

## Clausal and Phrasal Exceptives

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**Introduction.** Exceptives as in (1) are constructions that express exclusion. Hoeksema 1995 and others recognize two kinds of exceptives. In connected exceptives, *Everyone except Peter came*, the exceptive phrase, *except XP*, is a nominal modifier attached to the restricted quantifier. In free exceptives, *Everyone came, except Peter*, the

- (1) Everyone came, except Peter.  
 (2) [Vse [~~krome~~ Peti]] prišli, [krome [DP Peti]] RUSSIAN  
 all except Peter came except Peter.GEN  
 ‘Everyone came, except Peter.’  
 (3) Everyone came, [except [CP Peter<sub>1</sub> [~~t<sub>i</sub> didn’t come~~]]]

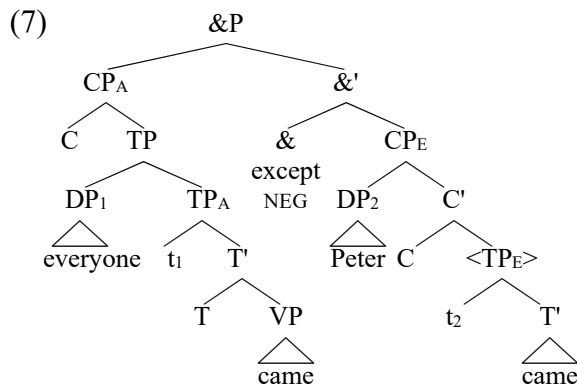
*came, except Peter*, the exceptive phrase is a clause-peripheral clausal modifier. This paper argues that free exceptives do not have a uniform syntax cross-linguistically. In some languages, such as Russian, free exceptives are derived from connected exceptives by extraposition of a simple exceptive phrase, (2). In other languages, such as English, the exception is derived by clausal ellipsis, (3).

**Clausal exceptives (English).** We propose that exceptive phrases headed by *except* consist of an exceptive conjunction followed by a clause that has been reduced via ellipsis. A number of strands of evidence point to an underlying clausal source. First, the full clause may be spelled out, (4). Second, multiple exceptions are allowed, (5). Such examples suggest a clausal source, as the two exceptions do not form a non-clausal constituent. Third, the category of the exception is not restricted to being a DP; (6a,b,c) illustrate PP, CP, and AP exceptions. A head like *except* is unlikely to be indiscriminate in its selectional properties; under the clausal analysis, *except* is uniformly followed by a clause. Fourth, the exceptive need not have a

- (4) a. Everyone came, except *Peter didn’t come*.  
 b. Bill works every day, except *Sunday he doesn’t work*.  
 (5) Every boy danced with every girl, except *Joe with Diane*.  
 (6) a. He didn’t speak, except [in riddles]<sub>PP</sub>.  
 b. There were no questions during the interview, except [whether I had a driver’s license]<sub>CP</sub>.  
 c. The room was lovely in the afternoon, except [very hot]<sub>AP</sub>.

correlate quantifier in the main clause, (6a). This is explained under an ellipsis analysis because the exception is licensed inside the elided clause. The clausal nature of free exceptives has also been defended for Spanish (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012), Egyptian Arabic (Soltan 2016), and Malagasy (Potsdam 2018).

**Ellipsis derivation (English).** The proposed derivation for clausal exceptives is sketched in



(7). *Except* is a coordinating conjunction (Harris 1982, Soltan 2016, others) which coordinates the main clause and the exceptive clause. *Except* includes a semantically negative piece (glossed ‘NEG’). This negation is explicit in Egyptian Arabic and Malagasy, where the exceptive particle contains the sentential negative morpheme. NEG accounts for the Polarity Generalization (following García Álvarez 2008), which states that the proposition in the main clause and the exceptive clause must have opposite polarity.

It triggers the polarity reversal while allowing the antecedent TP<sub>A</sub> and the elided TP<sub>E</sub> to be of the same polarity, because it is outside of the ellipsis site. In the exceptive clause, the exception undergoes fronting, shown as movement to spec,CP, to escape ellipsis. In the antecedent

clause, the restricted quantifier undergoes Quantifier Raising (QR), leaving behind a variable. Ellipsis of TP<sub>E</sub> is licensed under semantic identity with the main clause TP<sub>A</sub> (Merchant 2001; see Merchant 2004 on fragment answers for a similar ellipsis analysis).

**Phrasal exceptives (Russian).** Exceptives in Russian that are formed with the exceptive particle *krome* ‘except’ show no evidence of hidden clausal structure, in contrast to English.

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| <p>(8) *Vse prišli, krome Petja ne prišel<br/>all came except Peter.NOM NEG came<br/>(‘Everyone came, except Peter didn’t come.’)</p> <p>(9) *Každyj mal’čik priglasil každyju devočku, krome Peti Mašu<br/>each boy.NOM invited each girl.ACC except P.GEN M.ACC<br/>(‘Each boy invited each girl, except Peter Masha.’)</p> <p>(10) *Ja rabotaju, krome voskresen’ja<br/>I.NOM work except Sunday.GEN<br/>(‘I work, except Sunday.’)</p> | <p>First, a full clause may not be spelled out, (8). Second, multiple exceptives are not allowed, (9). Third, the exception must be a DP, in the</p> |
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genitive case (Oskolskaya 2009). Fourth, *krome XP* is not possible without an overt restricted quantifier, (10).

**Extrapolation derivation (Russian).** We propose that Russian free exceptives with *krome* ‘except’ are derived from the connected exceptive via movement, (11). *Krome XP* is a PP

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| <p>(11) [Vse [<del>krome</del> Peti]] prišli, [PP krome Peti]<br/>all except Peter came except Peter.GEN<br/>(‘Everyone came, except Peter.’)</p> | <p>(Pesetsky 2013) that modifies a quantified noun phrase. It can extrapose from the restricted QP and its</p> |
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position is relatively free, as is characteristic of Russian word order. Evidence for a derivational connection between connected and free exceptives with *krome* comes from the observation illustrated in (12) that both obey the Quantifier Constraint (Moltmann 1995), that the restricted QP in a connected exceptive must denote a universal or negative universal quantifier. This is not a property of the English free exceptive (García Álvarez 2008), as seen by the grammatical translation of (12).

- (12) \*Mnogie vosxiščajutsja Putinym, krome intelligencii  
many.NOM admire Putin.INS except intellectuals.GEN  
(‘Many admire Putin, except intellectual elites.’)

**Conclusions and implications.** 1. Free exceptives do not have a uniform syntax cross-linguistically. We further support this conclusion by arguing against phrasal analyses for English: both a Russian-like extraposition analysis and a QR-based analysis (Reinhart 1991) are untenable. 2. Given that exceptives in some languages involve ellipsis, they have important implications for theories of ellipsis, in particular for theories of island repair under ellipsis, which we will also discuss.

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