

## Turkish Exceptives

*Cassandra Caragine, Nathan Dwyer, and Kevin Yu*

### 1. Language Morphosyntax<sup>1</sup>

#### 1.1 Language Name

All information from this subsection comes from Eberhard et al. (2023).

- ISO Code: tur
- Dialect information: Turkish consists of multiple dialects, mostly spoken in Türkiye, all with a high degree of mutual intelligibility. Our consultants are L1 speakers of the Western Anatolian dialect spoken in western Türkiye.
- Genetic affiliation: Turkic
- Number of speakers: 83,440,000 in Türkiye. 77,600,000 L1 speakers in Türkiye. 5,840,000 L2 users in 2019. Total users in all countries: 90,028,000 (as L1: 84,010,500; as L2: 6,017,500).
- Endangerment Level: National language

#### 1.2 Morphological type

Turkish is an agglutinating language, with bound inflectional morphology occurring on nouns and verbs. Verbal inflection may include inflection for person, tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality, and negation. Some examples are shown below.

- 1) Otur-acağ-ım.  
sit.down-FUT-1SG<sup>2</sup>  
'I'm going to sit down.' (Göksel and Kerslake 2005:73)
- 2) Yüz-üyor-uz.  
swim-PROG-1PL  
'We are swimming.' (Göksel and Kerslake 2005:73)

Turkish also has suffixes to express the causative, passive, reflexive, and reciprocal (Göksel & Kerslake 2005). These suffixes can come in many forms, and a few examples are listed below.

- 3) Causative suffixes: -Dİr, -t, -It
- 4) Passive suffixes: -n, -In, -Il

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<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations used: 1, 2, 3 = 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; ABL = ablative; ACC = accusative; AOR = aorist; CAUS = causative; COM = comitative; COND = conditional; DAT = dative; DN = deverbal noun; EM = exceptive marker; EQTV = equative; FAC = factive evidential modality; FUT = future; GEN = genitive; LOC = locative; NEG = negative; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PROG = progressive; PST = past; REL = relativizer; SG = singular

Nouns, on the other hand, may be inflected for case (see Section 1.4) and plurality. Some examples of case-marked nouns are given here in (5), (6), and (7).

- 5) sara-yı  
palace-ACC  
'Palace (accusative)'
- 6) masa-ya  
table-DAT  
'on (to) the table'
- 7) ev-de  
house-LOC  
'at the house'

### 1.3 Basic word order(s)

According to Eberhard et al. (2023) and Göksel & Kerslake (2005), the basic word order of Turkish is SOV. An example is shown below in (8):

- 8) SOV (Göksel & Kerslake 2005:395):  
Ali ev-i sat-tı.  
Ali house-ACC sell-PST  
'Ali sold the house.'

At the same time, all other word order permutations are permitted (Göksel & Kerslake 2005:395, Öztürk 2008).

- 9) OSV: Evi Ali sattı.
- 10) SVO: Ali sattı evi.
- 11) OVS: Evi sattı Ali.
- 12) VSO: Sattı Ali evi.
- 13) VOS: Sattı evi Ali.

According to Kural (1992), word orders that involve object preposing are the result of A'-movement as opposed to A-movement.

### 1.4 Case marking

According to Göksel & Kerslake (2005), there are five case suffixes<sup>3</sup>:

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<sup>3</sup> Here, capital letters represent generic vowels that may change in different phonological contexts. Because Turkish has vowel harmony based on rounding and frontness (Göksel & Kerslake 2005), each of these morphemes may be realized as different allomorphs based on the other vowels in the word. Additionally, capital D represents [d] or [t] depending on voicing assimilation, and the letters in parentheses are linkers which surface with vowel-final stems.

- Accusative: -(y)I
- Dative: -(y)A
- Ablative: -DAn
- Locative: -DA
- Genitive: -(n)In/-Im

As for the nominative case, it is expressed by a null suffix, and is thus homophonous with the bare noun form. Turkish also exhibits Differential Object Marking (DOM), whereby definite objects are marked with accusative case, and indefinite objects are unmarked (equivalent to nominative case):

- 14) Ali ev al-dı  
 Ali house.NOM buy-PST  
 ‘Ali bought a house.’
- 15) Ali ev-i al-dı  
 Ali house-ACC buy-PST  
 ‘Ali bought the house.’

Different verbs assign different cases to their various arguments, and certain postpositions also assign case to their complements. The case marking affixes given above combine with full noun phrases; the pronominal case-marking paradigm is given in the table below (irregular forms in bold).

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Ablative	Locative	Genitive
1SG	ben	beni	<b>bana</b>	benden	bende	<b>benim</b>
2SG	sen	seni	<b>sana</b>	senden	sende	senin
3SG	<b>o</b>	onu	ona	ondan	onda	onun
1PL	biz	bizi	bize	bizden	bizde	<b>bizim</b>
2PL	siz	sizi	size	sizden	sizde	sizin
3PL	onlar	onları	onlara	onlardan	onlarda	onların

### 1.5 Focus constructions

As described in Section 1.3, Turkish has one unmarked word order (SOV) and 5 marked word orders. According to Göksel & Kerslake (2005), the marked word orders involve displacement of constituents in order to focus them, i.e., highlight information from the constituent that has been displaced. According to Kural (1992), the immediately preverbal position bears focus:

- 16) Can her yer-e bizim-le gel-di  
 Can every place-DAT 1PL.GEN-COM come-PST  
 ‘Can came **with us** everywhere.’
- 17) Can bizim-le her yer-e gel-di  
 Can 1PL.GEN-COM every place-DAT come-PST  
 ‘Can came with us **everywhere**.’

As one can see in (16) and (17), with scrambling, the case on the noun remains the same as it would be in an unscrambled sentence.

Another focus strategy in Turkish is the pseudo-cleft construction (an equative sentence with a null copula) (Turan):

- 18) Can’-in yap-tığ-ı bütün gün çalış-mak  
 Can-GEN do-DN-POSS.3 whole day work-INF  
 ‘What Can does is **work all day**.’

With pseudo-clefting, the focused nominal appears in the unmarked nominative case.

## 2 Basic exceptive constructions

### 2.1 Exceptive markers

The following words and phrases express exclusion and are therefore potential exceptive markers:

- *dışında*
- *hariç*
- *haricinde*
- *başka*
- *saymazsak*
- *bir yana*
- *bir yana bırakırsak*

This questionnaire primarily focuses on the exceptive marker *dışında*. In addition to *dışında*, we also tested sentences with *hariç* and *başka* and have included those as well. All of these words are glossed as EM, or exceptive markers.

*Hariç* (and *haricinde* by extension) is a loan from Arabic *خارج* *kārij* ‘outside, exterior’. *Haricinde* is composed of *hariç*, a possessive suffix, and an oblique marker.

- 19) haric-in-de  
 outside-POSS.3SG-LOC

*Başka* is also an adjective meaning ‘other, different’ (cf. *başka bir araba* ‘another/a different car’). *Dış* means ‘exterior’, and *dışında* is a possessive-marked postposition, parallel in structure to *haricinde*.

20) *dış-ın-da*  
 exterior-POSS.3SG-LOC

However, the possessive affixes in *dışında* and *haricinde* do not agree with the person feature of the exception, as shown below in (21) – (23). (21) has a third person exception, while (22) has a first person exception, despite the 3rd person possessive suffix appearing in *dışında*. Attempting to use a 1st person possessive suffix with a 1st person exception does not result in the intended meaning of ‘except me’.

21) *o-nun dış-ın-da*  
 3SG-GEN exterior-POSS.3-LOC  
 ‘except her’

22) *ben-im dış-ın-da*  
 1SG-GEN exterior-POSS.3-LOC  
 ‘except me’

23) *\*ben-im dış-ım-da*  
 1SG-GEN exterior-POSS.1SG-LOC  
 Intended: ‘except me’

*Saymazsak* is morphologically complex (see (24)) and seems to be used less frequently. Given its semantic breakdown, it is likely an exclusive marker rather than a true exceptive marker.

24) *say-ma-z-sa-k*  
 count-NEG-AOR-COND-1PL  
 ‘excluding’ (lit. if we do not count)

*Bir yana* and *bir yana bırakırsak* (glosses in 25) are the only phrasal constructions we have found. They are also probably exclusive markers rather than exceptive markers, but further investigation is needed to determine their status.

25) *bir yan-a (bırak-ır-sa-k)*  
 one side-DAT (leave-AOR-COND-1PL)  
 ‘excluding’ (lit. (if we leave) to one side)

For some of our speakers, it seems that the exceptive markers *başka* and *dışında* show an exceptive/additive ambiguity, as shown below. However, the additive reading was unavailable

for one of our consultants. More work needs to be done to determine whether all of the exceptive markers have this ambiguity.

- 26) Can dışında her kız yemek y-iyor  
 Can EM every girl food eat-PROG  
 ‘Other than Can, every girl is eating.’
- 27) Can dışında / Can’-dan başka her kız yemek y-iyor  
 Can EM Can-ABL EM every girl food eat-PROG  
 ‘Other than Can, every girl is eating.’

Can is a typically masculine name, so if it is felicitous in this sentence, then the “exception” need not be a part of the set formed by the associate. In this way, *başka* and *dışında* may act as additive markers

## 2.2 Lexical category investigations

According to Göksel & Kerslake (2005), postpositions can be split into either bare postpositions and possessive-marked postpositions. Possessive-marked postpositions typically consist of a noun followed by a possessive suffix and an oblique case marker (oblique cases encompass dative, locative, and ablative). As discussed in Section 2.1, the exclusive markers *dışında* and *haricinde* follow this format, so they are likely possessive-marked postpositions:

- 28) dış-ın-da  
 exterior-POSS.3-LOC  
 ‘except’ (lit. in the outside of)
- 29) haric-in-de  
 outside-POSS.3-LOC  
 ‘except’ (lit. in the outside of)

According to Göksel and Kerslake's (2005) classification, *başka* and *hariç* are bare postpositions.

## 3 Word order in exceptives

### 3.1 Position of exceptive phrases

When exceptive and exclusive phrases are adjacent to their associates, they must appear immediately before the associate.

#### **Dışında:**

Sentence (30) indicates that the exceptive phrase can immediately precede the associate in subject position. Example (31), on the other hand, shows that placing the exceptive phrase immediately after the associate results in ungrammaticality.

- 30) Can dışında herkes yemek y-iyor  
 Can EM everyone food eat-PROG  
 ‘Everyone except Can is eating.’
- 31) \*Herkes Hasan dışında yemek yiyor  
 everyone Hasan EM food eat-PROG  
 Intended: ‘Everyone except Hasan is eating.’

Similarly, exceptive phrases may immediately precede the associate in object position as well:

- 32) Hasan turp dışında her sebze-yi yedi.  
 Hasan radish EM every vegetable-ACC eat.PST  
 ‘Hasan eats every vegetable except radishes.’

### **Hariç:**

Exceptive phrases marked by *hariç* may occur with associates in subject or object position, as shown in (33) and (34), respectively.

- 33) Can hariç herkes parti-ye gel-di  
 Can EM everyone party-DAT come-PST  
 ‘Everyone except Can came to the party’
- 34) Turp hariç her sebze-yi ye-r-im  
 Radish EM every vegetable-ACC eat-AOR-1SG  
 ‘I eat all vegetables except radishes.’

### **Başka:**

*Başka* can immediately precede the associate in both subject and object position, as shown in (35) and (36).

- 35) Can’-dan başka herkes parti-ye gel-di  
 Can-ABL EM everyone party-DAT come-PST  
 ‘Everyone except Can came to the party’
- 36) Turp-tan başka her sebze-yi ye-r-im  
 Radish-ABL EM every vegetable-ACC eat-AOR-1SG  
 ‘I eat all vegetables except radishes.’

## **3.2 Connected exceptives**

As we saw in Section 3.1, exceptive phrases can come immediately before their associate. Section 4 provides evidence that these exceptive phrases indeed form a constituent with their associate. For the purpose of this section, (37), (38), and (39) show that connected exceptives

require the associate to be immediately before the associate and ban exceptive phrases that immediately follow their associate.<sup>4</sup>

- 37) Hasan turp dışında her sebze-yi yedi.  
 Hasan radish EM every vegetable-ACC eat.PST  
 ‘Hasan ate every vegetable except radish.’
- 38) \*Herkes Can dışında yemek y-iyor  
 everyone Can EM food eat-PROG  
 ‘Everyone except Can is eating.’
- 39) \*Hasan her sebze-yi turp dışında yedi.  
 Hasan every vegetable-ACC radish EM eat.PST  
 ‘Hasan ate every vegetable except radish.’

### 3.3 Free exceptives

Free exceptives can appear at the beginning of a clause away from the associate, as shown below in (40).

- 40) Turp dışında, Hasan her sebzeyi yedi.  
 radish EM Hasan every vegetable-ACC eat.PST  
 ‘Except for radishes, Hasan ate every vegetable.’

The exceptive phrase may also appear at the end of a clause away from the associate.<sup>5</sup> Examples (41) – (46) provide examples of exceptive phrases occurring in a clause-final position.<sup>6</sup>

- 41) Herkes yemek y-iyor, Can dışında.  
 everyone food eat-PROG Can EM  
 ‘Everyone is eating, except Can.’
- 42) Herkes yemek y-iyor, Can-dan başka.  
 everyone food eat-PROG Can-ABL EM  
 ‘Everyone is eating, except Can.’

<sup>4</sup> Sentence (39) is ungrammatical without intonation breaks around the exceptive phrase. One of our consultants noted that (39) can be grammatical if there are noticeable intonation breaks before and after the exceptive phrase. This seems to indicate that (39) could be grammatical if the exceptive phrase is in a parenthetical. The issue of where these parenthetical positions are goes beyond the scope of this paper, however, so we leave it as an issue for future research.

<sup>5</sup> A complication that arises here is the possibility of extraposed exceptive phrases. In other words, the exceptives in (41) – (46) may be derived from connected exceptives, with the exceptive phrase undergoing movement to a clause-peripheral position. We were not able to explore this possibility in much detail, so for the purpose of this questionnaire, we will assume that exceptive phrases that are separate from their associate are truly part of free exceptives.

<sup>6</sup> One consultant noted that clause-final exceptive phrases sounded like afterthoughts or corrections.



- 43) Her sebze-yi ye-r-im, turp dışında.  
 every vegetable-ACC eat-AOR-1SG radish EM  
 ‘I eat every vegetable, except turnips.’
- 44) Her sebze-yi ye-r-im, turp-tan başka.  
 every vegetable-ACC eat-AOR-1SG radish-ABL EM  
 ‘I eat every vegetable, except turnips.’
- 45) Can bizim-le her yer-e gel-di, parti dışında  
 Can 1PL.GEN-COM every place-DAT come-PST party EM  
 ‘Cancame with us everywhere, except the party.’
- 46) Can bizim-le her yer-e gel-di, parti-den başka  
 Can 1PL.GEN-COM every place-DAT come-PST party-ABL EM  
 ‘Can came with us everywhere, except the party.’

#### 4 Constituency evidence for connected exceptives

##### 4.1 Coordination

The exceptive phrase and associate seem to form a unit that can be coordinated with other groups of exceptive phrases and associates, as in (47) and (48).

- 47) [Can dışında her oğlan] ve [Ayşe dışında her kız] parti-den  
 Can EM every boy and Ayşe EM every girl party-ABL  
 ayrıl-dı  
 leave-PST  
 ‘Every boy except Can and every girl except Ayşe left the party.’
- 48) [Can-dan başka her erkek] ve [Ayşe-den başka her kız]  
 Can-ABL EM every boy and Ayşe-ABL EM every girl  
 parti-den ayrıl-dı  
 party-ABL leave-PST  
 ‘Every boy except Can and every girl except Ayşe left the party.’

Additional evidence that exceptive phrases form a DP constituent with their associate comes from the fact that they can be coordinated with other DPs both with and without exceptive phrases, as shown in (49) – (51).

- 49) [<sub>DP</sub> Tüm meyve-ler-i] ve [<sub>DP</sub> kereviz dışında her sebze-yi]  
 all fruit-PL-ACC and celery EM every vegetable-ACC  
 ye-r-im  
 eat-AOR-1SG  
 ‘I eat all fruits and every vegetable except celery.’

- 50) [<sub>DP</sub> Tüm meyve-ler-i] ve [<sub>DP</sub> kereviz-den başka her sebze-yi]  
 all fruit-PL-ACC and celery-ABL EM every vegetable-ACC  
 ye-r-im  
 eat-AOR-1SG  
 ‘I eat all fruits and every vegetable except celery.’
- 51) [<sub>DP</sub> Hasan dışında her öğrenci-yi] ve [<sub>DP</sub> Aimal hoca dışında her  
 Hasan except every student-ACC and Aimal teacher except every  
 öğretmen-i] gördüm.  
 teacher-ACC see.1SG  
 ‘I saw all the students except Hasan and all the teachers except Teacher Aimal.’

## 4.2 Displacement

The associate and the exceptive phrase can be displaced from their unmarked position as a single unit. This can be done using scrambling. For example, the exceptive phrase and its associate can occur immediately before the verb (52), or they can occur clause-initially, as in (53) and (54). Example (53) demonstrates displacement using an exceptive phrase headed by *dışında*, whereas (54) demonstrates displacement with *başka*.

- 52) Can bizim-le [ parti dışında her yer-e] gel-di  
 Can 1PL.GEN-COM party EM every place-DAT come-PST  
 ‘Can came with us everywhere except to the party.’
- 53) [Parti dışında her yer-e] Can bizim-le gel-di  
 Party EM every place-DAT Can 1PL.GEN-COM come-PST  
 ‘Everywhere except to the party, Can came with us.’
- 54) [Parti-den başka her yer-e] Can bizim-le gel-di  
 Party-ABL EM every place-DAT Can 1PL.GEN-COM come-PST  
 ‘Everywhere except to the party, Can came with us.’

## 4.3 Other

Exceptive phrases can be used along with their associates as fragment answers, as shown in (55).

- 55) Q: Kim parti-ye gel-iyor?  
 Who party-DAT come-PROG  
 ‘Who is coming to the party?’
- A: Can dışında herkes  
 Can EM everyone  
 ‘Everyone except Can.’

A': Can-dan başka herkes.  
 Can-ABL EM everyone  
 'Everyone except Can.'

Assuming that fragment answers are formed by focus movement of the answer followed by ellipsis of the remainder of the clause (Merchant 2005), the fragments in (55A) and (55A') provide evidence that the exceptive phrase forms a syntactic unit with its associate.

## 5 Characteristics of the Associate

### 5.1 Quantificational Associates

#### 5.1.1 Free exceptives

Free exceptives can appear with a universal quantifier, as shown in (56) and (57).

- 56) Herkes yemek yiyor, Hasan dışında / Hasan-dan başka  
 everyone food eat:PROG Hasan EM / Hasan-ABL EM  
 'Everyone is eating, except Hasan.'
- 57) Her öğrenci yemek yiyor, Aimal dışında / Aimal-dan başka  
 every student food eat:PROG Aimal EM / Aimal-ABL EM  
 'All of the students are eating except for Aimal.'

The associate can also contain a negative universal quantifier.

- 58) Turp dışında Hasan hiç sebze yemez.  
 radish EM Hasan no vegetable:ACC eat  
 'Hasan does not eat any vegetables, except radishes.'

Non-universal quantifiers may also be used as the associate of free exceptives/exclusives. This includes 'most' and 'much.'<sup>7</sup>

- 59) Pek pilav yemem, esmer pirinç pilav-ı dışında  
 much rice eat:NEG:AOR:1SG, brown rice rice-POSS.3 EM  
 'I don't eat much rice except brown rice.'
- 60) Pek pilav yemem, esmer pirinç pilav-ın-dan başka  
 much rice eat:NEG:AOR:1SG, brown rice rice-POSS.3-ABL EM  
 'I don't eat much rice except brown rice.'

<sup>7</sup> The ungrammaticality of (62) is somewhat surprising, and we are unsure of the specific reason for this result. One possibility could be that *çoğu* is actually a noun. This could perhaps explain the contrast between (61) and (62), but a full explanation would require a more in-depth analysis of both *dışında* and *başka*. As we do not have a clear answer to this issue, we leave it for future research.

- 61) Yemeğ-in çoğ-u yendi, turp dışında  
 food-GEN most-POSS.3 eat:PASS:PST radish EM  
 ‘Most of the food was eaten, except radishes.’
- 62) \*Yemeğ-in çoğ-u yendi, turp-tan başka  
 food-GEN most-POSS.3 eat:PASS:PST radish-ABL EM  
 ‘Most of the food was eaten, except radishes.’  
 Intended: ‘Most of the food was eaten, except radishes.’

Additionally, a definite DP without any overt quantifiers can also serve as the associate of *dışında*.

- 63) Köpek-ler yemek yiyor, Karabaş dışında  
 dog-PL food eat.PROG, Karabaş EM  
 ‘The dogs are eating, except Karabaş.’
- 64) Köpek-ler-i gördüm, Karabaş dışında  
 dog-PL-ACC saw.PST.1SG, Karabaş EM  
 ‘I saw the dogs except Karabaş.’

We found, however, that definite DPs cannot serve as the associate for *başka*.

- 65) \*Köpek-ler yemek yiyor, Karabaş-tan başka  
 dog-PL food eat:PROG, Karabaş-ABL EM  
 Intended: ‘The dogs are eating, except Karabaş.’
- 66) \*Köpek-ler-i gördüm, Karabaş-tan başka  
 dog-PL-ACC saw:PST:1SG, Karabaş-ABL EM  
 Intended: ‘I saw the dogs except Karabaş.’

Numerical associates can be used in free exceptives as well. In these sentences, the exceptive phrase takes on more of an additive reading. For example, (67) only has the reading where Ali saw Ayşe and five other students as well. The exceptive reading, in which Ali did not see Ayşe, is not available.

- 67) Ayşe dışında Ali beş öğrenci gördü.  
 Ayşe EM Ali five student see.PST  
 ‘Ali saw five students in addition to Ayşe.’

### 5.1.2 Connected exceptives

Connected exceptives allow universal quantifiers and negative universal quantifiers with their associates. When the associate contains a universal quantifier or a negative universal quantifier, the exceptive phrase has an exceptive reading. For example, (68) contains a universal quantifier

and implies that Hasan did not eat radishes. On the other hand, (69) contains a negative universal quantifier and implies that Hasan does eat radishes.

- 68) Hasan turp dışında her sebze-yi yedi.  
 Hasan radish EM every vegetable-ACC eat.PST  
 ‘Hasan ate every vegetable except radishes.’
- 69) Hasan turp dışında hiçbir sebze-yi yemedi.  
 Hasan radish except no vegetable eat.NEG  
 ‘Hasan doesn’t eat any vegetables except radishes.’

Non-universal quantifiers, such as *çok* ‘most, majority,’ are also allowed in the associate. For example, sentence (70) cannot have an interpretation where Hasan ate all of the jasmine rice. It could, however, mean that Hasan ate only some of the jasmine rice and ate a majority of the rest of the rice.

- 70) Hasan yasemin pilavı dışında pilavın çoğ-un-u yedi.  
 Hasan jasmine rice EM rice-GEN most-3.POSS-ACC  
 eat.PST  
 ‘Hasan ate most of the rice except the jasmine rice.’
- 71) Hasan, turp dışında sebze-ler-in çoğ-un-u yedi.  
 Hasan radish EM vegetable-PL-GEN most-3.POSS-ACC eat.PST  
 ‘Hasan ate most of the vegetables, except the radishes.’

Connected exceptives which lack overt quantifiers were ungrammatical without any intonational break after the exceptive phrase, as shown in (72) and (73).<sup>8</sup>

- 72) \*Hasan Karabaş dışında köpek-ler-i sevdi.  
 Hasan Karabaş EM dog-PL-ACC like  
 Intended: ‘Hasan likes the dogs, except Karabaş.’
- 73) \*Hasan turp dışında sebze-ler-i yedi.  
 Hasan radish EM vegetable-PL-ACC eat.PST  
 Intended: ‘Hasan ate the vegetables, except the radishes.’

With *başka*, on the other hand, non-universal quantifiers were less grammatical with the associate. The associate cannot be a non-universal quantifier, a definite DP, or a generic indefinite DP.

<sup>8</sup> One of our consultants noted that pausing after the exceptive phrase could make the sentence in (73) more acceptable.

- 74) ?Aimal-dan başka öğrenci-ler-in çoğ-u yemek yiyor  
 Aimal-ABL EM student-PL-GEN most-POSS.3 food eat:PROG  
 Intended: ‘Most of the students are eating except Aimal.’
- 75) \*Turp-tan başka yemeğ-in çoğ-u yendi  
 radish-ABL EM food-GEN most-POSS.3 eat:PASS:PST  
 Intended: ‘Most of the food was eaten except for the radishes.’
- 76) \*Karabaş-tan başka köpek-ler yemek yiyor  
 Karabaş-ABL EM dog-PL food eat:PROG  
 Intended: ‘The dogs except Karabaş are eating.’
- 77) \*Turp-tan başka sebze yerim  
 radish-ABL EM vegetable eat:AOR:1SG  
 Intended: ‘I eat vegetables, except for radishes.’

Numerically quantified associates are also grammatical with *dışında*, but in these cases, the exceptive phrase takes on an additive reading. For example, (78) has a reading where Ali saw Ayşe as well as five other students. It does not have a reading where Ali did not see Ayşe.

- 78) Ali Ayşe dışında beş öğrenci gördü.  
 Ali Ayşe EM five student see.PST  
 ‘Ali saw five students, in addition to Ayşe.’

Finally, wh-phrases may serve as associates in connected exceptives, and in these cases, the exceptive phrase takes on an additive interpretation. (79) presupposes that Ali ate the radishes and asks what other vegetables he ate.

- 79) Ali turp dışında hangi sebze-yi yedi?  
 Ali radish EM which vegetable-ACC eat.PST  
 ‘Which vegetables did Ali eat in addition to radishes?’

## 5.2 Implicit Associates

Implicit associates are allowed for *dışında*, as shown in (80), but not for *başka*, as shown in (81).

- 80) Pazartesi dışında akşam yemeğ-i yaparım  
 Monday EM evening food-POSS.3 make:AOR:1SG  
 ‘Except for Mondays, I make dinner.’
- 81) \*Pazartesi-den başka akşam yemeğ-i yaparım  
 Monday-ABL EM evening food-POSS.3 make:AOR:1SG  
 Intended: ‘Except for Mondays, I make dinner.’

The associate here is implicitly “every day.” In (80), *pazartesi dışında* ‘except Mondays’ is arguably a free exceptive, as a connected exceptive is a nominal modifier and requires an overt associate that it can modify.

## 6 Characteristics of the Exception

### 6.1 Categorial options

#### 6.1.1 Free exceptives

Free exceptives can contain nominal exceptions, as shown below in (82) and (83). This is true both for exceptive phrases headed by *dışında* and exceptives phrases headed by *başka*.

- 82) Herkes yemek y-iyor, Can dışında / Can-dan başka  
 everyone food eat-PROG Can EM / Can-ABL EM  
 ‘Everyone is eating, except Can.’
- 83) Her sebze-yi ye-r-im, turp dışında/ turp-tan başka  
 every vegetable-ACC eat-AOR-1SG radish EM / radish-ABL EM  
 ‘I eat every vegetable, except turnips.’

As for clausal exceptions, we found that they could only be expressed using deverbal nouns, as shown below in (84) and (85). In these cases, the “clause” is actually nominal. According to Göksel and Kerslake (2005:91 - 93), the suffixes *-DIK* (realized in (85) as *-diğ* or *-tiğ*) and *-mA* (realized as *-ma* in (84)) are subordinating suffixes that form deverbal nouns. When *-DIK* and *-mA* are attached to a verb, the resulting word may also appear with possessive suffixes, signaling that they are likely nominal.

- 84) (Onun) Gürcistan’-da doğ-ma-sı dışında Stalin  
 (3SG.GEN) Georgia-LOC be.born-DN-POSS.3 EM Stalin  
 hakkında her gerçeğ-i biliyordum  
 about every fact-ACC know:PROG:PST:1SG  
 ‘I knew every fact about Stalin, except that he was born in Georgia.’ (Lit. ‘Except for his being born in Georgia, I knew every fact about Stalin’).
- 85) Öğle-yin ye-diğ-in dışında dün ne  
 Midday-GEN eat-DN-POSS.2SG EM yesterday WH  
 yap-tığ-ın-ı biliyorum  
 do-DN-POSS.2SG-ACC know:PROG:1SG  
 ‘I know what you did yesterday, except for you eating lunch.’

The idea that these constructions are in fact nominals is further confirmed when they are included in exceptive phrases containing *başka*. In (86) and (87), the deverbal noun receives ablative case, which can only be applied to nominals.

- 86) Gürcistan'-da doğ-ma-sı-dan başka Stalin hakkında her  
 Georgia-LOC be\_born-DN-POSS.3-ABL EM Stalin about every  
 gerçeğ-i biliyordum  
 fact-ACC know:PROG:PST:1SG  
 'I knew every fact about Stalin, except that he was born in Georgia.' (Lit. 'Except his being born in Georgia, I knew every fact about Stalin').
- 87) Öğle-yin ye-diğ-in-den başka dün ne  
 Midday-GEN eat-DN-POSS.2SG-ABL EM yesterday WH  
 yap-tığ-ın-ı biliyorum  
 do-DN-POSS.2SG-ACC know:PROG:1SG  
 'I know what you did yesterday, except for you eating lunch.'

Given that the verbs *doğması* and *yediğin* are both deverbal, have possessive suffixes, and can receive case, (84) and (85) still involve nominal exceptions in which the exception is a nominalized clause.

PP exceptions are also impossible with *dışında* and *başka*.

- 88) \*Köpek-ler her bina-ya doğru koşuyor, postane-ye  
 dog-PL every building-DAT toward run:PROG post\_office-DAT  
 doğru dışında  
 toward EM  
 'The dogs are running toward every building, except (\*toward) the post office.'
- 89) Köpek-ler her bina-ya doğru koşuyor, postane-den (\*ye  
 dog-PL every building-DAT toward run:PROG, post\_office-ABL(\*DAT  
 doğru) başka  
 toward) EM  
 'The dogs are running toward every building, except (\*toward) the post office.'

Here the postpositional phrase *postaneye doğru* 'toward the post office' is not allowed as an exception, even though the associate is a PP. In summary, then, free exceptive phrases in Turkish only allow nominal exceptions and do not allow nominal exceptions or PP exceptions.

### 6.1.2 Connected exceptives

Many of the examples of connected exceptives that we elicited had nominal exceptions, such as the following examples:

- 90) Hasan turp dışında her sebze-yi yedi.  
 Hasan radish EM every vegetable-ACC eat.PST  
 'Hasan ate every vegetable except radishes.'



Like the free exceptives/exclusives, the most natural way to express a full clause in a connected exceptive is to use a deverbal noun.

- 91) Stalin hakkında Gürcistan'-da doğ-ma-sı dışında her  
 Stalin about Georgia-LOC be\_born-DN-POSS.3 EM every  
 gerçeğ-i biliyordum  
 fact-ACC know:PROG:PST:1SG  
 'I knew every fact about Stalin except that he was born in Georgia.'
- 92) Stalin hakkında Gürcistan'-da doğ-ma-sın-dan başka her  
 Stalin about Georgia-LOC be\_born-DN-POSS.3-ABL EM every  
 gerçeğ-i biliyordum  
 fact-ACC know:PROG:PST:1SG  
 'I knew every fact about Stalin except that he was born in Georgia.'

As was the case with free exceptives, PPs may not serve as the exception of connected exceptives. Exceptive phrases whose associate is a postpositional phrase cannot contain the postposition, only the DP.

- 93) Köpek-ler postane-(\*ye doğru) dışında her bina-ya  
 dog-PL post\_office-(\*DAT toward) EM every building-DAT  
 doğru koşuyor  
 toward run:PROG  
 'The dogs are running toward every building, except (\*toward) the post office.'
- 94) Köpek-ler postane-den-(\*ye doğru) başka her bina-ya  
 dog-PL post\_office-ABL-(\*DAT toward) EM every building-DAT  
 doğru koşuyor  
 toward run:PROG  
 'The dogs are running toward every building, except (\*toward) the post office.'

## 6.2 Case marking on nominal exceptions

Nominal exceptions with the exceptive markers *dışında*, *hariç*, and *haricinde* cannot be overtly marked for case, regardless of the case of the associate. They surface as a bare noun, which is identical to the nominative.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> With pronouns, we did find some speaker variation in judgments. For one consultant, we found that pronominal exceptions were marked with genitive case. An example is shown below in (I).

- I. Ben-im dışında  
 1SG-GEN EM  
 'except for me.'

### 6.2.1 Free exceptives

Free exceptions with *başka* are always marked with ablative case.

- 95) Herkes yemek y-iyor, Can-dan başka  
 everyone food eat-PROG Can-ABL EM  
 ‘Everyone is eating, except Can.’

For the other exceptive markers, consultants consistently used the unmarked case. Furthermore, attempting to use a case-marked exception that matched the associate’s case resulted in ungrammaticality. For example, the sentence in (96) places accusative case both on the associate and on the exception. This results in ungrammaticality, however, indicating that there is no requirement for case matching.

- 96) Her sebzey-i yerim, turp-(\*u) hariç  
 every vegetable-ACC eat:AOR:1SG radish-(\*ACC) EM  
 ‘I eat every vegetable, except radishes.’

### 6.2.2 Connected exceptives

Like the free exceptives, *başka* requires ablative case while *dışında* requires nominative case. Attempting to use another case suffix with *dışında* results in ungrammaticality, even if the associate is case marked. For example, in (97), the associate is accusative, but the exception cannot be marked with accusative case. In (98), the associate has locative case, but the exception cannot be marked with the same case.

- 97) Hasan brokoli-(\*yi) dışında her sebze-yi  
 Hasan broccoli-ACC EM every vegetable-ACC  
 yedi.  
 eat.PST  
 Intended: ‘Hasan ate all the vegetables except broccoli.’
- 98) Can ev-(\*de) dışında her yer-de uyudu  
 Can house-(\*LOC) EM every place-LOC sleep.PST  
 ‘Can slept everywhere except in the house.’

As (99) indicates, *başka* requires ablative case, and in (100), case matching is not permitted if it results in the exception receiving a case that is not ablative.

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One other consultant accepted both genitive marked pronouns and unmarked pronouns in the exceptive phrase. There does seem to be some variation in terms of how pronominal exceptions are marked. Due to constraints on time, we were not able to investigate the full scope of this variation and the interpretations that result from different kinds of case-marking on pronouns in the exceptive phrase, so we leave this as an open issue for future research.

- 99) Can ev-den başka her yer-de uyudu  
 Can house-ABL EM every place-LOC sleep.PST  
 ‘Can slept everywhere except the house.’
- 100) \*Can ev-de başka her yer-de uyudu  
 Can house-LOC EM every place-LOC sleep.PST  
 Intended: ‘Can slept everywhere except the house.’

Furthermore, even though *dışında* is derived from *dış* ‘exterior’, the exception cannot be marked with genitive case. For example, (101) indicates that genitive case can be used when talking about the exterior of a house, but in (102), genitive cannot be used to mark the exception.

- 101) ev-in dış-ın  
 house-GEN exterior-POSS.3  
 ‘the exterior of the house’
- 102) \*ev-in dışında  
 house-GEN EM  
 Intended: ‘except the house’

Similarly, in a full exceptive, the exception cannot be marked with genitive case if the exceptive marker is *dışında*.

- 103) \*Hasan turpun dışında her sebze-yi yedi.  
 Hasan radish-GEN EM every vegetable-ACC eat.PST  
 Intended: ‘Hasan ate all the vegetables except the radish.’

## 7 Clausal Exceptives

### 7.1 Possible expression of full clause exceptions

Turkish exceptive phrases do not allow full clauses to occur within them. For example, (104) attempts to place a full clause before *dışında* with a negated version of the matrix clause’s predicate.

- 104) \*Aimal yemek ye-m-iyor dışında herkes yemek y-iyor  
 Aimal food eat-NEG-PROG EM everyone food eat-PROG  
 Intended: ‘Except that Aimal is not eating food, everyone is eating food.’

It is worth noting that even though some constructions, such as the one in (105), may appear as if they contain a clausal exceptive, these constructions should not actually be treated as examples of clausal exceptives (see Section 6.1.1). In this sentence, the exceptive phrase contains a deverbal noun with the suffix *-ma*.

- 105) Gürcistan'-da doğ-ma-sı dışında Stalin hakkında  
 Georgia-LOC be\_born-DN-POSS.3 EM Stalin about  
 her gerçeğ-i biliyordum  
 every fact-ACC know:PROG:PST:1SG  
 'I knew every fact about Stalin, except that he was born in Georgia.'  
 (Lit. 'Except for his being born in Georgia, I knew every fact about Stalin.')

## 7.2 Multiple exceptions

Multiple exceptions are not permitted in Turkish exceptive phrases. We already saw in Sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 that the exceptive phrase cannot contain PP exceptions, so the expectation is that an exceptive cannot contain a PP exception along with a second exception. Indeed, the sentence in (106) confirms that this is the case.

- 106) \*Her erkek her kız-ın yan-ın-da yemek yiyor,  
 every boy every girl-GEN side-POSS.3-LOC food eat:PROG  
 Hasan Aimal yan-ın-da dışında  
 Hasan Aimal side- POSS.3-LOC EM  
 Intended: 'Every boy ate beside every girl, except Hasan beside Aimal.'

Furthermore, as we saw in Sections 6.1.1, 6.1.2, and 7.1, clausal exceptions are also banned. Thus, DPs seem to be the only type of exception that can occur. In order to test whether exceptive phrases allow multiple exceptions, we attempted to elicit sentences with multiple nominal exceptions and no conjunction. These sentences used DPs with different case morphology in order to ensure that they are not coordinated. For example, (107) has a nominative exception and an accusative exception. This sentence is ungrammatical, providing further evidence that multiple exceptions are not possible. Likewise, (108) includes a nominative exception and a comitative exception in the exceptive phrase. It is ungrammatical as well.

- 107) \*Hasan Ayşe-'yi dışında her erkek her kız-ı  
 Hasan Ayşe-ACC except every boy every girl-ACC  
 gördü.  
 see:PAST  
 Intended: 'Every boy saw every girl, except Hasan (didn't see) Ayşe.'
- 108) \*Hasan Ayşe'-yle dışında, her erkek her kız-la  
 Hasan Ayşe'-COM except every boy every girl-COM  
 konuştu.  
 talk:PST  
 Intended: 'Every boy talked to every girl, except Hasan to Ayşe.'

In summary, the sentences in (106) – (108) provide evidence that multiple exceptions are unavailable in Turkish exceptive phrases, as attempts to include exceptions of different categories or exceptions with different case morphology result in ungrammaticality.

We did also attempt to elicit examples with multiple nominative exceptions. There were some mixed judgments, but overall these sentences seemed to be degraded or completely ungrammatical.<sup>10</sup>

- 109) Her erkek, her kız-la konuştu, Hasan \*/✓(ve) Ayşe  
 every boy every girl-COM talk:PST Hasan and Ayşe  
 dışında.  
 EM  
 ‘Every boy talked to every girl, except Hasan (and) Ayşe.’
- 110) Her erkek-i her kız-la tanıştırdık, Can  
 every boy-ACC every girl-COM know:REC:CAUS:PST:1PL Can  
 \*/✓(ve) Ayşe dışında  
 and Ayşe EM  
 ‘We introduced every boy to every girl, except Can to Ayşe.’
- 111) ??Her erkek her kız-ı gördü, Hasan (ve) Ayşe dışında  
 every boy every girl-ACC saw Hasan (and) Ayşe EM  
 ‘Every boy saw every girl, except Hasan (and) Ayşe.’

For the exceptive marker *başka*, the presence or absence of the conjunction also affected grammaticality, and we again received rather unclear judgments with this marker.

- 112) Her erkek, her kız-la konuştu, Hasan-dan \*(ve)  
 every boy every girl-COM talk:PST Hasan-ABL \*(and)  
 Ayşe-den başka  
 Ayşe-ABL EM  
 ‘Every boy talked to every girl, except Hasan (and) Ayşe.’
- 113) Her erkek-i her kız-la tanıştırdık,  
 every boy-ACC every girl-COM know:REC:CAUS:PST:1PL  
 Can-dan \*(ve) Ayşe-den başka  
 Can-ABL \*(and) Ayşe-ABL EM  
 ‘We introduced every boy to every girl, except Can to Ayşe.’

<sup>10</sup> For example, (109) received somewhat mixed judgments. One consultant found the exceptive to be grammatical without any conjunctions between the two exceptions, but for another consultant, it was ungrammatical. For the consultant who found it to be grammatical, it could be possible that they allow covert coordination to join multiple DPs. We also received very mixed judgments for (111). One consultant found it to be grammatical without the conjunction but ungrammatical with the conjunction. Another consultant said that it is ungrammatical without the conjunction and with the conjunction, Hasan and Ayşe would have to both be girls. The variation in judgments that we received make (109) – (111) unreliable for diagnosing multiple exceptions.

- 114) ?Her erkek her kız-1 gördü, Hasan-dan \*(ve)  
 every boy every girl-ACC saw Hasan-ABL \*(and)  
 Ayşe-den başka  
 Ayşe-ABL EM  
 ‘Every boy saw every girl, except Hasan (and) Ayşe.’

In (112) and (113) the conjunction is required, and for (114), it is ungrammatical without the conjunction. With the conjunction, however, one of our consultants found (114) to be somewhat marginal.

All in all, we found that multiple exceptions were not possible if one of the exceptions is a DP and the other is a PP. We also found that multiple exceptions were not possible if the two exceptions differed in case. When we attempted to elicit multiple exceptions with two nominative exceptions, the results were rather mixed and unclear. Thus, there does not seem to be clear evidence for the availability of multiple exceptions.

### 7.3 Sluicing interpretations

The following sentence contains both a free exceptive and a sluice in a second clause.

- 115) Herkes yemek yiyor, (Aimal dışında/ Aimal-dan başka), ama  
 everyone food eat:PROG (Aimal EM / Aimal-ABL EM), but  
 neden bilmiyorum  
 why know:NEG:1SG  
 ‘Everyone is eating except Aimal, but I don’t know why.’  
 ...but I don’t know why Aimal isn’t eating ✓  
 ...but I don’t know why everyone is eating except Aimal ✓

Our consultants noted that both interpretations in (115) were possible. The first interpretation is the one that we would expect if there is clausal ellipsis. Under this type of analysis, the exceptive phrase contains clausal material that corresponds to the meaning of “Aimal is not eating.” This clausal material can then act as an antecedent for the sluice. The available interpretations of (115) therefore suggest that there is clausal structure in free exceptives.

When we tried this test with an exceptive phrase that was more clearly a connected exceptive, the interpretations were less clear cut, and we received more mixed judgments.

- 116) Aimal (kereviz dışında/ kereviz-den başka) her sebze-yi  
 Aimal (celery EM / celery-ABL EM) every vegetable-ACC  
 yer ama ne-den bilmiyorum  
 eat:AOR but wh-ABL know-NEG-1SG

‘Aimal eats every vegetable except celery, but I don’t know why.’  
 ...but I don’t know why Aimal doesn’t eat celery  
 ...but I don’t know why Aimal eats every vegetable except celery

For (116) one consultant found both interpretations available but preferred to paraphrase the second reading as “I don’t know why Aimal eats so many vegetables.” The other consultant thought that the second reading was the only available reading and could only get the first reading by repeating “celery” in the second clause, yielding *ama neden kereviz bilmiyorum* ‘but I don’t know why celery’.

#### 7.4 Clausal/speaker-oriented adverbs

To test whether the exceptive phrase can contain a clausal adverb, we used two contradictory clausal adverbs: *maalesef* ‘unfortunately’ and *Allah’tan* ‘thank God’. We placed *maalesef* in the exceptive phrase and *Allah’tan* in the matrix clause. The resulting sentence was contradictory, suggesting that the exceptive phrase cannot contain its own clausal adverb.

117) #Maalesef Hasan dışında Allah'tan herkes burada.  
 unfortunately Hasan except thank.God everyone is.here  
 Intended: ‘Thank God everyone is here, except Hasan, unfortunately.’

The fact that (117) is contradictory provides evidence that *maalesef* and *Allah’tan* are in the same clause, which suggests that the exceptive phrase does not contain clausal structure. However, *belki* ‘maybe’ can occur before an exceptive phrase with *dışında*. With *başka*, it is bordering on ungrammaticality.

118) Herkes parti-ye gelecek, belki (Hasan dışında/ ?Hasan-dan  
 everyone party-DAT come:FUT maybe (Hasan EM / ?Hasan-ABL  
 başka)  
 EM  
 ‘Everyone will come to the party except maybe Hasan.’

The interpretations that we elicited for (118) suggest that *belki* scopes over the exceptive phrase. This sentence cannot be interpreted as meaning ‘maybe everyone will come to the party except Hasan,’ indicating that the adverb cannot scope over the entire clause. Furthermore, one of our consultants noted that based on this sentence, we know that everyone besides Hasan will come for sure. The only thing that seems to be uncertain is whether or not Hasan will come. Assuming that *belki* ‘maybe’ is a clausal adverb, this seems to suggest that the exceptive phrase can host a clausal adverb, which goes against (117).

The adverb *belki* can also appear immediately before the exception in a connected exceptive, like in (119). Here, the connected exceptive is in object position. The exact reading of this sentence, however, was somewhat unclear.

- 119) Hasan belki kereviz dışında her sebze-yi  
 Hasan maybe celery EM every vegetable-ACC  
 yer  
 eat:AOR  
 'Hasan eats every vegetable except maybe celery.'  
 'Maybe Hasan eats every vegetable except celery.'

According to one of our consultants, if *belki* appears before the exception, it scopes over the entire clause rather than the exceptive phrase. However, one other consultant said that in (119) *belki* scopes only over the exceptive phrase and not over the entire clause. The latter consultant said they get the same interpretation for (119) with *başka*, shown below in (120).

- 120) Hasan belki kereviz-den başka her sebze-yi yer  
 Hasan maybe celery-ABL EM every vegetable-ACC eat:AOR  
 'Hasan eats every vegetable except maybe celery.'

We also attempted to elicit examples of connected exceptives with *belki* between the exception and the exceptive marker. This resulted in clear ungrammaticality, indicating that *belki* cannot come between the exception and exceptive marker..

- 121) \*Hasan (kereviz belki dışında/ kereviz-den belki başka) her  
 Hasan celery maybe EM / celery-ABL maybe EM) every  
 sebze-yi yer  
 vegetable-ACC eat:AOR  
 'Hasan eats every vegetable except maybe celery.'

In summary, we found that the clausal adverbs test yielded somewhat mixed results. When the exceptive phrase contains an adverb that contradicts an adverb in the matrix clause, the sentence is contradictory. For example, *maalesef* 'unfortunately' cannot be used in the exceptive phrase if *Allah'tan* is used in the matrix clause. However, when we attempted to place *belki* 'maybe' in the exceptive phrase, some of our consultants interpreted the sentence such that *belki* had scope over the exceptive phrase.



### 7.5 Postposition stranding

P-stranding in Turkish is not allowed. When a wh-word occurs with a postposition, the postposition must be pied-piped in wh-movement. This can be seen in the examples below. In (122), we have an example of a wh-question with the postposition adjacent to the wh-word.

- 122) Aimal kim-in yan-in-da yemek yiyor?  
 Aimal who-GEN side-POSS.3-LOC food eat:PROG  
 ‘Next to whom is Aimal eating?’

The wh-phrase *kimin yanında* ‘next to who’ may also appear clause initially, as in (123).

- 123) kim-in yan-in-da Aimal yemek yiyor?  
 who-GEN side-POSS.3-LOC Aimal food eat:PROG  
 ‘Next to whom is Aimal eating?’

If we assume that (123) involves A'-movement, then based on (124) and (125), Turkish does not show evidence for postposition stranding in wh-questions. In both sentences, the postposition *yanında* is stranded in a position that is separate from the wh-word.

- 124) \***Kimin** Aimal **yanında** yemek yiyor?  
 Intended: ‘Who is Aimal eating next to?’  
 125) \*Aimal **kim/kimin** yemek yiyor **yanında**?  
 Intended: ‘Who is Aimal eating next to?’

Assuming a movement and deletion approach to ellipsis (Merchant 2001, 2005), then we would expect the exception to undergo movement out of the ellipsis site. If clausal ellipsis applies in the ellipsis site and the exception undergoes movement, then the postposition should be pied-piped, like in (123). However, our findings demonstrate that Turkish actually does not conform to the P-stranding generalization, as shown in (126) and (127). In (126), the associate *her binaya* ‘every building’ occurs inside of a PP headed by *doğru* ‘towards’. Example (127) replicates the datapoint in (126) using the exceptive marker *başka*. In both (126) and (127), the exception must be the noun *postane* and cannot be followed by the postposition.

- 126) Köpek-ler her bina-ya doğru koşuyor, postane(\*-ye doğru)  
 dog-PL every building-DAT toward run:PROG post\_office(\*-DAT toward)  
 dışında  
 EM  
 ‘The dogs are running toward every building, except (\*toward) the post office.’

- 127) Köpek-ler her bina-ya doğru koşuyor, postane-den/(\*ye  
 dog-PL every building-DAT toward run:PROG, post\_office-ABL (\*DAT  
 doğru) başka  
 toward) EM  
 ‘The dogs are running toward every building, except (\*toward) the post office.’

In summary, while Turkish is not a P-stranding language, exceptions can occur without a postposition even when the associate is inside of a PP. This therefore goes against the P-stranding generalization and provides evidence against a clausal analysis.

### 7.6 Internal reading with ‘same, different’

In (128), we have an example of an exceptive phrase occurring with *aynı* ‘same.’

- 128) Her çocuk aynı kitab-ı okudu, Aimal dışında  
 every child same book-ACC read:PST Aimal EM  
 ‘Every child read the same book, except Aimal.’

This sentence could be interpreted with an internal reading: all the children read one particular book, and so all of the children are reading the same book as each other, whatever this book may be. At the same time, the external reading is available as well: all the children could be reading the book that is relevant in the discourse.

Interestingly, if we replace *dışında* with *başka*, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as shown in (129).

- 129) \*Her çocuk aynı kitab-ı okudu, Aimal-dan başka  
 every child same book-ACC read:PST Aimal-ABL EM  
 ‘Every child read the same book, except Aimal.’

In order to coerce (129) into being grammatical, *Aimal* would need to be the name of a book, and the antecedent would need to be plural.

In addition, we also tested exceptive phrases with *farklı* ‘different’. An example is shown below in (130).

- 130) Herkes farklı bir kitap okudu, Aimal dışında /  
 everyone different one book read:PST, Aimal EM /  
 Aimal-dan başka  
 Aimal-ABL EM  
 ‘Everyone read a different book, except Aimal.’

The sentence in (130) can have the internal reading and can be interpreted as ‘every child is reading a different book from each other while Aimal is reading the same book as someone else’. It can also have the external reading where the children are all reading a book that is different from the one that is salient in the discourse while Aimal is reading the book that is relevant in the discourse. Finally, there is a sort of temporal reading available where all the children were reading some book but later moved on to another one. Under this reading, Aimal is reading the previous book. According to this interpretation, it is possible that all the children besides Aimal are reading the same book, and this book merely needs to be different from some previous book.

### 7.7 Collective predicates

We looked at two collective predicates in Turkish, both translated in English to ‘gather.’

- 131) \*Aimal toplan-ma-dı  
 Aimal gather-NEG-PST  
 Intended: ‘Aimal did not gather.’
- 132) \*Aimal bul-uş-ma-dı  
 Aimal find-REC-NEG-PST  
 Intended: ‘Aimal did not gather.’

As seen in (133) and (134), exceptive phrases can be used with both collective predicates.

- 133) Herkes aşağı-da toplandı, Aimal dışında / Aimal-dan  
 everyone downstairs-LOC gather:PST Aimal EM / Aimal-ABL  
 başka  
 EM  
 ‘Everyone gathered downstairs, except Aimal.’
- 134) Herkes aşağı-da bul-uş-tu, Aimal dışında/  
 everyone downstairs-LOC find-REC-PST Aimal EM /  
 Aimal-dan başka  
 Aimal-ABL EM  
 ‘Everyone gathered downstairs except Aimal.’ (Lit: everyone found each other downstairs, except Aimal)

(133) and (134) seem to suggest that the exceptive phrases may not contain clausal structure. If the exceptive phrases do contain clausal structure, and if the elided material must be semantically identical to its antecedent, then we would expect the elided clause to contain a collective predicate. If this is the case, then the exceptive phrases in (133) and (134) should be ungrammatical due to the singular exception. Because this is not the case, the evidence here suggests that the exceptive phrase is not clausal.

### 7.8 Binding Theory data

Sentence (135) is an example of a connected exceptive. It can be explained with a phrasal analysis of the EP. There would not be a clausal border above the EP, meaning that Hasan binds the exception.

- 135) Hasan<sub>i</sub> kendi<sub>i</sub> dışında/ kendi<sub>i</sub>-sin-dan başka  
 Hasan self EM / self -POSS.3-ABL EM  
 herkes-i gördü  
 everyone-ACC see:PST  
 ‘Hasan<sub>i</sub> saw everyone except himself<sub>i</sub>.’

Given this phrasal analysis, (136) and (137) are quite surprising. These are both “free exceptives” which are attached at the clausal level. Therefore, phrasal free exceptions should never be bound. However, the reflexives are somehow licensed by Hasan. This seems to indicate one of two things: either these are clausal exceptives (meaning EPs headed by the same word are sometimes clausal and sometimes phrasal), or free exceptives are actually just connected exceptives which have been scrambled.

- 136) Hasan<sub>i</sub> herkes-i gördü (kendi<sub>i</sub> dışında/  
 Hasan everyone-ACC see:PST (self EM /  
 kendi<sub>i</sub>-sin-dan başka)  
 self -POSS.3-ABL EM)  
 ‘Hasan<sub>i</sub> saw everyone except himself<sub>i</sub>.’
- 137) Herkes Hasan<sub>i</sub> gördü, (kendi-si<sub>i</sub> dışında/  
 everyone Hasan-ACC see:PST (self-POSS.3 EM /  
 kendi-sin<sub>i</sub> -den başka)  
 self-POSS.3-ABL EM)  
 ‘Everyone saw Hasan<sub>i</sub>, except himself<sub>i</sub>.’

As for (138) and (139), we received mixed judgments: for the two consultants that we tested these sentences with, one consultant was okay with the *Hasan* in subject position being coindexed with the *Hasan* in the exceptive phrase, and one was not. While this is interesting, it makes these two examples unhelpful in determining the clausal status of Turkish exceptives.

- 138) Hasan<sub>i</sub> herkes-i gördü (Hasan<sub>γ<sub>i</sub>/j</sub> dışında/  
 Hasan everyone-ACC see:PST (Hasan EM/  
 Hasan<sub>γ<sub>i</sub>/j</sub> -dan başka)  
 Hasan-ABL EM)  
 ‘Hasan<sub>i</sub> saw everyone, except Hasan<sub>γ<sub>i</sub>/j</sub>.’

- 139) Herkes Hasan-ı<sub>i</sub> gördü, (onun<sub>i/j</sub> dışında/ on-dan<sub>i/j</sub>  
 everyone Hasan-ACC see:PST (3sg:GEN EM / 3sg-ABL  
 başka)  
 EM)  
 ‘Everyone saw Hasan<sub>i</sub> except him<sub>i/j</sub>.’

### 7.9 Island sensitivity

According to (140), free exceptives are compatible with an adjunct island.

- 140) Herkes ayrıl-ır-sa Hasan üzülecek, (Aimal dışında/  
 everyone leave-AOR-COND Hasan be.sad:FUT (Aimal EM /  
 Aimal-dan başka)  
 Aimal-ABL EM)  
 ‘If everyone leaves, Hasan will be sad, except Aimal’

The exact interpretation of (140) is as follows: ‘Hasan will be sad if everyone leaves, but Aimal’s leaving won’t make him sad.’

There is also no island violation when the associate of an exceptive phrase is in a relative clause.

- 141) Aimal herkes-in sev-diğ-i kitab-ı aldı,  
 Aimal everyone-GEN love-DN-POSS.3 book-ACC buy:PST  
 (Ayşe dışında/ Ayşe-den başka)  
 (Ayşe EM / Ayşe-ABL EM)  
 ‘Aimal bought the book that everyone likes, except Ayşe.’

Furthermore, subjects do not seem to induce island violations. At the same time, however, two of our consultants noted that they preferred the structure in (142) over the one in (143).

- 142) Herkes-in bura-da ol-ma-sı ben-i  
 everyone-GEN here-LOC be-DN-POSS.3 1SG-ACC  
 şaşır-t-ıyor, (Aimal dışında/ Aimal-dan başka)  
 be.surprised-CAUS-PROG (Aimal EM / Aimal-ABL EM)  
 ‘Everyone’s being here surprises me, except Aimal.’
- 143) [Aimal dışında herkesin] burada olması beni şaşırtıyor.  
 ‘[Everyone except Aimal]’s being here surprises me.’

Based on (140) - (143), exceptive phrases do not trigger island violations, though there is some preference to avoid them.

## 8 Problematic Data

One problematic piece of data comes from sentence (144), freely offered by one of our consultants and translated by them as ‘everyone saw Hasan, except they didn’t see themselves.’

- 144) Herkes Hasan’-ı gördü, kendi-ler-i dışında  
 everyone Hasan-ACC see:PST self-PL-POSS.3 EM  
 Lit: ‘everyone saw Hasan except themselves.’

If this is in fact a grammatical sentence in Turkish, and if it does indeed carry the meaning of ‘everyone saw Hasan, except they didn’t see themselves,’ then this would suggest that *dışında* has more meanings than we had accounted for. In this case, it could mean ‘but not.’ Under our current understanding we cannot account for the relationship between the exception and its associate here, or for the structure of the clause undergoing ellipsis to yield this interpretation.

## 9 Additional Observations and Comments

The results of the diagnostics from Section 7 are summarized in the following table. Taken together, these diagnostics suggest that exceptive phrases in Turkish are phrasal, and we found little evidence suggesting that there was clausal structure in the exceptive phrases.

Diagnostic	Result	Suggests Phrasal or Clausal?
Expression of Full Clause	No overt clause	Phrasal
Multiple exceptions	Multiple exceptions are not available	Phrasal
Sluicing Interpretation	Mixed Results	Clausal for free exceptives; unclear for connected exceptives
Clausal/speaker-oriented adverbs	Mixed results	Unclear
Postposition stranding	No P-stranding. Even with a PP associate, the exception must be a DP	Phrasal
Internal Reading	Internal readings available	Phrasal
Collective Predicates	Exceptives are grammatical with collective predicates	Phrasal
Binding Theory Data	Unclear	Unclear
Island Sensitivity	Not island sensitive	Phrasal

A particularly interesting result was the lack of island effects that we observed with exceptive phrases. At first glance, this may seem to indicate that exceptive phrases are phrasal. If exceptive phrases in Turkish are clausal and we adopt the movement-and-deletion theory of ellipsis from Merchant (2001, 2005), then we would expect the exception to undergo movement out of the elided clause, which should result in island effects. The lack of island effects therefore seems to provide evidence for phrasal structure, or at least evidence against movement out of the elided clause.

However, due to the properties of islands and A'-movement in Turkish more generally, the island insensitivity of exceptive phrases does not necessarily disprove the clausal analysis of Turkish exceptives if we allow the exception to stay in-situ and allow scattered deletion to erase phonological material around the exception. Several studies, including Özsoy (1996), Arslan (1999), Görgülü (2006), İşsever (2009), and Çakır (2015, 2016), have observed that there is an argument-adjunct asymmetry for wh-expressions in islands. What these studies have found is that wh-expressions that are arguments are grammatical in islands, while wh-expressions that are adjuncts are ungrammatical in islands (or at least less acceptable for VP-level adjuncts; see Çakır 2015 for details). If we extend this reasoning to exceptives, then a clausal analysis could explain the island insensitivity of Turkish exceptive phrases by allowing the exception to stay in-situ. In this case, we would expect the exception to trigger island effects if it is an adjunct, and in cases where it is an argument, it should not trigger island violations.

An interesting issue that we encountered was the question of whether or not “free” exceptive phrases in Turkish are actually derived from connected exceptives via extraposition. Based on the Binding Theory Data, it is possible that “free” exceptives are just connected exceptives after extraposition has applied. This would explain how reflexives can be bound in “free” environments when most of the diagnostics indicated that Turkish exceptive phrases are phrasal.

## **10 Consultants**

One of our consultants is a postdoctoral researcher in linguistics. He is male and 35 years old, and he has also earned a PhD. His native language is Turkish, and he is fluent in English as well. He has lived in Türkiye for most of his life and has resided in the U.S. for a total of about 2.5 years. He uses Turkish at home and English at work. Our second consultant is a current PhD student in linguistics. He is a 29 year old male. His native language is Turkish and he is fluent in English. He has lived in Türkiye for most of his life and has resided in the U.S. for less than a year. Additional judgments were also elicited from two speakers to supplement judgments from the first two. One of these speakers is a faculty member at the University of Florida, and the other is a current undergraduate student at the University of Florida who is originally from Istanbul.

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