The *only* class

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http://kvf.me/cssl19-only

Day Three:
Clausal Exceptives

Exceptives at the periphery

(1) Every player {but / except (for)} Megan sang.

(2) Every player sang, {but / except (for)} Megan.

Clausal exceptives

(3) Every player sang except Megan didn’t.

(4) Most players sang except Megan didn’t.

(5) Every player sang, except Megan stayed silent.

(6) He’s a very nice man, except he talks too much. Based on Jespersen’s Modern English Grammar

Very unclear how the approaches to DP-connected exceptives could extend to clausal exceptives. But these do need to be dealt with.

Clausal exceptives in disguise?

Could some/all exceptives be clausal exceptives with some ellipsis?

(7) Every player sang except Megan didn't.

Clausal ellipsis analysis

- Pérez-Jiménez, Isabel & Norberto Moreno-Quibén. 2012. On the syntax of exceptions: Evidence from Spanish. *Lingua* 122(6). 582–607. doi:10.1016/j.lingua.2012.01.001.
- Soltan, Usama. 2016. On the syntax of exceptive constructions in Egyptian Arabic. In Stuart Davis & Usama Soltan (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XXVII: Papers from the annual symposium on Arabic Linguistics, Bloomington, Indiana, 2013*, 35–57. (Studies in Arabic Linguistics 3). John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/sal.3.02sol.
- Potsdam, Eric & Maria Polinksy. 2019. Clausal and phrasal exceptives. Poster presented at GLOW.

Potsdam & Polinksy 2019

- Some peripheral exceptives are moved DP-connected exceptives (Russian *krome*)
- Others (English *except*) are clausal + ellipsis

Full clausal exceptives

(8) All the children cried, except Masha did not cry.

(9) **Vse* *deti* *zaplakali,* *krome*
all children cried.INCEPT except
Maša *ne* *zaplakala*
Masha.NOM NEG cry.INCEPT

Multiple exceptions

(10) Every boy danced with every girl, except [Masha] [with Alex].

(11) **Na* *vsex* *vsem* *naplevat’*, *krome*
on all.ACC all.DAT spit except

[babuške] *[na* *zabrošennogo*
grandma.DAT on forlorn

vnuka]
grandson

‘Nobody could care less about anyone, except grandma about her neglected grandson.’

Non-NP exceptions

(12) 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]$_{CP}$.

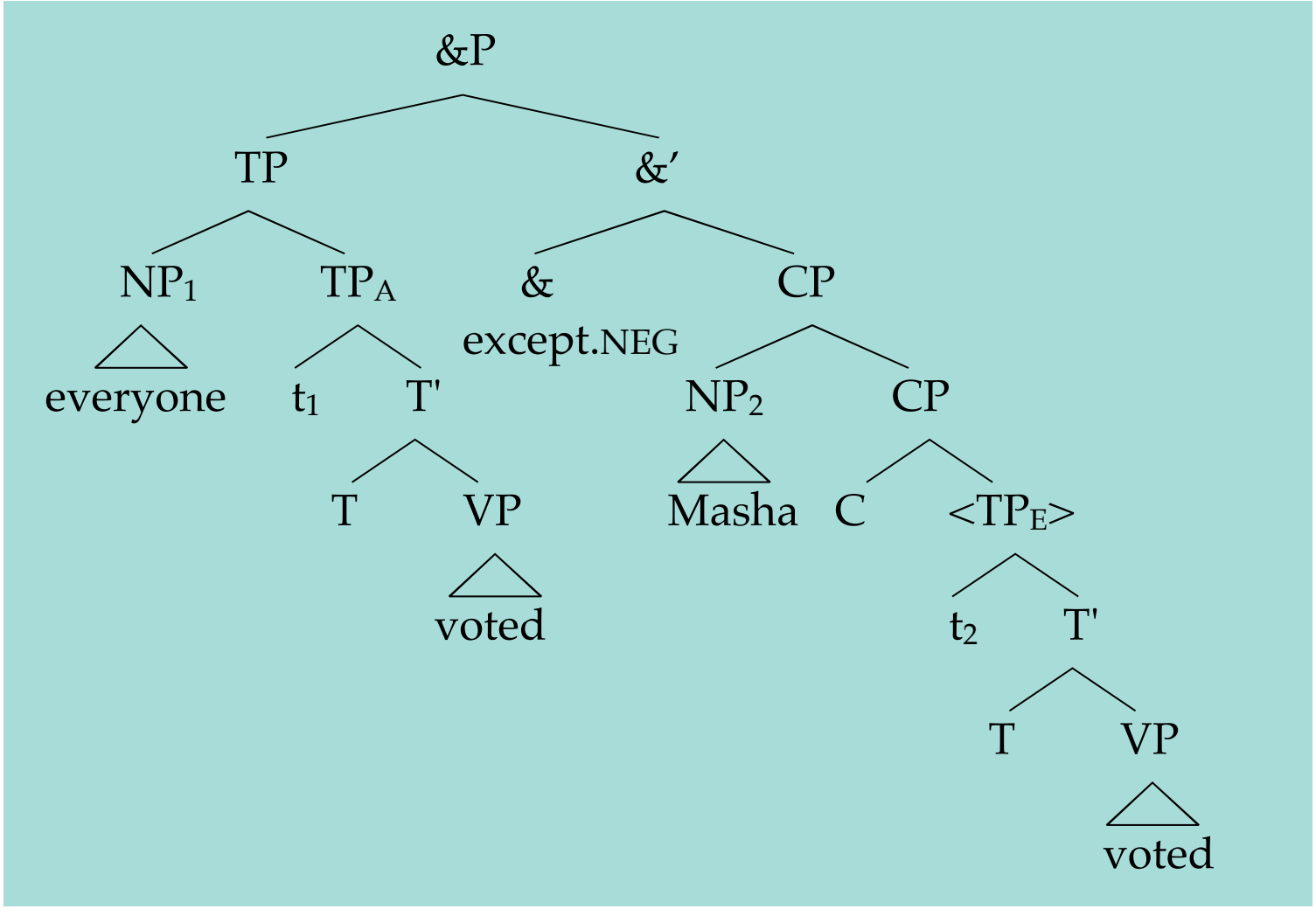
(13) **Maša* *ni* *o* *čem* *ne*
Masha NEG about what.LOC NEG
dumaet *krome* *[o* *detjax]*$_{PP}$
thinks except on children.LOC.PL
‘Masha doesn’t think about anything,
except about children.’

Implicit associate

(14) He didn’t speak, except in riddles.

(15) **On ne sočinjaet krome žalob*
he NEG composes except complaint.GEN.PL
‘He does not write, except complaint letters.’

Potsdam & Polinksy's tree



Potsdam & Polinsky's analysis

- *Except* is a coordinating conjunction (Soltan 2016)
- *Except* has a semantically negative piece, glossed NEG
- In the exceptive clause, the exception XP undergoes fronting
- Restricted QP in the antecedent (if present) undergoes QR at LF
- TP_E inside the exceptive clause is elided under semantic identity with the antecedent TP_A (Merchant 2001), indicated by <TP>

No semantics

None of the works that argue for the existence of clausal exceptives (plus ellipsis) give a semantics for this exceptive connection between clauses.

Today's focus

Vostrikova, Ekaterina. 2019. Conditional analysis of clausal exceptives. ms. UMass Amherst. [long version of a SALT 2019 presentation, part of her just defended dissertation]

Not a kind of coordination

- Main clause doesn't seem to be asserted as true (just as nearly true?)
- Wouldn't capture more restricted distribution of *except* (compared to *but not*)

More restricted than coordination

(16) a. I will talk to Mary and Olga, but not to Ann.

b. *I will talk to Mary and Olga, except to Ann.

(17) a. You can use any textbooks or notes, but not your computer.

b. *You can use any textbooks or notes except your computer.

Vostrikova's Idea

Clausal exceptives are conditionals!

ϕ except ψ

= ϕ is false but if ψ had not been the case, ϕ would have been true

ϕ except ψ

= ϕ is false but if ψ had not been the case, ϕ would have been true

Or: The fact that ψ is true is the only thing that stands in the way of ϕ being true in the actual world.

(18) Every player sang except Megan didn't.

=

(19) Not every player sang but if Megan had sung, every player would have sung.

Problem

This “equivalence” is just not an equivalence!

“Except” true but “if” false

Some players always do the opposite of what Megan does. If she had sung, at least some of the others wouldn’t have.

“Except” false but “if” true

Several other players joined Megan in not singing, but they would have joined if Megan had decided to sing.

Diagnosis

If clausal exceptives are conditionals, they are a very special kind and we need to figure out how they work.

Vostrikova's worries

- we don't want to have the conditional take us to worlds where the domain of the quantification is different from the actual world (the players are different from who they are here)
- we don't want to change anything about who sang other than the fact about Megan

Vostrikova's Proposal

(20) Every player sang except Megan didn't.

presupposes that Megan didn't sing and that in any possible situation where Megan didn't sing not all actual players sang

Vostrikova's Proposal

(20) Every player sang except Megan didn't.

asserts that any situation where Megan sang and otherwise the facts about who sang are the same as in the actual world is a situation where every actual player sang

Access needed

To assemble such a meaning compositionally, *except* needs access to the following:

- the actual players
- the actual facts about who sang and who didn’t

How to track actual domains

Two situation variables:

(21) every (girl s_1) (came s_2)

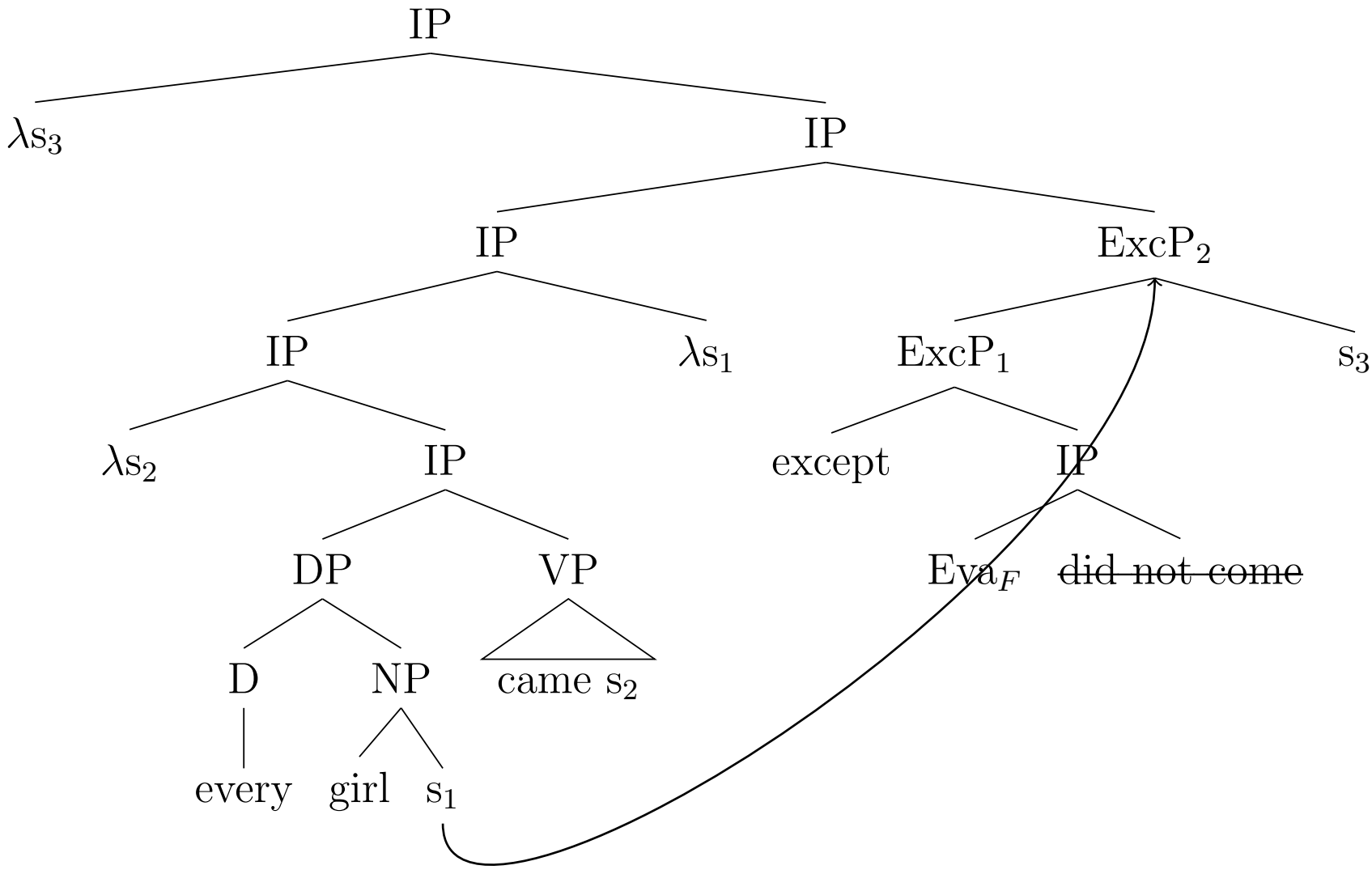
(22) If everyone inside were outside, the room would be empty.

(23) λs_1 If$_{s_2}$ everyone inside s_1 was outside s_2, …

Percus 2000, von Fintel & Heim textbook, and many others

Vostrikova's derivation

(112)



Details

- clausal exceptive originates in a connected position (sister of quantifier restriction)
- because of a type-mismatch it moves and adjoins to the main clause
- it leaves a situation variable behind that is bound by a lambda operator right underneath its final position
- the meaning of *except* makes sure that this situation variable is identified with the actual situation

The meaning of *except*

(114) $[[\text{except } \varphi]]^{g}=\lambda s'.\lambda M_{<s<st>>}: \forall s[\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s)\rightarrow \neg M(s')(s)] \ \&\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s').$
$\forall s[(\neg[[\varphi]]^{g}(s) \ \&\ \forall p[(p\neq[[\varphi]] \ \&\ p\in[[\varphi]]^{g,F})\rightarrow p(s)=p(s')]) \rightarrow M(s')(s)]$

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Phew, let's unpack this.

(114) $[[\text{except } \varphi]]^{g}=\lambda s'.\lambda M_{<s<st>>}: \forall s[\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s)\rightarrow \neg M(s')(s)] \ \&\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s').$
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The meaning is syncategorematic because *except* needs access both to the ordinary value of ϕ and its focus value. This could be improved by using Rooth's ~-operator.

(114) $[[\text{except } \varphi]]^{g}=\lambda s'.\lambda M_{<s<st>>}: \forall s[\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s)\rightarrow \neg M(s')(s)] \ \&\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s').$
$\forall s[(\neg[[\varphi]]^{g}(s) \ \&\ \forall p[(p\neq[[\varphi]] \ \&\ p\in[[\varphi]]^{g,F})\rightarrow p(s)=p(s')]) \rightarrow M(s')(s)]$

The first argument is a situation variable. This will be the evaluation/actual situation.

(114) $[[\text{except } \varphi]]^{g}=\lambda s'.\lambda M_{<s<st>>}: \forall s[\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s)\rightarrow \neg M(s')(s)] \ \&\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s').$
$\forall s[(\neg[[\varphi]]^{g}(s)\ \&\ \forall p[(p\neq[[\varphi]]\ \&\ p\in[[\varphi]]^{g,F})\rightarrow p(s)=p(s')])\rightarrow M(s')(s)]$

The second argument is the meaning of the main clause. Usually this would be, a proposition, a function from situations to truth-values. But because of the extra situation binder (which comes from the movement of the exceptive clause and which binds the situation variable of the restriction of the associated quantifier), it is a function that takes **two** situations and gives a truth-value.

(114) $[[\text{except } \varphi]]^{g}=\lambda s'.\lambda M_{<s<st>>}: \forall s[\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s)\rightarrow \neg M(s')(s)] \ \&\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s').$
$\forall s[(\neg[[\varphi]]^{g}(s) \ \&\ \forall p[(p\neq[[\varphi]] \ \&\ p\in[[\varphi]]^{g,F})\rightarrow p(s)=p(s')]) \rightarrow M(s')(s)]$

The main clause meaning is given two situations as arguments. The first situation argument will be identified with the evaluation/actual situation and is fed to the quantifier. The second one is the situation in which the main clause is evaluated.

(114) $[[\text{except } \varphi]]^{g}=\lambda s'.\lambda M_{<s<st>>}: \forall s[\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s)\rightarrow \neg M(s')(s)] \ \&\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s').$
$\forall s[(\neg[[\varphi]]^{g}(s) \ \&\ \forall p[(p\neq[[\varphi]] \ \&\ p\in[[\varphi]]^{g,F})\rightarrow p(s)=p(s')]) \rightarrow M(s')(s)]$

The first presupposition is that all situations in which ϕ is true are situations where the main clause is false (while maintaining reference to the actual situation; this means that predicates that have the actual situation variable next to it are evaluated against the actual world).

(114) $[[\text{except } \varphi]]^{g}=\lambda s'.\lambda M_{<s<st>>}: \forall s[\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s)\rightarrow \neg M(s')(s)] \ \&\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s').$
$\forall s[(\neg[[\varphi]]^{g}(s) \ \&\ \forall p[(p\neq[[\varphi]] \ \&\ p\in[[\varphi]]^{g,F})\rightarrow p(s)=p(s')]) \rightarrow M(s')(s)]$

The second presupposition is that ϕ, the clause under *except*, is actually true.

(114) $[[\text{except } \varphi]]^{g}=\lambda s'.\lambda M_{<s<st>>}: \forall s[\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s)\rightarrow \neg M(s')(s)] \ \&\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s').$
$\forall s[(\neg[[\varphi]]^{g}(s) \ \&\ \forall p[(p\neq[[\varphi]] \ \&\ p\in[[\varphi]]^{g,F})\rightarrow p(s)=p(s')]) \rightarrow M(s')(s)]$

Note that the two presuppositions combined to yield that the main clause is false.

(114) $[[\text{except } \varphi]]^{g}=\lambda s'.\lambda M_{<s<st>>}: \forall s[\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s)\rightarrow \neg M(s')(s)] \ \&\ [[\varphi]]^{g}(s').$
$\forall s[(\neg[[\varphi]]^{g}(s) \ \&\ \forall p[(p\neq[[\varphi]] \ \&\ p\in[[\varphi]]^{g,F})\rightarrow p(s)=p(s')]) \rightarrow M(s')(s)]$

The assertion is that all situations *s* where (i) ϕ is false and (ii) all focus alternatives to ϕ have the same truth-value as in the actual situation, are situations where the main clause is true.

One last look

(24) Every player sang except [Megan]$_F$ didn't.

Multiple remnants

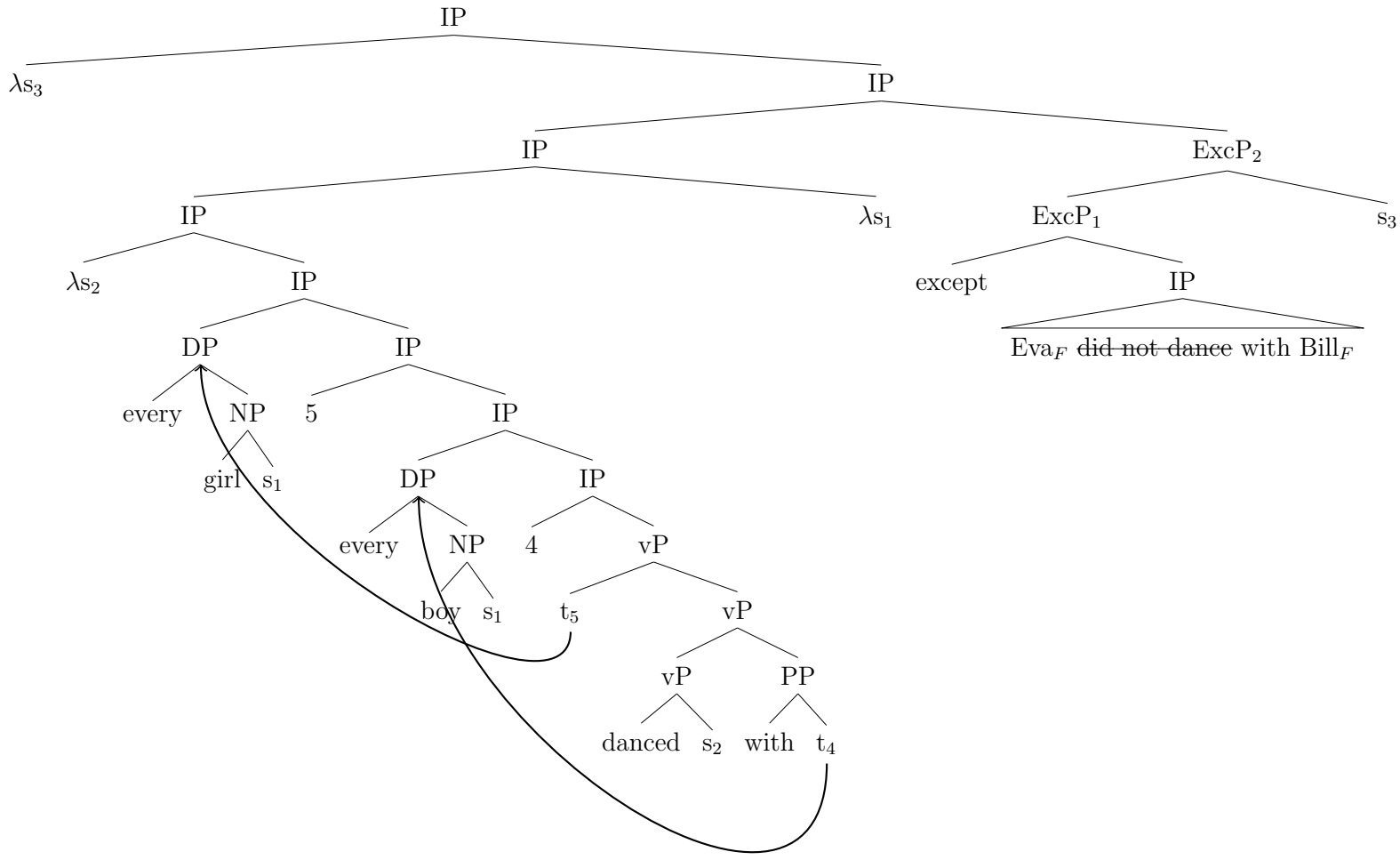
(25) Every player danced with every writer,
except Tierna didn't dance with Karen.

Multiple remnants

(25) Every player danced with every writer, except Tierna didn't dance with Karen.

We need to tie both *player* and *writer* to the actual situation.

Vostrikova's structure



Possible simplification

Perhaps we shouldn't worry about the domain changing. If so, we could dispense with the machinery involving actual situations and the generation of the clausal exceptive in one more more DP-connected positions. Worlds where the domains are different might be too far away.

Making sure that the facts about who sang stay constant is the more crucial bit. And that is ensured by the focus-marking (and ellipsis) in the exceptive clause.

Why no X-marking?

The main clause is presupposed to be false but it is not marked as counterfactual by the usual X-marking of English:

(26) !! Every player would have sung except Megan.

Well, come to think of it …

(27) I would have helped you, except I had a doctor's appointment.

(28) Her teammates would have sung, except Megan didn't, so they didn't either.

Well, come to think of it …

(27) I would have helped you, except I had a doctor's appointment.

(28) Her teammates would have sung, except Megan didn't, so they didn't either.

These seem to be more standardly conditional in meaning.

Recall

(29) Every player sang, except Megan stayed silent.

(30) He’s a very nice man, except he talks too much.

More about these and their *only* cousins in the last class next Friday.

Tomorrow: scalar exclusives