Catalan Journal of Linguistics

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Catalan Journal of Linguistics publica articles d’investigació en lingüística teòrica que desenvolupin teories sobre l’estructura de les llengües particulars dins la perspectiva d’una teoria general del llenguatge humà. Els volums seran sovint monogràfics, editats per un especialista en el tema.

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Catalan Journal of Linguistics style sheet

• **Text processor.** Both a hard copy and an electronic version of the paper are required. The diskette has to be submitted in Word for Macintosh or PC.

• **Format.** Font 12 point Times, interline at 1.5, use default margins (2.5 cm or 1 inch). Do not insert or force (with blank lines) any page break (even if that implies that representations or sets of examples remain split).

• **Heading.** Left-justification. Title, with title capitalisation, in boldface. Name of the author, research center (written as a complete mail address) and e-mail address. Acknowledgements, as a footnote, called by a flying asterisk at the end of the title.

• **Abstracts.** A 150 word abstract is required. A Catalan version of the abstract should be included at the end of the article. Authors are also asked to provide the key words of the article.

• **Headings of sections and paragraphs.** Headings of main sections: in boldface. Headings of first order paragraphs: in italics. Headings of second order paragraphs or others: in italics with text beginning at the same line.

• **Examples.** Example numbers should go between brackets, left aligned (Arabic digits for examples in the text; lower case Romans for examples in footnotes). Example texts should start at the first tab. If there is more than one example within a number, lower case Roman should be used followed by a stop and a tab. Examples must be referred to as (1), (5a,b), (6b-d), (ii), (iii c-e), (iv a,b), etc.

• **Glosses and translations in examples.** Examples from languages other than English should be accompanied by a gloss and, if necessary, by a translation into English. Align glosses with examples word by word. Translations should be in simple quotation marks. Sentences should end with a final stop (before the ending quotation mark).

• **Text.** The beginning of a paragraph should be left indented, except for the first paragraph of a section. References in the text should follow this format: Chomsky (1981), Kayne (1981, 1982), Belletti and Rizzi (forthcoming), Jackendoff (p.c.). If they indicate the page number or an example: Rizzi (1990: 20), Rizzi (1990: ex. (24)).

• **General remarks.** No underline, no boldface except for titles, simple quotation marks only for translations. Phonetic characters should be created with SIL-Doulos IPA. Words, phrases or sentences in a language other than English appearing in the body of the text should be followed by a translation in parentheses and simple quotation marks.

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Sumari

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Articles

9-40  **Villalba, Xavier** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Centre de Lingüística Teòrica)

In this paper a snapshot is offered of the state of the art in the research on exclamatives, reviewing our current understanding of "classic" issues, like factivity, high degree, or the relationship between exclamatives and interrogatives, and highlighting new theoretical and empirical challenges, such as the contribution of exclamative sentences to a dynamic model of discourse or the placement of exclamative phrases in the left-periphery.

**Key words:** exclamative sentences, factivity, degree, widening.

41-90  **Castroviejo Miró, Elena** (J.W. Goethe Universität-Frankfurt)

While it is still not widely accepted that exclamatives are a clause type, exclamations are intuitively considered a speech act comparable to assertions and questions. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the notion of *exclamation*. In particular, I compare the pragmatic properties of *wh*-exclamatives with the discourse distribution of other so-called *exclamations* and argue that they do not have a uniform way to update the Common Ground; by using a series of tests, I show that the sole thing they have in common is an emphatic intonation and a non-neutral attitude on the part of the speaker.

**Key words:** exclamations, exclamative sentences, speech acts, Common Ground.
González Rodríguez, Raquel (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha)

This paper studies the island effects induced by negation in exclamative sentences. In order to explain this phenomenon, I focus on the interaction between exclamative wh-phrases and negation, showing that negation can appear in exclamative sentences when the wh-phrase is not within the scope of negation; when the negative operator has wide scope, the sentence is ungrammatical. Assuming Szabolcsi and Zwarts’s (1997) account of negative islands, I argue that the wh-phrase can have wide scope only when its domain is an unordered set, and not when it ranges over ordered sets. I argue that the inverse scope relation, where the wh-phrase is within the scope of negation, is always rejected, since wh-phrases are positive polarity items. I show that they are sensitive to downward-entailing contexts and propose that this is due to the fact that they widen a domain of quantification without strengthening the statement, in line with Kadmon and Landman’s (1993) and Chierchia’s (2004) analyses of negative polarity.

Key words: exclamative sentences, positive polarity, degree quantification, negative islands.

Gutiérrez-Rexach, Javier (The Ohio State University)

In this paper several aspects of the syntax and semantics of Spanish root exclamatives are analyzed. Assuming a multi-layered approach to the CP projection, it is argued that a degree feature is checked in the Focus layer and that the exclamative feature is checked in the Force layer. The former type of checking provides evidence for the hypothesis that focus-related features are checked in different phases of the syntactic computation. The apparent diversity of exclamative structures in Spanish corresponds to a tight set of derivational mechanisms and corresponding interpretive steps.

Key words: exclamative sentences, focus, degree, syntax/semantics interface.

Mayol, Laia (University of Pennsylvania)

This paper presents a formal semantic analysis of the Catalan interjection ‘Déu n’hi do’ (DND, henceforth) and its interactions with exclamative sentences. The analysis of DND in a nutshell is that (1) it has the lexical meaning of weakening and not of intensification, contrary to previous approaches in the literature and (2) it changes the semantic type of the exclamative sentence it precedes,
turning a set of propositions into a proposition. Since DND-exclamatives can syntactically embed in more contexts than bare exclamatives, they provide evidence that part of the meaning of exclamatives is conveyed through a Conventional Implicature (CI). Finally, the syntactic distribution and semantic behavior of DND-clauses in embedded contexts can be explained by the interaction between the asserted and the CI meaning.

Key words: Exclamatives, Conventional Implicature, Levels of Meaning, Particles, Interjections.

157-199 Haegeman, Liliane; Van de Velde, Danièle (Université Charles de Gaulle, Lille III)


The paper explores the semantic value and the distributional and formal properties of the element tet in West Flemish and assesses its main properties in both aspects. It is also shown that a proper analysis of tet shed further light on other apparently unrelated properties of German Languages, such as the properties of the Vorfeld and the position of the subject. After revising the possibilities of analysing this element as a contrastive, evaluative, or Focus marker of the CP domain, the authors reject this possibility by taking into consideration the fact that it is dependent on facts related to Case licensing of the subject, and propose to merge it in a FP projection belonging to the TP domain. Furthermore, the distribution of tet can be used as a milestone that permits new insights onto the distribution of lexical material in the Germanic Vorfeld, specifically on the controversial issue about the movement of the subject out of TP, which the authors argue has not to move in all cases.

Key words: Strong pronouns, CP layer, TP layer, Subject layer, Focus Marking, V2, Vorfeld properties.

201-203 Resums