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# Quantification into CIs: Reduplicated Indeterminate Pronouns in Japanese\*

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## 1 Introduction

Since Kuroda (1965), it has been known that indeterminate pronouns in Japanese can express various functions, such as interrogatives (e.g. *dare ... ka* ‘who’), universal quantifiers (e.g. *dare-mo* ‘everyone’), existential quantifiers (e.g. *dare-ka* ‘someone’), NPIs (e.g. *dare-mo* ‘anyone’), and free choice items (e.g. *dare-demo* ‘anyone’), depending on their combination with other elements in the sentence.

On the other hand, it has not been well studied that Japanese indeterminate pronouns can also be used in reduplicated forms, which are listed in (1):<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Reduplication of indeterminate pronouns is not as productive as other functions. In fact, some indeterminate pronouns resist this form:

(i) \**dono-dono*, \**dochira-dochira*, \**naze-naze*, \**dou-dou*, \**dotti-dotti*

Reduplication in general seems to apply to a (complete) noun phrase. In this sense, reduplication of *naze* and *dou* is impossible, since they are adverbs. *Dono* is an adnominal that can only function when it co-occurs with other nouns (e.g. *dono-hon* ‘which book’). *Dochira* and its anti-honorific expression *dotti* also function when there is a presupposed set of choices denoted by another noun phrase. These are not *complete* and therefore not subject to reduplication.

- (1) a. dare-dare  
 b. nani-nani  
 c. doko-doko  
 d. itsu-itsu  
 e. ikutsu-ikutsu  
 f. dore-dore  
 g. ikura-ikura

These items can be considered as noun phrases because they behave like normal noun phrases, such as becoming the subject or object of a sentence, or the predicate in a copula sentence. In this paper, I will term them *reduplicated indeterminate pronouns* (hereafter RIPs).

According to Kudo (2019), there are at least two interpretations for RIPs in Japanese:<sup>2, 3</sup>

- (2) John-wa asita dare-dare-ga kuru to itta.  
 John-Top tomorrow IP-IP-Nom come C said  
 ‘John said that so-and-so will come tomorrow.’
- (3) Asita kuruno-wa dare-dare desu-ka?  
 tomorrow come-Top IP-IP be-Q  
 ‘Who will come tomorrow?’

In (2), *dare-dare* refers to one unspecified person and the speaker describes the person’s action without identifying him or her. In (3), on the other hand, *dare-dare* is interpreted as referring to an unspecified number of people so that one of the expected answers to this question would be “John and Mary.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Kudo (2019) observes that RIPs have different accentuation depending on their interpretation. *Dare-dare* in (2) has the high pitch accent in the second mora, suggesting that this is a word, while *dare-dare* in (3) is of a pattern with the first mora high and the following ones low (just as ordinary interrogatives). The difference may reflect a variation in the word formation process of each RIP (see Kudo (2019) for details).

<sup>3</sup> *Nani-nani* and *dore-dore* have yet another function as interjections to express the speaker’s interest or concern, but this usage is irrelevant to the current purpose of discussion.

<sup>4</sup> Some speakers, especially younger generations, do not tolerate the plural interpretation of the RIP. However, this definition is found in most Japanese dictionaries and considered to be established as a Japanese language feature. In some varieties of Kansai dialect, it is easy to identify examples of this pronoun in plural interpretations:

- (i) [When the speaker knows that only one of his or her friends came over yesterday]
- |                          |                                |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. Kinoo dare-ga kita-n? | b. #Kinoo dare-dare-ga kita-n? |
| yesterday IP-Nom came-Q  | yesterday IP-IP-Nom came-Q     |
| ‘Who came yesterday?’    | ‘Who came yesterday?’          |

Historically, RIPs with singular interpretation are thought to have been established by lexicalization from RIPs with plural interpretation (Kudo 2019). In fact, RIPs with plural interpretation are almost exclusively used as interrogatives, as in (3). On the other hand, RIPs with singular interpretation are rather peculiar in their distribution. In this paper, we focus our attention on RIPs with singular interpretation and propose that their semantics is two-dimensional in the sense of Potts (2005). In particular, we argue that RIPs with singular interpretation behave like indefinites that range over items that contain conventional implicatures. I will show that it is this property that explains their distribution in Japanese.

## 2 Distribution

RIPs with singular interpretation exhibit a peculiar distribution in Japanese. Sudo (2008a, b) observes that these items can never appear in ordinary matrix contexts, as shown in (4):<sup>5</sup>

- (4) matrix  
 \*Bill-ga *nani-nani-o* katta.  
 Bill-Nom what-what-Acc bought (Sudo 2008a: 342)

Instead, Sudo argues that they must show up in certain embedded contexts, i.e. quoted clauses, such as (5) and (6):

- (5) quotation of linguistic properties  
 “*Nani-nani-ga hoshii*”-wa keeyooshiku-da.  
 “such-and-such-Nom want”-Top adjectival.phrase-is  
 “Such-and-such-ga hoshii” is an adjectival phrase.’  
 (Sudo 2008a: 344)

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(ii) [When the speaker knows that more than one of his or her friends came over yesterday]  
 a. Kinoo dare-ga kita-n?      b. Kinoo *dare-dare-ga* kita-n?  
 yesterday IP-Nom came-Q      yesterday IP-IP-Nom came-Q  
 ‘Who came yesterday?’      ‘Who came yesterday?’

From this contrast, we can see that in the Kansai dialect, the interrogative *dare* can be used to indicate either singular or plural persons, but when *dare-dare* is used as an interrogative, it can only be interpreted to indicate plural persons.

<sup>5</sup> Sudo (2008a, b) refers to reduplicated indeterminate pronouns as *wh-doublts*. I do not use this term because what is reduplicated in RIPs is not a *wh*-word but a bare indeterminate pronoun. The gloss of the example sentence is in the original.

- (6) quotation of utterances  
 John-wa [*dare-dare-ga* ashita kuru to] miNna-ni itta.  
 John-Top [who-who-Nom tomorrow come C] everyone-to said  
 ‘John said to everyone “so-and-so will come tomorrow.”’  
 (Sudo 2008a: 344)

These observations led Sudo to claim that RIPs with singular interpretation function as metalinguistic quantifications that range over referring expressions (of type *u*). The semantic denotation of *dare-dare* by Sudo (2008a, b) is given in (7):

- (7)  $\llbracket \text{dare-dare} \rrbracket =$   
 $\lambda P \in D_{\langle u, t \rangle}. \exists X: X \in D_u \ \& \ \llbracket X \rrbracket \in D_e \ \& \ \text{person}'(\llbracket X \rrbracket) = 1 \ \& \ P(X) = 1$   
 (Sudo 2008a: 352)

With this definition, Sudo concludes that RIPs with singular interpretation can only be licensed in closed quotation.<sup>6</sup>

However, as far as some varieties of Kansai dialect (i.e. dialects spoken in the southern-central region of Japan) are concerned, Sudo’s generalization will face some empirical challenges. In fact, in those varieties of Kansai dialect RIPs occur in environments other than quotations, for example, in appositive relative clauses such as (8), in the complement of *ni-yoruto* ‘according to’ such as (9), and when used with expressives such as (10):<sup>7, 8</sup>

- (8) Uchi-no sensei-na, America-no *doko-doko* syussin nanya kedo,  
 my teacher-Top America-Gen IP-IP native Cop but  
 huransugo-mo hanaseru de.  
 French-too can.speak Sfp  
 ‘My teacher, who came from such-and-such place in America, can speak French, too.’

<sup>6</sup> The definition of closed quotation given by Sudo (2008b: 625) is as follows: A closed quotation is used as a singular term that refers to the expression enclosed by the quotation marks, and is entirely ignorant of the syntactic and semantic properties of the quoted expression. The entire sentence expresses that the quoted expression has such-and-such property or is used in such-and-such way.

<sup>7</sup> A natural interpretation of these examples might require a context in which the speaker has forgotten the actual place to which the RIP is referring (see section 3 for the reason).

<sup>8</sup> Although we have not conducted a comprehensive study on dialectal variations, it has been found that speakers of Kanto and Kyushu dialects are less likely to tolerate these expressions. We also know that not all Kansai dialect speakers will readily accept these examples.

- (9) *Doko-doko*-no sinbun-ni-yoruto, asita Umeda-ni  
 IP-IP-Gen newspaper-according.to tomorrow Umeda-Dat  
 Trump-ga kuru rasii de.  
 Trump-Nom come Evi Sfp  
 ‘According to such-and such newspaper, Trump will come to Umeda  
 tomorrow.’
- (10) *Doko-doko*-no kusogaki-ga uchi-no kabe-ni rakugaki  
 IP-IP-Gen Dis.child-Nom house-Gen wall-to graffiti  
 siyagatta!  
 did  
 ‘Such-and-such child drew graffiti on my house’s wall!’

At first glance, these examples do not form a natural class in the language, but what is important here is that all environments in which RIPs with singular interpretation are used, including quotations, produce some kind of conventional implicature in the sense of Potts (2005) (see Potts (2007) for quotation, AnderBois et al. (2015) for appositive relative clause, and McCready (2010) for expressive).

Conventional implicatures are part of the conventional meaning of words or constructions. According to Potts (2005), although they are commitments made by the speaker of the utterance, they are outside the scope of negation and other modality expressions (see Karttunen and Peters (1979)). In fact, the part of the meaning associated with the RIPs in the above examples cannot be denied by the next utterance such as the following:

- (11) a. [Following (8)] Sore-wa uso-da. ‘That’s not true.’  
 = The teacher cannot speak French.  
 ≠ The teacher is not from America.
- b. [Following (9)] Sore-wa uso-da. ‘That’s not true.’  
 = Trump will not come to Umeda.  
 ≠ The information is not from the newspaper.
- c. [Following (10)] Sore-wa uso-da. ‘That’s not true.’  
 = The child did not draw graffiti on the wall.  
 ≠ The speaker does not feel bad about the child.

Importantly, quotation itself also has a conventionalized meaning conveyed by the speaker's utterance. To verify this, compare (12a) to (12b):

- (12) a. John-wa “sayonara” to itta.  
 John-Top goodbye C said  
 ‘John said, “Goodbye.”’

- b. John-wa sayonara-o itta.  
 John-Top goodbye-Acc said  
 ‘John said goodbye.’

In (12a), John’s utterance is in quotation marks, which indicates that John actually produced a series of sounds, *sayonara*. On the other hand, in (12b), where *sayonara* is marked with accusative Case, John does not have to say the exact word *sayonara*, but it is enough that he spoke some word that could be interpreted as *goodbye*. What is more, in the case of (12a), what is expressed by John’s utterance is not necessarily a farewell message but all that the word *sayonara* could mean in context. In this way, when using quotation, the actual meaning of the utterance must be construed *conventionally*. We will see the formalization of quotational semantics in section 4.

In light of the above observations, we propose the following generalization for a licensing condition of RIPs with singular interpretation in (Kansai) Japanese:

- (13) RIPs in (Kansai) Japanese are licensed in CI environments (i.e. environments where there is a syntactic object that has a conventional implicature).

In the next section, we will look at the semantics of RIPs with singular interpretation, which provides a rationale for this generalization.

### 3 Semantics

Following Potts’s (2005) two-dimensional semantics, where conventional implicatures are calculated separately from at-issue entailments, we define the lexical semantics of RIPs with singular interpretation (as arguments) as in (14):

- (14) [[RIPs with singular interpretation (as arguments)] =  
 at-issue:  $\lambda P \in D_{\langle e_a, t_a \rangle} . \exists ! x : x \in D_{e_a} . P(x)=1 \ \& \ Q(x)=1$   
 CI:  $\lambda P \in D_{\langle e_a, t_c \rangle} . \exists ! x : x \in D_{e_a} . P(x)=1 \ \& \ x \text{ is not named for the speaker's sake}$

Subscript *a* (for at-issue) and *c* (for conventional implicature) denote the dimensions in which the item is defined. By the definition in (14), we are claiming that RIPs with singular interpretation not only function as existential quantifiers (such as *dare-ka* ‘someone’ in Japanese) in the at-issue dimension, but also create a special meaning of “the referent denoted by the RIP is not named for the speaker’s sake” in the dimension where conventional

implicatures are interpreted. We assume that they must have an item of the type  $\langle e_a, t_c \rangle$  as input to produce this implicature. Then, RIPs with singular interpretation will also behave like generalized quantifiers in the CI dimension.  $Q$  in the at-issue dimension is an inherent restriction that limits the range of meanings that each RIP represents so that *dare-dare*, for example, can only be used to refer to a *person*.

In (14), we put a uniqueness condition, !, on the existential quantifier, since this kind of pronoun must be interpreted as referring to some definite entity. Thus, as illustrated in Sudo (2008a, b), while (16a, b) can be a proper antecedent context of the report in (15), (16c, d, e) cannot:

- (15) John-wa “Bill-ga *dare-dare*-o aishiteiru” to itta.  
 John-Top “Bill-Nom who-who-Acc love” C said  
 ‘John said, “Bill loves so-and-so.”’ (Sudo 2008a: 348)

- (16) a. Johh: Bill-ga Mary-o aishiteiru.  
           Bill-Nom Mary-Acc love  
           ‘John: Bill loves Mary.’  
 b. Johh: Bill-ga sono-oNna-o aishiteiru.  
           Bill-Nom the-girl-Acc love  
           ‘John: Bill loves the girl.’  
 c. Johh: Bill-ga dare-ka-o aishiteiru.  
           Bill-Nom someone-Acc love  
           ‘John: Bill loves someone.’  
 d. Johh: Bill-ga takusaNno oNna-o aishiteiru.  
           Bill-Nom many women-Acc love  
           ‘John: Bill loves many women.’  
 e. Johh: Bill-ga miNna-o aishiteiru.  
           Bill-Nom everyone-Acc love  
           ‘John: Bill loves everyone.’ (Sudo 2008a: 349)

Similarly, when using a RIP in an appositive relative clause, such as in (8), the speaker needs to be able to specify what the RIP denotes at least at some stage leading up to the utterance. Therefore, although the sentence (8) is still appropriate in the context that the speaker is temporarily unable to identify the place as in (17a), it becomes quite unnatural assuming that the speaker does not know the place in the first place, as in (17b):

- (17) a. [Followed by (8)]  
           Doko-ka wasureta kedo, ...  
           where forgot but  
           ‘I forgot where, but...’

- b. [Followed by (8)]  
 #Doko-ka siran kedo, ...  
 where don't.know but  
 'I don't know where, but...'

In this sense, *doko-doko* is appreciably different from *doko-ka* in the environment in which they are used: the latter will not be incongruous when used in the context following (17b).

As stated, the most appropriate context for a RIP with singular interpretation is that the speaker cannot, or does not want to, specify the referent it denotes. This is evident from the fact that the singular interpretation of RIP is most naturally used in the context in which the speaker *does not know* or *has forgotten* the name of the object represented by the RIP. For example, (18), an example with reference to a line of a Japanese novel, sounds very ordinary:

- (18) Namae-wa siranai-ga, douse nani-nani-no iwa tokani  
 name-Top don't.know-but anyway IP-IP-Gen rock such.as  
 kimatteiru.  
 must.be  
 'I don't know the name, but it must be "such-and-such rock" anyway.'

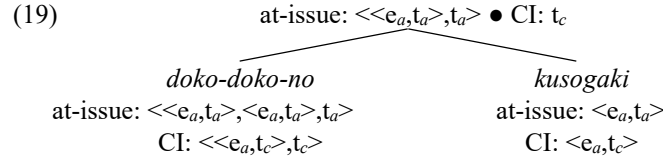
Another appropriate context for a RIP with singular interpretation is that the speaker feels no need to identify the object represented by it, e.g. when explaining the usage of words or phrases *metalinguistically* (see (5)). As such, it is used naturally in contexts where there are countless candidates for the object to be specified.

#### 4 Structure

With the semantics in (14) in mind, let us consider the structure in which RIPs are licensed. Given that RIPs with singular interpretation quantify properties in the CI dimension, it is expected that they can be licensed when a function application is made with a syntactic object of type  $\langle e_a, t_c \rangle$  in the CI dimension. This section aims to demonstrate that this prediction is borne out empirically.

The simplest case is when the RIP is licensed locally within a phrase. For example, *doko-doko* used as a modifier of an expressive, such as in (10), can be licensed in the structure like (19). (Here, the at-issue meaning of *doko-doko* is transcribed as that of a modifier, which is equivalent to the English adjective *some*.)





Suppose that the expressive *kusogaki* is a lexical item that carries a conventional implicature of the form “ $\lambda x \in D_{e_a}.x$  is dishonorified” in addition to a regular at-issue entailment denoting *a child* (cf. McCready 2010). The item, then, can be a direct argument of *doko-doko* in both at-issue and CI dimensions. This ensures that the RIP is properly licensed in (19).<sup>9</sup>

In other cases, RIPs should be licensed via clausal semantics. Let us consider the case where a RIP is included within a quoted clause, such as in (6) above. But before we do so, we briefly review Potts (2007), which discusses the semantics of a clausal quotation, as in (20):

(20) Lisa said “Homer is bald.” (Potts 2007: 413)

According to Potts (2007), quotation bears two-dimensional semantics. As a speech-report function, a well-formed linguistic expression is considered to be of type *u*, and every utterance is a relation between the utterance contents, *u*, and the utterer, *e*. Thus, the verb *say* in (20) is construed as expressing an *utterance action*, as shown in (21a). Sentence (20) is, then, interpreted as (21b):

(21) a. utter:  $\langle u, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$   
 b.  $\llbracket \text{utter} \rrbracket (\ulcorner \text{Homer is bald} \urcorner)(\text{Lisa}) =$  the set of worlds where Lisa uttered “Homer is bald”

In the attitude dimension, on the other hand, the content of the quote is obtained with the propositional attitude verb *say* of the type in (22a) and the functor *SEM* in (22b), which takes utterances (of type *u*) and gives back their semantic representations (of type *t*). Thus, the sentence (20) can also be construed as (22c):

<sup>9</sup> As expected, this type of licensing of RIPs is also found in honorifics (Osamu Sawada, p.c.):

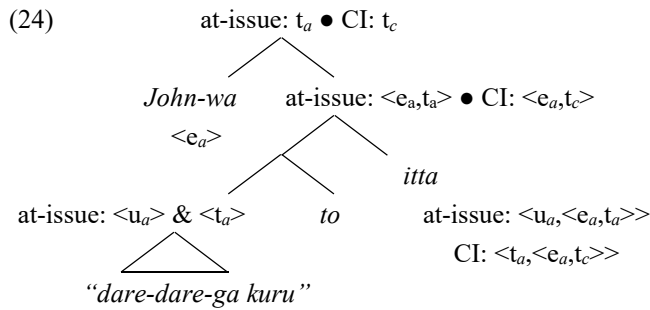
(i) *Doko-doko-no ojousan-ga daigaku-ni goukaku-sita yo.*  
 IP-IP-Gen daughter.Hon-Nom college-Dat pass-did Sfp  
 ‘So-and-so’s daughter has been accepted to college.’

However, for reasons unknown, honorifics are not much more compatible with RIPs than pejoratives. In fact, the sentence (i) sounds a little sarcastic in the sense that it can also be interpreted as the speaker is disgusted with the person denoted by *doko-doko*.

- (22) a.  $\text{say}: \langle t, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$   
 b.  $\text{SEM}(\llbracket \text{'Homer is bald'} \rrbracket) = \text{bald}(\text{Homer})$   
 c.  $\llbracket \text{say}(\llbracket (22\text{b}) \rrbracket)(\llbracket \text{Lisa} \rrbracket) \rrbracket = \text{the set of worlds } w \text{ in which every utterance world } w' \text{ for Lisa in } w \text{ is such that Homer is bald in } w'$

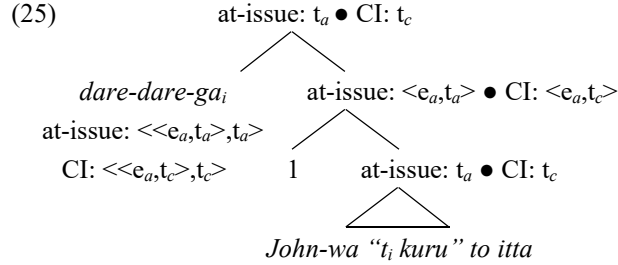
Given this analysis, we now understand the distribution of the RIP in the clausal quotation. Suppose that the tree diagram of the sentence (23), which embeds a closed quotation, is something like (24):

- (23) John-wa [*dare-dare-ga kuru to*] iita.  
 John-Top IP-IP-Nom come C said  
 'John said "such-and-such will come".'



We assume that just like the English verb *say*, verbs of saying like *iu* in Japanese, which introduce direct quotations, have two-dimensional semantics. In the at-issue dimension, they take an utterance ( $u_a$ ) and then a speaker ( $e_a$ ) in order to give back their truth values ( $t_a$ ). In the CI dimension, they take a proposition ( $t_a$ ), which is derived by the same calculation as (22b), and then a speaker ( $e_a$ ) to derive an implicature ( $t_c$ ) that is interpreted conventionally. If this is the case, the pair of meanings,  $\langle u_a \rangle$  and  $\langle t_a \rangle$ , that a quoted speech has can be the first argument of *iu* in both at-issue and CI dimensions, respectively. (Here, we assume that the complementizer *to* 'that' in Japanese is semantically vacuous; cf. Shimamura 2018). Then, after the speaker, *John*, is construed in both dimensions, the derivation converges at the IP node.

However, the problem with (24) is that there is no element in the CI dimension that can be an argument for the RIP in the quoted clause. In other words, *dare-dare* cannot be licensed if it remains in the clausal quotation, just as it is not licensed in the matrix clause in (4). Then, we would like to suggest that the RIP *dare-dare* can be adjoined to the edge of IP by the process of quantifier raising. Following Heim and Kratzer (1998), we assume that this movement leaves behind its own index, so the result structure looks like (25):



Since the index should be abstracted as an entity,  $e_a$ , which can be an argument for *dare-dare* in both dimensions, the RIP is finally licensed at the edge of the matrix clause.

Although this long-distance movement seems mysterious for at-issue semantics, it seems plausible considering a CI dimension, since RIPs with singular interpretation are generalized quantifiers in the CI dimension, which by definition quantify over any CI items. In fact, in (26) the RIP in closed quotations displays scope interaction with the main clause subject (The relevant data is given in Sudo (2008a, b)):

- (26) Sanbun-no-ni-no-hito-ga [*dare-dare-ga* katsu to] yosoosita.  
 2/3-people-Nom IP-IP-Nom win C predicted  
 ‘Two thirds of the people predicted that such and-such person will win.’  
 (i) 2/3 > *dare-dare*: Two-thirds of the people predicted that someone will win but the person predicted could differ among them.  
 (ii) *dare-dare* > 2/3: Two-thirds of the people predicted the same person will win and the rest of the people predicted differently or did not predict anything.

In addition to the interpretation that reflects the surface hierarchy (i.e. 2/3 > *dare-dare*), (26) can also be interpreted as *dare-dare*, which is base-generated in the embedded speech, takes scope over the matrix subject *sanbun-no-ni-no-hito* ‘2/3-people’ (i.e. *dare-dare* > 2/3).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> According to Cieschinger and Ebert (2011), the German indefinite *der und der* ‘the and the’, which usually appears in quotation, exhibits similar scope ambiguity:

(i) Zwei Drittel der Leute mutmaßten, dass *der und der* gewinnen wird.  
 two thirds the people speculated that the and the win will  
 ‘Two thirds of the people speculated that someone (the and the) will win.’  
 (<sup>OK</sup>2/3 > *der und der*, <sup>OK</sup>*der und der* > 2/3)

The similarities and differences of this item with Japanese RIPs await further research.

We expect that the same is true of the RIP in the appositive relative clause, such as in (8), since appositives conventionally implicate that the statement in the clause is a presupposition (Potts 2005; AnderBois et al. 2015). Furthermore, as for the RIP without a quotation or an embedded clause, such as the one in (9), we may follow Koev (2017), who argues that in Bulgarian semantically similar expressions to Japanese RIPs (which he calls *quotational indefinites*) can be licensed without a quotation, when they conventionally implicate that the speaker heard a referential expression denoting them in another speech context. This idea seems compatible with (9), since the phrase *ni-yoruto* ‘according to’ naturally implicates that the information provided in the matrix clause is what the speaker heard from someone or read in something. In other words, it necessarily takes the source of the information ( $e_a$ ) to give rise to its implicature ( $t_c$ ). Thus, when we assume that *ni-yoruto* has such conventionally derived implicature as Koev (2017) argues, the RIP in its complement can be locally licensed just as the case in (19) above.

To sum up, what it comes down to is that all the grammatical examples of the RIPs reported in this paper include some objects in the syntax that are characterized by their ability to produce conventional implicatures. We have shown that those objects contribute to a licensing of RIPs through semantic calculation in the CI dimension.

## 5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have argued that the distribution of Japanese RIPs with singular interpretation is broader than what Sudo (2008a, b) originally observes. We have made a distributional generalization on RIPs with singular interpretation that they must co-occur with items that bear a conventional implicature. Assuming that RIPs are generalized quantifiers in the CI dimension that take properties of the type  $\langle e_a, t_c \rangle$  to their domain, we have shown that this property explains their peculiar distribution in Japanese.

However, the usage of Japanese RIPs may be even broader than discussed here. For example, licensing of RIPs becomes problematic when there seems to be no distinct syntactic object in a sentence that derives a conventional implicature. One such case might be a pragmatic introduction of presuppositions based on the speaker's past experiences, as in (27):<sup>11</sup>

- (27) a. Ano hito-wa    tenkeitekina Kansai-no    *doko-doko* syussin-no  
           that.person-Top    typical        Kansai-Gen    IP-IP        native-Gen  
           syaberikata-o        siteiru.  
           way.of.speaking-Acc    have

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<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Koji Shimamura for pointing this out to me.

‘That person has a typical accent of those from such-and-such place in Kansai area.’

- b. Ano syokunin-wa tenkeitekina *nani-nani-no* ganso-mitaina  
 that.artisan-Top typical IP-IP-Gen originator-like  
 kao-o siteiru.  
 face-Acc have  
 ‘That artisan looks like a typical originator of such-and-such.’

These sentences describe the properties of the subject referent with respect to what is considered to be *typical* in the speaker’s experience. The adjective *tenkeitekina* ‘typical’ definitely plays a crucial role in that interpretation, but the word itself does not seem to have any relevant conventional implicature of the type  $\langle e_a, t_c \rangle$ . One of my informants has pointed out that these expressions sound ironic in the sense that the referent denoted by the RIP is undermined by the speaker who dare not mention its name. This observation may be the key to understanding the acceptability of these sentences, but the details will be discussed in another paper.

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