

## Two Japanese Adverbials and Expressive Content

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This paper considers the semantics and pragmatics of two Japanese sentential adverbials, *yoku* and *yokumo*, instances of which are shown in (1a) and (1b). As sentential adverbials, the two expressions apply to propositions. Both presuppose that the speaker believes that the proposition  $\varphi$  in the scope of the adverbial is true. Their main contribution to meaning is *expressive*, however; *yoku* expresses that  $\varphi$  is surprising and that the speaker feels positively about its truth, while *yokumo*, though also expressing surprise, indicates a negative feeling, as indicated by the glosses below. Just as with other forms of expressive content (Potts 2003), these feelings are oriented toward the speaker of the utterance. These adverbials have several interesting properties, both in their extremely restricted distribution and in felicity conditions on their use. I argue that these properties are due to two factors: conditions on the information status of the proposition to which they apply, and the presence of an implicit speaker-oriented logophoric variable in their semantics.

- (1) a. *Yoku*    *koko ni kita*    *na!*  
      YOKU here to came PT  
      ‘You came here, and I am surprised/happy that you did.’
- b. *Yokumo*    *koko ni kita*    *na!*  
      YOKUMO here to came PT  
      ‘You have a lot of guts to come here!’

The restrictions on the distribution of *yoku* and *yokumo* can be summarized as follows: they are ungrammatical with certain logical operators, with restrictions that depend on the operator in question. In particular, appearance with disjunction, modals, and conditionals is impossible, and they may not appear in the scope of universal quantifiers. In addition, the proposition expressed must describe an event; stative sentences that cannot be coerced into eventive interpretations are thus unavailable with *yoku* and *yokumo*. (For reasons of space, I omit the relevant examples.) There are two exceptions: negation, which may appear with *yoku* when the sentence is taken as a negative description of a positive event (cf. Miller 2003), and conjunction, which may be used when the conjuncts describe discrete events which, taken together, induce the feeling that the adverbial expresses, as in (2). Interestingly, only conjuncts connected by certain rhetorical relations may be used with *yoku* and *yokumo*: narrations are possible, but explanations, elaborations, and backgrounding are not (cf. Asher&Lascarides 2003). In addition, the two adverbials may modify attitude verbs, but may not modify the propositions that are their objects. The only exception is verbs that can be construed as quotative, such as *omoo* ‘think’ and *iu* ‘say,’ in which the proposition is in some sense scopeless (Kaplan 1989).

- (2) *omae yokumo sake non-de koko ni kita na!*  
      you YOKUMO alcohol drink-CONJ here to came PT  
      ‘You have a lot of guts to get drunk and come here.’

Neither *yoku* nor *yokumo* can be used in sentences that convey a proposition unknown to the hearer. One way to state this fact is the following: no otherwise grammatical sentence with one of these adverbials can be used in situations where the speaker believes that hearer does not already believe the modified proposition; thus,  $\mathcal{B}_S\mathcal{B}_H\varphi$  is a necessary condition. This fact can be brought out clearly by trying to use *yoku* and *yokumo* in answers to questions (cf. Kratzer 1999 on German *ja*, which has similar properties, as I discuss in detail in the full paper). Since answers to information questions must express new information from the perspective of the questioner (Groenendijk&Stokhof 1997), the above predicts that these adverbials are infelicitous in answers, as is indeed the case, as (3) shows.

- (3) a. Context: A asks B ‘Who did Austin marry?’  
 b. \*Yoku(mo) Dallas to kekkon sita (na)!  
 YOKU(MO) Dallas with marry did (PT)  
 ‘He did a really good (bad) and surprising thing by marrying Dallas!’

The facts require an analysis which can account for unembeddability and hearer knowledge. I begin with the second point, which I treat by assuming that *yoku* and *yokumo* presuppose that the proposition they apply to is in the common ground of the discourse, defined as follows:  $CG := \{\varphi : \mathcal{B}_S\varphi \wedge \mathcal{B}_H\varphi\}$ . Together with the standard assumption of mutual belief in the common ground (Stalnaker 1978), this presupposition will disallow use of the adverbials in contexts where new information is presented, such as answers to questions. The content of the adverbials I handle by assuming the multidimensional system of Potts (2003), which ensures speaker orientation of expressive content by relativizing its interpretation to the speaker of the utterance in which it appears. The lexical entries for *yoku* and *yokumo*, then are as in (4), shown with their logical types. The superscript *c* on the output types indicates that the adverbials contribute expressive rather than at-issue content.

- (4) a.  $\llbracket yoku \rrbracket = \lambda p[p \in CG].\mathbf{good}(p) : \langle \langle s, t^a \rangle, t^c \rangle$   
 b.  $\llbracket yokumo \rrbracket = \lambda p[p \in CG].\mathbf{bad}(p) : \langle \langle s, t^a \rangle, t^c \rangle$

The ungrammaticality of sentences with operators—to repeat: disjunction, negation, modals, conditionals, universal quantifiers, and attitudes—is that they produce nonveridical contexts, meaning that the event in their scope is not *asserted* to have occurred. Conditions on assertion are well known to have effects on the felicity of discourse particles which present expressive content (Zeevat 2002). I propose that *yoku* and *yokumo* require that the proposition they apply to be asserted; if true, this explains why they are ungrammatical when they scope lower than nonveridical operators, under the natural assumption that it is impossible to assert only a part of a sentence. Further, to account for the requirement for eventivity, I propose that *yoku* and *yokumo* require that the asserted proposition be of a certain sort, which I call *actual*. An actual proposition is one that describes an event that happened at some past time in the actual world. The full paper provides some discussion of why these adverbials require this kind of proposition.