

Chapter Title: Exclamatives in (Argentinian) Spanish and Their Next of Kin

Chapter Author(s): Pascual José Masullo

Book Title: Advances in the Analysis of Spanish Exclamatives

Book Editor(s): Ignacio Bosque

Published by: Ohio State University Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1wn0qzm.6>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



This content is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>.



Ohio State University Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Advances in the Analysis of Spanish Exclamatives*

JSTOR

4

Exclamatives in (Argentinian) Spanish and Their Next of Kin

Pascual José Masullo

Introduction

In this chapter I examine a wide range of constructions in Spanish (with a focus on the present-day Argentinian variety) which, although not full-fledged exclamatives on the surface, bear several degrees of resemblance to them, thus reinforcing the idea often put forth in the literature that exclamative constructions do not constitute a homogeneous phenomenon, as is generally assumed. In this respect, the chapter draws on Masullo (2012), even if some revisions, and a more complete and refined analysis, are proposed.

Firstly, I examine a class of well-established colloquial expressions and constructions (often loosely characterized as elative or emphatic), which, as I show, are bona fide exclamatives at LF, except that the expression denoting the EXTREME DEGREE feature that must be associated with this class of sentence (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003) is not an overt *qu-* (or *wh-*) expression, such as *qué* ‘what,’ *cómo* ‘how,’ or *cuánto* ‘how much,’ but rather a constituent that could otherwise be used non-exclamatively, such as partitive *de* ‘of,’ the indefinite article (*un* and variants), or a quantifier such as *cada* ‘each.’ These

This research was partly funded by grant 40-B-60/2010, Universidad Nacional de Río Negro, Argentina. I am thankful to Ignacio Bosque for a thorough review of this chapter, and for several valuable comments and suggestions. Needless to say, I am fully responsible for any remaining errors or shortcomings.

usually occur *in situ*, though, for independent reasons, they could be fronted as well, as will be shown in ensuing sections. Examples are provided below, contrasted with their overt equivalents:

- (1) a. ¡El Nahuel Huapi es de bello!¹ (= ¡Qué bello (que) es el Nahuel Huapi!)
 The Nahuel Huapi is of beautiful
 ‘How beautiful the Nahuel Huapi is!’ (cf. The Nahuel Huapi is so beautiful/ such a beautiful lake!)
- b. ¡El niño es un vivaracho!² (= ¡Qué vivaracho (que) es el niño!)
 The child is one smart
 ‘How smart the child is!’
- c. ¡El tipo dijo cada verdura!³ (= ¡Qué barbaridades (que) dijo el tipo!)
 The guy said each vegetable
 ‘What nonsense the guy talked!’

After showing that the above sentences are tantamount to overt wh-exclamatives at LF, I go on to discuss what I call “plain elatives,” that is expressions of different kinds and categories associated with an EXTREME DEGREE feature, but which may only optionally be used in exclamative sentences. Some of these elatives are part of the stock pan-Hispanic vocabulary, though others are new developments in (Argentinian) Spanish. It is to the latter that I pay special attention in this study. In the examples below, the featured elatives (*se . . . todo* and *mal*) are equivalent to the counterparts in *-ísimo* also provided (the exclamation marks in parentheses indicate the optional exclamative illocutionary force of the sentences):

- (2) a. (¡) Los chicos **se** comieron **todo** en la fiesta (!)
 The children REFL ate ALL at the party
 ‘The children ate an awful lot at the party(!)’

1. As will be pointed out below, these sentences entail an implicit consecutive or resultative clause.

2. This use of the indefinite article is not to be confused with the productive process of nominalizing (usually) negative adjectives, as in *El hombre es un irresponsable* ‘The man is an irresponsible person.’ As an exclamative, the indefinite article is not restricted in the same way, as is shown by a sentence like *¡Pedro puso una cara!* ‘Peter put on such a face!’ Naturally, a previously nominalized negative adjective can occur in the exclamative construction too: *¡EL hombre es un irresponsable!* ‘How irresponsible the man is!’

3. Drawn from everyday spoken language, many of the examples given have a truly colloquial or slang flavor.

- b. (j) Los chicos comieron **muchísimo** en la fiesta (!)
 The children ate very much-ÍSIMO at the party
 ‘The children ate an awful lot at the party (!)’
- c. (j) Papá se enojó **mal** anoche (!)
 Father got-angry badly last night
 ‘Father got terribly angry last night (!)’
- d. (j) Papá se enojó **muchísimo** anoche (!)
 Father got-angry very much-ÍSIMO last night
 ‘Father got terribly angry last night (!)’

Although I present a host of examples of new relatives of this kind in (Argentinian) Spanish, I focus on *se . . . todo* and *mal*, as in (2a) and (2c) above, characterizing them both formally and semantically. I propose that, unlike the exclamatives in (1), they act as exclamatives only when bound by an empty exclamative operator, since they do not intrinsically possess an exclamative feature. I thus establish three kinds of kindred constructions, viz., wh-overt exclamatives, covert exclamatives, and optional exclamatives with plain relatives. While the first type has been satisfactorily studied and is quite well-understood, I believe the other two have not received adequate treatment so far. I therefore hope this study may pave the way for further future collaborative research.

2. Covert Exclamatives

In this section I deal with exclamatives containing partitive *de*, the indefinite article and the quantifier *cada*, as illustrated in (1) above. I characterize them as *covert* exclamatives on a par with covert interrogatives in languages like Chinese in which there is no explicit wh-word in Spec (CP) (Huang, 1982) and in contrast with well-known overt wh-exclamatives (see Alonso-Cortés, 1999b; Contreras, 1999; Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2001; among several others). It is not my aim to provide an exhaustive list of covert exclamatives here. However, I must mention one more besides the three presented in section 1: the comparative quantifier *más* ‘more’ (with an implied consecutive clause), since it is quite frequently used, though always with a negative connotation (see section 5.5 in chapter 1 and references therein):

- (3) ¡El tipo es **más** {terco/ egoísta/tacaño/antipático}!
 The guy is more {stubborn/selfish/ stingy/ unpleasant}!
 ‘The guy is so {stubborn/selfish/stingy/unpleasant}!’

Interestingly enough, (3) is interchangeable with (4) below, a combination of an overt and covert exclamative expression, which I will not attempt to analyze here:

- (4) ¡Qué tipo más {terco/ egoísta/tacaño/antipático} (que es)!
 What guy more {stubborn/selfish/ stingy/ unpleasant} (that is)!
 ‘What a {stubborn/selfish/stingy/unpleasant guy} he is!’

Before spelling out my analysis, I must first point out some crucial similarities between covert and canonical *wh*-exclamatives by examining the formal properties and requirements they have in common, as well as some of the restrictions they are both subject to. Apart from sharing practically the same semantic, pragmatic, and prosodic properties, covert exclamatives cannot co-occur with other elements in Spec (CP) (or FocusP, in the sense of Rizzi, 1997), or other exclamatives and relatives (for more details, see Masullo, 2012):⁴

- (5) a. *¿Qué lago es de bello?
 ‘*{What/which} lake is so beautiful?’ [unless *so* is anaphoric]
 b. ¿Qué niño es un vivaracho?
 ‘{What/which} child is so smart!’
 c. *¿Quién dijo cada barbaridad?
 ‘Who talked such nonsense?’
 d. *¿Cuántos lagos de Argentina y Chile son de lindos!
 ‘How many Argentinian and Chilean lakes are so beautiful!’
 (Cf. ¡Cuántos lagos de Argentina y Chile son lindos!)
 e. *¿Cuántos niños son unos vivarachos hoy día!
 ‘*How many children are so smart today!’
 (Cf. ¡Cuántos niños son vivarachos hoy día!)
 f. *¿Cuánta gente dice cada barbaridad!
 ‘*How many people talk such nonsense!’
 (Cf. ¡Cuánta gente dice barbaridades!)

By the same token, they cannot occur in jussive, dubitative, or desiderative sentences. Being true exclamatives, the clash is self-explanatory, that is, a sentence cannot be exclamative and jussive or desiderative, etc., all at once.

4. Naturally, some of these sentences are acceptable with a different reading, for example, as echo questions.

In other words, C (or Focus) cannot be associated with clashing features, e.g. EXCLAMATIVE and JUSSIVE:

- (6) a. *_i{Sé/no seas} de bueno!
 ‘{*Be/don’t be} so good!’
 b. *_iTal vez el niño sea un vivaracho!
 ‘*Maybe the child is so smart!’
 c. *_iQue diga cada barbaridad el tipo!
 ‘*Let the guy talk such nonsense!’

Likewise, as in the case of embedded *wh*-exclamatives (7a), they cannot be selected for by predicates that require an assertion, such as *sostener* ‘claim, maintain,’ *afirmar* ‘assert,’ etc.:

- (7) a. *El educador afirmó cuántos analfabetos aún había.
 ‘*The educator asserted how many illiterate people still remained.’
 b. Los turistas todos sostienen que el Nahuel Huapi es de bello . . .
 ‘Tourists all maintain that the Nahuel Huapi is so beautiful . . .’
 c. *Afirmo que el tipo dijo cada barbaridad.
 ‘I assert that the guy said such nonsense.’
 d. *Reafirmo que los políticos son unos corruptos
 ‘*I reassert that politicians are so corrupt!’
 (OK if *un* is not exclamative)

Naturally, this is not so with reportative verbs, which do not select for the content per se of the reported discourse, so that they can take as complements not only declarative, but also interrogative and exclamative embedded clauses introduced by *que* ‘that’:

- (8) a. María dijo: “El Nahuel Huapi es de bello . . .” [direct discourse]
 ‘Mary said: “The Nahuel Huapi is so beautiful!”’
 b. Los turistas todos sostienen que el Nahuel Huapi es de bello . . .
 ‘Tourists all maintain that the Nahuel Huapi is so beautiful . . .’
 c. María exclamó que qué lindo era el lago.
 ‘Mary exclaimed “how nice the lake was.”’
 d. María preguntó (que) cuándo terminaría el conflicto.
 ‘Mary asked when the conflict would end.’

However, unlike *wh*-exclamatives, covert ones cannot be directly embedded as complements to verbs such as *mirar* ‘look,’ which typically select for an embedded exclamative clause, since they lack the “complementizer” feature of overt *wh*-elements (interrogative, relative, and exclamative) which allows direct syntactic subordination:

- (9) a. ¡Mirá qué bello (que) es el Nahuel Huapi!⁵
 ‘Look how beautiful the Nahuel Huapi is!’
 b. *¡Mirá el Nahuel Huapi es de bello . . . !
 ‘*Look the Nahuel Huapi is so beautiful!’

Crucially, covert exclamatives are not unlike overt ones in that they cannot be (internally) negated,⁶ as the ungrammaticality of the following sentences confirms:

- (10) a. *¡El Nahuel Huapi no es de bello!
 ‘The Nahuel Huapi is not so beautiful!’
 b. *¡El niño no es un vivaracho!
 ‘The child is not so smart!’
 c. *¡El tipo no dijo cada barbaridad!
 ‘The guy did not say such nonsense!’

Finally, as anticipated in footnote 3, it must be stressed that covert exclamatives behave very much like *tan(to/a(s))* ‘so,’ ‘so much,’ ‘so many,’ and *tal* ‘such,’ which are not colloquial, but stylistically neuter and pan-Hispanic (the same holds of their equivalents in English). Like these, *de* and *cada*, can also take a consecutive sequel (but not *un*, for reasons I cannot explain):

- (11) a. Juan es tan tonto (que se traga cualquier cosa).
 ‘John is so foolish (that he will swallow anything).’

5. This example sharply contrasts with ¡Mirá! ¡El Nahuel Huapi es de bello!, in which there are two independent clauses without embedding

6. This constraint excludes so-called expletive negation (Espinal, 1992): ¡El tipo no (va y) dice cada barbaridad! ‘The guy doesn’t (go and) say each nonsense!’ Likewise, as has been noted, negative interrogative sentences can occasionally be used with an exclamative illocutionary force, so long as the relevant gradable expression is “plain”: ¿No es hermoso este cuadro? ‘Isn’t this picture beautiful!’ Cf. *¿No es de bello este cuadro? Far from being counterevidence, this fact supports my claim even further.

- b. Hizo tal lío (que lo tuvieron que sacar a la fuerza).
 ‘He made such trouble (that they had to bounce him out by force).’
- c. El Nahuel Huapi es de lindo (que miles de turistas lo visitan año a año).
 ‘The Nahuel Huapi is so nice (that thousands of tourists visit it year in, year out).’
- d. El tipo dijo cada barbaridad (que el público lo silbó).
 ‘The guy said each nonsense (that the audience jeered and cat-called at him).’
- e. *Pedro es un vivo que siempre saca ventaja de uno.
 ‘Peter is such a smart-aleck that he always takes advantage of one.’

As has been pointed out in the relevant literature, the close tie between exclamation and consecutive or resultative clauses cannot be overlooked. The unusual or undesired result in question (or “widening,” in the sense of Zanuttini & Portner, 2001) follows naturally from the extreme (and therefore unexpected) degree feature of both exclamatives and intensifiers like *so* and *such*. For example, an extreme degree of weariness can prevent one from doing something as easy as sitting down (*John was so tired that he couldn’t even sit down to dinner*; cf. *How tired John was! He couldn’t even sit down to dinner*). In contrast, it would be very odd to say *Peter is so tired that he cannot even work 24 hours in a row*, since in the natural course of events no one is expected to work for a whole day (cf. *How tired Peter was! He couldn’t even work 24 hours in a row*, which is equally odd). Besides, like exclamatives, sentences with consecutive clauses cannot be internally negated:

- (12) *Juan no es tan alto que llega al techo.
 ‘John is not so tall that he will reach the ceiling.’

However, once the resultative sequel is added, the sentence ceases to be exclamative in the true sense of the word, since the extreme degree variable is now “closed” or saturated by the sequel. In exclamatives proper (whether overt or covert), the extreme degree variable is bound by an operator. In other words, sentences with explicit consecutive clauses are not open. There is one more contrast between sentences with an implied result (or “suspended” resultatives, as they have been dubbed in the literature), which I am claiming are *bona fide* exclamatives, and sentences with explicit resultatives: while the first must necessarily be root, the latter can also be embedded (Ignacio Bosque, personal communication):

- (13) a. Creo que el niño está tan grande que no cabe en la cuna.
 ‘I think that the child is so big that he does not fit in the cot.’
 b. *Creo que el niño está tan grande.
 ‘I think that the child is so big.’

In conclusion, the above paradigms bear out the claim that the constructions under discussion are genuinely exclamative, since they show that they must meet the same requirements as overt *wh*-exclamatives and, moreover, are subject to the same restrictions. In the next section, I outline an analysis for covert exclamatives which allows us to account for the similarities pointed out above, while in section 5 I tentatively suggest that they behave in the same way with respect to island effects as well.

3. Analyzing Covert Exclamatives

There is general agreement that (partial) overt exclamatives contain a *wh*-element in Spec (CP)—or Spec of Focus Phrase—which binds an empty position *in situ* (whether we formalize this empty position in terms of traces or copies that later get deleted at PF is irrelevant here). Crucially, the *wh*-element is associated with both features required for exclamation: EXCLAMATIVE and EXTREME DEGREE (broadly understood to subsume extreme quantity as well). However, owing to PF-considerations, its displacement (or internal merge) entails pied-piping of the EXTREME DEGREE component along with its restrictor, just as in other cases of *wh*-movement, since they cannot be morphologically teased apart (Chomsky, 1995). In (14b) below, the fronted phrase *qué bello* realizes the exclamative operator per se, extreme degree (both conflated in *qué*), as well as its complement (or restrictor), that is, *bello*. I schematize my proposed analysis in (15), in which I adopt a Copy Theory of movement for concreteness:

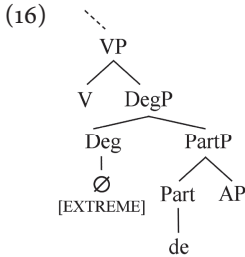
- (14) a. ¡Qué bello es el Nahuel Huapi!
 ‘How beautiful the Nahuel Huapi is!’
 b. ¡[Qué bello]_{EXCL / EXTR DEG} es el Nahuel Huapi / [Qué bello]_{EXCL / EXTR-DEG!}

On the basis of the parallel behavior of overt and covert exclamatives outlined in section 2 above, it naturally follows that covert exclamatives are also associated with the two required features, *viz.* EXTREME DEGREE and

EXCLAMATIVE. However, the EXCLAMATIVE feature is phonologically null and therefore “weak” (to use the well-known metaphor adopted in generative grammar). In traditional GB terms, we should propose LF movement to Spec (CP) of the covert exclamative expression, along the lines of Huang (1982) and others for interrogatives in Chinese, Japanese, Hindi, etc. On the other hand, if we were to follow Chomsky (1995), we should propose just feature movement at LF. However, since these two implementations have been abandoned, I propose instead a simpler solution: a base-generated OP with the feature EXCLAMATIVE binding the EXTREME DEGREE feature on the in situ phrase (for questions in Japanese, in which the OP generates in situ, cf. Watanabe, 2001). I schematize my analysis in (13):

(15) ¡OP_{[EXCL]i} El Nahuel Huapi es [de bello]_{[EXTR DEG]i}!

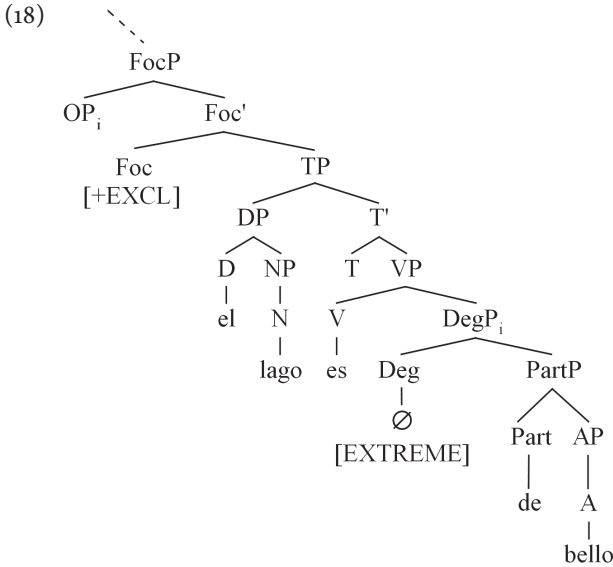
Moreover, I claim that in the example we are considering (with partitive *de*) the extreme degree feature itself is phonologically null as well and that *de* is a marker of partitive case, as the diagram in (16) shows. This is not so, however, for covert exclamatives with the indefinite article and the quantifier *cada*. Instead, I assume that these two intrinsically contain an EXTREME DEGREE feature.



This is not different from other attested cases of the phonologically null expression of the extreme degree feature (with or without a partitive), as in (17):

- (17) a. ¡Qué [e] de gente que había en la cola!
 What of people that there-was in the line!
 ‘What an awful lot of people there were in the line!’
- b. Las cosas están [e] que explotan.
 The things are that they-explode
 ‘Things have come to a pretty pass.’

The structure in (18) displays a complete analysis of a covert exclamative with partitive *de* (which can obviously be adapted for the other two covert exclamatives being considered in this chapter):



Having laid out our analysis, we can now proceed to account for the incompatibilities and restrictions pointed out in section 2. In the case of (5a) through (5c) the ungrammaticality follows from the fact that the overt interrogative operator leaves no room for the empty exclamative operator that must bind the *in situ* phrase with *de*, *un*, and *cada*. Likewise, Focus Phrase cannot host two different exclamative operators, nor can the same exclamative operator bind two different expressions bearing an extreme degree feature, which accounts for the ungrammaticality of (5d) through (5f). A similar clash obtains in (6), on the obvious assumption that these sentences contain a jussive, dubitative, and desiderative operator, respectively. As pointed out above, a sentence cannot be exclamative and declarative, interrogative, or jussive, etc., at the same time, as it would be uninterpretable at LF. If the expressions with *de*, *un*, and *cada* we are focusing on were not exclamative in nature, the observed incompatibilities would be hard to explain.

As Zanuttini & Portner (2003) claim, exclamatives are factive. Among other things, this property entails that they cannot be negated.⁷ Sentences

7. D-linking and referentiality may override this restriction, as in *¡Cuántos libros interesantes no he leído en mi vida!* 'How many interesting books I have not read in my lifetime!' (see

(10a) through (10c) above show that this is true of covert exclamatives as well, as expected. Strictly speaking, factivity is intrinsically linked with extreme degree. As will be seen in section 4 below, plain elatives, i.e., expressions associated with extreme degree not necessarily occurring in exclamative sentences, are incompatible with negation, also owing to their factive nature. In turn, in Masullo (2012) this fact is further reduced to a violation of Relativized Minimality in the sense of Rizzi (1990), that is, negation acts as a barrier that prevents the operator in Focus Phrase from binding its target in situ, as is shown in (19):

(19) *_iOP_[EXCL]_i El Nahuel Huapi **no** es [**de bello**]_[EXTR DEG]_i!

However, I will not pursue this difficult question any further here. For our purposes, the fact remains that both overt and covert exclamatives (and elatives in general) form a natural class in that they resist negation.

Given the word order possibilities of Spanish, which is quite permissive with regard to focusing (as well as topicalization), explicit movement of the non-wh-exclamative is generally also allowed as an option. In (20c) through (20e) the exclamative phrases *de lindo*, *un vivaracho*, and *cada barbaridad* have undergone “run-of-the-mill” fronting, much like the non-exclamative phrases *más dinero* and *hermosa* in (20a) and (20b):

- (20) a. ¡Más dinero es lo que se necesita!
 ‘More money is what we need!’
 b. ¡Hermosa estuvo la obra de teatro!
 ‘How beautiful the play was!’
 c. ¡De lindo es el Nahuel Huapi!
 ‘How beautiful the Nahuel Huapi is!’
 d. ¡Un vivaracho es el chico!
 ‘How smart the child is!’
 e. ¡Cada barbaridad dijo el tipo!
 ‘What nonsense the guy talked!’

Not surprisingly, English, which shows more restrictions for focusing than Spanish, also allows fronting of *so* and *such*, which, as was pointed out above, are exclamative-like:

also Masullo, 2012).

- (21) a. So severe had that winter been, that a lot of the crops were killed.
 b. Such a fuss did the customer make, that the manager had to be summoned.

Naturally, if (optional) focus-fronting of a covert exclamative takes place, the relevant features are locally checked. This would have been considered a case of “early altruism” in previous stages of Minimalism. I believe, however, that this fact shows optionality in a different light: far from being an exception, optionality is the norm. Only mandatory movement is special and must be accounted for. Whatever else is allowed may take place at any stage in the derivation, so long as all other independent principles and constraints are upheld—cf. Contreras (2009) for a similar view regarding word order in general. This is undoubtedly a question of crucial theoretical import for Minimalism that must be further investigated.

4. Elatives and Exclamatives

4.1. INTRODUCTION

I now go on to discuss elative expressions in general (often also referred to as “ponderative,” RAE-ASALE, 2009). As argued in Masullo (2012), elatives of all kinds, that is expressions that bear an EXTREME DEGREE feature, can also be used as exclamatives. Elative expressions abound in every natural language⁸ and, moreover, seem to be subject to rich variation, dialectal, sociolectal, and diachronic. In current Argentinian Spanish new elatives keep coming into being. They are usually introduced by teenagers and, though most are short-lived and never make it to the standard, a few of them eventually do, as the often discussed prefix *re*,⁹ now widely used to denote extreme degree in lieu of an adjective or adverb in *-ísimo*.

8. This fact can find a natural explanation at the C-I interface (Chomsky, 1995), particularly in the close relationship holding between certain aspects of language and emotion broadly understood (see Pinker, 2007).

9. Though I do not examine *re* in any detail here, I must however point out that while it was originally restricted to gradable adjectives, verbs, and adverbials (including prepositional phrases), it is now found as intensifiers of nouns as well, both count and mass: *Mis amigos tienen la re-casa/plata* ‘My friends have a wonderful house/an awful lot of money.’ In the case of mass nouns, the licensing of *re* is quite clear: quantity and degree belong to the same conceptual domain. In the case of count nouns, however, I assume that it is an understood gradable feature

Elatives that have entered colloquial Argentinian Spanish lately include expressions with an expletive accusative object, such as *romperla* (lit. ‘break it’) ‘do something extraordinary,’ ‘excel,’ ‘outdo oneself,’ etc., different kinds of quantifiers or quantitative nouns such as *todo* ‘all’ in conjunction with reflexive *se* and *banda* (lit. ‘band’), adjectives such as *alto* ‘tall’ which have taken on a generic appreciative value, and, noticeably, the manner adverb *mal*, among several others. These are all illustrated below (example [22g] is also found in other varieties):

- (22) a. Messi **la rompió** en el último partido.
 Messi it broke in the last game
 ‘Messi outdid himself in the last game.’
- b. Somos **una banda** en casa.
 We-are a band at home
 ‘There’s an awful lot of us at home.’
- c. En este negocio facturan **banda**.
 In this store they-bill band
 ‘They rake it in in this store.’
- d. Me costó **una bocha** encontrar esa marca.
 Me it-cost a bowling to-find that brand
 ‘I had a very hard time finding that brand.’
- e. Nuestro profe es **una masa**.
 Our professor is a mass
 ‘Our prof is {great/awesome}.’
- f. María **se** bailó **todo** anoche.
 Mary REFL danced all last-night
 ‘Mary danced her feet off last night.’
- g. Maradona es **lo más** para muchos fanáticos del fútbol.
 Maradona is the most for many fanatics of-the soccer
 ‘Maradona is God/a hero for many soccer fans.’
- h. ¡**Altas** zapatillas te compraste!
 Tall tennis-shoes REFL you-bought
 ‘What gorgeous tennis shoes you’ve bought!’
- i. Juan estaba enojado **mal** el otro día.
 John was angry badly the other day.
 ‘John was hopping mad the other day.’

on one or more of the qualia of the noun (Pustejovsky, 1995) that licenses it. For example, *Mis amigos tienen la re-casa* may make reference to a very spacious, solid, well-built, or comfortable house, i.e., the extreme degree feature may be associated with the constitutive, formal, agentive, or telic qualia.

However, I must emphasize that these elatives should not be lumped together with the covert exclamatives dealt with in sections 2 and 3 above, even if associated with an EXTREME DEGREE feature, since, unlike them, they do not bear an intrinsic EXCLAMATIVE feature, so that they need not occur in exclamative sentences. As the following exchanges bear witness, the answers need not be exclamative. It is for this reason that they are being dubbed “plain elatives.”¹⁰

- (23) a. A: ¿Llovió mucho anoche?
 ‘Did it rain a lot last night?’
 B: Sí, (se) llovió todo
 Yes, REFL rained all
 ‘Yes, it rained an awful lot(!)’
 b. A: ¿Te gusta la casa?
 ‘Do you like the house?’
 B: Sí, es re-linda/¡Sí, es re-linda!
 ‘Yes, it’s extremely nice(!)’

Nevertheless, expressing extreme degree, plain elatives are suitable targets for an exclamative operator, thus becoming covert exclamatives on a par with the ones with partitive *de*, *un*, and *cada*. Naturally the operator binding them must be empty. Overt *wh*-exclamatives could not possibly bind a plain elative for the simple reason that they already contain an inherent extreme degree feature, as seen in (24):

- (24) ¡Qué tiene María una casa re-linda!
 What has Mary a house RE-nice
 ‘What Mary has such a nice house!’
 (Cf. ¡Qué linda casa (que) tiene María! ‘What a nice house Mary has!’)

By the same token, plain elatives cannot co-occur with covert exclamatives, exactly for the same reason. Sentences (22c), (22d), and (22h) above become ungrammatical with the addition of *de*, *cada*, or the indefinite article:

- (25) a. *¡Facturan de banda en este negocio!
 ‘They turn over a lot of money in this store!’

10. The distinction between covert exclamatives and elatives is somewhat blurred in Masullo (2012).

- b. *¡Me costó {cada/una} bocha encontrar esa marca!
 ‘I had a very hard time finding that brand!’
- c. *¡De altas zapatillas te compraste!
 ‘You bought such a gorgeous pair of tennis shoes!’

Although, as we have seen, plain relatives need not be bound by an empty exclamative operator, they are nonetheless akin to full-fledged exclamatives, whether overt or covert, in that they are factive, which explains why they always resist negation and why they cannot be used in jussive, desiderative, or dubitative sentences, as the ungrammaticality of the following sentences shows (for more details, see Masullo, 2012):

- (26) a. *(¡)En este negocio no facturan banda(!) [OK as denial]
 In this store no they-bill band
 ‘They don’t rake it in in this store!’
- b. *¡No te llores todo!
 Don’t REFL cry all!
 ‘Don’t cry your eyes out!’
- c. *¡Sé re-bueno, por favor!¹¹
 Be re-good please!
 ‘Be extremely good, please!’
- d. *(¡)Ojalá que el trabajo te cueste una bocha!
 (I wish) that the job you.DATcosts a bowling-ball
 ‘I hope you find the job extremely hard!’
- e. *Tal vez se compró altas zapatillas.
 Perhaps REFL he-bought tall tennis shoes
 ‘Perhaps he bought gorgeous tennis shoes.’

Finally, I point out that when focus-fronted, plain relatives must necessarily receive an exclamative reading:

- (27) a. ¡Una masa es nuestro profe! (cf. [22e])
 ‘My prof is {great/awesome}!’
- b. ¡Todo se bailó María anoche! (cf. [22f])
 ‘Mary sure danced her feet off last night!’
- c. ¡Lo más es Maradona para muchos fanáticos del fútbol!
 (cf. [22g])
 ‘Maradona sure is {God/a hero} for many soccer fans!’

11. See also Bosque (2002).

Plain elatives all deserve full treatment, possessing interesting formal and interpretable features of their own, apart from the general ones outlined above, which they all share. Dealing with each one of them in detail is beyond the scope of the present work, so I focus here on two of them only: the construction *se . . . todo*, as well as the new use of *mal* as an intensifier, illustrated in (22f) and (22i) above, respectively. I believe these two present the most interesting behavior from a syntactic standpoint. And, besides showing a high degree of productivity, their diachronic development can be easily traced.

4.2. THE *SE . . . TODO* CONSTRUCTION

The *se . . . todo* construction has clearly come to stay in Argentinian Spanish. I characterize it as a construction because *todo* can take on an elative value only when used as the complement of a verb associated with the reflexive clitic *se* (to be further dealt with below). Though in all likelihood it started as an instance of hyperbole, the construction soon lost its literal meaning to become a true elative. However, it retains most of its formal properties, in particular, *todo* still behaves as an accusative object (to be precise, it is an argumental quantifier phrase in the sense of Bosque & Masullo, 1998). As the examples below show, it can be found with practically every transitive verb (though certain restrictions apply, as we shall see below):

- (28) a. Ayer me quedé en casa y me limpié todo.
 Yesterday I-stayed at home and to-me I-cleaned all
 ‘I stayed home yesterday and cleaned like crazy.’
- b. ¡Marcos se fuma todo! ¡Como tres atados por día!
 Mark REFL smokes all About three packs a day
 ‘Mark {smokes like a chimney/is a chain smoker}!’
- c. María se leyó todo en el verano.
 Mary REFL read all in the summer
 ‘Mary read like crazy last summer.’

As one might expect, (28a) may also receive a literal interpretation. The high degree of fossilization and grammaticalization of this construction as an elative is borne out by the fact that its use has been extended to unergatives such as *hablar* ‘speak,’ *caminar* ‘walk,’ *llorar*, ‘weep,’ *dormir* ‘sleep,’ etc., which, as has been convincingly established, can assign accusative case to an object, cognate, or expletive (Burzio, 1986):

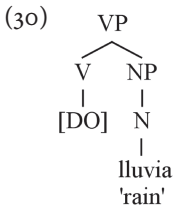
- (29) a. ¡María se habla todo!
 Mary REFL speaks all
 ‘Mary {talks her head off/is a motor-mouth!}’
- b. María se caminó todo cuando fue de vacaciones a la cordillera.¹²
 Mary REFL walked all when she-went on vacation to the Cordillera
 ‘Mary walked her feet off when she went on vacation to the Cordillera.’
- c. ¡Se llovió todo anoche!¹³
 REFL rained all last night
 ‘It rained cats and dogs last night!’
- d. Se nevó todo en los cerros el fin de semana pasado.
 REFL snowed all in the mountains the weekend last
 ‘We had extremely heavy snowfalls in the mountains last week-end.’
- e. Las chicas se lloraron todo con la película de Leonardo di Caprio.
 The girls REFL cried all with the movie of Leonardo di Caprio
 ‘The girls cried their hearts out watching the Leonardo di Caprio movie.’
- f. ¡Juan se durmió todo anoche! Estaría exhausto.
 John REFL slept all last night. He-would-be exhausted.
 ‘John slept around the clock last night! He must have been exhausted.’

The above examples, apart from confirming the fact that unergatives are accusative case-assigners, also lend extra support to the hypothesis that they are hidden transitive predicates, as has been argued by Hale and Keyser (1993). And, though the status of atmospheric verbs is not always evident, the fact that they can occur in this construction goes to show that (at least

12. *Todo* may occasionally alternate with other expressions, for example, *la vida* ‘the life,’ as in *María se caminó la vida cuando fue de vacaciones a la cordillera* ‘Mary walked her feet off when she went on vacation to the Cordillera.’

13. Examples will be randomly enclosed within exclamation marks. Remember that the *se . . . todo* construction can optionally be used exclamatively, like all other plain relatives.

in Spanish) they are also hidden transtives (and not unacusatives) associated with a Lexical Relational Structure along the lines of (30):



Crucially, as predicted, unaccusative verbs are banned from appearing in this construction, since they could not possibly assign accusative case to *todo*:

- (31) a. *María se llegó todo.
 Mary REFL arrived all
 ‘Mary arrived completely.’
 b. *La chica se desmayó todo.¹⁴
 The girl REFL fainted all
 ‘The girl passed out completely.’

The requirement that *todo* receive accusative case cannot be easily waived. Thus, prepositional verbs do not qualify, even if transitive, since they can’t assign accusative case:

- (32) a. El jefe prescinde de cualquier opinión en contrario.
 ‘The boss {dispenses with/ignores} any contrary opinion.’
 b. *El jefe se prescinde todo.
 ‘The boss ignores all contrary opinions.’

Schematically, and in a highly idealized manner, I summarize below the swift semantic shift this construction has undergone before becoming an elative:

Hyperbolic use → Elative use with accusative verbs → Extension to unergative verbs (probably, first to agentive unergatives and subsequently to weather verbs)

14. This sentence is doubly ungrammatical in fact: on the one hand, *todo* cannot receive its case and, on the other, *desmayar* already takes an anticausative *se* and so cannot take dative *se* as well.

With regard to the obligatorily required reflexive clitic *se* (or variants thereof), I believe it is formally the same *se* we find in the sentences below (despite their optionality):

- (33) a. María (se) leyó diez novelas este verano.
 ‘Mary read ten novels this summer.’
 b. Pedro (se) comió tres porciones de pizza en la cena.
 ‘Peter ate up three slices of pizza for dinner.’
 c. Pedro (se) hizo un rico asado.
 ‘Peter cooked himself a wonderful barbecue.’

The nature of *se* in the above sentences is a time-honored problem in both traditional and generative grammar, and, as expected, there is a vast literature on it, which I cannot even begin to review. However, for the purposes of this chapter I assume this *se* is a true reflexive in dative case, that is, it expresses the thematic role of auto-bene/malefactive. True enough, this use of the reflexive clitic has often been analyzed as perfective in the contemporary literature, but I believe the perfective interpretation associated with it is not primitive, but rather compositionally derived from the sense of completion entailed by the VP, whose *aktionsart*, as is self-evident, is that of an accomplishment. Moreover, being in dative case, it does not compete with *todo* for case, since the latter receives accusative. The *se . . . todo* construction is therefore incompatible with verbs such as *olvidarse* ‘forget,’ *quejarse* ‘complain,’ and a few others with “inherent” *se* (this *se* is analyzed as antipassive in accusative case in Masullo, 1992). It is well-known that Spanish does not allow two or more instances of *se* in the same VP, even if they belong to different categories. Thus the following sentences may only receive a literal interpretation:

- (34) a. Pedro se olvidó todo.
 Peter REFL forgot all
 ‘Peter forgot everything.’
 b. Pablo se acuerda todo.
 Paul REFL remembers all
 ‘Paul remembers everything.’

Strictly speaking, the EXTREME DEGREE feature in question does not pertain to the whole construction (which is relative only epiphenomenally), but rather to *todo*, which has semantically shifted from plain total quantification to extreme quantification. In any event, it is no accident that *todo* has become

an elative in conjunction with *se*. Though formally a reflexive expressing an auto bene/malefactive, as I have assumed, it is often associated with the notion of overachievement or an unusual deed when used with certain verbs, thus reinforcing the elative character of the construction as a whole. In fact, it is not uncommon to find *se* with the colloquial light verb *mandar* ‘make or do something extraordinary or unusual.’ The verb *mandar* (literally ‘send,’ ‘order,’ ‘command’) in colloquial Argentinian Spanish deserves a study of its own. Apart from having been bleached to mean “make” or “do,” it has been desemantized in other interesting ways which I cannot go into here. Suffice it to say, for the purposes of this study, that it is intrinsically elative itself, so that it selects only for objects somehow associated with an extreme degree feature, as the following examples show (notice, in particular, the unacceptability of [35d], with a non-elative object):

- (35) a. Juan *se* mandó un asado espectacular.
 John REFL sent a barbecue spectacular
 ‘John cooked a spectacular barbecue.’
- b. Juan *se* mandó {un moco/una macana} terrible.
 John REFL sent {a snot/ a mistake} terrible
 ‘John fucked up big time.’
- c. Juan *se* mandó unos riquísimos mates.
 John REFL sent some very-good mates
 ‘John served some extraordinary mates.’
- d. *María *se* mandó una torta {común/sencilla}.
 Mary REFL sent a cake {common/simple}
 ‘Mary made a plain cake.’

It is no surprise then that *mandar* occurs quite naturally with the covert exclamatives dealt with in this chapter:

- (36) ¡María *se* mandó {un/cada} error / un error **de** grave!
 Mary REFL sent {one/each error} /an error of grave!
 ‘Mary made such terrible/serious blunders!’

The restrictions observed above show that despite its fossilization and semantic shift, the formal properties of the construction are maintained, both with regard to *todo* and with regard to *se*. I now show that the basic *aktionsart* (or internal aspect) of the literal construction is also kept. It is obvious that sentences like *María se comió la manzana* ‘Mary REFL ate the apple’ is an

accomplishment (an activity with an end-point that makes it telic).¹⁵ It is therefore expected that stative transitive verbs should not occur in the *se . . . todo* construction, much in the same way as autobene/malefactive *se* with a perfective flavor cannot be used with stative verbs:¹⁶

- (37) **María se ama a todos sus hijos.*
 Mary REFL love to all her children
 ‘Mary loves all her children for herself.’

Examples in (38) fit within the same pattern.

- (38) a. **Pedro se admira a todos sus maestros.*
 Peter REFL admire to all his teachers
 ‘Peter admires all his teachers for himself.’
 b. **María se ama todo.*
 Mary REFL loves all
 ‘Mary loves (people) intensely.’
 c. **Pedro se admira todo.*
 Peter REFL admires all
 ‘Peter admires (everything) intensely.’

I conclude by pointing out that, as expected, the elative *se . . . todo* construction analyzed above cannot be (internally) negated and is in principle incompatible with dubitative, desiderative, interrogative, or exclamative operators in Focus Phrase:

- (39) a. **¡No te llores todo!*
 Don’t REFL cry all!
 ‘Don’t cry your heart out!’

15. Compositionally, some of these sentences may be construed as states. Thus, *María se fuma todo* ‘Mary smokes it all’ can be construed as *María es una fumadora empedernida* ‘Mary is an inveterate smoker,’ but this is no counterexample, since *fumarse todo* is primarily an accomplishment at the lexical level, its stative interpretation being coerced by the habitual present; that is, the imperfective external aspect of the verb. Actually, there seems to be a more general restriction disallowing stative verbs with bene/malefactives altogether, reflexive or non-reflexive: **María le está contenta a la madre* ‘Mary is happy for her mother’s sake,’ a question I will not develop any further here.

16. *Saber* and *conocer* ‘know’ seem to be exceptions, both in the literal and elative senses: *María se sabe muy bien la lección* ‘Mary knows her lesson very well’; *¡María se sabe todo!* ‘Mary knows so much!’

- b. *Tal vez mañana se llueva todo.
Perhaps tomorrow REFL rains all
'Maybe it rains cats and dogs tomorrow'
- c. *¿Se lloverá todo mañana?
REFL will-rain all tomorrow?
'Will it rain cats and dogs tomorrow?'
- d. ??¿Que se llueva todo mañana!
That REFL rain.SUBJ all tomorrow
'May it rain cats and dogs tomorrow!'
- e. *¿Cuándo se lloverá todo?
When REFL will-rain all?
'When will it rain cats and dogs?'
- f. *¿Cómo María se fuma todo!
How Mary REFL smokes all!
'How Mary smokes like a chimney!'

4.3. MAL AS AN ELATIVE

The negative manner adverb *mal* 'ill,' 'badly' is being used more and more in colloquial Argentinian Spanish as an elative intensifier, both with positive and negative predicates:

- (40) a. Mario {está enamorado/se enamoró} mal.
Mario is in-love/ has-fallen-in-love badly
'Mario {is head over heels in love/has desperately fallen in love}.'
- b. Pedro es (un) conservador mal.
Peter is (a) conservative badly
'Peter is {terribly conservative/a terribly conservative man}.'
- c. Se trabaja mal en temporada alta en Bariloche.
REFL works badly in season high in Bariloche
'We work like crazy during the high season in Bariloche.'
(OK with a literal manner interpretation too)
- d. María es inteligente (pero) mal.
Mary is intelligent (but) badly
'Mary is extremely intelligent.'
- e. María es una adicta al mate mal.
Mary is an addict to-the mate badly
'Mary is terribly addicted to mate.'

- f. María me gusta mal.
 Mary to-me likes badly
 ‘I like Mary an awful lot.’

This is not an entirely unexpected phenomenon. As we know, it is not uncommon in the world’s languages for negative modifiers to gradually take on a (positive) elative meaning. For example, in English, *badly* can be used in a similar fashion, and adjectives and adverbs like *terrific(ally)*, *awful(ly)*, and *awesome* (all originally negative) are now used colloquially with a positive value, as the following examples illustrate:

- (41) a. I {need/want/could do with} a cup of coffee/a rest badly.
 b. Kudos! The performance last night was {terrific/awesome}!
 c. I enjoyed the book an awful lot.
 d. These bagels are awfully good!

The same can be said of *bárbaro* ‘barbarous,’ *terriblemente* ‘terribly’ in many varieties of Spanish and *horrible* ‘horrible’ in Mexican Spanish (see Company, 2009), which can be used as positive elatives. In the opposite direction, originally positive items such as *bendito* ‘blessed,’ *santo* ‘saintly,’ *reverendo* ‘reverend,’ and a few others can be used as negative elatives (all instances of irony at its best):

- (42) a. La fiesta de anoche estuvo {bárbara/ horrible}.
 The party of last- night was {barbarous/horrible}
 ‘The party last night was {terrific/awesome}.’
 b. María es terriblemente inteligente.
 ‘Mary is terribly intelligent.’
 c. Los chicos de hoy se la pasan en la computadora todo el santo día.
 The children of today REFL it.FEM pass in the computer all the saintly day
 ‘Nowadays, children spend all day long at their computer.’
 d. Juan es un reverendo idiota.
 John is a reverend idiot
 ‘John is a downright idiot.’

Going back to elative *mal*, the semantic shift involved is not difficult to reconstruct. Idealizing somewhat the (quite rapid) diachronic development, we may postulate the following stages:

Negative manner → extreme negative manner → extreme degree
 (negative properties) → extreme degree (all properties)

Like other run-of-the-mill elatives, *mal* can optionally be used in exclamative sentences, that is, it can optionally be bound by an empty exclamative operator in search of an expression expressing extreme degree:

- (43) ¡Te emborrachaste mal anoche!
 You got-drunk badly last-night!
 ‘How drunk you got last night!’

The elative nature of this new use of *mal* is once again confirmed by the fact that, as predicted, it cannot occur in negative sentences, is incompatible with other elative expressions, and clashes with operators in Focus Phrase:¹⁷

- (44) a. *Mario no está enamorado mal.
 Mario not is in-love badly
 ‘Mario is not badly in love’
 (Cf. *Mario no está muy enamorado* ‘Mario is not very much in love.’)
- b. *¿Quién se enamoró mal últimamente?
 ‘Who has fallen in love badly lately?’
- c. *¡No te enamores mal!
 ‘Don’t fall in love badly!’
 (Cf. ¡*No te enamores demasiado!* ‘Don’t fall too much in love!’)

Apart from the fact that *mal* must be semantically licensed by a gradable element, just like other elatives (Cf. **Este es un tratado comercial mal* ‘This is a commercial treaty badly’, in which the relational adjective *comercial* cannot license it), special attention must be paid to its syntactic behavior, since, unlike other elatives or intensifiers in general, it is to be analyzed as a VP-modifier or adjunct, not as a degree head selecting for a gradable predicate; that is, the semantic shift the adverb *mal* has undergone has left its categorial features intact. In this respect, it is comparable to degree adverbials such as *to a great extent*, *in a big way*, and *big time* in English, which are clearly modifiers within a VP, but do not take gradable expressions as complements,

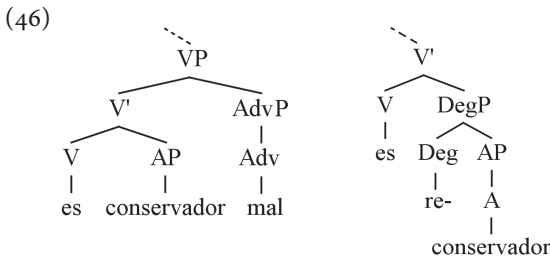
17. Occasionally, we find elatives *re* and *mal* co-occurring. I don’t think this poses a real problem for my analysis, if it is taken as a case of emphatic reinforcement: *El tipo es re-tonto mal* ‘The guy is a downright fool.’

or else like *malamente* in Italian and some varieties of Spanish. The following contrasts fall naturally from this analysis:

- (45) a. Mario es (un) {conservador mal/ *mal conservador}
 Mario is (a) {conservative badly/badly conservative}
 ‘Mario is terribly conservative.’
- b. Mario está {en peligro mal/*mal en peligro}.
 Mario is {in danger badly/badly in danger}
 ‘Mario is in terrible danger.’
- c. Esta planta es {invasiva mal/ *mal invasiva}.
 This weed is {invasive badly/badly invasive}
 ‘This weed is terribly invasive.’
- d. María corre {rápido mal/ *mal rápido}.
 Mary runs {rapid badly/badly rapid}
 ‘Mary runs incredibly fast.’

In (45a), *mal* is semantically licensed by the gradable predicate *conservador*, whether it is used as an adjective or a noun, but categorially licensed by V. As one might expect, the ungrammatical option in (45a) does not apply to the interpretation “J. is a bad conservator (person).”

The tree in (46a) shows the position of *mal* as an adjunct within the VP, like other manner adjuncts. In this respect it contrasts sharply with degree heads such as *re* (46b):



The ungrammaticality of the alternants with preposed *mal* observed in (45) can now be easily accounted for. Though they contain a gradable expression capable of licensing *mal*, this is a functional category acting as head of a degree phrase, rather than as a VP-adjunct.

I close this section by pointing out that, as far as can be ascertained, relative *mal* is always a bare adverb phrase, and like other relatives it can be preceded by *pero* ‘but’ in order to establish a contrast between “normal” or

average degree and extreme degree, in which case *mal* tends to be the prosodic focus:

- (47) a. A Pedro le gusta el teatro {?? muy/tan} mal.
 To Peter DAT likes the theater {very/ so} badly
 ‘Peter likes drama {very/so} incredibly.’
 b. A Pedro le gusta el teatro, pero MAL.
 To Peter DAT likes the theater, but BADLY
 ‘Peter likes drama, but very much indeed.’

5. Long-Distance Dependencies

It is an uncontested fact that wh-exclamatives, much like relative clauses and wh-questions, must meet locality constraints. The question of locality has traditionally been subsumed under Subjacency and the ECP (Empty Category Principle) in GB/PP, having been reformulated, in turn, in terms of the Minimal Link Condition in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995). However, ECP phenomena do not seem to have been completely recast in Minimalist terms yet, to the best of my knowledge. In fact, the whole question of locality and long-distance dependency is (or has been) in a constant state of flux in current generative theory and is awaiting a new unified solution. For my purposes, however, it suffices to point out that, like overt wh-exclamatives, covert exclamatives appear to meet the same locality conditions, however these are to be ultimately formulated and whatever axiomatic primitives they should be reduced to.

In the case of overt exclamatives (48), the bolded element forms a chain with the [e] in situ inside a nominal “island.” In traditional GB/PP terms, locality has been violated by extracting out of a DP and out of a relative clause (see also Masullo, 2012):

- (48) a. ***¿Qué interesante** leyó Juan ese libro [e]!
 How interesting read John that book!
 *‘How interesting John read that book!’
 (Cf. *Juan leyó ese libro muy bueno* ‘John read that very good book.’)
 b. ***¿Cómo** vio Juan una película en la que llueve [e]!
 How saw John a movie in the that rains!
 *‘How much John saw a movie in which it rains!’
 (Cf. *Juan vio una película en la que llueve mucho* ‘John saw a movie in which it rains very heavily.’)

- c. *¿**Cuánto** **dinero** quiere María conocer un hombre que tenga [e]!
 How-much money wants Mary to-know a man that has!
 ‘*How much money Mary wants to know a man who has!’
 (Cf. *María quiere conocer un hombre que tenga mucho dinero* ‘Mary wants to meet a man with a lot of money.’)

We find a similar situation in the case of the overt exclamation with *de*, *un*, and *cada* dealt with in this chapter:

- (49) a. *¿Juan leyó mi libro **de lindo**!
 ‘*John read my book so nice!’
 b. *¿No me gusta hablar con la gente que pone **una cara** cuando escucha!
 ‘I don’t like to talk to those people who put on such a face when they listen!’
 (Cf. *No me gusta hablar con esa gente que pone cara de indiferente cuando escucha* ‘I don’t like to talk to people that put on an indifferent face when they listen.’)
 c. *¿No estoy de acuerdo con los que son **de tercos**!
 ‘I don’t agree with those that are so stubborn!’
 (Cf. *No estoy de acuerdo con la gente muy terca* ‘I don’t agree with very stubborn people.’)
 d. *¿Ayer visité ese barrio que tiene **cada** casa!
 ‘Yesterday I visited that neighborhood that has such houses!’
 (Cf. *Ayer visité ese barrio que tiene casas imponentes* ‘Yesterday I visited that neighborhood that has imposing houses.’)

This fact can be explained in a natural manner by claiming that at LF the empty exclamative operator is blocked from binding the corresponding exclamative phrase inside the island in question. Thus the analysis that has been proposed here finds further support:

- (50) *_iOP_{[EXCL]_i} Ayer visité ese barrio que tiene [**cada** casa]_{[EXTR DEG]_i}!

I predict that the same constraints apply to plain relatives when used exclamatively since, as I have proposed, a chain must necessarily be formed between

an empty exclamative operator and the relative in situ. This prediction is borne out:

- (51) *¡Mirá a esa persona que se emborracha **mal** todas las noches!
 ‘Look at that person who gets completely drunk every night!’

Plain relatives, however, should not be constrained in the same manner, since, as I have argued, they do not require an operator to bind their inherent extreme degree feature. In this respect, I depart from Masullo (2012), who lumps together *all* relatives and non-*wh* extreme degree expressions and therefore proposes “LF movement” in every case. This fact is confirmed by the grammaticality of the following sentences, in which such a movement would violate the complex NP-constraint (an NP with a relative or complement nominal clause):

- (52) a. Me gustan esos días que se llueve todo.
 ‘I like those days in which it rains cats and dogs.’
 b. Me atraen las personas que son inteligentes mal.
 ‘I am attracted to people that are extremely smart.’
 c. La insinuación de que María canta malísimamente mal es absurda.
 ‘The hint that Mary sings awfully badly is absurd.’

A similar situation seems to obtain when we extract out of adverbial clauses. As (53) shows, we cannot establish a long-distance dependency in the case of covert exclamatives:

- (53) a. *Aunque Juan sea un loco, hay que admitir que trabaja muy bien [OK if *un* is not exclamative]
 ‘Although John is such a crazy guy, we have to admit that he’s a good worker.’
 b. *Mientras (que) María es de loca, Pedro es mucho más razonable.
 ‘While Mary is such a crazy woman, Peter is much more sensible.’
 c. *Si Juan estuviera de loco, no podría tener un trabajo de tanta responsabilidad.
 ‘If John was terribly crazy, he could not hold down such a responsible job.’

In contrast, and as expected, plain elatives seem to fare very well:

- (54) a. Aunque Juan sea loquísimo, hay que admitir que trabaja muy bien.
 ‘Though John is terribly mad, one has to admit he’s a very good worker.’
 b. Mientras (que) María es loca mal, Pedro es mucho más razonable.
 ‘While Mary is so crazy, Peter is much more sensible.’

However, for independent reasons, plain elatives and conditionals are uneasy bed-fellows, given the non-factive nature of the latter:

- (55) ??Si María es adicta a la cocaína mal, entonces no podrá conseguir empleo.
 ‘If Mary is so addicted to cocaine, then she won’t be able to get a job.’

This sentence strongly contrasts with *Si, como decís, María es adicta a la cocaína mal, entonces no podrá conseguir empleo* ‘If, as you say, Mary is so addicted to cocaine, then she won’t be able to get a job,’ in which the elative *mal* is anaphorically licensed by *como decís* ‘as you say.’

Given the colloquial nature of both covert exclamatives and plain elatives, which are not usually found in complex sentences, grammaticality judgements are not always accurate, but rather, slippery and fuzzy. In any case, the locality phenomena presented above *prima facie* confirm my analysis of covert exclamatives, as well as my account of plain elatives, whether these are used exclamatively or not. Matters are also blurred by different semantic factors that need to be carefully teased apart, as we saw in the case of (55) above, a question for future research.

6. Conclusions and Some Outstanding Questions

In this study I have attempted to establish a distinction between overt wh-exclamative sentences and covert exclamatives containing no overt operator in Spec (CP), but an expression *in situ* instead, which, I have argued, is associated with the features EXCLAMATIVE and EXTREME DEGREE at once. I have paid particular attention to three of these: those headed by the

indefinite article, the partitive preposition *de*, and the quantifier *cada*. I have also claimed that we are to distinguish between *in situ* exclamatives proper, on the one hand, and plain elatives, on the other. The latter can only optionally be used as *in situ* exclamatives. Otherwise, they need not be bound by an operator, being intrinsically associated with extreme degree only. The chart below summarizes the analysis proposed:

Feature	Overt exclamatives	Covert exclamatives	Plain elatives
[EXCLAMATIVE]	On wh-element (strong)	On base-generated OP	On empty operator (optional)
[EXTREME DEGREE]	On wh-element	On <i>in situ</i> element	On <i>in situ</i> element

Apart from introducing recent relative expressions in colloquial Argentinian Spanish, I have examined carefully two in particular, the *se . . . todo* construction and the negative manner adverb *mal*. Nevertheless, insofar as covert and overt exclamatives as well as plain elatives are all factive, I have shown that they form a natural class at a higher level of abstraction. Thus, as I have shown, all three are incompatible with negation and cannot occur in interrogative, jussive, dubitative, or desiderative sentences.

My research has shown that what we call “exclamation” is not a homogeneous phenomenon, but a class of attitudinal meanings which may get encoded through various formal and structural means. Although I have followed along the lines of Masullo (2012), I have also demonstrated that finer-grained distinctions need to be made. However, it has not been my aim to cover all phenomena that may come under the umbrella of exclamation. For example, I have said nothing about “hidden” exclamatives (which somehow parallel hidden questions), introduced by the definite article or the neuter pronominal clitic *lo* (see Brucart, 1993; Contreras, 1999; RAE-ASALE, 2009; etc.). Neither have I dealt with “simple” exclamation as in the sentences below:

- (56) a. ¡Salió el sol!
 ‘The sun’s come out!’
 b. ¡Se prende fuego la casa!
 ‘The house is catching fire!’
 c. ¡Me robaron el celular!
 ‘They have stolen my cell phone!’

It can be argued that in this case the (empty) exclamative operator has scope over the entire propositional content and not just over an extreme

degree expression (cf. RAE-ASALE, 2009, in which a distinction is suggested between total and partial exclamation). That is, although prototypically we show surprise or exclaim at the extreme degree of a property, we can also show surprise or exclaim at an unusual, unexpected, (un)desired, sudden, etc., situation. Thus, the “widening” effect requirement for exclamation (Zanutini & Portner, 2003) is satisfied both in “total” and “partial” exclamatives.

In conclusion, complex and challenging though it may prove, the study of exclamative sentences and their “next of kin” provides us with insights into the rich interface between morphosyntax, semantics, pragmatics, and our conceptual-intentional systems. A thorough study of exclamation should also come to terms with the complex and nuanced prosodic aspects associated with exclamation, which once again places this phenomenon at the interfaces, this time with our articulatory and perceptual systems. These matters no doubt necessitate further collaborative research from different perspectives.