Alternatives of exceptives

Tue Trinh

Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

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exceptives: basic facts

(1) all students except John and Mary came to the meeting

(2) Inferences

a. John and Mary are students — *containment*
b. John and Mary did not come to the meeting — *negation*
c. all other students came to the meeting — *otherness*

(3) Distribution

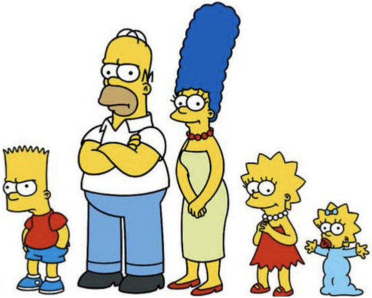
a. all students except John and Mary came to the meeting
b. #some students except John and Mary came to the meeting

agenda

- there are two schools of thought on exceptives
  - the **Fintelians** take exceptives to be NP modifiers
    von Fintel (1993); Gajewski (2008); Hirsch (2016); Crnič (2018)
  - the **Anti-Fintelians** take them to be something else
    Moltmann (1995); Vostrikova (2021)
- goal of this talk
  - present a novel observation
  - discuss the problem it poses for two Anti-Fintelians
  - propose a Fintelian analysis

what's the observation?

Simpsons



(4) a. all members of the Simpson family except Homer want to go to the concert

b. #all five members of the Simpson family except Homer want to go to the concert

Argentinians

(5) a. all eleven Argentinian players got a yellow card

b. #all eleven Argentinian players except Messi and Otamendi got a yellow card

Beatles

(6) a. all members of the Beatles except John Lennon were interviewed by the press

b. #all four members of the Beatles except John Lennon were interviewed by the press

the generalization

cardinal determiners do not tolerate exceptives

one more example

(7) a. both parents of the child came to the meeting
b. #both parents of the child except his father came to the meeting

quick solution

- Cardinal determiners imposes a condition on the size of their restrictor

(8) a. $[\![\text{all eleven}]\!] = \lambda P : |P| = 11.\ \lambda Q.\ \forall x : Px \rightarrow Qx$
b. $[\![\text{both}]\!] = \lambda P : |P| = 2.\ \lambda Q.\ \forall x : Px \rightarrow Qx$

- exceptives are NP modifiers and have subtractive semantics (von Fintel, 1993; Gajewski, 2008; Hirsch, 2016; Crnič, 2018)

(9) $[\![\text{A except B}]\!] = [\![\text{A}]\!] \setminus [\![\text{B}]\!]$

- exceptives give rise to presupposition failure

(10) a. #all eleven [$_P$ Argentinian players except Messi and Otamendi] [$_Q$ got a yellow card] $|P| \neq 11$
b. #both [$_P$ parents of the child except his father] [$_Q$ came to the meeting] $|P| \neq 2$

not so quick...

- the deviance persists under appropriate change of the numeral

(11) a. #all nine [$_P$ Argentinian players except Messi and Otamendi] got a yellow card $|P| = 9$

b. #both [$_P$ members of the Beaux Arts trio except Menahem Pressler] came to the meeting $|P| = 2$

c. #all three [$_P$ members of the Beatles except Lennon] were interviewed $|P| = 3$

hunch

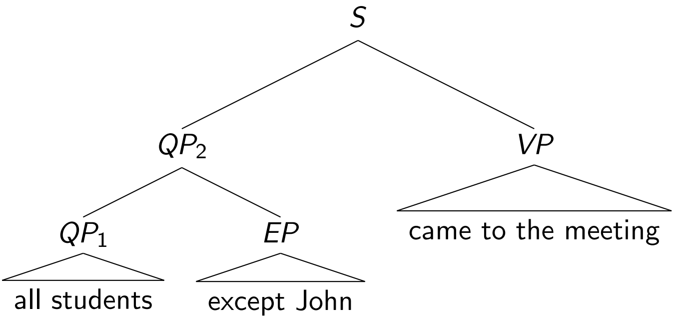
(12) [$D_{\#}$ NP except X] ...

a. requires that both **NP** and **NP except X** satisfy the presupposition of $D_{\#}$

b. $|\text{NP}| \neq |\text{NP except X}|$

Moltmann (1995)

(13)



(14) Deriving the denotation of QP_2

a. take the set of predicates denoted by QP_1

b. remove John from <u>each</u> of those predicates

inferences

Scenario: $\underbrace{a, b, c}_{\text{students}}, \underbrace{d, e}_{\text{non-students}}$

(15) $[_S\ [_{QP_2}\ [_{QP_1}$ all students] [except b]] $[_{VP}$ came]]

a. $[\![QP_1]\!] = \{\{a, b, c\}, \{a, b, c, d\}, \{a, b, c, e\}, \{a, b, c, d, e\}\}$

b. $[\![QP_2]\!] = \{\{a, \not{b}, c\}, \{a, \not{b}, c, d\}, \{a, \not{b}, c, e\}, \{a, \not{b}, c, d, e\}\}$

c. $[\![S]\!] = 1$ iff $[\![VP]\!] \in [\![QP_2]\!]$

$\rightarrow$ *negation & otherness*

(16)#$[_S\ [_{QP_2}\ [_{QP_1}$ all students] [except d]] $[_{VP}$ came]]

a. $[\![QP_1]\!] = \{\{a, b, c\}, \{a, b, c, d\}, \{a, b, c, e\}, \{a, b, c, d, e\}\}$

b. $[\![QP_2]\!] = \#$

problem: d cannot be removed from each predicate in $[\![QP_1]\!]$

$\rightarrow$ *containment*

distribution

Scenario: $\underbrace{a, d, c}_{\text{students}}, \underbrace{b, e}_{\text{non-students}}$

(17)#[$_S$ [$_{QP_2}$ [$_{QP_1}$ some students] [except b]] [$_{VP}$ came]]

a. $[\![QP_1]\!] = \{\{a, d, e\}, \{b, d, e\}, \{c, d, e\}, \{a, b, d, e\}, ...\}$

b. $[\![QP_2]\!] = \#$

problem: b cannot be removed from each predicate in $[\![QP_1]\!]$

$\rightarrow$ **some** does not tolerate exceptives

problem with cardinality

Scenario: $\underbrace{a, b, c}_{\text{students}}, \underbrace{d, e}_{\text{non-students}}$

(18) $[_S\ [_{QP_2}\ [_{QP_1}$ all three students] [except b]] [$_{\text{VP}}$ came]]

a. $[\![\text{all three}]\!] = \lambda P : |P| = 3.\ \lambda Q.\ \forall x.\ Px \rightarrow Qx$

b. $[\![QP_1]\!] = \{\{a, b, c\}, \{a, b, c, d\}, \{a, b, c, e\}, \{a, b, c, d, e\}\}$

c. $[\![QP_2]\!] = \{\{a, \not{b}, c\}, \{a, \not{b}, c, d\}, \{a, \not{b}, c, e\}, \{a, \not{b}, c, d, e\}\}$

d. $[\![S]\!] = 1$ iff $[\![VP]\!] \in [\![QP_2]\!]$

$\rightarrow$ the sentence is predicted to be fine if there are three students

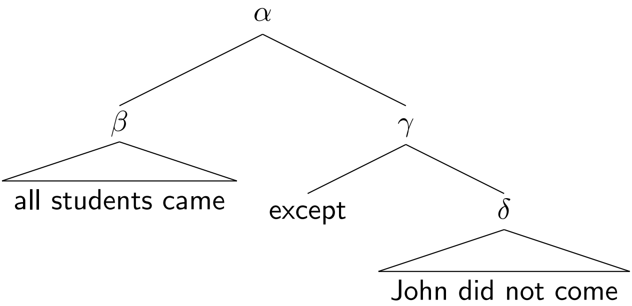
main idea

- Vostrikova (2021) takes the exceptive phrase to be an eliptical clause

(19) all students except John came

a. PF = all students except John ~~did not come~~ came

b. LF =



inferences

(20) $[_\alpha\ [_\beta$ all students came$]\ [_\gamma$ except $[_\delta$ John did not come$]]]$

(21) $[\![\alpha]\!]^{w_0} = 1$ iff

a. $[\![\delta]\!]^{w_0} = 1$
'John did not come'
$\rightarrow$ *negation*

b. $\forall w.\ [\![\delta]\!]^{w} = 1 \rightarrow [\![\text{all}]\!]^{w}([\![\text{students}]\!]^{w_0})([\![\text{came}]\!]^{w}) = 0$
'John did not come $\Rightarrow$ an actual student did not come'
$\rightarrow$ *containment*

c. $\forall w.\ \big([\![\delta]\!]^{w} = 0 \wedge [\![\text{came}]\!]^{w} \backslash \{j\} = [\![\text{came}]\!]^{w_0} \backslash \{j\}\big) \rightarrow [\![\text{all}]\!]^{w}([\![\text{students}]\!]^{w_0})([\![\text{came}]\!]^{w}) = 1$
'If John had come, all students would have come'
$\rightarrow$ *otherness*

distribution

(22) $[_\alpha\ [_\beta$ some student t_γ came$]\ [_\gamma$ except $[_\delta$ John did not come$]]$

(23) $[\![\alpha]\!]^{w_0} = 1$ iff

a. $[\![\delta]\!]^{w_0} = 1$
'John did not come'

b. $\forall w.\ [\![\delta]\!]^w = 1 \rightarrow [\![\text{some}]\!]^w([\![\text{students}]\!]^{w_0})([\![\text{came}]\!]^w) = 0$
'John did not come ⇒ no actual student came'

c. $\forall w.\ \big([\![\delta]\!]^w = 0 \wedge [\![\text{came}]\!]^w \backslash \{\text{j}\} = [\![\text{came}]\!]^{w_0} \backslash \{\text{j}\}\big)$
$\rightarrow [\![\text{some}]\!]^w([\![\text{students}]\!]^{w_0})([\![\text{came}]\!]^w) = 1$
'If John had come, an actual student would have come'

(23b) and (23c) require John to be the only student, which means (22a) is a violation of Maximize Presupposition

problem with cardinality

(24)#$[_\alpha$ $[_\beta$ all seven students came] $[_\gamma$ except $[_\delta$ John did not come]]

(25) $[\![\alpha]\!]^{w_0} = 1$ iff

a. $[\![\delta]\!]^{w_0} = 1$
'John did not come'

b. $\forall w.\ [\![\delta]\!]^{w} = 1 \rightarrow [\![\text{all seven}]\!]^{w}([\![\text{students}]\!]^{w_0})([\![\text{came}]\!]^{w}) = 0$
'John did not come ⇒ one of the actual seven students did not'

c. $\forall w.\ \big([\![\delta]\!]^{w} = 0 \wedge [\![\text{came}]\!]^{w}\backslash\{\text{j}\} = [\![\text{came}]\!]^{w_0}\backslash\{\text{j}\}\big)$
$\rightarrow [\![\text{all seven}]\!]^{w}([\![\text{students}]\!]^{w_0})([\![\text{came}]\!]^{w}) = 1$
'If John had come, all seven students would have come'

→ the sentence is predicted to be fine if there are seven students

substraction & exhaustification

- exceptives are subtractive NP modifiers and associates with EXH

(26) a. $[_{\text{NP}}$ students [except John and Mary]] $=$ students$\setminus\{j, m\}$
b. EXH [all students [except John and Mary]$_{\text{F}}$ came]

- EXH assigns 1 to the prejacent and 0 to every alternative which is defined and not entailed by the prejacent

(27) $[\![\text{EXH S}]\!] = 1$ iff
a. $[\![\text{S}]\!] = 1$
b. $\forall \text{S}' \in \text{ALT(S)} : [\![\text{S}]\!] \not\subseteq [\![\text{S}']\!] \wedge [\![\text{S}']\!]$ is defined $\rightarrow [\![\text{S}']\!] = 0$

- EXH comes with non-idleness requirement

(28)#[EXH S] if [EXH S] $\Leftrightarrow$ S

cf. von Fintel (1993); Gajewski (2008); Hirsch (2016); Crnič (2018)

punch line

exceptives introduce **subdomain** alternatives

subdomain alternatives

(29) all students [except John and Mary] came

a. all students$\backslash\{j, m\}$ came ✓
b. all students$\backslash\{j\}$ came ✓
c. all students$\backslash\{m\}$
d. all students$\backslash\{\ \}$ came ✓
e. all students$\backslash\{j, b\}$ came ✗
f. all students$\backslash\{b, m\}$ came ✗
g. all students$\backslash\{b\}$ ✗

deriving the inferences of exceptives

(30) S EXH [$_A$ all students except John and Mary came]
A all students$\backslash\{j, m\}$ came
B all students$\backslash\{j\}$ came
C all students$\backslash\{m\}$ came
D all students$\backslash\{\ \}$ came

(31) a. A $\not\subseteq$ B, C, D
b. S = 1 iff A = 1 and B, C, D = 0

(32) a. John is not a student $\vee$ John came $\Rightarrow$ A = C
b. Mary is not a student $\vee$ Mary came $\Rightarrow$ A = B

$\rightarrow$ both John and Mary are students (*containment*), neither came (*negation*), and all other students came (*otherness*)

deriving the distribution of exceptives

(33) S EXH [$_A$ some student except John and Mary came]
A some students$\backslash\{j, m\}$ came
B some students$\backslash\{j\}$ came
C some students$\backslash\{m\}$ came
D some students$\backslash\{\ \}$ came

(34) a. A $\subseteq$ B, C, D
b. S = 1 iff A = 1
$\rightsquigarrow$ EXH is idle!

solving the cardinality problem

(35) S EXH [$_A$ [all seven [students except John and Mary]] came]
A all seven students$\backslash\{j, m\}$ came
B all seven students$\backslash\{j\}$ came
C all seven students$\backslash\{m\}$ came
D all seven students$\backslash\{\ \}$ came

(36) a. if there are nine students, then none of B, C, D is defined and EXH is idle
b. if there are not nine students, then A is not defined, which means S is not defined

importance of condition on alternatives

suppose exceptives have standard Katzirian alternatives...

(37) S EXH [[all seven [students except John and Mary]] came]
A all seven students$\setminus\{j, m\}$ came
B all seven students$\setminus\{j, b\}$ came
C all seven students$\setminus\{b, m\}$ came
D all seven students$\setminus\{m, b\}$ came
E all seven students$\setminus\{j\}$ came
F all seven students$\setminus\{m\}$ came
G all seven students$\setminus\{b\}$ came
H all seven students$\setminus\{\ \}$ came

(38) If there are nine students

a. A, B, C, D are defined and E, F, G, H are not
b. S $=$ 1 iff A $=$ 1 and B, C, D $=$ 0

precision

- Moltmann (1995) observes that the larger the number, the more tolerant a cardinal determiner is of exceptives

(39) a. #all four students except John came
b. all four hundred students except John came

- however, the relevant factor seems to be how precise, not how large

(40) a. all four hundred students except John came
b. #all four hundered and one students except John came

cf. Krifka (2002, 2007)

relative sizes of NP and EP

- it seems the smaller NP/EP is, the less acceptable EP is

(41) a. all members of congress except the most radical leftists voted for the bill

b. #all members of congress except the democrats voted for the bill

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