Introduction to Exceptives Questionnaire
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1 Exceptives

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 …]

The existing literature on exceptives is quite small. It focuses largely on the semantics of the construction, getting the right interpretation and inferences. There is little syntactic work and there are no typological studies.[1] This project is a cross-linguistic investigation of the lexical, morphological, and syntactic properties of the exceptive construction. It has two pieces. The first part of the project is an empirical investigation of morphosyntactic characteristics of exceptives in individual languages. Project members will look at diverse languages in order to develop a typological picture of exceptives. We hope to gain an understanding of how languages express exception and what the parameters of variation are cross-linguistically. The second part of the project is a theoretical investigation where we will examine the consequences of our typological findings for syntactic theory.

This document lays out our current understanding of the empirical domain of exceptives. Initial investigations have identified three potentially independent parameters of variation:

(2) a. *free* vs. *connected exceptives*
b. *phrasal* vs. *clausal exceptives*
c. *subordinated* vs. *coordinated exceptives*

Section 2 comments briefly on the issues surrounding the interpretation of exceptives. Section 3 discusses the FREE vs. CONNECTED EXCEPTIVE distinction. Section 4 discusses the PHRASAL EXCEPTIVE versus CLAUSAL EXCEPTIVE distinction. Section 5 presents the distinction between SUBORDINATED EXCEPTIVES and COORDINATED EXCEPTIVES. We fully expect that additional empirical investigation will result in modification of these parameters, summarized in section 6, and will identify new ones. Thus, Section 7 discusses how we plan to go about documenting the exceptive construction in individual languages, through the development and use of a QUESTIONNAIRE.

[1] Syntactic investigations of individual languages that we are aware of include English (Reinhart 1991), Romanian (Sava 2009), French (O'Neill 2011, Galal 2019), Spanish (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012) Arabic (Soltan 2016, Galal 2019, Al-Bataineh 2020), Malagasy (Potsdam 2018a,b, 2019), Tahitian (Potsdam & Polinsky 2017), Russian (Oskolskaya 2009, Potsdam & Polinsky 2019) and Hill Mari and Moksha Mordvin (Finno-Ugric) (Khomchenkova 2009).

2 Interpretation

Most of the formal linguistic work on exceptives is concerned with their interpretation and truth conditions, and getting the right inferences.[2] Our concerns in this domain are primarily in identifying an exceptive construction and differentiating it from other constructions such as restriction, opposition, and concession. Two widely-discussed characteristics of exceptives are given in (3), from Moltmann 1995, García Álvarez 2008, and Galal 2019.

(3) a. Polarity Reversal: Applying the predicate to the exception yields the opposite truth value from applying the predicate to non-exceptions
b. Condition of Inclusion: The exception must belong to the restriction of the associate

Consider the exceptive *Every girl laughed except Mary* and its truth conditions in (4).

(4) a. Every girl that is not Mary laughed
b. Mary did not laugh
c. Mary is a girl

Polarity Reversal requires that every girl laughed, and Mary did not laugh, (4a,b). The Condition of Inclusion requires that Mary be a girl, (4c), and accounts for the infelicity of *#Every girl laughed except Bill*. These requirements can help distinguish exception from other constructions which yield similar inferences. For example, the exceptive *Every girl except Mary laughed* is roughly synonymous with the focus construction *Only Mary didn't laugh*; however, the latter is not an exceptive.

There is much discussion in the semantics literature regarding an accurate characterization of possible exceptive associates. The most well-known formulation is Moltmann's Quantifier Constraint, which states that only universal and negative universal quantificational associates, such as *every girl*, are permitted. This issue is discussed below, as it interacts with the free vs. connected exceptive distinction.[3]

Some languages show an ambiguity in which the exceptive marker also has an ADDITIVE interpretation, 'in addition to'.[4] A Russian example with the marker *krome* is given in (5) (Vostrikova 2019:6). Depending upon the associate, *krome* can either mean 'except' or 'in addition to'.

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[2] See, for example, Keenan & Stavi 1986, Hoeksema 1987, 1995, von Fintel 1993, Moltmann 1995, Lappin 1996, Zuber 1998, Peters & Westerståhl 2006, Gajewski 2008, 2013, García Álvarez 2008, Hirsch 2016, Crnič 2018, and Galal 2019.

[3] See also Galal's (2019) Contrainte de Limitation and substantive discussion in García Álvarez 2008.

[4] See Vostrikova 2019, as well as Sevi 2008 (Hebrew), and Liu 2019 (Mandarin).

(5) a. Tam byli vse devočki krome Ani i Mašy
there were all girls krome Anya and Masha
'All girls except Anya and Masha were there.'
b. Tam byli kakie-to devočki krome Ani i Mašy
there were some girls krome Anya and Masha
'Some girls besides (in addition to) Anya and Masha were there.'

For some English speakers, *besides* shows this ambiguity. Other exceptive markers cross-linguistically do not show this ambiguity. For example, English *except* is unambiguous.

3 Free vs. connected exceptives

The consensus understanding of exceptives, based on the earliest semantic work (Hoeksema 1987, 1995), recognizes a distinction between FREE EXCEPTIVES and CONNECTED EXCEPTIVES. These terms refer 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, (6a), while in a free exceptive, they are not adjacent and/or do not form a surface constituent, (6b).

(6) a. [Everyone except Mary] laughed. CONNECTED EXCEPTIVE
b. [Everyone] laughed, [except Mary]. FREE EXCEPTIVE

Section 2.1 presents a number of properties that distinguish free and connected exceptives. Section 2.2 points out practical challenges in identify free vs. connected exceptives.

3.1 Diagnostics

A number of properties distinguish connected exceptives from free exceptives, several of which are given in Table 1. This section illustrates these characteristics and shows how they can be investigated in other languages.

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

Table 1. Differences between connected and free exceptives

3.1.1 Exceptive marker (property 1)

We anticipate that some languages will use a different exceptive marker in free and connected exceptives, providing a morphological cue as to the type of exceptive. We hypothesize that Russian is one such language. The exceptive marker *krome* 'except.CONN' marks connected exceptives while the exceptive marker *krome kak* 'except.FREE' marks free exceptives (Potsdam & Polinsky 2019). We take advantage of this lexical difference in illustrating the other differences below.

3.1.2 Semantics (property 2)

Since at least Hoeksema 1987, a semantic distinction in the interpretation of connected and free exceptives has been countenanced (see also von Fintel 1993). Connected exceptives subtract from the domain of the quantified associate. Free exceptives, in contrast, express an exception to a generalization. This interpretive difference, which is admittedly hard to isolate empirically, correlates with a number of more salient syntactic contrasts.

3.1.3 Associate types (property 3)

As a partial consequence of subtracting from the domain of a quantifier, connected exceptives are claimed to be subject to the Quantifier Constraint (QC) in (7) (Hoeksema 1987, von Fintel 1993, Moltmann 1995), which restricts this quantifier to being a universal or negative universal quantifier (*every, all, no*), as illustrated in (8). Free exceptives are not restricted by the QC. The main clause need only be a generalization which can admit of exceptions. Consequently, the associate need not be a (negative) universal quantifier. Other quantifiers, definite noun phrases, and bare plurals are permitted as associates, (9).

(7) *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

(8) 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.

(9) a. *Few* know that Colorado produces wine, except visitors.
(cf. *Few except visitors know that Colorado produces wine.)
b. *The judges* gave her a standing ovation, except Simon Cowell.
(cf. *The judges except Simon Cowell gave her a standing ovation.)
c. *Fish* can't survive out of water, except Swedish Fish.
(cf. *Fish except Swedish Fish can't survive out of water.)

Garcia Alvarez 2008:12-29 and Hoeksema 1995 discuss this issue and data in some detail for English from a semantic perspective. They individuate a long list of conceivable associate types, (10) and argue that free exceptives allow associates a-h and no exceptives allow associates i, j.

(10) a. universal quantifiers: *every, all, no*
b. non-universal quantifiers: *most (of), many (of), few (of)*
c. mass quantifiers: *much, little*
d. definite noun phrases
plural definites, e.g. *the judges, the girls*

singular group nouns, e.g. *the team, the group*

e. kind referring noun phrases
   singular definites, e.g. *the dog*
   bare plurals, e.g. *dogs, children*
f. generic noun phrases
   indefinite singulars, e.g. *a year*
g. superlative noun phrases
h. indefinite noun phrases
i. numeral noun phrases, e.g. *three girls, at least/at most/exactly two dogs*
j. universal noun phrases with a cardinality restriction: *both, neither*

Semantic work on exceptives occasionally points out counterexamples to the Quantifier Constraint: examples in which connected exceptives are apparently allowed with non-universal quantifiers. The examples in (11) are from García Álvarez 2008:13-21 (see also Galal 2019).

(11) a. Salvias are native to most continents except Australia.
b. With many countries except Japan, the United States maintains a trade surplus or trade balance.
c. There was little furniture except our big fridge in the corner of the living room.
d. English policemen, except the guards who protect the royal family, do not carry guns.

These authors interpret the data to show that the QC does not govern connected exceptives and a wider range of associates are allowed. In particular, García Álvarez 2008:28 claims that connected exceptives allow associates at least a, b, c, g from the above list. An alternative interpretation of the data is that these are not in fact connected exceptives, despite the position of the exceptive phrase adjacent to its associate. Free exceptive phrases typically appear at the end of the clause; however, they may also appear in parenthetical positions (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012, Soltan 2016). In both cases, the exceptive phrase may end up adjacent to the associate but still not form a constituent with it. Thus, the examples in (11) could be free exceptives, which need not obey the QC. At least in English, it is difficult to decide between these two options. Comma intonation—a pause before and after the parenthetical—is an indicator of a parenthetical, but that can be difficult to identify.

In conclusion, it is clear that free exceptives allow a wider range of associates than connected exceptives and certain kinds of associates are completely impossible in all exceptives. Nevertheless, there is no consensus as to what kinds of associates are allowed in connected exceptives. The QC is the most restrictive hypothesis.

3.1.4 Structure (properties 4-6)

Syntactically, connected exceptive phrases are nominal modifiers and form a constituent with the associate, as bracketed in (12). This constituency can be confirmed with standard tests such as displacement, (12b), coordination, (12c), or other language-specific constituency tests.

(12) a. He eats [every vegetable except peas].
b. [Every vegetable except peas] he readily eats.
c. He eats [[every vegetable except peas] and [no fruit except bananas]].

Free exceptives, in contrast, are clausal modifiers. They do not form a constituent with the associate, even when they might end up adjacent to the associate. They only occur in positions where clausal modifiers appear, typically clause-peripheral positions (the front or the back of the clause), and in positions where parenthetical are allowed (such as after the subject in English). (13) illustrates clausal modifier positions in Russian and English.

(13) a. (krome kak Mašu) oni pozvali vsex detej RUSSIAN
except.FREE Masha.ACC they called all children.ACC
na prazdnik (krome kak Mašu)
on party except.FREE Masha.ACC
'They invited all the children to the party, except Masha.'

b. (Except for/%Except Sandy), everyone (, except Sandy,) attend the event (except Sandy).

3.1.5 Category of the exception (property 7)

Given that connected exceptives contain nominal modifiers, and the exception must match in type with the associate, it follows that connected exceptives must have a nominal exception (Hoeksema 1995, others). Free exceptives, in contrast, do not need to have a nominal exception, although it is possible that there are some languages where free exceptions must also be nominal. The Russian data in (14) illustrate this difference. Both types of exceptives allow a nominal exception, (14a). Only free exceptives allow non-nominal exceptions, such as a PP in (14b) or a CP in (14c).

(14) a. Ona ne est ničego krome kak/krome [makaron(y)]$_{NP}$
she NEG eats nothing except.FREE/except.CONN pasta.GEN/ACC
'She does not eat anything except pasta.'

b. Ne vedi razgovorov, krome kak/*krome [o pogode]$_{PP}$
NEG conduct.IMP conversations except.FREE/except.CONN on weather.PRP
'Don't talk about anything, except [(about) the weather]$_{PP}$.' (Oskolskaya 2014:367)

c. Jejo ne trevožilo ničego
her NEG bothered nothing
krome kak/*krome [čto skažut na rabote]$_{CP}$
except.FREE/except.CONN what say.FUT on work.LOC
'Nothing bothered her, except [what they were going to say at work]$_{CP}$.'

3.1.6 Realization of the associate (property 8)

Because connected exceptive phrases modify a nominal, they cannot have an associate that is not syntactically realized. Free exceptives are not so restricted, because they modify the whole clause, not a nominal. Examples of this contrast for Russian and English are in (15, 16).

(15) On ne sočinjaet
he NEG composes
*krome žalob
except.CONN complaints.GEN.PL
%krome kak žaloby
except.FREE complaints.NOM.PL
'He does not write, except complaints.' (Russian National Corpus)

(16) a. *He did not study Ø except math, yesterday. CONNECTED EXCEPTIVE
b. He did not study yesterday, except math. FREE EXCEPTIVE

We distinguish two kinds of implicit associates. Null adjuncts, typically of time or place, plausibly have no representation in the antecedent clause. English examples are in (17). Null arguments, in contrast, have at least a semantic representation in the antecedent clause (or might even have a syntactic presence as *pro*), (18).

(17) a. He does not speak, except in riddles.
b. He does not work, except (on) Mondays.
c. The death penalty is not applied, except in cases of murder.
d. Mary won't sing, except in the shower.
e. We never see her, except at church.

(18) a. My dog will not eat, except treats and Milk Bone biscuits.
b. He doesn't read, except Facebook posts.
c. Bill can't cook, except omelettes.
d. The factory is hiring, except secretaries.
e. Mike won't hunt, except with a bow and arrow.
f. The retirees never travel at Christmas, except to their grandchildren's homes.
g. Mary doesn't bake anymore, except for her friends.
h. I will never send cash in the mail, except to charities.
i. The Loch Ness monster has never been photographed, except by a lone American tourist.

3.2 Complications

A potential complication in identifying a free exceptive is that some languages may have syntactic mechanisms for deriving a free exceptive from a connected exceptive. Many languages allow nominal modifiers to be displaced from a noun phrase via a process often called Extraposition from NP (Ross 1967, Rochemont & Culicover 1990, Fox & Nissenbaum 1999, Göbbel 2020). This is illustrated for English in (19).

(19) a. [A review [**of Jack's book**]] appeared.
b. [A review] appeared [**of Jack's book**].

If Extraposition from NP is available in a language, then the exceptive phrase in a connected exceptive could be moved to a different position from within the modified nominal, making the connected exceptive an apparent free one. Russian seems to allow this option. (20a) is a connected exceptive given the form of the exceptive marker. In (20b), the exceptive phrase has been separated from the associate, extraposed to the clause periphery.

(20) a. ona ne nosit [nikakoj odeždy [krome firmennoj]]
she NEG wears no clothes except.CONN brand

b. (krome firmennoj) ona [nikakoj odeždy]
except.CONN brand she no clothes
ne nosit (krome firmennoj)
NEG wears except.CONN brand
'She does not wear any clothing, except brand-name clothing.'

The apparent free exceptive in (20b) should be analyzed as a connected exceptive based on the form of the exceptive marker, despite the position of the exceptive phrase. Potsdam & Polinsky 2019 proposes that this is a DIS-CONNECTED EXCEPTIVE in which the exceptive phrase starts as a connected exceptive but is displaced away from the nominal it modifies.

Thus, what is relevant for accurately characterizing the free versus connected exceptive distinction is not the surface position, but the base position, of the exceptive phrase:

(21) a. *connected exceptive*: an exceptive in which the exceptive phrase originates (is base-generated) as a nominal modifier constituent with the associate b. *free exceptive*: an exceptive in which the exceptive phrase originates in a clause-peripheral or parenthetical position and is not a constituent with the associate

Identifying a free or connected exceptive may not be entirely straightforward in fieldwork or corpus investigation. It is worth reiterating that 1) certain examples may be ambiguous between a free and connected exceptive and, ideally, they would be avoided and 2) a language may have derivational machinery that allows it to derive one type of exceptive from another. These points should be kept in mind, particularly if the above diagnostics do not pan out as expected.

4 Phrasal vs. clausal exceptives

One of the major claims of this project is that exceptives can be clausal ellipsis constructions. The exception can be the phrasal remnant of a full clause in what we call a CLAUSAL EXCEPTIVE. This contrasts with the WYSIWYG syntax of a PHRASAL EXCEPTIVE:[5]

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

Section 3.1 presents a number of diagnostics for identifying clausal exceptives. Section 3.2 discusses broad challenges that we are aware of with respect to this distinction.

4.1 Diagnostics

This section summarizes syntactic diagnostics that we have identified in support of the claim that a given language has clausal exceptives, see Table 2. We again use English and Russian to illustrate. Russian exceptives with *krome* 'except' and English connected exceptives with *except*

[5] This is not a new claim. It has been proposed for a handful of languages, at least Spanish (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012), Egyptian Arabic (Soltan 2016), Malagasy (Potsdam 2018, 2019), and Russian (Potsdam & Polinsky 2017, 2019).

are phrasal under our analysis. English free exceptives with *except* and Russian exceptives with *krome kak* 'except' exemplify clausal exceptives.

		PHRASAL EXCEPTIVE	CLAUSAL EXCEPTIVE
1	exception can be a full clause	no	yes
2	multiple exceptions	no	yes
3	ambiguity in Sluicing	no	yes
4	exception can be non-nominal	no	yes
5	clausal/speaker-oriented adverbs	no	yes
6	fixed case on nominal exception	yes	no
7	P-stranding allowed	no	language specific
8	internal reading with 'same, different'	yes	no
9	collective predicates	no?	yes
10	clausal form of coordinator	no	yes
11	island sensitivity	no?	yes
12	use of binding conditions		

Table 2. Differences between phrasal and clausal exceptives

4.1.1 Exception can be a full clause (diagnostic 1)

The most straightforward diagnostic of hidden clausal structure is the possibility of full expression of the missing clausal material. This is possible with clausal exceptives, (23a), but not phrasal exceptives, (23b).

(23) a. All the children cried, except Masha (did not cry). CLAUSAL
b. Vse deti zaplakali, krome Maši (*ne zaplakala) PHRASAL
all children cried.INCEPT except Masha.GEN NEG cry.INCEPT
'All the children started crying, except Masha did not start crying.'

On the assumption that clausal ellipsis is never obligatory, the diagnostic quickly identifies a phrasal vs. clausal exceptive.

4.1.2 Multiple exceptions (diagnostic 2)

Clausal exceptives allow multiple exceptions, (24a), while phrasal exceptives do not, (24b). It is assumed that there is some mechanism by which the exception escapes the ellipsis site. The appearance of multiple exceptives follows from the assumption that this mechanism is iterative. In contrast, it seems reasonable to assume that the exceptive marker in phrasal acceptives cannot select multiple complements, and it is unlikely that the two constituents form one larger constituent.

(24) a. Every boy danced with every girl, except [John] [with Mary]. CLAUSAL
b. *Na vsex vsem naplevat', PHRASAL
on all.ACC all.DAT spit
krome [babuške] [na zabrošennogo vnuka]
except grandma.DAT on forlorn grandson
('Nobody could care less about anyone, except grandma about her neglected grandson.')

4.1.3 Ambiguity in sluicing (diagnostic 3)

A diagnostic for clausal structure based on Sluicing is developed in Stockwell & Wong 2020 (initially noted in Merchant 2001:22). The authors observe that an example like (25) is ambiguous. In (25a), the content of the missing material is supplied by the entire first clause, including the exceptive phrase, serving as the antecedent. The interpretation in (25b) 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 (26), and this supplies the needed antecedent.

(25) 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>.

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

Phrasal exceptives, such as English connected exceptives and Russian exceptives with *krome*, do not allow the second reading:

(27) 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 liked the movie>.

(28) Nikto krome Maši s nim ne razgovarivaet, PHRASAL
  nobody except Masha with him not talks
  ne znaju, počemu.
  not know why
  a. but I don't know why <nobody except Masha talks to him>.
  b. *but I don't know why <Masha talks to him>.

4.1.4 Exception can be non-nominal (diagnostic 4)

The exception in a clausal exceptive can be non-nominal, (29), while that in a phrasal exceptive must be nominal, (30). 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, an assumption that might not hold up cross-linguistically.

(29) 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]$_{CP}$.

(30) *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.')

4.1.5 Clausal/Speaker-oriented adverbs (diagnostic 5)

Clausal exceptives allow a clause-level adverb in the exception, (31, 32), while phrasal exceptives do not, (33). This diagnostic is developed and applied in Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012 and Soltan 2016 (see also García Álvarez 2007). The basis for this diagnostic is the assumption that temporal adverbs and speaker-oriented adverbs require a clause to modify and cannot modify nominals. Some languages (Russian, Japanese) seem to disprefer temporal adverbials.

(31) 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*.

(32) Krome kak, navernoe/počemu-to, s Mašej, ona so vsemi ladit
except.CLAUS possibly/for.some.reason with Masha she with all gets.along
'Except for possibly/unintelligibly with Masha, she gets along with everyone.'

(33) a. *Everyone except regrettably Mary came to the party.
b. *No party except yours last Tuesday was attended by the mayor.
(These need to be read without parenthetical intonation that would allow a clausal structure)

4.1.6 Fixed case on nominal exception (diagnostic 6)

Our initial hypothesis is that the case on the exception with phrasal exceptives is fixed, probably as the case assigned in adpositional contexts; the case on the exception in clausal comparatives will match the case of the associate.

Looking at phrasal exceptives first, we see that in Russian, the case with phrasal comparatives is genitive (Polinsky Chicago handout, Philippova 2018), (34).

(34) Vse prišli krome Peti/*Petja
all came except Peter.GEN/Peter.NOM
'Everyone except Peter came.'

In English connected exceptives, which are also phrasal, it is accusative:

(35) Everyone except me/*I was on time.

In clausal exceptives, the reality is more complicated. The naive expectation is that the case on the exception will match the case of the associate. This follows if there is syntactic parallelism between the main clause and the elided clause in the exceptive. The associate and the exception will be in syntactically parallel positions and will be assigned the same case. We can see this expectation confirmed in German, for example, where there is case matching with the associate, at least as one of the options (36).

(36) a. Niemand kommt, außer %du/dir/*dich, natürlich.
no.one.NOM comes except 2SG.NOM/2SG.DAT/2SG.ACC naturally
'No one is coming except you, naturally.'

b. Ich sehe niemanden, außer dich/dir/*du, natürlich.
1SG.NOM see no.one.ACC except 2SG.ACC/2SG.DAT/2SG.NOM naturally
'I see no one except you, naturally.'

c. Ich schmeichle niemandem, außer dir/*du/*dich, natürlich.
1SG.NOM flatter no.one.DAT except 2SG.DAT/2SG.NOM/2SG.ACC naturally
'I flatter no one except you, naturally.'

There are numerous complications, however, that we already know about. English free exceptives, for example, pass all of the other diagnostics for clausal exceptives; however, the case on the exception is fixed as accusative, even in contexts where nominative might be expected because the associate is a subject, (37).

(37) Everyone was on time, except me/*I.
(cf. Everyone was on time except *me/I wasn't on time)

A default case is also permitted in the German data above, in those examples, dative. This could be similar to the English situation or it could be that the dative signals that a phrasal exceptive analysis is also available.

Russian presents a particularly complex situation in this domain. In Russian clausal comparatives with *krome kak*, the exception alternates between the genitive and another case form for all internal arguments when the main clause is negated. When the exception corresponds to the associate in object position, accusative and genitive are available, (38), with speaker variation with accusative.

(38) Ona ne nosit [nikakoj odeždy] krome kak firmennuju/firmennoj
she not wears [no clothes].GEN except brand.ACC/brand.GEN
'She doesn't wear anything except brand-name clothing.'

When the associate is the subject (of an unaccusative), case matching is required:

(39) a. [Ni odnogo goroda] ne bylo vzjato, krome kak Konstantinopolja/*K-pol'
[no one city].GEN not was taken except Constatinople.GEN/*NOM

b. [Ni odin gorod] ne byl v zjat, krome kak Konstantinopol'/*K-polja
[no one city].NOM not was taken except Constatinople.NOM/*GEN
'Except for Constantinople, not a single city was taken.'

4.1.7 Preposition-stranding (diagnostic 7)

Merchant 2001 famously proposed that the (in)ability to strand a preposition under wh-movement in a language is reflected in the domain of sluicing: A language *L* will allow preposition stranding under sluicing iff *L* allows preposition stranding under regular wh-movement. Similar expectations arise if an exceptive is also derived via clausal ellipsis and P-stranding can be used a diagnostic for phrasal vs. clausal exceptives as follows. In a language that allows P-stranding, a clausal exceptive with the associate inside a PP should allow both a PP and a DP exception:

(40) I talked to everyone yesterday, except (to) Bill.

In a language that does not allow P-stranding, such as Russian, a clausal exceptive should require that the exception be a PP, (41).

(41) s nej o čom ugodno možno govorit'
with her about whatever possible talk.INF
krome kak *(o) teatre
except about theater
'You can talk to her about anything you want except (about) theater.'

A phrasal exceptive will allow only the DP option, whether the language has P-stranding or not, (42). This is because of Diagnostic 4.

(42) a. Pictures of everyone except (*of) Madonna were on sale.
b. s nej o čom ugodno možno govorit'
with her about whatever possible talk.INF
krome {teatra / *o teatre}
except theater.GEN about theater.LOC
'You can talk to her about anything you want except theater.'

Just as there are apparent exceptions to Merchant's generalization in the sluicing domain (Polish (Szczegielniak 2006), Serbo-Croatian (Stjepanovic 2006), Brazilian Portuguese (Almeida and Yoshida 2007), Indonesian (Fortin 2007), among others), we might expect to find exceptions in the exceptive domain. We might encounter languages that do not allow P-stranding and where other diagnostics point towards a clausal exceptive but the language nevertheless allows DP exceptives corresponding to an associate object of P.

4.1.8 Internal reading with 'same, different' (diagnostic 8)

The words *same* and *different* have both discourse anaphoric readings and a reciprocal-like reading, illustrated in (43). We will call these external and internal readings. Beck 2000 calls them discourse anaphoric and Q-bound readings.

(43) Every student read a different book.
a. Every student read a book that is different from a 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 serves as a diagnostic for clausal exceptives. Phrasal exceptives, but not clausal exceptives, allow the internal reading:

(44) 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 (45). 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.

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

The judgment is perhaps sharper with *same* and a negative quantifier:

(46)	a.	No students read the same book.	AMBIGUOUS
	b.	No students read the same book, except Mary.	EXTERNAL READING ONLY
	c.	No students except Mary read the same book.	AMBIGUOUS

To summarize, if an internal reading is available with 'same, different', the exceptive is not clausal. With that said, some English speakers allow an internal reading with (44b), so we are unsure of the utility of this diagnostic.

4.1.9 Form of coordinator with coordinated exceptions (diagnostic 9)

Clemens Steiner-Mayr & Ekaterina Vostrikova develop a diagnostic based on collective predicates in their 2022 NYI Global Institute of Cultural, Cognitive and Linguistic Studies course on Exceptive-additive constructions cross-linguistically (https://nyispb.org/seminars/theoretical-linguistics-cognitive-science/theoretical-linguistics-cognitive-science_70.html). Collective predicates, such as *gather*, *disperse*, *meet* (intransitive), *elect*, *V together*, *V each other*, *be numerous*, etc. require an some argument that represents a plurality, typically the external argument:

(47) a. The department/the children/Sandy and Kim gathered.
b. *Sandy/A boy/Every boy gathered.

The necessity for a semantically plural argument provides a diagnostic for a clausal exceptive. Exceptives with a collective predicate in the main clause and a non-plural exception should be ungrammatical on clausal analysis. For example, the exceptive in (48a, 49a) will have the underlying structures in (48b, 49b), which contains the ungrammatical **Sandy didn't gather downstairs* and *Kim didn't walk together*.

(48) a. *Everyone gathered downstairs, except Sandy.
b. Everyone gathered downstairs, except Sandy ~~didn't gather downstairs~~.

(49) a. *Everyone walked together, except Kim.
b. Everyone walked together, except Kim ~~didn't walk together~~.

Connected exceptives are grammatical because there is no hidden collective predicate which is used inappropriately.

(50) a. Everyone except Sandy gathered downstairs.
b. Everyone except Kim walked together.

4.1.10 Form of coordinator with coordinated exceptions (diagnostic 10)

Some languages have coordinating conjunctions that differ with the size of the conjuncts. If a language makes a clausal/non-clausal distinction, this can be used to identify clausal exceptives. The expectation is that the clausal coordinator can be used to coordinate two exceptions in a clausal exceptive but not in a phrasal exceptive. The phrasal conjunction should be acceptable with both kinds of exceptives.

(51) a. except [[*exception1* ...]$_{CP}$ CONJ$_{clause}$ [*exception2* ...]$_{CP}$] CLAUSAL
b. except [[[*exception1*] CONJ$_{XP}$ [*exception2*]] ...]$_{CP}$ CLAUSAL
c. except [[*exception1* ...]$_{DP}$ CONJ$_{XP}$/*CONJ$_{clause}$ [*exception2* ...]$_{DP}$] PHRASAL

We illustrate with Malagasy, which has two coordinating conjunctions (Rajemisa-Raolison 1969, Pearson 2001). *Sy* coordinates DPs, PPs, and VPs, (52); *ary* coordinates clauses.

(52) a. Niteny tami-ny **sy/*ary** tamin' ny vadi-ny aho
spoke PREP-3SG and PREP DET spouse-3SG 1SG
'I spoke with him/her and with his/her spouse.'
b. Mihinana (ny) akondro **sy/*ary** (ny) manga Rasoa
eat DET banana and DET mango Rasoa
'Rasoa eats bananas and mangoes.'

Ary can be used to coordinate both DP and PP exceptions, (53a, b). The individual exceptions must each be dominated by a clausal node to allow coordination with *ary*, as shown in (53c).

(53) a. Niteny tamin' ny mpampianatra rehetra Rabe
spoke PREP DET teacher all Rabe
afa-tsy **tami-ko sy/ary tamin- dRasoa**
except PREP-1SG and PREP Rasoa
'Rabe spoke with all the teachers except with me and with Rasoa.'
b. Mihinana ny voankazo rehetra Rasoa
eat DET fruit all Rasoa
afa-tsy **ny akondro sy/ary ny manga**
except DET banana and DET mango
'Rasoa eats all fruits except bananas and mangoes.'
c. ... *afa-tsy* **[s... tami-ko ...] ary [s... tamin-dRasoa ...]]**
except PREP-1SG and PREP-Rasoa

4.1.11 Island sensitivity (diagnostic 11)

A widely-recognized property of sluicing is its island insensitivity: the wh-remnant can apparently originate inside an island just in case deletion takes place (Ross 1969, Merchant 2001). Not all clausal ellipsis phenomena behave the same in this regard however (Griffiths & Lipták 2014). Clausal exceptives seem to be largely island sensitive (Reinhart 1991, Potsdam 2018), (54), although Reinhart 1991 notes the apparent lack of wh-island effects, (54d).

(54) a. *CNPC/Subject Island*
*[The fact [that all politicians have resigned]] got much publicity, except the defense minister (Reinhart 1991:(38))

b. *Subject Island*
??[Jokes about everyone] amuse me, except Felix
(Reinhart 1991:(51b)) Reinhart marks this example as ?
*[Lucie's jokes about every woman] amuse me, except Lili
(Reinhart 1991:(52a))

c. *Adjunct Island*
*[Because everyone ignored him], John is upset, except his boss.

d. *Wh-Island*
I'll tell you [what I think about everyone], if you insist, except my boss.
(Reinhart 1991:(49c))

Griffiths & Lipták 2014 argues that island sensitivity under clausal ellipsis is related to contrastiveness. Non-contrastive ellipsis repairs islands, contrastive ellipsis does not.

An alternative explanation for the island data might be that exceptive ellipsis is simply very local and cannot cross clause boundaries. This seems to not be the case, although it is relatively difficult to construct convincing examples:

(55) a. Lucie did not admit [that she stole the anything], when we pressed her, except the little red book (Reinhart 1991:(43b))
non-local meaning: … except Lucie admitted that she stole the little red book

b. The police were able to confirm that everyone is safe, except Dudley, who is still missing.
non-local meaning: … except the police were not able to confirm that Dudley is safe

It is also not the case that the associate cannot be inside a DP, although a complement/adjunct asymmetry (ECP effect) seems to be relevant:

(56) a. He mentioned [books about every topic] yesterday, except astrology.
(Reinhart 1991:(45b))

b. *?He recognized [books on every shelf] yesterday, except the second.
(Reinhart 1991:(46b))

The island sensitivity of exceptives might seem to be a straightforward piece of evidence for their hidden clausal structure as movement of the exception will trigger an island effect. The picture is more complicated however in that the associate is also inside an island. Being a QP, it will have to undergo QR for scope and this may be the source of the island violation, independent of the structure of the exceptive phrase. Pending further analysis, we will assume that island sensitivity is a diagnostic of clausal structure.

The expectation for phrasal exceptives is not fully developed. Connected exceptives, which we assume are phrasal, are not island sensitive, (57). Nor are the Russian dis-connected exceptives mentioned in section 3.2 island sensitive, (58).

(57) a. CNPC/Subject Island
[The fact [that all politicians except the defense minister have resigned]] got much publicity.
b. Subject Island
[Jokes about everyone except Felix] amuse me.
[Lucie's jokes about every woman except Lili] amuse me.
c. Wh-Island
I'll tell you [what I think about everyone except my boss], if you insist.
d. Adjunct Island
[Because everyone except his boss ignored him], John is upset.

(58) a. Adjunct Island
i. [Kogda krome starogo pal'to ej ničego
when except [old coat].GEN her.DAT nothing.ACC
ne podarili] Maša rasstroilas'
not gifted M got.upset
'Masha got upset when except an old coat, they did not give her any presents.'

ii. *[Kogda ej ničego
when her.DAT nothing.ACC
ne podarili] Maša rasstroilas' krome starogo pal'to
not gifted M got.upset except [old coat].GEN

b. Relative Clause Island
i. Ne ljubjlu gostej [kotorye krome edy ne mogut
not like.1SG guests who.NOM.PL except food.GEN not can
ni o čem govorit']
not about anything.OBL speak.INF
'I don't like guests who cannot talk about anything except food.'

ii. *Krome edy ne ljubjlu gostej [kotorye ne mogut
except food.GEN not like.1SG guests who.NOM.PL not can
ni o čem govorit']
not about anything.OBL speak.INFZ

We need data for phrasal free exceptives, if they exist. If they are island sensitive, that will weaken the utility of the diagnostic.

4.1.12 Use of binding conditions (diagnostic 12)

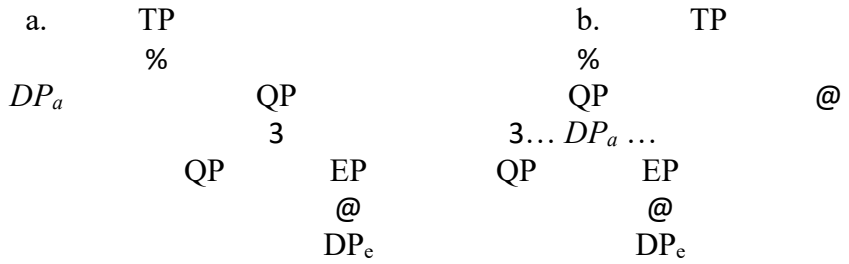
In its simplest form, the Binding Theory, (59), refers to clausal domains and c-command relations, two notions that are potential diagnostics for structure. Binding Theory should thus be useful in investigating exceptives. We can explore the (im)possible coindexation relationships between a DP_e exception and an antecedent DP_a as a diagnostic on exceptive structures. The core idea is to vary the forms of DP_a and DP_e (reflexive, pronoun, R-expression, or other language-specific forms), see what the acceptability judgments are for coindexation, and see whether these judgments more closely match the expectations for a connected exceptive, a phrasal free exceptive, or a clausal free exceptive. Below, I do this for the English exceptive with *except*.

(59) *Binding Conditions* (Chomsky 1981)

A. A reflexive must be bound in its minimal clause
B. A pronoun must be free in its minimal clause
C. An R-expression must be free

Connected exceptives. Consider connected exceptives first and assume that the connected exceptive phrase, EP, is adjoined to the quantificational associate, QP. The predictions of the Binding Theory depend upon the relative positions of the antecedent DP_a and the exception DP_e. There are two configurations of interest: the antecedent DP_a c-commands the exception DP_e, (60a), or the antecedent DP_a does not c-command the exception DP_e, (60b). A third option, that DP_e c-commands DP_a is ruled out on the assumption that the exception cannot c-command out of the associate.

(60)



DP_e in these configurations should behave with respect to Binding Theory the same as any other DP embedded in another DP—for example, the same as the possessor of a DP or the object of a PP inside a DP. What form the exception can take (reflexive, pronoun, or R-expression) depends upon the position and form (R-expression, pronoun) of the coindexed DP_a. In (60a) the exception is bound and in (60b) it is not.

The expectations, as seen in the English connected exceptive data below, are partly realized. There are four sets of data. In (61, 62), the potential antecedent DP_a is an R-expression. In (63, 64), DP_a is a pronoun. In the (a) examples, DP_a c-commands into the exceptive phrase. In the (b) examples, DP_a does not c-command the exceptive phrase. The (a) examples correspond to (60a), the (b) examples correspond to (60b). The reader can work through the data, seeing that it is only partly as expected. The incorrect predictions according to the BT are boldfaced. They all involve ungrammaticality in cases where no binding condition is violated because neither DP c-commands the other.

(61) a. *Mary* praised everyone except *herself/*her/?Mary*.
b. Everyone except **herself/****her****/****Mary*** praised *Mary*.

(62) a. *Mary* handles everything except complaints about *herself/*complaints about *her* neighbors/complaints about *her*/*complaints about *Mary* well.
b. Nothing except complaints about **herself/*complaints about *her* neighbors/complaints about *her*/***complaints about *Mary*** bothers *Mary*.

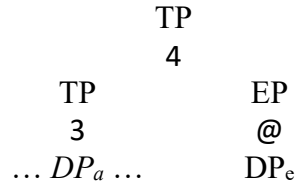
(63) a. *She* praised everyone except *herself/*her/*Mary*.
b. Everyone except **herself/****her****/****Mary*** praised *her*.

(64) a. *She* handles everything except complaints about *herself*/complaints about *her* neighbors/complaints about *her*/ *complaints about *Mary* well.
b. Nothing except complaints about **herself*/complaints about *her* neighbors/complaints about *her*/??**complaints about *Mary*** bothers *her*.

One might conclude that Binding Theory is not useful in determining the structure of exceptives given the unexpected predictions. We believe that the conflicting judgments arise from an independent factor, namely, that the exception in an exceptive must be in focus. Focus on the exception alters coreference judgments in ways that we do not fully understand but this seems particularly evident in (61b, 63b).

Free exceptives. There are three cases to consider with respect to free exceptives. First, if the free exceptive is derived by moving the exceptive phrase from a connected exceptive to the periphery, the judgments should be the same as discussed above for connected exceptives, on the assumption that the moved exceptive phrase reconstructs to its base position inside the associate. Second, if the exceptive phrase is phrasal and base-generated outside the main clause, (65), there should be no restrictions on the form of the antecedent or the exception, except that a reflexive should be excluded, because DP_a and DP_e are not in any kind of c-command relationship.

(65)



Third, if the exceptive is clausal, the exceptive phrase will contain hidden structure that contains the antecedent. Thus, the exception should behave with respect to Binding Theory the same as the associate:[6]

(66) In clausal exceptives, the exception is c-commanded by everything that c-commands the associate

This generalization follows from the fact that the exceptive phrase contains a hidden clause which is arguably syntactically parallel to the main clause but with the exception in the position of the associate. English data supporting this generalization are below in (67-70). These are the connective exceptive data in (61-64) converted into free exceptives (the exceptive phrase is placed at the end). The predicted grammaticality of the examples according to the Binding Theory can be determined by replacing the underlined associate with the exception and evaluating the binding conditions. The data are largely as expected.

(67) a. *Mary* praised <u>everyone</u> yesterday except *herself/*her/*Mary*.
b. <u>Everyone</u> praised *Mary*, except **herself/*her/?Mary*.

[6] This generalization is based on Lechner 2004 and Bhatt & Takahashi 2011, which investigates the binding behavior of the standard of comparison in phrasal vs. clausal comparatives. Exceptives seem to behave identically.

(68) a. *Mary* handles <u>everything</u> well, except complaints about *herself*/complaints about *her* neighbors/complaints about *her*/*complaints about *Mary*.
b. <u>Nothing</u> bothers *Mary*, except complaints about ?*herself*/complaints about *her* neighbors/complaints about *her*/*complaints about *Mary*.

(69) a. *She* praised <u>everyone</u> yesterday, except *herself*/**her*/**Mary*.
b. <u>Everyone</u> praised *her*, except **herself*/**her*/**Mary*.

(70) a. *She* handles <u>everything</u> well, except complaints about *herself*/complaints about *her* neighbors/complaints about *her*/*complaints about *Mary*.
b. <u>Nothing</u> bothers *her*, except complaints about **herself*/complaints about *her* neighbors/complaints about *her*/*complaints about *Mary*.

The data confirm that free exceptives in English are clausal.[7]

4.2 Discussion

This section has discussed a number of diagnostics that we believe distinguish phrasal exceptives from clausal exceptives. We fully expect that complications will arise in the investigation of other languages. For example, Polinsky et al. 2022 documents that the diagnostics yield inconsistent results when applied to Japanese.

5 Subordinated vs. coordinated exceptives

A third parameter of variation which has received very little attention in the literature is the syntactic method by which the exceptive phrase is integrated into the clause as a whole. Initial investigations suggest that the relationship of the exceptive phrase to the main clause can be one of coordination or subordination. In a COORDINATED EXCEPTIVE, the exceptive marker is a coordinating conjunction. and the exceptive phrase is coordinated with either the associate (in a connected exceptive) or with the clause as a whole (in a free exceptive). In a SUBORDINATED EXCEPTIVE, the exceptive marker is a subordinating conjunction, perhaps an adverb, preposition, or complementizer. The exceptive phrase is integrated with the associate or main clause via adjunction.

5.1 Diagnostics

Potential diagnostics for distinguishing coordinating and subordinating exceptives are given in Table 3. We illustrate these diagnostics with Arabic and Russian. Egyptian Arabic exceptives with

[7] Examples in which binding exists between overt elements in the exception might be useful. For example, if a reflexive can be bound from within the exception, that is evidence of a clausal exceptive, (i). Unfortunately, the fact that such examples require multiple exceptions makes them little more informative than results from diagnostic 2 (multiple exceptions).

(i) Nobody made any gains for anyone, except John for himself.

the exceptive marker *ʔillaa* are coordination structures (Soltan 2016) and *ʔillaa* is a coordinating conjunction. Russian free exceptives with *krome kak* 'except.FREE' are subordination structures.[8]

DIAGNOSTIC		COORDINATION	SUBORDINATION
A	exceptive marker is a coordinating conjunction	yes	no
B	placement in non-final positions	no	yes
C	subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint	yes	no
D	exceptive phrase can be coordinated	no	yes
E	scope freezing due to parallelism	yes	no
F	allows ATB extraction	yes	no

Table 3. Differences between coordination and subordination

5.1.1 Category of exceptive marker (diagnostic A)

Closely tied to the coordinate/subordinate status of the exceptive phrase is the lexical category of the exceptive marker. Under coordination, the exceptive marker is necessarily a coordinating conjunction, while under subordination it could be a preposition, complementizer, adverb, or something else. Soltan 2016 argues that the Egyptian Arabic marker *ʔillaa* is a coordinating conjunction and not a preposition or adverb, but the category of the marker in other languages has not been investigated. There are no clear generalizations about what categories exceptive markers actually instantiate, making this an area ripe for cross-linguistic investigation. We suspect that headway on this question will require language-specific knowledge about the behavior of different lexical categories, particularly functional categories, in a language.

5.1.2 Placement of the exceptive phrase (diagnostic B)

One indicator of subordinate versus coordinate status is the possible position(s) of the exceptive phrase. Subordinate conjuncts are typically able to appear in several positions: clause-initially, clause-finally, and in some parenthetical positions, (71). Coordinate conjuncts, in contrast, can only be final, (72) (see Culicover & Jackendoff 1997 for this difference).

(71) (Because CO_2 lingers in the atmosphere) it takes a while (, because CO_2 lingers in the atmosphere,) for the planet to respond (because CO_2 lingers in the atmosphere).

(72) (*And we have set in motion more changes) Humans have caused major climate changes (and we have set in motion more changes).

[8] See also Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012 and Galal 2019. Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012 argues that *excepto/salvo/menos* in Spanish are coordinating conjunctions but *excepto que/salvo que* are subordinating conjunctions. It is similarly argued that English *except* is a coordinator (Harris 1982, Reinhart 1991, and García Álvarez 2008, contra Moltmann 1995).

Non-final positioning thus serves as a diagnostic of subordinate and not coordinate status. Data shows that Russian exceptives are subordination structures, (73), but Arabic exceptives are coordinations, (74).[9]

(73) Krome kak firmennoj, ona nikakoj odeždy ne nosit RUSSIAN
except.FREE brand she no clothes NEG wear
'She does not wear any clothing, except brand name.'

(74) *ʔillaa Ahmad, ʔanaa šuf-t kull ʔil-ṭalaba fii ʔil-muħaaḍra ARABIC
except Ahmad I saw-1SG all the-students at the-lecture
'Except for Ahmad, I saw all the students at the lecture.' (Soltan 2016:40)

Based on this diagnostic, a minimal difference between English *except* and *except for* is that the former is a coordinating conjunction but the latter is a subordinating conjunction, based on the inability of *except phrases* to appear clause-initially (at least for some speakers).

(75) Except for Bill/*Except Bill, everyone was content.

5.1.3 Coordinate Structure Constraint (diagnostic C)

Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012 suggests that the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC, Ross 1967), which prohibits movement from within a single conjunct, can be used to support the coordination status of clausal exceptives. The expectation is that movement out of the main clause of an exceptive construction will be grammatical if the exceptive phrase is simply an adjoined subordinating phrase but will be ungrammatical if the exceptive phrase creates a coordination structure, because of the CSC. The expectation for subordination exceptives is confirmed by Russian, (76). In contrast, Arabic coordination exceptives support the second prediction, (77).

(76) Krome kak v futbol, gde on xočet, čtoby deti RUSSIAN
except.FREE in soccer where he wants that.SBJV children
vo vse igry igrali,
in all games played.SBJV
'*Where does he want that the children play all games, except soccer?'

(77) *ʔimtaa ti-ftikir ʔinn kull ʔil-wilaad ha-yi-ʕmil-uu ʔil-waagib ARABIC
when IPV-think.2SG that all the-children FUT-IPV-do-3PL the-homework
ʔillaa Ahmad?
except Ahmad
'*When do you think that all the children will do the homework, except Ahmad?'

The degradation of the English translations, at least for some speakers, again points to *except* being a coordinating conjunction.

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[9] Negative data with this diagnostic should probably be used with care, however, because some subordinate conjuncts are also positionally restricted, for example, cannot occur initially (Diessel 2001). Furthermore, some appositional coordinations appear to have relatively free distribution (see de Vries 2006), making more careful investigation of this diagnostic necessary.

5.1.4 Coordination of exceptive phrases (diagnostic D)

Galal 2019 argues that subordinating conjuncts can themselves be coordinated, (78), but coordinating conjuncts cannot be coordinated, (79).

(78) a. I talked to everyone [[near John] and [near Mary]]
b. Everybody [[except for John] and [except for Mary]] attended the meeting.

(79) *Everybody [[but John] and [but Mary]] attended the meeting. (von Fintel 1993)

Note that the result of this diagnostic conflicts with the two above with respect to *except*, as it identifies *except* as a subordinating conjunction, (80). Von Fintel 1993 suggests that the contrast between *except for* and *but* is due to their meaning (uniqueness characterizes only *but*) and not this aspect of their syntax (see also Sava 2009). This diagnostic thus needs to be better understood.

(80) Everybody [[except John] and [except Mary]] attended the meeting.

5.1.5 Scope freezing (diagnostic E)

See Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012:596 for a potential diagnostic based on scope parallelism that must hold in coordinate structures.

5.1.6 ATB extraction (diagnostic F)

See Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2011 for a potential diagnostic based on across-the-board extraction, which did not appear in the journal version of their paper. Neither of these latter two diagnostics strikes me as promising, but critical thought is required.

5.2 Diagnostics

The distinction we propose here between coordinated and subordinated exceptives is rather tentative and almost certainly incomplete. It is likely that languages have other ways of integrating exceptive phrases into a structure. To summarize, there are at least two empirical issues at stake: 1) The syntactic means by which exceptive phrases are integrated into a clause and 2) the syntactic category of the exceptive marker.

6 Summary

We have identified three parameters of variation in exceptive syntax thus far, (81).

(81) a. free vs. connected exceptive construction
b. phrasal vs. clausal status of exception
c. coordination vs. subordination integration of exceptive phrase

The typological/empirical work in the project will center on a number of concerns:

(82) a. Documentation and analysis of exceptives in a diverse set of languages
b. Identification of diagnostics that distinguish the different kinds of exceptives
c. Using the individual investigations to refine/expand the above parametric picture and to uncover correlations between characteristics of exceptives with independent characteristics of the language

Initial work in the project will focus on describing exceptives in the world's languages, (82a). Exceptives have been documented for only a very small number of languages, and traditional grammars often mention exceptives only in passing, if at all. The languages that have been analyzed most thoroughly, Spanish (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012), Arabic (Soltan 2016, Galal 2019), and Malagasy (Potsdam 2018a, 2019) have proven only partly revealing in the typological realm because the exceptive marker for free and connected exceptives is the same—as in English. There are no clear morphosyntactic cues regarding the type of exceptive in any given case. Languages like Russian, in which the free/connected distinction is flagged on the exceptive marker, are more informative. Documentation and analysis of individual languages will hopefully support some of the parameters we have proposed but also reveal other kinds of exceptives that we have not anticipated, and which prove problematic for the current picture.

Parallel work will be to refine the various tests above and to develop further tests for distinguishing different types of exceptives, (82b). These diagnostics are both universal and language specific. For the phrasal vs. clausal distinction, the more developed literatures on Sluicing (Ross 1969, Merchant 2001, others) and fragment answers (Ginzburg & Sag 2000, Merchant 2004, Shen 2018) will be particularly helpful, as a sustained debate regarding the existence of missing clausal structure has been on-going there for over a decade. A nearly identical debate is also playing out in the large literature on so-called phrasal comparatives, as in *Mary read more books* ***than John***, and will be equally informative (Lechner 2019, Bhatt & Takahashi 2007, 2011, Pancheva & Tomaszewicz 2011, Potsdam 2011, Philippova 2018, others).

The long-term goal is summarized by (82c). With sufficient investigations of individual languages, we hope to have a reasonably complete understanding of the cross-linguistic landscape of exceptive morphosyntax. This will allow us to refine and expand the typological picture in (81). To illustrate the kind of finding we will be looking for, consider the first two parameters in (81), which yield four types of exceptives, shown in Table 4.

	PHRASAL	CLAUSAL
CONNECTED	English (*except*), Russian (*krome*), Malagasy	???
FREE	???	English (*except*), Russian (*krome kak*), Egyptian Arabic, Malagasy

Table 4. Typology of exceptives

We have not identified languages for all combinations, but we do not have compelling reasons to believe that they could not all exist. Nonetheless, it has been implicitly suggested that all free exceptives are clausal (Hoeksema 1987, Soltan 2016, contra Vostrikova 2019) and it could be the case that all connected exceptives are phrasal. This is the type of non-trivial finding that if supported, would be a substantive result and be in need of an explanation.

Finally, we will point out that it is possible that a language will not have an exceptive construction at all. Our own fieldwork suggests that this is the case in some Polynesian languages,

where an exception is expressed with a contradictory negative clause. In the case of Tahitian, this clause may be elliptical (Potsdam & Polinsky 2017), (83a), but in the case of Niuean, even this option is not available, (83b).

(83) a. 'Ua tae pauroa mai te mau tamari'i, TAHITIAN
PFV come all DIR DET PL child
'o Poe noa 'aita (i tae mai)
DET Poe just NEG PFV come DIR
'All the children came, just Poe didn't (come).'

b. Kai oti e Mele e tau ika, kae nākai *(kai e ia) e lahakula
eat all ERG Mary ABS PL fish but NEG eat ERG 3SG ABS tuna
'Mary eats all fish, but she doesn't eat tuna.' NIUEAN

7 Documenting exceptives

The first step in the project is documentation of exceptives in individual languages. This needs to proceed in a systematic way so that 1) language-internal analyses can be done and 2) findings can be compared across languages. To these ends, we are developing a questionnaire that will guide researchers in what kinds of data to elicit. The goal is not to provide a translation questionnaire with a list of English sentences to elicit in the target language. Rather, the questionnaire is a so-called analytical questionnaire, which guide the field worker in a particular domain. The questionnaire offers generalizations for the fieldworker to explore in the language, such as the Quantifier Constraint or positional expectations for free vs. connected exceptives, and suggests relevant phenomena to look at, such as the lexical category of exceptive markers or the clausal/phrasal distinction. Numerous questionnaires on a wide range of linguistic topics can be seen at https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/tools-at-lingboard/questionnaires.php.

The questionnaire is developed in a separate document and can be found on the project website as well. We expect the questionnaire to change and develop as we explore more languages and get a better sense of cross-linguistic variability and what characteristics of a language are relevant to the morphosyntax of its exceptives.