

Exceptives Questionnaire: Brazilian Portuguese¹
Polina Pleshak
University of Maryland

1 Language morphosyntax

1.1 Language name

This overview describes exceptive constructions in Brazilian Portuguese (BP). Technically, ISO code does not distinguish among different varieties of Portuguese (por), even though BP is different from the Portuguese language spoken in Portugal. BP is a large Romance Indo-European language spoken by 214 million people.

1.2 Morphological type

BP has bound morphology for nominals and verbs. However, there are also analytic constructions. Basic nominal morphology expresses gender and number overtly and is rather agglutinating (1). Definiteness, on the other hand, is expressed analytically, with a separate functional word: a determiner. In the definite article itself, definiteness is expressed together with gender, which can be treated as fusion. The category of case is only present in pronouns and is very restricted in its expression, see section 1.4.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>o</i>
DEF.M[SG]
'boy' | <i>menin-o</i>
young.person-M[SG] | b. | <i>a</i>
DEF.F[SG]
'girl' | <i>menin-a</i>
young.person-F[SG] |
| | c. | <i>o-s</i>
DEF.M-PL
'boys' | <i>menin-o-s</i>
young.person-M-PL | d. | <i>a-s</i>
DEF.F-PL
'girls' | <i>menin-a-s</i>
young.person-F-PL |

Verb morphology is mostly bound and tends to be fusional (2). Tense, aspect and agreement phi-features are expressed with one morpheme.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|----|---|
| (2) | a. | <i>cant-o</i>
sing-PRES.1SG
'I sing.' | b. | <i>cant-a</i>
sing-PRES.3SG
'He/she sings.' |
| | c. | <i>cant-eu</i>
sing-AOR.1SG
'I sang.' | d. | <i>cant-ou</i>
sing-AOR.3SG
'He/she sang.' |

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. This research was supported by the NSF grant BCS-2116344.

One can find fusion when it comes to prepositions and definiteness as well. For instance, the preposition *de* ‘of’ and the definite article *o* or *a* ‘the’ form fused prepositions *do* and *da* ‘of the’ respectively. Similarly, the preposition *por* ‘for’ forms with the definite articles fused prepositions *pelo* and *pela* ‘for the’.

1.3 Basic word order(s)

The basic word order in BP is SVO (3). The main issue regarding word order in BP is the restrictions on the postverbal subjects (Silva 1999), which are different from European Portuguese. The subject must be preverbal in unergatives² as well (4). Unlike in some other Romance languages, the subject cannot be postverbal in interrogatives (5). It is also worth noting that BP is not a pro-drop language, see (Kato 2000) on the partial pro-drop in BP.

(3) *A Ana compr-ou muit-a coisa n-est-a loja.*
 DEF.F[SG] Anna buy-AOR.3SG many-F[SG] thing in-this-F[SG] store
 ‘Ana bought much stuff at this store.’ (Silva 1999: 2)

(4) a. *O Ivo trabalh-a tod-o dia.*
 DEF.M[SG] Ivo work-PRES.3SG all-M[SG] day
 b. **Tod-o dia trabalh-a o Ivo.*
 all-M[SG] day work-PRES.3SG DEF.M[SG] Ivo
 ‘Ivo works every day.’ (ibid: 3)

(5) a. *O que o Paulo compr-ou?*
 DEF.M[SG] what DEF.M[SG] Paulo buy-AOR.3SG?
 b. **O que compr-ou o Paulo?*
 DEF.M[SG] what buy-AOR.3SG DEF.M[SG] Paulo
 ‘What did Paulo buy?’ (ibid: 4)

In unaccusatives, on the other hand, the subject can be postverbal, whether it is a declarative (6) or a question (7).

(6) a. *A Maria cheg-ou.*
 DEF.F[SG] Maria arrive-AOR.3SG
 b. *Cheg-ou a Maria.*
 arrive-AOR.3SG DEF.F[SG] Maria
 ‘Maria arrived.’ (ibid: 3)

(7) a. *Por onde pass-a o ônibus?*
 for where pass-PRES.3SG DEF.M[SG] bus
 b. *Por onde o ônibus pass-a?*
 for where DEF.M[SG] bus pass-PRES.3SG
 ‘Where does the bus go by?’ (ibid: 6)

² Talking about unergatives and unaccusatives, I follow (Silva 1999).

It is worth noting that adjuncts, such as the temporal adjunct in (4), can occupy different positions within the clause, as long as the subject remains preverbal. For instance, such adjuncts can be fronted (8). See more discussion on BP word order in (Silva 1999).

- (8) *Tod-o dia o Ivo trabalh-a.*
 all-M[SG] day DEF.M[SG] Ivo work-PRES.3SG
 ‘Ivo works every day.’ (ibid: 47)

1.4 Case marking

As mentioned in section 1.2, there is no nominal case-marking in BP, and prepositions are used instead. The form of the nouns does not change regardless of its position: subject, object of the verb, object of a preposition. However, the pronominal system reveals the presence of an oblique case. Only 1SG pronoun distinguishes between the direct and the oblique cases (9). In (9a), 1SG pronoun is in the subject position, and we see its direct form, while in (9b) 1SG pronoun surfaces as an indirect object in its oblique form, governed by a preposition.

- (9) a. *Eu olh-o pra você.*
 1SG.DIR look-PRES.1SG DAT 2SG
 ‘I look at you’.
- b. *Você olh-a pra mim.*
 2SG look-PRES.3SG DAT 1SG.OBL
 ‘You look at me.’

It is unclear how to determine the case form of the objects, because pronominal clitics are used in the direct object position (10a). A full pronoun in the object case is completely ruled out (10b). In some idiolects, however, the direct case form can be marginally used (10c).

- (10) a. *Você me viu.*
 2SG 1SG.OBJ.CL see.AOR.3SG
- b. **Você viu mim.*
 2SG see.AOR.3SG 1SG.OBJ
- c. *?Você viu eu.*
 2SG see.AOR.3SG 1SG.DIR
 ‘You saw me.’

1.5 Focus constructions

Focus in BP is mostly expressed via intonation (Fernandes 2007; Carnaval et al. 2022). However, cleft-like constructions are also present in BP. Rosemeyer and Van de Velde (2021) argue that the usage of clefts might be triggered by restrictions on word order (see section 1.3). Namely, clefts are developed to allow for fronting of the elements that cannot be fronted otherwise. In (11)–(12), a non-inverted and inverted cleft construction are presented. The copula can change in tense features, but it does not agree with the clefted constituent in person (13) or number (14).

- (11) *É o João que quer chocolate.*
 be.PRES.3SG DEF.M[SG] John COMP like.PRES.3SG chocolate
 ‘It’s John who wants chocolate.’
- (12) *O João é que quer chocolate.*
 DEF.M[SG] John be.PRES.3SG COMP like.PRES.3SG chocolate
 ‘It’s John who wants chocolate.’ (Rosemeyer & Van de Velde 2021: 139)
- (13) *É eu que sou vadia.*
 be.PRES.3SG 1SG.DIR COMP be.PRES.1SG lazy
 ‘It’s me who is lazy.’ (ibid: 140)
- (14) *É a-s criança-s que com-eram o bolo.*
 be.PRES.3SG DEF.F-PL child-PL COMP eat-AOR.3PL DEF.M[SG] cake
 ‘It’s the children that ate the cake.’ (ibid)

Kato (2010) discusses semi-clefts and pseudo-clefts in BP, which also focalize certain types of constituents in BP. Semi-clefts can focalize multiple constituents (15), and pseudo-clefts and semi-clefts will not be used here.

- (15) *O João deu foi [o livro à Maria].*
 DEF.M[SG] John give.AOR.3SG be.AOR.3SG DEF.M[SG] book DAT.DEF.F[SG]
 Maria
 ‘John gave the book to Mary.’ (Kato 2010: 66)

2 Basic exceptive constructions

2.1 Exceptive markers

Exceptive markers in BP are *exceto*, *menos*, *exceto por*, *senão*. The latter is only used with negative associates and is considered very “posh” and “fancy”. Not all speakers recognize it. Here, I exclude *senão* from consideration, see (Martins et al. 2022) on the diachronic path of this marker. *Menos* is the most colloquial marker, while *exceto* is more formal or academic. The basic examples for the exceptive markers in question are presented in (16).

- (16) a. *Ele já esteve em tod-o-s o-s*
 3SG.M already be.AOR.3SG in all-M-PL DEF.M-PL
país-es sul american-o-s exceto / menos a
 country-PL south American-M-PL except minus DEF.F[SG]
Colombia.
 Columbia
 ‘He has already been to all South American countries except Columbia.’

- b. *Ele já esteve em tod-a-s a-s*
 3SG.M already be.AOR3.SG in all-F-PL DEF.F-PL
cidade-s do Paraná exceto por Curitiba.
 city-PL GEN.DEF.M[SG] Parana except for Curitiba
 ‘He has already been to all cities in Paraná except for Curitiba.’

Neither *exceto* nor *menos* exhibit exceptive/additive ambiguity.

- (17) **Ele já esteve em algun-s país-es sul*
 3SG.M already be.AOR3.SG in some-PL country-PL south
american-o-s exceto / menos a Colombia.
 American-M-PL except minus DEF.F[SG] Columbia
 Int.: He has been to some South American countries in addition to Columbia.

2.2 Lexical category investigations

Exceptive markers *exceto* and *menos* seem to be complementizers. *Exceto por* is a complex preposition. The claim regarding the nature of BP *exceto* and *menos* exceptive markers might seem surprising given the fact that case-marking of their complements is fixed and does not depend on the case of the associate. They require direct case form from their complement. However, as I argue in section 6.1.2, this case pattern is the same as in ellipsis, which suggests that *exceto* and *menos* exceptives are clausal, and therefore serve as complementizers. Compound preposition *exceto por* requires the oblique case. More discussion of case marking appears in section 6.

- (18) a. *Ela deu presente-s para tod-o mundo*
 3SG.F give.AOR3.SG present-PL DAT all-M[SG] world
menos / ?exceto³ eu.
 minus except 1SG.DIR
- b. **Ela deu presente-s para tod-o mundo*
 3SG.F give.AOR3.SG present-PL DAT all-M[SG] world
menos / exceto mim.
 minus except 1SG.OBL
 ‘She gave presents to everyone but me.’
- (19) *?Tod-o mundo riu exceto por mim / *eu.*
 all-M[SG] world laugh.AOR3.SG except for 1SG.OBL 1SG.DIR
 ‘Everyone laughed, except for me.’

An additional argument in favor of the status of *exceto* and *menos* as complementizers (see the main argument in section 6.1.2) comes from the fact that sometimes they take a PP as its complement, and the marking mimics the one in the associate clause. See more on clausal exceptives in section 7.

³ In many cases, my consultants simply preferred *menos* instead of *exceto* due to the more colloquial status of *menos* and its higher frequency.

- (20) *Ela deu presente-s para tod-o mundo*
 3SG.F give.AOR3.SG present-PL DAT all-M[SG] world
menos / ?exceto para mim.
 minus except DAT 1SG.OBL
 ‘She gave presents to everyone but me.’

3 Word order in exceptives

3.1 Position of exceptive phrases

Exceptive phrases with *menos* and *exceto* follow the associate. Their general preference is to be clause-final. If the associate is in the clause-initial subject position, the exceptive phrase preferably follows the verb (21), being detached from the associate. If the associate is an object in the middle of the clause followed by a temporal adverb, the exceptive phrase preferably follows the adverb (22). In this case, the exceptive phrase is detached from the associate as well. Non-clause-final, adjacent exceptive phrases are not ruled out and occur in the natural discourse (23). It is worth noting that the examples marked with ? or ?? are judged as “not quite right” grammatically, not in terms of semantics or pragmatics.

- (21) a. *Tod-o mundo riu menos exceto eu.*
 all-M[SG] world laugh.AOR3.SG minus except 1SG.DIR
- b. *?Todo mundo menos / exceto eu riu.*
 all-M[SG] world minus except 1SG.DIR laugh.AOR3.SG
 ‘Everyone laughed except me.’
- (22) a. *Ela convers-ou com tod-o mundo ontem*
 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with all-M[SG] world yesterday
exceto / menos (com) o João.
 except minus with DEF.M[SG] John
- b. *?Ela convers-ou com tod-o mundo menos /*
 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with all-M[SG] world minus
??exceto (com) o João ontem.
 except with DEF.M[SG] John yesterday
 ‘She talked to **everyone** yesterday **except John**.’
- (23) *Mistur-e tod-o-s o-s outr-o-s ingrediente-s,*
 mix-IMP.SG all-M-PL DEF.M-PL other-M-PL ingredient-PL
exceto / menos o-s tomate-s fatiad-o-s, num-a
 except minus DEF.M-PL tomato-PL sliced-M-PL in.INDEF-F[SG]
tijela.
 bowl
 ‘Mix all the remaining ingredients except the sliced tomatoes in a bowl.’

Clause-initial position of the exceptive phrase with *exceto* or *menos* is also possible (24). However, in the idiolect of one of my consultants it is ungrammatical (25).

(24) *Exceto a Rússia, o mundo inteiro-o*
 except DEF.F[SG] Russia DEF.M[SG] world entire-M[SG]
já resolv-eu esse problema.
 already resolve-AOR.3SG that[SG] problem
 ‘Except for Russia, the entire world has already resolved this problem.’
 (Corpus data)

(25) a. **Exceto (com) o João, ela conversou com tod-o mundo ontem.*
 except with DEF.M[SG] John 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with
 all-M[SG] world yesterday
 ‘Except Joao, she talked to everyone yesterday.’

b. **Exceto a Rússia, o mundo inteiro-o*
 except DEF.F[SG] Russia DEF.M[SG] world entire-M[SG]
já resolv-eu esse problema.
 already resolve-AOR.3SG that[SG] problem
 Int.: ‘Except for Russia, the entire world has already resolved this problem.’

Exceptive phrases with *exceto* can be parentheticals, but more research is needed to address this behavior.

(26) <...> *e resolv-e castr-ar tod-o o*
 and settle-PRES.3SG castrate-INF all-M[SG] DEF.M[SG]
seu reino (exceto sua filha)
 3SG.POS.M[SG] kingdom except 3SG.POS.F[SG] daughter
como vingança.
 CMPR revenge
 ‘And decides to castrate his entire kingdom (except his daughter) as a vengeance.’
 (Corpus data)

When it comes to *except por*, it can be in the clause-final position (27), but in some contexts its preferred position is clause-initial. In those idiolects where clause-initial position of *exceto* phrases is ruled out, *exceto por* is the grammatical option (28). Also compare (29) to (24).

(27) *Como tod-a a medicina é pública,*
 CMPR all-F[SG] DEF.F[SG] medicine be.PRES.3SG public-F[SG]
exceto por um consultório particular de homeopatia, <...>
 except for one clinic private GEN homeopathy
 ‘Since all medicine is public, except for one private homeopathic practice,...’
 (Corpus data)

(28) a. *Exceto pelo João, ela conversou com tod-o mundo*
 except for.DEF.M[SG] John 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with all-M[SG] world
ontem.
 yesterday

- b. **Ela convers-ou com tod- mundo ontem,*
 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with all-M[SG] world yesterday
exceto pelo João.
 except for.DEF.M[SG] John
 ‘Except Joao, she talked to everyone yesterday.’

- (29) *Exceto pela Rússia, o mundo inteir-o*
 except for.DEF.F[SG] Russia DEF.M[SG] world entire-M[SG]
já resolv-eu esse problema.
 already resolve-AOR.3SG that[SG] problem
 ‘Except for Russia, the entire world has already resolved this problem.’

While *exceto por* seems to be a free exceptive, mostly used for displacement to the left periphery, the status of *exceto* and *menos* exceptives is less clear. They can be (i) ambiguous between free and connected, (ii) connected with the possibility of split DP, or (iii) free with the possibility of adjacency to the associate. Under (i) I mean that in free exceptive constructions and in connected exceptive constructions we see markers with the same morphological realization. (ii) is the case of base-generation as one phrase with further movement of parts, which results in a disconnected DP. Under (iii) I assume cases in which the exceptive phrase does not form a constituent with the associate, and their adjacency is accidental.

3.2 Connected exceptives

Exceptives with the markers *exceto* and *menos* can at least in some contexts be connected exceptives. See section 4 for more details. In those cases where the exceptive phrase is adjacent to the associate, it follows the associate.

- (30) a. *Ele viu tod-o mundo exceto / menos a*
 3SG.M see.AOR.3SG all-M[SG] world except minus DEF.F[SG]
Maria durante a-s feria-s.
 Mary during DEF.F-PL holiday-PL
- b. **Ele viu exceto / menos a Maria*
 3SG.M see.AOR.3SG except minus DEF.F[SG] Mary
tod-o mundo durante a-s feria-s.
 all-M[SG] world during DEF.F-PL holiday-PL
 ‘He saw everyone except Maria during these holidays.’

3.3 Free exceptives

Exceptives with the marker *exceto por* are free exceptives. See section 4 for argumentation. Clause-initial position is preferred for *exceto por* exceptives, see examples (28)–(29) in section 3.1.

4 Constituency evidence for connected exceptives

4.1 Coordination

Constructions with exceptive phrases with *exceto* and *menos* can be coordinated (31a). The contrast with *exceto por* exceptives is not sharp, but *exceto por* exceptives are always evaluated as degraded (31b).

- (31) a. *Ele com-e [tod-a-s a-s fruta-s exceto /*
 3SG.M eat-PRES.3SG all-F-PL DEF.F-PL fruit-PL except
menos açai] e [tod-a-s a-s verdura-s exceto /
 minus açai and all-F-PL DEF.F-PL vegetable-PL except
menos couve].
 minus kale
- b. [?]*Ele com-e [tod-a-s a-s fruta-s exceto por*
 3SG.M eat-PRES.3SG all-F-PL DEF.F-PL fruit-PL except for
açai] e [tod-a-s a-s verdura-s exceto por couve].
 açai and all-F-PL DEF.F-PL vegetable-PL except for kale
 ‘He eats all berries except açai and every vegetables except kale.’

We should keep in mind that *exceto por* is usually better if fronted in general, which might have influenced the judgements for (31b).

- (32) [?]*Ele com-e tod-a-s a-s fruta-s exceto por açai]*
 3SG.M eat-PRES.3SG all-F-PL DEF.F-PL fruit-PL except for açai
 ‘He eats all berries except açai.’

4.2 Displacement

Some consultants do not like topicalization of associates together with the exceptive phrases in general, so the judgments might be not very telling. However, there is a contrast between *exceto* and *menos* exceptives on the one hand and *exceto por* exceptives on the other. The latter are considerably degraded for some consultants and completely ruled out for others.

- (33) a. [?]*[Tod-a-s a-s fruta-s exceto / menos açai],*
 all-F-PL DEF.F-PL fruit-PL except minus açai
ele com-e com vontade.
 3SG.M eat-PRES.3SG with willingness
- b. ^{*}*[Tod-a-s a-s fruta-s exceto por açai],*
 all-F-PL DEF.F-PL fruit-PL except for açai
ele com-e com vontade.
 3SG.M eat-PRES.3SG with willingness
 ‘[All berries except acai], he happily eats.’

4.3 Fragment answers

Associate together with the connected exceptive phrase can serve as a fragment answer (34b). Again, *exceto por* exceptives are less acceptable as fragment answers (34c).

- (34) a. *O* *que* *ele* *com-e?*
DEF.M[SG] what 3SG.M eat-PRES.3SG
'What does he eat?'
- b. *Tod-o-s* *o-s* *grao-s* *exceto* / *menos arroz*
all-M-PL DEF.M-PL grain-PL except minus rice
integral.
whole
- c. [?]*Tod-o-s* *o-s* *grao-s* *exceto por* *arroz* *integral.*
all-M-PL DEF.M-PL grain-PL except for rice whole
'All the grains except Brown rice.'

Based on these tests, exceptive phrases with *exceto* and *menos* form a constituent with their associate, or at least can form such a constituent. *Exceto por* phrases, on the other hand, do not form a constituent with their associates. For this reason, I consider *exceto por* exceptives to be free exceptives, while *exceto* and *menos* exceptives are connected or ambiguous between connected and free.

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:

- (35) *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.

The data show that BP is not an exception to Quantifier Constraint.

5.1 Quantificational associates

5.1.1 Free exceptives

So far, all the examples showed the universal quantifier *todo* 'all'. BP does not have an equivalent of *every*, and one of my consultants does not have the equivalent of *each* in her idiolect either. For the consultant who has *cada* 'each' in his idiolect, sentences like (36) are completely grammatical. Negative quantifiers are also possible (37), as well as non-universal quantifiers (38).

- (36) *Ela conversou com cada convidad-o exceto pelo João.*
 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with each guest-M[SG] except for.DEF.M[SG] John
 ‘She talked to each guest except John.’
- (37) *Ela nunca esteve em nenhum país sul
 american-o exceto pela Colombia.*
 3SG.F never be.AOR.3SG in no country south
 American-M[SG] except for.DEF.F[SG] Columbia
 ‘She has never been to any South American country except Columbia.’
- (38) *Ele viu pouco-s amig-o-s dele durante
 a-s feria-s, exceto pela Maria.*
 3SG.M see.AOR.3SG few.M-PL friend-M-PL GEN.3SG.M during
 DEF.F-PL holiday-PL except for.DEF.F[SG] Mary
 ‘He saw few of his friends during this holidays except for Mary.’

Free exceptives in BP show no restriction on definite noun phrases as associates either.

- (39) *Junt-e o-s demais ingrediente-s numa tigela,
 mix-IMP.SG DEF.M-PL other ingredient-PL in.INDEF[SG] bowl
 exceto pelo creme de leite.*
 except for.DEF.M[SG] cream GEN milk
 ‘Mix the other ingredients except sour creme in a bowl.’

Generic associates or associates that refer to kinds are degraded but still acceptable.

- (40) *?Exceto por açaí, ele com-e fruta-s com vontade.*
 except for açaí 3SG.M eat-PRES.3SG fruit-PL with will
 ‘Except for açaí, he happily eats all fruit.’

Wh-phrases are not completely ruled out as the associates of free exceptives in some idiolects.

- (41) *?Exceto pela Maria, quem ele viu?*
 except for.DEF.F[SG] Mary who 3SG.M see.AOR.3SG
 ‘Wxcept for Mary, who did he see?’

Indefinite noun phrases, on the other hand, are ruled out as the associates of free exceptives. Numerals and universal noun phrases with a cardinality restriction are also ungrammatical in constructions with free exceptives.

- (42) **Exceto pela Maria, algum-a-s menin-a-s com-eram
 o bolo.*
 except for.DEF.F[SG] Mary some-F-PL young.person-F-PL eat-AOR.3PL
 DEF.M[SG] cake
 Int.: ‘Except for Mary, some girls ate the cake.’

- (43) **Exceto* *pela* *Maria, ele* *viu* *tres* *amig-a-s*
 except for.DEF.F[SG] Mary 3SG.M see.AOR.3SG three friend-F-PL
durante *a-s* *feria-s.*
 during DEF.F-PL holiday-PL
 Int.: ‘Except for Mary, he saw three Friends during the holidays.’
- (44) **Exceto* *pela* *Maria, ele* *viu* *amb-a-s* *amig-a-s*
 except for.DEF.F[SG] Mary 3SG.M see.AOR.3SG both-F-PL friend-F-PL
durante *a-s* *feria-s.*
 during DEF.F-PL holiday-PL
 Int.: ‘Except for Mary, he saw both friends during the holidays.’

5.1.2 Connected exceptives

All the examples of connected exceptives also showed the universal quantifier *todo* ‘all’. For the nonsultant who has *cada* ‘each’ in his idiolect, it is compatible with exceptives (45). Negative universal quantifier *nenhum* ‘no’ is possible with connected exceptives in that idiolect, too (46), but not in the idiolect of the other consultant, where the interaction between negation and exceptives is more complicated, and (46) sounds bad.

- (45) *Ela* *convers-ou* *com* *cada* *convidad-o* *menos* / *exceto*
 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with each guest-M[SG] minus except
o *João.*
 DEF.M[SG] John
 ‘She talked to **each** guest **except** John.’
- (46) #*Ela* *nunca* *esteve* *em* *nenhum* *país* *sul*
 3SG.F never be.AOR.3SG in no country south
american-o *exceto* / *menos* *a* *Colombia.*
 American-M[SG] except minus DEF.F[SG] Columbia
 ‘She has been to no South American countries except Columbia.’

Definite noun phrases can be associates of connected exceptives, probably due to their implicit exhaustive interpretation.

- (47) *Junt-e* *o-s* *demais* *ingrediente-s* *exceto* / *menos* *o*
 mix-IMP.SG DEF.M-PL other ingredient-PL except minus DEF.M[SG]
creme de leite numa *tijela.*
 cream GEN milk in.INDEF[SG] bowl
 ‘Mix the other ingredients except sour creme in a bowl.’

Some generic nominals can be associates of connected exceptives (48), while others cannot (49). The distinctions still remain unclear. The acceptability of (48) cannot be attributed to the fact that there is no material following the exceptive phrase and it is interpreted as a free exceptive. (49b) with a free form of the *exceto* exceptive is still unacceptable.

(48) *Eu nunca te vi de óculos, exceto óculos escuro.*
 1SG never 2SG.OBJ.CL see.AOR.1SG GEN glasses except glasses dark
 ‘I have never seen you in glasses except sunglasses.’

(49) a. **Ele com-e fruta-s exceto açaí com vontade.*
 3SG.M eat-PRES.3SG fruit-PL except açaí with will
 b. **Ele com-e fruta-s com vontade, exceto açaí.*
 3SG.M eat-PRES.3SG fruit-PL with will except açaí
 Int.: ‘He eats fruits except acai happily.’

Non-universal quantifiers and indefinite noun phrases are incompatible with exceptive phrases

(50). This is true regardless of the position of the exceptive phrase. The same restriction holds for numerals and universal noun phrases with cardinality restriction.

(50) **Ele viu pouc-o-s amig-o-s dele exceto*
 3SG.M see.AOR.3SG few-M-PL friend-M-PL GEN.DEF.M[SG] except
a Maria durante a-s feria-s.
 DEF.F[SG] Mary during DEF.F-PL holiday-PL
 Int.: ‘He saw few of his friends except Mary during the holidays.’

(51) **Algum-a-s menin-a-s exceto / menos a Maria*
 some-F-PL young.person-F-PL exceto minus DEF.F[SG] Mary
com-eram o bolo.
 eat-AOR.3PL DEF.M[SG] cake
 Int.: ‘Some girls except Mary ate the cake.’

(52) **Ele viu tres amig-a-s exceto / menos a Maria*
 3SG.M see.AOR.3SG three friend-F-PL except minus DEF.F[SG] Mary
durante a-s feria-s.
 during DEF.F-PL holiday-PL
 Int.: ‘He saw three friends except Mary during the holidays.’

(53) **Ele viu amb-a-s amig-a-s exceto / menos a*
 3SG.M see.AOR.3SG both-F-PL friend-F-PL except minus DEF.F[SG]
Maria durante a-s feria-s.
 Mary during DEF.F-PL holiday-PL
 Int.: ‘He saw both friends except’ Mary during the holidays.’

As opposed to free exceptives, connected exceptives are incompatible with associates expressed by wh-phrases.

(54) **Quem ele viu exceto / menos a Maria?*
 who 3SG.M see.AOR.3SG except minus DEF.F[SG] Mary
 Int.: ‘Who did he see, except for Mary?’

In sum, free exceptives in BP have less restrictions on their associates than connected exceptives, which is predicted typologically. While connected exceptives only allow for universal and negative quantifiers, as well as for definite noun phrases, free exceptives additionally allow for non-universal quantifiers and wh-words. Generic associates are also acceptable with free exceptives.

5.2 Implicit associates

BP exceptive phrases with *exceto* occur with implicit associates. In (55), the associate would be a temporal adverb like *never*.

- (55) *É próprio para cuidar do-s interesse-s*
 be.PRES.3SG proper for care-INF GEN.DEF.M-PL interest-PL
da corporação, aí não ingresando juiz, promotor,
 GEN.DEF.F[SG] corporation there NEG join-CVB judge promoter
advogado e muito menos pessoa comum, exceto em dia de
 lawyer and many less person ordinary except in day GEN
festas e se por convidad-o ...
 festival and if for guest-M[SG]

‘This is specific meant for the interests of the corporation, not including judges, prosecutors, lawyers, let alone laymen, except on holidays and on invitation.’ (Corpus data)

While implicit adjuncts are frequent, not all speakers accept implicit arguments. In (56), it would be the agent of the passive.

- (56) *?A comida não foi toc-ad-a,*
 DEF.F[SG] food NEG be.AOR.3SG touch-PTCP.PASS-F[SG]
exceto por um-a família pobre.
 except for INDEF-F[SG] family poor
 ‘The food was not touched, except for one poor family.’

BP exceptive phrases with *menos*, on the other hand, cannot occur with implicit associates. This indicates that *menos* constructions, unlike *exceto* constructions, cannot express exclusion alongside exception.

- (57) **A comida não foi toc-ad-a,*
 DEF.F[SG] food NEG be.AOR.3SG touch-PTCP.PASS-F[SG]
menos por um-a família pobre.
 except for INDEF-F[SG] family poor
 Int.: ‘The food was not touched, except for one poor family.’

6 Characteristics of the exception

6.1 Categorial options

Free exceptives in BP only accept NPs as their complements. Complements of connected exceptives, on the other hand, can surface as both NPs and PPs. However, what looks like a PP is actually the remnant of clause ellipsis. Full clauses (CPs) can never be exceptions in BP.

6.1.1 Free exceptives

Free exceptives with *exceto por* contain NPs in the oblique case (58). Overt PPs are ungrammatical with *exceto por* (59). A possible reason for this ungrammaticality may have to do with ensuing preposition stacking, which is not allowed in BP.

- (58) *Ele cant-ou na frente de tod-a-s a-s*
3SG.M sing-AOR.3SG in.DEF.F[SG] front GEN all-F-PL DEF.F-PL
menin-a-s mes pas-ad-o, exceto por mim.
young.person-F-PL month pass-PTCP.PASS-M[SG] except for 1SG.OBL
'He sang in front of all girls except me last month.'

- (59) **Ela convers-ou com tod-o mundo ontem,*
3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with all-M[SG] world yesterday
exceto por com o João.
except for with DEF.M[SG] John
Int.: 'She talked to everyone yesterday, except for John.'

When it comes to CP, *exceto por* exceptives cannot take even non-finite infinitival (60) or gerund clauses (61), let alone finite CPs (62).

- (60) ??*Exceto por assist-ir televisão, eu não quer-o*
except for attend-INF TV 1SG.DIR NEG like-PRES.1SG
faz-er nada.
do-INF nothing
'Except for watching TV, I don't want to do anything.'

- (61) ??*Exceto pela Maria assist-indo televisão, ninguém*
except for.DEF.F[SG] Mary attend-GER TV nobody
fez nada.
do.AOR.3SG nothing
'Except for Mary watching TV, nobody did anything.'

- (62) **Exceto pela Maria assist-e televisão, ninguém*
except for.DEF.F[SG] Mary attend-PRES.3SG TV nobody
faz nada.
do.PRES.3SG nothing
'Except for Mary watching TV, nobody does anything.'

This restriction on the category of the exception suggests that *exceto por* exceptives are phrasal.

6.1.2 Connected exceptives

Connected exceptives *exceto* and *menos* can be followed by NPs and PPs, regardless of their position in the clause. The case of the NP is fixed whether they immediately follow the associate (63) or occupy the clause-final position (64). As opposed to free exceptives with *exceto por*, connected exceptives *exceto* and *menos* require direct case, not the oblique one (63), see also (18) in section 2.2.

(63) a. *Ela viu tod-o mundo exceto eu / *mim*
 3SG.F see.AOR.3SG all-M[SG] world except 1SG.DIR 1SG.OBL
durante a-s feria-s.
 during DEF.F-PL holiday-PL

b. *Ela viu tod-o mundo menos eu / *mim*
 3SG.F see.AOR.3SG all-M[SG] world minus 1SG.DIR 1SG.OBL
durante a-s feria-s.
 during DEF.F-PL holiday-PL
 ‘She saw everyone except me during these holidays.’

(64) a. *Ela viu tod-o mundo durante a-s*
 3SG.F see.AOR.3SG all-M[SG] world during DEF.F-PL
*feria-s exceto eu / *mim.*
 holiday-PL except 1SG.DIR 1SG.OBL

b. *Ela viu tod-o mundo durante a-s*
 3SG.F see.AOR.3SG all-M[SG] world during DEF.F-PL
*feria-s menos eu / *mim.*
 holiday-PL minus 1SG.DIR 1SG.OBL
 ‘She saw everyone except me during these holidays.’

When it comes to PPs, they have to repeat the PP in the antecedent. Moreover, the acceptability of PPs varies across speakers, and corresponds to the acceptability of preposition stranding in sluicing. For instance, the speaker who easily accepts PPs in exceptive phrases (65a), easily accepts absence of P-stranding (65b). In (65a), the speaker prefers the version with the preposition. The same speaker accepts sluicing without preposition stranding. At the same time, the speaker who does not like PPs in exceptives, strongly prefers preposition stranding in sluicing (65a-b).

(65) a. *Ela fal-ou com tod-o mundo exceto / menos*
 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with all-M[SG] world except minus
[?]*(com) o João ontem.*
 with DEF.M[SG] John yesterday
 ‘She talked to everyone except Joao yesterday’

- b. *Maria fal-ou com alguém, mas não lembr-o*
 Mary talk-AOR.3SG with someone but NEG remember-PRES.1SG
 (*com*) *quem.*
 with who
 ‘Mary talked to someone, but I don’t remember who.’
- (66) a. *Ela fal-ou com tod-o mundo exceto / menos*
 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with all-M[SG] world except minus
 (*com*) *o João ontem.*
 with DEF.M[SG] John yesterday
 ‘She talked to everyone except Joao yesterday’
- b. *Maria fal-ou com alguém, mas não lembr-o*
 Mary talk-AOR.3SG with someone but NEG remember-PRES.1SG
 (*com*) *quem.*
 with who
 ‘Mary talked to someone, but I don’t remember who.’

The asymmetry in the acceptance of PPs in exceptives paired with the same (or similar) asymmetry in ellipsis suggests that *exceto* and *menos* take CPs rather than NPs or PPs, and the rest of the clause gets elided later.

The case mismatch in (63)-(64) can be explained by unavailability of any pronominal form in the direct object position, see section 1.4. The same direct case form is used for 1st person direct objects in elliptic contexts (67). Since the behavior of 1st person pronouns is the same in canonical elliptic contexts and in *exceto* and *menos* exceptives, I assume a clausal analysis for the latter.

- (67) *Meu filh-o mais velh-o reconhece tod-o*
 I.POSS.M[SG] child-M[SG] CMPR old-M[SG] recognize-PRES.3SG all-M[SG]
mundo,mas minha filh-a mais nov-a — só eu.
 world but I.POSS.F[SG] child-F[SG] CMPR new-F[SG] only 1SG.DIR
 ‘My older son recognizes everyone, but my younger daughter — only me.’

6.2 Case marking on nominal exceptions

6.2.1 Free exceptives

As mentioned above, in 2.2. and 6.1.1, the complement of *exceto por* is in the oblique case.

6.2.2 Connected exceptives

In connected exceptives, the case of the exception has to match the one of the associate or be direct (non-oblique), see section 6.1.2.

6.3 Other

No other restrictions on the exception were detected.

7 Clausal exceptives

As mentioned in section 6.1, connected exceptives with *exceto* and *menos* are clausal, while free exceptives are phrasal. More argumentation on these claims is provided in this section.

7.1 Possible expression of full clause exceptions

Despite the fact that *exceto* and *menos* exceptives are clausal (see more argumentation in the following subsections), expression of full clauses is ungrammatical, regardless of the word order:

- (68) a. **Ela convers-ou com tod-o mundo exceto / menos com*
 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with all-M[SG] world except minus with
o João ela não convers-ou.
 DEF.M[SG] John 3SG.F NEG talk-AOR.3SG
- b. **Ela convers-ou com tod-o mundo exceto / menos ela*
 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with all-M[SG] world except minus 3SG.F
não convers-ou com o João.
 NEG talk-AOR.3SG with DEF.M[SG] John
 Int.: ‘She talked to everyone, except she did not talk to John.’

For the ungrammaticality of clauses in the complement of *exceto por* see section 6.1.1.

7.2 Multiple exceptions

One of the main arguments in favor of the clausal status of the complements of *exceto* and *menos* is that these complements can contain multiple exceptions (69), as opposed to the complements of *exceto por* (70).

- (69) *Tod-o-s o-s alun-o-s convers-aram com tod-o-s*
 all-M-PL DEF.M-PL student-M-PL talk-AOR.3PL with all-M-PL
o-s professor-es exceto / menos o João com
 DEF.M-PL professor-PL except minus DEF.M[SG] John with
o Eduardo.
 DEF.M[SG] Edward
 ‘All the students talked to all the professors, except John to Edward.’
- (70) **Tod-o-s o-s alun-o-s convers-aram com tod-o-s*
 all-M-PL DEF.M-PL student-M-PL talk-AOR.3PL with all-M-PL
o-s professor-es exceto pelo João com
 DEF.M-PL professor-PL except for.DEF.M[SG] John with
o Eduardo.
 DEF.M[SG] Edward
 Int.: ‘All the students talked to all the professors, except John to Edward.’

7.3 Sluicing interpretations

Being clausal, *exceto* and *menos* exceptives should allow for ambiguity in sluicing, which they seem to do based on the consultants' judgments. At the same time, *exceto por* exceptives are phrasal according to other tests, and should not allow ambiguity. Yet the judgments are the same.

- (71) *Ela convers-ou com tod-o mundo exceto / menos o*
 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with all-M[SG] world except minus DEF.M[SG]
João, mas eu não sei porque.
 John but 1SG.DIR NEG know.PRES1SG why
 'She talked to everyone except Joao, but I don't know why:
 1. <She talked to [everyone except Joao]>
 2. <She didn't talk to Joao>.'

- (72) *Ela convers-ou com tod-o mundo exceto pelo João,*
 3SG.F talk-AOR.3SG with all-M[SG] world except for.DEF.M[SG] John
mas eu não sei porque.
 but 1SG.DIR NEG know.PRES1SG why
 'She talked to everyone except Joao, but I don't know why:
 1. <She talked to [everyone except Joao]>
 2. <She didn't talk to Joao>.'

7.4 Clausal/speaker-oriented adverbs

Speaker-oriented adverbs within the exceptive phrase are ruled out in both *exceto/menos* exceptives and *exceto por* exceptives.

- (73) **Tod-a-s a-s fruta-s exceto / menos in-feliz-mente*
 all-F-PL DEF.F-PL fruit-PL except minus NEG-happy-ADV
a-s uva-s acab-aram.
 DEF.F-PL grape-PL terminate-AOR.3PL
 Int.: 'All the fruit, except for unfortunately grapes, ended.'

- (74) **Tod-a-s a-s fruta-s exceto por in-feliz-mente*
 all-F-PL DEF.F-PL fruit-PL except for NEG-happy-ADV
a-s uva-s acab-aram.
 DEF.F-PL grape-PL terminate-AOR.3PL
 Int.: 'All the fruit, except for unfortunately grapes, ended.'

As opposed to the sluicing interpretation test given in section 7.3, which suggests that all exceptives in BP are clausal, this test suggests that all of them are phrasal. These results may also indicate that both tests are problematic.

7.5 Preposition stranding

As discussed in section 6.1.2, the judgments regarding the usage of prepositions in *exceto* and *menos* exceptives correlate with the preferences regarding preposition stranding in sluicing. It is

worth noting that even with 1st person pronoun, which appears in exceptives in a direct rather than an expected oblique form, see section 2.2, *exceto* and *menos* exceptives pattern with sluicing contexts.

7.6 Internal reading with ‘same, different’

The test with a distributive universal quantifier is not suitable for BP, because *cado / cada* ‘each’ is not distributive, unlike English *every*.

7.7 Collective predicates

Collective predicates can be used with *exceto* and *menos* exceptives (75), (77), as well as with *exceto por* exceptives (76), (78).

(75) *Tod-o mundo tinha se encontr-ado na*
 all-M[SG] world have.AOR.3SG REFL find-PTCP.PASS in.DEF.F[SG]
cozinha, exceto / menos o João.
 kitchen except minus DEF.M[SG] John
 ‘Everyone gathered in the kitchen, except for John.’

(76) *Tod-o-s o-s jogador-es nesse time são parecid-o-s*
 all-M-PL DEF.M-PL player-PL in.that team be.PRES.3PL similar-M-PL
exceto / menos o goleiro.
 except minus DEF.M[SG] goalkeeper
 ‘All players in this team look alike, except the goalkeeper.’

(77) *Exceto pelo João, tod-o mundo tinha se encontr-ado*
 except for.DEF.M[SG] John all-M[SG] world have.AOR.3SG REFL find-PTCP.PASS
na cozinha.
 in.DEF.F[SG] kitchen
 ‘Except for John, everyone gathered in the kitchen.’

(78) *Exceto pelo goleiro, tod-o-s o-s jogador-es nesse*
 except for.DEF.M[SG] goalkeeper all-M-PL DEF.M-PL player-PL in.that
time são parecid-o-s.
 team be.PRES.3PL similar-M-PL
 ‘All players in this team look alike, except the goalkeeper.’

7.8 Binding Theory data

There is a contrast between assumed phrasal and clausal usages of pronominal exceptions in BP. Only clausal *exceto* and *mesmo* exceptives are grammatical in a reflexive construction, while phrasal *exceto por* exceptives are ruled out.

- (79) a. *Mariana agradec-eu a tod-o mundo*
Mariana thank-AOR.3SG to all-M[SG] world
ontem, menos / exceto ela mesm-a.
yesterday minus except 3SG.F INT-F[SG]
‘Mariana thanked everyone yesterday, except herself.’
- b. **Mariana agradec-eu a tod-o mundo*
Mariana thank-AOR.3SG to all-M[SG] world
ontem, exceto por ela mesm-a.
yesterday minus for 3SG.F INT-F[SG]
Int.: ‘Mariana thanked everyone yesterday, except herself.’

It is worth noting that reflexive anaphors can only be used in exceptions with an overt preposition (80). In the absence of the preposition, reflexive anaphors are ruled out (81).

- (80) a. *Mariana agradec-eu a tod-o mundo ontem,*
Mariana thank-AOR.3SG to all-M[SG] world yesterday
menos a ela / si mesm-a.
minus to 3SG.F REFL INT-F[SG]
‘Mariana thanked everyone yesterday, except herself.’
- b. *Mariana agradec-eu a tod-o mundo ontem,*
Mariana thank-AOR.3SG to all-M[SG] world yesterday
exceto a ela / si mesm-a.
except to 3SG.F REFL INT-F[SG]
‘Mariana thanked everyone yesterday, except herself.’
- (81) a. *Mariana agradec-eu a tod-o mundo*
Mariana thank-AOR.3SG to all-M[SG] world
*ontem, menos ela / *si mesm-a.*
yesterday minus 3SG.F REFL INT-F[SG]
‘Mariana thanked everyone yesterday, except herself.’
- b. *Mariana agradec-eu a tod-o mundo*
Mariana thank-AOR.3SG to all-M[SG] world
*ontem, exceto ela / *si mesm-a.*
yesterday minus 3SG.F REFL INT-F[SG]
‘Mariana thanked everyone yesterday, except herself.’

The observed asymmetry with a pronominal vs. anaphor element within a reflexive construction is the same in bona fide elliptic sentences:

- (82) a. *Ano pass-ad-o a Mariana so agradec-eu*
 year pass-PTCP.PASS-M[SG] DEF.F[SG] Mariana only thank-AOR.3SG
*outr-a-s pessoa-s; este ano — ela / *si mesm-a*
 other-F-SG person-PL this year 3SG.F REFL INT-F[SG]
tambem.
 too
 ‘Last year, Mariana only thanked other people; this year — herself, too.’

These data suggest that the clausal analysis for *exceto* and *menos* exceptives is on the right track.

7.9 Island sensitivity

Brazilian Portuguese exceptives seem not to show island sensitivity. They are judged as convoluted, difficult to parse, or simply not perfect, but are not ruled out completely. Some speakers also prefer the version with the preposition, which is especially challenging for a clausal analysis of *exceto* exceptives with PPs as exceptions.

- (83) ²A *gente convers-ou com o aluno que convers-ou*
 DEF.F[SG] people talk-AOR.3SG with DEF.M[SG] student COMP talk-AOR.3SG
com tod-o mundo, exceto (com) o João.
 with all-M[SG] world except with DEF.M[SG] John
 ‘We talked with the student who talked to everyone except John.’

8 Problematic data

BP exceptives *exceto* and *menos* are challenging with respect to their status as free/connected exceptives. On the one hand, they pass syntactic constituency tests; on the other hand, they show strong preference for discontinuity being usually right dislocated.

BP exceptives *exceto* and *menos* are also problematic when it comes to their clausal/phrasal characterization. Their behavior in the tests is not consistent, sometimes indicating their clausal status and sometimes suggesting a phrasal analysis. For instance, *exceto* and *menos* exceptives do not allow full clauses, are incompatible with speaker-oriented adverbs and can be used with collective predicates, which might suggest that these exceptives are phrasal. At the same time, they allow multiple exceptions and multiple sluicing interpretations, as well as preserve clausal case marking, which suggest that they are clausal. They also pattern with elliptic constructions in case marking and binding restrictions.

In general, different BP exceptives behave uniformly in most syntactic tests despite the fact that based on the multiple exceptions test *exceto* and *menos* exceptives must at least sometimes have a clausal analysis and based on the case *exceto por* exceptives must be phrasal. Because of this, it is unclear how reliable the tests are.

9 Consultants

In this survey, two monolingual speakers of BP were involved, 1 male (38 years old), 1 female (33 years old). Both moved the US for their PhD programs, and are proficient in English.

The male consultant was born in São Paulo and moved to Curitiba when he was eight, where he lived for 21 year. Then he moved to the US when he was 29, but keeps speaking BP at home with his family. He also visited Brazil several times during this period, He uses English at work. The female consultant lived in the countryside of Rio for the first twenty years of her life, then moved to São Paulo for ten years. Finally, she spent the last four years in the US going home every winter and summer. She uses English in her academic and household life in the US, but she regularly speaks BP to her husband, who still lives in Brazil.

References

- Carnaval, M., Moraes, J. A. D., & Rilliard, A. (2022). Focus types in Brazilian Portuguese: Multimodal production and perception. *DELTA: Documentação de Estudos em Lingüística Teórica e Aplicada*, 38.
- Fernandes, F. R. (2007). Tonal association in neutral and subject-narrow-focus sentences in Brazilian Portuguese: A comparison with European Portuguese. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics*, 6(1).
- Kato, M. (2000). The partial pro-drop nature and the restricted V–S order in Brazilian Portuguese. In Kato, M. and Negrão, E., editors, *Brazilian Portuguese and the null-subject parameter*. Frankfurt: Vervuert, 207–40.
- Kato, M. (2010). Clivadas sem operador no português brasileiro (Clefts without an operator in Brazilian Portuguese). *Estudos da Língua (gem)*, 8(2), 61-77.
- Martins, A. M., S. Pereira, & C. Pinto (2022). The diachronic path of *senão*. In: *Functional Heads Across Time*. Edited by Barbara Egedi and Veronika Hegedú's, Oxford University Press.
- Rosemeyer, M., & Van de Velde, F. (2021). On cause and correlation in language change: Word order and clefting in Brazilian Portuguese. *Language Dynamics and Change*, 11(1), 130-166.
- Silva, G. V. (1999). *Word order in Brazilian Portuguese: a minimalist analysis*. The University of Iowa.

Polina Pleshak
University of Maryland, College Park
ppleshak@umd.edu