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THE SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC STRUCTURE
OF JAPANESE ADVERBIALS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN LINGUISTICS

MAY 1976

By

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DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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  Anatole Lyovin
  Robert Cheng
The major goal of this dissertation is to clarify the syntactic and semantic structure of the Japanese adverbial system within the general theoretical framework of transformational-generative grammar. There are four chapters to this dissertation. Chapter One is devoted to a critical review of the Japanese traditional approach to this problem, followed by some remarks on several controversial issues in this area of Japanese grammar. The main purpose of Chapter One, therefore, is to point out that a study of Japanese adverbs from the point of view of the traditional part-of-speech theory, which is too morphologically biased, is bound to narrow the scope of the study so that it fails to capture otherwise interesting linguistically significant generalizations. Above all, it is emphasized that an attempt to analyze adverbs only on their surface lexical level without considering their syntactic and semantic properties on the deeper level of the language will be a futile endeavor, yielding no insight into the workings of a human language.
Following the conclusion arrived at in Chapter One that those constituents that function as adverbs within the syntax of a sentence should be viewed as adverbials, Chapter Two seeks to establish a set of syntactic and semantic criteria for identifying and classifying Japanese adverbials from this new point of view. Six classes of adverbials are isolated on the basis of the semantically established criteria. They are adverbs of (1) Time, (2) Place, (3) Reason, (4) Manner, (5) Quantity, and (6) Modality, each identifiable by the six questions that can be formulated in terms of when, where, why, how, how much, and whether respectively.

Syntactically, adverbials are divided into the two classes of Verbal Modifiers and Sentence Modifiers. Since some individual items may be used as either, a three-way lexical classification system is proposed. Those that are primarily verbal modifiers are ranked as 'primary' adverbials (i.e., 'manner' and 'quantity'), those with both functions are ranked as 'secondary' adverbials (i.e., 'time' and 'place'), and those that are exclusively sentence modifiers are ranked as 'tertiary' adverbials (i.e., 'reason' and 'modality'). In an effort to characterize the 'tertiary' adverbials, a very speculative and yet
highly probable suggestion is offered to the effect that 'tertiary' adverbials in general may be associated with 'performative' verbs outside the main sentence. This speculation arises from the fact that 'tertiary' adverbials are known to be descriptive of the speaker's, and not the subject's, psychological attitude toward the proposition in the main sentence.

Chapter Three further analyzes Japanese adverbials and subclassifies them on the basis of the semantic as well as the syntactic characteristics of individual items. Here, various syntactic and semantic arguments are presented by way of justifying and characterizing each subclassification with concrete examples. In particular, an intensive and extensive investigation into the deep structural properties of adverbials is carried out using the analytical methods of Generative Semantics and Discourse Analysis.

Chapter Four studies Japanese adverbials in terms of their syntactic positions. This is done as a necessary step toward integrating the various kinds of adverbials into the whole system of Japanese syntax. Positions of adverbials both on the surface and deeper level of the language are explored with an immediate purpose of revealing some of the hidden principles governing the so-called 'scrambling'
rule in Japanese. In a multiple adverbial situation, the two constraints of 'semantic solidarity' and 'first reference' have emerged. An attempt is also made to assess the applicability of George Lakoff's 'higher sentence analysis' to Japanese adverbials.

Throughout the dissertation, comparison is made between Japanese and English adverbials to highlight some of the similarities and dissimilarities between these two genetically and typologically distant languages.
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Preface

It is very likely that any language has a provision for a grammatical category called the adverb. It is equally possible that the true nature of this category is rather elusive in any language. The problem of defining this class of words has been approached in at least two ways. One is what might be referred to as a morphologico-functional approach, in which a lexical class is isolated as an adverbial part of speech on the basis of its formal and functional characteristics. The other approach is what might be termed a syntactico-semantic one, in which the category is defined as a syntactic constituent of the sentence which 'modifies' verbs, adjectives, and adverbs.

The first approach has traditionally been taken by Japanese grammarians. It is an old scholarly tradition in Japan which originates in the Kokugogaku (National Language Learning) Movement during the Edo Period (1600-1868) and has since continued through the present with little interruption along the way. The second approach, on the other hand, is quite evident in traditional and contemporary English
grammars. Naturally the study of Japanese in America, which was begun in the heyday of structural linguistics and was taken over by prevalent transformational grammarians, has been conducted within this latter framework quite independent of the first approach. One of the purposes of this dissertation, therefore, is to point out some of the problems arising from the first approach and to argue generally in favor of the second approach.

In recent linguistics, however, there are two opposing viewpoints within the same syntactico-semantic camp. The critical issue concerns the ultimate question of whether adverbs are really a 'primitive' category representable as such in the deep structure, or whether they are in fact only surface manifestations of some more 'basic' elements such as predicate verbs or adjectives. The former viewpoint is typically represented by the so-called 'lexicalists', such as Chomsky and Jackendoff, and the latter view is shared by the so-called 'transformationallists', such as Lakoff, Ross, and McCawley.

Although this dissertation basically follows the lexicalist's view of language, several attempts are made to utilize the transformationalist's view as far as it is deemed pertinent and insightful for the clarification of
the intricate nature of this difficult category. The eclectic approach is taken here because in the first place the syntactico-semantic approach toward the adverb in Japanese has not been fully explored and because in the second place the study of Japanese adverbs from the transformationalist's point of view is yet to begin.

Under these circumstances, it is believed that this dissertation plays an important role of bridging the gap between the study of adverbs under the Japanese tradition and the study of Japanese under the tradition of American linguistics. At the same time, it should have its own significance as the first integrated work to be undertaken in the area of adverbs in Japanese. As such, the findings contained in this dissertation are hardly conclusive in any way, yet it is the hope of the author that it has contributed in some small way to the expansion of the frontiers of this area, and gives some direction to future work.
CHAPTER ONE

Traditional Analysis of Japanese Adverbs

1.0. Introduction

What are adverbs? What is the real nature of this class of words which is often only slightly treated, if not neglected, in the literature of Japanese grammar? What are some of the criteria that should be set up for identifying this elusive category? To provide some initial answers for these and other questions is the main concern of this chapter.

The chapter consists of three major sections. The first two sections will be concerned with a brief sketch of the traditional approach to this problem. The third section, which constitutes the bulk of this chapter, will deal with some general and specific problems inherent in the traditional analysis. The purpose of this section is to underscore the fact that the traditional part-of-speech theory is too morphologically oriented and that a syntactic study of the language based on this theory is bound to be superficial. Specifically, it will be emphasized that an
attempt to classify words only on the lexical level without considering their syntactic characteristics on the deeper level of the language will be a futile endeavor yielding no insight into the workings of the language. The last section will contain a few suggestions as to why the trouble exists and how it may be averted. As a preliminary to this thesis, this chapter will hopefully provide a fairly good perspective of the whole problem area.

1.1. Traditional Definition of Adverbs

Two of the most frequently used criteria for identifying adverbs in Japanese (or probably in any language for that matter) are those of form and function. The formal criterion appeals to the morphological make-up of this category in terms of its inflectability vs non-inflectability, and the functional criterion draws upon its overt modificational relationship with other elements, or constituents, within a sentence on the one hand and its covert lexical characteristics on the other. The typical traditional grammatical definition of adverbs contains these criteria, as in the following quotation:²

(1) Hukusi wa ziritugo de katuyoo ga naku, syugo ni naranai mono de, syu to site yoogen o syuusyoku suru tango de aru.
"An adverb is an independent non-inflectable word which does not become the subject (of a sentence) but primarily modifies verbals." (Translation mine)

In order to fully appreciate the definition quoted above, it will be necessary to refer to the Japanese traditional system of the ten parts of speech on which this definition is based. In Japanese traditional grammars, words (=tango) are divided into independent words (=ziritugo) and dependent words (=huzokugo). Independent words are in turn divided into inflectable words (=katuyoogo) and non-inflectable words (=hi-katuyoogo). Inflectable words can become predicates (=zyutugo), and they are called verbals (=yoogen), which include verbs (=doosi), adjectives (=keiyoosi), and adjectival verbs (=keiyouodoosi).

Non-inflectable words are further divided into those that can become the subject of a sentence and those that cannot. Those that can become the subject are called nominals (=taigen), which are nouns (=meisi). And those that cannot become the subject are made up of those that can become modifiers (=syuusyokugo) and those that cannot. Among the former, those that modify verbals are called adverbs (=hukusi), and those that modify nominals are called determiners (=rentaisi). Among those that do not become modifiers, those that are used as connectors are
classified as conjunctions (=setuzokusi) and those that are not so used are classed as interjections (=kandoosi).

On the other hand, dependent words are also divided into those that are inflectable and those that are not. The former are called auxiliaries (=zyodoosi) and the latter particles (=zyosi). These are the ten parts of speech usually recognized in Japanese traditional grammars. The following diagram in (2) is a graphic representation of this classificatory system, on which the definition of adverbs quoted earlier can be linearly traced.

There are some problems with this part of speech theory as such, but that is not our immediate concern here. What we are interested in seeing here is how it works with adverbs. Under this analysis, the underlined words in the following examples are all adverbs modifying the verbs (3a,b), adjectives (4a,b), and adjectival verbs (5a,b) respectively:³

(3) a. Inu ga sikiri ni hoete iru.
   dog subj incessantly barking is
   "Dogs are barking incessantly."

b. Ame wa mada yamanai
   rain topic still stop-not
   "The rain has not stopped yet."
dependent
words

(words
(Tango))

independent
words

inflect
dependent
words

do not inflect

become predicates

become subjects
do not become subjects

auxiliaries particles

(zyodoosi)

(zyosi)

(9)

(10)

verbals

nominals

become modifiers
do not become modifiers

modify verbs

modify nominals

modify verbs

modify nominals

modify verbs

modify nominals

connect

do not connect

verbs adjectives

adjectival nouns

adverbs
determiners

conjunctions

interjections

(zyodoosi)

(zyosi)

(9)

(10)

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

(6)

(7)

(8)

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

(6)

(7)

(8)
(4) a. Konban wa _totemo_ samui.
   tonight topic very cold-is
   "It is very cold tonight."

   b. Hawai wa umi ga _hijoo ni_ utukusii.
   Hawaii topic ocean subj very beautiful-is
   "In Hawaii the ocean is very beautiful."

(5) a. Kono hen wa _zuibun_ sizuka da ne.
   this area topic extremely quiet is isn't-it
   "It's awfully quiet around here, isn't it?"

   b. Kare no nihongo wa _kanari_ zyoozu da.
   he's Japanese topic fairly good is
   "His Japanese is fairly good."

Thus, the basic function of adverbs is to modify verbals, but there are cases where adverbs modify not only other adverbs as in (6a,b) but also even nouns as in (7a,b) below:

(6) a. _Motto yukkuri_ hanasite kudasai.
    more slowly speak please
    "Please speak more slowly."
b. Titi wa moo sugu kaette kimasu.
father topic more soon returning come
"Father will be home pretty soon."

(7) a. Ima yozi tyotto mae desu.
now 4-o'clock a-little before is
"It's a little before four o'clock."

b. Watasi no kokyoo wa Tookyoo yori sukosi kita desu.
I 's home-town topic Tokyo than a-little north is
"My home town is a little (to the) north of Tokyo."

The use of adverbs as modifiers of nouns and adverbs, however, is limited to a certain class of adverbs, namely, adverbs of degree. Nouns that are modified by this class of adverbs are also restricted to certain kinds of nouns, e.g., nouns denoting space, direction, time, and quantity. This topic will be taken up in 1. 2. 2, where adverbs of degree will be discussed at length.

1. 2. 0. Traditional Classification of Adverbs

As the earlier examples (3)-(5) have shown, some adverbs like sikiri ni 'incessantly' are used to 'modify', or specify the manner or circumstances in which a parti-
cular action (e.g., hoete iru 'are barking') takes place. Some other adverbs like totemo 'very' are used to 'modify', or specify, the degree of a particular state (e.g., samui 'i. cold'). Thus, there are differences in the semantic nature of modification depending on the kinds of adverbs. This difference in the semantic nature of modification yields the following three different classes of adverbs in the traditional grammar of Japanese.

1. 2. 1. Adverbs of Manner and Circumstance

Adverbs that primarily modify verbals and that specify the manner of action or the circumstances accompanying actions are called 'adverbs of manner and circumstance'. They are also referred to with the shorter term 'manner adverbs'. Here are some more examples of adverbs in this group:

(8) a. Inu ga sikiri ni hoete iru.
   dog subj incessantly barking is
   "Dogs are barking incessantly."

b. Sakura no hana ga hirahire to tiru.
   cherry-blossom 's flower subj fluttering fall
   "Cherry blossoms fall fluttering to the ground."
c. Tesuri ni sikkari (to) tukamatte inasai.

handrail onto tightly holding stay (Imp)

"Hold onto the handrail tightly."

d. Koko de sibaraku omati kudasai

here at for-a-while wait please

"Please wait here for a while."

The following is a list of some of the adverbs of manner and circumstance most commonly used in Japanese:

(9) a. arakazime 'in advance'
   ikinari 'abruptly, with no forewarning'
   issai 'all, entirely'
   oomune 'generally speaking'
   onoono 'each respectively'
   kaku 'thus, in this way'
   kante 'since some time ago'
   gungun 'rapidly'
   sisaan 'again and again'
   satto 'swiftly'
   sika 'only'
   sibasi 'for a little while'
   sibasiba 'frequently'
   sibaraku 'for some time'
   zitto 'still, without moving'
   sukkari 'completely'
   subete 'all'
   seizei 'at best'
   sotto 'quietly'
   tabitabi 'repeatedly'
   tui 'inadvertently'
   tui ni 'at long last'
   tootoo 'finally'
   tokaku 'somehow, one way or another'
   tokidoki 'at times'
dosidosi 'as often as necessary'
hutatabi 'once again'
buto 'in a spur of moment'
hotto '(rest) assured, (feel) relieved'
pokkari 'vacantly, agape'
masumusu 'more and more'
mazu 'first of all'
mata 'again'
moppara 'exclusively'
yagate 'after a while'
yahari 'after all'
rokuroku 'hardly'
wazawaza 'on purpose'
b. omomuro ni 'slowly'
ziki ni 'soon, in a jiffy'
sugu 'at once, immediately'
sude ni 'already'
tagai ni 'mutually, reciprocally'
tadati ni 'immediately'
tatimati 'in a matter of seconds'
tama ni 'occasionally'
dandan (ni) 'gradually'
c. karari to 'clearly'
korokoro to 'rolling over and over'
kossori (to) 'secretly'
sarasara (to) 'making rustling sounds'
sikkari (to) 'tightly'
simizimi (to) 'thoroughly'
surar (to) 'without trouble, gracefully'
sururi (to) 'in a slipping way'
sekaseka (to) 'restlessly'
syooyo (to) 'gently, softly'
dokkari (to) 'with a thud'
nikkori (to) 'with a smiling face'
batabata (to) 'patter along, stamp along'
hakkiri (to) 'loud and clear'
harubaru (to) 'all the way from a distant place'
harahara (to) 'with a beating heart, in suspense'
hirari (to) 'quickly, with a spring'
potari (to) 'with a dripping sound'
honobono to 'feeling warm in the heart'
yukkuri (to) 'slowly'
doodoo (to) 'in a stately fashion'
heizen to 'innocently, in an undisturbed manner'
yuuyuu to 'easily, unperturbed'

One thing which might be worth noting here is that some adverbs of manner and circumstance become modifiers of nouns by being accompanied by the particle no: e. g.,

(10) kanari no hitode 'a fairly large crowd'
    kanete no negai 'request that I have been making all along'
    sibaraku no aida 'for a short while'
    subete no kuniguni 'all of the nations'
    mata no hi 'some other day'
    sukosi no hima 'a little free time'
    moppara no hyooban 'a rumor which is prevalent'

1. 2. 2. Adverbs of Degree

The following sentences will illustrate the use of adverbs of degree:

(11) a. Kesa wa taihen samui.
    this-morning topic very cold-is
    "It is very cold this morning."

    b. Koko wa zuibun sizuka da.
    here topic extremely quiet is
    "It is awfully quiet here."

    c. Kotira no seikatu ni daibu narete kimasita.
    here 's life to fairly used came
"I have gotten fairly (well) used to the life here."

d. Haha wa kinoo yori wa ikubun yoku narimasita.

mother topic yesterday than topic somewhat better became

"My mother has gotten somewhat better than yesterday."

As illustrated in the examples above, adverbs of degree are those adverbs that primarily modify verbals and specify the state indicated by those verbals. Looking at the examples above, we see that the adverbs of degree taihen 'very' and zuibun 'awfully' in (11a,b) are specifying the degree of the states of being 'cold' and the adjectival verb sizuka da 'is quiet'. In (11c,d), daibu 'fairly' and ikubun 'somewhat' are adverbs of degree specifying the changing states indicated by the verbals naretekimasita 'have come to be used to' and yoku naramasita 'has gotten better'.

The following is a list of some of the most commonly used adverbs of degree:

(12) ikubun 'somewhat, to some extent'
kanari 'fairly'
issoo 'all the more'
kiwamete 'extremely'
goku 'quite'
sukosi 'a little'
As might be recalled, toward the end of 1.1 reference was made to the use of adverbs as modifiers of nouns and other adverbs. As was suggested there, this use is restricted to these adverbs of degree. Here are a few more examples to illustrate the use of adverbs of degree as modifiers of other adverbs:

(13) a. Ano hito ni wa zuibun sibaraku atte imasen.

that person with topic extremely a-long-time met is-not

"I have not seen him for quite a long time."

b. Moo sukosi yukkuri hanasite itadakemasen ka.

more a-little slowly speak receive-not ?

"Could you speak a little more slowly?"

The modificational structure of (13b) is more complicated than (13a): the degree adverb moo 'more' is modifying another degree adverb sukosi 'a little', which together
with moo modifies the manner adverb yukkuri 'slowly'.

Nouns that can be modified by degree adverbs are also limited to those that are semantically extensible, such as place, direction, time, and quantity. Among such nouns are the following:8

(14) mae 'front'
    usiro 'back'
    hidari 'left'
    migi 'right'
    ue 'top'
    sita 'bottom'
    uti 'inside'
    soto 'outside'
    sihoo 'four directions'
    higasi 'east'
    nisi 'west'

Illustrative examples follow:9

(15) a. Wazuka sannin de siageta.
    "Only three (of us) completed it."

b. Sukosi migi e yore.
    "Move a little to the right."

c. Zutto mukasi no hanasi da.
    "It's a story of quite a long time ago."

With regard to this class of nouns, Takeuchi (1973) makes an interesting observation that they have a common
characteristic of being used after the comparative particle *yori*: e.g.,

(16) a. Gozi *yori mae* ni oukagaisimasu.
5-o'clock than before at (humbly) visit (you)
"I will come to see you before five o'clock."

b. Osaka no Seki *yori* higasi o Kantoo to iu.
Osaka 's Customs than cast obj Kanto Area 'quote' say
"The area east of the Customs House at Osaka is called Kanto."

1.2.3. Adverbs of Predication10

Observe the following examples first:

(17) a. Watasi wa *kessite* uso o iimasen.
I topic (n)ever lie obj say-not
"I never tell a lie."
(literally: I do not lie at all.)

b. Hikaru mono *kanarazusimo* kin narazu.
(Proverb)
glitter thing not-always gold is-not
"All that glitters is not gold."
(literally: Things that glitter are not necessarily gold.)

(18) a. Dooka (or Doozo) watasi no uti no hoo e mo odekake kudasai.
please I 's house 's direction to also come please
"By all means please come to my house."

b. Kono hon o watasi ni zuhitai kasite kudasai.

This book obj I to by-all-means lend please

"By all means please lend me this book."

(19) a. Arukatorasu no sima wa marude ookina hune no yoo desu ne.

Alcatraz 's island topic just big ship appearance is isn't-it

"The Island of Alcatraz looks just like a big ship, doesn't it?"

(20) a. Asita wa tabun ame ni naru desyoo.

tomorrow topic probably rain into become will

"It will probably rain tomorrow."

b. Kyoo wa osoraku konai desyoo.

today topic probably come-not will

"He won't come today."

(21) a. Mori(mo) asita ame dattara, ikanai koto ni simasu.

if tomorrow rain was(Cond.) go-not thing on decide

"If it should rain tomorrow, we will decide not to go."

b. Tatoe asita ame ga hutte mo, iku koto ni simasu.
even-if tomorrow rain subj fall even, go thing on decide

"Even if it rains tomorrow, we will decide to go."

The underlined adverbs in the above examples all have certain common characteristics such that they require specific moods for the predicates of the clauses in which they are used. More specifically, kessite and kanarazusimo in (17) require negative predicates. Similarly, the optative moods (expressed by predicates like kudasai or onegaisimasu) is required for (18), where dooka, doozo, or zehi occurs. For (19), (20), and (21) the analogical, inferential, and provisional moods are required respectively. Adverbs that thus specify the manner of predication and thereby require certain specific moods are called "adverbs of predication". The relationship thus created by these adverbs of predication with the required moods of predication is often referred to as the "agreement of adverbs".

The following is a list of some adverbs of predication classified according to the moods required by them:

(22) a. Those requiring negative predicates:

kessite 'not...at all'
tootei 'hardly, scarcely'
sukosimo 'not...in the least'
tittomo ' (not) ... in the least'
mada ' (not) ... yet'
danzite ' (not) ... by any means'

b. Those requiring prohibitive predicates:

kessite ' (not) ... by any means'

c. Those requiring optative predicates:

doozo 'please'
dooka 'please'
zehi 'by all means'
nanitozo 'please'

d. Those requiring analogical predicates:

marude 'just (like)'
tyoodo 'just (like)'
samo 'as if'
atakamo 'as if'

e. Those requiring inferential predicates:

tabun 'probably'
osoraku 'perhaps'
sazo 'possibly'
sadamesi 'undoubtedly'

f. Those requiring negative inferential predicates:

yomoya 'certainly ... (not), for all I know...
(not)'
masaka 'nonsense!, You don't say.'
totemo 'by no means, hardly'

g. Those requiring provisionals (-tara, -ba, -temo, -tomo):

mosi 'if...
man iti 'if... should...
tatoe 'even if...
iyasikumo 'if... at all'
h. Those requiring affirmative predicates:12

motiron 'of course'
tumari 'that is, namely'
kanarazu 'surely'
kitto 'without doubt'
kekkyoku 'after all'

i. Those requiring interrogatives:

naze 'why?'
doosite 'how come?'

1. 3. 0. Summary and Problems

The previous sections have been devoted to an exposition of the traditional analysis of Japanese adverbs. To summarize, we have seen that the following criteria, both formal and functional, have been used to identify adverbs in Japanese.

(23) An adverb is

i. an independent word

ii. a non-inflectable word

iii. a word that does not become the subject of a sentence

iv. a word that primarily modifies verbals.

As for the sub-classification of adverbs, differences in the semantic nature of modification were held responsible for the following three sub-categories:

(24) i. Adverbs of Manner and Circumstance
--modify primarily verbals and specify the manner of action or the circumstances accompanying actions.

ii. Adverbs of Degree

--modify primarily verbals (esp. adjectivals) and specify the degree of state.

iii. Adverbs of Predication

--put constraints on the manner of predication of modified verbals, requiring certain specific moods for the predicates.

Now, the theory of Japanese adverbs presented above is more or less regarded as the standard version and is endorsed by such authorities as Kokugogaku Jiten (Dictionary of Japanese Linguistics) (1971). Therefore, I assume that it is quite legitimate here to make a critical review of it.

A cursory look at the theory gives us the impression that it is a neat system. However, a closer examination of the data that are defined by the system reveals more than a few inconsistencies and inadequacies. In the rest of this chapter, I would like to point out some of the major problems inherent in this traditional analysis of Japanese adverbs. During the course of the discussion, it will be made clear that the root of the problem lies in the ill-conceived approach which assumes that a language can be analyzed on the basis of just one (i.e., surface)
level of its structure. I will begin with some general comments on the inconsistencies of the system, and then later touch on some more controversial problems.

1. 3. 1. General Problems with the Traditional Analysis

As we look closely at the data contained in the previous sections, we find that the defining criteria are violated from the point of view of both form and function. Morphologically, the definition of 'word' is only loosely maintained as we see from such combinations as tui ni, ziki ni, tagai ni, tama ni, karari to, korokoro to, kossori to, etc. These forms evidently contain noun-like entities plus the particles ni and to. It is certain that especially the latter particle to comes from the quotative particle to as an abbreviation of such longer forms as...

to iu oto o tatete 'making such a noise as...', as in

(25) Omusubi wa korokoro to (iu oto o tatete) ana no naka ni otita.

rice-ball subj 'korokoro' as (say sound obj making) hole's inside into dropped

"The rice-ball went down into the hole with a rolling sound."

The particle ni as in hizyoo ni 'very', tune ni 'always', totuzen ni 'unexpectedly' is clearly indicative of the structure: NOUN + ni, since hizyoo, tune, and totuzen
are a kind of noun. They appear in combinations like the following, which nouns can normally enter:

(26) *hizyoo* no toki no takuwae 'savings for an emergency'  
*tune* no kokoroe 'everyday reminder'  
*totuzen* no dekigoto 'an unexpected incident'

Thus, strictly speaking, these forms are not 'words' but 'phrases'.

The functional criterion of the traditional approach is also self-defeating in view of the fact that some adverbs do not necessarily modify verbals. The manner adverbs *mazu* 'first of all', *yahari* 'after all' and the adverbs of predication *tumari* 'that is to say', *motiron* 'of course', and *kekkyoku* 'after all' do not directly modify verbals. They are sort of 'transition' words that connect a preceding sentence with the following one. Thus, it is proper that they should take their place in a category of 'sentence' adverbials (see Chapters Two and Three for details). But since the system does not provide such a place for them, they are up in the air.

Among adverbs that are related to those mentioned above are what we might call 'sentence' adverbs. *Tabun* 'probably', *osoraku* 'perhaps', and *sadamesi* 'undoubtedly' are examples of this group. The traditional analysis says that these adverbs require an inferential mood for the
predicate, but that is because they put constraints on the mood of the whole proposition and not just the predicate alone. By virtue of this constraint, I think they should be classified as 'modality' adverbs under the broader 'sentence' adverb group (see Chapters Two and Three). In fact, most of the so-called adverbs of predication should properly belong to 'sentence' adverbs in this sense.

Confusion can arise easily from the ambiguous boundaries between adverbs of manner and adverbs of predication. For instance, totemo 'by no means' and tootei 'hardly, scarcely' are classified as adverbs of predication because they require negative predicates. But one wonders how far away they are from so-called adverbs of manner like sika 'only' and rokuroku 'hardly', for instance, which also require negative predicates. Consider the following examples:

(27) a. Watasi wa gohyakuen sika motte inai. 17
    I topic 500 yen only having am-not
    "I have only 500 yen."

    b. Kare wa rokuroku tegami mo kakenai.
    he topic hardly letter even write-can-not
    "He can hardly write a letter."
Both *sika* and *rokuroku* are words that inevitably involve negation in the predicate as shown above.

Similarly, the manner adverbs *tokaku* 'somehow' and *masumasu* 'more and more', for example, could be forced to belong to the group of these adverbs of predication, because they require predicates indicating 'tendency' and 'increment' respectively. Observe the following:

(28) a. *Tokaku* onna wa kyoeisin ga tuyoi.
   somehow women topic vanity subj strong-is
   "Somehow women tend to have a vain pride."

   b. Kare no byooki wa *masumasu* hidoku natta.
      he 's illness topic more-and-more bad became
      "His illness grew worse and worse."

Semantically speaking, manner adverbs seem to fall into at least three groups: (i) 'manner', (ii) (semi-) onomatopoeia, and (iii) 'time'. And it is amazing to realize how many 'time' words are found among the adverbs of manner and circumstance. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, the modificational relationship of 'time' adverbs is rather distinct from that of 'manner' adverbs. While 'manner' adverbs are direct modifiers of verbals, 'time' adverbs are only indirectly so. 'Manner' adverbs provide
answers for the question: How?, whereas 'time' adverbs answer the question: When? At any rate, arakazime 'in advance', ikinari 'abruptly', kanete 'since some time ago', saisan 'again and again', sibasiba 'frequently', tui ni 'at long last', huto 'in a spur of a moment', mata 'again', yagate 'after a while' are some of the many 'time' adverbs included in the class of manner adverbs in Japanese.

It is a strange phenomenon that while 'time' adverbs thus have their place in Japanese traditional grammars, no 'place' adverbs are found. Understandably, this comes from the fact that adverbs have to be 'words' by definition (see (23)). However, as we have seen earlier, this morphological criterion is already violated by the inclusion of some 'phrase' adverb such as tui ni or korokoro to. This makes us wonder, then, why 'place' adverbs have to be excluded from grammars of Japanese. Apparently, it is not that there is no notion corresponding to a group of adverbs that could be called 'place' adverbs. The exclusion is simply a result of the restriction placed on the traditional system such that an adverb has to be a 'word'. For example, in the following sentences, we wonder why only the 'time' adverbs are recognized and there is no place for
the 'place' adverbs in the (b) sentences:

(29) a. Sibasiba kimasita.
    frequently came
    "He came frequently."

b. Tookyoo kara kimasita.
    Tokyo from came
    "He came from Tokyo."

(30) a. Mata ikimasu.
    again go
    "I will go again."

b. Tookyoo e ikimasu.
    Tokyo to go
    "I will go to Tokyo."

Finally, in connection with 'time' adverbs, another strange thing happens in Japanese traditional grammars. This concerns some 'time' words that are not normally counted as adverbs. Observe the following examples:

(31) a. Sugu kimasu.
    soon come
    "I will come soon."

b. Mata kimasu.
    again come
    "I will come again."
(32) a. Gogo kimasu.
    afternoon come
    "I will come in the afternoon."

b. Asita kimasu.
    tomorrow come
    "I will come tomorrow."

The items in (31) are counted as regular adverbs, whereas those in (32) are not, although they parallel those of (31) in form, meaning, and function. According to the traditional analysis, the exclusion is due to the fact that gogo 'in the afternoon' and asita 'tomorrow' are words that can become the subject of a sentence (see the stipulation in (23iii)). In other words, gogo and asita are words that are independent, non-inflectable, and modifiers of verbals, but they are disqualified because they can become the subject of a sentence, as in

(33) a. Gogo ga yasumi desu.
    afternoon subj rest is
    "The afternoon is time off."

b. Asita ga yasumi desu.
    tomorrow subj rest is
    "Tomorrow is time off."

Compare this with the following impossibility:
(36) a. *Sugu ga yasumi desu.
soon subj rest is

b. *Mata ga yasumi desu.
again subj rest is

This topic will be taken up again in the next section along with some more controversial problems arising from the traditional analysis.

1.3.2. Problems with the -ku and ni forms of Adjectivals

Adverbs in Japanese have been the most controversial of all the grammatical categories. Part of the difficulty stems from the fact that, unlike nouns, verbs, and even adjectives, this category is hard to characterize in isolation. As we have already seen, the criteria for the traditional definition of adverbs are not unilateral but multilateral and they cross-cut one another. In other words, they depend not only on the functions but also on the forms of individual items. This often creates a situation where we find a certain constituent which can be defined as an adverb functionally but has to be ruled out formally, or vice versa. One such typical case is the -ku forms of adjectives and the ni forms of adjectival verbs. First observe the following examples:
(35) a. Kaze ga **suzusiku** huite iru.
wind subj coolly blowing is
"The wind is blowing coolly."

b. Kaze ga **soyosoyo to** huite iru.
wind subj gently blowing is
"The wind is blowing gently."

(36) a. Hana ga **migoto ni** saita.
flower subj gorgeously bloomed
"The flowers bloomed gorgeously."

b. Hana ga **patto** saita.
flower subj at-once bloomed
"The flowers bloomed all at once."
(Lit. The flowers bloomed with a 'puff' sound.)

Both the (a) and (b) sentences above contain verbal modifiers that could very well be recognized as adverbs on functional grounds. But on strict application of the traditional definition in (1), only the (b) sentences are proven to contain genuine adverbs. For this situation, the standard explanation goes something like the following. The **suzusiku** 'coolly' in (35a) is the -**ku** form (or **renyookei** 'adverbial form') of the adjective **suzusii** 'cool'. Similarly, **migoto ni** 'gorgeously' in (36a) is actually the **ni** form (or **renyookei** 'adverbial form') of the adjectival verb **migoto na** 'gorgeous'. Since both of them are inflec-
table words in Japanese traditional grammars, they are not treated as adverbs on formal grounds, even though functionally they are modifiers of the verbals *huite iru* and *saita*, respectively. This explanation is generally accepted by Japanese traditional grammarians.\(^{18}\)

Of course there have been more radical grammarians among traditional linguists. For instance, Hashimoto (1939) is one of them. Revising his earlier position on this issue, he has concluded once and for all that all *-ku* forms of adjectives and *ni* forms of adjectival verbs are to be adverbs.\(^{19}\) However, instead of jumping to any conclusion here, I would like to pursue this problem a little further so as to come up with something that will hopefully satisfy both the radical and the conservative viewpoints.

As a matter of fact, there is sufficient evidence to show that the *-ku* forms of adjectives and the *ni* forms of adjectival verbs are not just of one but of two kinds. In the rest of this section, I would like to present some syntactic and semantic arguments for, as well as against, interpreting these forms as 'true' adverbs. First, here are some reasons why I reject these forms as 'true' adverbs.
My rejection of the -ku and ni forms of adjectivals as in (25a) and (36a) is not based on their inflectability, which is the sole basis for rejection in the traditional analysis. Instead, I find some semantic and syntactic properties among them that make them totally different from the true adverbs as in (35b) and (36b). First of all, even though the (a) items and the (b) items share the common formal structure of being verbal modifiers, the adjectivals in the (a) sentences lack the necessary semantic feature of 'manner' contained in the true adverbs in the (b) sentences. Therefore, there is no way of interpreting the adjectivals as modifying the verbals such that 'The wind is blowing in a cool manner.' for (35a) and 'The flowers bloomed in a gorgeous manner.' for (36a). The correct interpretation of the former is 'The wind that is blowing is cool' and that of the latter is 'The flowers that bloomed are gorgeous'.

As evidence to show the correctness of the above interpretation, consider the following pairs of sentences which are more or less synonymous with (35a) and (36a) respectively:

(37) a. Huite iru kaze ga suzusii.
   blowing is wind subj cool-is
"The wind that is blowing is cool."

b. Suzusii kaze ga huite iru.
cool-is wind subj blowing is
"The cool wind is blowing."

(38) a. Saita hana ga migoto da.
bloomed flower subj gorgeous is
"The flowers that bloomed are gorgeous."

b. Migoto na hana ga saita.
gorgeous flower subj bloomed
"Gorgeous flowers bloomed."

With true adverbs as in (35b) and (36b), this kind of paraphrasing is normally impossible, as the following anomalous sentences show:

(39) a. *Huite iru kaze ga soyosoyo to da.
blowing is wind subj gently is
b. *Soyosoyo to no kaze ga huite iru.
gently 's wind subj blowing is

(40) a. *Saita hana ga patto da.
bloomed flower subj at-once is
b. *Patto no hana ga saita.
at-once 's flower subj bloomed

This paraphrasability of adjectivals is certainly one of the syntactic properties that is totally lacking in true
adverbs. This property may be viewed as a 'predicational ability' of adjectivals. It is indeed this property that sets adjectivals apart from true adverbs.

The big question which has to be answered next is how we should interpret this adjectival constituent with -ku or ni from the point of view of sentence structure. If it is not the adverbial constituent that we are looking for, then what is it? I think the key to solve this problem is hidden rather deep in the structure of the language. Observe some more examples which contain the -ku and ni forms of adjectivals:

(41) a. Tuki ga **akaruku** tette iru.
   moon subj brightly shining is
   "The moon is shining brightly."

b. Ie ga **rippa ni** dekiagatta.
   house subj beautifully completed
   "The house was completed beautifully."

(42) a. Watasi wa **zi o kitanaku** kaita.
   I topic character obj sloppily wrote
   "I wrote the Chinese characters sloppily."

b. Watasi wa **zi o kirei ni** kaita.
   I topic character obj neatly wrote
   "I wrote the Chinese characters neatly."
The (a) sentences above contain the -ku forms of the adjectives **akarui** 'bright' and **kitanai** 'ugly' respectively. The ni forms in the (b) sentences are the derived forms of the adjectival verbs **rippa na** 'beautiful' and **kirei na** 'pretty' respectively.

Now, when we look at these forms in -ku and ni casually, we get the impression that they are no different from true adverbs of manner and circumstance. Apparently, they modify their respective verbals. This modificational relationship is especially conspicuous in the English translations where true adverbs are used. However, if we look at them from the point of view of their relationship with other constituents in the sentence, we begin to discern some semantic and/or syntactic properties displayed by these constituents. In other words, between the subjects and the adjectivals in the sentences in (41), we discern a subject-predicate relationship embedded in those sentences as illustrated below:

\[(43)\]

a. Tuki ga (tuki ga akarui) tette iru.
   moon subj (moon subj bright-is) shining is
   "The moon (the moon is bright) is shining."

b. Ie ga (ie ga rippa da) dekiagatta.
   house subj (house subj beautiful is) completed
"The house (the house is beautiful) was completed."

As for the examples in (42), a similar relationship is observed to exist—this time between the objects and the adjectivals, as illustrated by the following:

(44) a. Watasi wa zi o (zi ga kitanai) kaita.

I topic character obj (char. subj sloppy is) wrote

"I wrote the Chinese characters (the Chinese characters are sloppy)."

b. Watasi wa zi o (zi ga kirei da) kaita.

I topic char. obj (char. subj neat is) wrote

"I wrote the Chinese characters (the Chinese characters are neat)."

The deep structures in (43) and (44) would be informally represented by (45a) and 45b) respectively:

(45) a. 

```
Sentence
  NP
  VP
    Manner(?)
      S
        NP
          tuki (ga)
        VP
          tuki (ga) akarui
tette iru
```
With this deep structure perspective in mind, we can now turn back to the question of the -ku forms of adjectives and the ni forms of adjectival verbs. As we can observe from the structures in (43=45a)-(44=45b) supposedly underlying the sentences in (41)-(42), we can now see that these forms are in fact the predicate verbal constituents of the embedded sentences. The reason why they appear in the 'adverbial' form is simply that they comply to the requirements imposed upon these constituents by their surface relationship to the verbals they 'modify'. Thus, the modificational relationship of these constituents and that of true adverbs as in (35b) and (36b) are essentially different. The -ku and ni forms of adjectivals in these examples are not adverbs but they are at best 'pseudo-
adverbs'. We should not be misled by the superficial markings of sentences, especially in the case of (42), where the grammatical objects are in fact identical with the deep subjects of the following verbals. As a result of what we might call 'adverbialization' applied to these underlying structures, we get the original sentences in (41)-(42).

Unfortunately, however, it is not known exactly what process is involved in the derivation of the synonymous expressions as exemplified in (37)-(38). I can only speculate here and suggest that these synonymous expressions might be derived from different sources (e.g., 'relativization'). At any rate I believe that it is intuitively correct to say that these paraphrases carry the same 'cognitive' meanings intended by the original sentences.

Thus, under the analysis I have proposed, the puzzling question of whether the -ku and ni forms of adjectivals are true adverbs or not is resolved. They are most naturally explained as the surface adverbial forms that are in fact the verbal constituents of embedded sentences.

That takes care of the adverbial forms of adjectives used in the capacity of embedded verbal constituents. However, there are some counterexamples to this kind of
analysis. Observe the following examples first:

(46) a. Kare wa atama o tuyoku utte sokusisita.

he topic head obj hard hitting died-instantly

"He hit his head hard and died instantly."

b. Totyuu sike ni atte hune wa ookiku yureta.

on-the-way storm with meeting ship topic greatly rolled

"We came upon a storm on the way and the ship rolled tremendously."

(47) a. Watasi no hanasi o sizuka ni kiite kudasai.

I 's story obj quietly hear please

"Please listen to my story quietly."

b. Kodomotati ga soto de genki ni asonde iru.

children subj outside at vigorously playing is

"The children are playing outside happily (lit., vigorously)."

The examples in (46) contain the -ku forms of adjectives, and the ni forms of adjectival verbs are found in (47). However, when we examine these constituents closely, we find that they are not the same as those in (41)-(42). The syntactic property unique to those constituents is somehow missing here. For instance, the
following paraphrases (48) and (49) are not synonymous with the sentences in (46) and (47):

(48) a. Kare no utta atama wa tuyokatta.
   he 's hit head topic hard-was
   "The head that he hit was strong."

   b. Yureta hune wa ookikatta.
       rolled ship topic great-was
       "The ship that rolled was big."

(49) a. Watasi no hanasi wa sizuka da.
      I 's story topic quiet was
      "My story is quiet."

   b. Soto de asonde iru kodomo ga genki da.
       outside at playing is child subj vigorous is
       "The children who are playing outside are vigorous."

In other words, the syntactic relationship necessary for the embedded verbal constituent is untenable here. It is only marginally possible for (47) as shown by the paraphrases in (49).

In the face of these counterexamples, we would have to admit that there are actually two different kinds of constituents to be recognized with regard to the -ku and ni forms of adjectivals. Such adjectivals as found in
(46)-(47) are instances where they have lost their 'predicational ability' in those particular sentences and have become true manner adverbs. In these adverbial forms, they have now come to share the common feature [+manner] with any other true manner adverb. They are indeed paraphrasable with the following contextual test, which all typical 'manner' adverbs should pass:

(50) a. Kare wa atama o tuyoi hoohoo (or sikata, yarikata, utikata) de utta.

He hit his head in a strong manner."

b. Watasi no hanasi o sizuka na hoohoo (or kikikata) de kiite kudasai.

"Please listen to my story in a quiet manner."

Adjectivalas as embedded verbals do not allow this paraphrasability, as demonstrated by the following pairs of examples:

(51) a. Kanozyo wa kodomo o zyoobu ni sodateta.

"She raised her children strong and healthy."
b. *Kanozyo wa kodomo o zyoobu na hoohoo (or sodate 'kata) de sodadeta.

she topic child obj healthy method (or way of raising) in raised

"She raised her children in a strong and healthy manner (or method)."

(52) a. Te o kirei ni arainasai.

hand obj cleanly wash (Imp.)

"Wash your hands clean."

b. *Te o kirei na hoohoo (or araikata) de arainasai.

hand obj clean method (way of washing) in wash (Imp.)

"Wash your hands in a clean manner."23

I believe that the foregoing discussion has sufficiently made it clear that the -ku and ni forms of adjectivals are not of one kind but of two. The question is not simply whether they are true adverbs or the adverbial forms (=renyookei) of adjectives and adjectival verbs. They can be both depending on the situation. Furthermore, the distinction that is thus made between 'pseudo-adverbs' and 'true adverbs' has been observed to depend upon their syntatic-semantic properties hidden beneath the surface structure of the language. From this it should be clear now that classification of words only on the basis of
their lexical characteristics (e.g., whether they inflect or whether they become the subjects of other (unrelated) sentences) is meaningless. The problem with the -ku and ni forms of adjectivals reminds us of the necessity of taking into account the various relationships existing on the deeper level of the language.

On the other hand, the lot of traditional grammarians was an unfortunate one. As a matter of fact, they were vaguely aware of the various relationships that constituents in -ku or ni had with other constituents. They even had a technical term to refer to this constituent: namely, hogo 'complement'. Apparently, the concept of 'complement' in Japanese traditional grammars was a transplant from European, particularly English, grammars. In English traditional grammars, it was an established practice to refer to constituents such as the following as 'complements:

(53) a. Mr. Sato is a teacher.
    b. He became a teacher many years ago.
    c. He wants to make his son a teacher, too.

(54) a. Mr. Sato is healthy.
    b. He became healthy again.
    c. The doctor made him healthy.
As is observed from the examples above, 'complement' constituents are either nouns as in (53) or adjectives as in (54). They are used after (i) incomplete intransitive verbs like 'be' or 'become' as in (53a,b) and (54a,b), or (ii) incomplete transitive verbs like 'make' as in (53c) and (54c). The Japanese counterparts of these sentences would be as follows:

\[(55)\]
\[
a. \text{Satoo san wa } \underline{\text{sensei}} \text{ desu.} \quad \text{Sato Mr. topic teacher is}
\]
\[
b. \text{Kare wa nannen ka mae ni } \underline{\text{sensei ni}} \text{ narimasita.} \quad \text{he topic some-years ago as teacher became}
\]
\[
c. \text{Kare wa musuko mo } \underline{\text{sensei ni}} \text{ sitagatte imasu.} \quad \text{he topic son too teacher make-wanting is}
\]

\[(56)\]
\[
a. \text{Satoo san wa } \underline{\text{kenkoo}} \text{ desu.} \quad \text{Sato Mr. topic healthy is}
\]
\[
b. \text{Kare wa mata } \underline{\text{kenkoo ni}} \text{ narimasita.} \quad \text{he topic again healthy became}
\]
\[
c. \text{Isya ga kare o } \underline{\text{kenkoo ni}} \text{ simasita.} \quad \text{physician subj he obj healthy made}
\]

For some time, in Japanese traditional grammars, the underlined constituents in the examples above, especially
those in the (b) and (c) sentences, were treated as 'complements' after the fashion of English grammar. However, since Japanese traditional grammarians could not make any meaningful characterization of this constituent within their analytic apparatus, they had to abandon this idea entirely.24

Ironically enough, this unfortunate situation indicates that traditional grammarians were intuitively aware that there is something about these constituents which makes them different from other constituents. Given the deep structure analysis I proposed earlier, we are now in a position to view the problem in the right perspective. 'Pseudo-adverbs' are actually the same in nature as what traditional grammarians perceived as 'complement' constituents.

If 'complement' constituents are of two kinds representable by (i) those followed by copulas and (ii) those followed by inchoative verbs (e.g., 'become' and 'make'), then we might be able to determine the possible sources of pseudo-adverbs along these lines. I suggest tentatively that pseudo-adverbs may be derived from either one of the following two types of deep structures:

(57) i. Tuki ga (tuki ga akarui) tette iru. (=43a)
    moon subj (moon subj bright-is) shining is

moon subj (moon subj bright-is) shining is
In other words, the first type is one in which the embedded sentence is represented by stative verbs like the copula da 'be' or some adjectives like akarui 'be bright', while the second type is one in which the embedded sentence is represented by inchoative verbs like naru 'become' or suru 'make', expressing resultative states. Since the first type of structure represented by (57i) has been dealt with rather intensively, I will briefly touch here on the second type represented by (57ii). As demonstrated earlier by the examples in (52), the meaning of the second type cannot be shown by the paraphrase formula 'Adjectival + hoohoo de'. The closest meaning of this particular sentence in (57ii) may be expressed rather by the paraphrase 'Te ga kirei ni naru yooni (te o) arainasai' ("Wash your hands so that they will become clean."). Since the pseudo-adverbial kirei ni thus indicates
a resultative state, it is shown to be different not only from any regular 'manner' adverbial like *zyoozu ni* 'skillfully', but also even from such a similarly pseudo-adverbial as *akaruku* 'brightly' in (41a). Notice that the *kirei ni* does not allow the paraphrase *Kirei na te o arainasai* "Wash your clean hands' as opposed to *Akarui tuki ga tette iru* "The bright moon is shining".

As for the question of how to derive sentences as in (55b) and (56c), it will be sufficient to say that they are derivable from such structures as the following:

(58) a.

```
(58) a.
      S
       /\  \\
      VP  V
          /\  \\
         NP  V
             /\  \\
            IP  NP

   S
    /\  \\
   VP  V
      /\  \\
     NP  V
        /\  \\
       IP  NP

   S
    /\  \\
   VP  V
      /\  \\
     NP  V
        /\  \\
       IP  NP

   S
    /\  \\
   VP  V
      /\  \\
     NP  V
        /\  \\
       IP  NP

   S
    /\  \\
   VP  V
      /\  \\
     NP  V
        /\  \\
       IP  NP

   S
    /\  \\
   VP  V
      /\  \\
     NP  V
        /\  \\
       IP  NP
```

b.

```
(58) b.
      S
       /\  \\
      VP  V
          /\  \\
         NP  V
             /\  \\
            IP  NP

   S
    /\  \\
   VP  V
      /\  \\
     NP  V
        /\  \\
       IP  NP

   S
    /\  \\
   VP  V
      /\  \\
     NP  V
        /\  \\
       IP  NP

   S
    /\  \\
   VP  V
      /\  \\
     NP  V
        /\  \\
       IP  NP

   S
    /\  \\
   VP  V
      /\  \\
     NP  V
        /\  \\
       IP  NP
```

That is to say, (58a) derives *Kare (ga) sensei ni naru* after deleting the second *kare* under identity and changing *da* into *ni*. Similarly, (58b) derives *Isya (ga) kare (o) kenkoo ni suru* after deleting the second *kare* and changing *da* into *ni*. (Cf. Inoue (1970 :254-5).

1. 3. 3. Problems with Time Words

Another controversial issue in Japanese adverbs revolves around a group of words denoting time. For example, compare the two underlined items in the following sentences:

(59) a. **Ima** kaette kita.
    now returning came
    "I came back just now."

b. **Mata** kaette kita.
    again returning came
    "I came back again."

Semantically, both items are associated with 'time'. Both of them are functionally modifying the verbals. Morphologically neither of them is known to inflect. And yet the (a) item *ima* 'now' is classified as a noun, and the (b) item *mata* 'again' is classified as an adverb in Japanese traditional grammars. According to the traditional
explanation, this is due to the fact that the former can become the subject of a sentence, while the latter cannot. The following pair demonstrates this situation:

(60) a. *ima ga tyoodo zyuunizi da.
    now subj exactly 12 o'clock is
    "It is just twelve o'clock now."

    again subj exactly 12 o'clock is
    "It is just twelve o'clock again."

In the traditional analysis, words like ima are treated as 'nouns used adverbially'.

As we have noted in 1. 3. 1, this situation creates a problem, especially from the point of view of syntax. It may be all right if our immediate interest is in classifying words on the morphological level. But if we are to study adverbs on the syntactic level, we will have to take into consideration all those constituents that fall in the category of adverbs regardless of their morphological status. Unless we do this, our study of adverbs will be a very limited one by excluding a large number of words or phrases that essentially constitute the category of adverbs from the syntactic point of view.

We would like to ask at this point how much difference
there is between the two items in each of the following pairs of sentences, where the (a) items are assumed to be adverbs by traditional grammarians, while the (b) items are not:

(61) a. Mata kimasu.
    again come
    "I will come again."

b. Asita kimasu.
    tomorrow come
    "I will come tomorrow."

(62) a. Sugu kimasu
    soon come
    "I will come soon."

b. Ato de kimasu.
    later come
    "I will come later."

(63) a. Sakki kimasita.
    a-while-ago came
    "I came a while ago."

b. Kesa kimasita.
    this-morning came
    "I came this morning."
Between the two items in each pair there is no conceivable difference in their semantic or syntactic characteristics. If we are to exclude the (b) items above entirely only on the basis of their lexical characteristics, the scope of the study of adverbs will be so narrow that it will inevitably fall short of capturing any linguistically significant generalizations. In my study, therefore, I would like to include these time words, treating them as 'adverbialized' words (or syntactically-defined adverbs) rather than 'nouns used as adverbs'.

Our list of 'adverbialized' time words includes the following:

(64) a. kyoo 'today'
asita 'tomorrow'
asatte 'the day after tomorrow'
kinoo 'yesterday'
b. kesa 'this morning'
konban 'tonight'
yuube 'last night'
c. konsyuu 'this week'
raisyuu 'next week'
sensyuu 'last week'
d. kongetu 'this month'
raigetu 'next month'
sengetu 'last month'
e. kotosi 'this year'
rainen 'next year'
sarainen 'the year after next'
kyonen 'last year'
ottosio 'the year before last'
f. mainiti 'every day'
   maiasa 'every morning'
   maiban 'every evening'
   maisyuu 'every week'
   maigetu 'every month'
   mainen 'every year'

g. heru 'spring'
   natu 'summer'
   aki 'autumn'
   huyu 'winter'

One of the characteristics of these time words is the fact that they all refer to a span of time rather than to a specific point in time. Accordingly, time words referring to a specific point in time do not get 'adverbialized'; they remain as true nouns. This means that such time-span words can be used without the particle ni, whereas time-point words have to appear with the particle to become adverbial phrases. Compare the following pair of 'time' expressions:

(65) a. Kesa dekakemasita.
    this-morning departed
    "He departed this morning."

b. Hatizi ni dekakemasita.
    eight-o'clock at departed
    "He departed at eight o'clock."

*Kesa* 'this morning' in (65) above is adverbialized (i.e., becomes an adverb) because it is a word that refers to the
whole span of time from sunrise to noon. However, *hatizi* in (65b) refers to a specific point in time during the same span of time, so it does not get adverbialized. In order for time-point words like *hatizi* to become adverbs, it is necessary to use the particle *ni* as in (65b), making it an adverbial phrase.

Notice that there is a parallel situation observed in English, where time-span words like *this morning* get adverbialized, while time-point words like *eight o'clock* do not unless they are accompanied by particles like *at*. This situation is demonstrated by the English translations given in (65). Here are some more examples showing this interesting parallelism between Japanese and English:

(66) a. Kyoo tiii ga kaerimasu.
   today father subj return
   "Father will come back today."

b. Raisyuu siken ga aru.
   next-week exam subj exist
   "We will have an exam next week."

(67) a. Rokuzi ni okita.
   six-o'clock at get-up
   "I got up at six o'clock."
b. Kare wa 1940 nen ni umareta.

he topic 1940 year in born-was

"He was born in 1940."

For some unknown reason, this adverbialization phenomenon does not occur with 'place' nouns. In the following examples, the items without the particles are ungrammatical:

(68) a. Gakkoo de siken ga aru.

school at exam subj exist

"There is an exam at school."

b. *Gakkoo ø siken ga aru.

school exam subj exist

*There is an exam ø school."

(69) a. Kare wa Tookyoo ni sunde iru.

he topic Tokyo in living is

"He lives in Tokyo."

b. *Kare wa Tookyoo ø sunde iru.

he topic Tokyo living is

*He lives ø Tokyo."

In 1. 2. 2, where adverbs of degree were discussed, we mentioned that there is a certain class of nouns that can be modified by degree adverbs. I suspect that what is happening in both of these cases is a sort of 'abstraction' phenomenon of nouns. In other words, as I suggested in
connection with nouns modifiable by adverbs, they are not just concrete nouns like *apples* and *houses*, but are conceptualizations of some semantic substance located in time and space which is internally extensible. For example, directional concepts like *higasi* 'east' and *nisi* 'west' are abstract positions locatable along a dimension spreading from east to west. I think that it is this semantic extensibility that permits these nouns to be modified by adverbs of degree as in *motto higasi* 'more to the east' or *yaya nisi* 'somewhat west'. Similarly extensible are such relational terms as *migi* 'right' and *hidari* 'left'. Quantity words too are extensible from small to large and large to small, as in *ato gonin* 'five more people' or *moo hitori* 'one more person'.

It is interesting to compare this situation in Japanese with that of English, where 'adverbia
tization' has affected not only a large number of 'time' words but also quite a few 'place' words. The following set of examples will serve as a good paradigm of 'time' words and 'place' words used as adverbs in English:

(70) a. *When* did he leave?
    b. He left *yesterday*.
    c. What did he do *then*?
(71)  a. Where did you go?  
b. I went home.  
c. What did you do there?  

(72)  a. Did he go east or west?  
b. Turn right/left at the next corner.  

The items in (70) above are adverbialized 'time' nouns and those in (71) are adverbialized 'place' nouns.  

Some relational nouns as in (72) are also adverbialized.  

Compare this rather perfect paradigm in English with the following imperfect set in Japanese:  

(73)  a. Itu dekakemasita ka?  
    when departed ?  

b. Kinoo dekakemasita.  
    yesterday departed  

c. Sono toki (ni) (or Sore kara) doo simasita ka?  
    that time (at) (or that after) how did ?  

(74)  a. *Doko ikimasita ka?  
    where went ?  

b. *Uti kaerimasita.  
    home returned  

c. *Soko nani o simasita ka?  
    there what obj did ?
(75)  a. *Higasi ikimasita ka, nisi ikimasita ka?
    east went ? west went ?
  b. *Tugi no kado de migi/hidari magatte kudasai.
    next 's corner at right/left turn please

It will be observed that all the 'time' nouns in (73) are
adverbialized, whereas the 'place' nouns in (74) and the
'relational' nouns in (75) are not. In order for the
latter to be grammatical sentences, these words have to be accompanied by appropriate particles as in the
following:

(76)  a. Doko e ikimasita ka?
    where to went ?
  b. Uti e kaerimasita.
    home to returned
  c. Sokó de nani o simasita ka?
    there at what obj did ?

(77)  a. Higasi e ikimasita ka, nisi e ikimasita ka?
    east to went ? west to went ?
  b. Tugi no kado de migi e/Midari e magatte kudasai.
    next 's corner at right to/left to turn please

Why is it, then, that 'time' words like itu 'when', kinoo
'yesterday', and *sono toki* 'then' are not recognized as adverbs in Japanese traditional grammars? It is simply because they all have a covert lexical feature in them such that they can become the subjects of sentences in other situations. From a syntactic point of view, this is a problem.

1.3.4. Problems with Number Words

In connection with the adverbialization phenomenon discussed in the previous section, there is another interesting area in Japanese syntax. It concerns what traditional linguists collectively call *suusi* 'number words'. For example, the underlined words in the following sentences are what they call number words:

(78) a. *Kooen ni inu ga sanbiki iru.*
    park in dog three exists
    "There are three dogs in the park."

b. *Hon o gosatu katta.*
    book five bought
    "I bought five books."

c. *Imooto wa mada itutu desu.*
    sister still five is
    "My little sister is still five."
Japanese traditional grammarians recognize these number words simply as a subclass of nouns and do not pay any more attention to them. However, from a syntactic point of view, this group of words presents a number of interesting problems. Particularly interesting is the fact that used in certain positions in the sentence, they behave just like any other adverb. I would like to take up this area as another case of adverbialization of nouns.

Structurally, number words are compounds each made up of a **numeral** plus a **classifier** (or **counter**). These numeral-classifiers are normally associated with nouns which they are supposed to classify or count. There are two kinds of numeral-classifiers: (i) Japanese native numeral-classifiers and (ii) Sino-Japanese numeral-classifiers. Japanese numeral-classifiers are only up to ten, after which they are replaced by Sino-Japanese numeral-classifiers. The following is a list of Japanese native numeral-classifiers:

(79)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral-Classifiers</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hitotu</td>
<td>'one, one piece of...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hutatu</td>
<td>'two, two pieces of...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mittu</td>
<td>'three, three pieces of...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yottu</td>
<td>'four, four pieces of...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itutu</td>
<td>'five, five pieces of...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muttu</td>
<td>'six, six pieces of...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanatu</td>
<td>'seven, seven pieces of...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yattu</td>
<td>'eight, eight pieces of...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokonotu</td>
<td>'nine, nine pieces of...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too</td>
<td>'ten, ten pieces of...'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sino-Japanese numeral-classifiers are made up of Sino-Japanese numerals and classifiers. For example, when things like books and notebooks are to be classified or counted, the following list is used:

(80)  
is-satu 'one volume of...'  
is-satu 'two volumes of...'  
is-satu 'three volumes of...'  
is-satu 'four volumes of...'  
is-satu 'five volumes of...'  
is-satu 'six volumes of...'  
is-satu 'seven volumes of...'  
is-satu 'eight volumes of...'  
is-satu 'nine volumes of...'  
is-satu 'ten volumes of...'  
is-satu 'eleven volumes of...'  
is-satu 'twelve volumes of...'  

Classifiers (or counters) are chosen according to the various semantic characteristics of the nouns that they are associated with. The following is a list of some of the commonly used classifiers:

(81)  
satu: for things like books, notebooks, etc.  
bon (bon, -bon): for things like pens, pencils, trees, poles, neckties, etc.  
mai: for things like paper, towels, blankets, etc.  
hiki (-biki, -piki): for small animals like dogs, cats, fish, etc.  
hai (-bai, -pai): for quantity like spoonfuls, cupfuls, glassfuls, bowlfuls, etc.  
ken: for things like noues  
ka (or -do): for frequency like once, twice, thrice, etc.
These numeral-classifiers are normally found in the environment of their referent nouns as in (78). But since they represent the semantic features inherent in their referent nouns, communication is often possible even without the nouns they are associated with. For example,

(82) a. Ano oka no ue no ikken dake yakenokorimasita.

that hill 's top 's one (house) only left unburned

"Only that one (house) on that hill is left unburned."

b. Kaeri ni ippai tukiawanai ka.

on the way one (glassful) accompany-not?

"Would you like to join me for a glassful (of sake) on our way home?"

The full forms for the above would be ie ga ikken 'house in the number of one' for (a) and sake o ippai 'sake in the number of one glassful' for (b).

Another interesting characteristic of numeral-classifiers is their transportability. The following three syntactic positions are possible for them:

(83) i. As Nominal Modifiers:

Sansatu no hon o kaimasita.

"I bought three books."

ii. As Nominal Appositives:
iii. As Verbal Modifiers:

Hon o sansatu kaimasita.
book three bought
"I bought three books."
or
Sansatu hon o kaimasita.
three book bought
"I bought three books."

Of the three positions above, the positions (i) and (ii) are the slots normally reserved for a class of nouns. The position (iii), on the other hand, is a slot only adverbs can enter. In other words, this last position is where adverbialization has its strongest effect.

Syntactically, therefore, words that enter this slot are to be recognized as adverbs because they become modifiers of verbals (See the genealogy of 'adverbs' in the classificatory tree of the Japanese part-of-speech system in (2)).

An obvious advantage of lumping these number words together under one category of suusi 'number words' is that
we can refer to them collectively just as I am doing. But the problem is that not all number words behave the same way. For example, consider the following sentences:

(84) a. New York e wa moo sankai ikimasita.
      to already thrice went
      "I have already been to New York three times."

b. Kooen ni wa hana ga ippai saite iru.
      part in flower one-ful is-blooming
      "In the park flowers are blooming all over."

(85) a. Alaska wa America de itiban ookina syuu desu.\textsuperscript{32}
      in No. 1 big state
      "Alaska is the largest state in America."

b. Tookyoo wa daiiti hito ga oosugimasu.\textsuperscript{32}
      Tokyo the first people too many
      "There are too many people in Tokyo, in the first place."

The number words in the above examples cannot be used in all of the various positions illustrated by (83). Their paradigms are defective more or less systematically as demonstrated by the following:

(86) i. *Sankai no New York e wa moo ikimasita.

ii. *New York sankai e wa moo ikimasita.
iii. New York e wa sankai moo ikimasita.
   or
   New York e wa moo sankai ikimasita. (=84a)
   or
   Sankai New York e wa moo ikimasita.

(87) i. ?Kooen ni ippai no hana ga saite iru.
   ii. *Kooen ni hana ippai ga saite iru.
   iii. Kooen ni hana ga ippai saite iru. (=84b)
   or
   Kooen ni ippai hana ga saite iru.
   or
   Ippai kooen ni hana ga saite iru.

(88) i. *Alaska wa itiban no America de ookina syuu desu.
   or
   *Itiban no Alaska wa America de ookina syuu desu.
   or
   *Alaska wa America de ookina itiban no syuu desu.

ii. *Alaska wa America itiban de ookina syuu desu.
   or
   *Alaska itiban wa America de ookina syuu desu.
   or
   *Alaska wa America de ookina syuu itiban desu.
iii. Alaska wa America de **itiban** ookina syuu desu. (=85a)

or

Alaska wa **itiban** America de ookina syuu desu.

or

**Itiban** Alaska wa America de ookina syuu desu.

(89) i. *Tookyoo wa **daiiti no** hito ga oosugimasu.

or

**Daiiti no** Toykoo wa hito ga oosugimasu.

ii. *Tookyoo wa **hito daiiti** ga oosugimasu.

or

*Tookyoo **daiiti** wa hito ga oosugimasu.

iii. Tookyoo wa **daiiti** hito ga oosugimasu. (=85b)

or

**Daiiti** Tookyoo wa hito ga oosugimasu.

or

Tookyoo wa hito ga **daiiti** oosugimasu.

The examples above clearly show that this group of number words fills only the slot (iii) reserved for adverbs. This means that these number words are exclusively used as adverbs, although they are classified as a subclass of nouns under the traditional classification of words.

For some strange reason again, adverbialization occurs
idosyncratically. It seems that the first item in each set of (ordinal) number words is the only item affected by adverbialization. For example, in the following examples, only ippai 'one-ful', itiban 'No. 1', and daiiti 'the first' are adverbialized and no adverbialization occurs with the following items nihai 'two-ful', niban 'No. 2', and daini 'the second':

(90)  a. *Watasi no niwa ni mo anata no niwa ni mo hana ga nihai saite iru.
    "Flowers are blooming all over both in my garden and yours."

b. *Texas ga America de niban(me) ookina syuu desu.
    "Texas is the second largest state in America."

c. *Tookyoo wa daini hito ga oosugimasu.
    "In the second place, there are too many people in Tokyo."

The nihai in (90) means 'two yardfuls' and does not get adverbialized to mean 'all over in the two yards'. The correct word to be used here is still ippai.

The niban(me) in (90) has to be niban(me) ni in order to become an adverbial constituent. Similarly, we have to rewrite daini in (90c) into daini ni (or daini to site) to make it an adverbial constituent in the sense of 'in the second place'.
One conclusion we can draw from the discussion above is that adverbialization has advanced so far with some number words that they have lost their original semantic contents. This is especially true with the three particular words ippai, itiban, and daiiti. Syntactically, they are seen to have developed into manner, degree, and sentence adverbs respectively. As a manner adverb, ippai is used in the sense of 'all over' instead of its original 'one-ful'. Itiban has become a degree adverb in the sense of 'the most' from its original meaning of 'No. 1.' Daiiti, which originally meant 'the first', is now a sort of 'transition' word modifying the whole sentence in the sense of 'in the first place'. Proof is also found in the fact that this change in their syntactic status is reinforced by a change in their phonological status. Except for daiiti, both itiban and ippai lose their accents if they are used as adverbs. In the following examples, the accented itiban and ippai will be observed to change into unaccented itiban and ippai: 34

(91) a. \underline{itiban} no kata, doozo.

"Person No. 1, please (come in)."

b. Koko de wa anata ga \underline{itiban} sei ga takai.

"You are the tallest person here."
This is a typical case where a change in syntactic status is realized as a change in phonological forms. The change is evidently triggered by the adverbialization phenomenon we have been discussing. These pieces of evidence will be enough to establish such items as sankai, daiiti, itiban, and jppai as true adverbs rather than nouns used adverbially.

1.4. Conclusion

I believe that the foregoing discussion has sufficiently revealed some of the major difficulties with the traditional analysis of Japanese adverbs. Specifically, it has been found that the criteria for identifying adverbs have many loopholes that nullify such a system. Above all, the traditional analysis of Japanese adverbs has been found to be totally geared to singling out a word class called 'adverbs'. The criteria for this purpose are largely weighted toward formal characteristics of individual items, and thus are not too useful for syntactic analysis of this
class of words.

It often happens that words that function perfectly as adverbs from the point of view of syntax are classified as nouns, adjectives, or adjectival verbs simply because they happen to share some lexical characteristics with these other classes. The very fact that this kind of conflict happens shows very eloquently that the system has a serious defect. The defect is due to the obvious fact that the system is based on a certain established part of speech theory. Here we have a case of a vicious cycle: the theory begets the system, and the system begets the analysis, and therefore the analysis loses its flexibility. In a word, the system is more morphologically oriented and less syntactically oriented.

In closing this introductory chapter, I would like to make a general suggestion that the criteria for identifying adverbs should be sought in such a way that they directly relate to the syntax of the language. If a grammar is to generate sentences of a language, it has to have a certain set of rules. Since words that are to substantiate these rules will be picked up from the lexicon, it is natural that syntactic rules should take precedence over morphological features of individual lexical items.
This brings me to my contention that in doing syntactic analysis we have to be concerned with syntactic 'adverbials' rather than morphological 'adverbs'. Those constituents that function as adverbs within the syntax of a sentence should be treated as adverbials, and after that task is over, they may be classified as adverbs, adjectives, adjectival verbs, or what not. Classification of words for the sole purpose of classification would be meaningless. Syntactic consideration of each constituent must have the first priority.

In the next chapter, I will look for some semantic and syntactic criteria to separate out Japanese adverbial constituents from various other kinds of constituents.
Footnotes to CHAPTER ONE

1I will use the English term 'adverb' as an equivalent of Japanese 'hukusi' (副詞), although admittedly English adverbs and Japanese hukusi are different in many respects. Some of these differences will be revealed in the main body of the study.

As for the history of the study of adverbs, Dionysus Thrax (100 B.C.), a Greek rhetorician, is believed to have discovered the category in Europe (See Dinneen (1967:94ff)). In Japan, the earliest reference to this group of words was made by Nariakira Fujitani (1738-1779) in his Kazashisoo (1767), although the term 'hukusi' itself was coined later through translation from the Dutch word By woorden 'adverb' (See Tachibana (1973:153)).

2The quotation is from Imaizumi (1963:170). Also, compare this wordy definition with a straightforward one in English like the following:

"An adverb is a word that modifies verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs." (Zandvoort (1957:203))

3Adjectival verbs (=keiyoodoosi) are called 'adjectival
nouns' or 'nominal adjectives' by most Japanese grammarians with a background in American linguistics. This terminology probably dates back to Bloch and is presumed to be due to the fact that (semantic) adjectivals like suki 'fond', kirai 'hateful', zyoozu 'skilled', and heta 'unskilled' behave more like nouns rather than verbs in Japanese syntax. Observe the following, where so-called 'adjectival verbs' are seen to behave more like nouns in their syntactic functions:

I. As Affirmative Predicates:

Verb: Watasi wa ikimasu. "I will go."
Adjective: Watasi wa samui desu. "I am cold."
Adj-Verb: Watasi wa suki desu. "I am fond of it."
Noun: Watasi wa Nihonzin desu. "I am a Japanese."

II. As Negative Predicates:

Verb: Watasi wa ikimasen. "I will not go."
Adjective: Watasi wa samuki arimasen. "I am not cold."
Adj-Verb: Watasi wa suki zya arimasen. "I am not fond of it."
Noun: Watasi wa Nihonzin zya arimasen. "I am not a Japanese."

III. As Nominal Modifiers:

Verb: watasi ga iku gakkoo. "the school that I go to."
Adjective: samui hi "a cold day"
Adj-Verb: suki na gakkoo "the school that I am fond of"
Noun: Nihonzin no gakkoo "school for the Japanese"
From the above observation, it may be more reasonable to group 'adjectival verbs' as part of nouns rather than verbs—hence, the preferred term 'adjectival nouns'.

4 I have composed most of the example sentences in this thesis introspectively by using individual adverbs found in Imaizumi (1963).

5 This is a translation of zyootai no hukusi, in which zyootai is a technical term apparently coined from zyoo as in zizyoo ('circumstances') and tai as in zyootai ('manner, state, condition'). Thus, the former zyootai and the latter zyootai are written in different Chinese characters.

6 I find it rather hard to assign single-word translations to adverbs because their meanings are largely dependent on their context. This is all the more true with onomatopoeia as in group (c) on this list. Since it is cumbersome to give example sentences for each, I will cite only one or two potential meanings chiefly for recognition purposes.
with falling pitch is an adverb of manner and circumstance meaning 'already', while \textit{moo} with rising pitch is an adverb of degree with the sense of 'more...'. Compare the following pair, where the first \textit{moo} in (i) is an adverb of manner and circumstance, while the second \textit{moo} in (ii) is an adverb of degree:

(i) \textit{moo} bangohan o tabemasita ka?

"Have you finished dinner already?"

(ii) Gohan o \textit{moo} sukosi kudasai.

"Please give me a little more rice."

\textsuperscript{8}From Takeuchi (1973:90).

\textsuperscript{9}From Tachibana (1973:167).

\textsuperscript{10}This is a translation from the Japanese \textit{tinzyutu no hukusi}, another term difficult to translate. According to \textit{Kokugo Kiten} (1971:650), \textit{tinzyutu no hukusi} is defined as follows:

"(Tinzyutu no hukusi to wa) Zyutugo no tinzyutu no sikata o syuusyoku-suru kinoo o moti, zyutugo o hitei, kootei nado tokutei no hyoogen ni mitibiite kore to koo-suru hukusi (de aru)."

"(An adverb of predication is) an adverb which has the function of modifying the way of predication (of the predicate) and which agrees with the predicate by bringing to it certain specific expressions like negation or provision." (Translation is mine)
11 These terms and the classification using these terms in (22) are my translations from Imaizumi (1963).

12 See footnote 16 for contrary situations.

13 According to Takeuchi (1973:78), it was Yamada (1936) who first made this classification of Japanese adverbs, which was then adopted and 'promulgated' in the form of a secondary school textbook on Japanese grammar by Hashimoto (1937). See also Isami (1964-5: 6) for a similar exposition.

14 See Mikami (1972:149). Notice, however, that to in such semi-onomatopoetic words as kossori to, sikkari to, suri to, etc. is no longer felt to be a quotative particle, since it is impossible to paraphrase kossori to iu oto o tatete, etc. To in these semi-onomatopoetic words is now reduced to a mere 'adverbializer.'

15 If, however, to and ni were suffixes (=setubigo) rather than particles (=zyosi), it would be possible to view hizyoo ni, etc. as words, rather than phrases. As far as I know, to and ni in these expressions have never been studied at any length. Incidentally, ni in expressions like igai ni 'unexpectedly' is being replaced by to in Present-day Japanese.
Under the traditional analysis, words like *motiron* and *kekkyoku* are assumed to require affirmative predicates. But there are many cases in which this is not the case. For instance, the following examples do not contain affirmative predicates:

(i) Motiron watasi wa ikimasen.  
"Of course I am not going."

(ii) Kekkyoku kare wa konakatta.  
"After all he did not show up."

Properly speaking, *sika* would have to be classified among 'limiters' of nouns, along with *dake* 'only', *demo* 'even', *bakari* 'nothing but', etc. To illustrate,

(i) Kare wa niku wa tori *sika* tabemasen.  
"As for meat, he eats only chicken."

(ii) Kare wa tori *bakari* tabete imasu.  
"He eats nothing but chicken."

(iii) Kyoo wa tori *demo* tabeyoo ka.  
"Shall we eat something like chicken today?"


It might be interesting to note here that the *-ku* and *ni* forms of adjectivals in Japanese are an exact analogue of
the -ly forms of adjectives in English (e.g., beautiful--beautifully, vigorous--vigorously, etc.). These -ly forms are normally treated as genuine adverbs in English grammar.

20 By adjectivals, I refer collectively to adjectives and adjectival verbs (or nouns).

21 The word 'synonymous' here is being used in a loose way, and not in its strict sense of 'fully synonymous' or 'identical'. Of course the 'emotive' meanings (e.g., emphasis, focus, etc.) of the (a) sentences are different from those of the (b) sentences, although their 'cognitive' meanings may be the same.

22 Note that two synonymous sentences can be derived from two different sources. For example, it will be observed that the following two sentences may be semantically the same and yet cannot be said to have been derived from one and the same underlying structure:

(a) John found the book interesting.

(b) The book was interesting to John.

23 Since the adjective hayai means both 'early' and 'quick', it works both ways (i.e., either as a pseudo-adverb or as a 'true' adverb) depending on the situation. Observe the
following situations:

(i) Gohan o hayaku tabenasai. (True adverb)
"Eat the dinner quickly."

Cf. Gohan o hayai hoohoo (or tabekata) de tabenasai.
"Eat the dinner in a quick manner."

(ii) Asa wa hayaku okinasai (True or pseudo-adverb)
"Get up early (or quickly) in the morning."

Cf. Asa wa hayai hoohoo de okinasai.
"Get up in a quick manner."

Cf. Asa wa hayai zikan ni okinasai.
"Get up at an early time."

(iii) Asita wa moo sukosi hayaku okinasai. (Pseudo-adverb)
"Get up a little earlier tomorrow."

Cf. *Asita wa moo sukosi hayai hoohoo de okinasai.
"Get up in a little quicker manner tomorrow."

Cf. Asita wa moo sukosi hayai zikan ni okinasai.
"Get up at a little earlier time tomorrow."

(iv) Taroo wa asa hayaku yukkuri okita. (Pseudo-adverb)
"Taro got up slowly early in the morning."

Cf. *Taroo wa asa hayai hoohoo de yukkuri okita.
"*Taro got up slowly in a quick manner in the morning."
According to Imaizumi (1963:67), the idea of the 'complement' constituent has been abandoned, along with the 'object' constituent, because traditional grammarians did not perceive any 'formal' characteristics that make those constituents different from other verbal modifiers. In the following examples, the (b) sentences contain so-called 'complements' but traditional grammarians could not distinguish them formally or lexically from other 'verbal' modifiers as in the (a) sentences:

(i) a. Kaze ga hagesiku huku.
   "The wind blows hard."
   b. Kaze ga hagesiku naru.
   "The wind becomes hard."

(ii) a. Hi ga atataka ni teru.
   "The sun shines warmly."
   b. Hi ga atataka ni naru.
   "The sun becomes warm."

According to our analysis, all of the above examples can be interpreted as 'complements' or 'pseudo-adverbs'.

To be strict, there should be a deeper structure underlying this inchoative sentence: i.e.,

Te o (te ga (te ga kirei da) naru) arainasai.

27 Mikami (1962: 51ff) talks about this phenomenon as meisi no hukusika 'adverbialization of nouns'. I interpret this phenomenon, as Isami (1964-5) suggests, as an adverbialization of nouns as a result of the (obligatory) deletion of the particle ni after time-span words.

28 This observation and the subsequent examples are due to Isami (1964-5).

29 Of course, not all 'place' nouns in English are so neatly adverbialized as this particular item. Home is perhaps the only 'place' noun which is completely adverbialized in English, along with the interrogative where and the demonstrative there. Even these items get 'de-adverbialized' when they are used as, for instance, 'source' adverbs, as in

(i) Where did you come from?
(ii) I got a letter from home today.
(iii) He came out from there.

30 In this position, these number words most resemble the quantity measurement expressions in English, such as a sheet (of paper), two spoonfuls (of sugar), three heads (of cabbage), four cakes (of soap), etc.
According to Dr. Ho-Min Sohn (personal communication), there is another position for numeral-classifiers in Korean. That is, in Korean, 'I bought three books' can be translated with the structure โอน o sansatu o kaimasita, which does not exist in Japanese. These two objects are assumed to behave together as one NP with the semantic relation of generality vs specificity. Also see Yang (1974).

In traditional grammars, suusi 'number words' are subclassified into (i) cardinal number words as in (79)-(80) and (ii) ordinal number words as in these examples. Some commonly used ordinal number words are as follows:

(a) daiiti (or itiban(me)) 'No. 1, the first'
    daini (or niban(me)) 'No. 2, the second'
    daisan (or sanban(me)) 'No. 3, the third'
    etc.

(b) (dai)sankai(me) 'the third time'
    (dai)yongoo(me) 'the fourth one, the fourth issue'
    (dai)gozyoo 'the fifth article (in a constitution)'
    etc.

This may be due to the fact that the numeral 'one' is semantically correlated with 'extremity' (cf. 'the most', 'foremost', 'utmost', 'extremely', etc.)

Japanese words are either accented or unaccented. An accented word has a fall in the pitch contour, whereas an
unaccented word does not. The following illustrates the four possible accent patterns in Japanese:

I. Accented:

i. Higher pitch on the initial syllable

\[ \text{asa, asahi} \]

ii. Higher pitch on intermediate syllable(s)

\[ \text{hana, nagasaki, kakikata} \]

iii. Higher pitch on the final syllable

\[ \text{ki\_ (ga), yama\_ (ga)} \]

II. Unaccented:

iv. Level pitch (or Higher pitch on the second syllable on with no fall within one accent phrase)

\[ \text{Kore \_ (ga), Kotira \_ (ga)} \]

For more information on the accentuation phenomena of Japanese, refer to the Appendix in Kindaichi's Accent Dictionary of Japanese (1971), McCawley (1968), Martin (1952), Han (1962), etc. As for the accentuation of number words in Japanese, see Kimura (1971).
CHAPTER TWO

Identification and Classification of Japanese Adverbials

2.0. Introduction

After the examination of Japanese adverbs identified and classified according to the traditional criteria delineated in Chapter One, we have come to the conclusion that the morphologically oriented part-of-speech theory is not very useful for a syntactic study of the language. Problems inherent in the traditional approach—especially those associated with 'pseudo-' versus 'true' adverbs and the 'adverbialization' phenomenon of nouns—have pointed to a need to reorient our whole approach to this problem.

As suggested at the end of Chapter One, this will mean a change from the old morphological viewpoint to a new syntactic standpoint. Specifically, we have contended that adverbs should be properly viewed as syntactic constituents of the sentence rather than as lexical items divorced from the syntax of the language. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to search for a set of criteria for identifying Japanese adverbials from this new point of
In this chapter, following an attempt in section 1 to define constituents in terms of their syntactic, semantic, and phonological properties, we will look for some tangible criteria for identifying adverbial constituents in the second and third sections. In section 2, after a brief consideration of some analyses in the frameworks of traditional grammar and case grammar, we will present a set of semantic criteria for identification and formal classification of adverbials. In section 3 will be presented a new perspective towards characterizing Japanese adverbials in terms of their various syntactic properties. In conclusion, it will be pointed out that adverbials in Japanese can be identified and looked at from the two perspectives of 'deep' and 'surface' structure of the language.

2.1. Definition of Constituents

Now that we have expanded the notion of adverbs into a more flexible one of Adverbial Constituents (or, to abbreviate, Adverbials), we will have to start out by defining a constituent. Although it is difficult to give an unfailing definition of a constituent, I will operation-
ally define it as a component of the sentence that can function as a syntactic unit (without losing its 'semantic congruity') under various transformational operations, of which a movement transformation can be a good test.¹ A constituent could thus be a word, a phrase, or even a clause in the traditional sense.

As a starter in the 'discovery' procedure for identifying constituents, I will work on the assumption that Japanese sentences are all verbal-final (i.e., verbals always come at the end of sentences).² There are three kinds of such verbal constituents in Japanese, as illustrated in the following examples:

(1) a. Watasi wa kinoo eki de Satoo kun ni atta.
I yesterday station at Sato Mr. with met
"I met Mr. Sato at the station yesterday."

b. Nihon no depaato nado no ten'in wa minna wakai.
Japan's dept-store etc's clerk all be-young
"Store-clerks in such places as Japanese department stores are all young."

c. Nihon de sakura ga saku no wa sigatu da.
Japan in cherry-blossoms bloom thing April is
"It is in April that cherry blossoms bloom in Japan."
The underlined items in the examples above represent the three different verbal constituent types in Japanese. 3 The (a) sentence contains the verb atta 'met', (b) contains the adjective wakai 'be young', and (c) contains the copula da 'be'. The reason why they are called verbals is due to the fact that all three items share the common characteristic of conjugating for the ten categories shown below:4

(2) Conjugation Table of Japanese Verbals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>aw-</th>
<th>waka-</th>
<th>de ar-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Indicative</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>wakai</td>
<td>da (na, no)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Presumptive</td>
<td>aoo</td>
<td>wakakaroo</td>
<td>daroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Imperative</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Provisional</td>
<td>aeba</td>
<td>wakakereba</td>
<td>nara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Infinitive</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>wakaku</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Past Indicative</td>
<td>atta</td>
<td>wakakatta</td>
<td>datta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Past Presumptive</td>
<td>attaroo</td>
<td>wakakattaro</td>
<td>dattaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Conditional</td>
<td>attara</td>
<td>wakakattara</td>
<td>dattara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Alternative</td>
<td>attari</td>
<td>wakakattari</td>
<td>dattari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Gerundive</td>
<td>atte</td>
<td>wakakute</td>
<td>de</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a test to prove the 'semantic congruity' of a constituent as a syntactic unit, we will use a movement transformation known as 'free scrambling'.5 In Japanese all the constituents of a sentence except for the verbal ones have the common property of being freely 'scrambled'. Using this property as our guide, we can cut (1a) into the
following five constituents as indicated by the slashes:

(3) Watasi wa / kinoo / eki de / Satoo kun ni / atta.

The validity of these constituent cuts is shown by the fact that all of the four constituents except for the verb are freely scrambled without losing their semantic congruity. By 'semantic congruity' is meant the wholeness of a constituent including its syntactic unity. Observe the following variations of the same sentence:

(4) a. Eki de / watasi wa / kinoo / Satoo kun ni / atta.
   b. Kinoo / watasi wa / Satoo kun ni / eki de / atta.
   c. Satoo kun ni / kinoo / eki de / watasi wa / atta.
   d. Satoo kun ni / eki de / watasi wa / kinoo / atta.

'Free scrambling' is possible in Japanese since the various relationships among the constituents are clearly marked by particles like wa 'topic', de 'at (locative)', ni 'with (comitative)', etc. Notice, however, that the verbal constituent is not scrambled--an important characteristic of a verbal-final language like Japanese which is different from languages like Latin where all the constituents including the verbals can be scrambled. Theoretically, one can produce as many as 24 variant sentences
with these four scramblable constituents in Japanese. However, if constituent cuts are made at the wrong places, not only are the constituents incapable of being scrambled but also the scrambled sentences do not make sense at all or sound strange at best. Consider the following examples where the 'semantic congruity' is lost as a result of the wrong constituent cuts:

(5) *Watasi / wa kinoo / eki / de Satoo / kun / ni atta.

The correctness of the constituent cuts given in (3) is also demonstrated by phonological evidence. So-called accentuation in Japanese is largely dependent upon these syntactic units. Often lexical accents have to be adjusted in favor of these units. Observe how Japanese accentuation works in the following example:

(6) Watasi wa / kinoo / eki de / Satoo kun ni / atta.

These units, which are called 'accent phrases', coincide with the syntactic constituents. Thus, the concept of 'constituent' is crucial in interpreting Japanese correctly. It has various ramifications in the syntax, semantics, and phonology of the language.

It is unfortunate, however, that there are no mechanical procedures by which to come up with correct
constituent cuts at all times. These procedures crucially depend on the correct interpretation of encoded messages. One has to know the language before he can correctly decode the messages in the language. That is why a beginning student of Japanese is often observed to make wrong constituent cuts (in reading Japanese aloud) such as illustrated by (5). Since the scrambling test itself relies on the intuition of a native speaker, the rule of thumb of a formal nature for a beginning student would have to be to say that particles go together with the preceding nominals.

On the other hand, not every constituent is scramblable. The example in (1b) is a case in point. It seems to impose a certain constraint on the scrambling test. According to 'the rule of thumb' mentioned above, we can make the constituent cuts as follows:

(8) Nihon no / depaato nado no / ten'in wa / minna / wakai.

If we apply the scrambling test to the four constituents which should be 'theoretically' scramblable, we find that only (9a) below is possible and all the rest of the examples are semantically unfeasible variations:

(9) a. Minna / nihon no / depaato nado no / ten'in wa / wakai.
b. *Ten'in wa / depaato nado no / nihon no / minna / wakai.

c. *Depaato nado no / minna / nihon no / ten'in wa / wakai.

d. *Minna / ten'in wa / depaato nado no / nihon no / wakai.

e. *Nihon no / ten'in wa / minna / depaato nado no / wakai.

The fact that only minna is movable seems to suggest that the overall semantic congruity holding among the three constituents of nihon no / depaato nado no / ten'in wa is such that they cannot be reordered. As a matter of fact, these three constituents constitute what Ross (1967) called a Complex NP constituent, to which no reordering transformation can apply.8 The internal structure of this overall constituent may be informally analyzed as follows:9

(10)
Thus, the overall (surface) structure of (8) would have
the following configuration:

(11)

\[
S \rightarrow \text{NP} \quad \text{minna} \quad \text{wakai}
\]

\[
\text{nihon no depaato} \\
\text{nado no ten'in wa}
\]

This structure explains why the smaller constituents under
NP cannot participate in free scrambling with minna which
is on a different level of the structure; they have to
function together as one larger group of constituents under
the label NP.

Another constituent test called 'substitutability'
seems to be the best criterion to determine the status of
the smaller constituents under the Complex NP.10 It is
easy to find constituents that are substitutable for
nihon no (e.g., Tookyoo no, Oosaka no), depaato nado no
(e.g., suupaa-maaketto nado no, hyakkaten nado no), and
ten'in wa (e.g., syain wa, zimuin wa), but it will be very
hard to find constituents that are substitutable for such
arbitrarily cut 'pseudo-constituents' as no depaato, nado
no ten'in, or wa minna. Since these pseudo-constituents
have no semantic congruity, they will be rejected by native
speakers.
The last example (1c) presents a still more interesting property of constituents. The constituent cuts may be made in the following way:

(12) Nihon de / sakura ga / saku no wa / sigatu da.  
This is actually a cleft sentence derived from a sentence like the following:

(13) Nihon de (wa) / sakura ga / sigatu ni / saku.  
"In Japan, cherry-blossoms bloom in April."

The verb saku 'bloom' in (13) is a final predicate verbal constituent, whereas the same verb used in (12) is a non-final predicate verbal which together with the dependent nominal (nominalizer) no 'thing, that' makes a complex NP structure. Therefore, the verb saku in (12), unlike that used in (13), cannot become an independent constituent. The copula da, which is auxiliary in function, also cannot become an independent constituent by itself. Thus, neither saku nor sigatu in (12) can be moved out of their respective constituents, as will be seen from the following ungrammatical sequences:

(14) a. *Nihon de / saku / sakura ga / no wa / sigatu da.  
b. *Nihon de / sakura ga / sigatu / saku no wa/ da.
This situation can also be explained by the following derived sentence structure tree:

(15)

For the same reason given for (11), the complex NP in (15) above has to function as one unit. Notice, however, that the two smaller constituents nihon de and sakura ga inside the $S_1$ embedded under NP are mutually interchangeable. Thus, the following variation is grammatical:

(16) Sakura ga / nihon de / saku no wa / sigatu da.

Thus, with the qualification in the form of the Complex NP Constraint, the free scrambling rule determines the status of Japanese constituents as being definable as:

(17) A constituent is a component of the sentence that can function as a syntactic unit (without losing a 'semantic congruity') under various transformational operations.

2.2.0. Identification of Adverbial Constituents

Our ultimate goal in this chapter is to come up with a reasonably adequate system for identifying Japanese adverbials. We have already touched on this subject in
Chapter One, where we introduced the traditional approach to this question. However, we have come to the conclusion that the traditional criteria for indentifying adverbs draw so heavily upon lexical characteristics of individual items (e.g., whether they become subjects of other sentences) that any study of Japanese adverbs based on them will be extremely limited in its scope. On the other hand, the broader concept of 'adverbial constituent' which we have established as the basis for our study will certainly cover this whole area in Japanese syntax, thereby capturing more linguistically significant generalizations.

In this section and the next, we will look for some tangible criteria with which to sort out those and only those constituents that can be recognized not only as 'adverbs' in the traditional sense but also as 'adverbials' in the broader sense that we are advocating. We will look for a systematic method with which we can consistently identify them. For this purpose, we will have to know more about constituents—especially about what other constituents will interact with the adverbial constituents that we are trying to separate out. Our task in the procedure will be (i) to separate out all those constituents that are suspected to be adverbials and then (ii) to determine their
status in terms of their deep structure relationships.

2. 2. 1. Relationships among Constituents

According to Japanese traditional grammars, there are five types of constituent relationships. They will be illustrated as follows:13

(18) i. Subject-Predicate Relationship:

   e.g., Hana ga saku
   flower bloom
   "Flowers bloom."

ii. Modifier-Modified Relationship:

   e.g., Yukkuri aruku.
   slowly walk
   "(Somebody) walks slowly."

iii. Coordinate Relationship:

   e.g., sizuka de heiwa na mura
   quiet and peaceful village
   "a quiet and peaceful village"

iv. Auxiliary Relationship:

   e.g., Wagahai wa neko de aru.
   I cat am
   "I am a cat."
v. Independent Relationship:

e.g., *Satoo kun*, *tyotto kitamae*.

Sato Mr. a while come

"Come here a minute, Sato."

It is assumed that these relationships are applicable not only to simple constituents (called *bunsetu*) as in the examples above but also to compound constituents (called *ren-bunsetu*) which are combinations of more than two constituents functioning as equivalents of single constituents on a higher level. So, for example, given two sentences like the following, their syntactic structures will be explained as follows:14

(19) a. Haha ga / watasi to / imooto ni / kinoo / purezento o / kureta.

mother I and little sister to yesterday present obj gave

"Mother gave me and my sister some presents yesterday."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Haha ga watasi to imooto ni kinoo purezento o kureta.

child wide yard in joyfully playing is

"The children are playing joyfully in the large yard."

I think it is relatively safe in any linguistic theory to assume that the subject and the predicate verbal of a sentence are to be excluded from consideration in identifying adverbial constituents. That the subject is not to be included is implicit in the traditional definition of adverbs presented in Chapter One. The tenor of the state-
ment that says 'an adverb is a ... word ... which does not become the subject (of a sentence)' clearly precludes that possibility. Similarly, the intent of the traditional definition that says that 'an adverb is a word that primarily modifies verbals' implies that the modified verbals are not to be suspected as being adverbials themselves.

If we look at the diagrams in (19) with this background assumption in mind, we can exclude from consideration the subjects haha ga in (a) and kodomo ga in (b) and the verbal constituents kureta in (a) and asonde iru in (b). That leaves only the constituents labelled 'modifiers' as candidates for adverbials.

However, there are some problems with this traditional analysis. One of them is the fact that constituent pure-zento o in (a), which is normally recognized as the object, is being labelled as 'modifier'. This comes from the Japanese linguistic tradition that has abandoned the 'object' category as being undistinguishable from any other regular modifier. However, I will exclude the object constituent from consideration because of a special property that the object constituent displays in the sentence. Unlike regular modifiers, object constituents are interchangeable with subjects under passivization. Observe the permutation
phenomenon in the following active-passive sentences: 16

(20) a. Otoko ga onna o aisuru. (Active)

man woman obj love
"The man loves the woman."

b. Onna ga otoko ni aisareru.

woman subj man by is-loved
"The woman is loved by the man."

This permutation does not occur with other modifiers: e.g.,

(21) a. Otoko ga mukasi aisita.

man long-ago loved
"The man loved long ago."

b. *Mukasi ga otoko ni aisaretā.

long-ago man by was-loved

Another problem with the kind of analysis presented in (19) is the fact that the hierarchy in the modifier nodes is arbitrarily determined. Especially counterintuitive is the fact that the modifier kinoo is placed lower in hierarchy than watasi to imooto ni, which is more directly related to the verbal, and therefore, should be placed lower than kinoo. This inadequacy is an inevitable consequence of the single-level analysis where the hierarchy has to depend on the surface order of elements. A con-
sequence of the same nature is seen in the inability to
distinguish between verbal and sentence modifiers, since
this hierarchy is not formally established in the traditional
approach.

Despite these problems and inadequacies, the
traditional analysis does provide us with a rough frame­
work within which to identify adverbial constituents. As
I stated earlier, the kinds of constituents labelled as
'modifiers' are to be immediate candidates for adverbials.
As we look at the analysis in (19), we find that there are
two kinds of modifiers. One may be called verbal modifiers,
which modify verbs (e.g., *kinoo, tanosisoo ni*) and the
other may be called nominal modifiers, which modify nominals
(e.g., *hiroi*). The items that are to be considered for
inclusion will be those kinds of constituents that are
recognized as verbal modifiers. 17

2. 2. 2. Case Categories vs Adverbial Constituents

Another grammatical system which I would like to
consider in connection with adverbial constituents is
Case Grammar. 18 Before we go on to present our own
criteria for the identification of adverbials, I would like
to discuss some possible relationships that might exist
between so-called case categories and adverbiaal constituents.

According to Fillmore (1966), in all of the following examples,

(22) a. The door opened.
     b. The janitor opened the door.
     c. The janitor opened the door with this key.
     d. This key opened the door.

the relationship between the door and opened on the one hand and the relationship between opened and this key on the other are of the same nature. In other words, the words the door, the janitor, and this key stand in certain relationships with the verb opened. These relationships are concepts that contain certain semantic information whose status cannot be equated with that of the so-called subject-of or object-of of the sentence. Moreover, Fillmore says, these relational concepts seem to be language-independent. The so-called Standard Theory,¹⁹ which derives the sentences in (22a-d) from different deep structures, cannot directly capture the similarities existing in these relational concepts.

Fillmore goes on to say that the concepts 'subject-of' and 'object-of' are posited from the viewpoint of a governing relationship between categories (e.g., 'subject'
is performer of actions, 'object' is receiver of actions, etc.) and that, therefore, they do not have validity in the deep structure. In view of this, he has postulated his own deep structure rewrite rules. Some of them are:

\[(23) \]

i. \[S \rightarrow M + P\]

ii. \[P \rightarrow V + C_1 + \ldots + C_n\]

where \(M = \) modality, \(P = \) proposition, \(V = \) verb, and \(C = \) case category.

In other words, Fillmore defines a sentence as consisting of a verb and a certain number of case categories. Case categories are concepts indicating the agent, instrument, etc., which are inherently associated with each verb. For instance, the verb open is assumed to have such cases as Object case, Agentive case, and Instrumental case inherent in it. In this way, different case categories are recognized for different kinds of verbs and some such cases are, in addition to the ones mentioned above, Dative case, Factive case, Locative case, etc. But it is still considered as an open question how many other case categories could be posited.

As might be inferred from the foregoing brief exposition of case grammar, the so-called case categories seem to have something to do with the kind of constituents
that we are looking for. Especially, the locative, the instrumental, and the dative cases, among others, are apparently adverbial constituents to the extent that they are modifiers of verbal constituents. However, from our point of view, there are some annoying problems inherent in this approach.

The first problem is the fact that such grammatical relationships as the subject and the object are intentionally ignored and treated as having the same status as other apparently adverbial types of categories. This comes from the stated assumption that all case categories have a dependency relationship with the verb such that they cannot be distinguished from each other by such terms as the subject, the object, or adverbials.

Another related problem is the fact that there are constituents in the sentence that are not necessarily inherent in the verb. Observe the following examples:

(24) a. He bought a book (with his money).
    c. He bought a book at a department store in New York.
    d. He bought a book for me.
    e. He bought a book cheap.
f. He bought a book hurriedly.

Certainly, the verb buy in the above examples can have the 'case frame' \([0 + A + (I)]\), indicating the verb buy has the Objective case, the Agentive case, and the optional Instrumental case. But it is rather questionable whether and how, if ever, we should include as part of the case frame of the verb such adverbials as are found in (b)-(f). The locative in New York in (b), for instance, is definitely different from the same locative as in He lives in New York, where the locative can be an inherent part of the verb live(s). What is the difference between the dative to me as in He gave a book to me and the 'pseudo-dative (or 'benefactive') for me in (d)? Where should the adverb hurriedly belong?

As a solution to the kinds of problems that I have just raised, case grammarians would relegate these constituents (i.e., in New York in (b), for me in (d), hurriedly in (f)) to what they call modality, which normally includes tense, aspect, mood, etc. The constituent cheap in (e) could be treated as belonging to the case category 'Factive'. 23 But then the boundaries between 'modality' and 'cases' will become very vague.

More importantly, as in the traditional analysis,
case grammar provides no way to identify adverbial constituents even tentatively, still less to distinguish between verbal and sentence adverbials. These are some of the reasons why we hesitate to adopt for our purposes the analytic apparatus provided by case grammar.

2. 2. 3. A Simple Phrase Structure Grammar

As we have seen, neither the traditional Japanese approach to syntax nor case grammar seems to provide us with the kind of framework we can unerringly rely on for identifying adverbials. All we can say from the point of view of traditional grammars is that verbal modifiers (excluding the object) are related to our adverbials. Even then, because of the restriction of the single-level analysis, there would be no way of discerning the deeper relationships that exist among the various kinds of constituents (e.g., verbal adverbials vs sentence adverbials). Case grammar, on the other hand, seems to offer no greater promises in this direction, because it does not clearly distinguish cases from what we would like to separate out as adverbials.

Under these circumstances, we would have to start out by assuming a simple phrase structure grammar which will
hopefully make up for the deficiencies of the traditional approaches that we have pointed out above. We would like to exclude the subject, the object, and of course the predicate verbal constituent from consideration as adverbials. These three constituents may be recognized as the 'core' of the sentence. I would like to posit at least two different sources for adverbials—one within the main sentence for verbal modifiers and the other outside of the main sentence for sentence modifiers. A phrase structure grammar which incorporates this much information will look something like the following: 24

\[
\begin{align*}
(25) \text{i. } & S \rightarrow (SAdv) \text{ MS (SP)} \\
\text{ii. } & MS \rightarrow NP + VP \\
\text{iii. } & VP \rightarrow (VAdv) \left( \left\{ \text{NP} \right\} \text{ MV} \right) \\
\text{iv. } & MV \rightarrow V + Aux \\
\text{v. } & Aux \rightarrow (Asp) T (M) \\
\text{vi. } & NP \rightarrow (Det) \text{ (#S#) N}
\end{align*}
\]

Details aside, the phrase structure grammar presented above
serves to establish the two major positions that adverbials can take—SAdv and VAdv. The one is outside the Main Sentence as a Sentence Adverbial and the other inside—as part of the Verb Phrase—as a Verbal Adverbial. These two major positions of adverbials are graphically shown in the following structure tree:

(26)

```
S
   /\  
SAdv MS
   /\   
NP VP
   /\   
VAdv MV
   /\   
  V Aux
```

Note that both SAdv and VAdv in the above structure include 'derived' (or surface) adverbials. For some deeper sources of adverbials, see 1. 3. 2 and 2. 3. 0 ff.

2. 2. 4. Semantic Criteria for Identification

Even when we assume the kind of phrase structure grammar that we have posited above, a question still remains as to how we can make sure that we will have all the adverbials that fill those positions—especially from the
point of view of encoding messages. In other words, the phrase structure grammar itself does not guarantee that we can systematically identify and pick up all the adverbials that exist. What we still need to do is to set up a logical (or semantic) set of criteria by which all the adverbial constituents can be exhaustively identified and processed for classification.

This might be taken to be a tall order. But when we consider for a moment how our speech utterance occurs, it should not be an impossible task. As a matter of fact, it is said, and often assumed by many grammarians, that our verbal utterance takes place as a response to questions (uttered by some external agents or else self-initiated) which are representable by the eight interrogatives. 25 These interrogatives are who, what, when, where, why, how, how much, and whether. 26

Among these eight interrogatives, only when, where, why, how, how much, and whether qualify as the possible sources of adverbials, since they all function as verbal modifiers in the broad sense of the word (see the discussion on modifiers in 2.2.1). As for who and what, we will have to dismiss them because they normally stand for substantives that represent other kinds of constituents
such as the subject and the object that we have already decided to exclude. Therefore, the six meaning types represented by the answers to these six interrogatives should constitute our semantic criteria for establishing the kinds of adverbials we are looking for in Japanese (or in any language as far as the logical classes of adverbials are concerned). The following is a list of some examples identified on the basis of this set of criteria:

(27)  a. Itu kaerimasita ka.
       when returned ?
       "When did you come back?"

       b. Kinoo kaerimasita.
          yesterday
          "I came back yesterday."

(28)  a. Doko e ikimasita ka.
       where to went ?
       "Where did you go?"

       b. Kooen e ikimasita.
          park to went
          "I went to the park."

(29)  a. Naze (or Doosite) ikimasita ka.
       why how-come went ?
       "Why did you go?"
b.Sanpo ga sitakatta node ikimasita.
walk wanted-to-do because went
"I went because I wanted to take a walk."

c. Sanpo o suru tame ni ikimasita.
walk obj do purpose for went
"I went (in order) to take a walk."

d. Sanpo ni ikimasita.
walk for went
"I went for a walk."

(30) a. Doosite ikimasita ka.
how went ?

b. Aruite ikimasita.
by-walking went
"I went on foot."

c. Kuruma de ikimasita.
car by went
"I went by car."

(31) a. Ikura tukaimasita ka.
how-much spent ?
"How much did you spend?"

b. Hati doru tukaimasita.
eight dollars spent
"I spent eight dollars."
(32) a. Ikimasita ka?
   went  ?
   "Did you go?"

b. Ee, motiron ikimasita yo.
   yes of course went I-tell-you
   "Yes. Of course I went."

The above examples are just a few samples of questions and answers identifiable by our semantic criteria. Naturally, there are many other ways of formulating them. But the most important fact about this set is that these six are the only types of questions and answers available in Japanese (or in any other language for that matter).

The rest of this chapter, therefore, will be devoted mainly to proving the validity of this statement--namely, that there are six and only six kinds of adverbial constituents from the point of view of semantics. Thus, depending on the meaning types attached to each class, we may be able to identify and classify our adverbials with the following designations:

(33)  i. Time Adverbials (=27)
     ii. Place Adverbials (=28)
     iii. Reason Adverbials (=29)
     iv. Manner Adverbials (=30)
v. Quantity Adverbials (31)

vi. Modal Adverbials (32)

By way of a 'preview' of the rest of the chapter, a few selective comments on some of the adverbials are in order here. First, for a syntactic classification of adverbials, I will tentatively assign 'reason' and 'modal' adverbials to SAdv and the rest to VAdv. Justification for these assignments will be formally made in section 3, where the syntactic structures of adverbials will be determined.

Second, 'reason' adverbials often appear disguised as 'purpose' adverbials, as in

(34) Hirugohan o tabe ni uti e kaerimasu.
    lunch obj eating for home to return
    "I go home to eat lunch."

Indeed, the underlined phrase indicates the 'purpose' for which I go back home. But it can be interpreted as a variant answer to a question involving Why?, as in

(35) Naze (or Doosite) uti e kaerimasu ka.
    why (or how come) home to return
    "Why do you go back home?"

Thus, 'purpose' and 'reason' can be viewed as expressions of the same logical content in terms of 'cause' and
'effect'. (See further discussion in 2. 3. 3.)

Third, some quantity adverbials function as 'degree' adverbials, since 'degree' is an abstract quantity, as shown by the following examples:

(36) a. Haha ga okasi o takusan katte kureta. (Quantity)
    mother candy much bought gave
    "Mother bought us a lot of candy."

b. Kyoo wa totemo samukatta. (Degree)
    today very cold-was
    "It was very cold today."

2. 2. 5. Formal Classification of Adverbials

The few examples listed in (27)-(31) have already exhibited a fairly large number of different morphological forms. It will be useful for later purposes to have them classified here according to their internal structure. This constitutes a formal classification of adverbial constituents. I would like to posit the following as the two formal classes of Japanese adverbials:

(37) I. Word or Phrase Adverbials:
    i. True Adverbs:
       e.g., ikinari 'abruptly', subete 'entirely', mata 'again', motiron 'of course', etc.
ii. Adverbialized Nouns:

   e.g., kinoo 'yesterday', kesa 'this morning', kyonen 'last year', mukasi mukasi 'long, long ago', etc.

iii. Adjectival verbs (or nouns) ( + ni ): 28

   e.g., sugu (ni) 'soon', dandan (ni) 'gradually', nakanaka (ni) 'hardly', taihen (ni) 'very', sootoo (ni) 'considerably', etc.

iv. Adjectival nouns (or adverbs) ( + to ): 29

   e.g., karari (to) 'clearly', kossori (to) 'sneakingly', sikkari (to) 'tightly', batabata (to) 'clatteringly', etc.

v. Adjective + -ku:

   e.g., hagesiku 'hard', hayaku 'quickly', tuyoku 'severely', etc.

vi. Adjectival noun + ni:

   e.g., sizuka ni 'quietly', genki ni 'vigorously', zyoozu ni 'skillfully', etc.

vii. Noun + particle:

   e.g., doko e 'to where', kooen e 'to the park', sanpo ni 'for a walk', kuruma de 'by car', etc.

viii. Verb + -te: 30

   e.g., aruite 'by walking, on foot', ... ni tuite 'concerning', ... ni totte 'for ...', ... ni kawatte 'on behalf of ...', etc.

II. Clause Adverbials:

   Non-Final Clause + Conjunction:
e.g., sanpo o sitakatta node 'because I wanted to take a walk'
sanpo o suru tame ni 'so that I can take a walk'
sanpo o suru toki (ni) 'when I take a walk' etc.

Of these two major formal classes of adverbials, however, I will have very little to say about the second type, since in this thesis I would like to confine myself to the first type: i.e., word or phrase adverbials.

2.3.0. Syntactic Structures of Adverbials

So far we have made it clear that adverbials are constituents that can be identified on the basis of their syntactic and semantic characteristics. Specifically, adverbials have been found to be definable by their semantic values as answers to questions with how, how much, where, when, why, and whether. As syntactic sources for adverbials, we have posited two separate positions for Sentence Adverbials and Verbal Adverbials. In the rest of this chapter, I would like to make a further characterization of these adverbials, especially from the point of view of their syntactic properties.
2. 3. 1. Three Ranks of Adverbials

Of the six classes of adverbials already identified by our semantic criteria, I will group those two kinds of adverbials that answer the questions with *How?* and *How much?* into one syntactic class and refer to this group as **Primary Adverbials**. Those adverbials that make up the replies to questions with *When?* and *Where?* will be called **Secondary Adverbials**. And adverbials that answer the questions *Why?* and *Whether?* will be designated as **Tertiary Adverbials**. These three 'ranks' of adverbials are identified on the basis of three distinct syntactic and semantic properties displayed by these different groups of adverbials.

**Primary Adverbials** are first and foremost identified by their common characteristic of being modifiers of predicate verbals inside the main sentence. In short, they are verbal adverbials. **Tertiary Adverbials** are those that can be identified outside the main sentence as modifiers of the whole main sentence. They are 'sentence' adverbials. On the other hand, **Secondary Adverbials** are those adverbials that fall just in between these two extremes. In other words, **Secondary Adverbials** share characteristics of both Primary and Tertiary Adverbials.
For example, consider the following secondary adverbials of time and place:

\[(38) \text{Kyonen watasi wa nihon e ryokoo-sita.} \]
\[\text{last-year I Japan to traveled} \]
\["I traveled to Japan last year."\]

It should be obvious that the time adverbial \text{kyonen 'last year'} is modifying the whole sentence \text{watasi wa nihon e ryokoo-sita 'I traveled to Japan'}, because the whole event (i.e., my travel to Japan) took place last year. On the other hand, the place adverbial \text{nihon e 'to Japan'} can only be interpreted as modifying the predicate verbal \text{ryokoo-sita 'traveled'}. Compare this situation with the following where the modificational relationship is reversed:

\[(39) \text{Nihon de wa gakkoo ga sigatu ni hazimaru.} \]
\[\text{Japan in school April in start} \]
\["School starts in April in Japan."\]

Here the time adverbial \text{sigatu ni 'in April'} is now being used as the modifier of the verbal \text{hazimaru 'start'}, while the place adverbial \text{nihon de wa 'in Japan'} is being used as the modifier of the whole sentence. Thus, secondary adverbials are at times used in a manner similar to sentence adverbials, and some other times they are used as verbal
modifiers. Because of this double nature of their modificational relationship, they cannot be classified either as Primary or as Tertiary Adverbials. They can only be characterized as Secondary Adverbials in the sense that they are just in between or both. We will take up Primary and Tertiary Adverbials in that order first, and then go on to characterize Secondary Adverbials.

2.3.2. Primary Adverbials

First, observe the following examples which demonstrate some characteristics of Primary Adverbials:

(40) a. Suzusii kaze ga soyosoyo to huite iru.
    cool wind gently blowing is
    "The cool wind is blowing gently."

b. Kare wa subayaku mi o kawasita.
    he quickly body changed
    "He moved aside quickly."

c. Wareware wa ooi ni wakasa o tannoosita.
    we greatly youth enjoyed
    "We enjoyed our youth very much."

d. New York e wa itido mo itta koto ga nai.
    to once even went fact not-exist
    "I have never been to New York even once."
The adverbials in (a) and (b) answer the question: How? and those in (c) and (d) are the replies to How much? They are manner and quantity adverbials respectively in terms of our semantic criteria. One striking characteristic of these adverbials is the close syntactic and semantic 'tie' that they hold with the verbals. This close 'tie' with the verbal constituent is what makes this group of adverbials 'primary'. The designation comes from the fact that the 'primary' function of adverbials is assumed to be to modify verbals directly in this way. The term 'adverb' itself originally meant 'something that is added to a verb' (<< L adverbium 'added word').

One interesting observation that can be made in support of the close modificational relationship holding between these adverbials and verbals is the fact that the majority of them (except for quantity adverbials) are onomatopoeia or semi-onomatopoeia. True onomatopoeia represents imitations of natural sounds like buzz and cuckoo in English and sarasara (to) 'sounds of water running in a shallow stream', batabata (to) 'sounds of people running down a corridor, etc.', and potari (to) 'a sound of a dropping tear', etc. in Japanese. Semi-onomatopoetic words are those that describe the manner
are performed. **Nikkori** (to) 'with a hearty smile', **hakkiri** (to), 'manner of speaking loud and clear', **yukkuri** (to) 'manner of walking leisurely', etc. These adverbials are often very difficult to translate into English because one-to-one correspondences are rarely found. Usually what seems to occur in English is to incorporate these ideas into different lexical items. For example, **naku** is a Japanese verb meaning 'to cry', and there can be various ways of crying represented in either language. But in Japanese the basic idea **naku** 'to cry' is kept constant and the various manners of crying are expressed with these (semi-) onomatopoetic words or some other 'manner' adverbials, as in **oogoe de naku** 'cry in a loud voice', **kogoe de naku** 'cry in a small voice', **samezame to naku** 'cry bitterly', **sikusiku (to) naku** 'cry convulsively', etc. In English, however, these various manners of crying are often incorporated into verbs themselves and come out as different lexical verbs, as in **cry**, **weep**, **sob**, etc.\(^1\) The very fact that these 'manners' are incorporable in English is good proof that these adverbials are very closely tied with their verbals. In fact, they are an inseparable part of the verbals. Notice also that there is a strict co-occurrence relationship between these 'manner' adverbials
and their verbals such that samezame or sikuiku are always used with a verb like naku and seldom, if ever, with other verbs.

The idea that VAdv and predicate verbals must be co-constituents is in harmony with McCawley's predicate-raising. McCawley (1968) requires that lexical transformations (e.g., CAUSE die \(\rightarrow\) kill) affect only constituents. (This is why predicate-raising must apply first.) If incorporation, then, is regarded as a lexical transformation (e.g., walk slowly \(\rightarrow\) amble), the implication is that only adverbials in construction with verbals should be affected.

Thus, the modificational relationship of Primary Adverbials may be characterized as being a 'sentence internal relationship' because they are directly related to the main verbals inside the sentence. In other words, Primary Adverbials function first and foremost as direct modifiers of predicate verbal constituents. This relationship may be shown graphically by the following sentence structure:

\[
(41) \quad \text{S} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{VAdv} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{MV} \\
\quad \text{Kare wa} \quad \text{subavaku} \quad \text{mi_o} \quad \text{kawasita.}
\]
These characteristics of this class of adverbials will be made more distinct if we compare it with the next group: i.e., Tertiary Adverbials.

2.3.3. Tertiary Adverbials

The Tertiary Adverbials are represented by 'reason' and 'modal' adverbials. The following pairs of examples are the most typical questions and answers involving 'Why?' and 'whether?':

(42) a. Kinoo wa *naze* (or *doosite*) gakkoo o yasumimasita ka.

 yesterday why how-come school obj 
 rested  ?

"Why did you stay away from school yesterday?"

b. *Kaze de* netu ga atta node yasumimasita.

cold with fever existed because rested

"I was absent because I had a fever from a cold."

(43) a. Asita mo gakkoo o yasumimasu ka.

 tomorrow also school rest   ?

"Will you stay away from school tomorrow too?"

b. *Iie, asita wa* zettai ni yasumimasen.

 no tomorrow by-no-means rest-not

"I will never stay away tomorrow."
The underlined part in (42b) is a clause adverbial giving the reason why I was absent from school yesterday. That it is a reason adverbial is obvious because it is a 'response utterance' directly answering the question 'why' initiated by (42a). Besides, it has a clear structural signal node 'because', a conjunction relating this subordinate clause to the main sentence. It is of course possible for reason adverbials to stand alone as part of a 'situation utterance' which makes sense without depending on the discourse. In such a case, the whole sentence appears in an unabridged form, as in

(44) Kinoo wa kazede netu ga atta node gakkoo o yasumimasita.33

"Yesterday I was absent from school because I had a fever from a cold."

Incidentally, this reason clause can be expressed in 'phrase' adverbials such as kaze no netu de 'because of a fever of a cold' or just kaze de 'because of a cold'.

As mentioned earlier in 2.2.4, reason adverbials are often disguised in the form of 'purpose' adverbials. The following is another instance of this:

(45) Kinoo wa depaato e kaimono ni ikimasita.

"Yesterdaydept-store to shopping for went"
"Yesterday I went to the department store for shopping."

This can be interpreted as a reply to such an implicit question as the following:

(46) Kinoo wa depaato e naze ikimasita ka.

yesterday dept-store to why went

"Why did you go to the department store yesterday?"

From this it can be inferred that the interrogative naze 'why?' or its more colloquial version doosite 'how come?' has the two meanings of (i) donna (or doo iu) riyuu (or wake) de 'for what reason' and (ii) nan no tame ni (or nani o suru tame ni) 'for what purpose'. If the second meaning is ignored either from sheer innocence or from malice, a sarcastic answer like the following is likely to be given in reply to the question (46) above:

(47) Ikitai kara itta n desu.

go-want because went it-is-that

"I went because I wanted to go."

On the other hand, 'modal' adverbials like iie 'no' and zettai ni 'by no means' answer the question with Whether? (i.e., yes-no question) and serve to confirm or reaffirm the speaker's intention or assertion.

Now, why are these adverbials tertiary in rank? The basis for calling them tertiary lies in the modificational
structure involving this group of adverbials. Unlike Primary adverbials, Tertiary Adverbials modify the whole sentence rather than just the predicate verbals. It should be clear from the discussion above that the reason adverbial kaze de (netu ga atta node) is modifying the whole main clause kinoo wa gakkoo o yasumimasita. In other words, this adverbial is not part of the predicate of the main clause as an 'auxiliary' of the verbal yasumimasita 'stayed away', but it is outside of the main clause as a subordinate clause modifying the whole proposition consisting of the subject 'I' and the predicate 'was absent from school yesterday.' The sentence adverbial nature of 'modal' adverbials is even clearer. For example, in the following sentence,

(48) Motiron kare wa kimasu yo.
   "Of course he is coming."

the 'modal' adverbial motiron 'of course' may seem to modify only the predicate verbal kimasu 'is coming', as Japanese traditional grammarians assume it does. But then it will be hard to explain the ambiguity that this sentence inherently has. In other words, this sentence can have the following two readings depending on the situation:
(49) a. Of course he is coming. (with a stress on he contrasting it with somebody else)

b. Of course he is coming. (with a stress on is coming contrasting it with, say, is not coming)

The very fact that this sentence has this ambiguity is indicative of the implication that the 'modal' adverbial motiron 'of course' is not simply modifying the predicate verbal alone but the whole proposition including the subject: i.e., he is coming. From this it will be clear that 'modal' adverbials answer 'yes-no' questions (=whether?) and add the speaker's feelings or judgment concerning the whole proposition.

In the case of the 'purpose' adverbial in (45), the relationship may not be so obvious. In the first place, the adverbial kaimono ni 'for shopping' is a phrase adverbial in form, and secondly, it is inserted right in the predicate part of the sentence. However, the nature of the adverbial is such that it can be preposed as in the following:

(50) Kaimono ni kinoo wa depaato e ikimasita.

shopping for yesterday department store to went

"For shopping I went to the department store yesterday."
It can also be paraphrased into such (semi-) clause adverbials as the following:

(51) a. Ｋaimono ｏ ｓｉ ｎｉ ｋｉｎｏ ｖ ａ ｄｅｐａａｔｏ ｅ ｉｋｉｍａｓｉｔａ。\(^{36}\)

shopping obj doing for yesterday department store to went

"To do some shopping, I went to the department store yesterday."

b. Ｋａｉｍｏｎｏ ｏ ｓｕｒｕ ｔａｍｅ ｎｉ ｋｉｎｏ ｖ ａ ｄｅｐａａｔｏ ｅ ｉｋｉｍａｓｉｔａ。\(^{37}\)

shopping obj do purpose for yesterday dept-store to went

"So that I could do some shopping, I went to the dept-store yesterday."

On the basis of these observations, I propose that 'reason' adverbials are basically 'sentence' adverbials, the nature of which can be syntactically characterized by the following tree structure:\(^{33}\)

(52)
The modal adverbials will also be represented by a similar set of phrase markers.

2. 3. 4. Secondary Adverbials

The examples we will consider for this class of adverbials are the following:

(53) a. kaigi wa gogo hirakareta.
    meeting in-the-afternoon was-held
    "The meeting was held in the afternoon."

    b. Sensoo wa 1945 nen ni owatta.
    war 1945 year in ended
    "The war ended in 1945."

    c. Doko de aimasyoo ka.
    where at let's-meet
    "Where shall we meet?"

    d. Eki made arukimasyoo.
    station as-far-as let's-walk
    "Let's walk as far as the station."

(54) a. Nihon de wa gakkoo ga sigatu ni hazimarimasu.
    Japan in school April in start
    "In Japan school begins in April."

    b. Haru wa sakura no hana ga kirei desu.
    Spring cherry-blossom 's flower pretty is
"In Spring, cherry-blossoms are beautiful."
The adverbials in the above examples are all answers to the questions asked by **When?** and **Where?** Needless to say, the sentences of (53a,b) contain 'time' adverbials and those in (53c,d) contain 'place' adverbials. The adverbials in (54) are a little different from those in (53) for reasons to be discussed below.

The reason why 'time' and 'place' adverbials are secondary in rank is partly stated in 2. 3. 1. To repeat, Secondary Adverbials share characteristics of both Primary and Tertiary Adverbials. To the extent that they can become direct modifiers of verbals, they are Primary Adverbials in nature. The 'time' adverbials in (53a,b) and the 'place' adverbials in (53c,d) are basically verbal modifiers.

On the other hand, the underlined adverbials of 'place' and 'time' in (54a,b) approach 'sentence' adverbials in nature in that their function in those sentences is reduced to that of providing a certain background or setting for the statements that follow them. To put it differently, these 'place' and 'time' adverbials are outside of the main propositions that are being made in those sentences. This situation may be made clearer
either by simply excluding them from the main proposition, as in

(55) a. Gakkoo ga sigatu ni hazimarimasu.
    school April in start
    "School begins in April."

b. Sakura no hana ga kirei desu.
    cherry-blossom's flower pretty is
    "The cherry-blossoms are pretty."

or by clefting them, as in

(56) a. Gakkoo ga sigatu ni hazimaru no(=tokoro)
    wa nihon (de) desu.
    school April in start that(=place)
    Japan (in) is
    "That (=The place) school begins in April
    is (in) Japan."

b. Sakura no hana ga kirei na no(=toki)
    wa haru desu.
    cherry-blossom's flower pretty that(=time)
    Spring is
    "That (=The time) cherry-blossoms are pretty
    is Spring."

The sentence adverbial nature of secondary adverbials, especially those in (54), is reinforced by the fact that they often appear in topicalized forms as in these cases. This makes them less direct in their modificational relationship to the verbal constituents.
One more syntactic characteristic of this latter type of adverbial is the fact that two instances of the same type of adverbial can be used in the same sentence. Observe the following:

(57) a. Nihon de wa gakkoo ga Tookyoo de (wa) hatizi ni Hokkaidoo de (wa) kuzi ni hazimarimasu.

Japan in school Tokyo in eight at Hokkaido in nine at start

"In Japan, school begins at eight in Tokyo and at nine in Hokkaido."

b. Haru wa sigatu ni sakura no hana ga kirei desu.

Spring April in cherry-blossom 's flower pretty is

"In Spring, cherry-blossoms are pretty in April."

In (57a), Tookyoo de (wa) and Hokkaidoo de (wa) are both place adverbials that are being used in addition to the original place adverbial nihon de wa. Similarly, in (57b) another time adverbial sigatu ni is added to the original time adverbial haru wa. What all this means is that such adverbials as nihon de wa and haru wa are not direct modifiers of the predicate verbals but are 'transformed' into a sort of 'background' or 'setting' of time and place for the assertions to be made in the main sentence. I interpret this as meaning that especially the second type
of adverbials in (54) are actually 'sentence' adverbials which modify the whole proposition that follows them. Because of this double nature inherent in their modificational relationship, 'time' and 'place' adverbials are syntactically classified as Secondary Adverbials. They stand just in between Primary and Tertiary Adverbials.

On the basis of these observations, I propose the following tree structure as illustrating the double function of 'time' and 'place' adverbials:

(58)

```
(58)
       S
      /\1
     SAdv MS
    /   \  \\
   NP MV
     / \  \\
    VAdv V
       \\
Nihon de wa gakkoo ga sigatu ni hazimaru.
```

The structure for the more complex (57a) would look something like the following:39
2.3.5. Summary of the Three Ranks of Adverbials

As a way of characterizing Japanese adverbials from the point of view of their syntactic properties, I have proposed the three 'ranks' of adverbials. As a summary, Primary Adverbials are characterized as having a modificational relationship which refers 'internally' to the predicate verbals within the main sentence. They are represented by 'manner' and 'quantity' adverbials. Tertiary Adverbials, on the other hand, are 'sentence' adverbials in that they refer 'externally' to the main sentence as a
whole indicating specific 'reasons' or 'moods' for making certain propositions in the main sentence. They are typically represented by 'reason' and 'modal' adverbials. In between these two extremes come Secondary Adverbials. In many instances, they display a double character of functioning as either Primary or Tertiary Adverbials depending on the individual items or the circumstances under which they are used. Adverbials that display such double characteristics are 'time' and 'place' adverbials.

To rephrase the foregoing characterization of Japanese adverbials, we might be able to show the relationship existing between the three 'ranks' of adverbials more schematically by saying that there are two syntactic classes of adverbials: i.e., sentence adverbials and verbal adverbials. In terms of a lexical classification, however, there can be three classes of adverbials: i.e., sentence adverbials, verbal adverbials, and those that can function as both. The term 'rank' here is thus being used to refer to each of these three lexical classes of adverbials.
2. 3. 6. Speculations on the Nature of 'Sentence' Adverbials

In our discussion of Tertiary Adverbials, we have concentrated on characterizing 'reason' and 'modal' adverbials as 'sentence' adverbials. 'Sentence' adverbials have been defined as those adverbials which modify the whole sentence as co-constituents of the main sentence. In the rest of this chapter, I would like to take up this topic for further study in order to reveal the real nature of what are generally known as 'sentence' adverbials.

It is rather obvious that 'reason' adverbials are 'sentence' adverbials. They are identified as such on the basis of formal markers like kara 'because', node 'because', tame ni 'for the purpose of --ing', etc. These are conjunctions that form 'subordinate' clauses modifying the 'main' clauses. There are, however, cases where such obvious markings are lacking. 'Modal' adverbials like osoraku 'probably', zitu wa 'as a matter of fact', saiwa ni 'fortunately', ainiku 'regrettably', and akiraka ni 'clearly' are some of the examples that lack such overt markings. Consider the following:

(60) a. Osoraku kare wa konai daroo.

probably he come-not will
"Probably he will not come."

b. Zitu wa sono sigoto wa made dekite inai n desu.

fact-is that work still made not it-is-that

"As a matter of fact, the work is not finished yet."

c. Saiwai ni watasi no ie wa sensai o manugareta.

fortunately I 's house war-fire escaped

"Fortunately, my house escaped the fire during the war."

d. Ainiku sono toki ni kagitte okane o motiwasete inakatta no desu.

regrettably that time limiting money carrying was-not it-is-that

"Regrettably, I did not happen to have any money with me at that particular time."

e. Kondo no ziken wa akiraka ni kensatugawa no haiboku de aru.

this-time 's case clearly prosecution 's defeat is

"Clearly, the prosecution is to lose in the present case."

Under the traditional analysis introduced in Chapter One, these items should belong to the subcategory of adverbs called tinzyutu no hukusi 'adverbs of predication' (see 1. 2. 3). Adverbs of Predication are so named because
'they require certain specific moods for the predicates in which they are used'. The modificational relationship that this kind of adverb has with the rest of the sentence is not made too explicit in the traditional analysis, but from what the label of the category suggests, I think we can assume that it is supposed to modify the verbal constituents rather than the whole sentence. This implies that in Japanese traditional grammars, there are no such things as the 'sentence' adverbials that we recognize here.

The sentence adverbial nature of these items will become evident when we examine them more closely. Take, for example, the first sentence in (60a). Certainly, the osoraku 'probably' is seen to be affecting the mood of the predicate in such a way that the verb konai 'come-not' is transformed into its presumptive form to agree with the presumptive mood contained in the adverb. But the question is: Is that the only way that we can end this sentence? The answer is a definite no, because, instead of the presumptive form of the verb, we can end the sentence with such predicate expressions as to omou 'I think that', for example, as shown below:

(61) Osoraku kare wa konai to omou.
probably he not-come that I-think
"I think that he will probably not come."

Notice that the verb of the embedded sentence (i.e., *kare wa konai*) is in its present indicative form. Of course it is possible to use the presempptive form: i.e., *konai daroo*, but it is not obligatory if it is embedded in a sentence with *to omou*. The matrix sentence verb could also be *to kangaeru* 'I think that', *to soozoo-suru* 'I imagine that', or *to mite iru* 'I see it as', etc. (See more discussion on this below.) Thus, the traditional explanation that says that adverbs of predication only affect the predicate verbal is found to be untenable.

This difficulty with the traditional definition of 'adverbs of predication' may be avoided if we modify it in such a way that this class of adverbs does not directly affect the overt grammatical forms of predicate verbs but rather affects the 'mood' of the whole predication (or proposition) made in the sentence. Under this modified version of the definition, the 'predication' of the sentence has only to conform semantically to the various moods contained in the adverbials (e.g., moods of affirmation, negation, prohibition, etc.). But then the definition will become more and more abstract almost beyond control.
Consider the other examples, where the predicate verbals are all in their plain indicative forms. It would be difficult to pinpoint the exact moods (whatever they are) that are required by the adverbials.

I think that the most important question to be asked here is whether these adverbials in (60) are really modifying the verbals as traditional grammarians assume they are. I do not think they are. My conclusion is that they are 'sentence' modifiers. However, I hasten to add that they do not modify the whole sentence overtly in the same way that 'reason' and 'purpose' adverbials do. As succinctly suggested by (61) as a paraphrase of (60a), I interpret this phenomenon as meaning that what these adverbials are modifying is not the moods contained in the embedded sentences but the 'moods' or 'attitudes' inherent in the 'matrix' sentences. (See below for discussion).

But how do we know that the speaker's mood, attitude, judgment, etc. are inherent in the 'matrix' sentence? Where is the 'matrix' sentence in the first place? Answers to these questions do not seem to be obtainable from a surfact level analysis of the language. We need to explore deeper levels of the language to solve this 'mystery'.

The idea that actual sentences we hear or speak may
be transforms of still deeper sentences underlying them is a recent discovery. In order to really understand the nature of so-called 'sentence' adverbials, a brief exposition of what is now known as 'performative analysis' may turn out to be useful. Hopefully, it will help provide a key to answer the question why 'sentence' adverbials are Tertiary Adverbials.

The idea of 'performative analysis' originates from Austin (1962), who divided our speech acts basically into three: (i) locutionary acts, (ii) perlocutionary acts, and (iii) illocutionary acts. Very roughly put, 'locutionary' acts are acts of uttering speech expressions, and 'perlocutionary' acts are acts of speech involving actions prompted by 'locutionary' acts. If, on the other hand, 'perlocutionary' acts are embedded in 'locutionary' acts, they are called 'illocutionary' acts. As an illustration of this triple relationship, consider the following case. The utterance of the sentence

(62) I will give it to you.

is a locutionary act while it is still being spoken. But when the act of giving is completed, it becomes a perlocutionary act. On the other hand, if the speech act and the performed act (=the giving) are completed at the same
time, it is an illocutionary act. From this, utterances that involve illocutionary acts are called 'performative' utterances. Verbs that are used in performative utterances (e.g., **appoint**, **declare**, **grant**, **name**, **say**, etc.) are referred to as 'performative' verbs.42

One of the linguists who was most interested in the possible application of this idea was Ross (1970). According to him, all declarative sentences (in English at least) can be assumed to have been derived from performative sentences. For example, the famous sentence,

(63) Prices slumped.

is assumed to come from a more abstract sentence like,

(64) **I say to you that** prices slumped.

In this way, performative sentences must have first person subjects and usually have second person direct or indirect objects in deep structure. Of course, the underlying performative sentence (i.e., **I say to you that**) is deleted under certain conditions. Details aside, this is the main tenet of what is known as 'performative analysis'.

No matter what other implications this may have, the contribution it can give to our understanding of adverbials is great. Given this new perspective in speech analysis, we can now see more clearly why some adverbials can be
'sentence' modifiers. Some sentence adverbials are more related to such performative sentences rather than to the main (now embedded) sentence themselves. In fact, we might even say that sentence adverbials are remnants of performative sentences in the sense that they retain the moods in which individual sentences are uttered.

For instance, going back to an earlier example, osoraku 'probably' in (60a) retains the mood in which the proposition kare wa konai 'he will not come' is made. Thus, osoraku expresses the feelings, impressions, observations, etc., made by the first person speaker of the sentence. From this standpoint, we can say that the presumptive form of the verbal konai daroo has been influenced by the mood contained in the performative sentence. In other words, the sentence has the following logical structure:

(65) I say to you with a certain probability (or lack of certainty) that he will not come.

"Kare ga konai to iu koto o aru teido tasika na koto to site watasi wa anata ni tutaeru."

The other examples in (60) can be paraphrased more or less along this same line:

(66) a. Sono sigoto ga dekite inai koto o zizitu (no koto) to site anata ni tutaeru.

"I say to you as a matter of fact that the work is not finished yet."
b. Watasi no ie ga sensai o manugareta koto o saiwaî no koto to site anata ni tutateru.

"I say to you as a thing of good luck that my house escaped the air-raids."

c. Sono toki ni kagitte okane o motiawasete inakatta koto wa ainiku na koto to site anata ni tutateru.

"I say to you as a thing of regret (or with regret) that I did not have any money with me at that time."

d. Kondo no ziken ga kensatu-gawa no haiboku de aru koto o akiraka na koto to site anata ni tutateru.

"I say to you as an obvious fact that in the present case the prosecution is to lose."

The koto 'fact' in all of the paraphrases in (65)-(66) suggests that the embedded sentences stand for substantives answering the questions by What? rather than When?, Where?, How?, How much?, and whether? In other words, the whole (embedded) propositions are being described as 'probable', 'true', 'fortunate', 'regrettable', and 'evident'.

The analysis of 'modal' adverbials presented above as 'performative' adverbials has such an appeal that it makes us reluctant to give it up. Especially since all 'modal' adverbials are known to be 'speaker-oriented' in that they are descriptive of the speaker's, and not the subject's, psychological attitude toward ensuing propositions, the
performative analysis with the speaker 'I' in it seems to provide a plausible model for explaining this semantic fact. However, it presents some serious problems when we try to deal squarely with actual linguistic data.

One of the crucial defects of this analysis is the fact that all of the paraphrases given in (65)-(66) are too unrealistic in form to be probable sources for the 'modal' adverbials exemplified in (60). They are at best merely representative of the semantic contents of those adverbials with no formal correspondences between each set of the two groups of items.

Another problem concerns some doubt as to whether osoraku 'probably', for instance, is really modifying the 'performative' verb say. Certainly, as far as the paraphrased versions are concerned, they seem to modify the 'performative' verb. But it is rather doubtful whether osoraku 'probably' in its adverbial form is really modifying the performative verb in the sense of 'I probably say'.

In the face of these annoying problems, an alternative explanation would have to be proposed. In fact, an alternative analysis is possible along lines analogous to the 'performative' analysis. There is some evidence to show that the underlying structure of 'modal' adverbials
is 'osoraku ... (n) da', 'zitu wa ... (n) da', 'saiwai ni ... (n) da', 'ainiku ... (n) da', and 'akiraka ni ... (n) da', where ... is an embedded sentence. (Look for the evidence in the surface sentences in (60b), (60d), and possibly (60e). The copular expression (n) da in these examples indicate the speaker's assertion in the sense that 'I assert (the statement) to be (in the state of such and such)'. In other words, 'modal' adverbials like osoraku 'probably' are modifying the 'higher' sentence represented by the abstract structure 'I assert ... to be'. This assumption is based on my speculation that the structure 'osoraku ... (n) da' may very well be a result of an extraposition from structures like '... wa osoraku (nan) da', where ... is again a statement meaning 'I assert ... to be probable'. If the copular expression (n) da is later deleted, we get the resultant 'osoraku ...'. As surface evidence for this speculation, notice that most of these adverbials, once they are 'preposed', take on the -ku and ni forms which correspond to the adverbial forms of adjectivals discussed in Chapter One. This situation will be illustrated by the following structure:
Under this 'assertive' analysis, as it were, the following transformational processes are assumed to be in operation:

(68) (i) Watasi wa ... ga osoraku da to dantei-suru.

(Underlying Structure)
"I assert... to be probable."

(ii) ... ga osoraku da.

"After the deletion of the 'nigher' assertive sentence.)

(iii) Osoraku ....

(After the deletion of the copular expression)

2. 4. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have chiefly concerned ourselves with setting up a set of systematic criteria, semantic and
syntactic, for identifying adverbials in Japanese. On the basis of the semantically established criteria, we have separated out six classes of adverbials. They are (1) Time, (2) Place, (3) Reason, (4) Manner, (5) Quantity, and (6) Modal adverbials, each identifiable by the six questions that we can formulate in terms of \textit{When?}, \textit{Where?}, \textit{Why?}, \textit{How?}, \textit{How much?}, and \textit{Whether?} respectively.

In making a syntactic characterization of adverbials, we have resorted to their modificational relationships and divided them into the three ranks of (1) Primary, (2) Secondary, and (3) Tertiary adverbials. Primary adverbials are 'manner' and 'quantity' adverbials, which can be characterized as being 'primarily' predicate verbal modifiers. Their modificational relationship is 'internal' in the sense that they refer to the verbal elements inside the main sentence. Drastically opposed to Primary adverbials are Tertiary adverbials of 'reason' and 'modality', which can be characterized as being essentially 'sentence' modifiers. The modificational relationship of Tertiary adverbials is that of 'external' reference in that they are outside the main sentence. Tertiary adverbials provide a sort of 'pre-condition' for the propositions to be made in the main sentence. On the other hand, Secondary
adverbials of 'time' and 'place' may be characterized as being located in between these two extremes of Primary and Tertiary adverbials in that their modificational direction can be either internal or external depending on the situation. (See discussions in 2. 3. 1 and 2. 3. 4.) These are the three syntactic classes of Japanese adverbials. As to the nature of 'sentence' adverbials, two speculative suggestions have been offered. However, although they are highly probable, it will have to be noted that no decisive evidence is yet to be given. In the next chapter, we will go into a more detailed analysis of these classes of adverbials by way of subclassification.
Footnotes to CHAPTER TWO

1Cf. "A constituent is a bounded, or bracketed, element in a string: a morpheme, a word, a phrase, or an embedded sentence." (Rosenbaum (1967: 35, 82)

2Sentence (final) particles like ka 'question', ne 'confirmation', yo 'assertion', etc., which are optional, are being ignored here for the time being.

3The verb atta 'met' and the adjective wakai 'be young' can become independent constituents by themselves, but the copula da 'be' cannot stand alone as a constituent. Since da 'be' is an auxiliary verb, it becomes a constituent together with the preceding nominal element (i.e., noun or adjectival noun). Nakau (1972:11-26) identifies these three kinds of predicates as the three major predicate types in Japanese.

4For the meanings and uses of these categories, see Bloch (1946:1-24).
The idea of '(free) scrambling' comes from Ross (1967: Chapter 3).

Refer back to Chapter One, Footnote 34, for some typical pitch contours in Japanese. Notice that these pitch contours occur within what McCawley (1968a) called 'accent phrases' and not within word boundaries. For the various rules involved in Japanese accentuation, see McCawley (1968a).

It is for this reason that serious misunderstanding could arise in telegraphic messages in Japanese where sentences are 'truncated' without spacings or particles. The following is one of the stock examples which could be interpreted in two different ways depending on where the constituent cuts are made:

(i) KANE / OKURE / TANOMU.
   money send (I) request
   "Please send me some money."

(ii) KANE / OKURETA / NOMU.
    money delayed (I) drink
    "The money came too late. (So) I will drink with it."
Ross (1967: Chapter 4).

As suggested by the variant forms of da (i.e., na, no) listed in (2), Bloch (1946) is believed to be the first to analyze the surface possessive no as coming from the deep da. The analysis presented in (10) is an extension of his idea.

Harris (1957) uses the two criteria of 'substitutability' and 'expansion' for his constituent analysis.

As will be clear from the structure shown in (15), saku and no are in a relative clause construction, in which no is a formal (or grammatical) noun standing for more concrete nouns such as mono 'thing', hito 'person', toki 'time', tokoro 'place', etc., depending on the context. In this particular example, no stands for toki 'time' or kisetu 'season' referring to the time noun sigatu 'April' as the antecedent in the sentence. The deeper structure of this relative clause construction would be something like the following:

\[ \text{aru toki ni nihon de sakura ga saku} \quad \text{toki} \]
The time expression inside the brackets later gets deleted as a result of relativization. For further analyses of no and the relativization involving no, see Makino (1968), Josephs (1972), and Nakau (1973).

Notice, however, that Ross' Complex NP Constraint does not say anything about the impossibility of reordering within the Complex NP.


These structural analyses are adaptations from Imaizumi (1963:76).


This observation is due to Isami (1964-5: (7)). Isami is talking about the interchangeability of the two particles ga and o, but since marking relationships are determined by constituent relationships, I think I am justified in applying his idea in this way.
In dealing with what we would recognize as adverbials, Alfonso (1971:272) prefers to use the term *Verb Modifiers*, rather than the term *adverb*, "because even words which are Nouns can be used as verb modifiers..."

18 Fillmore (1966) is the initiator of this school of linguistics. Japanese grammars written within this grammatical framework are Taylor (1972), Inoue (1970), etc.

19 See Chomsky (1970) for a good summation of the variety of theories advanced within transformational grammar since his *Aspects* (1965).

20 Modality in case grammar is almost equivalent to *Aux* in Standard Theory, which includes tense, aspects, mood, etc.

21 In case grammar, a so-called case frame is used to indicate the environment in which verbs are used. For instance, the verb *open* is assumed to have the case frame of \([0 + A + (I)]\), which means that *open* can be chosen in the environment of Objective Case, Agentive Case, and optional Instrumental Case.
Fillmore (1968) adds this and other cases in his revised version of case grammar. Factive case refers to a state resulting from the action or circumstances specified by a verb, or to something that is considered to be part of the meaning of a verb. For example, the underlined items in the following sentences are considered as Factive cases:

(i) They elected him President.

(ii) I thought her crazy.

The suggested solutions to the questions are inferred from Fillmore (1966, 68).

Adapted from Inoue (1969) and Prideaux (1970). This PS grammar will be revised later.

The classical idea that adverbials can be exhaustively identified by the kinds of questions we can formulate was brought to my attention by C.-J. Bailey (personal communication). The specific suggestion that 'modal' adverbials may be related to 'yes-no' questions was made by Ho-min Sohn (personal communication).

So-called 'modality' words, which are called 'sentence'
adverbials in our system, are assumed here to be related to 'yes-no' questions. The conjunction 'whether' is being used to refer to these questions.

27 Isami (1964-5:(9)) interprets these two concepts as being both 'abstract means', as shown by,

(i) **Sigoto ni tukareru.** (Reason)

work with get tired

"Someone gets tired with his work."

(ii) **Sigoto ni dekakeru.** (Purpose)

work for depart

"Someone leaves for work."

28 The optionality of the particle *ni* along with the particle *to* in (iv) may show a certain process of change that is taking place in present-day Japanese. That is to say, the dropping of the particles is causing the 'adverbialization' of nouns and adjectival nouns. Originally, the particles were obligatory elements for adverbials like **takusan ni** 'very much', **sono ue ni** 'in addition (to that)', **nazi ni** 'why', **iroiro to** 'variously', **zuibun to** 'tremendously', **yukkuri to** 'slowly', etc. (Cf. Sakuma (1967:5-6))
29 The particle *to* in these examples may be the same as the reportative *to* 'as, (saying) that'. These phrases may have been derived through contraction from such clauses as, for instance, *batabata to iu oto o tatete* (or *tatenagara*) 'by making a clattering noise'. The particle *to* characteristically accompanies onomatopoetic words. (Cf Mikami (1962:149)). See footnote 14 in Chapter One for more discussion of this particle.

30 The idea that the -*te* forms of verbs might be 'verb-head modifiers' is due to Alfonso (1971:299). Notice the last three forms are pseudo-particles in Japanese, just as the English *concerning, on the part of, on behalf of, etc.* are pseudo-prepositions.

31 So-called 'shades of meanings' attributed to various synonymous verbs in English, for instance, can thus be clarified by separating out these 'manner' features incorporated in them. For example, *tap, strike, hit, beat* can be distinguished in the following way:

- **tap:** *'karuku utu'*
- **hit:** *'tuyoku utu'*
- **strike:** *'hagesiku utu'*
- **beat:** *'nando mo tuzukete utu'"
Notice the verb *utu* is kept constant in Japanese, with only the 'manner' features changed. In this particular case, however, we have in addition a similar synonymous set in Japanese, too:

- **tataku**: 'tap'
- **utu**: 'hit'
- **naguru**: 'strike, beat'

32 See Fries (1952) for the distinction between 'situation utterances' and 'response utterances'. His situation utterances may be rephrased as 'discourse-independent utterances'.

33 The time adverbial *kinoo wa* cannot be part of the reason adverbial clause because topicalization does not apply to elements in subordinate clauses. (See Kuno (1973))

34 *Doosite* can be ambiguous: it can be interpreted either as *dono yoo ni site* 'in what manner' (or *donna hochoo de* 'by what (kind of) means') or *doo iu* (or *donna*) *riyuu de* 'for what reason'. *Doosite* in the latter sense is more colloquial in style than *na ze*, just as English *How come?* is a colloquial version of the more formal *Why?*
35 The *n* is a contraction of *no*, which is related to the full form *mono*. It is typically used in a situation like this one where a certain reason is involved in the statement. That is why it is often explained as the 'n of explanation or elucidation'. (Cf. Young & Nakajima (1963: I, 98 & III, 47)).

36 *Kaimono o si* 'doing some shopping' is a nominal derived from the verbal expression *kaimono o suru* 'to do some shopping'. As a matter of fact, *kaimono* of *kaimono ni* in (50) can be considered as a transform of *kaimono o si* through *kaimono si* as a result of object marker deletion. Observe the following where the transformational process in which *kaimono o suru tame ni* becomes *kaimono ni* is shown:

(i) *kaimono o suru tame ni* → opt.
(ii) *kaimono o suru ni* → oblig.
(iii) *kaimono o si ni* → opt.
(iv) *kaimono ø si ni* → opt.
(v) *kaimono ø ø ni* 

Most -*suru* verbs (e.g., *benkyoo-suru* 'study', *ryokoo-suru* 'travel', *denwa-suru* 'telephone', etc.) can go through this transformational process. The stems of this kind of verb are mostly Sino-Japanese compounds denoting some kind of
'activity'. For some rules of adverbialization of this kind, see Inoue (1969: 75-6).

37 This adverbial could be construed as consisting of the clause kaimono o suru 'do shopping' and the pseudo-conjunction tame ni 'so that, in order that'. Also interpretable as pseudo-conjunctions are ...(suru) toki ni 'when (someone does)...', ...(suru) aida ni 'while (someone does)...', ...(suru) mae ni 'before (someone does)...', ...(sita) ato de 'after (someone does)...', etc. Also, to as in

(a) Yuki ga huru to samui.

snow fall when is-cold

"When it snows, it is cold."

is said to be an abbreviation of toki (ni) 'when'. See Hendersen (1948:299).

38 I have arbitrarily derived the new S node from SAdv, although it is not derivable from the simple phrase structure grammar given in (25). I think this is justifiable if the view is correct that 'reason' adverbials are in fact 'sentence' adverbials.
Here also, as in footnote 38 above, I am taking the liberty of arbitrarily deriving new S's from the topmost S. This recursiveness makes it possible to show the hierarchical relationship such that *nihon de wa* is a SAdv modifying both S₁ and S₂, while *Tookyoo de* and *Hokkaidoo de* are SAdv's modifying their respective M₅'s.

By this statement, it is being implied that all subordinate clauses (except for relative clauses) are considered as syntactically 'sentence' adverbials.

*Zitu wa* and *akiraka ni* are not listed in either Imaizumi (1963) or Takeuchi (1973:175ff). However, Inoue (1969) lists them as DSₓ (=Sentence Adverbs other than *Wa*).

Ross (1970:222-3).
CHAPTER THREE
Further Analysis of Japanese Adverbials

3. 0. Introduction

The general criteria that we have established in Chapter Two have expanded the traditional notion of 'adverbs' into the broader concept of 'adverbial constituents'. This change in perspective has been deemed necessary in order to rid ourselves of the strict morphological restrictions imposed by the traditional approach and to allow ourselves to capture more linguistically significant generalizations from the point of view of a broader semantic and syntactic framework.

On the basis of semantic criteria, we have identified the six adverbial classes of Time, Place, Reason, Modality, Manner, and Quantity. And, from among these six semantic classes of adverbials, we have identified the three distinct syntactic 'ranks' of Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Adverbials. The rest of our work in this chapter, then, will be to subclassify these adverbials by way of further analysis along these lines.
Unlike the prolific situation in English linguistics in recent years, analyses of Japanese adverbials from innovative points of view are scarce.¹ So far, Isami (1964-5) has been perhaps the first and last to really delve into this area of Japanese grammar.² Naturally, much of Isami's analysis has been incorporated into this work. The organization of this chapter follows the order of the three 'ranks' of adverbials (i.e., Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary) that have been established as the three major classes of adverbials. These three groups of adverbials will be introduced in three separate sections, in which the semantic classes will be illustrated followed by their subclassification. Then, various syntactic and semantic arguments will be presented by way of justification for each subclassification. Since this is the core chapter of this thesis, a concentrated effort will be made to insure that all major adverbial constituents in Japanese will be treated both intensively and extensively.

3. 1. 0. Primary Adverbials

As was pointed out in 2. 3. 1, Primary Adverbials are syntactically characterized as having an 'internal relationship' in terms of their modificational structure;
they are direct modifiers of the verbal constituents within the main sentence. Of the five semantic classes established, Manner and Quantity Adverbials belong to this 'rank' of adverbials. We will begin subclassifying Manner Adverbials.

3.1.1. Manner Adverbials

Observe the following examples first to see the range of uses that Manner Adverbials cover. The underlined items represent some of the major subclasses of this group of adverbials:

(1) a. Nani mono ka ni usiro kara ikinari osoikakarareta.

some body by back from suddenly was-attacked

"I was suddenly attacked by somebody from behind."

b. Nagai koto awanakatta tornodati ni hyokkori deatta.

long thing did-not-meet friend with unexpectedly came-across

"I unexpectedly came across a friend whom I had not seen for a long time."

c. Anata wa gakkoo e aruie kuruma de kimasu ka, kimasu ka.

you school to by-walking come ?, car by come ?

"Do you come to school on foot or by car?"
d. Mae wa hitori de kurasite imasita ga, ima wa otooto to (issyo ni) sunde imasu.

before oneself by living was but now brother with (together with) living am

"I used to live alone before, but now I live (together) with my brother."

As the examples above illustrate, all manner adverbials share the general function of describing how (i.e., in what manner or way) certain actions (or states) take place.

As subclasses of this group of adverbials, I include (i) 'true' manner adverbials as in (a), (ii) '(semi-)onomatopoetic' adverbials as in (b), (iii) 'means' or 'instrumental' adverbials as in (c), and (iv) 'comitative' or 'accompanymental' adverbials as in (d). Before going into detained discussions on the characteristics of these adverbials, I will present some more examples for each subclass of manner adverbials below:

(2) i. 'true' manner adverbials:

(a) gungun (to) 'increasingly'
omomuro ni 'slowly'
dandan (to) 'gradually'
ikihari 'suddently'
masumasu 'more and more'
wazawaza 'on purpose'
etc.

(b) hagesiku 'severely, hard'
tuyoku 'hard'
yoozu ni 'skillfully'
takumi ni 'cleverly' 

etc.

ii. '(semi-)onomatopoetic' adverbials:

(a) korokoro (to) 'with a sound of a rolling object'
sarasara (to) 'with a sound of water running in shallow stream'
soyosoyo (to) 'with a sound of a soft breeze'
batabata (to) 'clatteringly'
potari (to) 'with a flop'

etc.

(b) satto 'swiftly'
zitto 'quietly, still'
sotto 'quietly'
karari to 'in a clear manner'
koossori (to) 'sneakingly'
sururi (to) 'in a slimy way'
dokkari (to) 'with a thud'
nikkori (to) 'with a smile'
hirahira (to) 'flutteringly'
nakkiri (to) 'firmly'

etc.

iii. 'means' adverbials:

(a) kuruma de 'by car'
nikooki de 'by plane'
tegami de 'by letter'
denwa de 'by telephone'
te de 'with a hand'
atama de 'with a head'
naihu de 'with a knife'
booenkyoo de 'with a telescope'

etc.

(b) aruite 'by walking, on foot'
kuruma ni notte 'by riding a car'
naihu o tukatte 'by using a knife'

etc.
iv. 'comitative' adverbials

(a) zibun de 'by oneself, alone'
    hitori de 'alone'
    hutari de 'by two persons, two together'
    minna de 'all together'
    etc.

(b) otootto to 'with my brother'
    tomodati to 'with a friend'
    etc.

(c) issyo ni 'together'
    tagai ni 'mutually'
    etc.

(d) inu o turete 'with a dog'
    hon o motte 'with a book'
    etc.

Thus, manner adverbials display a wide variety of forms
and meanings. Remarks on some of the major characteristics
of manner adverbials are now in order.

The 'true' manner adverbials in (2i) consist of (a)
'absolute' manner adverbials and (b) 'derived' manner
adverbials. 'Absolute' manner adverbials are those that
belong to adverbs of manner and circumstance in the tradi-
tional grammar. 'Derived' manner adverbials are those -ku
and ni forms of adjectives and adjectival nouns that have
become regular adverbials as a result of the adverbiali-
ization phenomenon discussed in Chapter One. Naturally,
what I call 'pseudo-adverbials' are not included here
(see 1. 3. 2).
It has been generally pointed out that 'manner' adverbials in English have a deep structure representable by the phrase 'in an (adjective) manner'. For example, the adverbial in the following (3a) can be paraphrasable by (3b) below:

(3)  a. He drew the picture **skillfully**.
    b. He drew the picture **in a skillful manner**.

Whereas this paraphrase formula conveniently applies to most English adverbials ending in -ly, it does not work with the 'absolute' manner adverbials in Japanese. However, it does work very well with the 'derived' manner adverbials ending in -ku and ni in Japanese. We will see how it applies to this group of adverbials first. Observe the following examples:

(4)  a. Kare wa atama o tuyoku utte sokusi-sita.
    he head hard hit died-instantly
    "He hit his head hard and died instantly."
    b. Kare wa atama o tuyoi hoo de utte sokusi-sita.
    he head hard manner in hit died-instantly
    "?He hit his head **in a hard manner** and died instantly."

The paraphrased adverbial in (b) above sounds a little unnatural because it is not a colloquial expression, but
it expresses the same meaning as the 'derived' adverbial in (a). Perhaps a more idiomatic expression would be *tuyoi uti-kata de* 'in a hard manner of hitting'.

As I have already mentioned in 1.3.2, this paraphrase formula can be effectively used as a test to see whether a certain adverbial in -ku or ni is indeed a 'true' adverbial of manner or not. In the following pair,

(5) a. Kanozyo wa kodomo o *zyoozu ni* sodateta.
   "She raised her child(ren) skillfully."

b. Kanozyo wa kodomo o *zyoobu ni* sodateta.
   "She raised her child(ren) healthy and strong."

Only the first item is paraphrasable in this formula, as the result of the test shows below:

(6) a. Kanozyo wa kodomo o *zyoozu na hoohoo de* (or *zyoozu na sodate-kata de*) sodateta.
   "She raised her children in a skillful manner (or in a skillful manner of raising)."

b. *Kanozyo wa kodomo o zyoobu na hoohoo de sodateta.
   "She raised her child(ren) in a healthy manner."

Unlike the English translation given for (b) above, the (b) sentence in Japanese does not make any sense. The deep
structure for this particular sentence must be something like the following (see the discussion on (57) in Chapter One):

(7) Kanozyo wa kodomo ga zyoobu ni naru yoo ni kodomo o sodateta.

She raised her child(ren) so that it would become healthy and strong.

Going back to 'absolute' manner adverbials, we find that adverbials like ikinari 'suddenly' and totuzen (ni) 'suddenly' cannot be paraphrased in this formula, as the following examples show:

(8) a. Nani mono ka ni ikinari osoikakarareta.

"I was attacked by somebody suddenly."

b. *Nani mono ka ni ikinari no hoohoo de osoikakarareta.

"I was attacked by somebody in a sudden manner."

The impossibility of the (b) sentence above may be due to the fact that the adverbial ikinari 'suddenly' has no corresponding adjectival form. If so, the difficulty is only of a morphological nature. But on second thought,
the problem seems to lie deeper. From the semantic point of view also, most of what I call 'absolute' manner adverbials behave differently from other manner adverbials. For instance, they cannot be modified by degree adverbials as shown by the following:

(9) *Nani mono ka ni totemo ikinari osoikakarareta. 
    very suddenly
    "*I was attacked by somebody very suddenly."6

In a similar vein, they cannot be used in comparative constructions: e.g.,

(10) *Kyoo wa kinoo yori (motto) ikinari osoikakarareta. 
     today yesterday than more suddenly was-attacked
     "*Today I was attacked more suddenly than yesterday."

Because of these characteristics, I call this group of manner adverbials 'absolute'. They are absolute in almost the same sense that some adjectives like round or square are 'absolute'. They too cannot be modified by degree adverbials nor are they used in comparative constructions. Observe the following non-sentences involving these 'absolute' adjectives:

(11) a. *This circle is very round.
b. *This circle is rounder than that one.

It is interesting to notice, in this connection, that semi-onomatopoetic adverbials, another group of manner adverbials, like sikkari (to) 'tightly, firmly' and kerotto 'innocently, coolly' can be paraphrased in a similar formula by being accompanied by (to) sita, as in

(12) a. Kanozyo wa sikkari to kotaeta.

she firmly answered

"She answered firmly."

b. Kanozyo wa sikkari to sita taido de kotaeta.

she firm attitude in answered

"She answered in a firm attitude."

(13) a. Kodomo wa kerotto kotaeta.

child innocently answered

"The child answered innocently."

b. Kodomo wa kerotto to sita yoosu de kotaeta.

child innocent appearance in answered

"The child answered in an innocent manner (or appearance)."

Evidently, this possibility is due to the fact that the formula 'Adv + to sita' has the capacity of being used as the predicate like any other adjectival expression, as in
(14) a. Kanozyo wa (totemo) sikkari (to) site iru.
    she very firm is
    "She is (very) firm (i.e., mature)."
 b. Kodomo wa (totemo) kerotto site iru.
    child very innocent is
    "The child looks very innocent."

Naturally partly shown by the examples above, these expressions are capable of being modified by degree adverbials or used in comparative constructions. Incidentally, the occurrences of the verb site iru in these examples are related to those in the following sentences:

(15) a. Kanozyo wa aoi kao o site iru.
    she blue face obj doing is
    "She looks pale." (Lit. She is wearing a blue face.)
 b. Kanozyo wa marui kao o site iru.
    round face
    "She has a round face."
 c. Kanozyo wa ookina me o site iru.
    big eyes
    "She has a pair of big eyes."

(16) a. Kanozyo wa ookina iyaringu o site iru.
    big ear-rings
"She wears a pair of big ear-rings."

b. Kanozyo wa daiyamondo no yubiwa o site iru.

diamond 's ring

"She wears a diamond ring."

The expressions in (15) represent the girl's physical appearance, while those in (16) list the accessories on her body. In either case, they describe her external appearance. Thus, (14b) can be redundantly expanded using o site iru as in the following:

(17) Kodomo wa kerotto sita yoosu o (or kao o) site iru.

child innocent appearance (or face) wearing is

"The child is looking innocent."

'Onomatopoetic' adverbials chiefly refer to actual sounds, while 'semi-onomatopoetic' adverbials refer to appearance, manner, attitude, etc., associated with those sounds or movements. However, the two are not always distinguishable. For instance, in

(18) Ogawa ga sarasara to nagarete iru.

stream rustlingly flowing is

"The stream is flowing with a rustling sound."

the adverbial sarasara to is referring to the actual sound made by the stream water running through small rocks, etc.
In the case of the following sentence, on the other hand,

(19) Kare wa sikisi ni haiku o sarasara to kaita.

he card-board on Haiku poem rustlingly wrote

"He wrote a Haiku poem on the card-board in an easy manner."

the same adverbial, while referring indirectly to the rustling sound of the writing utensil made as it moves across the card-board (i.e., by metaphorical extensions), is being used more in the sense of 'easiness' with which the subject wrote the Haiku poem. Thus, it is often difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between 'full' and 'semi' onomatopoetic adverbials. This difficulty is presumed to be due to the fact that, as in the case of sarasara to just quoted above, most onomatopoetic adverbials have developed their secondary meanings or uses as manner adverbials. To cite another example, kosokoso to is an onomatopoetic adverbial which, in its primary use, is a 'derivative' from a longer expression such as the following:

(20) 'kosokoso' to iu oto o sasete (or sasenagara) (sound) as say sound obj making (or while making)

"by making (or while making) a rustling or whispering sound"
The item 'kosokoso' in the above example directly refers to the sound that people are assumed to make when they move 'sneakingly' or whisper 'secretly'. An association with this sound naturally has given rise to the secondary use of the adverbial: namely, that of a more figurative adverbial with the sense 'sneakingly, stealthily, or secretly'.

I have already mentioned briefly that 'absolute' manner adverbials are normally incapable of being modified by degree adverbials. Interestingly enough, these 'figurative' or 'semi-onomatopoetic' adverbials are also incapable of being modified by degree adverbials. In light of these similar peculiarities, I am tempted to conclude that these two subgroups of manner adverbials might be somehow related. The fact that most 'absolute' manner adverbials have the morphological make-up of reduplication (e.g., gungun, dandan, masumasu, etc.) attests to the possibility that they may have been 'derived' from broader onomatopoeia which exhibits the same property of reduplication.

Now, the reason why these two subgroups of manner adverbials cannot be modified by degree adverbials may have to do with the 'predicational ability' of adjectivals
discussed in 1. 3. 2. By 'predicational ability' of adjectivals, I mean the capability of adjectivals (i.e., adjectives and adjectival nouns) to be predicates of sentences. 'Absolute' manner adverbials like gungun 'increasingly', omomuro ni 'slowly', and ikinari 'suddenly' do not have the 'predicational ability' that 'derived' manner adverbials like tuyoku 'hard' and zvoozu ni 'skillfully' have. For example, compare the grammatical sentence (a) with the ungrammatical one in (b) below:

(21) a. Kare wa pinpon (or zyoozu da). ga tuyoi
   he table-tennis strong (or skillful)
   "He is strong (or skilled) in ping-pong."

b. *Kare no syuppatu wa ikinari datta.
   he 's departure sudden was
   "His departure was sudden."

Thus, the fact that 'derived' manner adverbials like tuyoku and zvoozu ni are capable of being modified by degree adverbials (e.g., totemo tuyoku and totemo zvoozu ni) must be due to the 'predicational ability' that they still retain even in their derived forms.

Perhaps a better way of looking at the phenomenon in question would be to view it from the standpoint of the
function that degree adverbials have. In other words, what degree adverbials can modify are basically adjectivals. This explains why tuyoku and zyoozu ni can be modified by degree adverbials, because after all they are derived from their adjectival forms (i.e., tuyoi and zyoozu da) as exemplified in (21a). This also explains why some 'semi-onomatopoetic' adverbials can be modified by degree adverbials if they can take the adjectival pattern (i.e., 'Adv + to site iru) illustrated in (14a). Observe the following:

(22) a. Kono ko wa totemo sikkari to site iru.
this child very firm as doing is
"This child is very mature."
b. Kyoo wa totemo karari to site iru.
today very clear as doing is
"It is very clear today."

Used in this pattern, these items have become adjectivals with 'predicational ability'. Naturally, it is now possible for them to be modified by degree adverbials as in these examples or used in comparative constructions as in the following:

(23) a. Kono ko wa uti no ko yori sikkari (to) site iru.
this child home 's child than mature is
"This child is maturer than our child."

b. Kyoo wa kinoo yori karari to site iru.
today yesterday than clear is
"Today it is clearer than yesterday."

Some items like yukkuri 'slowly', hakkiri 'clearly', and the sikkari quoted above can be modified by degree adverbials by themselves in addition to being used in the adjectival pattern: e.g.,

(24) a. Motto yukkuri hanasite kudasai.
more slowly speak please
"Please speak more slowly."

b. Motto hakkiri hanasite kudasai.
more clearly speak please
"Please speak more clearly."

c. Motto sikkari tukamatte kudasai.
more tightly hold on please
"Please hold on to it more tightly."

The fact that most 'manner' adverbials in Japanese, especially 'absolute' manner adverbials, are thus incapable of being modified by degree adverbials (or used in comparative constructions) by themselves may indicate that they are fundamentally different in nature from 'manner'
adverbials in English. In English, most 'manner' adverbials are derived from their corresponding adjectival forms (e.g., skillfully < skillful, cleverly < clever, clumsily < clumsy, etc.). Naturally, most English manner adverbials are capable of being modified by degree adverbials (e.g., very skillfully, very cleverly, very clumsily, etc.) or used in comparative constructions: e.g.,

(25) a. John plays more skillfully than Mary.
b. Mary talks more cleverly than John.

This brings me to a very interesting observation made by Kuroda (1969). It concerns the difference between English and Japanese manner adverbials. Kuroda suggests that when people say,

(26) Mary smiled happily.

they do not mean to say,

(27) Mary smiled in a manner which was happy.

Rather, Kuroda goes on to say, what people mean by (26) is more or less the following:

(28) Mary was happy when she smiled.

Now this idea of Kuroda's coincides with the 'predicational ability' of adjectivals that I have proposed with reference to 'pseudo-adverbials' in Chapter One. By incorporating this insight into our analysis of 'pseudo-adverbials', we
may be able to say that the 'pseudo-adverbial' in

(29) Tuki ga *akaruku* tette iru.
      moon    brightly shining is
      "The moon is shining brightly."

has the 'predicational ability' such that it is capable of being paraphrased into

(30) Tuki ga tette iru toki tuki ga *akarui*.
      moon shining is when moon is-bright
      "The moon is bright when it is shining."

The interesting observation discussed above may be indicative of the fact that English 'manner' adverbials include those that denote more than 'manner'. It seems to suggest that the label 'manner' adverbial in English is based on morphology. On the other hand, my exclusion of such pseudo-adverbials as *akaruku* 'brightly' and *kirei ni* 'beautifully' suggests that my theory is based more on semantics. This strictness comes from my intuition that perceives a fundamental difference, not only in semantics but also in syntax, between the following English and Japanese 'manner' adverbials:

(31) a. She smiled *happily*.
      b. Kanozyo wa *nikkori (to)* hohoenda.
      she   sweetly     smiled
"She smiled sweetly."

Although (31a) above may be paraphrasable as She smiled in a happy manner, the real meaning behind it must be, as Kuroda suggests, She was happy when she smiled, and not she smiled in a manner which was happy. In the Japanese sentence in (31b), on the other hand, the adverbial nikkori to 'sweetly' strictly refers to her manner of smiling and not to her psychic state at the time of her smiling, as in English. As evidence to show the correctness of this interpretation, consider the following paraphrases, which are not plausible in either case:

(32) a. *Kanozyo wa hohoenda toki nikkori (to) datta.
   she smiled when sweetly was

   b. Kanozyo wa hohoenda toki nikkori (to) site ita.
      sweetly
      doing was

"She looked sweet when she smiled."

Notice the (b) sentence is grammatical in its own right, but it does not mean 'she was sweet when she smiled'. The paraphrase nikkori to site ita only refers to her manner of appearance, as the examples in (15)-(16) have shown. If we want to refer to her psychic state (i.e., being happy), we would have to phrase it as follows:
With these remarks on 'manner' adverbials including '(semi-)onomatopoetic' adverbials, we will go on to the 'means' adverbials in (2iii). 'Means' adverbials are basically made up of some 'means' nouns plus the 'means' particle de. 'Means' nouns include means of transportation (e.g., kuruma, hikooki), means of communication (e.g., tegami, denwa), instruments (e.g., naihu, booenkyoo, piano), utensils (e.g., pen, hasi), etc. As surface constituents, the -te forms of verbs are often observed to exhibit the same kind of relationship as in the regular phrase adverbial with the particle de 'by means of'. However, I will include only those constituents with -te that can be paraphrased by de. Compare the two different instances of the -te forms of verbs in the following examples:

(33) Kanzoyo wa uresi-soo ni hohoenda.

She smiled in a happy manner.

"She smiled in a happy manner."

(34) a. Hasi o tukatte (=hasi de) taberu.

chopstick using eat

"(I) eat with chopsticks."

b. Tookyoo e itte benkyoo-suru. (Tookyoo de)

to go and study
"(I) will go to Tokyo, and study."

Originally, both of the -te forms in the above examples are the 'gerundive' forms of the verbs tukau 'to use' and iku 'to go' respectively. In modern Japanese, however, (34a) is felt to be a simple sentence, whereas (34b) is clearly a compound sentence with the -te form still functioning as the non-final predicate verbal. Hasi o tukatte in (34a) is substitutable by hasi de 'with chopsticks', which is a genuine 'means' adverbial, but Tookyoo de 'in Tokyo' in (34b) is not an exact paraphrase of the clause Tookyoo e itte 'by going to Tokyo, go to Tokyo and then...'. Similarly, the -te form aruite 'by walking, on foot' has the syntactic characteristic of being substitutable for toho de 'on foot', which parallels other regular 'means' adverbials like kuruma de 'by car', zitensya de 'by bicycle', etc. The same point can be made with reference to the -te forms of such verbs as noru 'to ride', tukau 'to use', etc. as exemplified in (2iib). In other words, such -te form expressions as aruite, etc. are no longer clauses with the gerundive -te, but have been reduced to adverbial phrases paraphrasable into comparable (genuine) phrase adverbials.
Comitative adverbials are representable by (human) nouns plus the comitative particle to 'with'. In addition to this, adverbials with de and ni are semantically used as 'comitative' adverbials: e.g., zibun de, issyo ni, etc. As for -te form adverbials like inu o turete 'with a dog', the same kind of argument that I presented for 'means' adverbials with -te can be made to justify them. Some comitative adverbials can be used together with some other comitative adverbials as if to specify or intensify the former: e.g.,

(35) otooto to mutari de 'by two together with my brother'
    otooto to issyo ni 'together with my brother'
    tomodati to takai ni 'mutually with my friend'

3. 1. 2. Quantity Adverbials

The following examples illustrate the uses of some quantity adverbials:

(36) a. Niwa de kodomo ga sannin asonde iru.
    "There are three children playing in the yard."

    b. Ie no mae ni hito ga oozei atumatte ita.
    "There were a lot of people gathered in front of the house."
The above examples are all quantity adverbials in that they answer questions with 'How much?' As they show, quantity adverbials consist of (i) 'quantifiers' as in (a)-(b), and (ii) 'degree' adverbials as in (c)-(d). Syntactically, both of them are Primary Adverbials because they 'primarily' modify verbs. Sannin and oozei in (a)-(b) are modifying the verbs asonde iru and atumatte ita respectively. The degree adverbial totemo in (c) is modifying the adjective musiatui, but the other degree adverbial moo is modifying the quantifier (adverbial) ippai. The following is a list of some typical specimens of these subgroups of adverbials:

(37) i. Quantifiers:

(a) Definite

hitori 'one person'
nihiki 'two animals'
sansatu 'three books'
yonmai 'four sheets (of paper)'
gohai 'five cupfuls (of water)'

rokuonsu 'six ounces (of sugar)'
etc.

(b) Indefinite

oozei 'many (people)
takusan 'many (things)'
unto 'a lot'
sukosi 'a little'
tyotto 'a little bit'
zyakkan 'some'
minna 'all'
zenbu 'all'
subete 'all'

etc.

ii. Degree Adverbials:

(a) Emphatic

totemo 'very'
taihen 'very'
hizyoo ni 'very'
itiban 'the most'
mottomo 'the most'
zuibun 'considerably'
daibu 'greatly'
sugoku 'awfully'
nidoku 'terribly'
osorosiku 'horribly'

etc.

(b) Non-Emphatic

yaya 'rather'
ikubun 'somewhat'
nao 'further'
motto 'more'
wazuka 'slightly'
sukosi 'a little'
tyotto 'a little'

etc.
As the list indicates, quantifiers are both definite and indefinite. There are many differences between definite and indefinite quantifiers. Morphologically, all definite quantifiers are made up of numerals and classifiers (e.g., hito-ri 'one-person', ni-hiki 'two-animals', san-satu 'three-volumes', etc.). Indefinite quantifiers have no such morphological structure. Syntactically, definite quantifiers undergo more movement transformations than indefinite quantifiers.

First, definite quantifiers have to have their classifiers agree with the various semantic features of subject or object NP's that they refer to. Observe this agreement phenomenon in the following examples:

(38) a. Gakusei ga gonin iru.
    student subj five-persons exist
    "There are five students."

b. Inu ga sanbiki iru.
    dog subj three-animals exist
    "There are three dogs."

c. Hon o yonsatu katta.
    book obj four-volumes bought
    "(I) bought four books."

d. Kutusita o jussoku katta.
socks  obj ten-pairs bought
"(I) bought ten pairs of socks."

e.  Komé o nijupondo katta.
rice obj twenty-pounds bought
"(I) bought twenty pounds of rice."

f.  Koohii o sanbai nonda.
coffee obj three-cups drank
"(I) drank three cups of coffee."

Classifiers are either counters of common nouns like -nin in (a), -hiki (or-biki) in (b), and -satu in (c), or measurers of material nouns like -pondo in (e) and -hai (or-bai) in (f). -Soku (or -zoku) in (d) is a special counter for things that are usually counted by pairs.

When we compare the Japanese quantifier system with that of English, we notice that only measurers of material nouns are used in English, and counters of common nouns are rarely used except for a special case where things are counted in pairs or sets. Since classifiers have to agree with the semantic (classificatory) features of referent nouns, they may be regarded as somewhat redundant from the English point of view. But this redundancy is necessary for Japanese quantifiers because in Japanese quantifiers and their referent nouns are often separated
from each other. Moreover, their referent nouns are often even omitted on the surface structure as in the following:

(39) a. Hon o kinoo depaato de gosatu kaimasita.
    book obj yesterday dept-store in five-volumes bought
    "(I) bought five books at the department store yesterday."

(b) Kyoo wa issatu mo kaimasen desita.
    today one-volume even did-not-buy
    "Today I did not buy even one (book)."

In (39a) above, the object NP non o and its quantifier gosatu are widely separated from each other. In (b), the referent noun (e.g., hon o) is entirely deleted from the surface structure.

Another important characteristic of definite quantifiers in Japanese is their free transportability. As we have seen in 1. 3. 4, definite quantifiers can occur in all of the following three (or four) positions:

(40) i. As Monimal Modifiers:
    Sannin no kodomo ga asonde iru.
    three 's children playing are
    "Three children are playing."

ii. As Limiters of Nouns:
Kodomo  sannin ga asonde iru.
children three-persons playing are
"Three children are playing."

iii. As Verbal Modifiers:
Kodomo  ga sannin asonde iru.
children three-persons playing are
"Children are playing in the number of three (or triply, three-wise)."
or
Sannin kodomo ga asonde iru.
three-persons children playing are
"In the number of three, children are playing."

Position (i) is usually for nouns, and position (iii) is for regular adverbials. Position (ii) is quite peculiar to definite quantifiers. This position can only be filled by 'limiters' like dake 'only', bakari 'nothing but', and made 'even', as illustrated below:

(41) Kodomo dake ga asonde iru.

child only playing is
"Only children are playing."

Thus, definite quantifiers have something in common with limiters in that they can fill this peculiar position.
Isami (1964-5):(4)) has the following Phrase Structure rule to account for this situation:

(42) \[ L \rightarrow (\text{Quant}) \ (\text{Def}) \]

where \( L = \text{Limiter}, \ \text{Quant} = \text{Quantifier} \) (e.g., \( \text{hitori} \) 'one person', \( \text{sansatu} \) 'three volumes', \( \text{oozei} \) 'plenty (of people)', \( \text{takusan} \) 'many (things)'), and \( \text{Def} = \text{Definitive} \) (e.g., \( \text{dake} \) 'only', \( \text{bakari} \) 'nothing but', \( \text{made} \) 'even'). In other words, Isami derives both quantifiers and definitives from the more general category 'Limiters' (of nouns).

The following example illustrates a situation where both occur:

(43) Kodomo \( \text{sannin dake} \) ga asonde iru.

child three only subj playing are

"Only three children are playing."

Of course, as a true 'limiter' (or definitive' in Isami's terminology), \( \text{dake} \), etc. does not have the positions (i) and (ii), as shown by the following anomalies:

(44) a. \*\( \text{Dake no kodomo} \) ga asonde iru.

b. \*\( \text{Kodomo ga dake} \) asonde iru.

It would seem that the use of quantifiers like \( \text{sannin} \) in position (ii) is related somehow to the use of plural suffixes like \(-\text{tati}\) or \(-\text{ra}\), as in
(45) Kodomo-**tati** (or Kodomo-**ra**) ga asonde iru.

"The children are playing."

The difference between quantifiers and these suffixes is that the former specify the exact number, while the latter indicate the mere plurality of the nouns involved. This would imply that quantifiers can be used as 'limiters' or 'specifiers' of nouns. Compare this fact with indefinite quantifiers, which lack this usage. (See below for this discussion).

Strangely, this property of definite quantifiers is not shared by **indefinite** quantifiers. The following test for definite quantifiers shows this discrepancy:

(46) a. **Oozei no** kodomo ga asonde iru.

"Many children are playing."

b. *Kodomo **oozei** ga asonde iru.

c. Kodomo ga **oozei** asonde iru.

or

**Oozei** kodomo ga asonde iru.
many-persons children playing are
"In this big group children are playing."

In other words, indefinite quantifiers cannot function as 'limiters' of nouns, which occupy the (b) position. Except for this discrepancy, however, both definite and indefinite quantifiers behave the same way in Japanese syntax.

As we have already seen in Chapter One, not all so-called 'number words' are quantifiers. Observe the following examples involving number words:

(47) a. New York e sankai ikimasita.
    to three-times went
    "(I) have been to New York three times."

b. Amerika ni hatinen sunde imasu.
    in eight-years living am
    "(I) have been living in America for eight years."

c. Musume wa itinen ni se ga ni-inti nobita.
    daughter one-year in height two-inches grew
    "My daughter has grown two inches in height in one year."

All the items in the above examples are indeed made up of numerals and a certain kind of classifier. But notice that these 'classifiers' have very little to do with the referent nouns they are supposed to count or measure. In
other words, neither **New York** nor **America** has anything to do with the classifiers **kai** 'times' or **nen** 'years'.

A possible relationship exists between **se** 'height' and **-inti** 'inches', because one's height can be measured in terms of **inches**. Yet, none of these number words passes the qualifying test given earlier in (40) and (46), as the following result shows:

(48) i. *Sankai no New York e ikimasita.
three-times 's New York to went

ii. *New York sankai e ikimasita.
        New York three-times to went

iii. New York e sankai ikimasita.
        New York to three-times went

"(I) have been to New York three times."

(49) i. *Hatinen no America ni sunde imasu.
eight-years 's America in living am

ii. *America hatinen ni sunde imasu.
eight-years

iii. America ni hatinen sunde imasu.
        America in eight-years living am

"(I) have been living in America for eight years."
(50) i. ?Ni-inti no se ga nobita.
   two-inches's height grew
ii. ?Se ni-inti ga nobita.
   height two-inches grew
iii. Se ga ni-inti nobita.
   height two-inches grew
   "The height grew two inches."

The result of the test shows that these number words are 'pure' adverbials, and nothing else. Sankai 'three times' is a 'frequency' adverbial modifying ikimasita 'went', hati-nen 'eight years' is another 'time' adverbial, and ni-inti 'two inches' barely qualifies as a quantifier.

Compare these number words also with indefinite quantifiers which display a similar behavior.

With these remarks on the three possible positions of quantifiers, we now turn to the question of whether there is any semantic difference between all of these. Looking at the examples with the quantifiers sannin 'three-persons' in the three different positions in (40), we seem to discern no substantial differences in their semantic interpretation. If there is any subtle difference at all, it seems to be due not so much to the differences in the sentence structure as to those in the structure of the discourse in which
they are likely to be used. The differences are largely of 'pre-suppositional' nature, with no cognitive differentiations between them. This problem is closely associated with the next question.

Our next question concerns a controversy on whether 'quantifiers' in general are more adjectival in nature or more adverbial. This is essentially a question of what is the deep structure of 'quantifiers'. Most linguists working within the framework of the Standard Theory tend to believe that 'quantifiers' are 'surface' adverbials which are derived from the determiner system. For instance, the English quantifier two as in two boys and its question form how many as in how many boys are both assumed to be derivable from a deep structure such as the following:

(51)

Under this analysis, PREARTICLE under DET consists of a degree constituent (e.g., two and how) and a quantifier many. This structure yields two many of the boys and how
many of the boys, each of which is assumed to be the deep structure underlying the surface forms two boys and how many boys, respectively.

The analysis that assumes that quantifiers appear in the deep structure as constituents of the noun phrase could be applied to Japanese, where we have a similar construction involving quantifiers. In Japanese, we have a Numeral-Classifier in place of PREARTICLE, but there is no ARTICLE. Thus, the following will serve as the deep structure for the Japanese quantifier system, where two boys corresponds to huta-ri no syoonen and how many boys to nan-nin no syoonen:

(52)

One obvious advantage in treating Japanese quantifiers as part of NP's is its facility in specifying the selective restrictions holding between classifiers and their referent nouns (see this agreement phenomenon in (38)). However, as we have suggested in 1.3.4, it is somewhat
counter-intuitive to posit this structure as the underlying form for Japanese quantifiers. For example, observe the following pair of sentences, where the first contains the quantifier *hutari* as a nominal modifier and the second as a verbal modifier:

(53) a. Niwa ni *hutari* no syoonen ga iru.
    yard in two-persons 's boys exist
    "The two boys are in the yard."

b. Niwa ni syoonen ga *hutari* iru.
    yard in boys two-persons exist
    "There are two boys in the yard."

By comparing these two sentences, most native speakers feel that the (a) sentence is not only less natural than the (b) sentence, but also somewhat different in its connotation. The type of structure represented by the (a) sentence is a highly sophisticated expression and it is very unlikely that an unsophisticated speaker (say, a five-year-old child) will ever use it. As for the possible difference in connotation, native speakers seem to feel that the (b) type of sentence would be most commonly used in answering a question asking the number of boys who are in the yard. That is to say, the quantifier *hutari* used in the (b) sentence is felt to
carry 'new information' as against that in the (a) sentence, where the quantifier carries 'old information'. In other words, the structure in (a) is being used 'anaphorically' referring to what has been mentioned or alluded to in the discourse, whereas that in (b) is not. As an illustration of what I mean, consider the following discourse analysis. Suppose there are two boys playing in the yard. If one wants to know how many boys there are in the yard, one will most normally ask as follows:

(54) Niwa ni syoonen ga nannin imasu ka.
   "How many boys are there in the yard?"

In reply to this, the most ordinary answer would be,

(55) (Niwa ni syoonen ga) Hutari imasu.
   "There are two boys in the yard."

Notice that it is impossible to answer (54) in the following way:

(56) (Niwa ni)Hutari no syoonen ga imasu.
   "Two boys are in the yard."

To provide the (new) information being asked for by (54), (55) is the only answer.
On the other hand, if one further wants to know what the two boys already known to the speaker and hearer (i.e., in the anaphoric sense) are doing, he would most normally ask with the following structure:

(57) (Sono) Hutari no syoonen wa nani o site imasu ka.

that two-persons' s boys what obj doing are ?

"What are those two boys doing?"

The most ordinary answer to this question would be the following:

(58) (Sono hutari no syoonen wa) Asonde imasu.14

"(Those two boys) are playing."

As these last two examples show, quantifiers used as part of NP's do not carry new information. In these cases, they do not 'quantify' the number of the boys in the strict sense of the word but simply 'identify' the boys in terms of 'old' (or more technically, 'presupposed') information.15 In other words, only in the adverbial position before verbals (as in (53b)) and not before NP's (as in (53a)) do quantifiers carry out their mission as 'new' information bearer. This fact suggests that the position of quantifiers as in (53b) may be more original.

On rare occasions, however, it is possible to phrase
questions with quantifiers as part of NP's—for example,

(59) Niwa ni nannin no syoonen ga imasu ka.

yard in how-many 's boys subj exist ?

"How many of the boys are there in the yard?"

One native speaker suggests that a question such as this one, although seldom used in ordinary conversation, has a connotation that boys are being collectively mentioned (i.e., as one group). Therefore, it will make more sense if this structure is used with some activity verbs asonde imasu as in the following example rather than existence verbs like imasu as in (59) above:

(60) Niwa de nannin no syoonen ga asonde imasu ka.

yard in how-many 's boys subj playing are

"How many of the boys are playing in the yard?"

The connotation of this type of question is something like the following:

(61) "I know there are several boys playing in the yard, but (what I want to know is) how many of them are there?"

Since in such a case, boys are being mentioned collectively (often as a group), the answer to it in (62) implies that the two boys are playing together (and not separately):
The foregoing discussion should be sufficient to show that the nature of quantifiers is basically adverbial and that their use as nominal modifiers is rather secondary (i.e., 'derived'). Syntactically, as the test frames in (40) show, there is more evidence to prove that quantifiers are true adverbials. For more examples of adverbials as nominal modifiers, see (10) in Chapter One.

The question of whether quantifiers are nominal or verbal modifiers will be resolved if we take the radical view that quantifiers are in fact sentence modifiers. This idea comes from Lakoff (1970:173ff), where quantifiers, along with adverbials in general, are assumed to be derived from 'higher' sentences containing quantifier predicates (or from embedded relative clauses of the same sort). If applied to our examples in question,
Lakoff's idea will work in the following way. That is, if the common semantic interpretation of the following three versions

(64) a. *Hutari no syoonen ga asonde imasu.*
    b. *Syoonen *hutari* ga asonde imase.*
    c. *Syoonen ga *hutari* asonde imasu.*

is that which is represented by the following,

(65) *Syoonen ga asonde imasu. Sono syoonen wa hutari desu.*

"Some boys are playing. Those boys are two in number."

all we have to do is to derive the three versions (with some surface meaning differences) from a common underlying structure something like the following:

(66)

```
          S
         /
        NP  VP
       /
      Det  S  N
     /  
   sono S  syoonen
       /     /  
  syoonen ga asonde imasu
```

This structure directly derives

(67) *Asonde iru syoonen wa hutari desu.*
which is responsible for the three versions in (64), with the following semantic interpretation in symbolic logical terms (which is in fact equivalent to (65)):

(68) There are boys such that they are two in number.

Thus, quantifiers are found to be not just adverbials, but they even turn out to be sentence adverbials depending on how we analyze them.

Another subgroup of Quantity Adverbials is a group called 'degree' adverbials. The term degree represents a very broad concept. Therefore, the boundary between 'degree' adverbials and 'quantifiers' is rather vague. Particularly, of the two kinds of 'degree' adverbials (i.e., Emphatic and Non-Emphatic), non-emphatic 'degree' adverbials are semantically closer to 'quantifiers'. In fact, some (indefinite) quantifiers like unto 'a lot', tyotto 'a little', etc. can be used as 'degree' adverbials also. Observe the following, where the (a) items are being used as 'quantifiers' while the (b) items are functioning as 'degree' adverbials:

(69) Kyoo wa unto hataraita.

today a-lot worked

"I worked a lot today."
b. Haha wa undo wakai.

mother a-lot young is
"My mother is very young."

(70) a. Yuube wa uisukii o tyotto nonde neta.

last-night whisky a-little drank (and) slept
"Last night I drank a little whisky and slept."

b. Kyoo wa tyotto samui.

today a-little cold-is
"It is a little cold today."

Of course not all 'degree' adverbials can be used both ways. For instance, totemo 'very' and yaya 'somewhat' cannot be used as 'quantifiers', as shown by the following:

(71) a. *Kyoo wa totemo hataraita.

today very worked
"I worked very hard today."

b. Haha wa totemo wakai.

mother very young-is
"My mother is very young."

(72) a. *Yuube wa uisukii o yaya nonde neta.

last-night whisky somewhat drank and slept
"I drank a little whisky and slept last night."

b. Kyoo wa yaya samui.

today somewhat cold-is

"It is rather cold today."

From these observations, two things seem to suggest themselves. On the one hand, there seems to be a distinction between 'true' degree adverbials like totemo, taihen, hizyoo ni, yaya, etc. and 'derived' degree adverbials like daibu, ikubun, sukosi, tvotto, etc. 'Derived degree adverbials are those quantifiers that have come to assume the function of 'degree' adverbials as a secondary use. On the other hand, it is obvious that 'true' degree adverbials can modify not only adjectivals but also verbs, because they still retain their original function as 'quantifiers'.

As we have seen, 'degree' adverbials have much in common with 'quantifiers'. To the extent that they are direct modifiers of verbs, 'degree' adverbials (therefore, Quantity Adverbials in general) are found to be Primary Adverbials along with Manner Adverbials.

3. 2. 0. Secondary Adverbials
The two major classes of Time and Place adverbials constitute the Secondary rank of adverbials. As we have already pointed out in Chapter Two, these two classes have a lot in common with each other in their syntactic and semantic behavior. Syntactically, although their modificational relationship is not immediately known as to whether they are verbal modifiers or sentence modifiers, it is still possible to characterize them as being under the general domain of the VP node (see the tree structure in 2. 2. 3). This vagueness in their modificational relationship, or rather their double function as explained in Chapter Two, is what makes them stand in between Primary Adverbials, which are direct modifiers of predicate verbals, and Tertiary Adverbials, which are strictly sentence modifiers. Observe again the double function of Secondary Adverbials in the following examples:

(73) a. Kuruma ga yagate ie no mae ni tuita.
   "The car arrived in front of the house after a while."

b. Yagate, kuruma ga ie no mae ni tuita.
   "After a while, a car arrived in front of the house."
As the English translations suggest, the items in the (a) examples should be interpreted as directly modifying the predicate verbals, whereas the adverbials in the (b) examples can be observed to be modifying the whole sentence.

From the point of view of semantics, on the other hand, Secondary Adverbials display the common characteristic of referring to the concept of 'location' in time and space. That is why grammatical markings of time and place adverbials often coincide, as the following examples show: 18

(75) a. Kesa **rokuzi** ni otita. (Time)
    this-morning six-o'clock at got-up
    "I got up **at six** this morning."

b. Ima **Sibuya** ni sunde iru. (Place)
    now Shibuya at living am
    "I am living **at Shibuya** now."
3. 2. 1. Time Adverbials

We will begin again by examining some examples that represent Time Adverbials:

(76) a. Asa hatizi kara gogo yozi made hataraku.

morning eight o'clock from afternoon four o'clock until work

"I work from 8 o'clock in the morning until 4 o'clock in the afternoon."

b. Sinkansen nara Tookyoo kara Oosaka made sanzikanhan kakarimasu.

New Tokaido-Line if Tokyo from Osaka to three-hours-half take

"If you go by the New Tokaido Line, you can go from Tokyo to Osaka in three hours and a half."

These common syntactic and semantic properties make it easier and more convenient to treat these two classes of adverbials under the one large group of Secondary Adverbials.

(77) a. Sibaraku awanakatta tomodati ni hyokkori deatta.

for-some-time did-not-meet friend with unexpectedly came across

"I unexpectedly came across a friend whom I had not seen for some time."

b. Ato de yukkanri asobi ni kite kudasai.
later leisurely play to come please

"Please come to visit me at your leisure time later."

(78) a. Osaka e wa kinoo itte kyoo kaerimasita.

Osaka to yesterday went(and) today returned

"I went to Osaka yesterday and came back today."

b. Rainen nihon e kaerimasu.
	next-year Japan to return

"I will go back to Japan next year."

(79) a. Ano otoko wa itumo guti bakari kobosite iru.

that man always complaint only spilling is

"That man is always grumbling."

b. New York e wa moo sankai ikimasita.

to already three-times went

"I have been to New York three times already."

As the above examples show, Time Adverbials can be roughly divided into three classes of (i) 'temporal' adverbials as in (77), (ii) 'tense' adverbials as in (78), and (iii) 'frequency' adverbials as in (79). Before we discuss the syntactic and semantic characteristics of Time Adverbials, I will give some more examples for these three subclasses:
(80) i. 'temporal' adverbials:

arakazime 'in advance'
kanete 'previously'
sibaraku 'for some time'
mata 'again'
yagate 'soon'
ziki ni 'at once'
sugu 'soon'
tadati ni 'immediately'
tatimati 'at once'
tui ni 'finally'
yatto 'at long last'
tootoo 'at last'
sude ni 'already'
mamonaku 'soon'
huto 'suddenly'
kyuu ni 'suddenly'
moo 'already'
nityoobi ni 'on Sunday'
sanzi ni 'at three o'clock'
haru 'in Spring'
yoru 'at night'
gogo 'in the afternoon'
hitobanzyuu 'all night long'
asa kara 'from morning'
ban made 'till night'
ato de 'later'
mae ni 'before'
etc.

ii. 'tense' adverbials:

kyoo 'today'
kinoo 'yesterday'
kesa 'this morning'
konban 'tonight'
asita 'tomorrow'
imu 'now'
sakki 'a while ago'
raisyyuu 'last week'
kongetu 'this month'
raigetu 'next month'
kotosi 'this year'
rainen 'next year'
kvonen 'last year'
mukasi 'long ago'
etc.

iii. 'frequency' adverbials:
saisan 'again and again'
sibasiba 'often'
tabitabi 'frequently'
tokidoki 'from time to time'
hutatabi 'once again'
tamini 'sometimes'
itumo 'always'
tune ni 'always'
metta ni 'seldom' [ +Neg ]
itido 'once'
sankai 'three times'
mainiti 'every day'
maisyuu 'every week'
mainen 'every year'
etc.

The 'temporal' adverbials are the most varied of all
the three major subgroups of Time Adverbials. Time
Adverbials minus 'tense' and 'frequency' adverbials con-
tinue this large subgroup. It may be possible to further
subclassify 'temporal' adverbials, but the criteria for
doing so would have to be only semantic at the best.
Even the 'frequency' adverbial group has no special syn-
tactic significance other than to follow the traditional
nomenclature as in English grammar.

Separation of 'tense' adverbials from the rest of the
group, however, has some important syntactic and semantic
Syntactically, 'tense' adverbials impose a selectional restriction upon the verbals which they modify, while the other classes of Time Adverbials do not have such restrictions. For example, the 'temporal' adverbial mata 'again' can be used with either the past or the non-past tense of verbs as in (81) below, but the 'tense' adverbial asita 'tomorrow' demand the non-past tense of verbs as in (82a) such that the past tense of the verb in (82b) makes the whole sentence ungrammatical:

(81) a. Mata kimasu. [ -Past ]
    again will-come
    "I will come again."

    b. Mata kimasita [ +Past ].
    again came
    "I came again."

(82) a. Asita kimasu [ -Past ].
    tomorrow will-come
    "I will come tomorrow."

    b. *Asita kimasita [ +Past ].
    tomorrow came
    "*I came tomorrow."

This shows that 'temporal' adverbials like mata 'again' are neutral to tense distinctions, whereas 'tense' adverbials
like *asita 'tomorrow' have to be specified as to their syntactic features of \([+\text{Past}]\).

Of course there are other kinds of co-occurrence restrictions even among 'temporal' adverbials. Some 'temporal' adverbials like *tui ni 'finally', *sude ni 'already', *tootoo 'at long last', *yatto 'at last', and *moo 'already' share the semantic feature \([-\text{perfective}]\), so that they can only be used with the past tense of verbs and never with the non-past tense.\(^{20}\) Observe the following:

(83) a. Kare no yume ga *tui ni zitugensita. \([+\text{Past}]\)
    he 's dream finally realized
    "His dream is finally realized."

    b. *Sono sigoto o *tui ni kanseisasete kudasai. \([-\text{Past}]\)
    "Please complete the work finally."

Compare this pair with the following where the 'temporal' adverbial *tadati ni 'immediately', for instance, can substitute for both of the two situations:

(84) a. Kare no yume ga *tadati ni zitugen-sita.
    he 's dream immediately realized
    "His dream was realized immediately."

    b. Sono sigoto o *tadati ni kanseisasete kudasai.
A co-occurrence restriction such as the above, however, may be more semantic than syntactic. The difficulty of (83b), for instance, comes from a 'semantic incompatibility' existing between the adverbial ついに 'finally' and the particular mood (i.e., imperative mood) in the verb phrase 了承させるとください 'please complete'. Proof is found in the following example, where ついに is being used with the non-past tense:

(85) そな仕事もついに了承するだろう [-Past]

"That work will finally be completed."

With 'true' tense adverbials like きのう 'yesterday', this kind of rephrasing is impossible, as shown by the following:

(86) *そな仕事もきのう了承するだろう。

"*That work will be completed yesterday."

Thus, ついに cannot be a 'tense' adverbial, while きのう is one pure and simple.

I think that a more basic difference between 'temporal' and 'tense' adverbials lies in the fact that the former
modify verbals directly in the same way that 'manner' adverbials directly modify verbals, while 'tense' adverbials are somewhat indirect in their modificational relationship to the modified verbals. In other words, 'tense' adverbials become more like tertiary adverbials modifying the whole sentence. It is interesting to realize that most 'tense' adverbials are so-called 'time-span' (or 'durative') adverbials as against 'time-point' (or punctual) adverbials which are among the 'temporal' group. As we have seen in 1.3.3, 'time-point' adverbials refer to specific time whereas 'time-span' adverbials are much broader in concept. This difference ties in with the point that I am going to make. That is, since they are broad and general, 'time-span' adverbials tend to cover a larger scope for modification than 'time-point' adverbials which are narrow and specific. Therefore, the modificational relationships of these two groups of adverbials are a little different from each other. Consider the following example where both of the two groups are used together:

(87) Ke.sā (wa) hatizi ni okita.
this-morning eight at got-up
"I got up at eight this morning."

Ke.sā is a 'time-span' adverbial and hatizi ni is a 'time-
point" adverbial. They correspond to 'tense' and 'temporal' adverbials respectively. The two adverbials almost always occur in this order in Japanese. Now, the modificational relationship of these adverbials to the verb should be intuitively (88a) and not (88b) below:

(88) a. 

```
(88) a. MS
    /  
   /   
 NP   VP
    /   
 watasi kesa hatizi ni okita
```

b. 

```
(88) b. MS
    /  
   /   
 NP   VP
    /   
 watasi kesa hatizi ni okita
```

One piece of syntactic evidence that can help support this interpretation based on native intuition is the fact that there is a co-occurrence restriction holding between 'tense' adverbials and the tense of verbals, whereas there is no such relationship between 'tenseless' (i.e., 'temporal') adverbials and verbals. This fact implies that somewhere in the deeper structure of the language 'tense' adverbials like kesa 'this morning' and the Aux(iliary) element which contains the Tense of the sentence have to be co-constituents. As will be elaborated
on in Chapter Four, this will result in the reformulation of this simple phrase structure grammar utilized so far. However, for purposes of illustrating the relationship in question, we will simply suggest the following as a more probable source for these two kinds of time adverbials (i.e., 'tense' and 'temporal'):22

(89)

3.2.2. Place Adverbials

The following are some typical examples of place adverbials in Japanese:

(90) a. Watasi wa Hawai ni sunde iru.
   I Hawaii in living am
   "I am living in Hawaii."
b. Mae wa Tookyoo de hataraite imasita.

before Tokyo in working was

"I was working in Tokyo before."

(91) a. Tikai uti nihon e kaeru keikaku desu.
near inside Japan to return plan is

"I plan to go back to Japan one of these days."

b. Tookyoo kara Honolulu made nanazikan-han kakarimasu.

Tokyo from Honolulu to seven-hours-half takes

"It takes seven hours and a half (to go) from Tokyo to Honolulu."

(92) a. Watasi wa maiasa inu o turete koen o sanpo simasu.

I every-morning dog with park in take-walk

"I take a walk with my dog in the park every morning."

b. Rooka o hasiranaide kudasai.

hall down run-not please

"Please don't run down the hall."

As the examples show, all Japanese place adverbials take the form of Place Noun + Particle. This situation resembles that of English place adverbials, where, except for a few adverbialized forms like where, there, hence, thence, etc.,
most place adverbials appear in the phrasal form of Preposition + Place Noun (e.g., in Hawaii, in Tokyo, to Japan, in the park, etc.). As was suggested in Chapter One, this may be due to the fact that place nouns are basically concrete objects that are least susceptible to 'adverbialization'.

Place adverbials in Japanese can be conveniently sub-classified into (i) 'locative' adverbials as in (90), (ii) 'direction' adverbials as in (91), and (iii) 'dimension' adverbials as in (92).

One significant characteristic of place adverbials in Japanese is the co-occurrence restrictions that obtain between them and the main verbal. For instance, 'locative' adverbials are marked by ni and de, but they are selectively restricted by the kinds of verbals they go with. In other words, 'locative' adverbials marked by ni as in (90a) have to go with the two groups of 'existence' verbs as illustrated below:

\[(93)\]

a. iru 'exist' (animate subject)
   - sunde iru 'be living'\(^{23}\)
   - tutomete iru 'be employed (at)'
   - gesyuku-site 'have a room and board (at)'
   - tomatte iru 'be staying (at)'

b. aru 'exist' (inanimate subject)
'Locative' adverbials marked by de as in (90b), on the other hand, are selected by verbs of 'activity' like the following:

(94) hataraku 'work'
    benkyoo-suru 'to study'
    taberu 'eat'
    nemuru 'sleep'
    etc.

Thus, this basic difference between 'existence' adverbials like Hawai ni and 'activity' adverbials like Tookyoo de is more or less inherent in the kinds of verbs that are used. However, verbs of similar meanings often take one or the other kind of adverbial. Compare the following:

(95) a. Tookyoo ni sunde imasu.

    Tokyo in living am
    "I am living in Tokyo."

b. Tookyoo de kurasite imasu.

    Tokyo in making-a-living am
    "I make a living in Tokyo."

This may be explained by saying that sunde imasu in (a) is a simple verb of 'existence', whereas kurasite imasu in (b) is more than simple 'existence' because one has to
'work' in order to make a living. In other words, kurasu 'to make a living' is an 'activity' verb.

More complicated is the situation where the very same verb selects different adverbials as in the following pair:

(96) a. Sensei wa kokuban no mae ni tatte imasu.

teacher black-board 's front in standing is

"The teacher is standing in front of the black-board."

b. Sensei wa kokuban no mae de tatte imasu.

"The teacher is standing in front of the black-board."

Although it is rather difficult to indicate in natural English the different shades of meanings between these two sentences, the item in (a) is emphasizing the location where the teacher is standing (i.e., in front of the black-board), whereas the item in (b) is focusing on the kind of activity the teacher is engaged in (i.e., standing and not sitting). Consequently, the verb tatte imasu 'is standing' in (a) is semantically reduced to an 'existence' verb like imasu 'exist', while the item in (b) still retains its full semantic content of an activity of 'standing'. The following examples can be explained in a similar fashion:
(97) a. Siroi kuruma ga genkan no mae ni tomatta.  
white car     porch 's front at stopped  
"A white car stopped in front of the porch."

b. Siroi kuruma ga genkan no mae de tomatta.  
"A white car stopped in front of the porch."

Since the 'existence' adverbial in (a) focuses on the place where the car stopped, there should be no feeling of surprise at its activity of 'stopping' in front of the porch so much as the activity adverbial in (b), where the description of the car's stopping itself is focused on.

To put it differently, these two sentences are answers to two different types of questions. The sentence (97a) can be an answer to a question like (98a) below and the sentence (97b) can be an answer to a question like (98b):

(98) a. Siroi kuruma wa doko ni tomatta ka.  
white car     where at stopped  
"Where did the white car stop?"

b. Siroi kuruma wa genkan no mae de nani o sita ka.  
obj did       what
"What did the white car do in front of the porch?"

In the next pair of examples, differences may be very slight, if any:
(99) a. Nemuritai nara **betto ni** nenasai.
    "Sleep on the bed, if you want to sleep."

b. Nemuritai nara **betto de** nenasai.
    "Sleep on the bed, if you want to sleep."

Sometimes, a poetic feeling builds up if location is emphasized with some verbs, as in:

(100) a. **Yuugure no mati ni** tumetai ame ga nutte ita.
    "Cold rain was falling on the town in the evening dusk."

b. **Yuugure no mati de** tumetai ame ga nutte ita.
    "Cold rain was falling on the town in the evening dusk."

In (a) a vivid picture of the place (i.e., a cold rainy town) stands out in the mind of the reader, whereas in (b) the speaker's interest is in mentioning the **falling** of the rain in town and it does not matter much where it is falling.

'Directional' adverbials as in (91) have selectional restrictions with verbs of 'motion' such as the following:

(101) **iku** 'go'
    **kuru** 'come'
    **kaeru** 'return'
    **dekakeru** 'leave (for)
aruku 'walk'
hasiru 'run'
etc.

The 'directional' adverbial marker e 'to' is often interchanged with the 'locative' adverbial marker ni, as in:

(102) Tookyoo \[
\begin{array}{c}
e \\
ni
\end{array}
\] itta.
"He went to Tokyo."

Strictly speaking, however, the locative particle ni when used with verbs of motion emphasizes the 'goal' or the 'contact point' of motion. Thus, e becomes incongruous if it is used with verbs like tuku 'arrive', noru 'get on', au 'meet', etc., which are basically 'goal' or 'contact' verbs. Observe the following examples:

(103) a. eki \[
\begin{array}{c}
?e \\
ni
\end{array}
\] tuku.
"arrive at the station"

b. hikooki \[
\begin{array}{c}
*e \\
ni
\end{array}
\] noru
"get on the plane"

c. hito \[
\begin{array}{c}
*e \\
ni
\end{array}
\] au
"meet a person"
Thus, of the verbs of motion listed under (101), iku 'go' kuru 'come', and kaeru 'return' are the only verbs that can safely used with either the directional particle e or the contact particle ni. The other motion verbs aruku 'walk' and nasiru 'run' cannot be used with either of them, as the following examples show:

(104) a. *eki e (or ni) aruku
    "to walk to the station"

    b. *eki e (or ni) hasiru
    "to run to the station"

This difficulty may be due to the fact that aruku and hasiru are not just 'motion' verbs but 'activity' verbs as well. As such, they can be used with the 'goal' particle made 'up to, as far as' or the 'source' particle kara 'from' as in the following examples:\textsuperscript{24}

(105) a. Uti kara eki made arukimasu.
    house from station to walk
    "I walk from my house to the station."

    b. Tokidoki uti kara eki made hasirimasu.
    sometimes run
    "I sometimes run from my house to the station."

Another type of confusion can occur between e and ni, as demonstrated by the following pair:
However, this ni does not seem to be related with the ni of 'goal' or 'contact point' under discussion. It seems to do more with the ni of 'purpose' discussed earlier in Chapter Two. This confusion occurs even among native speakers of Japanese probably due to the fact that e and ni are often used interchangeably with motion verbs like iku 'go'. Notice, however, that the word eiga 'movie' is not a place noun (i.e., naming something that you can go to) but an activity noun (i.e., indicating something that people enjoy doing). As we have seen in Chapter Two, when activity nouns are followed by ni, they form 'reason' (or more specifically, 'purpose') adverbials. Thus, eiga ni iku 'go to the movies' is actually a transform of 'reason' adverbials such as the following:

(107) a. eiga o mi ni iku
    movie obj seeing for go
    "to go to see a movie"

b. eiga o miru tame ni iku
    movie obj see purpose for go
    "to go for the purpose of seeing a movie"
A possible reason for this confusion may be that when people think of going to a movie, they think of going to a 'place' (i.e., a movie theater) where movies are shown. That is why the 'directional' adverbial marker e is likely to be interchanged for ni. The following examples are some of the products of the same type of psychological process:

\[(108)\]
\[
a. \text{pikunikku} \quad \{\begin{array}{l} e \\ ni \end{array}\} \text{iku} \\
"to go on a picnic"
\]
\[
b. \text{(o)hanami} \quad \{\begin{array}{l} e \\ ni \end{array}\} \text{iku} \\
"to go for flower-viewing"
\]
\[
c. \text{ryokoo} \quad \{\begin{array}{l} e \\ ni \end{array}\} \text{iku} \\
"to go on a trip"
\]
\[
d. \text{sanpo} \quad \{\begin{array}{l} e \\ ni \end{array}\} \text{iku} \\
"to go for a walk"
\]

'Directional' adverbials with made 'up to, as far as' and kara 'from' may be more specifically referred to as 'goal' and 'source' adverbials respectively. They are often used together as a set: e.g.,

\[(109)\]  
Tokyo kara Osaka made hikoki de itta.
Tokyo from Osaka up-to plane by went
"From Tokyo to Osaka, we went by plane."

As this example shows, they specify a section from a certain point up to another point on the spatial continuum along which actions or motions take place. They are 'directional' adverbials in that they indicate a direction of movement (e.g., the direction from Tokyo toward Osaka, in this case). However, these two 'directional' adverbials are different from the other type of 'directional' adverbials with e. Whereas made and kara specify 'goal' (=arriving point) and 'source' (=starting point) respectively, e is neutral to these distinctions. Thus, made and e have to be distinguished in the following way:

(110)  a.  **Tokyo** made ikimasita.

   Tokyo up-to went

   "I went as far as Tokyo."

   b.  **Tokyo** e ikimasita.

   to

   "I went to Tokyo."

Although the cognitive meanings of these two sentences may be the same in the sense that somebody had Tokyo as his destination, yet made has an added connotation to the effect that the subject started from a certain point along the way to Tokyo and finally arrived at Tokyo as an explicit
result of the motion activity. In other words, made indicates the distance covered by the activity involved in going up to Tokyo. On the other hand, e does not have such implications; it simply indicates that Tokyo was the destination of the subject's going. This difference may be made clearer by attaching mo 'also, even' to these sentences: e.g.,

(111) a. Tookyoo made mo ikimasita.
Tokyo up-to even went
"I went even as far as Tokyo."

b. Tookyoo e mo ikimasita.
to even went
"I went even to Tokyo."
Or "I went to Tokyo, too."

Since Tookyoo made in (a) indicates the distance, mo used after it can only mean 'as much as, to such an extent' as a result of the amalgamation of 'even so far as', whereas mo used after the regular 'directional' particle e can mean either 'even' or 'also'. In other words, (a) means "Believe it or not, I extended my trip to such an extent that I took the trouble of going to as far-away a place as Tokyo.", while (b) does not imply more than "I went to Tokyo in addition to other places". This is one
reason why verbs like *aru*ku and *hasiru* cannot be used with the simple 'directional' particle お, because, as we have seen, *aru*ku 'walk' and *hasiru* 'run' involve more 'activity' rather than just 'motion'.

'Dimensional' adverbials with お illustrated in (92) are those that are often explained as 'adverbial objects' in traditional grammars. Bloch (1946), for instance, treats this constituent as the regular object for the simple reason that it is accompanied by the objective marker お. However, I do not consider this constituent as an object because it does not participate in the subject-object permutation under passivization. Observe in the following that there is no such passive sentence as (112b):

(112) a. Watasi wa (maiasa) kooen お sanpo-simasu.
   I every-morning park obj walk
   "I take a walk in the park every morning."

   b. *Kooen wa (maiasa) watasi に sanpo-saremasu.
      I by is-taken-a-walk
      "The park is taken a walk in by me every morning."

Notice also that the verb *sanpo-suru* 'take a walk' is not a transitive verb that is normally assumed to take a direct object which is permutatable with the subject of an active sentence as a result of passivization. We have to
regard this constituent as an adverbial.

'Dimensional' adverbials are so designated because they denote a dimension along which a certain continuous action takes place. In the following examples,

(113)  a. dooro_o wataru 'to go across the road'
   road cross
   b. kado_o magaru 'to turn (a)round the corner'
   corner turn
   c. yama_o noboru 'climb up a mountain'
   mountain climb

the actions involved in 'crossing', 'turning' and 'climbing' have to be continued for a certain period of time until the whole dimensions are covered by those actions. Therefore, if only the locations for those actions need be mentioned, locative particles can be used instead. Consider the following examples where the 'dimensional' particles have been replaced by the locative particles:

(114) a. kado_de magaru 'turn at the corner'
    at
    b. yama_ni noboru 'climb a mountain'

The locative adverbial kado_de above only specifies the place where the action of turning takes place, and the other locative adverbial (or more specifically, 'goal'
adverbial) *yama ni simply denotes that the action of mountain climbing is performed. In either case, the 'dimensional' aspect of 'turning around the corner' (implied by (113b)) and 'climbing all the way up a mountain' (implied by (113c)) is not expressed here.

On the other hand, the 'dimensional' particle o in (113a) cannot be replaced by the locative particle de in the same way that not all locative particles can be interchanged with the dimensional particle. Compare the following:

(115) a. *dooro de wataru 'go across on the road'
   b. *dooro o wataru 'go across the road'

(116) a. *dooro de asobu 'play on the road'
   b. *dooro o asobu 'play up and down the road'

Perhaps this means that the particular verb wataru 'go across' is exclusively a 'dimensional' verb which permits only o, while the particular verb asobu 'play' is another exclusively 'activity' verb which does not permit o. Verbs that take 'dimensional' adverbials with o are mostly motion verbs, but the following may be more exclusively 'dimensional' just like wataru 'go across':

(117) a. Hikooki ga sora o tobu.
   air-plane   sky through flies
"An airplane flies through the sky."

b. kawa 0 oyogi-kiru
river across swim-across
"to swim across the river"

c. heya 0 soosaku-suru (or sagasu)27
room all-over search look-for
"to search all over the room"

Our final remark on Place Adverbials concerns the use of special relational nouns such as hoo 'direction', tokoro 'place where such and such is', ue 'top', mae 'front', etc.28 First observe the use of these nouns in the following examples:

(118) a. Wakai otoko ga watasi no hoo e kakeyotte kita.
young man I 's direction to running came
"A young man came running toward me."

b. Situmon ga aru hito wa watasi no tokoro e kite kudasai
question exist person I 's place to come please
"Those who have any questions, please come to me."

c. Tukue no ue ni zisyo ga aru.
desk 's top at dictionary exist
"There is a dictionary on (the top of) the desk."

d. Gakkoo no mae ni basu no teiryuuzyo ga aru.

school 's front at bus 's stop exist

"There is a bus stop in front of the school."

These relational terms are used in the environment of 'NP no particle'. This structure is equivalent to such English pseudo-prepositions as in front of, in back of, by the side of, on top of, etc., specifying the location of existence or the direction of motion. For example, ue 'top' and mae 'front' as in (118c,d) are being used to pinpoint exactly where the dictionary is and where the bus-stop is. The use of hoo and tokoro illustrated in (118a,b) is perhaps more peculiar to Japanese, since there would be no particular use for them in English. That is, in English, people can directly go 'to' a person, but in Japanese, they can only go in the 'direction' (=hoo) of the person, or to the 'place' (=tokoro) where the person is. In other words, since a person is not a place noun, he has to be 'localized' first by these relational terms before people can go 'to' him. Thus, these relational nouns have the function of 'localizers'.29
There are, however, some cases where it seems that these relational terms are omitted, thereby making the resultant place adverbials somewhat abstract. In such cases, we can clarify those abstract adverbials by supplying the missing relational nouns. Observe in the following examples how such abstract adverbials become clearer once appropriate relational terms are supplied:

(119) a. Kyoo, no kyooiku (no hoo) kara situ no kyooiku (no hoo) e (to) kirikaeru.

quantity 's education ('s direction) from quality 's education ('s direction) to change

"We will change from quantity education to quality education."

b. Kare wa hone (no tokoro) made tabete simatta.

he bone ('s place) up-to eating finished

"He has eaten even up to the bones."

c. Kare wa sore o zibun (no hoo) kara iidasita.

he that self ('s direction) from started-saying

"He started saying that at his own initiative."

d. Haha (no hoo) kara no purezento wa atarasii sebiro datta.
mother ("s direction) from "s present
new suit was

"The present from my mother was a new suit."

3. 3. 0. Tertiary Adverbials

Tertiary Adverbials have been characterized as 'sentence' modifiers as against Primary and Secondary Adverbials which are primarily 'verbal' modifiers. Tertiary Adverbials are most typically represented by 'reason' and 'modal' adverbials.

Structurally, Tertiary Adverbials stand outside of the main sentence providing a sort of 'pre-condition' for the assertions to be made in the main sentence. There are two kinds of Tertiary Adverbials. One is a group of 'reason' adverbials which give 'direct' reasons for the subject's action or state and the other is a class of adverbials generally known as 'modal' adverbials (e.g., osoraku 'probably', kanarazu 'without fail', motiron 'of course', etc.), which give 'indirect' reasons for assertions made in the main sentence. The most distinguishing characteristic of 'modal' adverbials is the fact that what is being ascribed to the main sentence by these adverbials is the speaker's (and not the subject's) feeling,
impression, observation, attitude, opinion, evaluation, judgment, etc. concerning the situation that is to be described in the main sentence. Thus, 'modal' adverbials have nothing to do with the predicate verbal of the main sentence. That is why Isami (1964-5) excludes this group of words from regular adverbials and treats them as 'sentence' modals, avoiding entirely the burden of characterizing them in terms of Japanese syntax.

Certainly, the term 'sentence' adverbial is a very vague one. It does not explain much about the exact syntactic relationship with the main sentence which is supposed to be 'modified' by it. However, if we borrow some insights from 'performative analysis', as we did in Chapter Two, we will be in a better position to resolve this problem. What Isami calls 'sentence' modals for lack of knowledge as to how better to characterize them can now be interpreted as being part of regular adverbials 'modifying' the 'performative' verbs which are outside of the main sentence. After 'performative' clauses are deleted, however, these adverbials remain as 'sentence' adverbials as if 'dangling' from the main sentence. In the rest of this chapter, we will make a further analysis of 'reason' and 'modal' adverbials in the light of
'performative' analysis. In the discussion of the latter group of adverbials, we will include 'conjunctive' as well as 'interjective' adverbials with some justification. Similarly, as 'derived' Tertiary Adverbials, we will take up 'topicalized' adverbials.

3. 3. 1. 'Reason' Adverbials

I believe enough has been said about 'reason' adverbials in 2. 3. 3. As a summary, we might say that 'reason' adverbials are divided into 'cause' and 'purpose' adverbials. This follows from the fact that the question word naze 'why' signifies both donna riyuu de 'for what reason' and nan no tame ni 'for what purpose', as shown by the following examples:

(120) a. Kinoo naze gakkoo o yasumimasita ka.
yesterday why school obj rested ?
"Why were you absent from school yesterday?"

b. Kaze de yasumimasita.
cold with rested
"I was absent because of a cold."

(121) a. Naze kuukoo e ikimasita ka.
why airport to went ?
"Why did you go to the airport?"
b. Titi o mukae ni ikimasita.

father obj meet to went

"I went to meet my father."

In (120b), the 'reason' adverbial phrase kaze de 'because of a cold' can be expanded into a clause adverbial like kaze datta node 'because (I) had a cold' or kaze o hiita node 'because (I) caught cold'. Similarly, the 'purpose' adverbial phrase titi o mukae ni 'to meet my father' in (121b) can be in the form of a clause like titi o mukaeru tame ni 'in order that (I) may meet my father'. In either case, and, in either form, these adverbials of 'reason' and 'purpose' are seen to provide direct reasons for my being absent from school and my going to the airport, respectively. The nature of these adverbials as Tertiary Adverbials will be shown by the following informal tree diagram:

(122)

```
S
   /\  MS
  /  \
SAdv / Reason
   \{ kaze de
   \   \ kaze o hiita node \}
   \   \ watasi wa kinoo gakkoo o
   \   \ yasumimasita.
```

Now, clause 'reason' adverbials in Japanese are usually marked either by node 'because' or kara 'since'. In most
situations, these two conjunctions are interchangeable, as the following examples show:

(123) Kaze o hiita / node / watasi wa kinoo gakkoo o kara yasumimasita.

"Because ' had a cold, I was absent from school yesterday."

Young and Nakajima (1968: Vo. 3, p. 45) explain the difference between these two conjunctions by saying that node is used when 'objective' reasons are given, while kara provides 'subjective' reasons.31 But it is often hard to tell whether a given reason is objective or subjective. Although they do not give any reliable criteria for deciding one way or the other, we might extrapolate from what they imply and restate their explanation by saying that an 'objective' reason is one in which there is a clear logical relationship between a cause and its effect. For instance, the fact that a person has a cold can be a 'logical' (therefore, 'objective') reason for his being absent from school. But the fact that he is absent from school cannot constitute a 'logical' (therefore, 'objective') reason for his having a cold.
Interestingly enough, this situation is borne out by the following examples, where the 'objective' reason in (a) can be expressed either by node or kara, but the 'subjective' reason in (b) cannot be expressed by node:\footnote{\pageref{fn:node}32}

(124) a. Kaze o hiita node (or kara), kare wa kinoo gakkoo o yasunda.

"Because he had a cold, he was absent from school yesterday.

b. Kare wa kinoo gakkoo o yasunda \{\textit{node} kara\}, kaze o hiita no desyoo.

he yesterday school rested because, cold caught it-is-probably-that

"Since he was absent from school yesterday, he must have had a cold."

While this explanation seems plausible in most situations, there are cases in which it obviously fails. In the following examples, there is a clear relationship between the reason and the suggestion based on the stated reason. And yet, contrary to expectation, it is only kara, the subjective reason marker, that seems possible:

(125) a. Ame ga huru kamo sirenai \{\textit{node} kara\}, kasa o motte ikinasai.

rain fall may because umbrella take-and go

"Since it may rain, take an umbrella with you."
b. Osoi \{ *node \kara \}, isogimasyoo.

late because let's hurry

"Since it is late, let's hurry."

That it is not the logical relationship alone that is
blocking the use of node in the examples above is shown
by the fact that a declarative sentence can go with both
node and kara, as in the following:

(126) a. Ame ga huru kamo sirenai node (or kara),
kasa o motte deta.

rain fall may because
umbrella take-and went out

"I took an umbrella with me since it might
rain."

b. Osoi node (or kara) isoida.

late because hurried

"Because it was late, I hurried."

This fact seems to suggest that the difference between
node and kara may reflect a difference in the deeper
structure of the language rather than the 'logical' rela-
tionship that obtains on the surface. I will attempt to
resolve this dilemma by postulating two kinds of deep
structures for 'reason' adverbials.

The hint for this solution is found in Rutherford
(1970), in which a distinction was observed between a
similar pair of English adverbial clauses. Observe the following pair of examples:

(127) a. He is not coming to class because he is sick.

   b. He is not coming to class, because he just called me from San Diego.

To make a long story short, Rutherford claims that the adverbial clause because he is sick in (a) provides a 'direct' reason for his not coming to class, whereas a similar adverbial in (b) cannot be the reason why he is not coming to class. One piece of evidence he gives to support this interpretation is the fact that the adverbial in (127a) can be shortened to a phrase adverbial, as in

(128) He is not coming to class because of his sickness.

However, the adverbial in (127b) cannot be rewritten into a phrase adverbial, as the following anomaly shows:

(129) *He is not coming to class because of his having called me from San Diego.

Rutherford characterizes the kind of relationship found in (127a) as 'restrictive' subordination, and that in (127b) as 'non-restrictive' subordination. He also observes that the conjunction because used in 'non-restrictive' subordination is often interchanged with for, as in
On the basis of the distinct semantic interpretation existing between these two types of subordination, he concludes that 'non-restrictive' reason adverbials provide important evidence for the 'performative analysis' proposed by Ross (1970) "in that they are felt to be much more closely associated with some kind of verb of saying than with the sentential objects of such verbs."

I suspect very strongly that there is a similar situation in Japanese involving the use of node and kara. Both node and kara can be used in 'restrictive' subordination, while only kara can be used in 'non-restrictive' subordination. In other words, node is exclusively used to give 'direct' reasons for the subject's doing (or being) such and such, while kara can give 'indirect' reasons why the speaker makes such assertions. I propose that these two kinds of semantic interpretation are attributable to two different deep structures of reason adverbials, as represented by the following:

(130) He is not coming to class, for he just called me from San Diego.
(131) a.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\text{SAdv} \\
\text{Reason} \\
\text{S} \\
k\text{;
\text{kare ga kaze o}
\text{hiita \{node\} \\
\text{kara\}}}
\end{array}
\]

b.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S_0} \\
\text{SAdv} \\
\text{Reason} \\
\text{S_1} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{watasi wa} \\
\text{S_2} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{V} \\
k\text{;
\text{kare ga kazo o gakkoo o yasunda} \\
\text{kare ga kaze anata ni \{iu \{tutaeru\} \\
\text{hiita no desyo.} \\
\text{\{node\} \{kara\}}}
\end{array}
\]

It will be observed that in (131a), the reason adverbial
is 'directly' modifying the MS under the same S, while
that in (131b) comes from S_0, which means that it can only
modify S_1 giving the reason why the subject under S_1
(i.e., watasi 'I') says such a thing in S_2.

Thus, in terms of deep structure, there are two kinds
of reason adverbials: one modifying the MS within the
same S and the other modifying the performative sentence
(S_1) over the main sentence (S_2). This explains why
'restrictive' subordinate clauses (with node) indicate
'objective' reasons, while 'non-subordinate' clauses (with kara) normally give 'subjective' reasons. 'Non-restrictive' reasons are 'subjective' because they express the Speaker's (and not the subject's) judgment or observation.

A parallel distinction seems to exist between their negative counterparts noni 'in spite of the fact that' and keredo(mo) 'although'. However, since discussions of clause adverbials are beyond the scope of this dissertation, I will stop here by merely mentioning the possibility of a parallel analysis. 33

3. 3. 2. So-called 'Sentence' Adverbials

The underlined items in the following examples represent some of the major subclasses of so-called 'sentence' adverbials:

(132) a. Osoraku kare wa konai daroo.
   probably he not-come will
   "Probably he will not come."

b. Tabun kare wa kuru kamo sirenai.
   maybe he come whether not-know
   "Perhaps he may come."

c. Motiron kare wa kuru ni kimatte iru.
   of-course he come as decided is
"Of course he is sure to come."

(133) a. Hokkaidoo wa huyu totemo samui. Demo, Hokkaidoo no haru wa subarasii.

Hokkaido winter very cold-is But Hokkaido 's spring wonderful-is

"In Hokkaido, it is very cold in winter. However, the spring in Hokkaido is wonderful."

b. Ano kissaten wa amari yokunai. Daiiti, kookii ga mazui.

that coffee-shop very not-good In-the-first-place, coffee bad

"That coffee shop is not very good. In the first place, their coffee is bad."

(134) a. Oya, are wa Satoo sensei zya arimasen ka.

Look, that Sato Prof. is-not ?

"Look. Isn't that Prof. Sato?"

b. Doozo okake kudasai.

please sit please

"Please sit down."

As we have pointed out in 3. 3. 0, 'sentence' adverbials consist of (i) 'modal' adverbials as in (132), (ii) 'conjunctive' adverbials as in (133), and (iii) 'interj ective' adverbials as in (134). Some more examples follow for these three subclasses of so-called 'sentence' adverbials:

(135) 'modal' adverbials:

(i) 'inference'
akiraka ni 'clearly'
tasika ni 'certainly'
dooyara 'somehow'
osoraku 'probably'
tabun 'maybe'
kitto 'surely'
etc.

(ii) 'opinion, judgment'

husi ni (mo) 'strangely'
orokani mo 'foolishly'
saiwai ni (mo) 'fortunately'
motiron 'of course'
kanarazu 'without fail'
kekkyoku 'after all'
koou ni mo 'luckily'
toozen 'naturally'
zitu wa 'in fact'
oomune 'generally speaking'
seizei 'at best'
yahari 'after all'
etc.

(iii) 'negation'

kessite '(not) ever'
tootei 'scarcely'
sukosi mo '(not) in the least'
mada '(not) yet'
yomoya 'hardly'
masaka 'surely (not)'
totemo 'hardly'
rokuroku 'hardly'
etc.

(iv) 'simile'

marude 'just (like)'
tyoodo 'just (like)'
samo 'as if'
atakamo 'as though'
etc.

(v) 'provision'
mosi (mo) 'if'
tatoe 'even if'
iyasiku mo 'if ... at all'
etc.

(136) 'conjunctive' adverbials:

mazu 'first of all'
tokoro de 'by the way'
daiiti (ni) 'in the first place'
dai-ni ni 'secondly'
sikasi 'but'
demo 'yet'
dakara 'therefore'
sosite 'and'
tadasi 'on condition that'
ippoo 'on the other hand'
sore ni 'besides'
kaku site 'thus'
etc.

(137) 'interjective' adverbials:

zyaa 'then'
maa 'oh'
aa 'ah'
hora 'look'
soosoo 'that reminds me'
saasaa 'come on'
Hai 'Yes'
Ite 'No'
oya 'wait'
doozo 'please, go ahead'
dooka 'please'
zehi 'by all means'
etc.

As the examples show, 'modal' adverbials constitute
the bulk of 'sentence' adverbials. As was mentioned
earlier, 'modal' adverbials express the speaker's 'attitude'
in the most general sense concerning the assertions he is
going to make in the main sentence. This 'attitude' may be
manifested by the various 'moods' of 'inference', 'opinion', 'negation', simile', or 'provision'. These 'moods' are given in the earlier part of the sentence to forewarn the hearer or listener of the specific mood to be anticipated in the speaker's proposition. For instance, if the speaker begins his proposition with osoraku 'probably' as in (132a), the listener will immediately know that the speaker's proposition will be made in the presumptive 'mood' (normally realized as the presumptive form of verbs). Likewise, if the speaker's 'attitude' is expressed with tabun as in (132b), the hearer can anticipate a similar mood of presumption. But notice that, in this particular case, the verb in the main sentence is not in its presumptive form (i.e., kuru daroo 'will probably come') but in a form compatible with the mood of the speaker's attitude (i.e., kuru kamo sirenai 'may possibly come'). As was pointed out in 2. 3. 6, the fact that the lexical forms of verbs are thus not always affected by these 'moods' is a point we cannot emphasize too much. In the case of motiron 'of course' as in (132c), the hearer is thereby forewarned that the proposition is going to be a strong assertion, whether affirmative or negative.
Another example can be cited using 'negative' modal adverbials to demonstrate that the moods expressed by these adverbials are those of the speaker and not of the subject. Consider the following:

(138)  a. Kare wa kessite uso o tukanai.

he at-all lie obj tell-not

"He never tells a lie."

b. Masaka kare ga hannin de aru hazu ga nai.

surely-not he suspect is expectation exist-not

"For all I know, he cannot be the suspect."

It is again difficult to convey in natural English the idea that it is the speaker who is indicating the negation of the propositions. But as a matter of fact, these sentences are the transforms of the following more complex sentences:

(139)  a. Kare wa kessite uso o tukanai (to watasi wa dangen-suru).

declare that I

"(I declare firmly that) he never tells a lie."

b. Masaka kare ga hannin de aru hazu ga nai (to watasi wa kakusin-suru).

believe
"(I strongly believe that) he cannot be the suspect."

In other words, kessite and masaka are not themselves negative words but are words that suggest strongly that the proposition is going to be in the negative mood. They are simply 'negatively favored' adverbials. They are like ever in English before it is incorporated with not to become never.

In connection with 'sentence' adverbials, Schreiber (1971) makes a very interesting observation, which ultimately leads him into distinguishing two different deep structures for English 'sentence' adverbials. In addition to one class of 'sentence' adverbials which he calls 'modal' adverbs (e.g., clearly, obviously, apparently, etc.), he finds another class which he identifies as 'evaluative' adverbs (e.g., unfortunately, predictably, regrettably, etc.). With regard to the first class of adverbials, he finds that the conventional analysis applies that assumes that the 'sentence' adverbial clearly in (140a) below has the deep structure represented by (140b):

(140) a. Clearly, Nixon is beholden to Thurmond.

b. It is clear that Nixon is beholden to Thurmond.
However, with regard to the other class of 'sentence' adverbials (i.e., his 'evaluative' adverbs), he finds that the same analysis does not hold true. For instance, the deep structure of (14la) below may seem to be (14lb) as illustrated in the following:

(141) a. **Ironically**, Agnew loves Orientals.
    b. **It is ironic that** Agnew loves Orientals.

According to Schreiber, however, (14lb) above is untenable as the deep structure of (14la) due to "characteristic differences in the semantic interpretation of sentences containing modal and evaluative adverbs. That is, while an evaluative adverb presupposes the positive truth-value of the (surface) predication with which it is in construction and offers an evaluation (value-judgment) of it, a modal adverb assigns a degree of likelihood (a probable truth-value) to the associated predication." On the basis of this argument, Schreiber posits the following as the more adequate deep structure of (14la):

(142) Agnew loves Orientals, **and it is ironic that** he does.

Thus, the underlying structure with evaluative adverbs is assumed to consist of an independent predication (an assertion) and a conjoined comment upon that predication.
as shown by the following tree diagram:

\[
(143)
\]

On the other hand, the underlying structure with modal adverbs is assumed to consist of a predication that is the subject of a sentence whose predicate qualifies that subject, as in

\[
(144)
\]

Roughly speaking, Schreiber's 'modal' adverbs correspond to our 'inferential' modal adverbials in (135i) (e.g., akiraka ni 'clearly', dooyara 'somehow', etc.) and his
'evaluative' adverbs correspond to our 'opinion' modal adverbials in (135ii) (e.g., husigi ni (mo) 'strangely', kekkyoku 'after all', etc.). As Schreiber observed, there is a subtle difference between the two kinds of adverbials, which I think is somewhat similar to the distinction between so-called 'factive' and 'non-factive' verbs. 35 In other words, factive verbs like regret as in, (145) I regret that he made a mistake. presupposes that he made a mistake, which fact makes it possible to paraphrase it as I regret the fact that he made a mistake. On the other hand, non-factive verbs like think as in, (146) I think that he made a mistake. do not presuppose that he made a mistake but instead state 'as my feeling' the probability that he might have made a mistake. It is impossible to paraphrase it as I think (of) the fact that he made a mistake. Thus, the factive statement in (145) and the non-factive statement in (146) above come very close to the following sentences with the 'evaluative' and 'modal' adverbs respectively: (147) a. Regrettably, he made a mistake. b. Probably, he made a mistake.
Now, the reason why the distinction between factive and non-factive verbs is brought up here is that we want to verify the relationship this distinction might have with the performative analysis introduced earlier in Chapter Two. As might be recalled, when we say that 'sentence' adverbials modify the whole sentence, we mean that they most often modify some kind of higher verb that exists outside of the main sentence. I suggested that his higher verb may be the so-called 'performative' verb generally representable by say in a declarative sentence. If we apply this analysis to our 'inferential' and 'opinion' adverbials, we will be able to better explain the reason why 'sentence' adverbials modify the whole sentence.

Observe the following:

(148) a. Dooyara kono ziken wa meikyuu-iri ni narisoo da.

somehow this case labyrinth-entering likely-to-become is

"Somehow it seems that the present case is going to go unsolved."

b. Oroka ni mo hannin wa nani kuwanu kao de ziken genba ni sugata o arawasita.

foolishly suspect innocent-looking face with crime scene at appearance exposed

"Foolishly (enough), the suspect appeared at the scene of the crime with an innocent face."
Dooyara in (148a) above expresses the Speaker's feeling, impression, observation, etc., on the present case. The deep structure for this sentence in the framework of 'performative' analysis from which the item dooyara 'somehow' is to be 'lexicalized' would look something like the following:36

\[(149) \text{Kondo no ziken ga meikyuu-iri ni naru to iu yokan ga suru (or to iu insyoo o motte iru) (koto o anata ni tutaeru).}\]

"(I say to you that) I have a hunch (or impression) that the present case will go unsolved."

Similarly, oroka ni mo in (148b) expresses the speaker's opinion, judgment, evaluation, etc., on the suspect's action. Underlying this sentence would be the following:

\[(150) \text{Hannin ga nani kuwanu kao de ziken genba ni sugata o arawasita koto wa oroka na koto de atta to site (anata ni tutaeru).}\]

"(I say to you as something foolish that) the suspect appeared at the scene of the crime with an innocent face."

Thus, the two adverbials above are seen to represent the feelings and judgments of the speakers. As evidence to show that these are sentence modifiers as such, consider the following pair of dialogs, in which these adverbials are interposed as comments indicating the speaker's feelings toward the respective cases:
(151) a. Kono ziken wa meikyuu-iri ni naru daroo ka.
   "Will this case go unsolved?"

   b. Dooyara ne.
   "I should think so."

(152) a. Hannin wa nani kuwanu kao de ziken genba
   ni sugata o arawasimasita ne.
   "The suspect appeared at the scene of the
   crime with an innocent-looking face, didn't
   ne?"

   b. Oroka ni mo ne.
   "It was a foolish thing to do, wasn't it?"

One obvious problem with this analysis, however, is the
fact that, although we may intuitively admit the validity
of the proposed interpretation, many actual forms of
adverbials in Japanese are not morphologically amenable
to such paraphrasing as shown by (150). For example, the
dooyara itself in (148a) cannot be used as a predicate
verbal as the following ungrammatical version demonstrates:

(153) *Kondo no ziken ga meikyuu-iri ni naru koto wa
dooyara (no koto) da.
"It is somehow that the present case will go unsolved."

It seems that only the -ku and ni forms of adjectivals, which retain the 'predicational ability' discussed in Chapter One, are paraphrasable in this format, and other items such as dooyara, osoraku, tabun, etc., resist it. It might be that these latter forms are sort of 'fossilized' surface adverbials which have entirely lost their corresponding adjectival forms in the deep structure. Or it might mean a need for a different approach to this whole problem. For the time being, however, I include them as part of 'sentence' adverbials modifying the performative verb outside of the main sentence. Of some interest in support of this analysis is the evidence that adverbials like kantan ni iu to 'to say briefly, briefly', syooziki (ni itte) 'to say honestly, honestly', zitu o iu to (or zitu wa) 'to say the truth, in fact, as a matter of fact', sottyoku ni itte (or sottyoku na tokoro) 'to say frankly, frankly', etc. still contain some forms of say (e.g., iu to, itte), which can be considered as 'remnants' of the 'performative' verb. Normally, these verbs do not appear on the surface, being deleted as a result of 'performative deletion'. Now, the deep structure for
modal 'sentence' adverbials according to the performative approach would be generally represented by the following configuration:

(154)

```
           S0
          /   \\
SAdv   modal
       /         \           NP
        /           VP         /
      oroka na koto to watasi wa
    site

S1

NP       VP

S2

NP       V

hannin ca
ziken genba ni
sugata o arawasita
koto o

anata ni {iu tutaeru}
```

'Conjunctive' adverbials (e.g., mazu 'first of all', demo 'however', etc.) are used in an independent sentence and relate it to another independent sentence that precedes it. 'Conjunctive' adverbials may be considered as part of 'sentence' adverbials in that they represent the speaker's attitude (or judgment) as to the relationship of the new statement to the previous statement, such that they forewarn the hearer or reader as to what 'transition' he is going to take (e.g., sikasi 'but' (=contradiction), sosite 'and' (=continuation), sore ni 'besides' (=addition), etc.). However, 'conjunctive' adverbials should be distinguished from regular 'conjunctions' in that the former
appear at the beginning of the main sentence, while the latter always appear at the end of the preceding clause (i.e., subordinate clause). Regular conjunctions which are not included here as 'conjunctive' adverbials are kara 'since', node 'because', keredo(mo) 'although', noni 'in spite of the fact that', to 'as soon as', toki(ni) 'when', tame (ni) 'so that', si 'in addition to the fact that', etc. Notice, however, that both regular conjunctions and 'conjunctive' adverbials can express semantically similar relationships. In such cases, the differences may be only syntactic: e.g.,

(155) a. Ano ko wa bizin de wa nai keredomo, kidate ga yasasii.

that girl beauty is-not although, nature tender

"Although the girl is not beautiful, she is good-natured."

b. Ano ko wa bizin de wa nai. Keredomo (or Demo) kidate ga yasasii.

However

"That girl is not beautiful. However, she is good-natured."

(156) a. Kinoo wa ii tenki datta kara, pikunikku ni dekaketa.

yesterday good weather was since, picnic for went-out
"Since it was fine weather yesterday, we went out on a picnic.


Therefore

"It was fine weather yesterday. So, we went out on a picnic."

'Interjective' adverbials could be treated as a separate part of speech called 'interjection'. But we include them here as part of 'sentence' adverbials, because they seem to represent the speaker's mood, just like 'conjunctive' adverbials. For instance, the 'interjective' adverbial **maa** 'oh, dear' can indicate the speaker's mood of surprise or admiration. This mood of the speaker is often reinforced by the use of so-called 'mood' particles like **nee** 'I dare say' or **koto** 'indeed', as in

(157) a. **Maa** ookina inu desu **nee**.

Oh big dog is I-dare-say

"Oh, what a big dog it is!"

b. **Maa** tumetai te da **koto**.

Oh cold hand is indeed

"Oh, what a cold hand you have!"

We can observe in the examples above that the 'interjective' adverbials and the 'interjective' particles surround the main
sentences and transform these otherwise 'indicative' sentences into 'exclamatory' sentences.

3.3.3. Topicalized Adverbials

As I mentioned earlier in Chapter Two, Secondary Adverbials of Place and Time often become 'sentence' adverbials (i.e., Tertiary Adverbials) as a result of 'topicalization'. As a matter of fact, topicalization is not a phenomenon limited to Secondary Adverbials. It applies to all the constituents of the sentence. Once topicalized, however, any constituent, adverbial or not, takes on the general characteristics of a Tertiary Adverbial (i.e., a sentence modifier) as will be explained below.

According to Ross (1967), topicalization takes the following general form of an optional transformation:

\[(158) \quad X \rightarrow \text{NP} \rightarrow Y \]

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
2 & \# & [1 \quad 0 \quad 3]
\end{array} \]

where the symbol \# indicates that the extraposed element (2) 'Chomsky-adoins' the node governing the part bounded by the two brackets. Thus, topicalization in English at least is a kind of movement transformation and comes
under various restrictions imposed on such reordering operations.

In Japanese, however, topicalization appears to be characterized not so much by reordering of elements as by formal marking with the topicalizer wa.\textsuperscript{38} In the following pair, the second sentence contains the topicalized element derived from the first one:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(159)]
\begin{enumerate}
\item a. Tanaka sensei ga watasitati no atarasii sensei desu.

Tanaka Professor we 's new teacher is

"It is Mr. Tanaka who is our new teacher."

\item b. Tanaka sensei wa watasitati no atarasii sensei desu.

"As for Mr. Tanaka, he is our new teacher."
\end{enumerate}
\end{enumerate}

It is quite evident that the element in (b) is the subject of the original sentence in (a). Other kinds of constituents can also be topicalized, as the following examples show:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(160)]
\begin{enumerate}
\item a. Anata wa furansugo o hanasimasu ka.

you French obj speak ?

"Do you speak French?"

\item b. Iie, furansugo wa hanasimasen.

No, French topic speak-not
"No. As for French, I do not speak it."

(161) a. **Kinoo gakkoo e kimasita ka.**

yesterday school to came ?

"Did you come to school yesterday?"

b. **Iie, kinoo wa (gakkoo e) ikimasen desita.**

No, yesterday topic go-not did

"No. As for yesterday, I did not (go to school)."

c. **Iie, kinoo gakkoo e wa ikimasen desita.**

No, yesterday school to topic go-not did

"No. As for school, I did not go yesterday."

(160b) contains a topicalized object, and (161b,c) contain the time adverbial **kinoo** and the place adverbial **gakkoo e** topicalized respectively.

From the foregoing examples, at least two remarks can be made. One is semantic and the other syntactic. First, the topicalizer **wa** has two functions. In (159b), **wa** is being used to make the topicalized constituent function as the general 'topic' or 'theme' of the discourse, while the **wa** in (160)-(161) is being used to make the topicalized element **contrast** with some other element within the discourse. Specifically, **huransugo wa** in (160b) is being contrasted with some other foreign language like
German, for instance. *Kinoo* in (161b) is being contrasted with some other day like *today*, for instance, and so on.

The other characteristic, which is syntactic, is the fact that all of these topicalized constituents are outside of the main sentence. In other words, as a result of Chomsky-adjunction referred to earlier, topicalized elements are moved out of their positions and come under a node that is newly established above the original sentence, thus becoming the modifier of the original main sentence. The derived structure of (159b), as an example, would be something like the following:

(162)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Topic} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{VP}
\end{array}
\] \\
\text{Tanaka sensei wa} \quad \text{(Tanaka sensei ga) watasitati no atarasii sensei desu.}

The original subject *Tanaka sensei ga* is moved out of the main sentence (*S₁*) and is then attached to the newly established sentence above it (*S₀*). Naturally, the original NP under *S₁* is 'pruned' off as a result of this. The nature of the topicalizer *wa* as a sentence modifier will be more clearly revealed if we put this structure in
the framework of the performative analysis we have been advocating:

\[ (163) \]

\[ \text{SADV} \]

\[ \text{Topic} \]

\[ \text{NP} \]

\[ \text{VP} \]

\[ \text{S1} \]

\[ \text{anata ni} \]

\[ \text{iu} \]

\[ \text{tutaeru} \]

\[ \text{S2} \]

\[ \text{watasi} \]

\[ \text{Tanaka sensei ni tuite (ieba)} \]

\[ \text{Tanaka sensei ga watasitati no atarasii sensei de aru koto o anata ni tutaeru} \]

The following processes are assumed to be involved in the derivation of the final output in (159b) from the proposed abstract deep structure in (163):

\[ (164) \]

i. (By the topicalization of the subject in (159a):

Tanaka sensei ni tuite (ieba), watasi wa Tanaka sensei ga watasitati no atarasii sensei de aru koto o anata ni tutaeru.

"About Prof. Tanaka, I report to you that Prof. Tanaka is our new teacher."

ii. (By deletion of the performative sentence):

Tanaka sensei ni tuite (ieba), Tanaka sensei ga watasitati no atarasii sensei de aru.

"(Talking) About Prof. Tanaka, Prof. Tanaka is our new teacher."
iii. ('ni tuite (ieba)' replaced by the Topic marker wa and the subject of the main sentence deleted under identity):

Tanaka sensei wa, watasitati no atarasii sensei de aru.

"As for Prof. Tanaka, (he) is our new teacher."

iv. (By 'house-cleaning' rules):

Tanaka sensei wa watasitati no atarasii sensei desu.

"Prof. Tanaka is our new teacher."

As evidence to show that ni tuite (ieba) is rather basic to topicalization, we can cite following as variant forms of topicalized constituents which appear on the surface in Japanese today:

(165) a. Tanaka san ni tuite ieba, ......

"If we (are to) talk about Mr. Tanaka, ...."

b. Tanaka san to ieba, ......

"Talking about Mr. Tanaka, ......"

c. Tanaka san wa doo ka to ieba, ......

"If you are wondering about Mr. Tanaka, ...."

d. Tanaka san wa, ......

"As for Mr. Tanaka, ......"

Notice that three out of the above variant forms contain the verb ieba 'if we say or talk about'. We may be able
to consider them as the remnant forms of the performative verb *iu* 'say'.

Topicalization of constituents other than the subject is assumed to work step by step in the following way:

Suppose the following sentence,

(166)  
Tanaka san wa  doitugo wa hanasimasen.

Tanaka Mr. topic German topic speak-not

"Mr. Tanaka does not speak German."

is derived from the following by 'topicalization',

(167)  
Tanaka san ga  doitugo o  hanasimasen.

Tanaka Mr. subj German obj speak-not

"Mr. Tanaka does not speak German."

we assume that 'topicalization' must have operated first on the object constituent to yield,

(168)  
Doitugo wa  Tanaka san ga  hanasimasen.

German topic Tanaka Mr. subj speak-not

"As for German, Mr. Tanaka does not speak."

Then, in the next step, the subject is topicalized into:

(169)  
Tanaka san wa  doitugo wa  hanasimasen.

(=166)

Tanaka Mr. topic German topic speak-not

"Mr. Tanaka does not speak German."

Note that we have (169=166) or (168) but not the following,
where only the object is topicalized with the subject intact:

(170) *Tanaka san ga Doitugo wa hanasimasen.

This proves that the foregoing order of transformational operation is basically valid.

3. 4. Conclusion

The three major syntactic classes of Japanese adverbials have been further subclassified in this chapter. Subclassification has been conveniently based on the six semantic groups of adverbials. The criteria for subclassification have been both syntactic and semantic. Under each subclass of adverbials, justification for the subdivision has been given wherever it is relevant.

Now that we have established the various classes and subclasses of adverbials, we are in a better position to see how they all fit together in the syntax of the Japanese language. In the next chapter, we will determine the positions of these classes of adverbials in the overall structure of Japanese sentences.
Footnotes to CHAPTER THREE

1 Some of the representative monographs on English adverbials are Jacobsen (1964), Greenbaum (1969), Nilsen (1972), etc. Written on a smaller yet no less significant scale are such articles as Lakoff (1968,70a,b,73a,b), Kuroda (1969,73), Schreiber (1971), Dougherty (1972), etc. Sections dealing with adverbials in Kajita (1967), Lakoff (1970), Jackendoff (1972), and of course Kuno (1973) are full of insights.

2 In traditional Japanese grammars, following the pioneers, Nariakira Fujitani and Akira Suzuki, such grammarians as Otsuki, Yamada, Matsushita, Yasuda, Mitsuya, Hashimoto, and Tokieda have pursued this topic. (See Isami (1964-5: (6)). Of late, Takeuchi (1973) and Tachibana (1973) have made extensive reviews of this area of Japanese grammar.

3 Many of the examples will be repeated from those listed in Chapter One, but notice how differently they are sub-classified here. Meanings of individual items are given assuming certain possible situations.
As will be discussed later, the morphological make-up of these items (i.e., reduplication) makes us suspect that they might very well be part of '(semi-)onomatopoetic' adverbials.


It is grammatical to say 'quite suddenly', however.

These longer forms involving *taido* 'attitude' and *yoosu* 'appearance' may be proposed as the possible sources for 'semi-onomatopoetic' adverbials. Recall that 'true' onomatopoetic adverbials like *korokoro (to)* are assumed to come from *korokoro to iu oto o sasete* 'by making a sound of a rolling object.'

See footnote 29 in Chapter Two.

This discussion depends crucially on the correctness of Kuroda's interpretation of (25). Some native speakers of English reject his interpretation entirely.
Strictly speaking, even this is not enough to refer to her psychic state, because -soo expresses the external appearance, as the following examples show:

(a) Kare wa uresi-soo da.
   he    glad-looking is
   "He looks glad."

(b) Ame ga huri-soo da.
   rain    fall-looking is
   "It looks like rain."

It is interesting to notice that as in these examples direct expression of the second or third person's internal psychic state from the point of view of the speaker is rare in Japanese. For another example of a similar nature, we can say,

(c) Watasi wa uresii.
   "I am glad."

because here the speaker is referring to his own internal state of mind. But the following sentences are semantically unfeasible, because the speaker cannot express other people's internal feelings:

(d) *Anata wa uresii.
   "You are glad."
(e) *Kare wa uresii.
"He is glad."

The above sentences have to be phrased in a more objective manner referring to these people's external appearances by using the -soo expressions: e.g.,

(f) Anata wa uresi-soo da.
"You look glad."

(g) Kare wa uresi-soo da.
"He looks glad."

The same principle is operating in the following examples:

(h) Watasi wa mizu ga hosii.
"I want some water."

(i) *Anata wa mizu ga hosii.

(j) *Kare wa mizu ga hosii.
"He wants some water."

(k) Anata wa (or Kare wa) mizu o hosii-garu.
"You (or He) seems to want some water."

Alfonso (1971:299) includes as part of his 'Verb-head Modifiers' such -to forms of verbs as the following:
naite (hanasu) '(speak) in tears', isoide (kaeru) '(return) in a hurry', hazimete (kiku) '(hear) for the first time', yorokonde (iku) '(go) gladly, etc.
For more examples of Numeral-Classifiers, see (77)-(79) in Chapter One.


Thus, if we are to use (49a), the anaphoric use of hutari no would make the sentence mean: "The two boys are in the yard", which is entirely different from the non-anaphoric sentence: Niwa ni syyonen ga hutari iru. "There are two boys in the yard."

Austin (1962) is generally believed to be the first to recognize the phenomenon of 'presupposition' in language use. Also Cf. Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970).

Like many other adverbials, quantifiers too can be used as nominal modifiers as in (53a). Similarly, quantifiers can also be used as complements of copulative verbals, as in Kodomo wa sannin datta. "The children were (in the number of) three."

As suggested by Mr. Lewis S. Josephs, it may be that quantifiers modify actions, while degree adverbials modify
states. Compare this phenomenon with a similar case introduced earlier where 'derived' manner adverbials like tuyoku 'hard' and zyoozu ni 'skillfully' can be freely modified by degree adverbials due to their basically adjectival nature. It will be interesting to compare it also with the English situation, where 'absolute' degree adverbials like very can modify only adjectivals and never verbs. Observe the following examples:

(a) I am very grateful to you.
   degree adj

(b) *I am very obliged to you.
   degree verb

(c) I am very much obliged to you.
But in the case of the following examples, very can be used because the past participles of verbs are being treated as adjectivals:

(d) I am very tired.
   degree p.p.

(e) I am very satisfied.
   degree p.p.

How about the following:

(f) ?I am very delighted. or I am very much delighted.

(g) ?I am very impressed. or I am very much impressed.
Some native speakers say (f) and (g) are acceptable as they are.

18 This observation is due to Isami (1964-5:71).

19 The idea to divide Time Adverbials into 'tense' and the rest comes from Kajita (1967:47ff).

20 There is good reason why we prefer the terms 'perfect' and 'non-perfect' in Japanese rather than 'past' and 'non-past' as is usually practiced in English grammar. Observe the following examples, where the -ta form in (a), which is generally recognized as 'past', does not indicate 'past' in (b):

(a) Kinoo Tookyoo e itta.
yesterday Tokyo to went
"He went to Tokyo yesterday."

(b) Asita Tookyoo e itta toki, (o)denwa-simasu.
tomorrow Tokyo to 'went' when telephone
"I will give you a call when I am in Tokyo tomorrow."

Rather than indicate 'past', the -ta form in (b) indicates 'perfect' as the English translation suggests. Compare this
with the following example, where the 'non-perfect' form iku is used:

(c) Asita Toyota e iku toki, (o)denwa-simaru. tomorrow Tokyo to 'go' when telephone

'I will give you a call when (=before) I go to Tokyo tomorrow.'

The comparison will make it clear that (b) means "I will give you a call when my going to Tokyo has been completed (i.e., after I have arrived at Tokyo)", while (c) with the non-perfect tense means "I will give you a call before my going to Tokyo has been completed (i.e., before I go to Tokyo)". For further analysis of 'tense' phenomena in subordinate clauses (including embedded sentences), see Josephs (1972).

21 The difficulty of (83b) may be due to the fact that unlike tadati ni 'immediately', tui ni 'finally' is a (semi) sentence adverbial expressing the speaker's, rather than the subject's, mood. Thus, the speaker's mood expressed by tui ni is not compatible with the imperative sentence where the subject's mood is to be expressed.
Compare with similar proposals in McCawley (1971) and Kiparsky (1968).

It is interesting to observe that in Japanese, verbs like sumu 'live', siru 'know', aisuru 'love', and ikiru 'be alive' are non-stative verbs. So, when 'state' is referred to, these verbs have to take the form of the 'progressive tense'. This is quite the opposite of the English situation, where live, know, love, and be alive are all 'stative' verbs which are never used in the 'progressive tense'. Compare the following pairs of sentences indicating the differences between Japanese and English:

(i) a. *Anata wa kare o sirimasu ka. (Simple Tense)

you he obj know ?

b. Do you know him? (simple tense)

(ii) a. Anata wa kare o sitte imasu ka. (Progressive tense)

you he obj knowing are ?

b. *Are you knowing him? (Progressive Tense)

The 'dimensional' marker o 'along, up, down, through', which will be introduced later, can be used with these
verbs, but it does not indicate any definite direction of movement as do the other markers mada and kara.

Incidentally, the 'goal' adverbial marker made 'up to' cannot go with any of these examples.

I owe to Josephs (1972) and Kuno (1973) my understanding of yama ni noboru, yama o noboru, and other related expressions.

If soosaku-suru (or sagasu) is used in the sense of 'search for the room', it is a transitive verb with the direct object.

Prideaux (1970:63) calls these nouns 'indicators' (abbrev. Ind) and incorporates them into one of his phrase structure rules, as:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\{ \text{Time} \} \\
\{ \text{Loc} \} \\
\{ \text{Dir} \} \\
\{ \text{Man} \}
\end{array}
\rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\{ \text{NP (no^\text{Ind})} \} \\
\{ \text{Adv} \} \\
\{ \text{V} \}
\end{array}
\]

The idea concerning 'localizers' is due to Isami (1964-5: (8)).
See 2.3.6. for an alternative suggestion to 'performative analysis. Note also that the 'performative' approach does not seem to be plausible in every instance of so-called sentence adverbials.

The main difference between these two Relationals is, however, that node is normally used when an "objective" reason or cause" is called for while kara is used for a "subjective or personal" reason or cause, or is used when the speaker's judgment is rendered. Therefore, when the final Predicate suggests personal invitations, orders, requests, etc., the reason clause is followed by kara, although node is used in more formal situations." (Young and Nakajima (1968:Vol, III, p.45)).

As it turns out, 'objective' reason can be expressed by both node and kara, but 'subjective' reason can only be expressed by kara, and never by node. Cf. Davison (1972)

In connection with 'reason' adverbials, it may be interesting to speculate here as to how various logical relationships obtain between 'cause' and 'effect' sentences.
Bailey (1973) offers the following as the deep structure for various 'causal' sentences:

(a)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
\text{CAUSE} \\
N_1 \\
S_2 \\
(S_1)
\end{array}
\]

By postulating the abstract verb CAUSE in the underlying predicate, he claims that the following four 'causal' sentences can be schematically derived:

(b) i. \( S_1 \) results in \( S_2 \).

ii. \( S_1 \), so that \( S_2 \).

iii. \( S_2 \), because \( \{ \begin{array}{l}
S_1 \text{ (causal clause)} \\
of \text{POSS-ING } S_1 \\
of N_1 \text{ (causal preposition or case)}
\end{array} \} \)

iv. Because \( S_1, S_2 \).

Bailey goes on to say that the negation of this structure can result in the derivation of various 'concessive' clauses. Thus, he succeeds in showing the relatedness between what we would call 'reason' adverbials and 'concessive' adverbials. The following is the underlying structure he posits for 'concessive' sentences:

(c)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S_0 \\
\text{NEG} \\
S_1 \\
\text{CAUSE} \\
N \\
(S_2) \\
S_3 \\
\text{NEG} \\
S_4
\end{array}
\]
The structure is assumed to derive the following:

(d) i. \[ \{ N \} \text{ not result in not-} S_2. \]

ii. \( S_2, \) but \( S_4. \)

iii. \( S_4, \) { although \( S_2 \) (concessive clause) }
     \{ despite POSS-ING \( S_2 \) \\
     \{ despite \( N \) (concessive preposition) \}

iv. \{ Although \( S_2 \) \\
    Despite POSS-ING \( S_2 \) \\
    Despite \( N \) \}, \( S_4. \)

34 These are also called 'negative polarity' adverbials.


36 As will be mentioned later, \textit{doovara} itself cannot appear as the modifier of the performative verb; it will have to be lexicalized somehow on the basis of the idea contained in the paraphrase. Cf. *Kondo no ziken ga meikyuu-iri ni naru koto o \textit{doovara} no koto to site anata ni tutaeru.

This difficulty or defect weakens the argument for the
performative analysis.

37. The simplest approach to this problem would be to say that all 'sentence' adverbials directly modify the whole sentence in construction with them. Then, there would be no specific need to apply the 'performative' analysis to this problem. However, if the application of Lakoff (1970)'s analysis is feasible (as it is with many items), then the 'performative' approach will still be usefully employed. For example, if the following (a) sentence involving the sentence adverbial saiwa ni 'fortunately' can be paraphrased into (b), then the performative interpretation in (c) would not conflict with the semantic interpretation of (a):

(a) S aiw a ni watasi no ie wa yakenakatta.

 fortunately I 's house burn-not-past
 "Fortunately my house was not burned."

(b) W atasi no ie ga yakenakatta no wa saiwa datta.

 I 's house burn-not-past that fortunate was
 "That my house was not burned was fortunate."

(c) W atasi no ie ga yakenakatta no wa saiwa datta

 { to site } anata ni tutaeru.

 { koto o }
I've house burn-not-past that fortunate was as that you dative tell

"I say to you {that it was fortunate} {that my house as something fortunate} was not burned."

38 Topicalization by wa in Japanese has been viewed either as a process of 'attachment' transformation as in Kuroda (1965) or as a kind of 'movement' transformation as in Ross (1967). The 'attachment' approach is to attach wa directly to whatever constituent is to be topicalized, rather than moving out a constituent first and then mark it by wa as in the 'movement' approach. For various functions of topicalization in Japanese (e.g., 'thematic', 'contrastive', etc.), see Kuno (1973)

39 For deriving wa from ba 'if', see Takahara (1972?).
CHAPTER FOUR

Positions of Japanese Adverbials

4.0. Introduction

As the final step in the analysis of Japanese adverbials, we have now arrived at the stage where the various classes and subclasses of adverbials that we have established are to be integrated into the whole system of Japanese syntax. The purpose of this final chapter, therefore, is to determine the syntactic positions of Japanese adverbials and find out, in the face of the 'free scrambling' phenomenon discussed in Chapter Two, what kinds of constraints there are, if any, in the positioning of these adverbials in Japanese sentences.

The first half of this chapter (i.e., section one) will be concerned with the ordering of constituents on the surface level of the language, with the second half (i.e., section two) being devoted to an exploration into adverbial positions on the deeper level of Japanese syntax. Toward the end of the second half, an attempt will be made to apply the 'higher sentence analysis' proposed by Lakoff
(1970), followed by the remark that the evidence to attest to the plausibility of this approach is still inconclusive in Japanese. We will begin by determining the basic structure of Japanese sentences in order to clarify the environments in which our adverbials play their syntactic roles.

4. 1. 0. Basic Structure of Japanese Sentences

In Chapter Two, we started out with a simple phrase structure grammar in an effort to determine the general syntactic positions of adverbial constituents. The postulation of the simple phrase structure grammar in (25) of Chapter Two was therefore based on our assumption that adverbials could be found either inside the main sentence as predicate verbal modifiers or outside of the main sentence as sentence modifiers. The three syntactic 'ranks' of Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Adverbials depended on this general distinction between verbal and sentence modifiers. But before we can meaningfully discuss the positions of adverbials, we need to examine their syntactic environments. On the basis of the phrase structure grammar we have assumed in Chapter Two, I would like to determine some of the major sentence types (or 'kernel' sentences) in Japanese.
4. 1. 1. Ordering of 'Core' Constituents

In establishing adverbial constituents in Chapter Two, we excluded the subject, the object, and the predicate verbal constituent from consideration. These three kinds of constituents may be called the 'core' constituents of Japanese sentences. (More will be added below.) Depending on how we combine them, we will get different types of sentences.

Of the three kinds of constituents, the subject and the object constituent, which are grammatical relational categories, are realized in the form of Noun Phrases. The predicate verbal constituents are made up of (1) verbs, (2) adjectives, and (3) adjectival nouns (or nominal adjectives). As pointed out in Chapter Two, these three subclasses of predicate constituents share the common property of conjugating for the various 'mood' categories (e.g., 'indicative', 'presumptive', etc.). (See (2) in Chapter Two).

In addition to the subject and the object Noun Phrases, we may add to our inventory of 'core' constituents other NP's functioning as the 'indirect' object before 'dative' verbs and the 'complement' constituent to be used preceding the Copula (i.e., de aru) and 'inchoative' verbs
(i.e., naru and suru). The two constituents of the subject and the predicate are obligatory elements in Japanese sentences, but the object (both direct and indirect) and the 'complement' constituent are optionally chosen depending crucially on the kinds of verbals used.

Thus, by combining these 'core' constituents, we will have the following six different structures as our basic sentence types in Japanese:

(1) NP + Pred:
   a. Hana-ga saita. (verbs)
      flower bloomed
      "Flowers bloomed."
   b. Hana-ga utukusii. (adjective)
      be-beautiful
      "Flowers are beautiful."
   c. Hana-ga kirei-da. (Nominal-adjective)
      pretty-is
      "Flowers are pretty."

(2) NP + NP + Pred:
   a. Watasi-wa hana-o katta. (verb)
      I flower bought
      "I bought some flowers."

b. Watasi-wa hana-ga hosii. (adjective)
   want
   "I want some flowers."

c. Watasi-wa hana-ga suki-da. (Nominal-adjective)
   like
   "I like flowers."

(3) NP + NP + NP + Pred: (dative verb)
   a. Watasi-wa hana-ni purezento-o okutta.
      mother-to present sent
      "I sent some presents to my mother."
   b. Titi-ga watasi-ni kuruma-o(katte-)kureta.
      father I-to car bought-and-gave
      "My father bought me a car."

(4) NP + NP + NP + Pred: (inchoative verb)
   a. Watasi-wa musuko-o isya-ni sita.
      I son doctor made
      "I made my son a doctor."
   b. Watasi-wa kodomo-o zyoobu-ni sodateta.
      child healthy raised
      "I raised my child(ren) healthy and strong."

(5) NP + NP + Pred: (inchoative verb)
      son doctor became
"My son became a doctor."

b. Musuko-ga genki-ni natta.

healthy

"My son became healthy."

(6) NP + NP ⊕ Copula: (Copula)

a. Watasi-wa nihonzin da.

I Japanese am

"I am a Japanese."

b. Wagahai-wa neko de-aru.

I cat am

"I am a cat."

I propose the above six patterns as the basic sentence types in Japanese. They are all made up of only the so-called 'core' constituents. That means that no adverbial constituents are involved in the construction of these structures. This follows from our assumption that adverbials are something extra added to the 'core' constituents (notably the verbal constituents) as the original ad-verbium 'added word' suggests. As such, these six structures constitute the kinds of environments in which adverbials 'play their syntactic roles'.

Before we begin our discussion of adverbial positions within these basic structures, however, we may need some
justification for the various patterns I have just proposed.

By looking at the structures in (1)-(5), we notice that the subject NP and the predicate verbal constituent are commonly shared by all of them. However, some justification will be necessary for the distinction between the 'true' Copula in (b) and the 'copular' suffix attached to the adjectival-noun within Pred in the other patterns (i.e., NP da vs Adj-Noun + da). The independent nature of the Copula in (6) can be revealed by the fact that the two NP's can be permuted as follows: 2

(7) a. Nihonzin wa watasi da.
    Japanese I is
    "The Japanese person is me."

b. Neko wa wagahai de-aru.
    cat I is
    "The cat is me."

This permutation is not possible for the Adj-Noun with the 'copular' suffix as in (1c) and (2c), as shown by the meaningless sentences below:

    pretty flower is

b. *Suki wa hana ga watasi da.
like flower I is

In other words, the regular NP and the 'true' Copula are two separate items, whereas the Adj-Noun and the 'copular' suffix have to be treated as one inseparable whole.

It will not be necessary to point out the fact that the predicate verbals in (1) are all 'intransitive' verbals that do not require 'object', while the verbals in (2) are assumed to be 'transitive' verbals that do require 'object'. The adjective 抱い 'be desirous of' is transformationally related to such 'true' transitive verbs as 欲す 'want' (for the first person subject) and 目白 'show signs of wanting' (for the second and the third person subject). Similarly, the adjectival noun 好き 'be fond of' together with the 'copular' suffix だ is transformationally related to the 'true' transitive verb 好く 'like'.

Although the constituent labels are the same, the patterns (3) and (4) have to be distinguished. The pattern (3) is made up of the subject NP, the Indirect Object NP, the Direct Object NP, and the 'dative' verb predicate. The Indirect Object constituent could be taken to be a kind of adverbial constituent in the sense that it indicates a
certain direction in which some objects are transferred. But I distinguish it from, say, a 'directional' adverbial, for the following reason. First, dative verbs are not motion verbs with which 'directional' adverbials are more closely associated. That is why the particle is not just the directional marker e 'to', but ni 'for the sake of'. The Indirect Object constituent is marked by ni because it indicates the 'beneficiary' or the 'recipient' of some benefits given to it. Secondly, the Indirect Object constituent can become the subject of a passive sentence just as the Direct Object constituent can. Observe the following where both the Dative and Indirect Object NP's can become the subject of passive sentences:

(9) a. Daitooryoo ga kare ni kunsyoo o ataaeta.
    President he-IO medal-DO gave
    "The President awarded him a medal."

b. Kare ga daitooryoo kara kunsyoo o staerareta.
   he President from medal obj was-given
   "He was awarded a medal by the President."

c. Kunsyoo ga daitooryoo kara kare ni ataarereeta.
   medal President from he to was-given
   "A medal was given him by the President."

In contrast to these, 'directional' adverbials like
Tokyo e 'to Tokyo' cannot be made the subject of a passive sentence, as shown below:

(10) a. Kare wa Tokyo e itta.
    he Tokyo to went
    "He went to Tokyo."

b. *Tokyo wa kare ni ikareta.
    Tokyo he by was-gone
    "*Tokyo was gone by him."

Thirdly, some causative sentences involve not only the Direct Object but also the Indirect Object constituent, both of which function as the underlying subject of the embedded sentences. Observe the following:

(11) a. Watasi wa kare o ikaseta.
    I he obj caused-to-go
    "I made him go."

b. Watasi wa kare ni tabe-saseta.
    I he ID caused-to-eat
    "I allowed him to eat."

Embedded in both of these two sentences are the following, where kare is the subject of both of the sentences:

(12) a. Kare ga itta.
    "He went."
b. Kare ga tabeta.

"He ate."

Because of these peculiar syntactic properties, I do not treat the Indirect Object constituent as an adverbial.

Pattern (4) has a similar arrangement of constituents though with different functions. I have already argued against including so-called 'complement' constituents as part of adverbials (see 1.3.2). This is exactly the case in point. The kind of predicate verb that takes this pattern is the so-called 'incomplete' verb as against the 'complete' verb as in (1)-(3). The verb in (4) is an 'incomplete' \textit{transitive} verb, because it takes the object constituent, while the verb in (5) is an 'incomplete' \textit{intransitive} verb because it does not take the object.

Both of them are called 'incomplete' because their meanings will not become 'complete' without the help of 'complement' constituents. 'Incomplete' verbs are represented by 'inchoative' verbs like (ni) \textit{naru} 'become'. 'Incomplete' verbs like (ni) \textit{suru} 'make' may also be called 'inchoative' in the broad application of the term, because (ni) \textit{suru} 'make' is a ('lexicalized') causative form of (ni) \textit{naru} 'become' if we take the 'pre-lexical' transformational approach.5
The verb sodateta 'raised' in (4b) may be treated as a 'pseudo-incomplete' transitive verb which is being used as a 'surrogate' of the verb (ni) suru 'make'. Notice, however, that the 'complement' of this 'incomplete' verb is realized as the ni form of an adjectival noun instead of a regular NP. This constituent can also be realized as the -ku form of adjectives (e.g., utukusiku 'beautifully'). I interpret this ni or -ku 'complement' as deriving from an NP through zyoobu na kodomo ni → zyoobu ni. Similarly, genki ni in (b) may be analyzed as coming from genki na kodomo ni 'into a healthy child'.

I believe the foregoing arguments are enough to establish these constituents as 'core' to Japanese sentences to be distinguished from adverbial constituents. At the same time, these 'core' constituents will serve as important points of reference in our discussion of adverbial positions. Since the six types of constructions or sentence patterns made up of these 'core' constituents are determined by the kinds of verbals used, they may be referred to as follows:

(13) i. Complete Intransitive Sentence (=1)
    ii. Complete Transitive Sentence (=2)
iii. Dative Sentence (=3)

iv. Incomplete Transitive Sentence (=4)

v. Incomplete Intransitive Sentence (=5)

vi. Copular Sentence (=6)

On the basis of the arrangement of the various constituents within the six patterns in (1)-(6), we will be able to formulate the following summary statement of facts:

(14) (i) The subject comes before the predicate verbal.

(ii) The predicate verbal comes at the end of the sentence (although the subject may or may not come at the beginning of the sentence).

(iii) The 'complement' comes after the Direct Object if they are both used.

(iv) The Indirect Object comes before the Direct Object when they both appear.

4. 1. 2. Ordering of Adverbials--General Constraints

In discussing the constraints on the ordering of adverbials, we will proceed from the general to the more specific ones in order to grasp the overall structure of Japanese sentences. Consider the following example first:

(15) Hora, asoko ni akatonbo ga suisui to tonde iru yo.

Look over-there red-dragon-fly swingingly flying-is see?
"Look. Over there there is a red dragon-fly flying swinging its tail."

_Hora_ 'Look' is an 'interjective' adverbial adding a sort of 'hortative' mood to the sentence. _Asoko ni_ 'over there' is a place adverbial modifying the whole proposition _akatonbo ga tonde iru_ 'a dragon-fly is flying'. The sentence final particle _yo_ 'you see?' is in agreement with the 'hortative' mood expressed by the interjective _Hora_ 'look'. _Akatonbo ga_ is of course the subject, _suisui to_ 'swingingly' is a 'semi-onomatopoetic' manner adverbial directly modifying the predicate verbal _tonde iru_ 'is flying'. The modificational relationship holding among these constituents may be represented by the following tree diagram:6

(16)

```
  S
 /|
SAdv MS SP
 /|
Interjective Place NP VP
 /|
Hora asoko ni VAdv V Aux yo
    /|
    Manner
    akatonbo ga tonde iru
        /|
        suisui to
```
This structure tells us that the Sentence is made up of the three major parts: SAdv, MS, and SP. Notice that SAdv and SP, which are optional elements in Japanese, are outside of the Main Sentence. Also these two elements constitute a sort of superstructure being mutually related in indicating the speaker's 'mood' or 'attitude' toward the proposition made in the main sentence.

With this structure in mind, we will see how many positional variants of this sentence we can get by 'scrambling' the constituents. The following are some of the possible variations:

(17) a. Hora, / akatonbo ga / asoko ni / suisui to / tonde iru / yo. (=15)
   
   b. Hora, / akatonbo ga / suisui to / asoko ni / tonde iru / yo.
   
   c. Hora, / asoko ni / suisui to / akatonbo ga / tonde iru / yo.
   
   d. Hora, / suisui to / akatonbo ga / asoko ni / tonde iru / yo.
   
   e. Hora, / suisui to / asoko ni / akatonbo ga / tonde iru / yo.

From the observation of these variations, the following summary statement of facts will emerge concerning the order of the constituents, this time including adverbials:

(18) i. The 'interjective' sentence adverbial comes at the beginning of the sentence.
ii. The sentence final particle comes at the end of the sentence.

iii. The subject comes before the predicate verbal.

iv. The predicate comes at the end of the main sentence.

v. All adverbials come before the predicate verbal.

vi. There seem to be no constraints on the order of the adverbials themselves.

vii. The subject does not necessarily come at the beginning of the sentence.

The generalizations given above, especially (v) and (vi), make it clear that one of the important characteristics of Japanese adverbials is their free order or 'scramblability'. As a matter of fact, this 'free scrambling', as we have seen in Chapter Two, applies not only to adverbials, but also to all the other major constituents of the sentence. The only exceptions to the 'scrambling rule' that we have identified so far are (i) the predicate verbal constituent, which is seldom 'inverted' in Japanese, (ii) the 'interjective' sentence adverbial and the sentence final particle, which are both outside of the MS, and (iii) the constituents within the 'complex' NP that we referred to earlier in Chapter Two (see 2. 1).
Of the five major subclasses of Tertiary Adverbials, which normally occupy their positions outside of the main sentence, only 'interjective' and 'conjunctive' adverbials seem to fall outside of the scope of the 'scrambling rule'. This is not unexpected, however, if we consider the unique function of these two subgroups of adverbials. Since 'interjective' adverbials are exclamatory expressions, they can produce their best effect when they are placed at the beginning of sentences. Similarly, since the function of 'conjunctive' adverbials is to relate a sentence to another sentence preceding it, they have to come at the beginning of the second sentence. The positions of these two kinds of adverbials are thus restricted by their unique functions.

It is, however, interesting to observe that some 'interjective' and 'conjunctive' adverbials are marginally possible in positions other than the beginning of sentences. As a matter of fact, the very same sentence which was used to determine the general positions of adverbials in (15) contains such an item. The 'interjective' sentence adverbial hora 'look' can barely be scrambled as the following examples show:
(19)  a. **Hora**, asoko ni akatonbo ga suisui to tonde iru yo. (=15)

b. Asoko ni **hora** akatonbo ga suisui to tonde iru yo.

c. Asoko ni akatonbo ga **hora** suisui to tonde iru yo.

d. Asoko ni akatonbo ga suisui to **hora** tonde iru yo.

Now, the reason why I said these variations are 'marginally' possible is that the semantic interpretation of these sentences seems to change a little as the adverbial **hora** is moved down the sentence. In other words, the scope of the 'interjective' mood indicated by **hora** seems to get 'localized' in the sense that it modifies only the constituents immediately following or preceding it as the adverbial moves down from the initial position. In the original version in (19a=15), the 'interjective' mood covers the whole sentence, but in (19b-d), it only covers either the preceding or the following constituent depending on which constituent it is attached to. To give an extreme example, the scope of the adverbial in (19d) when it is attached to (i.e., read together with) the following constituent(s) covers only that or those local elements (i.e., **tonde iru yo**, in this case). Thus, the semantic interpretation of (19d) when **hora** is attached to the
following elements would be something like the following:

(20) Look! It is flying (dipping its head every now and then)—the red dragon-fly over there.

Some of the 'interjective' adverbials that have a 'scope narrowing effect' just like hora in the above example are maa 'oh, dear', a! 'oops', oya 'wait', etc. Other items like zyaa 'well, then', Hai 'Yes', doozo 'please', etc. are hardly capable of being moved out of their sentence initial position.

'Conjunctive' sentence adverbials like mazu 'first of all', sikasi 'however', demo 'but', sore ni 'besides', etc. can also be moved out of the sentence initial position. However, their movability is rather restricted, except for the item mazu, as shown by the following:

(21) a. \[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mazu} & \quad \text{kare wa kaze de kinoo gakkoo e konakatta.} \\
\text{Sikasi} & \\
\text{Demo} & \\
\text{Soreni} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{first-of-all he cold with yesterday school to did-not-come} \\
\text{However} \\
\text{But} \\
\text{Besides} \\
\text{"First of all,} & \quad \text{he did not come to school} \\
\text{However,} & \quad \text{yesterday because of a cold."} \\
\text{But} & \\
\text{Besides,} & \\
\end{align*}
b. Kare wa (mazu sikasi demo sore ni) kaze de kinoo gakkoo e konakatta.
c. Kare wa kaze de (mazu sikasi demo sore ni) kinoo gakkoo e konakatta.
   *demo *sore ni
d. Kare wa kaze de kinoo (mazu sikasi demo sore ni) gakkoo e konakatta.
   *sore ni
e. Kare wa kaze de kinoo gakkoo e (mazu sikasi demo sore ni) konakatta.

We observe in the above examples that 'conjunctive' adverbials can be inserted only after the first major constituent of the sentence. This situation in Japanese resembles that of English, where 'conjunctive' adverbials like however, therefore, on the other hand, then, etc. can 'cut' into the sentence, although English ones seem much freer.

The next question is: why is it that the 'conjunctive' adverbial mazu 'first of all' can be used in all the positions? I interpret this situation as meaning that items like mazu, daiiti (ni) 'in the first place', etc. have two uses---one as 'conjunctive' adverbial and the other
as some other kind of adverbial (possibly, as 'time' adverbials in these cases).\(^8\) As might be recalled, secondary adverbials of 'time' and 'place' often display a double function of the 'primary' type of adverbials and the 'tertiary' type of adverbials. (See 2. 3. 1., 2. 3. 4., and 3. 2. 1. for illustrations). It is quite reasonable to assume that this is a case in point.

In contrast to these, the other subclasses of Tertiary Adverbials (i.e., 'reason', 'modal', and 'topicalized' adverbials) participate in 'free scrambling' with other constituents in the sentence. The following variations in (22)-(24) are some more examples to demonstrate this fact:

(22) a. **Tabun** kare wa kaze de asita gakkoo e korarenai daroo.\(^9\)

probably he cold with tomorrow school to cannot-come

"Probably he will not be able to come to school tomorrow."

b. Kare wa **tabun** kaze de asita gakkoo e korerenai daroo.

c. Kare wa kaze de **tabun** asita gakkoo e korerenai daroo.

d. Kare wa kaze de asita **tabun** gakkoo e kcrerenai daroo.

e. Kare wa kaze de asita gakkoo e **tabun** korerenai daroo.
(23)  a. Kare wa tabun kaze de asita gakkoo e korarenai
daroo. (=23b)

b. Tabun kare wa kaze de asita gakkoo e korarenai
daroo.

c. Tabun kaze de kare wa asita gakkoo e korarenai
daroo.

d. Tabun kaze de asita kare wa gakkoo e korarenai
daroo.

e. Tabun kaze de asita gakkoo e kare wa korarenai
daroo.

(24)  a. Kaze de tabun kare wa asita gakkoo e korarenai
daroo.

b. Tabun kaze de kare wa asita gakkoo e korarenai
daroo.

c. Tabun kare wa kaze de asita gakkoo e korarenai
daroo.

d. Tabun kare wa asita kaze de gakkoo e korarenai
daroo.

e. Tabun kare wa asita kaggoo e kaze de korarenai
daroo.

The variations in (22) demonstrate the 'free transportability' of 'modal' sentence adverbials, those in (23) show the same phenomenon with 'topicalized' sentence adverbials, and those in (24) are examples illustrating the various possible positions of 'reason' adverbials. All of them are thus shown to be free of any restrictions regarding their positions.
4. 1. 3. Ordering of Adverbials--Specific Constraints

In the preceding section, we discussed some general constraints on the ordering of adverbials. In this section, I would like to explore this area a little further and come up with some more specific constraints on their ordering with respect to separate groups of adverbial constituents in Japanese.

4. 1. 3. 1. Primary Adverbials

As we have already observed in 4. 1. 2., 'scrambling' applies to the major classes of adverbials of Manner, Quantity, Time, Place, and Reason. Generally, it applies not only to the different classes of adverbials but also to the members of the same class. However, members of the same class often do not co-occur, as shown by the following:

(25) a. *Ogawa ga dandan sarasara to nagarete iru.

stream gradually with-a-rustle flowing is

"The stream is gradually flowing with a rustle."

b. *Kesa wa kuruma de aruite kita.

this morning car by walking came

"*I came on foot by car this morning."

The difficulty in (25a) may be due not so much to the co-
occurrence restriction holding between the two subgroups of adverbials but to that between the particular adverbial dandan 'gradually' and the aspect of the verb nagarete iru 'is flowing'. If we change the verb into something like nagarehazimeta 'started to flow', then the sentence stands as it is: e.g.,

(26) Ogawa ga dandan sarasara to nagarehazimeta.10

stream gradually with-a-rustle started-to-flow

"The stream gradually started to flow with a rustle."

The difficulty in (25b), on the other hand, directly comes from the fact that the two adverbials are in the same subgroup with mutually exclusive semantic contents. Again, if we change the second adverbial into something like hitori de which is of the same subgroup but with a semantic content which can co-occur with the first one, the sentence is acceptable: e.g.,

(27) Kesa wa kuruma de hitori de kita.

this-morning car by oneself by came

"I cam alone in my car."

Of all the Primary Adverbials, one definite ordering constraint exists between degree adverbials and the adverbials they modify. Observe the following, where
the inversion of the two adverbials makes the sentence in (b) ungrammatical:

(28) a. Ano ko wa totemo hakkiri mono o iu.
    that girl very clearly thing obj say
    "That girl speaks her mind very firmly."

b. *Ano ko wa hakkiri totemo mono o iu.
    clearly very

This situation coincides with the more general constraint existing in languages like Japanese, where all modifiers must come before the modified words. In other words, the movability is blocked by the nature of the structure in which these two items occur. The structure may be illustrated by the labelled bracketing: [ [ totemo ] deg hakkiri ] manner.

4. 1. 3. 2. Secondary Adverbials

Among secondary adverbials, one interesting 'stylistic' constraint exists between time adverbials and place adverbials such that the former must precede the latter. In English, these two kinds of adverbials occur in the opposite order. In either case, however, this constraint is not so much of a linguistic nature as of a 'stylistic' nature, because in purely linguistic terms grammaticality
is not affected either way. Observe the following, where the order of the adverbials in (a) is 'stylistically' preferred to that in (b):

(29) a. Watasi wa 1967 nen ni America e kimasita.
    I year in to came
    "I came in 1967 to America."

b. Watasi wa America e 1967 nen ni kimasita.
    "I came to America in 1967."

(30) a. Watasi wa 1945 nen ni Tookyoo de umaremasita.
    I year in Tokyo in
    "I was born in Tokyo in 1945."

b. Watasi wa Tookyoo de 1945 nen ni umaremasita.
    I Tokyo in year in was-born
    "I was born in Tokyo in 1945."

It seems that the English order constraint is more strict than that of Japanese, since in Japanese it is just a matter of stylistic preference.

Between certain time adverbials, however, there is an order constraint which is more of a linguistic nature rather than 'stylistic'. Observe the following pair, in which 'time-span' adverbials (e.g., kinoo 'yesterday', kyoo 'today', asita 'tomorrow', etc.) precede 'time-point'
adverbials (e.g., san-zi ni 'at three o'clock', etc.):

(31) a. Zisin wa kinoo san-zi ni okita.

earth-quake yesterday three-o'clock at occurred

"*The earthquake took place yesterday at three."

b. *Zisin wa san-zi ni kinoo okita.

"The earthquake took place at three yesterday."

This order constraint is certainly linguistic to the extent that the (b) sentence above is anomalous, but it is still under the more general 'language-specific' constraint in Japanese such that things are listed from the larger units (=general) to the smaller units (=specific) in that order. This happens not only with time words but also place words, as the following examples show:

(32) a. 1965 nen, 6 gatu, 28 niti, gogo, 3 zi, 45 hun...

year month day p.m. hour

minute

b. Tookyoo to, Nakano ku, Yamato tyoo, 2 tyoome, 4 banti...

city ward area block #

house #

In English this large to small order may be reversed and come out something like the following:
(33) a. 45 minutes after 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 28th of June in 1965.

   b. 2-4 Yamato tyoo, Nakano ku, Tokyo

Clause adverbials of time and place can be inserted in between major constituents of the sentence as long as they form a whole constituent: e.g.,

(34) a. Watasi ga eki ni tuita toki ni wa, kisya wa deta ato datta.

   "When I arrived at the station, the train had already left."

   b. Kisya wa watasi ga eki ni tuita toki ni wa deta ato datta.

   "The train, when I arrived at the station, had already left."

As a matter of fact, when the subject of the main sentence is topicalized as in this particular case, it is often placed before the subordinate clause of time and place. Thus, in the following example, it appears ambiguous whether the subject is to go with the main clause or the subordinate clause:

(35) Watasi wa kisya o matu aida sinhun o yonde ita.

   "I was reading the newspaper while waiting for the train."
However, this topicalized subject must go with the main clause *sinbun o yonde ita* 'was reading the newspaper' since we know that in Japanese the subject of the subordinate clause never gets topicalized. Thus, if we supply the deleted subject of the subordinate clause and take the topicalized subject back to its original position, we will have the following as the correct underlying sentence of (35):

(36) (Watasi ga) kisya o matu aida, watasi wa sinbun o yonde ita.

"While I waited for the train, I was reading the newspaper."

'Source' and 'goal' adverbials have to be used in this order probably for a semantic reason. The (a) sentence in the following pair sounds more natural than the (b) sentence:


Tokyo from Honolulu to plane by seven hours takes

"It takes seven hours by plane from Tokyo to Honolulu."

b. *Honolulu made Tookyoo kara hikooki de nanazikan kakarimasu.*

Honolulu to Tokyo from
"It takes seven hours to Honolulu from Tokyo by plane."

Place and time adverbials used as sentence modifiers (namely, as settings) tend to be placed at the beginning of the sentence. This is partly because they are normally topicalized. Thus,

(38) a. Nihon de wa rokugatu kara sitigatu ni kakete ame ga tokusan huru.

Japan in topic June from July to extending rain much fall

"In Japan it rains a lot in June through July."

b. Kugatu ni wa nihon wa tainuu ni osowaremasu.

September in topic Japan topic typhoon by is-attacked

"In September Japan is attacked by typhoons."

4. 1. 3. 3. Tertiary Adverbials

Tertiary Adverbials have the common characteristic of being sentence modifiers. By virtue of this characteristic, Tertiary Adverbials are normally ordered first before any other adverbial, whether it is a clause or a phrase adverbial. However, derived forms of 'reason' adverbials are often found closer to the predicate verbal within the main sentence. Observe the following examples:
(39) a. Watasi wa yuube eiga o mi ni itta.
   I last-night movie obj see to went
   "I went to see a movie last night."
b. Yuube wa sono tame ni yoru neru no ga osokatta.
   last-night that reason for night sleep Nom was-late
   "I was late going to bed last night because of that."
c. Yuube wa yoru neru no ga sono tame ni osokatta.
   "Because of that I was late going to bed last night."

Similarly, 'referential' adverbials, a subclass of sentence adverbials, tend to be inserted within the main sentence:
e.g.,

(40) a. Sono koto ni tuite watasitati wa yuube osoku made hanasita.
   that thing to sticking we last-night late till talked
   "We talked about that until late last night."15
b. Watasitati wa yuube osoku made sono koto ni tuite hanasita.
   "We talked about that until late last night."

'Topicalized' constituents in Japanese are not always found at the beginning of sentences, since they participate in 'free scrambling' even after they are topicalized. This
is possible in Japanese because topicalized constituents are clearly marked by wa: e.g.,

(41) a. Watasi wa doitugo o hanasimasen.
    I topic German obj not-speak
    "I don't speak German."

b. Doitugo wa watasi wa hanasimasen.
    German topic I topic not-speak
    "As for German, I don't speak it."

c. Watasi wa doitugo wa hanasimasen.
    "German I don't speak."

The topicalized constituent in (b) is doubly marked by the unique position (i.e., sentence initial) and the topic marker wa. Therefore, it is more emphatic than (c), where the topicalized element is scrambled back to its original position.

4. 1. 4. Preferred Order of Adverbials

In the preceding two sections, we made a preliminary survey of general and specific constraints on the ordering of Japanese adverbials. Some of the observations we have made up to this point can be summarized as follows:

(42) i. In Japanese all the major constituents including adverbials are freely transportable within the same clause, with the exceptions
of the predicate verbal constituent.\textsuperscript{16}

ii. Modifiers normally precede the modified in Japanese. (Thus, primary and secondary adverbials which are modifiers of verbals are ordered before the verbals, and tertiary adverbials which are sentence modifiers are normally placed at sentence initial positions. Degree adverbials always come before verbals or adverbials they modify.)

iii. Other ordering constraints are linguistically trivial: i.e., have no consequences to such an extent that grammaticality is affected.

As the above summary of observations shows, Japanese is a highly flexible language as far as the ordering of constituents is concerned. And yet, it is interesting to note that native speakers of the language tend to agree as to the most natural way of ordering constituents. This tendency indicates that there is a certain preferred style in the language. As a matter of fact, those who are engaged in creative writing consciously take advantage of this 'established' style of the language, and, by skillfully manipulating the rhythm in the flow of ideas, they succeed in achieving various effects in their modes of expression. How is this possible? What is the mechanism behind all this? Here I would like to explore this area a little further and try to come up with some meaningful observations.
In 4.1.1., we have observed that the kinds of 'core' constituents to be used in sentences are largely determined by the kinds of verbals used. The intransitive verb, for instance, never takes the object constituent, and the complete transitive verb takes the object but no 'complement' constituent, and so on. A similar principle seems to be operating in the occurrence and non-occurrence of certain adverbials. For example, among intransitive verbs, motion verbs take 'direction' adverbials, 'existence' verbs require 'ni-locative' adverbials, and 'activity' verbs demand 'de-locative' adverbials. Consequently, these three kinds of adverbials cannot co-occur sequentially simply because the three kinds of verbs cannot be used together within the same clause. This means that there is no ordering relationship among these three different groups of adverbials. They occur in three separate sentences, as in

(43) a. Tanaka san wa ginkoo e ikimasita.
   Mr. bank to went
   "Mr. Tanaka went to the bank."

b. Tanaka san wa ginkoo ni tukumete imasu.
   bank at employed is
   "Mr. Tanaka is employed at the bank."
c. Tanaka san wa *ginkoo de* hataraite imasu.

"Mr. Tanaka is working at the bank."

Now, to these sentences, if 'time' adverbials like *ima* 'now' are to be added, they normally take their position before the 'place' adverbials, as in

(44) a. Tanaka san wa *ima* *ginkoo e* ikimasita.

"Mr. Tanaka went to the bank just now."

b. Tanaka san wa *ima* *ginkoo ni* tutomete imasu.

"Mr. Tanaka is now employed at the bank."

c. Tanaka san wa *ima* *ginkoo de* hataraite imasu.

"Mr. Tanaka is now working at the bank."

As mentioned in 4. 1. 3. 2., this order constraint is more stylistic than linguistic, so it is quite all right to reverse these positions, as in

(45) a. Tanaka san wa *ginkoo e ima* ikimasita.

b. Tanaka san wa *ginkoo ni ima* tutomete imasu.

c. Tanaka san wa *ginkoo de ima* hataraite imasu.

So far, it does not seem to make too much difference in which order they are arranged. But a strange thing happens when, for instance, another 'place' adverbial is used in the original (b) sentence in (43). The following combination is possible:
(46) Tanaka san wa Tookyoo de ginkoo ni tutomete imasu.

"Mr. Tanaka is employed by a bank in Tokyo."

What is interesting in this case is the fact that these two 'place' adverbials are hardly interchangeable, as witness:

(47) ?Tanaka san wa ginkoo ni, Tookyoo de tutomete

bank at Tokyo in

Concerning the (near) impossibility of this sentence, two explanations suggest themselves. One has to do with the 'hierarchy' existing among these similar adverbials like the one existing between 'time-span' and 'time-point' adverbials (see 4. 1. 3. 2.). According to this theory, since Tookyoo de refers to a larger area than ginkoo ni, it stands to reason that the larger element is placed before the smaller one.

While this explanation is quite plausible, the other alternative seems even more appealing. This has to do with the 'semantic solidarity' existing between adverbials and the verbals that require them. As might be recalled, we observed in 2. 3. 2 an interesting phenomenon taking place between certain manner adverbials and verbals that require them. There, certain manner adverbials (e.g.,
(semi-) onomatopoetic adverbials) are found to be inseparably tied to certain verbs. For instance, the relationship between the onomatopoetic adverbial *sikusiku to 'convulsively' and the verbal *naku 'to cry' is so close that they selectionally restrict each other. This situation can be explained by what might be termed the 'semantic solidarity' existing between these two items.

Under this interpretation, we may say that the 'semantic solidarity' between *ginkoo ni 'at a bank' and *tutomete imasu 'is employed' is stronger than that between *Tokyoo de and *tutomete imasu. I think that it is this close tie that makes native speakers reject the sentence in (47). Syntactic evidence to support this interpretation is found in the unique way of nominalization involving this sentence. Observe the following pair where the nominalization in (a) is normal while that in (b) is semantically untenable:

(48) a. Tanaka san wa *Tokyoo no ginkoo ni tutomete imasu.

Tokyo's bank at
"Mr. Tanaka is employed by a bank in Tokyo."

b. *Tanaka san wa ginkoo no *Tokyoo ni tutomete imasu.

bank's Tokyo in
"Mr. Tanaka is employed by Tookyoo in a bank."

The following tree structure representing the underlying sentence of (48a) clearly shows the closer relationship holding between ginkoo ni and tutomete imasu:

(49)  
```
S  
|   
VP  
|   
Place  
|   
NP  
|   
S  
|   
NP  
|   
VP  
|   
Place  
|   
V  
```

Tanaka san wa ginkoo ga Tookyoo ni aru ginkoo ni tutomete imasu.

In other words, the closer relationship between ginkoo ni and tutomete imasu is shown by the fact that they are sister constituents, while Tookyoo ni is much more removed from the main verbal.

Going back to the examples in (45), I said that they do not seem to make too much difference. However, in light of the above discussion, it should be said that a certain 'naturalness' condition is broken by the intrusion of the time adverbial. Its existence in this position is something
unexpected—therefore it receives more semantic prominence than when it is in its original place as in (44). Thus, the rhythm of the natural style is broken.

To repeat, the natural rhythm of the 'established' style is not broken so much because the normal 'time-place' sequence is reversed, but because the 'semantic solidarity' existing between the adverbials and the verbals is weakened. This will become more apparent if we replace the time adverbial by some other types of adverbials. Consider the following:

(47) a. Tanaka san wa otooto to ginkoo e ikimasita.

   brother with bank to

   "Mr. Tanaka went to the bank with this brother."

b. Tanaka san wa otooto to ginkoo ni tutomete imasu.

   bank at

   "Mr. Tanaka is employed by the bank with his brother."

c. Tanaka san wa otooto to ginkoo de hataraite imasu.

   bank in

   "Mr. Tanaka is working in the bank with his brother."
If the above order is the most natural one, I think we can assume that there is a certain solidarity hierarchy existing between the verbals and their adverbials. And if this hierarchy is broken, we get a different interpretation on the 'inversed' order. For instance, the 'inversed' sentence,

(48) Tanaka san wa ginkoo e otooto to ikimasita. 17

bank to brother with

no longer means the same as the normally ordered one in (47a). Of course the denotational meaning of these two sentences is the same, but with a change in its focus, (48) takes on a different connotation. This connotational difference can be expressed more clearly by clefting it:

e.g.,

(49) Tanaka san ga ginkoo e itta no (=hito) no otooto (to) desita.

Tanaka Mr. bank to went person brother (with) was

"It was (with) his brother that Mr. Tanaka went to the bank."

Next, how far does this 'solidarity constraint' apply? We will test it by expanding the same sentence. Observe in the following examples how the different arrangement of items affects the connotational meaning of the (a) sentence:
(50) a. Tanaka san wa otooto to kuruma de isoide ginkoo e itta.

Mr. Tanaka brother with car by hurriedly bank to went

"Mr. Tanaka went to the bank hurriedly by car with his brother."

b. Tanaka san wa isoide kuruma de otooto to ginkoo e itta.

hurriedly car by brother with bank to

c. Tanaka san wa kuruma de otooto to isoide ginkoo e

car by brother with hurriedly bank to

At first glance, these sentences do not seem to make too much difference. However, by reading them several times, I perceive some slight emphasis falling on the first adverbial in each sentence. In other words, in (50a) otooto to tends to get more prominence than the rest of the adverbials. Similarly, isoide in (50b) and kuruma de in (50c) are felt to be emphasized than the rest.

As for the second and the third adverbials, on the other hand, the order does not seem to be significant at all even from a connotational point of view. How should we interpret this situation? I think that there are two things happening in this whole multiple adverbial situation.
One is the 'semantic solidarity' constraint which we have already discussed and the other is what I would call a 'first reference' constraint.

The 'first reference' constraint says that in a multiple adverbial situation, the first item in the sequence gets more prominence, therefore, more emphasis. In other words, the first item carries a greater information load. Thus, this first reference constraint is different in nature from the previously discussed 'solidarity' constraint. The 'solidarity' constraint says that those constituents that are semantically closest to the verbals are attracted to them. There is a close semantic affinity existing between these two constituents that makes them go together. To insert a 'foreign' constituent between them is to force the new constituent to go with the strange verbal, thereby making it receive more attention.18

For all intents and purposes, the 'solidarity' constraint and the 'first reference' constraint produce more or less the same effects, as in

(51) a. Tanaka san wa otooto to kuruma de isoide ginkoo e itta.

"Mr. Tanaka went to the bank by car hurriedly with his brother."
They both conclude the following:

(52) Tanaka san ga kuruma de isoide ginkoo e itta no (=hito) wa ootoo (to) desita.

In order to assess the effects produced by the 'solidarity' constraint, it becomes necessary to be familiar with the natural style of the language with regard to other types of verbals. This is important especially from the point of view of language learning. However, since it is impossible to exhaust all the possible situations, I will point out some of the obvious cases.

Incomplete intransitive verbals which take the 'complement' constituent do not display many interesting interactions with adverbials. Adverbials most often found with them are secondary or tertiary adverbials. Since tertiary adverbials are not so interesting from the point of view of surface positions, only some secondary adverbials will be examined here.

(53) a. Ootoo wa kyonen made gakusei desita ga, kotosi kara Oosaka de kaisyain ni narimasita.

"My (little) brother was a student until last year, but from this year he became a company employee."
b. Otooto wa mae wa byooki desita ga, ima wa sukkari zyoobu ni narimasita.

brother before illness was but, now completely healthy became

"My (little) brother was ill before, but now he became completely healthy."

We observe from the above examples that the relationship between the complements and the copular verbs is semantically so close that they cannot be separated. Time and place adverbials are seen to precede the complements in that order. In (53b), the degree adverbial sukkari 'completely' is placed immediately before the complement.

Now, if the adverbials are placed in positions other than these, they will be affected either by the 'solidarity' constraint or the 'first reference' constraint: e.g.,

(54) a. Otooto wa kotosi kara Oosaka de kaisyain ni natta.

brother this-year from Osaka in company-employee became

"My little brother became a company employee in Osaka from this year."

b. ?Otooto wa kotosi kara kaisyain ni Oosaka de natta.

c. ?Otooto wa Osaka de kaisyain ni kotosi kara natta.

The example in (54a) provides an environment for the 'first reference' constraint and those in (54b,c) are susceptible
to the 'solidarity' constraint. Thus, we can see that complements are more closely tied to verbals.

Complete transitive verbs require objects. Somehow objects seem to be more strongly attracted to verbals than adverbials. The following order is generally preferred:

(55) Watasi wa **yuube** tomodati to **Palace Theater** de **nihon** no **eiga** o mita.

I last night friend with P.T. at Japan 's movie obj saw

"I saw a Japanese movie at Palace Theater with my friend last night."

Here what we should not forget is the fact that implicit in what we call the preferred order of adverbials is the understanding that it is still subject to the two constraints of 'semantic solidarity' and 'first reference'. Accordingly, implicit in (55) above is a connotation that **yuube** 'last night' and **nihon no eiga o** 'a Japanese movie' are both being made focuses of attention in that sentence. Naturally, if these two prominent positions are filled by other constituents, those other constituents have to carry a greater load of information. Since incomplete transitive verbs require both the object and the complement, they are normally positioned in the order listed, as in

(56) Watasi wa **musume** o **kasyu ni wa** sitakunai.
I daughter obj singer make-want-not

"I don't want to make my daughter a singer."

As with incomplete intransitive verbs, this class of verbs does not display too many interesting interactions with adverbials. However, if the object and the complement are interchanged, the focus of attention is immediately switched to the object that comes under the 'solidarity' constraint.

The double objects in dative verb sentences are most naturally arranged in the order of the Indirect Object and the Direct Object, as in

(57) Haha wa kyonen kurisumasu ni watasi ni sebiro o kureta.

mother last-year Christmas at me ID suit DO

"My mother gave me a suit for Christmas last year."

The relationship between kyonen and kurisumasu ni is such that they could be collapsed into kyonen no kurisumasu ni 'at Christmas of last year'. Naturally, these related constituents are placed closer together.21

Thus, we have seen that in order to correctly interpret the connotational meanings attached to constituents in various positions in the sentence, we have to take into
account the two important constraints of 'semantic solidarity' and 'first reference', in addition to the more general constraints discussed in the previous sections (e.g., 'time-place' sequencing, etc.).

4. 2. 0. Deep Structure of Adverbials

Up to this point in this chapter, we have been concerned merely with the surface ordering of Japanese adverbials in sentences. The ordering phenomenon is one of single horizontal dimension, which might very well obliterate the vertical relationships existing in the language. For the rest of this chapter, I would like to explore this ordering phenomenon from the point of view of a vertical dimension and try to come up with some distinctions that will shed light on the deeper structure of Japanese adverbials.

Two things will be considered first. One is the optionality of adverbial constituents and the other is the difference in the manner of modification according to the 'ranks' of adverbials.

Implicit throughout our discussion of the major 'core' constituents of the Japanese sentence in 4. 1. 1 is the fact that adverbials are optional elements in the sentence. The subject and the predicate verbal constituent
are found to be the two indispensable constituents in the Japanese sentence and the kinds of verbals used necessarily do or do not require other constituents like the object and the complement. On the other hand, adverbials are entirely optional as far as the syntactic structure of Japanese sentences is concerned.

The division of adverbials into the three ranks of Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary in Chapter Two was crucially dependent on the level of Modification in the syntactic structure of Japanese sentences. The Primary Rank of adverbials is obtained on the basis of its modificational structure on the predicate verbal level, and the Tertiary Rank was a sentence modifier. The Secondary Rank was established by virtue of its being partly Primary and partly Tertiary.

On the basis of these properties of Japanese adverbials combined with the structure of the 'core' constituents of the sentence, we are now in a position to revise our earlier Phrase Structure Grammar given in Chapter Two and propose a new, more comprehensive one.

4. 2. 1. Phrase Structure Rules for Japanese

\[
(58) \quad \text{1. } S \rightarrow (SAdv) \text{ MS (SP)}
\]
2. $\text{SAdv} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{Conj} \\ \text{Int} \end{cases} \begin{cases} \text{(Modal)} \\ \text{(Reason)} \end{cases} \begin{cases} \text{(Time)} \\ \text{(Place)} \end{cases}$

3. $\text{MS} \rightarrow \text{NP} - \text{Pred}$

4. $\text{Pred} \rightarrow \text{VP} - \text{Aux}$

5. $\text{VP} \rightarrow (\text{NP}) \begin{cases} \text{(Time)} \\ \text{(Place)} \end{cases} \begin{cases} \text{(VAdv)} \\ \text{V} \end{cases}$

6. $\text{VAdv} \rightarrow (\text{Time}) (\text{Place}) (\text{Manner}) (\text{Quantity})$

7. $\text{NP} \rightarrow (\text{Det}) (\text{S#S}) \text{N} (\text{Limit}) (\text{Part})$

8. $\text{Aux} \rightarrow (\text{Asp}) \text{T} (\text{M})$

9. \[
\begin{cases} \text{Reason} \\ \text{Time} \\ \text{Place} \end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{D} \\ \text{DP} \end{cases}\begin{cases} \#S# \end{cases}
\]

10. \[
\begin{cases} \text{Manner} \\ \text{Quantity} \end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{D} \\ \text{DP} \end{cases}
\]

S: Sentence, SAdv: Sentence Adverbial, MS: Main Sentence, SP: Sentence Particle (e.g., ka '?' , yo 'you know', ne 'isn't it?', wa 'I tell you', etc.), Conj: Conjunctive Adverbial (e.g., sosite 'and', sikasi 'however', sore ni 'besides', etc.), Int: Interjective Adverbial (e.g., aa 'ah', maa 'oh dear', oya 'well', etc.), Modal: Modal Adverbial (e.g., tabun 'probably', osoraku 'perhaps, motiron 'of course', etc.), Reason: Reason Adverbial, MS: Main Sentence, NP: Noun Phrase, Pred: Predicate, VP: Verb Phrase,
4. 2. 2. Positions of Major Adverbials

By way of illustration, I will give below some sample derivations of each rule postulated in 4. 2. 1.

(59) a. Zitu wa kinoo (wa) ootoo wa byooki datta n desu yo.

in fact yesterday brother illness was it-is-that I-tell you
"As a matter of fact, my little brother was ill yesterday, you know."

b. Demo osoraku byōoki de kare wa korarenai daroo naa.

but probably illness with he come-can-not I-dare-say

"However, he will not be able to come because of his illness, I dare say."

These examples illustrate Rules (1)-(3), of which the tree structure would look like the following:

(60) a.

(61) a. Otooto wa kinoo Tookyou e kaemasita. brother yesterday Tokyo to returned

"My brother went back to Tokyo yesterday."
b. Gakkoo wa hatizi kara hazimarimasu.

school eight o'clock from start

"School begins at eight o'clock."

These sentences will be informally represented by the following tree structure:

(62) a.

(63) a. Watasi wa tomodati ni hon o sansatu agemasita.
I gave three books to my friend.

b. Kanozyo wa kodomo o zyoozu ni sodateta.
she child skillfully raised

"She raised her child(ren) skillfully."

Again, the following informal tree structure will represent these sentences:

(a4) a. 

(b. 

\[
\text{Kanozyo wa kodomo o zyoozu ni sodateta.}
\]

\[
\text{She raised her child(ren) skillfully.}
\]
4. 2. 3. Positions of Multiple Adverbials

The order of the kinds of multiple adverbials discussed in 4. 1. 4 may be determined by expanding the major classes of adverbials into their subclasses. For example, manner adverbials can be expanded into the four subclasses of (i) 'manner', (ii) (semi-)onomatopoetic, (iii) 'means', and (iv) 'comitative' adverbials. If we give a tentative order to the arrangement of these subclasses, we should get the so-called preferred order of adverbials (or established style) of the language. The following may be taken to be more or less the preferred order of multiple adverbials.

4. 2. 3. 1. Sentence Adverbials (SAdv)

If we are to order the various subclasses of Tertiary Adverbials, the following would represent the most natural sequence:

\[
(65) \text{SAdv} \rightarrow (\text{Conj}, \text{Modal}, \text{Reason}, \text{Time}, \text{Int}, \text{Place})
\]

As we have seen, 'reason', 'time', and 'place' appear not only in the form of phrase adverbials but also clause adverbials. The following examples will illustrate this preferred style of native speakers:

\[
(66) \text{a. Sikasi motirn kaze de asita kare wa kor. renai daroo.}
\]
however of course cold with tomorrow he come-can-not

"However, he will of course not be able to come tomorrow because of a cold."

b. Zyaa, kekkyoku Tookyoo de kare wa hataraitte inakatta n desu ne.

well after all in Tokyo he working was-not it-is-that is-not-it?

"Well, after all he was not working in Tokyo, was ne?"

These examples will be represented by the following derivational trees respectively:

(67) a.

```
  S
 /\            /\                  /
SAdv  MS          Conj  Modal  Reason  Time
          \                      /     /
            Sikasi motiron  kaze  de  asita  kare  wa korarenai daroo
```

b.

```
  S
 /\            /\                  /
SAdv  MS          Int  Modal  Place
          \                      /     /
            Zyaa  kekkyoku  Tookyoo  de  kare  wa hataraitte  inakatta  ne.  n desu
```

Needless to reiterate, the positions of these Tertiary Adverbials are in no sense absolute, being always subject to the 'free scrambling' rule that operates under certain constraints.
4. 2. 3. 2. Time as Verbal Adverbials

The subclasses of Secondary Adverbials of Time will be naturally ordered as follows:

(68) \[ \text{Time} \rightarrow (\text{Tense}) (\{\text{Temporal}\} (\text{Frequency}) \}

For example,

(69) a. Watasi wa 1945 nen nigatu nizuyu-no niti ni umareta.

I was-born year February twenty-five day on

"I was born on February 25 in 1945."

b. Watasi wa yuube sankai mo me o samasita.

I last-night three times eye obj

"I was awakened three times last night."

It seems that 'tenseless' time adverbials (i.e., Temporal Adverbials) and Frequency Adverbials are mutually exclusive.

4. 2. 3. 3. Place as Verbal Adverbials

The natural order of the subclasses of Secondary Adverbials of Place will be as follows:

(70) \[ \text{Place} \rightarrow \{\text{Locative} : (\{\text{Dimensional}\} (\text{Source})(\text{Goal})) \}

For example,
(71) a. Hon ga _tukue no ue ni_ aru.
   "There is a book on the desk."

b. Hon o _tukue no sita de_ mituketa.
   "I found the book under the desk."

c. Heya no naka o _sumi kara sumi made_ sagasita.
   "I looked (for it) in the room from corner to corner."

c. Kare wa kinoo _Tookyo e_ tatta.
   "He left for Tokyo yesterday."

Locative adverbials (both 'existence' and 'activity') and Directional adverbials, and perhaps Dimensional adverbials are mutually exclusive in their positions. Source and Goal adverbials are usually found in this order.

4. 2. 3. 4. Verbal Adverbials

The various subclasses of Primary Adverbials of Manner and Quantity will be seen ordered more or less in the following way:
(72) VAdv \(\rightarrow\) (Comitative) (Means) (Degree)

\[
\begin{cases}
\text{Manner} \\
\text{(Semi) onomatopoetic} \\
\text{(quantifiers)}
\end{cases}
\]

The following example contains all of these constituents in one sentence:

(73) うとうとくるまでかなじはや-asi de nankai mo gakkoo no mae o ittari kitari sita.

brother with car by fairly speedily many-times school 's front going coming did

"I went fairly fast back and forth in front of the school in a car with my brother."

In closing this section on the preferred order of adverbials, I would like to attach a note that sentences containing all of the subclasses of adverbials are rather rare even if they are not mutually exclusive, and that if we forcefully compose a sentence using all of the possible constituents, it tends to sound quite unnatural, if not ungrammatical. Furthermore, in some cases, the idiosyncratic behavior of individual items seems to dictate this or the other order of preference. The positions of adverbials suggested above, therefore, should be interpreted as indicating the major positions of adverbials allowable in the language.
4. 2. 4. Deeper Structure of Adverbials

So far we have discussed the positions of adverbials in terms of the Phrase Structure Rules of Japanese. As has been demonstrated, adverbials have their places not on one level but different structural layers of the language (e.g., verbal adverbials as co-constituents of verbals and sentence adverbials as co-constituents of the MS). From the point of view of the 'Standard Theory' of transformational grammar, these levels should constitute the deep structure of the language.

In recent years, however, adverbials have been exposed to more rigorous scrutiny by a group of linguists called generative semanticists. "Generative semantics (or Semantax) denies the existence of a separate syntactic deep structure," which has been assumed by the Standard and Extended Standard Theory advocated by Chomsky and his followers, "recognizing instead an underlying 'logical structure' which IS the semantic representation."23 Under this approach, there is even a deeper structure underlying every surface sentence. In the rest of this chapter, I would like to assess this generative semantic approach in the hope that it might possibly shed light on the deeper structure of Japanese adverbials.
George Lakoff (1970), a pioneer in the analysis of adverbials along this line, has convincingly argued that English adverbials (including manner, locative, reason, instrument, frequency, quantifiers, etc.) are in fact derivable from 'higher' sentences than those that appear as the main clauses in the surface structure. His arguments for this 'higher' sentence analysis involve questions, negations, and, in some cases, commands. For example, with regard to the following sentences, his argument runs as follows:

(74) a. Do you beat your wife enthusiastically?
   b. I don't beat my wife enthusiastically.

Lakoff argues that, in the (a) sentence above, the questioner is not actually interested in knowing whether the hearer beats his wife or not, but rather whether or not the hearer is enthusiastic in beating his wife. In other words, the fact that he beats his wife is 'presupposed'. Thus, it becomes synonymous with the following sentence:

(75) Are you enthusiastic in beating your wife?

From this evidence, it is clear, he claims, that the deep structure of (74a) above cannot be the following, as is usually represented in the Standard Model:
According to this structure, it inevitably follows that the question being focused upon is whether the beating of wife takes place or not. This interpretation does not agree with the meaning intended by (74a). If, on the other hand, the deep structure of (74a) is something like the following, he says, it explains naturally why it is synonymous with (75):

Now, if we change the symbol Q in (77) above to Neg, we will have the deep structure of the negative sentence in (74b). Lakoff further claims that this structure also accounts for the fact that it is normally the highest VP
that is questioned or negated. Furthermore, he says that
the reason for the ungrammaticality of the command sentence
in (78a) below can now be explained by the ungrammaticality
of (78b), as against the grammatical command in (79a)
supported by the grammatical paraphrase given in (79b):

(78) a. *Drive well.
   b. *Be good at driving.

(79) a. Drive carefully.
   b. Be careful at driving.25

How would this 'higher sentence analysis' apply to
Japanese adverbials? I would like to try this approach
with a similar situation in Japanese.

If the following sentence in (80) is amenable to the
kind of analysis Lakoff proposes, the position of the
underlined adverbial would be the V node under the VP
indicated in the tree diagram below:

(80) a. Watasi wa issyokenmei ni ninongo o
       benkyoosita.

       I  enthusiastically Japanese
       studied

       "I studied Japanese enthusiastically."
Thus, the sentence in (80a) becomes synonymous with the following:

(81) Watasi wa nihongo o benkyoosuru koto ni issyookenmei datta.

"I was enthusiastic in studying Japanese."

The argument for this analysis of adverbials seems to become more convincing if we change the sentence into a question or a negative. In the following dialog,

(82) a. Anata wa nihongo o issyookenmei ni benkyoosimasita ka.

"Did you study Japanese enthusiastically?"

b. Iie, amari issyookenmei ni (wa) benkyoosimasen desita.

"No, I did not study it so enthusiastically."
the negative answer (b) given to the question (a) is not negating the fact that I studied Japanese, but simply negating the way that I studied Japanese, presupposing the fact that I studied Japanese. In other words, neither the question nor its answer is concerned with whether the subject studied Japanese or not.\textsuperscript{20} This situation in Japanese certainly adds to the plausibility of this approach.

What would happen, then, if we interchange the manner adverbial with adverbials of time and place, for instance? Observe the following examples:

(83) a. (Anata wa) \textit{Doko de} nihongo o benkyoosimasita ka?

you where at Japanese studied

"Where did you study Japanese?"

b. (Anata wa) \textit{Iru} nihongo o benkyoo-simasita ka?

you when Japanese studied

"When did you study Japanese?"

Here again, we can see that the fact that the hearer studied Japanese is 'presupposed', and the question is being focused on \textit{where} and \textit{when} the study took place. In reply to these questions, the normal answers would be something like the following:

(84) a. (Watasi wa) \textit{Gakkoo de} (nihongo o) benkyoosimasita.
I studied Japanese at school.

"I studied Japanese at school."

b. (Watasi wa) Kyonen (nihongo o) benkyoosimasita.

"I studied last year Japanese.

"I studied it last year."

From what Lakoff suggests, the deep structure for these sentences would be something like the following:

(85)

For the (84b) sentence, gakkoo de under the VP node will be replaced by kinoo ni, of which ni is deleted later because kinoo is a time-span adverbial rather than a time-point adverbial. An explicit way of representing these sentences is a cleft sentence format, as illustrated by the following:

(86) a. Watasi ga nihonkoo o benkyoosita no wa gakkoo (de) desita.

"It was at school that I studied Japanese."
b. Watasi ga nihongo o benkyoosita no wa
kinoo desita.
I Japanese studied that yesterday was
"It was yesterday that I studied Japanese."

If we choose not to use this format, we can produce the same effect by placing an accent on the whole phrase (by attaching a relatively higher pitch on it), as in

(87) a. Watasi wa \textit{gakko de} nihongo o benkyoosimasita.
I school at Japanese studied
b. Watasi wa \textit{kinoo} nihongo o benkyoosimasita.\textsuperscript{28}
I yesterday Japanese studied

One apparent counterexample to this analysis of adverbials is the following situation, where the answer seems to negate not the adverbial but the object of the sentence. Consider the following dialog:

(88) a. Anata wa kinoo nihongo o benkyoosimasita ka.
you yesterday Japanese studied
"Did you study Japanese yesterday?"
b. \textit{Iie, nihongo wa benkyoosimasen desita.}
No Japanese study-not did
"No, I did not study Japanese."

I think this counterexample is only apparent. Certainly,
the hearer in (b) in saying that he did not study Japanese yesterday. But he is not entirely negating the fact that he studied 'something' yesterday. This is evidenced by the existence of the contrastive particle wa meaning 'as for'. Thus, the fact still remains that he did study something yesterday. Compare this with the following:

(89) Watasi wa kinoo wa nihongo o benkyoosimasen desita.

"As for yesterday, I did not study Japanese."

Here again, the implication of this sentence is:

(90) I had been studying Japanese every day up to the day before yesterday, but I took a rest (studying Japanese) yesterday.

Our next problem concerns the semantics of multiple adverbials under this analysis. As we have observed in 4.1.4, the two important constraints on multiple adverbials are the 'semantic solidarity' and the 'first reference' constraints. I would like to see how they fare under this new approach. Consider the following pair of examples which are different only in the positions of the adverbials involved:29

(91) a. Watasi wa zitensya de gakkoo e kimasita.

I bicycle by school to came
"I came to school by bicycle."

b. Watasi wa gakkoo e zitensya de kimasita.
I school to bicycle by came
"I came to school by bicycle."

The difference between these two sentences seems to come out more clearly if we change into questions:

(92) a. Anata wa zitensya de gakkoo e kimasita ka.
you bicycle by school to came
"Did you come to school by bicycle?"

b. Anata wa gakkoo e zitensya de kimasita ka.
you school to bicycle by came
"Did you come to school by bicycle?"

At first glance, they seem to mean the same thing as suggested by the English translations. But there is a sort of semantic trick hidden here. If the second question means,

(93) Was it by bicycle that you came to school?
then, why does not the first question mean,

(94) Was it to school that you came by bicycle?"

According to my native intuition, if the question asks the former (i.e., (93)), it will be most normally addressed in the form of (92b) rather than (92a). The reason why this
happens is that the much discussed 'semantic solidarity' existing between the verb kimasu 'go' and the adverbial gakkoo e 'to school' is broken by the insertion of a 'foreign element', namely zitensya de 'by bicycle'. Thus, it gets more attention, thereby becoming the constituent to be focused on in questions and negations. This situation ties in with the fact that under the 'deeper' analysis, it is the highest VP that is questioned or negated. The following two tree structures would differentiate the sentence in (92):

(95) a.
In the most 'primitive' form, this structure yields a 'doubly' extraposed sentence like the following:

(96) Anata ga kita no wa \{zitensya de\} de, sore wa \{gakkoo e\} desita ka.

"Was it \{by bicycle\} and \{to school\} that you came?"

(92a) Anata wa \textit{zitensya de gakkoo e} kimasita ka.

you bicycle by school to came

"Did you come to school by bicycle?"

We have a problem here because this is the most natural order as far as these two adverbials are concerned. The
verb *kimasita* 'came' takes the directional adverbial *gakkoo e* 'to school' as a first priority (= semantic solidarity constraint). So, if this sentence is to mean (93) (namely, 'Was it by bicycle that you came to school?') rather than (94) (namely, 'was it to school that you came by bicycle?'), there has to be some other explanation. As a matter of fact, this is the case where the 'first reference' constraint comes into the picture. In a case like this, the 'first reference' constraint takes precedence and the semantic prominence which is the carrier of new information falls on the first item. Of course it would have to be reinforced by an extra pitch, phonologically speaking.

This same situation, however, immediately changes if we replace *gakkoo e* 'to school' with *kinoo* 'yesterday', for instance. In this case, there would be no preference between the instrumental adverbial *zitensya de* 'by bicycle' and the time adverbial *kinoo* 'yesterday' in terms of the 'semantic solidarity' constraint. Consider the following pair:

(97) a. Watasi wa kinoo zitensya de kimasita.
   I yesterday bicycle by came
   "I came by bicycle yesterday."
b. Watasi wa zitensya de kinoo kimasita.

bicycle by yesterday came

"I came yesterday by bicycle."

In a case like this, native speakers feel that the earlier the adverbial, the more presupposed it seems to get. In other words, in (97a) above, Watasi wa kinoo kimasita 'I came yesterday' is felt to have been presupposed and therefore the later item zitensya de 'by bicycle' is felt to be made a new information carrier. Conversely, in (97b), watasi wa zitensya de kimasita 'I came by bicycle' is being presupposed and therefore kinoo 'yesterday' receives more prominence as the new information carrier. Thus, the most natural translations of (97) would be something like the following:

(98) a. It was by bicycle that I came yesterday. (=97a)

b. It was yesterday that I came by bicycle. (=97b)

Again, this interpretation ties in with one of the tenets of Lakoff's analysis that says that the highest VP is the element that is to be questioned or negated.

So far we have concentrated on those adverbials that are most obviously amenable to the kind of analysis that Lakoff proposes. On the whole it seems to work well with them. In fact the 'higher sentence' analysis by Lakoff has
demonstrated that many otherwise unexplainable phenomena are neatly delineated. In principle it applies to most adverbials, as far as the semantic (or logical) structure of adverbials is concerned. From the point of view of syntax, however, there is a problem in this approach. The problem concerns the 'recoverability' condition required of any transformational operation within the framework of the Standard (or even Extended Standard) Theory model. As might be recalled, a problem of a similar nature surfaced when we tried to apply the 'performative' analysis to the interpretation of so-called sentence adverbials. Adverbials, such as 'modal' adverbials (e.g., tabun, kanarazu, etc.), 'absolute' manner adverbials (e.g., ikinari 'suddenly', omomuro ni 'slowly', etc.), and (semi-)onomatopoeic adverbials (e.g., zaazaa 'heavily', sarasara 'flutteringly', etc.), among others, are particularly resistant of such analysis. Consider the following:

(99) a. Tabun kare wa konai daroo.

probably he come-not will
"Probably he will not come."

b. Ikinari zoku ni osowareta.

suddenly assailant by attacked-was
"I was suddenly attacked by the assailant."
c. Ame ga zaazaa hutte iru.

rain heavily falling is

"The rain is falling heavily."

Certainly, the semantic structure of these adverbials may be analyzable as having been derived from some objects of an adjectival nature in the deeper structure of the language. But in terms of their surface forms, it is impossible to claim after the fashion of the 'higher' sentence analysis that the following are their underlying structures respectively:

(100) a. *Kare ga konai daroo koto wa tabun da.

he come-not will that probably is

"It is probable that he will not come."

b. *Watasi ga zoku ni osowareta no wa ikinari datta.

I assailant by attacked-was that suddenly was

"It was suddenly that I was attacked by the assailant."

c. *Ame ga hutte iru no wa zaazaa da.

rain falling is that heavily is

"It is heavily that the rain is falling."

These paraphrases are blocked largely for morphological reasons. Notice, however, that in English these paraphrases
are still barely possible. Here lies the fundamental difference between Japanese and English adverbials. Note this fact in comparison with the 'predicational ability' of some adverbials discussed in Chapter One.

4.3. Conclusion

In the final chapter of this thesis, we have tried to determine the positions of Japanese adverbials both on the surface and the deep(er) level of the language. On the surface level, Japanese adverbials have been found to be very flexible in their positions except in the sense of their preferred order. However, in a multiple adverbial situation, a few semantic principles governing the surface order of constituents have emerged. The 'semantic solidarity' and the 'first reference' constraint are two of them.

On the other hand, so-called various shades of meanings of sentences have been shown to reflect different structures on the deeper level of the language. Particularly, adverbials have been generally found to be derived from the VP node under an S node higher than that which appears on the surface structure. And the higher the position of adverbials in the deep structure, the more prominence they
receive.

At the end a word of caution is in order. It was remarked that what has been attempted in the last section of this chapter is merely a demonstration of how adverbials in Japanese would fare in the 'higher sentence' approach Lakoff proposed. It was still a very tentative application of this analysis to Japanese. One of the problems yet to be resolved is how far logic can penetrate grammar. Somehow it would seem that the logical structure of language and its grammatical representations do not correspond completely. This was especially true where grammatical forms do not match the semantic structure of adverbials (e.g., many adverbials in Japanese do not have their corresponding adjectival forms that are necessary for surface manifestations). What has been presented was more for a demonstration of an appealing and yet very speculative possibility.
Footnotes to CHAPTER FOUR

1 The existence of 'transitive' adjectives and adjectival nouns assumes the correctness of Kuno (1973)'s analysis of "ga" for object marking. Also cf. Nakau (1973:14-17).

2 Of course this is not to say that the permuted sentences are semantically identical with the original ones. But it is to say that these two NP's are morphologically independent.

3 For more examples of adjectives and adjectival nouns used as 'transitive' and 'intransitive' verbals, see Nakau (1973:14-17) and Kuno (1973:79ff, 327ff).

4 It is generally said that if the verbs of embedded sentences are intransitive, the objects of causative sentences are marked by か, whereas if the verbs are transitive, the objects are marked by に (Cf. Young et al (1958:Vol IV, p. 103). However, Kuroda (1965) and others have made it clear that か has a coercive connotation while に has a permissive connotation regardless of whether they are used with transitive or intransitive verbs, as demonstrated by the following examples:
(a) i. Watasi wa kare o ikaseta. (intransitive)
   I him go-caused
   "I made him go."

ii. Watasi wa kare ni ikaseta.
   "I allowed him to go."

(b) i. Watasi wa kare o tabesaseta. (transitive)
   I him eat-caused
   "I made him eat."

ii. Watasi wa kare ni tabesaseta.
   "I allowed him to eat."

The 'pre-lexical' transformation is one in which lexical items are assumed to derive as a result of an amalgamation of two or more 'primitive' elements. The most famous example of such a process of transformation may be cited from McCawley (1968b). McCawley derives a sentence like (a) below from a semantic structure like (b) by applying a series of predicate raising and the final lexicalization:

(a) John killed Mary.

(b) John caused Mary to die.

The deep structure for (b) is actually more abstract as shown by the following:
In other words, (a) is assumed to derive from

(d) John cause Mary to become not alive.

If we borrow this idea in the analysis of suru 'make', we would have the following underlying structure:

(d) Watasi wa (musuko ga isya ni naru) saseta.

This structure can derive either of the following two 'causative' sentences:

(e) Watasi wa musuko o isya ni naraseta. (Regular Causative)

"I made my son become a doctor."

(f) Watasi wa musuko o isya ni sita. (Lexicalized Causative)

"I made my son a doctor."

Following (59) in Chapter Two, this tree should rather be replaced by a more specific one like the following:
See footnote 39 in Chapter Two for justification of the derivation of $S_1$.

7Contrast this situation in Japanese with that of English where predicate verbs are often 'inversed' for various reasons as in

(a) How old is he?
(b) "No," said he, "I will never do it."
(c) Long live the king!
(d) Bang came another shot.
(e) Here comes the old lady.
(f) There was no one there.
Recall that *mazu* 'first of all' is treated only as an 'adverb of manner and circumstance' and *daiiti* 'in the first place' as a number word (a subclass of nouns) in the traditional grammar of Japanese. (See 1. 2. 3 and 1. 3. 4)

Isami (1964:2) treats items like *daroo* as belonging to the Tag in his Phrase Structure Rules. Other words included in his Tag are particles like *wa*, *yo*, and auxiliary like -*rasi*. It might be possible to interpret this sentence as having the following structure, where *dandan* (to) modifies *hazimeta*, and *sarasara* to modifies *nagare(ru):*

![Diagram](attachment:diagram.png)


I call this constraint 'stylistic' because strictly from a grammatical point of view there is no reason why this
order has to be one way or the other.

13 This contrast between Japanese and English in the ordering of place and time adverbials may be due to some further universal constraint such that place adverbials have to come closer to verbals than time adverbials. According to this interpretation, the order may not be an absolute one, but a relative one (i.e., relative to the position of verbals in Japanese and English). Thus, in Japanese, where verbals are placed always at the end, the order becomes S - Time - Place - V, whereas in English, it is realized as S - V - Place - Time. Notice that in each case Place comes right before or after the verbal element.

14 See Kuno (1973:37ff).

15 It seems implausible to regard about that in the English gloss as a sentence adverbial.

16 This exception may be cited as evidence to show that the 'scrambling' rule does not fully apply to Japanese. The exclusion of sentence final particles like ne 'isn't it',
ka (question), yo (assertive), etc. from the scrambling rule may be stated by saying that all the major constituents before the predicate verbal constituents are freely transportable in Japanese.

17 Note that in moving around the constituents, we keep the intonation constant.

18 Actually, in a normal situation where a semantically closer adverbial goes with its related verbal, that adverbial receives full emphasis. Incidentally, the semantic term 'solidarity' may be done away with if we can say that 'scrambling' is more normal among co-constituents in such a way (48) it derivable from the following structure:

\[
\text{otooto to} \quad \text{ginkoo e} \quad \text{itta}
\]

Notice that in this structure ginkoo e and itta are co-constituents, whereas otooto to and ginkoo e are not.
This analysis constitutes an alternative to this approach.
In speech, the emphasized adverbial is often reinforced by a higher pitch.

In the following example,

(a) Watasi wa yuube eiga o mi ni itta.

'I went to see a movie last night.'

It seems as if the purpose adverbial mi ni 'to see' is inserted between the object eiga o and the verb itta. But in actuality eiga o is not the object of itta, but it is the object of mi ni. In other words, eiga o mi ni 'to see a movie' is a purpose phrase by itself which was derived from the clause adverbial eiga o miru tame ni 'so that I could see a movie.'

Notice also that the most preferred order as in (53a), for instance, has two constituents in a similar relationship: Osaka de kaisyain ni natta 'became a company employee in Osaka' can be collapsed into one phrase Osaka no kaisyain ni natta 'became a company employee of Osaka'.

Used for the basis of this Phrase Structure Grammar are those in Isami (1964-5), Inoue (1969), Prideaux (1970),
and Nakau (1973).


24 In contradiction to his predecessors including transformational grammarians, G. Lakoff (1965) is the first to recognize 'quantifiers' as sentence modifiers and not as noun-head modifiers. For details of his analysis of 'quantifiers', see G. Lakoff (1970: Appendix F).

25 'Stative' verbals like good at do not take imperative, whereas be careful is a non-stative verbal which can be used in imperative sentences (Lakoff (1970: Appendix F4)).

26 So-called 'partial negation' may be viewed more meaningfully in this perspective. In the following dialog,

(a) Did you work hard?

(b) No. I did not work very hard.

the not in the (b) sentence is not negating the verb work, but it is negating the adverbial phrase very hard in such a way that it was not very hard that I worked: it was
somewhat hard that I worked.

27 As to the question whether prepositions in English are adjectives, the reader is referred to Section 10.2 in G. Lakoff (1970).

Incidentally, the Japanese particle de is certainly related to the copulas desu, da, etc. So is ni related to na and no, which are after all the variant forms of the copula da. (Cf. Bloch (1946) and Inoue (1970)). However, in the case of the directional particle e as in (95a), we would have to assume that appropriate copulas are predictable elements.

28 In Japanese it is theoretically impossible to put a pitch accent on every syllable, as in gakkóó dé or kínóó. The first syllable has to be either higher or lower (see 2.1.).

29 In reading these two sentences, I assume the same normal intonation patterns with no stress on either of the two adverbials. In my opinion, in a language like Japanese where word order is free, stress plays a more important role in changing the shades of meanings.
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