

**Introduction.** Unlike in English, Kirundi exclamatives (1b) do not possess *wh*-words or inversion. However, they differ from their declarative counterparts (1a) in the optional presence of the question particle *mbêga/mbé* and the obligatory use of an alternate tonal pattern (high tone on second syllable of verb root). Exclamatives also display a unique prosody, with higher pitch phrase-finally.

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| (1) | a. | Yohăni a-nyaruka.<br>John 1-go.fast<br>'John goes fast.' | b. | (Mbêga) Yohăni a-nyarúka!<br>Q John 1-go.fast <sup>H,DEP</sup><br>'How fast John goes!' |
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Using new data from fieldwork, this presentation examines the grammaticalization of exclamatives in Kirundi and situates it within the literature, which is both limited and predominantly concerned with Indo-European languages. Because Kirundi does not conform to most past theories, its study provides an opportunity to fill a gap in the typology of exclamatives and, more specifically, contribute to the understanding of such clause types within the Bantu language family.

**Background.** A major question in the analysis of exclamatives is where the exclamatory sentential force comes from. The most prevalent claim is that exclamatory force is grammaticalized via question words, such as *how* in the English translation of (1b). Because both interrogatives and exclamatives express a set of propositions and not assertions, many have argued that the two clause types must share formal features (Sadock and Zwicky 1985; Michaelis 2001). Some accounts go so far as to say that clausal exclamatives *must* possess question words because they are the *only* element in which exclamatory force is grammaticalized (Collins 2005). Others, like Zanuttini and Portner 2003, espouse the need for interrogative features but take a less strict course, arguing that exclamatives are identified by a *wh* operator-variable structure. While Kirundi exclamatives have one point of similarity with interrogatives—both can contain *mbêga*—they lack true question words and exhibit different tonal and prosodic patterns than questions, suggesting that these criteria for exclamatives are not appropriate for the language.

**Proposal.** I argue that the form and meaning of Kirundi clausal exclamatives is not derived as a result of an interrogative structure but instead by a subordinate clause structure, derived via subordination under a high C head. However, unlike other subordinate clauses, exclamatives appear without an apparent matrix clause, exhibiting insubordination. In form, Kirundi exclamatives resemble dependent clauses such as relative clauses and focus/cleft constructions far more than they do declaratives or interrogatives. This class of clauses shares a common tonal pattern and restriction on higher-order negation. I therefore follow Portner and Zanuttini 2004 in positing a null exclamative morpheme E in the left periphery of exclamatives. This C head triggers dependent clause tone and contributes an exclamative interpretation through compositional semantics. The resulting CP structure is akin to relative clauses, and different from interrogatives, because it displays dependent tone and lacks *wh*-words. However, it's also different from these high CP structures because it functions as a matrix clause on its own.

- (2) [CP E [TP Yohăni a-nyarúka ] ]

Additional evidence for the analysis of exclamatives as CPs with high E heads comes from attempts to embed exclamatives within matrix clauses. Exclamatives can only be embedded by a matrix verb if an overt complementizer (3a) or head noun (3b) is included. In this sense, they again function similarly to relative clauses and differently from interrogatives.

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| (3) | a. | Ndâzi *(ko) Muco a-fũngúra cāne.<br>I.know COMP Muco 1SM-eat a.lot<br>'I know that Muco eats so much.' | b. | Ndâzi *(ukũntu) Muco a-fũngúra cāne.<br>I.know 15manner Muco 1SM-eat a.lot<br>'I know how much Muco eats.' |
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**Conclusion.** This analysis of Kirundi exclamatives differs from past accounts which rely on interrogative features not found in Kirundi or many other Bantu languages. I propose a novel approach which links exclamatives to higher CP structures in insubordination. This supports recent work on Bantu exclamatives (e.g. Asimwe and van der Wal 2021) in which mirativity is introduced in the C domain.

## References

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