

Exceptives Questionnaire

1 Language morphosyntax

1.1 Language name: Mandarin Chinese

ISO code: CN/CHN/156

Dialect information: Mandarin Chinese is the official language of People's Republic of China, where multiple major dialects are spoken, including Mandarin, Wu, Min, Xiang, Gan, Hakka, and Yue/Cantonese. Our consultants include L1 speakers of Mandarin, Wu, Gan, and Yue/Cantonese.

Genetic affiliation: Sino-Tibetan

Number of speakers: 1,118 million

Endangerment level: safe

1.2 Morphological type

Mandarin Chinese is an isolating language. It manifests bound morphology with aspect marking (e.g., *-le* 了 for perfective marker, *-zhe* 着 for progressive marker, and *-guo* 过 for experiential marker), verbal complements (e.g., *-de* 得, a post-verbal clitic introducing degree or resultative complements), numerosity (i.e., *-men* 们 for plural marking), and nominal modification (i.e., *-de* 的, prenominal modification marker).

For subsequent discussions of exceptives, I briefly introduce several aspects of morphology that are relevant for understanding the examples.

First, I'll use *de* for three function words that serve different grammatical roles. Specifically, DE₁ (的) is a prenominal modification marker following a possessor (1a), an adjective phrase (1b), a prepositional phrase (1c) or a relative clause (1d), DE₂ (得) is a post-verbal modification marker preceding an adjective (1e) or a resultative clause (1f), and DE₃ (地) is a preverbal modification marker following an adjective (1g).

- (1a) [DP Yeye] de aihao shi lian-zi
grandpa DE₁¹ hobby BE practice-calligraphy
'Grandpa's hobby is practicing calligraphy.'

¹ Abbreviations used: 1, 2, 3 = 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; EM = exceptive marker; NEG = negative, PROG = progressive; PFV = perfective; EXP = experiential; SG = singular; PL = plural; DE = prenominal modification marker, post-verbal modification marker, pre-verbal modification marker; BA = preverbal object marker; SFP = sentence final particle; COND = conditional; DOU = distributive operator, focus marker, universal quantification adverbial; FOC = focus marker

- (1b) Wo you yi-fu [AdjP piaoliang] de hua
 1SG have one-CL beautiful DE₁ painting
 ‘I have a beautiful painting.’
- (1c) Wo yao [PP zai zhuo shang] de shu
 1SG want at table up DE₁ book
 ‘I want the books that are on the table.’
- (1d) [TP/AspP Yeye mai] de lücha he-wan le
 grandpa buy DE₁ green.tea drink-finish SFP
 ‘The green tea that grandpa bought has been drunk up.’
- (1e) Nainai xiao de [AdjP hen kaixin]
 grandma smile DE₂ very happy
 ‘Grandma smiles very happily.’
- (1f) Jiejie lei de [CP men dou tui-bu-kai le]
 sister tired DE₂ door FOC push-NEG-open SFP
 ‘Sister is so tired that (she) cannot even push open the door.’
- (1g) Shushu [AdjP manman] de zou-chu-le fangmen
 uncle slow DE₃ walk-out-PFV door
 ‘Uncle slowly walks out of the door.’

Second, I’ll use SFP for sentence final particles in Mandarin that arguably mark the head of a complementizer phrase/CP (Lee 1986; Tang 1989 and among others; for more recent studies on the CP domain in Mandarin, see Paul 2014, and Pan 2015).

Crucially, I will use the SFP-*le* for identifying finite clauses (2a) (see Zhang 2019 for the argument). It has been observed that for a relative clause construction, SFP-*le* cannot occur in the head of CP when it’s occupied by *de* (2c), contra (2b) where perfective-*le* can occur in the relative clause and (2d) where SFP-*le* can occur in an appositive clause.

- (2a) Mama kao dan’gao le²
 Mom bake cake SFP
 ‘Mom has baked a cake.’
- (2b) Wo zhaodao-le mama kao-le dan’gao de kaopan
 1SG find-PFV mom bake-PFV cake DE₁ baking.pan
 ‘I have found the baking pan with which mom has baked a cake.’
- (2c) Wo zhaodao-le [mama kao dan’gao (*le)] de kaopan
 1SG find-PFV mom bake cake SFP DE₁ baking.pan
 ‘I have found the baking pan with which mom has baked a cake.’

² Here, the SFP-*le* expresses currently relevant state (in the discourse).

- (2d) Wo tingdao-le [mama kao dan'gao le] de xiaoxi
 1SG hear-PFV mom bake cake SFP DE₁ news
 'I heard the news that mom has baked a cake.'

1.3 Basic word order(s)

Mandarin Chinese is more commonly known to have SVO as its basic word order.

- (3) Wo xi-le yifu
 1SG wash-PFV clothes
 'I washed some clothes.'

There are views in the literature (Li and Thompson 1974) arguing for Mandarin to be shifting from an SVO language to an SOV language, in view of how the object in conversations often surface as a subtopic (4a) or a focus (4b).³

- (4a) Wo yifu xi-le
 1SG clothes wash-PFV
 'I washed the clothes.'

- (4b) Wo yifu dou xi-le
 1SG clothes DOU wash-PFV
 'I washed all the clothes.'

However, Sun and Givón (1985) showed that VO word order is rather common, accounting for 94% in written language and 92% in spoken language. Here, I follow the idea that SVO is the basic word order in Mandarin Chinese.

1.4 Case marking

In Mandarin, *ba* has been argued to be a case marker for preverbal direct objects (e.g., Huang 1982; Goodall 1987).⁴

Typical postverbal direct objects are never case-marked (5a), whereas scrambled direct objects are obligatorily case-marked with *ba* (5c-d) unless they are definite and inanimate (5b).

- (5a) Wo chi-le na-ge pingguo
 1SG eat-PFV that-CL apple
 'I have eaten that apple.'

- (5b) Wo (ba) na-ge pingguo chi le
 1SG BA that-CL apple eat SFP

³ The use of subtopics is extremely common in southern Mandarin and many southern dialects.

⁴ In other analyses, *ba* is treated as (1) a light verb denoting disposal or affectedness (see Li & Thompson 1981; Sybesma 1992). More recently, *ba* has been proposed to be an anti-passive marker, and the construction is derived through demoting the direct objects (Ye & Pan, 2018).

‘I have eaten that apple.’

- (5c) Wo *(ba) yi-ge pingguo chi le
1SG BA one-CL apple eat SFP
‘I have eaten an apple.’

- (5d) Wo *(ba) na-ge laoshi tuidao le
1SG BA that-CL teacher push.over SFP
‘I have pushed over that teacher.’

1.5 Focus constructions

One of the ways in Mandarin to convey focus is to use the *shi...de* pattern consisting of the copula *shi* (是) and the functional element *de* (DE₁ 的) (Pan and Liu 2023). (6a-c) are examples of common Mandarin sentences introducing focus, where the verb *shi* expressing ‘to be’ always occurs to the left of the focus.

- (6a) Shi [mama]_F zuotian mai de jidan
BE mom yesterday buy DE₁ egg
‘It was mom who bought the egg(s) yesterday.’

- (6b) Mama shi [zuotian]_F mai de jidan
mom BE yesterday buy DE₁ egg
‘It was yesterday when mom bought the egg(s).’

- (6c) Mama zuotian shi [mai]_F de jidan
mom yesterday BE buy DE₁ egg
‘It was through buying that mom got the egg(s) yesterday.’

1.6 Universal quantification

Mandarin adverb *dou* appears only in preverbal position and requires the preceding NP to have a referentially plural interpretation (7a-b). Adverb *dou* is obligatory when the preceding subject NP is universally quantified (7c-d).⁵ *Dou* has been treated as (1) an adverbial universal quantifier (Lee, 1986; Cheng, 1995; Dong, 2009), (2) a distributive operator (Lin, 1998; Yang, 2001), (3) focus/alternative sensitive operator (Liu, 2017), and (4) a maximality operator (Giannakidou & Cheng, 2006; Xiang, 2008).

- (7a) *Ta dou chi-le jidan
3SG DOU eat-PFV egg
‘He ate eggs.’

- (7b) Tamen dou chi-le jidan
3PL DOU eat-PFV egg
‘They all/each ate eggs.’

⁵ Adverb *dou* is not used when a universally quantified NP is in object position.

(7c) *Suoyou ren chi-le jidan
 all person eat-PFV egg
 ‘Everyone ate eggs.’

(7d) Suoyou ren dou chi-le jidan
 All person DOU eat-PFV egg
 ‘Everyone ate eggs.’

2 Basic exceptive constructions

2.1 Exceptive markers

Mandarin Chinese has the following three exceptive markers (EM):

- *chule* ... (除了)
- *chu* ... *yiwai* (除…以外)⁶
- ... *chuwai* (…除外)

(8a-c) show typical uses of the three EMs. Across all these cases, the adverb *dou* (都, ‘all/even’) is needed before the verb, as the universally quantified associate (i.e., *suoyou ren* ‘everyone’) is in the subject position.

(8a) Chule Momo, suoyouren dou dao-le
 EM Momo all person DOU arrive-PFV
 ‘Everyone except Momo has arrived.’

(8b) Chu Momo yiwai, suoyouren dou dao-le
 EM Momo EM all person DOU arrive-PFV
 ‘Everyone except Momo has arrived.’

(8c) Momo chuwai, suoyouren dou dao-le
 Momo EM all person DOU arrive-PFV
 ‘Everyone except Momo has arrived.’

It should be noted that *chule* ... and *chu* ... *yiwai* can also convey additive meaning when the associate is followed by the additive adverb *ye* (也, ‘also’), whereas ... *chuwai* is incompatible with *ye*, as shown in (8d-f). In the examples hereafter, a comma is used after the exceptive phrase (EP) to indicate an intonational break.

(8d) Chule Momo, Feifei ye dao-le
 EM Momo Feifei also arrive-PFV
 ‘Beside Momo, Feifei has also arrived.’

(8e) Chu Momo yiwai, Feifei ye dao-le

⁶ *Chule* ... *yiwai* (除了…以外) is an alternative form for *chu* ... *yiwai*. I assume the two to be interchangeable here.

EM Momo EM Feifei also arrive-PFV
 ‘Beside Momo, Feifei has also arrived.’

- (8f) *Momo chuwai, Feifei ye dao-le.
 Momo EM Feifei also arrive-PFV
 ‘Beside Momo, Feifei has also arrived.’

In a strict sense, *chule* ... and *chu* ... *yiwai* show exceptive/additive ambiguity whereas ... *chuwai* does not.

2.2 Lexical category investigations

All three EMs (*chule* ..., *chu* ... *yiwai*, and ... *chuwai*) are prepositions. That is, like other prepositions in Mandarin, these EMs cannot be stranded (9a-b).⁷

- (9a) Momo chule liulian, suoyou shuiguo dou xihuan
 Momo EM durian all fruit DOU like
 ‘Momo likes all fruits except durian.’
- (9b) *Liulian Momo chule suoyou shuiguo dou xihuan
 durian Momo EM all fruit DOU like
 ‘Durian, Momo like all fruits except.’

3 Word order in exceptives

3.1 Position of exceptive phrases

For an associate in the subject position, any of the three types of EPs can occur adjacently to the associate, either to its left (10a) or its right (10b), whereas when the EP is non-adjacent to the associate and surfaces clause-finally, only *chule* ... and ... *chuwai*, not *chu* ... *yiwai*, are acceptable (10c).

- (10a) Chule Momo, suoyou ren dou chi-le huoguo
 EM Momo all person DOU eat-PFV hotpot
 ‘Except Momo, everyone ate hotpot.’ (chu ... *yiwai* ✓, ... *chuwai* ✓)
- (10b) Suoyou ren, chule Momo, dou chi-le huoguo
 all person EM Momo DOU eat-PFV hotpot
 ‘Everyone, except Momo, ate hotpot.’ (chu ... *yiwai* ✓, ... *chuwai* ✓)
- (10c) Suoyou ren dou chi-le huoguo, chule Momo
 all person DOU eat-PFV hotpot EM Momo
 ‘Everyone ate hotpot, except Momo.’ (chu ... *yiwai* ×, ... *chuwai* ✓)

⁷ While non-strandability is not definitive in diagnosing prepositions, as other lexical categories could also disallow stranding, it is hard to find another test to pinpoint the lexical category.

For an associate in the object position, any of the three types of EPs can occur clause-initially, i.e., non-adjacent to the associate (10d), whereas when the EP is adjacent to the associate, none of the EPs can occur to the left of the associate (10e), but only *chule ...* and *... chuwai*, not *chu ... yiwai*, can occur clause-finally (10f), i.e., to the right of the associate.

(10d) Chule liulian, Momo xihuan suoyou shuiguo
 EM durian Momo like all fruit
 ‘Except durian, Momo likes all fruits.’ (chu ... yiwai √, ... chuwai √)

(10e) *Momo xihuan chule liulian suoyou shuiguo
 Momo like EM durian all fruits
 ‘Momo likes all fruits, except durian.’ (chu ... yiwai ×, ... chuwai ×)

(10f) Momo xihuan suoyou shuiguo, chule liulian
 Momo like all fruit EM durian
 ‘Momo likes all fruits, except durian.’ (chu ... yiwai ×, ... chuwai √)

The only morphosyntactic difference that helps distinguish between connected and free exceptives is that while free exceptives involve just the EP and the associate, as shown in (10a-f), connected exceptives involve the insertion of the prenominal modification marker *DE₁* between the EP and the following associate. Specific examples of these connected exceptives are discussed in 3.2.

3.2 Connected exceptives

Mandarin does not have de facto connected exceptives, namely ones consisting of just the EP and the associate. For cases featuring an EP that is adjacent to the associate, none of them passes the constituency test, as will be discussed in 4.

Nevertheless, connected exceptives can be formed through the insertion of the prenominal modification marker *DE₁* between the EP and the associate that follows. That is, the EP always precedes the associate in these *de*-connected exceptives. The associate can surface as a subject (10g), an object (10h), or a subtopic (10i). In (10i), the EP (*chule liulian de* ‘except durian *DE₁*’) and the universally quantified associate (*suoyou shuiguo* ‘all fruits’) originate in object position (10h) and are moved preverbally through subtopicalization, which instigates the insertion of the adverb *dou*.

(10g) Chule Momo de suoyouren dou chi-le huoguo
 EM Momo *DE₁* all person DOU eat-PFV hotpot
 ‘Except Momo, everyone ate hotpot.’ (chu ... yiwai de √, ... chuwai de √)

(10h) Momo xihuan chule liulian de suoyou shuiguo
 Momo like EM durian *DE₁* all fruit
 ‘Momo likes all fruits except durian.’ (chu ... yiwai de √, ... chuwai de √)

(10i) Momo [chule liulian de suoyou shuiguo] dou xihuan
 Momo EM durian *DE₁* all fruit DOU like

‘Momo likes all fruits except durian.’

(*chu ... yiwai de* ✓, ... *chuwai de* ✓)

3.3 Free exceptives

Mandarin exceptives consisting of just the EP and the associate are free exceptives. These exceptives come in different forms and have different distributions.

In addition to the positions of the free exceptives discussed in 3.1 (10a-f), the associate can undergo subtopicalization and be fronted preverbally, instigating the insertion of adverb *dou*, as shown in (10j-l).

(10j) Chule liulian, Momo suoyou shuiguo dou xihuan
EM durian Momo all fruit DOU like
‘Except durian, Momo likes all fruits.’ (*chu ... yiwai* ✓, ... *chuwai* ✓)

(10k) Momo suoyou shuiguo, chule liulian, dou xihuan
Momo all fruit EM durian DOU like
‘Momo likes all fruits, except durian.’ (*chu ... yiwai* ✓, ... *chuwai* ✓)

(10l) Momo suoyou shuiguo dou xihuan, chule liulian
Momo all fruit DOU like EM durian
‘Momo likes all fruits, except durian.’ (*chu ... yiwai* ×, ... *chuwai* ✓)

Free exceptive is also found in (10m), where *huoguo* ‘hotpot’ in (10a) is topicalized and lands between the EP and the associate.

(10a) Chule Momo, suoyou ren dou chi-le huoguo
EM Momo all person DOU eat-PFV hotpot
‘Except Momo, everyone ate hotpot.’ (*chu ... yiwai* ✓, ... *chuwai* ✓)

(10m) Chule Momo, huoguo⁸ suoyou ren dou chi-le
EM Momo hotpot all person DOU eat-PFV
‘Except Momo, everyone ate hotpot.’ (*chu ... yiwai* ✓, ... *chuwai* ✓)

Results from section 2 and 3 are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Basic exceptive constructions and word order

| Exceptive markers | | <i>chule ...</i> | <i>chu ... yiwai</i> | <i>... chuwai</i> |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| meaning | exceptive | with <i>dou</i> | with <i>dou</i> | with/without <i>dou</i> |
| | additive | with <i>ye</i> | with <i>ye</i> | |
| word order | clause-initial | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| | clause-medial | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| | clause-final | ✓ | × | ✓ |
| property | connected exceptive | no | no | no |

⁸ Here, *huoguo* ‘hotpot’ is typically assumed to be the topic. This is more acceptable in southern Mandarin, but its acceptability varies among northern Mandarin speakers.

| | | | | |
|--|----------------|-----|-----|-----|
| | free exceptive | yes | yes | yes |
|--|----------------|-----|-----|-----|

4 Constituency evidence for connected exceptives

For exceptive phrases to be identified as connected exceptives, two requirements have to be satisfied: (1) the exceptive phrase is adjacent to the associate, and (2) the exceptive phrase forms a constituent with the associate.

For the following diagnostics, we only test cases where (1) is satisfied, namely where the exceptive phrase immediately precedes the associate. We do not test cases where the exceptive phrase immediately follows the associate, as a pause (indicated by a comma in written language) is required between the associate and the following exceptive phrase, which indicates that they don't pass as a constituent.

4.1 Coordination

Nominals modified by exceptives in Mandarin cannot be coordinated with DPs (11a-c). However, (11a-c) can be ameliorated if the prenominal modification marker *de* is inserted between the EP and the associate (for 11a, this would be *chule Momo de suoyou xiaopengyou* 'EM Momo DE₁ all kid').

(11a) *Chule Momo, suoyou xiaopengyou yiji Feifei dou dao-le
 EM Momo all kid and Feifei DOU arrive-PFV
 'All kids except Momo and all adults except Feifei have arrived.'

(11b) *Chu Momo yiwai, suoyou xiaopengyou yiji Feifei dou dao-le
 EM Momo EM all kid and Feifei DOU arrive-PFV
 'All kids except Momo and all adults including Feifei have arrived.'

(11c) *Momo chuwei, suoyou xiaopengyou yiji Feifei dou dao-le
 Momo EM all kid and Feifei DOU arrive-PFV
 'All kids except Momo and all adults except Feifei have arrived.'

4.2 Focus

The associate and the EP cannot be focused using *shi* 'be' (12a-c), suggesting that these exceptive phrases that are superficially adjacent to the associate do not form a constituent with the associate. It should be noted, however, that all three sentences below can be ameliorated if the prenominal modification marker DE₁ is inserted between the exceptive phrase and the associate. In other words, connected exceptives are possible in Mandarin, but it requires the insertion of an additional medication marker (for 12a, this would be *chule liulian de suoyou shuiguo* 'EM durian DE all fruit').

(12a) *ta zai zhe-jia dian mai de shi chule liulian suoyou shuiguo
 3SG at this-CL store buy DE₁ BE EM durian all fruit
 'What he bought from this store were all fruits except durian.'

(12b) *ta zai zhe-jia dian mai de shi chu liulian yiwai suoyou shuiguo
 3SG at this-CL store buy DE₁ BE EM durian all fruit
 ‘What he bought from this store were all fruits except durian.’

(12c) *ta zai zhe-jia dian mai de shi liulian chuwai suoyou shuiguo
 3SG at this-CL store buy DE₁ BE durian EM all fruit
 ‘What he bought from this store were all fruits except durian.’

4.3 Other

The three EM markers do not pass the fragment answers test for connected exceptives (13a-c), which confirms that these EPs in Mandarin are free exceptives and do not form a constituent with the associate. Similarly, the insertion of prenominal modification marker DE₁ rescues all these cases, suggesting that connected exceptives are possible in Mandarin but require the *de* marker to connect the EP and the associate.

(13) A: Shei qu-le wuhui?
 who go-PFV ball
 ‘Who went to the ball?’

B: (a)* Chule Momo, suoyou xiaopengyou
 EM Momo all kid
 ‘All kids except Momo.’

(b)* Chu Momo yiwai, suoyou xiaopengyou
 EM Momo EM all kid
 ‘All kids except Momo.’

(c)* Momo chuwai suoyou xiaopengyou
 Momo EM all kid
 ‘All kids except Momo.’

5 Characteristics of the associate

5.1 Universal quantifiers

In addition to *suoyou* N ‘all N’ (8a-c), *mei ren* ‘NEG person’ can also be used as the associate.

(14a) Chule Momo, mei ren xie-wan zuoye
 EM Momo NEG person write-finish homework
 ‘Except Momo, no one finished the homework.’

(14b) Chu Momo yiwai, mei ren xie-wan zuoye
 EM Momo EM NEG person write-finish homework
 ‘Except Momo, no one finished the homework.’

- (14c) Momo chuwai, mei ren xie-wan zuoye
 Momo EM NEG person write-finish homework
 ‘Except Momo, no one finished the homework.’

5.2 Non-universal quantifiers

According to my consultants, (15a-c) are a bit weird and they prefer to replace *daduoshu ren* ‘most people’ with *suoyou ren* ‘all people’ or *qita ren* ‘the other people’.

- (15a) ? Chule Feifei, daduoshu ren dou tan-guo lian’ai
 EM Feifei most person DOU talk-EXP romance
 ‘Except Feifei, most people have been in a relationship.’

- (15b) ? Chu Feifei yiwai, daduoshu ren dou tan-guo lian’ai
 EM Feifei EM most person DOU talk-EXP romance
 ‘Except Feifei, most people have been in a relationship.’

- (15c) ? Feifei chuwei, daduoshu ren dou tan-guo lian’ai
 Feifei EM most person DOU talk-EXP romance
 ‘Except Feifei, most people have been in a relationship.’

However, non-universal quantifiers become better when the exception is plural, as in (15d-f).

- (15d) Chule neixiang de ren, daduoshu ren dou tan-guo lian’ai
 EM introvert DE₁ person most person DOU talk-EXP romance
 ‘Except introverted people, most people have been in a relationship.’

- (15e) Chu neixiang de ren yiwai, daduoshu ren dou tan-guo lian’ai
 EM introvert DE₁ person EM most person DOU talk-EXP romance
 ‘Except introverted people, most people have been in a relationship.’

- (15f) Neixiang de ren chuwei, daduoshu ren dou tan-guo lian’ai
 Introvert DE₁ person EM most person DOU talk-EXP romance
 ‘Except introverted people, most people have been in a relationship.’

5.3 Definite noun phrases

Here, we first look at clause-initial EPs. (16a-c) are acceptable with the adverb *dou* but are unacceptable without.⁹

- (16a) Chule Momo, zhe-qun ren * (dou) he-zui le
 EM Momo this-CL person DOU drink-drunk SFP
 ‘Except Momo, this group of people are all drunk.’

- (16b) Chu Momo yiwai, zhe-qun ren * (dou) he-zui le

⁹ This is also the case for (15a-c) in 5.2.

EM Momo EM this-CL person DOU drink-drunk SFP
 ‘Except Momo, this group of people are all drunk.’

- (16c) Momo chuwai,zhe-qun ren *(dou) he-zui le
 Momo EM this-CL person DOU drink-drunk SFP
 ‘Except Momo, this group of people are all drunk.’

Here, the degradation of sentences without *dou* potentially suggests that *chule ...*, *chu ... yiwai*, and ... *chuwai* impose universal quantification on the associate when they precede the associate. This seems to be supported by the fact that when the EP is extraposed, (16a-c) are acceptable without the adverb *dou* (for 16a, it would be *zhe-qun ren (dou) he-zui le, chule Momo*).

5.4 Indefinite noun phrases

Most of my consultants said (17a-c) are a bit weird, and some mentioned that they would replace *bufen ren* ‘some people’ with *qita ren* ‘(the) other people’. One of my consultants said he preferred to have *chu ... yiwai* (17b) than ... *chuwai* (17c).

- (17a)??Chule Momo,bufen ren bu zanchen zhege ti’an
 EM Momo some person NEG agree this proposal
 ‘Except Momo, some people disagree with this proposal.’

- (17b) ?Chu Momo yiwai, bufen ren bu zanchen zhege ti’an
 EM Momo EM some person NEG agree this proposal
 ‘Except Momo, some people disagree with this proposal.’

- (17c)??Momo chuwai,bufen ren bu zanchen zhege ti’an
 Momo EM some person NEG agree this proposal
 ‘Except Momo, some people disagree with this proposal.’

5.5 Generic noun phrases

When the associate is a generic noun phrase, sentences (18a-c) are fine with or without the adverb *dou*.¹⁰

- (18a) Chule sushizhuyizhe, renlei (dou) hai mei yishi-dao chirou de weihai
 EM vegetarian human DOU yet NEG realize-attain meat.eating DE₁ harm
 ‘Except vegetarians, humans have not yet realized the harm of eating meat.’

- (18b) Chu sushizhuyizhe yiwai, renlei (dou) hai mei yishi-dao chirou de weihai
 EM vegetarian EM human DOU yet NEG realize-attain meat.eating DE₁ harm
 ‘Except vegetarians, humans have not yet realized the harm of eating meat.’

¹⁰ It could be that in (18a-c), *renlei* ‘human’ is understood as a group, thus singular, which does not necessitate the use of *dou* (used when it follows a plural NP).

- (18c) Sushizhuyizhe chuwai, renlei (dou) hai mei yishi-dao chirou de weihai
 vegetarian EM human DOU yet NEG realize-attain meat.eating DE₁ harm
 ‘Except vegetarians, humans have not yet realized the harm of eating meat.’

5.6 Numeral noun phrases

Numeral noun phrases are acceptable as the associate with all three types of EMs, with the caveat that the first two kinds, *chule* ... (19a) and *chu* ... *yiwai* (19b), have an additive (‘beside’) reading without the adverb *dou*; an exceptive (‘except’) reading is much harder to be obtained with *dou* for either of the two EMs (as indicated by “??Except” in the translations). This potentially suggests that when *chule* ... / *chu* ... *yiwai* and *dou* cooccur, which forces an exceptive reading, a non-universally quantified phrase (e.g., a numeral NP like *san-ge nusheng* ‘three girls’) cannot qualify as the associate unless the reference of the numeral NP is definite.¹¹

- (19a) Chule Feifei, san-ge nusheng (??dou) chi-guo fan le
 EM Feifei three-CL girl DOU eat-EXP meal SFP
 ‘Beside/??Except Feifei, three girls have already eaten the meal.’
- (19b) Chu Feifei yiwai, san-ge nusheng (??dou) chi-guo fan le
 EM Feifei EM three-CL girl DOU eat-EXP meal SFP
 ‘Beside/??Except Feifei, three girls have already eaten the meal.’

This is however not the case for ... *chuwai* (19c), where a numeral NP is compatible with ... *chuwai* either with or without *dou*. This might suggest that ... *chuwai* itself may not directly interact with *dou* and its preceding associate. While (19c) with *dou* seems to be compatible with an exceptive reading, it may be essentially expressing an exclusive reading. Here, an exclusive reading refers to one where the DP complement of EM is not subtracted but rather excluded from the associate.

- (19c) Feifei chuwai, san-ge nusheng (dou) chi-guo fan le
 Feifei EM three-CL girl DOU eat-EXP meal SFP
 With *dou*: ‘Except Feifei, three girls have already eaten the meal.’
 (There are four girls in the discourse, i.e., Feifei and the other three girls, and that Feifei is the only one who has not eaten the meal)
 Without *dou*: ‘Beside Feifei, three girls have already eaten the meal.’
 (There may be more than four girls in the discourse, and that Feifei has eaten the meal)

My consultants also mentioned that the co-occurrence of the EM and *dou* in (19a) and (19b) would be okay if the associate changes into *lingwai/qita san-ge nusheng* ‘the other three girls’, meaning ‘Except Feifei, the other three girls (all¹²) have already eaten the meal’. This may suggest that the associate in Mandarin is licensed if it is a universally quantified NP (e.g., *suoyou ren* ‘everyone’), where the exception is *subtracted* from universal quantification, or if it is a non-

¹¹ Some of my consultants are okay with (19a-b) involving *dou*, where *san-ge nusheng* ‘three girls’ has to be definite for the sentence to be licensed.

¹² Here, the insertion of ‘all’ is for the sake of literally translating the adverb *dou*.

universally quantified but definite NP (e.g., *qita san-ge nusheng* ‘the other three girls’), where the exception is *excluded* from universal quantification.

Note that if the licensing condition for the associate is not satisfied (with *chule* ... or *chu* ... *yiwai*), as in the cases featuring purely numeral NPs (19a-b), the distributive operator *dou* cannot be attached to the associate to make the plural associate of the exceptive universally interpreted, thereby blocking the exceptive reading. One case of this is when an indefinite numeral NP is coupled with an upward entailing quantifier, such as *zhishao* ‘at least’ in (20a-c). In these cases, while the indefinite numeral NP can be the associate, the exceptive meaning cannot be expressed; rather, *chule* ... and *chu* ... *yiwai* will be interpreted as ‘beside’ whereas ... *chuwai* will be interpreted as ‘excluding’.

- (20a) Chule Feifei, zhishao wu-ge ren shuo kan-dao gui le
 EM Feifei at.least five-CL person say see-attain ghost SFP
 ‘Beside Feifei, at least five people said they saw a ghost.’
- (20b) Chu Feifei yiwai, zhishao wu-ge ren shuo kan-dao gui le
 EM Feifei EM at.least five-CL person say see-attain ghost SFP
 ‘Beside Feifei, at least five people said they saw a ghost.’
- (20c) Feifei chuwai, zhishao wu-ge ren shuo kan-dao gui le
 Feifei EM at.least five-CL person say see-attain ghost SFP
 ‘Excluding Feifei, at least five people said they saw a ghost.’

5.7 Wh-phrases

While *wh*-phrases can occur as the associate, *chule* ... (21a) and *chu* ... *yiwai* (21b) only allow for an additive reading (indicated by ‘beside’ in the translation) while ... *chuwai* (21c) allows for an exclusive reading in addition to an additive reading.¹³

- (21a) Chule Feifei, duoshao ren qu-le paidui
 EM Feifei how.many person go-PFV party
 ‘How many people, beside Feifei, went to the party?’
- (21b) Chu Feifei yiwai, duoshao ren qu-le paidui
 EM Feifei EM how.many person go-PFV party
 ‘How many people, beside Feifei, went to the party?’
- (21c) Feifei chuwai, duoshao ren qu-le paidui
 Feifei EM how.many person go-PFV party
 ‘How many people, beside/excluding Feifei, went to the party?’

5.8 Implicit associates

¹³ The availability of additive meaning in *wh*-questions is consistent with how *besides*-exceptives behave in English (Vostrikova 2019).

First, implicit associates with unexpressed time are acceptable (22a-c).

- (22a) Chule zhouyi, wo zaofan *(dou) he doujiang
 EM Monday 1SG breakfast DOU drink soymilk
 ‘Except Monday, I always drink soybean milk for breakfast.’
- (22b) Chu zhouyi yiwai, wo zaofan *(dou) he doujiang
 EM Monday EM 1SG breakfast DOU drink soymilk
 ‘Except Monday, I always drink soybean milk for breakfast.’
- (22c) Zhouyi chuwei, wo zaofan *(dou) he doujiang
 Monday EM 1SG breakfast DOU drink soymilk
 ‘Except Monday, I always drink soybean milk for breakfast.’

It should be noted that while *dou* is obligatory in (22a-c) featuring a clause-initial EP, it is optional when the EP is clause-final, whether the associate is implicit (22d) or explicit (22e; i.e., *meitian* ‘everyday’). This suggests that the adverb *dou* is obligatory potentially due to a preverbal EP, with or without an explicit preverbal associate. Indeed, this is obtained in (22f), where a preverbal EP makes the adverb *dou* obligatory.

- (22d) Wo zaofan (dou) he doujiang, chule zhouyi
 1SG breakfast DOU drink soymilk EM Monday
 ‘I drink soymilk for breakfast, except Monday.’ (*chu ... yiwai* ×, ... *chuwei* ✓)
- (22e) Wo meitian zaofan (dou) he doujiang, chule zhouyi
 1SG everyday breakfast DOU drink soymilk EM Monday
 ‘I drink soymilk for breakfast everyday, except Monday.’ (*chu ... yiwai* ×, ... *chuwei* ✓)
- (22f) Wo chule zhouyi, zaofan *(dou) he doujiang
 1SG EM Monday breakfast DOU drink soymilk
 ‘I drink soymilk for breakfast, except Monday.’ (*chu ... yiwai* ✓, ... *chuwei* ✓)

Second, implicit associates with an unexpressed, null argument are also acceptable.

- (23a) Chule beiguo, wo *pro* dou zuo le
 EM bagel 1SG DOU make SFP
 ‘Except bagels, I have made (all of them).’
- (23b) Chu beiguo yiwai, wo *pro* dou zuo le
 EM bagel EM 1SG DOU make SFP
 ‘Except bagels, I have made (all of them).’
- (23c) Beiguo chuwei, wo *pro* dou zuo le
 bagel EM 1SG DOU make SFP
 ‘Except bagels, I have all made (all of them).’

- (24a) Chule jinqian,wo dou keyi
EM money 1SG DOU can
'Except money, I can (do anything).'
- (24b) Chu jinqian yiwai, wo dou keyi
EM money EM 1SG DOU can
'Except money, I can (do anything).'
- (24c) Jinqian chuwai,wo dou keyi
money EM 1SG DOU can
'Except money, I can (do anything).'

5.9 Summary

Table 2 summarizes the property of the associate observed in this section.

Table 2. Property of the associate

| Exceptive marks | <i>chule ...</i> | <i>chu ... yiwai</i> | <i>... chuwai</i> |
|--------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| universal quantifier | √ | √ | √ |
| non-universal quantifier | √ | ? | ? |
| definite DP | √ (<i>dou</i>) | √ (<i>dou</i>) | √ (<i>dou</i>) |
| indefinite DP | ?? | ? | ?? |
| generic | √ | √ | √ |
| numeral | √ (?? <i>dou</i>) | √ (?? <i>dou</i>) | √ (<i>dou</i>) |
| wh-phrase | √ (additive) | √ (additive) | √ (additive/exclusive) |
| implicit associate | √ | √ | √ |

6 Characteristics of the exception

6.1 Determiner phrases

EPs with all three EMs take DPs. See examples from section 3.1.

6.2 Preposition phrases

EP with *chule ...* (25a, 26a) can take PPs, but those with *chu ... yiwai* (25b, 26b) and *... chuwai* (25c, 26c) cannot. Note that *chule ...* seems to impose syntactic identity on the EP and the associate, while this is not the case for *chu ... yiwai* and *... chuwai* that only take DPs.

- (25a) Chule*(guanyu) aiqing, wo guanyu qita huati dou bu zhidao shuo shenme
EM about love 1SG about other topic DOU NEG know say what
'Except about love, I don't know what to say about other topics.'
- (25b) Chu (*guanyu) aiqing yiwai, wo guanyu qita huati dou bu zhidao shuo shenme
EM about love EM 1SG about other topic DOUNEG know say what
'Except about love, I don't know what to say about other topics.'

- (25c) (*Guanyu) aiqing chuwei, wo guanyu qita huati dou bu zhidao shuo shenme
 about love EM 1SG about other topic DOU NEG know say what
 ‘Except love, I don’t know what to say about other topics.’
- (26a) Chule*(wei) Momo, wo yuanyi wei suoyou xiongdi liang-lei-cha-dao
 EM for Momo 1SG be.willing for all brother two-rib-pierce-knife
 ‘Except for Momo, I’m willing to risk my life for all brothers.’
- (26b) Chu (*wei) Momo yiwai, wo yuanyi wei suoyou xiongdi liang-lei-cha-dao
 EM for Momo EM 1SG be.willing for all brother two-rib-pierce-knife
 ‘Except for Momo, I’m willing to risk my life for all brothers.’
- (26c) (*Wei) Momo chuwei, wo yuanyi wei suoyou xiongdi liang-lei-cha-dao
 for Momo EM 1SG be.willing for all brother two-rib-pierce-knife
 ‘Except Momo, I’m willing to risk my life for all brothers.’

6.3 Complementizer phrases

When an EP does not have a corresponding DP associate in the sentence, *chule* ... can take CPs (27a) but *chu* ... *yiwai* (27b) and ... *chuwei* (27c) cannot.

- (27a) Chule Momo gei-le Feifei heka suoyouren dou gei-le Feifei xianhua
 EM Momo give-PFV Feifei card all person DOU give-PFV Feifei flower
 ‘Except that Momo gave Feifei a postcard, everyone gave Feifei flowers.’
- (27b) *Chu Momo gei-le Feifei heka yiwai suoyou ren dou gei-le Feifei xianhua
 EM Momo give-PFV Feifei card EM all person DOU give-PFV Feifei flower
 ‘Except that Momo gave Feifei a postcard, everyone gave Feifei flowers.’
- (27c) *Momo gei-le Feifei heka chuwei suoyouren dou gei-le Feifei xianhua
 Momo give-PFV Feifei card EM all person DOU give-PFV Feifei flower
 ‘Except that Momo gave Feifei a postcard, everyone gave Feifei flowers.’

Moreover, null arguments (28a) and scrambling (28b) are allowed in CPs following *chule*

- (28a) Momo chule bu hui zuofan qita shenme dou hui
 Momo EM NEG can cook other anything DOU can
 ‘Except that (he) can’t cook, Momo is capable of anything else.’
- (28b) Momo chule zuofan bu hui qita shenme dou hui
 Momo EM cook NEG can other anything DOU can
 ‘Except that (he) can’t cook, Momo is capable of anything else.’

When an EP has a corresponding DP associate in the sentence, it is slightly degraded or weird for *chule* ... to take a CP complement clause-initially (29a), but it can be ameliorated when it takes a

CP clause-finally (29b). This might suggest that syntactic identity is required for *chule* ... such that when the associate is a DP (e.g., *shenme* ‘anything’ in 29a), the complement of *chule* ... needs to be a DP as well. That is, it is possible that the complement of *chule* in (29a) is initially parsed as a CP, which does not agree with the following DP associate *shenme* ‘anything’ in terms of their category and leads to degradedness. The amelioration of (29b) may be attributed to the availability of repairing the complement of *chule*, either through ellipsis (i.e., *chule budan zai yazhou pro ta bu zhidao* ‘EM Bhutan at Asia *pro* 3SG-NEG know’) or positing *pro* (i.e., [EP *chule* [DP [CP *budan zai yazhou*] *pro*]] ‘EM Bhutan at Asia *pro*’).

(29a)??Chule budan zai yazhou, ta shenme dou zhidao
EM Bhutan be.at Asia 3SG anything DOU know
‘Except that Bhutan is in Asia, he knows everything.’

(29b) ta shenme dou zhidao, chule budan zai yazhou
3SG anything DOU know EM Bhutan be.at Asia
‘He knows everything, except that Bhutan is in Asia.’

Unlike *chule* ..., the other two EMs *chu* ... *yiwai* and ... *chuwai* can on the surface take a CP complement clause-initially (29c-d). This points to the possibility that what *chu* ... *yiwai* or ... *chuwai* is taking is essentially a DP headed by *pro* (for 29c, it would be [DP [CP *budan zai yazhou pro*]]), which allows the syntactic identity requirement to be satisfied, given that the complement of EP and the associate are of the same category underlyingly for either (29c) or (29d). This provides converging evidence for the generalization that *chule* ... takes a DP or a CP, whereas *chu* ... *yiwai* and ... *chuwai* take a DP.

(29c) Chu budan zai yazhou yiwai, ta shenme dou zhidao
EM Bhutan be.at Asia EM 3SG anything DOU know
‘Except (the thing) that Bhutan is in Asia, he knows everything.’

(29d) Budan zai yazhou chuwai, ta shenme dou zhidao
Bhutan be.at Asia EM 3SG anything DOU know
‘Except (the thing) that Bhutan is in Asia, he know everything.’

Syntactic identity also seems to be required for CPs following *chule*. For (29e), my consultant speaking northern Mandarin said that the version with the case marker *ba* (sometimes analyzed as a light verb) in the CP doesn’t sound perfectly fine, but when asked about the version without *ba*, she indicated that the sentence became much better.¹⁴

(29e) Momo chule (?ba) pingguo xi-le qita shuiguo dou mei xi
Momo EM BA apple wash-PFV other fruit DOU NEG wash
‘Except for having washed the apple(s), Momo haven’t washed any of the other fruits.’

6.4 Summary

¹⁴ My consultants speaking southern Mandarin (and Cantonese) suggested the opposite. While both versions sound good to them, they preferred the version with the case marker *ba*.

Table 3 summarizes properties of the exception discussed in this section.

Table 3. Properties of the exception

| Exception markers | <i>chule ...</i> | <i>chu ... yiwai</i> | <i>... chuwai</i> |
|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| DP | √ | √ | √ |
| PP | √ | * | * |
| CP | √ | * | * |

7 Clausal exceptives

7.1 Possible expression of full clause exceptions

Full clause exceptions can be expressed in Mandarin only with *chule ...* (30).

- (30) Chule Momo mei xie zuoye suoyouren dou xie-le zuoye
 EM Momo NEG write homework all person DOU write-PFV homework
 ‘Except that Momo didn’t do homework, all people did their homeworks.’

7.2 Multiple exceptions

Three EMs show difference in their ability to take multiple exceptions. As multiple exceptions require the VP to be elided, whether an EM can take multiple exceptions hinges on whether the elided VP is recoverable regarding the specific configuration the exception DPs are in. For instance, when the exception DPs are conjoined with *he* ‘and’, *chule ...* can take multiple exceptions (31a) whereas *chu ... yiwai* (31b) and *... chuwai* (31c) cannot.

- (31a) Chule Momo he Feifei, meige nanhai he meige nühai dou cheng-le tongzhuo
 EM Momo and Feifei every boy and every girl DOU become-PFV deskmate
 ‘Every boy and every girl became deskmates, except Momo and Feifei.’

- (31b) *Chu Momo he Feifei yiwai, meige nanhai he meige nühai dou cheng-le tongzhuo
 EM Momo and Feifei EM every boy and every girl DOU become-PFV deskmate
 ‘Every boy and every girl became deskmates, except Momo and Feifei.’

- (31c) *Momo he Feifei chuwai, meige nanhai he meige nühai dou cheng-le tongzhuo
 Momo and Feifei EM every boy and every girl DOU become-PFV deskmate
 ‘Every boy and every girl became deskmates, except Momo and Feifei.’

When the exception DPs are connected by a light verb *gei* ‘for’, no EM can take multiple exceptions (32a-c), potentially due to the fact that *kai-le men* ‘open-PFV door’ cannot be elided without eliding *gei Yanglaoshi* ‘for Mrs. Yang’.

- (32a) *Meiyou xuesheng gei nage laoshi kai-le men,
 not.have student for any teacher open-PFV door
 chule Momo gei Yanglaoshi
 EM Momo for Mrs. Yang

‘No student opened the door for any teacher, except Momo for Mrs. Yang.’

- (32b) *Meiyou xuesheng gei nage laoshi kai-le men,
 Not.have student for any teacher open-PFV door
 chu Momo gei Yanglaoshi yiwai
 EM Momo for Mrs.Yang EM
 ‘No student opened the door for any teacher, except Momo for Mrs. Yang.’

- (32c) *Meiyou xuesheng gei nage laoshi kai-le men,
 Not.have student for any teacher open-PFV door
 Momo gei Yanglaoshi chuwai
 Momo for Mrs.Yang EM
 ‘No student opened the door for any teacher, except Momo for Mrs. Yang.’

7.3 Sluicing interpretations

Among the three EMs, only *chule* ... allows the reading of ‘I don’t know why Feifei didn’t cry’. This suggests a clausal analysis of *chule* ..., which is consistent with the findings in section 7.1.

- (33a) Suoyouren dou ku-le, chule Feifei, dan wo bu zhidao weishenme
 all person DOU cry-PFV EM Feifei but 1SG NEG know why
 ‘All people cried, except Feifei, but I don’t know why.’

- (33b) Suoyouren dou ku-le, chu Feifei yiwai, dan wo bu zhidao weishenme
 all person DOU cry-PFV EM Feifei EM but 1SG NEG know why
 ‘All people cried, except Feifei, but I don’t know why.’

- (33c) Suoyouren dou ku-le, Feifei chuwei, dan wo bu zhidao weishenme
 all person DOU cry-PFV Feifei EM but 1SG NEG know why
 ‘All people cried, except Feifei, but I don’t know why.’

7.4 clausal/speaker-oriented adverbs

Here I use the speaker-oriented adverb *yexu* ‘probably’ for testing (He 2016). Judgments from my consultants indicate that (34a) is acceptable, whereas (34b) and (34c) are off. This suggests a clausal analysis for *chule* ... but a phrasal analysis for the other two.

- (34a) Suoyou ren dou zai shitang chi-fan, yexu chule Momo
 all person DOU at dining-hall eat-meal probably EM Momo
 ‘Everyone eats at the dining hall, maybe except Momo.’

- (34b) *Suoyou ren dou zai shitang chi-fan, yexu chu Momo yiwai
 all person DOU at dining-hall eat-meal probably EM Momo EM
 ‘Everyone eats at the dining hall, maybe except Momo.’

- (34c) ? Suoyou ren dou zai shitang chi-fan, yexu Momo chuwei

all person DOU at dining-hall eat-meal probably Momo EM
 ‘Everyone eats at the dining hall, maybe except Momo.’

7.5 Internal reading with ‘same, different’

My consultants suggested that (35a) is clearly unambiguous with the external reading ‘everyone is playing a game that’s different from one that’s introduced in the discourse’, whereas (35b) and (35c) are ambiguous and they can also get the internal reading ‘everyone is playing a game different from one another’.

(35a) Chule Momo, meige ren dou zai¹⁵-wan bu-yiyang de youxi
 EM Momo every person DOU PROG-play NEG-same DE₁ game
 ‘Everyone is playing a different game, except Momo.’ (external reading only)

(35b) Chu Momo yiwai, meige ren dou zai-wan bu-yiyang de youxi
 EM Momo EM every person DOU PROG-play NEG-same DE₁ game
 ‘Everyone is playing a different game, except Momo.’ (ambiguous)

(35c) Momo chuwei, meige ren dou zai-wan bu-yiyang de youxi
 Momo EM every person DOU PROG-play NEG-same DE₁ game
 ‘Everyone is playing a different game, except Momo.’ (ambiguous)

As phrasal exceptives allow internal reading but clausal exceptives don’t, this confirms the clausal analysis for *chule* ... but the phrasal analysis for the other two.

7.6 Collective predicates

Only collective predicates with *chu...yiwai* (36b) and *...chuwei* (36c) are grammatical. This suggests a phrasal analysis for these two markers but a clausal analysis for *chule*

(36a) *Chule Momo, zheli de meige ying’er huxiang dou zhang-de hen xiang
 EM Momo here DE₁ every baby each.other DOU grow-DE₂ very alike
 ‘Except Momo, all babies here look alike.’

(36b) Chu Momo yiwai, zheli de meige ying’er huxiang dou zhang-de hen xiang
 EM Momo EM here DE₁ every baby each.other DOU grow-DE₂ very alike
 ‘Except Momo, all babies here look alike.’

(36c) Momo chuwei, zheli de meige ying’er huxiang dou zhang-de hen xiang
 Momo EM here DE₁ every baby each.other DOU grow-DE₂ very alike
 ‘Except Momo, all babies here look alike.’

7.7 Binding Theory data

¹⁵ Here, I’m using the progressive marker *zai* instead of the perfective-*le* for that perfective-*le* gives rise to another reading for the original sentence *Meige ren dou wan-le bu-yiyang de youxi*, which is that ‘everyone played at least two games.’

Take *chule* ... as an example. A clausal analysis predicts that the reflexive pronoun *ta-ziji* ('3SG-self') can refer to DPs other than the associate, which is *Feifei* in (37), (38), and (39). It also predicts that the pronoun *ta* ('3SG') cannot refer to DPs within the clause but can refer to those beyond the entire clause. This is borne out in (37-40) for *chule* ... but not other markers.

- (37) Feifei_i xihuan [suoyouren]_j, chule ta-ziji_{i/*j}¹⁶
 Feifei like all person EM 3SG-self
 'Feifei likes everyone except herself.'
- (38) Feifei_i xihuan [suoyouren]_j, chule Feifei_{i/*j/k}
 Feifei like all person EM Feifei
 'Feifei likes everyone except Feifei.'
- (39) [Suoyou ren]_j dou xihuan Feifei_i, chule ta-ziji_{i/*j/*k}
 all person DOU like Feifei EM 3SG-self
 'Everyone likes Feifei except herself.'
- (40) [Suoyou ren]_j dou xihuan Feifei_i, chule ta_{i/*j/k}
 all person DOU like Feifei EM 3SG
 'Everyone likes Feifei except her.'

7.8 Island sensitivity

Among the three EMs, only *chule* ... seems to be sensitive to islands. As only a phrasal analysis assuming the base generation of the EP predicts the absence of island effects, this lends support to the clausal analysis for *chule* ... as opposed to those of the other EMs.

7.8.1 Adjunct Island

Judgments for (41a) vary among my consultants.

- (41a)??Chule Momo,renhe ren zou dehua wo dou hui shangxin
 EM Momo any person leave COND 1SG DOU will be.sad
 'Except Momo, I will be sad if anyone leaves.'
- (41b) Chu Momo yiwai, renhe ren zou dehua wo dou hui shangxin
 EM Momo EM any person leave COND 1SG DOU will be.sad
 'Except Momo, I will be sad if anyone leaves.'
- (41c) Momo chuwei,renhe ren zou dehua wo dou hui shangxin
 Momo EM any person leave COND 1SG DOU will be.sad
 'Except Momo, I will be sad if anyone leaves.'

7.8.2 Complex NP Island

¹⁶ Here, the subscript '_{*j}' means that the referring expression cannot refer to a person within the group indexed by j.

Judgments for (42b) vary among my consultants. Many suggested that it would be better to have *de* (arguably serving as a genitive marker) following *Momo* in the EP.

(42a) ?Chule Momo,wo suoyouren zuo de binggan dou xihuan
 EM Momo 1SG all person make DE₁ cookie DOU like
 ‘Except Momo, I like the cookies that everyone made.’

(42b) Chu Momo ??(zuo de) yiwai,
 EM Mono (make DE₁) EM
 wo suoyouren zuo de binggan dou xihuan
 1SG all person make DE₁ cookie DOU like
 ‘Except the ones Momo made, I like the cookies that everyone made.’

(42c) Momo chuwai wo suoyouren zuo de binggan dou xihuan
 Momo EM 1SG all person make DE₁ cookie DOU like
 ‘Except for the ones Momo made, I like the cookies that everyone made.’

7.8.3 Subject Island

The associates in (43a-c) are not followed by the adverb *dou* due to the ambiguity it introduces. That is, if *dou* is there, Momo can be interpreted as an exception to people who didn’t come, meaning that Momo was the only one who came. To remove the ambiguity and ensure the interpretation that Momo was among the people who didn’t come but was an exception to people whose absence shocked me, one of my consultants suggested to remove *dou* from the sentences.

(43a) ? Chule Momo,
 EM Momo
 qita ren mei lai de xiaoxi dou rang wo hen chijing
 other person NEG come DE₁ news DOU make 1SG very be.shocked
 ‘Except that Momo didn’t come, that other people didn’t come shocked me.’

(43b) Chu Momo yiwai,
 EM Momo EM
 qita ren mei lai de xiaoshi dou rang wo hen chijing
 other person NEG come DE₁ news DOU make 1SG very be.shocked
 ‘Except that Momo didn’t come, that other people didn’t come shocked me.’

(43c) Momo chuwai,
 Momo EM
 qita ren mei lai de xiaoshi dou rang wo hen chijing
 other person NEG come DE₁ news DOU make 1SG very be.shocked
 ‘Except for Momo’s not coming, other people’s not coming shocked me.’

7.8.4 Wh-island

EPs can be extracted out of *wh*-islands. (44a-c) shows where EPs originate, i.e., next to the associate. Examples in (45) feature an associate in the embedded subject position, while (46) feature an associate in the embedded object position. According to my consultants, they find it easier to obtain the reading for (46a-c); (45a-c) are slightly harder for them to obtain the reading upon first glimpse but are compatible with the reading.

- (44a) Momo zai-xiang chule Feifei, dajia dou dai-le shenme dao jiaoshi
 Momo PROG-think EM Feifei everybody DOU bring-PFV what to classroom
 ‘Momo is wondering what everybody except Feifei brought to the classroom.’
- (44b) Momo zai-xiang chu Feifei yiwai, dajia dou dai-le shenme dao jiaoshi
 Momo PROG-think EM Feifei EM everybody DOU bring-PFV what to classroom
 ‘Momo is wondering what everybody except Feifei brought to the classroom.’
- (44c) Momo zai-xiang Feifei chuwei, dajia dou dai-le shenme dao jiaoshi
 Momo PROG-think Feifei EM everybody DOU bring-PFV what to classroom
 ‘Momo is wondering what everybody except Feifei brought to the classroom.’
- (45a) ? Chule Feifei, Momo zai-xiang dajia dou dai-le shenme dao jiaoshi
 EM Feifei Momo PROG-think everybody DOU bring-PFV what to classroom
 ‘Except Feifei, Momo is wondering what everybody brought to the classroom.’
- (45b) ? Chu Feifei yiwai, Momo zai-xiang dajia dou dai-le shenme dao jiaoshi
 EM Feifei EM Momo PROG-think everybody DOU bring-PFV what to classroom
 ‘Except Feifei, Momo is wondering what everybody brought to the classroom.’
- (45c) ? Feifei chuwei, Momo zai-xiang dajia dou dai-le shenme dao jiaoshi
 Feifei EM Momo PROG-think everybody DOU bring-PFV what to classroom
 ‘Except Feifei, Momo is wondering what everybody brought to the classroom.’
- (46a) Chule Feifei, Momo zai-xiang laoshi dou piping-le shei
 EM Feifei Momo PROG-think teacher DOU criticize-PFV who
 ‘Except Feifei, Momo is wondering who the teacher criticized.’
- (46b) Chu Feifei yiwai, Momo zai-xiang laoshi dou piping-le shei
 EM Feifei EM Momo PROG-think teacher DOU criticize-PFV who
 ‘Except Feifei, Momo is wondering who the teacher criticized.’
- (46c) Feifei chuwei, Momo zai-xiang laoshi dou piping-le shei
 Feifei EM Momo PROG-think teacher DOU criticize-PFV who
 ‘Except Feifei, Momo is wondering who the teacher criticized.’

7.9 Summary

Table 4 summarizes the result from this section about clausal vs. phrasal analysis for different EMs.

Table 4. Clausal exceptives (‘?’ marks not fully consistent judgment data)

| Exceptive markers | <i>chule ...</i> | <i>chu ... yiwai</i> | <i>... chuwai</i> |
|----------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| full clause exception | clausal | phrasal | phrasal |
| multiple exception | clausal | phrasal | phrasal |
| sluicing interpretation | clausal | phrasal | phrasal |
| clausal/speaker-oriented adverbs | clausal | phrasal | phrasal? |
| internal reading | clausal | phrasal | phrasal |
| collective predicates | clausal | phrasal | phrasal |
| binding theory | clausal | phrasal? | phrasal? |
| island sensitivity | clausal | phrasal? | phrasal |

8 Problematic data

All problematic data has been discussed in previous sections, so examples are not repeated in this section.

One issue that may be problematic is how some EMs in Mandarin Chinese (i.e., *chule ...* and *chu ... yiwai*) may convey additive meaning in certain contexts (e.g., *wh*-questions, indefinite numeral noun phrases as the associate) and others (i.e., *... chuwai*) may convey exclusive meaning in certain contexts (e.g., *wh*-questions).

Another issue is with additional concerns with some tests for Mandarin Chinese. This includes: 1) the word choice for ‘different’ (i.e., *bu-yiyang* ‘NEG-same’) in internal reading tests may matter for the possible readings, 2) language-specific properties of reflexives (e.g., logophoricity) and potentially of other referring expressions may be responsible for the (un)availability of some co-indexation possibilities, and 3) the presence/absence of island effects may be related to the type of island (e.g., *chu ... yiwai* seems to be sensitive only to complex NP islands) and language-specific operations (e.g., availability of overt/covert *wh*-movement, potentially idiosyncratic conditions imposed on PF and LF).

9 Additional observations and comments

One observation is with the different forms of EMs in Mandarin Chinese. The compositional similarity among these EMs lead to both similarities and differences in their syntactic and semantic behaviors. Semantically, *chule ...* (除了) and *chu ... yiwai* (除…以外) are more similar, given how they license additive meaning in certain contexts, whereas syntactically, *chu ... yiwai* (除…以外) and *... chuwai* (…除外) are more similar in contexts that make them acceptable or unacceptable.

Another observation is with how the interpretation of EMs necessitates the adverb *dou* for some types of associates but not other ones. While *chule ...* and *chu ... yiwai* require the presence of *dou*, it is not always the case for *... chuwai*. The interactions between EMs and adverbs

following the associate and between the associate and the adverb deserve more attention, given how they conspire to determine the syntax and semantics of exceptives in Mandarin Chinese.

10 Consultants

| Consultant# | age | gender | language expertise | education | place lived |
|-------------|-----|--------|---|-----------|-------------------------------|
| 0 (author) | 28 | M | Mandarin, English, Wu dialect (Huangyan/Luqiao), Japanese, French | PhD | Taizhou, Beijing |
| 1 | 28 | M | Mandarin, English, Gan dialect (Datong) | PhD | Shanghai, Huangshi |
| 2 | 28 | M | Mandarin, English, Gan dialect (Huaiyue) | PhD | Anqing, Hefei, Nanjing |
| 3 | 24 | M | Mandarin, English, Henan dialect | Masters | Zhengzhou, Jiaozuo |
| 4 | 25 | M | Mandarin, Dongbei dialect, English, Japanese | PhD | Shenyang, Beijing |
| 5 | 29 | M | Mandarin, Jinan dialect, English | PhD | Jinan, Shanghai |
| 6 | 26 | F | Mandarin, Hakka, Cantonese, English | Masters | Guangzhou, Zhangjiang |
| 7 | 22 | F | Mandarin, English | Bachelors | Lianyungang |
| 8 | 25 | F | Mandarin, Cantonese, English | Masters | Meizhou, Guangzhou, Hong Kong |
| 9 | 25 | M | Mandarin, Wu dialect (Linhai), Cantonese, English, Japanese | Bachelors | Taizhou, Hong Kong |
| 10 | 25 | F | Mandarin, Wu dialect (Luqiao/Linhai), English | Masters | Taizhou, Jinan |
| 11 | 19 | F | Mandarin, English | Bachelors | Beijing |

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