Syntax of Exceptive Constructions in English and Central Kurdish: A Comparative Analysis

Abstract

In this paper, I examine and compare exceptive constructions in English and Central Kurdish: two languages with distinct linguistic properties. This involves discussion of the characteristics, distribution and syntactic analysis of the linguistic elements used to express exceptive meaning, such as *except, except for* and *but* in English, as well as *tanhā/tanyā* 'only, except' and *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from' in Kurdish. It is shown that English and Kurdish share common exceptive features in that both can suggest clausal and phrasal structures. Syntactically, following Al-Bataineh's (2021) hypothesis these elements are qualified to house a projection of their own, called Exceptive Phrase. Therefore, I reject the assumptions made by García Álvarez (2008) and Potsdam and Polinsky (2019) that exceptive markers in, for example English, are coordinating conjunctions.

1. Introduction

This paper provides a comparative analysis of exceptive constructions in English and Central Kurdish: two languages with diverse typological characteristics such as word order. Exceptive Constructions (ECs) refer to constructions where an item is excluded from a set of items given in the main clause. The semantics of ECs has been investigated in the literature extensively (see e.g., Hoeksema 1987, 1995, von Fintel 1993, Reinhart 1991, Moltmann 1995, von Fintel & Iatridou 2007, García Álvarez 2008, Hirsch 2016, Crinč 2016, Xiang 2017). Syntactically, however, the analysis of ECs across different languages has gained less attention, a few to mention are (Piot 2005, Moutaouakil 2009, O'Neill 2011, Pérez-Jimenéz & Mareno-Quibén 2012, Soltan 2016, Authier 2020 and Al-Bataineh 2021). The topic of exceptives has never been addressed in Central Kurdish (CK) and nothing is known about their characteristics or syntax. This paper is thus aimed to investigate ECs in CK and account for their syntactic behavior in comparison to English. In English, exceptives are expressed by

means of *except, except for* and *but*, such as *every student but John attended the meeting*, and *except for John, every student attended the meeting* (von Fintel 1993: 123). In CK (CK and Kurdish are used interchangeably in this paper), there are two ways to express exceptive meanings:[1]

(1) a. *kas*   *na-hāt*   **tanhā**   *min*   *na-bet*[2]
     person   NEG-come.PST.3SG   except   I   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
     'No one came, except me.'

   b. *hamū wāna-k-ān-mān*   *tawāw-kird*   **jiga** **la** *byrkārīawa*
     all   subject-DEF-PL-1PL.POSS   complete-do.PST.3PL other than math
     'We completed all the subjects other than math.'

In (1a), the exceptive meaning is conveyed through the use of *tanhā* 'except' and the pronoun *min* 'I' is the excepted element subtracted from the main clause expressed by the antecedent *kas* 'person'. In (1b), *jiga la* 'except, other than, apart from' is the linguistic element that signals exceptive, and *byrkārīawa* 'math' is the item excepted from the set of subjects *wānakān* 'subjects' given in the main clause. The part preceding the exceptive marker will be referred to as the main clause which includes the antecedent and the part that includes the exceptive marker will be referred to as the exceptive construction. Such constructions have not been analyzed in the literature of Central Kurdish leaving a huge gap as to which category do *tanhā* and *jiga la* belong to, under which sentential condition could they occur and what type of XPs could they accept. In addition, the questions of whether the construction following these elements involve an exceptive phrase or a clause and what is the syntactic structure of the ECs in CK are not offered in any previous study. This paper attempts to answer these questions and present a formal syntactic analysis in comparison to English parallel constructions. The Kurdish data examined present more insights about exceptive constructions and hence contribute to the crosslinguistic study of exceptives. More specifically, the paper supports the hypothesis of Al-Bataineh (2021) who, in his account of Arabic exceptives, postulates the existence of a specific projection housed by exceptive markers and represented as Exceptive Phrase (ExP). It is hypothesized that in English and CK, exceptive markers can function as functional heads instantiating the ExP. Thus, I do not categorize exceptive markers in English as coordinating conjunctions opposite to García Álvarez (2008) and Potsdam and Polinsky (2019). Furthermore, the external structure suggested by the exceptive markers differs according to the type of EC they are involved in; for example, in connected exceptives the ExP merges internally within the DP antecedent, and in free exceptives it merges as an adjunct or forms part of a CP complement. Moreover, it will be shown that ECs in English and Kurdish are similar in various exceptive aspects, such as including examples of connected and free exceptive constructions.

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[1] The examples in this paper are either cited from materials collected from grammar references or on the internet or constructed and verified by CK native speakers. The author is a Kurdish native speaker as well.

[2] The following abbreviations are used: COMP = comparative, DEF = definite article, EZ = ezafe marker, IND = indicative marker, INDF = indefinite article, NEG = negation element, PST = past, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PRS = present, SUB = subjunctive marker, 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, SG = singular. Affixes and clitics are separated from the stems with dashes (-) and multiple categories represented by one morpheme are separated with periods (.).

The paper is structured as follows: section 2 presents an overview of exceptive markers and ECs in English. In section 3 the characteristics and distribution of the exceptive markers *tanhā/tanyā* and *jiga la/bejga la* will be examined and compared. Section 4 determines the type of EC operated by *tanhā-* and *jiga la*-XPs. The syntactic structure of ECs in English and CK will be the focus of section 5. Section 6 offers a comparison and conclusion.

2. Exceptives in English

Exceptives in English are expressed by constructions that include mainly the exceptive markers *except, except for, but, other than* and *apart from*. Representative examples are given below, cited from von Fintel (1993: 123):

(2) a. Every student but John attended the meeting.
     b. Except for John, every student attended the meeting.
     c. No student but John attended the meeting.

(2a) can also be expressed as *every student except John attended the meeting* or *every student attended the meeting except John*. Similarly, in (2c) *but* can be replaced by *except* giving *no student except John attended the meeting*. The semantics of exceptives in English has been fairly investigated in work by von Fintel (1993, 1994). For example, the truth-conditional entailments suggested by him for the aforementioned examples are as follows:

(3) a. John is a student.
     b. Every student who is not John attended the meeting.
     c. Only John did not attend the meeting in (2a and b).
     d. Only John attended the meeting in (2c).

(3a) is referred to as the containment entailment, (3b) as the domain subtraction, (3c) as the negative entailment, and (3d) as the positive entailment. Studies have shown that the occurrence of exceptive markers in English and other languages is constrained by the elements they accompany and that they occur with universal quantifier phrases (such as *every, everyone, everything, all, no* and *none*) or existential quantifiers (e.g., *any*) to the exclusion of *most, many, some, few* and *three* (see Hoeksema 1987, 1995, Horn 1989, von Fintel 1993, 1994, Gajewski 2008, García Álvarez 2008, Crnič 2016, Vostrikova 2019).

The distribution of exceptive markers in English is extensively examined by García Álvarez (2008) who, following the distinction between connected exceptives and free exceptives, identifies five common occurrences. The distinction between connected exception phrases and free exception phrases has been recognized by Hoeksema (1987, 1995), whereby the former selects a DP and the latter selects any other XP (DP, AdjP, AdvP, PP, TP and CP). Examples of the five types classified by García Álvarez (2008: 4-5) are given below:

(4) a. In one street, every cat but two has disappeared over the past 13 days.
     b. In 1986, all states made provision for alimony except Texas.
     c. Apart from a tiny memorial exhibition of sixteen canvases two years later, nothing had been shown or sold since then.
     d. In those six years I had never been away, except on visits at holiday time in the neighbourhood.

e. Today, just about every TV mom, except for Marge Simpson and a handful of others, has a job.

(4a and b) are examples of connected exceptive phrases; however, while the ExP in (4a) is adjacent to the DP antecedent *every cat*, in (4b) the ExP is extraposed. The rest represent instances of free exceptives with different positions: sentence-initial (4c), sentence-final (4d) and sentence-internal (4e), all separated from the main clause with commas as an orthographic sign to show their separation from the rest of the sentence. For the rest of the paper, I will examine the three common exceptive markers *except, except for* and *but* only. A dividing line between these markers is that while *except for* can be fronted, *except* and *but* do not favor sentence-initial positions (see Moltmann 1995 and Vostrikova 2019). This is illustrated in the contrast below:

(5) a. *Except/*But John, every student attended the meeting.
    b. Except for John, every student attended the meeting.

Syntactically, ECs in English have not been given considerable attention in the literature. In this paper, I review a few prominent studies which present thoughtful analyses: Potsdam (2018), Potsdam and Polinsky (2019) and Vostrikova (2019). To start with, Potsdam (2018) and Potsdam and Polinsky (2019) propose a syntactic analysis in favor of clausal underlying structure of *except*-XP in case of free exceptives. However, they take *except*-XP to introduce a phrasal structure in instances of connected exceptives. To illustrate, consider these examples:

(6) a. Everyone except Peter came.
    b. Everyone came, except Peter.

In Potsdam and Polinsky (2019), in (6a) which is an example of a connected exceptive, *except Peter* is syntactically taken as a nominal modifier which forms a constituent with the restricted quantifier phrase *everyone* from which it is subtracted. In (6b), representing a free exceptive construction, *except Peter* is assumed to form a clausal modifier associated clause-peripherally and expresses an exception to the proposition denoted by *everyone came*. The structures proposed for (6a-b) are represented in (7a-b), respectively (see Potsdam & Polinsky 2019: 1):

(7) a. [$_{DP}$ Everyone [except Peter]] came.
    b. Everyone came, [except [$_{CP}$ Peter$_1$ [t_1 ~~didn't come~~]]]

For Potsdam and Polinsky (2019), *except* is classified as an exceptive conjunction and the clausal nature of *except*-XP in free exceptives is argued to be based on a number of evidence, such as: spell out of full clause (8a); multiple exceptions (8b); non-DP exceptions (8c,d); and implicit restricted quantifier (8c), adapted from Potsdam & Polinsky (2019: 1):

(8) a. Everyone came, except *Peter didn't come*.
    b. Every boy danced with every girl, except *Joe with Diane*.
    c. He didn't speak, except [$_{PP}$ in riddles].
    d. The room was lovely in the afternoon, except [$_{AP}$ very hot].

Similarly, in her analysis of ECs across a number of languages, Vostrikova (2019) argues that English *except* introduces a reduced clause rather than a DP. More specifically, she takes (9a) to be derived from (9b) by ellipsis, cited from Vostrikova (2019: 219):

(9) a. Every girl came, except Eva.
    b. Every girl came, except Eva did not come.

That *except*-complement has a clausal syntactic structure, in Vostrikova (2019), is based on two main observations: (a) English *except* can select a PP complement such as *I got no present except from my mom* where the PP *from my mom* contributes to the overall meaning of the sentence; (b) *except* can introduce multiple remnants such as *Every boy danced with every girl except Eva with Bill* in which *except Eva and Bill* can only be clausal implying *Every boy danced with every girl except Eva with Bill did not dance.* The second observation was initially captured by Moltmann (1995). In brief, *except*-XPs in English are analyzed as a nominal modifier attached to a quantifier in connected exceptives, but a reduced clause derived by ellipsis in free exceptives. More discussion of the categorial status and syntax of exceptive markers in English will be presented in section 5.

3. Exceptives in Central Kurdish

Central Kurdish (or Sorani Kurdish) is the Kurdish dialect spoken in the north of Iraq (known as Kurdistan Region) and some Kurdish provinces in Iran. The Kurdish data examined in this study are from Iraqi Kurdistan areas whose speakers are found in Erbil, Sulaimaniya, Kirkuk and Diyala. Apparently, Kurdish has two markers to express exceptives: *tanhā/tanyā* 'only, except' and *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from'. In what follows a descriptive account is given as to the characteristics and distribution of each of these markers.

3.1 *tanhā/tanyā* 'only, except'

In Kurdish dictionaries, *tanhā* and *tanyā* are mainly taken to mean 'only' or 'merely' and classified as adverbs. In no Kurdish grammar books (very few in number), a discussion of *tanhā* and *tanyā* is available. This is probably due to the fact that it is a loan word from Persian. Thus, this paper is the first attempt offered in this respect. To start with, consider the examples below:

(10) a. *tanhā/tanyā*   *ahmad*   *hāt*
      only   Ahmad   come.PST.3SG
      'Only Ahmad came.'
    b. *kas*   *na-hāt*   *tanhā/tanyā* *min*   *na-bet*
      person   NEG-come.PST.3SG   except   I   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
      'No one came, except me.'

As can be seen, *tanhā* and *tanyā* are used interchangeably. Thus, they can be taken as phonological variants of the same lexical item, which I will assume to be *tanhā*, more commonly used in speaking and textbooks.[3] *tanhā* can be used to mean 'only' or 'except' as exemplified in (10a-b), respectively. While the meaning of 'only' associated with *tanhā* is clear in (10a), the meaning of 'except' is the one that can be deduced in (10b). Although no dictionary indicates that 'except' is associated with *tanhā*, the 9 Kurdish speakers I consulted suggest this meaning. Interestingly, if the syntactic unit *tanhā min nabet* 'except for me' is fronted, the meaning of 'except' is still the one suggested as shown in (11a). Moreover,

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[3] For the rest of the paper and to avoid repetition, I continue to use *tanhā* only in the examples, and here I emphasize that what applies on *tanhā* is true for *tanyā* as well.

replacing the VP *nābet* with another such as *hātim* 'I came', suggests the inclusive meaning 'only' of *tanhā* as shown in (11b).

(11) a. *tanhā*   *min*   *na-bet*   *kas*   *na-hāt*
      except   I   NEG-be.PRS.3SG   person   NEG-come.PST.3SG
      'Except me, no one came.'
    b. *tanhā*   *min*   *hāt-im*   *kas*   *na-hāt*
      only   I   come.PST.1SG   personNEG-come.PST.3SG
      'Only I came, no one came.'

These data show that *tanhā* can suggest two meanings: (a) the inclusive or restrictive meaning associated with English *only*; and (b) the exclusive or subtractive meaning suggested by English *except, except for* and *but*. In the restrictive use, *tanhā* is used in independent clauses such as *tanhā ahmad hāt* 'only Ahmed came' in (10a), or *tanhā min hātim* 'only I came' in (11b). In contrast, in the subtractive uses, *tanhā* is involved in short dependent clauses of the form *tanhā* DP *nabet* suggesting the meaning of [except DP not to be] 'except DP not included'. In section 4 and 5 a syntactic analysis of the construction *tanhā* XP *nabet* will be presented. Below are more examples that distinguish the restrictive and subtractive exceptive uses of *tanhā*:

(12) a. *hych-ī*   *nya*   *tanhā* *nakhosh-a*
      nothing-3SG   NEG   only   ill-be.PRS.3SG
      'Nothing is wrong with her. She is just ill.'
    b. *tanhā*   *min*   *da-zān-im*   *to*   *nā-zān-ī*
      only   I   IND-know.PRS.1SG   you   NEG-know.PRS.2SG
      'Only I know; you do not know.'

(13) a. *mewān-aka-n*   *hātin*   *tanhā*   *kāwā* *na-bet*
      guest-DEF-PL   come.PST.3PL   except   Kawa   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
      'The guests came except Kawa.'
    b. *biryar-ī*   *pābandbūn*   *w*   *qadaghakirdinī*   *hātūcho*
      decision-EZ   compliance   and   prohibition-POSS.3SG   transportation
      hamū   *kart-ī*   *gishtī* *w*   *tāybat dagretawa*   *tanhā*
      all   sector-EZ   public and   private   include.PRS.3PL   except
      'aw   *saktar-ān-a*   *na-bet*   *ka …*
      these   sector-PL-be.PRS.3SG   NEG-be.PRS.3SG   that …
      'The compliance and curfew decision includes all public and private sectors except
       these sectors that …'

As can be noted, *tanhā* in (12a) is followed by the AdjP *nakhosh* 'ill' and there does not exist the condition where an entity/event is exempted from a set of entities/events; no domain subtraction process is involved. Similarly, in (12b) *tanhā* does not function as an exceptive tool. In contrast, in (13a) *Kawa* is the excepted element and the definite noun *mewānakan* 'the guests' is the antecedent from which the subtraction is made. In (13b), *'aw saktarāna* 'these sectors' is the excepted element and *hamū kartī gishtī w tāybat* 'all public and private sectors' represent the antecedent.

An argument to support the double function of *tanhā* as restrictive and subtractive is through omission. Omitting *tanhā* in (13a-b) maintains the exception meaning intact, but omitting it

in (12a-c) totally affects the sentence structure or alter the meaning expressed with no restrictive meaning whatsoever. This is illustrated below:

(14) a. *hych-ī*   *nya*   *nakhosh-a*
      nothing-3SG   NEG   ill-be.PRS.3SG
      'Nothing is wrong with her. She is ill.'
     b. *min da-zān-im*   *to*   *nā-zān-ī*
      I   IND-know.PRS.1SG   you   NEG-know.PRS.2SG
      'I know; you do not know.'

(15) a. *mewān-aka-n*   *hātin*   *kāwā*   *na-bet*
      guest-DEF-PL   come.PST.3PL   Kawa   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
      'The guests came except Kawa.'
     b. *biryar-ī*   *pābandbūn*   *w*   *qadaghakirdinī*   *hātūcho*
      decision-EZ compliance   and   prohibition-POSS.3SG   transportation
      hamū   *kart-ī*   *gishtī* *w*   *tāybat dagretawa*   *'aw*
      all   sector-EZ   public and   private   include.PRS.3PL   these
      saktar-ān-a   *na-bet*   *ka …*
      sector-PL-be.PRS.3SG   NEG-be.PRS.3SG   that …
      'The compliance and curfew decision includes all public and private sectors except these sectors that …'

In (15a-b), *tanhā* is omitted, but the exceptive meaning is conveyed, similar to (13a-b). In contrast, in (14a-b), the 'only' meaning of *tanhā* has not been reserved. To put it differently, *tanhā* 'except' can be omitted without losing the subtractive exceptive meaning, while *tanhā* 'only' cannot be omitted without losing the restrictive meaning associated with it. This is a clear-cut distinction between *tanhā* 'only' and *tanhā* 'except'. Moreover, *tanhā* can be exchanged with *har*, a common lexical item with the meaning of 'only/just' without affecting the sentences meanings. Compared to *tanhā*, as an adverb, *har* can only be used to mean 'only/just'. Therefore, replacing *tanhā* with the adverb *har* in (12a-b) renders the same meaning, so, for example, *hychī nya har nakhosha* is equivalent to (12a) and suggests the same interpretation of 'Nothing is wrong with her. She is just ill'.

Hence, *tanhā* is associated with two meanings: 'only' and 'except'. The former suggests a restrictive meaning, whereas the latter implies a subtractive exceptive meaning. In what follows I focus on the subtractive exceptive constructions, and mainly identify the types of domains or antecedents which can occur in the main clause, the types of XP complements, other than DPs, selected by *tanhā*, and the exact meaning and categorial status of *tanhā* in such constructions.

3.2 Subtractive Exceptive Constructions: *tanhā* 'except'

In the subtractive exceptive examples above, *tanhā* are preceded by either negative or affirmative clauses. Moreover, the main clause either includes the negative polarity item (NPI), a quantifier phrase, or a definite noun. More specifically, in (10b), the main clause involves the NPI *kas* 'person' which occurs in negative sentences. The negative prefix *na-* in *nahāt* 'not came' is what makes the environment negative. (10b) entails that Ahmed is the only person who came out of a set of people. The interpretation would be 'for all X, not came

X, except Ahmed came'. Examples (13a-b) present affirmative contexts which involve the definite *mewānakan* 'the guests' and the quantifier phrase *hamū kartī gishtī w tāybat* 'all public and private sectors', respectively. Based on an observation by Hoeksema (1987, 1990) that connected exceptives can modify universal quantifiers while free exceptive can modify universal quantifiers as well as plural definite nouns, it can be assumed that CK displays instances of connected and free exceptives. For example, (13a) would be an example of a free exceptive, whereas (13b) would represent an example of a connected exceptive. The examples are repeated below for convenience.

(16) a. *mewān-aka-n   hātin   tanhā   kāwā na-bet*
      guest-DEF-PL   come.PST.3PL except   Kawa NEG-be.PRS.3SG
      'The guests came except Kawa.'

   b. *biryar-ī   pābandbūn   w   qadaghakirdinī   hātūcho*
      decision-EZ compliance and   prohibition-POSS.3SG   transportation
      hamū   kart-ī   gishtī w   tāybat dagretawa   tanhā
      all   sector-EZ   public and private include.PRS.3PL except
      'aw   saktar-ān-a   na-bet   ka ...
      these   sector-PL-be.PRS.3SG   NEG-be.PRS.3SG   that ...
      'The compliance and curfew decision includes all public and private sectors except these sectors that ...'

Other quantifier phrases such *zor* 'many' or *handek* 'some' and numerals such as *chwār* 'four' are not allowed, as verified below:

(17) **zor/handek/chwār qutābī   hātin   tanhā   kāwā na-bet*
     many/some/four   student come.PST.3PL   except   Kawa NEG-be.PRS.3SG

As to the type of XPs selected by *tanhā* 'except', we have seen above that DPs are allowed and subtracted from an antecedent which come in the form of an NPI, a universal quantifier or a definite noun. Other allowed XPs include PPs, (18a), and multiple remnants, (18b), to the exclusion of AdjPs, AdvPs, CPs, and TPs, as shown in (19a-d), repectively.

(18) a. *la   hamū shwen-ek   detwān-im   bixwen-im   tanhā la   mālawa*
      at   every place- INDF able.PRS-1SG study.PRS-1SG except at   home
      nabet
      NEG-be.PRS.3SG
      'I can study everywhere except at home.'

   b. *hamū   ganj-ak-ān   lagal yaktir   shāy-yān   kird*
      all   boy-DEF-PL   with each other dance-3PL   do.PST.3PL
      tanhā   ahmed   lagal sāra nabet
      except   Ahmed   with Sara NEG-be.PRS.3SG
      'All the boys danced with all the girls, except Ahmed with Sara.'

(19) a. **hamū   kas-ek   jwān-a   la-lām tanhā   tūra*
      every   person-INDF beautiful-be.PRS.3SG at-me except   angry
      nabet
      NEG-be.PRS.3SG

Intended meaning: 'Everyone is beautiful for me except angry ones.'

b. *detwān-im   hamū jam-ek   nān bixo-m   tanhā   zor
able.PRS-1SG   every meal-INDF   bread eat.PRS-1SG   except   much
nabet
NEG-be.PRS.3SG
Intended meaning: 'I can eat bread in every meal but not too much.'

c. *aw hamū shit-eki   wit   tanhā away ka   to   rāst
he all   thing-INDF   say.PST.3SG   except this   that   you   right
bī   nabet
be.PST.2SG   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
'He said everything, except that you were right.'

d. *nā-mawe   hych   bik-am   tanhā la   jegā   b-im
not-want.prs.1sg nothing   do.prs-1sg   except at   bed   be.prs-1sg
nabet
NEG-be.PRS.3SG
'I don't want to do anything, except to be in bed.'

Examples (18a & b) represent free exceptive constructions because the exceptive clause introduces an exception to a generalization given in the main clause. That AdjPs, AdvPs, CPs and TPs are not allowed could possibly be due to the unique make up suggested by the construction *tanhā…nabet* [except … not included]. Reference to these examples will not be made further in this paper and will remain for future studies. The focus of this paper will be on XP complements in the form of DPs.

Next, we determine the categorial status of *tanhā* in its uses in subtractive exceptive constructions in which it occurs in a fixed pattern of the form *tanhā…nabet*. In section 3.1, it was mentioned that *tanhā* 'only' is classified as an adverb in dictionaries and nothing is explained about the exceptive meaning of *tanhā*. I argue that while *tanhā* 'only' is adverb in its restrictive use, it is an exceptive marker of a distinct category in its use in subtractive exceptive constructions. First, consider the following examples:

(20) a. kas   na-hāt   tanhā   min   na-bet
person   NEG-come.PST.3SG   except   I   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
'No one came, except me.'

b. tanhā   ahmad   hāt
only   Ahmad   come.PST.3SG
'Only Ahmad came.'

c. tanhā   min da-zān-im   to   nā-zān-īt
only   I IND-know.PRS.1SG   you   NEG-know.PRS.2SG
'Only I know; you do not know.'

In (20a), *tanhā* acts as a relational element where they combine two clauses: the independent main clause *kas nahāt* 'no one came' and the dependent clause *min nabet* 'me not included'. In (20b & c), *tanhā* does not act as a relational element; it modifies DPs in full sentences even

in the case of (20c). *tanhā min dazānim* 'only I know' is a complete sentence which does not relate through *tanhā* to the second independent clause *to nāzānīt* 'you do not know'. This shows that *tanhā* is a focal adverb in (20b & c) but not necessarily so in (20a). Second, it is not possible for *tanhā* to introduce VPs when it is used to mean 'except'; however, when it is used to mean 'only', *tanhā* is able to do so as shown in the example below:

(21) *tanhā   hāt-im/ roisht-im/ xward-im*
    only   come.PST-1SG/ go.PST-1SG/ eat.PST-1SG
    'I only came/went/ate.'

Third, *tanhā* meaning 'except' cannot occur to the right of the DP, (22a); however as 'only', *tanhā* can occur to the right or left of the DP under focus, (22b).

(22) a. *kas*   *na-hāt*   **min   tanhā*   *na-bet*
      person   NEG-come.PST.3SG   I   except   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
    b. *tanhā*   *min/   min   tanhā dazān-im*
      only   I/   I   only   know-PRS-1SG

Fourth, as shown in the previous section, omitting *tanhā* can reserve the exception meaning when used to mean 'except'. In contrast, omitting *tanhā* does not maintain the restrictive meaning suggested when it is used as 'only'. Thus, while *tanhā* is optional in (23b), it is not so in (23a).

(23) a. *hych-ī*   *nya   *(tanhā)*   *nakhosh-a*
      nothing-3SG   NEG   only   ill-be.PRS.3SG
      'Nothing is wrong with her. She is just ill.'
    b. *mewān-aka-n*   *hātin*   (*tanhā*)   *kāwā na-bet*
      guest-DEF-PL   come.PST.3PL except   Kawa NEG-be.PRS.3SG
      'The guests came except Kawa.'

In (23b), *tanhā* can be omitted and yet an exceptive meaning is expressed. In contrast, in (23a), the 'only' meaning of *tanhā* cannot be reserved in the proposition if it is omitted. A question that arises here is how the exceptive meaning in (23b) arises without *tanhā*. That the subtractive exceptive meaning in (23b) is deduced with and without the existence of *tanhā* is an interesting observation that calls for explanation. An obvious answer is that the exceptive meaning is deduced through the verbal element [not to be] which suggests the meaning of 'not included'. So (23b) without *tanhā* can be literally interpreted as 'the guests came (with) Kawa not included among them'. Hence, *tanhā* 'except' can be omitted without losing the exceptive meaning associated with it due to the existence of the verbal element *nabet* 'not included'.[4]

Fifth, the 'except' meaning of *tanhā* can arise when it appears in combination with *nabet* [not to be] 'not included' and the main clause includes an NPI, a universal quantifier or a definite noun (recall the examples in section 3.1). This environment is not a condition for *tanhā* when used to mean 'only'. As a result of these distinctive properties associated with the two

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[4] A reviewer has asked if *tanhā* 'except' can be deleted without affecting the exceptive meaning, then what is the semantic contribution of *tanhā*? The answer could be that both *tanhā* and the verbal element can function as subtractors to the extent that dropping *tanhā* would have no effect on the subtraction meaning.

meanings of *tanhā,* we may assume that they indicate different categories. There is an adverbial function for *tanhā* 'only', and an exceptive function for *tanhā* 'except'.

Several observations can be made about the data so far explored. First, with *tanhā* the exceptive construction should include an overt antecedent from which the exception is made; exceptive sentences with covert antecedents are not allowed. Second, *tanhā* present examples of connected and free exceptives. Third, the combination *tanhā…nabet* 'except…not included' seems to suggest a dependent clause and is found in negative and affirmative exceptives. In the next section, I present the second exceptive marker used in subtractive exceptive constructions.

3.3   *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from'

The other exceptive marker used in CK is *jiga la* or *bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from', categorized as prepositions in Kurdish grammar (Thackston 2006). In both the first element *jiga* or *bejga* is followed by the preposition *la* 'in, at' without which *jiga* cannot make sense and thus cannot be used independently although it suggests a meaning of 'different, separate'. *jiga la* and *bejga la* differ in that the latter is initialized with the prepositional prefix *be* 'without' which does not add any further meaning other than 'except, other than, apart from'. Due to the existence of *la*, both are followed by DP complements; other complements such as CPs, AdjPs or AdvPs are not allowed.

(24) a. *hamū-yān   māmost-ān   bejga   la   min*
         all-3PL   teacher-be.PRS.3PL   other   than   I
         'All of them are teachers other than me.'
    b. *har   shwen-ek   jiga   la   māława   khosh   n-ya*
         any   place-INDF   other   than   home   nice   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
          'Any place other than home is not nice.'
    c. *shār-ī   tir   jiga   la   zākho   na-bynywa*
         city-EZ   other   than   than   Zakho   NEG-see.PST.1SG
         'I have not seen other cities other than Zakho.'

The personal pronoun *min* 'I' in (24a), *māława* 'home' in (24b), and *zākho* 'Zakho' in (24c), are the excepted elements subtracted from the antecedents *hamūyān* 'all of them', *har shwenek* 'every/any place', and *shārī tir* 'other cities' in (24a-c), respectively. In all these examples, *jiga la* and *bejga la* can be used interchangeably without affecting the meaning or sentence structure; therefore, *jiga la* and *bejga la* will be taken as variants of one lexical item, which I will take to be *bejga la* due to its full form. Moreover, these examples represent connected exceptive constructions; *jiga la/bejga la*-DP can either occur adjacent to the antecedent, (24b,c), or extraposed (24a).

These data show that *jiga la/bejga la* behave similarly to *tanhā* 'except' in that they occur in affirmative or negative contexts. (24a) is an affirmative context that includes the quantifier *hamūyān* 'all of them', while (24b&c) are negative contexts that include the negative element *n-* in *khosh nya* 'not nice', and *na-* in *nabynywa* 'not seen'. In all these examples *jiga la* and *bejga la* are followed by a DP complement making examples of phrasal exceptive construction, differing from *tanhā* which exists in a clausal construction. This distinction will

be discussed in section 4. Other examples of *jiga la* followed by DPs in the form of pronouns are:

(25) a. *min* *nā-mawet*   *leradā*   *la*   *sar-ī*
       i   NEG-want.PRS.1SG   here   at   top-EZ
       bi-ro-m   *jiga* *la-wa-ī*   *ka*   *bi-łe-m*   *ka*
       SUB-go.PRS.1SG   other than-this-EZ   that   SUB-go.PRS.1SG   that
       'I do not want to go through this here other than to say that…'

      b. *jiga*   *la*   *khom* *kas-ī*   *tir*   *nā-bini-m*
       other   than   myself person-EZ   else   NEG-see.PRS.1SG
       'Other than myself I do not see anyone else.'

As shown, in (25a) *jiga la* is followed by a demonstrative pronoun given in the form of the pronominal clitic -*wa* 'this'. In (25b), *jiga la* is followed by the reflexive pronoun *khom* 'myself'. (25a) represents an example of a free exceptive which modifies the whole proposition in the main clause. (25b) is also an example of a free exceptive because the exceptive phrase is fronted.

So far, we have seen that *jiga la/bejga la* can occur in affirmative and negative environment suggesting examples of connected and free exceptives. Additionally, *jiga la/bejga la* can occur in constructions with no negative elements or quantifiers. However, other meanings will be suggested along under such constructions. Consider the paradigms below:

(26) a. *bejga*   *la*   *to*   *māmostā-ī*   *tir*   *nā-nās-im*
       other   than   you   teacher-EZ   other   NEG-know.PRS.1SG
       'Other than you I do not know other teachers.'

      b. *bejga*   *la*   *to*   *se*   *kas-ī*   *tir*   *da-nās-im*
       other   than   you   three   person-EZ   other   IND-know.PRS.1SG
       'In addition to you, I know three other people.'

While an exceptive meaning can clearly and merely be inferred from (26a), the case in (26b) is rather different. (26a) differs from (26b) in that the former includes a negative element, *nā-* in *nānāsim* 'I do not know' in the main clause, but the latter does not. Instead, (26b) includes the numerical value of three, *se kas* 'three people', missing in (26a). When *bejga la* (and also *jiga la*) is used in affirmative contexts that lacks universal quantifiers such as *hamū* 'all, every', a meaning of 'in addition to, besides' is actually suggested. This additional meaning of *bejga la* is probably due to its resemblance to *bela* 'in addition to'; both are composed of two prepositions (*be* 'without' and *la* 'at'). Hence, (26b) can alternatively be expressed as in (27) below.

(27) *be*   *la*   *to*   *se*   *kas-ī*   *tir*   *da-nās-im*
       without   than   you   three   person-EZ   else   IND-know.PRS.1SG
       'In addition to you, I know three other people.'

Moreover, such meaning forms what is referred to as exceptive-additive construction and is marked in other languages such as Persian and Bulgarian discussed by Vostrikova (2019). In the rest of the paper, I will not discuss further this additional meaning of 'in addition to, besides' and focus on the exceptive meaning of *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from'.

In sum, *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from' are used to express subtractive exceptive meaning where an element (a DP) is extracted from a set of items. It can be used in affirmative and negative contexts representing examples of connected and free exceptives. In the next section, the type of the exceptive construction where *tanhā* and *jiga la* operate is discussed.

4. Type of exceptive construction: phrasal or clausal

Prior to account for the syntactic underlying structure of ECs introduced by *tanhā* 'except' or *bejgal la* 'except, other than, apart from' and their variants, a distinction should be made between the syntactic levels within which each of these two main exceptive markers execute. In section 3, I have shown that *tanhā* is followed by DPs and a verb, while *jiga la* is followed by DPs only. Therefore, I claim that the EC that includes *tanhā* has a clausal status, while the one with *jiga la* is phrasal in nature. The examples below show evidence in support of this claim:

(28) a. *?kas*   *na-hāt*   *tanhā*   *min*   *(na-bet)*
         person   NEG-come.PST.3SG   except   I   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
         Option 1: 'No one came, except me'
         Option 2: 'No one came. Only me (came)!'
      b. *hamū-yān*   *hāt-in*   *(tanhā)*   *ahmad*   *na-bet*
         all-3PL   come.PST-3PL   except   Ahmad   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
         'Everyone came except Ahmad.'

Example (28a) is marked with a question mark as a sign that the sentence is ill-formed syntactically and semantically if *tanhā* is used to mean 'except' and the VP *nabet* 'be not' is deleted. Under the 'except' meaning of *tanhā,* option 1 will be suggested with *nabet* available. However, if *nabet* 'not included' is dropped out, *tanhā* will have the 'only' meaning and option 2 will be the accurate one suggested in English. Example (28b) provides another evidence that *tanhā* introduces a clausal exceptive construction rather than a phrasal in that omitting it still reserves the exceptive meaning. In both examples the exceptive clause can be fronted suggesting still the exceptive meaning. That the combination DP-*nabet* suggests a clause can be gained from the fact that such combinations can occur in *agar* 'if'-clauses functioning as dependent clauses, as shown in the examples below:

(29) a. *agar*   *khwā* *na-bet*   *zhiyān*   *na-bet*
         if   God   NEG-be.PRS.3SG   life   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
         'There would be no life without God.'
      b. *agar 'aw*   *saktar-ān-a*   *nabet*   *kārak-ān*   *ba*
         if   these   sector-PL-be.PRS.3SG   NEG-be.PRS.3SG   work-PL   by
         'āsāni   *nā-ron*
         easiness   NEG-run.PRS.3PL
         'If these sectors do not exist, work will not be managed easily.'

In brief, for *tanhā* to express an exceptive meaning the VP *nabet* [not to be] 'not included' should be present even if it is itself deleted. The verbal component -*bet* is constituted of the

present stem of the copular verb *būn* 'be' and the third verbal agreement *-et*, all preceded by the negative element *na-*. Having a fixed tense and agreement pattern, *nabet* can be taken as a frozen expression. First, *tanhā*-clause always appears in the present tense due to the present irrealis form of *-bet*. Consequently, the tense in the main clause may or may not match the tense of *-bet* 'be'. For example, in (30a and b) the main clause involves a past tense while *tanhā*-clause is in the present tense. In contrast, the tense of the main clause in (30c and d) is in the present, hence matching that in *tanhā*-clause. In both cases, *tanhā*-clause represents the time of speaking and not the time of the main clause. Second, the verb is always prefixed with the negative element *na-*, to the exclusion of other negative elements such as *nā-, ma-* and *nī-*. Most importantly, the Kurdish data provided show that *tanhā…nabet* can accompany affirmative clauses (30b) and negative clauses (30a). Hence, the existence of a negative element in the main clause and in *tanhā*-clause does not support the Polarity Generalization of García Álvarez (2008) (see (36) below). I will leave this puzzle for further research in the future.

(30) a. *kas*   *na-hāt*   *tanhā*   *min*   *na-bet*
     person   NEG-come.PST.3SG   except   I   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
     'No one came, except me.'

     b. *hamū-yān*   *hāt-in*   *tanhā ahmed*   *w*   *sārā*   *na-bet*
     all-3PL   come.PST-3PL   except Ahmed   and   Sara   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
     'All of them came except Ahmed and Sara.'

     c. *kas*   *ghayb*   *nā-zānet*   *tanhā*   *khwā*
     one   unseen   NEG-know.PRS.3SG   except   God
     na-bet
   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
   'No one knows the unseen except God.'

     d. *biryar-ī*   *pābandbūn*   *w*   *qadaghakirdinī*   *hātūcho*
     decision-EZ compliance   and   prohibition-POSS.3SG   transportation
     hamū   *kart-ī*   *gishtī w*   *tāyabat*   *dagretawa*   *tanhā*
     all   sector-EZ   public and   private   include.PRS.3PL   except
     'aw   *saktar-ān-a*   *na-bet*   *ka …*
     these   sector-PL-be.PRS.3SG   NEG-be.PRS.3SG   that …
     'The compliance and curfew decision includes all public and private sectors except these sectors that …'

Finally, *-bet* 'be' maintains one agreement pattern which involves the third singular person agreement *-et*. Hence, the following verbal agreements are not allowed:

(31) a. *kas*   *na-hāt*   *tanhā*   *min*   **na-bim*
     person   NEG-come.PST.3SG   except   I   NEG-be.PRS.1SG
     'No one came except me.'

     b. *hamū-yān*   *hāt-in*   *tanhā ahmed*   *w*   *sārā*   **na-bin*
     all-3PL   come.PST-3PL   except Ahmed   and   Sara   NEG-be.PRS.3PL
     'All of them came except Ahmed and Sara.'

The next examples provide evidence that support the phrasal status of ECs expressed with *jiga la/bejga la*:

(32) a. *hamū-yān   māmost-ān   bejga   la   min   na-bet
         all-3PL   teacher-be.PRS.3PL   other   than   I   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
         'All of them are teachers other than me.'

   b. *hamū   wāna-k-ān-mān   tewāw-kird   jiga   la
       all   subject-DEF-PL-1PL.POSS   complemented   other   than
       byrkārī   na-bet
       math   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
       'We completed all the subjects other than math.'

Both of these examples are ungrammatical because of the use of the VP *nabet* 'be not'. *jiga la* and *bejiga la* do not need a verb to follow or more specifically to be part of their exceptive domain. It can be concluded from the data provided above that in CK two grammatical categories are used to express exceptive meanings: (a) *tanhā* 'only' is used to express restrictive meaning, and (b) *tanhā/tanyā…nabet* 'except' as well as *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from' are used to express subtractive meaning. In subtractive exceptives, each of these has similar selectional properties, but differ in the type of constructions they form. *tanhā/tanyā…nabet* 'except' can be followed by DPs but form a clausal exceptive construction, while *jiga la/bejga la* are followed by DPs and form a phrasal exceptive construction. Next, I turn to the syntactic analysis of ECs in English as well as CK.


5. Syntactic analysis of ECs: English and Kurdish

In this section, I present the syntactic derivation of ECs in English and CK separately including discussion of the categorial status of the exceptive markers. It will be shown that despite their distinct typological features, these languages share common properties of exceptive markers and hence common syntactic exceptive structures.

5.1 *Syntax of ECs in English*

In section 3, Potsdam and Polinsky's (2019) account of ECs was reviewed and it was shown that they analyze *except*-XPs as a nominal modifier attached to a quantifier in connected exceptives, but a reduced clause derived by ellipsis in free exceptives. However, their analysis, as well as that by Vostrikova (2019), will be proven valid to some extent for the exceptive marker *but,* yet not *except for*. While I agree that a covert VP could be involved in the underlying structure of *except-* and *but*-XPs in free exceptives according to the data presented, their given evidence cannot be proven valid to extend their clausal analysis to ECs marked with *except for*. Instead, I assume a phrasal structure for all the three exceptive markers in English (*except*, *except for* and *but*) in connected exceptives, a phrasal analysis for *except for*-XPs in free exceptives, and a clausal analysis for *except/but*-XPs in free exceptives. Moreover, I do not accept the claims made by García Álvarez (2008) and Potsdam and Polinsky (2019) that exceptive markers such as *except* are coordinating conjunctions. Instead, I assume that these markers are associated with an exception feature that enables them to project into an Exceptive Phrase of their own (see Al-Bataineh (2021) for a similar analysis of the Arabic exceptive *'illā* 'except').

First, in a connected exceptive construction such as *everyone except/but/except for Peter came*, I propose the syntactic representation in (33) for the DP *everyone except/but/except for Peter*.[5]

(33)

```
                    DP
                 /      \
               D         NP
               |       /    \
            every     N       ExP
                      |      /    \
                     one   Ex      DP
                            |       △
              except/but/except for   Peter
```
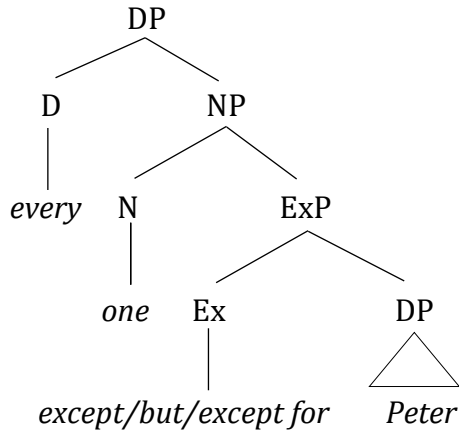
In examples of connected exceptives where these exceptive markers are not adjacent to the quantifier, the ExP will appear extraposed as shown in the underlying structure in (35a-b) for the representative examples in (34a-b). The word order of English allows the ExP *but Laura* to appear adjacent to the quantifier phrase or extraposed.

(34) a. Everyone slept but Laura.
     b. No one slept but Laura.

(35) a. [$_{QP}$ Everyone [t$_{ExP}$]] slept, [$_{ExP}$ but Laura]

     b. [$_{QP}$ No one [t$_{ExP}$]] slept, [$_{ExP}$ but Laura]

Second, in free exceptive constructions, and for Potsdam and Polinsky's (2019), *except* is categorized as a coordinating conjunction that combines the main clause and the exceptive clause. Additionally, the syntactic derivation they propose for an example such as *everyone came, except Peter* is as in (36):

(36)
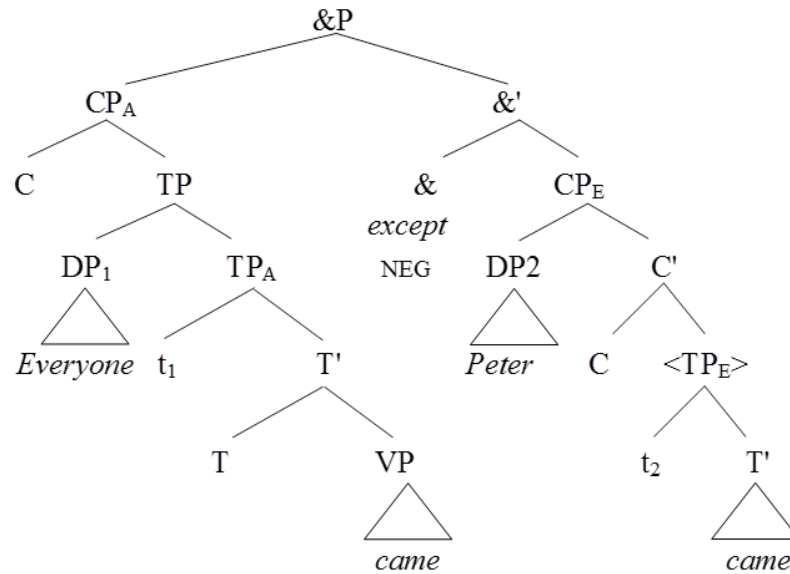
As shown in (36), the whole proposition is given the ampersand phrase (&P) to represent it as a conjunction construction headed by the coordinating conjunction *except*. The latter is assumed to semantically incorporate a negative element based on linguistic data from Malagasy and Egyptian Arabic which employ NEG...*except* constructions (see Potsdam 2018 and Soltan 2016). Moreover, the association of *except* with NEG is assumed to support the Polarity Generalization of exceptives put forth by García Álvarez 2008: 129):

(37) Polarity Generalization:
    The propositions expressed in the main clause and the exception clause must have opposite polarity.

Although the arguments proposed by Potsdam (2018), Potsdam & Polinsky (2019) and Vostrikova (2019) in favor of a clausal structure of exceptives seem true in case of *except* and *but* in free exceptives, extending them to the exceptive marker *except for* does not seem to find plausible support. Similar to *except*, *but* may select a full clause as in (38a); a PP complement as in (38b) and multiple exceptives (38c); and it cannot be fronted as shown in (38d,e). In contrast, *except for* does not allow a full clause, PP complements or multiple remnants, but is fine in fronted positions.

(38) a. !Everyone came, but Peter did not.
    b. I got no present but from my mom.
    c. Every boy danced with every girl but Eva with Bill.

(39) a. *Every girl came except for Eva did not come.
    b. *I got no present except for from my mom.
    c. *Every boy danced with every girl except for Eva with Bill.

The exclamation mark preceding the example in (38a) indicates the unacceptability of the sentences by a few English native informants consulted. It semantically sounds incoherent. However, all agreed that *every girl came but Eva* is totally grammatical. Examples (38b & c)

were reported acceptable. (39a-c) were judged ungrammatical unanimously; obviously due to its complex structure ending with the preposition *for*. It follows that the arguments in support of the clausal structure of *except*-constructions proposed by Potsdam (2018), Potsdam & Polinsky (2019) and Vostrikova (2019) seems plausible in case of *but*; however, it cannot be extended to *except for*-constructions. More specifically, while *except* and *but* can introduce a reduced clause in free exceptives, *except for* favors DP complements.

Moreover, instead of taking exceptive markers as coordinating conjunctions as in (e.g., Moltmann 1992, 1995, García Álvarez 2008, Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012, Potsdam and Polinsky 2019), I represent them as functional heads which project ExPs. The claim that English *except* or *but* are conjunctions does not seem appealing in different aspects. First, coordinating conjunctions such as *and*, *or*, *but* do not require a universal quantifier or a negative quantifier in the main clause (*the manager arrived early in the morning and left before noon*). In contrast, exceptive markers necessitate the existence of such antecedents in the main clause to express exceptive meaning. Second, according to the Polarity Generalization, in free exceptive constructions the main clause and the reduced clause should be of different polarities, a condition not required in coordinate constructions as is the case with *and/or*. Third, ECs introduced by exceptive markers such as *except for* and *apart from* can be fronted as shown in (5b) and (4c), but coordinating conjunctions cannot (**and Peter, Sara came*) (see Al-Bataineh 2021 for a similar argument). Fourth, crosslinguistic data show more evidence of the discrepancies between exceptive markers and coordinating conjunctions. For example, in Standard Arabic the DP complement following the exceptive marker *'illā* 'except' is assigned accusative case which is argued to be valued by *'illā* 'except'; however, conjunctions in Arabic or any other languages cannot assign case (see Al-Bataineh (2021) for more details). Finally, in Central Kurdish exceptive markers such as *tanhā* can be omitted without affecting the exceptive reading (recall the examples in (15a-b)), but conjunctions cannot be omitted without affecting the grammatically of the sentence construction (*hamūyān māmostān bełām aw qutabiya* [all are teachers but she student] vs **hamūyān māmostān aw qutabiya* [all are teachers she student]. Accordingly, instead of the &P given in structure (36), an ExP can be generated therein.

In case of free exceptives that involve *except for*, such as *everyone came, except for Peter*, I argue that the exceptive part forms a phrasal structure. Straightforward evidence in support of this can be gained from the fact that while *except for*-XPs can be fronted, fronting *except/but*-XPs is improper. Consider the paradigms below:

(40) a. Except for Peter, everyone came.
      b. *Except/*but Peter, everyone came.

As shown, fronting *Except for Peter* is acceptable because it forms a phrasal structure, while *Except/But Peter* does not suggest a grammatical construction when fronted. More specifically, since *except* introduces a reduced clause, fronting a full-fledged structure of *except*-XP yields the ungrammatical sentence **Except Peter did not come, everyone came*. Accordingly, while I accept the clausal structure of *except*-XPs after Potsdam and Polinsky (2019) and Vostrikova (2019), I assume a phrasal structure for *except for*-XPs in free exceptives. The syntactic derivations of (41a-b) can be represented as in (42a-b),

respectively. The ExP is generated externally as an adjunct in an adverbial position in both structures; after all, deleting *except for Peter* does not affect the grammaticality of the given sentences.:

(41) a. Everyone came, except for Peter.
b. Except for Peter, everyone came.

(42) a. [CP1 [CP2 everyone came] [ExP [Ex except] [PP for Peter]]]
b. [CP1 [ExP [Ex except] [PP for Peter]] [CP2 everyone came]]

In brief, the discussion so far has shown that *except/but/except for*-XPs in connected exceptive constructions form an ExP headed by the exceptive markers; but in free exceptive constructions they introduce a clausal structure and select a CP to the exception of *except for* which forms a phrasal structure. Moreover, while the ExP is situated internally within the DP in connected exceptives, it is generated externally in free exceptives.

5.2 *Syntax of ECs in Kurdish*

This section presents the syntactic analysis of the exceptive construction in CK which makes use of *tanhā* 'except' and *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from'. It will be shown that while *tanhā*-constructions involve a clausal structure, exceptive constructions with *jiga la/bejga la* introduce a phrasal structure. In section 3.1 I have shown that *tanhā* has a double categorial status based on its use as the focal adverb 'only' and as the exceptive marker 'except'. As 'only', it functions as a focal adverb that premodifies an XP, and in its use as an exceptive marker it occurs in a combination that involves the VP *nabet* [not to be]. Since this paper deals with exceptive constructions, I will focus on the analysis of the exceptive use of *tanhā* 'except' only. Consider the examples below, most of them are repeated from section 3.1:

(43) a. *kas   na-hāt   tanhā   min   na-bet*
       person   NEG-come.PST.3SG   except   I   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
       'No one came, except me.'
   b. *hamū-yān   hāt-in   tanhā ahmed   na-bet*
       all-3PL   come.PST-3PL   except Ahmed   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
       'All of them came except Ahmed.'
   c. *kas   ghayb   nā-zānet   tanhā   khwā*
       one   unseen   NEG-know.PRS.3SG   except   God
       na-bet
       NEG-be.PRS.3SG
       'No one knows the unseen except God.'
   d. *biryar-ī   pābandbūn   w   qadaghakirdinī   hātūcho*
       decision-EZ compliance   and   prohibition-POSS.3SG   transportation
       hamū   kart-ī   gishtī w   tāybat   dagretawa   tanhā
       all   sector-EZ   public and   private   include.PRS.3PL   except
       'aw   saktar-ān-a   na-bet   ka ...
       these   sector-PL-be.PRS.3SG   NEG-be.PRS.3SG   that ...

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> 'The compliance and curfew decision includes all public and private sectors except these sectors that …'

The examples in (43a-d) can be interpreted as in (44a-d), respectively:

(44) a. No one came except I am not one of them. (=because I came)
   b. All of them came except Ahmed is not one of them. (=because Ahmed did not come)
   c. No one knows the unseen except God is not one of them. (=because God is the only one who knows the unseen)
   d. The compliance and curfew decision includes all public and private sectors except these sectors that are … are not one of them.

These paraphrases clearly reflect the exact meaning expressed by the expression *tanhā…nabet* in the exceptive clause. *tanhā…nabet* [except…not to be] presents an interesting construction in terms of involving an overt clause structure with 'be' in the present tense. A derivation of (43a and b), for instance, can be represented as in (45a and b), respectively:

(45) a. [TP [DP *kas* 'one' T [NegP *na-* [VP *hāt* 'came' <*kas*>]]] [ExP *tanhā* [TP *min* 'I' T [NegP *na-* [VP *bet* NP]]]]]
   b. [TP [DP *hamūyān* 'all of them' T [VP *hatin* <*hamuyan*>]] [ExP *tanhā* [TP *Ahmad* T [NegP *na-* [VP *bet* NP]]]]]

In the linear structures in (45a,b) I assume that *tanhā* is a functional head that projects into the ExP and is adjoined to a TP followed by a NegP and a VP. The NP after 'be' is a null noun or a null pronoun 'it'; it is a complete clause. In the main clause, the quantifier raising applies, raising *kas/hamūyān* and adjoining it to the higher TP. After the trace is converted to a variable, and the null NP is also converted to a (bound) variable, the LFs of both constructions (with English words) are as follows:[6]

(46) a. Person$_x$ [TP [TP x not came] (except) [TP I am not x]]
   b. All of them$_x$ [TP [TP x came] (except) [TP Ahmad is not x]]

These can also be articulated in the following ways, respectively:

(47) a. 'For all x, x is a person, it is the case that x didn't come, but I'm not x.' ($\rightarrow$ so I came).
   b. 'For all x, x is all of them, it is the case that x came, but Ahmad is not x.' ($\rightarrow$ so Ahmed did not come).

Up to this point I have presented a clausal analysis of *tanhā*-subtractive exceptive constructions which can involve connected and free exceptive constructions. This analysis supports the non-correlation relation argued by Vostrikova (2019: 77) between connected-free exceptives and phrasal-clausal distinction. The analysis leads to the conclusion that *tanhā* 'except' functions as an exceptive marker that projects into its own exceptive phrase and selects a clause complement in connected and free exceptives. Below I will proceed with the analysis of the exceptive marker *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from'.

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[6] It is important to note that the interpretations in (46) and (47) should not be interpreted as meaning that *min* 'I' or *Ahmad* are not persons. *kas* 'person' and *hamūyān* 'all of them' both refer to groups of people from which *min* 'I' and *Ahmad* have been subtracted. Thanks to a reviewer who pointed this out to prevent misunderstanding.

In section 3.3, I have shown that *jiga la/bejga la* are followed by DP complements and thus they will be taken to involve phrasal structures. Moreover, they mostly occur in connected exceptive constructions (see the examples in (24a-c)). The classification of *jiga la/bejga la* as a preposition in dictionaries seems to have been mainly based on the second prepositional component *la* whose default meaning is 'at'. However, the internal structure of *jiga la/bejga la* + DP complement is not compatible with a PP headed by *la*. See the contrast below:

(48) a. *la   maława   bū*
     at   home   be.PST.3SG
     'She was at home.'
   b. *har   shwen-ek   jiga   la   māława   khosh n-ya*
      every   place-INDF   other than   home   nice   NEG-be.PRS.3SG
   'Any place other than home is not nice.'

If *la* 'at' is a preposition, should *jiga la* 'except, other than, apart from' be a preposition, too? Prepositions are functional categories commonly used to denote a relationship in space, time, manner, purpose or agent. However, as stated earlier the element *jiga* 'other' is neither an independent lexical item nor accompanies other items other than *la*.

Although the exceptive meaning of *jiga la* is suggested by both elements *jiga* and *la*, I assume that the major exceptive meaning is owed to *jiga* rather than *la*. This assumption is supported by the other uses of *la* such as a preposition, (48a), and as a comparative particle, (49).

(49) *sārā   zyrak-tir-a   la   khushk-ī*
     Sara   clever-COMP-be.PRS.3SG   than   sister-3SG.POSS
     'Sara is cleverer than her sister.'

Based on that, *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from' could be taken as complex Ex heads which take a DP as a complement. The complex Ex head is lexically composed of different elements which together form the meaning of 'except, other than, apart from' or 'with the exception of'. Accordingly, the syntactic configuration of *har shwenek jiga la maława* 'every place other than home' will be as in (50):

(50)
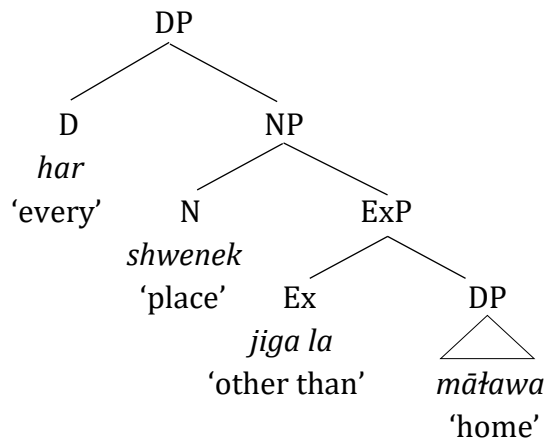
6. Comparison and conclusion

This paper provided analysis of the exceptive markers *except, except for* and *but* in English, and *tanhā/tanyā* 'only, except' and *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from' in Kurdish. It has been demonstrated that *except* and *but* have similar properties in that they can select a full clause, a PP complement, and multiple exceptives, but they cannot be fronted. By contrast, *except for* can be fronted but does not permit full clauses, PP complements or multiple remnants. In CK, *tanhā/tanyā* convey two meanings: 'only' and 'except'. It is suggested that the former has a restrictive meaning, while the latter has a subtractive exceptive meaning. DPs are mostly selected as complements by *tanhā/tanyā*, while PPs and multiple remnants are allowed to a lesser extent. Due to the unique exceptive construction *tanhā/tanyā* occur in where they accompany a verbal element of the form *nabet* [not to be] 'not included', complements in the form of AdjPs, AdvPs, CPs, and TPs are not allowed. *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from' select DP complements only.

Following Al-Bataineh (2021) I proposed that these exceptive markers act as functional heads that project into an Exceptive Phrase (ExP); which can merge internally within the DP antecedent or generate externally and merge as adjuncts in case of e.g. *except for* or introduce a CP complement as is the case with *except* and *but*. According to the analysis proposed, I refrain from the arguments made by García Álvarez (2008) and Potsdam and Polinsky (2019) where exceptive markers are claimed to be coordinating conjunctions.

Finally, I have shown that ECs in English and Kurdish exhibit a number of similar properties. First, in both languages the exceptive reading raises in contexts which should include a universal quantifier, a definite noun or a negative polarity item. Thus, the context could be affirmative or negative. Second, examples of connected and free exceptive constructions are available in both languages. For example, in English, connected exceptives mainly involve the use of *except* and *but* while free exceptives are common with the exceptive marker *except for*. In Kurdish, *tanhā/tanyā...nabet* 'except ... not included' and *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from' introduce examples of connected and free exceptives. Third, ECs in English and Kurdish can be phrasal or clausal. In English, clausal structures are mainly introduced by *except* in free exceptive examples, and in Kurdish clausal structures are presented by *tanhā/tanyā ...nabet*. In contrast, ECs that involve *except for* in English and *jiga la/bejga la* 'except, other than, apart from' in CK are phrasal in nature. Both of these exceptives have preposition elements at their second component, which makes them quite similar.

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