

Claims

- Exceptives express exclusion from a generalization or the domain of a quantifier
- (1) Nihomehy ny rehetra [afa-tsy [Rasoa]] MALAGASY
laughed DET all except Rasoa (Austronesian)
RESTRICTED EXCEPTIVE PHRASE
QP EXCEPTION
'Everyone laughed except Rasoa.'
- The exceptive phrase in Malagasy has hidden clausal structure (see also Egyptian Arabic (Soltan 2016), Spanish (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012))
 - The missing structure at the ellipsis site in Malagasy is a focus cleft construction

Hidden Clausal Structure

- The exception is contained in an elliptical clause
- (1) Nihomehy ny rehetra afa-tsy [... Rasoa ...]CLAUSE
laughed DET all except Rasoa
'Everyone laughed except Rasoa.'
- Exception may appear as an UNREDUCED CLAUSE
- (2) Nihomehy ny rehetra afa-tsy Rasoa (no tsy nihomehy)
laughed DET all except Rasoa FOC NEG laughed
'Everybody laughed except Rasoa didn't laugh.'
- Two coordinating conjunctions: *sy* coordinates phrases, *ary* coordinates clauses (Rajemisa-Raolison 1969). CLAUSAL COORDINATOR can conjoin two exceptions. Thus, each exception must be dominated by a clausal node
- (3) a. Mitia ny akondro sy/*ary ny manga Rasoa
like DET banana and DET mango Rasoa
'Rasoa likes bananas and mangoes.'
b. Mitia ny voankazo rehetra Rasoa afa-tsy ny akondro sy/ary ny manga
like DET fruit all Rasoa except DET banana and DET mango
'Rasoa likes all fruit except bananas and mangoes.'
- MULTIPLE EXCEPTIONS indicate a clausal source
- (4) Nandihy daholo tamin' ny zazavavy rehetra ny zazalahy
danced all PREP DET girl all DET boy
afa-tsy Rabe tamin-dRasoa
except Rabe PREP-Rasoa
'Every boy danced with every girl, except Rabe with Rasoa.'
- Exceptive phrases cannot be related to antecedents inside islands. ISLAND SENSITIVITY follows if the exceptive phrase contains a clause out of which the exception moves
- (5) RELATIVE CLAUSE ISLAND
*Nihaona tamin' [ny mpiahy miantra ny olona rehetra] aho afa-tsy Rabe
met PREP DET caretaker pity DET person all 1SG except Rabe
'(I met the caretaker who has compassion for everyone, except Rabe.)'

Elided Cleft Clause

- Missing clause is a cleft and not a declarative VOS clause
- (7) CLEFT: exception is the cleft pivot, deleted material is non-focus material
... afa-tsy [Rasoa ~~no nihomehy~~]CLEFT
except Rasoa FOC laughed
'... except Rasoa.'
- (8) VOS CLAUSE: exception is the subject, deleted material is the predicate
... afa-tsy [nihomehy Rasoa]VOS CLAUSE
except laughed Rasoa
'... except Rasoa.'
- Subjects have a FORMAL DEFINITENESS RESTRICTION and must have an overt determiner (Keenan 1976). Cleft pivots and exceptions are not so restricted
- (9) a. Nihira *(ny) ankizy telo b. (Ny) ankizy telo no nihira
sang DET children three DET children three FOC sang
'Three children sang.' 'It's (the) three children who sang.'
c. Nihira ny rehetra afa-tsy (ny) ankizy telo
sang DET all except DET children three
'Everyone sang except (the) three children.'
- WH-PHRASES can be cleft pivots and exceptions but not subjects
- (10) a. *Nitomany iza? b. Iza no nitomany?
cried who who FOC cried
'(Who cried?)' 'Who cried?'
c. Nitomany ny ankizy rehetra afa-tsy iza?
cried DET children all except who
'All the children cried except who?'
- Pivots and exceptions can be NON-DPs, but subjects must be DPs (Paul 2000)
- (11) Tsy nitoriteny tamin' ny olona izy afa-tsy tamin' ny Jiosy
NEG preach PREP DET person 3SG.NOM except PREP DET Jew
'He didn't preach to anyone, except to the Jews.'
- CASE on cleft pivots and exceptions is the same. 1SG has a special strong form used on cleft pivots and exceptions but not on subjects
- (12) a. *Aho/*Ahy/Izaho no nolevileven- dRabe
1SG.NOM/ACC/STRONG FOC scolded.PASS Rabe
'It's me that Rabe scolded.'
b. Nandevilevy ny rehetra Rabe afa-tsy *aho/*ahy/izaho
scolded DET all Rabe except 1SG.NOM/ACC/STRONG
'Rabe scolded everyone except me.'

Selected References

- García-Álvarez, I. 2008. Generality and exception: A case study in the semantics of exceptives. PhD diss., Stanford Univ. Griffiths, J., & A. Lipták. 2014. Contrast and island sensitivity in clausal ellipsis. *Syntax* 17, 189-234. Keenan, E. 1976. Remarkable subjects in Malagasy. *Subject and topic*, 247-301. NY: Academic Press. Law, P. 2007. The syntactic structure of the cleft construction in Malagasy. *NLLT* 25, 765-823. Paul, I. 2001. Concealed pseudoclefts. *Lingua* 111, 707-727. Pearson, M. 2001. The clause structure of Malagasy: A minimalist approach. PhD diss., UCLA. Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén. 2012. On the syntax of exceptions. Evidence from Spanish. *Lingua* 122, 582-607. Potsdam, E. 2007. Malagasy sluicing and its consequences for the identify requirement on ellipsis. *NLLT* 25, 577-613. Rackowski, A., & L. Travis. 2000. V-initial languages: X or XP Movement and adverbial placement. *The syntax of verb initial languages*, 117-141. Oxford: OUP. Rajemisa-Raolison, R. 1969. *Grammaire malgache*. Fianarantsoa: Librairie Ambozotany. Soltan, U. 2016. On the syntax of exceptive constructions in Egyptian Arabic. *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics XXVII*, 35-57. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. I thank my consultants Bodo and Voara Randrianasolo.

Derivation

- (13) Nihomehy ny rehetra afa-tsy Rasoa
laughed DET all except Rasoa
'Everyone laughed except Rasoa.'
- Predicate-initial word order derived by fronting the predicate to a left-peripheral position (Rackowski & Travis 2000, Pearson 2001)
 - Pivot is the predicate in a cleft (Paul 2001, Potsdam 2006, Law 2007)
- (14)
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- (15) *Polarity Generalization* (after García Álvarez 2008:129)
The propositions expressed in the main clause and the exception clause must have opposite polarity
- TP ELLIPSIS is licensed under semantic identity with the main clause (Merchant 2001) after reconstruction of PredP into TP (Massam 2000, Potsdam 2007)
- (16) *Focus Condition on TP ellipsis* (Merchant 2001:26)
A TP E can be deleted only if E is e-GIVEN
- (17) *e-GIVENNESS* (Merchant 2001:26)
An expression E counts as e-GIVEN iff E has a salient antecedent A and
i. A entails F-closure(E), and
ii. E entails F-closure(A)
- (18) *F-closure(X)* is the result of replacing focus-marked parts of X with \exists -bound variables of the appropriate type
- (19) a. $\llbracket A \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{everyone laughed} \rrbracket = \forall x[\text{laughed}(x)]$
b. $F\text{-closure}(\llbracket A \rrbracket) = \exists x[\text{laughed}(x)]$
c. $\llbracket E \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{Rasoa laughed} \rrbracket = \text{laughed}(\text{Rasoa})$
d. $F\text{-closure}(\llbracket E \rrbracket) = \exists x[\text{laughed}(x)]$

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)