DOI : 10.18855/lisoko.2022.48.2.003

English exceptive constructions: A corpus-based perspective*

Geonhee Lee**, Jong-Bok Kim***
(Kyung Hee University)

Lee, Geonhee & Kim, Jong-Bok, 2023. **English exceptive constructions: A corpus-based perspective.** *Korean Journal of Linguistics,* 48-2, 279-313. The English exceptive construction expresses an exclusion from a generalization. The construction, which can be classified into two subtypes, connected and free exceptives, has been analyzed from a set-theoretic perspective with a limited set of intuition-based data. This paper first reviews its key grammatical properties and discusses some issues from previous analyses. The paper then investigates real-life usages based on the attested data extracted from the COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English). The paper tries to offer a nonderivational discourse-based analysis that could account for the observed grammatical properties of the construction. **(Kyung Hee University)**

Key words: exceptive construction, ellipsis, corpus, parallelism, focus, discourse-based

1. Introduction

Exceptive constructions in English express an exclusion from a generalization and can be categorized into two subtypes in accordance with their modification:

(1) a. Connected exceptives:
[Every linguistics professor **except John**] drives a Mercedes.
(García-Álvarez, 2008: 4)

* An earlier version of this paper was presented in the Texas Linguistics Society 2023 held at the University of Texas at Austin on February 17-18, 2023. We are grateful to three anonymous reviewers of the journal for their insightful comments. All the remaining errors are of course our own.
** First Author
*** Corresponding Author

b. Free exceptives:
[**Except John**], every linguistics professor drives a Mercedes.
(García-Álvarez, 2008: 4)

As illustrated by the examples above, the connected exceptive in (1a) makes modification to a quantified phrase headed by a universal quantifier like *all*, *every*, and *no*, while the free exceptive functions as a sentential modifier as shown in (1b).

The construction has been analyzed from a semantic perspective, trying to address the key property such that the exceptive sentence denotes an exclusion from the generalized set. However, such a set-theoretic approach is challenged by examples like the following:

(2) a. I got no present [except from my friend]. (Vostrikova, 2019: (7))
b. Every girl danced with every boy [except Mary with John]. (Vostrikova, 2019: (8))

As observed in (2a), the complement of the exceptive phrase is a PP which does not denote a set of individuals. In addition, as seen in (2b), the complement includes multiple remnants which are NP *Mary* and PP *with John*, challenging a quantificational view.

In this paper, we first review syntactic and semantic properties of the English exceptive construction and discuss how it has been analyzed in previous studies. We then investigate attested usages of the exceptive construction based on the corpus data from COCA.[1] We suggest a nonderivational construction-based analysis that allows interactions among various grammatical levels such as syntax, semantics, and discourse. This framework seems appealing for capturing the observed properties of the constructions, resolving several issues that challenge previous analyses.

---

[1] The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) is the largest corpus of American English. The corpus contains more than one billion words of the text from 1990 to 2019 and has a data from a variety of registers (i.e., spoken, fiction, magazine, newspaper, academic, TV and Movie subtitles, blogs, and other web pages) in a well-balanced manner.

2. Syntactic and Semantic Properties of Exceptive Construction

2.1. Syntactic Properties

There are two main parts of the exceptive construction: an associate and an exceptive phrase (henceforth, EP). The EP consists of two elements: the exceptive marker and the XP. Although exceptive markers express an exclusion, their meanings vary by exceptive markers. This paper focuses on the canonical exceptive construction headed by the expression *except*. The quantifier that licenses the EP is referred to as an associate (e.g., *every* in (3)), and a phrase that follows the exception marker is called a complement (e.g., *John* in (3)), as the following schema illustrates:

(3) ASSOCIATE COMPLEMENT
Every student is diligent except John .
EXCEPTIVE PHRASE

Based on their modification status, EPs are categorized into two subtypes (Hoeksema, 1987, 1995; von Fintel, 1993). Observe the following sentences:

(4) a. [Every day [except Monday]], it was raining. (Hoeksema, 1987: 100)
b. [Except Monday], it was raining every day. (Hoeksema, 1987: 100)

Connected EP in (4a) forms a constituent with a universal quantifier phrase *every day*, whereas free EP in (4b) is not a constituent with its associate and modifies the entire clause.

Both subtypes require universal quantifier to license an EP and they are incompatible with existential quantifiers (Hoeksema, 1995; von Fintel, 1993):

(5) **All/No/*Some** students [except John] finished the assignment.

Note that other types of associates (e.g., determiner quantifiers, mass quantifiers, definite DPs, etc.) can be associated with free EPs (García-Álvarez,

2008):

(6) a. **Most vegetables** [except the tap-rooted ones] can be start off in small pots and transplanted into the garden when the ground is ready. [determiner quantifier]
b. There was **little furniture** [except our big fridge] in the corner of the living room. [mass quantifier]
c. **The boys**, [except Nathan who was listed as stable], and their mothers were released from hospital. [definite DP]
d. **English policemen**, [except the guards who protect the royal family], do not carry guns. [bare plural NP]
e. [Except for breakfast], **a meal** is an activity for the French that involves eating, conversation, and relaxation. [indefinite DP]
f. He underwent shoulder surgery this season after playing in 108 games, **the fewest** in his career [except for the strike season of 1981]. [superlative]

Given the sentences in (6), the assumption of the licensing condition of EPs should not be restricted only to universal quantifiers. This can imply that these associates have covert universal reading. For instance, the bare plural NP *English policemen* in (6d) is referring to all policemen in England, and the exception is applied to the royal guards. Although the sentences are not overtly engaged with universal quantifiers, the universal reading allows the exception.

The complements of EPs can have a variety of grammatical functions (García-Álvarez, 2008):

(7) a. Every cabinet member [except Jones] denied the allegations. [Subject]
b. Sally painted every room [except the kitchen] with a roller. [Direct Object]
c. I sent a postcard to every relative of mine [except aunty Jane]. [Indirect Object]
d. Harry put a marble in every box [except this one]. [Prepositional Complement]
e. Mary called back home from every European capital [except Paris].

[PP adjunct]

f. We are open, [except on Sunday]. [Modifier]

As seen in (7), the grammatical role of the EP is given by the grammatical role of their associate phrase. However, in a sentence like (7f), where there is no associate, the EP functions as a sentential adverb.

In terms of their position, EPs bear positional flexibility in a clause. However, connected and free EPs exhibit different distributional patterns (Hoeksema, 1987; García-Álvarez, 2008):

(8) a. Every linguistics professor [except Jones] drives a Mercedes.
(García-Álvarez, 2008: 4)

b. No district judge came to the party [but Kim].
(García-Álvarez, 2008: 4)

(9) a. [Except Jones], every linguistics professor drives a Mercedes.
(García-Álvarez, 2008: 4)

b. No district judge, [besides Kim], came to the party.
(García-Álvarez, 2008: 4)

c. In those six years I had never been away, [except on visits at holiday time in the neighborhood].
(García-Álvarez, 2008: 5)

As shown in (8), connected EPs can be either placed next to the associate phrase or extraposed to the sentence-final position. Free EPs can be placed anywhere with no restriction, as seen in (9). As such, connected EPs cannot precede the associate, since they are DP-level modifiers, whereas free EPs can be placed from the sentence-initial position to the sentence-final position as they are not restricted to any constraint.

One aspect that influences on the position of EP is the information status of the complement, which is the so-called End-Weight principle. It means that when a phrase is syntactically complex or contains new information, the phrase is moved to the end of the sentence. For instance, in (9c), the EP is placed at the end of the sentence, since it is syntactically more weighted due to additional temporal and locative PP adverbs within the EP.

2.2. Semantic Properties

There are three basic conditions that the exceptive construction must meet (Moltmann, 1995). The first one is the Quantifier Constraint. It means that the associated quantifier must be the universal quantifier like *every*, *all*, and *no*, as seen from the following sentence:

(10) Every/No boy except John came. (Moltmann, 1995: 227)

If quantifiers other than universal ones function as associates of EPs, the sentence is considered unacceptable:

(11) #A lot of/#At least three/#Few boys except John came.
(Moltmann, 1995: 227)

However, note that there are some outliers to this condition. According to von Fintel (1993) and others, free EPs are tolerable with quantifiers like *most* and *few*, indicating that free EPs may not be bound by the constraint as seen from (12). However, there are some quantifiers that are unacceptable with the free EPs as shown in (13):

(12) a. Except for Joan, most cabinet members liked the proposal.
(von Fintel, 1993: 137)
b. Except for John, few employees accepted the pay cut.
(von Fintel, 1993: 137)
(13) #Ten boys/More than half of the boys came except for Bill.
(Moltmann, 1995: 228)

In (13), cardinal and comparative quantifiers are not compatible with free exceptives. Given the unacceptability, free EPs are restricted under the quantifier constraint. The following definition illustrates the condition:

(14) The Quantifier Constraint
The NP that an exceptive phrase associates with must denote a universal

or negative universal quantifier.

The second condition required for the construction is the Condition of Inclusion. This condition means that the complement of the EP should fall under the restriction of the quantifier and be a member of a set. Consider the following examples:

(15) a. Every girl except Mary came. (Vostrikova, 2021: 172)
b. No girl except Mary came.

In (15), both sentences imply that Mary is a girl, as seen from the N′ restrictor *girl*. This indicates that the element denoted from EP falls under the domain of universal quantifier.

(16) The Condition of Inclusion
The exceptive phrases must belong to the restriction of the associated quantifier.

This condition has a number of assumptions from the previous literature due to their uncertain status. As Keenan & Stavi (1986) regarded it as an entailment of sentences, von Fintel (1993) suggested it as an implicature, and Hoeksema (1987) and García-Álvarez (2008) adopted an idea of the presupposition.

The final condition is the Negative Condition which predicts that the predicate where the exception is applied should have the opposite truth value from the predicate where the exception is not applied.

(17) a. Every boy except John came. (Moltmann, 1995: 226)
b. No boy except John came. (Moltmann, 1995: 226)

In (17a), the associate *every* yields a positive truth value, meaning that the EP has a negative truth value, implying that John did not come. In (17b), the associate quantifier *no* yields a negative truth value, resulting in having a positive value of the EP, which means that John came. The condition is described as follows:

(18) The Negative Condition
Applying the predicate to the exception yields the opposite truth value from applying the predicate to non-exception.

We have seen that there are some issues with explaining the grammatical properties of exceptive constructions. For instance, the Quantifier Constraint does not correspond to the syntactic properties of associates as other quantifiers like *most* and *few* can license the exceptive construction. In addition, it is still dubious as there is no unified approach of considering the inclusion of the complement in the Condition of Inclusion. The incompatibility of grammatical properties and the uncertainty of the property itself also provide reasons for the reconsideration of the Negative Condition. In what follows, we will sketch some analyses from the previous studies and briefly discuss their issues.

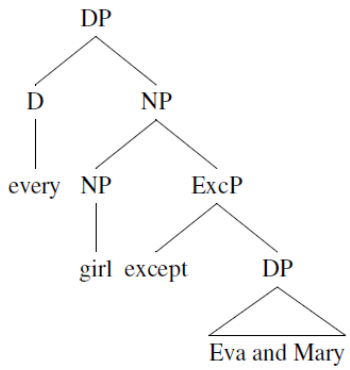
3. Previous Approaches

In a semantic perspective, the exceptive construction is considered as a subtraction from a denoted set (von Fintel, 1993). The system of exceptive construction consists of two parts: an exceptive functioning as a set from the domain of quantifier and the set being subtracted to be propositionally true. Observe the following sentence:

(19) Every girl [except Eva and Mary] came.

This analysis assumes that the EP forms a constituent with the associate as the following syntactic structure shows:

(20)



For the sentence (19) to be true, both Eva and Mary must be removed from the domain of 'every' as a subtraction operation. However, this does not guarantee that Eva and Mary are girls and they did not come. In fact, the sentence does not capture the inference that both Eva and Mary have to be girls, as the ungrammaticality of (21) shows:

(21) *Every girl [except Mary and John] came.

The sentence (21) is unacceptable since *John* does not fall under the set of girls.

In addition, the subtraction analysis fails to explain the following sentence as well:

(22) #Some girls [except Eva and Mary] came.

The analysis is infelicitous in the case of the subtraction from the set denoted by the existential quantifier. Existential quantifier is more informative in a smaller domain as it narrows down the set of girls. However, the exceptive constructions are incompatible with the existential quantifiers. Since a set of 'some girl' may or may not guarantee the containment of {Eva}, {Mary} or both, existential reading is not applied to the construction.

According to Potsdam (2018), Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén (2010), Vostrikova (2019) and others, an EP is regarded as a reduced clause. Consider

the following sentence:

(23) Everyone came, [except Peter$_1$ [~~t$_1$ didn't come~~]].
(Potsdam & Polinsky, 2019: 1)

In this sense, the exceptive marker *except* is a coordinating conjunction since it coordinates two sentential level phrases. In the reduction analysis, the complement *Peter* is moved out of a clause *Peter didn't come*. There is a number of evidence supporting the claim that the EP originated from a clausal source, as the following examples illustrate:

(24) Every boy danced with every girl, [except $_{NP}$ Joe $_{PP}$ with Diane].
(Potsdam & Polinsky, 2019: 1)
(25) a. He didn't speak, except [$_{PP}$ in riddles]. (Potsdam & Polinsky, 2019: 1)
b. There were no questions during the interview, except [$_{CP}$ whether I had a driver's license]. (Potsdam & Polinsky, 2019: 1)
c. The room was only in the afternoon, except [$_{AP}$ very hot].
(Potsdam & Polinsky, 2019: 1)

In (24), the complement of EP consists of NP and PP. The acceptability of multiple remnants within EP can be considered as EP having a clausal source. In addition, the XP that follows *except* can have various syntactic categories, which are not restricted to a certain syntactic type such as DP. This shows that *except* is not restricted to only select DPs, supporting the assumption that the exceptive marker is followed by a clause (Potsdam & Polinsky, 2019; Vostrikova, 2019). However, this approach lacks in some aspects. Considering EP as having a clausal source, the requirements of the associates are not as well highlighted as what has been discussed in the literature. Vostrikova (2019) and others provide several semantic backgrounds for the reduction analyses. However, there is no agreement on free exceptives in those analyses. The syntactic category of the exceptive marker is questionable, as some assume that it is a preposition, while others regard it as a coordinating conjunction, or even both. Also, there is no consensus on the status of EP; whether they are clausal or subclausal phrases.

In sum, we have seen previous analyses from both semantic and syntactic perspectives. Subtraction analysis shows that the exceptive marker can function as a subtractor, eliminating a member expressed in EP from the quantified set. However, it fails to account for the case when the complement does not bind under the denoted set. In addition, in terms of reduction analysis, there are some remaining parts that are still questionable regarding the category of the exceptive marker and their phrasal status.

In the following sections, we will examine the exceptive constructions from the corpus data to observe their real usage patterns of the construction. Further, we will suggest a discourse-centered analysis from the construction-based perspective, resolving the observed challenges from the attested data.

4. Corpus Study

4.1. Data and Methodology

This paper performs a corpus investigation using the COCA (Davis, 2008). To collect the corpus data, we searched for all instances of *except* from the COCA search engine. After the search of a total 97,423 instances, we randomly extracted 1,800 samples from the data. Among the data, we manually excluded the following irrelevant examples:

(26) a. You can read something into absolutely everything... except for the man with the cheese. (2012 WEB)
b. It's as if they're two knights battling in armor, except they're in the middle of outer space. (2017 MAG)
c. What business would an old monk have here except maybe helping a young couple to meet the Emissary? (1996 TV)

The sentences like (26a) are filtered out, since the status of *except* and *except for* is considered differently in the previous literature. According to Li & Hsi (1981), they acknowledge that the expression *except* excludes a particular one

from a group, and the expression *except for* modifies the statement by making a reservation. Since the interchangeability of two expressions is uncertain, such instances are excluded from the corpus analysis. In addition, EPs containing an entire clause are irrelevant to consider the exceptive construction an elliptical phenomenon, as shown in (26b). EPs preceded by a *wh*-phrase, as in (26c) are also filtered out, since their meaning does not correspond to a canonical meaning of the exceptive construction. In such cases, the EP with the *wh*-element has a somewhat different meaning, as the following example illustrates:

(27) And yet what can we do, except pretend what we say is accurate? (2010 FIC)

The meaning of (27) is not a regular question, but its meaning is 'what we can (only) do is pretend what we said is accurate.' Thus, the uses of *except* with *wh*-phrase are excluded from this study due to their markedness.

Note that we included EPs that come up as a new sentence, since their meaning is identical to the ones that are placed at the end of the sentence:

(28) Actually, I lost all my friends. [Except you]. (1996 FIC)

After this filtering process, we identified a total of 640 instances for the construction and analyzed them in a quantitative and qualitative way. In analyzing the tokens, we introduce 5 variables: 1) type of EPs, 2) associate category types, 3) complement category types, 4) grammatical function types, and 5) position of EPs. Assigning types of EPs as a variable, we intend to explore how the actual sample data from COCA are distributed in terms of their types: whether they are used as DP-level or clause-level modifiers. For the associate and complement of EP, we try to observe the distributional patterns involved in the construction. In particular, we intend to identify whether the construction resorts on the set-theoretic perspective, and if not, then how we can examine the EPs. For the grammatical roles, we try to see if there is any preference for the grammatical roles of complements. Lastly, we observe the position of EPs to figure out criteria of the placement of EPs and examine the relation between the associates and their complements.

4.2. Data Distribution

4.2.1. Exceptive Types

The following table describes the uses of subtypes of EPs:

Table 1. Distribution of exceptive phrases

connected	free	total
305 (47.7%)	335 (52.3%)	640

As seen from Table 1, the instances of free EPs slightly outnumber those of connected EPs. However, as seen from the absolute frequency (305 vs. 335), it is difficult to consider it to be significantly different.

(29) a. Access to the intersection will be shut down to **all traffic** [except emergency vehicles]. (2019 NEWS)
b. In a department where the department head is elected, **no one** [except faculty] may bring about a change in leadership ... (1991 ACAD)

(30) a. [Except on nights near the Full Moon], you can outmaneuver the Moon simply by picking the proper observing time. (1992 MAG)
b. Octavia is so angry she won't speak [except to insinuate I've deliberately ruined her life ...] (1998 FIC)

In the connected EPs in (29), they are closely related to their associates, as the connected ones require the associates as their licensors. In terms of free EPs, however, they show an unrestricted distributional pattern of the complement following *except*, as observed in (30).

The judgement of the types of EPs are based on criteria from the following table showing various types of quantifiers associated with the exceptive construction:

Table 2. The distribution of exceptive phrase from García-Álvarez (2008)

associates	connected	free
D-quantifier	✓	✓
Definites	*	✓
Bare plurals	*	✓
Indefinite singulars	*	✓
Superlatives	✓	✓

According to Moltmann (1995) and others, only (negative) universal quantifiers such as *all*, *every,* and *no* can license the exceptive constructions. However, as previously described, there are other types of quantifiers that can be involved with the construction. Although there are some differences in terms of the types of quantifiers that can participate in connected and free exceptives, determiner quantifiers (e.g., *most*, *many*, *few of*, etc.) and superlatives can be associated with connected EPs. However, free EPs show a diverse range of quantifiers that are used as their associates, including definite DPs (e.g., *the*, *this*), bare plural NPs, and indefinite singular NPs. Based on this criteria, we sorted out the types and associates accordingly. Different aspects regarding connected and free exceptive constructions will be discussed in the following subsections.

4.2.2. The Associates of EPs

In regards to the associates of EPs, both connected and free EPs have asymmetric distributional patterns. See the following table:

Table 3. Frequencies of associates in connected exceptive phrases

associate type	universal				pronoun	determiner quantifier			total
associate	all	any	every	no	pronoun	few	most	partitive DP	
frequency	70	77	67	76	8	3	2	2	
total	290 (95.4%)				8 (2.62%)	7 (2.29%)			305

As shown in Table 3, there is a strong preference for universal quantifiers as their associates, followed by pronouns and determiner quantifiers. Observe the following sentences:

(31) a. Mom didn't like for **anyone** else to help her do the dishes [except Cello]. (2017 FIC)
b. But he was too agitated, **nothing** was clear to him [except his surroundings]. (1990 FIC)
c. I suppose it's possible he meant **all millionaires** [except Mitt Romney]. (2012 BLOG)
d. **Everyone** in the family knows the combination [except Rosemary Green]. (1995 SPOK)

Considering the distribution of universal quantifiers, *any* is included in the universal type as well, since *any* is used with the negation marker such as *not* as shown in (31a), which makes their meaning identical to the meaning of the negative universal quantifier *no*. Note that the most frequently used associates are *no* and *any*. It can be assumed that the connected EPs are favorably used in a negative context. Overall, it is observed from the table that connected EPs are overtly used with universal quantifiers.

Note that there are some instances of connected EPs that have plural pronouns as their associates, which allow EPs to be present:

(32) a. **We** got out well, [except Dan Kerr]. (2012 BLOG)
b. **They** can't very easily buy books without knowing it, [except the eldest, who downloads free books on her computer]. (2012 BLOG)

As seen in (32), pronouns *we* and *they* are used as connected EPs, and they are used for excluding individual(s) from pronouns in the preceding context. Also, there are determiner quantifiers (e.g., *few*, *most*, partitive DPs) used as the associates of connected EPs:

(33) a. Separate area papers cost then make **few** thing in remaining the registry, [except some features]. (2012 BLOG)

b. Farmers here lived off their famed Appenzeller cheese and a bitter liqueur that **most**, [except fervent admirers], say tastes like cough medicine gone bad. (2009 NEWS)
c. For **most of** us [except coastal residents], we still have plenty of time. (2012 BLOG)

For free EPs, their distribution is not equivalent to the connected ones, as there is a wide range of associates involved in the free exceptives as can be seen from the following table:

Table 4. Frequencies of the associates in free exceptive phrases

associate type	n/a	universal				definite NP		total
associate		no	any	all	every	plural	singular	
frequency	261	16	9	7	2	11	7	
total	261 (77.9%)	34 (10.1%)				18 (5.37%)		
associate type	bare noun		indefinite singular			pronoun	d-quantifier	
associate	plural	singular	a	another	some	plural	most	
frequency	8	2	6	2	1	2	1	
total	10 (2.98%)		9 (2.68%)			2 (0.59%)	1 (0.29%)	335

As observed from Table 4, there are a number of associates that can license free EPs. It is noted that the most frequent instance is the type where free EPs are placed without overt associates. Unlike in connected EPs, the relation between free EPs and the universal quantifier is not as strong as the one in connected EPs. Consider the following sentences:

(34) a. These filters screen out radiation from **all** wavelengths [except in a very narrow range around the desired wavelength]. (1996 ACAD)
b. I had never seen **anything** like it, [except in pictures]. (2014 NEWS)
c. Identical in almost **every** single way, [except on a massively larger scale]. (2019 MAG)

d. Humans have **no** right to reduce the richness and diversity of life forms [except to satisfy vital human needs]. (1991 ACAD)

In (34), universal quantifiers are used in free EPs. However, unlike the connected ones, the complements of free EPs in (34) do not have an identical syntactic category with their associates. For instance, there is an associate phrase *all wavelengths* and an EP which consists of PP in (34a). The restriction is not applied to free EPs as their syntactic category mismatches between the associates and their complements show. In addition to the universal quantifiers, free EPs can have various types of associates as their licensors:

(35) a. President Clinton should close **the government** down for a day, [except the libraries]... (1994 NEWS)
b. You know, I never had much use for **animals**, [except rhino here]. (1995 TV)
c. Andy understood not **a single word** of his sermon [except Jesus, amen and number five]. (2013 FIC)

In (35a), the definite NP *the government* is morphologically singular. However, the exclusion is made since the NP is regarded as a plural collective NP. For the plural NP as in (35b), *rhino* is excluded from a group of animals. Note that the indefinite NP *a single word* is combined with the preceded negation *not*, and the combination generates the identical meaning of *no*.

4.2.3. The Complements of EPs

Considering the distribution of complements, connected EPs have a rather static preference for NP, while free EPs show an unrestricted distribution. Observe the following table of connected EPs:

Table 5. Frequencies of the connected EP-complements

complement	NP	VP		PP	CP	AP	total
		base	-ing				
frequency	260	12	8	15	9	1	
total	260 (85.2%)	20 (6.5%)		15 (4.9%)	9 (2.9%)	1 (0.3%)	305

Connected EPs have a strong link to the associates that function as an overt licensor, considering the distribution of the complements. The phrases have a strong preference for NP as seen in Table 5.

(36) a. Conservatives should decriminalize **everything** [except $_{NP}$ treason and counterfeiting at the Federal level]. (2012 BLOG)
b. **All** of the values are significantly higher than would be expected by change (gray area) [except $_{NP}$ potential services beyond 80% of the land area]. (2012 ACAD)

This shows that connected EPs are linked to the set mentioned in their associates, and the excluded element is strictly bound to the set. However, there are some instances of non-NP complements:

(37) That guy is a complete joke and provides **nothing** of value [except $_{VP}$ show the world how to accept bribe money from Iraq]. (BLOG 2012)

In (37), there is a category mismatch between the associate and its complement. VP in (37) is a base form, which does not correspond to the syntactic category of the associate *nothing*. Postulation of putative source sentence is complicated as the number information does not match to the verb in the antecedent.

For the free EPs, see the following table below:

Table 6. Frequencies of the free EP-complement

complement	PP	CP	NP	AdvP	
frequency	139	94	58	7	
total	139 (41.4%)	94 (28.0%)	58 (17.3%)	7 (2.08%)	total
complement	VP			AP	
	infinitive	base	*ing*		
frequency	27	4	1	5	
total	32 (9.55%)			5 (1.49%)	335

Free EPs are mostly used as a modifier of the entire proposition, which indicates the existence of a weak bond between the associates and their complements by showing a high preference for PP and CP.

(38) a. There is never any excuse for a officer of the law to use brutal force [except $_{PP}$ in defending his life or the life of those in need]. (2012 WEB)
b. It's a great way to avoid congested freeways [except $_{CP}$ that the designers didn't bother to include escalators or lifts at the main downtown]. (2009 MAG)

Such preferences show that free EPs are less restricted by their associates than connected ones, as they are not bound by the associates. In addition, complements of free EPs have a wide variety of syntactic categories, considering the rather restricted distribution of connected EPs.

Note that the NP complement in free EPs are used in unique context as illustrated in the following sentences:

(39) a. I've never paid for food before, [except $_{NP}$ this one time]. (2000 MOV)
b. Then, they were incubated with Pan Wash at 37 Celsius for 15 min [except $_{NP}$ the positive control]. (2012 BLOG)

As shown in (39), free EPs are used in unique context. In (39a), there is no overt associate, but the EP has the temporal information. Uniquely, the complement has a connection to the temporal adjunct *before*, which is similar to the use of negative universal quantifier as its associate. In (39b), NP *the positive control* does not seem to be bound by any phrase in the antecedent, which could be assumed that the exception can be depended on the pragmatic context.

4.2.4. The Grammatical Functions of EPs

The complement that follows the exceptive marker *except* in both connected and free EPs can be assigned with a variety of grammatical functions as shown in the following tables:

Table 7. Frequencies of the grammatical functions for connected EPs

grammatical functions	frequency
direct object	97 (31.8%)
prepositional complement	89 (29.1%)
subject	65 (21.3%)
predicative complement	28 (9.18%)
modifier	19 (6.22%)
predicate	7 (2.29%)
total	305

Table 8. Frequencies of the grammatical functions for free EPs

grammatical functions	frequency
modifier	278 (82.9%)
direct object	18 (5.37%)
prepositional complement	17 (5.07%)
subject	13 (3.88%)
predicative complement	7 (2.08%)
predicate	2 (0.59%)
total	335

The preferences for each type show different tendencies, as connected EPs prefer to be used as direct objects, followed by prepositional complements and subjects, while in free EPs, modifiers were the most frequently used grammatical functions. Such a difference in the assignment of grammatical roles derives from the innate features of both EPs. Note that the modification of the two phrases is different as connected EPs are related to the DP as seen in (40), whereas free EPs in (41) function as a sentential adverbs.

(40) a. Rain pounded down so hard I couldn't see **anything** [except the waterfall tumbling off the back of Papa's sombrero]. (2010 FIC)
b. Just measuring output, without any perspective of inputs and and limitations on the market, can create badincentives and unhappy outcomes for **everyone** [except those being measured]. (2012 BLOG)
c. **All tools** [except the Certainty Framework and WWC Standards] explicitly require an operational definition of dependent variables. (2012 ACAD)

(41) a. I don't remember **an awful lot** about it, [except that the character made Michael Caine a bigger star than he already was]. (2004 NEWS)
b. Her hair hadn't changed [except in color]. (2015 FIC)

As seen above, connected EPs have their grammatical functions in accordance with their associates. In (40a), for instance, the grammatical role of the associate *anything* is direct object, and the role of the complement can be assigned as the direct object as well. For free EPs, however, they are not tied to the associates as the phrases are modifying clause-level expressions.

4.2.5. Position of EPs

In terms of the position of EPs, both subtypes show different positional patterns. The following table shows the general distribution of both connected and free EPs in terms of their position within a sentence.

Table 9. Positional frequencies of the connected and free EPs

	connected	free
final	277 (90.8%)	288 (85.9%)
medial	28 (9.18 %)	23 (6.86%)
initial	0	24 (7.16 %)
total	305	335

Connected EPs appeared most frequently in sentence-final position, followed by sentence-medial position. Consider the sentences of connected EPs:

(42) a. All of a sudden you don't own **anything**, [except the stock]. (1995 MAG)
b. **All** drowned [except a man and two or three women who took refuge on a mud island near Port Albert]. (2012 WEB)

These sentences can be accounted for in two ways. First, as mentioned, the most frequent grammatical role used in the construction is direct object, which is placed next to the predicate or at the right-edge position of a sentence. In addition, it is due to extraposition by the heavy-weightedness of the phrase.

(43) a. Metzler said **all** hunters, [except those hunting waterfowls], are required to wear at least 144 square inches of body harness. (2012 BLOG)
b. **All** tools [except the Certainty Framework and WWC Standards] explicitly require an operational definition of dependent variables. (2012 ACAD)

The EPs in (43) are not placed at the end of the sentence. When compared to the EP in (42b), their syntactic weights are different. Since the phrases are more syntactically concise and shorter than one in (42b), extraposition does not occur.

Free EPs have the same tendency as connected ones do. This is due to the fact that the most frequently used complement of free EPs are mainly CPs:

(44) a. I don't know a thing about my mother. [Except that you blame me for her death.] (1997 MOV)
b. Rib is the clue to high fat; so is ground – [except if specifically labeled 90 percent lean or higher]. (2007 MAG)

Sentences in (44) contain the EPs that are heavy-weighted, and such property makes the EP extraposed to the end of the sentence. However, free EPs can be placed freely within the sentence as well:

(45) The daily inspections, [except on Sundays], were one of the most important things an exec did. (2014 FIC)
(46) [Except the airbags], they were turned off. (2009 TV)

Free EPs can be placed in the sentence-initial and sentence-medial positions as they are not bound by their associates. However, there is a restriction found in their positions. Consider the following examples:

(47) a. [Except on Sundays], the daily inspections were one of the most important things an exec did. [initial]
b. The daily inspections [except on Sundays], were one of the most important things an exec did. [medial]
c. The daily inspections were one of the most important things an exec did, [except on Sundays]. [final]
(48) a. [Except the airbags], they were turned off. [initial]
b. *They [except the airbags], were turned off. [medial]
c. They were turned off, [except the airbags]. [final]

As shown in (47) and (48), there are some infelicitous cases like (48b). The difference between (47) and (48) is the grammaticality of EPs in NP-internal position in (47b) and (48b). As seen from the sentences above, not all free

EPs can be freely placed in a sentence. The position of free EPs are not random and they are semantically linked to their position.

Interestingly, the preference for sentence-final position of both subtypes of EPs has different reasons. Given that connected EPs in sentence-final position were mostly composed of the associates of negative universal quantifiers *no* and *any*. This derives from the fact that no exclusion can be made from an empty set. The associate quantifier *no* indicates that the quantified element is an empty set, so the expectation of a null set is contradicted by the EP, making an assertion that the complement of the EP is excluded from the empty set. In this vein, the EP is comparatively new information than the associate. For this reason, the EPs in sentences of negative universal quantifiers are placed in the end of the sentences. On the contrary, the tendency of free EPs in the final position is mainly due to the lack of associates. As mentioned earlier, in the majority cases of free EPs, they are used without overt associates. Considering the absence of associates in free EPs, this blocks from free EPs to be placed in sentence-medial or NP-internal position. In addition, as the sentential modification adds relatively new information to the sentence, it is considered heavily weighted. These factors above show that the choices of positions are not accidental.

4.3. Discussion

The corpus data of the exceptive construction showed that there is a strong preference of the universal quantifiers for both types of EPs. However, as we have seen from above, there are several instances that further suggest the reconsideration of the quantificational accounts. Observe the following sentence:

(49) I had **never** seen **anything** like it, [except in pictures]. (2014 NEWS)

There is an issue regarding the syntactic category mismatch between the associate and its complement as the construction is not exclusively bound to (negative) universal quantifiers. Given the fact that the most frequently used complement in free EPs is PP, their syntactic category does not correspond

to the syntactic category of their associate. According to the subtraction approach by von Fintel (1993) and others, EPs operate as a subtraction that excludes from a quantified set. As most of the associates are DPs, EPs should be syntactically linked to the associates, thus having matching categories. However, as seen in (49), the complement of EP *in pictures* does not match the category of the associate *anything*.

(50) a. *I had never seen anything like it, [except I had seen in pictures].
b. I had never seen anything like it, except I had seen something like it in pictures.

In (50a), it is ungrammatical as it lacks the direct object of the verb *see*, and this shows that PP *in pictures* is not a member that falls under the set of *nothing*. The putative source for EP would be like in (50b), which resembles the sprouted cases in sluicing.[2)]

In addition, consider the following sentences:

(51) a. Everyone was always laughing [except them]. (2006 FIC)
b. Everyone was always laughing [except them$_1$ [~~t$_1$ were always laughing~~]].
(52) a. Nobody will ever really understand what I went through, [except her]. (2016 MOV)
b. Nobody will ever really understand what I went through, except her$_1$ [~~t$_1$ wil understand what I went through~~]].

In (51) and (52), case mismatches are found in EPs. The complements of EPs are in the case of accusative *them* and *her*, although their associates are placed in the subject position, which requires the nominative case.

---

2) According to Chung et al. (1995), there are two types of sluicing: merger type and sprouting type.

(1) a. Joan ate dinner but I don't know with whom.
b. Joan ate dinner with someone but I don't know who (with).

The sprouting refers to the type that the remnant has no overt correlate in the antecedent as in (1a), whereas the merger refers to the remnant that has a correlate in the antecedent as in (1b).

In terms of connectivity effects, observe the following sentences:

(53) a. I can't speak for any other biographer except myself. (1999 SPOK)
b. I can't speak for any other biographer [except I_i can speak for $myself_i$].
(54) a. I don't feel like digging any holes tonight, except my own. (2004 MOV)
b. I don't feel like digging any holes tonight, [except I feel like digging my own holes].

Connectivity effects can be found in (53) when the complement is a reflexive pronoun. The postulation of the putative source predicts the licensing of such cases of reflexives as the complement, which could be considered EP having clausal source sentences due to the binding properties. In (54), the complement of EP *except my own* has the corresponding NP from a sentential source (54b).

Postulating putative source of EP in embedded context should be also considered, since the boundary of the linguistic antecedent can be different. Observe the following examples:

(55) There is nothing you can do for me [except play on your lute]. (1999 FIC)
(56) a. There is $nothing_F$ you can do_F for me [except play on your $lute_1$ [~~there is something you can t_1~~]].
b. There is nothing you can do_F [except play on your $lute_1$ [~~you can t_1~~]].

The source sentence can be varied depending on the focus value of the antecedent. In (56a), *something* is within the elided site, whereas in (56b), it is unclear whether the propositional value is reversed or maintained due to the missing element after *play* as it copies the antecedent that contains the gap.

5. A Discourse-based Analysis

We have seen that the attested corpus data challenge set-theoretic and move-and-delete analyses. In particular, we have observed that there can be a variety of syntactic categories that can come up as a complement of EPs, as seen from Tables 5 and 6 (see Huddleston & Pullum 2002 for the various uses of *except*). In addition, in terms of syntax, EP is simply a combination of a preposition *except* and an XP; however, the meaning of the XP goes beyond the compositional meaning, projecting a sentential reading. Thus, we assume that English employs the so-called exceptive construction as an independent construction, as specified in (71). In this sense, we suggest a discourse-based analysis. We assume that there is the parallelism condition for the construction that is for discourse structure. According to Hardt & Romero (2004), Griffths & Lipták (2014) and others, ellipsis requires a focus assignment to an expression and the meaning resolution needs parallelism between the clause containing the ellipsis and its antecedent:

(57) Parallelism condition (Hardt & Romero, 2004):
Ellipsis requires that there be some phrase E containing the ellipsis and some antecedent phrase A in the discourse, such that ⟦ A ⟧ is or contextually implies a member of F(E).

Given this condition, we assume that the same parallelism is applied to the exceptive construction as well. Based on the parallelism, contrastive focus relation (*contrastive-rel*) between the associate-containing clause *i* and the XP *j* can be evoked by the exceptive marker *except*, as given in the following structure:

(58) $$exceptive-cxt \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{FOC} & nelist \\ \text{CNXT} \mid \text{PRESUP} & \begin{bmatrix} parallel-rel(C_i, E_j) \\ contrastive-rel(i, j) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

The observed generalization is that the EP has at least one focus assigned

expression, and the meaning E has a parallel-relation with the context C, as reflected in (58) (Griffths & Lipták, 2014; Kim & Runner, 2022). For illustration, consider the canonical connected exceptive sentence in (59):

(59) [$_F$ Every student] likes Mary, [except [$_F$ John]].

Given the parallelism between the associate in the preceding context and the EP, the focus values are assigned to the preceding situation and NP *John*. Based on the parallelism condition, the meaning of the sentence can be derived from the subtraction of the proposition of EP-complement from the alternative propositional set as given in the following:

(60) a. A set of propositions
{P¦λ_xP=x likes Mary}
b. Meaning of the EP-complement
{John likes Mary}
c. Meaning of the sentence
{P¦$\forall_x$P=x likes Mary} – {John likes Mary}

There is a propositional set of x, which contains {Sally likes Mary}, {Bill likes Mary}, {John likes Mary}, and so forth. Among the alternative propositions, the meaning of the complement John corresponds to the meaning {John likes Mary}. The full sentential meaning would be derived from subtracting the meaning of the complement from the alternative set as represented in (60c). Such correlation allows a propositional meaning of EP to be eliminated from the alternative propositional set of x who likes Mary. The following representation illustrates the meaning of EP *except John:*

(61)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{FORM} & \langle \text{except John} \rangle \\ \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} \mid \text{POS} & prep \\ \text{VAL} \mid \text{COMPS} & <\boxed{1}\text{NP}> \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CNXT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRESUP} & [contrastive - rel(i,j)] \\ \text{FEC} & \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} \mid \text{CAT} & \boxed{1}\text{NP} \\ \text{SEM} \mid \text{IND} & j \end{bmatrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

As illustrated in (61), the exceptive marker introduces the contrastive relation between the context and the EP, and such relation is based on the parallel relation assigned between the two focal expressions.

The analysis applies for the complement having syntactic category other than NP. As for the category mismatching case between the associate phrase and its complement VP, it can have a sentential resolution due to the parallelism. Observe the following sentences:

(62) It would serve [$_F$ no purpose] [except [$_F$ to upset Blake's life]].

Note that there is a parallel relation between the associate and its non-NP complement, since the focal expressions are present in preceding situational context and the EP. Considering the parallel condition, the set of alternative propositions is given by the focus value within the EP, and the exclusion of the proposition of EP can be made as the following representations show:

(63) a. A set of propositions
{P¦λ_xP=it does not serve any purpose for x}
b. Meaning of the EP-complement
{It does not serve any purpose to upset Blake's life}
c. Meaning of the sentence
{P¦$\forall_x$P=it does not serve any purpose for x} – {it does not serve any purpose to upset Blake's life}

From the alternative set containing {It does not serve any purpose to make Blake happy}, {It does not serve any purpose to encourage Blake's life}, and so forth, the meaning {It does not serve any purpose to upset Blake's life} is excluded from the set of alternative propositions. The extraction is allowed by the exceptive marker *except*, which evokes the contrastive relation between the context and the complement VP.

(64)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \textsc{form} & \langle \text{except to upset Blake's life} \rangle \\ \textsc{syn} & \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{head}\,|\,\textsc{pos} & prep \\ \textsc{val}\,|\,\textsc{comps} & \langle \boxed{1}\text{VP} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \textsc{cnxt} & \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{presup} & \left[contrastive - rel(i,j) \right] \\ \textsc{fec} & \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{syn}\,|\,\textsc{cat} & \boxed{1}\text{VP}[bse] \\ \textsc{sem}\,|\,\textsc{ind} & j \end{bmatrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

We have observed the exceptive sentence with overt associates. Consider the following sentence without an overt associate:

(65) I loathe Kafka, [except [$_F$ in the form of his shortest parables]]. (2009 ACAD)

In the free exceptive sentence (65), there is no overt associate which normally forms a parallel relation with the complement in EP. In such a case, however, we can assume that there is a covert focus value assigned to the context, establishing the parallelism condition within the sentence. It can be indicated that the context is looking for any additional context that could be paired with the focus assigned in the EP. As a result, we can have the following propositional set and the meaning of complement:

(66) a. A set of propositions
{P¦λ_xP=I loathe Kafka x}
b. Meaning of the EP-complement
{I loathe Kafka, exceptin the form of his shortest parables}

c. Meaning of the sentence
{P¦ $\forall_x$P=I loathe Kafka x} – {I loathe Kafka, exceptin the form of his shortest parables}

Among the alternative set of propositions in (66a), the meaning of the complement can be excluded from the set, which makes up for the whole sentence in (65). Assigning a covert focus value in the context is possible due to the focus value assigned in the EP. Given the parallelism between the context and the EP in (58), the covert focus value can be present regardless of the existence of the overt associate. From the exceptive marker, the contrastive relation is assigned to the sentence as well. This is represented in the following feature structure:

(67)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{FORM} & \langle \text{except in the form of his shortest parables} \rangle \\ \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} \mid \text{POS} & prep \\ \text{VAL} \mid \text{COMPS} & \langle \boxed{1}\text{PP} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CNXT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRESUP} & \left[contrastive - rel(i,j) \right] \\ \text{FEC} & \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} \mid \text{CAT} & \boxed{1}\text{PP} \\ \text{SEM} \mid \text{IND} & j \end{bmatrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

It can account for the free exceptive sentence having CP as its complement as well:

(68) I can't really describe it, [except [$_F$ that it's a different feeling]]. (2007 SPOK)

In (68), it does not have a overt focus value in the context. However, given that the parallel relation is built in the sentence, the focus value is implicitly assigned, evoking a contrastive relation between the preceding context and the complement by the exceptive marker *except*. In this sense, the following meaning representation can be given as follows:

(69) a. A set of propositions
{P¦λ_xP=I can't describe it x}
b. Meaning of the EP-complement
{I can't describe it that it is a different feeling}
c. Meaning of the sentence
{P¦$\forall_x$P=I can't describe it x} – {I can't describe it that it is a different feeling}

According to the representation above, the meaning of the complement (69b) is excluded from the alternative set (69a), as described in (69c). Again, the implicit assignment of the focus value in the context is allowed by the parallelism condition. Given the condition, the contrastive relation can be evoked by the exceptive marker, licensing the propositional exclusion from the alternative set. Such is represented in the following feature structure:

(70)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \textsc{form} & \langle \text{except that it's a different feeling} \rangle \\ \textsc{syn} & \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{head} \mid \textsc{pos} & prep \\ \textsc{val} \mid \textsc{comps} & \langle \boxed{1}\text{CP} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \textsc{cnxt} & \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{presup} & [contrastive - rel(i,j)] \\ \textsc{fec} & \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{syn} \mid \textsc{cat} & \boxed{1}\text{CP[that]} \\ \textsc{sem} \mid \textsc{ind} & j \end{bmatrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

For any XP following *except*, we have seen that the exceptive construction anchors on the discourse structure, rather than syntactic or semantic derivation.

When a complement XP combines with the exceptive marker, the meaning is excluded from a set of alternative propositions, generated from the focus assignment. Based on the observation above, we suggest the following generalization:

(71) Exceptive Construction (*exceptive-cxt*):

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} exceptive-cxt \\ \text{CNXT} \quad \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{PRESUP} & contrast-rel(i,j) \\ \text{FEC} & \left\{\left[\text{IND} \quad i\right], \left[\text{IND} \quad j\right]\right\} \end{array}\right] \end{array}\right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{FORM} & < except > \\ \text{SYN} \mid \text{VAL} \mid \text{COMPS} & <\boxed{1}\text{XP}> \end{array}\right], \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{SYN} & \boxed{1}\text{XP[FOC+]} \\ \text{IND} & j \end{array}\right]$$

This construction rule licenses the combination of a preposition *except* and an XP. The classification of the exceptive types is canceled as such types are not necessary, since the set of alternative propositions are already set up for both connected and free EPs, suggesting a nontypal uniform analysis. The expression *except* is a preposition, which evokes the contrastive environment between the clause containing the overt or covert associate and the complement. The exclusion is made from the alternative propositional set generated by the focus value assigned to the XP and its associate. A merit for the discourse-based analysis is that this model suggests a unified resolution process for both connected and free EPs. As the resolution relies on the propositions from the relevant context, the issue of non-NP complement can be resolved. Also, the requirement of the universal associate can be canceled due to the covert assignment of the focus value in the context. As this analysis provides a set of possible propositions from the salient context, this builds a model of the possible propositions and the extraction becomes available from the set. Thus, it can be generalized that this construction is not restricted to the quantificational status of the constructions. Further, as seen from the previous sections, we observed that the distribution of the complements of both EPs are similar in terms of having the various syntactic categories of their complement. As both types have a wide range of distribution, we can assume that the binary types can be resolved into unified discourse-based analysis.

6. Conclusion

English exceptive constructions were less observed from a syntactic and discourse-centered perspective. In this study, we first reviewed some syntactic and semantic features of the constructions discussed in the previous literature. We also observed how the constructions were analyzed, which relied heavily on set-theoretic and move-and-delete approaches. We then analyzed the corpus data from COCA to see the authentic properties of the constructions, and we saw that there are some issues regarding mismatching cases between the associate and the complement, syntactic case mismatches, and the postulation of putative sentences in the embedded context. As these issues seen from the authentic uses challenge the previous approaches to the constructions, we offered the nonderivational discourse-centered analysis, which provides discourse information along with syntactic and semantic information, resolving the unexplained issues from the previous approaches and offering a plausible explanation for the grammatical properties in accordance with the real-life uses.

References

Chung, Sandra, William Ladusaw and James McCloskey. 1995. "Sluicing and logical form," *Natural Language Semantics* 3(3), 239–282.

Davis, Mark. 2008. The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), Available online at https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/.

von Fintel, Kai. 1993. "Exceptive constructions," *Natural Language Semantics* 1, 123–148.

García-Álvarez, Iván. 2008. *Generality and exception: A study in the semantics of exceptions,* Stanford, California: Stanford University, Ph.D. dissertation.

Griffths, James and Anikó Lipták. 2014. "Contrast and island sensitivity in clausal ellipsis," *Syntax* 17(3), 189–234.

Hardt, Daniel and Maribel Romero. 2004. "Ellipsis and the structure of discourse," *Journal of Semantics* 21(4), 375–414.

Hoeksema, Jacob. 1987. "The logic of exception," In *Proceedings of the 4th Eastern States Conference on Linguistics*, 100–113.

Hoeksema, Jacob. 1995. "The semantics of exception phrases," *Quantifiers, Logic and Language,* 145–177.
Huddleston, Rodney and Geoffrey Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language,* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Keenan, Edward and Jonathan Stavi. 1986. "A semantic characterization of natural language determiners," *Linguistics and Philosophy* 9, 253–326.
Kim, Jong-Bok and Jefferey T. Runner. 2022. "Pseudogapping in English: A direct interpretation approach," *The Linguistic Review* 39(3), 475–494.
Li, Chiu-Ming and Ching-Hua Hsi. 1981. "'Except' or 'Except for'?," *ELT Journal* 35(3), 260–263.
Moltmann, Freiderike. 1995. "Exception sentences and polyadic quantification," *Linguistics and Philosophy* 18(3), 223–280.
Pérez-Jiménez, Isabel and Norberto Moreno-Quibén. 2010. "On the syntax of exception: Evidence from Spainish," *Lingua* 122(3). 582–607.
Potsdam, Eric. 2018. "Exceptives and ellipsis," In Sherry Hucklebridge & Max Nelson (eds.), *Proceedings of the 48th meeting of the North East Linguistic Society*, Amherst, Mass.: GLSA, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.
Potsdam, Eric and Maria Polinsky. 2019. "Clausal and phrasal exceptives," In *Conference presentation at the Generative Linguistics in the Old World* 42, University of Oslo, Norway.
Vostrikova, Ekaterina. 2019. "Compositional analysis for clausal exceptives," In Katherine Blake, Forrest Davis, Kaelyn Lamp & Joseph Rhyne (eds.), *Proceedings of the 29th Semantics and Linguistic Theory Conference*, 420–440.
Vostrikova, Ekaterina. 2021. "Conditional analysis of clausal exceptives," *Natrual Language Semantics* 29, 159–227.

Geonhee Lee, M.A. Graduate
Department of English Language and Literature, Kyung Hee University
26 Kyungheedae-ro, Dongdaemun-gu, Seoul 02447, Korea
E-mail: geonhee.lee@khu.ac.kr

Jong-Bok Kim, Professor
Department of English Language and Literature, Kyung Hee University
26 Kyungheedae-ro, Dongdaemun-gu, Seoul 02447, Korea
E-mail: jongbok@khu.ac.kr

Received: May 20, 2023
Revised: June 27, 2023
Accepted: June 27, 2023