed basic syntactic similarities and differences and then focused on a semantic distinction. In Germanic languages like German, *that*-exclamatives encode the speaker’s attitude towards a fact (i.e., a proposition being either true or not true), whereas they must encode the speaker’s attitude towards a degree in Romance. We have then demonstrated that this semantic difference is a direct consequence of the syntactic differences and the different complementation systems between these two language families. In particular, we have shown that only in German *that*-exclamatives are a case of ‘insubordination,’ namely an exact transferal of the structure and scoping properties of a subordinate declarative headed by the complementizer ‘that.’ As a consequence, the ‘insubordinated’ *that*-exclamative in German retains the possibility of quantifying over propositions. In contrast, we have seen for Catalan *that*-exclamatives that they cannot be characterized as instances of insubordination, but rather feature a parallel structure to *wh*-exclamatives; ‘that’ in *that*-exclamatives in Catalan cannot quantify over propositions like the declarative complementizer of subordinated structures. Accordingly, only Catalan *that*-exclamatives are syntactically distinguished from both *wh*-exclamatives and declarative subordinations, and ‘that’ in Catalan (and potentially further Romance languages) functions as a dedicated exclamative marker involving obligatory degree quantification.

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