

Free exceptives and gapping. In favour of structural approaches to ellipsis.¹

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1. Goals

- To account for the syntactic properties of *free exceptive constructions* in Spanish.
- Exceptive markers (*except, salvo, menos* ‘except’) are coordinating conjunctions that trigger ellipsis on their clausal complements. We argue for a movement+deletion approach to ellipsis.

2. The data

- *Free exceptives*: constituents headed by the particles *excepto, menos, salvo* (‘except’).

- (1) a. *excepto si tienes hambre* (except if you are hungry); *excepto Juan* (except Juan)
b. *menos en el campo* (except in the country); *menos uno* (except one)
c. *salvo el que tú dices* (except the one you mentioned); *salvo tumbado en el suelo* (except lying on the floor)

- Basic syntactic properties:

- a) ‘Sentence level constituents’ that can appear in parenthetical positions.
b) The exceptive particle can introduce phrases of different category.

- (2) a. *Las águilas no atacan a las cabras montesas, {excepto/salvo/menos} el águila real.*
The eagles not attack to the goats mountain, except the eagle royal
‘Eagles don’t attack wild goats, except the golden eagle’.
- b. *{Excepto/Salvo/Menos} en Lorca, ese partido ganará en todos los pueblos.*
‘Except in Lorca, that party will win in all the villages of the area’.

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- Semantics: free exceptives are licensed in sentences which express a generality claim (Hoeksema 1995, Bosque 2005, Fernández Salgueiro 2008).

(3) a. Los tomates se cultivan en toda la Península Ibérica, excepto el tomate canario.
The tomatoes SE grow in all the Península Ibérica, except the tomato from the Canary Islands

‘Tomatoes are grown everywhere in the Iberian Peninsula, except the Canary Islands variety’.

b. María es adorable, salvo cuando se le lleva la contraria.

María is adorable, except when SE her annoys

‘Maria is really nice, except when you annoy her’.

c. Todos los niños estaban contentos, excepto Pablo.

All the children were happy, except Pablo

‘All the children were happy, except Pablo’.

d. Nadie aprobó las matemáticas, excepto María.

Nobody passed the mathematics, except María

‘Nobody passed Math, except María’.

e. Respecto a ese asunto, no dijo una palabra, salvo que a él le parecía mal.

Respect to that issue, not he-said a word, except that to him it-seemed bad.

‘With respect to that issue, he didn’t say a word, except that he was against it’.

- *Free exceptives – Connected exceptives* (Hoeksema 1987). *Connected exceptives* are constituents internal to a universal QP to which they must be adjacent in Spanish.

(4) a. Nadie excepto él puede hacerlo.

Nobody except he can do-it

‘Nobody but him can do it’.

b. El proyecto recibió el apoyo de todas las comunidades(,) excepto Galicia

‘The project got the support of all autonomous regions, except Galicia’

(5) a. *Excepto Galicia, el proyecto recibió el apoyo de todas las comunidades.

‘Except Galicia, the project got the support of all autonomous regions’

(Cf. Excepto de Galicia, ‘Except of Galicia,...’)

- b. *El proyecto recibió el apoyo de todas las comunidades en la reunión de ayer, excepto Galicia.
 ‘The project got the support of all autonomous regions in yesterday’s meeting, except Galicia’
 (Cf. ..., excepto de Galicia ‘..., except of Galicia’)
- o Connected exceptives are not licensed by class denoting DPs (Hoeksema 1995, García Álvarez 2008, a.o)
- (6) a. *Los osos pueden luchar contra las águilas menos una.
 The bears can fight against the eagles but one
 ‘Bears can attack eagles except for one kind’.
- b. * Excepto el águila real, los osos pueden luchar contra las águilas.
 Except the golden eagle, the bears can fight against the eagles
 ‘Bears can attack eagles, except golden eagles’.
 (cf. Los osos pueden luchar contra las águilas, excepto contra el águila real.
 ‘Bears can fight against the Eagles, except against the golden eagle’)
- o Connected exceptives cannot combine with null arguments:
- (7) a. La campaña publicitaria ha sido un éxito entre todos, {excepto los niños / excepto entre los niños}. (Bosque 2005)
 ‘The advertising campaign has been successful for everybody, {except the children / except for the children}’.
- b. La campaña publicitaria ha sido un éxito, {*excepto los niños / excepto entre los niños}
 ‘The advertising campaign has been successful, {except the children / except for the children}’.

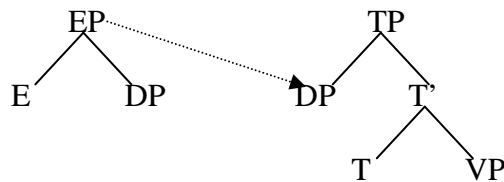
3. Previous analysis

- (8) a. ¿What is the category of the exceptive marker?
 b. ¿Does the exceptive marker introduce a sentential or a sub-sentential constituent?

- Our claim: exceptive particles are coordinating conjunctions which select a CP as complement and which are attached to the CP level of the host sentence.

- (9) a. - Exceptive phrase: Preposition + subsentential constituent (Moltmann 1992)
 - Exceptive phrase: Coordinating Conjunction + subsentential constituent (Reinhart 1990)

- b. - Exceptive phrase: Coordinating conjunction in an Orphan constituent → propositional denotation (García Álvarez 2008)



- Exceptive phrase: Coordinating conjunction + elliptical sentence (Harris 1982, Hoeksema 1995^{¿?}, suggestion in Merchant 2003:7: ‘elliptic conjunction’ phenomenon)

- (10) “zeroing transformation” (Harris 1982)

- Everyone smiled, except Felix did not smile.
- Everyone smiled, except Felix did not.
- Everyone smiled, except not Felix.
- Everyone smiled, except Felix. [from Hoeksema 1995: (12)]

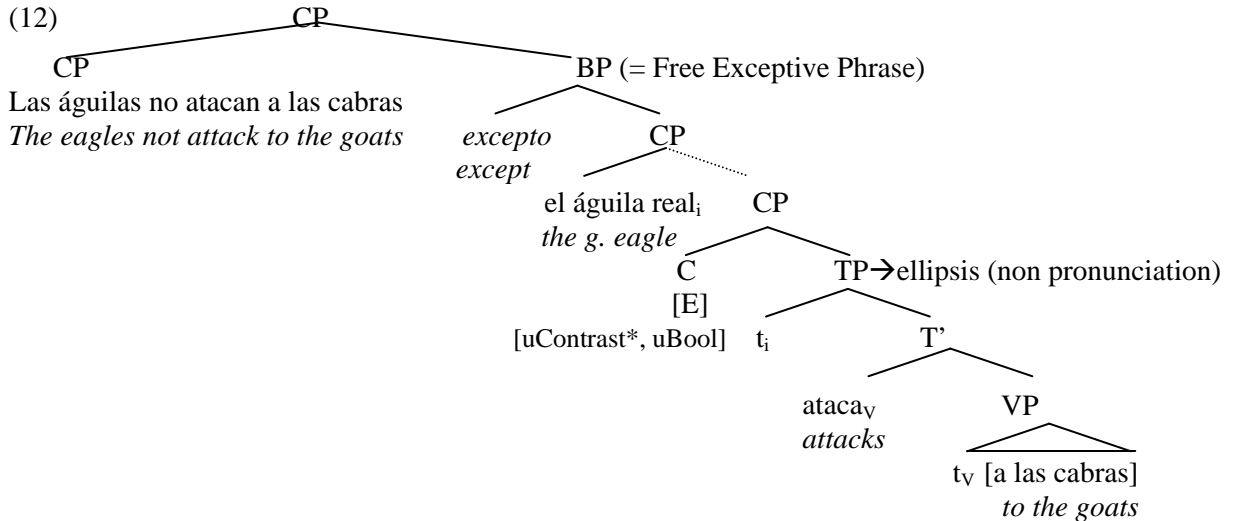
4. Proposal

- Our analysis:

- (11) Las águilas no atacan a las cabras montesas, excepto el águila real

The eagles not attack to the goats mountain, except the eagle royal

‘Eagles don’t attack wild goats, except the golden eagle’.



- *Excepto, salvo, menos*: coordinating conjunctions which select a CP complement. Fernández Salgueiro (2008): Coordinating conjunctions select a CP as complement. Subordinating conjunctions select a TP.
- Munn (1993): coordinating conjunctions project a Boolean Phrase [BP].
- *Exceptive coordinating conjunctions* have two lexical idiosyncratic properties: a) they trigger polarity inversion on their CP complement; b) they also trigger an obligatory ellipsis process on their CP complement, which is understood as a movement+deletion process. *Exceptive conjunctions* obligatorily select for a CP whose C head is null and is endowed with a head E feature which attracts a constituent to the left periphery of the elliptical sentence and also forces the deletion of the phonological features of the syntactic complement of C (that is TP) (following Merchant 2003 for stripping).

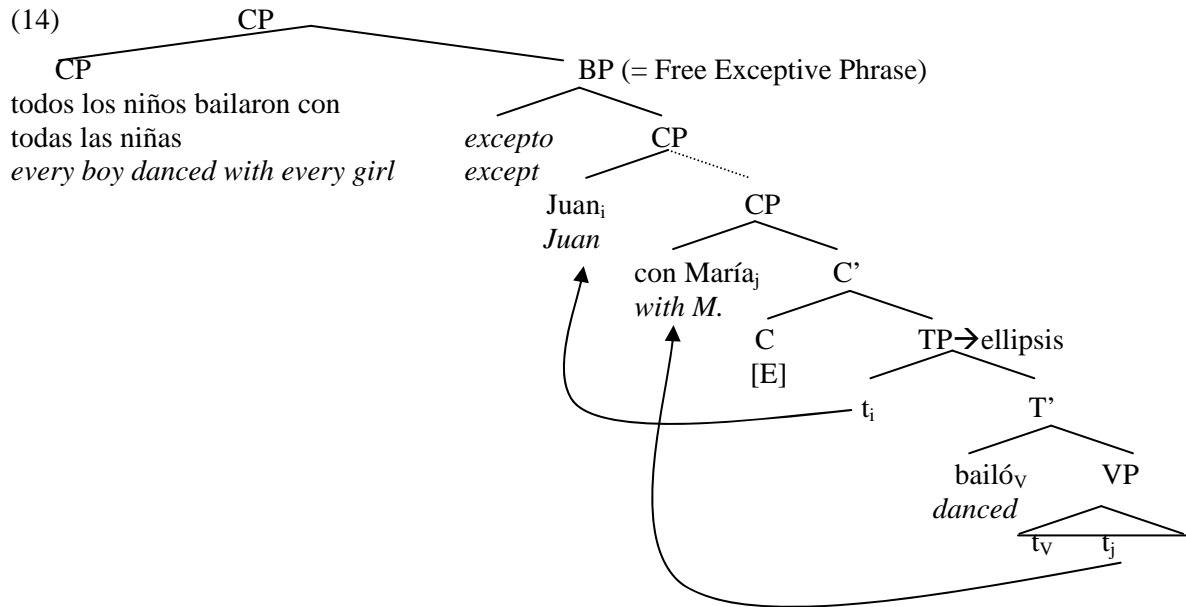
- Properties of the ellipsis process described in (12) (similar to gapping/stripping):

A There is no limitation as to the number of remnants, (13).

(13) Todos los niños bailaron con todas las niñas (en todas partes), excepto Juan con María (en la cocina).

All the boys danced with all the girls (everywhere), except Juan with María (in the kitchen)

‘All the boys danced with all the girls (everywhere), except Juan with María (in the kitchen)’.



B The *exceptive conjunctions* can be followed by constituents of any category. A finite verb cannot be the remnant of the ellipsis process.

(15) Hicimos de todo, { *excepto comimos. / excepto comer. }

We-did of everything, { except ate / except eat }

‘We did everything but eat’.

C The remnants have a contrastive interpretation, as contrastive focus or topic.

(16) A todo el mundo le besó su pareja, excepto a Juan su mujer.

To everybody him kissed his partner, except to Juan his wife.

‘Everybody was kissed by his partner, except Juan by his wife’.

5. Evidence supporting the analysis

5.1. Free exceptives are elliptical sentential constituents

- Free exceptive and host sentence: independent predications (see Merchant 2003, Depiante 1999).

(17)a. *El ejército se distribuirá por la costa, excepto el general.

The army SE will-distribute along the coast, except the general

‘The army will spread along the coast, except the general’.

b. *El general se distribuirá por la costa.

The general SE will-distribute along the coast

- (18)a. El ejército se distribuirá por la costa, excepto la infantería.
The army SE will-distribute along the coast, except the infantry
'The army will spread along the coast, except the infantry'.
- b. La infantería se distribuirá por la costa.
The infantry SE will-distribute along the coast
'The infantry will spread along the coast.'
- Case matching.
- (19)a. *Vi María / Vi a María
I-saw María / I-saw *a* (to) María
'I saw María'.
- b. Vi la mesa; Vi todo - *Vi a la mesa; *Vi a todo
I-saw the table; I-saw everything - I-saw *a* the table; I-saw *a* everything
'I saw the table; I saw everything'
- (20) Excepto a ti (vestida de novia), antes de la boda quiero verlo todo.
Except *a* (to) you (with the wedding dress), before the wedding I-want see-it
everything
'Except for you (in your wedding dress), before the wedding I want to see
everything'
- The node targeted by ellipsis is TP: the host sentence and the exceptive clause must share the same tense and voice specification (parallel to other cases of 'high / big ellipsis', Merchant 2007).
- (21)a. *Todos los estudiantes fueron examinados por todos los profesores, excepto Juan a Pedro (cf. ..., excepto Pedro por Juan).
All the students were examined by all the teachers, except Juan to Pedro
- b. *Todos los profesores examinaron a Juan, excepto por Pedro.
All the teachers examined to Juan, except by Pedro
- (22)*Los trabajadores siempre comen aquí, excepto Juan la semana pasada.
The workers always eat here, except Juan last week

(23) gapping

- a. Revistas fueron compradas por algunos, {periódicos por otros/*otros periódicos}.

Magazines were bought by some, {newspapers by others / others newspapers}

- b. *Juan viajó a Francia ayer y María a Alemania mañana.

Juan went to France yesterday and María to Germany tomorrow

o Mood mismatches:

- (24)a. Lo que dices es verdad, excepto que Juan sea_{subjunctive} rico.

‘What you say is true, except that Juan is a rich man.’

- b. NO es verdad que Juan sea_{subjunctive} rico ‘It is not true that Juan is a rich man’.

- c. *Es verdad que Juan sea_{subjunctive} rico. ‘It is true that Juan is a rich man’.

- d. Lo que dices no es verdad, excepto que Juan sea_{subjunctive} rico

‘What you say is not true, except that Juan is a rich man’.

o phi mismatches:

- (25) Así que, excepto ella y yo, todos se dispusieron a morir. (J. Benet, Saúl ante Samuel, CREA)

So, except she and I, all SE prepared to die

‘Except she and I, everybody prepared themselves to die’.

- (26)a. María consentiría eso a todo el mundo, excepto a sí misma.²

María would-allow that to all the people, except to herself.

‘Maria would tolerate that from everybody, except from herself’.

- b. *María (no) consentiría eso a sí misma.

María not would-allow that to herself

‘María would (not) tolerate that from herself’.

- c. María (no) se consentiría eso a sí misma

María not SE would-allow that to herself

‘María would (not) tolerate that from herself’.

² Note that if the anaphor appears inside a connected exceptive, the sentence is also ungrammatical. These data are also an argument for the proposal that free and connected exceptives have a different syntax.

(i) *María consentiría eso a [todo el mundo, excepto sí misma].

- *Free exceptives* are CPs: speaker oriented adverbials
- (27)a. Lamentablemente, todo el mundo salió herido, excepto, afortunadamente, Juan.
Unfortunately, all the people got bad-wounded, except, fortunately, Juan
'Unfortunately everybody got seriously wounded, except, fortunately, Juan'.
- b. Not in *connected exceptives*:
*Afortunadamente vinieron todos menos lamentablemente uno.
Fortunately, came all but unfortunately one
'Fortunately, all came except, unfortunately, one of them'

5.2. Free exceptives are attached to the CP level of the host sentence

- The semantic generalization which licenses the presence of the free exceptive is not built up until the TP/CP node of the host sentence is merged.

(28) No dijo una palabra sobre ese asunto, salvo que no tenía nada que decir.

'He did not say a word about that issue, except that he had nothing to say'.

- The subject of the host sentence does not have c-command inside the free exceptive.

(29)a. *Vacunaron gratis a {todas las tribus indígenas_i / cada tribu_i}, excepto a su jefe_i

They-vaccinated for free to all the tribes indigenous, except to its chief

'They vaccinated every indigenous tribe for free, except its chief'.

b. {*Cada / *Toda} tribu indígena_i fue vacunada, excepto su jefe_i

Each / Every tribe indigenous was vaccinated, except its chief

'Each indigenous tribe was vaccinated, except its chief'.

(30) Todo niño recitó una poesía todos los días, excepto el día de su cumpleaños.

Every child recited a poem all the days, except the day of her birthday

'Every child recited a poem everyday, except on her birthday'.

(31)a. *Vacunaron a todas las tribus_i y no vacunaron a su jefe_i

They-vaccinated to all the tribes and not vaccinated to its chief

b. *Todas las tribus_i fueron vacunadas y/pero su jefe_i no fue vacunado.

All the tribes were vaccinated and/but its chief not was vaccinated

- o ‘telescoping’ – modal subordination: (Roberts 1989 y Poesio and Zucchi 1992, Fox 2000).

(32){Aquí se vacuna / Se vacunará / Se debe vacunar} a toda tribu indígena gratuitamente, excepto a su jefe.

{Here SE vaccinate / SE will-vaccinate / SE should vaccinate} to every tribe indigenous for free, except its chief

(33)a. *Cada candidato se situó en el centro del escenario. Después, recogió su diploma.

b. Cada candidato_i debe situarse en el centro del escenario. Después, pro_i debe recoger el diploma. [Moreno Quibén 2003: 127, (8)]

‘Every PhD candidate walked to the center of the stage. After that, {he picked up his diploma / he must pick up his diploma}’.

5.3. Ellipsis in free exceptives as movement+deletion

- Preposition stranding. Spanish is a non P-stranding language: ³

(34)*¿Quién has venido con?; *¿Qué has hablado de?

‘Who did you come with? What have you talked about?’.

(35)a. *Excepto María, Juan bailó con todo el mundo en la fiesta.

‘Except María, Juan danced with everybody at the party’.

b. Todos los niños bailaron con todas las niñas en la fiesta, *excepto Juan María

‘All the boys danced with all the girls at the party, except Juan with María’.

(36)Jeffrey habló de lingüística {y Karen de política / * y Karen política}.

Jeffrey talked about linguistics {and Karen about politics / and Karen politics}

[Aelbrecht 2007]

³ Note that, following this reasoning, connected exceptives cannot be considered clausal elliptical constituents. We would have to conclude that P-stranding is possible in precisely these cases.

(i) Vi [a todos los niños] excepto el tuyo] jugando en la playa

Note that Spanish allows P-less sluiced wh-phrases. Compare (i) and (ii):

(ii) Tengo que quedar con alguien para ver el piso pero no tengo ni idea de *quién / con quién.

Tengo que ver a alguien, pero no sé quién

In these cases, it has been postulated a copular or cleft source for the elided clause. See Merchant (2009b), Vicente (2008).

(iii) Tengo que ver a alguien, pero no sé quién [es]

- Island sensitivity:
 - *dudar* vs. *intentar*
- (37)a. Juan dudaba si vender el coche.
‘Juan hesitated whether to sell his car’.
- b. * Qué dudaba Juan si vender?
‘What did Juan hesitate whether to sell?’.
- (38)a. Juan intentó vender el coche.
‘Juan tried to sell his car’.
- b. Qué intentó Juan vender?
‘What did Juan try to sell?’.
- (39)a. Ningún chico dudaba si vender el coche, excepto Juan dudaba si vender el coche
‘No boy hesitated whether to sell his car, except Juan’.
- b. Ningún chico intentó vender el coche, excepto Juan intentó vender el coche
‘No boy tried to sell his car, except Juan’.
- (40)a. *Ningún chico dudaba si bailar con alguna chica, excepto Juan dudaba si bailar con Marina.
‘No boy hesitated whether to dance with some girl, except Juan with María’.
- b. Ningún chico intentó bailar con ninguna chica, excepto Juan intentó bailar con Marina.
‘No boy tried to dance with any girl, except Juan with Maria’.
- If there are two remnants, they cannot be separated by a finite clause boundary:
- (41)a. *Todos los niños dijeron que todas las niñas eran tontas, excepto Juan Eva
‘All the boys said that all the girls were silly, except Juan Eva’.
- b. *Todos los niños dijeron que María pegó a todas las niñas, excepto Juan a Eva
‘All the boys said that María beat all the girls, except Juan Eva’.
- (42)a. *[El tipo [que robó todos los diamantes]] fue detenido, excepto el diamante real.
‘The guy who stole all the diamonds was apprehended, except for the royal diamond’
- b. *[Que no hayan contado con nadie para eso] es terrible, excepto con Pedro.
‘That they didn’t count on anybody for that is terrible, except with Pedro’.

5.4. Additional arguments for the coordinate status of free exceptives

- Parallelism requirements. Extraction from sentences with free exceptives can only take place ATB (Williams 1978, a.o) (*Coordinate Structure Constraint*, Ross a.o).

(43)a. Todos los niños han forrado sus libros, excepto Juan los suyos.

‘Every child covered her books with a dust jacket, except Juan his’.

b. *Los libros [que todos han comprado], [excepto Juan los suyos].

‘The books that everybody has bought, except Juan his’.

c. Los libros que todos han forrado, excepto Juan.

‘The books that everybody has covered with a dust jacket, except Juan’.

d. Los libros [que [[todos han forrado __], [excepto [Juan __]]]]

- ¿If free exceptives are coordinate sentences, how can we explain, then, their positional freedom? Free exceptives can move from the left periphery of a subordinate clause to the left periphery of the main clause. This syntactic behavior, typical of adverbial clauses, must be considered a lexical property of exceptive conjunctions, related to the lexical origin of *excepto*, *salvo*, as participles in absolute clauses (Brucart 1999).

(44)a. Excepto a María, Juan dijo que mataría a todos.

‘Except María, Juan said he would kill everybody’

b. Excepto a María, [Juan dijo [que [__ mataría a todos]]].

6. Conclusions and prospects

- *Free exceptives* are best analysed as coordinated elliptical sentences. They seem to be a case of ‘high ellipsis’ structure.
- *Free exceptives* in Spanish offer new empirical data in favour of structural approaches to ellipsis.
- Gapping/Stripping like ellipsis is a diagnostic for sentential coordination

Further investigations: crosslinguistic study of exceptive constructions; island effects, effects related to parallelism, negation.

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