The Syntax of Exceptives and Exclamatives in Arabic

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the syntax of exceptive constructions and exclamative constructions in Arabic. The study of both types of constructions is significant as it raises questions for case theory, word order, agreement, negation, and the syntax-semantics interface. However, contra previous studies, this thesis argues that both exceptives and exclamatives are nonsentential phrases (i.e., ExP 'Exceptive Phrases' and ExclP 'Exclamative Phrases'), and there is no evidence to analyze them as TPs or CPs; in fact, there is compelling counter-evidence.

The morphosyntactic complexities in Arabic exceptives cast doubts on the adequacy of previous proposals in the literature and lead the thesis to argue for more principled accounts in which exceptive particles are the lexicalization of the functional head Ex which exists in two distinct environments. The first involves the full-fledged *ex*P in which there are two different sources for theta-role and case assignment, and the second includes the functionally impoverished ExP in which one single source is available for both theta-role and case assignment. The thesis explains that the Ex-complement is assigned the accusative case only when the ExP is projected as a full-fledged *ex*P. In the functionally impoverished ExP, a particular case is assigned on both the ExP-associate and the ExP-complement by PF-concord mechanism (i.e., Morphological Feature Copying). Furthermore, the thesis shows that free exceptives cannot include any maximal projection and cannot have greater distributional freedom than connected exceptives, contra previous

studies. In brief, the thesis argues against an analysis in the light of coordination and ellipsis and maintains that Arabic exceptives are nonsententials.

In a similar vein, the thesis argues that Arabic exclamatives (Excls) are also nonsententials; they are largely temporally deictic to the here and now, and they are anchored by the context rather than Tense (i.e., they lack the TP layer). Based on this assumption, the thesis argues that Excls are asymmetrical small clauses projected as ExclPs. This analysis accounts for the peculiarities and intricacies of the three types of Arabic Excls (i.e., *Wh*-Excls, vocative Excls, and verbal Excls) such as their inflexible word order, case alternation on the referent, and the presence of some particles and affixes although not semantically required. The analysis of Excls as nonsententials is argued to be more adequate as it is more closely associated with the defining properties of Excls (i.e., evaluation and referentiality), and also to be more convincing since even the presence of the copula *kān* 'was' cannot be considered as counterevidence. The thesis argues that it is the realization of the Excl head, rather than an auxiliary verb in V or T, as evidenced by its distinctive semantic and distributional properties.

بِسۡمِ اللّٰہِ الرَّحۡمٰنِ الرَّحِیۡمِ

اَلۡحَمۡدُ لِلّٰہِ الَّذِیۡ لَہٗ مَا فِی السَّمٰوٰتِ وَمَا فِی الۡاَرۡضِ وَلَہُ الۡحَمۡدُ فِی الۡاٰخِرَۃِ ؕ وَھُوَ الۡحَکِیۡمُ الۡخَبِیۡرُ

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

All praise be to Allah to Whom belongs all that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth, and all praise be to Him in the World to Come. He is Most Wise, All-Aware. (Surat Sabaʾ, Verse 1)

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Dedication

إلى زوجتي العزيزة و أولادي ريان و سما

To my dear wife and my kids Ryan and Sama

Committee:

Dr. Phil Branigan, supervisor

Dr. Nicholas Welch, supervisor

Dr. Ian Fleming, chair

Dr. Rose-Marie Déchaine, examiner

Dr. Arthur Sullivan, examiner

Dr. Carrie Dyck, examiner

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List of Abbreviations and Phonetic Symbols

I. Abbreviations

a: “litte” a
A: adjective
ACC: accusative
AGR: agreement
AP: adjectival phrase
CA: Classical Arabic
CE: connected bound exceptive
COMP: complementizer
COP: copula
CP: clausal phrase
D: determiner
DEF: definite article
DP: determiner phrase
DR: domain restriction feature
DS: domain substraction feature
DUAL: dual
E-feature: ellipsis feature
EPP: extended projection principle feature
Ex: Exceptive head
ex: exceptive head
EXCL: exclamative
ExclP: exclamative Phrase
ExP: exceptive Phrase
EVAL: evaluative force
FE: free exceptive
FEM: feminine
FUT: future
GEN: genitive
INDEF: indefinite article
JA: Jordanian Arabic
MASC: masculine
MSA: Modern Standard Arabic
NEG: negative
NOM: nominative
NW: *nūn alwiqāya* ‘preventive n’
OBJ: object

PL: plural
POSS: possessive
PREP: preposition
PRFX: prefix
PRS: present
PST: past
PTCL: particle
R: relator
RP: relator phrase
SBJ: subject
SG: singular
TP: tense phrase
v: “little” v
V-EXCL: verbal exclamative
VOC: vocative
VOC-EXCL: vocative exclamative
+D: determiner feature associated with Voice head
1, **2**, **3**: first, second, third person, respectively
Ø: Phonologically null element

II. Phonetic Symbols

a. Transcription of consonants

Symbol	Description
ʾ	Glottal stop
b	Voiced bilabial stop
t	Voiceless dento-alveolar stop
t̲	Voiceless interdental fricative
j	Voiced post-alveolar affricate
ḥ	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative
ḵ	Voiceless velar fricative
d	Voiced dento-alveolar stop
d̲	Voiced interdental fricative
r	Voiced alveo-palatal trill
z	Voiced alveolar fricative
s	Voiceless alveolar fricative
š	Voiceless alveo-palatal fricative
ṣ	Voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative
ḍ	Voiced alveolar emphatic stop
ṭ	Voiceless dento-alveolar emphatic fricative
d̲̂	Voiced interdental emphatic fricative

ʿ	Voiced pharyngeal fricative
ġ	Voiced velar fricative
f	Voiceless labio-dental fricative
q	Voiceless uvular stop
k	Voiceless velar stop
l	Voiced alveolar lateral
m	Voiced bilabial nasal
n	Voiced alveolar nasal
h	Voiceless glottal fricative
w	Voiced labiovelar glide
y	Voiced palatal glide

b. Transcription of vowels

Short	**Long**	**Description**
a	ā	central open
u	ū	front closed
i	ī	back closed round

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

This doctoral thesis aims to investigate the syntax of exceptive constructions, e.g., *Everyone passed except John*, and exclamative constructions, e.g., *How smart he is*, in Arabic. The conceptual motivation for treating both constructions within the same thesis is related to the fact that these constructions represent case studies of defective functional projections. Contra previous studies, this thesis argues that both exceptives and exclamatives are nonsentential phrases (i.e., ExP 'Exceptive Phrases' and ExclP 'Exclamative Phrases'), and there is no evidence to analyze them as full-fledged CP structures; in fact, there is compelling counter-evidence.

Moreover, exceptives and exclamatives raises questions for case theory (i.e., case alternations in structures that look the same), word order (i.e., degrees of (in)flexibility of word order in some, but not other, structures), agreement, negation, and the syntax-semantics interface (i.e., the effect of the semantics on particular structures, and how syntax and semantics are related), topics that have been of considerable significance in modern syntactic analysis. Besides, the study of the peculiarities and intricate relations involved in Arabic exceptives and exclamatives has significant theoretical consequences and

implications which shed light on how these constructions can be understood and explained crosslinguistically in a conceptually simpler and computationally more economical way.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 2 presents a brief discussion of ExPs in Arabic and focuses on issues related to case alternations, agreement, and negation. Section 3 provides an overview of Arabic ExclPs and highlights the different syntactic strategies and the several idiosyncrasies involved in Arabic ExclPs. Section 4 considers main aims of the thesis. Section 5 deals with the different methods and sources of data collection that are followed in conducting this research.

2. Exceptive constructions

An exceptive is a "subordinate clause [which] functions to present an exception to an idea, action or situation that is presented in the main clause" (Arnold & Choi, 2018: 193). The exceptive element *but* (and also *except, except for* and *only*) in a sentence such as *Every student but John attended the meeting* is used to express restriction or, according to von Fintel (1993: 126), to create domain subtraction. This restrictive behavior is assumed to be shared by all exceptive constructions. ExPs are constructed cross-linguistically by using an exclusive focus element like *only* (1a) or an exceptive particle together with a quantifier (1b) (see, e.g., von Fintel & Iatridou, 2007: 446-447):

1) a. *Only* John came. (languages like German, Finnish, Spanish, Tagalog, etc.)

b. *No*body came *except* John. (languages like Greek, French, Irish, Hebrew, etc.)

The Arabic languages are similar to languages in (1b) in the sense that ExPs are used in negative sentences with the particle *ʿilla* 'except', but are different from a closely related Semitic language, Hebrew, because ExPs can also be used in affirmative sentences (Zewi, 1998: 546) as in (2) [1]:

2) *ʿta al-jamiiʾ-u ʿilla Zayd-a-n*

came DEF-all-NOM except Zayd-ACC-INDEF

'All came except Zayd.'

Arabic exceptive constructions include three main parts: the exceptive particle *illā* 'except' (and also other exceptive particles *siwā, ʿadā, ḳalā, ḥāšā,* and *ġayr* 'except'); ExP-complement 'the excepted noun'; and ExP-associate 'the associate of the ExP (i.e., the noun excepted from).' In (3) the exceptive particle *ʾillā* is preceded by the ExP-associate *ʾaḥad* 'anyone' and followed by the ExP-complement *Zayd*.

[1] I consider nunation *-n* as an indefinite article, that is, it is a determiner like the definite article *al-* for two reasons. (i) The definite article *al-* and nunation *-n* are in complementary distribution (****al****-walad-u-****n*** 'the a boy'). (ii) Both *al-* and *-n* cannot occur in annexation (i.e., attachment to a pronoun) ****al****-walad-u-k* / **walad-u-****n****-k*, or in the construct state formed of two nominals *ṣadiiq* 'friend' *and ʿamr* 'Omar' like ****al****-ṣadiiq-a ʿamrin* 'Omar's friend'/ * *ṣadiiq-a-****n*** *ʿamrin* 'Omar's friend' (Al-Ansari, 1991:740, cited in Al-Bataineh, 2020:341).

3) *mā* *raʾay-tu* *ʾaḥad-a-n* *ʾilla* *Zayd-a-n*

not saw-I anyone-ACC-n except Zayd-ACC-n

'I did not see anyone except Zayd.'

The ExP-complement can be assigned a structural case depending on its position in the clause, as exemplified in (4a-c):

4) a. *mā* *ʾatā-nī* *ʾillā* *Zayd-**u**-n*

not came-me except Zayd-**NOM**-n

'None came to me except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017: 143)

b. *mā* *laqī-tu* *ʾillā* *Zayd-**a**-n*

not met-I except Zayd-**ACC**-n

'None did I meet except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017: 143)

c. *mā* *marar-tu* *ʾillā* *bi-Zayd-**i**-n*

not passed-I except by-Zayd-**GEN**-n

'None did I pass by except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017: 143)

This simplified view does not account for a number of peculiarities. First, the absence of the negative particle leads to ungrammaticality when the ExP-associate is also omitted. Consider the affirmative equivalents of (4a-c) below:

5) a. *ʾ*atānī ʾillā Zaydun*

b. * *laqītu ʾillā Zaydan*

c. **marartu ʾillā biZaydin*

This suggests a well-established correlation/ dependency between the ExP-associate and the negative particle. In other words, exceptives can function as arguments only when they are associated with a negative particle. However, the use of negative exceptives as arguments is not a linguistic fact specific to Arabic; in many languages, parallel structures can be found. Potsdam & Polinsky (2017: 30-31) point out that in Tahitian (Polynesian), the exceptive phrase is constructed of the negative element *ʻaita* and the exceptive particle *rā* 'but, except.' Consider (6):

6)	*ʻua*	*tae*	*pauroa*	*mai*	*te*	*mau*	*tamari'i*	*'aita*	*rā*	*'o*	*Poe*
	PFV	come	all	DIR	DET	PL	child	NEG	but	DET	Poe

'All the children came, only Poe didn't.'

Notice that in Tahitian, the ExP *rā 'o Poe* 'except Poe' is preceded by the negative element *'aita* to form one meaning 'only Poe' equivalent to the Arabic DP *mā ʾillā zayd* 'only Zayd.' Similar patterns also exist in other languages. Nevalainen (1999:167-168) states that in the Middle English "*ne...but* [occurs] in cases like *Mary nis but a child* 'Mary is only a child' [... and the two elements *ne...but* undergo incorporation and become] *nobbut* in some northern varieties of British English". Hasegawa and Koenig (2011:1-3) notes that in Japanese "[the exceptive particle] *-shika* obligatorily co-occurs with the negative verbal

suffix *-na* [which implies] morphosyntactic dependency between *-shika* and *-na*: *-Shika* requires the presence of *-na*" as exemplified in (7):

7) *Yuna-shika ko-na-katta*.
Yuna-SHIKA come-NEG-PST
'Only Yuna came.'

What is remarkable about the given negative particles (i.e., Tahitian *'aita*, Middle English *ne,* and Japanese *-na*) is that they semantically rely on the exceptive particle to give the exclusive meaning, and they do not convey ordinary sentential negation. In a similar vein, Breitbarth (2015:13) points out that in Middle Dutch, Middle High German, and Middle Low German, the negative particle "*ne*/*en* in exceptive clauses is not a negative marker with sentential scope" which suggests that both the negative particle together with the exceptive particle form an environment in which "the construction derives the exceptive semantics in a compositional fashion" which is parallel to Arabic DP *mā ʾillā zayd* 'only Zayd'.

Secondly, there is also a dependency between morphological case marking and the function of exceptives. Consider (8-8'') which exemplify the three syntactic configurations of exceptives, viz., ExPs functioning as arguments, ExPs in case alternating constructions, and ExPs in accusative-only constructions, respectively.

8) a. *mā* *ḥaḍara* *ʾillā* *ṭālib-**u**-n*

not came except student-**NOM**-INDEF

b.* *mā* *ḥaḍara* *ʾillā* *ṭālib-**a**-n*

not came except student-**ACC**-INDEF

'Only one student came.' (Alhawary, 2011:310)

8') a. *mā* *ḥaḍara* *ʾaḥad-u-n* *ʾillā* *ṭālib-**u**-n*

not came one-NOM-INDEF except student-**NOM**-INDEF

b. *mā* *ḥaḍara* *ʾaḥad-u-n* *ʾillā* *ṭālib-**a**-n*

not came one-NOM-INDEF except student-**ACC**-INDEF

'No one came except a student.'

8'') a.* *ḥaḍara* *al-jamiiʾ-u,* *ʾillā* *ṭālib-**u**-n*

came DEF-all-NOM except student-**NOM**-INDEF

b. *ḥaḍara* *al-jamiiʾ-u,* *ʾillā* *ṭālib-**a**-n*

came DEF-all-NOM except student-**ACC**-INDEF

'All came except one student.'

These sentences represent three syntactic configurations in which case is realized differently. Although the excepted noun *ṭālib* 'student' occupies the same position after the exceptive particle *ʾillā*, it has only the nominative case in (8a), either nominative or accusative in (8b), and only accusative in (8c).

Thirdly, word order corelates with case alternation, negation, and the function of ExP. In (8a-c), ExPs functioning as arguments cannot be fronted in (8a). ExPs in case alternating constructions can be fronted only if the ExP-complement is assigned accusative case, but if it has the same case as the ExP-associate, it cannot be fronted in (8b). ExPs in accusative-only constructions can be fronted in both negative and affirmative sentences in (8b,c).

These facts (and other idiosyncrasies to be explained in chapter 3) cast doubt on the adequacy of the previous proposals in the literature. I will argue that exceptive particles are base-generated in Ex 'exceptive head' which projects into an ExP, rather than a PP, an AdvP, or a ConjP. The ExP can be headed by little *ex* head to form a full-fledged *ex*P or in the absence of *ex,* the ExP forms a functionally impoverished structure. The main difference between these two configurations is that only in a full-fledged *ex*P, the accusative case is assigned, otherwise, Case Concord takes place. This argument is supported by several pieces of evidence related to word order, negation, and case assignment. Chapter 3 provides a detailed analysis of these issues in addition their effects on the semantics of exceptive constructions in a unified manner; showing that the semantics of ExPs can denote not only domain subtraction but also focused domain.

3. Exclamative constructions

The second structure to be investigated in the thesis is exclamatives. According to the widespread view, exclamations are linguistic expressions that express the speaker's strong feelings (e.g., surprise, enthusiasm, anger, etc.) or reactions towards some state of affairs as exemplified in (9):

9) a. What an amazing house he bought!

b. How beautiful she is!

c. John came!

d. Look, he is coming!

The thesis focuses on proper exclamatives like (9a,b) whose syntactic constructions are indicative of their force (i.e., the use of *how* and *what*) rather than exclamations (9c,d) which can be of any clause type (i.e., declaratives, interrogatives or imperatives) with falling intonation (for a detailed differentiation between exclamatives and exclamations, see Miró, 2008).

In addition to the use of *wh*-phrases to construct Arabic exclamatives, there are another two uncommon syntactic strategies, namely, the utilization of a vocative particle or a verbal element. Thus, there are three types of exclamatives in Arabic: the wh-exclamatives (Wh-Excls), vocative exclamatives (Voc-Excls), and verbal exclamatives (V-Excls). The first type involves the utilization of the *wh*-elements *šū* 'how' and *ayš* 'what' which have distinct selectional properties, as shown in (10- 10') and (11-11'):

10) a.* *šū* *zākī*

how delicious

b. *šū* *zākī* *ha-l-ʾakil*

how delicious PRFX-DEF-food

c.* *šū* *zākī* *l-ʾakil*

how delicious DEF-food

'How delicious (the food is)!'

10') a.* *ayš* *zākī*

what delicious

b.* *ayš* *zākī* *ha-l-ʾakil*

what delicious PRFX-DEF-food

c. * *ayš* *zākī* *l-ʾakil*

what delicious DEF-food

'How delicious (the food is)!'

11) a.* *šū/* *ayš* *l-ʾakil*

how/ what DEF-food

b.* *šū/* *ayš* *l-ʾakil* *zākī*

how/ what DEF-food delicious

'What a (delicious) food it is!'

11') a. *šū/ ayš ha-l-ʾakil*

how/ what PRFX-DEF-food

b.* *šū/ ayš ha-l-ʾakil zākī*

how/ what PRFX-DEF-food delicious

'What a (delicious) food it is!'

(10-10') show that only *šū* 'how' selects an AP which can be followed by an optional *ha*-DP, and (11) demonstrates that both *šū* 'how' and *ayš* 'what' select *ha*-DP which cannot be followed by an AP. That is, when the AP is present, only *šū* 'how' is allowed, and when the AP absent, then there is a choice between *šū* and *ayš*. These facts indicate that the presence of AP determines the choice of the *wh*-form, and its absence gives equal opportunity for both *wh*-forms to be utilized. Apart from their selectional properties that correspond to the word order of AP and *ha*-DP, these *wh*-forms show the peculiar presence of obligatory *ha*- which is optional in equivalent declarative clauses, as exemplified in (12).

12) a. *ʿajab-n-i ha-l-ʾakil*

liked-NW[2]-me PRFX-DEF-food

b. *ʿajab-n-i l-ʾakil*

liked-NW-me DEF-food

'I liked the food.'

[2] This *-n-* (called in Arabic grammar *nūn alwiqāya* 'preventive n', abbreviated here as NW) is obligatorily inserted after the verb only when it is followed by the 1SG.SUB/OBJ/POSS 'I/ me/ my.'

The second type is vocative exclamatives (Voc-Excls) which utilize vocative phrases to denote evaluation and expressivity. Voc-Excls are syntactically and semantically distinct from VocPs. Notice the change of case marking on the DP following the vocative particle *yā* in (13, 13'):

13) a. *yā* *rajul-**a**-n,* *(ʾaġliq al-bāb-a)*
O man-**ACC**-INDEF close DEF-door-ACC

b. *yā* *rajul-**u**,* *(ʾaġliq al-bāb-a)*
O man-**NOM** close DEF-door-ACC
'Man, (close the door).'

13') a. *yā* *jamāl-**a*** *al-ṭabīʿat-i*
O beauty-**ACC** DEF-nature-GEN

b. *yā* *la-jamāl-**i*** *al-ṭabīʿat-i*
O PREP-beauty-**GEN** DEF-nature-GEN
'How captivating the beauty of nature is!'

While the DP has either the accusative or the nominative case in VocPs, the DP has either the accusative or the genitive case in Voc-ExclPs. Similar to *ha-* in Wh-ExclPs, the spurious preposition *la-* comes to the derivation for no obvious semantic reason and functions as a genitive case assigner, hence, the DP is not marked either accusative or nominative like in VocPs. Additionally, unlike the vocative which can be an indefinite entity such as *rajulan* 'a man,' the entity exclaimed about must be definite and specific. From a semantic standpoint, vocatives and exclamatives can be differentiated according to

the feature [ANIMACY] which must exist in the former since it is directed to the addressee (cf. # *yā qalamu* 'O pencil', unless used metaphorically) and must not be present in the latter simply because the particle *yā* is exclamative, rather than vocative, in nature. Moreover, unlike vocatives, an element with the [DEGREE] feature must exist in exclamatives explicitly or implicitly, consider (14) which exemplifies the necessity of a gradable element, in this case *ʿuḏūbat* 'purity', that can be omitted only if inferable from the context:

14) *yā* *l-(ʿuḏūbat-i)* *al-māʾ-i*

O PREP-(purity-GEN) DEF-water-GEN

'How pure the water is!'

The third type is verbal exclamatives (V-Excls) which involve the use of a verbal element according to two syntactic strategies, viz., the use of evaluative verbs and the utilization of morphological verbal templates. The first strategy requires the AP to be a verb from a limited set (i.e., *niʿma* 'how excellent,' *biʾsa*/ *sāʾa* 'how inferior,' *ḥabba*(*ḏā*) 'how appreciative,' *la ḥabba*(*ḏā*) 'how depreciative'). Consider (15), as contrasted with its declarative equivalent (15'):

15) a. *ḥabba-ḏā* *al-rajul-u*

like. EXCL- SUFX DEF-man-NOM

b.* *ḥabba-ḏā* *al-rajul-a*

like. EXCL- SUFX DEF-man-ACC

'literally: I like this man (for his good traits). = How appreciated this man is!'

15') a.* *ʾu-ḥibu* *hāḏā* *al-rajul-u*

1SG.SBJ-like this DEF-man-NOM

b. *ʾu-ḥibu* *hāḏā* *al-rajul-a*

1SG.SBJ-like this DEF-man-ACC

'I like this man.'

The second strategy requires the AP to be formed according to specific morphological templates, namely, *faʿula*, *ʾafʿil bi-*, and *mā ʾafʿala,* which act as frames or molds that shape the word structure. For example, in (16) below, the AP *ʿālim* 'knowledgeable' becomes *ʾaʿlim bi-* 'how knowledgeable' according to the verbal template *ʾafʿil bi-*.

16) *ʾaʿlim* *bi-Zayd-i-n*

know. EXCL PREP-Zayd-GEN-INDEF

'How knowledgeable Zayd is!'

Regardless of the syntactic strategy utilized, V-Excls show a number of peculiarities; (i) the verbal element is not fully verbal since it demonstrates verbal and nominal properties

simultaneously which led to a debate among grammarians concerning their syntactic category (for details, see Almasāʿīd & Almalḳ, 2015, and references therein), (ii) in sharp contrast with other clause types, the verbal element in V-Excls must be in initial position, (iii) some semantically deficient elements come into the structure optionally (e.g., *ḏā* in *ḥabba**ḏā***) or obligatorily (e.g., *bi-* in *ʾaʿlim* ***bi-***) for no obvious reasons, (vi) the verbal elements have unusual mysterious case assignment to their complements (e.g., although *alrajulu* in (15) is supposed to be assigned accusative case since it is the complement of the verb, it is marked nominative even though it is not the agent of *ḥabba* 'like').

The aforementioned peculiarities pertained to word order, case assignment, the presence of spurious prepositions or meaningless constituents cannot be accounted for in previous proposals in the literature, which claim that ExclPs have the same syntactic mechanisms like finite clausal projections (i.e., declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives) simply because the given complexities and idiosyncrasies do not exist in Arabic sentences. Furthermore, previous studies overlook the fact that exclamatives are largely temporally deictic and situated in Time by the context of the utterance rather than by Tense, which supports the adopted view here that ExclPs are non-TPs. I demonstrate a nonsentential analysis is more adequate, defensible, and straightforward. Exclamatives are small clauses formed of the referent and the property ascribed to it, and the SC is selected by Excl head which provides the illocutionary force of the utterance (i.e., exclamation and evaluation).

4. Aims of the Study

The study aims to understand the syntactic structure of Arabic exceptives and exclamatives. To reach a satisfactory minimalist analysis that explains the nature of both structures, a number of issues need to be addressed. Regarding exceptives, the thesis considers

- the suitability of an ExP to be used as an argument only in negative sentences lacking the ExP-associate;
- the optionality of the licensing DP (i.e., the ExP-associate) only in negative sentences;
- the correlation between the licensing DP and the type of sentence (i.e., affirmative and negative); and
- the relation between the position of the ExP (i.e., at the right periphery or fronted) and inflectional morphology.

Concerning exclamatives, the thesis aims to explain

- the different case endings on the referent (i.e., nominative, accusative, and genitive) in structures where the referent has the same thematic role (e.g., in verbal templatic exclamatives);
- the presence of prepositions and demonstrative-like elements in some structures although they are not semantically required;
- the absence of full agreement between the subject (i.e., the referent) and the verbal/ adjectival element (i.e., the property exclaimed about);

- the inflexibility of word order in ExclPs, in contrast with Arabic sentences.

These issues are of significant importance because they are related to the following: (i) the correlation between *wh*-movement and the semantics of Excls (the extent to which Excl operator is connected with the left periphery); (ii) the sentential status of Excls in Arabic; and (iii) how the computation of Excls is different from other clauses bearing in mind the minimal amount of projections required to derive Excls.

5. Data of the Study

This thesis considers three Arabic varieties, namely, classical Arabic (CA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Jordanian Arabic (JA). The data of the study will be collected from diverse sources depending on the variety in question. The descriptive part of CA and MSA relies substantially on traditional and modern grammar books such as *al-Kitāb* (Sibawayh 1988), *Šarḥ Attashīl* (Ibn Mālk, 1990) and *Sharḥ Al-mufaSSal Lil-Zamaxsharī* (Yaʾīsh, 2001). These encyclopedic books are chosen because they are considered the most reputable, reliable, and authoritative resources. These books not only give an accurate, comprehensive description of CA and MSA constructions but also shows inflectional morphology that is essential for determining the syntactic status of ExPs and ExclPs in a particular structural domain. Classical and contemporary books in the Arabic language whether they are non-fictional (e.g., science, religion, history, etc., books) or fictional (e.g., novels, poetry, short stories) are also used to verify that the data used in the thesis is both

accurate and correct. Judgements concerning the grammaticality of sentences are confirmed by two professors of Arabic language (given that there are no native speakers of CA and MSA). Data related to JA are compiled from three sources: (i) through direct observation of how exceptives and exclamatives are used in communication, in social networks such as Facebook and in broadcast media (e.g., films, radio, or television), (ii) asking native speakers about the grammaticality of constructions (in addition to my intuitions as a native speaker of JA), and (iii) from books and newspaper articles written in JA.

6. Summary and roadmap

In this chapter, I have introduced the main peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of both Arabic ExPs and ExclPs. The superficial complexities of ExPs and ExclPs are argued to be more adequately explained if we assume that both of them are nonsententials (non-TPs). This nonclausal approach becomes more justified when Arabic data is analysed in depth. The next chapter provides a review of related literature. The review deals with how researchers analyzed ExPs and ExclPs in different languages. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into two sections. The first section reviews ExPs focusing on the categorial status of exceptive particles and the minimalist accounts of the syntax of ExPs crosslinguistically. The second section reviews the literature on ExclPs with special attention given to studies dealing with the clausal type, defining features, and syntactic derivations of exclamatives. Chapter 3

deals with Arabic exceptives and their morphosyntax. It is divided into several sections that explain the interaction among negation, word order, and case marking in ExPs. Moreover, it discusses the syntactic restrictions imposed on the different functions of ExPs, the optionality of ExP-associates, and the inflectional morphology of ExP-complements. Chapter 4 discusses Arabic ExclPs and their idiosyncrasies; it is divided into sections that deal with the different types of ExclPs (i.e., Wh-ExclP, Voc-ExclP, and V-ExclP), and it discusses several topics related to the inflexibility of word order, the case alternations on the subject, and the presence of spurious elements obligatorily or optionally, among other issues. Chapter 5 concludes the thesis, answers the questions raised in this chapter, and summarizes the main findings.

Chapter 2

Review of Related Literature

1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the relevant literature on exceptives and exclamatives. Regarding exceptives, the relevant discussion of the semantics of exceptives is discussed in the first subsection, followed by a description of the two main types of exceptives and their major differences. The various proposals in the literature that deal with the categorial status of exceptive markers are overviewed in the third subsection. Concerning exclamatives, the first subsection reviews previous studies that describe the general characteristics of exclamatives and their unique properties that differentiate them from other clause types (i.e., declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives). The second subsection focuses on the defining features of Excls (i.e., factivity, scalar implicature, question/ answer relation). The final subsection provides an overview of the various syntactic analyses of Excls and of the proposed functional projections within the CP domain of Excls.

2. Exceptive constructions

Apart from the extensive debates on the semantics of exceptives, limited studies deal with the syntactic behavior of their construction (for the semantics of exceptives, see, for example, von Fintel & Iatridou, 2007; Moltmann, 1995; Xiang, 2017, for an overview, see Gajewski, 2008). Although some researchers (e.g., O'Neill, 2014; Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén, 2012; Potsdam and Polinsky, 2017; Sava, 2009; Soltan, 2016) have considered the syntax of exceptives in particular languages, they do not agree on the categorial status of the exceptive particle, and consequently, the mechanisms affecting its phrase. Three proposals are discussed in the literature; exceptive particles are argued to be prepositions (Hoeksema, 1995; Moltmann, 1992, 1995), focal adverbs (e.g., De Bruyne, 1999; Kovacci, 1999, cited in Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén, 2012) or conjunctions (e.g., Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén, 2012; Soltan, 2016). These issues and other relevant ones are discussed in more detail below.

2.1 The semantics of exceptives

Although attempts to capture and explain the semantics of exceptive constructions has been dated back to the Middle Ages (see, e.g., Horn, 2005 for references), "a proper analysis in a formal theory has proven very elusive" (von Fintel, 1993:123), and till recently, the semantics of exceptives is still debatable (Vostrikova, 2019). However, the existing literature (e.g., Gajewski, 2008, 2013; Hoeksema, 1995, 1987; Keenan & Stavi, 1986;

Lappin, 1996; Moltmann, 1995; von Fintel, 1993, 1991; von Fintel & Iatridou, 2007, among many others) shows that exceptives contribute three types of inferences; the Domain Subtraction, the Containment Entailment, and the Negative Entailment. To illustrate, a sentence like (17) has the inferences in (18):

17) Every student passed except John.

18) a. The Domain Subtraction: Every student who is not John passed.

b. The Containment Entailment: John is a student.

c. The Negative Entailment: John didn't pass.

The domain subtraction is the inference that *except* subtracts/ removes *John* from the domain of the quantifier *every*; that is, it is utilized to reduce or restrict the domain of the qualification in order for the quantificational claim to be true. The function of the exceptive marker as a minus sign (i.e., *every student except John* = [every student] - [John]) is problematic. As criticized by Hoeksema (1987) and acknowledged by von Fintel (1993:126), *except* cannot be merely a minus sign because the resulting set {every student minus John} will be "a maximally dull set" without any distinguishing properties and that wrongly predicts that **some students except John* to be well-formed. To resolve this issue, von Fintel (1993:129) suggests that the exception set is subject to the uniqueness condition, which requires that the exception to form a unique smallest set "such that if subtracted from the quantifier domain the quantification comes true." Moltmann (1995) argues that this account is not plausible or satisfactory as it suffers a number of empirical and conceptual problems. First, it does not apply to sentences that have a potentially empty set (19), to

quantified ExP-complements (20), or to ExPs not associated with the quantifier (21) (Moltmann, 1995:237):

19) all students except at most three

20) Every boy except one/except exactly three came.

21) the wife of every president except Hillary Clinton

Moreover, there are two conceptual problems. First, it is not compositional, "even though the operation of domain subtraction is a local semantic operation applying only to the restriction of the associated quantifier, the Uniqueness Condition is a global condition, involving the truth conditions of the entire sentence" (Moltmann, 1995:237). Second, it "confuses truth conditions with acceptability conditions [...] *some men except John came* is simply unacceptable, not false" (Moltmann, 1995:238). Sevi (2008) explains that Hebrew *xuc mi* 'except, besides' has both 'minus' and 'plus' interpretations. However, although the given criticism seems legitimate, it is overlooked in the literature, and still, the "domain subtraction is the core of the semantics of ExPs" (Gajewski, 2013:183), most probably because no other alternative proposals are presented as far as my knowledge goes.

The other inferences, viz., the Containment Inference (18b) and the Negative Inference (18c), are drawn from and based on two conditions proposed by Moltmann (1995). The Containment Inference is related to the Condition of Inclusion which states that "the exceptions must belong to the restriction of the associated quantifier" (Moltmann, 1995:226). Returning to our example above, the Containment Inference indicates that *John* is contained in or belongs to the restrictor. According to Moltmann (1995), even though

the Condition of Inclusion is one of the basic semantic properties of exceptives, it is not imposed by all exceptive particles. In contrast to *except* and *other than*, *but not* does not impose this condition, compare (22a) to (22b):

22) a. Every boy except/ other than John/ *Mary came.

b. Every boy but not John/ Mary came.

The Negative Inference which indicates that the main predicate does not hold of the excepted NP is based on the Negative Condition; "applying the predicate to the exceptions yields the opposite truth value from applying the predicate to nonexceptions" (Moltmann, 1995:226). This condition is also not carried by all exceptive markers; *other than* does not impose this condition. Consider (23).

23) John came, and everybody other than John came. (Moltmann, 1995:226)

Additionally, exceptives are subject to a third condition, viz., the Quantifier Condition. Exceptives associate with a universal or a negative universal quantifier (e.g., *every, all*, and *no*) but not with existential (e.g., *some, few, a lot of*) or cardinal quantifiers. This condition is referred to as "the Distribution Puzzle" (see, e.g., Vostrikova, 2019b:421). Consider (24).

24) Every boy/ All boys/ No boy/ #Most boys/ #A lot of boys/ #Three boys/ #At least three boys/ #Few boys but/ except John came.

Although widely adopted in the literature, the Quantifier constraint seems to be not empirically solid. Zhang (2016:628) states that in Mandarin Chinese *chúfēi* 'except, only' associates with "a particle with the universal/negated existential quantificational force". Based on corpus data, García-Álvarez (2008, cited in Nadathur & Lassiter, 2017:2) provides counterexamples that show that exceptives can be associated with existential quantifiers, as shown in (25a,b).

25) a. Salvias are native to most continents except Australia.

b. Few except visitors will know that Czechoslovakia produces wine.

In sum, the semantics of exceptives seems quite complicated, and more studies are needed to reach a better understanding of exceptives. As highlighted by Vostrikova (2019a:221), "the existing semantic theories of exceptives are based on the assumption that an exceptive introduces a DP that is interpreted as a set (Hoeksema 1987, 1995; von Fintel, 1994; Gajewski 2008) or an atomic or plural individual (Hirsch 2016)", and this assumption is misleading and provides wrong results as the syntactic studies discussed below and in chapter 3 indicate, and the analysis of Arabic exceptives verify.

2.2 Types of exceptives

In the literature, there is a syntactic distinction between two main types of exceptive phrases; the connected bound exceptives (CEs) and the free exceptives (FEs), although

they "have essentially the same semantics" (Moltmann, 1995:225). This distinction was first introduced by Hoeksema (1987), as stated by von Fintel (1993:136), to differentiate between the two types based on the level of constituents they are related to. Hoeksema (1995:6) explains that

> connected phrases are linked to a phrase, usually a noun phrase, while free phrases are sentential operators and occur wherever sentential operators may occur. The positional possibilities of connected exception phrases are usually more limited than those of free exception phrases.

Consider CEs and FEs in (26a-c) and (27a-c), respectively.

26) a. Everybody *but Jamie* was invited.

b. Everybody was invited *but Jamie*.

c.**But Jamie*, everybody was invited.

27) a. Everybody *except for Jamie* was invited.

b. Everybody was invited *except for Jamie*.

c. *Except for Jamie*, everybody was invited.

In addition to positional possibilities, CEs and FEs are distinct with regard to their combinatorial and licensing properties. First, the focal adverb *only* can be used with FEs (28a) but not with CEs (28b).

28) a. Except for Rex, only girls were invited.

b.*Only girls but Rex were invited. (Hoeksema, 1995:10)

Second, in contrast with FEs, CEs cannot be associated with definite NPs, as shown in (29a,b).

29) a. Except for Jim, the/ these boys were restless.

b. *The/ these boys but Jim were ready for action. (Hoeksema, 1995:21)

Third, in contrast with FEs, CEs are ungrammatical in *wh*-questions used for a genuine request for information. Consider (30a,b).

30) a. Who is coming to the party, except for John?

b. *Who but John do you think is coming to the party? (Hoeksema, 1995:23-24)

The same restriction also applies to *wh*-phrases in declaratives. Consider (31a,b):

31) a. Except for John, Mary knows which students passed the exam.

b. *Mary knows which students except John passed the exam.

(Moltmann, 1995:248)

Fourth, negative quantifiers can be used with CEs but not with FEs (Hoeksema, 1995:8):

32) a. I like students but no others.

b. *I like students except for no others.

Fifth, in contrast with CEs, FEs can be conjoined.

33) a. Except for John and except for Mary, nobody complained.

b. *Nobody but John and but Mary complained. (von Fintel, 1993:137)

Sixth, while in the examples above, CEs take only a DP as a complement, FEs may host a DP, PP, AdvP, CP. Consider the complement of a FE such as (34):

34) All the children coloured their notebooks, except Eva hers.
(Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén, 2012:596)

The complement *Eva hers* is argued by Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén (2012) to be the remnants of a full clause after ellipsis takes place. The argument that FEs are clausal whereas CEs are phrasal is criticized by Vostrikova (2019:82-83), who maintains that FEs appear only in connected position (i.e., they cannot be fronted), as shown in (35)[3], and some FEs can host only a DP as a complement, as in (36):

35) a. John danced with every girl except with Eva.
b. *Except with Eva John danced with every girl.

36) a. Every boy danced with every girl except for Eva.
b. *Every boy danced with every girl except for with Eva.
c. *Every boy danced with every girl except for Bill with Eva.

The distinction between FEs and CEs is discussed in more detail in chapter 3, section 3.3.2, with more data from Arabic and other languages such as English, Russian, Turkish, and Hindi. In sum, there are two distinct structures of exceptives, viz., FEs and

[3] I find that the ungrammaticality of (35)b) and 36)c) is variable, based on my consultation with native speakers.

CEs, and they are different with regard to positional possibilities, cooccurrence restrictions, and conjoinability.

2.3 Categorial status of exceptive particles

To the best of my knowledge, there are three proposals in the literature that deal with the categorial status of exceptive markers; exceptive particles are regarded as prepositions, focal adverbs, or conjunctions. These proposals are discussed in detail below.

Exceptive markers as prepositions: Moltmann (1992:378-379) considers the complex exceptive *bis auf* 'except' in German to be a preposition since it assigns the dative case and allows only single arguments as complements, as shown in (37a,b):

37) a. *Jeder* *lachte* *bis auf* *Hans*.
everyone laughed except John
'Everybody laughed except John.'

b. **Jeder* *Mann* *saw* *jede* *Frau* *bis auf* *Hans* *Maria*.
every man saw every woman except John Mary
'Every man saw every woman except John Mary.' (Moltmann, 1992:378)

Ausser 'except' can also behave as a preposition as it assigns the dative case to its complement only in some constructions where gapped exception phrases are

ungrammatical (38a), and the case on the ExP-complement is not the same as the parallel DP in the full clause (38b) (Moltmann, 1992:379):

38) a. **Kein Mann hat eine Frau gesehen ausser diesem Professor diese*
no man has seen every woman except this professor this
Studentin.
student
'No man has seen a woman except this professor (DAT) this student (DAT).

b. *Ausser diesem Jungen habe ich niemanden gesehen*.
except this boy have I anyone seen
'Except this boy (DAT) have I seen nobody (ACC).'

Azoulay-Vicente (1985, 1988, cited in O'Neill, 2011:179) regards French exceptive particles *sauf, excepté* 'except', *hormis* 'aside from', and *que* in *ne...que* 'not...except' as prepositions since, like prepositions, they cannot be stranded by movement, and their complements cannot cliticize onto the finite verb, as exemplified in (39):

39) *Il ne (*t') aime que toi*
he NE (*you) love.3SG QUE you
'He loves only you.'

In her investigation of the syntax of *ne...que*, O'Neill (2011:179) provides counterarguments based on empirical and theoretical evidence. She highlights that

"exceptive *que* can precede a verbal past participle, while prepositions cannot [... and] treating *que* as a preposition [...] misses the fact that, elsewhere, *que* always subcategorizes for a finite clause".

English exceptive markers are regarded as both prepositions and conjunctions simultaneously due to the case variation present in constructions such as (40):

40) Every defense attorney except {I/me}.

(García-Álvarez, 2008:174, cited in Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén, 2012:594)

Brinton (2017:100) states that although English exceptive markers seem to function as both conjunctions and prepositions, they are not interchangeable in their conjunctive and prepositional uses. Consider (41a,b):

41) a. The candidates are similar, but/ except/ save/ only John is older than Bill.

b. Do not cross the railroad tracks but/ except/ ?save/ *only by the bridge.

However, Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén (2012:594) argue that in both English and Spanish, exceptive particles cannot be prepositions based on the case alternation facts (i.e., prepositions always assign oblique case in Spanish, and case alternation is not allowed. See also Ionescu (2013:6) for a similar view for Romanian exceptives) and cooccurrence restrictions; although both exceptive markers and prepositions may select a PP as a complement, only "the combinatory of prepositions is severely constrained [... whereas] exceptive particles, by contrast, combine with PPs without restrictions", as shown

in (42) (the same evidence seems to hold for Arabic *ʾillā* ‘except’ as argued by Soltan, 2016):

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

Based on the given arguments for French, English, Spanish, Romanian, and Arabic, it seems empirically unsatisfactory to argue that exceptive markers belong to the category of prepositions.

Exceptive markers as focal adverbs: On the basis of their semantic properties (exclusion vs. inclusion) and participial origin, Spanish exceptive markers are considered by some researchers (e.g., De Bruyne, 1999; Kovacci, 1999; Pavón Lucero, 1999) to be focal adverbs. Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén (2012:594) argue against this characterization for several syntactic reasons. First, focal adverbs such as *incluso*, *solo*, *solamente* ‘only’, *exclusivamente* ‘exclusively’, and *también* ‘also’, in contrast with exceptives, are not relational elements. Consider (43a,b):

43) a. *Irás* *incluso* *tú*.
go.FUT.2SG even you
‘Even you will go.’

b. **Irás* *excepto* *tú*.

go.FUT.2SG except you

Second, unlike exceptive particles, focal adverbs can be positioned at the right of the phrase they operate on (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén, 2012:594-595, citing Pavón Lucero, 1999:593)

44) a. *Puedes* *llamarme* *hasta* *la* *una*, *incluso*.

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

Similarly, in Arabic, Soltan (2016) highlights that a focal adverb like *ḥattā* 'even' has distributional properties different from exceptive markers. *ḥattā* 'even' may appear in an initial position without restrictions, but *ʾillā* may not. Moreover, *ḥattā* 'even' can precede or follow the noun (e.g., *ḥattā Aḥmad* / *Aḥmad ḥattā*), but *ʾillā* cannot (e.g., *ʾillā Aḥmad* / **Aḥmad ʾillā*). In a similar vein, O'Neill (2011:178-179) criticizes previous analyses of exceptive *que* in French as a focal adverb 'only' (see also, e.g., Gaatone, 1999). Exceptive *que* cannot be syntactically equivalent to *seulement* 'only'. While *que* must come before and associate only with the exception XP, *seulement* may associate with any phrase in its c-command domain. Consequently, the use of *seulement* causes scopal ambiguities (45), as opposed to *que* whose use does not (46):

45) *J'* *ai* *seulement* *prêté* *le* *livre* *à* *Marie*

I have only lend.PP the book to Marie

i. 'I only LENT the book to Marie.'

ii. 'I only lent the BOOK to Marie.'

iii. 'I only lent the book to MARIE.'

46) *Je* *n'* *ai* *que* *prêté* *le* *livre* *à* *Marie*

I NE have QUE lend.PP the book to Marie

'I only LENT the book to Marie.'

Based on the aforementioned studies, it seems safe to suggest that exceptive markers in Spanish, Arabic, and French are not adverbs (and maybe in other languages as well, a hypothesis to be tested by future studies).

Exceptive markers as coordinating conjunctions: Harris (1982, cited in Hoeksema, 1995) views exception markers as sentential conjunctions where reduction 'zeroing' transformations affect the ExP-complement, as shown in (47):

47) Everyone came, except John ~~did not come~~.

Drawing on the arguments that Spanish exceptive markers *excepto*, *salvo*, and *menos* are not prepositions or adverbs, Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén's (2012:595) claim that they are coordinating conjunctions in both types of exceptives (i.e., CEs and FEs); thus, sentential coordination is parallel to exceptive coordination, as in (48), where

"coordinating conjunctions project a phrase (i.e., a Boolean Phrase) that has the second conjunct as complement and is adjoined to the first conjunct":

48) a. Sentential coordination: [CP1 [CP1] [BP *y* 'and'/*pero* 'but' [CP2]]]

b. Exceptive coordination: [CP1 [CP1] [BP *excepto*/*salvo*/*menos* 'except' [CP2]]]

To support this claim, they (p. 596) argue that

> 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 [49a,b] show that extraction from sentences with FEs can only take place across the board (Williams 1978, and others) [49c].

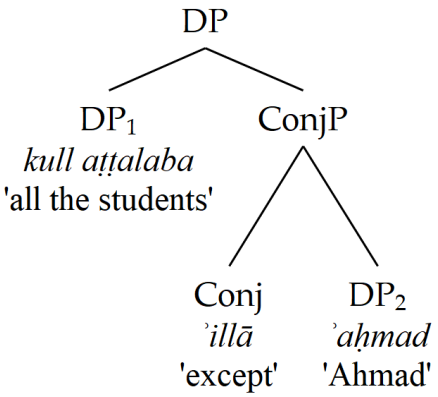
49) a. **los* *cuadernos* [*que* *todos* *han* *coloreado*],
the notebooks that all the children have coloured,
[*excepto* *Eva* *los* *suyos*]
except Eva the hers
'*the notebooks that all the children coloured, except Eva hers'

b. *los* *cuadernos* *que* *todos* *han* *coloreado*,
the notebooks that all the children have coloured,
except *Eva*
except Eva
'the notebooks that all the children coloured, except Eva'

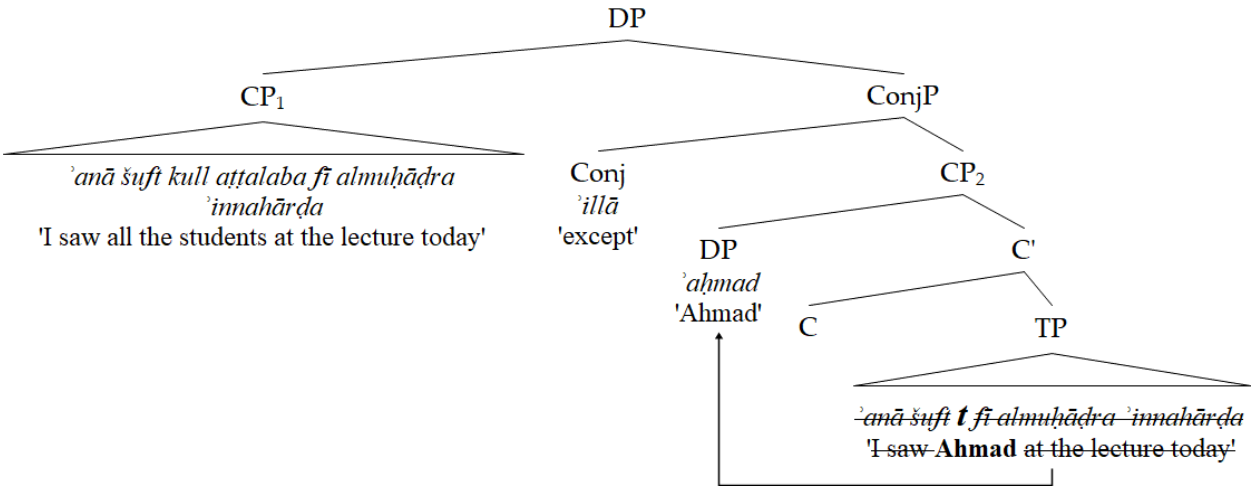
c. *los cuadernos* [*que* [[*todos han coloreado* ___], [*excepto* [*Eva* ___]]]]

Drawing on Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén's (2012) reasoning, Soltan (2016) claims that in Arabic *ʾillā* 'except' is a coordinating conjunction. He differentiates between two types of exceptive phrases; namely, CEs that join two DPs (e.g., [$_{DP}$ everyone] except [$_{DP}$ John] passed.) and FEs that conjoin two CPs, "the exceptive markers select for a full-fledged CP as a 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)" (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén, 2012:582), that is, in cases where the exceptive phrase is parenthetical or fronted (e.g., Except [$_{CP}$ John (didn't pass)], [$_{CP}$ everyone passed]). The coordination hypothesis is illustrated in the following diagrams (Soltan, 2016:46-47, see also Galal et al., 2019, for a similar view):

50) a. Connected exceptives



b. Free exceptives



However, claiming that exceptive markers are syntactically equivalent to conjunctions is problematic, faulty, and cross-linguistically invalid for several reasons that are discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Based on the aforementioned arguments (and other ones related to Arabic exceptives in Ch.3), I argue that exceptive markers cannot be syntactically equivalent to coordinating conjunctions, prepositions, or adverbs. The thesis supports the claim that exceptive markers are distinct functional categories that are syntactically and semantically different from Conjs, Ps, and Advs.

3. Exclamatives

This section provides an overview of exclamatives focusing on the distinct properties that set them apart from full clauses/ sentences. This overview considers the general characteristics of exclamatives, their defining features, and their syntax, respectively. As highlighted in the preceding chapter, the thesis focusses on proper exclamatives (51a,b), rather than exclamations (51c,d):

51) a. What an amazing house he bought!

b. How beautiful she is!

c. John came!

d. Look, he is coming!

Sentences in (51a,b) are proper exclamatives (Excls) whose syntactic constructions are indicative of their force (i.e., the use of *how* and *what*), whereas (51c,d) are exclamations which can be of any clause type (i.e., declaratives, interrogatives or imperatives) with falling intonation (for a detailed differentiation between Excls and exclamations, see Miró, 2008 and Zevakhina, 2013). Compared with other clause types, Excls are relatively understudied. Apart from limited studies in the seventies (e.g., Elliott, 1974; Grimshaw, 1979; Oomen, 1979), only recently, Excls have gained some interest. The consequences of being ignored and poorly investigated include the lack of a precise and unique definition as indicated by Moutaouakil (2005:351, cited in Zevakhina, 2013:158) and Cruschina et al. (2015:267), and as a clause type, Excls are "not as unambiguously defined as the major

clause types" (Siemund, 2015:706) because they are "not prominent in typological work" (Potsdam, 2011:660), and as a result, "there seems to be no comprehensive research on exclamatives, and each author is working on his own framework" (Oda, 2008:216, cited in Zevakhina, 2013:158). As stated above, this section is divided into three subsections that deal with the general characteristics of exclamatives, their defining features, and their syntax, respectively.

3.1 General characteristics of Excls

To the best of my knowledge, the first comprehensive study that draws attention to the unique syntactic and semantic characteristics of exclamatives is that of Elliott (1974). He (1974:231) highlights that "there is a syntactically definable set of sentences" which are "absolute exclamations" (i.e., Excls), and this set of sentences has unique properties that differentiate it from other sets involving declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. Excls include *wh*-forms *what* and *how* (as in (51a,b) above), but not other *wh*-words such as *why*, *who*, *where*, *when*, etc., consider the ungrammaticality of (52a,b), for example.

52) a. *Why he bought that coat!

b. *Where our campus is located! (Elliott, 1974:232)

The fact that Excls can be initiated only by *what* and *how*, but not with other *wh*-words seems to be not specific only to English; Elliott (1974:244) provides supportive

evidence that the same phenomenon exists in other languages such as French, German, Turkish, Japanese, Romanian, Russian, among others. Villalba (2008:32) highlights that "*why* Excls are lacking universally". Despite the superficial similarities between Excls and interrogatives, they are distinct structures, and Excls cannot be considered as a type of question, as evidenced in several issues (Elliott, 1974:233-235). First, while questions involve subject-auxiliary inversion, Excls do not. Consider (53a,b).

53) a. What lovely teeth you have, my dear!

b. * What lovely teeth do you have, my dear! (Elliott, 1974:233)

Second, questions allow *ever* and *any* in (54a,b), but Excls do not in (55a,b).

54) a. What did you ever do for me?

b. How does Joe save any money?

55) a. *What you ever did for me!

b. *How Joe saves any money! (Elliott, 1974:234)

Third, embedded questions allow *whether* or expressions like *the hell*, but Excls do not (Elliott, 1974:234).

56) a. It's unknown whether Bill will be here (or not).

b. *How incredible whether Bill will be here (or not).

57) a. I don't know where the hell he is.

b. *It's unbelievable where the hell he is.

Fourth, some 'forceful' adverbs such as *very, unbelievably*, and *extremely* can occur only with Excls, but not with embedded questions.

58) a. How {very/ unbelievably/ extremely} long he can stay under water.

b. *I wonder how {very/ unbelievably/ extremely} long he can stay under water. (Elliott, 1974:234)

An interesting observation regarding the difference between Excls and questions is that while both can be embedded as *wh*-complements, only Excls cannot be readily used as matrix Excls. Consider how *wh*-complements can occur as embedded Excls and questions in (59a,b), but the same *wh*-phrases cannot be root Excls in (60a,b). Grimshaw (1979:282) maintains that "the reason for this is not yet understood" [4].

59) a. It's amazing {who/ what} John saw.

b. Fred asked {who/ what} John saw.

[4] It is not clear whether embedded Excls have the same syntax of root Excls, and embedded Excls may not count as proper Excls; they are more like interrogative structures used for non-interrogative semantics. Moreover, the matter is even less well understood than Grimshaw claims, as her generalization does have exceptions. Consider (1a-c), and notice that some *wh*-complements can be root Excls:

1) a. It's amazing how big a house John has.
b. Fred asked how big a house John has.
c. How big a house John has!

Furthermore, Grimshaw's generalization does not apply to some *wh*-complements. Notice in (2) that the *wh*-complement can be used in embedded Excls, but not in embedded questions:

2) a. It's amazing what an idiot John is.
b. *Fred asked what an idiot John is.

60) a. *Who John saw!

b. *What John saw!

Obenauer (1994, cited in D'Avis, 2016:161) highlights another distinction related to preposition stranding. While the preposition can be pied-piped along with the DP in both declaratives and interrogatives in (61a,b), the preposition must be stranded in Excls in (61c).

61) a. In a big house they live.

b. In what house do they live?

c. *In what a house they live!

Oomen (1979) highlights other characteristics of exclamations in general. First, they cannot be introduced by rhetorical questions indicating that the speaker is providing new information, as shown in (62a), as opposed to declaratives (62b).

62) a. *Did you hear this? Isn't Larry successful!

b. Did you hear this? Larry is successful. (Oomen, 1979:162)

Second, since exclamations are about facts, they cannot include expressions denoting doubt (63a) or denoting contrast to the reality (63b).

63) a. *Isn't Larry {perhaps/ reportedly/ conceivably} successful!

b. *Isn't Larry {theoretically/ apparently} successful! (Oomen, 1979:163)

Oomen (1979:163) proposes that "for exclamations the proposition must not only be believed to be true, but has to refer to some fact, established in reality". Hence, adverbs asserting or commenting on the factivity of the proposition are not acceptable. In other words, factivity is "a part of the meaning of exclamatory sentences that it cannot be asserted by additional lexical means." Consider (64).

64) *Isn't Larry {undoubtedly/ actually/ factually} successful!

Furthermore, Oomen (1979) examines exclamations in dialogue and maintains that the properties that differentiate between exclamations and questions in dialogues "do not necessarily hold for exclamations of the type *what a bright kid Larry is*!, *how bright Larry is*!" (p.167). and this supports the differentiation between exclamations and proper Excls highlighted in this chapter. Consider, for example, that *wh*-Excls can be used to contradict the speaker, as in (65), but exclamations cannot in (66).

65) A: Larry is quite bright.

B: On the other hand, what a stupid guy in many ways! (Oomen, 1979:167)

66) A: Larry is very bright.

B: *On the other hand, isn't he lazy! (Oomen, 1979:163)

Moreover, exclamations cannot be introduced by expressions indicating additive information, as in (67), whereas *wh*-Excls can be, as in (68a,b).

67) A: Larry is very bright.

B: *And what is more, isn't he successful! (Oomen, 1979:164)

68) a. Besides, how bright Larry is!

b. By the way, how bright Larry is! (Oomen, 1979:167)

Oomen (1979:170) draws attention to the fact that not any subject-verb inversion can be utilized for exclamation, as in (69), and the intensification of this type of exclamation seems strange or ungrammatical, as the pairs in (70-72) show.

69) *Didn't he judge the situation!

70) a. Isn't Larry worried!

b. *Isn't Larry worried to death!

71) a. Didn't he talk!

b. *Didn't he talk for hours!

72) a. Isn't that dress green!

b. *Isn't that dress grass-green!

Apart from the aforementioned studies in the seventies (i.e., Elliott, 1974; Grimshaw, 1979; Oomen, 1979), other studies have not discussed other properties or even considered the possibility of offering a unified approach that can account for the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic intricacies and peculiarities of Excl constructions, especially the significant differences between Excl and interrogative patterns. In the last two decades,

much work has been done on Excls in several Romance languages, including Italian (Benincà 1995; Munaro 2003; Munaro 2005; Munaro 2006; Portner & Zanuttini 2005; Zanuttini & Portner 2000; Zanuttini & Portner 2003), Catalan (Miró 2006; Miró 2008; Villalba 2001; Villalba 2003; Villalba 2008), Brazilian Portuguese (Bastos-Gee 2011), French (Beyssade 2009; Burnett 2010; Marandin 2008), among other languages, but "there seems to be no comprehensive research on exclamatives, and each author is working on his own framework" (Oda, 2008:216, cited in Zevakhina, 2013:158).

Despite the obvious unique syntax and semantics of Excls, the existing literature does not reach a consensus with regard to the sentence type of Excls. While traditional grammars characterize Excls as a sentence type distinguishable from interrogatives, declaratives, and imperatives (Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2001:168), recent studies disagree on the clause status of Excls whether it is a separate clause type (e.g., Elliott, 1974; Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2001; Ono, 2006; Bennis, Corver, & Den Dikken, 1998) or just a derivation of other clause types (e.g., Rosengren, 1997; Zanuttini & Portner, 2000; Miró, 2008; Siemund, 2015). It seems that the reason behind this debate is that Excls have a unique syntax that takes some, but not all, properties one expects to find in clauses. That is, they resemble both interrogatives and declaratives but only partially, and they do not have the general properties of clauses. As discussed in chapter 1, this thesis tests the hypothesis that Excls are nonsententials at least in Arabic.

3.2 Defining features of Excls

Drawing on (Elliott 1974; Grimshaw 1979) observations, Zanuttini and Portner in several works (Portner & Zanuttini 2000; Portner & Zanuttini 2005; Zanuttini & Portner 2000; Zanuttini & Portner 2003) discuss in detail the defining features of Excls and claim that there are two syntactic properties that define the class of Excls; (i) Excls contain a WH operator-variable structure, and as a result of this operator, Excls denote a set of alternative propositions, and (ii) Excls contain an abstract morpheme FACT in the CP domain, and the result of this morpheme, Excls are factive, that is, their propositional content is presupposed (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003:40).

To capture the different meanings associated with Excls (e.g., surprise, unexpectedness, extreme degree), Zanuttini and Portner (2003:40) argue that Excls include a fundamental concept of widening, that is, "Excls widen the domain of quantification of the wh operator, which gives rise to the set of alternative propositions denoted by the sentence". Based on the given properties, a sentence that is factive and denotes a set of alternatives cannot have sentential forces of asserting, asking, or ordering. Therefore, the criteria for identifying Excls include three distinguishing properties: factivity, scalar implicature, and question/answer pairs. Factivity can be shown in two facts. First, Excls can only be introduced by factive predicates, as shown in (73), and second, the factive predicate cannot be negated when they are in the present tense and with a first person subject, as shown in (74):

73) Mary knows/ *thinks/ wonders how very cute he is.

74) *I don't know/ realize how very cute he is. (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003:46-47)

Scalar implicature indicates that "the proposition [Excls] denote lies at the extreme end of some contextually given scale. Thus, *How very cute he is*! indicates that his degree of cuteness is greater than the alternatives under consideration" (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003:47). Scalar implicature can be supported by two facts. First, Excls cannot be embedded under *it isn't amazing* although embedding under the positive counterpart is grammatical, as shown in (75a,b):

75) a. *It isn't amazing how very cute he is!

b. It is amazing how very cute he is!

Second, forming a question of the given sentences yields the opposite patterns of grammaticality; (75a) becomes acceptable and (75b) becomes ungrammatical, as shown in (76a,b), respectively:

76) a. Isn't it amazing how very cute he is?

b. *Is it amazing how very cute he is? (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003:47)

The reason for these patterns is that the scalar implicature cannot be denied (hence the ungrammaticality of (75a)) or questioned (i.e., casting doubt on the implicature) (hence the ungrammaticality of (76b)).

The third property, question/answer pairs, distinguishes Excls from declaratives or interrogatives. This property indicates that Excls cannot be used to ask a question. Consider (77) and (78).

77) A. How tall is he?

B: Seven feet.

78) A. How very tall he is!

B: *Seven feet. (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003:47)

Another criterion related to this property is that Excls cannot be narrowed by a follow-up phrase, as in (79b).

79) a. How tall is he? Seven feet or eight feet?

b. How very tall he is! *Seven feet or eight feet? (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003:48)

Relatedly, unlike declaratives, Excls cannot be used as answers. Consider (80).

80) A: How tall is Tony's child?

B: *How very tall he is!

(Zanuttini & Portner, 2003:48)

However, the aforementioned properties seem to work only for *wh*-Excls. Zanuttini & Portner (2003:49) admit that Excls with *so* or *such* (e.g., *He is so cute*!) do not have these properties. Such constructions (i) fail the factivity test; they can be embedded under

nonfactive predicates (81a) which can be negated (81b), and (ii) lack the scalar implicature; they can be negated (81c) or questioned (81d), and they can be used as answers (81e)[5].

81) a. I think he's so cute!

b. ?I don't know that he is so cute!

c. It isn't amazing that he's so cute!

d. Is it amazing that he's so cute!

e. A: Is he cute? B: He's so cute! (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003:49)

In addition to not being applicable to Excls with *so* or *such*, the given properties or criteria are criticized in subsequent studies. The factivity feature seems controversial cross-linguistically. Yamato (2010:55) points out that "Japanese Excls may not be embedded under factive predicates." Gutiérrez-Rexach (2001:183) indicates that in Spanish, "the factivity property of Excls is lost in [C-Excls] constructions." Miró (2006:16) states that "*wh*-Excls in Catalan […] are not easily introduced by factive verbs." According to Abels (2010:146) "there are predicates that are classified in present terminology as antifactive by Kiparsky & Kiparsky [1970] and that do appear with embedded *what-a* Excls and *how-very* Excls." These studies show that Excls are not inherently factive, and the whole argument may fail to make a plausible generalisation.

[5] The given constructions seem to be embedded exclamations rather than proper Excls.

Scalar implicature, which involves two widespread notions in the literature, namely, gradability and emotional affectedness, is also criticized. Gutiérrez-Rexach (2008:121, citing Miró, 2006:118-119) points out adjectives like *dry, empty* or *full* can be used in Excls, such as *How empty the cinema was*!, although they denote a closed scale that cannot be widened beyond a specific point (i.e., they are 'absolute' (context-invariant) adjectives which involve a maximum or a conventional endpoint, as opposed to 'relative' adjective like *tall* which have an open scale (see, e.g., Schumacher, 2019), and their "high/extreme degree meaning hardly fits in with the standard Gricean typology of implicated meanings" (Villalba, 2008:15, see also Rosengren, 1997:179, for similar views). The second related notion is emotional affectedness, which denotes that emotions such as surprise and amazement are caused by situations that go beyond the speaker's expectations. The surprise/ amazement effect cannot account for some contexts like (82):

82) What a delicious dinner you have made! (Badan & Cheng, 2015:401)

In this context, the speaker does not imply that s/he is surprised by the taste which s/he does not expect to be delicious. Furthermore, in Mandarin Chinese, surprise cannot be considered as an essential property of Excls even in constructions like '*How tall he is*!' (Badan & Cheng, 2015:401). In support of this view, Cruschina et al. (2015:12), agreeing with Nouwen & Chernilovskaya (2013), argue that Excls are not always scalar. Brandner (2010:99) points out that the notions 'extreme degree' and 'emotional affectedness' are hard to define in any precise way and cannot be distinguishing features since they exist in declaratives and interrogatives as well.

The third property related to question/answer relations is also controversial. The use of *wh*-elements cannot be considered as a defining feature of Excls because the syntactic strategies utilized to form Excls vary across languages, and *wh*-Excls are different from clause types syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically. Moreover, the limited ability of Excls to be used as answers is not always true, as shown in (83) [6]:

83) A: Why don't we go to Cala S'Alguer?

B: What a wonderful idea! (Miró, 2008:50)

The defining properties and how Excls can be identified and distinguished are further discussed in chapter 4.

3.3 Syntactic analyses of Excls

Although most, if not all, studies follow Bennis, Corver, & Den Dikken's (1998) argument for the existence of [+EXCL] feature in C that must be lexically realized, they do not agree on two issues. First, as highlighted by Bosque (2017:20), "no consensus exists on the specific projection targeted by the wh-phrase" in Excls. Although the literature agrees that Excls involve *wh*-movement, the *wh*-phrase may move to the following positions:

[6] The supporting example does not seem to be a question, but a proposal or a suggestion; hence, the argument that Excls can be used as answers in the given context may not be a strong refutation of Zanuttini & Portner's (2003) arguments.

84) a. The wh-phrase moves to Spec/CP (e.g., Bosque, 1984; Brucart, 1994; Masullo, 2013; Miró, 2006).

b. The wh-phrase moves to Spec/FocusP: (Hernanz 2006; Hernanz & Rigau 2006).

c. The wh-phrase moves to Spec/CP1, a low CP under CP2: (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003).

d. Wh-phrases are split, as in Kayne's (1994) analysis of relatives: (Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2008).

Therefore, according to Bosque (2017:20), a Spanish Excl like (85) can have different representations illustrated in (86a-d):

85) *Qué bien* (*que*) *canta María*!
'How well M. sings!'

86) a. [CP [WH-DEGP *qué bien*] [C' [C° *que* [IP *canta María* [WH-DEGP e . . .]]]]

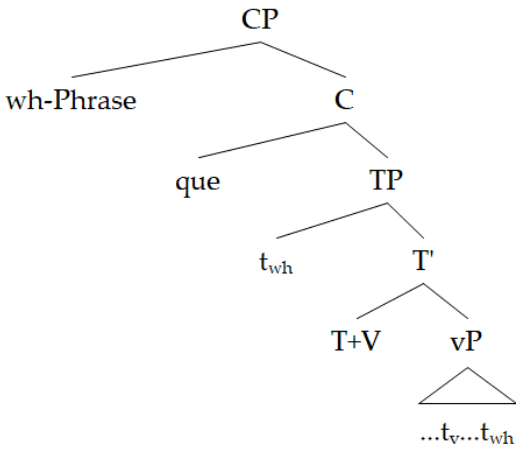
b. [FOCUSP [WH-DEGP *qué bien*] [FOC' [FOC° *que* [FINP *canta María* [WH-DEGP e . . .]]]]]

c. [CP_2 [WH-DEGP *qué bien*] [C' [C° [CP_1 [C' [C° *que* [IP *canta María* [WH-DEGP e . . .]]]]]]]

d. [FORCEP [WH-DEGP *qué*$_i$] [FORCE' [FOCUSP/DEGP° [e_i] *bien*] [TOPICP' *que canta María* [WH-ADVP e . . .]]]]

Regarding the first derivation, Miró (2006:40), for example, proposes that in Catalan, *wh*-phrases in *wh*-interrogatives move to spec-TP, whereas the *wh*-phrases in *wh*-Excls move a step further to spec-CP, as evidenced in the presence of the overt C *que* in the diagram below.

87)

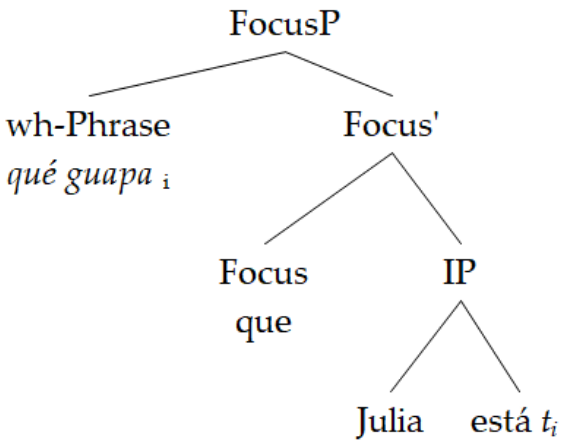


Regarding the second derivation where the *wh*-phrase moves to spec-FocusP, (Hernanz 2006:122) suggests that "the function of *bien* when preposed to C is to focus on the truth of the whole assertion rather than just the event of the proposition", and the *wh*-phrase "targets FocusP in order to express emphatic affirmation [… and] to check off an interpretable feature [+EMPH(atic)] (Hernanz, 2006:137). Accordingly, an Excl like (88) has the derivation in (89) (Hernanz, 2006:137).

88) *Qué guapa que está Julia*!

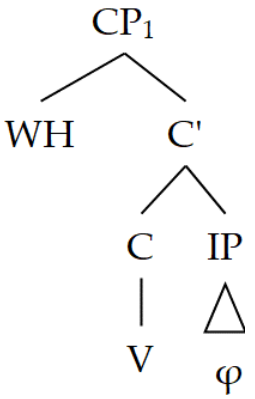
'How beautiful Julia is!'

89)

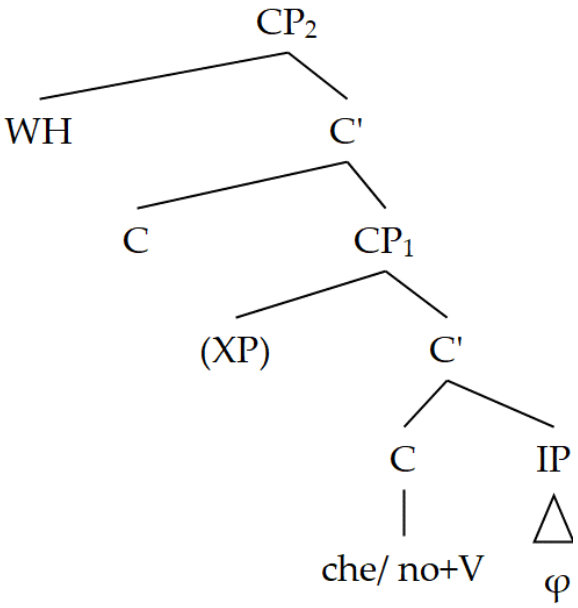


The third derivation assumes the projection of two CPs to differentiate between interrogatives and Excls, Zanuttini & Portner (2003:61) argue that questions and Excls have the following representations in Italian, respectively.

90) a. Questions



b. Excls



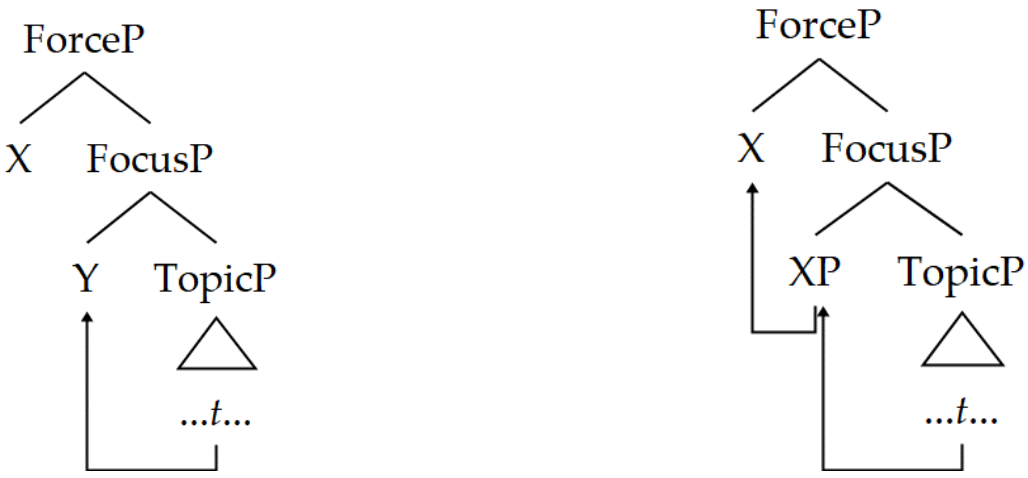
These two derivations are based on the following assumptions (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003:61).

- The *wh*-phrase occurs in the higher CP in the syntax, leaving room for another phrase in the spec of the lower CP.
- The lower C is always filled either by the complementizer *che* or the negator *no* plus the verb; the fact that the *wh*-phrase in the higher projection allows for the presence of *che* without a doubly-filled-COMP filter violation.
- The higher specifier of CP position must be filled, giving rise to the obligatoriness of movement in exclamatives.

While in the previous three analyses the *wh*-phrase forms a single constituent, the fourth derivation proposed by Gutiérrez-Rexach (2008) suggests that the *wh*-phrase is not a syntactic constituent as it splits along the derivation into two elements, that is, *qué bien* 'how well' splits into *qué* which occupies spec-ForceP and *bien* which stays in spec-FocusP. The motivation for this analysis is related to the different features in Excls, Gutiérrez-Rexach (2008:131) argues that "a degree feature is checked in the Focus layer and the exclamative feature is checked in the Force layer.

The second issue of disagreement is related to the features and phrases involved in Excl structures (see, e.g., Ambar, 2002; Castroviejo, 2019; Cruschina et al., 2015; Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2001, 2008; Honda, 2011; Jónsson, 2010; Ono, 2006; Yamato, 2010). Studies disagree on the internal structure of the highest projection and its divisions (mostly argued to be discourse-related projections) at the C level. Gutiérrez-Rexach (2001) argues that Spanish exclamatives are derived by raising/ merger of an element to/in the specifier of the CP which is divided into three phrases, viz., ForceP, FocusP, and TopicP, represented as follow: [$_{\text{Force}}$ V/C/Adv/P/Det/Wh [$_{\text{Focus}}$ (A/N/ [+F]) [$_{\text{Topic}}$ ...]]], based on the existence of [+EXCL] feature which merges with Force and connects with Focus to generate semantic effects, especially scalar implicature (supposedly a defining feature of exclamatives, although extremely debatable as discussed in the previous section). Consequently, the derivation of Excl structures follows either the Move+Merge strategy diagrammed in (91a) or the Move+Move strategy in (91b).

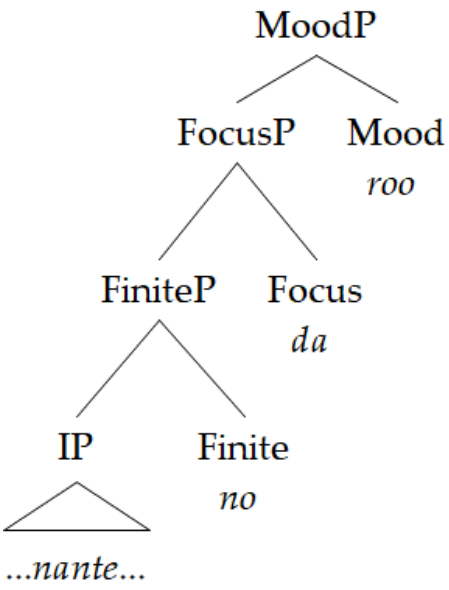
91) a. b.



In these derivations, an element with the categorial feature +A(djective) or +N(oun) is moved to check a focus feature, and further raising or merger of the highest element to Force is triggered by the need to check the interpretable [Excl] feature. The given derivations are assumed to explain the general properties of Excls (Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2001:172-175). First, word order shows sensitivity to focus; Excls follow an inverted pattern which indicated that the raised element is in a focus position. Second, the element in Force triggers a scalar implicature associated with Excls, that is, the raised adjective or noun semantically encode the implicature that marks a high point in a scale on degrees (for adjectives) or on kinds (for nouns). Third, the checking of Force [+Excl] is associated with factivity; the checking of this feature prevents embedding Excls by non-factive verbs. Fourth, when the raising element is an adjective, the attraction to a Focus position requires that only gradable adjectives with [+degree] feature can move to the left periphery layer.

As opposed to the preceding analyses which differentiate between Excls and *wh*-interrogatives, Ono (2006) and Yamato (2010) argue that Excls in Japanese have a declarative syntax despite the fact that the *wh*-phrase *nante* 'how' is utilized in Japanese Excls. The different projections, namely, MoodP, FocusP, and FiniteP are argued for to account for the order of *no*, *da*, and *roo* particles as indicated in (92):

92) CP structure of exclamatives (Ono 2006)



The mood morpheme *roo* "indicates the judgment of the speaker toward the proposition to which the morpheme attaches" (Ono 2006). The focus particle *da* is assumed to be the Focus head because Japanese Excls "may not be embedded under factive predicates but they may be embedded under a set of assertive predicates" (Yamato 2010), and complements of assertive predicates such as *say* and *think* involve a focalized argument DP which indicates that these predicates project a FocusP. The particle *no* is assumed to

be the morphological realization of Finite as "the presuppositional clause in the cleft construction is always marked with the particle *no*". The strict order of these three particles can be seen in the following example.

93) *John-wa* *nante* *kasiko-i-no-da* (*-roo*)
John-TOP NANTE intelligent-PRES-FIN-FOC-MOOD
'How very intelligent John is!' (Ono, 2006:7)

A different analysis is proposed by Jónsson (2010) for Icelandic exclamatives in which the WhP and HDegP (High Degree Phrase) are argued to be headed by Excl (cf. Cruschina et al., 2015). These three functional projections can be illustrated in the following example.

94) [EXCLP *Mikið* [HDEGP *rosalega* [WHP *hvað* [TP *hann var* *fljotur*]]]]
much extremely what he was quick
'How unbelievably quick he was!'

In this example, the WhP is projected to host the *wh*-word *hvað* 'what' which moves to check the [+WH] feature. The HDegP is needed to host phrases that denote a high degree, such as *rosalega* 'extremely' above. ExclP dominates both HDegP and WhP as evidenced in the rigid word order of Icelandic Excls.

Ambar (2002) adopts a split CP approach but with more projections higher than the FocusP to account for cross-linguistic variations in exclamative and non-exclamative constructions. Her approach is based on the following assumptions (Ambar, 2002:16-17):

95) a. XP [$_{EvaluativeP}$ [$_{Evaluative'}$ [$_{AssertiveP}$ [$_{Assertive'}$ [XP $_{whP}$ [$_{Wh'}$ [$_{FocusP}$ [$_{Focus'}$ [XP [$_{IP}$...

b. XP is a landing site for dislocated elements;

c. WhP is an operator projection where *wh*-phrases move to; its head has two features: *wh*- and *V*-features which trigger *wh*-movement and Verb-Inflection raising;

d. AssertiveP is a projection located above WhP - it projects whenever assertive properties (i.e., those related to 'factive' interpretation) are involved in the construction.

e. EvaluativeP is a projection located above AssertiveP, which codifies the speaker's evaluations (usually expressed by adjectival elements).

Ambar (2002) argues that the projection of EvaluativeP and AssertiveP are essential for the syntax of *wh*-exclamatives since they trigger the movement of the *wh*-element to check the [+EVALUATIVE] and [+ASSERTIVE] features which belong to Common Ground.

In sum, the literature seems to disagree on the position targeted by the moved *wh*-phrase and the number of features and phrases at the left periphery of Excls. Each study claims several projections in the CP domain which are different from those in other studies in their number, categories, functional heads, and features. However, the thesis claims that the syntax of exclamatives (at least in Arabic) is simpler and more straightforward than argued in the literature, based on the assumption that Excls are nonsentential.

3.4 Excls in Arabic

Moutaouakil (1999, 2005) discusses Excls in general and in Arabic in specific and argues that they cannot be considered as a sentence type. Assuming that Excls constitute a sentence type faces several problems. First, there is no precise or clear definition of the notion 'sentence type' in traditional or generative grammar; hence, there are no criteria to include/ exclude Excls in the set of sentence types. Second, while interrogatives, declaratives, and imperatives have discriminatory features that make them possible to be recognized and differentiated from each other, Excls have diverse forms that differ from one language to another, except for prosodic features, which are shared among languages.

Third, Excls have no specific forms in contrast with declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives; except for some idiomatic expressions, Excls borrow their structures from the other sentence types, and in most cases, Excls can be seen as an interrogation with exclamatory interpretation. Fourth, based on the connection and the mutual implication between sentence type and illocution, that is, "sentence types are grammaticalized carriers of basic illocutions [e.g., declaratives code the illocution of declaration]" (Moutaouakil, 1999:2), Excls cannot form a sentence type because they do not have an illocution as evidenced in the following. First, Excls "do not necessarily involve an interactional relationship between the speaker and the addressee, which is one of the defining features of illocutionary force" (Moutaouakil, 1999:2). Consider (96a-d), and notice how *be amazed* behave differently than the illocutionary-indicating predicates *tell*, *ask*, and *order*.

96) a. I tell you that John will come back tomorrow.

b. I ask you whether Mary will meet John.

c. I order you to leave now.

d. *I am amazed (to) you that John is here already! (Moutaouakil, 1999:3)

This leads to the observation that "the primary function of exclamation is to establish a relation between the speaker and the content of the expression he utters rather than between him and the addressee" (Moutaouakil, 1999:3). Second, while basic illocutions can undergo an illocutionary conversion process (e.g., a change from a declaration to an interrogation), there are no cases demonstrating the conversion of an Excl into another type of construction. Third, while adverbial expressions such as *frankly*, *honestly*, *sincerely*, etc., can modify or specify the illocutionary value of the clause, exclamative adverbials such as *surprisingly*, *wonderfully*, *amazingly*, etc., do not specify or modify the content of the proposition. Notice that (97a) can be paraphrased by (97b) but not by (97c).

97) a. Amazingly, John has greeted his enemy.

b. It is amazing that John should greet his enemy.

c. *I tell you amazingly that John has greeted his enemy. (Moutaouakil, 1999:4)

Forth, exclamation is a gradable notion in the sense that the speaker can express different degrees of exclamation. Consider that (98a-d) represent increasing exclamation.

98) a. She is nice!

b. Is she nice!

c. Isn't she nice!

d. How nice she is! (Moutaouakil, 1999:4)

The gradability of exclamation indicates that Excls do not involve a speech act since the performance of a speech act cannot be conceived as a matter of degree. Consider the grammaticality of (99a) as opposed to (99b-c)[7].

99) a. I am very surprised that John is here.

b. *I tell you very much that John is ill.

c. *I ask you very much whether John has met Mary.

d. *I order you very much to leave. (Moutaouakil, 1999:4)

Fifth, unlike declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives, exclamation is "an additional optional feature which is superimposed on a linguistic expression which already has an illocutionary value" (Moutaouakil, 1999:5). This is evident in the fact that Excls have the illocutionary force of assertion independently of the fact they are exclamative. This claim is supported by four pieces of evidence. First, while coordination is possible

[7] This assumption is open to a debate. Consider, for example, that *I order you very strongly to leave* is grammatical.

only when the two clauses have the same illocution (100a,b), the coordination of an Excl with a declarative or a rhetorical interrogative is possible (101a,b).

100) a. Mary is rich and she is generous.

b. *Is Mary rich? and she is generous.

101) a. Mary is rich and how generous she is!

b. Isn't Mary rich?! and how generous she is! (Moutaouakil, 1999:5)

Second, Lakoff (1987, 475-479, cited in Moutaouakil, 1999:5) notes that Excls can occur in *because*-clauses whereas interrogatives and imperatives cannot, and that is because Excls are assertive, as shown in (102a-c).

102) a. I am gonna have breakfast now, because am I ever hungry!

b. *I'm leaving because I ask you which girl pinched me.

c. *I'm staying because I order you to leave.

Third, Excls can take a tag question that is associated with declaratives, as shown in (103a,b), and in dialogues, the addressee can react with the same expressions as to declaratives, as shown in (104) as opposed to (105).

103) a. She has grown, hasn't she?

b. She has GROWN, hasn't she?

104) A: Isn't she nice!

B: I know. / I see. / That's true.

105) A: Is she nice? (please tell me)

B: * I know. / *I see. / *That's true. (Moutaouakil, 1999:6)

Based on the aforementioned arguments, Moutaouakil (1999) maintains that Excls do not constitute a sentence type, and they represent a subjective modality defined by Dik (1997) as follows:

Subjective modality:

The source of the speaker's evaluation is

(i) personal opinion: it is the speaker's personal opinion that X is certain, probable, possible

(ii) volition: it is the speaker's wish/ hope that X is/ will be realized.

Moutaouakil (1999:8) adds a third notion to the given definition to define exclamative modality as follows:

(iii) impression/ emotional reaction: it is the speaker's impression that X is surprising, unexpected, or otherwise worthy of notice.

Drawing on this definition, Moutaouakil (1999) explains that Arabic Excls can be explained according to two criteria: (a) the different values that exclamation can take, and (b) its different degrees. With regard to the first criterion, Excls indicate two values, viz., positive or negative (appreciative or depreciative), as the speaker expresses his/ her approval or disapproval towards the propositional content. In Arabic, these two values have morphosyntactic correlates. In Modern Standard Arabic, for example, the particle *niʿma* is

used in appreciative exclamative constructions whereas the particle *biʾsa* is utilized in the depreciative counterpart, as in (106a,b)

106) a. *niʿma* *al-fatāt-u* *hind-u-n*

good DEF-girl-NOM Hind-NOM-INDEF

'What a good girl Hind is!'

b. *biʾsa* *al-jār-u* *zayd-u-n*

bad DEF-neighbor-NOM Zayd-NOM-INDEF

'What a bad neighbor Zayd is!' (Moutaouakil, 1999:9)

In other constructions, some particles are used exclusively for appreciation, for example, *ʾafʿil* in (107a), which cannot carry a depreciative attitude (107b).

107) a. *ʾakrim* *bi-zayd-i-n*

generous with-Zayd-GEN-INDEF

'How generous Zayd is!'

b. **ʾaqbiḥ* *bi-zayd-i-n*

bad with-Zayd-GEN-INDEF

'How bad Zayd is!' (Moutaouakil, 1999:9)

This morphosyntactic correlation between the exclamative modality and the value expressed by the Excl is not specific to Arabic; as can be seen in French (108a,b), the fronted adjective predicate can denote only the negative attitude.

108) a. *Sotte que tu es*!

‘Stupid that you are!’

b. **Géniale que tu es*!

‘Genious that you are!’ (Moutaouakil, 1999:9)

Regarding the second criterion that Excls have different degrees of exclamation, this criterion can be explained by the fact that the different degrees can be expressed either lexically or morphosyntactically. Lexically, predicates can display gradual meanings such as those in (109a,b).

109) a. fantastic > marvelous > nice > beautiful

b. incredible > astonishing > amazing > surprising (Moutaouakil, 1999:10)

Morphosyntactically, some predicate forms are used for a natural, low degree of exclamation (110a), and others are used for a higher degree (110b).

110) a. *mā ʾakrama* *zayd-a-n*

generous. EXCL Zayd-ACC-INDEF

‘How generous Zayd is!’

b. *ʾakrim* *bi-zayd-i-n*

generous. EXCL with-Zayd-GEN-INDEF

‘How very generous Zayd is!’ (Moutaouakil, 1999:10)

Relatedly, the degree of exclamation can also be increased by a grammatical means, for instance, by the use of a reinforcement particle (111).

111) *ʾalā mā* *ʾakrama* *zayd-a-n*

REINF generous. EXCL Zayd-ACC-INDEF

'How very generous Zayd is!' (Moutaouakil, 1999:11)

In sum, Moutaouakil (1999) maintains that Excls in Arabic and other languages are "subjectively modelized declarative, interrogative, or imperative constructions typically conveying an assertion as their basic or (derived) illocution" (Moutaouakil, 1999:20).

The two exclamative templates *ʾafʿala* and *ʾafʿil* require the change of the adjective *karyīm* 'generous' to *ʾakrama* and *ʾakrim* in (110a,b), respectively. These two templates are analyzed as verbs in Al-Seghayar (2002), who claims that these forms are one place predicates that have unusual requirements. *ʾafʿala* in (110a) is argued to be a "one place predicate which selects a theme argument which surfaces as an object and is assigned accusative case […] this verb form assigns accusative case to an internal argument that it chooses without having to have an external argument" (Al-Seghayar, 2002:177). Therefore, (110a) has the following derivation.

112) $[_{CP}\ [_{C'}\ [\ _{C}$ ma $[_{IP}$ Pro $_{EXPL}\ [_{I'}\ [_{I}[_{VP}\ [_{V'}\ [_{V}$ ʾakrama $[_{NP}$ zayd-an]]]]]]]]]

The second form has the same analysis; it is a one place predicate and has an internal argument, a direct object, but this verb cannot assign case, and it needs a case assigner, a preposition. Consequently, (110b) has the following derivation.

113) [$_{IP}$ Pro $_{EXPL}$ [$_{I'}$ [$_{I}$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ [$_{V}$ ʾakrim [$_{PP}$ bi- [$_{NP}$ zayd-in]]]]]]]]

This analysis may seem faulty and difficult to defend for several reasons to be discussed in detail in chapter 4. To mention just two problems, the given claims that the same verb can and cannot assign case simultaneously is hardly justifiable, and they overlook the fact that the so-called verbs are semantically adjectives that modify the referent, that is, both verbs denote a property exclaimed about related to the generosity of Zayd. Moreover, Al-Seghayar (2002) overlooks the well-known debate in the literature that the given exclamative forms are both verbs and nouns. Owens (1988:142-147) summarizes the main arguments of the form *ʾafʿala* in traditional grammar books and shows that this form is hard to be classified as either a verb or a noun since it has the properties of both simultaneously.

It behaves as a noun because (i) it has a single fixed form, and unlike other verbs, does not have derived forms (i.e., perfect, imperfect, verbal noun, etc.); (ii) it has a diminutive form which is associated exclusively with nouns; (iii) when the second consonant is a semivowel [w] or [j] and followed by [a], the consonant does not change as in other nouns. This contrasts with verbs where the same sequence yields long vowel [ā] (cf. *ʾaq**wa**ma* ‘straighter’ vs., *ʾaq**ā**ma* ‘make someone/ something stand’); (iv) the interpretation of the exclamative form does not have the denotation of a transitive verb, rather a property exclaimed about. However, the same form behaves also as a verb, as evidenced in three issues. (i) When the referent is a first person pronoun, it requires the insertion of [n] which is typical of verbs (cf. *raʾā-**nī*** ‘saw-me’ vs., *bayt-ī* ‘house-my’); (ii)

the referent behaves like a direct object in being possible to be definite, and this rules out the nominal analysis since nominals in the same position are only indefinite; (iii) *ʾafʿala* has the form of a past verb, and it ends with the vowel [a] (cf. *ʾakrama* 'be hospitable'), and if it is a nominal, it must ends with [u] because it the same context it is a nominative comment (**ʾakram-**u**). This debate shows that the given exclamative form shares the syntactic properties of verbs and nouns simultaneously, as opposed to the simplified view of Al-Seghayar (2002).

Similarly, the second form *ʾafʿil* is also problematic as it behaves differently than its equivalent imperative verbal form. As discussed Ibn Yaʾīsh (2001:420), among many others, although this form looks like an imperative verb, it allows only the spurious preposition *bi-*, rather than the semantically required one *ʾilā* 'to', and it does not agree with the addressee, as the contrast between the declarative and exclamative constructions show in (114a,b), respectively.

114) a. *yā* *rijāl-u,* *ʾaḥsin-**u*** *ʾilā* *zayd-i-n*
Oh men-NOM do good-3PL.MASC to Zayd-GEN-INDEF
'Oh men, do good to Zayd.'

b. *yā* *rijāl-u,* *ʾaḥsin-**u*** *bi-Zayd-i-n*
Oh men-NOM do good-*3PL.MASC PREP-Zayd-GEN-INDEF
'Oh men, how excellent Zayd is!'

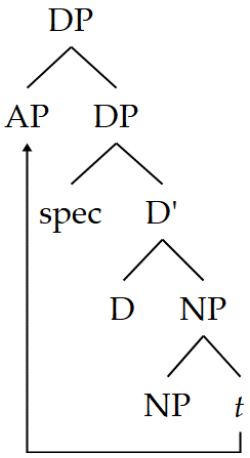
Apart from the given conventional structures of Arabic exclamatives, Vinet (1991) discusses the simple exclamative constructions formed only of an adjective and an argument DP in both French and Moroccan Arabic. Due to the similarities of the structure in both languages, the discussion below focuses only on Moroccan Arabic Excls, like those in (115a,b):

115) a. *zwīna* *had* *d-dar*
beautiful this DEF-house
'Beautiful this house!'

b. *magrabiyya* *had* *l-hafla*
Moroccan this DEF-feast
'Moroccan this feast!' (Vinet, 1991:100)

Vinet (1991) argues for a non-clausal analysis of such constructions; that is, he maintains that these Excls are not TPs, but DPs with an A' movement of the predicate to the topic position diagrammed in (116) (Vinet, 1991:90).

116)



This proposal is based on several pieces of evidence. First, it is ungrammatical to include a time adverbial or a copula in these Excls, as in (117a,b), respectively.

117) a. **zwīna had d-dar ibarah*
beautiful this DEF-house yesterday
'Beautiful this house yesterday!'

b. **zwīna had d-dar kan*
beautiful this DEF-house was
'Beautiful this house was!' (Vinet, 1991:100)

Second, only non-referential elements (adjuncts) can be moved. Referential NPs or adjectives which can function as arguments are ruled out. Consider (118).

118) **magrabiyya* *had* *l-harb* *maʿa* *l-jazāʾir*

Moroccan this DEF-war with DEF-Algeria

'Moroccan this war with Algeria!' (Vinet, 1991:101)

Third, objective adjectives like color adjectives without a degree form (119a) or classifying adjectives are also impossible (119b).

119) a. **khla* *had* *l-qahwa*

black this DEF-coffee

'Black this coffee!'

b. *ḏarriyah* *had* *l-qunbula*

atomic this DEF-bomb

'Atomic this bomb!' (Vinet, 1991:101)

Fourth, the movement of the predicate must be local to satisfy the adjacency constraint on the movement of the predicate, as shown in (120a,b).

120) a. *ʿajīb* *had* *l-ktāb*

marvellous this DEF-book

'Marvelous this book!'

b. **ʿajīb* *tandun* *blli* *tantetabar* *had* *l-ktāb*

marvellous think.I that consider.you this DEF-book

'Marvelous I think that you consider this book!' (Vinet, 1991:101)

Based on these facts, among others related to the use of PPs and (in)alienable possession, Vinet (1991) maintains that these simple Excls have nominal, rather than clausal, structure, and the predicate is an adjunct modifier, rather than an argument. Hence, “T (or an abstract Tence) must be rejected in the deep structure” (Vinet, 1991:102). The thesis follows this hypothesis further to claim that not only the simple form of Excls is nonclausal, but all types of Excls (i.e., Wh-Excls, Vocative-Excls, and Verbal-Excls) are also non-TPs.

Chapter 3

Exceptive Constructions in Arabic

1. Introduction

An exceptive phrase is a "subordinate clause which functions to present an exception to an idea, action, or situation that is presented in the main clause" (Arnold & Choi, 2018:193). The exceptive element *but* (and also *except*, *except for* and *only*) in sentences like (121a,b) below is used to express restriction or, according to von Fintel (1993:126), to create domain subtraction:

121) a. Every student *but* John attended the meeting.

b. No student *but* John attended the meeting. (von Fintel, 1993:124)

But in these sentences is used to subtract entities from the domain of a quantifier like *every* or *no*, that is, it is utilized to reduce or restrict the domain of the qualification, and this restrictive behavior is assumed to be shared by all exceptive constructions (as discussed in the previous chapter). According to von Fintel and Iatridou (2007:446-447), exceptive

phrases are constructed cross-linguistically by using an element like *only* (122a) or NEG+ EXCEPTIVE PARTICLE (122b), or both[8]:

122) a. *Only* John came. (languages like German, Finnish, Spanish, Tagalog, etc.)

b. *No*body came *except* John. (languages like Greek, French, Irish, Hebrew, etc.)

The Arabic language is similar to languages in (122b) in the sense that exceptive phrases are used in negative sentences with the particle, *ʻilla* 'except', but it is different from the closely related Semitic language, Hebrew, because Arabic exceptives can also be used in affirmative sentences (cf., Zewi, 1998:546), as in (123):

123) *ʾatā al-jamiiʿ-u ʾilla zayd-a-n*

came DEF-all-NOM except Zayd-ACC-INDEF

'All came except Zayd.'

Apart from the extensive debates on the semantics of exceptives, only a few syntactic studies are devoted to the topic (e.g., O'Neill, 2014; Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén, 2012; Potsdam and Polinsky, 2017; Sava, 2009; Soltan, 2016). These studies argue that exceptive particles can be prepositions, focal adverbs, or conjunctions that conjoin either two DPs (in the case of connected exceptives) or two CPs (in cases of free exceptives) assuming a process of ellipsis to take place. However, this chapter discusses and dismisses

[8] Many languages have both NEG+ EXCEPTIVE and *only* structures such as German, Korean, and English. It is worth investigating the syntactic motivation to utilize both structures or just one of them cross-linguistically. A topic I leave for the future.

previous proposals in the literature and argues that they fail to account for Arabic exceptives. The chapter claims that the distributional facts of Arabic exceptives and their idiosyncrasies cannot be captured by sentential/ellipsis analysis, contra Soltan (2016). To briefly explain some of these intricacies and perplexing properties, consider (124-124'') which exemplify the three syntactic arrangements of exceptives.

124) a. *mā ḥaḍara ʾillā ṭālib-**u**-n*
not came except student-**NOM**-INDEF

b.* *mā ḥaḍara ʾillā ṭālib-**a**-n*
not came except student-**ACC**-INDEF
'Only one student came.' (Alhawary, 2011:310)

124') a. *mā ḥaḍara ʾaḥad-u-n ʾillā ṭālib-**u**-n*
not came one-NOM-INDEF except student-**NOM**-INDEF

b. *mā ḥaḍara ʾaḥad-u-n ʾillā ṭālib-**a**-n*
not came one-NOM-INDEF except student-**ACC**-INDEF
'No one came except a student.'

124'') a.* *ḥaḍara al-jamiiʾ-u, ʾillā ṭālib-**u**-n*
came DEF-all-NOM except student-**NOM**-INDEF

b. *ḥaḍara al-jamiiʾ-u, ʾillā ṭālib-**a**-n*
came DEF-all-NOM except student-**ACC**-INDEF
'All came except one student.'

These sentences represent three syntactic configurations in which case is realized differently. Although the excepted noun *ṭālib* 'student' occupies the same position after the exceptive particle *ʾillā*, it has only the nominative case in (124a), either nominative or accusative in (124b), and only accusative in (124c). Additionally, the exceptive phrase can be fronted only in (124c), but not in (124a) or (124b). These facts (and other idiosyncrasies to be explained below) cast doubt on the adequacy of the previous proposals in the literature regarding the categorial status of exceptive particles and their analyses. The chapter departs from the mainstream literature and tests the hypothesis that exceptive particles are instances of functional heads that are base-generated in Ex 'exceptive head' which projects into an ExP, rather than a PP, an AdvP, or a ConjP. The chapter argues that this hypothesis is more strongly supported by the data and more plausible to account for different positions, case alternations, and other intricacies in Arabic exceptive phrases.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this study aims to understand the syntactic structure of Arabic exceptives. To reach a satisfactory minimalist analysis that explains the nature of their structures, the following issues are thoroughly investigated:

- the suitability of an ExP to be used as an argument only in negative sentences lacking the ExP-associate;
- the optionality of the licensing DP (i.e., the ExP-associate) only in negative sentences;
- the correlation between the licensing DP and the type of sentence (i.e., affirmative and negative); and

- the relation between the position of the ExP (i.e., at the right periphery or fronted) and inflectional morphology.

To provide satisfactory answers and explanations of the given issues, the rest of the chapter is organized as follows: Section 2 provides a detailed description of Arabic exceptives. Section 3 considers the categorial status of the exceptive particle and shows how the coordination hypothesis is inadequate for explaining the full range of data. It also provides a cross-linguistic evidence against an analysis in line with coordination and ellipsis. Section 4 outlines the assumptions of the new approach adopted in the chapter. It discusses in detail the different positions and functions of exceptive phases (i.e., the argumental, appositional, and adjunctive) in both negative and affirmative sentences, explaining the correlation between the function of the exceptive phrase and case assignment. Section 5 deals with the differences between the full-fledged exPs and the functionally impoverished ExPs. Section 6 discusses why the accusative case is the only case available for valuation by the functional head *ex*, and it shows that the exceptive particle is an undivided element, contra previous studies. Section 7 introduces the different types of exceptives, namely, connected exceptives and free exceptives, and claims that Arabic data challenges the general assumptions regarding the distinction between connected and free exceptives. Section 8 summarizes and concludes the chapter.

2. An overview of exceptive constructions

The so-called *ʾistiṯnāʾ* 'exceptive construction' exists in both standard (i.e., Classical Arabic (CA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)), and colloquial varieties of Arabic. The syntactic properties of exceptive constructions seem to be the same in all Arabic varieties. Comparing the structure in CA (see, Zabarah, 2017, for a detailed overview) with that of MSA (e.g., Badawi, Carter, and Gully, 2015; Ryding, 2005; Alhawary, 2011) shows that both CA and MSA have the same syntax of exceptives. Consider (125a,b) from CA and MSA, respectively, and notice that exceptive constructions include three main parts: the exceptive particle *illā* 'except', the *mustaṯnā* 'excepted noun' or the noun after *ʾillā*, and the *mustaṯnā min-hu* 'noun excepted from' or the noun before *ʾillā* (I will use the abbreviation **ExP** for 'exception phrase', **ExP-complement** for 'the excepted noun', **ExP-associate** for 'the associate of the exception phrase (the noun excepted from)':

125) a. *jāʾa-nī* *al-qawm-u* *ʾillā* *zayd-a-n*
came-me DEF-clan-NOM except Zayd-ACC-INDEF
[ExP-associate] [ExP [ExP-complement]]
'The clan came to me except Zayd.' (Ibn Yaʾīsh, 2001:46)

b. *jāʾa kull-u* *aṭ-ṭullāb-i* *ʾillā* *najīb-a-n*
came all-NOM DEF-students-GEN except Najib-ACC-INDEF
[ExP-associate] [ExP [ExP-complement]]
'All the students came except Najib.' (Ryding, 2005:651)

In (125a,b), *ʾillā* ‘except’ mediates between the Ex-associates *alqawmu* ‘the people’ and *kullu aṭṭullābi* ‘all the students’ and the Ex-complements z*aydan* ‘Zayd’ and *najīban* ‘Najib’, respectively (nunation occurs in proper nouns, according to Fassi Fehri (2012:195), for semantic reasons, that is, for providing the meaning of indefiniteness and individuation, an alternative view is that the meaning of nunation is bleached out (i.e., it goes away) by the semantic context, and nunation is just a determiner that enables case assignment on the noun). Parallel structures also exist in colloquial varieties. Consider the equivalents of (125a,b) below from Jordanian Arabic (JA) (for more examples from Egyptian and Palestinian Arabic, see Soltan, 2016 and Khalaily, 2019).

126) a. *kull* *al-* *ʿašīrih* *ʾij-at-nī* *ʾillā* *zayd*
all DEF-clan came-3SG.SBJ.FEM-me except Zayd
‘The clan came to me except Zayd.’

b. *kull* *aṭ-ṭulāb* *ʾij-ū* *ʾillā* *najīb*
all DEF-students came-3PL.SBJ except Najib
‘All the students came except Najib.’

Generally speaking, standard varieties (i.e., CA and MSA) and colloquial dialects (e.g., JA) have the same syntax (or at least profound similarities) of exceptive constructions [9]. Based on this assumption, the chapter focuses on CA and MSA, rather than on colloquial

[9] This assumption is based on the author’s intuition as a native speaker of JA and his consultation with speakers of other colloquial dialects such as Libyan, Yemeni, and Syrian Arabic.

dialects, because only the standard varieties can provide an accurate, comprehensive description of exceptive constructions as they are the only ones with rich inflectional morphology that is essential for determining the syntactic status of the ExP components in a particular structural domain[10]. Compare, for example, the presence of case endings on nominals in (125a,b) and their absence on the same nominals in (126a,b) above.

Returning to the main components of exceptive constructions, the ExP-associate is optional and can be omitted without affecting the well-formedness of negative sentences. The only obligatory elements are the particle *ʾillā* and the ExP-complement, as demonstrated in (127a-c).

127) a. *mā ḥaḍara ʾillā ṭālib-u-n*
not came except student-NOM-INDEF
'Only one student came.' (Alhawary, 2011:310)

b. *mā qābal-tu ʾillā ṭālib-a-n*
not met-1SG.SBJ except student-ACC-INDEF
'I met only one student.' (Alhawary, 2011:310)

[10] Colloquial varieties without such rich morphology might have developed structural differences simultaneously with the loss of inflection. The structural differences need to be investigated to ensure a better understanding of how the loss of inflection is compensated for in a number of Arabic varieties not only for exceptives but also for other structures as well.

c. *mā astamaʿ-tu ʾillā ʾilā ṭālib-i-n*

not listened-I except to student-GEN-INDEF

'I listened only to one student.' (Alhawary, 2011:310)

Apart from providing restrictive meaning, the exceptive particle along with the negative element *mā* 'not' act as if they are not there. The absence of any syntactic effect of *ʾillā* and *mā* can be seen in the inflectional endings of *ṭālib* which takes the nominative, accusative, and genitive case in (126a-c) due to its role as subject, object, and object of the preposition, respectively. However, the optionality of the ExP-associate is only possible in negative sentences since the equivalent affirmative sentences of (127a-c) are ungrammatical (see, e.g., Zabarah, 2017:149; Moutaouakil, 2009:85).

128) a. * *ḥaḍara ʾillā ṭālibun*

b.* *qābaltu ʾillā ṭālibaṇ*

c. * *astamaʿtu ʾillā ʾilā ṭālibin*

The ungrammaticality of (128a-c) is related to the requirement that the ExP-associate cannot be deleted when the negative particle is absent. This correlation between the ExP-associate and the negative particle seems well established, as evidenced in the fact that other negative particles have the same effect. Consider the obligatory presence of *lā* and *lam* in (129a,b).

129) a. *(*lā*) *ʾaḥad-a* *fī-hā* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*

not one-ACC in-it except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

'No one is there except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017:146)

b. *(*lam*) *ya-qum* *ʾaḥad-u-n* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*

not he-stood one-NOM-INDEF except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

'No one stood except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017:157)

Moreover, these sentences indicate that when the ExP-associate is indefinite and unspecific (e.g., *ʾaḥad* 'one'), it must be preceded by a negative element that licenses its existence. To sum up, if the ExP-associate is absent or indefinite and unspecific, the sentence must be negative. In addition to cases of noun phrases, the ExP-associate can also be a prepositional phrase (130a) or a clause (130b):

130) a. *mā* *ʾatā-nī* *min* *ʾaḥad-i-n* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*

not came-me of one-GEN-INDEF except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

'None of them came to me except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017:146)

b. *mā* *ʿalim-tu* *ʾanna* *fī-hā* *ʾillā* *zayd-a-n*

not knew-I that in-it except Zayd-ACC-INDEF

'I did not know anyone was there except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017:146)

Regarding grammatical inflection of the ExP-complement, there are two options when the sentence is negated; either the nominal expression has the inflection of the ExP-associate in case alternating constructions, or it has the accusative case. In case alternating

constructions, the two nouns have the same inflection since "both nouns are equal in status, and one can replace the other" (Zabarah, 2017:144). Consider case variation in (131, 131'):

131) a. *mā* *qadima al-kuttāb-**u*** *ʾillā* *zayd-**u**-n*

not came DEF-writers-**NOM** except Zayd-**NOM**-INDEF

b. *mā* *qadima al-kuttāb-**u*** *ʾillā* *zayd-**a**-n*

not came DEF-writers-**NOM** except Zayd-**ACC**-INDEF

'The writers did not come except for Zayd.' (Moutaouakil, 2009:89)

131') a. *mā* *astamaʿ-tu* *ʾilā* *aṭ-ṭullāb-**i*** *ʾillā* *wāḥid-**i**-n*

not listened-I to DEF-students-**GEN** except one-**GEN**-INDEF

b. *mā* *astamaʿ-tu* *ʾilā* *aṭ-ṭullāb-**i*** *ʾillā* *wāḥid-**a**-n*

not listened-I to DEF-students-**GEN** except one-**ACC**-INDEF

'I didn't listen to the students except for one.' (Alhawary, 2011:309)

In (131), *zayd* is nominative because it is in an appositional relationship with *alkuttābu* 'the writers', that is, *zayd* refers to *alkuttābu* and agrees with it in the nominative case, and in (131'), *wāḥid* 'one' has the genitive case as *aṭṭullābi* 'the students' for the same reason. In both (131-131'), the exceptive construction may form an independent phrase; consequently, the Ex-complement has an accusative case regardless of the inflection of the ExP-associate.

If the exceptive phrase is fronted, only the accusative case can be assigned (i.e., the case alternating construction is ruled out). Consider (132a,b):

132) a. *mā l-ī ʾillā ʾab-**ā**-ka ṣadīq-**u**-n*

not to-me except father-**ACC**-your friend-**NOM**-INDEF

'No one is there for me except your father as a friend.' (Zabarah, 2017:150)

b. **mā l-ī ʾillā ʾab-**ū**-ka ṣadīq-**u**-n*

not to-me except father-**NOM**-your friend-**NOM**-INDEF

(Intended: 'No one is there for me except your father as a friend.')

(132b) is ungrammatical because the ExP-complement *ʾab* 'father' is assigned the nominative case (realized as *-u* in *ʾab-ū*), rather than the accusative case.

While in negative sentences both the case alternating construction and the accusative are feasible options, in affirmative sentences only the accusative is possible, as can be seen in the contrast in (133):

133) a. *qadima al-kuttāb-**u** ʾillā zayd-**a**-n*

came DEF-writers-**NOM** except Zayd-**ACC**-INDEF

b.* *qadima al-kuttāb-**u** ʾillā zayd-**u**-n*

came DEF-writers-**NOM** except Zayd-**NOM**-INDEF

'All the writers came except Zayd.' (Moutaouakil, 2009:87)

To sum up, exceptive constructions have the following syntactic properties. The exceptive particle *ʾillā* has no obvious syntactic function in negative sentences lacking the ExP-associate, but in other constructions, it seems to have. Only in negative sentences, the ExP-associate is optional and can be omitted without affecting the well-formedness of the sentence. Regarding the grammatical inflection of the ExP-complement, there are two options when the sentence is negated, either it has the inflection of the ExP-associate in case alternating constructions, or it has the accusative case. However, if the sentence is affirmative or the ExP is fronted, only the accusative case is possible. As highlighted above, these properties do not exist only in Arabic standard varieties (i.e., CA and MSA) but also in colloquial dialects as well. Apart from case alternation that cannot be investigated due to the impoverished inflectional morphology in Arabic dialects (i.e., the absence of case endings on both the ExP-associate and the ExP-complement), all the mentioned characteristics exist in the colloquial varieties. Consider, for example, ExPs in case alternating constructions, the obligatory presence of the negative particle, the possibility of fronting the ExP in (134a-c), respectively (for more examples from Palestinian Arabic, see Khalaily, 2019).

134) a. *mā bās-at zeynab ḥadā ʾillā rašīd*
not kissed-3FEM.SG.SBJ Zeynab one except Rashid
'Zeynab did not kiss anyone except Rashid.' (Khalaily, 2019:4)

b. *(*mā*) *bās-at* *zeynab* *ʾillā* *rašīd*

not kissed-3FEM.SG.SBJ Zeynab except Rashid

(Intended: ‘Zeynab only kissed Rashid.’) (Khalaily, 2019:1)

c. *ʾillā rašīd mā bās-at* *zeynab*

except Rashid not kissed-3FEM.SG.SBJ Zeynab

‘Only Rashid did Zeynab not kiss.’ (Khalaily, 2019:2)

However, the syntactic characteristics of exceptive constructions lead us to doubt the explanation in the literature that exceptive particles can be analyzed as prepositions, focal adverbs, or coordinating conjunctions simply because the perplexing intricacies discussed above do not exist in PPs, AdvPs or ConjPs. I argue that previous analyses do not suffice to handle the full range of data adequately, and a different proposal is needed.

3. The Categorial Status of Arabic Exceptive Particle

In order to account for the distributional properties of exceptive constructions, we first need to understand the syntactic nature of *ʾillā* and determine its categorial status. To my best knowledge, three proposals are discussed in the literature; exceptive particles are argued to be prepositions, focal adverbs, or conjunctions. The following subsection deals with these proposals:

3.1 The syntactic uniqueness of *ʾillā*

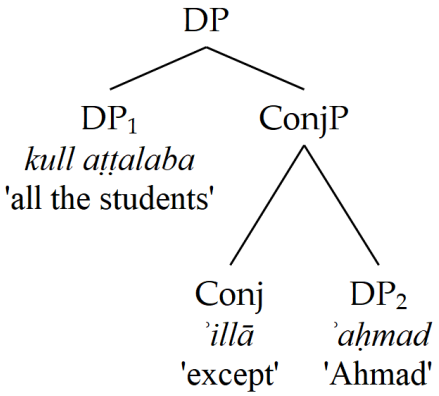
The possibility of analysing exceptive particles as prepositions, focal adverbs, or conjunctions is discussed in Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén (2012) for Spanish and Soltan (2016) for Egyptian Arabic.

Exceptive markers as prepositions: Soltan (2016) rightly concludes that exceptive markers in Arabic are not prepositions, based on three arguments. Firstly, unlike *ʾillā*, prepositions can be followed by the clitic form of a pronoun, and never by the strong form. I argue that this fact is caused by the different case features carried by prepositions and *ʾillā*. Whereas prepositions carry only the [Gen-Case], hence their complement can be a clitic, rather than a strong form. The case valuation in *ʾillā* structures is more permissive because the complement of *ʾillā* can be of any case depending on the structure as explained above. Notice that a pronoun like 'you' has only two strong forms, *ʾanta* 'you.NOM' and *ʾiyāka* 'you.ACC', but it does not have a strong form 'you.GEN'. This explains why a preposition, as opposed to *ʾillā*, does not allow a strong form. Secondly, in contrast with *ʾillā*, a preposition like *min* 'from' cannot take a PP as a complement without restrictions; some PPs are allowed (*min taḥti al-Tawila* 'from under the table'), others are not (**min fi al-kīs* 'from in the bag'). Thirdly, nominals after prepositions have one specific case (i.e., genitive), unlike those after *ʾillā* which may bear any case in some constructions discussed above.

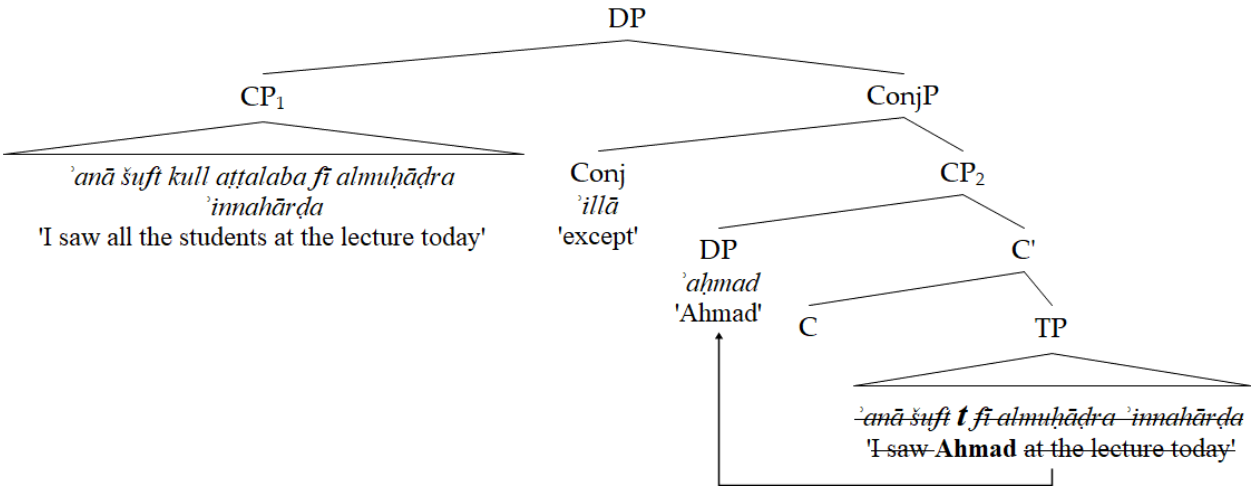
Exceptive markers as focal adverbs: "On the basis of their semantic properties (exclusion vs. inclusion) and participial origin" exceptive markers are considered by some researchers to be focal adverbs (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén, 2012:594). This possibility is ruled out by Soltan (2016) for two reasons. Firstly, adverbs like *ḥattā* 'even' may appear in an initial position without restrictions, but *ʾillā* may not. Secondly, *ḥattā* 'even' can precede or follow the noun (e.g., *ḥattā Aḥmad* / *Aḥmad ḥattā*), but *ʾillā* cannot (*ʾillā Aḥmad* / **Aḥmad ʾillā*).

Exceptive markers as coordinating conjunctions: drawing on Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén's (2012) reasoning, Soltan (2016) claims that *ʾillā* is a coordinating conjunction. He differentiates between two types of exceptive phrases; namely, connected exceptives that join two DPs (e.g., [$_{DP}$ everyone] except [$_{DP}$ John] passed.) and free exceptives that conjoin two CPs, "the exceptive markers select for a full-fledged CP as a 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)" (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén, 2012:582), that is, in cases where the exceptive phrase is parenthetical or fronted (e.g., Except [$_{CP}$ John (didn't pass)], [$_{CP}$ everyone passed]). The following representations are illustrative (Soltan, 2016:46-47):

135) a. Connected exceptives



b. Free exceptives



As highlighted in section 2, it is essential to consider the case endings of both ExP-associates and ExP-complements to reach an accurate, comprehensive analysis. Since colloquial dialects (including Egyptian Arabic) have impoverished inflectional

morphology (i.e., they make no use of case markings on nominals), they are not ideally suited to the study of ExPs (and most probably to other studies focusing on case assignment, cf., vocatives in Al-Bataineh, 2020), and it is essential to consider Standard Arabic varieties with rich morphology to avoid incorrect, implausible results. However, contra Soltan (2016), the data given above shows that exceptive constructions are not equivalent to conjunction phrases. There are multiple pieces of evidence indicating *ʾillā* is syntactically different from Arabic conjunctions like *wa* 'and', *aw* 'or', *ṯumma* 'then', *lā* 'not', etc [11]. First, conjunctions cannot assign case to the following noun, that is, they cannot carry a valued case feature like *ʾillā* which can value an accusative case to c-commanded DP (i.e., the ExP-complement) in some constructions. Consider (136a,b):

136) a. *marar-tu* *bi-ʾaṣdiqaʾ-**i*** *wa* *zayd-**i**-n*
passed-I by-friends.**GEN**-my and Zayd-**GEN**-INDEF
'I pass by my friends and Zayd.'

b. *marar-tu* *bi-ʾaṣdiqaʾ-**i*** *ʾillā* *zayd-**a**-n*
passed-I by-friends.**GEN**-my except Zayd-**ACC**-INDEF
'I pass by my friends except Zayd.'

[11] For ease of exposition, the conjunction phrases introduced by *wa* 'and' are compared with exceptive phrases with *ʾillā* based on the assumption that other conjunctions like *aw* 'or', *ṯumma* 'then', *lā* 'not' have the same syntactic properties.

While in (136a) the conjunction *wa* 'and' cannot value case on *zayd*, thus, *zayd* gets the same genitive case as *ʾaṣdiqaʾ* 'friends' (the object of the preposition *bi-* 'by'), in (136b) the structure is different, and *zayd* is marked accusative, instead of genitive. If we assume *zayd* and *ʾaṣdiqaʾ* are conjoined by *ʾillā*, we wrongly predict that *zayd* has the genitive case, and if we assume that a process of ellipsis takes place, and *ʾillā* conjoins two CPs in which *zayd* is the remnant constituent after PF-deletion, we reach a worse result because the verb *marartu* 'I passed' is intransitive and does not value the accusative case on *zayd* (and if we suppose that *zayd* is the subject, it must be *zayd-**u**-n* with the nominative ending ***-u***, contrary to fact). The only plausible analysis at hand is that *ʾillā* is a lexicalization of a functional head that has an [Acc-Case] feature that is valued on *zayd* by Agree, and this feature cannot be carried by the conjunction *wa* 'and' or any coordinating conjunction not only in Arabic but also in other languages (see, e.g., Weisser, 2020).

Second, while an ExP can be introduced into a negative sentence lacking the ExP-associate, a conjunction phrase cannot. Compare (137a) with (137b):

137) a. *mā ʾatā-nī ʾillā zayd-u-n*
not came-me except Zayd-NOM-INDEF
'None came to me except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017:143)

b. **mā ʾatā-nī wa zayd-u-n*
not came-me and Zayd-NOM-INDEF
(Intended: '*None came to me and Zayd.')

While (137a) is a well-formed sentence, (137b) is both ungrammatical and meaningless. Furthermore, in (137a), the ExP *ʾillā zaydun* cannot be considered as a ConjP simply because there are no two DPs or two CPs to be joined. If we assume that *mā* is scoping over a *pro*, giving the interpretation 'no one', and analysing '*illā* as conjoining *mā* + *pro* and *zaydun*, we could not explain why the Conj *wa* 'and' cannot be introduced in the same position as *illā*. Moreover, for reasons related to case assignment, I reject the possibility of proposing a *pro* in the given structure because if *pro* exists, case alternation would be possible, contrary to fact. Compare (138a,b) where case alternation is not possible, and (139a,b) where case alternation is allowed:

138)	a.	*mā*	*ʾatā-nī*	*ʾillā*	*zayd-**u**-n*
		not	came-me	except	Zayd-**NOM**-INDEF
	b.*	*mā*	*ʾatā-nī*	*ʾillā*	*zayd-**a**-n*
		not	came-me	except	Zayd-**ACC**-INDEF
		'None came to me except Zayd.'			

139)	a.	*mā*	*ʾatā-nī*	*ʾaḥad-u-n*	*ʾillā*	*zayd-**u**-n*
		not	came-me	one-NOM-INDEF	except	Zayd-**NOM**-INDEF
	b.	*mā*	*ʾatā-nī*	*ʾaḥad-u-n*	*ʾillā*	*zayd-**a**-n*
		not	came-me	one-NOM-INDEF	except	Zayd-**ACC**-INDEF
		'None came to me except Zayd.'				

Third, ExPs can be fronted in some constructions (e.g., (124c) and (132a) above), but ConjPs cannot (*everyone and John* / **and John everyone*). Fourth, while two conjunctions cannot co-occur together, that is, they cannot be adjacent, an exceptive particle can be adjacent to a conjunction to form one constituent that initiates a temporal adverbial clause (for more examples, see Yaʾīsh, 2001:78-79):

140) a. *ma ltaqay-tu-hu ʾillā wa ʾajidu-hu yu-ṣalli*
not meet-I-him except while I.find-him he-pray
'Whenever I meet him, I find him praying.'

b. **ma ltaqay-tu-hu ṯumma wa ʾajiduhu yu-ṣalli*
not meet-I-him then while I.find-him he-pray

Fifth, conjunctions can join two full sentences, but exceptive particles cannot. Consider (141a,b) [12].

141) a. ʿ*abasa wa tawallā*
he.frowned and he.turned away
'He frowned and turned away.' (Qur'ān, 80:1)

[12] This argument does not seem to apply to a language like English, in which *except* may replace the conjunction *but* in the following (based on my consultation with native speakers):

1) a. He frowned, but he was actually delighted.
b. ?He frowned, except (that) he was actually delighted.

Admittedly, (1b) is actually grammatical in English, despite that it is just slightly dispreferred. However, in Arabic ʾillā cannot replace a conjunction, as shown in the given contrast.

b. *ʿ*abasa ʾillā tawallā*

Sixth, in contrast with conjunctions, *ʾillā* can have a clitic form of a pronoun attached to it as an ExP-complement, such as *-ka* 'you' in (142):

142) *lam ʾaʿud ʾarā ʾillā-ka*
no longer see.I except-you
'I no longer see anyone except you.' (Badawi, Carter, and Gully, 2015:752)

Based on the given pieces of evidence, I argue that exceptive particles are not coordinating conjunctions; ExPs and ConjPs belong to two distinctive grammatical categories, and they serve entirely different grammatical functions. Arguments based on the differentiation between connected exceptives and free exceptives cannot account for the intricacies of exceptive constructions and their morphological and syntactic properties in Arabic (and maybe in other languages as well). Additionally, it is not clear in the literature why free exceptives "select for a CP (CP2) whose head is null and is endowed with a feature that triggers and licenses ellipsis" (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén, 2011:261). A curious reader may ask: why do not other coordinating conjunctions select for the same type of CP? What makes exceptive particles so unique? Are not constituents belonging to the same syntactic category supposed to be similar in their syntactic properties and distribution? The next section addresses this question with more details.

3.2 Crosslinguistic evidence against coordination and ellipsis

The given arguments are not specific to Arabic and can be argued for other languages as well. Claiming that exceptive markers are syntactically equivalent to conjunctions is problematic and cross-linguistically invalid for several reasons. First, as Hoeksema (1995) notes and Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén (2012:597) admit, "in canonical coordinate sentences second conjuncts cannot appear in parenthetical positions inside the first conjunct nor can they be fronted". Consider (143).

143) *{*Y*/*Pero*} *Pedro fue a Madrid, Eva fue a Barcelona*

'*{And/But} Pedro went to Madrid, Eva went to Barcelona.'

Second, Moltmann (1995:259) highlights that the ellipsis analysis is different from true gapping for at least three reasons.

> Unlike true Gapping, the constituents associated with the exception expression need not be separated by an intonation break. Second, unlike true Gapping, Pseudogapping with ExPs does not require focusing of the 'correlates' and the 'remnants'. Finally, Pseudogapping with ExPs is subject to stricter locality conditions than true Gapping. In the latter case, the remnants may be separated by a finite clause boundary with only a mild degradation in acceptability. But this is impossible with Pseudogapping, which strictly prohibits the correlates from being separated by a clause boundary:

144) a. *Every man said that he danced with every woman except John with Mary.

b.? John said that he danced with Sue and Joe with Mary.

Third, the ellipsis approach leads to logical contradiction and conflict at LF (O'Neill, 2011:180). Consider (145):

145) a. I didn't see anyone except the professor.

b. *I didn't see anyone, but I saw the professor. (O'Neill, 2011:180)

Fourth, the implausibility of the ellipsis approach becomes clearer when we consider that it may work only for some, but not all, constructions, and the hypothesis about "remnant constituents" seems unjustified and mysterious. Consider (146a,b) from Moltmann (1995:259):

146) a. Every man danced with every woman in every room except John with Mary in the kitchen.

b. *Every man showed every woman every book except John Mary the Bible.

Fifth, the claimed evidence for analyzing free exceptives as cases of clausal coordination, namely, the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) and across-the-board extraction, does not seem reliable. As correctly highlighted by De Vries (2017:23), "there seems to be a growing consensus that the CSC cannot be part of syntax, and hence that coordinate structures are not inherent syntactic islands" (see, e.g., Bošković, 2018; Kehler, 1996; Kubota & Lee, 2015, for more arguments). Additionally, Hoeksema (1995:4) notes some problematic issues with the relationship between movement and licensing of ExPs. The *wh*-island constraint can be violated in some, but not all, constructions (147a,b), and the movement account becomes more problematic in cases where there is no quantifier to move around (148a,b), see these examples from Hoeksema (1995:4):

147) a. Except for Joan, I wonder if anyone was interested.

b. *Except for Joan, I wonder whether everyone was invited.

148) a. Bees will not work except in darkness.

b. Thought will not work except in Silence: neither will Virtue work except in Secrecy.

Or in cases where the interpretation of the ExP is distributed over two sentences. Consider (149) from Hoeksema (1995:4):

149) Except for Fred, everybody was happy, and nobody wanted to return early.

In this example, across-the-board extraction cannot be applied because the quantifiers *everybody* and *nobody* are not the same, and movement of (any or all of) the quantifiers out of the conjuncts is impossible, as dictated by the Coordinate Structure Constraint on movement rules (Hoeksema, 1995:5). Sixth, claiming that exceptive markers are conjunctions runs counter to the mainstream literature on case assignment and conjunctions; Schütze (2001:213) highlights that "there is no independent evidence that true conjunctions can be case assigners". In a similar vein, Weisser (2020:44) proposes the following generalization, based on crosslinguistic evidence:

Symmetry of Case in Conjunction (SOCIC)

Case is always evenly distributed amongst all of the conjuncts in nominal conjunction.

As opposed to conjunctions, exceptive markers are case-assigning categories in several languages such as English, Germany, French, Russian, and Arabic, as in (150a-d), respectively:

150) a. None of the kids will eat anything, except them/*they the potato chips.
(Schütze, 2001:212)

b. *Ausser* *diesem* *jungen* *habe* *ich* *niemanden* *gesehen*.
except this boy have I anyone seen
'Except this boy (DAT) have I seen nobody (ACC).' (Moltmann, 1992:379)

c. *Krome* *Vani,* *ja* *pogovorila* *so* *vsemy*.
except Vanya-GEN I talked with everyone
'Except for Vanya, I talked with everyone'. (Vostrikova, 2019:84)

d. *marar-tu* *bi-ʾaṣdiqaʾ-i* *ʾillā* *zayd-a-n*
passed-I by-friends.GEN-my except Zayd-ACC-INDEF
'I pass by my friends except Zayd.'

Seventh, the argument that connected exceptives (CEs) take only a DP as a complement, and free exceptives (FEs) may host a DP, PP, AdvP, or CP, to claim a correlation between CEs-FEs and phrasal-clausal distinction seems cross-linguistically invalid. Vostrikova (2019) argues against this claimed correlation based on counterexamples from English, Russian, Turkish, and Hindi. She highlights that "the parallelism between phrasal-clausal and connected-free distinction [...] observed in Spanish does not generalize to other languages". For example, in English, CEs with *except* can introduce a PP (151a) or a reduced clause (152a), in contrast with FEs (151b) and (152b):

151) a. John danced with every girl except with Eva.

b. *Except with Eva, John danced with every girl.

152) a. Every boy danced with every girl except Bill with Eva.

b. *Except Bill with Eva, every boy danced with every girl.

(Vostrikova, 2019:82)

Notice also that in Russian (153a,b), and Turkish (154a,b), FEs can host only a DP.

153) a. *Krome* *Vani,* *ja* *pogovorila* *so* *vsemy*.

KROME Vanya.GEN I talked with everyone

'Except for Vanya, I talked with everyone.' (Vostrikova, 2019:84)

b. **Krome* *s* *Vanej,* *ja* *pogovorila* *so* *vsemy*.

KROME with Vanya I talked with everyone

'I talked with everyone except with Vanya.' (Vostrikova, 2019:84)

154) a. *Ali* *dışında* *her* *cocuk-la* *dans* *et-ti-m*.

Ali DIŞINDA every kid-with dance do-PST-1S

'Except for Ali, I danced with every boy.' (Vostrikova, 2019:35)

b. **Ali-la* *dışında* *her* *cocuk-la* *dans* *et-ti-m*.

Ali-with DIŞINDA every kid-with dance do-PST-1S

'I danced with every boy except with Ali.' (Vostrikova, 2019:40)

Based on the aforementioned arguments and other ones related to Arabic exceptives, I argue that exceptive markers cannot be syntactically equivalent to coordinating conjunctions. The chapter supports the claim that exceptive markers belong to a distinct functional category that is syntactically different from other categories.

4. Exceptive Phrases Revisited

This section attempts to account for the syntactic properties of exceptive constructions in Arabic: (i) the categorial status of exceptive particles; (ii) the suitability of an ExP to be used as an argument only in negative sentences lacking the ExP-associate; (iii) the optionality of the licensing DP (i.e., the ExP-associate) only in negative sentences; (vi) the correlation between the licensing DP and the type of sentence (i.e., affirmative and negative); and (v) the position of the ExP (i.e., at the right periphery of the clause or fronted) and its inflectional morphology.

4.1 The categorial status of exceptive particles

Section 3 criticizes the given views in the literature, and leaves us with the following question: what is the categorial status of exceptive particles if they are not prepositions, adverbs, or coordinating conjunctions? I claim that exceptive particles are the lexicalizations of Ex. Ex stands for an exceptive or restrictive element that is used for

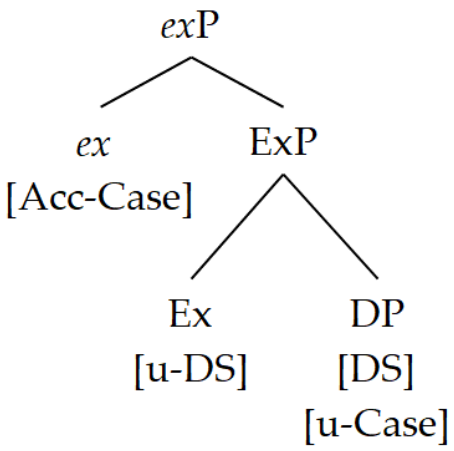
specificatory, interpretational (i.e., inclusiveness vs. exclusiveness) functions. Ex merges with an XP to form an ExP (analogous to C that merges with a TP to form a CP in which C is the element that determines the force of the sentence). The projection of ExP is triggered by the existence of a feature carried by the exceptive particle *ʾillā* that enables the particle to restrict the domain of qualification. This feature is [DS] (Domain Subtraction) that is used to subtract entities from the domain of a quantifier like *every* or *no*, and it is assumed in previous semantic studies (e.g., von Fintel, 1993) to exist in all exceptive phrases; thus, the existence of ExP as a phrase type different from PPs, AdvPs, and ConjPs may be cross-linguistically valid[13]. However, this does not mean that PPs, AdvPs, and ConjPs cannot be used as domain subtractors (cf., the use of adpositions like *without*, adverbs like *only*, and conjunctions like *but*). The main argument here is that ExPs are used exclusively to subtract entities from the domain of a quantifier like *every* or *no*. While other types of phrases can be used for multiple functions, the ExPs have one and only one function; domain subtraction. We can therefore add this restricted function to the other syntactic differences between ExPs, on one hand, and other types of phrases, on the other, as shown above.

To illustrate, in the ExP *ʾillā* +DP, the Ex-complement carries the valued [DS] feature as it denotes the entity excluded from the main clause and unvalued case feature.

[13] This argument suggests that Ex has a qualificational content, but it does not function as a Q syntactically; therefore, I prefer to use the neutral term Ex, despite the quantificational side of the exceptive particle, because the functional head Q is completely distinct from Ex in many different ways, to mention just two, as opposed to Ex, Q allows only one type of a complement; a NP, and it assigns only the genitive case to its complement.

The particle *ʾillā* has unvalued [u-DS] that is not determined in advance and needs to be valued by the Ex-complement DP via Agree, and it is c-commanded by another functional head *ex* that carries a valued accusative case [Acc-Case], as represented in the simplified tree in (155):

155)

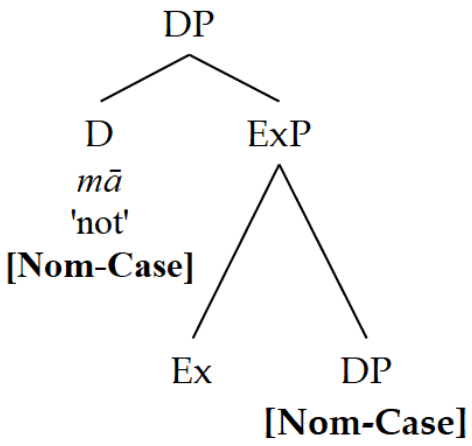


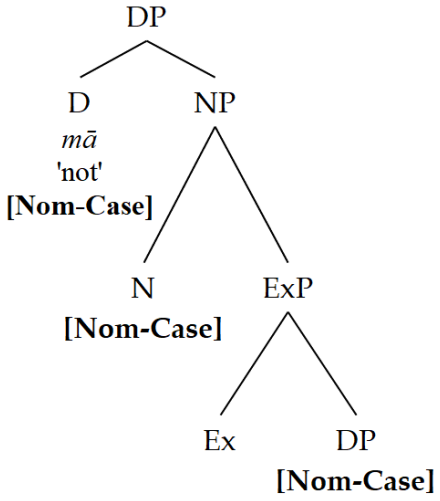
This representation explains the accusative case assignment on the Ex-complement only when the ExP is projected as a full-fledged *ex*P, that is, when the ExP is headed by *ex* that is responsible for accusative case assignment (more details in section 4). As shown above, the ExP-complement is not always valued as accusative; it can have a particular case depending on its role in sentences lacking the ExP-associate or the same case as the Ex-associate in case alternating construction. In these structures, case alternation is triggered by the negative particle *mā* which is obligatorily present.

As explained in section 4 below, the ExP can be functionally impoverished, lacking *ex*, the higher functional head that values accusative case to its complement (which is analogous to *p* that forms *p*P in Richards' (2017) analysis). The lack of this functional head makes possible a consistent theta-role and case assignment for the ExP-complement; hence a particular case is assigned on both the ExP-associate and the ExP-complement by PF-concord mechanism. The main difference between the full-fledged *ex*P and the impoverished ExP is that in the former there are two different sources for theta-role and case assignment, whereas in the latter one single source is available for both theta-role and case assignment.

Briefly stated, Case Concord or case assignment by T, for example, can occur only when the ExP is functionally impoverished, lacking its *ex* head, as shown below. The absence of *ex* allows the case feature to be spread from the D *mā* to its extended projection that includes the Ex-complement or both the Ex-complement and the Ex-associate, as represented in (156a,b), respectively. For simplification, let us assume the D *mā*, which enters the derivation with [u-Case], has a nominative case (e.g., via Agree with T).

156) a. b.





The puzzling case variation in some constructions but not others and the spread of a particular case are triggered by the ability of the particle *mā* to prevent the ExP from projecting as a full-fledged *ex*P. This property of *mā* can be supported by other structures in which functional heads become inactive and ineffective when they are attached to *mā* (which is called in the literature *mā alkāfa* 'suspending *mā*'). Supportive examples include case-assigning heads such as complementizers (e.g., *ʾinna*, *ʾanna*, *kaʾanna*, *lakinna*, and *laʿalla*), T associated with some verbs (e.g., *ṭāla* 'continue', *kaṯura* 'abound', and *qalla* 'decrease'), and prepositional particles (e.g., *rubba* 'belike', *ka-* 'as', and *min* 'from') (for details and references, see, e.g., Abdullah 2019). To illustrate, the complementizer *ʾinna* values the accusative case on the topic 'the believers' in (157a), but it loses its ability to

assign the accusative case when *mā* attaches to it, as in (157b). Notice the change of case endings on the DP following *ʾinna* below.

157) a. *ʾinna* *al-muʾmin-**ī**na* *ʾiḳwat-u-n*

COMP DEF-believer-3MASC.PL.SBJ.**ACC** brethren-NOM-INDEF

'Surely, all believers are brethren.'

b. *ʾinna-mā* *al-muʾmin-**ū**na* *ʾiḳwat-u-n*

COMP-MĀ DEF-believer-3MASC.PL.SBJ.**NOM** brethren-NOM-INDEF

'Surely, all believers are but brethren.'

A point worth mentioning here is while *mā* has the same effect on the case assigner, it is a negator in exceptive constructions, meaning 'not', whereas in (157) and other structures discussed above it is not a negator; a particle utilized for emphasis. Moreover, we notice another difference related to the position of *mā*; in exceptive constructions, *mā* occupies a higher position as a separate morpheme, whereas in (157), for instance, it attaches to and follows the case assigner. Consider (158a,b):

158) a. ***mā*** *ʾatā-nī* *ʾaḥad-u-n* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*

not came-me one-NOM-INDEF except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

'None came to me except Zayd.'

b. *ʾinna-**mā*** *al-maʾmin-ūna* *ʾiḳwat-u-n*

COMP-**MĀ** DEF-believer-3MASC.PL.SBJ.NOM brethren-NOM-INDEF

'Surely, all believers are but brethren.'

These two points regarding the meaning and position of *mā* is reminiscent of the treatment of Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) in (Collins & Postal 2017; Collins & Postal 2014) and (Collins, Postal & Yevudey 2017) for English, Serbo-Croatian, and Ewe. Very briefly, in their book, Collins and Postal (2014) provide a unified analysis of NPIs which are of either two types: unary or binary, exemplified in (159), respectively:

159) a. I advocated **no** proposal.

b. I did**n't** advocate **any** proposal. (Collins & Postal 2017)

Collins and Postal (2017:341) argue that both *no proposal* and *any proposal* in (159) as "DPs of the form [[NEG SOME] proposal], where NEG modifies an existential quantifier SOME". The only difference between them is that in the former SOME is realized as null and NEG is spelled out as *no*, while in the later, NEG raises to the post-Aux position and SOME is spelled out as *any*. However, in some constructions, the meaning of *any proposal* is equivalent to *some proposal*, where a NEG Deleter exists, such as the complementizer *if* in (160):

160) *If* he accepted *any* proposal, he was mistaken.

Notice here that there is no overt Neg preceding the verb, and *any* is semantically equivalent to *some*. Bearing in mind the two types of NPIs (e.g., *no proposal*, *not... any proposal*), and the absence of Neg when a Neg Deleter exists, I suggest that *mā* may have a similar analysis in the light of the given assumptions; *mā* originates within the DP in the same way discussed above; [[NEG SOME] NP], with the only difference that instead of

SOME, we have an exceptive particle, resulting in the form [[NEG EXCEPT] NP]. Similar to the NEG Deleter *if* above, the complementizer *ʾinna* deletes the semantics of negation, and *mā* is realized as a focus particle, rather than a negator. This explains the difference in meaning and position of *mā* discussed above. Additionally, this explains why *mā* has one and one form, viz., *mā*, when attaches to a Neg Deleter, whereas, it has several morphological realizations when raised from D to a higher position, exemplified in (161a-d):

161) a. ***mā*** *ʾatā-nī* *ʾaḥad-u-n* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*
not came-me one-NOM-INDEF except Zayd-NOM-INDEF
'None came to me except Zayd.'

b. ***lam*** *yaʾtī-nī* *ʾaḥad-u-n* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*
not come-me one-NOM-INDEF except Zayd-NOM-INDEF
'None has come to me except Zayd.'

c. ***lan*** *yaʾtī-nī* *ʾaḥad-u-n* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*
not come-me one-NOM-INDEF except Zayd-NOM-INDEF
'None will come to me except Zayd.'

d. ***lā*** *ʾaḥad-a* *ʾatā-nī* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*
not one-ACC came-me except Zayd-NOM-INDEF
'None came to me except Zayd.'

As seen in (161a-d), *mā* has different forms which are determined and selected by the tense of the verb *mā* (past), *lam* (present), *lan* (future), and when the verb is absent, it is selected by the NP and realized as *lā*. This suggests the following mapping:

162) Neg Mapping

a. *mā* ⟶ *mā,* in the context [— [T PAST]]

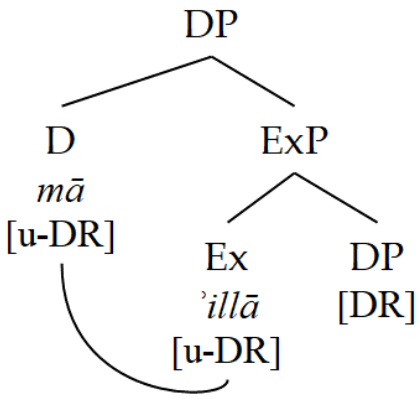
b. *mā* ⟶ *lam*, in the context [— [T PRESENT]]

c. *mā* ⟶ *lan,* in the context [— [T FUTURE]]

d. *mā* ⟶ *lā*, otherwise

Furthermore, the feature on Ex, viz., [u-DS], is also affected due to the change of the semantics of *ʾillā*. The D *mā* combines with *ʾillā* to create a discontinuous morpheme, more precisely, a focus particle that has an inclusive, rather than exclusive, interpretation; that is, while *ʾillā* has the [DS] feature that codifies the exclusion of the referent (i.e., the Ex-complement) from the superset of entities denoted by the quantifier in the main clause, the *mā-ʾillā* combination has the [DR] 'domain restriction' feature that codifies the inclusion of referent only, that is, *mā-ʾillā* denotes a focused domain that includes only the ExP-complement to the exclusion of other alternatives or potentials. In this use, *mā-ʾillā* forms one specificatory inclusive element similar perhaps to some pronouns in Tibeto-Burman languages (see Lustig 2010:304). In the light of these assumptions, the functionally impoverished ExP selected by *mā* can be represented as follows:

163)



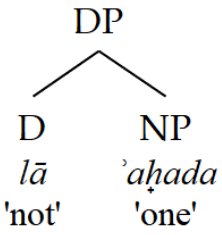
The curved line suggests that both D *mā* and Ex *ʾillā* form one discontinuous morpheme that has one unvalued domain restriction feature; consequently, both elements act as one probe that targets a goal with valued [DR] feature which is the ExP-complement that is determined in advance as a focused constituent. However, the given arguments claim a satisfactory account of ExPs in Arabic and help reconcile the debate in the literature concerning the nature of ExPs and their syntax-semantic interface. The following sections claim a conceptually simpler and empirically more defensible analysis of ExPs.

4.2 ExPs with an argumental function

As indicated above, ExPs can be used as arguments only in negative sentences lacking the ExP-associate. The negation of the sentence is an essential condition that allows their use

as DPs simply because they cannot be DPs in other structural environments. That is, ExPs can be DPs only when they are headed by a negative determiner equivalent to the English DP *no one*. To illustrate, let us begin with a discussion of English DPs as a start point for the analysis. According to Larson (2014:411-412), phrases like *every one, all men, no one* are DPs headed by a quantifier (i.e., *every, all, no*) in D, thus a phrase like *lā ʾaḥada* 'no one' may have the representation below [14].

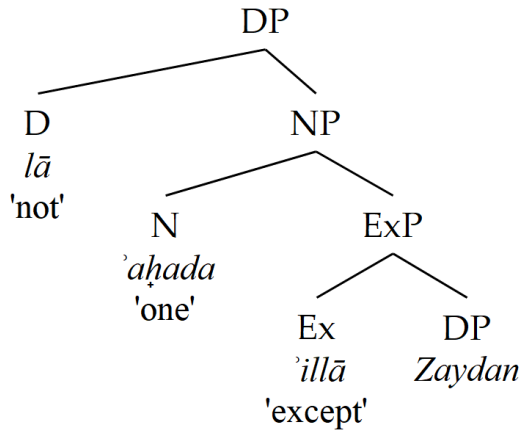
164)



Phrases like *more women than men* and *no one except Mary* are DPs headed by comparatives (*more*) and quantifiers (*no*); thus, *lā ʾaḥada ʾillā zaydan* 'no one except Zayd' can be represented in (165), bearing in mind that *ʾillā* is not a preposition, and it forms an ExP rather than a PP:

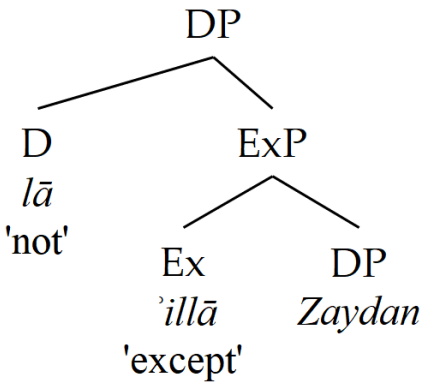
[14] Larson (2014) argues for the existence of a dP shell above DP (analogous to vP above VP), I abstract away from an extended DP in the current analysis for ease of exposition (for a detailed analysis of the internal structure of Arabic DP, see Al-Bataineh and Branigan 2020).

165)



Furthermore, in the absence of an overt nominal like *ʾaḥad* ‘one’, the given phrase surfaces as *lā ʾillā zaydan* ‘no except Zayd = only Zayd’ as in (166):

166)



Roughly speaking, (166) is the structure of an ExP that functions as an argument of the verb. This view is based on several pieces of evidence that the negative particle is a determiner. Firstly, *lā* cannot merge with a nominal with an overt D. Notice that *lā rajul* 'no man' is well-formed, but **lā* ***al****-rajul* 'no **DEF-**man' is ungrammatical because of the presence of D *al-*, and **lā rajul-u-****n*** 'no man-NOM-**INDEF**' is also ill-formed because of the presence of nunation (i.e., the indefinite article)[15]. The ungrammaticality of forming *lā*-DP stems from the fact that the overt nominal cannot be headed by two Ds *lā* and *al* or *-n*, bearing in mind that multiple or complex determiners in Arabic nominal projections are not allowed (cf. ***al****-rajul-u-****n*** '***DEF-**man-NOM-**INDEF**').

Secondly, when a DP headed by *lā* is c-commanded by a preposition, for example, the case feature on D is valued as genitive by the P, as in (167):

167) *al-munāfiq-u* *bi-lā* *ḍamīr-i-n*
DEF-hypocrite-NOM with-no conscience-GEN-INDEF
'The hypocrite is without conscience.'

Notice that when *lā* in *lā ḍamīr* 'no conscience' moves to the bound preposition *bi-* 'with' to form a complex preposition meaning 'without', the NP *ḍamīr* surfaces with the

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[15] Similarly, English *no* differs from *not* in this respect:
1) a. no man
b. *no a man
c.*not man
d. not a man
This may suggest that English *not* and *no* are different categories: *no* is a D (or maybe a Q), and *not* is a Neg or an Adv.

D *-n* as Last Resort in order to have the genitive case from the complex preposition based on the fact that in Arabic Ds are the only elements in the nominal projections that have [u-Case] that is valued from outside (cf. Ouhalla, 2013:329).

This point is supported by the third argument related to the adjacency condition on the c-commanding negative D. When *lā* is separated from the NP, i.e., when it moves to a higher position in the tree, the NP must have an indefinite article *-n*. Consider the obligatory absence of *-n* in (168) when *lā* is adjacent to it, and its obligatory presence in (168') when *lā* is not adjacent.

168)	a.*	*lā*	*rajul-a-n*	*fi*	*al-bayt-i*
		no	man-ACC-INDEF	in	DEF-house-GEN
	b.	*lā*	*rajul-a*	*fi*	*al-bayt-i*
		no	man-ACC	in	DEF-house-GEN
		'[There is] no man in the house.'			

168')	a.	*lā*	*fi*	*al-bayt-i*	*rajul-u-n*
		no	in	DEF -house-GEN	man-NOM-INDEF
	b.*	*lā*	*fi*	*al-bayt-i*	*rajul-u*
		no	in	DEF -house-GEN	man-NOM
		'[There is] no man in the house.'			

Returning to the analysis of ExPs, we see that the given assumptions account for the fact that an ExP consisting of *ʾillā* and its complement cannot function as an argument

except when it is headed by a negative determiner. Based on this understanding, we can see why only (169d) is ungrammatical:

169) a. *mā ʾatā-nī ʾillā zayd-u-n*
not came-me except Zayd-NOM-INDEF
'None came to me except Zayd.'

b. *mā ʾatā-nī zayd-u-n*
not came-me except Zayd-NOM-INDEF
'Zayd did not come to me.'

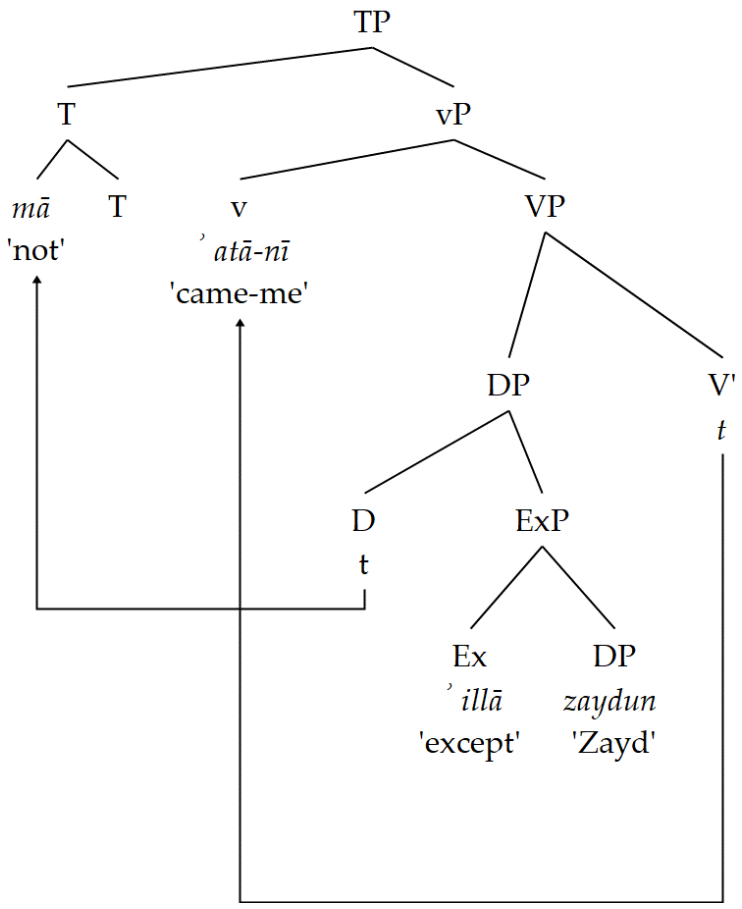
c. *ʾatā-nī zayd-u-n.*
came-me Zayd-NOM-INDEF
'Zayd came to me.'

d. **ʾatā-nī ʾillā zayd-u-n*
came-me except Zayd-NOM-INDEF
(Intended: 'Only Zayd came to me.')

In (169a,b) *mā ʾillā zaydun* and *mā zaydun* are DPs headed by the negative determiner *mā*, and in (169c) *Zaydun* is also a DP headed by the indefinite article *-n*. The problem with (169d) is that the DP *zaydun* is headed by *ʾillā* that forms an ExP, and ExPs cannot function as an argument simply because they lack the functional head D that carries the [u-Case] with which the ExP-complement shares the case (see next subsection for Case Concord).

The derivation of (169a) below is illustrative (the tree is simplified by not showing the internal structure of the V'):

170)



The DP *zaydun* merges with the exceptive particle *ʾillā* to form ExP which in turn merges with the D *mā* to form the DP *mā ʾillā zaydun*. This DP merges with V' (which is composed of the V *ʾatā* 'come' and the DP *-nī* 'me' that attaches to V to form *ʾatā-nī* 'come-me') to form VP. Then, the VP merges with v (which triggers V-to-v movement) to form vP. The resulting vP merges with the functional head T to form TP. The negative element *mā* 'not'

encliticise onto T with the result of the surface order in (169a) in which *mā* precedes the verb, and the nominal *zayd* ‘Zayd’ surfaces with the indefinite article (i.e., nunation) as a result of the movement of *mā*. This structure seems similar perhaps to clitic doubling constructions in which the D moves from the doubled DP into a higher position as an independent syntactic object (e.g., a pronoun), as in (171), adopted from Anagnostopoulou (2006:520).

171) ***Lo*** *vimos* ***a*** *Juan*. [Rioplatense Spanish]

Him we-saw a Juan

‘We saw Juan.’

In support of this given representation, the enclitic *mā* ‘not’ (which has three morphological realizations, viz., *mā*, *lam*, and *lan*, depending on the nature of T) can be followed by an auxiliary in T, as shown in (172a-c), but not by an intervening element like an adverb *ʾams* ‘yesterday’ between T and vP, as in (173b), or between vP and DP, as in (173c):

172) a. ***mā*** *kāna* *yaʾtī-nī* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*

not COP.PST come-me except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

‘None was accustomed to come to me except Zayd.’

b. ***lam*** *yakun* *yaʾtī-nī* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*

not COP.PRS come-me except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

‘None is accustomed to come to me except Zayd.’

c. ***lan Ø*** *yaʾtī-nī* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*

Neg COP.FUT come-me except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

'None will come to me except Zayd.'

173) a. *mā kāna yaʾtī-nī ʾillā zayd-u-n*

not was come-me except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

'None was used to come to me except Zayd.'

b. **mā kāna* ***ʾams*** *yaʾtī-nī* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*

not was **yesterday** come-me except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

(Intended: 'None was used to come to me except Zayd.')

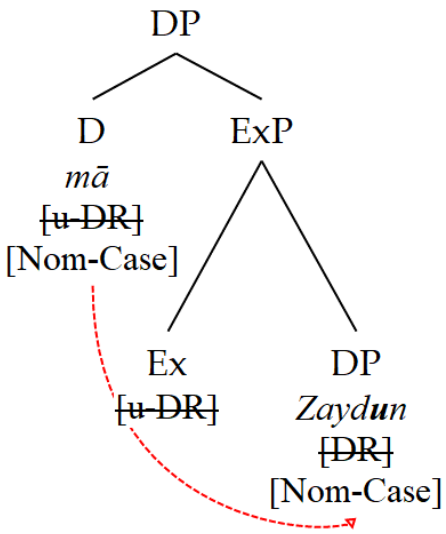
c. **mā kāna yaʾtī-nī* ***ʾams*** *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*

not was come-me **yesterday** except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

(Intended: 'None was used to come to me except Zayd.')

As explained above, the D *mā* prevents the ExP from being a full-fledged *ex*P. The absence of ex which is responsible for the accusative case assignment creates a configuration in which both *mā* and *ʾillā* form one discontinuous element with [u-DR] 'domain restriction' feature that is valued by the DP *zayd* which carries a matching valued [DR] feature; consequently, a focused domain that includes only *zayd* to the exclusion of other alternatives is expressed in (174) below. Simultaneously, the D *mā,* which becomes nominative via feature valuation with T, shares [Nom-Case] (realized as -*u*) with the DP *zayd* (a broken arrow represents Case Concord, more details are left to the next section).

174)



The given arguments find support in equivalent topic-predicate sentences (called *jumal ʾismiyyah* 'nominal sentences' in the literature) like (175) below. Consider how the DP *rasūlun* 'messenger' has the same behavior as *zaydun* in (169a-d) above:

175) a. *mā* *Muḥammad-u-n* *ʾillā* *rasūl-u-n*

not Muhammad-NOM-INDEF except messenger-NOM-INDEF

'Muhammad is not but a messenger.' (Qur'ān, 3:144)

b. *mā* *Muḥammad-u-n* *rasūl-u-n*

not Muhammad-NOM-INDEF messenger-NOM-INDEF

'Muhammad is not a messenger.'

c. *Muḥammad-u-n* *rasūl-u-n*

Muhammad-NOM-INDEF messenger-NOM-INDEF

'Muhammad is a messenger.'

d. **Muḥammad-u-n* *ʾillā* *rasūl-u-n*

Muhammad-NOM-INDEF except messenger-NOM-INDEF

(Intended: 'Muhammad is not but a messenger.')

However, the use of negative exceptives as arguments is not a linguistic fact specific to Arabic; in many languages, parallel structures can be found with similar functions. Potsdam and Polinsky (2017: 30-31) point out that in Tahitian (Polynesian), the exceptive phrase is composed of the negative element *ʻaita* and the exceptive particle *rā* 'but, except.' Consider (176):

176) *ʻua* *tae* *pauroa* *mai* *te* *mau* *tamari'i* *'aita* *rā* *'o* *Poe*

PFV come all DIR DET PL child NEG but DET Poe

'All the children came, only Poe didn't.'

Notice that in Tahitian, the ExP *rā 'o Poe* 'except Poe' is preceded by the negative element *'aita* to form one meaning 'only Poe' equivalent to the Arabic DP *mā ʾillā zayd* 'only Zayd.' Similar patterns also exist in other languages. Nevalainen (1999:167-168) states that in Middle English "*ne...but* [occurs] in cases like *Mary nis but a child* 'Mary is only a child' [... and the two elements *ne...but* undergo incorporation and become] *nobbut* in some northern varieties of British English". Hasegawa and Koenig (2011:1-3) notes that in

Japanese '[the exceptive particle] *-shika* obligatorily co-occurs with the negative verbal suffix *-na* [which implies] morphosyntactic dependency between *-shika* and *-na*: *-Shika* requires the presence of *-na*', as exemplified in (177):

177) *Yuna-shika ko-na-katta*.
Yuna-SHIKA come-NEG-PST
'Only Yuna came.'

What is remarkable about the given negative particles (i.e., Tahitian *'aita*, Middle English *ne*, and Japanese *-na*) is that they semantically rely on the exceptive particle to give the exclusive meaning, and they do not convey ordinary sentential negation. In a similar vein, Breitbarth (2015:13) points out that in Middle Dutch, Middle High German, and Middle Low German, the negative particle "*ne*/*en* in exceptive clauses is not a negative marker with sentential scope" which suggests that both the negative particle together with the exceptive particle form an environment in which "the construction derives the exceptive semantics in a compositional fashion" which is parallel to Arabic DP *mā ʾillā zayd* 'only Zayd' in the sense that the negative marker together with the exceptive particle form the meaning of 'only' that denote Domain Restriction (i.e., they carry the [DR] feature to derive the exceptive semantics in a compositional fashion).

4.3 ExPs in case alternating constructions

The previous subsection addresses the first point concerning the suitability of an ExP to be used as an argument only in negative sentences lacking the ExP-associate. The second point regarding the optionality of the licensing DP (the ExP-associate) reinforces the first point because the licensing DP can be omitted only in negative sentences, that is, what is optional is the overt nominal c-commanded by the negative element in D. To explain, let us consider (178a-d) which are identical to (169a-d) above except for the presence of an NP *ʾaḥad* 'one':

178) a. *mā ʾatā-nī ʾaḥad-u-n ʾillā zayd-u-n*
not came-me one-NOM-INDEF except Zayd-NOM-INDEF
'None other came to me except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017: 144)

b. *mā ʾatā-nī ʾaḥad-u-n*
not came-me one-NOM-INDEF
'No one came to me.'

c. *ʾatā-nī ʾaḥad-u-n*
came-me one-NOM-INDEF
'Someone came to me.'

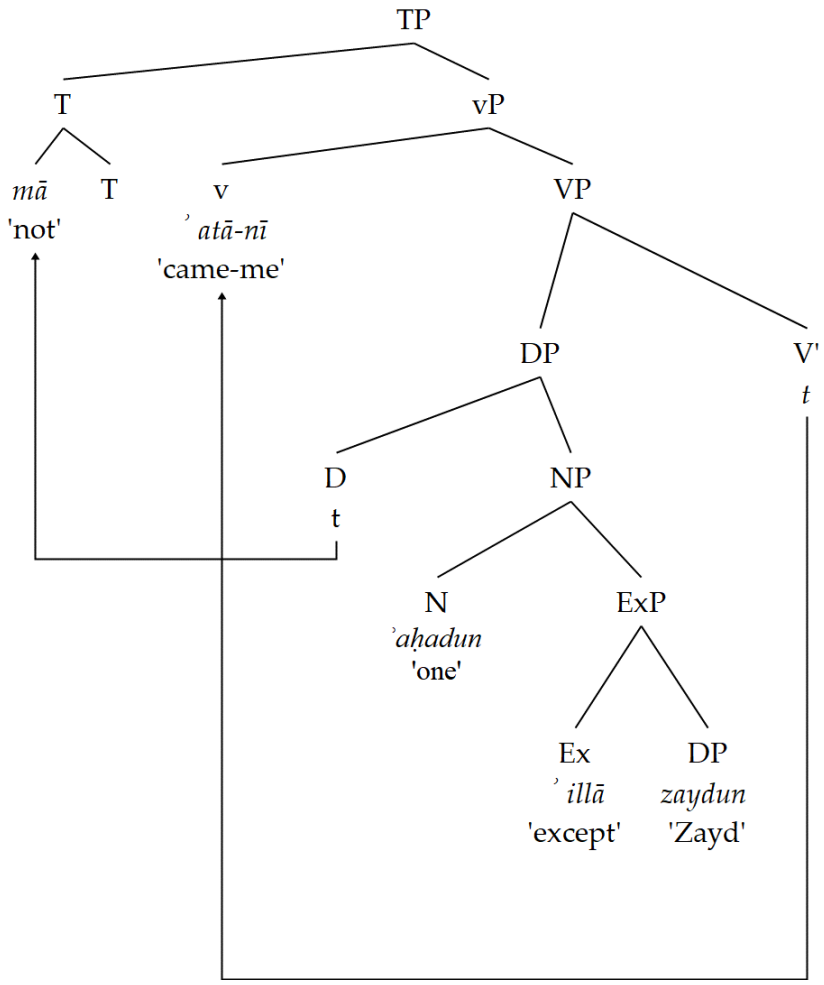
d. * *ʾatā-nī* *ʾaḥad-u-n* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*

came-me one-NOM-INDEF except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

(Intended: '*Someone came to me except Zayd.')

The parallel between (169a-d) and (178a-d) stems from the assumption that *ʾillā zaydun* and *ʾaḥadun ʾillā zaydun* cannot be used as DPs since both lack the D *mā*. To illustrate, (178a) has the structure (179) below:

179)



(179) is the same as (170) above except for the presence of an optional N *ʾaḥad* 'one' between the D *mā* and the ExP *ʾillā zaydun*. In other words, I claim that *ʾaḥad* 'one' is an optional N rather than a DP, and it is not the actual argument of the verb based on the fact that a preposition can precede it without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence. Consider (180):

180) *mā ʾatā-nī* ***min*** *ʾaḥad-i-n* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*
not came-me of one-GEN-INDEF except Zayd-NOM-INDEF
'None of them came to me except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017: 146)

This argument is based on the simple fact that in Arabic, the DP functioning as the argument of the verb cannot be preceded by a preposition. Consider the contrast in (181a,b):

181) a. *ʾatā-nī* *rajul-u-n*
came-me man-NOM-INDEF
'A man came to me.'

b. **ʾatā-nī* *min* *rajul-i-n*
came-me from man-GEN-INDEF

(181a) is well-formed because *rajulun* is a DP that occupies the spec-vP; thus, it can be assigned the nominative case and the theta-role AGENT of *ʾatā* 'come.' In (181b), *rajul*

occupies the complement position of the preposition *min*; therefore, it cannot be the AGENT of the verb. This is in contrast with (180) above since the presence of the same preposition does not lead to ungrammatically simply because *ʾaḥadin* is not a DP in the spec-vP position, rather it is an N c-commanded by the negative determiner *mā*.

Assuming the correctness of the given assumptions, I argue that ExPs in case alternating constructions are not in coordinating relation with the ExP-associate. The ExP and the ExP-associate are two constituents c-commanded by the negative D that projects into a DP. Previous studies arguing for coordination between the ExP-complement and the ExP-associate may be misled by the inflectional morphology that is identical on the two. In (178a), for example, *ʾaḥad**u**n* and *zayd**u**n* have the same nominative ending *-u* which shows that both constituents are two coordinated phrases similar to *ʾaḥmad**u**n* and *zayd**u**n* in (182):

182) *ʾatā-nī* *ʾaḥmad-**u**-n* *wa* *zayd-**u**-n*
came-me Ahmad-**NOM**-INDEF and Zayd-**NOM**-INDEF
'Ahmad and Zayd came to me.'

There is no parallel between the conjunction phrase *ʾahmad**u**n wa zayd**u**n* and the NP *ʾaḥad**u**n ʾillā zayd**u**n* because while the ConjP joins two independent DPs (i.e., the DP_1 *ʾahmad**u**n* and the DP_2 *zayd**u**n*), the NP *ʾaḥadun ʾillā zaydun* does not join two independent entities (i.e., two DPs); it refers to one entity, namely, 'someone except Zayd', and with the presence of the obligatory negation, the NP becomes a DP meaning 'no one except Zayd'= 'only Zayd'. As explained in the preceding subsection, *mā* and *ʾillā* form one

discontinuous morpheme which has restrictive focus semantics; the focus particle adjoins to the DP *zayd* to create a restricted domain that includes only *Zayd* to the exclusion of other potentials. Such a claim, I argue, is cross-linguistically valid for the given syntactic and semantic reasons, and it is less plausible to parallel a ConjP with an ExP as they have two completely different syntactic computations and unrelated semantic interpretations. Bearing in mind that ExPs are not PPs or AdvPs, as explained in section 3, it is safe to suggest that ExPs are unique structures.

Returning to the case morphology shared between *ʾaḥad**u**n* and *zayd**u**n*, I argue that the D *mā* which becomes nominative via valuation with T spreads the [Nom-Case] (realized as -*u*) to both *ʾaḥad**u**n* and *zayd**u**n*. That is, *mā* shares the nominative case feature with both nominals through a Morphological Feature Copying in the PF component. Following Norris (2014:149), this operation can be formalized as follows:

Case Concord

> a. Let X and Y be two nodes in a single extended projection, Y immediately dominating X.
>
> b. If Y has a valued case feature [CASE:α] (but X does not), then copy Y's case feature to X.

This PF-concord operation allows case features to be shared between the D and its extended projection which includes the two c-commadned NPs (i.e., the Ex-associate and the Ex-complement). The nominative case feature on *mā* is copied onto the c-commanded

constituents *ʾaḥad**u**n* which has a D -*n* as a repair strategy (i.e., last resort operation triggered by the negative shift/ movement from D to T [16]) and *zayd**u**n*.

This argument is based on the simple fact that if we assume that *ʾaḥad**u**n* and *zayd**u**n* have the same case morphology by coordination, they are supposed to have the same morphological case in all constructions. Such an assumption cannot hold because they may have different case endings, as the next subsections demonstrate. Further support of Case Concord operation comes from case variation on modifying adjectives. Winchester (2019) highlights that case can be a concord feature in attributive adjectives which mirror the case value of the noun it modifies, as in (183):

183) *ar-rajul-**u*** *marīḍ-**u**-n*

DEF-man-**NOM** sick-**NOM**-INDEF

'The man is sick.' (Assiri, 2011:3, cited in Winchester, 2019:3)

The adjective *marīḍ* 'sick' has the nominative case which is a concord feature that is shared between the DP *ar-rajul* 'the man' and the adjective through a Morphological Feature Copying in the PF component. As correctly noted by Winchester (2019:11), "this only occurs when the adjective's case feature is not valued through case assignment". That is to

[16] Another alternative analysis is to assume that the negative particle stays in D and another identical particle is base-generated in spec-NegP. In this configuration, the D *mā* gets null or -*n* spellout by the haplology rule: an avoidance mechanism that eliminates/ modifies one of the two identical forms (e.g., phonemic, morphemic, or semantic haplological forms). This mechanism which is motivated by economy can also be triggered in circumstances in which two forms have identical syntactic features (see, e.g., Neeleman and Van de Koot, 2006; Wong, Huang, and Chen, 2018; Hiraiwa, 2010).

say, the Morphological Feature Copying occurs only when a functional case assigner is absent, as in (183), but in the presence of a case assigner, case valuation is provided through case assignment, as in (184):

184) *kāna* *ar-rajul-**u*** *marīḍ-**a**-n*
was DEF-man-**NOM** sick-**ACC**-INDEF
'The man was sick.' (Winchester, 2019:3)

The only difference between the two sentences under consideration is that the former has the present tense (realised by a null copula) whereas the latter has the past tense (realised by the copula *kāna* 'was'). This fact suggests that in Arabic case is valued through either concord mechanisms at PF or case assignment in the syntax. The next subsection explores case assignment in the syntax in more details.

4.4 ExPs as separate constructions

As highlighted above, in some constructions, the ExP-complement does not share the same case as the ExP-associate, it may have an accusative case in structures where Case Concord is not a possible mechanism. This raises the question as to why case sharing is not possible in structures with identical word order, as shown in (185a,b):

185) a. *mā ʾatā-nī ʾaḥad-**u**-n ʾillā zayd-**u**-n*

not came-me one-**NOM**-INDEF except Zayd-**NOM**-INDEF

'None other came to me except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017: 144)

b. *mā ʾatā-nī ʾaḥad-**u**-n ʾillā zayd-**a**-n*

not came-me one-**NOM**-INDEF except Zayd-**ACC**-INDEF

'None other came to me except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017: 147)

Although both sentences have the identical sequence of words, the case on the ExP-complement *zayd* is realized differently; in (185a), *zayd* shares the same nominative case with the ExP-associate *ʾaḥad* 'one', but in (185b) *zayd* has the accusative case which indicates that Case Concord has not taken place. Before providing a syntactic hypothesis for the given puzzle, let us first highlight that both sentences in (185) have the same meaning as shown in the translation given; both sentences mean that 'no one came to me except Zayd', that is, 'Zayd is the only one who came to me'. The semantics is not affected by the change of case in (185b). Following Peters and Westerstahl (2006:297), I argue that both sentences have the same exceptive particle *ʾillā* 'except' which is an operator that "takes a type <1, 1 > quantifier Q_1 and a type <1 > quantifier Q, and produces a type <1, 1 > quantifier, as follows: Except (Q1, Q). Based on this definition, both sentences in (185) have the same operator *ʾillā* which can be describe as *ʾillā* (no one, zayd); consequently, the semantics of both (185a) and (185b) can be fitted into the following scheme:

186) No *A* except *j* is *B* $\Leftrightarrow$ $A \cap B = \{j\}$

Bearing in mind that both sentences have the same sets: *A* (i.e., *ʾaḥad* 'one'), *B* (i.e., *ʾatā-nī* 'came to me'), and *j* (i.e., *zayd* 'Zayd'), the semantics of both sentences can be represented in the given scheme with no change despite case alternation on *zayd*. That is to say, the change of case is merely a syntactic, rather than a semantic, issue. Very briefly, Case Concord is possible only with Connected Exceptives, as in (185a), and it is ruled out with Free Exceptives, as in (185b); regardless of the type of exceptive or adjacency of the ExP-complement to the ExP-associate, the semantics is not affected, as correctly highlighted by Peters and Westerstahl (2006:299):

> it is plausible that the syntax of free exception phrases is different from that of connected ones, even when the free exception phrase is adjacent to the relevant NP. Of course, it does not automatically follow that the semantics is also different, or that it cannot be reduced to that of connected ones.

Assuming that correctness of this claim, I argue that the semantics of (185a,b) is the same, and the operation of exception can be represented as in (187a), illustrated in (187b), with Q_1, *A*, *B*, and *C* as explained above, for both types of exceptives:

187) a. $Exc\ (Q_1, C)_M(A, B) \Longleftrightarrow (Q_1)_M\,(A - C, B)$

b. *ʾillā* 'except' (*mā* 'not', *Zayd*) $_M$ (*ʾaḥad* 'one', *ʾatānī* 'came to me') $\Longleftrightarrow$ $(mā)_M$ (*ʾaḥad* 'one' − *Zayd*, *ʾatānī* 'came to me')

This indicates that the operator *ʾillā* 'except' applies on the set Q_1 (i.e., *mā 'no'*) and *C* (i.e., the excepted nominal, e.g., *Zayd*) in the model that includes the sets *A* (i.e., *ʾaḥad* 'one' in Q_1) and *B* (i.e., the predicate, e.g., 'came to me'). This operation means that the quantifier Q_1 applies in the model that denotes a subtraction of the excepted nominal from the set denoted by the quantifier.

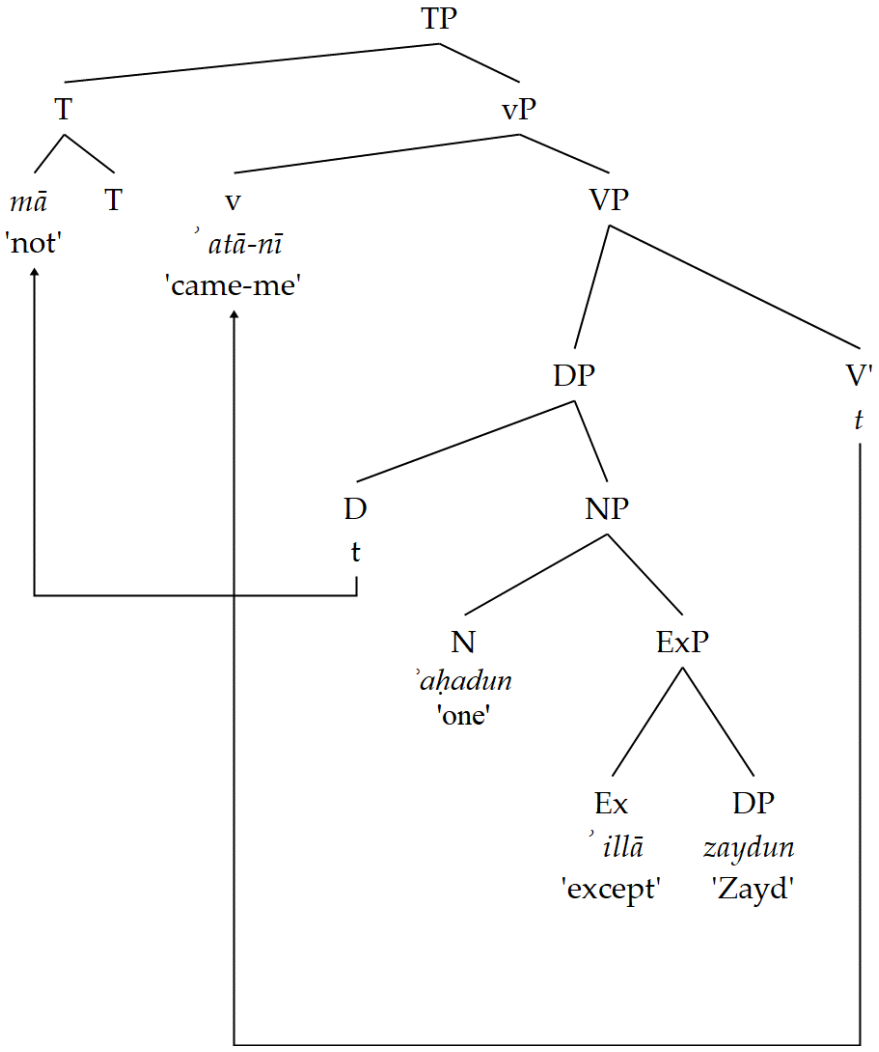
Apart from the semantics of (185a,b) which remains intact, the case alternation is a syntactic issue that needs an explanation. Let us first note that case alternation on nominals is not specific to either exceptives or Arabic language in general, the literature on case assignment shows that nominals can be assigned case more than once (see Richards, 2017 for references). To illustrate how the nominal (i.e., the excepted noun) receives case more than once, let us reconsider (185a,b), focusing on (185a), repeated as (188a), which has the tree given in the previous subsection, repeated as (188b):

188) a.*mā* *ʾatā-nī* *ʾaḥad-**u**-n* *ʾillā* *zayd-**u**-n*

not came-me one-**NOM**-INDEF except Zayd-**NOM**-INDEF

‘None other came to me except Zayd.’ (Zabarah, 2017: 144)

b.



In (188a), the nominative case on *zaydun* is accounted for by assuming a PF-concord mechanism that causes the same case to be shared between the two nominals in the DP, based on the fact that both are headed by the same functional head D that is the landing site for nominative case from T. In this regard, I assume that both the ExP-associate

and the ExP-complement receive theta-role and case from the same functional head T. However, the situation is different with regard to (185b) because although the ExP-complement has the same theta-role as its equivalent in (185a), it has a different case, viz., an accusative case. This phenomenon is reminiscent of English pseudo-passives (e.g.,Van Riemsdijk, 1978; Chomsky, 1981; Hornstein and Weinberg, 1981; Baker, Johnson, and Roberts, 1989; Baltin and Postal, 1996; Bruening, 2011; Drummond and Kush, 2015, cited in Richards 2017:313) or German long passives (Wurmbrand 2001). Consider, for instance, English pseudo-passives in (189a,b):

189) a. The movie was talked (*today) about.

b. This bed was slept (*recently) in. (Richards, 2017:313)

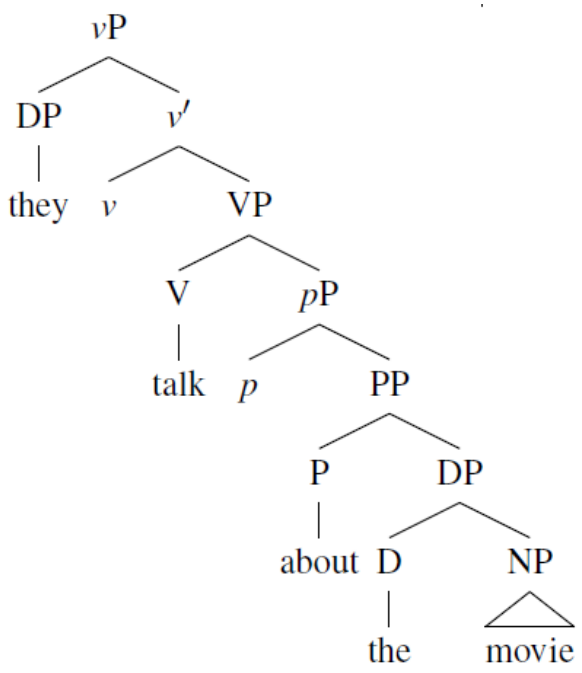
Pseudo-passives require the verb to be adjacent to the stranded preposition. This requirement is accounted for by Richards (2017:313) in the light of two main assumptions: "that nominals may receive case arbitrarily many times, and second, that pseudo-passives involve functionally impoverished PPs, in which the usual machinery responsible for assigning case to the object of P is missing". The main arguments relevant to Arabic exceptives are as follows (Richards, 2017:315):

> the existence of pseudo-passives in English might make us suspect that the object of a preposition receives its theta-role and its Case from different sources; a PP is generally dominated by the projection of a functional head *p* which is responsible for assigning Case to the object […] a PP may be functionally impoverished, lacking its *p*P, in which case the object of the preposition receives Case from a higher *v*.

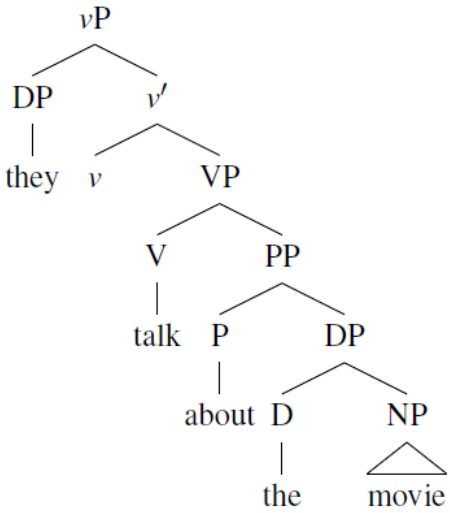
Based on these assumptions, Richards (2017:315-316) suggests that a sentence in (190) is ambiguous and can have the two representations in (191a,b):

190) They are talking about the movie.

191) a.



b.



The main difference between these two representations is how the PP is structured. In (191a), the PP has its *p*P whereas in (191b), the *p*P is missing. The main point for this restructuring of PP is to suggest that when the *p*P is present both theta-role and case are provided by the same functional head *p*, but when *p* is absent, the object of the preposition *about* gets its case from another functional head, viz., *v*. The two possibilities given above can be seen in the contrast between (192) and its equivalent passives in (193a,b):

192) They are talking **today** about the movie.

193) a. *The movie is being talked **today** about.

b. The movie is being talked about **today**. (Richards, 2017:316-317)

In (192), the PP *about the movie* has the representation given in (193a) due to the fact that *v* does not provide case to the object of the preposition as evidenced in the intervening adverb *today*. The same structure cannot be assumed for pseudo-passives in (193a,b) simply because the presence of the intervening adverb yields ungrammaticality, and this suggests that the object of the preposition does not get case from *p* as in (192), but from *v* due to the absence of *p*P. This indicates that in (193), the PP is functionally impoverished and lacks its *p*P.

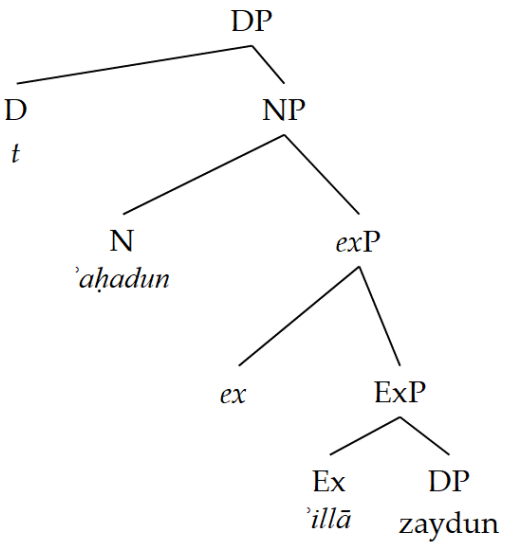
Following Richards (2017) on his analysis of pseudo-passives, I suggest that the ExP in (185a) is a functionally impoverished, lacking a higher functional head that values accusative case to its complement, this functional head is *ex* that forms *ex*P (which is analogous to *p*P in Richards' analysis). The lack of this functional head makes possible a consistent theta-role and case assignment for the ExP-complement; hence the nominative case is assigned on both the ExP-associate and the ExP-complement by PF-concord mechanism. The syntactic mechanisms available for (185b) are different because although the theta-role of *zayd* is the same as that in (185a), the case is different. Following Wurmbrand (2001) and Richards (2017), I assume that there are two different sources for theta-role and case assignment for the ExP-complement in (185b); that is, the ExP-complement gets its theta-role from T, exactly like in (185a), but its case from the functional head *ex* which forms the *ex*P, that is to say, the accusative case is licenced by *ex*, rather than by T. Consider the representation for (185b), repeated in (194a), and its representation in (194b):

194) a. *mā* *ʾatā-nī* *ʾaḥad-**u**-n* *ʾillā* *zayd-**a**-n*

not came-me one-**NOM**-INDEF except Zayd-**ACC**-INDEF

'None other came to me except Zayd.' (Zabarah, 2017: 147)

b.



In this representation, I argue that the theta-role of the ExP-complement is licenced from the same source T as in (188b) above, but the accusative case is provided by the functional head *ex* which carries a valued [ACC-Case] feature and functions as a probe that looks for a goal with unvalued case feature in its search domain. The only available goal is

the ExP-complement *zayd* which gets the accusative case after the valuation operation takes place[17].

Assuming the correctness of this analysis, I claim that the presence of *ex* changes the ExP to be a phase that makes the ExP-complement inaccessible for further case valuation by higher heads. This hypothesis finds support not only by case alternation and the absence of any effect on the theta-role assignment as discussed above but also by other arguments as well. The following subsection explores further arguments in more details.

5. The main differences between *ex*Ps and ExPs

The proposal above that exceptives can be projected as either functionally impoverished ExPs or full-fledged *ex*P can be supported further by other pieces of evidence. First, recall from the discussion of pseudo-passives above that full-fledged PP (projected as *p*P) can be separated from v by an intervening element whereas impoverished PP (lacking pP) cannot. The same phenomenon is found in exceptives. The *ex*P can be separated from the main clausal structure by an intervening element such as an adverb (e.g., *amsi* 'yesterday') or,

[17] An alternative analysis is to assume that *zayd* has the nominative case already, but due to the presence of *ex*, the accusative case overwrites the nominative one, as a consequence of restructuring, and in this scenario the ExP-complement is assigned case twice, the nominative case, as usual (by Case Concord), and then the accusative case by *ex*.

as in (195), by a parenthetical clause, without any effect on the well-formedness of the sentence.

195) *lā talbas-u al-fustān-a, mahmā kāna*
not wear.3SG.FEM.SBJ DEF-dress-ACC regardless was
ġāliy-a-n, ʾillā marrat-a-n wāḥidat-a-n
expensive-ACC-INDEF except single-ACC-INDEF one-ACC-INDEF
'She wears the dress, no matter how expensive it was, only one single time.'
(Badawi, Carter, and Gully, 2015:752)

This fact becomes clearer when we contrast the impoverished ExPs with full-fledged *ex*Ps in (196a,b):

196) a. **mā ʾatā-nī ʾaḥad-**__**u**__**-n** *al-yawm-a ʾillā*
not came-me one-**NOM**-INDEF DEF-day-ACC except
*zayd-**u**-n*
Zayd-**NOM**-INDEF
(Intended: 'None other came to me today except Zayd.')

b. *mā ʾatā-nī ʾaḥad-**u**-n al-yawm-a ʾillā*
not came-me one-**NOM**-INDEF DEF -day-ACC except
*zayd-**a**-n*
Zayd-**ACC**-INDEF
'None other came to me today except Zayd.'

We notice that only in (196a) the presence of the adverb *alyawma* 'today' yields ungrammaticality. This supports the given view that *ʾillā zaydun* 'except Zayd' needs to be adjacent to its case assigner D which spreads nominative case to both nominals in its extended projection. The presence of the adverb blocks the spread of case via PF-concord operation. The same adverb located in the same position does not yield to ungrammaticality simply because the adverb does not intervene between the case assigner and the ExP; the accusative case is licenced by *ex* rather than D, and no Case Concord is expected to take place.

Second, the *ex*P is phonologically separated from the main clause; that is, it forms an independent unit due to the boundary created by a prolonged pause preceding it. According to Moutaouakil (2009:89), in constructions with case marking distinctions, the *ex*P "stands at the phonological level of organization as an autonomous intonational unit [separated from] the preceding intonational phrase [by a pause]". This phonological evidence contrasts impoverished ExPs from full-fledged *ex*Ps. Notice that while a prolonged pause, indicated by a comma below, leads to ill-formedness when Case Concord applies in ExPs (197a), the same pause exists with no effect on the structure in *ex*Ps (197b):

197) a. * *mā* *ḥaḍara* *ʾaḥad*-u-*n***,** *ʾillā* *ṭālib*-***u***-*n*
not came one-NOM-INDEF except student-**NOM**-INDEF
(Intended: 'No one came except a student.')

b. *mā ḥaḍara ʾaḥad-u-n, ʾillā ṭālib-**a**-n*

not came one-NOM-INDEF except student-**ACC**-INDEF

'No one came except a student.'

Third, the *ex*P, as opposed to ExP, is not restricted to a specific position in the sentence; it can be in its canonical position at the right periphery or fronted as (198a-c) demonstrate:

198) a. *mā ʾatā-nī ʾaḥad-u-n ʾillā zayd-a-n*

not came-me one-NOM-INDEF except Zayd-ACC-INDEF

'None other came to me except Zayd.'

b. *mā ʾatānī, ʾillā zaydan, ʾaḥadun*

c. *ʾillā zaydan, mā ʾatānī ʾaḥadun*

The different positions of the *ex*P *ʾillā zaydan* indicate that it is an independent syntactic unit, which behaves differently than the functionally impoverished ExP, as can be seen in the ungrammaticality of (199b,c) in which the ExP-complement has the nominative case by Case Concord due to the absence of *ex*:

199) a. *mā ʾatā-nī ʾaḥad-u-n ʾillā zayd-**u**-n*

not came-me one-NOM-INDEF except Zayd-**NOM**-INDEF

'None other came to me except Zayd.'

b. **mā ʾatānī, ʾillā zayd**u**n, ʾaḥadun*

c. *ʾ*illā zaydun*, *mā ʾatānī ʾaḥadun*

Fourthly, while in negative sentences discussed above the ExP-complement may share the same case via Case Concord from the c-commanding D *mā* or the accusative case via case assignment from *ex*, in affirmative sentences Case Concord is ruled out, and the ExP-complement is assigned only the accusative case, in (200b), because in affirmative sentences, *ex* is always present due to the absence of the negative determiner *mā* which is responsible for Case Concord:

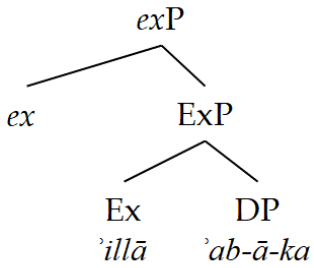
200) a. *ʾatā-nī* *al-qawm-u* *ʾillā* *ʾab-**ā**-ka*
came-me DEF-people-NOM except father-**ACC**-your

b.* *ʾatā-nī* *al-qawm-u* *ʾillā* *ʾab-**u**-ka*
came-me DEF-people-NOM except father-**NOM**-your

'People came to me except for your father.' (Zabarah, 2017: 147)

In contrast with (200a), (200b) is ungrammatical because the DP *ʾab* 'father' is marked nominative which is not allowed due to the presence of *ex* in affirmative sentences. In (200b), the case feature on the NP *qawm* 'people' cannot be shared with *ʾab* 'father' because the *ex*P forms a phase that makes the ExP-complement *ʾab* 'father' inaccessible for further case valuation by higher functional heads (alternatively, because the nominative case on the ExP-complement is overwritten by the accusative case from *ex*). Based on these assumptions, the ExP-complement *ʾab* 'father' has only the accusative case that is valued via Agree with *ex*, as shown below:

201)



This representation implies that the accusative case on the DP *ʾabāka* is licenced only by the functional head *ex* that carries [Acc-Case] feature. However, the given arguments are not specific to Standard Arabic, Khalaily (2019) provides several pieces of evidence for the distinctness of some ExPs in Palestinian Arabic which I assume that they can be analysed in a similar vein.

Relatedly, the last piece of evidence is related to other exceptive particles which include negation in their meaning. Particles such as *laysa* 'not' and *lā yakūn* 'not be', *mā ʿadā* 'without', and *mā ḳalā* 'without' do not allow Case Concord to take place, and only the accusative case is valued on the ExP-complement, as exemplified by the use of *laysa* 'not' in the contrast in (202a,b) (adopted from Ibn Yaʾīsh, 2001):

202) a.* *qāma* *al-qawm-**u*** *laysa* *zayd-**u**-n*

stood DEF-people-**NOM** not Zayd-**NOM**-INDEF

b. *qāma* *al-qawm-**u*** *laysa* *zayd-**a**-n*

stood DEF-people-**NOM** not Zayd-**ACC**-INDEF

'All the people stood except Zayd.'

Unlike *ʾillā* 'except', the given exceptive markers do not allow the nominative case to be shared between the ExP-associate and the ExP-complement, hence the ungrammaticality of (202a). The reason for this phenomenon may be accounted for by proposing that these markers project as full-fledged *ex*Ps, rather than impoverished ExPs because the negative element responsible for the spread of case does not exist in a position c-commanding both the ExP-associate and the ExP-complement. As can be seen above, the negative D *mā* is absent, and negation is provided by the exceptive marker itself which c-commands only the ExP-complement due to its function as an exceptive particle. Further support of this view can be found in constructions where the negative element *mā* in *mā ʿadā* and *mā ḳalā* is absent and case alternation becomes possible. Notice that when *mā* is present, only the accusative case is allowed, but when it is absent, both the genitive and the accusative case are allowed.

203) a. *qāma* *al-qawm-**u*** *mā ʿadā* *zayd-**a**-n*

stood DEF-people-**NOM** without Zayd-**ACC**-INDEF

b.* *qāma* *al-qawm-**u*** *mā ʿadā* *zayd-**i**-n*

stood DEF-people-**NOM** without Zayd-**GEN**-INDEF

'All the people stood except Zayd.'

203') a. *qama* *al-qawm-**u*** *ʿadā* *zayd-a-n*

stood DEF-people-**NOM** without Zayd-**ACC**-INDEF

b. *qama* *al-qawm-**u*** *ʿadā* *zayd-i-n*

stood DEF-people-**NOM** without Zayd-**GEN**-INDEF

'All the people stood except Zayd.'

However, the given pieces of evidence discussed above provide the main differences between the impoverished ExPs and the full-fledged *ex*Ps, and these differences show in which context should each structure occur. The table below summarizes the principles that govern the distribution of both ExPs and *ex*Ps:

Table 1: the distribution of *ex*Ps and ExPs

	*ex*Ps	ExPs
An intervening element is allowed.	✓	X
A prolonged pause precedes the exceptive phrase.	✓	X
Fronting is possible.	✓	X
Occurrence in affirmative sentences is allowed.	✓	X
Negation is an inseparable part of the exceptive marker, rather than an independent determiner.	✓	X

In addition to distributional facts given in the table above, there are several facts and syntactic tests which solidify the argument that exceptive phrases can project as full-fledged *ex*Ps. First, *ex* heads functional words which form a closed class; exceptive particles are limited in number. In Arabic, exceptive particles include, for example, *ʾillā*, *xala*, *ʿada*, *ḫaša*, and *siwa*. Crosslinguistically, equivalent particles are also limited, compare, for example, *ne…que*, *sauf*, and *excepté* in French, *excepto*, *salvo* and *menos* in Spanish, *except/excepting/excepted*, *save/saving* and *but* in English, *'aita rā* and *noa 'aita* in Tahitian. Second, the properties of *ex* determine the properties of its projection (i.e., ExP), for example, in *ʾillā* + DP (e.g., *zaydan*), the DP is a maximal projection of D and cannot project further, and in the specifier position, *ʾillā* merges to form a maximal projection that is determined by its properties (analogous to the fact that a CP is interpreted

as interrogative or declarative depending on the properties of C (i.e., [+wh] or [-wh]). Third, following Bittner and Hale (1996:4), I assume that if exceptive particles are lexicalizations of functional heads, they are supposed to "exhibit canonical headlike behavior, given the appropriate morphosyntactic condition". That is, they are expected to be in the initial position in head-initial languages, and this is exactly the situation in Arabic, French, English, Spanish, etc. Fourth, a head values case to an argument "if the structural relation between the two satisfies the relevant licensing condition" (Bittner & Hale, 1996:6). The structural relation between *ex* (as the case valuer) and its complement (i.e., the ExP-complement) is licensed by the syntactic relations (i.e., selection and agreement) that enable their combination. The combination of the DP with *ʾillā* is licensed by the selectional features of the latter that require specific types of complements. Consider the ungrammaticality of (204) below.

204) **mā zayd-u-n ʾillā qāma*
not Zayd-NOM-INDEF except stand
(Intended: '*Zayd is nothing except stood.') (Yaʾīsh, 2001:79)

(204) is ungrammatical because the selectional requirements of *ʾillā* are not met. The exceptive particle does not select a finite verb phrase not only in Arabic or French (O'Neill, 2014:177) but also in other languages (e.g., Spanish, English, Romanian, Hebrew, etc.,) as well. Based on these selectional properties, I assume that *ex* values the [u-Case] of its complement (and not vice versa).

In addition to the given arguments, I consider two syntactic tests, namely, obligatory adjacency and c-command of the ExP-complement. Concerning the first test, strict adjacency is required between *ʾillā* and its complement, that is, there must be no constituent intervening between the head *ex* and its complement (cf., e.g., *ʾillā *ġadan* 'tomorrow' *zaydan*). The obligatory adjacency of *ʾillā* to *zaydan* constitutes a strong argument for the constituency of the string *ʾillā zaydan* since the intervening constituent prevents the operation of case valuation to apply between *ex* and *zayd*. Regarding the second test, I find that in all constructions in Arabic and other languages, the exceptive particle c-commands the DP, that is, *ʾillā* must precede the excepted nominal, and it is ungrammatical to have a structure like **zaydan ʾillā*.

6. ExPs and case assignment: Further issues

The discussion so far shows that the ExP can occupy distinct positions in the sentence. These positions can be subcategorized under three main groups. The first group involves ExPs functioning as arguments when they are c-commanded by a negative determiner like *mā* which spreads the case feature to the excepted nominal. This configuration is only possible when the ExP is functionally impoverished, lacking the *ex* head. The second group includes ExPs in case alternating constructions. In this group, the ExP is syntactically parallel to the one in the first group in the sense that it is dominated and c-commanded by a negative determiner that spreads the case feature by Case Concord mechanism, and in

both groups, the ExP is functionally impoverished. The third group includes ExPs as full-fledged *ex*Ps; consequently, the case feature of the ExP-complement is valued as accusative via Agree with *ex*. However, these arguments lead to the question as to why the head *ex*, when it is present, values the ExP-complement as accusative, rather than another case (e.g., nominative or genitive)?

This question cannot be answered in the light of previous analyses in the literature considering exceptive particles as prepositions, adverbs or coordinating conjunctions simply because all these syntactic categories cannot value accusative case in Arabic. Therefore, I find it more convenient and plausible to suggest that *ex* is a transitive head similar in its semantics to the verb 'exclude'. For some traditional Arabic grammarians (e.g., Yaʾīsh, 2001:47), the accusative case is the only possible case to be valued due to the existence of an invisible verb *ʾastaṯnī* 'exclude.1SG.SBJ' that is suppressed and replaced by *ʾillā* [18]. To illustrate, the DP is marked accusative because it is regarded as an object of the deleted verb *ʾastaṯnī* 'exclude.1SG.SBJ'. Accordingly, the underlying structure of *ʾillā zaydan* is (205) in which *ʾillā* is a substitute for the verb, and *zaydan* is the direct object:

205)	*ʾillā*	*zaydan*	=	*ʾastaṯnī*	*zayd-a-n*
	except	Zaydan	=	exclude.1SG.SBJ	Zayd-ACC-INDEF

[18] Vocative particles like *yā* in *yā rajulan* 'O man' are analyzed in a similar vein; the vocative *yā* is argued to be a substitute of a deleted verb *ʿadʾū* 'call.1SG.SBJ' (for details, see Al-Bataineh, 2020).

This view is illuminating, and it can be adopted here with some modification. Assuming that *ʾillā* is a substitute of 'exclude' indicates that it is a verbal element, and this leads to the wrong prediction that the ExP-complement must always be assigned accusative case, contrary to fact. As explained in this chapter, in some constructions, the ExP-complement may carry the same case as the ExP-associate (in case alternating construction) or it is assigned a particular case depending on its position in the sentence (when the ExP is argumental). Therefore, I find it more plausible to assume that *ʾillā* does not originate in V, but in Ex, which can project as a full-fledged *ex*P only in some contexts explained in Table 1 above. This leads us to assume that *ex*, but not *ʾillā*, is a transitive head which has the same semantics as 'I exclude'; that is, what is suppressed is the meaning of 'I exclude', and this suppression is involved only in *ex*, not *ʾillā*. This explains why only in some, not all, constructions the accusative case is assigned. In this regard, *ex* is syntactically similar to a transitive Comp like *ʾinna* which carries a valued [Acc-Case] feature, as exemplified in (157a), repeated as (206):

206) *ʾinna* *al-maʾmin-**ī**na* *ʾiḵwat-u-n*

COMP DEF-believer-3MASC.PL.SBJ.**ACC** brethren-NOM-INDEF

'Surely, all believers are brethren.'

Based on this assumption, *ex* carries a valued [ACC-Case] feature, and the DP is valued accusative via Agree with *ex*. However, this analysis is in contrast with Badawi, Carter, and Gully's (2015:784) claim that "*ʾillā* is etymologically *ʾin* 'if' and *lā* 'not'". I argue that this claim seems synchronically implausible because the two elements *ʾin* 'if'

and *lā* ‘not’ are semantically and syntactically different from the exceptive particle, and their combination cannot yield the semantics or the syntax of *ʾillā*[19]. From a semantic perspective, *ʾin* ‘if’ and *lā* ‘not’ denote a conditional particle meaning ‘if not’, and that is not related to ‘except’. Syntactically, *ʾin* ‘if’ and *lā* ‘not’ have different selectional properties than the exceptive particle. *ʾin* ‘if’ is a conditional particle which must select a finite verb (Yaʾīsh, 2001:120), as exemplified in (207a), and *lā* ‘not’ is a negative particle that does not syntactically affect the complement, as shown in (207b). This fact becomes crystal clear when we compare the conditional *ʾillā* ‘if not’, formed of *ʾin* and *lā* in (207b) with the exceptive *ʾillā* ‘except’ in (208). Notice that the conditional *ʾillā* ‘if not’ can select a finite verb whereas the exceptive *ʾillā* ‘except’ cannot [20].

207) a. *ʾin* *tadrus* *tanjaḥ*

if study.2SG.SBJ.MASC succeed.2SG.SBJ.MASC

‘If you study, you pass.’

---

[19] As far as I know, there is no study of the historical linguistic change of *ʾillā*. Whether it is originally formed of *ʾin* ‘if’ and *lā* ‘not’ or not is a claim that I cannot confirm at this time. Therefore, the given argument is just an attempt to show that synchronically *ʾillā* is not a combination of *ʾin* ‘if’ and *lā* ‘not’.

[20] The given evidence that conditional ʾillā can select a finite verb whereas the exceptive ʾillā cannot is a syntactic piece of evidence, from a semantic perspective, the two elements seem to be compatible. Consider the examples below from Early Modern English and Modern English:

1) a. “Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.” (King James Bible, Matthew 18)
b. “If you don't change and become like a child, you will never get into the kingdom of heaven.” (same verse, Contemporary English Version)

It seems that there is a straightforward route of semantic reanalysis, diachronically: if + NEG does seem to involve domain subtraction, but the domains are clausal rather than nominal.

b. *ʾillā tanṣurūhu faqad naṣarahu Allahu*

ʾin-lā	*tanṣur-ū-hu*	*fa-qad*	*naṣara-hu*
if-not	support-2PL.SBJ.MASC-him	then-certainly	supported-him

allah-u

Allah-NOM

'If you do not aid him [the Prophet], Allah has already aided him.'

(Qur'ān, 9:40)

208) *faʿala zayd-u-n kull-a šayʾ-i-n ʾillā*

did Zayd-NOM-INDEF every-ACC thing-GEN-INDEF except

**darasa*

studied

(Intended: '*Zayd did everything except studied.')

Moreover, in contrast with conditional *ʾillā* 'if not', exceptive *ʾillā* can be followed by a conditional particle such as *ʾiḏā* 'if', consider (209a,b):

209) a. *lā ʾatakalamu ʾillā ʾiḏā samaḥ-ta l-ī*

not speak.1SG.SBJ except if allowed-2SG.MASC.SBJ to-me

'I do not speak except if/when you allowed me to do so.'

b. **lā ʾatakalamu ʾillā ʾiḏā samaḥ-ta l-ī*

not speak.1SG.SBJ if not if allowed-2SG.MASC.SBJ to-me

(Intended: 'I do not speak except if/when you allowed me to do so.')

In brief, exceptive *ʾillā* is not a combination of the two particles *ʾin* 'if' and *lā* 'not', and exceptive structures are completely distinct from conditional ones which have different syntax (for an overview, see, e.g., Badawi, Carter, and Gully, 2015:709-747; Ryding, 2005:671-676; Alhawary, 2011:297-305). Another alternative assumption is that *ʾillā* is a combination of the complementizer *ʾinna* and the conjunction *lā* 'not'. This assumption also seems implausible because the complementizer *ʾinna* requires a full TP as its complement, as shown in (210), and this requirement cannot be satisfied in the given examples above because the Ex-complement is a DP, not a TP.

210) *ʾinna* *al-maʾmin-īna* *ʾiḳwat-u-n*
COMP DEF-believer-3MASC.PL.SBJ.ACC brethren-NOM-INDEF
'Surely, all believers are brethren.'

Moreover, the conjunction *lā* 'not' conjoins two constituents of matching syntactic status, such as two DPs in (211).

211) *qama* *zayd-u-n* *lā* *ḳālid-u-n*
stood Zayd-NOM-INDEF not Khalid-NOM-INDEF
'Zayd stood, but Khalid didn't.'

This requirement cannot be met in constructions discussed in section 4.2 above in which the Ex-associate is absent. Consider the equivalent of (211) below and notice how the absence of the Ex-associate *zaydun* requires the negative particle *mā* and leads to an inevitable change in meaning.

212) *(*mā*) *qama ʾillā ḳālid-u-n*

not stood except Khalid-NOM-INDEF

(Intended: 'Only Khalid stood.')

This indicates that neither the complementizer not the conjunction can be the components of *ʾillā* (see, e.g., Ibn Yaʾīsh, 2001:87; Alʾ Anbārī, 1982:264-265, for more supportive arguments), and a more plausible view is to assume that *ʾillā* is a single particle which may be headed by *ex*, the functional head that suppresses the meaning of 'I exclude', and this explains why the complement of *ʾillā* can be any maximal projection except a finite VP.

7. Other types of ExP-complements

In the preceding sections, the exceptive constructions include a DP as the Ex-complement, and this type of structure, called 'connected exceptives' in the literature, is different from 'free exceptives' which include any maximal projection as an Ex-complement (e.g., Hoeksema, 1995; Soltan, 2016; Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén, 2012). While in connected exceptives only nominal constituents can follow the exceptive particle, in free exceptives any XP-level constituent can follow the exceptive marker, such as prepositional phrases, adverbial phrases, or even full clauses, as exemplified in (213a-c), respectively, but not finite verb phrases (as exemplified in (204) above).

213) a. *haḏihi* *al-furṣat-u* *lā* *najidu-hā* *ʾillā*

this.FEM.SG DEF-opportunity-NOM not find.we-it except

fī-l-qāhirat-i

in-DEF-Cairo-GEN

'We do not find this opportunity except in Cairo.' (Ryding, 2005:652)

b. *mā* *jāʾa* *zayd-u-n* *ʾillā* *ḍāḥik-a-n*

not came Zayd-NOM-INDEF except laughing-ACC-INDEF

'Zayd has never come except laughing.'

c. *mā* *marar-tu* *bi-ʾaḥad-i-n* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n*

not passed-I by-someone-GEN-INDEF except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

ḵayr-u-n *min-hu*

better-NOM-INDEF than-him

'I have not passed by anyone who is better than Zayd.'

Contra previous studies (e.g., Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén, 2012; Soltan, 2016; among others), three points should be highlighted regarding (213a-c). First, free exceptives cannot include *any* maximal projection, as exemplified in (204) above, the Ex-complement cannot be a finite VP for the simple reason that *ex* is a substitution of 'I exclude' which cannot select a finite verb as its complement (a phenomenon that applies to other languages such as English and French as well (see, e.g., O'Neill 2011:177). Second, free exceptives *cannot* "have a greater distributional freedom" than connected exceptives (Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén, 2012:583). While connected adjunctive

ExPs can be fronted, free connectives cannot. Notice that fronting the ExPs in (213a-c) above results in ungrammaticality:

214) a. *ʾ*illā fīlqāhirati, haḏihi alfurṣatu lā najiduhā*

b. *ʾ*illā ḍāḥikan, mā jāʾa zaydun*

c. *ʾ*illā zaydun ḳayrun minhu, mā marartu biʾaḥadin*

Third, the main difference between connected exceptives and free exceptives is not primarily related to the type of constituent (i.e., DP vs., any XP), rather in the presence of the negative element. While in connected exceptives the negative element can be optional as evidenced in the grammaticality of ExPs in affirmative sentences, in free exceptives the negative element is always obligatory. The absence of *lā* 'not' in (213a) and *mā* 'not' in (213b,c) makes the aforementioned sentences ill-formed.

Previous studies (e.g., Hoeksema, 1995; Harris, 1982; Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén, 2012; Soltan, 2016; among others) claim that the different types of ExP-complements support the analysis of free exceptives as conjunction constructions in which Ex-complements are the remnants of an elliptical sentence. In Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén's (2012:591) words,

> 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). This feature, on the one hand, attracts one or more constituents internal to CP2 … 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.

For reasons given in section 3 above, the exceptive particle *ʾillā* cannot be analyzed as a coordinating conjunction. Following the same line of thought, I argue that not only in connected exceptives but also in free exceptives, *ʾillā* is not a conjunction but a spellout of a functional head that selects a DP or any XP (except a finite VP) as its complement. The aforementioned arguments of the E-feature in C that triggers the movement of some constituents and deletion of the remaining ones in CP2 seem unmotivated and implausible for several reasons.

First, this feature does not exist in clauses selected by coordinating conjunctions such as *wa* 'and', as evidenced by the fact that the replacement of *ʾillā* with any conjunction results in ungrammaticality of sentences (213a-c) because the conjunction conjoins two unparallel constituents. Second, it is not clear why any XP can be the remnant of the elliptical sentence but not a finite VP even though two finite VPs can be co-ordinated in Arabic and other languages. Third, it is mysterious when and under which conditions the claimed E-feature applies; that is, it is not clear why the E-feature triggers movement and ellipsis in some, but not all, constructions. Notice that the Ex-complement can be a full clause in some constructions, and no movement or deletion takes place. The existence of this feature becomes more questionable and implausible in cases where ellipsis results in ungrammaticality of constructions like (213c), as explained in (215a-c).

215) a. *mā marar-tu bi-ʾaḥad-i-n ʾillā zayd-u-n*
not passed-I by-someone-GEN-INDEF except Zayd-NOM-INDEF
ḳayr-u-n min-hu

NOM-INDEF better-than-him

‘I have not passed by anyone who is better than Zayd.’

b. **mā marar-tu bi-ʾaḥad-i-n ʾillā zayd-u-n*

not passed-I by-someone-GEN-INDEF except Zayd-NOM-INDEF

(Intended: ‘I have not passed by anyone except Zayd.’ (Zayd is the subject of the elliptical sentence))

c. **mā marar-tu bi-ʾaḥad-i-n ʾillā ḳayr-u-n*

not passed-I by-someone-GEN-INDEF except better-NOM-INDEF

min-hu

than-him

(Intended: ‘*I have not passed by anyone except better than him.’)

While a full clause can be the Ex-complement in (215a), the deletion of one of its main components results in ungrammaticality. Notice that for (215b) to be well-formed, *zayd* must be valued as genitive and must be preceded with a preposition because it is in an appositional relation with *ʾaḥad-i-n* ‘someone-GEN-INDEF’.

Based on these arguments, I maintain that *ʾillā* is an instance of a functional head that selects any XP other than a finite VP, and by Occam's razor, there is no linguistic need for the E-feature in C that triggers movement and ellipsis, as such operations are not required even in cases where Ex-complements are nonsentential fragments such as (216).

216) *kull-u* *aṭ-ṭullāb-i* *yadrus-ūna* *fi-l-maktabat-i*

all-NOM DEF-students-GEN study-3PL.SBJ.MASC in-DEF-library-GEN

ʾillā *zayd-u-n* *fi-l-bayt-i*

except Zayd-NOM-INDEF in-DEF-house-GEN

'All students study in the library except Zayd in the house.'

The verb 'study' missing in the Ex-complement 'Zayd in the house' is not necessarily elided simply because there is no evidence that it initially exists in the Ex-complement. In other words, 'Zayd in the house' is a small clause that lacks a verb (i.e., a non-TP constituent), and the derivation of the ExP can be represented as follows [$_{Ex}$ *ʾillā* [$_{SC}$ [$_{DP}$ *zaydun*] [$_{PP}$ *filbayti*]]]. Ellipsis hypothesis that claims the possibility of deleting the verb 'study' and leaving behind its complement 'in the house' wrongly predicts that heads can be elided without their complements and, following the same misleading logic, the preposition *fi-* 'in' can be wrongly predicted to be elided in (216) (**ʾillā zaydun ~~fi-~~lbayti* 'except Zayd ~~in~~ the house'), contrary to fact. Arguing that *ʾillā* selects a small clause in (216) rather than a full CP involving processes of movement and deletion is more plausible and economical (for a similar view, see Moltmann, 1992). In brief, *ʾillā* is not a coordinating conjunction in both connected exceptives and free exceptives, and it selects a base-generated XP.

8. Conclusion

This chapter explores the syntax of Arabic exceptive constructions which involve an intricate interaction among negation, word order, and case marking. Based on the semantic and structural differences of ExPs, some syntactic restrictions are imposed on their argumental function, the optionality of their associates, and the inflectional morphology of their complements. The chapter shows that negation is an essential condition for the suitability of an ExP to be used as an argument and for the optionality of the licensing DP (i.e., the ExP-associate). The inflectional morphology of the ExP-complement seems to be influenced by negation and correlated with the position of the ExP (i.e., at the right periphery or fronted). Based on this overview, I argue against the analysis of the exceptive *ʾillā* as a preposition, an adverb, or a coordinating conjunction. A more plausible assumption is that *ʾillā* is simply explanatory element used for specificatory, interpretational (i.e., inclusiveness vs. exclusiveness) functions.

Regarding the correlation between the position of *ʾillā* and case valuation, I argue that only when ExPs are argumental or appositional, *ʾillā* is selected and c-commanded by a negative determiner in a functionally impoverished structure ExP, that lacks the *ex* head that provides the accusative case to the ExP-complement. The combination of the negative determiner and the exceptive particle form a discontinuous morpheme with the [DR] feature that codifies the inclusion of referent only to the exclusion of other alternatives, that is, they denote a focused domain. Furthermore, this combination allows for Case Concord to take place since the D and the ExP are not separated by the functional head *ex*.

When the ExP is a full-fledged *ex*P, *ex* which carries the [Acc-Case] feature values the ExP-complement with the accusative case. Moreover, based on several arguments, this chapter maintains that *ex* is a functional head that carries only the accusative case because it is semantically equivalent to 'I exclude', and it is a transitive head that is undivided into two particles, as suggested in the literature.

Chapter 4

Exclamative Constructions in Arabic

1. Introduction

According to a widespread view (e.g., Ambar, 2002; Brandner, 2010; Castroviejo, 2019; Delsing, 2010; Villalba, 2008), exclamations are linguistic expressions that express the speaker's strong feelings (e.g., surprise, enthusiasm, anger, etc.) or reactions towards some state of affairs as exemplified in (217):

217) a. What an amazing house he bought!

b. How beautiful she is!

c. John came!

d. Look, he is coming!

These sentences can be differentiated as proper exclamatives (Excls) (217a,b) whose syntactic shapes (i.e., the use of *how* and *what*) are indicative of their force, and exclamations (217c,d) which can be of any clause type (i.e., declaratives, interrogatives or imperatives) expressing feelings and reactions. This chapter focuses on proper exclamatives which are syntactically dedicated constructions without a second function, and their falling intonation is a phonological spellout of a syntactic projection Excl. As correctly maintained by Rizzi (2014), the Excl head has a dual function, internal to syntax

and relevant for the interfaces with sound and meaning; This dual function, which is absent in exclamations, combines syntax with the interpretation at the interfaces; more specifically, the Excl head attracts a phrase to its specifier and "triggers specific interpretive routines at the interfaces, determining the interpretation on the meaning side, as well as the assignment of the special, marked intonational contours which make such constructions easily detectable for the hearer" (Rizzi, 2014: 523). In other words, exclamatives are distinct from exclamations because only in the former the prosodic contour (i.e., the falling intonation) goes hand in hand with the syntactic shapes (i.e., the use of *how* and *what*) (for a detailed differentiation between Excls and exclamations, see Miró, 2008 and Zevakhina, 2013).

Compared with other clause types, Excls are relatively understudied. Apart from limited studies in the seventies (e.g., Elliott, 1974; Grimshaw, 1979; Oomen, 1979), only recently, have Excls gained some interest. The consequences of being ignored and poorly investigated include the lack of a precise and unique definition as indicated by Moutaouakil (2005:351, cited in Zevakhina, 2013:158) and Cruschina et al. (2015:267), and as a clause type, Excls are "not as unambiguously defined as the major clause types" (Siemund, 2015:706) because they are "not prominent in typological work" (Potsdam, 2011:660), and as a result, "there seems to be no comprehensive research on exclamatives, and each author is working on his own framework" (Oda, 2008:216, cited in Zevakhina, 2013:158).

This chapter examines proper Excls in Jordanian Arabic (JA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) [21]. In these varieties, there are three types of Excls which involve *wh*-phrases (Wh-Excls), a vocative particle (Voc-Excls), or a verbal element (V-Excls), exemplified in (218a-c), respectively:

218) a. *ayš* ***ha****-l-ḥalāwih* (JA)

what **this**-DEF-beauty

'What a (stunning) beauty!'

b. *yā* ***la****-jamāl-****i*** *al-ṭabīʿat-i* (MSA)

O **PREP**-beauty-**GEN** DEF-nature-GEN

'How beautiful nature is!' (Yousef & Qandīl, 2010:445)

c. *mā* *ʾaʿlama* *Zayd-****a****-n* (MSA)

PTCL know.EXCL Zayd-**ACC**-INDEF

'How knowledgeable Zayd is! (Hasan, 1986:341)

These three Excl types involve several peculiarities such as (i) inflexible word order, (ii) case alternation on the referent (which has genitive and accusative case in (218b,c), respectively, although the constructions have consistent semantics), (iii) the presence of

[21] For an overview of these varieties, see for JA (e.g., Al-Aqarbeh, 2011; Al-Shawashreh, 2016; El-Yasin, 1985), and for MSA (e.g., Alhawary, 2011; Cantarino, 1976; Ryding, 2005). The JA variety is selected because it is the mother language of the author. The discussion of the given three varieties is hoped to provide a comprehensive view of Excls in Arabic in general.

spurious prepositions (i.e., *la-* in (218b)[22], and (vi) the obligatory presence of some constituents which are optional in clauses (i.e., *ha-* in (218a). The chapter shows that the given idiosyncrasies (in addition to other ones to be discussed below) are not present in equivalent clauses. This situation leads me to reject previous proposals in the literature that argue that Excls are full clauses because such assumptions leave the aforementioned peculiarities unexplainable mysteries. Additionally, previous studies overlook the fact that Excls are always temporally deictic to the here and now, that is, they are tenseless expressions that lack Tense specification because they are anchored by the context of the situation rather than Tense; hence, they lack the TP layer. The chapter argues that Excls are not finite clausal projections; they are just small clauses formed of the referent and the property exclaimed about and headed by a functional head that provides the illocutionary force of utterance.

To account for the essential properties of Arabic Excls and to support the argument of their status as nonsententials, this chapter is divided into the following sections. Section 2 introduces the different types of Arabic Excls in detail and highlights how their structures differ from the equivalent declarative and interrogative clauses. Section 3 outlines the new approach adopted in this chapter. Section 4 explains the syntax of Arabic Excls in depth. Section 5 summarizes the main arguments and concludes the chapter.

[22] In non-exclamative constructions, the preposition *la-* 'to; belonging to; for; for the purpose of' and it is used "to express purpose, direction toward (destination), possession, the indirect object or dative concept of 'to,' and the benefactive concept of 'for' or 'on behalf of'" (for examples, see Ryding, 2005:371-373).

2. Excls in Arabic: An overview

Similar to English in (217a-c), Arabic exclamations are different from Excls based on syntactic formations and pragmatic function; exclamations can be of any clause type uttered with falling intonation, whereas Excls have specific syntactic formulas different from clauses and used exclusively for expressivity and evaluation. Exclamations, called in Arabic *ṣiyaġ attaʿajub assamāʿyya* 'acoustic exclamation formats,' depend on inference, rather than structure, for their interpretation (for a comprehensive view, see Alquraší & Almusawī, 2010), as in (219a,b):

219) a. *kayfa* *faʿal-ta* *hāḏa* (*wa* *ʾanta* *ʾaḳ-ī*)
how did-you this and you brother-my
'How did you do this (yet you are my brother)?!' (Alquraší & Almusawī, 2010:14)

b. (*subḥāna* *Allah*) *bayt-u-ka* *jamīl-u-n*
glorified Allah house-NOM-your beautiful-NOM-INDEF
'Glory be to Allah, your house is beautiful!' (Alquraší & Almusawī, 2010:32)

(219a,b) follow the syntax of interrogatives and declaratives, respectively, and their interpretation cannot be restricted to exclamations out of context. In contrast, Excls do not have the same syntax of clauses and are interpreted as evaluative without the aid of special expressions like *subḥāna Allah* in (219b), that is, their syntax is indicative of their force. Similar to other languages (e.g., see, e.g., Elliott, 1974: 244-245), Jordanian Arabic (JA) utilizes *wh*-elements to form Excls, as exemplified in (220a,b):

220) a. *šū* *dāhyeh*

how cunning

'How cunning (you are)!'

b. *ayš* *ha-l-ḥalāwih*

what this-DEF-beauty

'What a (stunning) beauty!'

Only *šū* 'how' and *ayš* 'what' can be used in Excls, other *wh*-forms (e.g., *kayf* 'how,'[23] *lawayš* 'why,' *mata* 'when,' *mīn* 'who,' etc.) cannot. Such '*wh*-Excls' involve several peculiarities including, for example, inflexible word order, (ii) the ungrammaticality of including a finite verbal phrase, and (iii) the obligatory presence of the demonstrative-like *ha-* which is optional in clauses. These idiosyncrasies are not present in clauses.

Additionally, in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and JA, Excls utilize another two syntactic strategies. The first strategy which is associated with vocative Excls (Voc-Excls) changes the vocative phrase (VocP) from being used "for calling out and attracting or maintaining the addressee's attention" (Daniel & Spencer, 2009:626) to be utilized for

[23] In contrast with Excl wh-word *šū* 'how', the interrogative *kayf* 'how' can be followed by a TP involving an overt verb that can be of any tense. As correctly highlighted by Cantarino (1976:203), "supplying a verb would efface the exclamatory quality and thus the actual character of the phrase". For that reason, *šū* and *kayf* cannot be used interchangeably.

expressivity and evaluation of the referent. This change is reflected in the structure of VocPs, exemplified in (221a) compared with Voc-ExclPs in (221b):

221) a. *yā* *rajul-a-n,* (*ʾaġliq al-bāb-a*)

O man-ACC-INDEF close DEF-door-ACC

'Man, close the door.' (Al-Bataineh, 2020:332)

b. *yā* *la-jamāl-i* *al-ṭabīʿat-i*

O PREP-beauty-GEN DEF-nature-GEN

'How captivating the beauty of nature is!' (Yousef & Qandīl, 2010:445)

Although the vocative particle *yā* heads both constructions, Voc-Excls are distinct from VocPs in several ways. First, unlike VocPs which allow an indefinite vocative such as *rajul* 'a man' in (221a), the entity exclaimed about must be identifiable and accessible in the discourse due to the referentiality requirement; the word *jamāl* 'beauty' in (221b) is definite because it is modified by the following DP *alṭabīʿati* 'the nature' (i.e., the two nominals form a construct state). Second, the DP after the vocative particle is assigned accusative or nominative-like case [24], but in Voc-ExclPs, it is marked genitive or accusative. Third, from a semantic standpoint, VocPs and Voc-ExclPs are differentiated based on the presence/ absence of the semantic features [ANIMACY], [EVAL] 'evaluation', and [DEGREE]. While

[24] The nominative-like case (called in traditional grammars *mabnī ʿalā aḍḍam*) is different from the regular nominative because the former is a default case assigned only in imperfect checking domains (i.e., when the DP has a null D).

VocPs obligatory have an [ANIMACY] feature because they are associated with the addressee (cf. * *yā qalamu* ‘O pencil’, unless the vocative is interpreted metaphorically, i.e., in personification contexts), Voc-ExclPs often lacks this feature simply because both animate and inanimate objects can be exclaimed about. [EVAL] and [DEGREE] features are obligatorily absent in VocPs but must be present in Voc-ExclPs [25] explicitly as in (221b) or implicitly as in (222) which exemplifies the necessity of an evaluative element, in this case, *ʿuḏūbat* ‘purity’, that can be omitted only if inferable from the context:

222) *yā* *l-(ʿuḏūbat-i)* *al-māʾ-i*

O DEF-(purity-GEN) DEF-water-GEN

‘How pure the water is!’ (Ibn Mālk, 1990:30)

Fourth, while VocPs can be initiated by eight particles in CA or three in MSA, Voc-ExclPs are headed only by *yā* (for further details on MSA VocPs, see Al-Bataineh, 2020, and for colloquial Arabic, see Haddad, 2020). Based on the aforementioned differences, Voc-ExclPs have a unique structure that requires [REFERENTIALITY], [EVAL], [-ANIMACY] and [DEGREE] in order for the expressivity to take place, that is, the absence of one or more

[25] It is possible to have a VocP involving a DP modified by an adjective having the [EVAL] feature, e.g., *My **sweet/silly** son, why do you behave that way*?. The distinction between the VocP *My **sweet/silly** son* and a Voc-Excl such as *How silly you are*! is that whereas in VocPs the adjective describes a permanent attribute (i.e., denoting an autonomous, acontextual evaluations), in Voc-Excls the adjectives describe a temporary attribute limited to the present time of the speech situation. That is, the [EVAL] feature in Voc-ExclPs is a context-bound.

these features leads to non-exclamative construction; VocPs or exclamations as in (223a-c) from JA:

223) a. *yā* *salām*

O peace

'O goodness!'

b. *yā* *ʿayn-ī* *ʿalī-k*

O eye-my on-you

'That's absolutely true!'[26]

c. *yā* *ḳsāra*

O loss

'What a loss!'

The second strategy associated with verbal Excls (V-Excls) demands the use of one of two types of verbal constituents, viz., evaluative verbs or verbal morphological templates. Evaluative verbs include *niʿma* 'how excellent,' *biʾsa*/ *sāʾa* 'how inferior,' *ḥabba*(*ḏā*) 'how appreciative,' and *la ḥabba*(*ḏā*) 'how depreciative' (see, e.g., Hasan, 1986:385 and Moutaouakil, 2005:9). Unlike verbs used in TPs, such as 'wake up' in (224a), these evaluative verbs must be sentence initial, hence, the ungrammaticality of (224b), and only in the unconjugated form which looks like a verb in the past form, notice that the

[26] This expression is also used ironically as a criticism.

present tense *yu-ḥabbiḏu* cannot be used in (224c) (in addition to other peculiarities to be explained in section 4.3):

224) a. *Zayd-u-n* *ya-stīqiḍu* *mubakkir-a-n*
Zayd-NOM-INDEF 3SG.PRES-wake up early-ACC-INDEF
'Zayd wakes up early.'

b. **Zayd-u-n* *ḥabbaḏā*
Zayd-NOM-INDEF like.PST.this.EXCL
'How appreciative Zayd is!'

c. *ḥabbaḏā*/ **yu-ḥabbiḏu* *Zayd-u-n*
like.PST.this.EXCL 3SG.PRES-like.this.EXCL Zayd-NOM-INDEF
'How appreciative Zayd is!'

In addition to evaluative verbs, V-ExclPs utilize three morphological templates, viz., *faʿula*, *ʾafʿil bi-*, *mā ʾafʿala*. The exclamative expression (mostly an adjective) changes its morphological form in accordance with these strict templates that act as frames or molds that shape its word structure. In (225a-c) below, *ʿālim* 'knowledgeable' does not retain its morphological form in templatic V-ExclPs, instead it is given a shape (in bold)

that conforms to the templates *faʿula*, *ʾafʿil bi-*, and *mā ʾafʿala* [27], respectively (for more examples, see, e.g., Alhawary, 2011:320-324)):

225) a. ***ʿaluma*** *Zayd-u-n*

know.EXCL Zayd-NOM-INDEF

'How knowledgeable Zayd is!'

b. ***ʾaʿlim*** ***bi****-Zayd-i-n*

know.EXCL PREP-Zayd-GEN-INDEF

'How knowledgeable Zayd is!'

c. ***mā ʾaʿlama*** *Zayd-a-n*

PTCL know.EXCL Zayd-ACC-INDEF

'How knowledgeable Zayd is!'

Although these templates are semantically equivalent (i.e., they denote the same property exclaimed about) and followed by the same referent, they show several peculiarities such as (i) the referent has three cases (i.e., nominative, genitive, and accusative case in (225a-c), respectively) although the semantics seems consistent, (ii) an inflexible word order, (iii) the presence of the spurious preposition *bi-* in (225b), and (iv)

[27] The first template is archaic and used only in Classical Arabic, but the other two are still used in MSA and JA; *mā ʾafʿala* is more common than *ʾafʿil bi-* which is restricted only to a handful of fossilized expressions (e.g., JA *ʾanʿim wa ʾakrim* (*bikum*) 'How excellent and generous you are!' (see also Alhawary, 2011:322) and (*ʾakrim*) *bi-lmhalli* as a response to greetings such as *ʾahlan wa sahlan* 'welcome' (for more interjectional phrases, see Cantarino, 1976:206).

the obligatory presence of the meaningless particle *mā* in (225c)[28]. These properties are not possible in full clauses. Additionally, in contrast with equivalent verbal forms utilized at the TP level, these templatic forms are constructed according to several conditions that require the exclamative expression to be originally derived from a verb that is triliteral, affirmative, gradable, etc., (for details and illustrative examples, see, Aqeel, 1980:154).

To sum up, this section differentiates between Arabic exclamations and Excls based on syntactic formations and pragmatic functions, and it briefly explains the various syntactic strategies utilized to form ExclPs which include (i) the *wh*-forms in Wh-ExclPs, (ii) the vocative particle in Voc-ExclPs, and (iii) evaluative verbs and morphological templates in V-ExclPs. The next section provides a more in-depth analysis of the syntax of Arabic ExclPs.

3. The syntax of Arabic ExclPs

Before proposing the framework for analyzing the syntax of Arabic Excls, it is worth discussing briefly the defining features of Excls. The literature shows that the main features mentioned by the pioneering works of Elliott (1974) and Grimshaw (1979) and discussed

[28] Apart from exclamative constructions, the preposition *bi-* "has a wide range of uses including spatiotemporal, instrumental, and manner adverbial" and can be translated as 'at, with, in, by; by means of' depending on context (see, e.g., Ryding, 2005:367-370). The particle *mā* can be used as a conditional, interrogative, or negative particle as well as a relative pronoun among other uses (see, e.g., Mohammed, 2018).

in depth by Zanuttini & Portner (2000), viz., factivity, scalar implicature, and question/answer relations, are highly debatable and criticized by several researchers (e.g., Abels, 2010; Badan & Cheng, 2015; Brandner, 2010; Cruschina et al., 2015; Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2001, 2008; Miró, 2006, 2008; Nouwen & Chernilovskaya, 2013; Rosengren, 1997; Villalba, 2008; Yamato, 2010).

Apart from the aforementioned controversial features, there are two defining properties of Excls which seem more feasible and less controversial. The first is 'evaluation,' that is, "the speaker has an attitude towards the degree expressed and judges it in some way or other. The hearer can agree or disagree with this evaluation" (Brandner, 2010:101, see also (Cinque 1999). The plausibility of this feature to characterize Excls stems from the claim that all Excls 'always' involve the evaluational attitude component that requires only one type of response from the addressee (i.e., (dis)agreement). Thus, Excls are used by the speaker to express his/her evaluation of a particular situation; more precisely, all exclamative constructions involve the feature [EVAL] which codifies the speaker's appreciation or deprecation of a particular entity, situation or event. This feature goes hand in hand with the agreed upon [EXCL] feature which provides the illocutionary force of the utterance.

The second property is related to referentiality, in Zevakhina's (2013:163) words, "a referent, which might be an object or a situation, should be accessible in discourse" and "identifiable" (Michaelis, 2001:1041). To illustrate, let us consider (226a-c):

226) a. Someone/ a man knocked on your door yesterday.

b. Did anyone call me today?

c. How generous *someone/*a man/ *anyone is!

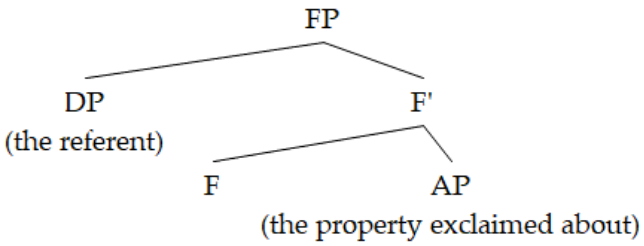
Whereas declarative and interrogative constructions allow nonidentifiable referents in (226a,b), Excls allow only identifiable referents, hence, the ill-formedness of (226c) (*a man* has non-generic meaning, e.g., "What a piece of work is a man!" (in Shakespeare, Hamlet, Act II Scene 2)). The fact that the referent must be identifiable is the direct result of Excls as tenseless syntactic constructions, more specifically, as small clause nonsententials or as root small clauses that have "no Tense node [and must be] situated/anchored in Time by the context of the utterance" (Progovac, 2006:44). Since the context is the only means to provide Time for Excls, the referent must be "one for which a shared representation already exists in the speaker's mind and the hearer's mind at the time of utterance" (Lambrecht, 1996:77-78). The analysis of Excls as root small clauses also explains why the identifiability requirement is not imposed in complement small clauses (e.g., I don't consider [*anyone* smart].) whose time depends on the temporal content in T in the main clause, rather than the utterance time.

The two features (i.e., evaluation and referentiality) are essential to account for the syntax of Excls since they are associated with the main components of Excls as non-TP constructions, namely, the small clause which involves the subject (i.e., the identifiable referent) and the property ascribed to it (i.e., the exclamative expression) which connects with the [EVAL] and [EXCL] features.

A satisfactory analysis of Arabic ExclPs needs to account for several peculiarities and intricacies associated with the different constructions mentioned above. Analyzing Excls to be full clauses/ sentences fails to account for these peculiarities and leaves them as unexplainable mysteries. A better approach, which analyzes Excls as nonsententials, is based on the following assumptions:

1- All ExclPs, regardless of their type, start the derivation as a small clause (SC) consisting of the subject (the referent) and a predicate (the property exclaimed about, mostly an adjectival element) and lacking tense inflection. The SC is a projection of a functional head as argued by several researchers (e.g., Adger & Ramchand, 2003; J. Bailyn & Rubin, 1991; Bowers, 1993; Dikken, 2006; Hornstein & Lightfoot, 1987; Svenonius, 1994, cited in Citko, 2011:751), as in (227):

227)



The relationship between the two constituents is predicative; the DP (i.e., the referent) is ascribed a particular property by the AP (i.e., the predicate). This assumption is based on a plethora of studies which indicate that “small clauses are both empirically motivated and

theoretically sound" (Citko, 2011:751) as they are prevalent in child language (e.g., *Girl hungry*), and some survive into adulthood, e.g., *What a thing to say*!, and *You my own brother*!. More examples are in (228):

228) a. Car dead. /Battery dead.

b. This a bargain?!

c. John tall?! (Progovac 2006)

In addition to those used as assertions in (228a) or rhetorical questions in (228b,c), Some SCs are utilized only as exclamatory statements such as those in (229a-c):

229) a. Oh, you fool!

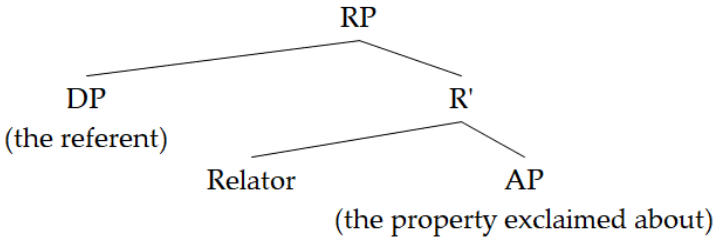
b. You idiot!

c. You nincompoop/dumbass/screwball! (Potts & Roeper, 2006:183)

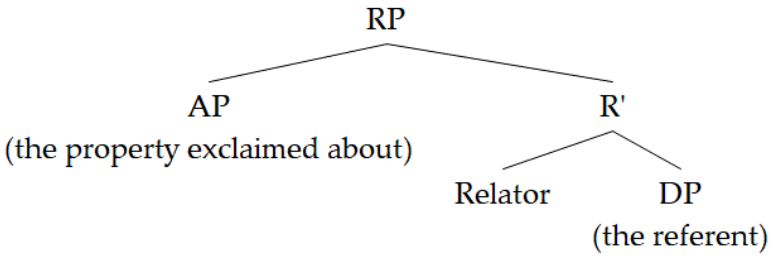
These expressive SCs may indicate how ExclPs are initially formed, especially when we consider that such expressions exist cross-linguistically, and they are not restricted to second-person pronouns (see, e.g., Corver, 2008).

2- The predication relationship between the referent and the exclamative expression is asymmetrical as they are mediated by a functional head and also nondirectional in the sense that either the subject or the predicate occupies the specifier position of the functional head, labeled as Relator *a la* den Dikken (2006:3), as in (230a,b):

230)a.



b.



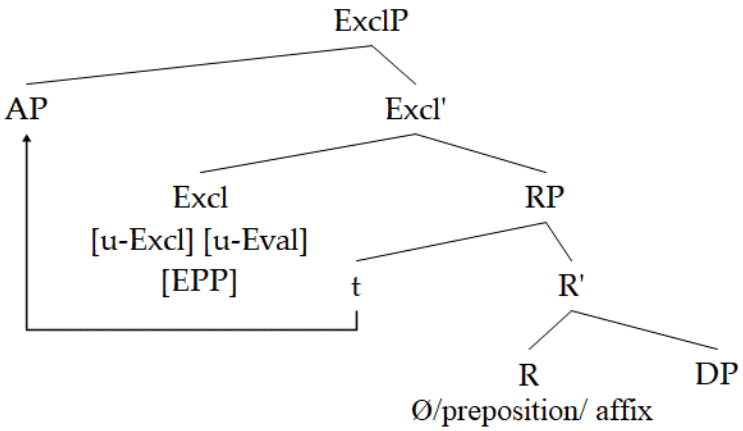
Considering that the initial position of AP in Excls, I claim that the structure in (230b) is the canonical predication structure of ExclPs whereas the one in (230a) is also well-formed and allowed in constructions where the Relator follows the DP after the movement of the AP. That is, the choice between either structure is both language-specific and construction-specific. The Relator is "a placeholder for any functional head in the structure that mediates a predication relation between two terms [which can be null or lexicalized as a copula, a preposition or an affix], [and since] Relator is not a designated

category; the RP structure represents a syntactic configuration rather than a claim about the lexicon" (den Dikken, 2006:15-16).

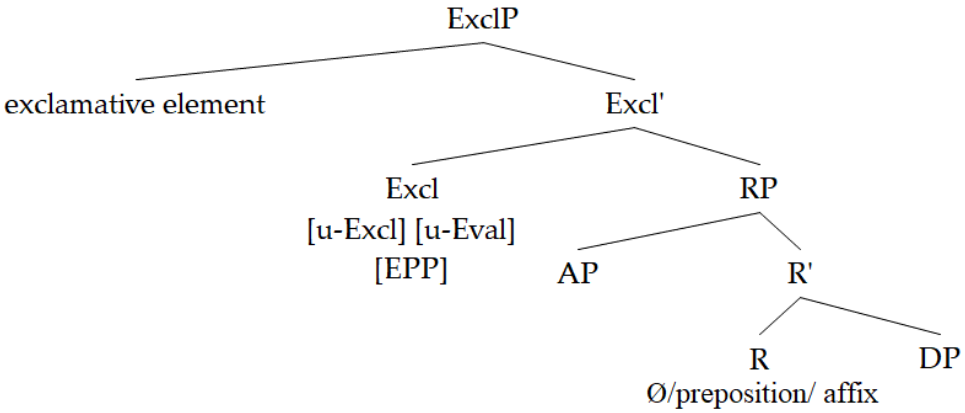
3- The RP consists of the referent which must be accessible and identifiable in the discourse and the AP which carries the interpretable valued features [EVAL] as it embodies the speaker's evaluations (i.e., appreciation or deprecation) and [EXCL] as it denotes a property exclaimed about, rather than a regular adjectival modification. The RP is selected by Excl head which has uninterpretable unvalued [EVAL] and [EXCL] (i.e., not determined in advance, and they need to be valued by Agree)[29] and the [EPP] feature which requires it to be extended into an ExclP (assuming that Excl head is "too weak to serve as a label" (Chomsky, 2015:9) and it needs a specifier with agreeing features in order to be labelled). This requirement can be satisfied by either internal merge (i.e., by moving the exclamative expression) or by external merge, depending on the type of ExclP, as in (231a,b):

[29] The argument that the features [EVAL] and [EXCL] are bundled in the Excl head in Arabic Excls does not impose the same mechanism to exist in all languages as these features can be either bundled or decomposed into two separate heads (i.e., Excl and Eval) both across languages and language internally.

231)a.



b.



The derivation shows that Agree operation takes place between the probe Excl with its uninterpretable unvalued features and the goal AP with matching interpretable valued features. That is, Agree takes place between the AP (which is the goal since it is the lexical

item semantically specified for agreement) and the probe Excl (which is not semantically specified).

This representation explains the reason why Excls are always used for evaluation (i.e., appreciation or deprecation). Notice that the R can be null or realized as a meaningless prepositional element or an affix in Arabic, and the external merge can be filled by a *wh*-element *šū/ ayš*, vocative particle *yā* or an exclamative particle *mā*, as explained in the following subsections.

The idea of leaving out some layers (e.g., VP and TP) and having projections from the C-field (i.e., ExclP) directly above the predicate is not novel in and of itself. For example, Basilico (2003) projects Topic Phrase (TopP) directly above SC to account for passivization and narrow scope phenomena. O'Neill (2015) argues that not only in tenseless languages but also in tensed languages like English, finite clauses can lack the projection of T in copula amalgam sentences. Borik & Espinal (2019:306) argue that "in all languages, including Russian, there can be nominal arguments of different 'sizes', that is, involving a different 'amount' of functional structure on top of the minimal NP projection". Moreover, leaving out the TP layer does not affect the temporal interpretation of exclamatives because time computation does not always associate with T head. In tenseless languages such as Yucatec Maya (Bohnemeyer 2002; Bohnemeyer 2009) and Kalaallisut (Bittner 2005; Bittner 2008), temporal interpretation is accounted for without the need to project T node, that is, temporal information can be conveyed by utilizing aspect and context (discourse anaphora). Following the same logic, I claim that there is no

linguistic need to project TP due to the fact that exclamatives may perhaps be temporally deictic/anaphoric to the speech time, i.e., *now*, the discourse-initial default (i.e., they are current at the topic/reference time)[30].

4. Types of Excls

This section discusses the three types of Excls in Arabic, namely, Wh-Excls, Voc-Excls, and V-Excls, respectively.

4.1 Wh-Excls in JA

Wh-Excls demonstrate two intricacies compared with their declarative equivalents, viz., the obligatory presence of the demonstrative-like *ha-* which is a demonstrative in declaratives and the inflexible word order. Consider in (232a,b) that declaratives have flexible word order and *ha-* 'this' is optional, and in (233, 233') only *šū* 'how' allows AP *ha*-DP, but *ayš* does not. Notice also that both *wh*-words cannot allow *ha*-DP AP order, as shown in (234).

[30] The use of *kāna* 'was' in JA is an exception to the given claim. See the following section for more details.

232) a. *zākī* (*ha*)-*l-ʾakil*

delicious (this)-DEF-food

'The food is delicious.'

b. (*ha*)-*l-ʾakil* *zākī*

(this)-DEF-food delicious

'The food is delicious.'

233) a. *šū* *zākī*

how delicious

b. *šū* *zākī* *ha-l-ʾakil*

how delicious PRFX-DEF-food

c.* *šū* *zākī* *l-ʾakil*

how delicious DEF-food

'How delicious (the food is)!'

233') a.* *ayš* *zākī*

what delicious

b.* *ayš* *zākī* *ha-l-ʾakil*

what delicious PRFX-DEF-food

c. **ayš* *l-ʾakil*

what DEF-food

'How delicious (the food is)!'

234) a.* *šū/* *ayš* *l-ʾakil*

how/ what DEF-food

b.* *šū/* *ayš* *l-ʾakil* *zākī*

how/ what DEF-food delicious

'What a (delicious) food it is!'

234') a. *šū/* *ayš* *ha-l-ʾakil*

how/ what PRFX-DEF-food

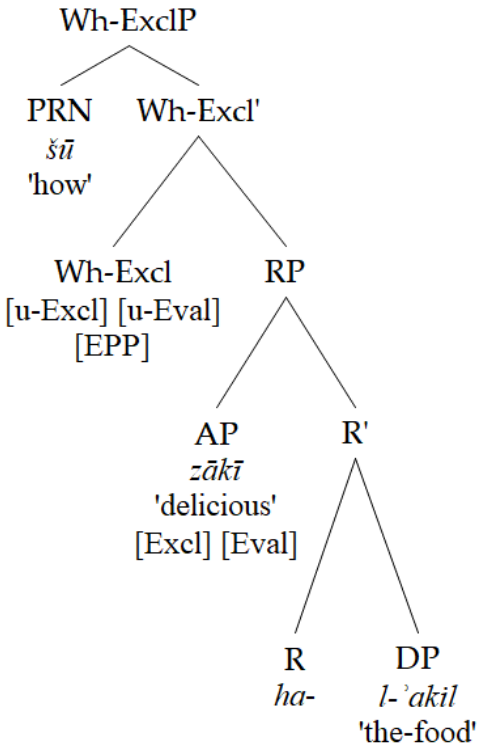
b.* *šū/* *ayš* *ha-l-ʾakil* *zākī*

how/ what PRFX-DEF-food delicious

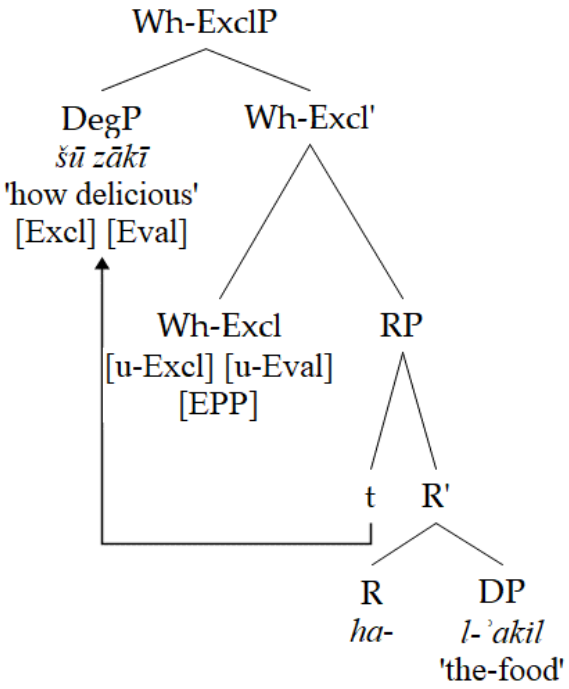
'What a (delicious) food it is!'

The flexibility of word order stems from the assumption that such declaratives and ExclPs may start as RPs, but they are headed by different functional heads. While RPs in declaratives project further into TP and then to CP, RPs in ExclPs are headed by Excl that requires an exclamative element to be in its specifier position either by external merge or internal merge as in (235a,b), respectively. The two derivational options reflect that the AP either can stay in situ if the [EPP] feature is satisfied by external merge of an exclamative pronoun or can move if the exclamative element merges internally with the AP to form DegP 'how delicious':

235) a.


Wh-ExclP
PRN
šū
'how'
Wh-Excl'
Wh-Excl
[u-Excl] [u-Eval]
[EPP]
RP
AP
zākī
'delicious'
[Excl] [Eval]
R'
R
ha-
DP
l-ʾakil
'the-food'

b.



In both structures, Excl serves as a probe which searches for a c-commanded goal to agree with. The only goal is AP 'delicious' due to its valued [EVAL] and [EXCL] features; thus, Excl agrees with it. In consequence of Agreement, the values of the features on AP 'delicious' are copied onto Excl, and the [EPP] feature is satisfied by either merging of PRN *šū* 'how' or DegP *šū zākī* 'how delicious'. The given representations explain why ExclPs allows only the word order *šū* AP *ha*-DP. Furthermore, the demonstrative-like *ha-* is argued

to be the lexicalization of R[31]. Analyzing *ha-* as a prefix in R, rather than a Dem, accounts for its obligatory presence in Wh-ExclP but not in declaratives. The optionality of Dem *ha-* in declaratives can be supported not only by nominal sentences such as (232a,b) above but also by verbal ones like (236) with an indication of its status as a demonstrative head[32], that is, the referent in declaratives can be either a DP 'the food' or a DemP headed by a Dem *ha-* 'this':

236) *ʿajab-n-i* (*ha*)-*l-ʾakil*
liked-NW-me (this)-DEF-food
'I liked this food.'

Further support of the status of *ha-* as the lexicalization of R in ExclPs can also be drawn from its form and position. Whereas the Dem *ha-* in declaratives can have the full form *hāṭa* 'this', the R *ha-* is always a bound morpheme, and it must precede the DP, in contrast with the Dem *hāṭa* 'this' which can either precede or follow the DP. Analyzing *ha-* as a Relator not only explains the obligatoriness of *ha-* and its differences from the regular Dem, but also clarifies other realizations of R (e.g., *ḏā* in *ḥabba**ḏā*** 'how appreciative,' and the prepositions *la-* in Voc-ExclPs and *bi-* in templatic V-ExclPs, to be explained below).

[31] A similar structure exists in Mandarin Chinese in which *zhème/nàme* 'this.ME/that.ME' are used with *zěnme* 'how' to form Excls (Badan & Cheng 2015).

[32] For proposals of Arabic demonstratives, see Al-Bataineh, 2020:351, and references therein.

Regarding the selectional properties of *šū* 'how' and *ayš* 'what.' Let us reconsider (233-233') and (234), repeated as (237-237') and (238):

237) a. *šū* *zākī*
how delicious

b. *šū* *zākī* *ha-l-ʾakil*
how delicious PRFX-DEF-food

c.* *šū* *zākī* *l-ʾakil*
how delicious DEF-food
'How delicious (the food is)!'

237') a.* *ayš* *zākī*
what delicious

b.* *ayš* *zākī* *ha-l-ʾakil*
what delicious PRFX-DEF-food

c.* *ayš* *l-ʾakil*
what DEF-food
'How delicious (the food is)!'

238) a.* *šū/* *ayš* *l-ʾakil*
how/ what DEF-food

b.* *šū/* *ayš* *l-ʾakil* *zākī*
how/ what DEF-food delicious
'What a (delicious) food it is!'

238') a. *šū/* *ayš* *ha-l-ʾakil*

how/ what PRFX-DEF-food

b.* *šū/* *ayš* *ha-l-ʾakil* *zākī*

how/ what PRFX-DEF-food delicious

'What a (delicious) food it is!'

(237-237') show that only *šū* 'how' selects an AP which can be followed by an optional *ha*-DP [33], and (238) demonstrates that both *šū* 'what' and *ayš* 'what' select *ha*-DP which cannot be followed by an AP. That is, when the AP is present, only *šū* 'how' is allowed, and when the AP absent, then there is a choice between *šū* and *ayš*. These facts indicate that the presence of AP determines the choice of the *wh*-form, and its absence gives equal opportunity for both *wh*-forms to be utilized. To account for these peculiarities, let us first highlight the fact briefly discussed above that *šū* and the AP *zākī* do not always form a single constituent because they can be separated by the copula *kān* 'was', as in (239):

239) *šū* *kān* *zākī* *ha-l-ʾakil*

how was delicious this-DEF-food

'How delicious (the food was)!'

[33] The possibility of the ellipsis process of *ha*-DP indicates that R in Wh-ExclPs has the two variants *ha-* and Ø. The choice between these two variants depends on the presence of DP, that is, when the DP is present, R is realized as *ha-* simply because it has a suitable host to attach to, but when the DP is elided, it has the null variant. An alternative analysis is to propose that the R has one form *ha-* which must attach to the DP before the ellipsis takes place to avoid a violation of the Stray Affix Filter "Affixes must have phonologically overt hosts" (Lasnik, 1990, 1995, cited in Markman, 2008:371). For arguments for the lexicalization of R as an affix that has "the syntactic function of relating a predicate to its subject", see den Dikken (2006:31).

(239) indicates that *šū* and the AP are not obligatorily adjacent. Strangely enough, *šū* and *ayš* must be adjacent to the *ha*-DP as the insertion of the same element between the two constituents leads to ungrammaticality in (240):

240) *šū/ ayš *kān ha-l-ʾakil*

what/ what *was this-DEF-food

'Intended: What a food it was!'

To account for the intricate adjacency requirements, I argue that the copula *kān* 'was' is the realization of the Excl head, rather than an auxiliary verb in V or T simply because Excls are not finite clauses. This argument is based on several pieces of evidence. First, while *kān* is allowed for emphasis, its present and future counterparts are not allowed in JA Excls (and also in MSA, see, e.g., Yaʾīsh, 2001:423-424). Second, unlike copula *kān* 'was', the Excl *kān* cannot combine with sentential negation because "the location of the negative projection is relative to the projection that carries the temporal information of the clause" (Benmamoun, Abunasser, Al-Sabbagh, Bidaoui, & Shalash, 2013:84, see also Shlonsky, 1997; Soltan, 2007). Consider the contrast between the declarative and the exclamative in (241a,b)[34]:

[34] In my view, the ungrammaticality of **How delicious the food was not*! is also related to the absence of T node (the same like in Arabic). Consider that the speaker can provide the negative meaning by the use of an antonym as in *How unpleasant the food was*! but not with a negative particle after *was* despite the grammaticality of *The food **was not** so delicious*. Bearing in mind that negative assertions (e.g., *John does**n't** snore*) are well-formed, the ungrammaticality of the negation of *kāna* becomes mysterious unless we assume that an exclamative switches from assertion to evaluation. That is, the proposition expressed in exclamatives is not asserted because there is no updating of the common ground by adding the proposition, rather its content is taken for granted, i.e., its truth is presupposed. In the chapter it is shown that it is not factivity per

241) a. ***mā*** *kān-**iš*** *zākī* *ha-l-ʾakil*

NEG was-**NEG** delicious this-DEF-food

'The food was not delicious.'

b. *šū* ****mā*** *kān-***iš*** *zākī* *ha-l-ʾakil*

how ***NEG** was-***NEG** delicious this-DEF-food

'*How delicious the food was not.'

Third, the Excl *kān* has one fixed position between the RP and Excl, that is, it cannot intervene between the two relata of RP as in (242a), but the canonical *kān* can exist between the subject and the predicate in declaratives as in (242b):

242) a. *šū* *zākī* ****kān*** *ha-l-ʾakil*

how delicious ***was** this-DEF-food

'How delicious the food was!'

b. *zākī* ***kān*** *ha-l-ʾakil*

delicious **was** this-DEF-food

'The food was delicious!'

---

se is the crucial point, and in this regard, I propose that Excls switch from assertion to evaluation, and this may be considered as a clue why negation (at least in its usual way) is incompatible with an exclamative. In addition to evaluation, referentiality (i.e., the discourse referent must be identifiable by the hearer) considered above as a defining ingredient of exclamatives can also support the given view because the speaker posits that the hearer knows about the identity of the referent, and no updating of the common ground is taken place in Excls.

Fourth, unlike equivalent main clauses in (243a,b), Excls with *kān* (and actually even without the copula) cannot exist in or with a temporal adverbial clause as in (244a,b), respectively, because "temporal adverbial clauses are derived by movement of a TP-internal operator to the left periphery" (Endo & Haegeman, 2019:11):

243) a. *lamma* *kān* *zākī* *l-ʾakil*
when was delicious this-DEF-food
'When the food was delicious, [I used to eat more]!'

b. *lamma* *kunt* *bi-balad-ī* *kān* *zākī*
when was.1SG.SBJ in-home country-my was delicious
l-ʾakil
DEF-food
'When I was in my home country, the food was delicious!'

244) a. **lamma* *šū* *kān* *zākī* *ha-l-ʾakil*
when how was delicious this-DEF-food
'*When how delicious the food was!'

b. **lamma* *kunt* *bi-balad-ī* *šū* *kān* *zākī*
when was.1SG.SBJ in-home country-my how was delicious
ha-l-ʾakil
this-DEF-food
'*When I was in my home country, how delicious the food was!'

Fifth, the copula in Excls does not affect case assignment; that is, it is deprived of its ability to assign the accusative case to the predicate in nominal sentences. The peculiar syntactic behavior of the Excl head realized as *kān* in not assigning case is more apparent in Classical Arabic (see, e.g., Yaʾīsh, 2001:424) and Modern Standard Arabic (Hasan, 1986:361) as these languages are richer in morphological inflections than JA. Consider in (245b) how copula *kān* assigns the nominative case to the topic (i.e., the subject) and the accusative to the comment (i.e., the predicate). In Excls, *kān* is deprived of this characteristic, as shown its optional presence in (246) without affecting the case assignment of the sentence:

245) a. *al-jaww-**u*** *jamīl-**u**-n*

DEF-weather-**NOM** beautiful-**NOM**-INDEF

'The weather is beautiful.'

b. *kān al-jaww-**u*** *jamīl-**a**-n*

was DEF-weather-**NOM** beautiful-**ACC**-INDEF

'The weather is beautiful.'

246) *mā* (*kān*) *ʾajmal-a* *al-jaww-**a***

PTCL *kān* beautiful.EXCL-**ACC** DEF-weather-**ACC**

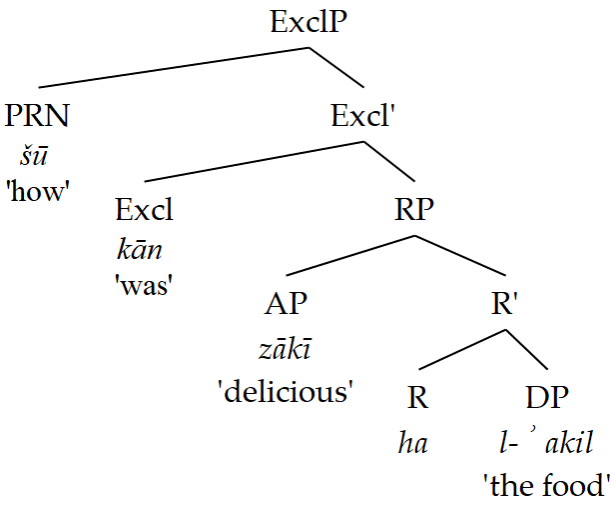
'How beautiful the weather is/was.'

However, the last issue to consider is that the tense-features carried by the copula *kān* 'was' in Excls does not necessarily mean that it is a T element because the tense-

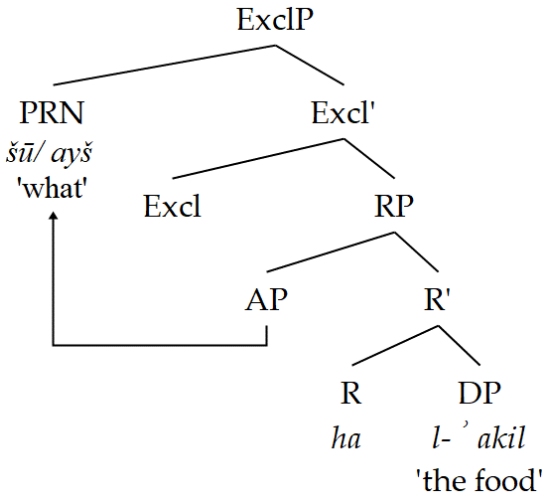
features originate in the left periphery, rather than in T (Chomsky, 2001, 2008; Richards, 2007). This view can be supported further by other studies analyzing the copula as focus or topic marker in English (e.g., O'Neill, 2015:210, and the references therein) and as a focus operator in Iraqi Arabic (Bakir 2019), rather than T.

Returning to the adjacency relations between the two relata in RP exemplified in (237a,b) and (238) above, the derivations in (247) show that the Excl head can be realized as *kān* 'was' only when the [EPP] feature on Excl is satisfied by the external merge of the exclamative pronoun *šū*, and in the case of internal merge, Excl must have a null spell-out, as shown in (247a,b), respectively:

247) a.



b.



In (247a), Excl *kān* has an inherent [wh] feature which can be matched only with a constituent that carries the same feature; the wh-word *šū* 'how' serves a perfect match, and Agree takes place; hence, *kān* is allowed to be present. The situation is different in (247b) because *kān*, as a defective head carrying only one feature (i.e., [wh]) cannot be matched with a head that carries three features, viz., [Eval], [Excl], and [Wh]. That is, *šū* and *ayš* 'what' in (247b) represent both a wh-word and an AP, and for that reason, *kān* cannot combine with either one of them, as they are richer with a bundle of features, rather than just the required [wh] feature. Since Agree cannot take place in (247b), and the structure represents an imperfect checking domain, the default null Excl is the only possible candidate, and *kān* is ruled out. The presence of the default Excl in an impoverished checking domain is comparable to another well-known phenomenon in Arabic, viz., the

asymmetry between preverbal and postverbal subjects with regard to the realization of subject agreement morphology on the verb (see Harbert & Bahloul, 2002, for a detailed discussion and references). Notice that in (248-248') full agreement takes place only when the subject precedes the verb; otherwise, an impoverished agreement takes place leading to the default pattern (i.e., third person singular):

248)	a.	*qadim-**a***	*al-ʾawlād-u*
		came-**3 SG. MASC**	DEF-boys-NOM
	b.*	*qadim-**ū***	*al-ʾawlād-u*
		came-**3PL.MASC**	DEF-boys-NOM
		'The boys came.'	
248')	a.	*al-ʾawlād-u*	*qadim-**ū***
		DEF-boys-NOM	came-**3PL.MASC**
	b.*	*al-ʾawlād-u*	*qadim-**a***
		DEF-boys-NOM	came-**3 SG. MASC**
		'The boys came.'	(Harbert & Bahloul, 2002:45)

The default Excl in (247) is comparable to the default agreement pattern in (248) as both occur in structures with impoverished agreement. The default Excl takes place when the Spec-ExclP does not have a syntactic object with the required feature [wh], and the default third person singular verbal morphology also takes place when the subject does not originate in the Spec-TP position.

4.2 Voc-Excls in MSA

In section 4.2, a differentiation is drawn between VocPs and Voc-ExclPs based on a number of syntactic properties (i.e., case assignment and selectional requirements) and semantic features (i.e., [REFERENTIALITY], [EVAL], [ANIMACY] and [DEGREE]). In addition to examples from MSA mentioned above (e.g., (221b), repeated as (249a) below), others also exist in JA, exemplified in (249b):

249) a. *yā* *la-jamāl-i* *al-ṭabīʿat-i*

O PREP-beauty-GEN DEF-nature-GEN

'How captivating the beauty of nature is!' (Yousef & Qandīl, 2010:445)

b. *yābāy* *ʿa-ḥalāwt-ik*

O PREP-beauty-your.FEM

'How irresistibly attractive your beauty is!'

In both varieties, Voc-ExclPs are initiated by a vocative particle (i.e., *yā* and *yābāy*), and the exclamative expression is preceded by a preposition (i.e., *la* and *ʿa*). Apart from the different realizations of vocative particles and prepositions, the two constructions seem syntactically identical, that is, they follow the same pattern (i.e., vocative particle-preposition-DP). To provide a plausible analysis of Voc-ExclPs, two peculiarities need to be clarified, namely, the absence of a predicative AP and the presence of a semantically empty preposition. In other words, two questions arise in these constructions: (i) Why does the presence of AP lead to ungrammaticality? (ii) Why does a preposition exist although it

is not semantically required? For reasons of space, the analysis below focuses on MSA, assuming that JA has the same arguments and derivations based on the fact that both have the same order of vocative particle-preposition-DP.

Consider the declarative equivalent of (250) below, and notice that the presence of the same vocative particle *yā* or the preposition *la-* leads to ungrammaticality:

250) a. *jamāl-u* *al-ṭabīʿat-i* *ʾaḳḳāḏ-u-n*
beauty-NOM DEF-nature-GEN captivating-NOM-INDEF

b.* ***yā*** *jamāl-u* *al-ṭabīʿat-i* *ʾaḳḳāḏ-u-n*
O beauty-NOM DEF-nature-GEN captivating-NOM-INDEF

c.* ***la*** *jamāl-u* *al-ṭabīʿat-i* *ʾaḳḳāḏ-u-n*
PREP beauty-NOM DEF-nature-GEN captivating-NOM-INDEF

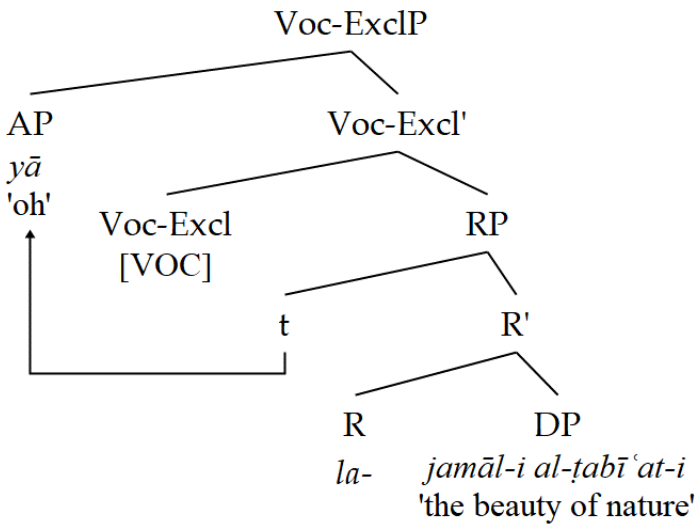
d.* ***yā la*** *jamāl-u* *al-ṭabīʿat-i* *ʾaḳḳāḏ-u-n*
O PREP beauty-NOM DEF-nature-GEN captivating-NOM-INDEF

'The beauty of nature is captivating.'

The fact that declaratives cannot be preceded by either the vocative particle or the preposition indicates that the syntax of Voc-ExclPs does not follow the same mechanisms adopted in clauses, that is, an analysis of the AP *ʾaḳḳāḏun* 'captivating' cannot be argued to be originated within the TP domain simply because it is obligatory absent in Voc-ExclPs, and the DP cannot be the complement of the preposition because the preposition is not semantically required in declaratives and its presence makes the sentence ill-formed.

A straightforward account of Voc-ExclPs such as (249a) is represented as in (251):

251)



In this derivation, I assume that the *yā* is an AP meaning 'how captivating', and the AP, realized as a vocative particle, carries the [Voc] feature. Bearing this in mind, I argue that Excl serves as a probe and agrees with the goal AP *yā* 'how captivating'. In consequence of Agreement, the values of the [EVAL] and [EXCL] features of *yā* are copied onto Excl, and the [EPP] feature is satisfied by internal merge of *yā* because Voc-Excl carries the feature [VOC] that requires the specifier of Voc-ExclP to resemble the vocative particle.

Thus, the derivation in (251) accounts for the obligatory absence of the AP in Voc-Excls but not in their equivalent clauses. Moreover, the meaningless preposition *la-* can now be the overt realization of R since the [VOC] feature in Excls selects the preposition

la-, and that explains the absence of this preposition in clauses that do not have the same syntax as tenseless Voc-ExclPs. The last issue to be addressed is that the referent is assigned genitive case if the spurious preposition is present; otherwise, it is marked accusative by the vocative particle itself which carries the valued [ACC-Case] feature (for more details on this operation, see Al-Bataineh, 2020).

4.3 V-ExclPs in MSA

This section explores the two sub-strategies involved in V-ExclPs in Arabic[35], namely, the use of evaluative verbs and the utilization of specific morphological templates. In contrast with other similar V-ExclPs in Spanish (Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2001), for example, which involve the insertion of a verb before the AP, Arabic V-ExclPs require the AP to change its syntactic category to be more verbal, although not entirely verbal as the next subsections show.

[35] The given discussion below focuses on MSA since it is richer than colloquial varieties in the number of lexical expressions used in V-ExclPs. For example, in JA only the verb *niʿma* 'how excellent' and the template *mā ʾafʿala* exist.

4.3.1 V-Excls: evaluative verbs

Evaluative verbs can be categorized into two groups according to their morphological complexity: (i) simple verbs (i.e., *niʿma* 'how excellent', *biʾsa*/ *sāʾa* 'how inferior') and (ii) complex verbs (i.e., *ḥabba*(*ḏā*) 'how appreciative', *la ḥabba*(*ḏā*) 'how depreciative'). Both categories show several peculiarities that distinguish them from verbs in other structures. Evaluative verbs have fixed word order due to the obligatory movement of AP (as evidenced in the ungrammaticality of the insertion of an auxiliary in T), and they demonstrate verbal and nominal properties simultaneously (as evidenced in the debate among grammarians concerning their syntactic category[36], for details, see Almasāʿīd & Almalḳ, 2015, and references therein). Consider, for example, that *niʿma* 'excellent' behaves like a nominal as it can be the complement of a preposition in (252a) or a vocative particle in (252b), and it cannot be conjugated (cf. **yanʿumu* '3.SG.SBJ in the present tense'):

252) a. *mā* *zayd-u-n* ***bi***-*niʿma* *ar-rajul-u*

not Zayd-NOM-INDEF **PREP**-excellent DEF-man-NOM

'Zayd is not the excellent man.' (Almasāʿīd & Almalḳ, 2015:8)

[36] According to Bresnan (1997:3), "mixed categories are very common crosslinguistically [...] in many languages mixed category constructions are headed by words which appear to be morphologically ambiguous or neutral between the two categories of the mixed construction. The Italian infinitival noun is an example being either a nominal or a verbal form".

b. ***yā*** *niʿma* *almawlā* *wa* ***yā*** *niʿma* *an-naṣīr-u*

O excellent protector and **O** excellent DEF-helper-NOM

‘(Allah is) the most excellent Patron and the most excellent Helper.’

(Almasāʿīd & Almalḳ, 2015:8)

And yet it also behaves like a verb in carrying number and gender features that agree with the subject, as exemplified in (253a,b), in addition to showing tense (i.e., past tense) and taking an argument. Nonetheless, this cluster of properties cannot lead us to conclude that these exclamative evaluative elements are verbal. Showing agreement with the subject is not a property available only to verbs because adjectives in Arabic agree with the subject as well, as shown in (253c). Claiming that these evaluative elements show past tense makes the inflexible word order and the absence of present or future tense an unsolvable mystery. Therefore, I suggest that these evaluative verbs do not have tense, they just mimic the form of a past tense verbs; that is, they only mimic the morphology of tense in verbs.

Regarding the third piece of evidence related to taking arguments, it is worth noting here that nominals and adjectives take arguments as well in nominal sentences, as in (253c):

253) a. *niʿm-**ā*** *rajul-**ayn***

excellent-**DUAL** man-**DUAL.ACC**

‘How excellent these two men are!’ (Almasāʿīd & Almalḳ, 2015:8)

b. *niʿma-**t*** *al-fatat-u*

excellent-**SG.FEM** DEF-girl-NOM

'How excellent the girl is!' (Almasāʿīd & Almalḳ, 2015:8)

c. *al-fatat-u* *jamīla-**t**-u-n*

DEF-girl-NOM beautiful-**SG.FEM**-NOM-INDEF

'The girl is beautiful.'

The evaluative expressions discussed in this section cannot be considered as verbs since they cannot be conjugated and cannot follow the subject as regular verbs do, and they cannot be considered as nouns because they do not allow a determiner like *al-* 'the' (e.g., **al-niʿma*). As shown above, syntactically, these expressions are not verbs or nouns. This raises a question regarding their categorial status. Depending on the fact that these evaluative expressions are used to denote states or properties to qualify the referent in Excls, I argue that they originate as AP due to their nominal features, and then they get some, but not all, verbal features from V-Excl. This argument shows why evaluative verbs are semantically adjectives and syntactically behave as nominal and verbal simultaneously. This is in line with Chomsky's (1970, cited in Baker, 2003:2)) view of adjectives as [+N, +V] and Baker's (2003:21) proposal "that adjective is essentially the "default" category. It appears in a nonnatural class of environments where neither a noun nor a verb would do".[37]

[37] The binary system [+/-N, +/-V] adopted by Chomsky (1970) and Baker (2003) is argued for more than 800 years ago by traditional Arab grammarians who maintained that Arabic words can be nouns or verbs

To account for the given perplexing intricacies of evaluate verbs [38], I argue that the evaluative and exclamative functions of these expressions in ExclPs cause their peculiar behavior. That is, since these verbs are limited to the expressive function, they are supposed to be different from other verbs serving other functions at the clausal level. In brief, arguing that the syntax of V-ExclPs follows that of other types explained above provides a straightforward account for their nominal and verbal properties, obligatory initial position and existence only at the phrasal non-TP level. To illustrate, consider (254) and its derivation in (255a,b) (for equivalent examples, see Moutaouakil, 2005:9):

254) *niʿma* *ar-rajul-u*

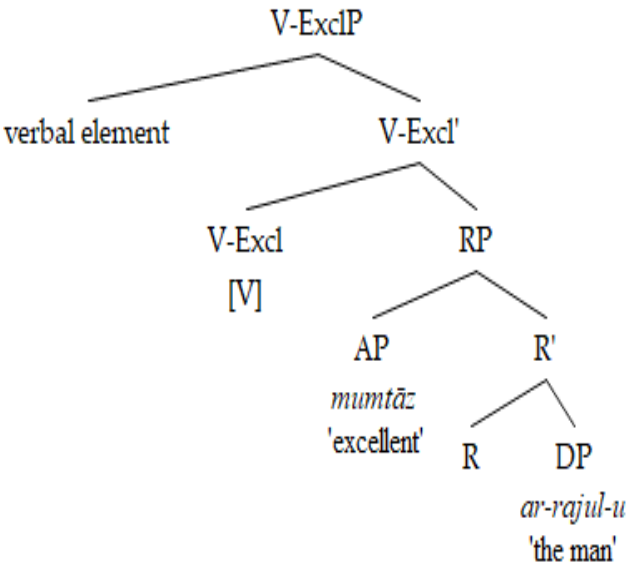
excellent DEF-man-NOM

'How excellent this man is!'

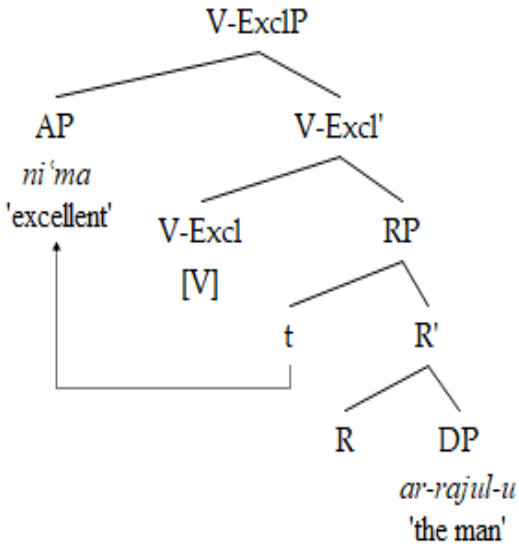
(i.e., lexical categories), or particles (i.e., functional categories), as stated in the first line in the Alfiyyah of Ibn Malik (Aqeel 1980).

[38] Agreeing with the majority of Arabic grammarians, I consider evaluative expressions in this section and the following one to be more verbal, rather than nominal, in nature.

255)a.


V-ExclP
verbal element
V-Excl'
V-Excl
[V]
RP
AP
mumtāz
'excellent'
R'
R
DP
ar-rajul-u
'the man'

b.


V-ExclP
AP
ni'ma
'excellent'
V-Excl'
V-Excl
[V]
RP
t
R'
R
DP
ar-rajul-u
'the man'

The V-Excl requires a verbal element to be in its specifier position due to its [V] feature. As demonstrated in derivation (255a), the AP (i.e., the exclamative quality ascribed to 'the man' which is assumed to be *mumtāz* 'excellent' (or any general positive trait that varies depending on the context)) cannot move in its current form and needs to be verbal by a suppletion process that provides a specific verbal form that must be "an overt form that unambiguously spells out the features unaffected by suppletion" (Neeleman & Van de Koot, 2006:706)[39]. That is, the adjectival element changes by suppletion to an overt form that retains the [EXCL] and [EVAL] features, and it is verbal at the same time. The verbal form can be either an evaluative verb as in the given example or a form that is molded according to specific morphological templates that express exclamation and evaluation, as discussed in the following subsection. The change from the adjectival *mumtāz* 'excellent' to the partially verbal form *niʿma* 'excellent' enables the AP to move to spec-VExclP to satisfy the [EPP] feature on V-Excl. The result of this change is a partially verbal expression that has some, but not all, properties of a regular verb (and carries some nominal properties as well). This claim explains why the V-Excl expression *niʿma* has the peculiarities mentioned above. In a similar vein, the syntax of complex evaluative verbs follows the same derivation. Consider (256) represented as (257a,b) (for more examples, see, e.g., Hasan, 1986:380):

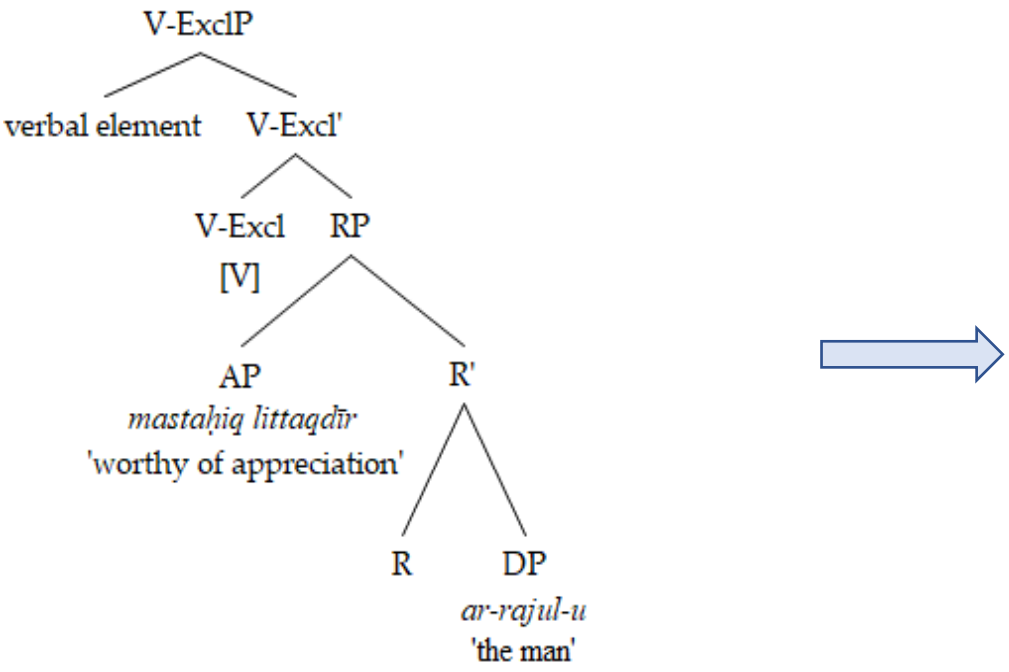
[39] For supportive phenomena from Dutch and MSA, see Neeleman & Van de Koot (2006, and references therein).

256) *ḥabba-ḏā* *al-rajul-u*

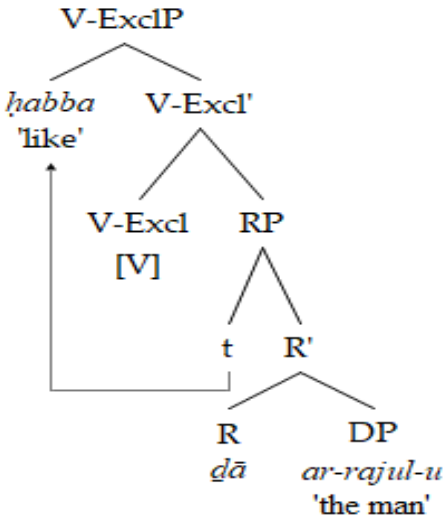
liked-PRFX DEF-man-NOM

‘lit: I liked this man (for his good traits). = How appreciated this man is!’

257) a.



b.



The AP *mastaḥiq littaqdīr* 'worthy of appreciation' undergoes the same suppletion process and moves to spec-V-ExclP for the same reasons explained above. The only difference between these derivations and (255a,b) is that the R head is lexically realized by the optional suffix *-ḏā* that resembles *ha-* in *wh*-ExclPs in the sense that it cannot be analyzed as a demonstrative because it cannot follow the DP 'the man' (**ḥabba alrajulu**ḏā***), and it cannot be in the full form (**ḥabba* ***hāḏa***). Further evidence of its position in R is that it cannot be associated semantically with the evaluative verb since neither the lexical entry of the *ḥabba* 'liked' requires *-ḏā* nor it is affected by its presence. The attachment of *-ḏā* to the evaluative verb is syntactically triggered, that is, unlike *ha-* which needs a nominal host, *-ḏā* needs a verbal host. However, the last point to be mentioned is that in these constructions, the DP is marked nominative by default due to the

absence of any case assigner. This phenomenon is not limited to Arabic; it also exists in other languages such as Icelandic and Hindi in which "nominative is preferable as the less marked case [in] an imperfect checking domain" (Woolford, 2003:542-543).

4.3.2 V-Excls: morphological templates

The second strategy demands that APs be formed according to specific morphological templates, namely, *faʿula, ʾafʿil bi-, mā ʾafʿala* which act as frames or molds that shape the word structure of the property exclaimed about. Consider the change of the morphological form of *ḥasan* 'good' in the exclamative constructions in (258a-c):

258) a. *ḥasuna* *Zayd-u-n*
excellent. EXCL Zayd-NOM-INDEF
'How excellent Zayd is!'

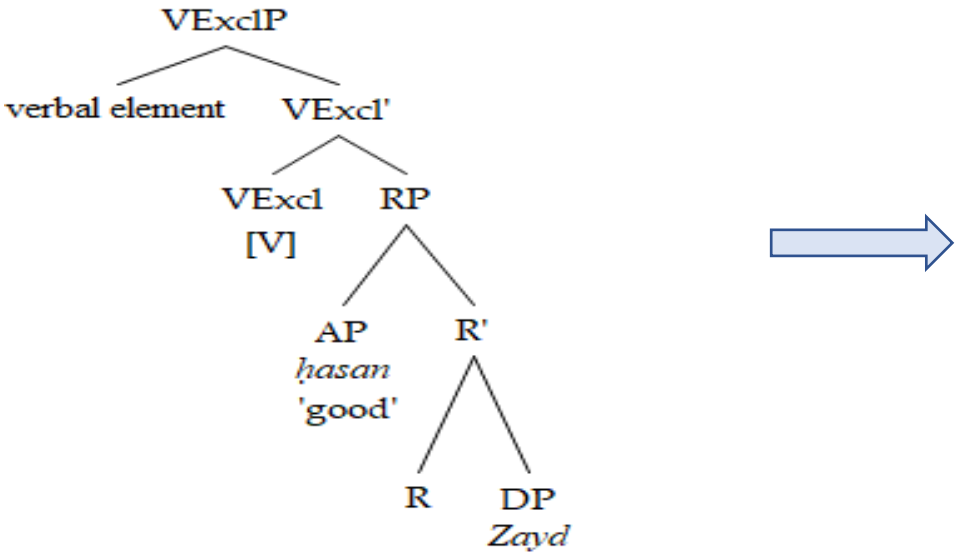
b. *ʾaḥsin* *bi-Zayd-i-n*
excellent. EXCL PREP-Zayd-GEN-INDEF
'How excellent Zayd is!'

c. *mā ʾaḥsana* *Zayd-a-n*
PTCL excellent. EXCL Zayd-ACC-INDEF
'How excellent Zayd is!'

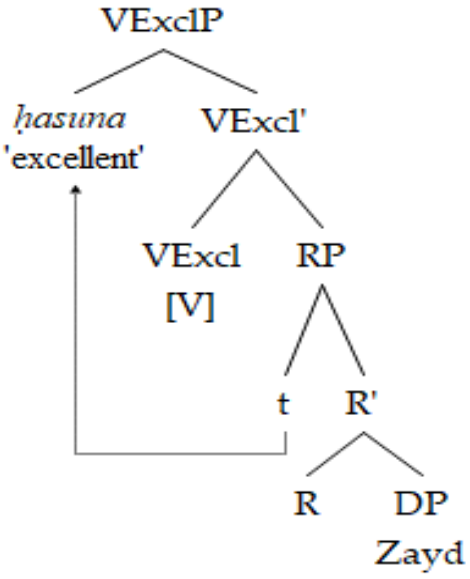
Notice that the change of the morphological form of *ḥasan* ‘good’ does not correlate with a change in the meaning of the exclamative, that is, the three templates have the same function of providing the expressive meaning of ‘how excellent Zayd is!’. Regarding the categorial status of these templates, grammarians disagree whether they are verbal or nominal because these templates share the syntactic properties of verbs and nouns simultaneously. To illustrate, the template *mā ʾafʿala* in (258c) is verbal because it superficially seems to show past tense (but not other tenses like present or future), takes arguments (i.e., *mā* as subject and *Zayd* as object), demonstrates transitivity (i.e., it assigns accusative case to its complement *Zayd*) and requires *nūn alwiqāya* ‘preventive -*n*’ (explained in footnote 2) if followed by first-person singular pronoun (*ʾaʿlama-**n**-ī* ‘taught-**n**-me’ vs., **muʿallim-**n**-ī* ‘teacher-**n**-my’). At the same time, this template shows several nominal properties; it can be used in the diminutive form; the middle vocalic sound of its triliteral root changes into a semivowel (e.g., the middle [a] vowel in *q**ā**ma* ‘stand’ changes to [w] in the Excl *mā ʾaq**w**ama* ‘how straight!’ although no change takes place in the verb *ʾaq**ā**ma* ‘make stand’); and it has one fixed form that does not conjugate (for further details, see, e.g., ʾAbū Albarkāt Alʾ Anbārī, 1982:126-148).

The peculiarities above stem from the fact these templates are used exclusively in Excls which have syntactic structures distinct from clauses; that is, these templates are not fully verbal because they do not originate in V and, consequently, associated with little v like other verbs in TPs. However, the approach adopted in this chapter may account for their mysterious behavior. (258a) may have the representation in (259a,b):

259) a.

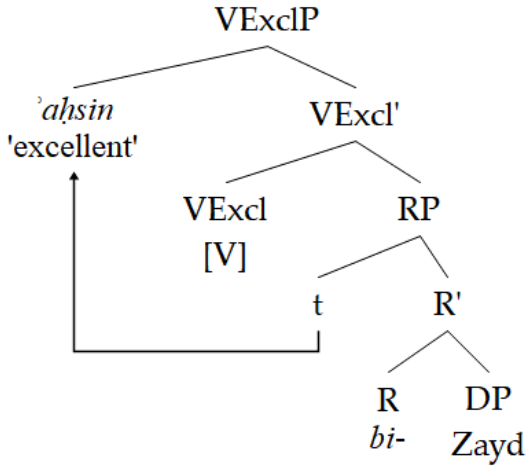

VExclP
verbal element
VExcl'
VExcl
[V]
RP
AP
ḥasan
'good'
R'
R
DP
Zayd

b.

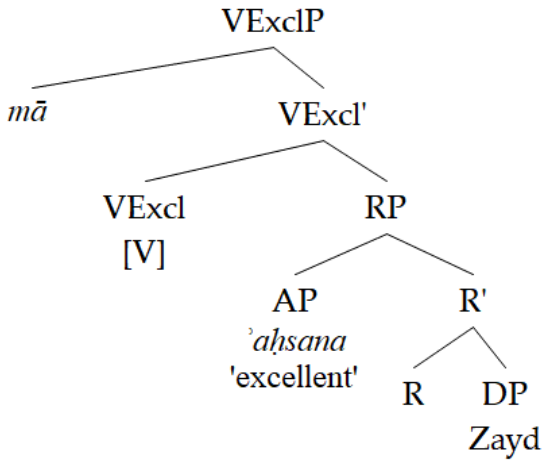

VExclP
ḥasuna
'excellent'
VExcl'
VExcl
[V]
RP
t
R'
R
DP
Zayd

As discussed in the previous subsection, the VExcl requires a verbal element to be in its specifier position due to its [V] feature. The AP *ḥasan* 'good' cannot move in its current form and needs to be verbal by a suppletion process that retains the [EXCL] and [EVAL] features and the semantics of the AP. The verbal form is molded according to the morphological template *faʿula* that changes the adjectival *ḥasan* 'good' to the partially verbal form *ḥasuna* 'how excellent'. This change enables the AP to move to spec-VExclP to satisfy the [EPP] feature on VExcl. The result of this change is a partially verbal expression that has only some of the syntactic properties of a regular verb (and simultaneously some nominal properties). In a similar vein, the other templatic forms in (258b,c) have the representations in (260 a,b), respectively:

260) a.



b.



(260a) shows that the AP *ḥasan* 'good' changes into *ʾaḥsin* 'excellent' according to the templatic form *ʾafʿil bi-* for the reasons given above, and the meaningless preposition *bi-* is shown to be the realization of R. In support of this derivation, *ʾaḥsin* which looks like an imperative verb allows only the spurious preposition *bi-*, rather than the semantically required one *ʾilā* 'to', and it does not agree with the addressee, as the contrast between the declarative and exclamative constructions show in (261a,b), respectively [40]:

261) a. *yā* *rijāl-u,* *ʾaḥsin-**u*** *ʾilā* *Zayd-i-n*

Oh men-NOM do good-3PL.MASC to Zayd-GEN-INDEF

'Oh men, do good to Zayd.'

[40] Other arguments that differentiate between the imperative form and the exclamative one are overlooked here due to space (see, e.g., Yaʾīsh, 2001:420) for arguments related to responses and conditional clauses).

b. *yā* *rijāl-u,* *ʾaḥsin-***u*** *bi-Zayd-i-n*

Oh men-NOM do good-*3PL.MASC PREP-Zayd-GEN-INDEF

'Oh men, how excellent Zayd is!'

The representation in (260b) follows the same syntax like in (260a) except for the presence of the particle *mā* in spec-VExclP which prevents the movement of AP *ʾaḥsana* 'excellent'. This derivation triggers two related questions: how does the external merge of the particle *mā* satisfy the [V] feature on VExcl? Why does the AP *ḥasan* 'good' undergo suppletion despite the merge of *mā*? The answer to these questions lies in the categorial status of both the particle and the AP. I argue that both are mixed/hybrid expressions due to the different syntactic features they carry. The particle has [WH] and [V] features, and the AP has [V] and [N], simultaneously. To illustrate, consider the two syntactic behaviors of the particle in (262a,b), and notice that in (262a) it has [WH]; hence, it cannot assign case to the following DP, whereas in (262b) it assigns accusative case to the DP 'the sky' (and the AP 'beautiful' gets accusative case by concord with DP) due to its [V] feature:

262) a. *mā* *ʾajmal-**u*** *as-samāʾ-**i***

what most beautiful-**NOM** DEF-sky-**GEN**

'What is the most beautiful object in the sky?'

b. *mā* *ʾajmal-**a*** *as-samāʾ-**a***

PTCL beautiful. EXCL-**ACC** DEF-sky-**ACC**

'How beautiful the sky is!'

The same element *mā* has nominal and verbal features simultaneously as evidenced in its status as a *wh*-phrase in (262a); hence, it does not affect case assignment of the Construct State construction, and as a transitive particle which assigns the accusative case to the DP in (262b). The hybrid nature of *mā* shows that it has the semantics of 'how' and the syntax of a transitive verb in the sense that "the two categories are folded together and overlaid as a single [...] head" (Bresnan, 1997:6). For the same element to have both nominal and verbal properties is common in other Arabic constructions as well. Consider how the nominal *salb* 'depriving' in (263) requires two VP constituents and assigns the accusative case to both of them:

263)	*salb-u*	*zayd-i-n*	*ar-rajul-**a***	*maal-**a**-hu*
	depriving-NOM	Zayd-GEN-INDEF	DEF-man-**ACC**	money-**ACC**-his

'Zayd's depriving the man of his money' (Fassi Fehri, 1993:247)

Similar to *mā*, the AP is also a mixed element, that is, it has both [V] and [N] features as evidenced in its morphological form that resembles a transitive verb and a superlative form of an adjective, and also in its syntactic behavior as an adjective that is marked accusative by the particle *mā* and as a verb by taking two arguments; the particle *mā* as a subject and the following DP as an object. However, analyzing *mā* as a transitive particle required by the [V] feature on VExcl deviates from the traditional view that *mā* means 'something (that caused Zayd to be excellent).' The analysis of *mā* as a particle rather than an indefinite noun is based on two pieces of evidence. First, agreeing with ʾAbū Albarkāt Alʾ Anbārī (1982:128-129), the exclamative construction does not mean that the referent

has the quality exclaimed about due to the influence of 'something,' that is, the referent and the quality ascribed to it are not involved in a cause-effect relationship. In support of this argument, consider the ExclP in (264) and notice the implausibility of the second glossing for the intended meaning:

264)	a.	*mā*	*ʾaʿḍama*	*Allah-a*
		PTCL	great. EXCL	Allah-ACC
	b.*	*mā*	*ʾaʿḍama*	*Allah-a*
		something	cause to be great	Allah- ACC
		'How great Allah is!'		(ʾAbū Albarkāt AlʾAnbārī, 1982:128)

The intended meaning indicates the high degree of Allah's greatness not that something caused Allah to be great; that is, by no means, the exclamative can be analyzed as a CAUSE-BECOME-structure in a usual TP. The second piece of evidence is related to the use of a copula *kān* 'was' which demonstrates two peculiarities. First, only one auxiliary *kān* 'was' can be used for semantic effect (i.e., emphasis) with no syntactic consequences (i.e., it is deprived of its case features available in clauses), other auxiliaries related to present or future cannot be utilized. Second, *kān* cannot occupy its canonical position sentence initially, instead it follows the particle *mā* (see, e.g., Yaʾīsh, 2001:423-424). The non-canonical position of *kān* indicates that *mā* in these Excls is not a noun; rather, a particle introduced into the derivation for syntactic rather than semantic reasons.

Generally speaking, the claimed analysis of the templatic V-ExclPs in (258a-c) accounts for the different case endings on the referent *Zayd*, viz., nominative, genitive, and

accusative, respectively, although the semantics of the given constructions is consistent. This phenomenon, as well as the presence of the spurious preposition *bi-* and the particle *mā*, cannot be accounted for in the light of previous arguments in the literature that Excls are sentential.

4.3.2.1 A more detailed analysis of templates

In the previous subsection, it is argued that APs are formed according to specific morphological templates, namely, *faʿula*, *ʾafʿil bi-*, and *mā ʾafʿala* which act as frames or molds that shape the word structure of the property exclaimed about. This view is simplified to keep the discussion focused on the overall derivation of the ExclP, and it does not provide a detailed analysis of how the AP is internally formed and modified according to a given template. The general assumption given above is that the VExcl requires a verbal element to be in its specifier position due to its [V] feature. The AP, for example, *ḥasan* 'good' cannot move in its current form and needs to be verbal by a suppletion process that retains the [EXCL] and [EVAL] features and the semantics of the AP. The verbal form is molded according to the morphological template *faʿula* that changes the adjectival *ḥasan* 'good' to the partially verbal form *ḥasuna* 'how excellent'. This change enables the AP to move to spec-VExclP to satisfy the [EPP] feature on VExcl.

These assumptions lead to the fact that Excl adjectives share the same morphology with their verbal templatic counterparts, but they have different semantics and syntax due

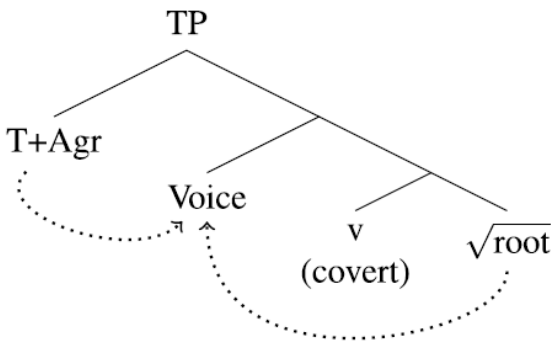
to the distinct syntactic mechanisms responsible for structuring each one of them. This view is not revolutionary by itself; Doron (2015:170) analyses stative participles in Hebrew as basic adjectives not including any verbal component in their derivation and supports his view by the test suggested by Kratzer (1994) in which these participles are incompatible with adverbs that modify events and can be used as modifiers of resultative participles, such as *carefully*, *carelessly*, and *hastily*. The same test can be utilized with the Excl templates under discussion, as shown below, adverbs modifying events cannot be used with Excl templates.

265) * *biḥaḏar/* *bisurʿah/* *bilāmubālāh* *ʾaḥsin*
carefully/ hastily/ carelessly excellent. EXCL
bi-Zayd-i-n
PREP-Zayd-GEN-INDEF
'*carefully/ hastily/ carelessly how excellent Zayd is!'

This view triggers the question of how the AP is internally structured, and why it does not show the typical properties of equivalent verbs with regard to the agreement, case assignment, selection, word order, conjugation, etc. To answer this question, I adopt Kastner's (2019) theory of morphology in which he argues that templates emerge from the combination of lexical roots with syntactic functional heads, constrained by the general phonology of the language. Building on Kastner's theory, I argue that the eventual surface form of the AP is generated by the combination of the lexical root with several functional heads, including little a and VExcl, and this suggests that the property exclaimed about is

formed differently than a regular verb. To address this point, let us begin with an overview of Kastner's theory. Very briefly, templates are not considered as basic building blocks of the lexicon; rather, they arise as epiphenomena when a certain morpheme is embedded in a syntactic structure. That is to say, verbal templates, for example, are decomposed into the functional heads v, Voice, and T, as shown in the tree below (Kastner, 2019:586). The dotted lines indicate that the contextual allomorphy of voice is conditioned by the identity of both the root and T+Agr:

266)



The root here is analogous to lexical roots in other non-Semitic languages; it is an acategorial morpheme which adjoins to a verbalizing categorizer, little v. Voice is the locus of argument structure alternations; "Voice has a syntactic feature [D], which either requires or prohibits a DP from merging in its specifier" (Kastner, 2019:579). The vowels which are inserted into the triconsonantal root are the spell-out of Voice, and since Voice is local to T+Agr, T+Agr can condition allomorphy of the vowels. That is, phi-feature values

condition different stem vowels on Voice, which are also conditioned by the root, as represented by the dotted lines above. For example, the derivation of a Hebrew template *hevʃálti* 'I ripened' proceeds as follows: the root √bʃl adjoins to v to form vP, which in turn adjoins to Voice. The resulting VoiceP adjoins to T, as in this representation [T[Past,1SG] [Voice[+D] [v √bʃl]]]. The stem vowels and the prefixes are introduced in two cycles (phases): Cycle 1 (VoiceP): **he**-vʃ**á**l, and Cycle 2 (TP): hevʃál-**ti**. The correct placement of the affixes is regulated by a number of phonological constraints; that is, the prosodic organization is the purview of the phonology (Kastner, 2019:587-589). According to this theory, there is no primitive template for *hevʃálti* 'I ripened', but a combination of functional heads that are spelled out as stem vowels and affixes.

Applying Kastner's theory on the templatic forms in Excls, I argue that the templates *faʿula*, *ʾafʿil bi-*, and *mā ʾafʿala* utilized in Excls are formed differently than those utilized as regular verbs. Although in both Excls and non-Excls, the root is triconsonantal, and it is the core of the lexicon, the categorizers and the higher functional heads are different. Let us take, for example, the template *ḥasuna*. As a verb meaning 'he became better', this template can be formed as follows: [T[Past,3SG.MASC] [Voice[-D] [v √*ḥsn*]]]. The stem vowels *a*-*u* and the suffix -*a* are introduced in two cycles (phases) as in Hebrew above: Cycle 1 (VoiceP): *ḥ**a**s**u**n*, and Cycle 2 (TP): *ḥasun*-***a***. This template becomes *ḥasunat* when referred to 3SG.FEM, with the same derivation as above except for the realization of T+Agr as -*at*, instead of -*a*.

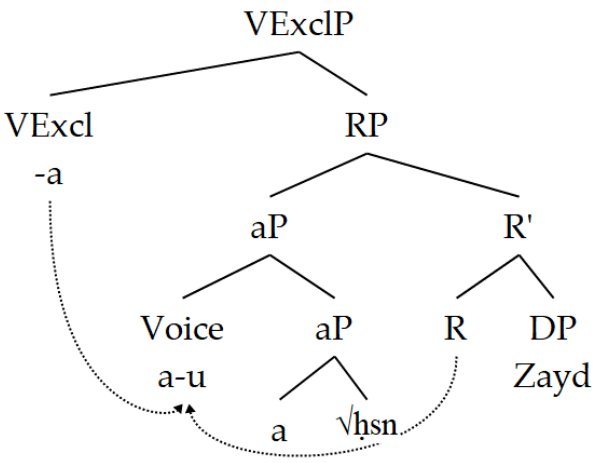
This derivation explains the typical properties of verbs such as the flexibility of word order (i.e., the subject can either precede or follow the verb), the agreement suffix on the verb (i.e., *-a* or *-at* for Masc and Fem, respectively), and, most interestingly, the change of stem vowels. While the stem vowels in a verb like *ḥasun* are spelled out as *a-u*, the stem vowels change depending on the root, for example, the root √ʿlm becomes ʿ***a****l****i****ma* 'he knew'. The change of stem vowels is not allowed when the template is utilized as an ExclP; that is, regardless of the root, the stem vowels are *a-u*, as evidenced in the Excl template of ʿ***a****l****i****ma* 'he knew' which is ʿ***a****l****u****ma* 'How knowledgeable'.

In addition to other idiosyncrasies related to inflexible word order and the absence of agreement, the fixed stem vowels indicate that the Excl templatic form ***fa***ʿ***u****la* is not derived in the same fashion as the verbal one. As argued in the previous subsection, in ExclP, the template is an adjective, rather than a regular verb; hence, the derivation of *ḥasuna* 'How excellent' can be represented as follows: [VExclP [VExcl] [aP Voice [aP[a √ḥsn]]]]. Here the root √ḥsn adjoins to an adjectival categorizer, little a, to form an aP which in its specifier position is Voice. Voice here does not form a phrase by itself, as in Kastner's analysis, simply because it is a dummy element that is inserted only for morphological reasons, it carries the stem vowels of the template.

This view is similar perhaps to Kayne's (1975:117) analysis of French partitives "such as *des soeurs*, [as being] dominated by the node NP, that is, $_{NP}$[*des soeurs*], despite their initial preposition". That is to say, the appearance of Voice in Spec-aP does not change the fact that the formed structure is adjectival at this stage. The formed aP merges with

VExcl which inserts prefixes, suffixes or both and conditions the stem vowels of the template which are the spell out of Voice, and there is no presence of T as evidenced in the absence of tense and agreement features, as discussed in the preceding section. Assuming the correctness of this view, the derivation of the template *ḥasuna* is as follows:

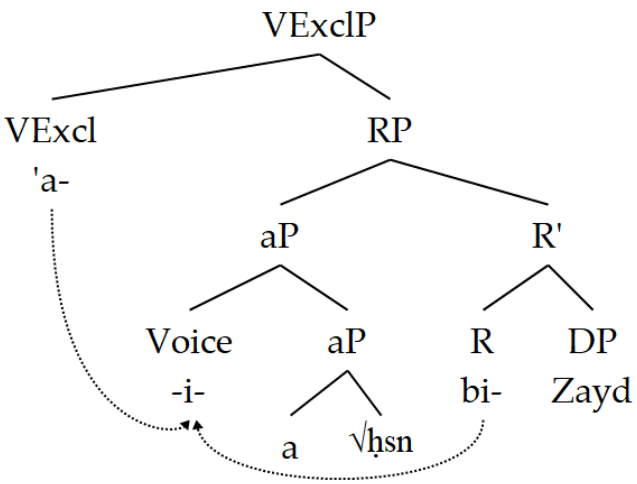
267)



The root √ḥsn adjoins to little a to form aP. Both R and VExcl condition the spell out of a (as represented by the dotted lines). In this template, R is covert, and VExcl has [-D] feature (i.e., it is intransitive). The stem vowels *a-u* and the suffix *-a* are introduced in two cycles (phases): Cycle 1 (aP): ḥ**asu**n, and Cycle 2 (VExclP): ḥasun-**a**. The correct placement of the affixes is constrained by the general phonology of the Arabic language.

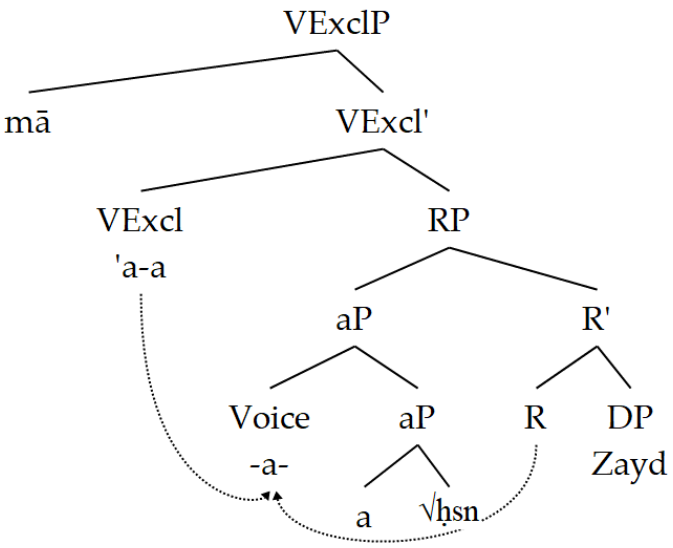
The analysis of the second template proceeds in the same way. *ʾafʿil bi-* has the following derivation. Notice that since R is spelled out as *bi-* and VExcl as a prefix *ʾa-*, the stem vowel on Voice is realized as *-i-*, rather than *a-u* as above.

268)



The third template *mā ʾafʿala* has the same analysis except for the fact that VExcl has the [+D] feature and it requires a DP in its specifier, as shown below:

269)



The three representations discussed so far indicate that the stem vowels on Voice are determined by the following rule:

270) **The stem vowels mapping**

a. [Voice] → *a-u*, in the context [VExcl *-a* [-D], <R>] (VExcl is intransitive suffix *-a* and R is covert)

b. [Voice]→ *-i-*, in the context [VExcl *ʻa-* [-D], R *bi-*] (VExcl is intransitive prefix *ʻa-* and R is the preposition *bi-*)

c. [Voice] → *-a-*, in the context [VExcl *ʻa-a* [+D], <R>] (VExcl is a transitive circumfix and R is covert)

This mapping shows that the categorizer a is always covert (analogous to little v in Kastner's theory) and Voice is spelled out as an infix. the different realizations of this infix are affected by both R and VExcl which condition the allomorphy of the stem vowels on Voice. The given stem vowels mapping shows that there are three distinct contexts under

each one of them Voice is realized uniquely. This analysis goes hand in hand with Kastner's views that the categorizer "is phonologically null […] (by hypothesis) […] stem vowels originate on Voice. Contextual allomorphy of Voice is conditioned by [other functional heads]. The two, Voice and the root, are in a local relationship after Spell-Out since v is covert (phonologically silent): the sequence is linearized as [VExcl-Voice-a-root], at which point covert elements like [a] are removed" (Kastner, 2019:581). Moreover, Assuming that voice is a dummy element that interacts with the syntactic combination of root+a ensures that voice morphology does not affect semantics; it has only an abstract morphological identity that reflects the right configurations under which adjectives are similar to verbs only morphologically. Therefore, what determines the realization of the stem vowels is the syntactic and phonological aspects of both VExcl and R which condition the allomorphy of stem vowel(s) on Voice. Under this proposal, Excl templates in Arabic behave similar to Hebrew templates in Kastner's theory because templates in both languages "emerge as a by-product of spelling out individual functional heads, rather than independent CV skeletons" (2019:614). In other words, templatic effects are argued to be epiphenomenal, rather than prosodic primitives.

5. Conclusion

This chapter examines and analyzes the morphosyntactic structure of Excls in Arabic. It adopts a more straightforward approach that assumes Excls to be non-TP constructions which start the derivation as asymmetrical and nondirectional RP selected by Excl which carries the unvalued [EVAL] and [EXCL] features which are valued by the AP and the [EPP] feature which requires the spec-ExclP to be lexically realized. Depending on the type of ExclP, Excl also carries [WH] in Wh-ExclPs, [VOC] in Voc-ExclPs, and [V] in V-ExclPs. This approach is argued to account for the peculiarities and intricacies associated with the different types of Arabic ExclPs such as (i) their inflexible word order, (ii) case alternation on the referent in templatic V-ExclPs, (iii) the presence of spurious prepositions obligatorily (e.g., *bi-* in imperative templatic V-ExclPs) or optionally (e.g., *la-* in Voc-ExclPs), and (vi) the obligatory presence of some meaningless elements (e.g., the demonstrative-like *ha-* in Wh-ExclPs and the particle *mā* in V-ExclPs).

The analysis of Wh-ExclPs shows that the different distributions of the two *wh*-elements *šū* and *ayš* supports the phrasal nature of this type. The given approach explains the intricacies associated with the inflexible word order, the obligatory presence of *ha-* preceding the DP, and the different selectional properties of the *šū-/ ayš*-forms.

The chapter shows that VocPs are distinguished from Voc-ExclPs based on a number of syntactic properties (i.e., case assignment and selectional requirements) and semantic features (i.e., [REFERENTIALITY], [EVAL], [ANIMACY] and [DEGREE]). Also, the

analysis of Voc-ExclPs clarifies the syntactic motivations behind the absence of a predicative AP and the presence of semantically empty prepositions. The spurious prepositions *la-* and *ʿa-* are argued to be the lexical realizations of R. Additionally, the chapter explores the two strategies involved in V-ExclPs (i.e., evaluative verb and morphological templates). The argued approach provides a straightforward analysis and explanation for evaluative verbs, especially, their nominal and verbal properties, obligatory initial position, and existence only at the non-clausal level. Moreover, it clarifies the debatable categorial status of exclamative templates, their case assignment properties, and the presence of the spurious preposition *bi-* and the particle *mā*.

Chapter 5

Summary and Future Research

1. Introduction

This chapter provides a brief summary of the main findings in the thesis, and it discusses some possible areas of research for future studies. Additionally, it considers some theoretical and empirical implications of the proposed analysis argued for in the thesis. This chapter is divided into two sections that deal with exceptives and exclamatives, respectively.

1.1 Exceptives: Concluding remarks

The discussion of the syntactic properties of Arabic exceptive constructions casts doubt on the given proposals in the literature with regard to the syntactic status of exceptive markers. I maintain that *ʾillā* is not a preposition, a focal adverb, or a coordinating conjunction for reasons related to case assignment, fronting, distributional facts, complement types, among others. I propose that exceptive particles are the lexicalization of the functional head Ex which stands for an exceptive or restrictive element with the semantics of inclusiveness or exclusiveness. Ex merges with an XP to form an ExP. The projection of ExP is triggered by the existence of the [DS] (Domain Subtraction) feature. In some structures, the ExP is

c-commanded by another functional head *ex* that carries a valued accusative case [Acc-Case]. This proposal explains the accusative case assignment on the Ex-complement only when the ExP is projected as a full-fledged *ex*P. In contexts where the ExP-complement has a particular case depending on its role in the sentence, case assignment follows a different route as the structure is functionally impoverished, lacking *ex*, and it is affected by the negative particle which is obligatorily present.

The lack of *ex* makes possible a consistent theta-role and case assignment for the ExP-complement; hence a particular case is assigned on both the ExP-associate and the ExP-complement by PF-concord mechanism (i.e., Morphological Feature Copying). The main difference between the full-fledged *ex*P and the impoverished ExP is that in the former, there are two different sources for theta-role and case assignment, whereas, in the latter, one single source is available for both theta-role and case assignment. The absence of *ex* allows the case feature to be spread from the negative D to its extended projection that includes the Ex-complement (in argumental ExPs) or both the Ex-complement and the Ex-associate (in case alternating constructions). The role of the D *mā* is significant as it combines with *ʾillā* to create a discontinuous morpheme, more precisely, a focus particle that has an inclusive, rather than exclusive, interpretation; that is, the *mā-ʾillā* combination has the [DR] 'domain restriction' feature that codifies the inclusion of referent only to the exclusion of other alternatives or potentials. I show that the *mā-ʾillā* combination is not a linguistic fact specific to Arabic; in many languages, parallel structures can be found with similar functions (e.g., Tahitian (Potsdam & Polinsky, 2017), Middle English (Nevalainen, 1999), Middle Dutch (Breitbarth, 2015), and Japanese (Hasegawa and Koenig, 2011)).

Furthermore, the thesis discusses the distributional differences between the full-fledged *ex*Ps and the functionally impoverished ExPs and shows that they occur in two distinct environments; in contrast with ExPs, *ex*Ps allow an intervening element to occur between the main clause and the exceptive, they are preceded by a prolonged pause, can be fronted, occur in affirmative sentences, and include a negative particle as an inseparable element, rather than an independent determiner. These distributional facts are supported by syntactic evidence which indicates that exceptive phrases can project not only as ExPs, but also as full-fledged *ex*Ps. It is shown that *ex* heads the ExP which includes functional words that form a closed class, it determines the properties of its projection (i.e., *ex*P), and it exhibits canonical headlike behavior and values case to its argument.

This syntactic evidence is further supported by two tests, namely, obligatory adjacency and c-command of the ExP-complement. Concerning the first test, strict adjacency is required between *ʾillā* and its complement, and this obligatory adjacency forms a strong argument for the constituency of the *ex*P since the intervening constituent prevents the operation of case valuation from applying between *ex* and its complement. Regarding the second test, I demonstrate that in all constructions in Arabic and other languages discussed in the thesis, the exceptive particle c-commands the DP, that is, *ʾillā* must precede the excepted nominal, and it is ungrammatical to have a structure in which the complement precedes the particle, bearing in mind that Arabic is a head-initial language, and the *ex*P is also head-initial.

Additionally, the thesis explains that *ʾillā* is not the element that assigns the accusative case (contra traditional grammarians), rather it is *ex* which is a transitive head. I assume that the semantics of 'I exclude' is carried by *ʾillā* (in all constructions, the exclusion seems to be speaker-centered, and the particle *ʾillā* indexes first person). This explains why only in some, but not all, constructions the accusative case is assigned. Moreover, it is shown that *ʾillā* is not etymologically composed of *ʾin* 'if' and *lā* 'not'. This claim is shown to be synchronically implausible because the two elements *ʾin* 'if' and *lā* 'not' are semantically and syntactically different from the exceptive particle, and their combination cannot yield the semantics or the syntax of *ʾillā*. For similar reasons, the thesis also rejects the other assumption that *ʾillā* is a combination of the complementizer *ʾinna* and the conjunction *lā* 'not'.

With regard to the other types of ExP-complements and the distinction between connected exceptives and free exceptives, the thesis shows that, contra previous studies, free exceptives cannot include any maximal projection (e.g., the Ex-complement cannot be a finite VP), and free exceptives cannot have greater distributional freedom than connected exceptives (e.g., while connected ExPs can be fronted, free connectives cannot). These facts lead me to suggest that the main difference between connected exceptives and free exceptives is not primarily related to the type of constituent (i.e., DP vs., any XP), rather in the presence of the negative element. While in connected exceptives, the negative element can be optional, in free exceptives, the negative element is always obligatory.

However, this thesis is by no means a complete survey of all topics related to exceptives; it leaves further issues to future research on Arabic or other languages. There are still some constructions that are not discussed in the thesis and worth exploring in the future. For example, in some constructions, the ExP-complement is unrelated to the ExP-associate (i.e., the ExP-complement cannot be part of the ExP-associate), and in such constructions, only the accusative case is possible, as in (271):

271) *mā* *bi-d-dār-i* *ʾaḥad-u-n* *ʾillā* *watad-a-n*
no in-DEF-house-GEN someone-NOM-INDEF except pillar-ACC-INDEF
'There is no one in the house, except a pillar.' (Ibn Yaʾīsh, 2001:54)

In this sentence, the *watad* 'pillar' and *ʾaḥad* 'someone' cannot refer to one entity as in 'everyone except John'; therefore, the two nominals *watad* 'pillar' and *ʾaḥad* 'someone' cannot form one semantic unit. This may suggest that the *ex*P *ʾillā watadan* 'except a pillar' may form a separate syntactic object as a phase inaccessible for further case valuation; hence, the accusative case is the only case possible. Another structure is related to case alternating constructions that do not involve a negative D like *mā*. Consider (272) below and notice that the nominative case is shared because of the presence of the negative verb 'refuse', which involves negation internally as 'not to accept'. This structure is of significant importance as it may lead to new insights with regard to the morphological structure of verbs and how verbs involving internal negation may be morphologically more complex than affirmative verbs. In this regard, negative verbs can be considered analogous

lexical causatives like *feed* and *kill* that are analyzed as having covert morphological complexity from a Distributed Morphology approach (see, e.g., Harley 2008):

272) *yaʾbā* *Allahu* *ʾillā* *ʾitmām-u* *nūr-i-hi*
refuse Allah-NOM except completeness-NOM light-GEN-his
'Allah will never accept but to complete His light.'

Constructions involving multiple exceptives, such as (273), are also worth investigating:

273) *tašārak-tu* *maʿa* *kull-i* *ʾaṣdiqāʾ-ī* *ʾillā*
shared-I with every-acc friends.GEN-my except
zayd-a-n *kull-a* *šayʾ-i-n* *ʾillā* *ṭaʿām-a*
Zayd-ACC-INDEF every-ACC thing-GEN-INDEF except meal-ACC
al-ġadāʾ-i
DEF-lunch-GEN
'I shared with all my friends except Zayd everything except the lunch meal.'

The syntactic behavior of *ġayr* and *siwa* 'except' is very interesting. These two exceptive particles are different from all other exceptive particles in Arabic as they are inflected for case in the same way an ExP-complement is inflected after *ʾillā*, and the ExP-complement following them is always in the genitive case, as exemplified in (274a,b). Notice that semantically *ġayr* is an exceptive element with the same meaning as *ʾillā* 'except', but syntactically it is a nominal that forms a construct state with the following DP.

274) a. *ḥaḍara* *aṭ-ṭullāb-u* *ġayr-**a*** *zayd-i-n*

came DEF-students-NOM except-**ACC** Zayd-GEN-INDEF

'All students came, except Zayd.'

b. *mā* *ḥaḍara* *aṭ-ṭullāb-u* *ġayr-**a**/ -**u***

not came DEF-students-NOM except-**ACC**/ -**NOM**

zayd-i-n

Zayd-GEN-INDEF

'All students came, except Zayd.'

Doubled exceptives in Classical Arabic are also worth noting. Notice in (275) that the ExP can be doubled to indicate that two entities are excepted from the ExP-associate. This function is utilized without the use of a conjunction, and it shows case alternations only if they are not fronted; otherwise, only the accusative case is allowed (Ibn Yaʾīsh 2001):

275) *mā* *ʾatā-nī* *ʾillā* *zayd-u-n* *ʾillā* *ʿamr -a-n*

not came-me except Zayd-NOM-INDEF except Omar-ACC-INDEF

'No one came to me except Zayd and Omar.' (Ibn Yaʾīsh 2001)

Furthermore, the proposed analysis in this thesis can have several implications on the study of exceptives in other languages as well. The distinction between the full-fledged *ex*Ps and the functionally impoverished ExPs can be useful for the analysis of the two types of exceptives. The syntactic differences between free exceptives and connected exceptives

can be related to the difference in how exceptives are built internally and whether they can form a phase or not, bearing in mind that the main differences between the two types (discussed in chapter 2) are reminiscent of Arabic data, especially those related to positional possibilities and co-occurrence restrictions. Moreover, the assumption that exceptive particles are the lexicalizations of the functional head Ex is also of significant importance as it solves the debate in the literature with respect to the syntactic status of exceptive particles; the given assumption unified all exceptive particles cross-linguistically by providing a single label for all of them, and this may be cross-linguistically valid because exceptive particles seem unique in their syntax and cannot be grouped together with other syntactic categories such as prepositions, adverbs, or conjunctions.

1.2 Exclamatives: Concluding remarks

The second part of the thesis presents an analysis of the peculiarities involved in Arabic Excls, inflexible word order, case alternations, the presence of spurious elements, among others. In chapter 4, I argue that Excls are not full clauses because they are temporally deictic to the here and now; that is, they are tenseless expressions that largely lack Tense specification because they are anchored by the context of the situation rather than Tense. I propose that Excls are not finite clausal projections; they are just small clauses formed of the referent and the property exclaimed about and headed by Excl, which provides the illocutionary force of utterance. I argue that this structure is more adequate as it is more

closely associated with the defining properties (i.e., evaluation and referentiality) of Excls[41].

The thesis covers three types of Excls; Wh-ExclPs, Voc-ExclPs, and V-ExclPs. The two intricacies involved in Wh-Excls, viz., the obligatory presence of the demonstrative-like *ha-* and the inflexible word order, are caused by the requirement of the [EPP] feature on Excl to be satisfied by either external merge of a *wh*-form or internal merge of a DegP. The demonstrative-like *ha-* is argued to be the lexicalization of R, as evidenced by its unique form and position. Chapter 4 also shows that the copula *kān* 'was' is the realization of the Excl head, rather than an auxiliary verb in V or T, as is clearly shown by its distinctive semantic and distributional properties.

Based on syntactic and semantic differences between VocPs and Voc-ExclPs, I maintain that the two peculiarities of Voc-ExclPs, namely, the absence of a predicative AP and the presence of a semantically empty preposition, are caused by the realization of AP as a vocative particle, and the lexicalization of R as a meaningless preposition. With regard to the third type of Excls, I discuss the two strategies involved in V-ExclPs, namely, the use of evaluative verbs and the utilization of specific morphological templates. I suggest that evaluative verbs have fixed word order due to the obligatory movement of AP, and they demonstrate verbal and nominal properties simultaneously due to the suppletion

[41] The conclusions I have reached for exclamative structures are comparable to Rett (2011) on the semantic grounds.

process which changes the adjectival element to a partially verbal expression that has some, but not all, properties of a regular verb.

The analysis of templatic V-ExclPs is analyzed in a similar way, and I explain that their peculiarities stem from the fact these templates are used exclusively in Excls, and they are not fully verbal; rather they are adjectival. The AP changes its form and mimics a verbal form by a suppletion process that retains the [EXCL] and [EVAL] features and the semantics of the adjectives. The meaningless preposition *bi-* in the template *ʾafʿil bi-* is argued to be the realization of a Relator in the sense of den Dikken (2006), as evidenced by its semantics (i.e., being a spurious element) and its syntax (i.e., the lack of agreement with the addressee). Moreover, the thesis provides a more detailed analysis of Excl templates. It explains the internal structure of these templates by adopting Kastner's (2019) theory. I maintain that templates emerge from the combination of lexical roots with syntactic functional heads, constrained by the general phonology of the language. Building on Kastner's theory, I argue that the eventual surface form of the AP is generated by the combination of the lexical root with several functional heads, including little a and V-Excl, and this suggests that the property exclaimed about is formed differently than a regular verb.

However, this thesis is by no means a comprehensive study of all Excl constructions. It focuses only on Jordanian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic; Excls in other Arabic varieties are worth exploring to test and modify the syntactic analysis presented in this thesis. Future research may consider variations in Arabic dialects with

respect to Excl structures to investigate this under-studied topic more deeply. Furthermore, the assumption that Excls are nonsententials is hoped to be useful and insightful for the analysis of Excls in other languages. I speculate that the given assumptions may imply some empirical and theoretical consequences on Excls across languages. For example, some peculiarities in English Excls include (i) the absence of S-V inversion *_How smart is he_!, (ii) the obligatory movement of *wh*-phrase (cf. _He can speak -three languages._/ -_what languages_?/ -*_what languages_!), (iii) and the impossibility of preposition stranding (_In a beautiful house they lived./ In which house do they live_?/ vs. *_In what a house they live_!). Besides, the given analysis may be adaptable to topic questions:

276) a. What about the house?

b. How about joining us?

The thesis may also shed light on the constituency of DegPs. I speculate that *wh*-phrases in Excls may not always form a single constituent; that is, their constituency varies across languages and language internally. As indicated above, *how* AP cannot stay in situ in Excls (e.g., *_she is how beautiful_!), and there is no evidence of *how* AP form one phrase before movement. This argument becomes more evident when we consider *what*-phrases in an Excl like _What a nice person he is_! The *what*-phrase cannot be a single constituent in declaratives (*_He is what a nice person_.) or interrogatives (*_What a nice person_ is he?). Moreover, cross-linguistic data shows that it is not always the case that the AP must be preceded by a degree element realized as '*how*'. The AP can be preceded by a verb or a determiner in Spanish and Catalan (Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2001; Miró, 2006), or an adverb that

"cannot easily modify adjectives or adverbs in declarative clauses" (Jónsson, 2010:45) in Icelandic. In addition, '*how*' does not necessarily form a single constituent with the element(s) it associates with; that is, the two constituents can optionally be separated, as in Mandarin Chinese (Badan & Cheng, 2015) or obligatorily as in French (Zanuttini & Portner, 2000) or Icelandic (Jónsson, 2010)

Also, the given approach may have theoretical consequences on the analysis of Voc-ExclPs in other languages such as English *Oh for the rain to continue* or *Oh to be free*! In such expressions, the proposed analysis may account for the c-command position of the exclamative vocative particle *oh* (cf. **For the rain to continue oh*!) and the absence of an AP like *desirable* (cf. **Oh for the rain to continue desirable*). Moreover, the analysis of spurious prepositions in Arabic as the lexicalizations of R may have some implications on the analysis of equivalent elements in Excls across languages. For example, the preposition *de* 'of' in Spanish Excls seems syntactically parallel to Arabic meaningless prepositions (see, Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2008:124; Miró, 2008:79); the preposition *za* 'for' in Russian which does not assign case and cannot be used in structures that requires a preposition (Vishenkova & Zevakhina, 2019:13); and also the prepositions *ʻi* and *ki* in some Oceanic languages (Moyse-Faurie, 2011).

In addition, the analysis of Arabic V-ExclPs may be insightful for similar structures in languages like Spanish, as exemplified in (277):

277) *Vaya* *hermosa* *que* *es* *María*!

go-SBJ pretty that is Mary

'How pretty Mary is!' (Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2001:169)

The thesis may have implications on the placement of a verb before the adjective, the possibility of *vaya*, but not other verbs, in this position, and the irrelevance of the semantics of *vaya* and *hermosa* to form one constituent with the result of a combination that cannot take place in clauses. Needless to say, the given possible implications are just preliminary predictions that need to be argued for or against by other cross-linguistic studies in the future.

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