
Interpretations of the embedded expressive *motto* in Japanese: Varieties of meaning and projectivity

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Recent studies of expressives have shown that when expressives such as *damn* in English are embedded in the complement of an attitude predicate, they not only can be speaker-oriented, but also can be non-speaker oriented (Amaral et al. 2007; Harris & Potts 2009; Tonhauser et al., 2013). Amaral et al. (2007) and Harris and Potts (2009) have suggested this phenomenon is an instance of indexicality/pragmatic phenomenon (cf. Schlenker's semantic binding approach).

In this paper, I will investigate the interpretations of embedded expressives from new data, i.e., the Japanese comparative expressive *motto*, and argue that the interpretation of the embedded *motto* is not purely pragmatic (not just a matter of indexicality), and that both semantic and pragmatic mechanisms can be involved. The expressive *motto* conventionally implicates that “the expected degree is much greater than a current degree” and often pragmatically triggers a speaker's complaint (Sawada 2014). What is interesting about *motto* is its variation in meaning and projectivity. When it is embedded under an attitude predicate, it is always subject-oriented and its meaning is within the scope of an attitude predicate (it is an expressive in the subject's belief). However, if a deontic modal is inserted in the main clause, both a speaker-oriented reading, which is a conventional implicature (CI), and a subject-oriented reading, which is an at-issue meaning, become available.

I argue that (i) there can be a dimensional shift from a CI to a secondary at-issue entailment at a clausal level in a non-speaker-oriented reading, and that (ii) there is a type, a dependent projective content which requires a consistency between at-issue and CI meanings (including a judge).

References: • Amaral et al. (2007): Review of the logic of conventional implicatures by Chris Potts. *L&P* 30, 707–749. • Harris, J. and Potts, C. (2009): Perspective-shifting with appositives and expressive. *L&P* 32, 523–552. • Sawada, O. (2014): An utterance situation-based comparison. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 37, 205–248.