Exceptives in Telugu

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1   Language morphosyntax

1.1   Language name

According to Eberhard et al. (2023), Telugu (ISO Code: tel) is a Dravidian language spoken mainly in Andra Pradesh and the Telangana states.[1] [2] It is a provincial language, and it is the statutory provincial language in Andra Pradesh. In India, there are 93,900,000 users, with 80,900,000 L1 users and 13,000,000 L2 users (according to a 2011 census). In all countries, there are 82,966,790 L1 users and 13,015,000 L2 users.

1.2   Morphological type

Telugu is a morphologically rich language with a diverse range of nominal morphology and verbal morphology. Nouns are morphologically marked for gender, number (singular and plural), and case (Eberhard et al. 2023, Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985, see Section 1.4 for more details). As for verbs, according to Eberhard et al. (2023), verb affixes mark the person and number of the subject, and 3rd person subjects can be marked for gender as well. Verbs can also be passivized or causativized. Krishnamurti and Gwynn (1985) also provide examples of inflection for tense, aspect, mood, and negation. Categories of inflection that they describe include the past tense, the future tense/habitual, imperatives, and hortatives.

1.3   Word order

The basic word order in Telugu is SOV, as shown in the following example.[3] Here, the subject, *Priyā*, precedes the object, *annaṁ* 'rice', which in turn precedes the verb.

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[1] Many thanks to my consultants, Tharun Bhupathi and Divya Vellanki, for providing the judgments in this questionnaire. This questionnaire primarily reports the judgments that I elicited from Tharun Bhupathi. Most of the judgments that I elicited were the same, and I have reported differences in judgments where relevant and in Section 9.

[3] Abbreviations used: 1: 1st person, 2: 2nd person, 3: 3rd person, ACC: accusative, COM: comitative, COND: conditional, DAT: dative, DUR: durative, FEM: feminine, FUT: future, HABIT: habitual, INST: instrumental, LOC: locative, MASC: masculine, NEG: negative, PART: participle, PAST: past tense, PL: plural, SG: singular

(1) Priyā annaṁ   tiṇṭundi
    Priya rice.ACC eat.DUR.3SG.FEM
    'Priya is eating rice'

Both of my consultants accepted SOV word order and used this as the default word order in their examples. Other word orders are possible as well. According to Krishnamurti & Gwynn (1985), word order is flexible as long as the verb is final. However, one of my consultants found additional word orders to be grammatical as well. For TB, the only two word orders that are ungrammatical are the verb-initial ones: VOS and VSO.

1.4   Case Marking

Telugu has eight cases: nominative, accusative, dative, ablative, comitative/instrumental, comparative, purposive, and locative (Krishnamurti & Gwynn 1985). Krishnamurti and Gwynn list the following suffixes:

(2) Case suffixes:
    a. Accusative: -ni or -nu
    b. Dative: -ku (or -ki after stems that end in a front vowel)
    c. Instrumental/Comitative: -tō
    d. Purposive: -kōsam
    e. Comparative: -kaṇṭe or -kanna
    f. Locative: -lō or -lōpala
    g. Ablative: -nunci or -ninci

In Telugu, nominative DPs are not morphologically marked. As for the accusative case, animate objects are obligatorily marked with an accusative suffix, while inanimate objects can be marked without the accusative suffix (Krishnamurti & Gwynn 1985:317). For example, the word *annaṁ* 'rice' is unmarked in (3), despite the fact that it is the direct object of this sentence.

(3) Divya   annaṁ   tiṇṭundi
    Divya.NOM rice.ACC eat.DUR.3SG.FEM
    'Divya is eating rice.'

1.5   Focus Constructions

According to Krishnamurti and Gwynn (1985:311), while the clause-final position of the verb is relatively fixed, the position of the subject is more flexible. Thus, the speaker can choose any other constituent as the topic and front it to a clause initial position. Furthermore, Krishnamurti and Gwynn also note that the immediately preverbal position is a focus position. To illustrate, they provide the following examples in (4). In (4b), *iḍlīlu* 'idlies' is fronted and is therefore the topic, and the immediately preverbal constituent *Rāmayya* is the focus.

(4) a. Rāmayya iḍlī-llu sāmbāru-tō   tinn-ā-ḍu.
        Ramayya idli-PL sambar-INST eat-PAST-3SG.MASC
        'Ramayya ate idlies with sambar.' (Adapted from Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985:311)

b. Iḍlī-llu sāmbāru-tō   Rāmayya tinn-ā-ḍu.
   idli-PL sambar-INST Rāmayya eat-PAST-3SG.MASC

   'Ramayya ate idlies with sambar.' (Topic: Idli. Focus: Ramayya). (Adapted from Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985:311)

2   Basic exceptive constructions

2.1   Exceptive markers

The basic exceptive marker in Telugu is *tappa*, as shown in (5).

(5)   Andarū   annaṁ   tiṇṭunnāru,   (oka) Divya tappa
      everyone rice.ACC eat.DUR.3PL one   Divya except
      'Everyone is eating rice, except Divya'

TB usually included the word *oka* 'one' before exceptions by default but also stated that this word is optional. As for DV, she typically did not include the word *oka* in exceptive phrases but still found exceptive phrases with *oka* to be grammatical. For consistency, I will be listing examples of exceptive phrases without the word *oka*.

For TB, the word *oka* cannot be used if the exceptive phrase contains multiple exceptions in a coordinate structure. For example, the exceptive phrase in (6a) conjoins two proper nouns, *Ākāṣ* 'Akash' and *Sāyi* 'Sai', and as a result, *oka* cannot be used before the second conjunct. Similarly, (6b) demonstrates that *oka* cannot be used before the first conjunct.

(6)   a. Andarū   annaṁ   tiṇṭunnāru, Ākāṣ inka (*oka) Sāyi tappa.
         everyone rice.ACC eat.DUR.3PL Akash and one   Sai except
         'Everyone is eating rice except Akash and Sai.'

      b. Andarū   annaṁ   tiṇṭunnāru, (*oka) Sāyi inka Ākāṣ tappa.
         everyone rice.ACC eat.DUR.3PL one   Sai and Akash except
         'Everyone is eating rice except Akash and Sai.'

While *oka* cannot be used before multiple coordinated exceptions, it can be used before plural exceptions as long as the plural exception is not coordinated with anything else. For example, in (7), the exception is *iddaru* 'two', referring to two students. TB found this sentence to be grammatical despite the plurality of the exception, indicating that the ungrammaticality of (6a) and (6b) likely stems from the presence of multiple DPs in a coordinate structure rather than semantic plurality.

(7)   Andarū vidyārthu-lu caduvu tunnāru, oka iddaru tappa.
      all   student-PL   study DUR.3PL one two   except
      'All students are studying except two.'

2.2   Category investigations

I did not examine this.

3 Word Order in Exceptives

3.1 Position of exceptive phrases

The exceptive phrase can occur at a clause boundary or immediately next to the associate. In other words, it can appear clause-initially, clause-finally, immediately before the associate, or immediately after it. The associate can also be the subject of a sentence, or the object of the sentence. (8) provides examples of exceptive phrases occurring in a clause-final position. In (8), (9), and (10), the exceptive phrase is bolded and the associate is italicized.

(8) a. *Andarū* annaṁ tiṇṭunnāru, **Divya tappa**.
   everyone rice   eat.DUR.3PL **Divya except**

   'Everyone is eating rice, except Divya.'

   b. Priyā *andar-ni*   cūs-in-di,   **Sāyi-ni   tappa**.
   Priya *everyone-*ACC see-PAST-3SG.FEM **Sai-**ACC **except**

   'Priya saw everyone, except Sai.'

The exceptive phrase may also occur clause-initially, as in (9).

(9) a. **Priyā tappa**, *andarū*   annaṁ   tiṇṭunnāru.
   Priya except *everybody* rice.ACC eat.DUR.3PL

   'Except Priya, everybody is eating rice.'

   b. **Ravi-ni   tappa**, Sāyi *andarū vidyārthu-lanu* pogiḍ-ā-ḍu.
   Ravi-ACC **except** Sai *all*   *student-*PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC

   'Except Ravi, Sai praised all the students.'

Additionally, the exceptive phrase can also appear before or after the associate.

(10) a. Divya **Sāyi-ni tappa** *andari-ni*   cūs-in-di
   Divya **Sai-**ACC **except** *everyone-*ACC see-PAST-3SG.FEM

   'Divya saw everyone except Sai'

   b. Priyā *andari-ni*   **Sāyi-ni tappa** cūs-in-di.
   Priya *everyone-*ACC **Sai-**ACC **except** see-PAST-3SG.FEM

   'Priya saw everyone except Sai.'

   c. *Andarū*   **Divya tappa** annaṁ   tiṇṭunnāru
   everybody **Divya except** rice.ACC eat.DUR.3PL

   'Everyone is eating rice except Divya.'

3.2 Connected Exceptives

Connected exceptives are available in Telugu.[4] As we saw in Section 3.1, the exceptive phrase can occur immediately to the left of the associate, or immediately to the right. These examples therefore appear to be connected exceptives.

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[4]For DV, there was less evidence for connected exceptives. For more information, see Section 9.

(11) a. Divya Sāyi-*(ni) tappa   andar-ni   cūs-in-di
          Divya Sai-ACC   except everyone-ACC saw-PAST-3SG.FEM
          'Divya saw everyone except Sai'

      b. Priyā andar-ni   Sāyi-*(ni) tappa cūs-in-di
          Priya everyone-ACC Sai-ACC   except see-PAST-3SG.FEM
          'Priya saw everyone except Sai.'

It is worth noting that the exception and the associate must both match in case in a connected exceptive.

3.3 Free Exceptives

Free exceptive phrases can appear either clause-finally (12a) or clause-initially (12b).

(12) a. Andarū   annaṁ   tiṇṭunnāru, Divya tappa
          everyone rice.ACC eat.DUR.3PL Divya except
          'Everyone is eating rice, except Divya.'

      b. Ravi-ni   tappa, Sāyi andarū vidyārthu-lanu   pogiḍ-ā-ḍu.
          Ravi-ACC except Sai   all   student-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC
          'Except Ravi, Sai praised all the students.'

4 Constituency evidence for connected exceptives

4.1 Coordination

Connected exceptives can be coordinated with other DPs, indicating that this test provides support for their constituency.[5] In example (13a), the exceptive phrase *Divya tappa* comes before the second conjunct, and in (13b), it comes immediately after the first conjunct.

(13) a. Andarū abbāyi-lu inka Divya tappa   andarū am'māyi-lu annaṁ tiṇṭunnāru.
          all   boy-PL   and Divya except all   girl-PL   rice   eat.DUR.3PL
          'All boys and all girls except Divya are eating rice.'

      b. Andarū abbāyi-lu Ākāsh tappa   inka andarū am'māyi-lu annaṁ tiṇṭunnāru.
          all   boy-PL   Akash except and all   girl-PL   rice   eat.DUR.3PL
          'All the boys except Akash and all the girls are eating rice.'

The examples in (14) test the constituency of connected exceptive phrases when the associate is in object position. In (14a), the exceptive phrase comes immediately after the first conjunct *andaru abbāyilanu* 'all boys', and in (14b), it comes immediately before the second conjunct. Once again, both sentences are grammatical.

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[5]The coordinating conjunction can either be *inka*, *mariyu*, or null. The choice between *inka* and *mariyu* seems to be a matter of dialectal variation. For consistency, I will be using *inka*.

(14) a. Sāyi andarū abbāyi-lanu Ravi-ni tappa inka andarū am'māyi-lanu
Sai all   boy-PL.ACC Ravi-ACC except and three girl-PL.ACC
cūs-ā-ḍu.
see-PAST-3SG.MASC
'Sai saw all the boys except Ravi and three girls.'

b. Sāyi andarū abbāyi-lanu inka Priyā-ni   tappa andarū am'māyi-lanu
Sai all   boy-PL.ACC and Priya-ACC except all   girl-PL.ACC
cūs-ā-ḍu.
see-PAST-3SG.MASC
'Sai saw all the boys and all the girls except Priya.'

In summary, the exceptive phrase may come immediately before or after the associate. When it does, the exceptive phrase and associate may together be coordinated with another DP.

4.2   Displacement

Recall from Section 1.3 that Telugu allows a wide range of word orders. Thus, if the associate and the exceptive phrase can form a constituent, then this unit should be able to undergo displacement according to the different word order possibilities available in Telugu. The following examples in (15) provide evidence that this prediction is borne out: the associate and exceptive phrase can form an object and appear in multiple positions. For the sake of brevity, I have only listed examples where the exceptive phrase precedes the associate. In (15), the exceptive phrase is bolded, and the associate is italicized. In each case, the exceptive phrase can precede the associate, and together, both the exceptive phrase and associate can appear clause-medially in the unmarked word order (15a), clause-initially (15b), and clause-finally (15c).

(15) a. Priyā **Sāyi-ni tappa** *andari-ni*   cūs-in-di
Priya **Sai-ACC except** *everyone-ACC* see-PAST-3SG.FEM
'Priya saw everyone except Sai.'

b. **Sāyi-ni tappa** *andari-ni*   Priyā cūs-in-di
Sai-ACC except *everyone-ACC* Priya see-PAST-3SG.FEM
'Priya saw everyone except Sai.'

c. Priyā cūs-in-di   **Sāyi-ni tappa** *andari-ni*
Priya see-PAST-3SG.FEM **Sai-ACC except** *everyone-ACC*
'Priya saw everyone except Sai.'

4.3   Other

My consultants also noted that the associate and the exceptive phrase can be used as fragment answers to questions. Examples are shown below in (16), (17), and (18).

(16) Annaṁ evaru tiṇṭunnāru?
rice   who eat.DUR.3PL
'Who is eating rice?'

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(17) Andarū   Divya tappa
      everyone Divya except
      'Everyone except Divya.'

(18) Divya tappa   andarū
      Divya except everyone
      'Everyone except Divya.'

5   Characteristics of the associate

5.1   Quantificational associates

5.1.1   Connected exceptives

Connected exceptives require their associates to have overt quantifiers. For example, (19), (20), and (22) all have overt quantifiers. On the other hand, definite associates and generic associates, like the ones in (21) and (23), lack overt quantifiers, and as a result, connected exceptives are not grammatical in these sentences.

(19) Universal quantifiers:

    a. Sāyi Priyā-ni   tappa andarū vidyārthu-lanu   meccukunn-ā-ḍu
        Sai   Priya-ACC except all   student-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC
        'Sai praised all students except Priya.'

(20) Non-universal quantifier:

    a. Sāyi Priyā-ni   tappa cāla mandi vidyārthu-lanu meccukunn-ā-ḍu
        Sai   Priya-ACC except many people student-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC
        'Sai praised many students except Priya.'

(21) Definite:

    a. *Sāyi Priyā-ni   tappa vidyārthu-lanu meccukunn-ā-ḍu
        Sai   Priya-ACC except student-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC
        Intended: 'Sai praised the students except Priya.'

(22) Indefinite:

    a. Sāyi Priyā-ni   tappa kondaru vidyārthu-lanu   meccukunn-ā-ḍu
        Sai   Priya-ACC except some   student-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC
        'Sai praised some students except Priya.'

(23) Generic/kind-denoting associate:

    a. *Sāyi-ki Chihuahua tappa   kukka-lu iṣṭaṁ
        Sai-DAT Chihuahua except dog-PL   please
        Intended: 'Sai likes dogs, except Chihuahuas.'

Another notable observation comes from the fact that the exceptive marker *tappa* may also be used when the associate is quantified by a numeral.

(24)　Sāyi Priyā-ni　tappa aiduguru vidyārth-lanu　meccukunn-ā-ḍu.
　　　Sai　Priya-ACC except five　　student-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC
　　　'Sai praised five students except Priya.'

Sentence (24) has the following interpretation: there are a total of six students, with Priya being one of them. Of these students, Sai praised five of them, while Priya is the only one he did not praise. This indicates that *tappa* can have an exclusive interpretation in addition to an exceptive interpretation. Additional evidence for an exclusive reading comes from (25).

(25)　Sāyi-ki　chihuahua tappa　migitā kukka-lu iṣṭaṁ
　　　Sai-DAT Chihuahua except other　dog-PL　like
　　　'Sai likes other dogs excluding Chihuahuas.'

In (25), the exception (Chihuahuas) does not belong to the set denoted by the associate, as indicated by the presence of *migitā* 'other'. This would suggest that the interpretation of *tappa* in this sentence is exclusive rather than exceptive.

5.1.2   Free exceptives

Free exceptives can occur with a wide variety of associates, including those that lack an overt quantifier.

(26)　Examples of free exceptives occurring with universally quantified associates.

　　a.　Andarū vidyārthu-lu annaṁ tiṇṭunnāru,　Priyā tappa.
　　　　all　　　student-PL　rice　　eat.DUR.3PL Priya except
　　　　'All students are eating rice, except Priya.'

　　b.　Sāyi andarū vidyārthu-lanu　meccukunn-ā-ḍu,　　Priyā-ni　tappa.
　　　　Sai　all　　student-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC Priya-ACC except
　　　　'Sai praised all the students except Priya.'

　　c.　Priyā-ni　tappa, Sāyi andarū vidyārthu-lanu　meccukunn-ā-ḍu.
　　　　Priya-ACC except Sai　all　　student-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC
　　　　'Except Priya, Sai praised all the students'

(27)　Non-universally quantified associates.

　　a.　Cālā　mandi vidyārthu-lu annaṁ tiṇṭunnāru,　Priyā tappa
　　　　many people student-PL　rice　　eat.DUR.3PL Priya except
　　　　'Many students are eating rice, except Priya.'

(28)　Definite

　　a.　Sāyi vidyārthu-lanu　meccukunn-ā-ḍu,　　Priyā-ni　tappa.
　　　　Sai　student-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC Priya-ACC except
　　　　'Sai praised the students, except Priya.'

　　b.　Priyā-ni　tappa, Sāyi vidyārthu-lanu　meccukunn-ā-ḍu.
　　　　Priya-ACC except Sai　student-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC
　　　　'Except Priya, Sai praised the students.'

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(29) Indefinite associates.

    a. Kondaru vidyārthu-lu annaṁ tiṇṭunnāru,   Priyā tappa.
       some   student-PL   rice   eat.DUR.3PL Priya except
       'Some students are eating rice, except Priya.'

    b. Priyā-ni   tappa, Sāyi kondaru vidyārthu-lanu meccukunn-ā-ḍu.
       Priya-ACC except Sai some   student-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC
       'Except Priya, Sai praised some students.'

    c. Sāyi kondaru vidyārthu-lanu meccukunn-ā-ḍu,   Priyā-ni   tappa.
       Sai some   student-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC Priya-ACC except
       'Sai praised some students, except Priya.'

(30) Generic kind-denoting associate:

    a. Sāyi-ki kukka-lu iṣṭaṁ, chihuahua tappa
       Sai-DAT dog-PL   like   Chihuahua except
       'Sai likes dogs, except Chihuahuas.'

    b. Chihuahua tappa, Sai-ki   kukka-lu iṣṭaṁ.
       Chihuahua except Sai-DAT dog-PL   like
       'Except Chihuahuas, Sai likes dogs.'

As was the case with connected exceptives, numerically quantified associates are also grammatical with free exceptives.

(31) Aiduguru vidyārthu-lu annaṁ tiṇṭunnāru,   Priyā tappa.
      five   student-PL   rice   eat.DUR.3PL Priya except
      'Five students are eating rice, except Priya.'

Example (31) implies that there are six students total and that Priya is the only one who is not eating. This seems to indicate that *tappa* can have an exclusive reading.

5.2 Implicit Associates

As shown in (32), implicit associates in adjunct position are possible in Telugu, and the exceptive phrase can occur freely within the clause or at a clause boundary. These exceptive phrases can occur clause initially (32a), after the subject and before *officeki* 'to the office' (32b), immediately before the verb (32c), or clause-finally (32d).

(32) a. Ādivāraṁ tappa, Priyā office-ki   veltundi.
       Sunday   except Priya office-DAT go.3SG.FEM
       'Except Sunday, Priya goes to work.'

    b. Priyā ādivāraṁ tappa office-ki   veltundi.
       Priya Sunday   except office-DAT go.3SG.FEM
       'Priya goes to work except on Sunday.'

    c. Priyā office-ki   ādivāraṁ tappa veltundi.
       Priya office-DAT Sunday   except go.3SG.FEM
       'Priya goes to work except on Sunday.'

    d. Priyā office-ki   veltundi,   ādivāraṁ tappa.
       Priya office-DAT go.3SG.FEM Sunday   except
       'Priya goes to work except on Sunday.'

In some cases, implicit associates are also available in cases where the associate would be in object position if it were present:

(33)   a. Priyā rāstundi,   kavita-lu tappa.
         Priya writes.3SG.FEM poem-PL except
         'Priya writes, except poems.'

       b. Priyā vandalēdu, annaṁ tappa.
         Priya cook.NEG rice   except
         'Priya can't cook, except rice.'

The exceptive phrases in (33) seem to only appear clause-finally when the associate is implicit. For example, if the exceptive phrase in (33b) comes before the verb, as in (34), then the associate is obligatory.

(34)   Priyā annaṁ tappa *(ēdi)   vandalēdu.
      Priya rice   except anything cook.NEG
      'Priya can't cook anything except rice.'

While the examples in (33) are grammatical, the following example is surprisingly ungrammatical when the associate is implicit.

(35)   Ī   pāṭhaśāla *(evari-ni) tisukōvaḍam lēdu, librarian-ni   tappa.
      this school   anyone-ACC hire   NEG librarian-ACC except
      'This school is not hiring anyone, except librarians.'

It is possible to use 'hire' intransitively in Telugu, as the following examples show, so the ungrammaticality of (35) does not seem to stem from the word for 'hire' being used intransitively.

(36)   a. Ī   pāṭhaśāla tisukōvaḍam lēdu.
        this school   hire   NEG
        'This schools is not hiring.'

       b. Ī   pāṭhaśāla tisukuntundi.
        this school   hire.DUR.3SG.FEM
        'This schools is hiring.'

6   Characteristics of the Exception

6.1   Categorial Options

6.1.1   Connected Exceptives

All connected exceptives allow DP/nominal exceptions.

(37) a. Sāyi Ravi-ni   tappa andarū vidyārthu-lanu   pogiḍ-ā-ḍu
       Sai Ravi-ACC except all   students-PL.ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC
       'Sai praised all the students except Ravi.'

     b. Priyā annaṁ   tappa annī   tin-in-di
       Priya rice.ACC except everything.ACC eat-PAST-3SG.FEM
       'Priya ate everything except rice.'

Furthermore, PP exceptions are also permitted in connected exceptives. In these cases, the exceptive phrase must come immediately before the associate.

(38) a. Nēnu Divya pakkana tappa andari   pakkana kūrcuni tinn-ā-nu
       1SG Divya beside   except everyone beside   sit   eat-PAST-1SG
       'I ate beside everyone except Divya.'

     b. *Nēnu andari   pakkana Divya pakkana tappa kūrcuni tinn-ā-nu
       1SG   everyone beside Divya beside except sit   eat-PAST-1SG
       'I ate next to everyone except Divya'

     c. *Nēnu andari   Divya pakkana tappa pakkana kūrcuni tinn-ā-nu
       1SG   everyone Divya beside except beside   sit   eat-PAST-1SG
       'I ate next to everyone except Divya.'

As for clausal exceptions, these do not seem to be available for free exceptives (see Section 6.1.2), so it is unlikely that they would be available for connected exceptives.

6.1.2 Free Exceptives

Similar to connected exceptives, free exceptives also allow nominal exceptions.

(39) Andarū vidyārthu-lu annaṁ   tiṇṭunnāru, Priyā tappa.
     all   student-PL rice.ACC eat.DUR.3PL Priya except
     'All students are eating rice, except Priya.'

In addition, PP exceptions are also licit with free exceptives.

(40) Nēnu andari   pakkana kūrcuni tinn-ā-nu,   Divya pakkana tappa
     1SG everyone beside   sit   eat-PAST-1SG Divya beside   except
     'I ate next to everyone, except next to Divya.'

(41) Divya pakkana tappa, nēnu andari   pakkana kūrcuni tinn-ā-nu
     Divya beside   except 1SG everyone beside   sit   eat-PAST-1SG
     'Except next to Divya, I ate next to everyone.'

Telugu does not seem to allow clausal exceptions. In order to express a clause in the exceptive phrase, the phrase *anē viṣayam* 'this matter' must be used. Furthermore, *anē viṣayam* is obligatory, indicating that a true clausal exception may not be possible; instead, it seems that the clause must be encased inside of an NP headed by *viṣayam* 'matter', and there is no clear evidence that clausal exceptions are available.

(42) a. Ākāṣ Sāyi ceppinavi anni nammuṭāḍu, oka Priyā party-ki veltadi *(anē
     Akash Sai said all.ACC believe.3SG.MASC one Priya party-DAT go this
     viṣayaṁ) tappa.
     matter except
     'Akash believes everything that Sai said, except that Priya will go to the party.'

   b. Ākāṣ-ki Sāyi gurinci antā telusu, atani-ki pakshu-lu iṣṭaṁ *(anē viṣayaṁ)
     Akash Sai about everything know 3SG-DAT bird-PL like this matter
     tappa.
     except
     'Akash knows everything about Sai, except that he likes birds.'

6.2 Case Marking on Exceptions

6.2.1 Free exceptives

Exceptions in free exceptives match their associate in case.[6] For example, if an associate is accusative, then the exception must be accusative as well. In (43a) and (43b), the associate *andarū vidyārthulanu* 'all the students' is accusative, so the exception *Ravini* is also accusative.

(43) a. Sāyi andarū vidyārthu-lanu pogiḍ-ā-ḍu, Ravi-*(ni) tappa.
     Sai all student-ACC.PL praise-PAST-3SG.MASC Ravi-ACC except
     'Sai praised all the students, except Ravi.'

   b. Ravi-*(ni) tappa, Sāyi andarū vidyārthu-lanu pogiḍ-ā-ḍu.
     Ravi-ACC except Sai all student-ACC.PL praise-PAST-3SG.MASC
     'Except Ravi, Sai praised all the students.'

The same holds for the dative case.

(44) a. Sāyi andari-ki uttaram rās-ā-ḍu, Priyā-*(ki) tappa.
     Sai everyone-DAT letter.ACC write-PAST-3SG.MASC Priya-DAT except
     'Sai wrote a letter to everyone except Priya.'

   b. Priyā-*(ki) tappa, Sāyi andari-ki uttaram rās-ā-ḍu.
     Priya-DAT except Sai everyone-DAT letter.ACC write-PAST-3SG.MASC
     'Except Priya, Sai wrote a letter to everyone.'

6.2.2 Connected exceptives

With connected exceptives, case matching is also required in exceptives. Examples are provided below in (45). In (45a), the associate *andarū vidyārthulanu* 'all of the students' is accusative, and so the exception *Ravini* 'Ravi' must also be accusative. Similarly, in (45b), the associate *andariki* is in the dative case, and so dative case is required on the exception *Priyāki*.

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[6]For TB, case matching was obligatory. For DV, on the other hand, her judgments were a bit more varied. Initially, she found sentences with a nominative exception to be grammatical, even when the associate was not nominative. However, she later indicated that she felt that the sentences with case matching in the exceptive phrase were more correct. There does seem to be some variation, but at the very least, there seems to be a preference for case-matching.

(45) a. Sāyi Ravi-*(ni) tappa andarū vidyārthu-lanu pogiḍ-ā-ḍu.
Sai Ravi-ACC except all student-ACC.PL praise-PAST-3SG.MASC
'Sai praised all the students except Ravi.'

b. Sāyi Priyā-*(ki) tappa andari-ki uttaram rās-ā-ḍu.
Sai Priya-DAT except everyone-DAT letter.ACC write-PAST-3SG.MASC
'Sai wrote a letter to everyone except Priya.'

7 Clausal Exceptives

7.1 Possible expression of full clause exceptions

Telugu does not allow full clausal expression of exceptions, as shown in (46). Even when nonfinite participles are used (46a and 46c), the resulting sentences are ungrammatical, and as (46b) shows, a finite clause cannot serve as an exception either. The complement of the exceptive marker *tappa* must be a DP or a PP.

(46) a. *Andarū annaṁ tiṇṭunnāru, Divya annaṁ tinaṭamlēdu tappa.
everyone rice.ACC eat.DUR.3PL Divya rice.ACC eat.NEG except
Intended: 'Everyone is eating rice, except Divya is not eating rice.'

b. *Evaru tinaṭamlēdu, Sāyi tintunnāḍu tappa.
nobody eat.NEG Sai eat.DUR.3SG except
Intended: 'Nobody is eating, except Sai is eating.'

c. *Evaru tinaṭamlēdu, Sāyi tinaṭam tappa.
nobody eat.NEG Sai eat.PART except
Intended: 'Nobody is eating, except for Sai's eating.'

7.2 Multiple exceptions

Example (47) offers an example of multiple exceptions, with one exception begin unmarked for case and the other in the comitative case.

(47) Prati abbāyi prati am'māyi-tō maṭlaḍ-ā-ḍu, Sāyi Priyā-tō tappa.
every boy every girl-COM speak-PAST-3SG.MASC Sai Priya-COM except
'Every boy spoke to every girl, except Sai to Priya.'

(48) provides another example that is similar to (47). Here, one exception is unmarked, while the other is marked with accusative case.

(48) Prati abbāyi prati am'māy-ni meccukunn-ā-ḍu, Sāyi Priyā-ni tappa.
every boy every girl-ACC praise-PAST-3SG.MASC Sai Priya-ACC except
'Every boy praised every girl, except Sai Priya.'

Multiple exceptions with a DP and a PP also seem to be possible, as shown in (49).

(49) Prati abbāyi prati am'māyi pakkana kūrcunn-ā-ḍu, Sai Divya pakkana tappa.
every boy every girl beside sit-PAST-3SG.MASC Sai Divya beside except
'Every boy sat beside every girl, except Sai beside Divya.'

7.3 Sluicing interpretations

The sentence in (50a) tests whether ambiguity arises when an exceptive phrase is followed by a sluiced clause. Based on my elicitation, (50a) is ambiguous and can be equivalent to either (50b) or (50c).

(50) a. Andarū tiṇṭunnāru Priyā tappa kāni enduku nāku   teliyadu
         everyone eat.DUR.3PL Priya except but why   1SG.DAT know.NEG
         'Everyone is eating except Priya but I don't know why.'

      b. Andarū tiṇṭunnāru Priyā tappa kāni enduku tinaṭlēdō nāku   teliyadu
         everyone eat.DUR.3PL Priya except but why   eat.NEG 1SG.DAT know.NEG
         'Everyone is eating except Priya, but I don't know why she's not eating.'

      c. Andarū tiṇṭunnāru Priyā tappa, kānī andarū   tiṇṭū oka Priyā enduku tinaṭlēdō
         everyone eat.DUR.3PL Priya except but everyone eat one Priya why   eat.NEG
         nāku   teliyadu
         1SG.DAT know.NEG
         'Everyone is eating except Priya, but I don't know why everyone but Priya is eating.'

(50a) can be interpreted in two ways: either (1) the speaker does not know why Priya is not eating, or (2) the speaker does not know why everyone is eating except Priya. The first interpretation suggests that there is clausal structure in the ellipsis site, as this interpretation relies on clausal structure in the exceptive phrase corresponding to 'Priya is not eating.'

7.4 Clausal/Speaker-oriented Adverbs

A single sentence with an exceptive phrase can use two contradictory clausal adverbs, as shown in (51).

(51) Adrṣṭavaśāttu andarū   ikkaḍa unnāru,   duradrṣṭavaśāttu Priyā tappa
      fortunately   everyone here   come.3PL unfortunately   Priya except
      'Fortunately everyone arrived, except Priya, unfortunately.'

In (51), there are two adverbs: *adrṣṭavaśāttu* 'fortunately' and *duradrṣṭavaśāttu* 'unfortunately'. If (51) were all just one clause, it would be difficult for both 'fortunately' and 'unfortunately' to have scope over the clause, since they are mutually contradictory. Thus, the grammaticality of (51) provides evidence for clausal structure in the exceptive phrase.

An additional example is provided below in (52).

(52) Adrṣṭavaśāttu andarū   Priyā-ni   meccukunn-ā-ru, duradrṣṭavaśāttu Sāyi tappa
      fortunately   everyone Priya-ACC praise-PAST-3PL unfortunately   Sai except
      'Fortunately everyone praised Priya, except Sai, unfortunately.'

7.5 Preposition/Postposition Stranding

Telugu allows (but does not require) wh-movement to occur, as shown in (53). In (53a), the wh-phrase *evari pakkana* 'besides whom' appears between the subject and the verb. On the other hand, in (53b), the wh-phrase now appears in the left periphery.

(53) a. Priyā evari pakkana kūrcundi?
          Priya who beside   sit.DUR.3SG.FEM
          'Who is Priya sitting beside?'

      b. Evari pakkana Priyā kūrcundi?
          who beside   Priya sit.DUR.3SG.FEM
          'Who is Priya sitting beside?

While wh-movement seems to be optional in Telugu, P-stranding is not allowed with wh-movement.

(54) *Evari Priyā pakkana kūrcundi?
       who   Priya beside   sit.DUR.3SG.FEM
       Intended: 'Who is Priya sitting beside?'

Similarly, the wh-phrase may also be an argument of the verb, and in these cases, it can optionally move.

(55) Priyā pustakam deni paina peṭṭ-in-di
      Priya book.ACC what on   put-PAST-3SG.FEM
      'On what did Priya put the book?'

(56) Deni paina Priyā pustakam peṭṭ-in-di
      what on   Priya book.ACC put-PAST-3SG.FEM
      'On what did Priya put the book?'

Once again, P-stranding is not licit with a wh-phrase that is an argument of the verb.

(57) *Deni Priyā pustakam paina peṭṭ-in-di
       what Priya book.ACC on   put-PAST-3SG.FEM
       Intended: 'What did Priya put the book on?'

Based on the data in (57) and (54), P-stranding does not seem to be an option under wh-movement. If the exceptive phrase were clausal and involved both movement and ellipsis, then we would expect P-stranding to be illicit with exceptive phrases as well. This prediction is borne out for TB, who found exceptive phrases to be ungrammatical if they did not include a postposition when the associate was also in a PP. The judgments that I elicited with him are reported in (58).

(58) a. Priyā andari   pakkana kūrcundi,   Sāyi *(pakkana) tappa
          Priya everyone beside   sit.DUR.3SG.FEM Sai beside   except
          'Priya is sitting beside everyone, except beside Sai.'

      b. Priyā anni balla-la paina pustakā-lu peṭṭ-in-di,   erra dani *(paina) tappa
          Priya all   table-PL on   book-PL   put-PAST-3SG.FEM red one on   except
          'Priya put the books on all tables, except on the red one.'

On the other hand, DV did not require the postposition in the exceptive phrase even when the associate is in a PP, and so for her, this test does not yield evidence for clausal structure.

7.6 Internal Reading with Same/Different

Sentences which contain the word 'same' or 'different' can display an ambiguity between an internal (quantifier bound) reading and an external reading. With the external reading, 'same' or 'different' can refer to an object that is salient in the discourse.

(59) tests whether the internal reading and external reading are available in Telugu when exceptive phrases are used with clauses that contain the words *okē* 'same' and *vērē* 'different.'

(59) a. Andarū **okē** pustakam cadiv-ā-ru   Sāyi tappa.
          everyone **same** book.ACC read-PAST-3PL Sai except
          'Everyone is reading the same book except Sai.'

      b. Andarū **vērē**   pustakā-lū cadiv-ā-ru   Sāyi tappa
          everyone **different** book-PL   read-PAST-3PL Sai except
          'Everyone is reading a different book except Sai.'

The sentence in (59a) can be interpreted in a way that corresponds to the internal reading. Under this interpretation, the children are reading a book that is not relevant to the discourse or the topic of an ongoing conversation. Instead, the children are reading the same book as each other (i.e., multiple copies of just one book). The external reading, however, was not available (or at least less preferable). For TB, he noted that in order to get the external reading, a demonstrative pronoun *idē* 'this' should be used.

On the other hand, (59b) could have both the internal and the external reading. This sentence could mean that everyone is reading a book that is different from the one that is relevant or salient in the discourse, and it could also mean that apart from Sai, every individual is reading a different book from each other.

7.7 Collective Predicates

Collective predicates are compatible with exceptive phrases in Telugu even when the exception is singular. For example, in (61), we have an example of a sentence with the predicate *gumigūḍāru* 'gather'. As (60) indicates, *gumigūḍāru* is not grammatical with a singular subject:

(60) *Priyā gumigūd-in-di.
       Priya gather-PAST-3SG.FEM
       Intended: 'Priya gathered (with someone).'

(61) tests whether an exceptive phrase is grammatical with this collective predicate, and indeed we find that this is the case, despite the fact that the exception is singular.

(61) Andarū   metla kinda gumigūḍ-ā-ru,   Sāyi tappa
      everyone stair under gather-PAST-3PL Sai except
      'Everyone gathered downstairs, except Sai'

Another collective predicate that I tested was 'surround'. Like the other collective predicates that I tested, this predicate was grammatical with exceptive phrases and singular exceptions. At the same time, my consultants reported that using this predicate with a singular subject resulted in a nonsensical sentence.

(62) a. Andarū   tebul-ni   cuṭṭumuṭṭ-ā-ru,   Priyā tappa
          everyone table-ACC surround-PAST-3PL Priya except
          'Everyone surrounded the table, except Priya.'

      b. #Priyā tebul-ni   cuṭṭumuṭṭ-in-di
          Priya   table-ACC surround-PAST-3SG.FEM
          'Priya surrounded the table.'

Additional predicates involving the adverb *kalisi* 'together' were also tested, and these were gram-
matical with exceptive phrases as well. Once again, these predicates are not compatible with
singular subjects.

(63) a. Andarū   kalisi   tinn-ā-ru,   Priyā tappa
          everyone together eat-PAST-3PL Priya except
          'Everyone ate together, except Priya.'

      b. *Priya kalisi   tin-in-di
          Priya   together eat-PAST-3SG.FEM
          Intended: 'Priya ate together.'

7.8   Island Sensitivity

The sentences listed in (64) test whether exceptive phrases in Telugu are sensitive to island vio-
lations. Examples (64a) and (64b) test adjunct islands, example (64c) tests a subject island, and
example (64d) tests a complex noun phrase with a relative clause.

(64) a. **Adjunct island:**

          *Andarū vastē   Sāyi ānanda paḍatādu, Priyā tappa
          everyone come.COND Sai   happy be.FUT   Priya except

          Intended: 'If everyone except Priya comes, Sai will be happy.'

      b. **Adjunct island:**

          *Andarū vacc-ā-ru   kābaṭṭi Sāyi ānandangā unnāḍu,   Priyā tappa
          everyone come-PAST-3PL because Sai   happy   be.3SG.MASC Priya except

          Intended: 'Because everyone except Priya came, Sai is happy.'

      c. **Subject island:**

          *Andarū ikkaḍa unnāru anē nijam nannu   āścaryaparustundi, Priyā tappa
          everyone here   be.3PL this fact 1SG.ACC amazing   Priya except

          Intended: 'The fact that everyone except Priya is here surprises me.'

      d. **Complex Noun Phrase Constraint:**

          Nēnu andari-ki   naccē pustakam konn-ā-nu,   Priyā-ki   tappa
          1SG   everyone-DAT like   book.ACC buy-PAST-1SG Priya-DAT except

          Intended: 'I bought the book that everyone except Priya likes.'

Based on this data, exceptive phrases in Telugu are sensitive to all types of islands except perhaps for complex noun phrases. For complex noun phrases, I received conflicting judgments.

In (64d), the associate is in a relative clause and is marked with dative case. The exception is also clause final and is obligatorily marked with dative case. For TB, the sentence as a whole could mean 'I bought a book that everyone except for Priya likes'. DV, however, did not find this sentence to be grammatical.

8   Problematic Data

Example (35) from Section 5 (repeated below in 65) was surprisingly ungrammatical when the associate is not overt. This contrasts with the grammatical examples in (33), which showed that implicit associates were grammatical in object position.

(65)   Ī   pāṭhaśāla *(evari-ni)   tisukōvaḍamlēdu, librarian-ni   tappa.
        this school   anyone-ACC hire.NEG   librarian-ACC except
        'This school is not hiring anyone, except librarians.'

Example (64d) from Section 7.8 was rather surprising and problematic because of the conflicting judgments that it elicited. For convenience, I have repeated the example below:

(66)   ✓/* Nēnu andari-ki   naccē pustakam konn-ā-nu,   Priyā-ki   tappa
            1SG   everyone-DAT like   book.ACC buy-PAST-1SG Priya-DAT except
        'I bought the book that everyone likes, except Priya'

For DV, this sentence is ungrammatical, which would not be surprising given the other data from Section 7.8. TB's judgment, however, was surprising, since he found (66) to be grammatical, despite the fact that he also found the other cases of island violations to be ungrammatical.

9   Additional Observations and Comments

In Table 1, I have summarized the results of the constituency tests from Section 4. These results are based on the judgments I elicited from TB.

Constituency Test	Result	Constituent?
Coordination	Exceptive phrase and associate can be coordinated with DP.	Yes
Displacement	Displacement of exceptive phrase with associate is permitted.	Yes
Fragment	Exceptive phrase and associate can serve as fragment response.	Yes

Table 1: Summary of Constituency Tests for TB

The results in Table 1 therefore indicate that connected exceptives are possible in TB's variety of Telugu. However, I did have another consultant (DV) whose judgments differed from those

in Section 4. For DV, she preferred having the exceptive phrase before both conjuncts or after both conjuncts. While placing the exceptive phrase in between either conjunct was not completely ungrammatical for her, she stated that these examples were less preferable than the ones where the exceptive phrase preceded or followed both conjuncts. Additionally, displacement of the exceptive phrase and associate was not possible for DV, and the results of the fragment test were the same for both consultants. Based on these differences, it seems that connected exceptives are not available for DV, since DV's judgments for the coordination test and displacement test do not provide clear support for connected exceptives in her dialect.

Below, in Table 2, I have summarized the clausal vs. phrasal diagnostics from Section 7.

Test	Result	Clausal or Phrasal
Expression of full clause	No full clause	Phrasal
Multiple exceptions	Multiple exceptions are licit	Clausal
Sluicing interpretations	Ambiguity	Clausal
Clausal/Speaker-oriented adverbs	Adverb can scope over exceptive	Clausal
Preposition/postposition Stranding	Correlation holds for TB but not for DV	Clausal for TB but not DV
Internal Reading	Internal reading is available	Phrasal
Collective Predicates	Grammatical with exceptives	Phrasal
Island Sensitivity	Mostly sensitive to islands	Clausal

Table 2: Summary of Clausal Ellipsis Diagnostics in Exceptives

For TB, the majority of tests provide clear evidence for clausal structure in the exceptive phrase. Once again, I did notice some dialectal variation between TB and DV. For TB, the exceptive phrase must contain a PP when the associate is also in a PP, so for him, the P-stranding test provides evidence for clausal structure. On the other hand, DV did not require postpositions in the exceptive phrase, and so this test did not yield evidence for clausal structure in her dialect. Overall, however, evidence from multiple exceptions, sluicing ambiguity, clausal/speaker-oriented adverbs, and island sensitivity provide rather compelling evidence for clausal structure for both of my consultants.

Based on these results, it seems likely that exceptive phrases in Telugu do have clausal structure. However, if this is the case, then the unavailability of a full overt clause in the exceptive phrase is rather surprising. One could perhaps explain this by stipulating that clauses in exceptive phrases obligatorily undergo ellipsis. Why this must be, however, is still an open question.

10   Consultants

To collect this data, I worked with two consultants. Both were graduate students at the University of Florida during the time I conducted elicitation sessions.

Abbreviation	Age	Gender	Where They Have Lived	Language Expertise
DV	29	Female	Andhra Pradesh and Florida	Telugu, English
TB	25	Male	Bangalore, Hyderabad, and Florida	Telugu, Hindi, English

Table 3: Demographic Information on Both Consultants

TB uses Telugu to speak with friends and family. He uses English in university or corporate settings, and uses Hindi or English to speak with people from non-Telugu speaking states in India. DV primarily uses Telugu at home and English elsewhere.

11   References

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