

Exclamation in Late Archaic Chinese

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Abstract

Exclamation is constituted of sentence exclamations and exclamatives. Sentence exclamations in Late Archaic Chinese (LAC) are expressives asserting denoted propositions, parallel to their counterparts in modern Mandarin. Sentence exclamations in LAC also indicate that the asserted propositions fail to meet speakers' expectations, yet such a sense of surprise is not obligatory. Another property of sentence exclamations in LAC is their compatibility with focus structures whose value is reflected in a degree property. As for exclamatives, although they exist in modern Mandarin, they do not exist in LAC. There are exclamatory constructions involving degree adverbials *he* and *heqi*, which, according to traditional analyses (Yang & He, 1992, pp. 899-900; Chu, 1994, p. 303), are exclamatives. Nevertheless, I suggest that exclamatory constructions involving *he* and *heqi* in LAC fail to pass the exclamativity tests (Zanuttini & Portner 2000, 2003; Badan & Cheng, 2015), disparate from their modern counterparts, so they should not be treated as true exclamatives.

Keywords: Late Archaic Chinese, sentence exclamations, exclamatives, exclamativity tests

Povzetek

Vzklik je sestavljen iz vzklične povedi in vzkličnika. Vzklične povedi v pozno-arhaični kitajščini (LAC) so izjave, ki potrdijo oz. ovržejo določeno predpostavko, in so primerljive s svojim sodobnim sopomenkam v sodobni kitajščini. Vzklične povedi v LAC pogosto nakazujejo, da potrjene predpostavke ne izpolnjujejo pričakovanj govorcev, vendar takšen občutek presenečenja ni obvezen. Še ena lastnost vzkličnih povedi v LAC je njihova združljivost s strukturami, ki izražajo fokus, katerih vrednost se odraža v lastnosti stopnje. Vzkličniki sicer obstajajo v sodobni kitajščini, vendar ne v LAC-u. Obstajajo sicer vzklične strukture, ki vključujejo stopenjska prislova *he* in *heqi*, ki jih po tradicionalnih analizah (Yang & He, 1992, str. 899-900; Chu, 1994, str. 303) uvrščamo med vzkličnike. V članku pokažem, da vzklične strukture, ki vključujejo *he* in *heqi* v LAC-u, v nasprotju z njihovimi sodobnimi sopomenkami ne prestanejo testov vzkličnosti (Zanuttini & Portner, 2000, 2003; Badan & Cheng, 2015), zato jih ne bi smeli obravnavati kot vzkličnike.

Ključne besede: pozno-arhaična kitajščina, vzklična poved, vzklik, testi vzkličnosti



1 Introduction

Late Archaic Chinese (henceforth LAC) denotes Archaic Chinese during the Warring States period (475-221 BC). The written form of the Chinese language prior to the 20th century did not have punctuation, so readers parse Archaic Chinese texts based on contextual information, grammatical and modal particles, as well as symmetry and rhythm of parallel sentence structures; the judgement of exclamation in LAC is also the case (Chu, 1994, p. 302; Galambos, 2014).

According to traditional views, exclamation in LAC can be formed by means of distinct strategies. First, exclamation can be realized via interjections preceding declarative sentences. In LAC, there is a range of interjections indicating excitement, sympathy, sorrow, approval, surprise, etc. For instance, *yi* 噫, *wuhu* 嗚呼 and *ai* 唉 are typical interjections in Archaic Chinese (1a/b/c), and the interpretation of emotions they express relies heavily on contextual information. Among these interjections, *ai* is still widely used in modern Mandarin (Wu, 1980, pp. 249-251; Xiang et al., 1988, pp. 122-123; Yang & He, 1992, pp. 901-904; Chu, 1994, pp. 302-308).

(1) a. 噫 天 祝 予

yi tian zhu yu

interj providence slash me

'Alas! Providence is slashing me!'¹

(Gongyangzhuan • Aigong 14; 206 BC-9 AD)

b. 嗚呼 哀 哉

wuhu ai zai

interj sad PAR

'Alas! How sad!'

(Xunzi • Wangba; 475 BC-221 BC)

c. 唉 予 知 之

ai yu zhi zhi

interj I know 3.Obj

'Ah, I know it.'

(Zhuangzi • Zhibeiyong; 350 BC-250 BC)

¹ Except Examples (13-16) and (24) that are cited from literature, all examples in this paper are rendered into English by the author.

Second, in LAC it is prevalent to generate exclamation through exclamatory particles. Under most circumstances, exclamatory particles occupy sentence-final positions. The most commonly attested sentence-final exclamatory particle is *zai* 哉, the fundamental function of which is to express strong emotions, similar to *a* in modern Mandarin (2). Alternatively, *zai* may appear in open and closed questions and still indicate exclamation (3a/b). Additionally, *zai* can be employed at the end of rhetorical questions; under this circumstance, *zai* is usually accompanied by an interrogative pronoun (4a) or a particle *qi* 豈 (4b). Although *zai* is allowed to be present in rhetorical questions, its function is mainly to express exclamative modality; the rhetoricalness is conveyed by interrogative pronouns or *qi*, as in (4b) (Liao, 1979, pp. 218-219; Wang, 1980, pp. 448-449; Pan, 1982, p. 168; Guo et al., 1999, pp. 354-355; Xu, 2002, p. 199).

(2) a. 危 哉
wei zai
dangerous PAR
'Dangerous!'

(Guanzi • Xiaowen; 475 BC-220 AD)

b. 管 仲 之 器 小 哉
Guan Zhong zhi qi xiao zai
Guan Zhong Gen tolerance small PAR
'Guan Zhong's tolerance is small!'

(Lunyu • Baiyi; 480 BC-350 BC)

(3) a. 卻 之 為 不 恭 何 哉
que zhi wei bu gong he zai
decline 3.Obj COP not respectful why PAR
'Why is it not respectful to decline it?'

(Mengzi • Wanzhang; 340 BC-250 BC)

b. 君子 多 乎 哉? 不 多 也
junzi duo hu zai? bu duo ye
gentleman many PAR PAR? Not many PAR
'Are there many gentlemen? Not many.'

(Lunyu • Zihan; 480 BC-350 BC)

(4) a. 彼 且 惡 乎 待 哉

bi qie wu hu dai zai

3.Subj then what on rely PAR

'Then what does he rely on?'

(Zhuangzi • Xiaoyaoyou; 350 BC-250 BC)

b. 豈 能 獨 樂 哉

qi neng du le zai

how can alone be.happy PAR

'How can (he) be happy alone?'

(Mengzi • Lianghuiwang; 340 BC-250 BC)

A counterpart of *zai* 哉 in LAC is *fu* 夫, yet the exclamative emotion expressed by *fu* tends to be more low-spirited (5). It is prevalent for *zai* 哉 to follow another particle, e.g. *hu* 乎 (in a rigid order *hu zai*, rather than **zai hu*), in a sentence-final position (6). In the situation of multiple particles, each particle maintains its individual function, and the modality of the entire sentence is normally determined by the last particle (Liao, 1979, pp. 219-220; Pan, 1982, p. 168; Xiang et al., 1988, p. 122; Guo et al., 1999, pp. 355-356; Yang, 2003, pp. 409-410; Wang, 2005, p. 298).

(5) a. 逝 者 如 斯 夫

shi zhe ru si fu

pass.on DET be.like this PAR

'What passes on is like this!'

(Lunyu • Zihan; 480 BC-350 BC)

b. 哀 夫 敬 夫

ai fu jing fu

sadness PAR respect PAR

'Sadness! Respect!'

(Xunzi • Lilun; 475 BC-221 BC)

(6) 善 乎 哉

shan hu zai

good PAR PAR

'Good!'

(Huangdineijing • Wuyinwuwei; 475 BC-9AD)

It is worth mentioning that although the vast majority of exclamatory particles in Archaic Chinese occur in a sentence-final position, a few particles such as *qi* 其 expressing modality may appear at the beginning or in the middle of sentences (7a/b) (Yang & He, 1992, pp. 893-894; Guo et al., 1999, pp. 356-359; Wang, 2001, p. 466; Yang, 2003, p. 414).

(7) a. 其 有 此 土 乎

qi you ci tu hu

PAR own this land PAR

‘(We will) own this land!’

(Guoyu • Jinyu 4; 475 BC-221 BC)

b. 泰山 其 頽 乎 梁木 其 壞 乎 哲人 其 萎 乎

Taishan qi tui hu liangmu qi huai hu zheren qi wei hu

Mount.Tai PAR collapse PAR wooden.beam PAR rot PAR sage PAR wither PAR

‘Mount Tai is about to collapse! Wooden beams are about to rot! Sages are about to wither!’

(Liji • Tangong; 475 BC-221 BC)

Third, exclamation can be generated via inversion or reduplication (Yang & He, 1992, p. 901; Chu, 1994, pp. 303-304), as exemplified by (8a-b) and (9) respectively. As can be seen from (2) and (6), the canonical position of *zai* is sentence-final, but it can be fronted to a sentence-initial position with the predicative adjective (8), and under this circumstance, the exclamateness becomes stronger (Guo et al., 1999, p. 354).

(8) a. 大 哉 堯 之 為 君 也

da zai yao zhi wei jun ye

great PAR Yao ZHI COP monarch PAR

‘Yao is great as a monarch!’

(Lunyu • Taibo; 480 BC-350 BC)

b. 甚 矣 汝 之 不 惠

shen yi ru zhi bu hui

serious PAR you ZHI not intelligent

‘Your unintelligence is serious!’

(Liezi • Tangwen; 475 BC-221 BC)

(9) a. 仲尼 亟 稱 於 水 曰 水 哉 水 哉
Zhongni qi cheng yu shui yue shui zai shui zai
Zhongni repeatedly praise Prep water say water PAR water PAR
'Zhongni repeatedly praised water: "Water! Water!"
(Mengzi • Lilou; 340 BC-250 BC)

b. 天 喪 予 天 喪 予
tian sang yu tian sang yu
providence kill me providence kill me
'Providence is killing me! Providence is killing me!'
(Lunyu • Xianjin; 480 BC-350 BC)

Fourth, it is possible for exclamation to be realized without interjections, particles or syntactic processes, as exemplified by Example (10).

(10) 老 而 不 死 是 為 賊
lao er bu si shi wei zei
old Conj not die this COP vermin
'Being old but not dying, this is vermin!'
(Lunyu • Xianwen; 480 BC-350 BC)

In this paper, I investigate two types of exclamation in LAC, viz. sentence exclamations and exclamatives. This paper consists of five sections. In Section 2 I review previous literature on sentence exclamations and exclamatives in modern Mandarin. In Sections 3 and 4 I discuss sentence exclamations and exclamatives in LAC respectively. Section 5 is a conclusion section.

The sources of LAC data in this paper are Scripta Sinica² database, CCL corpus³, and Chinese Text Project.⁴ The Academia Sinica electronic database is one of the largest Chinese full-text databases to encompass a wide range of historical materials, and it contains more than 1,349 titles and 754,200,198 characters, covering virtually all important classics, particularly those related to Chinese history. The CCL corpus was developed by the Centre for Chinese Linguistics (abbreviated as CCL), Peking University, and it contains approximately 700 million Chinese Characters ranging between the 11th BC and the contemporary era. The Chinese Text Project is an open-access digital library that makes pre-modern Chinese texts available online; with more than 30,000 titles

² <http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihp/hanji.htm>

³ http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/

⁴ <https://ctext.org/>

and over 5 billion characters, it is so far the largest database focusing on pre-modern Chinese texts.

Selected scripts of these corpora during the Warring States period are extracted from fifteen key books represented by *The Analects*, *Mencius*, and *Zuozhuan*, which cover a considerable amount of discourses and genres including historical narratives, political essays, philosophical prose, ethical writing, ritual records, and medical text.

2 Previous research

Exclamation is constituted of sentence exclamations (11) and exclamatives (12a-c). A sentence exclamation is an exclamation formed with a declarative sentence, while an exclamative is an exclamation formed with something other than a declarative sentence. Sentence exclamations and exclamatives make the same contribution to discourse, in that they form a natural class of utterances expressing that a particular proposition has not met the speaker's expectations. Nevertheless, sentence exclamations and exclamatives are disparate in terms of the degree of restriction. That is to say, exclamatives are subject to an additional semantic restriction entailing the degree of interpretation. To be more specific, sentence exclamations express a non-scalar expectation, yet exclamatives express a scalar expectation that a gradable property is instantiated to a particular degree (Rett, 2011).

(11) (Wow,) John bakes delicious desserts! sentence exclamation

(12) a. (My,) What delicious desserts John bakes! *wh*-exclamative

 b. (Boy,) Does John bake delicious desserts! inversion exclamative

 c. (My,) The delicious desserts John bakes! nominal exclamative

(From Rett, 2011, p. 412)

Among the matrices of *wh*-exclamatives, there are two distinct types of structures. Semantically, they display distinct types of scalar meaning, viz. an exclamative attitude towards a *wh*-referent, and an exclamative attitude towards the event the *wh*-referent participates in. Morpho-syntactically, the former type is non-standard *wh*-expressions, whereas the latter bears a resemblance to embedded questions (Nouwen & Chernilovskaya, 2015).

According to Portner and Zanuttini (2000) and Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003), exclamatives are identified by two fundamental syntactic components, i.e. an abstract factive morpheme *F* and a *wh*-operator. As a consequence of the syntactic representation, exclamatives exhibit two central semantic properties, factivity, and widening, from which the force of exclamatives is derived indirectly. Factivity is

triggered by the abstract morpheme *F*, denoting the fact that the propositional content of exclamation is presupposed. Widening, however, is correlated with the *wh*-operator in the sense that the domain of quantification for the *wh*-operator is widened, generating a set of alternative propositions. In other words, certain feature conveyed in the form of exclamation is beyond the expectation of a certain contextually determined scale: the speaker presumes that the likelihood of the proposition is low, but the exclamation actually confirms its truthfulness, and thus a surprise effect.

In terms of exclamation in modern Mandarin, they can be divided into three categories, all of which contain an adverbial element and a final particle *a*, as shown in (13a/b/c). Only Type I and Type II exclamation are true exclamation, because they fully pass the exclamation tests, namely, factivity, question-answer relation, and scalarity. Type III, however, is merely a rhetorical question that might be interpreted as an exclamation in an appropriate context. First, all three types of exclamation can be embedded under factive predicates such as *zhidao* 知道 'to know' (14), yet only Type III is grammatical when being embedded under a non-factive predicate *xiang-zhidao* 想知道 'to wonder' or *wen* 'to ask', with a rhetorical question reading (15). Second, since exclamation are inherently factive, they cannot be used as questions, as justified by the ungrammaticality of (16a) for Type I and II and the grammaticality of (16b) for Type III. Third, Type I and II express a high degree on a scale, whereas Type III does not (Badan & Cheng, 2015).

- (13) a. Ta zheme/name gao a! Type I
 s/he this.ME/that.ME tall SFP
 'How very tall s/he is!'
- b. Lisi duome gao a! Type II
 Lisi much.ME tall SFP
 'How tall Lisi is!'
- c. Lisi zenme zheme/name gao (a)! Type III
 Lisi how this.ME/that.ME tall SFP
 (i) 'How come Lisi is so tall?'
 (ii) 'How tall Lisi is!'
 (From Badan & Cheng, 2015, pp. 387-388)

- (14) a. Lisi zhidao ta zheme gao a! Type I
 Lisi know s/he this.ME tall SFP
 'Lisi knows how tall s/he is!'
- b. Lisi zhidao ta duome gao a! Type II
 Lisi know s/he much.ME tall SFP
 'Lisi knows how very tall s/he is!'
- c. Ta zhidao Lisi zenme zheme gao a! Type III
 s/he know Lisi how this.ME tall SFP
 'S/he knows how very tall Lisi is!'
 (From Badan & Cheng, 2015, p. 390)
- (15) a. *Ta xiangzhidao/wen Lisi zheme gao (a)! Type I
 s/he want-know/ask Lisi this.ME tall SFP
 Intended: *'S/he wonders how very tall Lisi is!'
- b. *Ta xiangzhidao/wen Lisi duome gao (a)! Type II
 s/he want-know/ask Lisi much.ME tall SFP
 Intended: *'S/he wonders how very tall Lisi is!'
- c. Ta xiangzhidao/wen Lisi zenme zheme gao (a)! Type III
 s/he want-know/ask Lisi how this.ME tall SFP
 (i) Intended: *'S/he wonders/asks how tall Lisi is!'
 (ii) 'S/he wonders/asks how come Lisi is so tall.'
 (From Badan & Cheng, 2015, p. 390)
- (16) a. Q: Ta zheme/duome gao a! Type I/II
 s/he this.ME/much.ME tall SFP
 'How tall s/he is!'
 ≠ 'How tall is s/he?'
- A: *Liang mi.
 two meters
 'Two meters.'
- b. Q: Ta zenme zheme gao a?! Type III
 s/he how this.ME tall SFP
 'How come s/he is so tall?!'

A: Shi a! Ta zhishao you liang mi gao!
 to.be S/P s/he at.least have two meter tall
 'Yes (that's true)! S/he is at least two meters tall!
 (From Badan & Cheng 2015, pp. 391-392)

The analysis of Badan and Cheng (2015) on exclamation in Mandarin does not agree with the theory of Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003) in two aspects. First, widening is not obligatory for exclamation or sentential force. Consequently, since widening is only correlated to the surprise effect, not all exclamatives in Mandarin express surprise. Second, exclamatives in Mandarin do not necessarily require *wh*-operators, which means exclamatives are not *wh*-based. Moreover, Badan and Cheng (2015) propose that: 1) widening (when present) and scalarity are overtly spelled out; 2) exclamatives are characterized by scalar focus; and 3) the sentence-final particle *a* is not an exclamative operator with sentential force, but an overt realization of the speaker's point of view.

3 Sentence exclamations

As observed by Rett (2011), sentence exclamations are parallel to lamentations that illocutionarily entail assertions (Vanderveken, 1990), as they are both expressives. The utterance of a sentence exclamation involves an assertion of a denoted proposition *p* as well as an expression that *p* does not meet the speaker's expectation.

I state that sentence exclamations in LAC are also expressives and there is an assertion of a denoted proposition (17a). The fact that a proposition can be confirmed or denied by an interlocutor justifies the assertion of the proposition. In (17b), the speaker, Confucius, makes a proposition that people are numerous; in the posterior context, his interlocutor Ranyou acknowledges his opinion by reduplicating it as a precondition to introduce a new situation. Such an affirmation helps to prove that this sentence exclamation indeed denotes the proposition and it makes a contribution to discourse. Moreover, according to the previous context, Confucius arrives at the state of Wei and finds out the impressive quantity of population there, so his exclamatory proposition is presumed to imply surprise.

(17) a. 是 寡人 之 罪 也
 shi guaren zhi zui ye
 this I Gen sin PAR
 'This is my sin!'

(Yanzi • Jingong denglu qintai buzhong bu yue jianzi jian; 475 BC-221 BC)

b. 子 適 衛 冉有 僕 子 曰 庶 矣 哉
 Zi shi Wei Ranyou pu Zi yue shu yi zai
 Confucius go.to Wei Ranyou drive.chariot Confucius say numerous Perf PAR

冉有 曰 既 庶 矣 又 何 加 焉
 Ranyou yue ji shu yi you he jia yan
 Ranyou say now.that numerous Perf then what add Prep.Pron

‘Confucius went to Wei; Ranyou drove the chariot. Confucius said: “(People are) already numerous!” Ranyou said: “Now that (they are) already numerous, then what else can be added on to them?”’

(Lunyu • Zilu; 480 BC-350 BC)

To reinforce the expressive nature of sentence exclamations, I refer to situations where their expressed propositions are denied. In (18a), the proposition of the former speaker, the duke, is that it is not cold though being sleety, whereas the latter speaker, Yanzi, denies this proposition with a rhetorical question; according to contextual information, Yanzi’s opposition is indeed tenable: the duke does not feel cold because he is sitting in his palace in a fur coat. Similarly, in (18b), a speaker makes a proposition that virtuous people do not bring benefits to the state, so his interlocutor challenges his proposition in the following texts, by means of citing examples from both sides and then providing a conclusion that dismemberment would not render states extinct, but not employing virtuous people would. Both examples in (18) demonstrate that sentence exclamations assert propositions, thereby contributing to a discourse that can be denied directly.

(18) a. 公 曰 怪 哉 雨 雪 日 而 天 不 寒
 gong yue guai zai yu xue ri er tian bu han
 duke say strange PAR rain snow day Conj weather not cold

‘The duke said: “Strange! It is a sleety day but the weather is not cold.”’

晏子 對 曰 天 不 寒 乎
 Yanzi dui yue tian bu han hu
 Yanzi reply say weather not cold PAR

‘Yanzi replied: “Is the weather not cold?”’

(Yanzi • Yanzi jian qijinggong; 475 BC-221 BC)

b. 若 是 乎 賢 者 之 無 益 於 國 也
 ruo shi hu xian zhe zhi wu yi yu guo ye
 if this PAR virtuous DET ZHI not.have benefit to state PAR

曰 虞 不 用 百 里 奚 而 亡 秦 穆 公 用 之 而 霸
 yue Yu bu yong Baili Xi er wang Qin Mu gong yong zhi er ba
 say Yu not use Baili Xi Conj extinct Qin Mu duke use 3.Obj Conj conquer

不 用 賢 則 亡 削 何 可 得 與
 bu yong xian ze wang xue he ke de yu
 not use virtuous then extinct dismemberment how can realise PAR
 “‘If (it is like) this, the virtuous do not have benefit to the state!’ (Mencius) said: ‘Yu did not use Baili Xi and (his state) became extinct; the Mu Duke of Qin used him and conquered (the world). (If states do) not use the virtuous, then (they) become extinct; how can dismemberment lead to (extinction)?’”
 (Mengzi • Gaozi; 340 BC-250 BC)

Moreover, sentence exclamations in LAC also involve expressions that the asserted propositions do not meet speakers’ expectations. According to Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003), a semantic operation termed widening is a fundamental concept derived from denotation on the basis of pragmatic reasoning and connected to a surprise reading. Widening is associated with exclamation, as it captures aspects of the meaning of exclamation informally described as unexpectedness or extreme degree. I suggest that widening can serve as a component of sentence exclamations in LAC, as reflected by the expansion of the domain of sentence exclamations. In (19a), the speaker implies that his interlocutor’s pedantry is beyond his imagination. Similarly, (19b) is an utterance of Confucius who did not realize his serious decay before. Example (19c), along with (18a), serve as additional pieces of evidence, in which the adjectives 異 *yi* ‘surprising’ and 怪 *guai* ‘strange’ make it explicit that the expressions fail to meet speakers’ expectations. Given the fact that propositions delivered by sentence exclamations can be denied (as in (18)), it is reasonable to assume that sentence exclamations are associated with non-scalar expectations.

(19) a. 有 是 哉 子 之 迂 也
 you shi zai zi zhi yu ye
 have this PAR you Gen pedantry PAR
 ‘Your pedantry is this much!’
 (Lunyu • Zilu; 480 BC-350 BC)

b. 甚 矣 吾 衰 也

shen yi wu shuai ye
 serious PAR 1.Gen decay PAR
 'My decay is serious!'
 (Lunyu • Shuer; 480 BC-350 BC)

c. 嘻 異 哉 此 非 吾 所 謂 道 也

xi yi zai ci fei wu suo wei dao ye
 Interj surprising PAR this not.be I SUO call dao PAR
 'Ah, surprising! This is not what I call Dao!'
 (Zhuangzi • Rangwang; 350 BC-250 BC)

Nevertheless, widening, or the surprise effect, is not essential to sentence exclamations in LAC. Examples in (20a/b/c) do not convey unexpectedness, as the speakers would not be surprised by a belief/suggestion/perception they have been holding, so these examples show that a sense of surprise is not a necessary ingredient of sentence exclamations.

(20) a. 子 曰 攻 乎 異 端 斯 害 也 已

Zi yue gong hu yiduan si hai ye yi
 Confucius say attack at heresy this vermin PAR PAR
 'Confucius said: "Attacking heresy, this is vermin!"'
 (Lunyu • Weizheng; 480 BC-350 BC)

b. 位 其 不 可 不 慎 也 乎

wei qi bu ke bu shen ye hu
 position PAR not can not discreet PAR PAR
 'Regarding positions, (one) must not be indiscreet!'
 (Zuozhuan • Chenggong 2; 468 BC-300 BC)

c. 吾 樂 與

wu le yu
 I happy PAR
 'I am happy!'
 (Zhuangzi • Qiushui; 350 BC-250 BC)

It is worth mentioning that exclamation in modern Mandarin are not *wh*-based, but characterized by scalar focus (Badan & Cheng, 2015); sentence exclamations in LAC are not *wh*-based either, and they are compatible with focus.

In LAC, a morpheme *wei* 唯 can be used to express assertive modality and is frequently translated into ‘only’, reanalyzed as an adverb (Djamouri, 2001; Meisterernst, 2010). I argue that *wei* can function as a type of clefts independently and focalize in-situ subjects that occupy a position immediately following *wei*. When *wei* appears in a sentence-initial position preceding the subject, it can assign focus on this subject and thus be interpreted as a subject focus-type cleft. For instance, the two clauses in (21a) have different subjects that express a contradiction, and (21a) shows an exclusiveness effect. Similarly, the contrast between two clauses in (21b) illustrates that they form a focus, and the implied exclusiveness justifies that *wei* functions as a focus-type cleft for the subject immediately following it.

(21) a. 唯 君子 能 好 其 正 小人 毒 其 正
 wei junzi neng hao qi zheng xiaoren du qi zheng
 WEI gentleman can appreciate Gen justice villain detest Gen justice
 ‘It is only gentlemen who can appreciate its justice; villains detest its justice.’
 (Guoyu • Yueyu; 475 BC-221 BC)

b. 唯 君 用 鮮 眾 給 而已
 wei jun yong xian zhong gei eryi
 WEI you use fresh others livestock just
 ‘It is only you who use fresh (prey); others just use livestock.’
 (Zuozhuan • Xianggong 13; 468 BC-300 BC)

Returning to sentence exclamations in LAC, they are compatible with focus structures that can generate a set of alternatives. Consequently, sentence exclamations in LAC are able to generate a set of alternatives on a scale. In examples in (22) that contain *only*-focus clefts, the focus value is reflected in a degree property highlighting a high degree while opposing lower degrees; that is to say, focus constructions provide sets of alternatives for the interpretation of sentence exclamations. To reinforce the extreme degree of a scale, Example (23a) involving an adjective *zhi* 至 ‘ultimate’ is cited here, which illustrates the placement of virtue on a scale and particularly on an extreme degree in this scale. As for (23b), it contains a description of the skill reaching a high level, which represents an extreme end of some contextually given scale.

(22) a. 見 星 而 行 者 唯 罪 人 與 奔 父 母 之 喪 者 乎
 jian xing er xing zhe wei zuren yu ben fumu zhi sang zhe hu
 see star Conj journey DET only fugitive Conj hasten parent Gen funeral DET PAR
 ‘Seeing stars but still journeying, it is only fugitives and those who hasten for funerals of parents!’

(Liji • Zengziwen; 475 BC-221 BC)

b. 今 商 維 茲 其 唯 第 茲 命 不 承 殆 哉
 jin Shang wei zi qi wei di zi ming bu cheng dai zai
 now Shang exactly this PAR only DET this order not comply dangerous PAR
 ‘Now Shang is exactly this: (if) it is only this order (they do) not comply with, it is dangerous!’

(Yizhoushu • Dakaiwujie; 475 BC-221 BC)

(23) a. 泰 伯 其 可 謂 至 德 也 已 矣
 Taibo qi ke wei zhi de ye yi yi
 Taibo 3.Subj can call ultimate virtue PAR PAR PAR
 ‘Taibo, he can be called ultimate virtue!’

(Lunyu • Taibo; 480 BC-350 BC)

b. 噫 善 哉 技 蓋 至 此 乎
 xi shan zai ji gai zhi ci hu
 Interj good PAR skill indeed reach this PAR
 ‘Ah, good! (Your) skill indeed reaches this!’

(Zhuangzi • Yangshengzhu; 350 BC-250 BC)

To summarize, sentence exclamations in LAC are expressives that assert denoted propositions. Sentence exclamations may express unexpectedness and scalar focus, yet neither feature is essential to sentence exclamations.

4 *He* and *heqi* as non-exclamatives

According to traditional views, exclamation in LAC can be formed via degree adverbials *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 (see Yang & He, 1992, pp. 899-900; Chu, 1994, p. 303; among many others). Nevertheless, I argue that although *he* and *heqi* can be employed in constructions indicating exclamation, they do not form true exclamatives, in that they fail to pass diagnostic tests propounded by Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003).

4.1 *He* and *heqi*

In an interrogative sentence, the morpheme *he* 何 is frequently employed as a *wh*-DP ‘what’, either independently as a simplex *wh*-argument or combined with another nominal to form a complex *wh*-argument (24a/b). Alternatively, *he* can function as a nominal predicate directly following the subject in a question (24c). Note that LAC requires VP-internal *wh*-DPs to raise from their base position to a preverbal position in the sentence-internal domain between TP and *vP*, and hence the derived SOV order in (24a-b) (Aldridge, 2010a, 2010b). However, when *wh*-words function as nominal predicates, they do not front in general, as in (24c) (Aldridge, 2007). In (24d), the former *he* functions as a reason adverbial in a rhetorical question, and the latter *he* has fronted within the embedded domain and received a non-interrogative NPI interpretation licensed by a negator in a higher clause (Aldridge, 2010a).

- (24) a. 然則 我 何 爲 乎 何 不 爲 乎
 ranze wo he wei hu he bu wei hu
 then I what do Q what not do Q
 ‘Then what should I do? What should I not do?’
 (Zhuangzi • Qiushui; 350 BC-250 BC; Aldridge, 2010b, p. 87)

- b. 何 城 不 克
 he cheng bu ke
 what city not conquer
 ‘What city would (you) not conquer?’
 (Zuozhuan • Xi 4; 468 BC-300 BC; Aldridge, 2010b, p. 87)

- c. 君 與 我 此 何 也
 jun yu wo ci he ye
 lord give me this what PAR
 ‘Why is it that my lord gives me these things?’
 (Guoyu • Jinyu 1; 475 BC-221 BC; Aldridge, 2007, p. 144)

- d. 何 不 樹 之 於 無 何 有 之 鄉
 he bu shu zhi yu wu he you zhi xiang
 why not plant it in not.exist what exist Gen place
 ‘Why don’t you plant it in a place where there isn’t anything?’
 (Zhuangzi • Xiaoyaoyou; 350 BC-250 BC; Aldridge, 2010a, p. 26)

Additionally, *he* 何 can be employed in an exclamatory context, as in (25). In both interrogative and exclamatory environments, *he* serves as an adverbial, as shown in (24c-d) and (25). In interrogatives, *he* questions reason, whereas in exclamatory constructions, it is related to the degree.

- (25) a. 嚮 之 去 何 速 今 之 返 又 何 速
 xiang zhi qu he su jin zhi fan you he su
 before ZHI leave how fast now ZHI return again how fast
 ‘How fast (you) left before! How fast again (you) returned now!’
 (Yanzi • Jinggong xinyong channing shangfa shizhong yanzi jian; 475 BC-221 BC)

- b. 久 憂 不 死 何 苦 也
 jiu you bu si he ku ye
 long worry not die how painful PAR
 ‘Worrying for long but not dying; how painful it is!’
 (Zhuangzi • Zhile; 350 BC-250 BC)

Analogous to *he* 何, *heqi* 何其 is also employed in an exclamatory context in LAC, and *heqi* is more frequently attested than *he* in corpora. In most situations, *heqi* precedes phrasal elements, i.e. AdjPs and DPs, as in (26) and (27) respectively. Moreover, *heqi* may precede clausal elements, as exemplified by (28), but it is less common for *heqi* to precede clausal elements.

- (26) a. 自 三 代 以 下 者 天 下 何 其 器 器 也
 zi san dai yixia zhe tianxia heqi xiaoxiao ye
 since three dynasty onwards DET world how clamorous PAR
 ‘Since the three dynasties onwards, how clamorous the world is!’
 (Zhuangzi • Pianmu; 350 BC-250 BC)

- b. 奪 彼 與 此 何 其 偏 也
 duo bi yu ci heqi pian ye
 snatch that give this how partial PAR
 ‘Snatching from those and giving to these: how partial (you are)!’
 (Zhuangzi • Lieyukou; 350 BC-250 BC)

c. 泰豆 歎 曰 子 何其 敏 也
 Taidou tan yue zi heqi min ye
 Taidou exclaim say you how intelligent PAR
 ‘Taidou exclaimed: “How intelligent you are!”’
 (Zhuangzi • Tangwen; 350 BC-250 BC)

(27) 何其 君子 也
 heqi junzi ye
 how gentleman PAR
 ‘What a gentleman (it is like)!’
 (Guanzi • Xiaowen; 475 BC - 220 AD)

(28) 何其 侮 我 也
 heqi wu wo ye
 how insult me PAR
 ‘How (you) insulted me!’
 (Mozi • Luwen; 490 BC-221 BC)

It is notable that *heqi* is still used in a contemporary context to express exclamation, as in Example (29) which is cited from an article published on Beijing News (*Xinjing Bao* 新京报) in June 2023.

(29) 不 是 鸭 脖 是 鼠 头, 教 训 何 其 沉 重!
 bu shi ya bo shi shu tou, jiaohun heqi chenzhong!
 not be duck neck be rat head lesson how hard
 ‘It is not a duck neck but a rat head. How hard the lesson is!’

4.2 Diagnostic tests

Exclamatives in modern Mandarin pass three diagnostic tests propounded by Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003) (Badan & Cheng, 2015). In LAC, however, exclamatory sentences involving *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 fail to demonstrate semantic/pragmatic properties of factivity, question-answer relation or scalarity, disparate from their modern counterparts. Therefore, I state that exclamatory sentences involving *he* and *heqi* are not exclamatives.

First, exclamatory sentences involving *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 in LAC do not carry a presupposition of factivity. True exclamatives should be able to be embedded under

factive predicates, which indicates that exclamatives presuppose the truth of the proposition they denote, hence being factive. However, exclamatory sentences involving *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 are never attested to being embedded under factive predicates, indicating their non-factive nature.

The fact that exclamatory constructions involving *he* and *heqi* are never embedded under factive predicates is not due to the language per se, because sentence exclamations, which are true exclamations, can indeed be embedded under factive predicates. An example of factive predicates in LAC is *zhi* 知 ‘to know’, and in (30a), it appears in a matrix clause containing an embedded sentence exclamation. Similarly, another factive predicate *zhi* 志 ‘to remember’ can also precede sentence exclamations, indicating their presumed truth (30b-c). Furthermore, when a sentence exclamation is embedded under a factive predicate, this verb can be negated, as in (30d). Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the reason why exclamatory structures with *he* and *heqi* never occur under factive predicates is simply that they are not true exclamations, or to be more specific, true exclamatives.

- (30) a. 寡人 自知 誠 費 財 勞 民 以 為
 guaren zi zhi cheng fei cai lao min yi wei
 I self know genuinely waste money make.labour people think COP
 無 功 又 從 而 怨 之 是 寡人 之 罪 也
 wu gong you zong er yuan zhi shi guaren zhi zui ye
 not.have reward then abet Conj blame 3.Obj this I Gen sin PAR
 ‘I know it myself that I genuinely waste money and make people labour. I think (it) has no reward and then abet and blame it. This is my sin!’
 (Yanzi • Jinggong denglu qintai buzhong buyue yanzi jian; 475 BC-221 BC)

- b. 二 三 子 志 之 歲 在 壽星 及 鶉尾
 er san zi zhi zhi sui zai Shouxing ji chunwei
 two three you remember 3.Obj Sui.Star at Shouxing.Star Conj Chunwei.Star
 其 有 此 土 乎
 qi you ci tu hu
 PAR own this land PAR
 ‘You remember this: (when) the Sui Star is at the Shouxing Star and Chunwei Star, (we will) own this land!’
 (Guoyu • Jinyu 4; 475 BC-221 BC)

c. 悲 夫 弟子 志 之 其 唯 道德 之 鄉 乎
 bei fu dizi zhi zhi qi wie daode zhi xiang hu
 pathetic PAR disciple remember 3.Obj PAR only Dao Gen land PAR
 'Pathetic! Disciples, remember it: it is only the land of Dao (that would work)!'
 (Zhuangzi • Shanmu; 350 BC-250 BC)

d. 不 知 先生 之 洗 我 以 善 邪
 bu zhi xiansheng zhi xi wo yi shan ye
 not know teacher ZHI purify me with benevolence PAR
 'I did not know that the teacher had purified me with benevolence!'
 (Zhuangzi • Dechongfu; 350 BC-250 BC)

Further still, exclamatory expressions involving *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 may be preceded by information denying their truth. In (31a), the latter clause actually expresses that deception will not happen, which is explained by the former clause as the reason. That is to say, the pre-existing context helps to show that the proposition is counterfactual. Likewise, the former clause in (31b) sets the scene that a certain person is not the speaker's lord, so the statement in the latter clause that their voices are alike cannot be factive and the speaker is actually denying the possibility. Therefore, it is reasonable to claim that exclamatory expressions with *he* and *heqi* fail to exhibit presupposition of factivity which is a prerequisite for proper exclamatives.

(31) a. 彼 必 將 來 告 之 夫 又 何 可 詐 也
 bi bi jiang lai gao zhi fu you he ke zha ye
 that definitely Fut come tell 3.Obj PAR then how can deceive PAR
 'They definitely will come and tell it; then how can (we) deceive?!'
 (Xunzi • Yibing; 475 BC-221 BC)

b. 此 非 吾 君 也 何其聲 之 似 我 君 也
 ci fei wu jun ye heqi sheng zhi si wo jun ye
 this not.be 1.Gen lord PAR how voice ZHI be.like 1.Gen lord PAR
 'This is not my lord; how can the voice be like my lord's voice?!'
 (Mengzi • Jinxin; 340 BC-250 BC)

Second, exclamatory sentences involving *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 can function as questions, which challenges the question-answer relation of true exclamatives. To be more specific, exclamatives can never be employed as interrogatives, even though they may share identical *wh*-items. The reason lies in that interrogatives have the ability to

introduce a set of possible answers, whereas exclamatives do not denote possible answers and hence are not compatible with responses. On the contrary, exclamatory sentences involving *he* and *heqi* can be analyzed as questions and thus can be accompanied by answers accordingly. In (32a), the speaker asks about the reason for Confucius' pleasure in an exclamatory way, and his interlocutor provides a response to the question. Likewise, the speaker's expression in (32b) contains interrogativity and exclamativity simultaneously, and it receives a response from the interlocutor.

- (32) a. 何 夫子 之 娛 也 孔子 曰 來 吾 語 女
 he fuzi zhi yu ye Kongzi yue lai wu yu ru
 how you Gen pleasure PAR Confucius say come I tell you
 我 諱 窮 久 矣 而 不 免 命 也
 wo hui qiong jiu yi er bu mian ming ye
 I avoid impoverishment long Perf Conj not escape destiny PAR
 求 通 久 矣 而 不 得 時 也
 qiu tong jiu yi er bu de shi ye
 seek success long Perf Conj not obtain timing PAR

“Why are you pleased?!” Confucius said: “Come here! Let me tell you. I have been avoiding impoverishment for long, but never escaped; this is destiny. (I) have been seeking success for long, but never obtained; this is timing.”

(Zhuangzi • Qiushui; 350 BC-250 BC)

- b. 夫子 之 門 何其 雜 也 子貢 曰
 Fuzi zhi men heqi za ye Zigong yue
 Confucius Gen disciple how miscellaneous PAR Zigong yue
 君子 正 身 以 俟 欲 來 者 不 距
 junzi zheng shen yi si yu lai zhe bu ju
 gentleman make.upright body to wait want come DET but refuse
 欲 去 者 不 止 且 夫 良 醫 之 門 多 病人
 yu qu zhe bu zhi qie fu liang yi zhi men duo bingren
 want go DET not stop also PAR good doctor Gen door many patient
 槩 括 之 側 多 枉 木 是 以 雜 也
 yingua zhi ce duo wang mu shi yi za ye
 rectifying.tool Gen side many bent wood this for miscellaneous PAR

“‘Why are Confucius’ disciples miscellaneous?!’ Zigong said: ‘Gentlemen make themselves upright and wait; those who want to come are not refused and those who want to go are not stopped. Also, there are many patients at good doctors’ doors; there are many bent wood materials besides rectifying tools. That is why (the disciples are) miscellaneous.’”

(Xunzi • Faxing; 475 BC-221 BC)

Moreover, *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 in exclamatory sentences can be employed in a rhetorical manner. In both examples in (33), the presence of sentence-final particles emphasizes the exclamative reading, yet the interpretation of the entire sentences is still that of rhetorical questions.

- (33) a. 彼 以 其 爵 我 以 吾 義 吾 何 慊 乎 哉
 bi yi qi jue wo yi wu yi wu he qian hu zai
 that have Gen title I have 1.Gen righteousness I how unsatisfied PAR PAR
 ‘That person has his title, while I have my righteousness; why am I unsatisfied?!’
 (Mengzi • Gongsunchou; 340 BC-250 BC)

- b. 以 至 仁 伐 至 不仁
 yi zhi ren fa zhi buren
 with ultimate benevolence suppress ultimate unbenevolence

而 何其血 之 流 杵 也
 er heqi xue zhi liu chu ye
 Conj how blood ZHI float stick PAR

‘If one suppresses ultimate unbenevolence with ultimate benevolence, how can it be that the blood is enough to float sticks?!’

(Mengzi • Jinxin; 340 BC-250 BC)

Third, exclamatory sentences involving *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 do not have to display scalarity. Defined as an implicature specifying that a proposition conveyed by an exclamative is at the extreme end of some contextually determined scale, scalarity indicates that an entity’s property is true to a higher degree than expected, so an exclamative is supposed to refer to a degree exceeding a contextual standard (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003; Rett, 2008). In LAC, it is possible for exclamatory sentences involving *he* and *heqi* to adopt a scalar interpretive feature, yet it is not obligatory. For instance, in (34a), the speaker implies that he has predicted a situation of being insulted, yet the insulting situation is true to a higher degree than predicted. In (34b), the speaker asserts his surprise by comparing the required time and the time his interlocutor has

spent, as well as the use of a conjunction showing contrast. As for (34c), the speaker's statement emphasizes that the degree to which his interlocutor's claim is ridiculous falls outside of the usual range encountered in their dialogues.

(34) a. 謂 之 曰 為 王 則 生 不 為 王 則 死
wei zhi yue wei wang ze sheng bu wei wang ze si
tell 3.Obj say COP king then survive not COP king then die

王 子閻 曰 何 其 侮 我 也
Wang Zilü yue heqi wu wo ye
Wang Zilü say how insult me PAR

'(He) told him: "Be the king, then (you) survive; (if you do) not be the king, then (you) die." Wang Zilü said: "How (you) insulted me!"'

(Mozi • Luwen; 490 BC-221 BC)

b. 君 令 三 宿 而 汝 一 宿 何 其 速 也
jun ling san xiu er ru yi xiu heqi su ye
his.Majesty order 3 night Conj you 1 night how fast PAR

'His Majesty ordered (you to arrive in) three nights, but you (arrived in) one night; how fast!'

(Hanfeizi • Nan 3; 475 BC-221 BC)

c. 然 則 夫 子 既 聖 矣 乎 曰 惡 是 何 言 也
ranze fuzi ji sheng yi hu yue wu shi he yan ye
then you already sage Perf PAR say Interj this how utterance PAR

"Then you are already a sage?" (Confucius) said: "How can you say this?!"

(Mengzi • Gongsunchou; 340 BC-250 BC)

Nonetheless, when *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 occur in exclamatory constructions, scalar implicature is not an indispensable component. In other words, exclamatory sentences involving *he* and *heqi* do not necessarily give rise to a sense of surprise or amazement pragmatically. For instance, in (35a), when Confucius is asked to express his opinion on politicians, his utterance is purely to convey disdain, instead of surprise. As for (35b), its first sentence containing *he* does not express any sense of surprise either, because the speaker reiterates in the following context that the hegemony should be regarded as 'natural' 'destiny', rather than 'luck', so there is no element of unexpectedness. Therefore, it is safe to claim that exclamatory sentences involving *he* and *heqi* sometimes lack the scalar implicature required by exclamatives, so they should not be treated as proper exclamatives.

- (35) a. 曰 今 之 從政者 何如 子 曰
 yue jin zhi congzhengzhe heru Zi yue
 say now Gen politician how Confucius say
 噫 斗筲 之 人 何 足 算 也
 yi doushao zhi ren he zu suan ye
 Interj narrow-minded Gen person how worth consider PAR

‘(He) asked: “How are today’s politicians?” Confucius said: “Alas! How are narrow-minded people worth being considered?!”’

(Lunyu • Zilu; 480 BC-350 BC)

- b. 夫 又 何 可 亡 也 其 霸 也 宜 哉
 fu you he ke wang ye qi ba ye yi zai
 PAR then how can perish PAR Gen hegemony PAR natural PAR
 非 幸 也 數 也
 Fei xing ye shu ye
 not.be luck PAR destiny PAR

‘Then how can (he) perish?! His hegemony is natural! It is not luck, but destiny.’

(Xunzi • Zhongni; 475 BC-221 BC)

5 Conclusion

In this paper, I have investigated exclamation in LAC. Exclamation is comprised of sentence exclamations and exclamatives. Analogous to modern Mandarin, LAC has sentence exclamations that demonstrate properties of expressives and violation of the speaker’s expectation of a certain contextually determined scale. Nevertheless, such a surprise interpretation triggered by widening (Portner & Zanuttini, 2000; Zanuttini & Portner, 2000, 2003) is not essential to sentence exclamations in LAC, rendering a set of alternative propositions unnecessary. Although sentence exclamations in LAC are not characterized by scalar focus, they are indeed compatible with focus constructions generating a set of alternatives on a contextually given scale.

In terms of exclamatives that exist in modern Mandarin, they do not exist in LAC. Although there are structures indicating exclamativity and involving degree adverbials *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 (see Yang & He, 1992, pp. 899-900; Chu, 1994, p. 303; among many

others), they should not be analyzed as true exclaimatives. Exclaimatives, such as those in modern Mandarin, are supposed to pass the exclaimativity tests, by exhibiting semantic features concerning factivity, question-answer relation, and scalarity (Zanuttini & Portner, 2000, 2003; Badan & Cheng, 2015). Nonetheless, exclamatory constructions involving *he* and *heqi* in LAC fail these diagnostic tests. First, there is no attested data proving that exclamatory structures with *he* and *heqi* can be embedded under factive predicates, and the denoted proposition can be counterfactual. Second, *he* and *heqi* in exclamatory sentences can be employed in interrogatives or in a rhetorical manner. Third, exclamatory sentences involving *he* and *heqi* do not have to display scalar implicature that gives rise to a sense of surprise or amazement.

Abbreviations

1.Gen	first-person genitive pronoun
3.Obj	third-person pronoun used as sentence object
3.Subj	third-person pronoun used as sentence subject
Conj	conjunction
Fut	future
Gen	genitive
Interj	interjection
Perf	perfective
Prep	preposition
Prep.Pron	preposition + pronoun
COP	copula
DET	determiner
ME	character <i>me</i> 么
PAR	particle
Q	interrogative particle
SFP	sentence-final particle
SUO	function word <i>suo</i> 所
WEI	morpheme <i>wei</i> 唯
ZHI	function word <i>zhi</i> 之

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