Clausal and Phrasal Exceptives

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Overview

- Exceptives are constructions that express exclusion

(1) Everyone   voted,   [except/but/besides [Masha]].
     RESTRICTED QP   EXCEPTIVE PHRASE   EXCEPTION

- o **Connected exceptives (CE)**: the exceptive phrase is a nominal modifier, (2a, 3a)
- o **Free exceptives (FE)**: the exceptive phrase is separated from the restricted QP, typically appearing at the periphery of the clause, (2b, 3b)

(2) a. **Everyone** *except Vladimir Putin* knows there was meddling.
     b. **Everyone** knows there was meddling, *except Vladimir Putin*.

(3) a. oni pozvali **vsex detej**   *krome Maši*   na prazdnik
         they called   all   children.ACC.PL except Masha.GEN on party
         'They invited all the children except Masha to the party.'
     b. oni pozvali **vsex detej**   na prazdnik   *krome Maši*
         they called   all   children.ACC.PL on party   except Masha.GEN
         'They invited all the children to the party, except Masha.'

- ➤ The syntax of free exceptives is not uniform cross-linguistically
  - o English: Clausal modifier reduced by ellipsis, (4)
  - o Russian: Phrasal modifier moved by scrambling, (5)

(4) [[$_S$ Everyone voted] [$_{ExcP}$ except [$_S$ Masha $_{[S\ t_{Masha}\ didn't\ vote]}$]]]

(5) [[$_S$ [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ vse] t_{ExcP}] progolosavali] [$_{ExcP}$ krome Maši]]
          all   voted   except Masha.**GEN**

Differences between English & Russian FEs

A. Full clause exception

(6) All the children cried, except Masha did not cry.
(7) *Vse deti   zaplakali, krome Maša   ne   zaplakala
     all children cried.INCEPT except Masha.NOM NEG cry.INCEPT
     ('All the children started crying except Masha did not start crying.')

B. Multiple exceptions

(8) Every boy danced with every girl, except [Masha] [with Alex].
(9) *Na vsex vsem   naplevat', krome [babuške]   [na zabrošennogo vnuka]
     on all.ACC all.DAT spit   except grandma.DAT on forlorn   grandson
     ('Nobody could care less about anyone, except grandma about her neglected grandson.')

C. Non-NP exceptions

(10) a. I didn't think about anything, except [about getting out]$_{PP}$.
     b. It [the GNP] can tell us everything about America, except [whether we are proud to be Americans]$_{CP}$.
(11) *Maša ni   o   čem   ne dumaet krome [o detjax]$_{PP}$
     Masha NEG about what.LOC NEG thinks   except on children.LOC.PL
     ('Masha doesn't think about anything, except about children.')

D. Implicit restricted QP

(12) He didn't speak, except in riddles.
(13) *On ne   sočinjaet krome žalob
      he NEG composes   except complaints.GEN.PL
      ('He does not write, except complaint letters.')

E. Quantifier Constraint

(14) *Quantifier Constraint* (Moltmann 1995:227, but see García Álvarez 2008)
     The NP that an exceptive phrase associates with must denote a universal or negative universal quantifier

(15) a. The judges gave her a standing ovation, except Simon Cowell.
     b. Many animals can count, except cats.
(16) a. ??Ja   fruktov   ne jem krome ananasov
         1SG.NOM fruit.GEN.PL NEG eat except pineapples.GEN.PL
         'I don't eat fruit except pineapples.'
     b. ?Mnogie podderživajut Putina krome intelligencii
         many   support   Putin except intellectuals.GEN
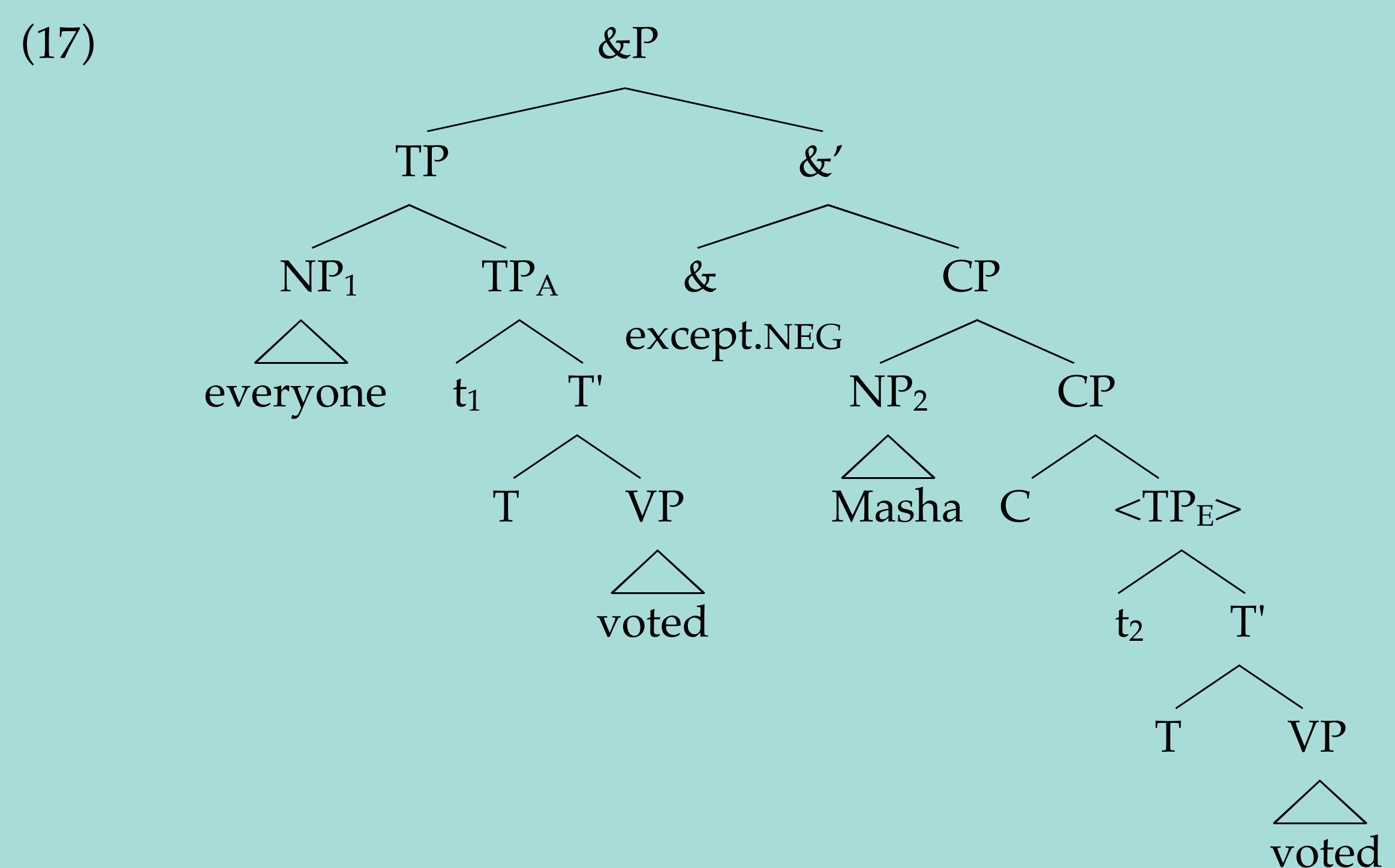   'Many support Putin, except the intellectuals.'

Differences between CEs and FEs

- CEs and FEs differ in their syntax and semantics (Hoeksema 1987, 1995, Reinhart 1991, Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén 2012, Soltan 2016, others)

- ➤ English FEs behave as expected but Russian FEs show all the properties of CEs

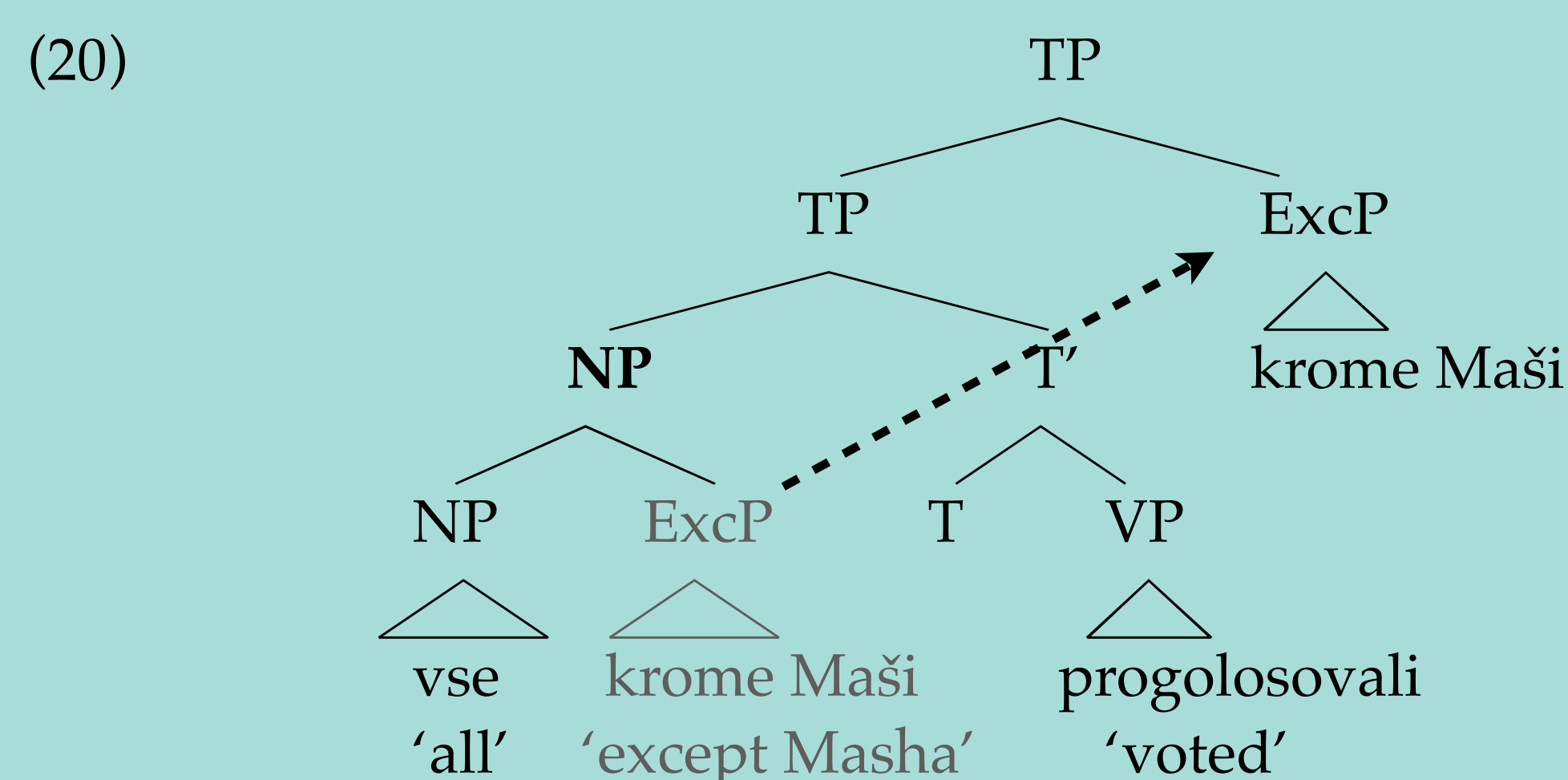|	PROPERTY	FE	CE
A.	exception can be a full clause	✓	✗
B.	multiple exceptions allowed	✓	✗
C.	exception need not be an NP	✓	✗
D.	implicit restricted QP allowed	✓	✗
E.	Quantifier Constraint violated	✓	✗
		English	**Russian**

Analysis

- ➤ English FEs are derived from a clausal source via clausal ellipsis

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(18) a. *Except* is a coordinating conjunction (Soltan 2016)
     b. *Except* has a semantically negative piece, glossed NEG
     c. In the exceptive clause, the exception XP undergoes fronting
     d. Restricted QP in the antecedent (if present) undergoes QR at LF
     e. TP$_E$ inside the exceptive clause is elided under semantic identity with the antecedent TP$_A$ (Merchant 2001), indicated by <TP>

(19) *Polarity Generalization* (after García Álvarez 2008:129)
     The propositions expressed in the main clause and exceptive clause must have opposite polarity

- ➤ Russian FEs are derived from a phrasal CE source via scrambling/extraposition

(20)

Conclusions

- ➤ FEs do not have a uniform syntax cross-linguistically
  - o clausal analysis (English, see also Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012 for Spanish, Soltan 2016 for Egyptian Arabic, Potsdam 2018 for Malagasy)
  - o phrasal analysis (Russian)

- ➤ The phrasal extraposition analysis is not appropriate for English and the clausal ellipsis analysis is not appropriate for Russian (Russian has a distinct clausal exceptive introduced with the conjunction *krome kak*)

- ➤ Is it possible to predict whether FEs will be clausal or phrasal in a language based on independent properties of that language?

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