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We still have a few copies in stock of Simon Dik's 1978 monograph *Stepwise Lexical Decomposition* (f 5), which can be ordered in the same way as a Working Paper.

**EXCLAMATION IN FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR :
SENTENCE TYPE, ILLOCUTION OR MODALITY?**

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O. INTRODUCTION

Exclamation is conceived of in Dik (1997a and b) as one of the basic illocutions which correspond to the four more pervasive sentence type distinctions: declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamative. This view is the one which is adopted in the current version of Functional Grammar (hereafter FG) in general. Restricting myself to non-idiomatic exclamative full sentences, I would like in this study to re-examine, argue for and further develop the idea (put forward in Moutaouakil 1993 and 1995) that the properties of exclamative constructions could be more adequately accounted for if Exclamation were thought of as a subtype of Subjective Modality rather than a sentence type or an illocution.

1. EXCLAMATION AS A SENTENCE TYPE

In traditional grammars (as well as in Generative Grammar) exclamation is regarded as a sentence type, like declaration, interrogation and imperative. It is hard to find, in traditional grammars, a unique and precise definition of exclamation. Nonetheless, one can deduce from the different characterizations proposed in this kind of grammars that exclamation is a sentence form (or type) just like declaration, interrogation, and imperative.

The claim that exclamation constitutes a distinct and autonomous sentence type faces the following serious problems:

(i) Traditional grammarians speak of sentence type without providing us with any clear definition of this notion. As a consequence, the inventories they propose differ from one grammarian to another and are very heterogeneous. In some grammars, only declaration, interrogation, imperative and exclamation are considered as sentence types; in others, the inventory is extended to contain also negative, injunctive, vocative and optative constructions. The problem with traditional grammars is, thus, that they give no criteria to include (or exclude) a given sentence form, say exclamative, in the set of sentence types.

(ii) Declarative, interrogative and imperative constructions display a limited number of discriminatory formal features which permit us to recognize them and to distinguish them from each other. In contrast, the forms in which exclamation (especially when taken in a broad sense) is realized are, as is well known, very diverse and differ from one language to another, although one can set off from these various forms some shared constant features, especially prosodic features.

(iii) What is more, as is mentioned in traditional grammars themselves, Exclamation in many languages (if not in all languages) has no specific forms in contrast with Declaration, Interrogation and Imperative. Except for some idiomatic expressions, it borrows its formal expression from one of these three sentence types, especially from the first two. Thus, one can speak of "exclamatory declaratives", "exclamatory interrogatives" and possibly "exclamatory imperatives". Here are some English examples illustrating the point:

- (1) She is NICE!
- (2)
 - a. Is she NICE!
 - b. Isn't she NICE!

- (3) Look who is coming THERE!

This observation has been taken as the most important argument by those linguists (cf. Milner 1975 among others) who have claimed that Exclamation can hardly be seen as a distinct and autonomous sentence type and that it can be regarded as an interrogation with an exclamative interpretation. The facts exemplified in (1), (2a-b) and (3) show, moreover, that it is difficult for a given construction to be seen as belonging to two sentence types at once and that the most reasonable position one can take in the case of the constructions at hand is to consider them as declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences respectively with a special prosody. The nature of what this special prosody is meant to express will be examined below.

(iv) It is commonly admitted that sentence type and illocution go hand in hand in the sense that the sentence type of a construction is the main formal expression of the illocutionary force that this construction carries. If we take the connection (i.e. the mutual implication) between these two notions for granted, we can say that exclamative constructions do not constitute a full-fledged sentence type since Exclamation, as will be shown in the next sub-section, can hardly be said to be an illocution.

We will re-examine the relation between the notions exclamation and sentence type from another perspective in 3.4.2. below.

2. EXCLAMATION AS AN ILLOCUTION

The current FG position with respect to the status of Exclamation as discussed in Dik (1997b: 236-239) can be summarized as follows: sentence types are grammaticalized carriers of basic illocutions. All languages seem to have the three sentence types Declarative, Interrogative and Imperative which code the basic illocutions Declaration, Interrogation and Imperative; many of them also have an exclamative sentence type carrying Exclamation as a fourth basic illocution. These illocutions are represented in underlying clause structure by means of illocutionary operators which take the proposition or the predication in their scope. As regards the exclamative illocutionary operator, it has the following interpretation (Dik 1997b: 239):

- (4) EXCL =
"S wishes A to know that the content of the linguistic expression impresses S as surprising, unexpected or otherwise worthy of notice"

Formally, and like the other illocutionary operators, EXCL-operator is intended to trigger the expression rules responsible for the mapping of the underlying clause structure onto the exclamative sentence type.

Basic illocutions may undergo an illocutionary conversion process in which a given illocution is (lexically, grammatically or pragmatically) converted into another. As for Exclamation, it may result from the conversion of Interrogation or Imperative as is the case in (5a-b) and (6a-b) respectively:

- (5) a. Has she grown? (please tell me)
b. Has she GROWN!

- (6) a. Look who is there (Go and have a look to see who is there)
- b. Look who's THERE!

There is no need to argue for the appropriateness of this approach to Declaration, Interrogation and Imperative as well as to other types of illocutions. As for exclamation, it seems to me that there are good reasons to be unconvinced that it is indeed an illocution, at least in the same sense as declaration, interrogation and imperative:

(i) In its narrow sense (i.e. as an expression of something surprising or unexpected), exclamation as such does not appear in the typologies established by speech acts theorists. Moreover, to the contrary of what might be expected, it is not mentioned by Searle (1979) in the category of speech acts he calls "expressive". We will propose an explanation of this omission below.

(ii) Exclamation lacks indeed the essential properties that characterize speech acts:

a) First of all, unlike declarative, interrogative and imperative constructions, exclamative constructions do not necessarily involve interactional relationships between the speaker and the addressee, which is one of the defining features of illocutionary force. This property is formally reflected in the fact that illocutionary-force-indicating predicates such as *tell*, *ask* and *order* are typically three-place predicates taking a second person pronoun referring to the addressee as third argument while predicates like *be amazed* are not. Compare:

- (7) a. I tell you that John will come back tomorrow
- b. I ask you whether Mary will meet John
- c. I order you to leave now
- (8) a. I am amazed that John is here already!
- b. *I am amazed (to) you that John is here already!

In the case of constructions like (8a), what ensures the interaction between S and A is, as we will see below, the declarative illocution that these constructions carry, as becomes clear from (9):

- (9) I tell you that I am amazed that John is here already

What we can deduce from this observation is that the primary function of exclamation is to establish a relation between S and the content of the expression he utters rather than between him and the addressee.

b) Another fact showing that one of the functions of illocution is to establish a relation between S and H is that certain categories of speech acts such as expressives actually imply, as pointed out by Searle (1979:16), that "the property specified in the propositional content must be related to S or H". This requirement clearly does not hold for exclamation, which can be associated with a propositional content specifying a property which is related neither to S nor to H, as is shown by examples (1), (2) and (3) above.

c) As mentioned above, basic illocutions are said to often undergo an illocutionary conversion process. This has been well established as far as declaration, interrogation and imperative are concerned. As for exclamation, it is interesting to note that Dik (1997b: 243) discusses the cases where interrogative and imperative constructions are converted into exclamative constructions but he mentions no case exhibiting the conversion of an exclamative construction into another type of construction.

d) In FG, illocutions are represented in the underlying clause structure as a fourth layer which contains an illocutionary operator and (possibly) an illocutionary satellite whose role is to specify or modify the illocutionary value of the clause. Examples of this kind of satellites are adverbial expressions like *frankly*, *sincerely*, *honestly*, etc. What is worthy of notice here is that there are indeed exclamative adverbial expressions such as *surprisingly*, *wonderfully*, *amazingly* etc., but these expressions do not specify (or modify) the illocutionary value of the clause; rather they specify or modify the content of the proposition. That this is indeed the case is evidenced by the fact that (10), for example, can be paraphrased by (11) but not by (12):

- (10) Amazingly, John has greeted his enemy
- (11) It is amazing that John should greet his enemy
- (12) *I tell you amazingly that John has greeted his enemy

e) Interestingly enough, Exclamation is a gradable notion in the sense that one can be impressed to different degrees. The following French examples are understood, it seems to me, as expressing increasing exclamation:

- (13) a. Elle est BELLE!
She is nice!
- b. Est-elle BELLE!
Is she nice!
- c. N'est-elle pas BELLE!
Isn't she nice!
- d. Comme elle est BELLE!
How nice she is!

The gradability of exclamation can be tested by the fact that exclamative predicates can be quantified, as becomes clear from (14) :

- (14) I am very surprised that John is here today!

We will return to the discussion of this phenomenon later. What is noteworthy here is that the performance of a speech act cannot be conceived of as a matter of degree: a speech act is either integrally performed or not performed at all. That speech acts are not gradable is witnessed by the oddity of constructions such as (15) :

- (15) a. *I tell you very much that John is ill
- b. *I ask you very much whether John has met Mary
- c. *I order you very much to leave

f) It is well established in Speech Act Theory that the utterance of any linguistic expression obligatorily implies the performance of a speech act at the same time. Furthermore, every linguistic expression does involve an illocutionary force even when it has no full propositional content. Linguistic expressions, thus, are either declarative, interrogative or imperative but not necessarily exclamative. This means that Exclamation, unlike these three basic illocutions, is an additional optional feature which is superimposed on a linguistic expression which already has an illocutionary value.

(iii) Exclamative constructions do indeed have an illocutionary force independently of the fact that they are exclamative. This illocutionary force is typically an assertion. This is evident in the case of exclamatory declaratives like (13a). As for interrogative and imperative constructions, data from the languages investigated (English, French, Standard Modern Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and Egyptian Arabic) strongly suggest that they can be used exclamatively, especially when they "implicate" an assertion. For instance, interrogative constructions can have an exclamatory value only in their rhetorical use, i.e. only when they carry an Assertion as in the case of (13b-c), for example. That exclamative constructions have an independent illocution which is typically an Assertion is supported by the following facts:

a) As is well known (cf. Moutaouakil 1988; Dik 1997b), two clauses can be coordinated if they have the same illocution. This becomes clear from contrasts such as the following:

- (16)
- a. Mary is rich and she is generous
 - b. Is Mary rich and is she generous?
 - c. *Is Mary rich? and she is generous

However, the coordination of an exclamative construction with a declarative or a rhetorical interrogative (i.e. carrying an assertion) construction is perfectly possible:

- (17)
- a. Mary is rich and how generous she is!
 - b. Isn't Mary rich?! and how generous she is!

Another example, given by Lakoff (1987: 479), shows that this type of coordination is also possible with the adversative coordinator *but*:

- (18) I am on diet, but am I ever hungry!

b) Lakoff (1987: 475-479) points out that exclamative constructions can occur in *because*-clauses whereas interrogative and imperative constructions cannot, as becomes clear from the following examples:

- (19)
- a. I'm gonna have breakfast now, because am I ever hungry!
 - b. *I'm staying because I order you to leave
 - c. *I'm leaving because I ask you which girl pinched me

Lakoff explains the grammaticality of (19a) as deriving from the fact that the exclamative *because*-clause it contains conveys a statement, i.e. the statement *I am hungry*. The property of

conveying a statement enables exclamative constructions to also occur in subordinate constructions that begin with *although* and *except* and which must be assertive:

- (20) a. I'm going to stay on my diet, although could I ever go for a dim sum brunch!
b. I'd go swimming with you, except am I ever tired!

These observations lead Lakoff to the generalization that exclamative constructions (among other types of constructions) carry an assertion, as is shown by the following pairs:

- (21) a. Here comes the bus!
b. The bus is coming.
(22) a. Am I ever hungry!
b. I am hungry.
(23) a. What a good time everyone had!
b. Everyone had a good time.

c) As a rule, Tag-questions are associated with (positive or negative) declarative constructions as in the following pair of sentences:

- (24) a. She has grown, hasn't she?
b. She hasn't grown, has she?

Exclamative constructions can take those Tag-questions that are typically added to declarative constructions:

- (25) a. She has GROWN, hasn't she?
b. Has she GROWN! hasn't she?

d) Exclamative constructions can be reacted to by the same kind of expressions as non-exclamatory declarative constructions. Compare:

- (26) A: a. She is NICE!
b. Isn't she NICE!
(27) B: a. I know.
b. I see.
c. That's true.
(28) A: Is she nice? (please tell me)
B: a. *I know.
b. *I see.
c. *That's true.

3. EXCLAMATION AS A SUBJECTIVE MODALITY

In this section it will be claimed that exclamation perfectly fits the definition of subjective modality proposed in Dik (1997b). A typology of exclamative constructions based on the

exclamation values and degrees will be proposed. It will be shown that this typology holds not only for the clause but also for the term and the discourse (in the sense of Dik 1997b: 409-441). Finally, certain implications and perspectives of what we may call the "modality hypothesis" will be briefly examined.

3.1. EXCLAMATIVE MODALITY DEFINED

Within the FG framework, three types of modality are distinguished: inherent modality, objective modality and epistemological modality, which operate on the predicate level, the predication level and the proposition level respectively. As regards epistemological (or propositional) modality, it defines "the speaker's evaluation of, or his attitude towards the content of the proposition". Within this type of modality, further semantic distinctions are made with respect to the source of evaluation. According to Dik (1997a), the main semantic distinctions in this field are "subjective modality" and "evidential modality". As for subjective modality, with which we will be concerned here, it is defined as follows (Dik 1997a: 296):

- (29) Subjective modality:
The source of S's evaluation is
 Personal opinion:
 it is S's personal opinion that X_i is certain/probable/possible
 Volition
 it is S's wish/hope that X_i is/will be realized

Notice that Dik does not regard this list of modal distinctions as definitive. For example, in describing the properties of propositional satellites, he points out that they can express, apart from the above modal distinctions, "personal evaluations of that which is contained in the proposition". This means that other subcategories of subjective modality can be added to those mentioned in (29).

Let us consider in this connection the definition of Exclamation repeated here for convenience:

- (4) EXCL =
"S wishes A to know that the content of the linguistic expression impresses S as surprising, unexpected or otherwise worthy of notice"

A closer look at this definition, and in particular at its second part, "that the content of the linguistic expression impresses S as surprising, unexpected or otherwise worthy of notice", reveals that Exclamation rather fits the characterization of subjective modality given in (29). Like epistemic and volitional subjective modalities, Exclamation signals the speaker's evaluation of or his/her attitude towards the content of the linguistic expression with the peculiarity that the source of the evaluation is the impression made on the speaker by this content. If this assumption is tenable, it becomes possible to add to the existing types of subjective modality a third type, which may be labelled "exclamative modality". This addition leads to the reformulation of (29) as (30):

- (30) Subjective modality:
 The source of S's evaluation is
 Personal opinion:
 it is S's personal opinion that X_i is certain/probable/possible
 Volition
 it is S's wish/hope that X_i is/will be realized
 Impression/emotional reaction
 it is S's impression that X_i is surprising, unexpected or otherwise worthy of notice

Notice that in this reformulation, the Dikkean definition of Exclamation is maintained but shifted from Illocution to Modality.

As regards the addition of Exclamation as a third type of subjective modality, two remarks are in order. First, as was shown in Moutaouakil (1993), Exclamation can occur not only at the proposition level (as we can deduce from definition (30)) but also at the term level. On the basis of this extension, the third part of definition (30) can be modified as follows:

- (31) ...
 Impression/emotional reaction
 it is S's impression that X_i/x_i is surprising, unexpected or otherwise worthy of notice

This issue will be discussed below. Second, Exclamation is here understood in a rather restrictive sense: not all constructions with an exclamatory mark (injunctive, optative, exhortative etc.) are taken to be exclamative.

3.2. A TYPOLOGY OF EXCLAMATIVE MODALITY

As pointed out above, data from the languages investigated reveal that an adequate account of the properties of exclamative constructions requires a further refinement of the notion of exclamative modality. In all these languages, indeed, we find many kinds of constructions which all are labelled "exclamative" in grammar handbooks without differentiation. A closer look at these constructions shows, however, that they are far from being synonymous. Here is a general typology of exclamative constructions based on two main criteria: (a) the different values that exclamation can take and (b) its different degrees.

3.2.1. APPRECIATIVE VS DEPRECIATIVE EXCLAMATIVE MODALITY

A relatively large number of notions can be said to be subsumed by Exclamation. However, these notions can in general be reduced to two main subtypes, which one may call "Appreciation" and "Depreciation". The reaction of the speaker towards the surprising or unexpected content of some linguistic expression may indeed be either positive or negative, appreciative or depreciative. That appreciative vs depreciative exclamation is a relevant modal distinction is evidenced by the fact that it co-determines the semantic and formal properties of exclamative constructions. Let us consider, in this respect, the following sentence:

- (32) He has eaten everything on the table!!

(32) can be, contextually, interpreted as carrying either the speaker's approval or his disapproval towards the propositional content "the fact that Peter has eaten everything on the table". These two distinct meanings are mediated through two different prosodic contours. In some languages, the modal distinction at hand has morpho-syntactic correlates: in Standard Modern Arabic (SMA), the particle *ni ma* is used in appreciative exclamative constructions such as (33a) while the opposite particle *bi?sa* appears in the depreciative ones like (33b):

- SMA**
- (33) a. ni^cma l-fatatu Hindun
 good the-girl-nom Hind-nom
 'What a good girl Hind is!'
- b. bi?sa l-jaru Zaydun!
 bad the- neighbour-nom Zayd-nom
 'What a bad neighbour Zayd is!'

In the same language, the particle *habbada* can only appear in exclamative constructions carrying an appreciation :

- SMA**
- (34) habbada Hindun
 good Hind-nom
 'How good Hind is!'

As is well known, this language has two main exclamative predicate forms: *ma ?afal* and *?afil*. The former can freely occur in all kinds of exclamative constructions, whereas the latter only appears in appreciative ones. Thus, (35) sounds strange or possibly even ungrammatical:

- SMA**
- (35) *?aqbih bi-Zaydin!
 bad with-Zayd-gen
 'How bad Zayd is!'

Further syntactic evidence is provided by French where exclamative constructions with a fronted adjectival predicate can only carry a depreciative attitude, as becomes clear from contrasts such as the following:

- (36) a. Stote que tu es!
 'Stupid that you are!'
- b. *Géniale que tu es!
 'Genius that you are!'

Other French exclamative constructions, such as those with the general form either Adjective-Preposition-Noun or Noun-Preposition-Noun, display the property of expressing only a negative attitude. Compare:

- (37) a. Cet imbécile de Paul a encore échoué!
 This stupid of Paul has again failed
 'That stupid Paul has failed again!'
- b. ??Cette beauté de Marie a épousé Jean!
 This beauty of Marie has married Jean

3.2.2. DEGREES OF EXCLAMATION

The speaker can be impressed to different degrees: he can be moderately surprised, very surprised, awed or shocked etc. This means that Exclamation, as pointed out above, is a matter of degree, that is, a gradable notion. This gradability is in general formally reflected in the sense that languages use different constructions to express the various degrees of exclamation. It is, however, not always very clear how they actually do so. Thus, we need further research and, in particular, further exploration and analysis of corpora from typologically different languages to determine exactly what kind of construction natural languages assign to what degree of exclamation. For the time being, we can only make the following general observations, which can be taken, it seems to me, as provisionally correct:

(i) Lexically, the different degrees of Exclamation may be expressed by means of predicates with gradual meanings such as those involved in the following hierarchy:

- (38) a. fantastic > marvelous > nice > beautiful
 b. incredible > astonishing > amazing > surprising

(ii) In general, the less marked exclamative constructions are used to express the low degrees of exclamation whereas the more marked constructions are reserved to mediate the high ones. For example, in SMA, exclamation is mainly expressed by two predicate forms: *ma ?af'al* and *?af'il bi*. The former is the most natural and the most frequent way to carry the modality at hand; the latter is the marked one, which is consequently used to express a higher degree of exclamation. The difference between the sentences of the following pair is mainly a difference of evaluative degree:

- SMA**
- (39) a. ma ?akrama Zaydan
 Generous-excl Zayd-acc
 'How generous Zayd is!'
- b. ?akrim bi-Zaydin!
 Generous-excl with-Zayd-gen
 'How very generous Zayd is!'

In the same vein, one may assume that in the languages where Exclamation can be expressed either through declarative or interrogative constructions, these two types of exclamative constructions, despite having the same propositional content, seem to differ from each other with respect to the degree of exclamation which is intended to be carried. In general, exclamatory interrogative constructions are more marked than exclamatory declarative constructions. This can be explained, it seems to me, by the fact that exclamation typically presupposes the truth of the

fact which causes the exclamative reaction. On the basis of this observation, one can assume that sentence (40b) carries a higher degree of exclamation than sentence (40a):

- (40) a. She has GROWN!
b. Hasn't she GROWN!

(iii) Some languages are provided with grammatical means which enable them to reinforce the exclamation value already basically expressed by a certain kind of exclamative construction. The reinforced exclamative construction allows a higher degree of exclamation than the normal non-reinforced one. This falls under the ancient Arabic grammatical principle that "Adding to the form is adding to the meaning" or its modern version called the "iconic principle" by Givón (1983). If we generalize it in such a way that it can also apply to other notions than Topic, this principle may be reformulated as follows:

- (41) **Iconic Principle**
"The greater the semantic/pragmatic content of a linguistic expression, the more coding material is needed to express it."

Let us consider some examples from French, SMA, Moroccan Arabic (MA) and Egyptian Arabic (EA) which support the applicability of principle (41) to exclamative constructions:

FRENCH

- (42) a. Elle est BELLE!
b. Qu' elle est BELLE!
c. Qu' est-ce qu' elle est BELLE!
d. Dieu! Qu'est-ce qu'elle est BELLE!

SMA

- (43) a. ma ?ajmala Hindan!
beautiful-excl Hind-acc
'How beautiful Hind is!'
b. ?ala ma ?ajmala Hindan!
Reinf beautiful-excl Hind-acc
'How very beautiful Hind is!'

MA

- (44) a. °sa klina!
dinner have-eaten-we
'What a dinner we had!'
b- °la °sa klina!
over dinner have-eaten-we
'What a good dinner we had'
c- walayinni °la °sa klina!
but over dinner have we eaten
'What a delicious dinner we had!'

- EA**
- (45)
- a. ?akalna ^casa!
have-we-eaten dinner
'What a dinner we had!'
 - b. ?akalna hittit ^casa!
have-we-eaten some dinner
'What a good dinner we had!'
 - c. ?akalna hittit ^casa ?inna ma ?eh!
have-we-eaten some dinner but what
'What a delicious dinner we had!'

The common feature of all these sentences is that they express increasing appreciation by adding or cumulating special morphemes (quantifiers, particles etc.). That constructions such as (42), (43), (44) and (45) carry indeed increasing exclamation can be shown by the fact that they differ with respect to the extent to which they tolerate restrictive comments. Compare:

- (46)
- a. Elle est BELLE mais elle ne m'impressionne pas beaucoup!
'She is BEAUTIFUL but she doesn't impress me very much!'
 - b. ?Qu' elle est BELLE mais elle ne m'impressionne pas beaucoup !
'How BEAUTIFUL she is but she doesn't impress me very much !'
 - c. ??Qu' est-ce qu' elle est BELLE mais elle ne m'impressionne beaucoup !
'How very BEAUTIFUL she is but she doesn't impress me very much'
 - d. ???Dieu, qu'est-ce qu' elle est BELLE mais elle ne m'impressionne pas beaucoup!
'Oh God! How very BEAUTIFUL she is but she doesn't impress me very much!'

3.3. EXCLAMATIVE MODALITY AND LAYERING

We have pointed out above that exclamative modality can occur not only at the propositional but also at the term level. In the following two subsections, we will examine the different scope relationships that can be involved in exclamative clauses and their representation in the underlying clause and term structures. In subsection 3.3.3., we will claim that exclamative modality can also have in its scope a whole stretch of discourse, which allows us to speak of discourse exclamation in addition to proposition and term exclamations.

3.3.1. PROPOSITIONAL EXCLAMATION

When it occurs in the propositional layer, exclamative modality can be represented by (a) propositional satellites, (b) a propositional operator or (c) modal predicates.

In the cases where it is expressed by lexical means, propositional exclamative modality takes the form of adverbial expressions such as *surprisingly*, *wonderfully*, *amazingly*, etc. These adverbs have the status of propositional satellites. To give an example, sentence (47) has (48) as its (simplified) underlying structure:

(47) Surprisingly, John passed the exam

(48) DECL ASS E_i : [X_i : [pass_v (John)_{PoSubjTop} (exam)_{GoObj}]_{Foc} (surprisingly)]

When exclamation is expressed by grammatical (i.e. morphological, syntactic and/or prosodic) means, it is to be represented as a propositional operator, as becomes clear from (49):

(49) Tp Ill E_i : [Appr/Depr Excl_{1...n} X_i : [Predication]]

where: Tp = sentence type;
 ILL = illocution;
 Appr = Appreciative;
 Depr = depreciative;
 1...n = indices of degree of exclamation

For example, the Arabic sentence (50), in which exclamative modality is coded in the form of the predicate *?akrim* has (51) as its underlying representation:

(50) ?akrim bi-Zaydin!
 generous with-Zayd-gen
 'How generous Zayd is!'

(51) DECL ASS E_i : [Appr Excl₂ X_i : [Pres e_i : /k.r.m./_v (Zayd)_{PoSubjTop}]_{Foc}]

I have argued elsewhere (Moutaouakil 1993), elaborating on the analysis proposed in Vet (1990), that constructions like (52):

(52) I am surprised that John passed the exam.

involve what I called a "pseudo-embedding" phenomenon in the sense that, despite their surface syntactic configuration, they consist of a simple clause in which the proposition modality is expressed by a modal formula. Since this modal formula plays the same role as any modal morpheme or particle, the most natural way to handle it (given the current FG model) is to represent it as an instantiation of the proposition operator. According to this analysis, the structure underlying (52) can be something like (53) where the expression *I am surprised* functions, as a whole, as an exclamative propositional operator:

(53) DECL ASS E_i : [I am surprised X_i : [Past e_i : [Pass_v (John)_{PoSubjTop} (exam)_{GoObj}]]]_{Foc}]

3.3.2. TERM EXCLAMATION

In Moutaouakil (1993), it is argued that exclamation (as well as other subtypes of subjective modality) can also occur at the term level. Examples of exclamative terms are the terms *avec quel enthousiasme* and *une femme merveilleuse* in sentences (54) and (55):

(54) Jean travaille avec quel enthousiasme!
'With what enthusiasm Jean works!'

(55) J'ai rencontré une femme merveilleuse!
'I met a marvellous woman'

It was suggested there to extend the layered model of term structure proposed in Rijkhoff (1992) by adding a fourth layer representing the different modality distinctions (including exclamation) which can occur in a term.

More recently, starting from Rijkhoff's proposal, Dik (1997a: 163) presents a modified version of underlying term structure whose general schema is (56):

(56) ω_2 - Loc ω_2 - Quant x: [ω_1 - Qual pred [N] (args)]

It is clear from (56) that three kinds of term operators (and consequently three layers) are distinguished: (a) qualifying operators, (b) quantifying operators and (c) localizing operators.

My suggestion here is to adapt the proposal made in Moutaouakil (1993) in such a way that it can be incorporated into the underlying term structure represented in (56). By adding a fourth kind of operators (and a fourth term layer) which can be generically labelled "modal operators", yielding general schema (57):

(57) ω_3 -Mod [ω_2 -Loc [ω_2 -Quant x: [ω_1 - Qual pred [N] (args) θ_1] θ_2] θ_3)]

As far as exclamation is concerned, it can be represented as a value of the modal operator and possibly also by a modal satellite, as becomes clear from (58):

(58) ([APPR/DEPR EXCL_{1...n} [ω_2 -Loc [ω_2 -Quant x: [ω_1 -Qual pred [N] (args) σ_1] σ_2] σ_3]])

According to this proposal, the underlying structures of the second terms in sentences (54) and (55) are (59) and (60) respectively:

(59) ([APPR EXCL₂ [i [1 x_i : [enthousiasme [N]] σ] σ])_{ManFoc}

(60) ([APPR EXCL₁ [i [1 x_i : [femme [N]] σ] σ] (merveilleuse)])_{GoFoc}

3.3.3. DISCOURSE EXCLAMATION

Exclamation is, as far as I know, commonly thought of as a clausal feature. Yet, it can also have in its scope a whole stretch of discourse. In this respect, one can invoke, as typical examples, the well-known varieties of panegyric discourse. Here is a simple example:

- (61) What a nice girl I saw yesterday in Amsterdam! What beautiful eyes she had! How lovely was her smile!...

One of the very insightful assumptions advocated in Dik (1997b: 419) and which opens new avenues for very promising research in the functional grammar of discourse is that discourse can be viewed as containing the same layers as those involved at the clause level. In the light of this assumption, Dik postulates the existence of "discourse illocution" which "takes a whole (section of) a discourse in its scope", as becomes clear from representation (62) (Dik 1997a: 419):

- (62) Ill (Discourse-episode)

In order to account for the exclamative character of stretches of discourse such as (61), it is also possible, as pointed out in Moutaouakil (1998), to postulate, elaborating on Dik's (1997b: 424-432) assumption that clause layering can be projected onto the discourse level, a "discourse modality" layer. According to this assumption, the structure of discourse is rather (63):

- (63) Ill (Mod (Discourse-episode))

If we consider exclamation as one of the possible values of the discourse modal operator (Mod), we can represent the general structure of exclamative discourse as follows:

- (64) Ill (APPR/DEPR EXCL_{1...n} (Discourse-episode))

Accordingly, the (very simplified) underlying structure which we can assign to (61) can be something like (65):

- (65) DECL ASS [APPR EXCL₂ [saw (I) (a nice girl) (yesterday) (in Amsterdam). Had (she) (beautiful eyes). Was lovely (her smile) ...]

Notice that it is possible to re-interpret Benveniste's dichotomy "Recit vs Discours" as values of D-mod operator, as suggested in Moutaouakil (1998). In this case, subjective modal distinctions (including exclamation) would be subtypes of Discourse modality.

3.4. IMPLICATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

As is to be expected, the analysis of exclamation as a type of subjective modality (rather than an illocution) necessarily has some consequences for both the representation and the derivation of linguistic expressions in FG. In order to give a complete and precise picture of the implications of such an approach, further research is needed. In what follows, I will mention only two of these implications: (a) the fact that the parallelism between term and predication advocated in Rijkhoff (1992) can be said also to hold between term, clause and discourse, and (b) the fact that so-called sentence types are not determined only by (basic) illocutions but are rather results of an interplay of illocutionary and modal features. In the same connection, I will briefly examine the possibility of a modular approach to (some types of) subjective modality.

3.4.1. EXTENDING THE PARALLELISM BETWEEN PREDICATION AND TERM

The parallelism between term and predication has been discussed and argued for in Rijkhoff (1992) and Dik (1997a). As shown above, this parallelism can be pushed a step forward to also hold between term, clause and discourse. The structural similarity between these three entities reveals itself at the two levels: (a) the representational level and (b) the interpersonal level. Term, clause and discourse contain, in addition to the element which constitutes the representational level (i.e. a predication or a discourse-episode), modality and illocution layers which define together the interpersonal level.

As regards the modality layer, the structural isomorphism between the three linguistic entities at hand is shown in representations (66) , (67) and (68a or b):

- (66) Term structure
[ω_3 [Predication] (θ_3)]
- (67) Proposition structure
[π_3 [Predication] (σ_3)]
- (68) Discourse structure
a. [D-mod [D-episode] D-mod satellites]
b. [π -mod [D-episode] σ -mod]

Their complete structural isomorphism is represented in (69 (a or b)) , (70) and (71):

- (69) Discourse structure
a. [D-ill [D-mod [D-episode] D-mod satellites] D-ill satellites]
b. [π -ill [π -mod [D-episode] σ -mod] σ -ill]
- (70) Clause structure:
[π_4 [π_3 [Predication] (σ_3)] (σ_4)]
- (71) Term structure:
[ω_4 ? [ω_3 [Predication] (θ_3)] (θ_4) ?]

Notice that the question whether terms can also have their own illocutionary values when they occur in a "complete" sentence (cf. Mackenzie 1998 for the underlying representation of "holophrastic" linguistic expressions) is left open, as is indicated by the question marks in (71).

3.4.2. EXCLAMATIVE MODALITY AND SENTENCE TYPE

It is commonly believed that what determines the sentence type of a given linguistic expression is the (basic) illocution it conveys. However, the sentence types to which linguistic expressions belong result, in fact, from the interplay of different semantic/pragmatic features such as illocution, pragmatic functions and, as I will claim, modality. So we can speak of a "Modality Indicating Device" (MID) alongside the well-known "Illocutionary Force Indicating Device" (IFID).

As far as exclamative constructions are concerned , the way in which this interplay takes place can be summarized as follows:

(i) As to "normal" exclamative constructions, the exclamation values (Appreciative vs Depreciative) and degrees determine the prosodic contour which is specific to this type of constructions. These features can also determine the morphology of the exclamatory term-phrase or the predicate of the exclamatory clause according to the general rule (72) (Dik 1997a: 349):

(72) OP [A] = B [Dik 1997a]

To give an example, the rules responsible for the form of the term *quel enthousiasme* in (54) and the predicate in (50) can be formulated as (73) and (74) respectively:

(73) Appr Excl₁ [enthousiasme] = Quel enthousiasme

(74) Appr Excl₂ [k.r.m_v] = ?akrim

In some languages, word order (within the clause as well as within the term phrase) can also be sensitive to exclamative modal features. In MA, the fronting of the adjectival predicate (i.e. its placement in the clause-initial position) expresses a relatively high degree of exclamation, as becomes clear from the comparison between (75 a) and (75 b):

- (75)
- a. had d-dar zwina
 this the-house nice
 'This house is nice!'
 - b. zwina had d-dar!
 nice this the-house
 'How nice this house is!'

In French, the adjectival restrictor is, as is well known, typically placed after the head noun. This order can, however, be reversed as is shown by the contrast between (76 a) and (76 b):

- (76)
- a. J'ai participé à une soirée sacrée
 I have participated to an evening sacred
 'I took part in a religious ceremony.'
 - b. J'ai participé à une sacrée soirée
 I have participated to a memorable evening party
 'I took part in a memorable evening party.'

As assumed in Moutaouakil (1993), the adjective *sacrée* in (76a) is a descriptive restrictor which thus belongs to the quality layer, whereas in (76b) it rather expresses an emotional evaluation of the entity referred to by the term phrase and thus serves as a satellite of the modal layer. The difference between (76 a) and (76 b) is accounted for in underlying term structures (77a) and (77b):

- (77)
- a. ([i [1 x_i: [soirée_N sacrée_A] θ] θ])_{GoFoc}
 - b. (EXCL [i [1 x_i: [soirée_N] θ] θ] (sacrée_A))_{GoFoc}

In order to describe the difference in word order between (76a) and (76b), a general placement rule can be formulated which will assign the appropriate position to the adjectival restrictor in French on the basis of its underlying (modal vs non-modal) status.

(ii) Exclamative constructions can undergo a grammaticalization process involving a conflictual interaction between IFID and MID. Through such a process, it can happen that exclamative modality progressively neutralizes the formal effect of the illocution. The final stage of this neutralization process yields idiomatic exclamative constructions.

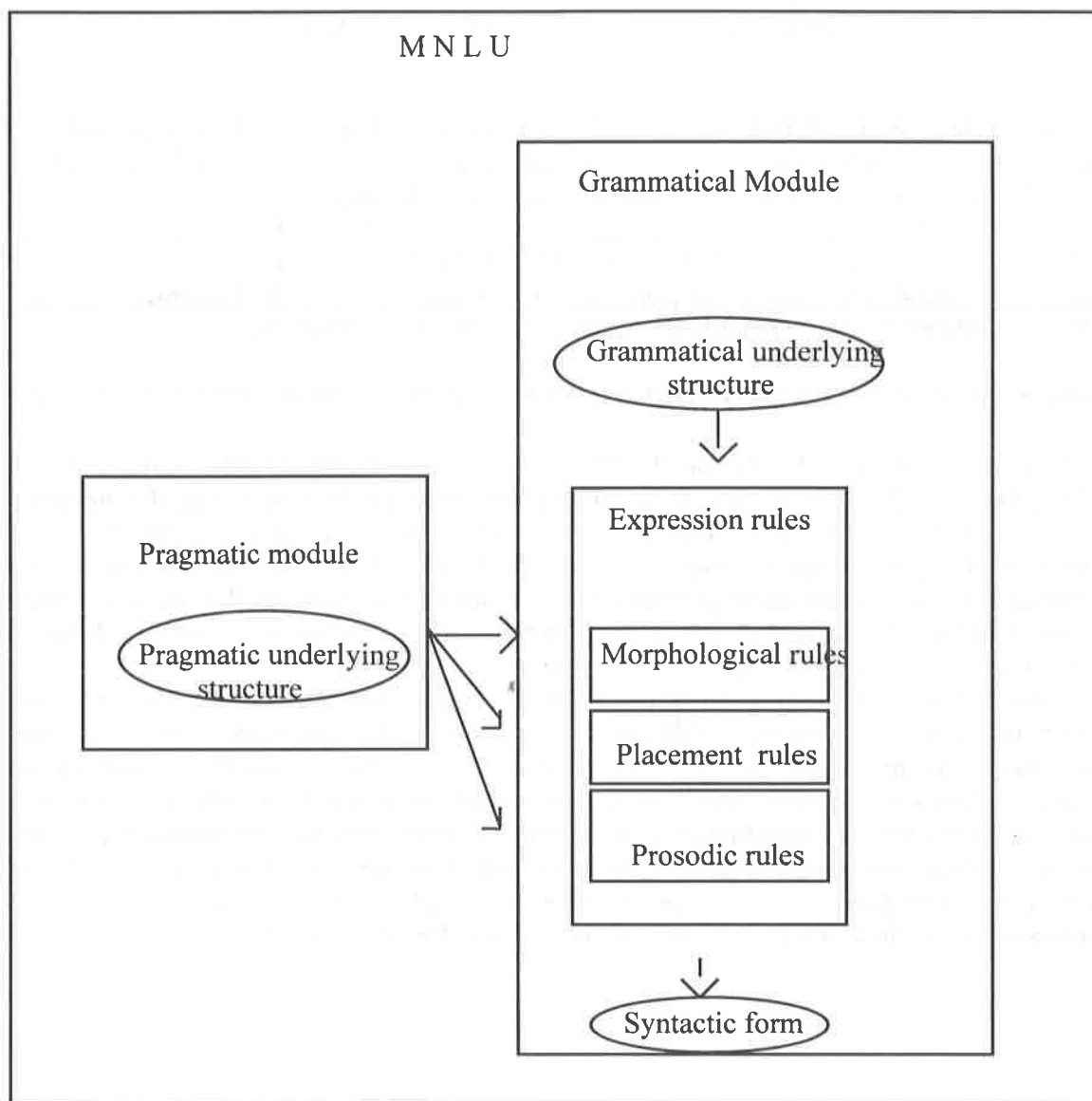
3.4.3. TOWARDS A TRANSMODULAR APPROACH OF (SUBJECTIVE) MODALITY

The basic claim advocated in Kroon (1997), Bolkestein (1998), Vet (1998), Van den Berg (1998) and Liedtke (1998) is that a separate pragmatic/discourse module should be distinguished from the grammatical module. This module is intended to deal with the contextually determined properties of linguistic expressions such as speech acts (Vet 1998) and pragmatic functions (Bolkestein 1998). In the same perspective, I would like to suggest that such a module¹ can equally well host the representation of exclamation (and the subjective modality distinctions in general), given its contextual (speaker-oriented) nature.

The transmodular derivation of exclamative constructions can be roughly conceived of as follows (cf. also Vet 1998 for a different conception). In the pragmatic module, a (pragmatic) underlying structure represents the illocutionary force, the exclamative modality and the pragmatic functions (Topic and Focus) associated with the linguistic expression; in the grammatical module, a (grammatical) underlying structure encodes the semantic and structural properties; these two underlying structures (which I suggest we formulate, for the sake of uniformity and simplicity, in the same FG standard style) are taken as inputs to expression rules which deliver the final syntactic form. This is visualized by diagram (78):

¹ The pragmatic module is not synonymous, in my opinion, with the discourse module if we think of discourse, following Dik (1997b), as a linguistic entity larger than a sentence or a clause (i.e. a «Texte» in the proposal made in Moutaouakil 1998). We can therefore deal with discourse partly in the grammatical module of the MNLU and partly in the pragmatic module (just like the clause). In this case, only the pure pragmatic features of discourse such as discourse illocution, subjective discourse modality and discourse pragmatic functions are to be accounted for in the pragmatic module. According to this conception of the modular approach to discourse, the underlying text structure advocated in Moutaouakil (1998) can be maintained. I intend to return to this very important issue in subsequent research.

(78) **Figure 1: The modular approach**



To give an example, sentence (79) can in this approach be thought of as derived from underlying structures² (80) and (81) located in the pragmatic and the grammatical modules respectively:

(79) How beautiful she is!

² As to the way in which the underlying (clause or discourse) structure is to be represented, I will adopt the well-known Dikcean hypothesis that all the modules of the MNLU, except for the perceptual module, «speak» the same language. Consequently, the pragmatic structure will be represented in the same FG style as the grammatical structure with the difference, however, that it does not contain the same information.

- (80) ASS E_i: [APPR EXCL₂ X_i: [e_i: f_i(x_i)_{Top}]_{Foc}]
- (81) DECL U_i: [X_i: [Pres e_i: beautiful_A (she)_{PoSubj}]]

where U = utterance

Note that the other modules (epistemic, logic, social and perceptual) of the Model of Natural Language User (MNLU) probably intervene in this derivation. I will not go into this issue here.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The claim I have tried to advocate in this study is that there are empirical as well as theoretical reasons to conceive of exclamation as a subtype of subjective modality rather than an illocution. Viewed in the light of this assumption, (non-idiomatic) exclamative constructions turn out to be subjectively modalized declarative, interrogative or imperative constructions typically conveying an assertion as their basic or (derived) illocution. Such an approach makes it possible to account in a principled way for the formal properties of exclamative constructions that are determined by the different values and degrees of exclamation. A more satisfactory description and explanation of these properties can be arrived at if we consider sentence types as the result of a conflictual interplay between IFID and MID which may be progressively solved by a grammaticalization process yielding exclamative idioms. The re-interpretation of exclamation as a subjective modality allows us to postulate a modal layer at the term and discourse levels and then to account for the full structural parallelism between these three entities. Given that exclamation (as well as the other categories of subjective modality) is, like illocutionary force and pragmatic functions, a contextually determined notion, a transmodular approach can be proposed in which the derivation of exclamative constructions (and all linguistic expressions in general) is achieved through the interaction of the pragmatic and the grammatical modules.

It goes without saying that further research within the FG framework will hopefully explore other interesting aspects of exclamation (i.e. lexical and "templatic" exclamative idioms, exclamative "holophrases" etc.) and reveal other possibly more satisfactory ways to come to grips with this highly rich and complex phenomenon.

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