To appear, volume title pending, ed. by Masatoshi Koizumi. Berlin: De Gruyter

Exceptive constructions in Japanese*

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1 Introduction

Exceptives are constructions that express exclusion, as in (1). They typically consist of an EXCEPTIVE PHRASE, which excludes the EXCEPTION from the domain of an ASSOCIATE. In (1), *everyone* is the associate, *except Mary* is the exceptive phrase, and *Mary* is the exception. The exception is usually introduced by an EXCEPTIVE MARKER. In English, this can be *except, but, besides,* and *except for*, among others.

(1) Everyone laughed [except/but/besides/except for Mary]
ASSOCIATE EXCEPTIVE MARKER EXCEPTION
[… EXCEPTIVE PHRASE …]

Moltmann 1995, von Fintel 1993, Kleiber 2005, García Álvarez 2008, Gajewski 2008, 2013, Crnič 2018, and Galal 2019 provide explicit semantic characteristics of exceptive constructions, describing how they differ from restriction, addition, reservation, opposition, and concession. We follow them in identifying the range of constructions to investigate. It is also important to separate constructions that are specifically dedicated to the expression of exclusion from those that express exception as a corollary, particularly, focus constructions with *only*, (2), where the exceptive reading is an inference.

(2) Only Mary laughed.

Setting aside the references cited above, the literature on exceptives is quite small, and focuses largely on the semantics of the construction, getting the right interpretation and inferences (Hoeksema 1987, 1995, Keenan & Stavi 1986, von Fintel 1993, Moltmann 1995, Lappin 1996, Zuber 1998, Peters & Westerståhl 2006, Gajewski 2008, García Álvarez 2008, Hirsch 2016). There is little syntactic work and no typological studies (Reinhart 1991, Sava 2009, O'Neill 2011, Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012, Soltan 2016, Potsdam & Polinsky 2017, 2019, Potsdam 2018a,b, 2019, Al-Bataineh 2021). In syntactic work, one can address the following questions: how are exceptives actually expressed grammatically? Do some exceptives involve ellipsis of some kind, to account for their interpretation?

This paper seeks to fill some of these gaps, by examining syntactic properties of the exceptive construction in Japanese, marked by the exponent *igai*, whose grammatical status we explore in section 4.1. While the main thrust of this paper lies with the general description of Japanese exceptives, we also hope that this discussion could stimulate experimental studies informed by our hypotheses; at several points in the paper, we point to possible experimental studies. In pursuing a syntactic description and analysis of Japanese exceptive constructions, we focus on the difference between connected and free exceptives which are of interest to semanticists and syntacticians alike, and on the choice between the phrasal and clausal

* This work was supported by NSF grant BCS-2116344. We are grateful to Edith Aldridge, Shin Fukuda, Masatoshi Koizumi, Masato Nakamura, Peter Sells, Masaya Yoshida, the audience at the online conference "Japanese Psycholinguistics from Comparative Perspectives", and two anonymous reviewers for helpful comments. All errors are our responsibility.

foundation of free exceptives. These main issues inform the structure of the paper. Section 2 introduces the difference between connected and free exceptive constructions. Section 3 presents a number of diagnostics designed to determine whether Japanese free exceptives are underlyingly phrasal or clausal. Section 4 discusses the derivation of free exceptives. In section 5 we take up a number of outstanding issues raised by the proposed analysis. Finally, section 6 briefly lists exceptive impostors: constructions that can convey the meaning of exclusion to a generalization as an inference, similarly to the example in (2).

2 Connected and free exceptives

Just like the English *besides,* which can introduce exceptions, *igai* has two core meaings: additive and subtractive/exceptive. An example of the additive meaning of *igai* is given below:[1]

(3) 私は英語以外にロシア語を話せる。
Watashi-wa eigo-igai-ni roshiago-o hanas-e-ru.
1SG-TOP English-except-ni Russian-ACC speak-able-PRS
'Besides English, I can speak Russian.'

The ambiguity between additive and exclusion readings of exceptive markers seems to be common cross-linguistically (Sevi 2008, Vostrikova 2019) and certainly deserves a separate investigation, but we will not pursue it here. In what follows, we will concentrate only on the exceptive function of *igai*.

The consensus understanding of exceptives, based on the earliest semantic work (Hoeksema 1987, 1995), recognizes a distinction between FREE and CONNECTED exceptives, which refers to the surface position of the exceptive phrase with respect to the associate. In connected exceptives, the associate and the exceptive phrase are adjacent and form a syntactic constituent, (4a),[2] while in a free exceptive, they are not adjacent or do not form a constituent, (4b).

(4) a. 昨日はヒロ以外(の-*は)すべての男の子が来た。
Kinoo-wa [Hiro-igai(-no/*wa) subete-no otokonoko-ga] ki-ta.
yesterday-TOP H-except-GEN-TOP all-GEN boy-NOM come-PST
'Yesterday, every boy except Hiro came.'
b. ヒロ以外(は/*の)昨日はすべての男の子が来た。
Hiro-igai(-wa/*no) kinoo-wa subete-no otokonoko-ga ki-ta.
H-except-TOP/GEN yesterday-TOP all-GEN boy-NOM come-PST
'Yesterday, every boy came, except Hiro.'

As these examples indicate, connected and free exceptives differ in their marking. Although both types are introduced by *igai,* the left-peripheral free exceptive phrase can be marked by the topic particle *wa* and cannot co-occur with the particle *no*;[3] for the connected exceptive (4a), only *no* is possible.

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[1] Abbreviations follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules.
[2] Brackets indicate what elements constitute the subject.
[3] Characterizations of *no* differ depending on its distribution and also on research sources. It is often described as the genitive marker, and this is how we represent it in the glosses. However, its functions seem to be broader than that of the genitive, and in our discussion, we refer to it as a particle. Nothing hinges on

A number of properties distinguish connected exceptives from free exceptives; the main characteristics are shown in Table 1.

PROPERTY		CONNECTED EXCEPTIVE	FREE EXCEPTIVE
1	Semantics	subtracts from the domain of a quantifier	expresses an exception to a generalization
2	associate types	certain quantified noun phrases only (universals)	XPs in general statements
3	syntactic relation in clause	nominal modifier	clausal modifier
4	position in clause	adjacent to associate	clause-peripheral or in parenthetical position
5	constituency	forms a constituent with the associate	not a constituent with the associate
6	category of exception	nominal only	not restricted to nominals
7	realization of associate	must be syntactically realized	may be implicit

Table 1. Differences between connected and free exceptives

As we consider Japanese exceptives marked by *igai,* at least two of the properties in this table deserve special consideration.

With respect to property 2, Japanese does not line up as neatly as the more familiar English or Spanish where this property has been considered. As a consequence of subtracting from the domain of a quantifier, connected exceptives are claimed to be subject to the Quantifier Constraint (QC) in (5) (Hoeksema 1987, von Fintel 1993, Moltmann 1995), which restricts this quantifier to being a universal or negative universal, (6). Free exceptives are not restricted by the QC. The main clause need only be a generalization, which can admit of exceptions, (7).

(5) *Quantifier Constraint* (Moltmann 1995:227)
The NP that an exceptive phrase [in a connected exceptive] associates with must denote a universal or negative universal quantifier

(6) a. *Every boy/All boys/No boy* except John came.
b. **Few boys/Most boys/Three boys/At least three boys/The boys/Boys* except John came.

(7) a. *Few* know that Colorado produces wine, except visitors.
b. *The judges* gave her a standing ovation, except Simon Cowell.

In Japanese, however, connected exceptives are possible with non-universal quantifiers, e.g.:

(8) タロウ以外の{ほとんど/沢山/(少なくとも)三人}の男の子が来た。
Taroo-igai-no {hotondo/takusan/(sukunakutomo) san-nin}-no otokonoko-ga ki-ta.
T-except-GEN most/many/at least three-CLASS-GEN boy-NOM come-PST
'Most/(At least) three boys except Taro came.'

These examples indicate that the constraint on universal quantifiers in the associate is too strong. This is in line with the considerations by García Álvarez (2008:13-21) and Galal (2019) who

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this characterization for the purposes of this paper.

indicate that in English, apparent connected exceptives may also violate the QC. All these data indicate that more semantic explorations into the nature of the QC generalization are needed.

(9) a. Salvias are native to most continents except Australia.
b. There was little furniture except our big fridge in the corner of the living room.
c. English policemen, except the guards who protect the royal family, do not carry guns.

Property 7 is the other characteristic where Japanese exceptives differ from the more familiar English ones. Assuming that only free exceptives are clause-peripheral (see property 4) and excluding the ones with parenthetical intonation, we expect all clause-internal exceptives to be of the connected type, hence, to appear with an explicit associate because the exceptive phrase must have a syntactic constituent to modify. However, this is not the case. In (10, 11), there is no overt associate.[4, 5]

(10) タロウはリンゴ以外(を)食べた。
Taroo-ga ringo-igai(-o) tabeta.
T-NOM apple-except-ACC ate
'Taro ate everything except the apple.'

(11) 納豆は日本で以外あまり見かけない。
Nattoo-wa nihon-de-igai amari mikake-nai.
natto-TOP Japan-in-except much see-NEG.PRS
'Except Japan, we do not see matto much anywhere.'

We will return to these examples in section 5.3, after we have examined the difference between clausal and phrasal exceptives, to which we now turn.

3 Clausal and phrasal exceptives

While the free versus connected exceptive distinction is important, it is only part of the picture. In expanding the descriptive space for our cross-linguistic investigation, another additional parameter of variation is important: phrasal versus clausal exceptives. This distinction has received far less attention in the literature, because it is primarily syntactic and not semantic.

Initial appearances might suggest that an exception such as *Mary* in *Everyone left, except **Mary*** is simply a noun phrase; however, work on Egyptian Arabic (Soltan 2016), English, Russian, Tahitian, Malagasy (Potsdam 2018a, 2019, Potsdam & Polinsky 2017, 2019), and Spanish (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012) suggests that exceptions may in fact contain hidden clausal structure that is reduced by ellipsis. In a PHRASAL EXCEPTIVE, the exception is a direct phrasal complement to the exceptive marker, (12a). In a CLAUSAL EXCEPTIVE, in contrast, the exception is part of a larger constituent that is clausal, (12b). Material within this clause may have been deleted, giving the appearance of a smaller constituent (a suggestion first made in Harris 1982).

[4] It seems that speakers vary with regards to whether the accusative case marker *o* can be dropped or not in (10). For many of the Japanese speakers we've consulted, omitting *o* in sentences like (10) do not seem to affect their grammaticality.

[5] Again, it seems that speakers vary with regards to whether having *de* before *igai* in (11) is acceptable or not. While some speakers point out that the sequence *de-igai* is degraded, most of the Japanese speakers we consulted found the word order to be well-formed.

(12) a. Nobody left, [except [Mary]$_{NP}$] PHRASAL EXCEPTIVE
b. Nobody left, [except [Mary ~~left~~]$_{CP}$] CLAUSAL EXCEPTIVE

Phrasal and clausal exceptives may co-occur in the same language, and may be marked in formally distinct ways, as is the case in Russian (Oskolskaya 2014; Potsdam & Polinsky 2019); however, it is also possible that the surface realization of an exceptive construction may not be telling enough to determine its underlying syntax.[6] In relation to free exceptives in Japanese, one could imagine two possible scenarios, corresponding to (12a) and (12b) respectively. On the phrasal scenario, the exception is a simple nominal and the exceptive phrase is optionally marked by the topic particle *wa*.[7]

(13) *phrasal analysis of Japanese free exceptives*

Mearii-igai(-wa)	paati-ni minna(-ga)	ki-ta.
Mary-except-TOP	party-to all-NOM	come-PST

'Except Mary, everyone came to the party.'

On the clausal scenario, the associate and the expression of exception do not form a constituent at any level of representation. They start out in separate clauses, and then some of the identical material is deleted under ellipsis:[8]

(14) *clausal analysis of Japanese free exceptives*

[**[Mearii-~~ga~~**	**~~paati-ni ki-ta~~]**	**igai](-wa)**	minna(-ga)	paati-ni ki-ta.
Mary- NOM	party-to come-PST	except-TOP	all-NOM	come-PST

'Except Mary, everyone came to the party.'

In either derivation, the surface form of the free exceptive is the same. To decide between these two approaches, diagnostics distinguishing phrasal and clausal exceptives are needed. We summarize the core ones in Table 2. The list presented here is not exhaustive but sufficient to identify the category of the constituent introduced by *igai* and will allow us to compare Japanese with other languages whose exceptives have been studied. It also allows us to concentrate on some diagnostics that are less clear-cut or have not been studied extensively, in particular, D3 and D7.

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[6] It is instructive here to draw parallels between the exceptive and comparative constructions. In phrasal comparatives, the complement of *than* is a single phrase, typically a DP, whereas in clausal comparatives, the complement of *than* is a clause (often with ellipsis). The ellipsis of clausal material in a clausal comparative makes it indistinguishable from the phrasal one on the surface, and special diagnostics are needed to tell them apart (cf. Bresnan 1973; Bhatt & Takahashi 2011, a.o.).

(i) a. John is older [than [Mary]$_{DP}$] PHRASAL COMPARATIVE
b. John is older [than [Mary ~~is~~]$_{CP}$] CLAUSAL COMPARATIVE

[7] The hypothesis remains neutral on whether the exceptive phrase originates inside the quantified associate and moves to the clause-initial position or whether the exceptive phrase is base-generated in the initial position.

[8] In such cases, a particular issue has to do with the change in polarity between the two clauses, which is necessary for identity of the elided material and the material in the antecedent. We will return to this issue in section 5.

		PHRASAL EXCEPTIVE	CLAUSAL EXCEPTIVE
1	exception can be a full clause	no	yes
2	multiple exceptions	no	yes
3	fixed form of nominal exception	yes	no
4	clausal/speaker-oriented adverbs	no	yes
5	separate binding domains	no	yes
6	ambiguity in sluicing	no	yes
7	internal reading with 'same, different'	yes	no

Table 2. Diagnostics differentiating between phrasal and clausal exceptives

Diagnostic 1. The most straightforward diagnostic is that clausal exceptives allow full expression of the missing clausal material, (15), while this is impossible in phrasal exceptives.

(15) They did not invite anyone, except they invited Mary.

In Japanese free exceptives, an entire clause with the exception in it, can be expressed:

(16) メアリーを招待した以外は彼らは女の子を招待しなかった。
Mearii-o shoutaishi-ta-igai-wa karera-wa onnanoko-o shoutaishi-nakat-ta.
Mary-ACC invite-PST-except-TOP they-TOP girl-ACC invite-NEG-PST
'They did not invite any girls, except they invited Mary.'

(17) タロウが英語を話せる以外は誰も外国語を話せません。
Taroo-ga eigo-o hanas-e-ru-igai-wa
Taro-NOM English-ACC speak-can-PRS-except-TOP
daremo gaikokugo-o hanas-e-mas-en.
nobody foreign.language-ACC speak-can-POLITE-NEG
'No one speaks a foreign language, except that Taro speaks English.'

These data point to a clausal analysis of Japanese free exceptives.
Diagnostic 2. Clausal exceptives allow multiple exceptions, which do not form a single constituent, while phrasal exceptives do not. We discuss the mechanism by which exceptions might escape clausal ellipsis below; however, the contrast follows from the reasonable assumption that this mechanism is iterative, while the exceptive marker in phrasal acceptives cannot select multiple complements.

(18) Every boy danced with every girl, except [John] [with Mary].

Multiple exceptions are grammatical although dispreferred in Japanese free exceptives. We hypothesize that this dispreference may be due to processing factors; because of the rigidly head-final nature of Japanese, the free exceptive has to precede the clause stating the generalization, and holding several exceptions that need to be linked to associates in working memory may cause discomfort. If this explanation is on the right track, it can be tested in future experimental work.

(19) ジョンを田中先生に以外(は)昨日は全ての学生を全ての先生に紹介できた。
[Jyon-o] [Tanaka-sensei-ni]-igai(-wa) kinoo-wa
John-ACC Tanaka-teacher-DAT-except-TOP yesterday-TOP

[subete-no	gakusei]-o	[subete-no	sensei]-ni	syookai-deki-ta.
all-GEN	student-ACC	all-GEN	teacher-DAT	introduce-able-PST

'Except John to Tanaka-sensei, I was able to introduce every student to every teacher yesterday.'

An additional observation concerning case marking is in order here. An anonymous reviewer points out a contrast in grammaticality when different case markers are used in free exceptives. As shown here, pronouncing accusative and dative case markers on the respective NPs has no effect on the grammaticality of a sentence. However, the use of the nominative marker is marginal at best. For example, (14) is heavily degraded if *Mary* appears with a nominative case marker. We hypothesize that this has to do with the difference in the information-structure import of *ga* vs *wa*. In root clauses, the former is used to mark backgrounded information and is commonly found in thetic clauses (Kuroda 1972); such encoding is incompatible with the contrastive interpretation expected of an exception. Further still, the structure that we are going to propose in (4242) below involves topicalization of the exception, and such topicalization calls for *wa*, not *ga*.

Diagnostic 3. The exception in a clausal exceptive can be non-nominal, while that in a phrasal exceptive must be nominal. The possibility of a non-nominal exception follows if the mechanism that allows the exception to avoid ellipsis is insensitive to the category of the exception. With phrasal exceptives, however, the exceptive marker selects only nominal complements. This pattern obtains in Japanese. In Japanese connected exceptives, which we believe are phrasal, the exception is always nominal and it is incompatible with a postposition, (20). In free exceptives, however, a postposition is possible and can either precede or follow *igai* (we set aside interpretive differences between examples such as (21a) and (21b)).[9]

(20) 納豆は日本(*で)以外(で)の国であまり見かけない。

Nattoo-wa	nihon-(*de-)igai(-de)-no	kuni-de	amari	mikake-nai.
natto-TOP	Japan-in-except-in-GEN	country-in	much	see-NEG.PRS

'We don't see natto much in countries other than Japan.'

(21) a. 日本以外(は)納豆はどの国でもあまり見かけない。

Nihon-igai(-wa)nattoo-wa	donokunidemo	amari	mikake-nai.
Japan-except(-TOP) natto-TOP	any.country	much	see-NEG.PRS

b. 日本で以外(は)納豆はどの国でもあまり見かけない。

Nihon-de-igai(-wa)	nattoo-wa	donokunidemo	amari	mikake-nai.
Japan-in-except(-TOP)	natto-TOP	any.country	much	see-NEG.PRS

c. 日本以外で?(は)納豆はどの国でもあまり見かけない。

Nihon-igai-de-?(wa)	nattoo-wa	donokunidemo	amari	mikake-nai.
Japan-except-in(-TOP)	natto-TOP	any.country	much	see-NEG.PRS

'Except Japan, we don't see natto much in any country.'

Diagnostic 4.[10] Clausal exceptives allow a clause-level adverb in the exception, (22), while phrasal exceptives do not, (23).[11] The basis for this diagnostic is the assumption that temporal adverbs and speaker-oriented adverbs require a clause to modify and cannot modify nominals.

[9] But see section 5.3 for structural differences between the two orders of postposition and exceptive marker.

[10] This diagnostic is developed and applied in Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012, Soltan 2016, and Vostrikova 2021.

[11] Examples such as (23) need to be read without parenthetical intonation that would allow a clausal structure.

(22) a. I was able to meet everyone, except *regrettably/unfortunately/sadly* Mary.
b. I will go to any party, except yours *tomorrow*.
c. The workers always eat here, except Juan *on Mondays*.

(23) a. *Everyone except *regrettably* Mary came to the party.
b. *No party except yours *on Tuesday* was attended by the mayor.

In Japanese, the contrast between connected and free exceptives is observed with modal and speaker-oriented adverbs. Consider the following pair:

(24) a. ハナコ以外の全ての女の子が知っている限り/多分パーティーに来ます。
Hanako-igai-no subete-no onnanoko-ga sitteirukagiri/tabun
H-except-GEN all-GEN girl-NOM based.on.my.knowledge/perhaps
paati-ni ki-mas-u.
party-to come-POLITE-PRS
'Based on my knowledge/Possibly, all girls except Hanako will come to the party.'
NOT: 'Except, based on my knowledge/possibly, Hanako, all girls will come to the party.'
b. ハナコ以外は知っている限り/多分パーティーに全ての女の子が来ます。
Hanako-igai-wa sitteirukagiri/tabun paati-ni
H-except-TOP based.on.my.knowledge/perhaps party-to
subete-no onnanoko-ga ki-mas-u.
all-GEN girl-NOM come-POLITE-PRS
'Based on my knowledge/Possibly, all girls except Hanako will come to the party.'
%'Except, based on my knowledge/possibly, Hanako, all girls will come to the party.'[12]

In (24a), which is a connected exceptive, the adverbials 'based on my knowledge' and 'perhaps, possibly' necessarily scope over the entire clause. In (24b), the scope of the adverbial is ambiguous; it can be interpreted as scoping over the entire clause or just over the negative entailment that Hanako will not come. This latter interpretation suggests that the adverb is enclosed only under one clause, with material deleted, and not associated with the main clause, thus (the elided material is indicated with < >):

(25) [Hanako-igai-wa sitteirukagiri/tabun <…>] [paati-ni
H-except-TOP based.on.my.knowledge/perhaps party-to
subete-no onnanoko-ga ki-mas-u].
all-GEN girl-NOM come-POLITE-PRS
'Except, based on my knowledge/possibly, Hanako, all girls will come to the party.'

The two canonical positions of clausal adverbs are right before and after the subject (Koizumi & Tamaoka 2010). Assuming such positions, the two readings of the example with a free exceptive result from a structural ambiguity in which there are two clauses; the adverb may be interpreted either within the exceptive clause, or the main clause expressing the generalization (all the girls will come to the party). The two placements should be distinguishable by prosodic contours, an issue that we leave for further work. Crucial for our purposes is the fact that the connected exceptive does not show the ambiguity in the scope of clausal adverbials because there is only a single clause.

[12] Not all the speakers we consulted get the reading where the TP adverbial scopes just over the exception. Further work is needed to understand what may cause cross-speaker variation.

Diagnostic 5. Assuming that a free exceptive is clausal, each of the linked clauses constitutes its own local binding domain. In that case, binding can be found in one of the clauses but not in both, as in the following English example; the corresponding connected exceptive is ungrammatical, because multiple exceptives are impossible (see D2 above).

(26) a. Nobody made any gains for anyone, except John for himself. CLAUSAL
b. *Nobody except John for himself made any gains for anyone. PHRASAL

Japanese free exceptives also show separate binding domains:

(27) ハナコが自分のこと以外は誰も何も心配していない。
[Hanako-ga zibun-no-koto-igai-wa] [daremo nanimo
[H-NOM self-GEN-thing-except-TOP [nobody anything
sinpai-shite-i-nai].
worry-do-PRS-NEG.PRS
'Except for Hanako about herself, nobody is worried about anything else.'

Diagnostic 6. A diagnostic based on Sluicing is developed in Stockwell & Wong 2020 (initially noted in Merchant 2001:22). The authors observe that an example like (28) is ambiguous. In (28a), the content of the missing material is supplied by the entire first clause, including the exceptive phrase, serving as the antecedent. The interpretation in (28b) is mysterious, as the required antecedent *John liked the movie* is apparently not present. Stockwell & Wong 2020 argues that this interpretation is available because the exceptive contains hidden clausal structure, as shown in (29), and this supplies the needed antecedent.

(28) Nobody liked the movie, except John, but I don't know why. CLAUSAL
a. but I don't know why <nobody liked the movie except John>.
b. but I don't know why <John liked the movie>.

(29) Nobody liked the movie, except John ~~liked the movie~~, but I don't know why.

Phrasal exceptives in English do not allow the second reading since the antecedent needed for reading (b) is simply not available.

(30) Nobody except John liked the movie, but I don't know why. PHRASAL
a. but I don't know why <nobody except John liked the movie>.
b. *but I don't know why <John didn't like the movie>.

The situation in Japanese is more nuanced. Consider the following example with a free exceptive:

(31) タロウ以外は会議でみんな怒っていたけど、何故か(は)解らない。
Taroo-igai-wa kaigi-de minna okot-te ta-kedo,
T-except-TOP meeting-at all get.upset-GER PST-CONJ
nazeka(-wa) wakar-anai.
why(-TOP) understand-NEG.PRS
'Except Taro, everyone was upset during the meeting, but I don't understand why.'

Assuming the underlying clausal structure in a free exceptive, we should expect two readings: (i) the speaker does not know why everyone except Taro was upset, and (ii) the speaker does not

know why Taro was not upset. However, most Japanese speakers we consulted only accept reading (i). It is not entirely clear why reading (ii) is not available, and examples like (31) add a new dimension to investigation of sluicing and related phenomena in Japanese.

At this point, we would like to offer a couple of considerations. First, it is possible that reading (ii) is blocked because of the nature of deletion in the sluiced clause. To anticipate our discussion in section 4, the exceptive clause is nominalized, and that may preclude the necessary identity that is required to license ellipsis in sluicing. That alone does not constitute an explanation, but adds more complexity to the already murky issue of clausal ellipsis in Japanese (Merchant 2001: 84-85; Yoshida et al. 2014). In particular, it is not clear if nominalized clauses can antecede sluicing in Japanese (Masaya Yoshida, p.c.). Another possible explanation has to do with the insufficient context supplied by the construction in (31), something that could be ascertained in an experimental study; but then the question still arises as to how exactly English and Japanese free exceptives differ with respect to the sluicing diagnostic.

Diagnostic 7. The richness of context that we brought up with respect to D6, also plays a significant role in the last diagnostic we are going to discuss here: ambiguity of the interpretation with the words *different* or *same* (based on Beck 2000).

These words can have both discourse-anaphoric readings and a reciprocal-like reading, illustrated in (32). We will call these external and internal readings (Beck 2000 calls them discourse-anaphoric and Q-bound readings).

(32) Every student read a different book.
   a. Every student read a book that is different from salient book in the discourse
      EXTERNAL READING
   b. Every student read a book that is different from the one that any other student read
      INTERNAL READING

This ambiguity can serve as a diagnostic for clausal exceptives. Phrasal exceptives, but not clausal exceptives, allow the internal reading:

(33) a. Every student read a different book. AMBIGUOUS
   b. Every student read a different book, except Mary. EXTERNAL READING ONLY
   c. Every student except Mary read a different book. AMBIGUOUS

The reason that the internal reading is not available in the clausal exceptive can be seen by looking at the non-elliptical version in (34). The exceptive clause *Mary didn't read a different book* has only an external reading as there is no quantifier to trigger the Q-bound reading.

(34) Every student read a different book, except Mary didn't read a different book.

If this contrast is genuine, then it provides us with a way to probe the internal structure of exceptives in languages that allow similar ambiguity for the words *different* or *same.* In Japanese, the word 違う *tigau* 'different' allows the same ambiguity.

(35) 全ての学生が違う本を読んだ。

Subete-no	gakusei-ga	tigau	hon-o	yon-da.
all-GEN	student-NOM	different	book-ACC	read-PST

'Every student read a different book'

   a. Every student read a book that is different from the salient one in discourse
      EXTERNAL READING

b. Every student read a book that is different from the one any other student read.
INTERNAL READING

In applying the diagnostic to Japanese exceptives, we find no contrast between connected and free exeptives:

(36) a. タロウ以外の全ての学生が違う本を読んだ。
Taroo-igai-no subete-no gakusei-ga tigau hon-o yon-da.
T-except-GEN all-GEN student-NOM different book-ACC read-PST
'Every student except Taro read a different book.'
b. タロウ以外は全ての学生が違う本を読んだ。
Taroo-igai-wa subete-no gakusei-ga tigau hon-o yon-da.
T-except-TOP all-GEN student-NOM different book-ACC read-PST
'Except Taro, every student read a different book.'

Although the two readings seem clear, native speakers of English and Japanese vary in discerning them, even with sufficient context provided. A cursory survey of several English and Japanese speakers suggests that some do not accept the internal reading at all. With respect to Japanese, several speakers found (36a) and (36b) alike in that they both call only for the extermal reading. Some speakers of both languages accepted the internal reading for both free and connected exceptives, including those contexts where the external reading was contextually ruled out. This result calls for a closer scrutiny into the diagnostic itself and may invite futre experimental work on separating the external and internal readings with respect to exceptives.

We have identified several clear differences between free and connected exceptives in Japanese, which suggest that the former are clausal in nature. We have also identified areas of diagnostic uncertainty, and those findings may point to the weakness of certain diagnostics or the need for further study, including experimenal investigations. Assuming that Japanese free exceptives are clausal, the next question has to do with the way they are derived. We turn to this issue in the next section.

4 The derivation of Japanese free exceptives

Section 3 argued that free exceptives in Japanese have clausal origins followed by ellipsis, as sketched in (12b). To recapitulate, evidence in favor of this analysis comes from the availability of a full clause in free exceptives; multiple exceptions which do not form a constituent; non-nominal exceptions; separate binding domains; and the availability of clausal adverbs scoping exclusively over the exception.

In this section, we explore the details of the Japanese derivation and compare it to the clausal analysis of English free exceptives (Potsdam & Polinsky 2019). We begin with discussing the categorial status of the exceptive marker *igai.*

4.1 *The categorial status of* igai

以外 *igai* 'outside', along with the similarly structured 以内 'inside', was borrowed from Chinese, possibly in the Han period. Both words are built on the verb 以 (cf. Djamouri et al. 2013). Martin (1975: 113) describes *igai* rather cryptically as a restrictive particle. Categorially, it could be a conjunction, a (relational) noun, or a postposition. The inventory of conjunctions in Japanese is quite slim, and in any case, they do not co-occur with *wa*, which rules out that characterization.

We already brought up parallels between exceptive and comparative constructions; the comparative marker in Japanese is characterized as a relational noun (Sudo 2015), which raises the possibility that *igai* is similarly a noun. However, *igai* cannot occur on its own, which is unexpected of nouns:[13]

(37) a. *以外は?
*igai-wa?
except-TOP
('What about others?')

b. 他は？
hoka-wa?
except-TOP
'What about others?'

Further still, *igai* can combine with noun phrases, such as *koto* 'thing', without any linking material, as is typical of Japanese postpositions (e.g., Kuno 1973: 213-220):

(38) タロウが来ること以外は聞いていない。
Taroo-ga kuru-koto-igai-wa kii-te-nai.
T-NOM come-*koto*-except-TOP hear-GER-NEG.PRS
'I was not informed about anything except that Taro is coming.'

Stacking is another characteristic typical of Japanese postpositions (Kuno 1973: 108-111; Shibatani 1977; Sadakane & Koizumi 1995, a.o.), and *igai* can stack with other postpositions, as shown in example (21c) above, where it cooccurs with *de.*

All these considerations point to the status of *igai* as a postposition. As such, it is expected to combine with a noun phrase, but at the same time, we have already presented evidence that Japanese free exceptives contain a clausal layer. These findings can be reconciled by positing a nominal layer above the clausal layer.

4.2 Evidence for the nominal layer in free exceptives

A nominal layer above the clausal one is not unique to the exceptive constructions in Japanese; it has been proposed for comparatives (Sudo 2015 and references therein) and for all kinds of temporal and conditional clauses (Kuno 1973; Tsujimura 1992; Horie 1997, a.o.). The initial evidence in favor of the external nominal layer, one that is above the clausal structure, comes from examples such as (38), where the overt nominal *koto* appears.

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[13] A reviewer points out that there is one context in which *igai* can occur alone, which is in an "echo" context like in (i):

(i) A: ええと、タロウ以外は…
eeto Taroo-igai-wa…
well T-except-TOP
'Well, except Taro…'
B: 以外は？
igai-wa?
except-TOP
'Except what?'

For any other occurrences of *igai*, they must be accompanied by some complement that denotes an exception.

Additional evidence in favor of the nominal layer comes from the use of adnominal inflection in exceptives. Some predicates take different forms in finite (copular) and adnominal positions (cf. Miyagawa 1987), for example:

(39) a. デザインがとても簡素{だ/*な}。
Dezain-ga totemo kanso-da/*-na.
design-NOM very simple-COP/ADN
'The design is very simple.'
b. とても簡素{*だ/な}デザイン
totemo kanso{*-da/-na} dezain
very simple-COP/ADN design
'a very simple design'

In exceptive constructions, only the adnominal form can be used, which indicates that a noun phrase precedes *igai* even when it is not expressed overtly:

(40) デザインがとても簡素{*だ/な}以外は文句の付けどころがない。
Dezain-ga totemo kanso{*-da/-na}-igai-wa monku.no.tuke.dokoro-ga
design-NOM very simple{-COP/-ADN}-except-TOP place.to.complain.about-NOM
nai.
NEG.PRS
'Except for the design being very simple, there is nothing to complain about.'

If this is on the right track, we can characterize *igai* uniformly as a postposition which combines with a noun phrase. The head of that noun phrase may but does not have to be spelled out (see Tsujimura 1992, Horie 1997 on the optionality of final heads in Japanese nominalizations). In free exceptives, such a noun phrase includes a nominalized CP, thus: [PP [NP [CP ....] (*koto*)] *igai*].

A possible consideration against this proposal comes from the lack of the nominative-genitive conversion (NGC), also known as *ga-no* conversion: a phenomenon where the nominative and genitive of subject can alternate in a prenominal clause (Harada 1971; Hiraiwa 2001; Maki & Uchibori 2008; Ochi 2017, a.o.). Commonly observed in relative clauses, NGC is not available in exceptives:

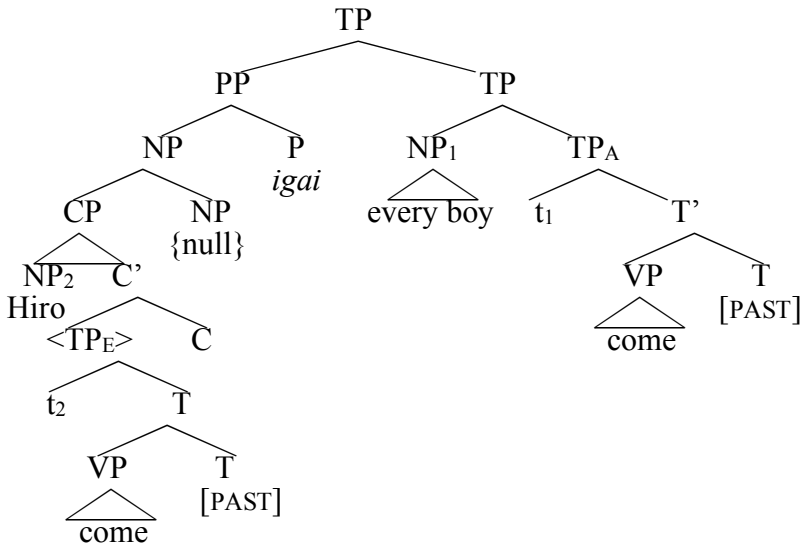
(41) タロウ{が/*の}その本を読んだ以外誰も何も読まなかった。
[Taroo-ga/*-no sono hon-o yon-da]-igai(-wa) daremo
T-NOM/-GEN that book-ACC read-PST-except-TOP anyone
nanimo yom-anakkat-ta.
anything read-NEG-PST
'Except for Taro reading that book, no one read anything.'

However, it has been argued on independent grounds, that first, relative clauses are TPs, not CPs (Murasugi 1991—but see Kaplan & Whitman for the CP analysis of Japanese relative clauses), and second, NGC is available only in TPs (Hale 2002, Miyagawa 2013). On the assumption that exceptive clauses are CPs, we do not expect to find NGC in them. (An alternative might appeal to the fact that the exception in (41) is a clause, thus the whole clause has been fronted to the exception position, presumably spec,CP. In that position, the clausal subject is inaccessible for conversion which requires access to the subject from outside the CP.)

4.3 Analytical details

Free exceptives in Japanese are derived via the attachment of the postpositional phrase headed by *igai* to a clause that expresses the generalization. To illustrate, we present the derivation for the following sentence, similar to 4(4b) above; in the schematics below, we use English glosses only.

(42) a. ヒロ以外(は)すべての男の子が来た。
Hiro-igai(-wa) subete-no otokonoko-ga ki-ta.
H-except-TOP all-GEN boy-NOM come-PST
'Except Hiro, every boy came.'
b.



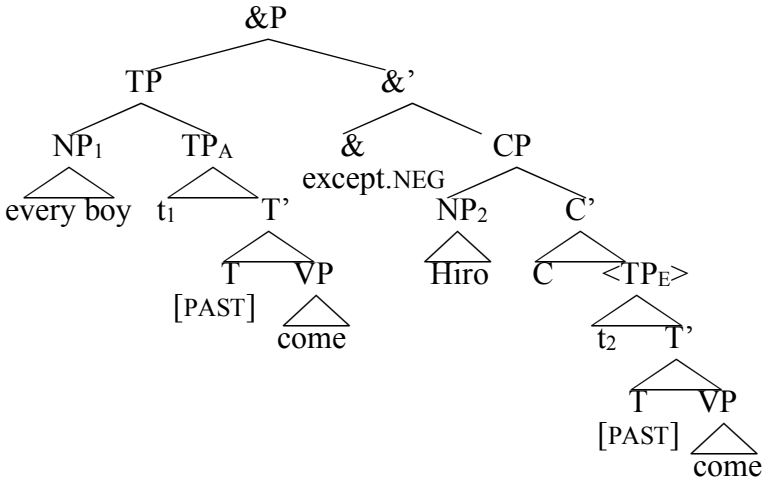
The antecedent clause in (42), *every boy came*, is TP_A and the associate of the exception undergoes quantifier raising (although it is not clear whether this is a crucial part of an exceptive derivation). The exceptive phrase is a PP adjoined to TP_A, where the postposition *igai* selects a noun phrase (with the null noun head in this case). This noun phrase in turn includes a CP, where the exception, *Hiro*, has moved to spec,C, and the remainder (TP_E) undergoes deletion under identity with the antecedent clause TP_A. The exceptive PP can also appear in a topic phrase (not shown in the derivation), and since multiple topics are allowed in Japanese, we find that free exceptives and clausal adverbials can appear in alternate orders, e.g.,

(43) a. ヒロ以外は昨日はすべての男の子が来た。
Hiro-igai-wa kinoo-wa subete-no otokonoko-ga ki-ta.
H-except-TOP yesterday-TOP all-GEN boy-NOM come-PST
b. 昨日はヒロ以外はすべての男の子が来た。
Kinoo-wa Hiro-igai-wa subete-no otokonoko-ga ki-ta.
yesterday-TOP H-except-TOP all-GEN boy-NOM come-PST
'Except Hiro, yesterday every boy came.'

Positional alternations between free exceptives and other clause-peripheral material suggest that the occurrence in the first position of the left periphery is not a critical property of Japanese free exceptives.

Consider now the derivation of a clausal free exceptive in English (Potsdam & Polinsky 2019):[14]

(44) a. Every boy came, except Hiro.
b.



English *except* is a coordinating conjunction that heads an &P, coordinating the main clause *Every boy came* and the exceptive clause, *except Hiro*. The antecedent clause *Every boy came* is TP_A and the associate of the exception undergoes quantifier raising (although it is not clear whether this is a crucial part of an exceptive derivation). The exceptive phrase consists of the exceptive marker and a clause, TP_E, out of which the exception has moved. For concreteness, we show the exception moving to spec,CP. Finally, the exceptive clause, TP_E, is deleted under identity with the antecedent clause, TP_A.

If we now compare the derivation of Japanese free exceptives to that of English ones, headedness aside, the main differences lie in the nature of the exceptive marker (a postposition in Japanese, a coordinating conjunction in English) and the presence of the nominal layer above the exceptive clause CP (yes in Japanese, no in English). A possible reason for the difference between the two languages may lie in the impoverished inventory of Japanese conjunctions; in their absence, different means of clause linking can be used.

5 Outstanding issues

Assuming a PF deletion analysis in the derivation of free exceptives in Japanese, as shown in (42b), we face a number of outstanding issues, such as (i) the nature of the complementizer in the CP embedded under *igai*, and (ii) issues of identity under ellipsis. We discuss them in sections 5.1 and 5.2.

Other outstanding issues that arise outside of the ellipsis analysis have to do with silent associates in connected exceptives and the relation between exceptives and negation.

[14] Here we represent the exceptive conjunction as including covert negation, which allows for the identity of polarity in the antecedent clause and the elided clause. We discuss issues of polarity in more detail in section 5.2.

5.1 The nature of the head in the embedded CP

We analyze the clause embedded under the nominalizing head in the *igai*-postpositional phrase as a CP, for two reasons, both of them indirect. First, the exception, which is the remnant that survives clausal ellipsis, is arguably A-bar moved and contrastively focused. Such material appears in the CP area (Rizzi 1997; Erteschik-Shir 2007, a.o.). However, the A-bar movement proposal is particularly hard to defend given the lack of clear island effects in Japanese (Fukui 2006, Lasnik & Saito 1992, Omaki et al. 2020, Richards 2000, Watanabe 2003, a.o.), let alone the lack of overt wh-movement.

Second, we contrasted Japanese exceptive clauses with relative clauses; the latter are argued to be TPs in Japanese and allow GNC. By that logic, the former are larger in structure, hence CPs. It would be desirable to identify other evidence in favor of the CP analysis. It is also important to understand the nature of the silent complemetizer C that is present in the exceptive clause. This head attracts the expression of exception to its specifier. Following Lobeck (1995) and Merchant (2001), we assume that this head carries the feature [E], which licenses the non-pronunciation of its complement. Since exceptions are not wh-words, the nature of the C head is unclear and remains an issue for future investigation.

A silent C has also been proposed in some clausal analyses of Japanese comparatives (Bhatt & Takahashi 2011; but see Sudo 2015 for the proposal that these clauses include an underlying relative clause only). It remains to be seen if the underlying C in these clauses, which then undergo ellipsis, is the same or different in nature.

5.2 Identity under ellipsis

Since the earliest studies on ellipsis, a recurring question has been the form of the identity requirement that must hold between an elided element and its antecedent (see Lipták 2015 and Ranero 2021 for a summary and references). Early analyses (Chomsky 1964, 1965, Ross 1967, Sag 1976, Williams 1977, a.o.) required strict syntactic identity, while later ones turned to a purely semantic identity requirement (Dalrymple et al. 1991, Hardt 1993, 1999, Merchant 2001, a.o.). Recent work has returned to a purely syntactic account or a mixed account in which both semantic and some amount of syntactic identity is required (Chung et al. 2011, Merchant 2013, Lipták 2015, Barros & Vicente 2016, Thoms 2015, Ranero 2021, a.o.).

In exceptives, the issue of identity arises with respect to polarity mismatch. Exceptives require that the elided clause and the antecedent have opposite polarity, (45). This can be seen in the interpretation of the exceptives in (46) where the polarities of the overt and elided clauses are opposite.

(45) *Polarity Generalization* (following García Álvarez 2008:129)
The proposition expressed in the main clause and exceptive clause must have opposite polarity

(46) a. Every student succeeded, except Bill **~~didn't succeed~~**.
b. I **didn't** see anyone, except Bill ~~I saw~~.

Three possible solutions arise here, and we will sketch them out briefly. Assuming syntactic identity on ellipsis, it is possible that the polarity reversal is only apparent, and the exceptive phrase contains a, possibly covert, instance of negation that triggers the reversal, for example, embedded in the meaning of the exceptive marker (Potsdam 2019, Soltan 2016). In fact, in some languages, such as Malagasy, the negative component of the exceptive marker is morphologically overt (Potsdam 2019). On this approach, the negation is not actually inside the

ellipsis site and there is no polarity mismatch. If so, (47a) is analyzed along the lines of (47b); we already represented such negation in the structure of the English example (44) above.

(47) a. Every student succeeded, except Bill.
b. Every student succeeded, AND.NOT Bill ~~succeeded~~.

Extending this idea to Japanese, the lexical specification of *igai* includes negation , making it similar to a caritive postposition ('without'). A possible consideration against this approach has to do with the non-polarity reversing (additive) meaning of *igai* which was illustrated in (3); it has two different meanings. It is still possible to imagine two different lexical items, one with negation in it ("apart from; not included in"), and the other without one (the additive marker), but it is striking that such co-occurrence of meanings is cross-linguistically common, hence non-accidental (Zuber 1998, Sevi 2008, Vostrikova 2019).

Another way of tackling polarity mismatches while maintaining syntactic identity relies on featural (under)specification (Ranero 2021). The main constraint on identity is realized via the presence or absence of features. However, instead of simple featural identity, the syntactic condition on ellipsis relies on features being non-distinct. For example, a privative feature present in the antecedent but not in the ellipsis site (or vice-versa) does not constitute a violation of identity. Nor does a functional projection present in one but not the other.

On this approach, clauses containing negation project a ΣP phrase where the head Σ hosts a [NEG] feature (Laka 1990, 1991). Conversely, ΣP is absent in affirmative clauses (Laka 1990, 1991). Adopting this analysis, exceptives involve a mismatch between the absence and presence of a head bearing a feature bundle, in this case, $\Sigma_{[+NEG]}$. The affirmative clause is featurally empty with respect to $\Sigma_{[+NEG]}$, hence no feature clash is observed, and ellipsis is possible (modified from Ranero 2021: 188):

(48) *Polarity mismatch*

Antecedent: [$_{XP}$ … YP]	no Σ^0
Ellipsis site: [$_{\Sigma P}$ [$_{XP}$ … YP]]	$\Sigma^0_{[+NEG]}$

Finally, another strand of explanation for the Polarity Generalization is that such mismatches are generally allowed in clausal ellipsis, and syntactic conditions on ellipsis are just too restrictive. Kroll 2019 documents a number of Sluicing contexts in which the sluiced clause and its antecedent mismatch in polarity. In (49), the antecedent is positive, while the sluiced clause is negative.

(49) Either the Board grants the license by December 15 or it explains why ~~it **didn't** grant the license by December 15~~. (Kroll 2019:25)

Kroll 2019, 2020 offers a discourse-pragmatic analysis of the identity condition in clausal ellipsis that allow such mismatches. It remains to be seen, however, how to save this approach from overgeneration whereby more mismatches may be allowed than actually possible.

It is conceivable that identity conditions on deletion in clausal exceptives are not uniform for all exceptive clauses. For instance, the (covert) negation approach may work for those exceptive markers that do not have the additive reading, while the featural non-distinctness may be more applicable to strcutures with markers like the Japanese *igai* or English *besides.* We leave the choice of a specific approach to identity for further research.

5.3 The missing associate

In section 2, we already introduced a possible difficulty concerning the contrast between connected and free exceptives with respect to the implicit nature of the associate. Based on English, a number of researchers have proposed that the associate can only be implicit in free exceptives (presumabley regardless of their phrasal or clausal derivation).

The situation in Japanese is more complicated. First of all, only the left periphery is available for exceptive placement, and as we discussed in secton 4.3, optional scrambling of free exceptives is also possible, so this diagnostic in and of itself is not very strong. Second, case markers, the topic marker *wa*, and the linker *no* can be dropped under a number of conditions (Kuno 1973; Fry 2003; Fujii & Ono 2000, a.o.), as a result, the status of the exception expression is not always clear. This is further confounded by some graded judgments which we will review below.

We start by reviewing some of the examples with an unexpressed associate.

(50) そのデザートはタロウ以外が食べる。
Sono dezaato-wa Taroo-igai-ga taberu.
this dessert-TOP T-except-NOM eat.PRS
'Everybody except Taro eats this dessert.'

(51) タロウはリンゴ以外(を)食べた。
Taroo-wa ringo-igai(-o) tabe-ta.
T-top apple-except-ACC eat-PST
'Taro ate everything except the apple.'

The two examples show exception phrases in the nominative and accusative, respectively. It is independently established that the topic marker -*wa* cannot immediately follow case markers (Watanabe 2009); in other words, a case marker and the topic marker cannot co-occur:

(52) a. タロウはリンゴ以外を(*は)食べた。
Taroo-wa ringo-igai-o-(*wa) tabe-ta.
T-TOP apple-except-ACC-TOP eat-PST
b. タロウはリンゴ以外(*を)は食べた。
Taroo-wa ringo-igai-(*o-)wa tabe-ta.
T-TOP apple-except-ACC-TOP eat-PST
'Taro ate everything but the apple.'

Given the scrambling options discussed earlier, we can identify (52b) as an instance of a free exceptive with an implicit associate, an option that is widely attested in free exceptives; although we do not have instrumental measures to support it, the prosody of (52b) includes breaks after each topic-marked phrase and the pitch after the exception expresson does not go down, which is consistent with observations on the prosody of topic expressions in Japanese (Nakanishi 2001). Meanwhile (52a) does not include a prosodic break after the object and there is no pitch reset. An instrumental investigation of prosodic differences between examples such as (52a) and (52b) is called for, but for now we would like to propose that (52a) is an instance of a connected exceptive with a silent (null pronominal) associate, whereas (52b) is a genuine free exceptive. As such, the two examples reflect two distinct types of "missing" associate. Since the associate in the connected exceptive is expressed as a null pronominal, the linker *no* is deleted and the case marker directly follows *igai*.

(53) [[ringo-igai-~~no~~] *pro*]-o
apple-except-GEN *pro*-ACC

If this analysis is on the right track, we can also predict that postpositions, just as case markers, can follow *igai* in connected exceptives with the null associate. This prediction is confirmed:

(54) タロウはハナコ以外からチョコレートをもらった。
Taroo-wa Hanako-igai(-*pro*)-kara chokoleetto-o moratta.
T-TOP H-except-from chocolate-ACC receive.PST
'Taro received chocolate from everyone except Hanako.'

Unlike case-marked exceptives, where the order "case-marker-before-*igai*" is simply unavailable, postpositions can appear either after the exceptive marker, as in (54), or before it:

(55) タロウはハナコから以外チョコレートをもらった。
Taroo-wa Hanako-kara-igai chokoleetto-o moratta.
T-TOP H-from-except chocolate-ACC receive.PST
'Taro received chocolate from everyone except Hanako.'

The difference, as we contend, again boils down to the difference between connected and free exceptives; in (54), there is a null-pronominal associate in a connected exceptive, which is marked off by the postposition, whereas in (55), the postposition *igai* stacks on the postposition *kara* forming an exceptive phrase.

The distributional properties of Japanese exceptives with a missing associate are summarized in Table 3. The linear order of the exceptive marker and postpositions or case markers partially resolves the structural ambiguity in the two types of associates.[15]

	Free exceptive with implicit associate	Connected exceptive with null associate
Case marker	impossible	follows *igai*
Postposition	precedes *igai*	follows *igai*

Table 3 Japanese exceptives with unexpressed associate

The next question that arises has to do with the licensing conditions on null associates in the connected exceptive. Null associates in exceptive phrases have been reported for other languages, Arabic in particular (Al-Bataineh 2021), but crucially, in Arabic, the null associate is licensed by negation. In Japanese, as shown by the examples above, null associates can be licensed in affirmative clauses as well.

Another outstanding issue raised by these data relates to language processing. Given structural ambiguity between free exceptives with implicit associates and connected exceptives

[15] The marker *ni* has been subject to much discussion in the literature on Japanese, with ongoing debates about its status as a case marker or a postposition (e.g., Sadakane & Koizumi 1995). Its distribution in exceptives can be used as an additional argument in favor of its status as a postposition, since it can either precede or follow *igai*.

with null associates, how is this ambiguity reflected in real-time? This question could inform a future experimental study where the two orders of postposition and *igai*, such as (54) and (55) could be compared in a systematic manner.

6 Exceptive or exceptive impostor?

Our discussion up to this point has been limited to *igai*, but there are other particles in Japanese that have been claimed to express an exceptive meaning, in particular, the focus particles *dake* and *shika*, both of which correspond to the English 'only' or 'just'. Both have been traditionally analyzed as focus particles denoting exclusion, hence the parallels with the English *only*.

Researchers seem to converge on the conception that *dake* should be analyzed as a general focus particle (see Futagi 2004 and references therein). Furthermore, *dake* can combine with *shika* and *igai*, which also suggests that its function is different from that of the exceptive marker. We can therefore set *dake* aside as a generalized focus particle whose meaning of exclusion arises via inference. As for *shika*, things are a bit more complicated. One of the key properties that distinguish *shika* from *dake* is its sensitivity to polarity, i.e., *shika* requires a clause-mate negative(suffix) *na*(*kat*) as its licensor, (56).

(56) a. タロウしか来なかった。
Taroo-shika ko-nakat-ta.
T-only come-NEG-PST
'Only Taro came.'
b. *タロウしか来た。
*Taroo-shika ki-ta.
T-only come-PST

However, as can be seen in the English paraphrase, we see no semantic input of this negation in the resulting sentence meaning: despite their being a negative suffix on the verb, (56a) roughly has the same meaning as exceptive examples without negation. This raises the question as to how the meaning of a sentence containing *shika* is derived compositionally, and furthermore, whether the traditional assumption that *shika* is an exclusive particle should be maintained. We address these questions by comparing the semantic properties of *shika* and *igai*.

In comparing *shika* and *igai*, let us start with similarities, which have to do with the ability to antecede coreferential pronouns. To illustrate, the examples below, adapted from Kuno (1999), describe the same situation: nobody except Taro was wearing a seatbelt, and that's why only Taro survived. When *Taro* is marked with the particle *dake*, the null pronoun in the following sentence cannot pick out the other individuals that are part of the exclusive meaning (i.e., it cannot mean 'they'), as shown in (57b). This is consistent with the status of *dake* as a regular focus particle. However, when *Taro* appears with either *shika* or *igai*, the null pronoun in the succeeding sentence cannot pick out *Taro* as its referent, and thus, its referent is restricted to 'they', cf. (58a) and (59a).

(57) a. タロウだけが助かった。シートベルトをしていたからだ。
Taroo-dake-ga tasukat-ta. *pro* siitoberuto-o si-tei-ta-kara-da.
T-only-NOM survive-PST seatbelt-ACC wear-GER-PST-COP
'Only Taro survived. That's because he was wearing a seatbelt.'
b. タロウだけが助かった。シートベルトをしていなかったからだ。
Taroo-dake-ga tasukat-ta. # *pro* siitoberuto-o si-tei-nakat-ta-kara-da.

T-only-NOM survive-PST seatbelt-ACC wear-GER-NEG-PST-COP
'Only Taro survived. # That's because they were not wearing a seatbelt.'

(58) a. タロウしか助からなかった。シートベルトをしていたからだ。
Taroo-shika tasukara-anakat-ta. # *pro* siitoberuto-o si-tei-ta-kara-da.
T-only survive-NEG-PST seatbelt-ACC wear-GER-PST-COP
'Only Taro survived. #That's because he was wearing a seatbelt.'

b. タロウしか助からなかった。シートベルトをしていなかったからだ。
Taroo-shika tasukar-anakat-ta. *pro* siitoberuto-o si-tei-nakat-ta-kara-da.
T-only survive-NEG-PST seatbelt-ACC wear-ING-NEG-PST-COP
'Only Taro survived. That's because they were not wearing a seatbelt.'

(59) a. タロウ以外助からなかった。シートベルトをしていたからだ。
Taroo-igai tasukar-anakat-ta. # pro siitoberuto-o si-tei-ta-kara-da.
T-except survive-NEG-PST seatbelt-ACC wear-GER-PST-COP
'Only Taro survived. #That's because he was wearing a seatbelt.'

b. タロウ以外助からなかった。シートベルトをしていなかったからだ。
Taroo-igai tasukar-anakat-ta. pro siitoberuto-o si-tei-nakat-ta-kara-da.
T-except survive-NEG-PST seatbelt-ACC wear-ING-NEG-PST-COP
'Only Taro survived. That's because they were not wearing a seatbelt.'

This difference in the possible referent of the null pronoun suggests that the *dake*-sentence in (57) is about Taro, while the *shika*-sentence and the *igai*-sentence are about the associate, not the exception. This is what motivates an analysis under which *shika*, like *igai,* is analyzed as an exceptive marker. For example, Yoshimura (2007) proposes a universal exceptive marker analysis of *shika*, in which she contends that *shika* is an exceptive marker whose semantic representation includes a universal quantifier. Hence, under her analysis, *Only Taro survived* is not an accurate paraphrase of (56a). Instead, it should be paraphrased as *Everyone except Taro did not survive*. Now the meaning of (56a) can be derived compositionally since the semantic input of negation is evident in its interpretation (*did* ***not*** *survive* for the non-exceptions vs. *survived* for the exception).

However, a number of significant differences separate *shika* and *igai*, which cast doubt on the view that *shika* is an exceptive marker. As discussed above, *shika* is polarity-sensitive and requires a clause-mate negative suffix *na*(*kat*) as its licensor.[16] At the same time, Hasegawa (2010) observes that the negation licensing *shika* does not behave in the same way as ordinary negation. As shown below, the negation that co-occurs with *shika* cannot license the negative polarity item (NPI) *nanimo*, (60). This differs from the negation that co-occurs with *dake* and *igai*, which can license an NPI, as in (61) and (62).

(60) *タロウしか何も食べなかった。
*Taroo-shika nanimo tabe-nakat-ta.
T-shika anything eat-NEG-PST

(61) タロウだけ何も食べなかった。
Taroo-dake nanimo tabe-nakat-ta.
T-only anything eat-NEG-PST

[16] In contrast, exceptives marked by *igai* can occur with or without negation, and in fact, exceptives of this type are more common in affirmative clauses, something that may be lost in discussion of exceptive constructions in theoretical papers. In corpus counts based on 1,000,000 sentence train-1 portion of the corpus ASPEC, about 88% of *igai*-exceptives are found in affirmative clauses.

'Only Taro didn't eat anything.'

(62) タロウ以外何も食べなかった。

Taroo-igai	nanimo	tabe-nakat-ta.
T-except	anything	eat-NEG-PST

'Except Taro, nobody ate anything.' (lit.: … everyone did not eat anthing)

Additionally, Hasegawa notes that, while the exceptive meaning that *Taro came* is cancelable in (64), the same information introduced by *shika* in (63) is not. This suggests that the exceptive meanings that *shika* and *igai* contribute are of different types (entailment/presupposition and implicature respectively; see also Ido and Kubota 2021).

(63) タロウしか来なかったし、タロウも来なかった。

#Taroo-shika	ko-nakkat-ta-shi,	Taroo-mo	ko-nakkat-ta.
T-shika come-NEG-PST-and		T-also	come-NEG-PST

'Only Taro came, and Taro also didn't come.'

(64) タロウ以外来なかったし、タロウも来なかった。

Taroo-igai	ko-nakkat-ta-shi,	Taro-mo	ko-nakkat-ta.
T-except	come-NEG-PST-and	T-also	come-NEG-PST

'No one other than Taro came, and Taro also didn't come'

For these reasons, Hasegawa concludes that *shika* is not an exceptive marker, arguing in favor of the traditional view that *shika* is an exclusive particle. Following this conclusion, we also assume that *shika* is an exclusive particle, while *igai* is a genuine exceptive marker.

7 Conclusions

We started this paper by introducing exceptives as constructions that express exclusion. As such, they consist of an exceptive phrase, which excludes the exception from the domain of an associate. Thus:

(65)

Everyone	laughed	[except		Mary]
ASSOCIATE		EXCEPTIVE MARKER		EXCEPTION
		[…	EXCEPTIVE PHRASE	…]

We presented and analyzed the expression of exception in Japanese, formally marked with the postposition *igai.* As a postposition, *igai* combines with a noun phrase. The internal structure of that noun phrase can be quite complex; in particular, it can include a nominalized CP. Japanese allows both connected and exceptives, which differ, among other things, by whether the exception and the associate form a constituent (yes for the former, no for the latter). We have shown that Japanese free exceptives always include an underlying nominalized CPs (sometimes headed by a null nominal head), with elided material. This kind of ellipsis is different from clausal ellipsis in exceptives in languages like English where no nominal or determiner head is attested. Until now, only two types of free exceptives have been recognized: non-clausal phrasal ones (unattested so far) and clausal (with ellipsis), as in English or Egyptian Arabic (Soltan 2016). The novel Japanese results thus enrich the existing typology of exceptive constructions by recognizing a nominalized CP as another source of exceptive constructions.

Among other languages whose exceptives have been studied, Japanese also stands out as the only language so far where both free and connected exceptives can have a null associate which does not have to be licensed by negation. On the one hand, given the proliferation of null nominals in Japanese, it is not unexpected that null associates in Japanese exceptives are readily available. On the other hand, the exact licensing conditions on these null expressions are not yet properly understood.

Finally, Japanese adds novel data to the observation that the original constraint on universal quantifiers in the associate of an exceptive is too strong. García Álvarez (2008:13-21) and Galal (2019) have already called it into question on the basis of English data, and Japanese serves as another reminder that more semantic work is needed to understand the nature the domain of generalization in exceptives.

While our main focus has been on the exceptive constructions with the postposition *igai* which we consider a dedicated exceptive marker, we have also discussed the expression of exclusion with the particles *dake* and *shika*. Although these particles can mark off exclusion to a generalization, this appears to be a side effect of their semantics, not their dedicated function. Thus, they are not exclusive to exceptive constructions.

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