

# Exceptives in Asante Twi

Kevin Yu

May 14, 2024

## 1 Language morphosyntax

### 1.1 Language Name

The information from this section comes from Eberhard et al. (2023):<sup>1</sup>

**Language Name:** Twi (Asante dialect)

**ISO Code:** aka (Akan), or twi (Twi)

**Genetic Affiliation:** Niger-Congo > Atlantic-Congo > Volta-Congo > Kwa > Nyo > Potou-Tano > Tano > Central > Akan

**Number of speakers:** 9,100,000

**Endangerment status:** Eberhard et al. (2023) classifies this language as “not endangered.” It is used in wider communication.

### 1.2 Morphological type

Asante Twi has a wide array of tense and aspect markers. According to Dolphyne (1965), verbs can be marked for the following categories: person, number, mood, tense, aspect, negation, and transitivity. Dolphyne also lists the following subject pronouns:<sup>2</sup>

Person/Number	Prefix
1SG	me-
2SG	wo-
3SG	ɔ-
3SG.NEUT	ε-
1PL	yε-
2PL	mo-
3PL	wɔ-

In addition to Dolphyne (1965), Paster (2010) also provides several examples of verbs in a variety of tense and aspect categories. For example, Paster (2010) demonstrates that verbs can be inflected for the habitual, the past tense, the future tense, and the negative past tense.

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<sup>2</sup>While Asante Twi is a tonal language, its orthography does not mark tone. Throughout this questionnaire, I will follow orthographic conventions in omitting tone markings, except when listing examples from works that mark tone.

A few illustrative examples from Paster (2010) are listed below in (1) (tone marks are from Paster’s examples).<sup>3</sup>

- (1) a. Habitual:  
       ésí tó pèn  
       Esi buys pens  
       ‘Esi buys pens’
- b. Future tense:  
       yàw bé-<sup>1</sup>káé Kòfi  
       Yaw FUT-remember Kofi  
       ‘Yaw will remember Kofi.’

### 1.3 Basic word order(s)

Twi’s basic word order is SVO (Saah 1994, Korsah & Murphy 2020). An example of SVO word order is given in (2a). My consultant confirmed that this was the default word order and found other word orders to be ungrammatical (e.g. 2b and 2c).

- (2) a. Okraman no di aduane  
       dog the eat food  
       ‘The dog eats food’
- b. \*Di aduane okraman no  
       eat food dog the  
       Intended: ‘The dog eats food.’
- c. \*okraman no aduane di  
       dog the food eat  
       Intended: ‘The dog eats food.’

### 1.4 Case marking

Asante Twi does not have morphological case marking on nouns. Some pronouns, however, do change form according to their grammatical function. These pronouns can have three distinct forms: a citation form, a nominative form which appears in subject position, and an accusative form which occurs in object position (Saah 1994:89).

The form which occurs in subject position is simply the first syllable of the citation form, and the accusative form is the last syllable. Examples are shown below in the following table:

Meaning	Citation	Nominative	Accusative
He/she	ɔno	ɔ	no
It	ɛno	ɛ	no

Table 1: Citation, Nominative, and Accusative Forms for 3rd Person Pronouns

The monosyllabic pronouns *me*, *wo*, *wɔn*, and *yɛn* do not have separate forms.

<sup>3</sup>Abbreviations used: 1 = 1st person, 2 = 2nd person, 3 = 3rd person, COMP = complementizer, FOC = focus, FUT = future, NEG = negative, NEUT = neuter, PERF = perfective, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROG = progressive, PST = past tense, REL = relative, SG = singular

## 1.5 Focus constructions

In Asante Twi, focus is marked using the particle *na*, and this particle is used with both wh-fronting and focus-fronting (Marfo 2005). A few illustrative examples are provided below in (3).

- (3) a. Kofi na ɔ-baa ha.  
Kofi FOC 3SG-come-PST here  
'Kofi came here.'
- b. Bɔ́á nà Kòfí ré-bóá Á'má  
help FOC Kofi PROG-help Ama  
'Kofi is helping Ama' (Marfo 2005:110)
- c. Á'má<sub>i</sub> nà Kòfí ré-bóá nó<sub>i</sub>  
Ama FOC Kofi PROG-help 3SG  
'Kofi is helping Ama.' (Marfo 2005:110)

As (3b) shows, verbs can undergo focus as well, and these focus constructions are accompanied by doubling of the verb. Furthermore, focusing of an animate, referential nominal results in the insertion of a resumptive pronoun, as seen in (3a) and (3c) (for additional discussion see Korsah & Murphy 2020 and Hein & Georgi 2020). In (3a), the resumptive pronoun is *ɔ-*, and in (3c), the resumptive pronoun is *no*. Wh-fronting also follows a similar structure, as shown in (4).

- (4) a. Bàá rè-sèré hwáń  
Baah PROG-laugh who  
'Baah is laughing at who?' (Marfo 2005:119)
- b. Hwáń<sub>i</sub> nà Bàá ré-séré nó<sub>i</sub>  
who FOC Baah PROG-laugh 3SG  
'Whom is Baah laughing at?' (Marfo 2005:119)

Focus constructions in Asante Twi also involve a process of tonal overwriting that occurs on verbs crossed by an A'-dependency (Korsah & Murphy 2020). The examples in (5) illustrate this process operating on the verb *kita* 'hold'. In (5a), the verb does not have any high tones, and in (5b), the verb *kita* now has a high tone on both vowels due to tonal overwriting.

- (5) a. Kofi kita bayéré.  
Kofi hold yam  
'Kofi is holding a yam.' (Korsah & Murphy 2020:831)
- b. Bayéré<sub>1</sub> na Kofi kítá \_\_\_<sub>1</sub>  
yam FOC Kofi hold  
'Kofi is holding a yam.' (Korsah & Murphy 2020:831)

The focus particle *na* may also appear inside of a cleft construction that uses the verb *ɛye* 'it is' (Saah 1994). An example cleft is provided in (6).

- (6) ɛ-ye Kofi \*(na) ɔ-hu-u abofra no  
3SG-is Kofi FOC 3SG-see-PST child the  
'It is Kofi that saw the child.' (Saah 1994:107)

Note that leaving out the focus particle *na* in this cleft construction results in ungrammaticality. When asked about the difference between the cleft construction and the focus construction without *εyε*, my consultant noted that the cleft construction added more emphasis to the focused constituent.

In addition to the cleft in (6), there is also a pseudo-cleft construction which uses a copula to relate a nominal to a relative clause. For example, in (7), the copula *ne* relates *εyi* ‘this’ to a relative clause modifying *ataade* ‘dress’.

- (7) *ε-yi*                    *ne ataade<sub>i</sub> a*    *Ama hyεε pro<sub>i</sub> no*  
 3SG.NEUT-this is dress REL ama wore 3SG the  
 ‘This is the dress that Ama wore.’ (Saah 1994:107)

Focus constructions in Twi may be analyzed in one of two ways: either (1) the focused constituent is base-generated in the left periphery and binds a resumptive pronoun (Saah 1994, Titov 2019); or (2) the focused constituent undergoes A’-movement into the left periphery, with the resumptive pronoun merely being the spellout of a lower copy (Korsah & Murphy 2020). While Titov (2019) argues for a base-generation analysis based on data from binding and scope reconstruction, Korsah & Murphy (2020) use evidence from scope reconstruction, idiom reconstruction, and binding reconstruction to argue for a movement-based analysis.

## 2 Basic Exceptive Constructions

### 2.1 Exceptive Markers

The primary exceptive marker in Asante Twi is *agye*, which may also optionally appear with the word *sε*.<sup>4</sup> An example of a basic exceptive construction is provided in (8).

- (8) *M-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi agye (sε) Kofi.*  
 PL-child the all PROG-eat except COMP Kofi  
 ‘All the children are eating except Kofi.’

There is evidence that *sε* is a complementizer. For example, it can be used to introduce an embedded clause (Boadi 1972), as shown in (9).

- (9) *Ama ka-a sε Efua a-da.*  
 Ama say-PST COMP Efua PERF-sleep  
 ‘Ama said that Efua was asleep’

In addition to complement clauses, *sε* can also be used to introduce conditional clauses, like in (10). In this sentence, *sε* introduces the conditional clause, and the particle *a* ends the conditional clause.

- (10) *Sε obiara ba a, Kofi ani bε-gyε.*  
 COMP everyone come COND, Kofi eye FUT-take  
 ‘If everyone comes, Kofi will be happy.’ (Lit. If everyone comes, Kofi’s eye will take).

<sup>4</sup>For consistency, I will include *sε* in all examples.

## 2.2 Lexical Category Investigations

Because *sɛ* can introduce complement clauses and conditional clauses, I will assume that it is a complementizer that introduces clauses. If this is the case, then (8) contains two clauses: *m-mɔfra no nyinaa didi* ‘all the children are eating’ and *agye sɛ Kofi* ‘except Kofi.’ In Section 7, I will discuss additional diagnostics that provide evidence for the presence of a full clause after *agye sɛ*. For now, I will note that a full clause can be expressed in the exceptive phrase, as shown in (11a).

- (11) a. N-kraman no nyinaa re-didi agye sɛ Peace na ɔ-n-didi-i  
PL-dog the all PROG-eat except COMP Peace FOC 3SG-NEG-eat-PST  
‘All the dogs are eating, except Peace did not eat.’
- b. Agye sɛ Kofi pɛ na ɔ-n-nidi, m-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi.  
except COMP Kofi alone FOC 3SG-NEG-eat PL-child the all PROG-eat  
‘Except for Kofi not eating, all the children are eating.’

This indicates that exceptive phrases likely involve two CPs.

I did not investigate the category of the word *agye*. However, based on the fact that it can appear before or after another clause and can immediately precede *sɛ*, I hypothesize that it is a subordinating conjunction. Because *agye* can come before or after another clause, it most likely is not a coordinating conjunction.

## 3 Word order in exceptives

### 3.1 Position of exceptive phrases

Exceptive phrases can appear at a clause boundary or immediately after the associate. In (12a), the exceptive phrase is clause final, and in (12b), the exceptive phrase is immediately after the associate, *m-mɔfra no nyinaa* ‘all the children’. (12c) places the exceptive phrase at the beginning of the clause.

- (12) a. M-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi agye sɛ Kofi.  
PL-child the all PROG-eat except COMP Kofi  
‘All the children are eating except Kofi.’
- b. ?M-mɔfra no nyinaa agye sɛ Kofi re-didi  
PL-child the all except COMP Kofi PROG-eat.  
‘All the children except Kofi are eating.’
- c. ?Agye sɛ Kofi m-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi  
except COMP Kofi PL-child the all PROG-eat.  
‘Except for Kofi, all the children are eating.’

It is important to note that (12b) is somewhat marked. My consultant noted that this sentence sounded strange in discourse neutral contexts and was more felicitous in certain specific contexts. For more details, see Section 3.2. In addition, (12c) is also interesting because it seems to be less felicitous without context. My consultant stated that (12c) cannot be used to start a conversation while (12a) can, indicating that (12c) is infelicitous without context.

Exceptive phrases can express a full clause within them, and when this happens, the exception must be focused. For example, in (13a), the exception is *Kofi*, and it cannot appear in object position within the exceptive phrase. Instead, *Kofi* must be focused, like in (13b).

- (13) a. \*Me-hu-u obiara agye sɛ me-a-n-hu Kofi.  
 1SG-see-PST everybody except COMP 1SG-PERF-NEG-see Kofi  
 Intended: ‘I saw everybody, except I did not see Kofi.’
- b. Me-hu-u obiara agye sɛ Kofi na me-a-n-hu no.  
 1SG-see-PST everybody except COMP Kofi FOC 1SG-PERF-NEG-see 3SG  
 ‘I saw everybody except I did not see Kofi.’

Exceptive phrases that express a full clause can be clause-final like in (13b), or they can be clause-initial. When an exceptive phrase containing a full clause is clause-initial, it no longer requires extra context to be felicitous and can be used to start conversations. An example is in (14). Unlike (12c), (14) no longer requires extra context to be felicitous.

- (14) Agye sɛ Kofi pɛ \*(na) ɔ-n-nidi, m-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi  
 except COMP Kofi alone FOC 3SG-NEG-eat PL-child the all PROG-eat  
 ‘Except that Kofi alone is not eating, all the children are eating.’

### 3.2 Connected Exceptives

It is possible for the exceptive phrase to immediately follow the associate, so at first glance, these do look like connected exceptives. For example, in (15), the exceptive phrase *agye sɛ Kofi* ‘except Kofi’ immediately follows the associate.

- (15) M-mɔfra no nyinaa agye sɛ Kofi re-didi.  
 PL-child the all except COMP Kofi PROG-eat  
 ‘All the children except Kofi are eating’

My consultant, however, noted that the word order in (15) felt strange, and he preferred placing the exceptive phrase at the end (*m-mɔfra no nyinaa redidi, agye sɛ Kofi*). At the same time, there are contexts that would make (15) more acceptable. One such context is the following: the speaker enters a cafeteria where children are eating, and at first, he sees that all the children are eating. However, he suddenly discovers that Kofi is not eating at a later point in time. At this point, it would be felicitous to say the sentence in (15). Based on this context, it seems that the exceptive phrase in (15) could also be a parenthetical that expresses an afterthought. Thus, it is unclear if it is actually a connected exceptive or not.

### 3.3 Free exceptives

Free exceptives typically appear at the end of the clause, as in (12a), repeated here in (16).

- (16) M-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi agye sɛ Kofi.  
 PL-child the all PROG-eat except COMP Kofi  
 ‘All the children are eating, except Kofi.’

It is also possible for the exceptive phrase to appear clause initially without a full clause, but in the absence of context these sentences are not entirely felicitous. For example, (17) places the exceptive phrase at the beginning of the clause and is somewhat infelicitous without context. My consultant noted that sentences like this cannot be used to start conversations. On the other hand, (18) can be used to start conversations and does not require context.

- (17) ?Agye sɛ Kofi, m-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi.  
 except COMP Kofi PL-child the all PROG-eat  
 Intended: ‘Except Kofi, all the children are eating.’

- (18) *Agye sɛ Kofi pɛ \*(na) ɔ-n-nidi, m-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi.*  
 except COMP Kofi alone FOC 3SG-NEG-eat PL-child the all PROG-eat  
 ‘Except that Kofi alone is not eating, all the children are eating.’

## 4 Constituency evidence for connected exceptives

In Section 3.2, we saw that exceptive phrases can occur next to the associate, but only within certain contexts. In order to test the constituency of these constructions, I applied the following tests: coordination, displacement, and the fragment test.

### 4.1 Coordination

The coordination test does provide evidence for the constituency of connected exceptives. Specifically, the associate and exceptive phrase can be adjacent and also be coordinated with another DP. In (19), two DPs are coordinated, and the exceptive phrase either comes immediately after the first one or the second one. To illustrate the positions of the exceptive phrase and its associate, I have bolded the exceptive phrase and italicized the associate. In (19a), the exceptive phrase *agye sɛ Ama* comes immediately after the first conjunct. Likewise, the exceptive phrase also immediately follows the first conjunct in (19c). In (19b), the exceptive phrase *agye sɛ Kofi* immediately follows the second conjunct.

- (19) a. *M-maa no nyinaa **agye sɛ Ama** ne m-marima no nyinaa re-didi.*  
 PL-woman the all except COMP Ama and PL-man the all PROG-eat  
 ‘All the women except Ama and all the men are eating.’
- b. *M-maa no nyinaa ne *m-marima no nyinaa* **agye sɛ Kofi** re-didi.*  
 PL-woman the all and PL-man the all except COMP Kofi PROG-eat  
 ‘All the women and all the men except Kofi are eating.’
- c. *ɔbaa biara **agye sɛ Ama** ne ɔbarima biara re-didi.*  
 woman every except COMP Ama and man every PROG-eat  
 ‘Every woman except Ama and every man are eating.’

### 4.2 Displacement

Focused constituents in Twi appear in the left periphery along with the focus marker *na* and a resumptive pronoun (Marfo 2005). Asante Twi also has a cleft construction that makes use of a copula (Saah 1994). Thus, we can use these constructions to test for constituency.

When a universally quantified NP is focused, the 3rd person plural resumptive pronoun is used. This can be seen in (20). Here, *wɔ-* and *ɔmo* are both third person plural resumptive pronouns.

- (20) a. *M-mɔfra no nyinaa na ɔmo re-didi.*  
 PL-child the all FOC 3PL PROG-eat  
 ‘ALL THE CHILDREN are eating.’
- b. *M-mɔfra no nyinaa na wɔ-re-didi.*  
 PL-child the all FOC 3PL-PROG-eat  
 ‘ALL THE CHILDREN are eating.’

Based on the examples in (20) we would expect to see a third person plural resumptive pronoun when we displace a universally quantified associate with its exception.

Based on the sentence in (21), we can see that exceptive phrases cannot be grouped with their associates in focus constructions that have the third person plural resumptive pronoun. In (21), the associate and exceptive phrase are focused and therefore appear before *na*, and a resumptive 3rd person plural pronoun appears in subject position before the verb. The sentence in (22) is identical to (21) except that it uses a different third person resumptive pronoun.

(21) \*M-mɔfra no nyinaa agye sɛ Kofi na ɔɔmo re-didi  
 PL-child the all except COMP Kofi FOC 3PL PROG-eat  
 Intended: ‘All the children except Kofi are eating.’

(22) \*M-mɔfra no nyinaa agye sɛ Kofi na wɔ-re-didi.  
 PL-child the all except COMP Kofi FOC 3PL-PROG-eat  
 Intended: ‘All the children except Kofi are eating.’

If the associate and exceptive phrase can occur together as a constituent, then it should be able to undergo focus like any other constituent. The fact this does not happen in (21) and (22) seems to indicate that associates and exceptive phrases cannot be joined in one constituent. If we attempt to use cleft constructions, we again have the same results. The sentences in (23) indicate that the cleft constructions corresponding to (21) and (22) are still ungrammatical.

(23) a. \*ɛ-yɛ m-mɔfra no nyinaa agye sɛ Kofi na ɔɔmo re-didi  
 3SG-be PL-child the all except COMP Kofi FOC 3PL PROG-eat  
 Intended: ‘It is all the children except Kofi that are eating.’  
 b. \*ɛ-yɛ m-mɔfra no nyinaa agye sɛ Kofi na wɔ-re-didi  
 3SG-be PL-child the all except COMP Kofi FOC 3PL-PROG-eat  
 Intended: ‘It is all the children except Kofi that are eating.’

### 4.3 Other

Results from the fragment test also suggest that connected exceptives are available. According to the fragment test, if a group of words is a constituent, then it should be able to stand alone as a felicitous answer to a question. Applying this test to Asante Twi, we find that questions can be answered with both an exceptive phrase and its associate.

(24) a. Hwaenom na wɔ-re-didi no?  
 who.PL FOC 3PL-PROG-eating 3SG  
 ‘Who all are eating?’  
 b. ɔbiara agye sɛ Kofi.  
 everyone except COMP Kofi  
 ‘Everyone except Kofi.’



## 5 Characteristics of the associate

### 5.1 Quantificational associates

#### 5.1.1 Free exceptives

Free exceptives can occur with almost any kind of quantified associate. The only exception seems to be associates where the quantifier is ‘most’. The examples in (25a) demonstrate that free exceptives can appear with universal quantifiers, such as *nyinaa* ‘all’ and *biara* ‘every’:

- (25) a. M-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi agye sɛ Kofi  
PL-child the all PROG-eat except COMP Kofi  
‘All the children are eating, except Kofi’  
b. N-kraman no mu biara n-nidi agye sɛ Peace  
PL-dog the in every NEG-eat except COMP Peace  
‘None of the dogs have eaten, except Peace’

Exceptive phrases are also compatible with associates quantified by non-universal quantifiers and indefinite quantifiers:

- (26) a. M-mɔfra beberee re-didi, agye sɛ Kofi.  
PL-child many PROG-eat except COMP Kofi  
‘Many children are eating except Kofi.’  
b. Aduane no mu pii aben, agye sɛ fufu.  
food the in much ready except COMP fufu  
‘Much of the food is ready, except the fufu.’  
c. N-kraman no mu bi re-didi agye sɛ Peace ne \*(wɔn a aka)  
PL-dog the in some PROG-eat except COMP Peace and 3PL REL remain  
‘Some of the dogs are eating except Peace and the remaining’

Example (26c) requires *wɔn a aka* and is ungrammatical without it. This phrase seems to be obligatory due to the partitive reading of the sentence. In other words, when the associate selects a subset of individuals from a larger set, the exceptive phrase must select the other partition for which the predicate does not hold. In (26c), *nkraman no mu bi redidi* selects the dogs who are eating from a contextually salient set of dogs, and so the exceptive phrase must select the dogs who are not eating.

Numerals may also be used with the associate, as shown in (27a) - (27c). This is rather unexpected, since the equivalent construction in English would be deemed ungrammatical.

- (27) a. N-kraman num re-didi, agye sɛ Peace.  
PL-dog five PROG-eat except COMP Peace  
‘Five dogs are eating, except Peace.’  
This sentence has the following interpretation: There are six dogs, and one of them is Peace. Five of these six dogs are eating, and the only dog that is not eating is Peace.  
b. N-kraman num re-didi, agye sɛ Peace ne wɔn a aka.  
PL-dog five PROG-eat except COMP Peace and 3PL REL remain  
‘Five dogs are eating, except Peace and the remaining’  
This sentence has the following interpretation: There is some number of dogs, and the total number of dogs is greater than five. Some of these dogs are not eating. One of the dogs that is not eating is Peace.

- c. N-kraman mmienu re-didi, agye sɛ Peace.  
 PL-dog two eating except COMP Peace  
 ‘Two dogs are eating, except Peace’

The fact that exceptive phrases are grammatical with numerical associates suggests that *agye* may also have an exclusive reading. Under this reading, the exception is completely excluded from consideration. Finally, definite DPs without quantifiers are also grammatical as associates.

- (28) M-mɔfra no re-didi, agye sɛ Kofi.  
 PL-child the PROG-eat except COMP Kofi  
 ‘The children are eating, except Kofi.’

While free exceptive phrases are grammatical with many different types of associates, they are not grammatical with the quantifier ‘most’:

- (29) \*M-mɔfra dodoɔ no re-didi, agye sɛ Kofi.  
 PL-child most the PROG-eat except COMP Kofi  
 Intended: ‘Most children are eating, except Kofi.’

### 5.1.2 Connected Exceptives

The evidence for connected exceptives is rather unclear. However, it is still possible for the exceptive phrase to immediately follow the associate in some cases. When this happens, the exceptive phrase is able to occur with the same kinds of associates that free exceptives can occur with. For example, (30) demonstrates that universally quantified associates can be used with exceptive phrases.

- (30) a. M-maa no nyinaa agye sɛ Ama re-didi.  
 PL-woman the all except COMP Ama PROG-eat  
 ‘All the women except Ama are eating.’  
 b. ɔbaa biara agye sɛ Ama re-didi.  
 woman every except COMP Ama PROG-eat  
 ‘Every woman except Ama is eating.’

Connected exceptives are also grammatical with non-universal quantifiers.

- (31) a. M-mɔfra beberee agye sɛ Kofi re-didi.  
 PL-child many except COMP Kofi PROG-eat  
 ‘Many children except Kofi are eating.’  
 b. Aduane no mu pii agye sɛ fufu aben.  
 food the in much except COMP fufu ready  
 ‘Much of the food except the Fufu is ready.’

A partitive associate may also occur with connected exceptives. In these cases, the phrase *wɔn a aka* ‘and the remaining’ should be used in the exceptive phrase. As shown in (32b), the sentence becomes ungrammatical if *wɔn a aka* is omitted.

- (32) a. N-kraman no mu bi agye sɛ Peace ne wɔn a aka re-didi.  
 PL-dog the in some except COMP Peace and 3PL REL remain PROG-eat  
 ‘Some of the dogs except Peace are eating.’

- b. \*N-kraman no mu bi agye sɛ Peace re-didi.  
 PL-dog the in some except COMP Peace PROG-eat  
 Intended: ‘some of the dogs except Peace are eating.’

If the associate is a definite DP with no quantifier, then a connected exceptive will be somewhat degraded.

- (33) ?M-mɔfra no agye sɛ Kofi re-didi.  
 PL-child the except COMP Kofi PROG-eat  
 Intended: ‘The children except Kofi are eating.’

My consultant noted that the following context could make (33) an acceptable utterance: a father of five children enters a house and then his wife says the sentence in (33) to him. This sentence will make sense if the father knows the number of children present.

## 5.2 Implicit Associates

Implicit associates are allowed in argument position. For example, the verb *didi* ‘eat’ is a reduplicated form of *di* ‘eat’, and it can appear without an object, like in (34a). If we add an exceptive phrase to (34a), the sentence is still grammatical, as shown in (34b).

- (34) a. Kofi didi.  
 Kofi eat  
 ‘Kofi eats.’  
 b. Kofi didi, agye sɛ fufu.  
 Kofi eat except COMP fufu  
 ‘Kofi eats, except fufu.’

(34b) implies that Kofi eats a lot, but when it comes to fufu, he does not eat a lot of it. The verb *didi* can also be negated, and when it is negated, it can still occur with an implicit associate in object position and an exceptive phrase. This is shown in (35), where *nnidi* ‘not eat’ is the negation of *didi*.

- (35) Kofi n-nidi, agye sɛ fufu.  
 Kofi NEG-eat except COMP fufu  
 ‘Kofi doesn’t eat, except fufu.’

My consultant stated that (35) could mean that Kofi does not eat anything, except fufu, or that it could mean that Kofi does not eat much of anything, except fufu.

Implicit associates are also acceptable when they are adjuncts. In (36a), (36b), and (36c), the clause before the exceptive phrase does not contain any temporal adverbial. Despite this, all of these examples are able to occur with an exceptive phrase containing a word which references a day of the week or particular time of day.

- (36) a. Kofi gye n’-ahome, agye sɛ Dwoada.  
 Kofi takes 3SG.POSS-breath except COMP Monday  
 ‘Kofi rests, except on Monday’ (Lit. ‘Kofi takes his breath except on Monday).  
 b. Kofi da, agye sɛ anɔpa.  
 Kofi sleep except COMP morning  
 ‘Kofi sleeps except in the morning.’

- c. Kofi tene ne mpom, agye se Dwoada.  
 Kofi stretch 3SG.POSS veins except COMP Monday  
 ‘Kofi exercises, except on Mondays’ (Lit. ‘Kofi stretches his veins except on Monday.’)

These sentences can also be expressed with full clausal exceptions.

- (37) a. Kofi da, agye se anopa na o-n-da  
 Kofi sleep except COMP morning FOC 3SG-NEG-sleep  
 ‘Kofi sleeps, except he does not sleep in the morning.’  
 b. Kofi tene ne mpom, agye se Dwoada na o-n-tene  
 Kofi stretches 3SG.POSS veins except COMP Monday FOC 3SG-NEG-stretch  
 ne mpom  
 3SG.POSS veins  
 ‘Kofi exercises, except he does not exercise on Mondays.’ (Lit. ‘Kofi stretches his veins except he does not stretch his veins on Mondays.’)

## 6 Characteristics of the exception

### 6.1 Categorical options

Clausal exceptions are available in exceptive phrases headed by *agye se* ‘except’. In these cases, my consultant noted that the first clause should be a conditional clause. In order to create a conditional clause, the clause must begin with *se* and end with *a*, like in (38).

- (38) Se obiara ba a, Kofi ani be-gye.  
 COMP everyone come COND, Kofi eye FUT-take.  
 ‘If everyone comes, Kofi will be happy.’ (Lit. ‘If everyone comes, Kofi’s eye will take’)

For now, I have tentatively glossed *a* here as a conditional marker. An example of *se* and *a* being used with a clausal exception is shown in (39).

- (39) Se Kofi be-gye dee Ama kaae no a-di a, agye se  
 COMP Kofi FUT-receive thing Ama say.PAST 3SG PERF-eat COND except COMP  
 dee Esi kaae no ye nokware.  
 thing Esi say.PAST DET is truth  
 ‘Kofi will believe what Ama says, except that Esi is telling the truth.’

In addition to clausal exceptions, the exception can be expressed with a PP or a DP. An example of a PP exception is given in (40).

- (40) o-da-a efie biara mu, agye se efie fitaa no mu.  
 3SG-sleep-PAST house every in except COMP house white the in  
 ‘He slept in every house except in the white house.’

Finally, (41) provides an example of a DP exception:

- (41) M-mofra no nyinaa re-didi, agye se John.  
 PL-child the all PROG-eat except COMP John  
 ‘All the children are eating except John.’

## 6.2 Case marking on nominal exceptions

While there is no case marking on nouns in Twi, some 3rd person pronouns can change form depending on what grammatical role they are taking on. In general, 3rd person pronouns take on a citation form when spoken in isolation. In subject position, the 3rd person pronouns only retain the first syllable of their citation form, and in object position, the 3rd person pronouns retain the second syllable (Saah 1994).

In exceptive phrases, the pronoun can only appear in its citation form. Relevant examples are shown in (42). When only the first syllable or second syllable of the pronoun is used, the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

- (42) a. M-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi, agye sɛ ɔno  
 PL-child the all PROG-eat except COMP 3SG  
 ‘All the children are eating, except him/her.’  
 b. \*M-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi, agye sɛ ɔ  
 PL-child the all PROG-eat except COMP 3SG.NOM  
 ‘All the children are eating, except him/her.’  
 c. \*M-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi, agye sɛ no  
 PL-child the all PROG-eat except COMP 3SG.ACC  
 ‘All the children are eating, except him/her.’

If the exceptive phrase immediately follows the associate, the same pattern emerges.

- (43) a. M-mɔfra no nyinaa agye sɛ ɔno re-didi.  
 PL-child the all except COMP 3SG PROG-eat  
 ‘All the children except him/her are eating.’  
 b. \*M-mɔfra no nyinaa agye sɛ ɔ re-didi.  
 PL-child the all except COMP 3SG.NOM PROG-eat  
 ‘All the children except him/her are eating.’  
 c. \*M-mɔfra no nyinaa agye sɛ no re-didi.  
 PL-child the all except COMP 3SG.ACC PROG-eat  
 ‘All the children except him/her are eating.’

Even when a full clause is expressed, the pronoun must occur in its full form and receive focus marking. As (44) indicates, the citation form of the pronoun appears in focus constructions.

- (44) a. M-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi, agye sɛ ɔno na ɔ-n-nidi.  
 PL-child the all PROG-eat except COMP 3SG FOC 3SG-NEG-eat  
 ‘All the children are eating except he is not eating.’  
 b. \*M-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi, agye sɛ ɔ na ɔ-n-nidi.  
 PL-child the all PROG-eat except COMP 3SG.NOM FOC 3SG-NEG-eat  
 Intended: ‘All the children are eating except he is not eating.’  
 c. \*M-mɔfra no nyinaa re-didi, agye sɛ no na ɔ-n-nidi.  
 PL-child the all PROG-eat except COMP 3SG.ACC FOC 3SG-NEG-eat  
 Intended: ‘All the children are eating except he is not eating.’

This pattern contrasts with the forms that the 3rd person singular pronoun takes when it is the complement of a postposition. When the 3rd person pronoun is followed by a postposition, it typically occurs in the possessive form (with the vowel deleted). For example, in (45), *n’ase* is composed of *ne* and *ase*.

- (45) ɔkraman no fa-a n'=ase  
 dog the walk-PAST 3SG.POSS=under  
 'The dog walked under him.'

While it is possible for the citation form to occur as the complement of a postposition, it is typically only felicitous in a context where the pronoun is being emphasized.

- (46) ɔkraman no fa-a ɔno ase.  
 dog the walk-PAST 3SG under  
 'The dog walked under HIM.'

This provides evidence that *ageye* is not a preposition and shows that when the exception is a pronoun, its case is correlated with the case that appears in focus constructions.

## 7 Clausal exceptives

### 7.1 Possible expression of full clause exceptions

The entire clause can be expressed in exceptives. Relevant examples are shown in (47a), (47b), and (47c).

- (47) a. N-kraman no nyinaa re-didi ageye se Peace \*(na) ɔ-n-nidi-i  
 PL-dog the all PROG-eat except COMP Peace FOC 3SG-NEG-eat-PST  
 'All the dogs are eating, except Peace is not eating.'
- b. Me-hu-u obiara ageye se Kofi \*(na) me-a-n-hu no.  
 1SG-see-PST everybody except COMP Kofi FOC 1SG-PERF-NEG-see 3SG  
 'I saw everybody, except I did not see Kofi.'
- c. Me ne obiara kasa ageye se Kofi na me ne no n-kasa  
 1SG and everybody talk except COMP Kofi FOC 1SG and 3SG NEG-talk  
 'I talked to everybody except I did not talk to Kofi.'

If the exception is not focused, then the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as shown in (48).

- (48) \*Me-hu-u obiara ageye se me-a-n-hu Kofi.  
 1SG-see-PST everybody except COMP 1SG-PERF-NEG-see Kofi  
 Intended: 'I saw everybody, except I did not see Kofi.'

### 7.2 Multiple exceptions

For my consultant, multiple exceptions are grammatical in exceptive phrases, but only if the exceptions are separated by a significant pause. For example, (49) has two associates: *ɔbarima biara* 'every man' and *edan biara* 'every room'. The exceptive phrase then has two exceptions corresponding to each of these associates. The first exception is a DP *Kofi*, and the second is a PP *wɔ mpa dan no mu* 'in the bedroom'. Without a pause between the two exceptions, my consultant found this sentence to be ungrammatical, but when there is a pause between the exceptions, the sentence becomes grammatical.

- (49) ɔbarima biara didi-i wɔ edan biara mu, ageye se Kofi [pause] wɔ mpa dan  
 man every eat-PST at room every in except COMP Kofi at bed room  
 no mu.  
 the in  
 'Every man ate in every room, except Kofi (ate) in the bedroom.'

Interestingly, (49) has the following interpretation: every man ate in every room, but Kofi ate in the bedroom. This could make sense if the generalization expressed by the clause that comes before the exceptive phrase is the following: for all  $x$  such that  $x$  is a man,  $x$  ate in every single room. The exceptive would then be stating that Kofi is an exception since he only ate in the bedroom (unlike the other men who ate in every room).

### 7.3 Sluicing interpretations

When sluicing occurs with an exceptive phrase in the antecedent clause, ambiguity arises. (50a) and (50b) both contain two clauses, where the second clause means ‘I do not know why’. The first clause in each example has an exceptive phrase at the end.

- (50) a. Obiara m-pɛ sini no agye sɛ Kofi, nanso me-n-nim dɛɛ  
 everybody NEG-like movie the except COMP Kofi but 1SG-NEG-know thing  
 nti.  
 because.of  
 ‘Nobody liked the movie except Kofi, but I don’t know why’
- b. Me-a-n-hu obiara agye sɛ Kofi, nanso me-n-nim dɛɛ  
 1SG-PERF-NEG-see everybody except COMP Kofi but 1SG-NEG-know thing  
 nti.  
 because.of  
 ‘I didn’t see anybody except Kofi, but I don’t know why.’

(50a) can have two possible interpretations: (1) Nobody liked the movie except Kofi, but I don’t know why nobody except Kofi liked the movie; or (2) nobody liked the movie except Kofi, but I don’t know why Kofi liked the movie. Similarly, (50b) can also have two possible interpretations: (1) I did not see anybody except Kofi, but I don’t know why I didn’t see anybody except Kofi; or, (2) I did not see anybody except Kofi, but I don’t know why I saw Kofi. Under the assumption that the second clause contains ellipsis, the second interpretation in each case would provide evidence for clausal ellipsis in exceptive phrases. This is because the exceptive phrase is able to provide the material in the sluice, resulting in an ambiguous interpretation.

Interestingly, the same kind of ambiguity arises when the exceptive phrase is immediately after the associate. Example (51) replicates (50a) and places the exceptive phrase immediately after the associate instead of at the end of the first clause. This sentence has the same two interpretations as (50a).

- (51) Obiara agye sɛ Kofi m-pɛ sini no, nanso me-n-nim dɛɛ  
 everybody except COMP Kofi NEG-like movie the but 1SG-NEG-know thing  
 nti.  
 because.of  
 ‘Nobody except Kofi liked the movie, but I don’t know why’

This is surprising because we do not expect connected exceptives to also contain clausal structure, and so the expectation is that connected exceptives should not have the same ambiguity with sluicing that free clausal exceptives have. For example, in sentence (52), the connected exceptive is *everyone except John*, and this sentence cannot mean ‘everyone except John liked the movie, but I don’t know why John did not like the movie.’ This contrasts with the ambiguity that (51) exhibits.

- (52) Everyone except John liked the movie, but I don’t know why.

## 7.4 Clausal/speaker-oriented adverbs

When a clausal adverb meaning ‘maybe’ is used in the exceptive phrase, it can only have scope over the exceptive phrase. (53) provides a relevant example. In (53), the word *ebia* ‘maybe’ occurs before the exception, and when a full clause is expressed, both *ebia* and the exception occur before the focus marker.

- (53) Obiara m-ma apontuo no ase agye se ebia John (na  
 everybody NEG-come party the under except COMP maybe John FOC  
 ɔ-bɛ-ba apontuo no ase).  
 3SG-FUT-come party the under  
 ‘Everyone will not come to the party, except maybe John (will come to the party).’

This sentence cannot be interpreted as ‘maybe nobody will come to the party, except John.’ It must be interpreted as saying ‘everyone aside from John will not come to the party; however, there is a chance that John will come.’ Thus, *ebia* only has scope over the exceptive phrase and cannot have scope over the entire clause or the previous clause.

## 7.5 Preposition/Postposition Stranding

When forming a question with a wh-word and a postposition, the postposition may either come after the wh-phrase or remain in a postverbal position (the addition of [ɛ] at the end of 54a is obligatory).

- (54) a. Efie ben mu na ɔ-da-aɛ?  
 house which in FOC 3SG-sleep-PAST  
 ‘In which house did he sleep?’  
 b. Efie ben na ɔ-da-a mu?  
 house which FOC 3SG-sleep-PAST in  
 ‘Which house did he sleep in?’

Based on the data in (54a) and (54b), P-stranding is not mandatory and is an option in wh-questions. In exceptive phrases, P-stranding does seem to be an option as well, as in (55b). My consultant, however, felt that this sentence was somewhat marginal. He said that while it was grammatical and that some people would say this sentence, he noted that it felt a little incomplete.

- (55) a. ɔ-da-a efie biara mu, agye (se) efie fitaa no mu.  
 3SG-sleep-PST house every in except COMP house white the in  
 ‘He slept in every house except in the white house.’  
 b. ?ɔ-da-a efie biara mu, agye (se) efie fitaa no.  
 3SG-sleep-PST house every in except COMP house white the  
 ‘He slept in every house, except the white house.’

While (55b) seemed to be slightly marginal for my consultant, the sentence in (56) was more acceptable. In this sentence, the exception does not occur with a postposition or a preposition, even though the associate, *ɛtwe biara* ‘every bridge’, is inside of a PP headed by *ase* ‘under’.

- (56) Kofi nante fa-a ɛtwe biara ase, agye se dua-twee no.  
 Kofi walk take-PST bridge every under except COMP wood-bridge the  
 ‘Kofi walked under every bridge, except the wooden bridge.’



Thus it seems that P-stranding is indeed an option in the exceptive phrase, even if the associate is in a PP. As we saw with *wh*-questions, both options are available as well, indicating that Asante Twi obeys the P-stranding generalization from Merchant (2001). This data is therefore consistent with a clausal analysis of the exceptive phrase.

## 7.6 Internal Reading with Same/Different

Exceptive phrases allow both the internal and external readings, as in (57).

- (57) Nwoma a abofra biara kaenn yɛ pɛ agye sɛ John  
 book REL child every read.PST is same except COMP John  
 ‘Every child read the same book except John.’

The sentence in (57) can have two interpretations. One interpretation, which corresponds to the internal reading, is that aside from John, the children are all reading the same book as each other, whatever this book might be. The other interpretation, which corresponds to the external reading, is that all the children, aside from John, are reading a book that is the same as the one that is salient in the discourse.

My consultant stated that Asante Twi does not have a word that directly translates to ‘different’ in English. Instead, my consultant used the word *foforɔ*, which can either mean ‘new’ or ‘different.’ An example of this word along with an exceptive phrase is shown below in (58).

- (58) Abofra biara kaen nwoma foforɔ agye sɛ Kofi  
 child every read book new except COMP Kofi  
 ‘Every child read a new/different book, except Kofi.’

The sentence in (58) can have any of the following interpretations: (1) each child is reading a new book, while Kofi is reading an old one that the children are no longer reading; (2) each child is reading a book that is different from something else in the discourse, while Kofi is not. My consultant stated that (58) does not have the internal reading for him. That is, he did not interpret it as ‘aside from Kofi, all the children are reading different books from each other, and Kofi is reading the same book as someone else’.

In order to get the interpretation that Kofi is reading the same book as one other person, that other person must be included in the exceptive phrase. For example, if all the children except Kofi are reading different books from each other and Kofi is reading the same book as Ama, then we will need to express this using the sentence in (59).

- (59) Abofra biara kaenn nwoma foforɔ agye sɛ Kofi ne Ama.  
 child every read.PAST book new except COMP Kofi and Ama  
 ‘Every child read different books, except Kofi and Ama (are reading the same book as each other).’

## 7.7 Collective Predicates

Singular exceptions are able to occur when the associate is the subject of a collective predicate. For example, in (60a), the reduplicated pronoun *wɔn ho wɔn ho* indicates a reciprocal reading. In (60b), the words *twaa* ‘cut’ and *hyiaɛ* ‘meet’ together form a predicate which means ‘to surround’ or ‘to circle around’. In (60c), the predicate is *seseɛ*, which means ‘to look alike’. In each case, the exception is singular and the sentence is still grammatical, which would be unexpected since these predicates should not be able to take singular subjects and therefore should not occur in an elided clause within the exceptive phrase.

- (60) a. M-mɔfra no nyinaa kasa-a wɔn ho wɔn ho, agye sɛ Kofi.  
 PL-child the all talk-PAST 3PL self 3PL self except COMP Kofi  
 ‘All the children talked to each other, except Kofi.’
- b. Obiara twa-a ɛpono no ho hyiaɛ, agye sɛ Kofi.  
 everyone cut-PAST table the self meet except COMP Kofi  
 ‘Everyone surrounded the table, except Kofi.’
- c. M-mɔfra no nyinaa sese, agye sɛ Kofi.  
 PL-child the all look.alike except COMP Kofi  
 ‘All the children look alike, except Kofi.’

## 7.8 Binding Theory Data

Korsah & Murphy (2020) show that in Asante Twi, focused nominals undergo reconstruction for the purposes of binding. Assuming that ellipsis involves movement and deletion, we can make the following prediction: if exceptive phrases contain clausal ellipsis, then the exception should reconstruct into the ellipsis site. Depending on whether the exception is an anaphor, pronoun, or an R-expression, we will get Condition A, B, or C effects.

When the associate is in object position, we find evidence for Condition B and Condition C effects. In (61), the associate is in object position and the exception is a pronoun in (61a) and an R-expression in (61b). If the exception reconstructs, then we would expect it to reconstruct into the same position as the associate, i.e. into the object position within the elided clause. With pronouns and R-expressions, we would expect to see Condition B and Condition C effects, respectively. Examples (61a) and (61b) are both ungrammatical under the interpretation where *Kofi* and the exception are coreferential, which is the result that we would expect if they trigger Condition B and Condition C effects.

- (61) a. Kofi<sub>i</sub> pɛ obiara asem, agye sɛ ɔno\*<sub>i/j</sub>.  
 Kofi like everyone matter except COMP 3SG  
 ‘Kofi likes everyone, except him.’
- b. Kofi<sub>i</sub> pɛ obiara asem, agye sɛ Kofi\*<sub>i/j</sub>.  
 Kofi like everyone matter except COMP Kofi  
 ‘Kofi likes everyone except Kofi.’

Surprisingly, my consultant did not accept exceptive phrases where the exception is the anaphor *ne ho* ‘himself’ (literally ‘his body’).<sup>5</sup> Instead, he preferred using *ɔno ara ne ho* ‘he himself’. (62a) is grammatical under the interpretation that Kofi is coreferential with *ɔno ara ne ho*. Example (62b), on the other hand, is ungrammatical for my consultant.

- (62) a. Kofi<sub>i</sub> pɛ obiara asem, agye sɛ ɔno ara ne ho<sub>i</sub>.  
 Kofi like everyone matter except COMP 3SG himself 3SG.POSS self  
 ‘Kofi likes everyone except himself.’

<sup>5</sup>I was able to elicit sentences from my consultant which focused the anaphor *ne ho* ‘himself’, so it is unlikely that the ungrammaticality of (62b) is due to a ban on focusing *ne ho*.

- (1) Ne ho na ɔ-tane.  
 3SG.POSS self FOC 3SG-hate  
 ‘He hates HIMSELF.’

- b. \*Kofi<sub>i</sub> pɛ obiara asem, agye sɛ ne ho<sub>i</sub>.  
 Kofi like everyone matter except COMP 3SG.POSS self  
 Intended: ‘Kofi likes everyone except himself.’

Exceptive phrases in Asante Twi typically show evidence for Condition C effects when the associate is in subject position and an R-expression is in object position. The sentences in (63) test for Condition C effects using associates in subject position and the R-expression *Kofi* in object position. If there is clausal ellipsis in the exceptive phrase, then the exception will reconstruct into subject position within the elided clause and c-command the object, *Kofi*. Thus, the expectation is that we will see Condition C violations. This is exactly what we observe in (63a) and (63b). In (63a), the exception is the pronoun *ɔno*, and the resulting sentence is ungrammatical when *Kofi* and *ɔno* are coreferential. Similarly, the exception cannot be co-referential with the object when they are the same R-expression (63b).

- (63) a. \*Obiara pɛ Kofi<sub>i</sub> asem agye sɛ ɔno<sub>i</sub>.  
 everyone like Kofi matter except COMP 3SG  
 Intended: ‘Everyone likes Kofi<sub>i</sub>, except him<sub>i</sub>.’  
 b. \*Obiara pɛ Kofi<sub>i</sub> asem, agye sɛ Kofi<sub>i</sub>  
 everyone like Kofi matter except COMP Kofi  
 Intended: ‘Everyone likes Kofi<sub>i</sub>, except Kofi<sub>i</sub>.’

A notable exception to the presence of Condition C effects is given in (64). Here, the exception is the phrase *ɔno ara ne ho*, which I have translated as ‘he himself.’ It is composed of *ɔno* ‘he’ and *ara ne ho* ‘himself’.

- (64) Obiara pɛ Kofi<sub>i</sub> asem, agye sɛ \*(ɔno<sub>i</sub>) \*(ara<sub>i</sub>) ne ho  
 everyone like Kofi matter except COMP 3SG himself 3SG.POSS body  
 ‘Everyone likes Kofi<sub>i</sub>, except he himself<sub>i</sub>.’

If we omit *ɔno* and/or *ara*, then the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

While (61) and (63) provide evidence for clausal structure, (65) is unexpected if the exception reconstructs into an elided clause. Here, the R-expression *Kofi* is contained within a DP, *Kofi mfonyin* ‘picture of Kofi’. If the exceptive phrase contains an elided clause, then this clause should also contain the DP *Kofi mfonyin*. Furthermore, if the exception reconstructs into its base position, then it still should not be bound by the R-expression *Kofi* in *Kofi mfonyin*, since *Kofi* should not be able to bind a constituent outside of the DP that contains it. As (65) demonstrates, however, this prediction is not borne out.

- (65) Kofi<sub>i</sub> mfonyin no yɛ obiara fɛ, agye sɛ Kofi<sub>\*i/j</sub>.  
 Kofi picture the is everyone beautiful except COMP Kofi  
 ‘The picture of Kofi is beautiful to everyone, except Kofi.’

(65) is therefore unexpected under an analysis where the exceptive phrase contains an unpronounced clause.

## 7.9 Island Sensitivity

Free exceptives in Asante Twi do not seem to be sensitive to islands. For example, no island violation is incurred in either (57) (repeated here in 66a) or (66b).

- (66) a. CNPC and Subject Island:

Nwoma a abɔfra biara kaenn yɛ pɛ agye sɛ John  
 book REL child every read.PAST is same except COMP John

‘Every child read the same book, except John.’ (Lit. ‘The book that every child read is the same, except John’)

b. Subject Island:

Sɛ obiara wɔ ha no yɛ anwana-sɛm, agye sɛ Kofi.  
 COMP everyone is here the is surprising-matter except COMP Kofi

‘The fact that everyone except Kofi is here is surprising.’ (Lit. ‘That everyone is here is a surprising matter, except Kofi’)

Free exceptives also seem to be insensitive to adjunct islands. A relevant example is shown in (67).

(67) Adjunct island:

Sɛ obiara ba a, Kofi ani bɛ-gyɛ, agye sɛ Yaw.  
 COMP everyone come COND Kofi eye FUT-take except COMP Yaw

‘If everyone except Yaw comes, Kofi will be happy’ (i.e., Kofi will not be happy if Yaw comes).

## 8 Problematic Data

The binding properties of *ɔno ara ne ho* are still mysterious, and it is unclear why (64) (repeated here in 68) is grammatical under the interpretation where Kofi and *ɔno ara ne ho* are both coreferential.

(68) Obiara pɛ Kofi<sub>i</sub> asem, agye sɛ ɔno ara ne ho<sub>i</sub>.  
 everyone like Kofi matter except COMP 3SG himself his self  
 ‘Everyone likes Kofi<sub>i</sub>, except he himself<sub>i</sub>.’

Example (65), repeated below in (69), is also surprising because it conflicts with the other data in Section 7.8. While some of the binding facts suggested clausal structure in the exceptive phrase, (69) goes against a clausal analysis of the exceptive phrase.

(69) Kofi<sub>i</sub> mfonyin no yɛ obiara fɛ, agye sɛ Kofi<sub>\*i/j</sub>.  
 Kofi picture the is everyone beautiful except COMP Kofi  
 ‘The picture of Kofi is beautiful to everyone, except Kofi.’

If we assume that the exceptive phrase contains clausal structure and that the exception reconstructs into its base position, then the exception *Kofi* should reconstruct into the same position as the associate. In this case, it reconstructs into a position that is c-commanded by *Kofi mfonyin*. However, the R-expression *Kofi* in *Kofi mfonyin* is contained within a DP, so it should not be able to bind the exception. The fact that co-reference is impossible between the exception and *Kofi* is therefore unexpected under a clausal analysis of the exceptive phrase.

Additional problematic data comes from what initially looked like connected exceptives. An example is shown below in (70). The markedness of these examples and the results of the constituency tests that I applied (see Sections 4 and 9 for more details) indicate that it is unclear whether connected exceptives are even available in Asante Twi.

- (70) ?M-mɔfra no nyinaa agye sɛ Kofi re-didi.  
 PL-child the all except COMP Kofi PROG-eat  
 ‘All the children except Kofi are eating.’

When I first attempted to elicit examples like the one in (70), my consultant stated that they were ungrammatical. However, at a later date, I checked these examples again and found that they had a marked interpretation. Essentially, it seems that examples like (70) are grammatical in contexts where the exceptive phrase is an afterthought. For example, (70) can be uttered in a context where the speaker initially thinks that all of the children are eating but later sees that Kofi is not eating.

Although the coordination test and fragment test both provided evidence for connected exceptives, examples like (70) were still marked. One possible explanation for this could be that sentences where the associate is adjacent to the exceptive phrase have structural ambiguity. More specifically, it is possible that *mmɔfra no nyinaa agye sɛ Kofi* ‘all the children except Kofi’ can have two possible parses: one as a connected exceptive, and another where *agye sɛ Kofi* ‘except Kofi’ is actually in a parenthetical. The markedness of seemingly connected exceptives could be caused by my speaker’s bias towards interpreting these examples as parentheticals when these examples are given out of context.

## 9 Additional Observations and Comments

As we saw in Section 3, exceptive phrases can appear immediately after the associate in some contexts, perhaps as an afterthought or parenthetical. When I attempted to test the constituency of these exceptive phrases, I obtained mixed evidence for their constituency. The results of the diagnostics that I used are shown in Table 2.

Diagnostic	Result	Constituent?
Coordination	Associate and exceptive phrase can be coordinated with a DP	Yes
Displacement	Cannot displace associate with exceptive phrase	No
Fragment	Exceptive phrase and associate can function as fragment answer	Yes

Table 2: Summary of Constituency Tests for Connected Exceptives

Furthermore, we also saw in Section 7.3 that putative connected exceptives show ambiguity when a sentence containing a sluice comes after them. If we assume that connected exceptives cannot contain clausal structure, then the sluicing ambiguity that we see with putative connected exceptives provides evidence that these cases are not actual connected exceptives. In summary, given the results from Table 2 and the restricted set of contexts where exceptive phrases can appear right after their associate, it is entirely possible that these exceptive phrases are not actually connected exceptives and instead are occurring inside of a parenthetical or as an adjunct.

Another interesting observation comes from Section 3, where we saw that exceptive phrases occurring clause-initially are marked if they do not contain a full clause and occur without context. These examples are infelicitous without context, and my consultant noted that they cannot be used to start conversations. When a full clause is used, however, the clause-initial exceptive phrase no longer requires additional context to be felicitous.

As for the question of whether exceptive phrases are clausal or phrasal, Table 3 summarizes the results of the diagnostics from Section 7.

<b>Diagnostic</b>	<b>Result</b>	<b>Clausal or Phrasal</b>
Expression of Full Clause	Full Clause is allowed	Clausal
Multiple Exceptions	Multiple exceptions are possible but require a pause in between them.	Clausal
Sluicing Interpretations	Ambiguity arises	Clausal
Clausal and speaker-oriented adverbs	Scopes over exceptive phrase	Clausal
P-Stranding	Obeys P-stranding generalization: Both options are available in wh-questions and exceptives	Clausal
Internal Reading	Internal and external readings available	Phrasal
Collective Predicates	Available with singular exception	Phrasal
Binding Theory Data	Mostly shows evidence for binding reconstruction with some exceptions.	Likely clausal
Island Sensitivity	No island sensitivity	[See below]

Table 3: Summary of Diagnostics for Clausal/Phrasal Exceptives

Based on the majority of diagnostics, it seems that exceptive phrases in Asante Twi do contain clausal ellipsis. The island insensitivity of exceptive phrases is particularly noteworthy. While one could argue that this demonstrates that exceptive phrases do not show evidence for internal clausal structure and movement, this does not necessarily have to be the case because of the possibility of island-insensitive A'-movement. According to Korsah & Murphy (2020), Asante Twi shows evidence for both A'-movement and island insensitive resumptive pronouns. Thus, if we assume that exceptive phrases contain clausal structure, then the island insensitivity of exceptive phrases is unsurprising based on the properties of movement and resumptive pronouns in Asante Twi more generally.

Based on the majority of my diagnostics, it seems that exceptive phrases in Asante Twi are clausal. Assuming a movement and deletion approach to clausal ellipsis, this would mean that exceptive phrases in Asante Twi involve clausal ellipsis and extraction of the exception out of the ellipsis site.

## 10 Consultants

My consultant is a 25 year old graduate student at the University of Florida who is originally from Ghana. He is a native speaker of the Asante dialect of Twi and is fluent in English as well.

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