Exceptive construction X-zər poenia in Poshkart Chuvash¹

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1.1. Language name

Chuvash (ISO: 639) is a Turkic language spoken in Volga region of Russia. It is the only preserved language from the Oghur branch of the Turkic family. As of 2010, it has 1,042,989 native speakers (Wikipedia). Chuvash has three dialects: Viryal, or Upper dialect, Anatri, or Lower dialect, and Poshkart dialect. In Glottolog, Chuvash is classified as a threatened language.

1.2. Morphological type

As other Turkic languages, Chuvash has predominantly agglutinative morphology, i.e., a single morpheme usually corresponds to a single grammatic category, and vice versa. Consider examples from the nominal (1) and verbal (1) domain:

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(1) a. torate-ə-san-tean

thread-P_3-PL-ABL

'from these threads'

b. kəlar-i-me-r<sup>j</sup>-ë

take_out-POT-NEG-PST-3SG

'(s)he did not manage to take out'
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1.3. Word order

The default word order in Chuvash is SOV, with the exclusions of highly topicalized arguments that can occur in postverbal position (Andreev 1970). Chuvash generally patterns left-branching syntax: for instance, Chuvash has postpositions, as in (2):

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1.4. Case system

Chuvash has a rich case system. Case markers do not merge with number markers, although sometimes are phonetically inseparable.

	SG	PL
NOM	jɨdə	jɨdə-zam
	dog	dog-PL
GEN	jɨdə-n	jɨdə-zan
	dog-GEN	dog-PL[GEN]
OBJ	jɨtt-a	jɨdə-zan ^j -a / jɨdə-zan-e
	dog-OBJ	dog-PL-OBJ dog-PL-OBJ
LOC	jɨdə-ra	jɨdə-zan-dza
	dog-LOC	dog-PL-LOC
ABL	jɨdə-ran	jɨdə-zan-dzan
	dog-ABL	dog-PL-ABL
INS	jɨdə-ba	jɨdə-zam-ba
	dog-INS	dog-PL-INS
CAR	jɨdə-zər	jɨdə-zam-zər
	dog-CAR	dog-PL-CAR
CSL	jɨdə-zən	jɨdə-zam-zən
	dog-CSL	dog-PL-CSL

A tricky property of Chuvash case system is that it does not have different marking for direct and indirect objects – in both the cases, the objective case is used. This is a potential concern for researching the transitivity in Chuvash since there is no overt distinction between the two types of objects. However, there are some tests that can help to distinguish between the direct and indirect object (Kholodilova 2021).

The order of the nominal markers is always the same: STEM-POSS-NUM-CASE, as illustrated in (1).

1.5 Focus constructions

Chuvash features a focus particle =ak that is attached to the focalized phrase [Zakirova 2018]:

(3) epe uram-ra kušak tup-r-əm, kušak **cak kun=ax** šəši tət-rë

I street-LOC cat find-PST-1SG cat **this day=EMPH** mouse catch-PST.3SG

'I found a cat in the street. That very day the cat caught a mouse'.2 (Zakirova 2018)

As far as I know, there is no difference in case marking between unfocalized and focalized NPs. There is no cleft construction in Chuvash, and no focus-like marking is involved in the formation of exceptives.

² The sentence in (3) illustrates the pattern in Standard Chuvash, but the generalization holds for Poshkart Chuvash as well (Zakirova 2018).

The position of wh-words in Chuvash is flexible: according to (Shikhantsova 2018), they can occur in-situ (4), on the left periphery (4) and right periphery (4).

```
t-a-n?
(4) a. es vixodnoj
                         mën
      2sg weekend
                         what do-NPST-2SG
      'What do you do on weekends?'
   b. xədzan
                  es
                         xola-ja
                                       kaj-a-n?
      when
                  2sg
                                       go-NPST-2SG
                         town-OBJ
      'When do you go to the town?'
                                əsta?
   c. pet<sup>j</sup>ə
                 porn-a-t
      P.
                  live-NPST-3SG where
      'Where does Petya live?'
```

It is worth noting that these data are taken from unpublished fieldwork materials and may need further verification. In addition, Chuvash has a close contact with Russian, and all the consultants we worked with are bilingual, so some variations in the word order in questions may be due to Russian influence. It is especially likely in the context of elicitation, where Chuvash stimuli were given as direct translations of Russian sentences. And finally, the effect of semantic and pragmatic factors on the placement of wh-words in Chuvash is yet to be understood.

2. Basic exceptive constructions

According to (Baranova et al. 2021), the main exceptive construction in Chuvash consists of the postposition $pogn^{j}a^{3}$ 'except' and a noun phase in the caritive case, as in (5):

'Everybody except me went to the town.'

In Poshkart Chuvash, the postposition *poenia* is used only in its exceptive function, but in other dialects the postposition itself may have caritive semantics (Ashmarin, 1928–1950: iss. X, p. 25).

3. Free and connective exceptives

Judging from the elicited data, *poenia* appears to be a connective exceptive. The main evidence for that is the constituency test: exceptive construction can be coordinated with an NP (6).

³ Morphologically, *poenia* is the objective case form of the noun 'head' with the possessive marker: *poe-ni-a* [head-P 3-OBJ].

(6) a. [[por arzin atea-zam=da vaeə-zər poenia] tada maşə] tëlbol-a kil-te-ë all young man-PL=ADD V.-CAR except and M. meeting-OBJ come-PST-3SG 'Masha and every boy except Vasya came to the meeting.'

The fragmentation test also shows that the exceptive construction is a constituent, since the construction with *poenia* can be a self-sufficient answer to a question:

However, *poenia* can also be used as a free exceptive. The postpositional phrase does not have to be adjacent to its associate: it can move on the left or the right periphery, as shown in (8).

Thus, on the one hand, the exceptive construction with *poenia* passes the constituency tests ((6), (7)), and on the other hand, the associate does not have to be adjacent to the exceptive propositional phrase. That suggests that the exceptive construction is base-generated as a connected exceptive, but the exception phrase can be extraposed.

5. Characteristics of the associate

^{&#}x27;Vasya invited all the girls except Masha and all the boys except Petya to the meeting.'

5.1. Quantificational associates

The PPs with *poenia* violate the Quantifier Constraint: in addition to the quantifier phrases (9), their associates can be superlatives (9), DPs (9) and numerical phrases (9).

```
(9) a. jep por
                   ar-zin-atea-zan<sup>j</sup>-a=da
                                                            vacə-zər
                                                                            poen<sup>j</sup>a
       I
           all
                   man-person-child-PL-OBJ=ADD
                                                            V.-car
                                                                            except
      tada
                                   xəna-ja
                                                    tcën-d-ëm
                    mas-a
                    М.-овј
                                    guest-OBJ
                                                    invite-PST-1SG
      and
```

'I invited Masha and all boys except Vasya.'

'I invited Masha and most boys except Petya and Seryozha.'

```
c. professor xəj-ən vërenegene-zen<sup>j</sup>-e ivan-zər posn<sup>j</sup>a

professor self.P_3-GEN student-PL-OBJ V.-CAR except

tada xəjən arəm-n<sup>j</sup>-a xəna-ja tsën-ts-ë

and self.P_3-GEN wife-P_3-OBJ guest-OBJ invite-PST-1SF
```

'Professor invited his students except Ivan and his wife.'

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d. jëp maş-a tada vəcə-zər pocnia vonə ar-zin-atca-ja tcën-d-ëm

I M.-OBJ and V.-CAR except ten man-person-child-OBJ invite-PST-1SG

'I invited Masha and ten boys except Vasya.'
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My consultants did not agree on whether the caseless noun phrase can be an associate of the exceptive in (10). One of the consultants said that the sentences is contradictory: it implies that the bulldogs are not dogs. Another consultant judged the sentence (10) as fine. The third consultant said that for the sentence to be acceptable, one should add the word *itti* 'other' to the noun *jidəzam* 'dogs'. Thus, it is not clear whether the caseless NPs can be an associate of the exceptives with *poenia* – further research is needed.

5.2. Implicit associates

According to two of the three consultants, the exceptive phrase with $poen^{j}a$ can have an implicit associate, as in (11):

(11) vasə tundi kon-zər posnia lajək ës-let

V. Monday day-CAR except well work-VBZ.3SG

'Vasya works well, except on Mondays.'

The third consultant judged the sentence ungrammatical and asked to add an explicit associate.

6. Characteristics of the exception

6.1. Categorial options

The postposition *poenia* can take as complements NPs (12), PPs (12), and nominalized participles (12), but not infinitival phrases⁴ (12) or CPs (12). Not every PP can be a complement: for instance, among four tested postpositions, only two (*valli* 'for' and *tərək* 'along') were acceptable in a complement of the exceptive constructions; the other two postpositions, *pergi* 'due to' and *patnia* 'towards', cannot host the caritive case (12): consultants asked to add a full participle that would take it.

(12) a. vasə petiə-zər posnia por-ni-a=da tëlbol-n-a tsën-ts-ë

V. P.-CAR except all-P_3-OBJ=ADD meet-PC_RES-OBJ invite-PST-3SG

'Vasya called everyone to the meeting, except Petya.'

b. vasə maşə valli-zər posnia ni-xam valli=de taşla-mas

V. M. for-CAR except NEG-who for=ADD dance-NEG.NPST[.3SG]

'Vasya did not dance for anyone except for Masha.'

c. kon lajək ert-r^j-ë, sivë pol-n-i-zər poɛn^ja day good go_through-PST-3SG cold be-PC_RES-CAR except

'The day passed well, except for being cold.'

d. *vəl ε i-me-zər po ε n^ja ni-m=de tu-ma-r^j-ə he eat-INF-CAR except NEG-what=ADD do-NEG-PST-3SG

Intended: 'He did not do anything except he ate.'

e. *kon lajək ert-r^j-ë, sivë pol-te-ə-zər poɛn^ja

⁴ One of the three consultants accepted sentence (12d) with the infinitival phrase, but then the two others found it ungrammatical.

day good go_through cold be-PST-3SG-CAR except Intended: 'The day passed well, except it was cold.'

f. ***mënbor katei pergi=de maşə magər-te-ə

all groom because_of=ADD M. be_sad-PST-3SG

vaeə pergi-zər poenia

V. because_of-CAR except

6.2. Case marking on nominal exceptions.

The postposition *pognia* 'except' assigns the caritive case to its complement –it is ungrammatical to omit it, as well as change it to another case (although the whole set of all the possible cases is not checked yet).

Without the postposition, the caritive case can be used on its own, but it no longer obtains the same meaning, as shown in (14).

(14) a. masə tada por ar-zin-atca kil-t6-a vacə-zər M. and all man-person-child V.-CAR come-PST-3SG 'Masha and all boys came without Vasya.' b. vasə pet^jə-zər por ar-zin-atca-zam=da tcën-tc-ë

V. P.-CAR all man-person-child-PL=ADD invite-PST-3SG

'Vasya invited all the boys, and he did it without Petya.'

(Intended interpretation: 'Vasya invited all the boys except Petya.')

7. Clausal exceptives

The construction with *poenia* cannot be used as a full-fledged clausal exceptive – it fails all the relevant tests.

7.1. Possible expression of exception by a full clause

The exceptive marker $poen^{j}a$ cannot take finite a full clause as an argument (15) – it can only take participles (15).

^{&#}x27;Masha was sad about all of her grooms except for Vasya.'

(15) a. vəl ci-n-i-zər n-im=detu-ma-r^j-ə poen^ja he eat-PC RES-P 3-CAR except do-NEG-PST-3SG NEG-what=ADD 'He did not do anything except he ate.' kil-te-ëe b. *pet^ja kil-me-r^j-ë-zər poen^ja por=da P. come-NEG-PST-3SG-CAR all=ADD come-PST-3PL except 'Everybody came, except Petya did not come.'

7.2. Multiple exceptions

The exceptive construction with poen a cannot take multiple exceptions: the verb cannot be elided (16), a participle corresponding to the omitted predicate must be used (16).

7.3. Sluicing interpretations

In the sentences with sluicing, the sluiced wh-word can only be interpreted as related to the elided copy of the whole main clause, but not as related to the potential exceptive clause. Thus, this test also points to the phrasal analysis of *poenia* exceptives.

Unacceptable interpretation: I am surprised that Petya did not come.

7.4. Clausal/speaker-oriented adverbials

Speaker-oriented adverbials can modify the exceptive phrase:

^{&#}x27;No one loves no one, except Masha loves Petya.'

If the exceptive phrase is before the main clause, the preceding adverbial, in addition to the low scop reading, has a high scope reading – this reading is actually preferred. This suggests that this adverbial *sel* is not an interjection-like element, but a syntactic element taking different scopes.

- 1. 'Unfortunately, Vasya invited everyone.'
- 2. 'Unfortunately, Vasya did not invite Petya.'

7.5. Preposition stranding

Poshkart Chuvash does not have postposition stranding: the complement NP must be adjacent to the postposition.

The exceptive PPs follow the same pattern: the complement must be adjacent to poenia.

7.6. Internal reading with 'same' or 'different'

^{&#}x27;Vasya invited everyone, except, unfortunately, Petya.'

This test is inapplicable in Poshkart Chuvash since, to the best of my knowledge, it does not have lexical items that have the corresponding semantic ambiguity.

7.7. Collective predicates

The associate of the exceptive phrase can be a "group" argument of a collective predicate:

(22) por-da kuxn^j-a poɛtar-ən-tɛ-ëɛ, vaɛə-zər poɛn^ja all=ADD kitchen-OBJ gather-REFL-PST-3PL V.-CAR except

'All the people gathered at the kitchen, except Vasya.'

7.8. Binding theory

The complement of the postposition $poen^{j}a$ can be bound by the subject, but not vice versa:

7.9. Island sensitivity

Exceptives with *poenia* are island-sensitive, as illustrated with the complex NP island below: Poskhart Chuvash does feature the constraint (24), and the exceptive obeys it as well (25).

P.-CAR except V. all=ADD love-PC_PRS book-OBJ

vula-za tok-r^j-ə

read-CV SIM leave-PST-3SG

'Vasya read the book that everybody loves except Petya.'

8. Issues for discussion

Although the postposition *poenia* requires that its complement bears the caritive case, that complement does not have to be a (prototypical) NP: *poenia* can attach postpositional and participial phrases, and they are also marked with the caritive case.

This ability of the caritive case to be attached to a non-nominal category is not restricted to its usages in the exceptive construction with *poenia*. For instance, it can combine with infinitival clauses per se (Khomchenkova, Fedotov 2019):

(27)
$$jep$$
 abat $\varepsilon i\text{-}me\text{-}z\ddot{e}r(=ek)$ $vil^ja\text{-}ma$ $ka\text{-}r^j\text{-}\partial m$.

I soup eat-INF-CAR=EMPH play-INF go-PST-1SG

'I went out to play, without having eaten my soup'.

The caritive morpheme can participate in case-stacking (Baranova et al. 2021), as in (28):

```
(28) vəl joldaş-sam-zər-zan<sup>j</sup>-a poləz-at

he friend-PL-CAR-PL-OBJ help-NPST.3SG

'He helps [those] without friends.' (Baranova et al. 2021)
```

These facts suggest that the caritive case is a cross-categorial marker independently of its usage in the exceptive construction.

9. Additional observations and comments

Since *poenia* clearly has usages as a connected exceptive, it is hard to test whether it can have a structure of a free exceptive which is not derived from the connected exceptive structure via extraposition of the associate. However, the preliminary data presented below may serve as an argument in favor of the presence of the additional "independent" free structure.

Poshkart Chuvash features a verb *polastar* 'to acquaint' that selects two arguments: one with the objective marker and the other with the instrumental marker (29).

'Vasya acquainted everyone with everyone.'

Crucially, the exceptive phrase can be attached to the verbal phrase with *polaștar* 'acquaint' and operate on the two arguments together. Consider example (30):

```
(30) ivanov-sər poenia vaeə ku xer-arəm-zani-a ar-zin-zam-ba

I.-CAR except V. this bride-woman-PL-OBJ man-person-PL-INS

poləş-tar-za

get_acquianted-CV_SIM
```

'Except Ivanovs, Vasya acquainted all these women with all the men.'

The empirical observation is very preliminary and needs further investigation. However, the idea is that if it is true that the arguments do not form a constituent, we cannot analyze the free exceptive usage of *poenia* in (30) via extraposition of the associate, since the exception phrase is not associated with any specific constituent. The excepted individuals, the couple of Ivanovs, consist of an exception from the set of brides and an exception from the set of grooms, and these groups are denoted by two distinct NPs. Since the extraposition analysis is not applicable, we must postulate an alternative, independent free structure for the exceptive in (30).

10. Consultants⁵

The data were collected from three native speakers of Poshkart Chuvash, living in the village of Maloye Karachkino (Poshkart), Chuvash Republic, Russia. All the three speakers also speak Standard Chuvash and Russian, but Russian is their L2: they all started learning it at the age of 7 or even later.

The first consultant is male, 64 years old, has higher education. He speaks Chuvash everyday with his family.

The second consultant is female, 66-67 years old, has higher education. She speaks Chuvash every day when she interacts with other people from the village but speaks Russian in school and with some of her relatives.

The third speaker is female, 68-69 years old, has higher education. She speaks Chuvash every day with her family members and other habitants of the village.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – persons, ADD – additive particle, ABL – ablative case, CAUS – causative, CAR – caritive case, CMPR – comparative, CSL – causal case, CV_SIM – simultaneity converb (also used as a finite past tense form), EMPH – emphatic particle, GEN – genitive case, INF – infinitive, INS – instrumental case, LOC – locative case, NEG – negation, NPST – non-past tense, OBJ – objective case (accusative + dative), P_X – X person possessive, PC_PRS -- present tense participle, PC_RES – resultative participle, PL – plural number, POT – potential modality, PST – past tense, REFL – reflexive (also used as an anticausative), SG – singular number, VBZ – verbalizer.

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⁵ All the information about the consultants was collected by other participants of the Poshkart Chuvash fieldwork trip (NRU HSE), to whom I express my gratitude.

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