

From conditional to exceptive: the diachronic path of *senão* *

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From a syntactic point of view, exceptive constructions (von Stechow 1993, among others) belong to two different types. Either they appear as subordinate structures, as exemplified in (1) with French *ne ... que* (O'Neill 2011), or as coordinate structures, as exemplified in (2) with Spanish *excepto* (Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén 2012). The structural analyses roughly indicated below are due to O'Neill (2011) and Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén (2012), respectively. The latter frame their analysis in the Boolean Phrase Hypothesis (Munn 1993, i.a.) and treat *excepto* as the coordinate conjunction.

(1) Je n'ai vu [QP (personne) (d'autre) [CP que le professeur; je n'ai vu ti]]

I NE have seen anyone of other QUE the professor ~~I have seen~~
'I haven't seen anyone but the professor.'

(2) Los asistentes recibieron un regalo de recuerdo [excepto Juan ~~recibió un regalo de recuerdo~~]

The attendees get.PAST.3PL a gift of keepsake except Juan get.PAST.3PL a gift of keepsake

'All those present received a gift as keepsake, except Juan

According to the analyses of O'Neill (2011) and Pérez-Jiménez & Moreno-Quibén (2012) both structures are bi-clausal and license ellipsis. The structures differ, however, in some respects, besides the subordination/coordination distinction. Although the exceptive interpretation is compositional in both cases, the coordinate construction includes an element lexically associated with the exceptive interpretation (i.e. the exceptive conjunction) whereas this is not the case in the subordinate construction (of the *ne ... que* type). On the other hand, the latter (but not the former) requires a Negative Polarity Item (NPI) in the structure, be it overt or covert (see (1) above).

This work is aimed at contributing to further research on the syntax of exceptive constructions by observing new data drawn from texts representing an early stage of Old Portuguese. We specifically have the following goals:

- (i) Show that exceptive subordinate structures do not necessarily belong to the French type studied by O'Neill (2011). This author assimilates the French *ne ... que* construction to the syntax of a reduced clausal comparative and treats the exception phrase following *que* as the remnant of an elliptical relative clause that modifies an optionally covert NPI. The Early Old Portuguese data that we will be discussing reveal the existence of conditional structures displaying ellipsis and an exceptive interpretation.
- (ii) Show that exceptive subordination can give rise in the course of time to exceptive coordination. This happens when elements of the primitive structure are reanalyzed as being lexically associated with the exceptive interpretation. In Old Portuguese the string formed by the conditional connector *se* 'if' plus the negation marker *nom/não* 'not' originated the exceptive conjunction *senão* 'but/except'.
- (iii) Put forward the idea that the diachronic path of exceptive *senão* illuminates some of its current grammatical properties. Although European Portuguese (EP) *senão* 'but/except' has been analyzed as a coordinate conjunction (Matos 2003, Colaço 2005), it differs from other exceptive coordinate conjunctions in that it imposes the presence of negation associated with a NPI, overt or covert, in the first conjunct of the coordinate structure. To a certain extent, these properties make EP *senão* pattern with French *ne ... que* and not, as we might expect, with Spanish and EP *excepto*.
- (iv) Explain what motivated the reanalysis of the Old Portuguese string [*se*-CONDITIONAL+*não*-NEG] as a lexical unit, namely an exceptive conjunction. It will be proposed that this change correlates with a syntactic change bearing on the relation between word order and information structure.

The relevant conditional sentences taken from 13th century Old Portuguese texts (which are not translations from Latin) are illustrated in (1) to (5) below. These sentences exhibit discontinuity between the two items that will end up forming the word *senão* (which are signaled in bold while the constituent between them is underlined). The constituent that intervenes between the conditional connector *se* 'if' and the negation marker *nom/não* can be the subject, like in (1), but is more often a preposed object, as exemplified in (2)-(5). In general, the ellipsis displayed by the *if*-clause includes the verb, although some examples can be found where the verb *ser* 'be' surfaces instead, as shown in (6). The root clause is always negative and includes an optionally covert NPI. The alternation between the two possibilities is attested in (5). The two minimally contrasting sentences in (5) belong to the same text. The NPI *al* 'anything' may be spelled out or not.

(1) *Nehũu outro nom no ousaria dizer se hũu destes **nom**.* (Demanda)

no-one other not it would-dare say if one of-these NEG
'Nobody would dare saying it but/except one of them.'

(2) *na terra nom achou el se duros corações nom* (Demanda)

in-the earth not found he if hard hearts NEG

'He couldn't find in the earth anything but/except people hard at heart.'

(3) *Tu jamais a ela tornarás, se em sonhos não* (José de Arimateia)

you never to her will-return if in dreams NEG

'You will never return to that place except in your dreams.'

(4) *nunca devedes fazer en nulha cousa se ben non.* (Galician-Portuguese poetry)

never should-2PL do of-it no thing if good NEG

'You should never do anything else but good things.'

(5) *Nom ha i al se morte nom* / *Nom ha i se morte nom* (Demanda)

not is there anything if death NEG / not is there if death NEG

'There isn't anything there but death.'

(6) *jamais coraçom mortal nom as poderá conhecer, se pello Santo Spiritu nom é.* (Demanda)

never heart mortal not them will-be-able to-know if by-the Holy Spirit NEG is

'Nobody will ever be able to know them if not/except through the Holy Spirit.'

Two central questions will be dealt with: a) what is the structural position occupied by the constituent intervening between *se* 'if' and NEG in Early Old Portuguese?; b) why did that position cease to be available? (with the consequence that *se* 'if' and NEG started to appear always adjacent and eventually came to be reanalyzed as an exceptive conjunction). Sentences (2)-(6) above, where the object precedes NEG, are clearly OV sentences with ellipsis of a constituent that usually includes the verb (but see (6)). Since Old Portuguese was a SVO language, these are sentences with fronting of the object to some position above the verb position in the IP field. Martins (2011) analyzes the Old Portuguese SOV word order mostly found in subordinate clauses as the outcome of middle scrambling, which would move the object to the periphery of the IP space as a strategy to allow the constituent left in clause-final position to receive focus prominence. This strategy to establish appropriate information focus configurations, which is also found in contemporary EP (Costa 2004), cannot be what we see in the Old Portuguese sentences above. As a matter of fact, in those sentences the fronted constituent that surfaces between *se* 'if' and NEG is precisely the element informationally more important. Another piece of evidence indicates that the order OV exhibited by sentences (2)-(6) is not the type of OV studied by Martins (2011). While the latter can be found in Old Portuguese texts up to the 16th century, the sentences displaying discontinuity between *se* 'if' and NEG (with the object being the most common intervener) totally disappear as soon as the 14th century. We will put forward the hypothesis that in 13th century Old Portuguese there were two positions available for a constituent bearing information focus prominence. One of them is the clause-final position that can be found from the earlier texts to contemporary EP (note that the *if*-clauses in (1)-(5) allowed in the 13th century texts an alternative word order with the focus-prominent constituent surfacing to the right of NEG, in final position). The other is a 'information focus' left-peripheral position as identified in Latin (Devine & Stephens 2006) and different Old Romance languages (Sitaridou 2011, among others), but which in Old Portuguese did not survive beyond the 13th century (the notions of 'information focus' and 'contrastive focus' are to be kept clearly separated). Once the choice for marking information focus prominence to the left was lost, the availability of the word order displayed by the *if*-clauses in (1)-(6) was also lost with the result that the adjacency between *se* 'if' and NEG in the relevant exceptive conditional clauses became mandatory. This fixed word order (associated with focus prominence to the right) in tandem with the characteristic TP ellipsis displayed by the relevant *if*-clauses set the scene for the reanalysis of [*se*+NEG] as the exceptive conjunction *senão*. (As an indicator of the word order change that took place by the end of the 13th century, we will show that there is a decrease in the frequency of OV order in the 14th century texts).

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