

Italian Exceptives Questionnaire¹

Luisa Seguin

1 Language morphosyntax

1.1 Language name: Italian

ISO code: it/ita

Dialect information: the current variety is spoken in the northern Italian region Aosta Valley

Genetic affiliation: Romance

Number of speakers: 67 milion

Endangerment level: safe

1.2 Morphological type

In what areas of the grammar does the language show bound morphology? What is/are the predominant type(s) of morphology (isolating, agglutinating, fusional, polysynthetic)? Give illustrative examples, particularly in morphological domains that will show up in exceptives.

Italian is a fusional language. Examples (1-2) below, the affix encodes number, person and tense: present indicative (1) and past indicative in (2).

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------|------------------|--------|-------|
| (1) | Gianni | mangi-a | una | mela. |
| | | eat.- | a.SG.F | apple |
| | | IND.IND.PRS.3SG | | |
| (2) | Gianni | mangi-ò | una | mela. |
| | | eat.-IND.PST.3SG | a.SG.F | apple |

‘Gianni ate an apple.’

In the nominal domain we encounter a similar patter. In (3-4), the morphemes *-a* and *-i* encode both gender and number.

- | | | |
|-----|----------|------------|
| (3) | La | mel-a |
| | the.SG.F | apple-SG.F |
| (4) | I | gatt-i |

¹ This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, PO Box 1866, Mountain View, CA 94042, USA.

the.PL.M cat.PL.M

Derivational morphology, which is very productive in Italian, on the other hand, is not fusional:

- (5) Un topo piccol-issim-o
a.SG.M mouse little-VERY-SG.M

‘A very little mouse.’

- (6) Un top-acci-o.
a.SG.M mouse-BAD-SG.M

‘A bad/ugly mouse.’

1.3 Basic word order(s)

What is/are the basic, unmarked word order(s)? Give simple examples. Provide discussion of relevant controversies or debates, with references, if appropriate.

Italian is *pro-drop* and the word order is SVO, with the unmarked order of arguments being DO>IO (7). The DO and IO can precede the verb, in case they are topicalized (8a) or focalized (Rizzi, 1997; Rizzi and Bocci, 2017; Belletti, 2004; a.o.).

- (7) Ho da-to il libro a Gianni.
have.IND.PRS.1SG give-PST.PTCP the book to Gianni

‘I gave the book to Gianni.’

- (8a) Il libro l’ho dato a Gianni.

- (8b) IL LIBRO ho dato a Gianni, (non il film).

1.4 Case marking

Give a description of the case system, if any.

Not present, except for the form of pronouns. Weak pronouns are clitics and the default form, while strong ones are used as contrastive Foci or Topics.

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative (weak)	Dative (strong)
1SG	io	me	mi	a me
2SG	tu	te	ti	a te
3SG	lui, lei	lo, la (strong: lui, lei)	gli, le	a lui, a lei

1PL	noi	noi	noi	a noi
2PL	voi	voi	voi	a voi
3PL	loro	loro	loro	a loro

1.5 Focus constructions

Describe syntactic constructions that the language has to convey focus (new information), such as displacement or clefting. Give illustrative examples and descriptive generalizations if possible. Provide references as appropriate to avoid long presentations.

In the literature on what can be defined northern Italian (Rizzi & Bocci 2017 for an overview), it has been shown that Contrastive Foci (CF) appear fronted, whereas New Information Foci (NIF) appear clause-internal. However, Foci are encoded differently in different varieties of Italian, e.g. in most southern varieties NIF always appear clause-initially (Bianchi, 2013; Bianchi & Bocci, 2015; Badan & Crocco, 2019).

In this variety of Italian, CF can be fronted (9a) or clause-internal (9b). NIF, on the other hand, can only be clause-internal (10a vs 10b).

9a. UNA MACCHINA ha comprato (non una moto)
a car have.IND.PRS.3SG bought (not a motorcycle)

9b. Ha comprato UNA MACCHINA, (non una moto).

‘He bought A CAR, not a motorcycle.’

10. Cos’ha comprato Marco?
what- bought Marco?
have.IND.PRS.3SG

10a. *Una macchina Marco ha comprato
a car Marco have.IND.PRS.3SG

10b. Marco ha comprato una macchina.

2 Basic exceptive constructions

2.1 Exceptive markers

What are the exceptive markers in the language? Discuss whether the exceptive markers show an exceptive/additive ambiguity.

Italian has six exceptive markers, outlined in Table 1 below. I have considered the EM and the EM + *che* as one, although they might in fact be different. I called the ones without *che* bare EM. Of the six, only *oltre a/che* is ambiguous between exceptive and additive (11). Note that *anche* ‘also’ is not obligatory.

11. **Oltre a-** gelato, Ivana porta (anche) il vino.
 besides-the ice cream Ivana bring.IND.PRS.3SG (also) the wine

‘Besides the ice cream, Ivana will also bring the wine.’

Table 1: Exceptive markers in Italian

Exceptive marker	Exceptive/additive ambiguity	Notes
eccetto (che)	no	
tranne (che)	no	
salvo	no	sort of formal
fuorché	no	formal
all’infuori di	no	sort of formal
oltre a/che	yes	

2.2 Lexical category investigations

Provide evidence for the lexical category of selected exceptive markers, for example, as coordinating conjunctions, adverbs, prepositions, complementizers, or other.

Italian being head initial all the way, the word order does not help in the categorization of EM. While at first sight they seem prepositions, bare EM display several properties of complementizers. They seem to select PPs (12-13) and verbs (17), whereas prepositions in Italian can only select DPs (15). Yet, they cannot stack (14) just like prepositions (15).

12. **Tranne** il gelato, non ha portato nulla.
 besides the ice cream NEG have.IND.PRS.3SG brought nothing

‘Besides the ice cream, he did not bring anything.’

13. Mi piace molto sciare, **tranne** a La Thuile.
 CL.DAT.1SG like.IND.PRS.3SG a lot skiing EM at La Thuile

‘I really like skiing, except in La Thuile.’

14. **Tranne** (*eccetto) il gelato, non ha portato nulla.
 EM EM the ice-cream NEG have.IND.PRS.3SG brought nothing

15. Lo faccio (*per) con Maria.
 CL.ACC.M.SG do.IND.PRS.1SG for with Maria

Furthermore, in the case of *oltre a*, there is phonological fusion between the preposition and the determiner, as we see in (11). This is a property of prepositions (16a-b).

- 16a. **Vado** **a-l** mercato con Ivana.
go.IND.PRS.1SG to-DET.M.SG market with Ivana
'I go to the market with Ivana.'
- 16b. Vado **a-l** mercato **co-l** cane.
go.IND.PRS.1SG to-DET.M.SG market with- DET.M.SG dog
'I go to the market with the dog.'

Moreover, bare EM and EM + *che* can select non-finite verbs as well.

17. Lucia vuol-e fare tutto **tranne che/fuorché** nuotare.
Lucia want- do everything EM swim
 IND.PRS.3SG
'Lucia wants to do everything except swim.'

3 Word order in exceptives

3.1 Position of exceptive phrases

What are the positional options of exceptive phrases? Minimally consider adjacent to associate, clause-initial, clause-final. Consider examples with the associate in different positions, at least subject and object. It may be necessary to address parenthetical placement and intonation. Are there morphosyntactic differences when exceptive phrases are in different positions that might suggest a distinction between free and connected exceptives?

There are no morphosyntactic differences that can help us distinguish between free and connected exceptives, just their position and intonation, as we'll see for some exceptives.

3.2 Connected - **Eccetto**

Eccetto might be a connected exceptive. In (18a-b), we see that the exceptive phrase is preferred if adjacent to the DO associate. If not, then it is much preferred if the clause contains a resumptive clitic pronoun for the associate. The same effect is witnessed with a subject associate (19), albeit (19b) cannot be ameliorated, as Italian does not allow resumptive clitic pronouns for subjects.

- 18a. Yuri mangi-a tutti i frutti **eccetto** i fichi d'india.
Yuri eat- all the fruits EM the prickly pears
 IND.PRS.3SG
- 18b. **Eccetto** i fichi d'india, Yuri ??(li) mangia tutti i frutti.

'Yuri eats all fruits, except for prickly pears.'

19a. Tutti **eccetto** Yuri hanno mangiato il gelato.
 all EM Yuri have.IND.PRS.3PL eaten the icecream

19b. ??Tutti hanno mangiato il gelato, eccetto Yuri.

‘Everyone ate ice cream, except Yuri.’

3.3 Free exceptives

Other exceptives are freer and can also appear fronted or clause final.

3.3.1 *Tranne*

Tranne can appear separate from its associate (20a-c). We notice that, as opposed to other EM, *tranne te*, whose associate is the subject of the clause, can appear in several positions, although the different orders have different pragmatics.

20a. Ballano tutti **tranne** te.
 dance.IND.PRS.3PL all EM you

‘Everyone except you is dancing.’

20b. Tutti ballano **tranne te**.

From Fabri Fibra’s song

[*Tranne te*](#)

20c. **Tranne te**, ballano tutti.

3.3.2 *Tranne che*

Tranne che, as well, can appear quite freely. Nevertheless, the order with the exceptive phrase (EP) fronted (20c-21b) requires a different intonation, similar to that of a contrastive focus, and a pause after the EP, marked with a comma.

21a. Ho ballato con tutti **tranne che** con te.
 have.IND.PRS.1SG danced with all EM with you
 ‘I danced with everyone except with you.’

21b. **Tranne che** con te, ho ballato con tutti.

3.3.3 *Eccetto che*

Eccetto che does not have to appear adjacent to the associate. In (22a-b), we see that the EP can appear both adjacent and separated from the associate PP *con tutti i bambini* ‘with all the kids’. The comma after *bambini* ‘kids’ denotes a pause in the intonation of the sentence. Interestingly, if the associate is a subject (23), the sentence is very degraded. Note that this has nothing to do with the word order and distance between the associate and EM (23a VS 23b) and might be due to the DP nature of the associate (lexical or pronominal). We’ll come back to this later in the questionnaire.

22a. Marco va d’accordo con tutti i bambini,
 Marco go.IND.PRS.3SG in.agreement with all DET.M.PL kids

eccetto che con Luca.
 EM with Luca

22b. **Eccetto che** con Luca, Marco va d’accordo con tutti i bambini.

‘Marco gets along with all the kids, except with Luca.’

23a. *Tutti i bambini vanno d’accordo con Luca **eccetto che Marco/te.**

23b. *Tutti i bambini **eccetto che** Marco/te vanno d’accordo con Luca.

‘All the kids except Marco/you get along with Luca.’

3.3.4 Salvo

Salvo is not widely used in everyday conversations and is confined to more formal Italian. It is, for example, common in legal speech. It does not have to be adjacent to the associate (24a) and in some cases it requires fronting (24b), as opposed to (25).

24a. **Salvo** qualche piccola disputa non è
 EM some small argument NEG be.IND.PRS.3SG

successo nulla di interessante.
 happened nothing of interesting

‘Except for a few arguments, nothing interesting happened.’

24b. ??Non è successo nulla di interessante, **salvo** qualche piccola disputa.

25a. La festa si terr-à in giardino,
 DET.F.SG party REFL be.given-FUT.3SG in garden

salvo	in	caso	di	pioggia.
EM	in	case	of	rain

‘The party will be held in the garden, except in case of rain.’

25b. **Salvo** in caso di pioggia, la festa si terrà in giardino.

3.3.5 Fuorché

Albeit formal, *fuorché* is found in everyday Italian and does not seem to be restricted from appearing further away from the associate (26b).

26a.	Sono	disposta	a	tutto	per	non
	be.IND.PRS.1SF	eager	to	everything	COMP	NEG
	perder-lo	fuorché	trasferir-mi	in	Olanda.	
	lose.INF-CL.ACC	EM	move-REFL	in	The Netherlands	

‘I am eager to do anything for him, except move to The Netherlands.’

26b. **Fuorché** trasferirmi in Olanda, sono disposta a tutto per non perderlo.

3.3.6 All’infuori di

All’infuori di can appear separate from its associate:

27a.	Gianni	non	support-a	nessuno	all’infuori de-i	vicini
	Gianni	NEG	stand-IND.PRS.3SG	nobody	EM-the	neighbors

‘Except for the neighbors, Gianni cannot stand anyone.’

27b. **All’infuori dei** vicini, Gianni non sopporta nessuno.

3.3.7 Oltre a

Oltre a can appear either close to the associate (28a) or in a parenthetical position (28b), with an intonational break following the EP.

28a.	Abbiamo	comprato	oltre a-l	pollo	(anche)
	have.IND.PRS.1PL	bought	EM-DET.M.SG	chicken	also

del salmone.
PART salmon

‘We have bought besides the chicken some salmon.’

28b. **Oltre al** pollo, abbiamo comprato (anche) del salmone.

3.3.8 Oltre che

Although it *can* appear close to the associate (29a), *oltre che* is very much preferred in parenthetical position (29b-c), with the order in (29c) judged to be the best.

29a. L’abbiamo appiattito **oltre che** con la mazza.
C.ACC-have.IND.PRS.1PL bought EM with- DET.M.SG hammer
con la mazza.
with the sledgehammer

‘Besides the hammer, we used the sledgehammer to flatten it.’

29b. L’abbiamo appiattito con la mazza, **oltre che** con il martello.

29c. **Oltre che** con il martello, l’abbiamo appiattito con la mazza.

3.4 Summary

Table 2: Summary of position of exceptives

	Can appear separate from associate	Notes
Eccetto	yes?	some restriction with subjects + in some cases associate must be a topic (+ resumptive pronoun)
Tranne	yes	
Salvo	yes	
Eccetto che	yes	
Tranne che	yes	

Salvo che	yes	
All'infuori di	yes	
Fuorché	yes	
Oltre a	yes	much preferred in parenthetical position
Oltre che	yes	much preferred in parenthetical position

4 Constituency evidence for connected exceptives

Provide evidence for the existence of connected exceptives, where the associate and the exceptive phrase form a constituent. Any number of constituency tests may be used. The two below are merely suggestions as they have proven cross-linguistic applicability.

4.1 Coordination

In Italian, you can only coordinate two XPs of the same category (30a). In (30b), coordinating NPs and an AdvP results in -severe- unacceptability.

30a. Ho comprato [mele_{NP}, pesce_{NP} e biscotti_{NP}].
have.IND.PRS.1SG bought apple-PL fish and biscuits

30b. *Ho comprato [mele_{NP}, pesce_{NP} e subito_{AdvP}].

‘I have bought apples, fish and biscuits/*right away’

4.1.1 Eccetto

EP with *eccetto*, and their associate, can be coordinated (31a), yet the EPs cannot be fronted (31b).

31a. Ivana ha comprato [tutt-i i biscott-i eccetto i
Ivana have.IND.PRS.3SG bought all.PL.M the.PL.M cookie-PL except the.PL.M
Molinetti e tutt-e le marmelat-e eccetto quell-a alle per-e].
Molinetti and all-PL.F the.PL.F jam-PL.F except that-SG.F at.the pear-PL.F

‘Ivana has bought all the biscuits except the Molinetti and all the jams except the pear one.’

31b. ??**Eccetto** i Molinetti e quella alle pere, Ivana ha comprato tutti i biscotti e tutte le marmellate.

(31b) suggests that *eccetto* is a Connected Exceptive (CE).

4.1.2 **Tranne**

As we saw in previous questionnaires, you can only coordinate two XP of the same category. Exceptives with *tranne* can be coordinated (32a), yet the exception can appear fronted (32b).

- 32a. Di Tolkien ho letto [tutti i
of Tolkien have.IND.PRS.1SG read all the

romanzi **tranne** *Beren e Lúthien* e tutte le poesie
novels EM Beren and Lúthien and all the poems

tranne *Namárië.*
EM Namárië

‘Of Tolkien’s I’ve read all novels except *Beren e Lúthien* and all poems except *Namárië*.’

- 32b. **Tranne** *Beren e Lúthien e Namárië*, di Tolkien ho letto [tutti i romanzi e tutte le poesie].

Extraction suggests that *tranne* is not a CE.

4.1.3 **Eccetto che**

EPs with *eccetto che*, and their associate, can be coordinated (33a) and the EP can be fronted (33b), suggesting *eccetto che* is also not a CE.

- 33a. Ivana ha ballato con [tutt-i i signori **eccetto che**
Ivana have.IND.PRS.3 dances with all.M.PL the.PL.M men EM
SG

con Beppe e con tutte le signore **eccetto che** con Nelly].
with Beppe and with all.F.PL DET.F.PL women EM with Nelly

‘Ivana has danced with all the men except Beppe and all the women except Nelly.’

- 33b. **Eccetto che** con Beppe e Nelly, Ivana ha ballato con tutti i signori e tutte le signore.

4.1.4 **Tranne che**

EPs with *tranne che*, and their associate, can be coordinated (34a) and the EP can be fronted (34b), suggesting *tranne che* is also not a CE.

34a Ivana ha ballato con [tutt-i i signori **tranne che**
 . Ivana have.IND.PRS.3SG dances with all.M.PL the.PL.M men EM

con Beppe e con tutte le signore **tranne che** con Nelly].
 with Beppe and with all.F.PL DET.F.PL women EM with Nelly

‘Ivana has danced with all the men except Beppe and all the women except Nelly.’

34b. **Tranne che** con Beppe e Nelly, Ivana ha ballato con tutti i signori e tutte le signore.

4.1.5 Salvo

EPs with *salvo*, and their associate, can be coordinated (35a) and the EP can be fronted (35b), suggesting *salvo* is also not a CE.

35a. Di Tolkien ho letto [tutti i
 of Tolkien have.IND.PRS.1SG read all the

romanzi **salvo** *Beren e Lúthien* e tutte le poesie
 novels EM Beren and Lúthien and all the poems

salvo *Namárië.*
 EM Namárië

‘Of Tolkien’s I’ve read all novels except Beren e Lúthien and all poems except Namárië.’

35b. **Salvo** *Beren e Luthien e Namárië*, di Tolkien ho letto [tutti i romanzi e tutte le poesie].

4.1.6 Fuorché

EPs with *fuorché*, and their associate, can be coordinated (36a) and the EP can be fronted (36b), suggesting *fuorché* is also not a CE.

36a Di Tolkien ho letto [tutti i
 of Tolkien have.IND.PRS.1SG read all the

romanzi **fuorché** *Beren e Lúthien* e tutte le poesie
 novels EM Beren and Lúthien and all the poems

fuorché *Namárië.*
 EM Namárië

‘Of Tolkien’s I’ve read all novels except Beren e Lúthien and all poems except Namárië.’

- 36b. **Fuorché** *Beren e Luthien e Namárië*, di Tolkien ho letto [tutti i romanzi e tutte le poesie].

4.1.7 Oltre a

The additive EM *oltre a* does allow coordination of conjuncts (37a), yet the EP must precede the associate (37b). Nonetheless, the overall preferred order is with the EP fronted (37c).

- 37a. Marco ha portato [oltre a-i giornali dei
Marco have.IND.PRS.3SG brought EM.DET.PL newspapers PART
libri e oltre a-lle cassette dei DVD].
books and EM-DET.F.PL cassettes PART DVD

‘Marco brought besides the newspapers some books and besides the DVDs some cassettes.’

- 37b. ??Marco ha portato [dei libri **oltre ai** giornali e dei DVD **oltre alle** cassette].

- 37c. **Oltre ai** giornali e **alle** cassette, Marco ha portato dei libri e dei DVD.

4.1.8 Oltre che

As far as PPs exceptives are concerned, *oltre che* can definitely coordinate (38a) and the coordinated exception can be fronted (38b).

- 38a. Mario ha parlato, **oltre che** con Maria,
Mario have.IND.PRS.3SG spoken **EM** with Maria
con Gianni e, **oltre che** con gli studenti,
with Gianni and EM with the students
con tutti i professori.
with all the teachers

‘Besides to Maria and all the teachers, Mario talked to Gianni and all the students.’

- 38b. **Oltre che** con Gianni e gli studenti, Mario ha parlato con Maria e tutti i professori.’

Oltre che can also select a non-finite CP (39a) but fronting of the EP is relatively degraded (39b).

- 39a. **Oltre che** andare a-l cinema vanno a
 EM go.INF to-DET.M.SG cinema go.IND.PRS.3PL to
 teatro e **oltre che** andare a cena
 theater and EM go.INF to dinner
 vanno al bar.
 go to-DET.M.SG bar

‘Besides going to the cinema and to dinner, they go to the theater and to the bar.’

- 39c. ?**Oltre che** andare al cinema e a cena, vanno a teatro e al bar.

4.2 Displacement

Only elements that form a constituent, like *la ragazza nuova* ‘the new girl’ can be displaced (40a), whereas *ragazza nuova al*, which is not a constituent, cannot be displaced.

- 40a. [La ragazza nuov-a] abbiamo visto [a-l parco].
 the.F.SG girl new-F.SG have.IND.PRS.1PL seen at-the.M.SG park

- 40b. *Ragazza nuova al abbiamo visto la parco.

‘It’s the new girl that we have seen at the park.’

Exceptives with *eccetto che* and its associate can be displaced (41a). The exceptive phrase alone can also be displaced (41b), yet any other subparts cannot (41c-d).

- 41a. [Con tutti **eccetto che** con Marco] ha ballato Luisa.
 with all EM with Marco have.IND.PRS.3SG danced Luisa

- 41b. Eccetto che con Marco ha ballato Luisa ha ballato con tutti.

- 41c. *Eccetto che ha ballato Luisa con tutti con Marco.

- 41d. *Con Marco ha ballato Luisa con tutti eccetto che.

‘Luisa has danced with everyone except Marco.’

The same is witnessed with all other exceptives (42-44). Note, however, that the fronted orders in (42a-44a) are only allowed in certain pragmatic contexts, namely if the constituent is contrastively focused (note that the subject is postverbal in these cases).

42a. [Con tutti **tranne che** con Marco] ha ballato Luisa ieri.
with all EM with Marco have.IND.PRS.3SG danced Luisa yesterday

‘Except Marco, Luisa danced with everyone yesterday.’

42b. **Tranne che** con Marco, Luisa ha ballato con tutti ieri.

43a. Con tutti **eccetto/tranne** Marco, ha ballato Luisa.

43b. **Eccetto/tranne** Marco, Luisa ha ballato con tutti.

43a. Con tutti **salvo/fuorché** con Marco, ha ballato Luisa.

43b. **Salvo/fuorché** con Marco, Luisa ha ballato con tutti.

44a. Con tutti **all’infuori di** Marco, ha ballato Luisa.

44b. **All’infuori di** Marco, Luisa ha ballato con tutti.

As far as *oltre a/che* are concerned, fronting is fine, both of the exception alone (45a-46a) and the exception + the associate, although in the second case there is an intonational break before the associate *solo (con) Yuri*, which suggests that the two elements are not fronted as a constituent, but rather separately.

45a. **Oltre a** Marco, Luisa ha salutato solo Yuri
EM Marco Luisa have.IND.PRS.3SG greeted only Yuri

45b. Oltre a Marco, solo Yuri ha salutato Luisa.

‘Besides Marco, Luisa only greeted with Yuri.’

46a. **Oltre che** con Marco, Luisa ha ballato solo con Yuri.
EM with Marco

‘Besides Marco, Luisa only danced with Yuri.’

46b. **Oltre che** con Marco, solo con Yuri ha ballato Luisa.

4.3 Proform replacement

This is another common constituency test, as only constituents can be substituted with a proform. In the perfectly acceptable (47b), *la* substitutes the whole NP *la torta di mele di nonna* ‘gradma’s

apple pie'. In (47c), on the other hand, *la* substitutes only *la torta di mele*, which results in a degraded sentence.

47a. Voglio fare [la torta di mel-e di
 want.IND.PRS.1SG make the.F.SG pie of apple-PL.F of
 nonna] domani.
 grandma tomorrow

Tomorrow, I wanna make grandma's apple pie.'

47b. Voglio farla domani.

47c. *Voglio farla di nonna domani.

All Italian EP can be substituted with a proform, as we can see with *eccetto* and *tranne*. In (48) *le* refers to all types of Modica chocolate, except the one with chilli pepper.

48. Rivendiamo [tutt-e le qualità di cioccolato di Modica
 sell.IND.PRS.1PL all.PL.F the.PL.F quality.PL.F of chocolate of Modica
eccetto/tranne quell-o al peperoncino]. Le ho
 except that-SG.M at.the.M.SG chilli pepper them.PL.F have.IND.PRS.1SG
 appena ricevut-e.
 just receive-PL.F

'We sell all types of Modica chocolates, except for the chilli pepper one. I have just received them.'

We see the same pattern with *eccetto che*, *tranne che* and *salvo che* (49) and *fuorché*, *salvo*, and *all'infuori di* (50).

49. Il professor Bianchi ha parlato con tutti gli
 DET.M.SG professor Bianchi have.IND.PRS.3SG talked con all DET.M.PL
 studenti **eccetto che/ tranne che/** con Sophie. Li ho
 students **salvo che** with Sophie CL.ACC.M.PL have.IND.PRS.1SG
 EM
 appena visti uscire.
 just seen exit

'The professor has talked with all the students except Sophie. I have just seen them go out.'

50. Il professor Bianchi ha parlato con tutti gli
 DET.M.SG professor Bianchi have.IND.PRS.3SG talked con all DET.M.PL
 studenti **fuorché con/ salvo con/** Sophie. Li ho
 students **all'infuori di** Sophie CL.ACC.M.PL have.IND.PRS.1SG
 EM
 appena visti uscire.
 just seen exit

‘The professor has talked with all the students except Sophie. I have just seen them go out.’

Nevertheless, the proform substitution test does not work for EP with *oltre a* and *oltre che*. In (51) and (52), *li* only refers to Luca and Martino, not to Maria.

51 **Oltre a** Maria il professor Bianchi ha bocciato Luca
 . EM Maria the professor Bianchi have.IND.PRS.3SG make.fail Luca
 e Martino. Li ho appena visti uscire.
 and Martino CL.ACC.M.PL have.IND.PRS.1SG just seen exit

‘The professor has talked with all the students except Sophie. I have just seen them go out.’

52 **Oltre che** con Maria il professore ha
 . EM with Maria DET.M.SG professor have.IND.PRS.3SG
 G
 parlato con Luca e Martino. Li ho appena visti uscire.
 spoken with Luca and Martino

‘Besides Maria, the professor has spoken with Luca and Martino.’

4.4 Summary

Table 3 below summarizes the findings in this section

Table 3: Summary of constituency tests

	Coordination	Displacement	Proform repl. associate + EP
Eccetto	Yes, but no fronting	yes	yes
Tranne	yes	yes	yes
Salvo	yes	yes	yes

Eccetto che	yes	yes	yes
Tranne che	yes	yes	yes
Salvo che	yes	yes	yes
All'infuori di	yes	yes	yes
Fuorché	yes	yes	yes
Oltre a	yes	yes	no
Oltre che	yes	yes	no

5 Characteristics of the associate

It is widely claimed that there are syntactico-semantic restrictions on the associate, which may vary according to whether the exceptive is a free or connected exceptive. The most well-known restriction is the Quantifier Constraint:

- (1) *Quantifier Constraint*
The NP that a connected exceptive phrase associates with must denote a universal or negative universal quantifier. Free exceptive phrases are not so restricted.

5.1 Quantificational associates

Test a variety of associate types in both free and connected exceptives. Some semantic categories to consider are the following:

- (2) a. *universal quantifiers: every, all, no*
 b. *non-universal quantifiers: most (of), many (of), few (of)*
 c. *mass quantifiers: much, little*
 d. *definite noun phrases*
 e. *indefinite noun phrases*
 f. *kind referring and generic noun phrases*
 g. *superlative noun phrases*
 h. *numeral noun phrases, e.g. three girls, at least/at most/exactly two dogs*
 i. *universal noun phrases with a cardinality restriction: both, neither*
 j. *wh-phrases*

5.1.1 Eccetto

Eccetto is not subject to the Quantifier Constraint. There can be a universal quantifier in the associate, like *tutti* ‘all’, *ogni* ‘every’ or *nessuno* ‘no’ (53a-c). Mass quantifiers like *molti* ‘many’, on universal quantifiers like *alcuni* ‘some’, definite determiners *i* ‘the’, partitive *dei* ‘some of’,

and numerals are also accepted in the associate (53d)². The associate can also be a wh-word, but then the EP must be fronted (54a-b). **Interestingly, for *eccetto* (as well as all other EM), the reading with the wh-word associate is exclusive**, thought that is confirmed by the use of *eccetto* with the numeral *sei* ‘six’, whereby the total amount of boys is seven.³

53a. Ho visto **tutti** i ragazzi *eccetto* Yuri
 have.IND.PRS.1SG seen tutti-PL.M the.PL.M boy-PL.M EM Yuri

53b. Ho visto **ogni** ragazzo *eccetto* Yuri.

‘I have seen all/every boy except Yuri.’

53c. Non ho **nessun** ragazzo *eccetto* Yuri.
 NEG have.IND.PRS.1SG no boy

‘I haven’t seen any boy except Yuri.’

53d. Ho visto **molti/i/alcuni/dei/sei** ragazzi *eccetto* Yuri.

‘I have seen many/the/some/some/six of the boys except Yuri.’

54a. ***Quali ragazzi** hai visto *eccetto* Yuri?

54b. *Eccetto* Yuri, **quali ragazzi** hai visto?

‘Which of the boys except for Yuri did you see?’

5.1.2 *Eccetto che*

Exceptives with *eccetto che* are not subject to the quantifier constraint. As (55a-c) shows, the universal quantifier *tutti* ‘all’, *ogni* ‘every’ and *nessun* ‘no’ are accepted. All other semantic categories are allowed (55c-d), albeit some speakers disliked the numeral associate. The associate can also be a wh-word, but then the EP must be fronted (55a-b). The reading with the wh-word associate is exclusive.

55a. Ho discusso con **tutti** i ragazzi
 have.IND.PRS.1SG discussed with all DET.M.PL boy-PL.M
 SG

² There is disagreement here among the speakers. For example, I would deem (53d) slightly odd, whereas other speakers accepted it fully.

³ The judgments for the numeral associate vary among consultants: while *eccetto* and *tranne* are widely accepted with the numeral, *eccetto che* and *tranne che* were judged degraded by some speakers. In any case, all speakers who accepted the numeral associate *sei* ‘six’, reported that the total amount of boys was seven, which shows that they do have an exclusive reading.

eccetto che con Yuri
biscuits with Yuri

55b. Ho discusso con **ogni** ragazzo **eccetto che** con Yuri.

55c. Non ho discusso con **nessun** ragazzo **eccetto che** con Yuri.

‘I had a discussion with all/every/no boy except with Yuri.’

55d. Ho discusso con **i/alcuni dei /molti dei/i migliori/tre** ragazzi, **eccetto che** con Yuri.

‘I had a discussion with the/some of/many of/the best/three boys except with Yuri.’

56a. ***Con** **quali** ragazzi eccetto che con Yuri hai discusso?
with which boys EM with Yuri have.IND.PRS.2SG discussed

56b. Eccetto che con Yuri, **con quali ragazzi** hai discusso?

‘With which boys except Yuri have you had a discussion?’

5.1.3 **Tranne**

Tranne exceptives are allowed with universal quantifiers, like *tutti* ‘all’, *ogni* ‘every’, and *nessuno* ‘no’ (57a), no-/universal ones, like *molti* ‘many’ and *alcuni* ‘some’ (57b), as well as definite (i ‘the’), partitive (*dei* ‘some of’) determiners, and numeral NPs (*sei* ‘six’) (58), again the reading here is that there is a total of seven boys. The associate can also be a wh-word, but then the EP must be fronted (59a-b). The reading with the wh-word associate is exclusive.

57a. Ho visto **tutti** i ragazzi tranne Yuri
have.IND.PRS.1SG seen tutti-PL.M the.PL.M boy-PL.M EM Yuri

57b. Ho visto **ogni** ragazzo *tranne* Yuri.

‘I have seen all/every boy except Yuri.’

57c. Non ho visto **nessun** ragazzo tranne Yuri.
NEG have.IND.PRS.1SG seen no boy EM Yuri

‘I haven’t seen any boy except Yuri.’

58. Ho visto **molti/i/alcuni/dei/sei** ragazzi *tranne* Yuri.

‘I have seen many/the/some/some/six of the boys except Yuri.’

59a. ***Quali ragazzi/chi** hai visto tranne Yuri?

59b. Tranne Yuri **quali ragazzi** hai visto?

‘Which boys did you see except Yuri?’

5.1.4 Tranne che

Tranne che is allowed with universal quantifiers, like *tutti* ‘all’, *ogni* ‘every’, and *nessuno* ‘no’ (60a), no-/universal ones, like *molti* ‘many’ and *alcuni* ‘some’ (60b), as well as definite (i ‘the’) and partitive (*dei* ‘some of’) determiners. The numeral NPs (*sei* ‘six’) is judged fine by some speakers, and slightly degraded by others (61). The reading with the wh-word associate is exclusive.

60a. Ho parlato con **tutti** loro tranne che con Yuri
have.IND.PRS.1SG spoken with tutti-PL.M them EM with Yuri

60b. Ho parlato con **ogni** ragazzo tranne che con Yuri.

‘I have talked to all/every boy except Yuri.’

60c. Non ho parlato con **nessuno** tranne che con Yuri.
NEG have.IND.PRS.1SG spoken with nobody EM with Yuri

‘I haven’t talked to anyone except Yuri.’

61. Ho parlato con **molti/i/alcuni/dei/sei** ragazzi tranne che Yuri.

‘I have talked to many/the/some/some/six of the boys except Yuri.’

61. ***Con quali** ragazzi hai parlato tranne che con Yuri?

‘Which boys did you talk to except Yuri?’

5.1.5 Salvo (che)

Salvo is not subject to the Quantifier Constraint (62-64). The order pattern with the wh-word is also observed here (64a-b). *Salvo che* behaves the same way (65-67). The numeral NPs (*sei* ‘six’) is accepted too (63-66). The reading with the wh-word associate is exclusive.

62a. Ho visto **tutti** i ragazzi salvo Yuri
have.IND.PRS.1SG seen tutti-PL.M the.PL.M boy-PL.M EM Yuri

62b. Ho visto **ogni** ragazzo salvo Yuri.

‘I have seen all/every boy except Yuri.’

62c. Non ho visto **nessun** ragazzo salvo
NEG have.IND.PRS.1SG seen no boy Yuri.

‘I haven’t seen any boy except Yuri.’

63. Ho visto **molto/i/alcuni/dei/sei** ragazzi salvo Yuri.

‘I have seen many/the/some/some/six of the boys except Yuri.’

64a. ***Quali ragazzi/chi** hai visto salvo Yuri?

64b. Salvo Yuri, **quali ragazzi** hai visto?

‘Which of the boys except for Yuri did you see?’

65a. Ho parlato **con tutti** i ragazzi salvo che con Yuri
have.IND.PRS.1SG spoken with all the.PL.M boy-PL.M EM with Yuri

65b. Ho parlato con **ogni** ragazzo salvo che con Yuri.

‘I have spoken to all/every boy except Yuri.’

65c. Non ho parlato **con nessun** ragazzo **salvo che** con Yuri.
NEG have.IND.PRS.1SG spoken with no boy EM with Yuri

‘I haven’t spoken to any boy except Yuri.’

66. Ho parlato con **molto/i/alcuni/dei/sei** ragazzi salvo che con Yuri.

‘I have spoken to many/the/some/some/six of the boys except Yuri.’

67a. ***Con quali ragazzi/chi** hai parlato salvo che con Yuri?

67b. Salvo che con Yuri, **quali ragazzi** hai parlato?

‘Which of the boys except Yuri did you talk to?’

5.1.7 Fuorché and all’infuori di

Fuorché and *all’infuori di* not subject to the Quantifier Constraint. (68-69). The same pattern is observed with the *wh*-word (70). The reading with the *wh*-word associate is exclusive.

68a. Ho visto **tutti** i ragazzi fuorché/ Yuri
 have.IND.PRS.1SG seen tutti-PL.M the.PL.M boy- all'in fuori di Yuri
 PL EM

68b. Ho visto **ogni** ragazzo fuorché/all'in fuori di Yuri.

'I have seen all/every boy except Yuri.'

68c. Non ho visto **nessun** ragazzo fuorché/all'in fuori di Yuri.
 NEG have.IND.PRS.1SG seen no boy EM Yuri

'I haven't seen any boy except Yuri.'

69. Ho visto **molti/i/alcuni/dei/sei** ragazzi fuorché/all'in fuori di Yuri.

'I have seen many/the/some/some/six of the boys except Yuri.'

70a. ***Quali ragazzi/chi** hai visto fuorché/all'in fuori di Yuri?

70b. Fuorché/all'in fuori di Yuri, **quali ragazzi** hai visto?

'Which of the boys except for Yuri did you see?'

Note that, with all EM analyzed so far, when they co-occur with the wh-word the reading is exclusive, even in the cases in which the EM does not naturally have an exclusive reading, namely EM for which the associate cannot be a precise number, as we saw above for *eccetto che*, *tranne che*, *salvo che*, *salvo*.

5.1.8 Oltre a

Oltre a is allowed with universal quantifiers, like *tutti* 'all', *ogni* 'every', and *nessuno* 'no' (71a), no-/universal ones, like *molti* 'many' and *alcuni* 'some' (71b), as well as definite (i 'the'), partitive (*dei* 'some of') determiners, and numeral NPs (*sei* 'six') (72). However, the needs to refer to a different set of elements (kiwi and mandarins e.g.). As far as wh-words are concerned, they are not restricted (73). Furthermore, there is no order restriction (cfr. 73a-b).

71a. Oltre a-i kiwi ho comprato **tutti** i mandarini
 EM- kiwi have.IND.PRS.1SG bought all mandarins
 DET.M.PL DET.M.PL

71b. Oltre ai kiwi, ho comprato **ogni** mandarino.

'Besides the kiwis, I bought all the mandarins.'

71c. Oltre a-i kiwi non ho comprato **nulla**.

EM-DET.M.PL kiwi NEG have.IND.PRS.1SG bought nothing

‘Besides the kiwi, I have not bought anything.’

72. Oltre ai kiwi, ho comprato **molti/i/alcuni/dei/sei** mandarini.

‘Besides the kiwis, I bought many/the/some/partitive/six mandarins.’

73a. Oltre a-i kiwi **cosa** hai comprato?
EM-DET.M.PL kiwi NEG have.IND.PRS.2SG bought

‘Besides the kiwis, what did you buy?’

73b. **Cosa** hai comprato oltre ai kiwi?

5.1.6 Oltre che

There are no restrictions with *oltre che* either (74-76), although with the wh-words there seems to be a strong preference for the order in (76a).

74a. Oltre che coi vicini Luca ha litigato con **tutti** noi
EM with neighbors Luca have.IND.PRS.3SG argued with all us

74b. Oltre che coi vicini, Luca ha litigato con **ognuno di noi**.

‘Besides with the neighbors, Luca argued with all/everyone of us.’

74c. Oltre che coi vicini Luca non ha litigato con **nessuno**
EM with neighbors Luca NEG have.IND.PRS.3SG argued with nobody

‘Besides with the neighbors, Luca didn’t argue with anyone.’

75. Oltre che coi vicini, Luca ha litigato con **molti/gli/alcuni/degli/sei** studenti.

‘Besides with the neighbors, Luca argued with many/the/some/six students.’

76a. Oltre che coi vicini **con chi** ha litigato Luca?
EM with neighbors with who have.IND.PRS.3SG argued Luca

‘Besides the neighbors, who did Luca argued with?’

76b. Con chi ha litigato Luca, **oltre che** coi vicini?

5.2 Implicit associates

Document the (in)ability of exceptive phrases to appear with implicit associates. It is worth distinguishing two kinds of implicit associates. First are those which arguably have no syntactic presence, such as an unexpressed time or place adverbial. Second are those in which there is arguably an unexpressed, null argument, which may be required for argument structure reasons. The latter may be realized in the syntax by *pro*.

We can have *eccetto che* with a null *pro*, which is very common in Italian (75), while *eccetto che* is not allowed. Such restriction, however, might be due to the lower level restriction for *eccetto che* to take a DP, discussed in Section 6.

75. *pro* vengono domani **eccetto/*eccetto che** Marco.
 come.IND.PRS.3PL always except Marco

‘They except Marco will come tomorrow.’

Tranne and *salvo*, on the other hand, can appear with implicit *pro* associates (76). *Tranne che* and *salvo che* cannot, but this might be do to the restriction in taking a DP.

76. Sono partite, **tranne (*che)/ salvo (*che)** Ivana.
 be.IND.PRS.3PL left EM Ivana

‘They left, except Ivana.’

Fuorché and *all’infuori di* cannot appear with *pro*, although the judgments vary:

77. ***Fuorché/?all’infuori di** Ivana sono partite.
 EM Ivana be.IND.PRS.3PL left

‘They left, except Ivana.’

Oltre a and *oltre che* cannot appear with an implicit *pro*, yet *oltre che* is restricted to PP exceptions, as we will see below.

78a. ***Oltre a** Ivana sono partite.
 EM Ivana be.IND.PRS.3PL left

‘They left, besides Ivana.’

78b. ***Oltre che** Ivana sono partite.
 EM Ivana be.IND.PRS.3PL left

‘They left, besides Ivana.’

As far as the implicit temporal or locative adverbs and PP, Italian exceptives are less restricted. *Eccetto/tranne* are slightly degraded (79a), while *eccetto che*, *tranne che*, *salvo (che)* and *fuorché* are perfectly acceptable (79b-c). *All'infuori di* cannot take a PP (see Section 6). *Oltre a* and *oltre che* cannot appear with an implicit PP or adverb.

79a.	?Sono be.IND.PRS.1SG	vegetariana, vegetarian-SG.F	eccetto/tranne	in	vacanza.
79b.	Sono	vegetariana,	eccetto (che)/tranne(che)	in	vacanza.
79c.	Sono	vegetariana,	salvo/fuorché/*all'infuori di	in	vacanza.
79d.	*Sono	vegetariana,	oltre a/oltre che	in	vacanza.

5.3 Summary

Table 4 below summarizes the finding on the type of associate and the Quantifier Constraint for all exceptives.

Table 4: The Quantifier Constraint

	Subecjt to QC?	pro	implicit PP/ adverb
Eccetto	no	yes	not really
Tranne	no	yes	not really
Salvo	no	yes	yes
Eccetto che	no	no	yes
Tranne che	no	no	yes
Salvo che	no	no	yes
All'infuori di	no	no	yes
Fuorché	no	no	yes
Oltre a	no, but universal must be a different set of X	no	no
Oltre che	no, but universal must be a different set of X	no	no

6 Characteristics of the exception

6.1 Categorical options

*What are the categorial options for exceptives phrases in free and connected exceptives?
Minimal phrase types to test are NP, PP, and CP.*

Eccetto can take DPs, as we saw above. *Eccetto* associate can also be of other categories. However, in such cases, two interesting things happen.

In some cases, when the associate is a PP, like *con ogni vestito* ‘with every dress’, the exceptive marker *eccetto* prefers to be followed by the sole NP (80a), rather than the full PP (80b).

80a. L’ho provato [PP **con** ogni vestito] eccetto [NP quello blu].
 CL’have.IND.PRS.1SG tried with every dress except that.SG.M blue.SG.M

80b. ??L’ho provato con ogni vestito eccetto **con** quello blu.

‘I have tried it with every dress, except with the blue one.’

Eccetto can also be followed by PPs, commonly when the associate is a temporal (81a) or local adverb or PP (81b). However, there must be a relative clause specifying what happens with the exception.

82a. Porto sempre fuori io il cane eccetto di
 take.IND.PRS.1SG always out 1SG the.SG.M dog except of
 notte ??(che lo porta fuori lui.)
 night that 3SG.ACC take.IND.PRS.3SG out him

‘It’s always me to take out the dog, except at night, then it’s my husband.’

82b. Ho messo del profumo in ogni ampolla eccetto
 have.IND.PRS.1SG put some perfume in in every that.SG.M blue.SG.M
 in quell-a verde ??(dove ho messo dell-a lavanda).
 in that-F.SG green where have.IND.PRS.1SG put some-SG.F lavender

‘I put some perfume in every bottle, except in the green one, where I put some lavender.’

Finally, *eccetto* can take a CP, yet it must be non-finite and the associate must be of the sort *do x* (83).

83. Mi ha chiesto di fare un
 CL.DAT.1SG have.IND.PRS.3SG asked to do a
 sacco di cose **eccetto** di andare a l cinema.
 bag of things **EM** to go to-the theater

‘He asked me to do lots of things, except going to the movies.’

Eccetto che cannot take DPs (84a). *Eccetto che* requires a PP (84b).

84a. ??L’ho provato [PP **con** ogni vestito] eccetto che [NP quello blu].
 CL’have.IND.PRS.1SG tried with every dress except that.SG.M blue.SG

84b. L’ho provato con ogni vestito eccetto che **con** quello blu.

‘I have tried it with every dress, except (with) the blue one.’

Eccetto che can also be followed by other types of PPs, like temporal (85a), or a local adverb or PP (85b).

85a. Porto sempre fuori io il cane **eccetto che** di
 take.IND.PRS.1SG always out 1SG the.SG.M dog except of

 notte.
 night

‘It’s always me to take out the dog, except at night.’

85b. Ho messo del profumo in ogni ampolla **eccetto che**
 have.IND.PRS.1SG put some perfume in every that.SG.M blue.SG.M

 in quell-a verde.
 in that-F.SG green

‘I put some perfume in every bottle, except in the green one.’

Finally, *eccetto che* can take a CP, either non-finite (the verb *fare* ‘do’ here is optional) or finite.

86a. Sono disposta a (fare) tutto, **eccetto che** a
 be.IND.PRS.1SG eager to (do) everything EM to

 trasferir-mi in Germania.
 move.INF-REFL to Germany

‘I am eager to do anything, except move to Germany.’

86a. Gli ho detto tutto, **eccetto che**
 CL.DAT.3SG have.IND.PRS.1SG to everything EM

 voglio trasferir-mi in Cina.
 want.IND.PRS.1SG move.INF-REFL to China

‘I told him everything, except that I want to move to China.’

As seen in previous examples, the exceptions with *tranne* and *tranne che* can be of all categories, such as DPs and PPs. Furthermore, it can be a CP, as shown in (87) below.

87. Sono vegetariana **sempre** *tranne* quando sono
 be.IND.PRS.3PL left EM che when be.IND.PRS.1SG

 in vacanza.
 on holidays

‘I am vegetarian always, except when I am on holidays.’

Except DPs, which are a little weird (88a), *tranne che* and *salvo che* can take PPs (88b) and CPs (88c).

88a. ??Mangio tutto **tranne che/** i carciofi.
eat.IND.PRS.1SG everything **salvo che** det.M.PL artichokes
EM

‘I eat everything but artichokes.’

88b. Ho provato con ogni attrezzo **tranne che/**
have.IND.PRS.1SG tried with every tool **salvo che**
EM

con il trapano.
with det.M.SG drill

‘I tried with every tool, except the drill.’

88c. Sono vegetarian sempre **tranne che/** quando sono
be.IND.PRS.1SG left EM **salvo che** when be.IND.PRS.1SG

in vacanza.
on holidays

‘I am vegetarian always, except when I am on holidays.’

Salvo and *fuorché* and also do not display any restrictions, whereas *all’infuori di* can only take DPs (89a-c).

89a. Mangio tutto **salvo/fuorché/** i carciofi.
eat.IND.PRS.1SG everything **all’infuori de-** det.M.PL artichokes
EM

‘I eat everything but artichokes.’

89b. Ho provato con ogni attrezzo **salvo/fuorché/**
have.IND.PRS.1SG tried with every tool ***all’infuori di**
EM

con il trapano.
with det.M.SG drill

‘I tried with every tool, except the drill.’

89c. Mangio vegetariano sempre **salvo/fuorché/** quando sono
eat.IND.PRS.1SG vegetarian always ***all’infuori di** when be.IND.PRS.1SG
EM

in vacanza.

on holidays

'I always eat vegetarian food, except when I am on holidays.'

Oltre a's exceptions can be DPs (90a) or CPs (90b), but not PPs (90c).

90a. **Oltre a-i** peperoni ho comprato le melanzane.
EM-DET.M.PL peppers have.IND.PRS.1SG bought DET.F.PL eggplants

'Besides the peppers, I bought eggplants.'

90b. **Oltre a** sciare pensa-vo di andare a nuotare.
EM ski think-IND.PST.1SG to go.INF to swim.INF

'Besides skiing, I don't do much sport.'

90c. ***Oltre a** con Gianni ho parlato con Maria.
EM with Gianni have.IND.PRS.1SG spoken with Maria

'Besides Gianni, I spoke to Maria.'

Oltre che allows PPs (91a) and CPs -non finite- (91b), but not DPs (91c).

91a. **Oltre che** con Gianni ho parlato con Maria.
EM with Gianni have.IND.PRS.1SG spoken with Maria

'Besides Gianni, I spoke to Maria.'

91b. **Oltre che** andare a sciare non so cosa fare.
EM go to ski NEG know.IND.PRS:1SG what do.INF

'Besides going skiing, I don't know what to do.'

91c. ***Oltre che** i peperoni ho comprato le melanzane.
EM DET.M.PL peppers have.IND.PRS.1SG bought DET.F.SG eggplant

'Besides the peppers, I bought the eggplants.'

Table 5 below summarizes the restrictions in the syntactic category of the associate.

Table 5: syntactic category of the associate

	DP	PP	CP	Notes
Eccetto	yes	yes	yes [-fin]	sometimes if associate is a DP, then it must be a PP. Others, you “must” have a relative clause
Tranne	yes	yes	yes [-fin]	
Salvo	yes	yes	yes [-fin]	
Eccetto che	no	yes	yes	
Tranne che	not really	yes	yes	
Salvo che	no	yes	yes	
All’infuori di	yes	no	no	in the associate is a PP, you can still have the EP with <i>all’infuori di</i> + DP
Fuorché	yes	yes	yes	
Oltre a	yes	no	yes	
Oltre che	no	yes	yes	CP only non finite

6.2 Case marking on nominal exceptions

For free and connected exceptives in which the exceptive is a nominal, what are the case marking options for the exception? Describe the case marking for associates in different case positions. Is there a fixed case? Is there case matching? Are there multiple options?

Italian does not have case marking on lexical DPs, the exception being pronouns, as outlined above. In any case, the pronouns in the exception will show up in the default/unmarked form, like *te* in (92), regardless of the EM and their syntactic role. In (92a) the associate is the DO, while in (92b) it’s the subject.

92a. Ho visto tutti **eccetto/tranne/s** **te/*tu**
have.IND.PRS.1 seen all-PL.M **alvo** 3SG.ACC/3SG.NOM
SG EM

‘I have seen everyone except you.’

92b. Hanno telefonato tutti **eccetto/tranne/** **te/*tu**
have.IND.PR ato all-PL.M **salvo** 3SG.ACC/3SG.NOM
S.3PL called EM

‘Everybody except you has called.’

The same hold for the additive *oltre a* (93).

93a. Oltre a **te/*tu** ho visto Luca.
EM 3SG.ACC/3SG.NOM

‘Besides you, I have seen Luca.’

93b. Oltre a **te/*tu** ha chiamato Luca.
EM 3SG.ACC/3SG.NOM

‘Besides you, Luca called.’

7 Clausal exceptives

This section of the questionnaire explores the possibility of clausal exceptives in the language. Both free and connected exceptives should be tested. The specifics of the diagnostics are discussed in more detail in another document.

7.1 Possible expression of full clause exceptions

Eccetto che, *tranne che*, and *salvo che* are free exceptives and can take a full CP, as seen above. Yet, the CP following the EM is not the full exceptive clause. Spelling out the full exceptive clause is in fact quite odd.

94. ??Marco va tutti i giorni al
Marco go.IND.PRS.3SG every the days to.the

mercato **eccetto** di martedì non va
che/tranne
che/salvo che
market EM of Tuesday NEG go.IND.PRS.3SG

‘Marco goes every day to the market, except on Tuesdays.’

The only way to express it is by using a relative clause:

95. Marco va tutti i giorni al
Marco go.IND.PRS.3SG every the days to.the

mercato **eccetto che/tranne che** di martedì che non
market EM of Tuesday that NEG

va
go.IND.PRS.3SG

‘Marco goes every day to the market, except on Tuesdays, that he does not go.’

The use of *eccetto*, *tranne*, *fuorché* and *salvo* on the other hand, is much less weird. Spelling out the whole clause is always slightly redundant, yet (96a) is basically perfect, as opposed to (95-96). *All’infuori di* disallows spelling out the entire exceptive clause (96b).

96a. Marco va tutti i giorni al
 Marco go.IND.PRS.3SG every the days to.the
 mercato **eccetto/tranne** di martedì non va
 market **/salvo/fuorché** of Tuesday NEG go.IND.PRS
 EM .3SG

‘Marco goes every day to the market, except on Tuesdays.’

96b. Ho visto tutti **all’infuori di** Mario
 have.IND.PRS.1SG seen all EM Mario
 (*non ho visto).
 NEG have.IND.PRS.1SG seen

‘Except Mario, I haven’t seen anyone.’

Interestingly, if the exceptive clause contains a resumptive clitic pronoun, spelling it out is fine, both with *tranne/eccetto/salvo/fuorché* (97a) and *eccetto che/tranne che/salvo che* (97b).

97a. Ho visto tutti **tranne/eccetto/salvo/fuorché** Mario non l’ho visto.
 I have seen all except Mario NEG CL.ACC- seen
 have.IND.PRS.1SG

‘I have seen everyone except I did not see Mario.’

97b. Ho parlato a tutti **eccetto che/tranne che/salvo che**
 have.IND.PRS.1 spoken to all EM
 SG

a Yuri non gli ho parlato.
 to Yuri NEG CL.DAT.3SG have.IND.PRS.1SG spoken

‘I have spoken to everyone, except to Yuri.’

The additive *oltre a*, on the other hand, can be followed by the whole clause, but only if it is non-finite (98a-b).

98a. Ivana, oltre a-l vino, port-a **la** crostata di more.

Ivana EM-the wine bring-IND.PRS.3SG the pie of mulberries
 ‘Besides the wine, Ivana will bring the mulberry pie.’

98b. Ivana, oltre a port-are il vino,
 Ivana EM bring-INF the wine
 port-a **la** crostata di more.
 bring-IND.PRS.3SG the pie of mulberries
 ‘Besides bringing the wine, Ivana will bring the mulberry pie.’

Oltre che, on the other hand, does not allow the full exceptive clause to be spelled out (99b).

99a. Ivana, oltre che con Yuri **ha** parlato con Marco.
 Ivana EM-the with Yuri have.IND.PRS.3SG spoken with Marco.
 ‘Besides Yuri, Ivana spoke to Marco.’

99b. ??Ivana, oltre che parl-are con Yuri **ha** parlato
 Ivana EM speak-INF with Yuri have.IND.PRS.3SG spoken
 con Marco.
 with Marco.
 ‘Besides speaking to Yuri, Ivana spoke to Marco.’

7.2 Multiple exceptions

All exceptives allow multiple exceptions (100a), with the exception of *all’infuori di*, where getting the reading with both exceptives is really hard (100b).

100a. Sono stata su tutti i treni
 be.IND.PRS.1SG been on every the train
 con tutte le classi **eccetto (che)/tranne (che)/salvo (che)/fuorché**
 with all the class EM
 sul Frecciarossa con la 5[^]b.
 on.the Frecciarossa with the 5[^]b

100b. ?Sono stata su tutti i treni con tutte le classi, all’infuori del Frecciarossa con la 5[^]b.

The same holds for *oltre a/che*:

101a. Oltre a-l vino per Yuri **ha** portato il cioccolato per te
 EM-the wine for Yuri have.IND.PRS.3SG brought the chocolate for you

‘Besides the wine for Yuri, I brought the chocolate for you.’

101b. Jérémie oltre che di cavalli con Yuri, **ha** parlato
 Jérémie EM of horses with Yuri have.IND.PRS.3SG spoken

con Camille di calcio.
 with Camille di calcio

‘Besides speaking to Yuri about horses, Jérémie spoke to Camille about football.’

7.3 Sluicing interpretations

The sluice in (102), with *eccetto che*, *tranne che*, and *salvo che* is ambiguous and can either mean that the I don’t know why Romilda is mad with everyone but Gianni, which I will call reading 1, or that I don’t know why she is not mad with Gianni (reading 2). Reading 1 is however the most easily accessible one.

102. Romilda è arrabbiata con tutti
 Romilda be.IND.PRS.3SG mad with everyone

eccetto che/tranne che/salvo che con Gianni ma non
 EM with Gianni but NEG

so perché.
 know.IND.PRS.1SG why

‘Romilda is not mad with anyone except with Gianni, but I don’t know why.’

However, with *tranne*, *eccetto*, *all’infuori di* and *salvo*, the sentence is much less ambiguous: in (103) the reading 2, where you do not know why Gianni does not hate Mario is really hard to get.

103. Gianni odi-a tutti i suo-i vicini
 Gianni have-IND.PRS.3SG all the POSS.M.SG-PL neighbors

**eccetto/tranne /salvo/fuorché/
 all’infuori di** Mario ma non so perché.
 EM Mario but NEG know.IND.PRS.1SG why

‘Gianni hates all his neighbors, except Luca, but I don’t know why.’

Interestingly, with the additive *oltre a* (104) and *oltre che* (105), the reading 1 is impossible: you can only wonder why he invited Mario or he talked about Mario.

104. **Oltre a-i** suo-i vicini Gianni ha invitato
 EM-det POSS.M.SG-PL neighbors Gianni have.IND.PRS.3SG invited
 anche Mario ma non so perché.
 also Mario but NEG know.IND.PRS.1SG why

‘Gianni, besides his neighbors, has invited also Mario, but I don’t know why.’

105. **Oltre che** de-i vicini Gianni ha parlato
 EM of-the neighbors Gianni have.IND.PRS.3SG invited
 anche di Mario ma non so perché.
 also di Mario but NEG know.IND.PRS.1SG why

‘Gianni, besides his neighbors, has also talked about Mario, but I don’t know why.’

7.4 Clausal/speaker-oriented adverbs

With *eccetto che*, *tranne che*, and *salvo che*, speaker oriented adverbs like *evidentemente* ‘evidently’ can scope on the entire clause or only on the exception (106a). Note, moreover, that it is not possible to insert the adverb between the EM and the exception (106b).

106a. *Evidentemente* li ha regalati a tutti
 evidently them have.IND.PRS.3SG gifted to everyone
eccetto che/tranne che/salvo che a Gianni.
 EM to Gianni

‘Evidently, he has given them to everyone, except to Gianni.’

106b. ??Li ha regalati a tutti **eccetto che/tranne che/salvo che** *evidentemente* a Gianni.

With *eccetto*, *tranne*, and *salvo* (107a), on the other hand, the adverb only scopes over the exception (here, just like with the sluicing examples, it is really hard to say with certainty, but the

reading with the full clausal scope is really hard to get). Moreover, you can insert the adverb between the EM and the exception (107b). Here *all'infuori di* sounds very odd altogether, but it's ok if fronted (107c).

107a. *Evidentemente* li ha abbracciati tutti
 evidently them have.IND.PRS.3SG hugged everyone

eccetto/tranne/salvo/fuorché Gianni.
 EM Gianni

‘Evidently, he has hugged everyone, except Gianni.’

107b. Li ha abbracciati tutti **eccetto/tranne/salvo** *evidentemente* Gianni.

107c. Evidentemente, **all'infuori di** Gianni, li ha abbracciati tutti.

With the additive *oltre a/che*, the adverb scopes over the whole clause (108a-108a), although in this case *anche* ‘also’ is obligatory. The order does not matter.

108a. *Evidentemente* **oltre a-l** vino ha portato
 evidently EM-the wine have.IND.PRS.3SG brought

?(anche) la torta.
 also the cake

‘Evidently, besides the wine he also brought the cake.’

108b. **Oltre al** vino *evidentemente* ha portato anche la torta.

109a. *Evidentemente* **oltre che** col li ha
 evidently EM vino ACC.3PL have.IND.PRS.3SG

sfumati ?(anche) con il whiskey.
 simmer also with the whiskey

‘Evidently, besides with the wine he also simmer them with whiskey.’

109b. **Oltre che** con il vino *evidentemente* li ha sfumati anche con il whiskey.

7.5 Preposition stranding

There is no preposition stranding in Italian.

7.6 Internal reading with ‘same, different’

In the example in (110-111), the only possible reading is the external one, namely one where everyone was given a different homework wrt a salient one in the discourse, except Mary who was given the same one.

110.	Abbiamo	dato	a	tutti	un
	have.IND.PRS.1PL	given	to	everyone	a
	compito	diverso,	eccetto che/tranne che/salvo che	a	Ivana.
	homework	different	EM	to	Ivana

‘We gave every student a different homework, except to Ivana.’

111a.	Abbiamo	dato	a	tutti	un
	have.IND.PRS.1PL	given	to	everyone	a
	compito	diverso,	eccetto/tranne/salvo/fuorché	a	Ivana.
	homework	different	EM	to	Ivana

‘We gave every student a different homework, except to Ivana.’

111b. **All’infuori di** Ivana, abbiamo dato a tutti lo stesso compito.

The examples with *oltre a/che* are not testable.

7.7 Binding Theory data

Binding theory in Italian might be problematic, as the default way to express reflexivity is by means of the clitic *si* (112a), which cannot appear on its own, nor be focused. There is another way to express reflexivity in Italian: with the full DP *sé stesso* (112b), which is basically only used in contrastive or emphatic environments.

112a.	Maria	si	lav-a.
	Maria	REFL	wash-
			IND.PRS.3SG

‘Maria washes herself.’

112b.	Maria	lav-a.	sé	stessa.
	Maria	wash-IND.PRS.3SG	REFL	self

In (113), the main verb is reflexive. The exception as well, suggesting that it might very well be clausal.

113.	Si	sono	lavati	tutti	eccetto/tranne/salvo
	REFL	be.IND.PRS.3PL	washed	all	EM

Maria.

116 Marco ha parlato [[con ogni professore
 b. Marco have.IND.PRS.3SG spoken with every professor
 e ingegnere in sala]] **eccetto che/tranne che/salvo che** con
 and engineer in room EM with
 quello di storia.
 that of history

‘Marco has spoken with every professor and engineer in the room,
 except that of history.’

116 Bianca è arrabbiata [[perché Pietro
 c. Bianca be.IND.PRS.3SG mad because Pietro
 ha parlato con tutti]] **eccetto che/tranne che/salvo che**
 have.IND.PRS.3SG spoken with all EM
 con Lucia.
 with Lucia

‘Bianca is mad because Pietro spoke to everyone except Lucia.’

In all instances in (116), the exceptive phrase can also be fronted (117), although this word order is slightly dispreferred for the RC and the why adjuncts clauses (117a-b). This, however, might be due to a processing issue: the exceptive is “too far” from the associate and you have too many DPs in the middle, especially in (117c). For example, compare examples in (117) with extraction of a wh-words form a RC island.

117a. **?Eccetto che/tranne che/salvo che** a Yuri, ieri abbiamo visto un film che è piaciuto a tutti.

117b. **Eccetto che/tranne che/salvo che** con quello di storia, Gianni ha parlato con ogni professore ed ingegnere in sala.

117c. **??Eccetto che/tranne che/salvo che** con Lucia, Bianca è arrabbiata perché Piero ha parlato con tutti.

118. ***A chi** ieri abbiamo visto un film che
 to whom yesterday have.IND.PRS.1PL seen a movie that

è piaciuto __ ?
 be.IND.PRS.3SG liked

‘Yesterday we saw a movie that who liked?’

Eccetto, tranne, salvo, fuorché behave the same (119a-c). *all'infuori di*, on the other hand, must be fronted in the RC and Adjunct island, see (120).

119 Abbiamo visto un film [[che hanno
 a. have.IND.PRS.1PL seen a movie that have.IND.PRS.3PL
 amato tutti ieri]] **eccetto/tranne /salvo/fuorché/*all'infuori di** Yuri.
 loved all yesterday **EM** Yuri

‘We watched a movie that everyone loved, except Yuri.’

119 Marco ha salutato [[ogni professore
 b. Marco have.IND.PRS.3SG greeted every professor
 e ingegnere in sala]] **eccetto/tranne /salvo/fuorché/all'infuori di**
 and engineer in room **EM**

quello di storia.
 that of history

‘Marco has greeted every professor and engineer in the room, except that of history.’

119 Bianca è arrabbiata [[perché Pietro
 c. Bianca be.IND.PRS.3SG mad because Pietro
 ha salutato tutti]] **eccetto/tranne /salvo/*all'infuori di** Lucia
 have.IND.PRS.3SG greeted all **EM** Lucia

‘Bianca is mad because Pietro greeted everyone except Lucia.’

Interestingly, fronting the exceptive phrase with *eccetto/tranne/salvo* in the RC is much better (120a VS 117a). The adjunct island remains equally odd.

120a. **Eccetto/tranne/salvo/fuorché/*all'infuori di** Yuri, ieri abbiamo visto un film che hanno amato tutti.

120b. **Eccetto/tranne/salvo/fuorché/*all'infuori di** quello di storia, Gianni ha salutato ogni professore ed ingegnere in sala.

120c. **??Eccetto/tranne/salvo/ fuorché/all'infuori di** Lucia, Bianca è arrabbiata perché Piero ha salutato tutti.

Finally, as far as the additive *oltre a/che* is concerned, it is subject to Island constraints, except for the coordinated structure (121b).

121a.	*Oltre a-i	bambin-i	ieri	abbiamo	visto	[[un
	EM-det	kid-PL	yesterday	have-PRS.1Pl	seen	a
	film	che	ha	amato	anche	Yuri.]]
	movie	COMP	have.PRS.2SG	loved	also	Yuri

‘Besides the kinds, yesterday we saw a movie that Yuri liked.’

121b.	Oltre a-l	professore	di	storia	Marco	ha
	EM-det	teacher	of	history	Marco	have.IND.PRS.3SG
	salutato	[[gli	ingegneri	e	i	professori
	greeted	det	engineers	and	the	professors
	in	sala.]]				
	in	room				

‘Besides the history teacher, Marco greeted the engineers and teachers in the room.’

121c.	?Oltre a	Maria,	Lucia	si	è	
	EM	Maria	Lucia	REFL	be.IND.PRS.3SG	
	arrabbiata	[[perché	hai	salutato	anche	Luca]].
	get.mad	because	have.IND.PRS.3SG	greeted	also	Luca

‘Lucia got mad, because besides Maria you greeted Luca as well.’

7.9 Collective predicates

Given the fact that *eccetto che/tranne che/salvo che* cannot be followed by a DP, it is impossible to test them with collective predicates. As far as the *che*-less counterparts *eccetto/tranne/salvo*, they are considered quite ungrammatical (122). Note however that in all these cases you need the reciprocal/reflexive clitic *si*.

122a.	*Si	sono	raduntati	tutti	in
	REFL/REC	be.IND.PRS.3PL	gathered	all	in
	giardino	eccetto/tranne/salvo	Gianni.		
	garden	EM	Gianni		

‘Everyone gathered in the garden, except Gianni.’

122b. *Si sono incontrati tutti ieri
 RECIPROCAL be.IND.PRS.3PL met all yesterday

sera **eccetto/tranne/salvo** Gianni.
 evening EM Gianni

‘Everyone met last night, except Gianni.’

122b. *Si sono stretti tutti la
 RECIPROCAL be.IND.PRS.3PL shaken all the

mano **eccetto/tranne/salvo** Gianni.
 hand EM Gianni

‘Everyone shook hands, except Gianni.’

Nonetheless, if you have a plural exception, then the sentences are a bit better (123), yet not perfect.

123a. ?Si sono raduntati tutti in
 REFL/REC be.IND.PRS.3PL gathered all in

giardino **eccetto/tranne/salvo** i genitori
 garden EM the parents.

‘Everyone gathered in the garden, except the parents.’

123b. ?Si sono incontrati tutti ieri
 RECIPROCAL be.IND.PRS.3PL met all yesterday

sera **eccetto/tranne/salvo** i genitori
 evening EM the parents.

‘Everyone met last night, except the parents.’

123c. ?Si sono stretti tutti la
 RECIPROCAL be.IND.PRS.3PL shaken all the

mano **eccetto/tranne/salvo** i genitori
 hand EM the parents.

‘Everyone shook hands, except the parents.’

The same hold for additive *oltre a* (124). Interestingly, with a plural exception, the sentences become perfectly acceptable (125).

- 124a. ***Oltre a** Gianni, si sono radunati in
EM Gianni REFL/REC be.IND.PRS.3PL gathered in

giardino anche i bambini.
garden also the kids

'Besides Gianni, the kids also gathered in the garden.'
- 124b. ***Oltre a** Gianni, si sono incontrati ieri
EM Gianni REC be.IND.PRS.3PL met yesterday

sera anche i bambini.
evening also the kids

'Besides Gianni, the kids also met last night.'
- 124c. ***Oltre a** Gianni, si sono stretti la
EM Gianni REC be.IND.PRS.3PL shaken the

mano anche i bambini.
hand also the kids

'Besides Gianni, the kids also shook hands.'
- 125a. **Oltre a-i** genitori, si sono radunati in
EM-the parents REFL/REC be.IND.PRS.3PL gathered in

giardino anche i bambini.
garden also the kids

'Besides the parents, the kids also gathered in the garden.'
- 125b. **Oltre a-i** genitori, si sono incontrati ieri
EM-the parents REC be.IND.PRS.3PL met yesterday

sera anche i bambini.
evening also the kids

'Besides the parents, the kids also met last night.'
- 125c. **Oltre a-i** genitori, si sono stretti la
EM-the parents REC be.IND.PRS.3PL shaken the

mano anche i bambini.
hand also the kids

‘Besides the parents, the kids also shook hands.’

8. Summary

In the table below, I have summarized the clausal findings:

Table 6: Summary of clausal diagnostics

	Eccetto che/ tranne che/ salvo che	Eccetto/ tranne/ salvo	Fuorché	All’infuori di	Oltre a	Oltre che
Full clause	no (ok if RC or if resumptive clitic pronoun)	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
Multiple exceptions	yes	yes	yes	no?	yes	yes
Sluicing	Both readings	Only reading 1	Only reading 1	Only reading 1	Only reading 2	Only reading 2
High adverbs	Both readings	Only over exception	Only over exception	Only over exception	Only over whole clause	Only over whole clause
Same-different	External	External	External	External	Impossible?	Impossible?
Subject to islands	No (fronting ?)	No (fronting ok)	No (fronting ok)	No (fronting almost required)	Yes (except coordinate)	Yes (except coordinate)
Collective predocates	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Seems clausal?	yes!	yes	yes	no	no?	no?

8 Problematic data

All problematic data has been discussed above in the relevant sections.

9 Additional observations and comments

None

10 Consultants

Give ethnographic information about consultants: number used, age and gender, language expertise (multilingualism), education levels, where they have lived, which languages they use in which settings, etc. The first three people have been consulted on the whole questionnaire, the others on some examples, where I had doubts or judgments were unclear.

I resorted to three speakers. As far as the languages part is concerned, I considered monolingual everyone who has not acquired a second language in a natural environment. Hence, I did not considered any exposure to a second language in school, starting from age 6, as it is the case for myself and N.A. with French.

Name	Age	Gender	Languages	Education level obtained	Language used daily	Where they lived
Myself	31	F	Italian and Valdôtain Patois (heritage)	Master	Italian English	around 50% of life in Italy, in Aosta Valley,
N. A.	31	F	Monolingual	Middle school	Italian	100% of life in Italy, in Aosta Valley
M. S.	31	F	Monolingual	Bachelor degree	Italian	over 60% of life in Italy, between Piedmont and Venice
Y. J.	30	M	Bilingual (Italian, Valdôtain Patois)	Bachelor degree (math)	Italian	90% of life in Italy, 75% in Aosta Valley
M. B.	31	M	Monolingual	Master degree	Italian	95% of life in Northern Italy, between Aosta Valley, Friuli Venezia-Giulia, and Trentino

M. S.	62	M	Bilingual (Italian, Valdôtain Patois)	Middle school	Italian and Valdôtain Patois, about 60- 40%	100% of life in Aosta Valley
I. B.	63	F	Bilingual (Italian, Valdôtain Patois)	High school	Italian and Valdôtain Patois, about 60- 40%	100% of life in Aosta Valley

References

Badan, L. and Crocco, C. (2019). Focus in Italian echo wh-questions: An analysis at syntaxprosody interface. *Probus*, 31(1):29–73.

Belletti, A. (2004). Aspects of the low IP area. The structure of CP and IP. The cartography of syntactic structures, 2:16–51.

Bianchi, V. (2013). On focus movement in Italian. *Information structure and agreement*, 193:216.

Bianchi, V., Bocci, G., and Cruschina, S. (2015). Focus fronting and its implicatures. *Romance languages and linguistic theory 2013*, pages 3–20.

Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar*, pages 281–337. Springer.

Rizzi, L. and Bocci, G. (2017). Left periphery of the clause: Primarily illustrated for Italian. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Second Edition*, pages 1–30.