On the syntax of ʔillaa in Egyptian Arabic
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Goals

* First, provide a descriptive account of the syntactic distribution of Egyptian Arabic (EA) exceptive phrases headed by the exceptive particle ʔillaa.

* Second, propose a syntactic analysis of these exceptive phrases in terms of the distinction made in the relevant literature between connected exceptives, which are DP-level constituents, and free exceptives, which are CP-level constituents.

1. Exceptive constructions in EA

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1. Exceptive constructions in EA are typically expressed by the occurrence of the exceptive particle ʔillaa followed by an XP (a DP in the examples in 1), following a quantificational expression (1a), or an NPI indefinite (1b).

1a. ًانا شفت كل الطلبة في المحاضرة إلا أحمد.

?anā šuf-t kull ʔil-ʔalaba fī ʔil-muḥaadəra ʔillaa Ahmād
I saw-1SG all the-students at the-lecture except Ahmad

‘I saw all the students at the lecture except Ahmad.’

1b. ًانا لم شفت أي حد في المحاضرة إلا أحمد.

?anā maa-šuf-t-i-š ?ayy hadd fī ʔil-muḥaadəra ʔillaa Ahmād
I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG any one at the-lecture except Ahmad

‘I did not see anyone at the lecture except Ahmad.’

• In addition to being a DP, the exception XP following ʔillaa may be a PP, Adv, CP, and rather marginally an imperfective VP, as shown in (2), respectively.

2a. ًانا اتكلمت مع كل طالب ثلاث ساعات إلا مع أحمد.

?anā ṭitkalllim-t maʕa kull ʔaalib talat saʕaat ʔillaa maʕa Ahmād
I talked-1SG with every student three hours except with Ahmād

‘I talked with every student for three hours, except with Ahmād.’

2b. ًانا رحت المكتب كل يوم الأسبوع ده إلا امبارح.

?anā ruht ʔil-maktab kull yoom ṭusbuʕ dāh ʔillaa ṭimbaarih
I went.1SG the-office every day the-week this except yesterday

‘I went to the office every day this week, except yesterday.’

2c. ًانا مش فاكر أي حاجة عن الحادثة إلا أنني صحتت في أوضة ضلامة.

?anā miš faaki ʔayy haaga ṭan ʔil-hadsa ʔillaa
I NEG remember.PTCP any thing about the-accident except
?inn-ii sʔiʔiʔi-t fī ʔoodʔa dʕalma
COMP-1SG woke.up-1SG in room dark

‘I don’t remember anything about the accident, except that I woke up in a dark room.’
I will refer to the particle ?illaa as the **exception marker**, the XP following it as the **exception XP** (or simply the XP), the [?illaa + XP] sequence as an **exception phrase** (EP), and the whole sentence in which an [?illaa + XP] sequence occurs as an **exception construction** (EC).

The first part of this talk provides a descriptive account of the syntactic distribution of ?illaa EPs with regard to their positioning possibilities as well as the type of elements that license them within an EC.

The second part of the talk provides a syntactic analysis for these facts by appeal to the general distinction made in the relevant literature between two types of exceptives in natural language: connected exceptives, which are DP-level constituents, and free exceptives, which are CP-level constituents (Hoeksema 1987/1995 for English; Pérez-Jimenéz and Moreno-Quibén 2012 for Spanish, among others).

2. The syntactic distribution of EA EPs

- There are two main aspects of syntactic difference between EPs where the exception XP is a DP, and those where XP is anything else. The differences relate to (a) positional possibilities of the EP within the sentence, and (b) the type of quantifiers that the EP occurs with.

2.1 Positional possibilities

- When the XP of an EP is a DP, the EP seems to be able to appear either adjacent to its licenser, (3b, 4b), or right-peripheral in the sentence, (3a, 4a).

3a. أنا شفت كل الطلاب في المحاضرة النهارده إلا أحمد.

?anaa šuf-t kull ?il-t'alaiba fii ?il-muhaad'ra ?il-naaar-dah
I saw-1SG all the-students at the-lecture the-day-this
?illaa Ahmad except Ahmad
‘I saw all the students at the lecture today, except Ahmad.’

b. أنا شفت كل الطالب إلا أحمد في المحاضرة النهارده.

?anaa šuf-t kull ?il-t'alaiba ?illaa Ahmad fii ?il-muhaad'ra
I saw-1SG all the-students except Ahmad at the-lecture
?il-naaar-dah the-day-this
‘I saw all the students, except Ahmad, at the lecture today.’

4a. أنا ما شفت أي حد في المحاضرة النهارده إلا أحمد.

I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG any one at the-lecture the-day-this
?illaa Ahmad except Ahmad
‘I did not see anyone at the lecture today, except Ahmad.’
b. "I did not see anyone, except Ahmad, at the lecture today.'

• However, when the XP of an EP is not a DP (e.g., a PP), the EP has to appear right-peripheral in the sentence. Positioning of the EP between the licensing phrase and an adverbial in the sentence is not allowed, as shown in (5), in contrast to (2).

5a. *\( \text{Ana a taklam-t maa saa\'a Ahmad talat saa\'aat}\)  
\( \text{I talked-1SG with every student except with Ahmad three hours}\)  
'I talked with every student, except with Ahmad, for three hours.'

b. *\( \text{Ana akhtat maktu\b kull yoom}\)  
\( \text{I went-1SG the-office every day except yesterday the-week this}\)  
'I went to the office every day, except yesterday, this week.'

c. *\( \text{Ana mish fa\u00e1\u012fl\u00e9\u00e1\u0105\u0128\u00e1\u0128\u0128\u011b\u00e9\u0128\u011f\u00e9\u0105\u00e1\u0128}\)  
\( \text{I don't remember anything, except that I woke up in a dark room, about the accident.'}\)

d. *\( \text{Ana m\u0127\u00e1\u00e1\u00e9\u00e1\u0105\u0128\u00e1\u0128\u0128\u011b\u00e9\u0128\u011f\u00e9\u0105\u00e1\u0128}\)  
\( \text{I can do anything, except wash the dishes, of the housework.'}\)

• Notice that unlike in languages such as English and Spanish, an EP in EA may not appear fronted in the sentence, regardless of the type of XP it contains. I illustrate here with EPs where the XP is a DP and PP, respectively.

6a. *\( \text{Ana a taklam-t maktu\b kull}\)  
\( \text{I talked-1SG with every student except with Ahmad at the-lecture}\)  
'Except for Ahmad, I saw all the students at the lecture.'

b. *\( \text{Ana a taklam-t maa saa\'a}\)  
\( \text{I talked-1SG with every student for three hours}\)  
'Except with Ahmad, I talked with every student for three hours.'

• So, an EP whose XP is a DP may surface either adjacent to the licensing phrase or at the right-periphery of the sentence, whereas an EP whose XP is not a DP may only occur at the right periphery of the sentence.
2.2 Type of licensers of an EP

- When the XP of an EP is a DP adjacent to its licensing phrase, the range of quantifiers that can license it is rather less restricted than when the DP is non-adjacent.

- For instance, when the quantifier is *muṣz‘am* (= ‘most’) or *kitiir min* (= ‘many of’), adjacency with the EP degrades the sentence, as shown in (7b).

  7a. أنا شفت كل/معظم/كثير من الطلبة في المحاضرة النهاردة إلا أحمد.
      ?anāa šuf-t kull/muṣz‘am/kitiir min ?il-t‘alaba fī ?il-muḥaad‘ra
      I saw-1SG all/most/many of the-students at the-lecture
      ?il-nahār-dah ?illaa Ahmad
      the-day-this except Ahmad

      ‘I saw all/most/many of the students at the lecture today, except Ahmad.’

  7b. أنا شفت كل/معظم/كثير من الطلبة إلا أحمد.
      ?anāa šuf-t kull/muṣz‘am/kitiir min ?il-t‘alaba ?illaa Ahmad
      I saw-1SG all/most/many of the-students except Ahmad

      ‘I saw all/most/many of the students, except Ahmoud, at the lecture today.’

- When the XP of an EP is not a DP, the range of licensers for the EP is also less restricted, even when the EP appears adjacent to the licensing phrase at the right periphery of the sentence.

  8. أنا أتكلمت مع كل/معظم/كثير من الطلبة إلا مع أحمد.
      ?anāa itkallim-t maša kull/muṣz‘am/kitiir min ?il-t‘alaba ?illaa Ahmad
      I talked-1SG with all/most/many of the-students except Ahmad

      ‘I talked with all/most/many of the students, except with Ahmad.’

- Definite DPs generally do not license an EP whose exception XP is a DP (9a), unless that DP is non-adjacent to the licensing phrase, (9b).

  9a. أنا قابلت الطلبة إلا أحمد أمبار.
      *?anāa ?aabil-t ?il-t‘alaba ?illaa Ahmad ?imbaarihh
      I met-1SG the-students except Ahmad yesterday

      ‘I met the students, except Ahmad, yesterday.’

  9b. أنا قابلت الطلبة أمبار إلا أحمد.
      I met-1SG the-students yesterday except Ahmad

      ‘I met the students yesterday, except Ahmad.’

- Definite DPs, however, can license an EP whose exception XP is a PP, as in (10).

  10. أنا أتكلمت مع الطلبة إلا مع أحمد.
       ?anāa itkallim-t maša ?il-t‘alaba ?illaa maša Ahmad
       I talked-1SG with the-students except with Ahmad

       ‘I talked with the students, except with Ahmad.’

- Similarly, generic DPs do not license an EP whose exception XP is a DP, (11b), unless that EP is non-adjacent, (11a).
11a. elahfаль عامة يحبوا الأعياد إلا أحمد.

?il-ʔatʕaːl ʕaamatan biyihib-uu ?il-ʔaʃyaːd ʔillaː Ahmaːd
the-children generally like-3PL the-Eids except Ahmaːd
‘Children generally like Eid, except Ahmaːd.’

b. َلاَاوَل ُا يلُى أ غَنَّا إ لَأ أُمَلَُذ يلُى أ غَنَّا إ لَأ أُمَلَُذ

*?il-ʔatʕaːl ʔillaː Ahmaːd ʕaamatan biyihib-uu ?il-ʔaʃyaːd
the-children except Ahmaːd generally like-3PL the-Eids
‘Children, except Ahmaːd, generally like Eid.’

• By contrast, generic DPs do license an EP whose exception XP is a PP.

12. َلاَاوَل ُا يلُى أ غَنَّا إ لَأ أُمَلَُذ يلُى أ غَنَّا إ لَأ أُمَلَُذ

fii ?il-ʔaʃyaːd ʔil-masˤriiin biyakl-uu kitii ʔillaː fii
in the-feasts the-Egyptians eat-3PL much except in
ʔil-mawliday ʔil-nabawii
the-birth the-prophetic
‘In feasts, Egyptians eat a lot, except on the Prophet’s birthday celebration.’

• To sum up, an EP whose XP is a DP may occur either adjacent to the licensing phrase or at the right-periphery of the sentence. When occurring adjacent to the licensing phrase, such EPs are licensed by a more limited set of quantificational elements, a restriction that is relaxed when they occur at the right periphery.

• An EP whose XP is not a DP always occurs at the right periphery of the sentence, and it is licensed by a wider range of elements, including quantifiers.

Main question: How do we provide a syntactic account of EPs whereby their two aspects of syntactic distribution noted above are explained?

• To anticipate the upcoming conclusion, I will argue, following other work on exceptives in the literature (Harris 1982; Hoeksema 1987, 1995; Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén 2012, among others), that there are two types of EPs in EA: connected exceptives, which occur at the DP-level, and free exceptives, which occur at the CP-level. The underlying structural difference between the two is rendered invisible at surface structure due to ellipsis taking place in the underlying clausal structure of FEs.

• Before we introduce the details of this analysis, I spend the next section discussing the categorial status of the exceptive particle ʔillaː.

3. The categorial status of ʔillaː

3.1 Is ʔillaː a preposition?

• Exceptive particles have been analyzed as Ps in other languages (Moltmann 1992). There is good empirical evidence, however, that ʔillaː cannot be a P in EA, similar to what Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén (2012) conclude for the exceptive particle excepto in Spanish.

• First, prepositions in EA are always followed by the clitic form of a pronoun, and never by the strong form used in nominative/topic contexts (13a,b). By contrast, ʔillaː can only be followed by the strong pronoun, and never by the clitic (13c,d).
13a. *fii-hayy in-it
b. *min ?inta from-you
c. *?illaa-hayy except-it
d. *?illaa-k except-you

• Also, if ?illaa were a P, then we have to assume that it can select any type of PP, an option that is restricted in the language. For example, the preposition min (= ‘from’) can select a PP headed by taht (= ‘under’), foo? (= ‘above’), and been (= ‘between’), (14a-c), but not by other prepositions like fii (= ‘in’), ma?a (= ‘with’), or li- (= ‘to’), (14d-f), for example.

14a. min taht ?il-tarabeza
b. min foo? ?il-sat'h
c. min been s'awaab-f-ak
d. *min fii ?il-beet
e. *min ma?a Ahmad
f. *min li-l-madrasa

• By contrast, ?illaa may be followed by any type of PP, no matter what its head is.

15a. *?illaa taht ?il-tarabeza
b. *?illaa foo? ?il-sat'h
c. *?illaa been s'awaab-f-ak
d. *?illaa fii ?il-beet
e. *?illaa ma?a Ahmad
f. *?illaa li-l-madrasa

• Finally, while EA does not have overt case morphology on nouns, Classical Arabic (CA) has a rich system of case morphology. Details aside, the CA exceptive particle ?illaa assigns either accusative case, or no case at all (in which case the exception DP is assigned the same case as the licensing DP).

16a. maa ta?axxara ?al-t'ullaab-u ?illaa t'aalib-an
NEG were.late.3SG the-students-NOM except student-ACC
‘No one of the students was late except one student.’

b. maa ta?axxara ?al-t'ullaab-u ?illaa t'aalib-un
NEG were.late.3SG the-students-NOM except student-NOM
‘No one of the students was late except one student.’
• Note that prepositions in CA assigns dative case, and they never allow other case-assigners to override their case-assigning ability.

• We can conclude then that the exceptive particle Ɂillaa is not a P.

3.2  Is Ɂillaa a focal adverb?

• An EP is typically associated with focus effects, so it is reasonable to assume that Ɂillaa is a focal adverb similar to ḥattaa (= ‘even’), bass (= ‘only’), and bardʾuh (= ‘also’).

• These focal adverbs, however, may appear in initial position, a possibility not allowed with an Ɂillaa-phrase, as noted earlier.

17a.  
ḥattaa Ahmad maa-gaa-š
even Ahmad NEG-came-NEG
‘Even Ahmad didn’t come.’

b.  *؟illaa Ahmad maa-gaa-š    had
except Ahmad NEG-came-NEG one
‘Intended: Nobody came except Ahmad.’

• In addition, these focal adverbs can appear following the focused category, again a possibility not available for Ɂillaa.

18a.  
?anaa maa-šuf-t-i-š    hattaa Ahmad
I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG even Ahmad
‘I didn’t see even Ahmad.’

b.  *؟anaa maa-šuf-t-i-š Ahmad hattaa
I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG Ahmad even
‘I didn’t see Ahmad even.’

19a.  
?anaa maa-šuf-t-i-š  Ɂillaa Ahmad
I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG except Ahmad
‘I didn’t see except Ahmad.’

b.  *؟anaa maa-šuf-t-i-š Ahmad Ɂillaa
I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG Ahmad except

• We can conclude then, that Ɂillaa is not a focal adverb.
4. The exceptive particle Ɂillaa as a coordinating conjunction

- I will assume that Ɂillaa is a coordinating conjunction, following Harris (1982), Hoeksema (1987, 1995), Reinhart (1991), and Pérez-Jimenéz and Moreno-Quibén (2012), for comparable exceptive particles in English and Spanish.

- It may conjoin either two DPs or two CPs, giving rise to two types of exceptives: connected exceptives (CEs) at the DP-level, and free exceptives (FEs) at the CP-level, as first proposed in Hoeksema (1987, 1995).

- (20) derives a CE via the adjunction of the EP to DP1, along the lines of Munn (1993) for coordinate structures in general, thereby deriving the observed adjacency pattern noted earlier when the XP is a DP. At the same time, DP2 serves to restrict the domain of quantification of DP1, hence the observed restriction on the quantificational nature of the licensing DP1 when DP2 is adjacent to it.

```
20.      DP
       /        \\
  DP1          ConjP
   /\            \\
 k"ll Ɂil-t'ala\ba      Conj
  all the students    DP2
                  ?illaa
                  Ahmad
```

- By contrast, when the EP appears non-adjacent to what seems to be its licensing DP, it is actually derived from an underlying clausal coordination structure in which Ɂillaa conjoins two CPs, the second of which hosts the exception XP at a left-peripheral position. The rest of the CP then undergoes ellipsis at PF (cf. Merchant 2001, 2003).

- The tree in (21) shows the structure for the example in (3a), where the exception DP Ahmad undergoes movement to SpecCP2, followed by TP-ellipsis taking place in CP2.

```
21.         CP
       /        \\
  CP1           ConjP
   /\            \\
 ?anaa šuf-t k"ll Ɂil-t'ala\ba fii
   ?il-muhaad'ra Ɂil-na\aar-dah     Conj
 ?illaa
  DP                       C'
  Ahmad_i                  C
                     TP
 ?anaa šuf-t fii Ɂil-muhaad'ra Ɂil-na\aar-dah
```

- The derivation in (21) shows why the EP Ɂillaa Ahmad surfaces non-adjacently to the quantified DP in the first conjunct, CP1.

- Also, since FEs express exceptions to generalizations, they can be licensed by a wider range of elements that can express general propositions, including definite and generic DPs.
While it is hard to test island effects in EA FEs because they are not allowed to be fronted, examples like (22) below, comparable to Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén’s (2012) Spanish data, suggest that FEs may indeed be sensitive to islands.

22.  The thief who sold all the stolen paintings escaped from prison yesterday, except Monet’s.

Notice, finally, that the inability of an EP to be fronted follows from it being a second conjunct under the analysis adopted here, on par with the inability of the second conjunct [and Huda] in (23a) to be fronted.

23a.  I saw Ahmad and Huda.

b.  *I saw Ahmad and Huda.

To sum up, FEs are syntactically biclausal coordinate structures, whose second conjunct is elliptical, as opposed to CEs, which have a monoclausal structure with a conjunction structure at the DP-level.

5. Evidence for the elliptical coordinate structure of FEs in EA

5.1 Non-elliptical FEs

The most direct evidence for the existence of an underlying clausal structure in FEs in EA is that the full clausal structure can indeed be spelled-out in those cases where the exception XP can be linked to a resumptive pronoun in the lexical domain, as (24) shows. Notice that CP2 typically has inverse polarity to that of CP1.

24.  I saw all the students except Ahmad I didn’t see him.

While there is no resumptive pronoun for PPs in EA, a PP can still appear in the non-elliptical structure, (25a) though, rather markedly, since fronting of PPs is generally marginal, (25b).

25a.  I talked with every student except Ahmad I haven’t talked yet.
5.2 Multiple XP remnants in FEs

- Another piece of evidence for the clausal conjunction analysis of FEs comes from the fact that multiple XP remnants can follow the exceptive marker, as in (26), which is expected if ellipsis is indeed involved.

26. كل الولد ببحب يتكلموا مع كل البنات إلا أحمد مع مها. 

kull ?il-wilaad bi-yihibb-uu yitkallim-uu maṣa kull ?il-banaat
all the-boys ASP-like-3PL talked-3PL with all the-girls
?illaa Ahmad maṣa Maha
except Ahmad with Maha
‘All the boys like to talk with all the girls, except Ahmad with Maha.’

- This parallels what we find in gapping structures, where ellipsis is assumed to take place.

27. أحمد ببحب يتكلم مع مسى وعلى مع مها.

Ahmad bi-yihibb yitkallim maṣa Mona wi Ali maṣa Maha
Ahmad ASP-like-3SG talked-3SG with Mona and Ali with Maha
‘Ahmad likes to talk with Mona, and Ali with Maha.’

5.3 P-stranding effects in FEs

- FEs do not allow the DP complement of a PP to surface as a remnant, (28). This follows from the assumption that non-P-stranding languages do not allow P-stranding in ellipsis sites, either (Merchant 2001, 2003).

28. كل الولد ببحب يتكلم مع كل البنات إلا أحمد * مع مها.

kull ?il-wilaad bi-yihibb-uu yitkallim-uu maṣa kull ?il-banaat
all the-boys ASP-like-3PL talked-3PL with all the-girls
?illaa Ahmad *(maṣa) Maha
except Ahmad with Maha
‘All the boys like to talk with all the girls, except Ahmad with Maha.’

- Notice that this does not hold in CEs, which follows if they do not have an underlying clausal elliptical structure, as argued here.

29. أنا اتكلم مع كل طالب إلا أحمد ثلاث ساعات.

?anaa itkallim-t maṣa kull t’alib ?illaa Ahmad talat saa‘aat
I talked-1SG with every student except Ahmad three hours
‘I talked with every student, except Ahmad, for three hours.’

5.4 Parallelism in FEs

- As noted by Pérez-Jimenéz and Moreno-Quibén (2012) for Spanish data, there is also evidence for an underlying clausal conjunction structure for FEs from effects of the parallelism constraint on coordination.
For example, the *Coordinate Structure Constraint* (Ross 1967) requires syntactic operations to take place across the board in coordinate structures, or ungrammaticality ensues.

30a. Which book did John buy and which newspaper did Mary read?
b. *Which book, did John buy t, and Mary read the newspaper? 
c. *Which book, did John buy the newspaper and Mary read t,?

If FEs are indeed coordinate structures, then we expect syntactic operations to take place across the board in both the host sentence and the FE, or ungrammaticality results. This is indeed borne out. I illustrate here with relativization and scope freezing effects in EA FEs.

5.3.1 Relativization

(31a) is possible with multiple XP remnants in the FE. But if relativization of the DP *il-?asaatza takes place, it has to take place across the board, (31b), or the result is ungrammatical, (31c).

31a. كل الطلبة يشتكون من أساتذتهم إلا أحمد من أستاذهم.

kull *il-t’alaba bi-yištik-uu min ?asaatzit-hum ?illaa
all the-students ASP-complain.IPVF-3PL from professors-their except
Ahmad min ?ustaaz-u-h
Ahmad from professor-EV-his
‘All the students complain about their professors, except Ahmad about his.’

b. الأساتذة الذين كل الطلبة يشتكون منهم إلا أحمد.

?il-?asaatza ?illii kull *il-t’alaba bi-yištik-uu min-hum
the-professors COMP all the-students ASP-complain.IPVF-3PL from-hum
?illaa Ahmad
except Ahmad
‘the professors who all the students complain about, except Ahmad’

c. *الأستاذة الذين كل الطلبة يشتكون منهم إلا أحمد.

*?il-?asaatza ?illii kull *il-t’alaba bi-yištik-uu min-hum
the-professors COMP all the-students ASP-complain.IPVF-3PL from-hum
?illaa Ahmad min ?ustaaz-u-h
except Ahmad from professor-EV-his
‘the professors who all the students complain about, except Ahmad about his’

5.3.2 Scope freezing effects

Coordinate structures have been noted to freeze scope relations (May 1985, Fox 2000).

32. A man met with every woman and then left.

As the contrast in (33) shows, similar scope freezing effects take place when a FE occurs, providing further evidence that it is underlyingly a clausal conjunction structure.

33a. تلت صحفيين اتفقا مع كل سفير إجنبي.

talat s’ahafiyyiin ?it?aabl-uu maʃa kull safiir ?gnabii 3 > kull;
three journalists met.3PL with every ambassador foreign kull > 3
‘Three journalists met with every foreign ambassador.’

b. تلت صحفيين اتفقا مع كل سفير إجنبي إلا مع سفير غانا.

talat s’ahafiyyiin ?it?aabl-uu maʃa kull safiir 3 > kull;
three journalists met.3PL with every ambassador *kull > 3
?gnabii ?illaa maʃa safiir yaanaa
foreign except with ambassador Ghana
‘Three journalists met with every foreign ambassador, except the ambassador of Ghana.’
Similar scope freezing effects seem to be observed in (34), as well.

34a. أنا ما شفت خمس عيانين.
I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG five patients
‘I didn’t see five patients.’

b. أنا ما شفت خمس عيانين إلا امبار.
I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG five patients except yesterday
‘I didn’t see five patients, except yesterday.’

6. Conclusions

An account for the syntactic distribution of EPs headed by ؟للاء in EA follows if we assume that ؟للاء is a coordinating conjunction that may conjoin two DPs, giving rise to CEs, or two CPs, giving rise to FEs.

CEs occur adjacently to their licensing DP and represent a restriction on the domain of quantification of that DP, and are typically licensed by a restricted set of quantifiers. FEs, by contrast, express exceptions to generality claims, and are, therefore, licensed in a wider set of contexts. Given their clausal syntax, FEs appear at the right periphery of the sentence.

Evidence for a clausal coordination elliptical analysis for FEs in EA comes from the presence of non-elliptical FEs, the similarity with ellipsis phenomena such as gapping in allowing multiple XP remnants and disallowing P-stranding, and the fact that syntactic operations (relativization or QR) have to take place across the board in sentences with FEs.

Questions still remain with regard to cross-linguistic variation in exceptive constructions, and others arise with regard to other exceptive markers in EA (e.g., یئیر), not dealt with here, issues that I hope to cover in the near future.

References