On the syntax of *exceptions*. Evidence from Spanish

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we offer a syntactic description of Spanish *exceptive constructions* headed by *excepto, salvo* or *menos* ('except'). Framing our hypothesis in an adjunction analysis of coordination, we argue that these exceptive markers head a Boolean Phrase, like other coordinating conjunctions. Two types of *exceptive phrases* can be identified, depending on the level of the constituents conjoined. In *connected exceptives* two DPs are conjoined. In *free exceptives* two CPs are conjoined; the exceptive markers select for a full-fledged CP as complement, whose null head (C) triggers a process of ellipsis in which all the syntactic material inside TP is marked for PF-deletion, except the remnant constituent(s). Our proposal supports a structural approach to ellipsis whereby elliptical constituents are in fact fully fledged though non-pronounced syntactic structures. It also supports the hypothesis that the differences in the syntactic behaviour of coordinate sentences and subordinate adverbial clauses cannot be derived from their phrase structure geometry but are instead due to the properties of individual conjunctions.

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1. Introduction

Natural languages have developed different ways of expressing exceptions to generalizations. In this paper, we explore the grammatical properties of *exception phrases* or *exceptive constructions* [hereafter EPs], which are one of the most widespread syntactic mechanisms for encoding exceptions across languages, focussing on Spanish data (see García Álvarez, 2008; Hoeksema, 1987, 1995; Moltmann, 1992, 1995; Peters and Westerståhl, 2006; Reinhart, 1991; von Fintel, 1993, for English; Hoeksema, 1995 for Dutch; Moltmann, 1992 for German and French, and Bosque, 2005 for Spanish; among others). The term *exception phrase* will be used to refer to phrases consisting of an exception marker – we will restrict our study to *excepto, salvo, menos* ('except') – and a following XP.

A syntactic (and for some authors also semantic) distinction has been made in the literature between two types of EPs: *bound* or *connected exceptives* [CEs, hereafter], illustrated for Spanish in (1), and *free exceptives* [FEs], (2) (see Hoeksema, 1995). Both kinds of exceptive constructions are introduced in Spanish by the exceptive markers *excepto, salvo, menos* ('except') (the exceptive phrase is underlined in the examples).

(1) a. *El   proyecto recibió   el   apoyo   de todas las comunidades,*
         the   project   received   the   support   of all   the   autonomous.regions
         excepto *el País   Vasco.*
         except   the Basque   Country
         'The project received the support of all the autonomous regions except the Basque Country'.
         [*El Diario Vasco*, 03/06/2001; CREA]

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      b.   *La coincidencia es muy grande con todos **salvo Saturno**...*
          the coincidence is very great with all except Saturn
          'The coincidence is very great with all except Saturn'. [J. Maza, *Astronomía contemporánea;* CREA]

      c.   *...que se firmará hoy por todos **menos** el PP.* [*El País*, 01/04/2004; CREA]
          which SE sign.FUT.3SG today by all except the PP
          '...which will be signed today by all [the political parties] except the PP'.

(2)   a.   *...los 'populares' logran mayoría en todos los ayuntamientos, **excepto en Denia**....*
          the 'populares' gain majority in all the town.councils except in Denia
          '...the Popular Party managed to gain a majority in all the town councils, except in Denia'. [www.redaccionmedica.es]

      b.   *Había charlado con todos, **salvo con los muchachos del Simca**...*
          have.PAST.3SG talked with all, except with the fellows of.the Simca
          'He had talked to everybody, except to the Simca fellows'. [J. Cortázar, *Reunión;* CREA]

      c.   *...elección que es aceptada por todos **menos por el Papa Luna, quien se***
          election that is accepted by all except by the Pope Luna, who SE
          retirará a Peñíscola. [*Odiseo Revista de Historia*, n. 4; CREA]
          retire.FUT.3SG to Peñíscola
          '...an election that was accepted by everyone, except by Pope Luna, who then retired in Peñíscola.'

From the syntactic point of view, CEs are generally characterized in the literature on exceptives as 'DP level' constituents while FEs are treated as 'sentence level' constituents. This loose characterization is related to the fact that in CEs, the exceptive phrase must be adjacent to a DP in the host sentence; CEs cannot be parenthetical constituents, and cannot appear, for example, in fronted position: *Menos el PP, se firmará hoy por todos (lit.: except the PP, SE will.be.signed today by everybody) (cf. (1c)). By contrast, FEs have a greater distributional freedom. For example, they can precede the sentence they combine with: *Menos por el Papa Luna, es aceptada por todos* (lit.: except by the Pope Luna, is accepted by everybody; 'Except for Pope Luna, it was accepted by everyone') (cf. (2c)). In Spanish, another difference between CEs and FEs is clearly observed: in CEs, the exceptive markers introduce always a DP, as can be seen in (1); in FEs, the exceptive markers can introduce any maximal constituent, such as PPs, as shown in (2) (also DPs, adverbs or full clauses, as we will see in section 2.1).

Building on this characterization, this paper offers a detailed syntactic analysis of exceptive phrases in Spanish, whether free or connected. Framing our analysis in the Boolean Phrase Hypothesis, originally proposed by Munn (1993), we claim that the exceptive markers *excepto, salvo* and *menos* ('except') are coordinating conjunctions. The difference between FEs and CEs lies in the level of the constituents conjoined. In free exceptives, full sentences are conjoined. The examples in (2) are thus cases of clause-level coordination where an obligatory ellipsis process takes place within the second sentential conjunct. The constituents following the exceptive conjunction in (2) – the PPs – are thus the remnants of the ellipsis process. This explains why constituents of any category can follow the exceptive marker in FEs, as will be shown in section 2.1. In connected exceptives, the exceptive markers join subclausal nominal constituents. The examples in (1) are thus cases of DP coordination, hence the fact that only DPs are introduced by the exceptive markers in CEs. As we will see, a number of other syntactic asymmetries between FEs and CEs, hitherto unnoticed in the literature, derive from this syntactic analysis.

The typology of exceptive constructions in Spanish is, however, richer than the binary *free exceptive* vs. *connected exceptive* opposition. Other markers, like *a excepción de, exceptuando, con (la) (sola/única) excepción de, {exceptuando/salvando} a* ('excepting', 'with the exception of'), *{excepto/salvo} que* ('except that'), also introduce exceptive structures and we will analyse them briefly in section 6. Nevertheless, the existence of a broader set of exceptive constructions does not undermine the core distinction between FEs and CEs, a distinction that is well established in the literature and will constitute the main focus of this article.

Besides providing a detailed syntactic description of exceptive constructions in Spanish, this paper aims to contribute to the current theoretical debate on how meaning can arise in the absence of phonetic form (see Merchant, 2009b for a summary of this debate). Specifically, our proposal on the syntactic structure of free exceptives and the fact that locality and connectivity effects are observed in these structures supports a structural approach to ellipsis, according to which fragmentary sentences have a fully fledged, albeit silent, clausal structure, as opposed to the approaches that claim that there are semantic devices that can generate a full clausal meaning in the absence of a sentential syntactic structure (as proposed in Culicover and Jackendoff, 2005, among others, and in García Álvarez, 2008 and Lappin, 1996b with respect to the structure of FEs). More specifically, we claim that ellipsis must be understood as a two-step process (XP-movement plus PF deletion), along the lines of Merchant (2001, 2003). We will also show that the ellipsis process that, according to our proposal, takes

place in free exceptives patterns syntactically like other 'high-ellipsis' processes existing in Spanish, such as *gapping* and *polarity ellipsis*, both of which have been analysed as involving TP-deletion.

On a larger scale, we will also address the theoretical question of how the boundary between coordination and (non-selected adverbial) subordination must be encoded in the grammar. In particular, we argue in favour of the hypothesis that the differences in the syntactic behaviour of coordinate sentences and subordinate adverbial clauses (for example, those introduced by *although, because*) cannot be derived by proposing a different phrase structure geometry or generation mechanism but rather are due to the properties of coordinating vs. subordinating conjunctions.

Finally, although it is not the goal of this paper to offer a semantic analysis of exceptive phrases nor a proposal about the syntax-semantics connection involved in these structures, we suggest that our syntactic proposal could straightforwardly connect with a semantic analysis that claims that CEs have a conjunctive non-propositional semantics while FEs have a conjunctive propositional semantics, at least if the well-established hypothesis that CPs – but not DPs – denote propositions is assumed, and we sustain the theoretical desideratum that, in the interface LF component, a one-to-one mapping from syntax to semantics takes place, with additional operations or devices that generate meanings in the absence of syntactic structure kept to a minimum. In this sense, our analysis of CEs as DP-coordination structures and FEs as sentential coordination structures also indirectly connects with the larger debate about the semantic nature of coordinators. Coordinating conjunctions (which, from the syntactic point of view, can coordinate either sentences or sub-sentential constituents) have been analysed, on the one hand, uniformly as (a) propositional connectors or (b) set-forming operators, and, on the other, as non-semantically uniform elements (i.e. some instances of coordination are propositional while others are group-forming; Johannessen, 1998; Partee and Rooth, 1983).

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we present the basic syntactic differences between connected and free exceptives that have been described in the literature. Since the syntactic characterization of exceptive phrases has been mainly carried out in connection with their semantic analysis, we will also review in this section some of the main semantic proposals about the meaning of EPs existing in the literature. In section 3, we develop our syntactic analysis of EPs in Spanish. We claim that exceptive markers are coordinating conjunctions that coordinate two DPs in CEs. In FEs, sentence-level coordination is involved, with an obligatory subsequent step of ellipsis in the second clausal conjunct. Ellipsis will be analysed as a two-step process involving movement of one or more XP constituents to the left periphery of the elliptical clause followed by PF deletion of its TP node. In this section we will also explain how our proposal can account for the properties of CEs and FEs described in section 2. Sections 4 and 5 will be devoted to providing additional evidence for the different building blocks of our proposal and exploring further empirical consequences or our analysis. The categorial status of exceptive markers as coordinating conjunctions will be argued for in section 4. The different internal structure of CEs and FEs will be empirically supported in section 5. Section 6 will offer a brief description of the syntactic properties of the exceptive phrases introduced by exceptives particles other that *excepto, salvo* and *menos*. Finally, section 7 will summarize the conclusions of this paper.

2. Two types of *exceptive phrases*. *Connected* and *Free*

In this section we present the basic syntactic differences between connected and free exceptives that have been acknowledged in the literature for different languages. Given that the (few) existing syntactic proposals about the structure of EPs are closely tied with the semantic analysis developed for them, we will review in this section the two kinds of semantic approaches proposed for CEs and FEs: the non-uniform semantic analysis proposed by Hoeksema (1995), section 2.1 (namely, FEs are propositional in nature, CEs are not) and the uniform analyses offered in Moltmann (1992, 1995) and Reinhart (1991) on the one hand (both FEs and CEs are non-propositional in nature) and García Álvarez (2008) on the other (both FEs and CEs are semantically propositional), section 2.2. The goal of this section is twofold. First, the syntactic properties of CEs and FEs reviewed in this section will constitute the basis of the syntactic analysis we develop for these two kinds of structures. Second, we would like to suggest that, if CEs and FEs have different syntactic properties (crucially, as we will make explicit in section 3, a different internal structure: in CEs the complement of the exceptive marker is a DP; in FEs, it is a full CP), then assuming a uniform semantic analysis for both of them – specifically, arguing for a propositional semantics for CEs – would give rise to a mismatched syntax-to-semantics mapping and would force us to accept the existence of devices that generate meanings in the absence of syntactic structure.

2.1. Basic syntactic differences between connected exceptives and free exceptives. A non-uniform semantics for exceptive phrases (Hoeksema, 1995)

As mentioned above, Hoeksema (1987) introduced a seminal distinction between two types of exceptive phrases, connected exceptives and free exceptives, which exist in many languages. In Spanish, the exceptive markers *excepto, salvo* and *menos* introduce both CEs, (3), and FEs, (4) (recall also (1) and (2)).

(3)   CE: *Recibí   regalos de   todos los asistentes {**excepto/salvo/menos**} Eva.*
                  get.PAST.1SG gifts   from all   the   attendees except   Eva
                  'I received gifts from all those present except Eva.'

(4) FE: *Recibí   regalos   de   todos los   asistentes, {**excepto/salvo/menos**} de   Eva.*
          get.PAST.1SG gifts   from   all   the attendees, except   from Eva.
          'I received gifts from all those present but not from Eva.'

According to Hoeksema (1995), there are syntactic and semantic differences between CEs and FEs. From the semantic point of view, Hoeksema (1995) claims that both kinds of EPs have a conjunctive (subtractive) semantics, but they differ with respect to the kind of constituent they operate on and the kind of semantic entity they subtract. CEs operate semantically at the subsentential level. They operate on universal quantifier phrases, restricting their domain of quantification. The complement of the exceptive marker denotes a set of entities that must be subtracted from the domain of quantification of the universal quantifier in order for the proposition denoted by the whole sentence to be true. In (3a), the exception phrase *excepto Eva* operates semantically on the universal QP *todos los asistentes* and changes the domain of quantification of the quantifier by limiting it to a subdomain. Free exceptives, on the other hand, operate semantically at the clause level by introducing exceptions to generality claims. In (4), the FE *excepto de Eva* operates semantically on the whole host sentence (*Recibí regalos de todos los asistentes*) and serves to introduce a proposition (roughly, 'Recibí regalos de Eva') that is subtracted from the set of propositions denoted by the host (Hoeksema, 1995:87). The propositional interpretation of the string following the exceptive marker is obtained via 'substitution'. The constituent following *excepto* (the PP *de Eva* in (4)) is interpreted within the same sentential frame as its syntactic correlate in the host sentence (the PP *de todos los asistentes*): *Recibí regalos* [PP].[1]

This kind of *non-uniform approach* to the semantics of EPs, is supported by basic syntactic differences between connected and free exceptives, as Hoeksema (1995) pointed out. First, CEs and FEs show different positional possibilities. CEs have to be adjacent to the QP they operate on, hence the ungrammaticality of (5) (vs. (3), (1a)). FEs may appear in parenthetical positions inside the host sentence and can be fronted, (6) (cf. (4) and (2a)).

(5) a. **Excepto Eva, recibí   regalos   de   todos los   asistentes.*
             except Eva, get.PAST.1SG presents from all   the attendees
     b. **Excepto el País Vasco,   el   proyecto recibió el apoyo   de todas las comunidades.*
             except the Basque Country, the project received the support of all   the autonomous.regions

(6) a. *Excepto de   Eva, recibí   regalos   de   todos los asistentes.*
             except from Eva, get.PAST.1SG presents from all   the attendees
         'Except for Eva, I received gifts from all those present.'
     b. *Excepto en Denia, los 'populares' logran mayoría   en todos los ayuntamientos.*
             except in Denia the 'populares' gain   majority in all   the town.councils
         'Except for Denia, the Popular Party managed to gain a majority in all the town councils.'

Second, CEs are licensed only by a restricted set of quantifier phrases; prototypically, universal QPs (recall the examples in (1)). In Spanish, they are not licensed, for example, by other kinds of quantifiers, like *la mayoría de* (lit. the majority of, 'most of'), (7a), definite DPs (even class-denoting DPs), (7b), or indefinite DPs in negative contexts, (7c).[2]

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[1] Beyond the (non)propositional nature of CEs and FEs, there are other semantic properties of exceptives that semantic analyses try to capture, namely: a) *the quantifier constraint:* only certain kinds of quantified DPs can host a CE; and b) *the condition of inclusion:* the denotation of the complement of the exceptive marker must be intended in the domain of generalization expressed by the host of the exceptive phrase (*No linguist smiled, except Lucie* implies that Lucie is a linguist – Reinhart, 1991:363, (7a)). Since the only semantic aspect of EPs focused on in this paper is their (non)propositional denotation and the connection with syntax, only those semantic proposals dealing with this meaning component of EPs will be taken into account (and we will only highlight and debate this aspect of the reviewed proposals). The quantifier constraint and the condition of inclusion will not be dealt with in this paper. Both aspects of the meaning of EPs have been debated in the recent semantic literature and derived in ways compatible with a propositional or non-propositional semantics for FEs and CEs (see Keenan and Stavi, 1986; von Fintel, 1993; Lappin, 1996a; Peters and Westerståhl, 2006, and García Álvarez, 2008 for an overview). See also footnote 8 for another aspect of the meaning of exceptives (*polarity inversion*) which is the subject of debate.

[2] See Bosque (2005) and Arregui (2006) specifically for Spanish. It must be acknowledged that the question as to what the possible licensors of CEs may be is the subject of debate in the literature. The most widely accepted answer is that CEs are only licensed by DPs headed by universal determiners, in particular *every*, *all* and *no*, and their correspondents in different languages (Hoeksema, 1987; Moltmann, 1992, 1995, von Fintel, 1993, a.o.). This generalization (called the *quantifier constraint*) has been challenged, at least with respect to English, by García Álvarez (2008:1.5) – see also Peters and Westerståhl (2006) –, who shows that CEs are also licensed by other determiner quantifiers (like *few*, *most*, etc.) and also in some cases by superlatives. They are not licensed, however by definites, or existential indefinites and bare plurals. It seems that there are, then, cross-linguistic differences regarding the kinds of elements that can license CEs, whose study exceeds the goals of this paper.

(7) a. *Veré   a **la   mayoría de los alumnos** {excepto/salvo/menos} los de
         see.FUT.1SG   to the majority of the students   except   the of
         matemáticas, el lunes.
         maths   the Monday
         intended: 'I will meet with most of the students except the maths students on Monday.'

     b. *Las águilas no atacan a **los leones** {excepto/salvo/menos} el león enfermo.
         the eagles not attack to the lions,   except   the lion ill
         intended: 'Eagles won't attack a lion unless the lion is ill.'

     c. ***No** visitaré   a **un enfermo** {excepto/salvo/menos} este en mi vida.
         not visit.FUT.1.SG to a ill   except   this in my life
         intended: 'I will visit no other ill person but this one in my life.'

By contrast, since FEs denote exceptions to generalizations, they are licensed in sentences which express a generality claim. A generalization is obtained, for example, when a generic (null) operator is present in the host sentence, (8). Universally quantified DPs, (2), (4), (6), quantifiers like *la mayoría de*, (9a), definite DPs, (9b,c),[3] or indefinite polarity items in a negative context, (9d), can be present in sentences expressing generalizations and are compatible with FEs.[4]

(8) a. *Es   una muchacha inteligente, menos cuando se enamora.*
         be.PRES.3SG a   girl   intelligent, except when   SE fall.in.love.PRES.3SG
         'She is an intelligent girl except when she falls in love.' [Bosque, 2005:156, (45)]

     b. *Nunca nos llamas,   excepto cuando necesitas   dinero.*
         never us call.PRES.2.SG, except when   need.PRES.2SG money
         'You never call us except when you need money.' [Bosque, 2005:143, (14c)]

(9) a. *Excepto a los de matemáticas, veré   a la mayoría de los alumnos el lunes.*
         except to the of maths,   see.FUT.1SG to the majority of the students the Monday
         'Except for the maths students, I will meet with most of the students on Monday.'

     b. *Excepto al león enfermo, las águilas no atacan a los leones.*
         except to.the lion ill, the eagles not attack to the lions
         'Except for a lion that is ill, eagles will not attack lions.'

     c. *Los tomates   se cultivan en toda la Península Ibérica, excepto el tomate canario.*
         the tomatoes SE grow   in all the Península Ibérica, except the tomato canary
         'Tomatoes are grown everywhere in the Iberian Peninsula, except the Canary tomatoe.'
         [Bosque, 2005:153, (38a)]

     d. *No dijo   una palabra sobre ese asunto, salvo que no era*
         not say.PAST.3SG a word   about that issue, except that not be.PAST.3SG
         partidario. [Bosque, 2005:143, (16a)]
         in.favour
         'He didn't say much with respect to that issue except that he was against it.'

Moreover, as the examples in (10) show, CEs are not licensed by null arguments. The quantifier phrase licensing the CE must be explicit. By contrast, FEs can appear in sentences containing null arguments. In (10a) the CE cannot be linked to the

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[3] The example in (9c) cannot be analysed as an extraposed CE. Spanish is a language that does not permit extraposition of DP internal constituents out of the DP (only relative clauses can be extraposed under very restricted conditions; for example, when the antecedent is indefinite: Brucart, 1999:7.3.1.3). We would not claim, however, that CEs may never be right-extraposed in other languages.

[4] Definite plural DPs with a distributed reading also license FEs, but not CEs (see Hoeksema, 1987). The exact semantic conditions that allow definite DPs to combine with EPs are reviewed in García Álvarez (2008:1.5).

(i) a. Juan intercambió miradas con las estudiantes, excepto con Eva.
         Juan exchanged glances con with the students, except with Eva
         'Juan exchanged glances with all the students, except with Eva.'

     b. * Juan intercambió miradas con las estudiantes excepto Eva.
         Juan exchanged glances con with the students except Eva

null Goal argument of the verb *dar* ('give'). However, the FE is grammatical in this very same context, as (10b) shows (Goal arguments are introduced in Spanish by the preposition *a*).

(10) a.   *Ayer   di   muchos besos en la   fiesta excepto Eva.
           yesterday give.PAST.1SG many   kisses in the party   except   Eva
           (Cf. *Ayer di muchos besos en la fiesta a **todos** {menos/excepto/salvo} Eva.*)
      b.   Ayer   di   muchos besos en la   fiesta, excepto a Eva.
           yesterday give.PAST.1SG many   kisses in the party   except   to Eva
           'Yesterday, I gave many kisses in the party, except to Eva.'

On the basis of these differences in positional and combinatorial/licensing possibilities, Hoeksema (1995) suggests that CEs are "postmodifiers of noun phrases", while FEs are "sentence modifiers".[5] Their 'external syntax' is thus different.

With respect to the 'internal syntax' of exceptive phrases, remember that only nominal constituents can follow the exceptive particle in the case of CEs, while in FEs any XP-level constituent can follow the exceptive marker heading the construction, such as PPs, (2), (9a,b); DPs, (9c); sentences, (8), (9d); adverbs (*Puedes conducir como quieras, excepto más rápido* 'You can drive any way you want except faster'); etc. As Hoeksema (1995) points out, an analysis of FEs as conjunction constructions in which the string following the exceptive marker is the remnant of an elliptical sentence could explain this property. FEs would then be subcases of *stripped* or *gapped* (coordinate) conjoined sentences. This is in fact, as Hoeksema (1995) notes, the syntactic analysis sketched in Harris (1982), where exceptive markers are described as coordinators that introduce a full sentence to which a series of reduction transformations ('zeroing transformation') apply, giving rise to the free exceptive construction. However, as Hoeksema (1995) also acknowledges, FEs resemble PPs and not coordinate sentences with respect to the positional possibilities mentioned above:

(11) "[. . .] we cannot simply claim that exception phrases are subcases of Stripping, given that they may appear in sentence-initial position, unlike Stripping or Gapping remnants. In this respect, exception phrases resemble prepositional groups more than conjunction constructions [IPJ&NMQ: i.e. second conjuncts in a sentential coordination structure]. On the other hand, the pied-piping of prepositions is a shared feature of exception phrases and Stripping constructions (cf. e.g. *I am talking with your mother, sonny, and not with you/?and not you*)." [Hoeksema, 1995:168]

The brief sketch of the syntax of connected and free exceptives provided in Hoeksema's work will be the point of departure for our analysis. Taking his ideas as a basis, we will claim in section 3 that the exceptive particles *excepto, salvo* and *menos* are coordinating conjunctions that coordinate two DPs in the case of CEs and two full sentences in the case of FEs (the second sentential conjunct is subject to an ellipsis process which involves a XP-movement + PF ellipsis process). But before turning to our proposal, we will briefly discuss in the following subsection the syntactic characterization of CEs and FEs made in García Álvarez (2008), Moltmann (1992, 1995) and Reinhart (1991), whereby a uniform semantic analysis has been proposed for both kinds of exceptive constructions.

2.2. Syntactic analyses of exceptive constructions in uniform semantic proposals (García Álvarez, 2008; Moltmann, 1992, 1995; Reinhart, 1991)

Together with non-uniform semantic analyses of connected and free exceptives, uniform analyses have been developed in the literature. On the one hand, Moltmann (1992, 1995) and Reinhart (1991), among others, claim that both CEs and FEs have a non-propositional semantics and operate on QPs. On the other, García Álvarez (2008) claims that both kinds of exceptive constructions have a propositional conjunctive semantics. In this section we will focus on the syntactic analyses that have been proposed for CEs and FEs in connection with these kinds of semantic proposals.

According to Moltmann (1992, 1995) and Reinhart (1991) both CEs and FEs semantically operate on quantified noun phrases: EPs serve to exclude exceptional individuals from consideration so that the truth of the sentence in which the EP occurs can be preserved. Connecting with this semantic proposal, these authors claim that, from the syntactic point of view, CEs and FEs have a similar internal structure: the exceptive marker introduces a NP [DP] in both cases.

Specifically, for Reinhart (1991), exceptive markers are coordinating conjunctions introducing a subsentential constituent in both kinds of exceptive phrases. She nevertheless acknowledges that the positional possibilities of CEs and FEs seem to indicate that CEs are NP[DP]-level constituents while FEs are sentence-level constituents. Accordingly, Reinhart claims that in the case of CEs, the exceptive conjunction coordinates two NPs [DPs]. In FEs, see (12), the exceptive phrase is base-generated in a position conjoined (that is, adjoined) to the IP of the host sentence. Since coordinating conjunctions require categorial identity of the conjuncts, (12a) is uninterpretable. The structure is saved by a LF process of Quantifier Raising of the QP on which the EP operates, followed by NP adjunction, which gives rise to NP coordination (12b).

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[5] Lappin (1996a) also treats CEs as NP modifiers with a subtractive semantics.

From the semantic point of view, a predicate is formed in the IP as a consequence of the QR operation, which takes the whole new NP as argument (Reinhart, 1991:367) (12c).[6]

(12) a.   [$_{IP}$ [$_{IP}$ everyone smiled] [$_{NP}$ [$_{CONJ}$ except] [$_{NP}$ Felix]]]

     b.   [$_{IP}$ [$_{IP}$ e$_i$ smiled] [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ everyone$_i$] [$_{NP}$ [$_{CONJ}$ except] [$_{NP}$ Felix]]]]

     c.   [Everyone except Felix] (λ x (x smiled)) [Reinhart, 1991:367, (22), (23)]

As an argument for the movement step in the derivation of FEs, Reinhart claims that island effects are observed in these constructions, (13a). However, as Hoeksema (1995) notes, sentences like (9d) above pose a problem for a movement analysis. In (9d), the LF-raising of the object NP (*una palabra*) had to be proposed, but the negative-polarity status of that NP prohibits moving it out of the scope of negation. Similarly, in an example like (13b), the EP can be taken as modifying both *everyone* and *no one,* but it is not possible to adjoin these NPs to the exceptive phrase, as they are contained in a conjoined sentence. Island effects in FEs and behaviours related to the *Coordinate Structure Constraint* will be dealt with in sections 5.2 and 4.3 respectively.

(13) a.   *The people who loved every composer arrived except Mozart.

     b.   Everyone was pleased and no one complained, except John.

Moltmann (1992, 1995) also proposes a parallel semantic analysis for EPs, according to which both CEs and FEs involve a semantic operation on an associated quantifier (1995:233). From the syntactic point of view, she claims that exceptive markers are prepositions which select for an NP [DP] as complement. The PP projected by the exceptive preposition is adjoined to a QP in CEs, (14a). In FEs, the PP is generated as a sentence adjunct in "adverbial position", (14b). In the semantic component, a highly constrained semantic relation is established between the PP in sentence-adjoined position and the semantically associated QP in its internal position.[7]

(14) a.   [$_{QP}$ [$_{QP}$ …] [$_{PP}$ [[$_P$ except] NP]]]

     b.   [$_{IP}$ [$_{IP}$ … QP…] [$_{PP}$ [$_P$ except] [$_{NP}$ John]]]

These kinds of unitary semantic analyses – and also partially uniform syntactic analyses – for CEs and FEs pose a number of problems. First, as Hoeksema (1995) already points out, from the semantic point of view, the characterization of EPs as operators on universal QPs cannot easily explain why FEs appear in sentences in which there is no QP which could be considered an *associate* of the exceptive construction: *Bees will not work, except in darkness* (Hoeksema, 1995:148, (16)). Moreover, from the syntactic point of view, examples of FEs like (15) cannot be analysed as cases where the exceptive marker introduces a subsentential phrase, since the string following *excepto* does not form a syntactic constituent.

(15) *Todos los niños bailaron con todas las niñas en todas partes,* **excepto** <u>*Juan con Eva en la cocina.*</u>
      all   the boys danced with all   the girls in all   places, except Juan with Eva in the kitchen
      'All the boys danced with all the girls everywhere, except Juan with Eva in the kitchen.'

Moltmann (1992) considers English examples parallel to (15) as cases where the exceptive preposition introduces a *small clause*, (16), which semantically denotes a n-tuple of entities (<John, Mary>) and operates on a polyadic quantifier (<every man, every woman>).

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[6] Reinhart explicitly argues against an ellipsis analysis for FEs, although she acknowledges that exceptives have properties generally associated with ellipsis. For example, in (i), the construed property of 'kissing one's own mother' involves a bound variable whose value in the second conjunct will be Felix, an interpretation (sloppy identity) typical of ellipsis structures.

(i)   No one kisses his mother, except Felix. (λx (x kissed x's mother))

[7] von Fintel (1993) also argues for a basically uniform semantics for CEs and FEs as set subtractors operating on a subsentential constituent (QP). From the syntactic point of view, CEs (headed by *but*) are analysed as determiner modifiers, (i), giving rise to a complex determiner, so that in *every student but John*, *every… but John* is considered a discontinuous constituent (see Keenan and Westerstål, 1997; Peters and Westerståhl, 2006 and others for similar analyses). FEs are analysed as base-generated sentence adjuncts. With respect to the syntax-semantics interaction, a compositional analysis for FEs can be achieved assuming an interpretive mechanism to associate the FE with the QP it semantically operates on (analogously to the analysis of focal adverbs proposed in Rooth, 1985). This mechanism forms a constituent, (ii), which allows the EP to have semantic access to both the determiner and the N'.

(i)   [$_{NP}$ [$_{Det}$ [Det] [but X]] [$_{N'}$]]

(ii)   [$_{NP}$ [except for X] [$_{NP}$ [Det] [$_{N'}$]]]

García Álvarez (2008:2.4) offers compelling (semantic and syntactic) evidence against the analysis of (connected) exceptive phrases as constituents of composite determiners, which we will not go over here. In section 4.2 we will show that EPs do not behave as (focal) adverbs (see also García Álvarez, 2008:2.4.1).

(16)   Every man danced with every woman [$_P$ except [$_{SC}$ John [with Mary]]]

Nevertheless, this syntactic proposal cannot explain why in examples like (15) and (16) the hypothesized SC is not *Juan Eva cocina* or *John Mary* but *Juan con Eva en la cocina* and *John **with** Mary;* in other words, why the string following the exceptive marker parallels, syntactically speaking, maximal constituents of the antecedent clause. Moltmann's proposal also has difficulties explaining what the structure of the SC would be in cases like (15), where three XPs follow the exceptive marker. These data, however, receive a straightforward explanation if we analyse FEs as sentential elliptical constituents. We will come back to this in section 3.

Let us now present the syntactic-semantic characterization of EPs made by García Álvarez (2008). According to this author, sentences with EPs are semantically biclausal and express a conjunctive proposition consisting of a generality claim (a proposition with positive or negative polarity) and an exception to that statement (a proposition with inverted polarity) (p. 92).[8] However, syntactically speaking, sentences with EPs are monoclausal: exceptive markers are coordinating conjunctions which introduce a subsentential constituent both in CEs and in FEs. This author acknowledges that both kinds of exceptive phrases differ syntactically with respect to the constituent they are coordinated with. CEs are DP level constituents (the exceptive marker coordinates two DPs), (17)[9]; FEs are sentence-level *orphan constituents*, (18).

(17)   a.   Every pugilist except Cassius Clay died. [García Álvarez, 2008:75, (133)]

         b.   [$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ every pugilist] [$_{EP}$ [$_E$ except] [$_{DP}$ Cassius Clay]]]

(18)   a.   Except Wayne, every guest liked the log cabin. [García Álvarez, 2008:189, (66)]

         b.   [$_{EP}$ [$_E$ except] [$_{DP}$ Wayne]] [$_{TP}$ [$_{DP}$ every guest] [$_{T'}$ T [$_{VP}$ liked the log cabin]]]

From these structures, a propositional denotation is built up for the constituent following the exceptive marker. In sentences containing CEs, (17a), the two conjoined propositions each result from the application of the VP (or T') node denotation to the nominal arguments of the conjunction. Thus, (17) roughly means 'Every pugilist died & ¬ Cassius Clay died'. As for FEs, a proposition is built up from the orphan constituent, assuming the representation and resolution approach to ellipsis in Dalrymple et al. (1991) or Culicover and Jackendoff's (2005) proposals on *indirect licensing*. Schematically, such a process involves: (a) identifying an expression in the host sentence which parallels the right argument of the exceptive conjunction; (b) solving an equation which involves the interpretation of the host by abstracting over the meaning of the parallel expression; and (c) applying the resulting property to the denotation of the complement of the exceptive marker (García Álvarez, 2008:189). Roughly speaking, the meaning of (18) is: 'Every guest liked the log cabin & ¬ Wayne liked the log cabin'.[10,11]

This analysis raises several issues. From the syntactic point of view, an analysis of FEs as orphan constituents poses serious questions. Although an analysis along the lines of Culicover and Jackendoff could explain the inflectional features of the orphan complement of the exceptive particle (its Case marking, the presence of prepositions required for certain arguments, etc.) as *indirectly licensed* by an antecedent in the context (as these authors propose for *fragments* or for *sluicing*), it is totally unclear what the role of the exceptive particle is inside the orphan constituent. If it is a coordinating conjunction, as the author seems to suggest, the following questions arise: what is the first member of the coordination? what is the syntactic position of the conjunction inside the orphan constituent? (see Martí, 2009 and Merchant, 2009a for arguments against this kind of analysis for fragments). Moreover, in the case of FEs with more than one constituent following the exceptive marker – (15) – it is not clear what the internal structure of the complex orphan constituent is. From the semantic point of view, the proposal that a DP constituent in CEs has a full propositional content must appeal to the existence of semantic devices that generate meanings that are not the output of syntactic structure, in order to solve the syntax-semantics mismatch. Moreover, in the case of FEs, deriving a propositional semantics from a subclausal constituent, consistent with the indirect licensing of orphan constituents approach in Culicover and Jackendoff's (2005), implies accepting rules of pragmatic enrichment not well constrained (see Martí, 2009 on this topic). What we would like to suggest is that, admitting that FEs have a propositional interpretation, a syntactic proposal in which FEs are syntactically full clauses, as we will claim in section 3, leads to a non-mismatched syntax-semantics mapping and is therefore theoretically superior (see Lechner, in press on different theoretical perspectives on the nature of the syntax-semantics interface).

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[8] The fact that the proposition expressed by the sentence hosting the exceptive construction and the proposition which the exceptive phrase gives rise to must have different polarity is known as the 'negative condition' in the semantic literature. See Peters and Westerståhl (2006) and García Álvarez (2008:168) (who dubs it as the *polarity generalization*) for a discussion of this condition. We will leave this meaning component of exceptive constructions outside the scope of this paper.

[9] García Álvarez assumes Munn's (1993) analysis of coordination, whereby the conjunction and the second conjunct form a constituent, which is right-adjoined to the first conjunct.

[10] Semantically, then, CEs and FEs differ only with respect to the source of the generalization that the exceptive phrase serves to qualify. CEs combine with DPs whose semantic content triggers per se the generalization denoted by the sentence (universally quantified NPs are thus generalization-inducing expressions). On the other hand, FEs combine with sentences that express generalizations arising through the interaction of various interpretive co-occurring factors.

[11] Lappin (1996a) analyses FEs as syntactic fragments that semantically modify NP denotations. Their meaning obtains via an interpretive process – NP storage – that establishes the required connection between the exceptive fragment and an NP in the antecedent clause.

This brief overview of the existing proposals about the syntax and semantics of exceptive constructions makes it clear that, from the syntactic point of view, there is consensus as to the fact that CEs are constituents linked to a NP/DP while FEs are sentence-level constituents. However, there is no consensus on the category of the exceptive markers (they are analysed as prepositions in Moltmann, 1992 and as coordinating conjunctions in Reinhart, 1991 and García Álvarez, 2008; Hoeksema, 1995 assesses both proposals), nor is there consensus on whether the exceptive marker introduces a clausal or subclausal constituent, especially in the case of FEs. In the following section we will develop our syntactic analysis for EPs and show how it can explain the properties of CEs and FEs presented so far. We will also make some suggestions regarding the interaction between syntax and semantics. Sections 4 and 5 will be devoted to offering new data and arguments as evidence for the different aspects of our proposal.

3. The syntax of connected and free exceptive phrases

As already noted in section 2, our basic claim is that the exceptive markers *excepto, salvo* and *menos* are coordinating conjunctions (as suggested in Reinhart, 1991 and García Álvarez, 2008 for parallel lexical items in English) and not prepositions (cf. Moltmann, 1992). We follow Munn's (1993) proposal for coordinate structures, according to which the conjunction and second conjunct form a maximal constituent (Boolean Phrase)[12] that is right-adjoined to the first conjunct. In the case of CEs, the exceptive markers coordinate two DPs (as also proposed by Reinhart, 1991 and García Álvarez, 2008), (19).

(19)   a.   *Recibí*   *regalos de todos los asistentes excepto Eva.*
           get.PAST.1SG gifts   of   all   the attendees except Eva
           'I received gifts from all those present except Eva.'
   b.   ... [PP *de* [DP [DP *todos los asistentes*] [BP [conjunction *excepto*] [DP *Eva*]]]]

In the case of FEs, the exceptive markers coordinate two full clauses, i.e. two full CP structures.[13] The structure of an example like (20) is thus (21). The host sentence (*Los asistentes recibieron un regalo de recuerdo*) will be referred to as CP1 and the constituent introduced by the exceptive conjunction (*Juan*) as CP2. The exceptive coordinating conjunction heads a Boolean Phrase which has CP2 as complement and is adjoined to CP1. The exceptive conjunction has the property of triggering an obligatory ellipsis process in its CP2 complement, following Harris' (1982) original insights.

(20)   *Los asistentes recibieron   un regalo de recuerdo,   excepto Juan.*
       the attendees get.PAST.3PL a   gift   of keepsake, except Juan.
       'All those present received a gift as a keepsake, except Juan.'

(21)

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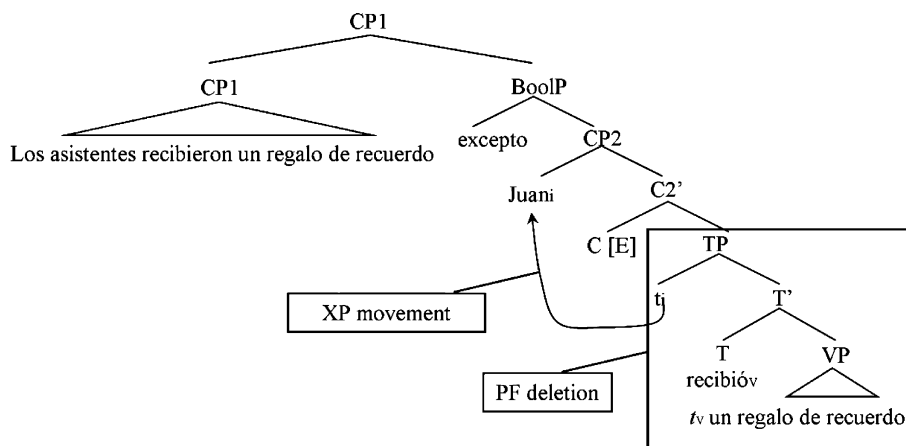
[12] The term Boolean Phrase has been used in the literature with different meanings, often in connection with the collective/distributive reading of coordinations. We use this term as a purely syntactic label, to refer to the adjunction structure Munn (1993) proposes for coordination. The reasons for choosing this analysis of coordination over another asymmetric analysis of coordinate structures (Johannessen, 1998 and others) are as follows. First, in Munn's (1993) proposal, the conjunction and second conjunct form a maximal projection and can thus be displaced. Second, coordinate structures are not selected by any head (for example, verbs select for CPs, DPs, etc., but not for coordinate phrases). Only the first conjunct is selected (*unlike category coordination* cases: see Munn, 1993:80). For a critique of the asymmetric analysis of coordination, see Borsley (2005). See also Progovac (1998) for a review of the various analyses of coordinate structures.

[13] The argumentation in this paper does not depend on adopting a specific definition of clause. We will treat clauses as CPs, setting aside a proposal based on a fine left periphery structure.

We articulate our proposal by adopting the structural non-atomistic approach to ellipsis developed in Aelbrecht (2007) and Merchant (2003), among others, for 'high ellipsis' processes like *gapping* and *stripping/bare argument ellipsis* (that is, ellipsis processes affecting nodes above VP, namely TP). We claim that in FEs – see (21) – the exceptive conjunction selects for a CP whose head is null and is endowed with a feature that triggers and licenses the ellipsis process (the E-feature).[14] This feature, on the one hand, attracts one or more constituents internal to CP2 (*Juan*, in (21)) to the left periphery of the elliptical sentence; these constituents are thus the *remnants* of the ellipsis process. On the other hand, the E-feature on C also forces the deletion/ non-pronunciation of the phonological features of the syntactic complement of C, that is, TP. This ellipsis process is triggered provided that the exceptive phrase is clausal (that is, it is a FE) and the exceptive phrase satisfies the standard parallelism conditions that enable ellipsis. We will offer below some comments on the obligatory character of the ellipsis process just described.

Two of the crucial differences between CEs and FEs presented in the previous sections immediately follow from our analysis (the adjacency requirement of CEs will be dealt with in section 4.3). First, remember that (maximal) constituents of any category may follow the exceptive marker in FEs, including sentences, as seen in (22a) (with the structure in (22b)). This is expected according to our analysis, since these constituents are XPs moved to CP2 left peripheral positions prior to PF deletion of the TP node (marked with angled brackets in (22b)). Remember that, in CEs, the complement of the exceptive conjunction is always a DP. CEs do not behave as elliptical sentences in this respect.

(22) a.   *...no recordaba   nada,   excepto que creía   haberse despertado en una celda oscura.*
           not   recall.PAST.3SG nothing, except that think.PAST.3SG have-SE awoken in a cell dark
                                                                                [C. Ruiz Zafón, *La sombra del viento*; CREA]
           'He could recall nothing except that he had awoken in a dark cell.'

      b.   [CP1 [CP1 *No recordaba nada*], [BP *excepto* [CP2 [CPi *que creía haberse despertado en una celda oscura*] [CP2 C[E] <[TP *recordaba* [tCPi]]>]]]]

The fact that the finite verb of the elliptical CP2 cannot be a remnant, (23), also follows from this proposal (let us assume that V/v ends up in T in the derivation of declarative clauses in Spanish). As Aelbrecht (2007) claims for parallel facts in gapped coordinate sentences (see also Merchant, 2001), if high ellipsis processes involve a step of XP movement to the Specifier position of the elliptical CP, the fact that the finite verb of the elliptical clause cannot be a remnant is explained, since it is not an XP. A sentence like (23) contrasts with the grammatical example in (24a): in this case a whole VP is the remnant of the ellipsis process, (24b); note that, as (24c) shows, fronted VPs have infinitival form in Spanish.

(23) *Hicimos   mil   cosas,   *excepto fuimos   a   la   playa.*
      do.PAST.1PL thousand things, except   go.PAST.1PL to the beach
      '*We did everything but went to the beach.'

(24) a.   *Hicimos   mil   cosas,   excepto ir   a   la playa.*
           do.PAST.1PL thousand things, except go.INF to the beach
           'We did everything but go to the beach.'

      b.   [CP1 [CP1 *Hicimos mil cosas*], [BP *excepto* [CP2 [VPi *ir a la playa*] [CP2 C[E] <[TP T [ti]]>]]]]

      c.   *{Ir a la playa/ *Fuimos a la playa} es algo que no hicimos.*
           '{Going to the beach/ *Went to the beach} is something we did not do.'

Second, if an ellipsis process operates on a coordinate clausal structure in FEs, multiple remnants are expected to be possible. Remember example (15), repeated here as (25). As shown in (26), the XP *Juan* is attracted from the subject position inside CP2 to the Specifier position of the C head. As Aelbrecht (2007) claims for multiple remnants in gapped sentences (following Richards' 2001 ideas), the second and subsequent XPs attracted (*con Eva* in (26)) have to tuck in below the first one. The fact that the elliptical clause (CP2) and the antecedent clause (CP1) have parallel word orders could also be understood as a parallelism requirement on coordinated structures. The structure of examples with FEs like (25), where the string following the exceptive marker does not *prima facie* form a syntactic constituent, cannot be easily analysed in those proposals which claim that exceptive markers – be they regarded as prepositions or conjunctions – introduce a subsentential constituent (García Álvarez, 2008; Moltmann, 1992; Reinhart, 1991). As expected, multiple remnants are not possible in CEs, since they are not elliptical clausal constituents (27).

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[14] For this implementation of phrasal ellipsis based on the featural content of heads, see Merchant (2001) and subsequent work; also van Craenenbroeck (2010). In Merchant's proposal, the semantic properties of E achieve the identification/recoverability requirement on ellipsis; nevertheless, we will not discuss this aspect of ellipsis in the present paper.

(25)   *Todos los niños bailaron con todas las niñas (en todas partes),* **excepto** *Juan con Eva (en la cocina).*
        'All the boys danced with all the girls everywhere, except Juan with Eva in the kitchen.'

(26)
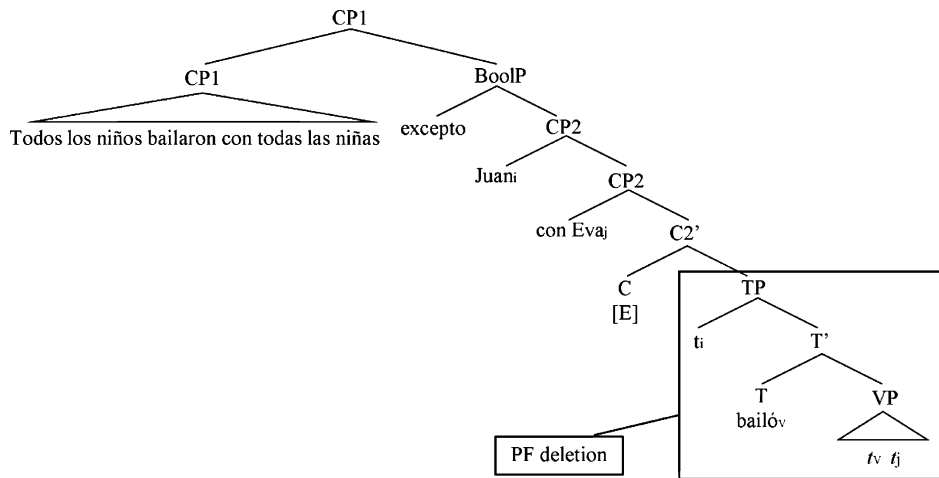
(27)   a.   *Viajaría   a   todas partes   con   todas mis amigas excepto Eva.*
              would.travel.1SG to   all   places with   all   my friends except Eva
              'I would travel everywhere with any of my friends except Eva.'
        b.   **Viajaría   a   todas partes   con   todas mis amigas excepto Eva (a) Roma.*
              would.travel.1SG to   all   places with   all   my friends except Eva to Rome

We would like to emphasize that the two aforementioned syntactic properties of FEs (vs. CEs), which derive from their hypothesized analysis as cases of sentential coordination where ellipsis takes place in the second conjunct, are also shown in other elliptical coordinate structures in Spanish like *gapping,* (28a), and *(pseudo-)stripping* – also called *polarity ellipsis* (which involves at least a remnant constituent and a polarity particle preceding the elliptical gap) – (28b). These two phenomena have been analysed in Spanish as involving TP ellipsis in Gallego (2011) and Saab (2009, 2010), adopting also a structural approach to ellipsis.[15]

(28)   a.   *Juan habló con   un abogado el   jueves   {y/pero}   Ana con   un arquitecto ayer.*
              Juan spoke with   a   lawyer the Thursday {and/but} Ana with an architect yesterday
              'Juan spoke with a lawyer on Thursday {and/but} Ana with an architect yesterday.'
        b.   *Juan se compró el   coche {y/pero}   tú   la   moto   no; Juan no   visitó*
              Juan SE bought   the car   {and/but} you the motorbike not; Juan not visited
              a   María {y/pero}   a Eva tampoco.
              to María {and/but} to Eva either
              'Juan bought the car {and/but} you didn't buy the motorbike.'; 'Juan did not visit María {and/but} he didn't visit Eva either.'

At this point, some words are in order regarding the *obligatory* character of the ellipsis process that takes place in the derivation of free exceptives. If other types of high ellipsis processes (i.e. *gapping* and *polarity ellipsis*) are not obligatory and can alternate with simple deaccenting (cf. *Juan habló con un abogado el jueves {y/pero} Ana habló con un arquitecto ayer* 'Juan spoke with a lawyer on Thursday {and/but} Ana spoke with an architect yesterday; *Juan se compró el coche {y/pero} tú la moto no te la compraste* 'Juan bought the car {and/but} you didn't buy the motorbike'), the following questions arise with respect to FEs: Why is ellipsis obligatory in these structures? In other words, why is **Los asistentes recibieron un regalo de recuerdo, excepto Juan recibió un regalo de recuerdo* (lit. the attendees received a gift as a keepsake, except Juan received a gift as a keepsake) ungrammatical? And how can we technically implement this kind of ellipsis?[16] Since in Merchant's framework

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[15] Polarity ellipsis does not have an English counterpart. The English translations are thus approximate. On gapping and polarity ellipsis in Spanish, see also Brucart (1987, 1999), Depiante (2000, 2004) and Vicente (2006).
[16] We would like to thank the anonymous referees for raising these questions. Thanks also to J. Merchant for generous discussion of these issues.

ellipsis is analysed as the result of the presence of a particular feature in the syntax (the E feature), the question is, as J. Merchant (p.c.) points out, "why certain heads have to have this feature, while others merely may, and still others cannot at all". Once we state the question in those terms, then it becomes part of a family of questions of similar form. For example: what heads can, must, may and may not trigger wh-movement? Note that wh-movement could be considered "optional" in English matrix wh- questions (*Who did you see?*), since it alternates with wh- in situ (*You saw who?*), but it is "obligatory" in relative clauses (**That's the man I saw who*). In the kind of framework adopted in this paper, this can only be accounted for as the result of a feature difference at the relevant level of analysis: for example, presence/absence of a wh- feature in C. The same line of reasoning would be applicable to ellipsis phenomena.

To conclude this section, let us offer some considerations on the consequences of our analysis for the syntax-semantics interface. We have claimed that the exceptive particles are coordinating conjunctions both in FEs and CEs. From the semantic point of view, this proposal is compatible with those analyses of the meaning of exceptives that defend a *conjunctive* semantics for these constructions. We have also shown that FEs are instances of sentential (CP) coordination, while, in CEs, two DP-level constituents are conjoined. From these syntactic differences, however, it does not automatically follow that the semantics of FEs and CEs is also different, or that the semantics of CEs cannot be reduced to that of FEs, or vice versa. Remember that authors like García Álvarez (2008) claim that both CEs and FEs introduce subsentential constituents but have a conjunctive propositional semantics whereas authors like Reinhart (1991) claim that both kinds of exceptives have a subsentential syntax as well as a conjunctive non-propositional semantics. Hoeksema (1995), on the other hand, defends a non-uniform conjunctive (namely, subtractive) semantics for FEs and CEs, whereby FEs denote propositions while CEs denote sets of individuals. These different positions regarding the semantics of exceptive phrases replicate the positions taken by different authors in the old debate on the interpretation of conjoined phrases, summarized in Camacho (2003). Camacho (2003), Gleitmann (1965), Goodal (1987), or Schein (1997), to mention just a few, argue for a uniform propositional analysis for coordination (i.e. for the syntactic conjunction of phrases, on the one hand, and sentences, on the other). By contrast, Krifka (1990), Link (1983) and Munn (1993), among others, treat coordination as a set operator (i.e. group-forming operator).[17] Finally, Johannessen (1998) and Partee and Rooth (1983) argue that some instances of coordination are propositional while others are group-forming. As in the case of exceptives, these different semantic proposals are closely tied with the syntactic analysis proposed for conjoined structures (the also old debate between 'conjunction reduction' vs. 'base-generated phrasal conjunction' for coordination of subsentential constituents). Each of the analyses has advantages and drawbacks, and also different consequences which have been discussed in the literature and which we will not attempt to explore here. However, turning back to exceptives, if we take as our point of departure the assumption that CPs – but not DPs – denote propositions, and the idea that, in the interface LF component, a one-to-one mapping from syntax to semantics is executed with no additional operations (if possible), our syntactic proposal seems to straightforwardly connect to non-uniform approaches to the meaning of these constructions.

In the following sections, additional evidence supporting the different parts of our proposal will be presented. In section 4 (and partially in section 5), we offer arguments for the analysis of exceptive markers as coordinating conjunctions and not as prepositions or focal adverbs. In section 5 we provide evidence for the claim that the complement of the exceptive conjunction has a clausal elliptical structure in FEs, while this is not the case in CEs. In this section, we will also argue that ellipsis must be understood as process of XP-movement + PF-deletion.

4. The syntactic category of exceptive markers

The categorial status (preposition/conjunction/adverb) of exceptive markers is the syntactic aspect of EPs that has received most attention in the literature. Specifically with respect to Spanish, it is discussed in Bello (1847), Brucart (1999), De Bruyne (1999), Gutiérrez Ordóñez (1986), Kovacci (1999), Pavón Lucero (1999) and RAE (2009:31.12). In the following subsections, we will analyse the different options and conclude that *excepto*, *salvo* and *menos* in Spanish must be analysed as coordinating conjunctions.

4.1. Exceptive markers as prepositions

Let us first consider the proposal that exceptive markers are prepositions. This is the hypothesis put forth in Moltmann (1992) for exceptive markers in German – (14) – and also Bello (1847) for Spanish. With respect to CEs, this proposal implies that *excepto*, *salvo* and *menos* are Ps introducing a DP. However, Ps assign oblique case in Spanish, (29a), which implies that exceptive particles would be a particular kind of preposition in that they do not assign oblique case, (29b, b') (in fact Bello, 1847 dubbed them *improper prepositions*; see on this issue Gutiérrez Ordóñez, 1986; Pavón Lucero, 1999:9.2.5.3 and RAE, 2009:31.12f).

Moreover, as stated in García Álvarez (2008), Quinn (2005:280–282) notes that personal pronouns occurring as complements of CEs in English may appear in the Nominative case form, although the accusative is also possible, (30). This case-form variation is not unlike that witnessed in coordination constructions, but does not take place with Ps.

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[17] For Munn (1993:147) also the semantics of *but* (in cases like *John but not Fred left*) is amenable to a set theoretical account as an exceptive operator. This sentence means that the set of leavers includes John and excludes Fred.

(29) a. *con   yo,   *para {yo/tú}   - conmigo,   para {mí/ti}
          with I_nominative, for {I/you}_nominative - with-me_oblique, for {me/you}_oblique

      b.   No   quiere   estar con   nadie   excepto yo. [altereia.blogspot.com]
          not want.PRES.3SG be   with nobody   except   I_NOMINATIVE
          'She/He doesn't want to be with anyone except me.'

      b'. No   trabajaré   para nadie   excepto tú.
          not work.FUT.3SG for   nobody   except   you_NOMINATIVE
          'I won't work for anyone except you.'

(30)   Every defense attorney except {I/me}. [García Álvarez, 2008:174, (10b)]

Let us now consider FEs. If it is assumed that the string following the exceptive marker is a subsentential constituent, examples like (31) would contain a preposition selecting a PP. However, the combinatory of prepositions is severely constrained in Spanish by semantic/lexical factors (see Bosque, 1997:133, RAE, 2009:31.12f). Exceptive particles, by contrast, combine with PPs without restrictions. Huddleston and Pullum (2002:641–643) also note that exceptive markers in English take a much wider range of complements than canonical prepositions do (from the categorial point of view).

(31)   Excepto {a / con / contra / de / desde / en / hacia / para / por / sin/...} ti, ...
       except {to / with / against / of / from / in / towards / for / by / without } you _OBLIQUE

On the other hand, if the string following the exceptive marker in FEs is analysed as an (elliptical) sentence, the exceptive construction headed by the prepositions *excepto, salvo* or *menos* would be a case of subordinate adverbial sentence of some kind. However, the fact that FEs display properties of elliptical coordinate sentences, as was shown in section 3 (additional evidence will be offered below), seems to be incompatible with this proposal. In other words, if an ellipsis process (with properties similar to *gapping/polarity ellipsis*) takes place in FEs, the possibility that exceptive markers are subordinators (prepositions or subordinating conjunctions) is excluded. As known since Ross (1967), these ellipsis processes are not possible in subordinate (adverbial) sentences introduced by prepositions or subordinating conjunctions, as the Spanish examples in (32) and (33) respectively show.

(32) *Juan recogerá   al   niño, [_PP **para** [_CP que tú   a   la   niña]].
       John pick.up.FUT.3SG to.the boy, for   that you to the girl
       (Cf. the counterpart without gapping: *Juan recogerá al niño,* [_PP *para* [_CP *que tú recojas a la niña*]] 'John will pick up the boy, so that you can pick up the girl')

(33) *Juan comprará   la   carne, **si** tú   el   pan.
       Juan buy.FUT.3SG the meat   if you the bread
       (Cf. the non-gapped counterpart: *Juan comprará la carne, si tú compras el pan*, 'Juan will buy the meat if you buy the bread').

4.2. Exceptive markers as adverbs

Let us now consider the proposal that exceptive markers are adverbs (De Bruyne, 1999:10.18.2; Kovacci, 1999:11.6). Kovacci (1999:11.6) analyses *excepto* as an adverb belonging to the same class as *también* ('also') and *únicamente* ('only'). Note that, as claimed in RAE (2009:31.12), *excepto* could in principle be considered as an adverb parallel to *incluso* ('even') (which has been analysed as a focal adverb in Sánchez López, 1999, a.o.), on the basis of their semantic properties (exclusion vs. inclusion) and participial origin.[18] However, there are grammatical differences between exceptive markers and focal adverbs like *incluso* (or *solo* 'only', *solamente* 'only', *únicamente* 'only', *exclusivamente* 'exclusively', *también* 'also', etc.) that prevent such a characterization. First, as noted in Pavón Lucero (1999), focal adverbs like *incluso*, as opposed to exceptive markers, are not relational elements from the syntactic point of view, as the contrast in (34) shows (the fact that exceptive markers are relational elements follows straightforwardly from our proposal that they are coordinating conjunctions). Second, focal adverbs but not exceptive markers can appear to the right of the phrase they operate on (35).

(34)   Irás   incluso tú.   / *Irás   excepto tú.
       go.FUT.2SG   even   you ('Even you will go.') / go.FUT.2SG except   you

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[18] On the participial origin of *excepto/salvo,* see Brucart (1999:43.2.3.5), Pavón Lucero (1999:9.2.5.3) and RAE (2009:31.12g); see also Pavón Lucero (1999) for the participial origin of *incluso.*

(35) a. *Puedes   llamarme hasta la   una, incluso.* [Pavón Lucero, 1999:593, (108)]
          can.PRES.2SG call.me   until the   one, even
          'You can call me as late as one o'clock.'
      b. **Iremos   todos, Juan excepto.*
          go.FUT.1PL   all,   Juan except

Note, however, that focal adverbs are also possible in elliptical structures. In (36) the focal adverb precedes two XPs that do not form a constituent, similarly to what happens in FEs. Our claim is that (36) should be analysed as a case where the focal adverb has scope over the second sentential conjunct in a gapped coordinate structure. Also note that the coordinating conjunction *y/e* can be explicit in this context, and it is also possible for the adverb to appear in sentence final position, (37).[19]

(36) *Todos   besarán   a   todas, incluso Juan a Eva.*
      all.MASC   kiss.FUT.3PL to all.FEM, even   Juan to Eva
      'Every boy will kiss every girl, even Juan will kiss Eva.'

(37) *Todos   besarán   a   todas, {(e)   incluso Juan a   Eva/(y)   Juan a Eva incluso}.*
      all.MASC   kiss.FUT.3PL to   all.FEM, (and) even   Juan to Eva/(and) Juan to Eva even
      'Every boy will kiss every girl, even Juan will kiss Eva.'

To conclude this section, we would like to note that *excepto* and *salvo* in exceptive constructions – namely in FEs – cannot be synchronically analysed as fossilized participles (see footnote 18). Under this analysis, *excepto* in (38a) would be the fossilized counterpart of *exceptuado* in the absolute construction in (38b). As we will show in section 4.3 on the basis of facts related to the *coordinate structure constraint,* FEs and the sentence hosting them must have a parallel structure, which argues for the status of the exceptive marker as a coordinating conjunction in these cases; absolute clauses, by contrast, are not subject to parallelism requirements, (39).

(38) a. *Excepto Juan, todos los niños decidieron ir a   la   piscina.*
          except Juan, all   the boys   decided   go to the swimming-pool
          'Except Juan, all the boys decided to go to the swimming-pool.'
      b. *Exceptuado   Juan, todos los niños decidieron ir a   la   piscina.*
          excepted_PARTICIPLE Juan, all   the boys   decided   go to the swimming-pool
          'Apart from Juan, all the boys decided to go to the swimming-pool.'

(39) *Exceptuado   Juan de los herederos legítimos, todos suspiraron   tranquilos.*
      excepted_PARTICIPLE Juan of the heirs,   all   sigh.PAST.3PL relieved
      'Once Juan was excluded from the inheritance, everyone breathed a sigh of relief.'

4.3. Exceptive markers as coordinating conjunctions. More on the coordinate status of free exceptives

The evidence presented in sections 4.1 and 4.2 leads us to conclude that the exceptive markers *excepto*, *salvo* and *menos* are coordinating conjunctions, in both CEs and FEs. With respect to the structure of coordination, we have adopted Munn's (1993) proposal that coordinating conjunctions project a phrase (i.e. a Boolean Phrase) that has the second conjunct as complement and is adjoined to the first conjunct. In this section, we will further elaborate on the proposal that FEs instantiate sentential coordination structures.

Within the BP hypothesis, the structure of sentential (CP) coordination is (40a). As we have claimed, sentences where free exceptives appear have the parallel structure in (40b) (irrelevant nodes omitted, recall (21)). Note that, according to the adjunction approach to coordination, both coordinate sentences and non-selected adverbial subordinate clauses – for example, sentences introduced by *because* or *although,* generally analysed as clauses adjoined to a CP node, (41) – are created by the same syntactic mechanism (adjunction) and have the same phrase structure geometry.

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[19] Note that we do not really want to argue that exceptive markers are not in some sense sensitive to focus, what we would like to stress is that they are not adverbs from the categorial point of view. Thanks to an anonymous referee for pointing out this difference.

(40) a. Sentential coordination: [CP1 [CP1] [BP *y* 'and'/*pero* 'but' [CP2]]]
  b. Exceptive coordination: [CP1 [CP1] [BP *excepto/salvo/menos* 'except' [CP2]]]

(41) Sentential (non-selected adverbial) subordination:
  [CP1 [CP1] [CP2 [C *porque* 'because'/*aunque* 'although'] [TP]]]

Within this hypothesis, the differences in syntactic behaviour between coordinate and non-selected adverbial subordinate sentences derive exclusively from lexical properties of the conjunctions that head the adjoined structure. In this vein, Fernández Salgueiro (2008) claims that coordinating and subordinating conjunctions differ syntactically only in their selectional properties. Subordinating conjunctions are complementizers (C) that select for a TP as complement, (41), while coordinating ones, in the case of sentential coordination, occupy a position higher than C in the second conjunct, (40).

In this regard, the fact that in FEs, *excepto*, *salvo* and *menos* select for a (elliptical) CP as complement is also evidence for their status as coordinating conjunctions. The most compelling evidence for this proposal is that free exceptives, as cases of clausal coordination, are subject to the *Coordinate Structure Constraint* (Ross, 1967 and others). The examples in (42) show that extraction from sentences with FEs can only take place across the board (Williams, 1978 and others). A sentence like (42a) is grammatical. However, relativization of the DO in the main clause results in ungrammaticality, (42b). If the relativization of the DO takes place Across The Board from the host sentence and the FE, the sentence is grammatical, (42c), with the structure in (42d) (see Coppock, 2001 for parallelism effects in coordinate gapped sentences).[20]

(42) a. *Todos los niños han coloreado sus cuadernos, excepto Eva los suyos.*
    all   the children have coloured their notebooks, except Eva the hers
    'All the children coloured their notebooks, except Eva hers.'
  b. **los cuadernos* [que todos   han   coloreado], [excepto Eva los suyos]*
    the notebooks that all the children have coloured,   except   Eva the hers
    '*the notebooks that all the children coloured, except Eva hers'
  c. *los cuadernos que todos   han coloreado, excepto Eva*
    the notebooks that all the children have coloured, except Eva
    'the notebooks that all the children coloured, except Eva'
  d. *los cuadernos [que [[todos han coloreado __], [excepto [Eva __]]]]*

The *Coordinate Structure Constraint* also affects the readings of quantifiers in coordinate structures, hence in FEs. As discussed in May (1985) and Fox (2000), among others, when quantifiers appear in coordinate sentences, scope freezing effects take place as the result of parallelism requirements. Consider the clausal coordination in (43). In the first conjunct, the object *todos los políticos* ('all the politicians') cannot take scope over the subject *un periodista* ('a journalist'), a reading that is possible in (44a). In order to take wide scope, the object must undergo QR, as in (44b). However, in (43), the sentence is part of a coordinate structure, and, as a result, this movement inside the first conjunct violates the CSC. Since there is no quantified object in the second conjunct, QR cannot operate in parallel. Consequently, the wide scope of the indefinite subject is fixed in (43) (un > todos). The same scope freezing effect takes place in sentences with FEs, as the comparison between the possible readings of the indefinite in (44a) and (45) shows. This allows us to conclude that sentences with FEs are cases of sentential coordination: the exceptive marker is a coordinating conjunction introducing a clausal complement.

(43) *Un periodista[i] entrevistó a todos los políticos y después pro[i] se marchó.*
    a journalist interviewed to all   the politicians and then   SE left
    'A journalist interviewed all the politicians and then left.'

(44) a. *Un periodista entrevistó a todos los políticos.* (un > todos; todos > un)
      a journalist interviewed to all the politicians
      'A journalist interviewed all the politicians.'
  b. [*a todos los políticos*[i] [TP *un periodista* [*entrevistó* t[i]]]]

(45) *Un periodista entrevistó a todos los políticos, excepto a Zapatero.* (un > todos)
    a journalist interviewed to all the politicians, except to Zapatero
    'A journalist interviewed all the politicians except Zapatero.'

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[20] See Munn (1993) and Fernández Salgueiro (2008) for a treatment of the CSC within the Boolean Phrase Hypothesis.

If FEs are syntactically characterized as coordinate sentences, something must be said about their parenthetical syntax (remember the examples in (6)), since in canonical coordinate sentences second conjuncts cannot appear in parenthetical positions inside the first conjunct nor can they be fronted (*{Y/Pero} Pedro fue a Madrid, Eva fue a Barcelona '*{And/But} Pedro went to Madrid, Eva went to Barcelona'; *Eva, {y/pero} Pedro fue a Madrid, fue a Barcelona '*Eva, {and/but} Pedro went to Madrid, went to Barcelona'). However, FEs behave in this respect like other non-canonical cases of coordinate structures such as *appositive coordination structures* or *floating parenthetical coordinations,* which have a parenthetical syntax and can even be fronted, (46) (see Matos, 2009; Matos and Colaço, 2011, and references therein).

(46) a. *Yo, y todos lo saben, adoro esos libros.*
          'I–and everybody knows it–love those books.'

      b. *En 1771, y también con Ibarra, había colaborado en una edición del Quijote.*
          'In 1771, and also with Ibarra, he had collaborated on an edition of El Quijote.'
          [A. Gallego, *Grabado*; CREA, RAE, 2009:31.11]

Therefore, the parenthetical syntax of FEs cannot be used as an argument to propose that they are "adverbial" constituents. Conversely, although it is true that appearing in a parenthetical or fronted position has been traditionally considered typical syntactic behaviour of adverbial clauses, not every adverbial clause can appear in parenthetical positions inside the host sentence nor can it be fronted; for example, subordinate adverbial clauses headed by *para que* ('so that, for'), *dado que* ('since') can precede the sentences they combine with (*Para que puedas trabajar, Juan llegará tarde* 'In order for you to work, Juan will arrive late'), but clauses introduced by *de modo que* ('so') are ungrammatical in fronted position (*De modo que podemos empezar, Juan llegará tarde;* intended: 'Juan will be late, so we can begin') (see Fernández Salgueiro, 2008 for parallel cases). We conclude then that whether appearing in parenthetical/fronted position is possible or not depends on properties of specific conjunctions and is not sensitive to whether the conjunction is subordinating or coordinating (see Fernández Salgueiro, 2008 for the same idea). The fact that FEs can be fronted or parenthetical is, therefore, an intrinsic property of the exceptive markers that head the construction, independent from their characterization as coordinating conjunctions, and is probably related to their lexical origin as participles in absolute clauses (recall section 4.2), and connected to their contribution to the organization of discourse information.

Now that we have concluded that exceptive markers must be analysed as coordinating conjunctions from the categorial point of view, in the next section we will focus on the internal structure of EPs.

5. The internal structure of exceptive constructions

The first goal of this section (section 5.1) is to provide additional evidence supporting the proposal introduced in section 3 that exceptive coordinating conjunctions head an elliptical sentential structure in FEs while in CEs the string following the exceptive conjunction has a non-clausal internal structure (it is a DP). Section 5.2 will be specifically devoted to showing that the elliptical CP introduced by the exceptive conjunction in FEs is derived via a two-step process: XP-movement + TP deletion.

5.1. The internal structure of Free vs. Connected exceptives

In sections 3 and 4, some facts were set out which support the hypothesis that FEs are second elliptical conjuncts in a sentential coordination structure. On the one hand, the possibility of multiple XP remnants in these structures is evidence for that proposal. On the other hand, the most compelling argument for the coordinate status of FEs is the fact that they are subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint. In this section we will provide independent evidence for the existence of syntactically active T and C nodes inside the structure of FEs vs. CEs.

The presence of a TP node in the structure of free exceptives can be syntactically detected. If TP – and also other lower functional nodes, for example Voice Phrase – are targeted by ellipsis in FEs, as we claim, their content must be identical to that of their antecedent nodes in order to be semantically recoverable. This 'recoverability condition on ellipsis' implies that in sentences with FEs, CP1 and CP2 must share the same tense and voice specification, as the examples in (47) and (48) show. So, (47a) is grammatical since T is specified as 'present' in both CP1 and CP2, but (47b) is ungrammatical since T is specified as 'present' in CP1 but as 'past' in CP2 (note the presence in CP2 of the adverb *anteayer* which is licensed by a past tense). This 'recoverability condition on ellipsis' also applies in other cases of 'high ellipsis' like gapping/stripping and polarity ellipsis (cf. *Ana habló con Juan ayer y María con Pedro (*mañana)* '*Ana talked to Juan yesterday and María to Pedro tomorrow'; see Merchant, 2007, 2009a,b).

(47) a. *Los trabajadores comen   siempre aquí, excepto Juan los lunes.*
          the workers   eat.PRES always here, except Juan the Mondays

b.　*Los trabajadores comen siempre aquí, excepto Juan anteayer.
the workers　　eat.PRES always here, except Juan the.day.before.yesterday
'The workers always eat here, except Juan {on Mondays / *the day before yesterday}.'

(48)　a.　*Todos los estudiantes fueron examinados por todos los profesores, excepto Juan a Pedro.
all　　the students　　were examined by all　　the teachers, except Juan to Pedro
b.　*Todos los profesores examinaron a Juan, excepto por Pedro.
all　　the teachers　　examined to Juan, except by Pedro

Note that temporal adverbs are not even possible in CEs unless they are built as nominal adjuncts introduced by the preposition *de*, (49). This constitutes additional evidence for the nominal status of the complement of the exceptive conjunction in CEs.

(49)　*Iré　　a cualquier fiesta {[excepto la　tuya]/*[excepto la　tuya　mañana]/*
go.FUT.1SG to any　　party {except the yours/ except the yours tomorrow
/[excepto la　tuya　de mañana]}.
except the yours of tomorrow}
'I will go to any party {except yours / except your party tomorrow}.'

In sentences with FEs, however, it is possible for T to have a different phi-specification in each sentential conjunct. This is the case when, as (50) shows, the subject of CP1 and the subject of CP2 inside the FE have different person/number properties (*ella y yo*: 2nd person plural; *todos*: 3rd person plural), as indicated in the verbal agreement (we assume that there exists an agreement relation between the phi-features of the subject of the sentence and T's phi-features). Nonetheless, the fact that there might be some morphological mismatches between T in CP1 and T in CP2 does not constitute a violation of the 'recoverability condition', as stated in Merchant (2007) with respect to parallel mismatches in coordinate gapped sentences (cf. *Juan fue a Madrid y nosotros a Barcelona* 'Juan went to Madrid, and we to Barcelona'). Therefore it is not an argument against the ellipsis analysis. As described in (50b), the phi-features of T in the elliptical clause inside the FE are recoverable because they agree with the corresponding interpretable phi-features of the subject which is a remnant of the ellipsis process. In this case, the interpretable features of the subject suffice to semantically recover the phi-features of the elided T.

(50)　a.　*Así que, excepto ella y　yo, todos se dispusieron　a morir.*
so that, except she and I, all　SE prepared.3PL to die
'Except she and I, everybody prepared themselves to die.' [J. Benet, *Saúl ante Samuel*, CREA]
b.　[$_{CP1}$ [$_{BP}$ *excepto* [$_{CP2}$ *ella y yo*$_i$ <[$_{TP}$ t_i T_{2PL}]>]] [$_{CP1}$ *todos se dispusieron*$_{3PL}$ *a morir*]]

Let us consider now the presence of a CP node in the structure of FEs. It can be detected through the behaviour of speaker-oriented adverbials in these structures, assuming that, as is generally claimed in the literature, these adverbs are syntactically licensed at the CP level. Consider the example in (51a). Crucially, as (51b) shows, it is possible to have two sentential adverbs: *afortunadamente,* modifying the host sentence (CP1), and *lamentablemente,* modifying CP2 inside the FE.

(51)　a.　*Recibí　regalos de todos los asistentes, excepto de Eva.*
get.PAST.1SG presents from all　the attendees, except from Eva
'I received gifts from all those present except [from] Eva.'
b.　*Recibí,　afortunadamente, regalos de todos los asistentes, excepto, lamentablemente, de Eva.*
get.PAST.1SG, fortunately,　presents from all　the attendees, except, unfortunately,　from Eva
'I received, fortunately, gifts from all those present, except, regrettably, [from] Eva.'

By contrast, as (52a) shows, speaker-oriented adverbials are not possible inside CEs. In (52b) there are two sentential adverbs in the sentence, one of them modifying the CE, the other modifying the whole sentence. The fact that this example is

ungrammatical (vs. (51b)) crucially shows that CEs cannot be modified by sentential adverbs in Spanish. This argues for the proposal that CEs are neither semantically propositional nor syntactically CPs, in contrast to FEs.[21]

(52)   a.   *Recibí   regalos   de todos los asistentes   excepto Eva.*
             get.PAST.1SG presents of all   the attendees, except   Eva
             'I received gifts from all those present except Eva.'
       b.   **Recibí,   afortunadamente, regalos   de todos los   asistentes   excepto, lamentablemente, Eva.*
             get.PAST.1SG, fortunately,   presents of all   the attendees, except, unfortunately,   Eva

Let us offer now one additional paradigm, based on the behaviour of reflexive anaphors inside exceptives, in support of the clausal structure of FEs vs. the non-clausal internal structure of CEs. An example like (53a) shows that a reflexive anaphor *sí (misma)* can be a remnant in FEs. The structure of (53a) is (53b), where the PP (Indirect Object) containing the reflexive anaphor has been moved to the Spec of CP2 prior to the ellipsis of the TP. Note that a reflexive element associated with T *(se)* is present (albeit silent) inside the ellipsis site, since only its presence can license the reflexive anaphor, as the contrast between the grammatical example in (54a) and the ungrammatical example in (54b) indicates. This reflexive element can be understood as a reflexive feature on T that, although elided, is recoverable due to the presence of the reflexive anaphor as remnant.

(53)   a.   *María consentiría   eso a todo el   mundo, excepto a sí misma.*
             María would.allow that to all   the people, except   to REFLEXIVE.FEM
             'Maria would tolerate that from anybody except [from] herself.'
       b.   [CP1 [CP1 *María consentiría eso a todo el mundo*], [BP *excepto*
             [CP2 [PPi *a sí misma*] [CP2 C[E] <[TP *María **se** consentiría eso* [ti]]>]]]]

(54)   a.   *María (no) **se** consentiría   eso a sí misma.*
             María not   SE would.allow that to REFLEXIVE.FEM
             'María would (not) tolerate that from herself.'
       b.   **María (no) consentiría   eso a sí misma.*
             María not   would.allow that to REFLEXIVE.FEM

In contrast, reflexive anaphors are not possible in CEs, as (55a) shows. This is expected under our analysis since the exceptive phrase is a DP coordinated with *todo el mundo* (and is thus part of the Indirect Object of the verb (55b)) and, in this sentence, there is no reflexive element in the host sentence to license the reflexive anaphor. Moreover, as the contrast in (56) shows, reflexive anaphors cannot be licensed as second conjuncts in DP-coordination structures (as is also the case with NPIs; see Camacho, 2003:21). We take this behaviour as strong evidence that CEs are instances of DP coordination, where the second conjunct has a non-clausal internal structure, as opposed to FEs.

(55)   a.   **María consentiría   eso a [*todo el   mundo excepto sí misma*].*
             María would.allow that to all   the people, except REFLEXIVE.FEM.3SG
       b.   … [PP a [DP [DP *todo el mundo*] [BP [conjunction *excepto*] [DP *sí misma*]]]]

(56)   a.   **Protéjete   a [*tu   hijo   y   ti misma*],   y   olvídate de todos los demás.*
             protect   to your child and REFLEXIVE.FEM.2SG, and forget   of all   the rest.

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[21] Examples of CEs like (i), where only one sentential adverb is present in the sentence and it appears inside the exceptive phrase, are acceptable for some speakers. García Álvarez (2008) finds similar English examples and, on the basis of the semantic selectional requirements of sentential adverbials, claims that CEs, while syntactically subsentential, are semantically propositional.

(i)   Recibí   regalos de   todos los asistentes excepto, lamentablemente, Eva.
      get.PAST.1SG presents from the attendees, except, unfortunately,   Eva
      'I received gifts from all those presents except, unfortunately, Eva.'

In fact, examples like *The Columbia students and **possibly** the Harvard students formed the unbroken chain around the Pentagon* (Schein, 1997) have been used to argue for the claim that *and* is a propositional connective, since modal adverbs modify propositions (see Camacho, 2003 for a parallel argument based on Spanish). However, we claim that the grammaticality of (i) can be explained in a way compatible with the proposal set out in this paper if sentential adverbs, semantically modifying a whole proposition, are inherently focus-sensitive adverbs and can thus appear in sentence-internal positions (Shu, 2010 and references therein). Note that focal adverbs can have scope over second conjuncts: *La secretaria e incluso el presidente llegaron tarde a la entrevista* ('The secretary and even the president were late for the interview.').

  b. *Protéjete a* [*ti misma   y   tu   hijo*], *y   olvídate de todos los demás.*
      protect to REFLEXIVE.FEM.2SG and your child, and forget of all   the rest.
      'Protect yourself and your child and forgot all the others.'

In this section, we have offered evidence for the different internal structure of CEs and FEs. CEs have a non-clausal internal structure, while FEs have an elliptical clausal structure, where the exceptive coordinating conjunction introduces an elliptical CP. If the ellipsis process taking place in this CP involves a step of XP-movement, as we have claimed, we expect to find P-stranding effects and locality effects in these constructions. This will be explored in the next section.

5.2. Ellipsis in Free exceptives. A movement + deletion process

As has been pointed out by some authors, island effects are observed in FEs; recall Reinhart's examples in (13) and parallel ungrammatical examples in Spanish, (57a). Under our proposal, the structure of (57a) is (57b). The PP *con los cuadros de Rothko* must have been moved to the left periphery of the CP selected by *excepto* from inside a strong island – a relative clause – hence the ungrammaticality of the sentence. Similarly, extraction from an adjunct island inside the FE leads to ungrammaticality. In (58) extraction of *a Juan* to the Spec of CP2 violates an adjunct island. FEs behave once again like *gapping/polarity ellipsis* in being sensitive to strong islands (**El tipo que traficaba con los cuadros huyó hoy y con las esculturas mañana* '*The fellow who was dealing with the stolen paintings fled today and with the sculptures tomorrow*'; **Yo me enfadé porque suspendieron a todos los de primero, y tú a todos los de segundo* '**I got angry because they failed all the first-year students and you all the second-year students*'; see also the examples in (65)).[22]

(57) a. **[El tipo [que traficaba con   los cuadros]] huyó,   excepto con   los cuadros de Rothko.*
          the guy that dealt   with the pictures   escaped, except with the pictures of Rothko
          **'The fellow that was dealing with the stolen paintings fled, except with the pictures by Rothko.'

      b. [$_{CP1}$ [$_{CP1}$*el tipo que traficaba con los cuadros huyó*] [$_{BP}$ *excepto* [$_{CP2}$ *con los cuadros de Rothko*$_i$ [$_{CP2}$ C <[$_{TP}$ [$_{DP}$ *el tipo* [$_{rel.clause}$ *que traficaba* t$_i$]] [$_{T'}$ T *huyó*]]>]]]]

(58) a. **Menos a Juan, me enfadé   porque   suspendieron a todos.*
          except to Juan, get.PAST.1SG angry because fail.PAST.3PL to everyone
          **'Except for Juan, I got angry because they failed everyone.'

      b. [$_{CP1}$ [$_{BP}$ *menos* [$_{CP2}$ *a Juan*$_i$ [$_{CP2}$ C <[$_{TP}$ *me enfadé* [$_{adjunct}$ *porque suspendieron* t$_i$]>]]]] [$_{CP1}$ *me enfadé porque suspendieron a todos*]]

Consider now examples with weak islands, e.g. interrogative islands. In Spanish, subordinate interrogative clauses selected by *dudar* ('hesitate') or *preguntarse* ('wonder') are islands for extraction, (59), as opposed to subordinate clauses selected by *intentar* ('try'), (60):

(59) a. [*Juan {duda/se pregunta}* [*si   vender el   coche*]]
          Juan hesitates/wonders whether sell   the car
          'Juan hesitates/wonders whether to sell his car.'

      b. *¿[*Qué*$_i$ {*duda/se pregunta*} *Juan* [*si   vender* t$_i$]]?
          what hesitates/wonders Juan whether sell
          *'What does Juan hesitate/wonder about whether to sell?'

(60) a. [*Juan intenta* [*vender el   coche*]]
          Juan tries   sell   the car
          'Juan is trying to sell his car.'

      b. ¿[*Qué*$_i$ *intenta Juan* [*vender* t$_i$]]?
          what tries   Juan sell
          'What is Juan trying to sell?'

The coordination of a FE with a *dudar/preguntarse*-sentence or *intentar*-sentence is possible, (61a), (62a). In these examples, the DP *Juan* is extracted from the main clause inside CP2 – (61b), (62b) – and the sentences are grammatical.

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[22] Island sensitivity in *gapped* coordinate sentences is studied in Coppock (2001), Johnson (2006/9), Wrinkler (2005), Aelbrecht (2007), Lasnik (2009), Merchant (2009b), Repp (2009) and others. For island effects in *gapping* and *polarity ellipsis* in Spanish, see Saab (2010) and the references therein.

(61)   a.   *Los chicos siempre {dudan/se preguntan} si   bailar con   las chicas, excepto Juan.*
            the boys   always hesitate/wonder   whether dance with the girls, except Juan
            'All the boys always hesitate/wonder about whether to dance with the girls, except Juan'

       b.   [$_{CP1}$ [$_{CP1}$...] [$_{BP}$ excepto [$_{CP2}$ Juan$_i$ [$_{CP2}$ C <[$_{TP}$ t$_i$ duda [$_{int.clause}$ si bailar con las chicas]]>]]]]

(62)   a.   *Los chicos siempre intentan bailar con   las chicas, excepto Juan.*
            the boys   always try   dance with the girls, except Juan
            'All the boys always try to dance with the girls, except Juan.'

       b.   [$_{CP1}$ [$_{CP1}$...] [$_{BP}$ excepto [$_{CP2}$ Juan$_i$ [$_{CP2}$ C <[$_{TP}$ t$_i$ intenta [$_{int.clause}$ bailar con las chicas]]>]]]]

However, if a second XP is extracted from the subordinate clause inside the CP2, for some of the speakers consulted, only the *intentar*-sentence is grammatical, as the contrast between (63a) and (64a) shows.[23] This contrast is explained if the PP *con Eva* is in fact subject to a movement process across an island inside the ellipsis site in (63a), but movement does not violate any island in (64a), as made explicit in (63b) and (64b).

(63)   a.   **Los chicos siempre {dudan/se preguntan} si   bailar con   las chicas, excepto Juan con   Eva.*
            the boys   always hesitate/wonder   whether dance with the girls, except Juan with Eva
            '*The boys always hesitate/wonder about whether to dance with the girls, except Juan with Eva.'

       b.   [$_{BP}$ excepto [$_{CP2}$ Juan$_i$ [$_{CP2}$ con Eva$_j$ [$_{CP2}$ C <[$_{TP}$ t$_i$ duda [$_{int.clause}$ si bailar t$_j$]]>]]]]

(64)   a.   *Los chicos siempre intentan bailar con   las chicas, excepto Juan con   Eva.*
            the boys   always try   dance with the girls, except Juan with Eva
            'The boys always try to dance with the girls, except Juan with Eva.'

       b.   [$_{BP}$ excepto [$_{CP2}$ Juan$_i$ [$_{CP2}$ con Eva$_j$ [$_{CP2}$ C <[$_{TP}$ t$_i$ intenta [$_{int.clause}$ bailar t$_j$]]>]]]]

However, interestingly, examples like (63a) are grammatical for some of the speakers consulted. Although we do not have at this point an account for this apparent case of coexisting grammars with respect to the sensitivity of FEs to weak islands, we would like to emphasize the fact that, for those speakers who accept (63a) as grammatical, FEs show a behaviour completely parallel to *polarity ellipsis* with regard to island sensitivity. As has been shown in Saab (2009, 2010), the remnant of *polarity ellipsis* is sensitive to strong islands, for example, relative islands, as shown in (65), but not to weak islands, for example interrogative islands, as shown in (66) (the examples and structures are adapted from Saab, 2010). In this sense, FEs fit in nicely with other kinds of clausal ellipsis phenomena in Spanish.

(65)   a.   **Juan no conoce al   profesor que suspendió a Ana y   a María tampoco.*
            Juan not knows to.the professor that failed   to Ana and to María neither

       b.   *...y a María$_i$ tampoco* <[Juan conoce al profesor [$_{rel.clause}$ que suspendió t$_i$]]>
            intended 'Juan doesn't know the professor that failed Ana, nor does he know the professor that
            failed María.'

(66)   a.   *Juan no sabe   por qué suspendieron a Ana y   a María tampoco.*
            Juan not knows   why   failed.3PL   to Ana and to Maria neither

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[23] Examples with two remnants – one extracted from the main clause, the other from the subordinate clause – have been constructed since examples like *Juan {dudaba/se preguntaba} si bailar con las chicas, excepto con María* 'Juan hesitated/wondered about whether to dance with all the girls except María' are grammatical if the FE is coordinated with the subordinate clause. Moreover, infinitival interrogative sentences have been used since, in examples with two remnants, they cannot be separated by a finite clause boundary, (i), as has already been noted in the literature for exceptives in other languages (see Moltmann, 1992 and others), (ii), and as is also the case for gapping structures, as claimed in Neijt (1979), Coppock (2001), Wrinkler (2005), Johnson (1996/ 2003), Johnson (2006/9), Aelbrecht (2007), Depiante and Vicente (2009), Merchant (2009b), Repp (2009) and others.

(i)   a.   **Todos los niños dijeron que todas las niñas   eran tontas, excepto Juan Eva.*
            all   the boys said   that all   the girls were silly,   except Juan Eva
      b.   **Excepto Pedro con María, todos los niños dijeron que Juan bailaría   con todas.*
            except   Pedro with María, all   the boys said   that Juan would.dance with all$_{FEM}$
(ii) a.   **Jeder Man sagte, dass jede Frau   schön sei, ausser Hans Maria.* [from Moltmann, 1992]
            every man said,   that every women nice is,   except Hans Maria
      b   **Every man said that he danced with every woman except John with Mary.* [from Moltmann, 1992]

b.   ...*y a María*ᵢ *tampoco* <[*Juan sabe* [ᵢₙₜ. ꜀ₗₐᵤₛₑ *por qué suspendieron* tᵢ]]>

'Juan doesn't know why they failed Ana, nor does he know why they failed María.'

Let us turn now to connected exceptives. As (67) shows, CEs can appear inside island constituents. In this case, according to our proposal, as seen in (68a), the CE is the second conjunct inside a DP-coordination structure, which is itself inside the relative island. The grammaticality of this example means that CEs do not have an elliptical clausal structure. Were this the case, as in the hypothetical structure in (68b), *los de Rothko* would have been extracted from an island constituent, which would have caused the ungrammaticality of the sentence; moreover, this would be a case of preposition stranding, which is otherwise forbidden in Spanish, as we will immediately show.

(67)   *El   tipo   que   traficaba   con   todos los cuadros excepto los de Rothko huyó.*
       the   guy   that   dealt   with   all   the pictures except the of Rothko escaped
       'The fellow that was dealing with all kinds of stolen paintings except those by Rothko escaped.'

(68)   a.   ..[ₚₚ *con* [_DP_ [_DP_ *todos los cuadros*] [ₐₚ [꜀ₒₙⱼᵤₙ꜀ₜᵢₒₙ *excepto*] [_DP_ *los de Rothko*]]]]
       b.   ...*[ₐₚ *excepto* [꜀ₚ₂ *los de Rothko*ᵢ [꜀ₚ₂ C <[ₜₚ [_DP_ *el tipo* [ᵣₑₗ.꜀ₗₐᵤₛₑ *que traficaba **con*** tᵢ]] [ₜ T *huyó*]]>]]]

Let us explore then P-stranding effects. As has been observed in Merchant's work on 'high ellipsis' processes, there is a correlation between a language's ability to strand a preposition under movement, for example, under wh-movement, and its ability to strand a preposition inside an ellipsis site. This correlation is expected if (a) ellipsis involves movement of XP constituents, and (b) the same grammatical restrictions are assumed to apply in both elliptical and non-elliptical contexts (*the Uniformity hypothesis*). Spanish is a non-P-stranding language, as examples with wh-movement show, (69). Therefore, P-stranding is not possible in either Spanish coordinate gapped structures: *Juan bailó con María {y Raúl con Eva/ *y Raúl Eva}* ('Juan danced with María, {and Raúl with Eva / and Raúl Eva}'), or in polarity ellipsis cases: *Juan comió con tenedor el helado {y con cuchillo también / *y cuchillo también}* ('John ate the ice-cream with a fork {and with a knife too/ and a knife too}'). As (70a) confirms, P-stranding is also ungrammatical in FEs, as predicted by our syntactic analysis of these structures, (70b).

(69)   *¿Quién*ᵢ *has   venido con* tᵢ? *¿Qué*ᵢ *has   hablado   hoy   de* tᵢ?
       who   has.2sG come   with?   what   has   talked.2sG today   about?
       'Who did you come with? What have you talked today about?'

(70)   a.   *Todos los niños bailaron con todas las niñas en la fiesta, *excepto Juan Eva.*
             (cf. ..., *excepto Juan **con** Eva*)
             'All the boys danced with all the girls at the party, except Juan *(with) Eva.'
       b.   * [ₐₚ *excepto* [꜀ₚ₂ *Juan*ᵢ [꜀ₚ₂ *Eva*ₘ [꜀ₚ₂ C <[ₜₚ tᵢ *bailó **con*** tₘ]>]]]]

Note that, following this reasoning, connected exceptives – for example, (71a) – cannot be considered clausal elliptical constituents. If that were the right analysis for CEs, then we would have to conclude that P-stranding is possible in precisely these constructions; see the hypothesized structure in (71b).

(71)   a.   *Jugué   en la   playa* [***con*** [*todas las   mascotas excepto la   tuya*]].
             play.PAST.1sG in the beach with   all   the pets   except the yours
             'At the beach, I played with all the pets except yours.'
       b.   * [ₐₚ *excepto* [꜀ₚ₂ *la tuya*ᵢ [꜀ₚ₂ C <[ₜₚ *jugué en la playa **con*** tᵢ]>]]]

6. Beyond free and connected exceptives

As mentioned in section 1, in addition to the (free and connected) exceptives introduced by *excepto, salvo* or *menos,* there are exceptive structures introduced by *{excepto/salvo} que* or *a menos que* ('except that') and others headed by *a excepción de, con (la) (sola/única) excepción de, exceptuando* or *{exceptuando/salvando} a* ('with the exception of', 'excepting').²⁴ In this section, we offer a brief description of the behaviour of these exceptive phrases, whose detailed study and formal analysis deserve further research.

Let us first consider the exceptives headed by *{excepto/salvo} que,* (72). In these examples the exceptive marker followed by the complementizer *que* introduces a finite sentence, whose verb appears obligatorily in the subjunctive mood. In this case,

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²⁴ The coordinating conjunction *sino* ('but') also has an exceptive use that will not be dealt with in this paper: *¿Quién sino Juan podría ser culpable?* ('Who else but John could be guilty?').

there is always a modal element (future verb, modal verb or conditional verb) in the host sentence.[25] These properties seem to indicate that *{excepto/salvo} que* are complex subordinating conjunctions, as Gutiérrez Ordóñez (1986) already claimed. Additionally, the participial origin of *excepto/salvo* groups *{excepto/salvo} que* together with other subordinating conjunctions formed through the combination of a fossilized participle and *que* (like *puesto que, dado que, supuesto que, visto que* 'given that', 'since', RAE, 2009:31.11i; exceptives introduced by *a menos que* 'unless' show the same properties, see RAE, 2009:31.12r).

(72) a. *Se precisarán   dos testigos   mayores de edad,* **excepto que** *fuera   imposible   su*
          SE require.FUT.3PL two witnesses adult,   except that   be.SUBJ.3SG impossible their
          concurrencia. [M. Trallero, *La mujer ante la ley*; CREA]
          attendance
          'Two adult witnesses will be required, unless their attendance is impossible.'

      b. **Salvo   que** (...) *decidan   aceptar las propuestas* (...), *el día   3 se*
          except that   decide.SUBJ.3PL accept   the proposals   the day 3 SE
          presentaría   legalmente la   convocatoria de huelga.   [*El País*, 25/10/1980; CREA]
          would.present legally   the call   of strike
          'Unless [the members] decide to accept the proposals, a call to strike will be formally issued on the third of the month.'

With respect to the exceptives headed by *a excepción de, exceptuando, con (la) (sola/única) excepción de* and *{exceptuando/salvando} a*, Bosque (2005) notes that they have licensing conditions different from those of the EPs introduced by *excepto, salvo* and *menos*. Crucially, they do not require a generalization statement or a universally quantified DP to be licensed, and can therefore occur in existential contexts, (73). Similarly, they are licensed by superlatives, (74), while the combination of CEs and FEs with superlatives is highly restricted (see, on this topic, Bosque, 2005, García Álvarez, 2008:1.5.5, Hoeksema, 1995:4.3, and others).

(73) a. *Había   tres tartas* { **exceptuando/*excepto** } *la   que había   llevado yo*
          there.was three cakes, excepting/except   the that had   taken   I
                                                                              [Bosque, 2005:162, (61)]
          'There were three cakes excepting/except the one that I had taken.'

      b. *Solo había   tres adultos en la sala,* {[***salvo** *el entrevistador*]/
          only there.was three adults   in the room   except   the interviewer/
          [**con la excepción de***l   entrevistador*] /[**a excepción de***l   entrevistador*]/
          with the exception of.the interviewer/   to exception of.the interviewer/
          [**exceptuando a***l   entrevistador*]}.
          excepting   to.the interviewer
          'There were only three adults in the room {*except/excepting} the interviewer.'

(74) a. *Haydn es el   mejor músico   de su generación* {***excepto**/**exceptuando a**} *Mozart.*
          Haydn is the best   musician of his generation except/excepting   to   Mozart
          'Haydn was the best musician of his generation {except/excepting Mozart}.'

      b. *La única persona que estaba al   corriente,*   {***menos** *el/ a excepción de*l} *cajero.*
          the only person who was to.the knowledge,   but   the/ to exception of.the cashier
          'The only person who knew about it {*but/with the exception of} the cashier.'

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[25] Examples like (i), parallel to English examples like (ii), are ungrammatical in Spanish (we would like to thank L. McNally for providing this contrast).

(i)   *Todos los niños bailaron con todas las niñas, excepto que Juan no bailó con María.

(ii) All the boys danced with all the girls, except that John didn't dance with Mary.

There is a second class of *excepto que* structures, illustrated in (iii), which seem to be semantically dependent on adjectives like *parecido, similar* or *idéntico* and nouns like *diferencia* or *cambio*. In this case, the verb in the finite sentence always appears in the indicative mood.

(iii) Es bastante parecido al Americano, excepto que los predios rurales son de menor tamaño

       'It is quite similar to what can be seen in America, except that the plots of land are smaller.'

    c.   *María es la más inteligente de la familia, {*salvo/con la excepción de} tía Gertrudis.*
        'María is the most intelligent member of the family {save/with the exception of} Aunt Gertrudis.'

                                                              [Bosque, 2005:162, (62)]

From the syntactic point of view, the exceptive phrases mentioned in the previous paragraph do not form a uniform class. Let us first consider *con (la) (sola, única) excepción de* and *{exceptuando/salvando} a*. These exceptives markers introduce only DPs, (75); they cannot introduce for example a PP parallel to some PP constituent in the host sentence. They cannot introduce multiple XPs either, (76). However, they can be fronted, (77). These properties lead us to conclude that these exceptive particles are not coordinating conjunctions, and the structures they introduce must be analysed instead, loosely speaking, as sentence-level "adverbials", with a non-sentential internal structure.[26]

(75) a.   *...tienen fronteras con todos los países de América del Sur, con la sola excepción de (*con) Chile.*
           [*Revista Hoy*, 15/09/1999; CREA]
           'They share frontiers with all the countries of South America, with the single exception
           of (*with) Chile.'
    b.   *...[establecer] "un diálogo con todas las fuerzas políticas, exceptuando a (*con)*
           set up   a   dialogue with all   the forces political, excepting   to with
           aquellas que   utilicen directamente la violencia". [*La vanguardia*, 21/7/1994; CREA]
           those   that use directly the violence
           '...[to set up] a dialogue with all political forces, with the exception of those who directly resort to violence.'

(76) **Todos los niños bailaron con todas las niñas, {con la sola excepción de/ exceptuando a} Juan*
      all   the boys danced with all   the girls, with the single exception of/ excepting   to Juan
      con Eva.
      with Eva
      *'All the boys danced with all the girls, {with the single exception of/excepting} Juan with Eva.'

(77) a.   *Con excepción de Italia, los países fundadores de la CEE firman el Acuerdo.*
           with exception of Italy, the countries founding of the ECC sign   the agreement
           'With the exception of Italy, all the founding members of the EEC signed the agreement.'
           [P. Voltes, *Historia de la Peseta*; CREA]
    b.   *Exceptuando a Recaredo II, todos los monarcas visigodos acuñaron moneda...*
           excepting   to Recaredo II, all   the monarchs Visigoth minted   currency
           'Excepting Reccare II, all the Visigoth monarchs minted their own currency...'' [P. Voltes, *Historia de la Peseta*; CREA]

Consider now *a excepción de* and *exceptuando*, which seem to have two different uses. On the one hand, these markers behave like coordinating conjunctions. As (78) shows, they can introduce constituents other than DPs, such as a PP parallel to some PP constituent in the host sentence – which can be a null argument – (78a). Moreover, they can introduce more than one XP as complement, (79). These observations lead us to the conclusion that, in this use, they behave as coordinating elements introducing an elliptical sentential complement, like *excepto/salvo/menos* in FE constructions. Note that the exceptive phrase can also be fronted.

(78) a.   *No damos   cenas a excepción de a grupos que se hospedan previo   aviso.*
           not give.PRES.1PL dinners to exception of to groups that SE stay   previous notice
           'We do not prepare dinners with the exception of groups who have booked lodging in advance.'
           [www.pazodesoutullo.com]
    b.   *Todo el   mundo desconfiaba de todos exceptuando de los más   allegados.*
           all   the people distrusted of all   excepting   of the most closest
           'Everyone distrusted everyone else except those closest to them.' [www.fanfiction.net]

(79) *Todos los niños bailarán   con todas las niñas, {a excepción de/ exceptuando} Juan con Eva.*
    all   the boys will.dance with all   the girls, to exception of/ excepting   Juan with Eva
    'All the boys will dance with all the girls, except Juan with Eva.'

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[26] We would like to thank an anonymous referee for pointing out the differences described in this paragraph.

(80)   a.   *A   excepción   de a   grupos que se   hospedan   previo   aviso, no   damos   cenas.*
             to   exception   of to   groups that SE   stay   previous   notice not   give.PRES.1PL   dinners
             '…With the exception of groups who have booked lodging in advance, we do not prepare dinners.'

       b.   *Exceptuando   de los   más   allegados, todo el   mundo desconfiaba de todos.*
             excepting   of the   most   closest   all   the   people distrusted of all
             'Except for those closest to them, everyone distrusted everyone else.'

On the other hand, these markers head a phrase that shows an "adverbial" behaviour. As was the case with *con (la) (sola, única) excepción de* and *{exceptuando/salvando} a,* in this use, they have only one DP constituent as complement, (81), (82). These cases, however, cannot be put on an equal footing with *connected exceptives* introduced by *excepto, salvo* or *menos,* because fronting is possible, (83).

(81)   a.   *No   he   dicho una palabra a   nadie,   a   excepción   de mi   marido.*
             not   have.PRES.1SG said a   word   to nobody,   to exception   of my   husband
             'I haven't told a word to anyone, with the exception of my husband.' [www.todoexpertos.com]

       b.   *Está   a   merced de los   intereses de todos, exceptuando los   propios.*
             is.PRES.3SG at   mercy of the   interests of all,   excepting   the own
             'She is a slave to everyone's interests but her own.' [www.buenastareas.com]

(82)   **Nadie   ha   dicho una palabra a   nadie,   a   excepción   de Eva mi   marido.*
         nobody   has   said a   word   to nobody,   to exception   of Eva my   husband
         'No one has said a thing to anyone, with the exception of my husband Eva.'
         (Cf. …, *a excepción de a mi marido Eva* 'except to my husband Eva')

(83)   a.   *A   excepción de la   suerte de matar, en todas las demás era   modelo de pureza.*
             to   exception of the   way of kill,   in all   the rest   was.3SG model of purity
             'Except in the way he killed [the bull], he was a paragon of purity.' [*El País*, 10/10/1980; CREA]

       b.   *Exceptuando la   última versión de este producto* […], *con   todas las anteriores*
             excepting   the last   version of this product,   with all   the previous
             se han   descrito   anomalías de funcionamiento. [*El País*, 01/05/2003; CREA]
             SE have   described anomalies in   performance
             'Except for in the latest version of this product, anomalies in performance have been detected.'

7. Conclusions

In this paper we have explored the syntax of Spanish exceptive phrases introduced by *excepto, salvo* or *menos* ('except'). We have claimed that these particles are coordinating conjunctions which join two subsentential nominal constituents in connected exceptives and two full sentences in free exceptives, the second conjunct being an elliptical clause. We have shown that, from the empirical point of view, this analysis can account for many syntactic properties of these constructions in Spanish. The cross-linguistic validity of our proposals, however, remains to be tested.

From the theoretical perspective, our proposal implies enriching the standard paradigm of coordinating conjunctions by adding the class of exceptive conjunctions (as has in fact been suggested in recent traditional Spanish Grammar; see RAE, 2009). The connections, similarities and limits between different classes of coordinating conjunctions deserves further research, since, for example, the syntactic behaviour of exceptive conjunctions in connected and free exceptives parallels to some extent the behaviour of adversative conjunctions like *but.* As Vicente (2010) has convincingly argued, the adversative conjunction *but* can occur in two syntactic environments, each of them associated with two different meanings. In its *corrective* use, *but* requires clausal level coordination (with an optional subsequent step of ellipsis). In its *counterexpectational* use, *but* can directly coordinate subclausal constituents. Thus the relationship between exceptive coordination and adversative coordination certainly warrants further study.

Moreover, the grammatical properties of exceptive phrases, specifically, free exceptives, support Munn's (1993) approach to the structure of coordination, where the conjunction and second conjunct form a maximal constituent that is adjoined to the first conjunct. In the case of non-canonical sentential coordination, this maximal constituent also behaves as a prosodic (parenthetical) unit. Free exceptives, can thus be classified in the group of non-canonical coordination structures, together with *appositive coordinations* and *parenthetical coordinations.*

The properties of exceptive phrases, specifically of FEs, also support a structural approach to ellipsis, whereby (a) elliptical sentences are in fact syntactically fully-fledged, though non-pronounced, clausal structures, and (b) ellipsis is understood as

a complex process involving XP-movement plus PF-ellipsis. We have also shown that the ellipsis process taking place in FEs patterns with *gapping* and *polarity ellipsis* in Spanish, with respect to connectivity and locality effects. Crucially, then, free exceptives seem to be one instance of the kind of structures grouped under the label of "high-ellipsis processes", where PF-deletion affects the TP node of a full sentential structure. In particular, FEs behave like *polarity ellipsis* with respect to island sensitivity: both are sensitive to strong islands but not to weak islands (at least for some speakers, in the case of FEs). As Saab (2010) has shown, other environments where overt movement takes place, like Clitic Left Dislocation, also exhibit the same constraints with respect to island sensitivity. Thus, although an account of inter-speaker variation with respect to (weak) island repair in FEs remains to be articulated, FEs constitute new empirical evidence for the *Uniformity Hypothesis*, according to which the same operations and grammatical constraints operate uniformly in both elliptical and non-elliptical contexts.

Acknowledgements

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