ON SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WH-INTERROGATIVES AND WH-EXCLAMATIVES: THE CASE OF BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

The main goal of this presentation is to argue against the belief that exclamatives and interrogatives share certain grammatical or semantic mechanisms. It also aims at presenting some differences between wh-interrogatives and wh-exclamatives. Usually, wh-interrogatives in Romance are characterized either by the fronting of the wh-expression to a clause-initial position and by the subject-verb-inversion (the residual V2 phenomenon), as we see in (1), from Italian, and (2), from Spanish:

(1) Che cosa ha detto Maria?
What thing did say-3SG Maria
“What did Maria say?”

(2) ¿Qué dijo Maria?
What say-3SG Maria
“What did Maria say?”

However, that’s not the case in (3) Brazilian Portuguese (BP):

(3) A Maria disse o quê?
the Maria say-3SG what
“Maria said what?”

In sentence (3), one would notice two particular features of BP: i) despite being a Romance Language, there’s no residual V2 in the formation of interrogative clauses; ii) it is possible to maintain the wh-element in situ (except in embedded clauses). Besides that, BP has four different morphosyntactic structures for wh-interrogatives (OUSHIRO, 2011), as shown in (4):

(4) a. “Simple” wh-interrogative: Onde você mora? (Where you live?)
   b. Wh-que interrogative: Onde que você mora? (Where that you live?)
   c. Cleft wh-interrogative: Onde é que você mora? (Where is-it that you live?)

As for the morphosyntactic structure of wh-exclamatives, they come in two types (ZENDRON, 2016):
e. **Wh e-only** [wh that occurs only in exclamative clauses]: Que linda casa! (What a beautiful house!)

f. **Wh non e-only** (wh that occurs in exclamative and interrogative clauses): Como é chato esse filme! (This movie is so boring!)

In BP, the structure “que + AP” (how + adjective phrase) is a wh e-only type, which means that it only occurs in exclamative clauses and that there are no interrogative counterparts to sentences of that type:

(4) *Que linda casa?*
how beautiful house
“Such a beautiful house?”

Another difference between interrogatives and exclamatives is the movement of the wh clause. In BP, the movement of the wh-element is obligatory in exclamative clauses, while it is not in interrogatives:

(5) “Quanto doce ela comeu?”
[How much] candy she eat-3SG
“How much candy did she eat?”

(6) * “Ela comeu quanto doce!”
She eat-3SG [how much] candy
“How much candy she ate!”

From a semantics perspective, wh-exclamatives are distinguished from wh-interrogatives by at least three properties: i) wh-exclamatives convey factive predicates; ii) wh-exclamatives also convey scalar implicatures and iii) wh-exclamatives cannot be used in question/answer pairs (ZANUTTINI & PORTNER, 2003).

Hence, wh-exclamatives occupy the focus position (FocP) in the left periphery. There is also a difference between the left periphery structure of wh-interrogatives and the one exhibited by wh-exclamative sentences. The left periphery of wh-questions has the following structure (POLETTO & POLLOCK, 2000):
On the other hand, according to Ambar (2003), wh-exclamatives activate the following categories: AssP (a functional projection expressing the speaker's attitude), EvalP (which expresses an evaluation), the notions of common ground (AssertiveP and EvaluativeP), as well as the FocusP and WhP positions. The AssP category — the projection responsible for encoding the speaker's knowledge about the predicate — guarantees the factual property of wh-exclamatives, while EvalP accommodates the property of scalar implicature. Therefore, the left periphery of wh-exclamatives sentences would have the following structure:

(8) \[XP \text{[EvaluativeP [Eval' [AssertiveP [Ass' [XP [WhP [Wh’ [FocusP [Foc’ [XP [FinP]]]]]]]]]]]]\]

Thus, in other words, at least two features have to be checked in wh-exclamatives: an assertive feature and an evaluative one. Assertive checking is intended to satisfy the property of factivity, while evaluative checking is intended to satisfy the property of evaluation.

These data would suggest that there are actually structural and discoursive differences between wh-interrogatives and wh-exclamatives.

Selected References