Exceptives express exclusion from a generalization or the domain of a quantifier exceptive phrases cannot be related to antecedents inside islands. Thus, each exception must be dominated by a clausal node.

Hidden Clausal Structure

★ The exception is contained in an elliptical clause

(1) Nihomehy ny rehetra afa-tsy [Rasoa] M ALAGASY laughed DET all except Rasoa (Austronesian) RESTRICTED EXCEPTION PHRASE ... except Rasoa FOC laughed ‘Except Rasoa,’

★ The exception phrase in Malagasy has hidden clausal structure (see also Egyptian Arabic (Soltan 2016), Spanish (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012))

(3) a. Mitia ny akondra sy/*ary ny manga Rasoa like DET banana and DET mango Rasoa ‘Rasoa likes bananas and mangoes.’

(4) (a) Nandevilevy ny rehetra afa-tsy ny akondra sy/*ary ny manga like DET banana and DET mango rasoa ‘Rasoa likes bananas and mangoes.’

(5) a. Mitia ny akondra sy/*ary ny manga Rasoa like DET banana and DET mango Rasoa ‘Rasoa likes bananas and mangoes.’

★ More exceptions indicate a clausal source

(11) Ny honoia tsa rehetra Rasoa afa-tsy ny akondra sy/*ary ny manga like DET banana and DET mango Rasoa ‘Rasoa likes bananas and mangoes.’

(14) (a) a. ‘Nityonany iza?’ who is nityonany? cried who

(15) (b) ‘Who cried?’ ‘Who cried?’

(16) c. Ny honoia tsa rehetra Rasoa afa-tsy ny akondra sy/*ary ny manga like DET banana and DET mango Rasoa ‘Rasoa likes bananas and mangoes.’

★ Exception phrases can be cleft pivots and exceptions, but not subjects

(10) a. ‘Nityonany iza?’ who is nityonany? cried who

★ Pivots and exceptions can be NON-DPs, but subjects must be DPs (Paul 2000)

(11) Ny honoia tsa rehetra Rasoa afa-tsy ny akondra sy/*ary ny manga like DET banana and DET mango Rasoa ‘Rasoa likes bananas and mangoes.’

(12) a. ‘Aho/*Ahy izaho no nelliveleen-dRabe (isNOM/ACC/STRONG FOC scolded)PASS Rabe 'It’s me that Rabe scolded.’

(18) • Pivots and exceptions can be NON-DPs, but subjects must be DPs (Paul 2000)

(19) a. ‘[Ah] — [everyone laughed] — Ws[laughed()]

(20) • Pivots and exceptions can be NON-DPs, but subjects must be DPs (Paul 2000)

Selected References


Conclusions

➢ Exceptive constructions cross-linguistically may involve clausal ellipsis and are relevant for ellipsis theorizing.

➢ Exceptives in Malagasy involve a sluicing-like derivation using TP ellipsis (Potsdam 2007)

➢ Exceptives have implications for a proper account of island (in)sensitivity under ellipsis (see Griffiths & Lipták 2014 for a possible analysis)