

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 EA¹

- 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. أنا شفت كل الطلبة في المحاضرة إلا أحمد.
 ʔanaa šuf-t kull ʔil-tʔalaba fii ʔil-muħaadʕra ʔillaa Ahmad
 I saw-1SG all the-students at the-lecture except Ahmad
 'I saw all the students at the lecture except Ahmad.'

b. أنا ما شفتش أي حد في المحاضرة إلا أحمد.
 ʔanaa maa-šuf-t-i-š ʔayy ħadd fii ʔil-muħaadʕra ʔillaa Ahmad
 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. أنا اتكلمت مع كل طالب تلت ساعات إلا مع أحمد.
 ʔanaa ʔitkallim-t maʕa kull tʔaalib talat saʕaat ʔillaa maʕa Ahmad
 I talked-1SG with every student three hours except with Ahmad
 'I talked with every student for three hours, except with Ahmad.'

b. أنا رحت المكتب كل يوم الأسبوع ده إلا امبارح.
 ʔanaa ruħt ʔil-maktab kull yoom ʔil-ʔusbuuʕ dah ʔillaa ʔimbaarih
 I went.1SG the-office every day the-week this except yesterday
 'I went to the office every day this week, except yesterday.'

c. أنا مش فاكر أي حاجة عن الحادثة إلا إني صحبت في أوضة ضلمة.
 ʔanaa miš faakir ʔayy ħaaga ʕan ʔil-ħadsa ʔillaa
 I NEG remember.PTCP any thing about the-accident except
 ʔinn-ii sʕihii-t fii ʔoodʕa 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.'

¹The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of the Egyptian Arabic data on the handout: 1, 2, 3 for first, second, and third person, respectively; SG = singular; PL = plural; M = masculine; F = feminine; NEG = negation marker; FUT = future; COMP = complementizer; IPFV = imperfective; PTCP = participial; NOM = nominative; ACC = accusative; EV = epenthetic vowel.

- d. أنا ممكن أعمل أي حاجة في شغل البيت إلا أغسل المواعين.
 *ʔ ʔanaa mumkin ʔaʕmil ʔayy haaga fii šuyl ʔil-beet
 I possible do.IPFV.1SG any thing in work the-house
 ʔillaa ʔaysil ʔil-mawaaʕiin
 except wash.IPFV.1SG the-dishes
 'I can do anything of the housework, except wash the dishes.'

- I will refer to the particle *ʔillaa* as the **exceptive marker**, the XP following it as the **exception XP** (or simply the XP), the [*ʔillaa* + XP] sequence as an **exceptive phrase** (EP), and the whole sentence in which an [*ʔillaa* + XP] sequence occurs as an **exceptive construction** (EC).
- The first part of this talk provides a descriptive account of the syntactic distribution of *ʔillaa* 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-Jiménez 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 الطلبة في المحاضرة النهارده إلا أحمد.
 ʔanaa šuf-t kull ʔil-tʕalaba fii ʔil-muħaadʕra ʔil-nahaar-dah
 I saw-1SG all the-students at the-lecture the-day-this
 ʔillaa Ahmad
 except Ahmad
 'I saw all the students at the lecture today, except Ahmad.'

- b. أنا شفت كل الطلبة إلا أحمد في المحاضرة النهارده.
 ʔanaa šuf-t kull ʔil-tʕalaba ʔillaa Ahmad fii ʔil-muħaadʕra
 I saw-1SG all the-students except Ahmad at the-lecture
 ʔil-nahaar-dah
 the-day-this
 'I saw all the students, except Ahmad, at the lecture today.'

- 4a. أنا ما شفتش أي حد في المحاضرة النهارده إلا أحمد.
 ʔanaa maa-šuf-t-i-š ʔayy hadd fii ʔil-muħaadʕra ʔil-nahaar-dah
 I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG any one at the-lecture the-day-this
 ʔillaa Ahmad
 except Ahmad
 'I did not see anyone at the lecture today, except Ahmad.'

- b. أنا ما شفتش أي حد إلا أحمد في المحاضرة النهارده.
 ?anaa maa-šuf-t-i-š ?ayy hadd ?illaa Ahmad fii ?il-muħaadʕra
 I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG any one except Ahmad at the-lecture
 ?il-nahaar-dah
 the-day-this
 '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. أنا اتكلمت مع كل طالب إلا مع أحمد تلت ساعات.
 *?anaa ?itkallim-t maʕa kull tʕaalib ?illaa maʕa Ahmad talat saʕaat
 I talked-1SG with every student except with Ahmad three hours
 'I talked with every student, except with Ahmad, for three hours.'

- b. أنا رحت المكتب كل يوم إلا امبارح الأسبوع ده.
 *?anaa ruħt ?il-maktab kull yoom ?illaa ?imbaarih ?il-ʔusbuuʕ dah
 I went.1SG the-office every day except yesterday the-week this
 'I went to the office every day, except yesterday, this week.'

- c. أنا مش فاكر أي حاجة إلا إني صحيت في أوضة ضلمة عن الحادثة.
 *?anaa miš faakir ?ayy haaga ?illaa ?inn-ii sʕihii-t
 I NEG remember.PTCP any thing except COMP-1SG woke.up-1SG
 fii ?oodʕa dʕalma ʕan ?il-ħadsa
 in room dark about the-accident
 'I don't remember anything, except that I woke up in a dark room, about the accident.'

- d. أنا ممكن أعمل أي حاجة إلا أغسل المواعين في شغل البيت.
 *?anaa mumkin ?aʕmil ?ayy haaga ?illaa ?aysil
 I possible do.IPFV.1SG any thing except wash.IPFV.1SG
 ?il-mawaaʕiin fii šuyʔ ?il-beet
 the-dishes in work the-house
 '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. إلا أحمد أنا شفت كل الطلبة في المحاضرة.
 *?illaa Ahmad ?anaa šuf-t kull ?il-tʕalaba fii ?il-muħaadʕra
 except Ahmad I saw-1SG all the-students at the-lecture
 'Except for Ahmad, I saw all the students at the lecture.'

- b. إلا مع أحمد أنا اتكلمت مع كل طالب تلت ساعات.
 *?illaa maʕa Ahmad ?anaa ?itkallim-t maʕa kull tʕaalib talat saʕaat
 except with Ahmad I talked-1SG with every student 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 *muʕzʕam* (= ‘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 النهارده إلا أحمد.
 ʔanaa ʕuf-t kull/muʕzʕam/kitiir min ʔil-tʕalaba fii ʔil-muħaadʕra
 I saw-1SG all/most/many of the-students at the-lecture
 ʔil-nahaar-dah ʔillaa Ahmad
 the-day-this except Ahmad
 ‘I saw all/most/many of the students at the lecture today, except Ahmad.’

b. أنا شفت كل/معظم/كثير من الطلبة إلا أحمد في المحاضرة النهارده.
 ʔanaa ʕuf-t kull/ʔʔmuʕzʕam/ʔʔkitiir min ʔil-tʕalaba ʔillaa Ahmad
 I saw-1SG all/most/many of the-students except Ahmad
 fii ʔil-muħaadʕra ʔil-nahaar-dah
 at the-lecture the-day-this
 ‘I saw all/most/many of the students, except Ahmad, 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 اتكلمت مع كل/معظم/كثير من الطلبة إلا مع أحمد.
 ʔanaa ʔitkallim-t maʕa kull/muʕzʕam/kitiir min ʔil-tʕalaba ʔillaa
 I talked-1SG with all/most/many of the-students except
 maʕa Ahmad
 with 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 امبارح.
 *ʔanaa ʔaabil-t ʔil-tʕalaba ʔillaa Ahmad ʔimbaarih
 I met-1SG the-students except Ahmad yesterday
 ‘I met the students, except Ahmad, yesterday.’

b. أنا قابلت الطلبة امبارح إلا أحمد.
 ʔanaa ʔaabil-t ʔil-tʕalaba ʔimbaarih ʔillaa Ahmad
 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 اتكلمت مع الطلبة إلا مع أحمد.
 ʔanaa ʔitkallim-t maʕa ʔil-tʕalaba ʔillaa maʕa 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. الأطفال عامة بيحبوا الأعياد إلا أحمد.
 ?il-?atʕfaal ʕaamatan biyihib-uu ?il-?aʕyaad ?illaa Ahmad
 the-children generally like-3PL the-Eids except Ahmad
 ‘Children generally like Eid, except Ahmad.’

- b. *الأطفال إلا أحمد عامة بيحبوا الأعياد.
 *?il-?atʕfaal ?illaa Ahmad ʕaamatan biyihib-uu ?il-?aʕyaad
 the-children except Ahmad generally like-3PL the-Eids
 ‘Children, except Ahmad, generally like Eid.’

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

12. في الأعياد المصريين بياكلوا كثير إلا في المولد النبوي.
 fii ?il-?aʕyaad ?il-masʕriyiin biyakl-uu kitiiir ?illaa fii
 in the-feasts the-Egyptians eat-3PL much except in
 ?il-mawlid ?il-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 *?illaa*.

3. The categorial status of *?illaa*

3.1 Is *?illaa* a preposition?

- Exceptive particles have been analyzed as Ps in other languages (Moltmann 1992). There is good empirical evidence, however, that *?illaa* 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, *?illaa* can only be followed by the strong pronoun, and never by the clitic (13c,d).

- 13a. fii-haa فيها vs. *fii hiyya في هي
in-it in it
b. minn-ak منك vs. *min ?inta من انت
from-you from you
c. *?illaa-haa إلاها vs. ?illaa hiyya إلا هي
except-it except it
d. *?illaa-k إلاك vs. ?illaa ?inta إلا انت
except-you 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 *taħt* (= ‘under’), *fooʔ* (= ‘above’), and *been* (= ‘between’), (14a-c), but not by other prepositions like *fii* (= ‘in’), *maʕa* (= ‘with’), or *li-* (= ‘to’), (14d-f), for example.

- 14a. min taħt ?il-tarabeeza من تحت الترابيزة
from under the-table
b. min fooʔ ?il-satʕh من فوق السطح
from above the-roof
c. min been sʕawaabʕ-ak من بين صوابك
from between your fingers
d. *min fii ?il-beet من في البيت
from in the-house
e. *min maʕa Ahmad من مع أحمد
from with Ahmad
f. *min li-l-madrasa من للمدرسة
from to-the-school

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

- 15a. ?illaa taħt ?il-tarabeeza إلا تحت الترابيزة
except under the-table
b. ?illaa fooʔ ?il-satʕh إلا فوق السطح
except above the-roof
c. ?illaa been sʕawaabʕ-ak إلا بين صوابك
except between your fingers
d. ?illaa fii ?il-beet إلا في البيت
except in the-house
e. ?illaa maʕa Ahmad إلا مع أحمد
except with Ahmad
f. ?illaa li-l-madrasa إلا للمدرسة
except to-the-school

- 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 taʔaxxara ?al-tʕullaab-u ?illaa tʕaalib-an ما تأخر الطلاب إلا طالبا.
NEG were.late.3SG the-students-NOM except student-ACC
‘No one of the students was late except one student.’
b. maa taʔaxxara ?al-tʕullaab-u ?illaa tʕaalib-un ما تأخر الطلاب إلا طالب.
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 *ʔillaa* is not a P.

3.2 Is *ʔillaa* a focal adverb?

- An EP is typically associated with focus effects, so it is reasonable to assume that *ʔillaa* is a focal adverb similar to *hattaa* (= ‘even’), *bass* (= ‘only’), and *bardʕuh* (= ‘also’).
- These focal adverbs, however, may appear in initial position, a possibility not allowed with an *ʔillaa*-phrase, as noted earlier.

17a. حتى أحمد ما جاش.
hattaa Ahmad maa-gaa-š
even Ahmad NEG-came-NEG
‘Even Ahmad didn’t come.’

b. *إلا أحمد ما جاش حد.
*ʔillaa 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 *ʔillaa*.

18a. أنا ما شفتش حتى أحمد.
ʔanaa maa-šuf-t-i-š hattaa Ahmad
I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG even Ahmad
‘I didn’t see even Ahmad.’

b. أنا ما شفتش أحمد حتى.
ʔanaa maa-šuf-t-i-š Ahmad hattaa
I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG Ahmad even
‘I didn’t see Ahmad even.’

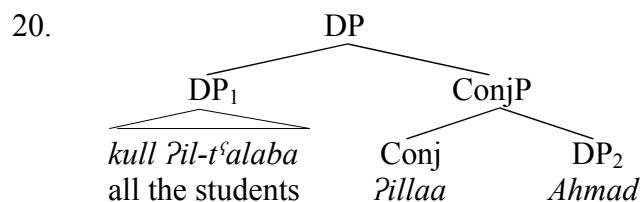
19a. أنا ما شفتش إلا أحمد.
ʔanaa maa-šuf-t-i-š ʔillaa Ahmad
I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG except Ahmad
‘I didn’t see except Ahmad.’

b. *أنا ما شفتش أحمد إلا.
*ʔanaa maa-šuf-t-i-š Ahmad ʔillaa
I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG Ahmad except

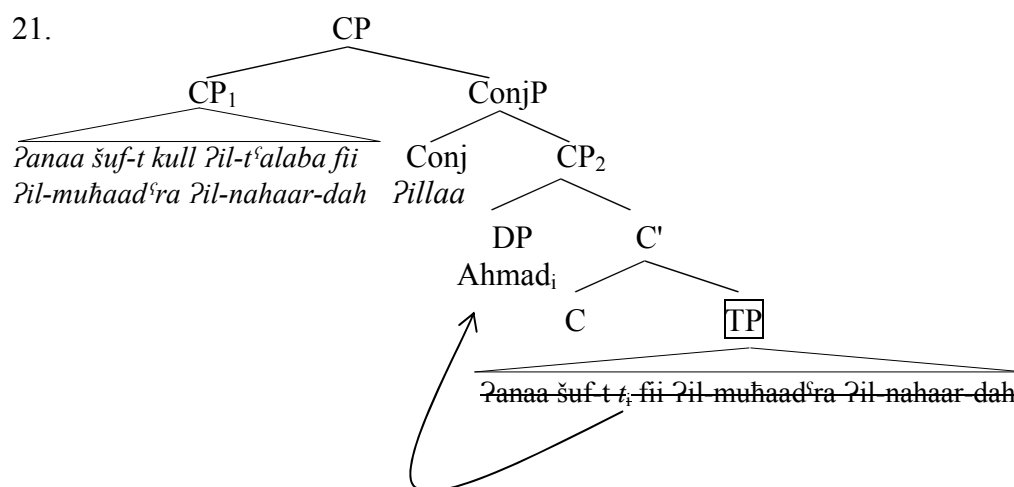
- We can conclude then, that *ʔillaa* is not a focal adverb.

4. The exceptive particle *?illaa* as a coordinating conjunction

- I will assume that *?illaa* is a coordinating conjunction, following Harris (1982), Hoeksema (1987, 1995), Reinhart (1991), and Pérez-Jiménez 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.



- 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 *?illaa* 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.



- The derivation in (21) shows why the EP *?illaa Ahmad* surfaces non-adjacent 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. *الحرامي اللي باع كل اللوحات المسروقة هرب من السجن امبارح إلا لوحات مونييه.
 *ʔil-haraami ʔillii baaʃ kull ʔil-luuhaat ʔil-masruuʔa harab
 the-thief COMP sold.3SG all the-paintings the-stolen escaped.3SG
 min ʔil-sign ʔimbaarih ʔillaa luuhaat Monet
 from the-prison yesterday except paintings Monet
 '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. أنا شفت أحمد وهدى.
 ʔanaa šuf-t Ahmad wi Huda
 I saw.1SG Ahmad and Huda
 'I saw Ahmad and Huda.'

b. *وهدى أنا شفت أحمد.
 *wi Huda ʔanaa šuf-t Ahmad
 and Huda I saw.1SG Ahmad

- 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. أنا شفت كل الطلبة إلا أحمد ما شفتهوش.
 ʔanaa šuf-t kull ʔil-tʔalaba ʔillaa Ahmad maa-šuf-t-uu-š
 I saw-1SG all the-students except Ahmad NEG-saw-1SG-him-NEG
 '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. أنا اتكلمت مع كل الطلبة إلا مع أحمد ما اتكلمتش لسه.
 ?? ʔanaa ʔitkallim-t maʃa kull tʔaalib ʔillaa maʃa Ahmad
 I talked-1SG with every student except with Ahmad
 maa-ʔitkallim-t-š lissah
 NEG-talked-1SG-NEG yet
 'I talked with every student, except with Ahmad I haven't talked yet.'

- ## 5.2 Multiple XP remnants in FEs

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- 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_i did John buy *t_i* and Mary read the newspaper?

c. *Which book_i did John buy the newspaper and Mary read *t_i*?

- 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 *ʔil-ʔasaatza* 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 أساتذته.
 kull ʔil-tʔalaba bi-yištik-uu min ʔasaatzit-hum ʔillaa
 all the-students ASP-complain.IPFV-3PL from professors-their except
 Ahmad min ʔustaaaz-u-h
 Ahmad from professor-EV-his
 ‘All the students complain about their professors, except Ahmad about his.’

b. الأساتذة اللي كل الطلبة يشتكون منهم إلا أحمد
 ʔil-ʔasaatza ʔillii kull ʔil-tʔalaba bi-yištik-uu min-hum
 the-professors COMP all the-students ASP-complain.IPFV-3PL from-hum
 ʔillaa Ahmad
 except Ahmad
 ‘the professors who all the students complain about, except Ahmad’

c. *الأساتذة اللي كل الطلبة يشتكون منهم إلا أحمد من أساتذته
 *ʔil-ʔasaatza ʔillii kull ʔil-tʔalaba bi-yištik-uu min-hum
 the-professors COMP all the-students ASP-complain.IPFV-3PL from-hum
 ʔillaa Ahmad min ʔustaaaz-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. ثلاث صحفيين اتقابلوا مع كل سفير اجنبي.
 talat sʔahafiyyiin ʔitʔaabl-uu maʔa kull safiir ʔgnabii 3 > kull;
 three journalists met.3PL with every ambassador foreign kull > 3
 ‘Three journalists met with every foreign ambassador.’

b. ثلاث صحفيين اتقابلوا مع كل سفير اجنبي إلا مع سفير غانا.
 talat sʔahafiyyiin ʔitʔaabl-uu maʔa kull safiir 3 > kull;
 three journalists met.3PL with every ambassador *kull > 3
 ʔgnabii ʔillaa maʔa 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 شفتش خمس عيانيين.
 ʔanaa maa-ʃuf-t-i-š xamas ʃayyaaniin Neg > 5;
 I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG five patients 5 > Neg
 ‘I didn’t see five patients.’
- b. أنا ما شفتش خمس عيانيين إلا امبارح.
 ʔanaa maa-ʃuf-t-i-š xamas ʃayyaaniin ʔillaa ʔimbaarih Neg > 5;
 I NEG-saw.1SG-EV-NEG five patients except yesterday *5 > Neg
 ‘I didn’t see five patients, except yesterday.’

6. Conclusions

- ❖ An account for the syntactic distribution of EPs headed by *ʔillaa* in EA follows if we assume that *ʔillaa* 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., *yair*), not dealt with here, issues that I hope to cover in the near future.

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