1. Introduction

In this paper I will examine certain aspects of the distribution of Japanese adverbs, in the light of Cinque (1999). A first very approximate analysis was already proposed in Pozzobon (1998), in which I attempted to apply Cinque’s Theory to two SOV languages such as German and Japanese. In this work I’ll try to fill some gaps of that first attempt, although the results are far from being exhaustive.

Cinque (1999) proposes that adverbs occupy the unique specifiers position of distinct maximal projections, whose order enter in a fixed universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections. The head positions are filled by other elements: auxiliaries, affixes, suffixes or particles, depending on the language.

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1. I am indebted to Hatumi Ueda, Hon’ya Asako, Miyagawa Shigeru, Nakayama Etsuko, Sembokuya Kayato, Ilaria Superti and Tanaka Hiroaki for comments and judgements about Japanese examples.

2. For the examples transcription I’ve adopted the Hepburn transcription system in place of the commonly used Kunrei system.

3. The superficial verbal suffixes order in Japanese is the mirror image of auxiliary order in SVO languages, as predicted by the “mirror principle” of Baker (1985):

i. English: Hanako was made to play the piano
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Japanese can realise some verbal aspects, moods and modalities using suffixes or auxiliaries. Since my work concerns adverbs, I will handle verbal heads only when necessary for a best comprehension.

In the following section I will analyse a range of different adverb groups and try to determine an approximate hierarchy of functional projections for Japanese.

2. Japanese Adverbs

Just as other languages, many Japanese adverbs are formed from adjectives by adding

-ku to the adjectival root (es. “utsukushii” = beautiful, “utuskushiku” = beautifully), from the so-called adjectival nouns by adding -ni (es. “akirakana” = clear, “akirakani” = clearly) and from verbs by adding -te/-de (es. “isogu” = hurry, “isoide” = in a hurry). Then there are also independent adverbs which do not find their corresponding roots in adjectives and verbs (es. “zettai” = never, “zutto” = by far).⁴

2.1. Higher Adverbs⁵

Cinque (1997) and (1999) proposes the following sequence for the higher functional projections:

ii. Japanese: Hanako wa piano o narau-are-rare-ta

Hanako-TOP piano-ACC play-CAUS-PASS-PAST

⁴ S. Tsujimura (1996), for a first discussion.

⁵ I’ve adopted the distinction in higher and lower adverbs only for convenience. The adverb sequence is unique, without interruption.
(1) \( \text{Mood}_{\text{speech act}} > \text{Mood}_{\text{evaluative}} > \text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}} > \text{Tense (Past)} > \text{Tense (Fut)} > \text{Mod}_{\text{irrealis}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{necessity}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{possibility}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{habitual}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{prepositional}} \)

I will not deal in this paper with Tense (Past) and Tense (Future) heads and corresponding adverbs.

2.1.1. Conjunctive Adverbs

Conjunctive adverbs usually are not included in the sentence adverb group, since their function is to connect two different sentences. I will use them just as a test.

(2) \( \text{Soreyue kōunni-mo Tarō ga eigo o oshiete-kure-ta} \) 
Therefore fortunately Tarō-NOM English-ACC teach (give)-EVAL\(^6\)-PAST
‘Therefore, fortunately Tarō studied English’

(3) * \( \text{Kōunni-mo soreyue Tarō ga eigo o oshiete-kure-ta} \) 
fortunately therefore Tarō-NOM English-ACC studied

Conjunctive adverbs act as conjunction and for this reason their position is situated very high in the sentence structure.

(4) CONJUNCTIONAL > EVALUATIVE

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\(^6\) The pattern "-te kureru" expresses the meaning of someone doing something for the speaker. It is used from the standpoint of the speaker, generally when the performer of the action is of equal or lesser status than the recipient. Being a sort of "speaker evaluation", in examples (2) and (3) I have indicated "kureru" as "evaluative projection". At the moment I haven’t enough data to support this thesis.
2.1.2. Speech act Adverbs

Speech act adverbs give essentially details about a particular communication act, sometimes they are used parenthetically and are accompanied by a verbal form ("speaking" for English, "gesagt" for German and "itte" for Japanese):

(5) _Shōjikini itte mochiron otetsudai dekimas-en_
Frankly speaking surely help can-NEG
‘Frankly speaking, I surely can’t help you’

(6) _? Mochiron shōjikini itte otetsudai dekimas-en_
Surely frankly speaking help can-NEG

(7) _Shōjikini itte tashikani otetsudai dekimas-en_
Frankly speaking certainly help can-NEG
‘Frankly speaking, I certainly can’t help you’

(8) _* Tashikani shōjikini itte otetsudai dekimas-en_
Certainly frankly speaking help can-NEG

(9) SPEECH ACT > EVALUATIVE

2.1.3. Evaluative Adverbs

This type of adverbs give a speaker evaluation about the proposition.

In Japanese evaluative adverbs appear always with the particle “mo”. Tamori (1979) points out, that adverbs used with an “evaluative” function must be accompanied by the particle “mo”. When they are used as manner adverbs, the particle is not necessary:7

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7. Examples from Tamori (1979, 89).
(10) John-wa *kiyōni-mo /Ø tsukue o tsukut-ta
John-TOP skillfully desk-ACC make-PAST
'Skillfully, John made a desk'

(11) John-wa *kiyōni tsukue o tsukut-ta
John-TOP skillfully desk-ACC make-PAST
'John made a desk skillfully'

In (10) 'kiyōni' is used as evaluative adverb (and the particle “mo” is obligatory), in (11) as manner adverb. Other examples:

(12) John-wa *isamashiku-mo*/Ø jūnin no teki to tatakat-ta
John-TOP bravely ten of enemy with fight-PAST
'Bravely, John fought against ten enemies'

(13) John-wa *isamashiku jūnin no teki to tatakat-ta
John-TOP bravely ten of enemy with fight-PAST
'John fought against ten enemies bravely'

Tamori (1979) gives to the term "evaluative" a wider interpretation, than the one usually adopted. He also considers some subject-oriented adverbs as evaluative ones, for example:

(14) Orokani-mo*/Ø Tarō-ga Hanako-o aishite-i-ru
Stupidly Tarō-NOM Hanako-ACC love-PROG-PRES
'Stupidly Tarō loves Hanako'

'Orokani-mo' is for Tamori "evaluative". What I suggest is that the particle “mo” is the Japanese equivalent of the German suffix "-weise":

(15) John machte geschickterweise ein Schreibtisch
John made skillfully a desk
'Skillfully, John made a desk'
(16) John machte ein Schreibtisch geschickt
    John made a desk skillfully
    ‘John made a desk skillfully’

This difference is not visible in English.
As regards to the position of evaluative adverbs in Japanese, we notice that they precede evidential and epistemic adverbs.

(17) *Kōunni-mo tashikani* Tarō ga Hanako o aishite-i-ru
    Fortunately surely Tarō-NOM Hanako-ACC love-PROGR-PRES
    ‘Fortunately, Tarō surely loves Hanako’

(18) *Tashikani kōunni-mo* Tarō ga Hanako o aishite-i-ru
    Surely fortunately Tarō-NOM Hanako-ACC love-PROGR-PRES

(19) *Saiwaini-mo* Tarō ga mochiron Hanako o aishite-i-ru
    Fortunately Tarō-NOM surely Hanako-ACC love-PROGR-PRES
    ‘Fortunately, Tarō surely loves Hanako’

(20) *Mochiron saiwaini-mo* Tarō ga Hanako o aishite-i-ru
    Surely fortunately Tarō-NOM Hanako-ACC love-PROGR-PRES

(21) EVALUATIVE > EVIDENTIAL

(22) Kare wa kōunni-mo tabun ashita yattekuru desshô
    He-NOM fortunately probably tomorrow arrive think
    ‘He will fortunately probably arrive tomorrow’

(23) *Kare wa tabun kōunni-mo* ashita yattekuru desshô
    He-NOM probably fortunately tomorrow arrive think

(24) EVALUATIVE > EPISTEMIC
2.1.4. Evidential and epistemic Adverbs

These two adverb groups (sometimes considered as an unique type, the modal adverbs) are a speaker comment about the sentence degree of probability. It’s very difficult to find out a preferred order between these different classes:

(25)  ?? Tashikani kitto Tarô ga Hanako o aishite-i-ru
Surely certainly Tarô-NOM Hanako-ACC love-PROGR-PRES
‘Surely, Tarô loves certainly Hanako’

(26)  ?? Kito tashikani Tarô ga Hanako o aishite-i-ru
Certainly surely Tarô-NOM Hanako-ACC love-PROGR-PRES
‘Certainly, Tarô loves surely Hanako’

(27)  ?? Akirakani mochiron Tarô ga Hanako o aishite-i-ru
Obviously surely Tarô-NOM Hanako-ACC love-PROGR-PRES
‘Obviously, Tarô loves surely Hanako’

(28)  ?? Mochiron akirakani Tarô ga Hanako o aishite-i-ru
Surely obviously Tarô-NOM Hanako-ACC love-PROGR-PRES
‘Surely, Tarô loves obviously Hanako’

The only sure thing is that modal adverbs come after evaluative ones, as proved in (17)-(20) and (22)-(23).

With respect to the relative order between epistemic and subject-oriented adverbs, it seems that both order are accepted by native speakers:

(29)  John wa tabun kenmeini-mo onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i
John-TOP probably wisely same person-with date do-NEG-PRES
‘Probably, John wisely doesn’t go out with the same person’

(30)  John wa kenmeini-mo tabun onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i
John-TOP wisely “perhaps” same person-with date do-NEG-PRES
‘Wisely, John perhaps doesn’t go out with the same person’
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(31) John wa osoraku kenmeini-mo onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i
       John-TOP probably wisely same person-with date do-NEG-PRES
       ‘Probably, John wisely doesn’t go out with the same person’

(32) John wa kenmeini-mo osoraku onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i
       John-TOP wisely perhaps same person-with date do-NEG-PRES
       ‘Wisely, John perhaps doesn’t go out with the same person’

The interpretation of the examples (29) and (31) is a bit different from that of examples (30) and (32): when the “epistemic” adverb follows the subject-oriented, the sentence indicates a less probable event. Since there is no corresponding term for “maybe” or “perhaps” in Japanese, I suggest that adverbs like “tabun” and “osoraku”, which can mean “probably” and also “perhaps”, can occupy two different positions: the epistemic one (before the subject-oriented adverbs) and one after them.\(^8\)

2.1.5. Subject-oriented Adverbs

Subject-oriented adverbs give a speaker judgement from the subject perspective in a particular proposition.\(^9\) They are placed after evaluative, evidential and epistemic adverbs and before habitual adverbs:

(33)  ? John-wa kōunni-mo kenmeini-mo onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i\(^10\)

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\(^8\) Sambo (1999, 110-111) notices that in Japanese certain aspect and mood projections present two different heads/projections, with a slight change in interpretation.

\(^9\) In this work I will not examine subject-oriented adverbs in a detailed way. For convenience I will consider them as an homogeneous group.
John-TOP fortunately wisely same person-with date do-NEG-PRES
‘Fortunately John wisely doesn’t go out with the same person’

(34)   * John-wa kenmeini-mo kōunni-mo onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i
John-TOP wisely fortunately same person-with date do-NEG-PRES

(35)   EVALUATIVE > SUBJECT-ORIENTED

(36)   John wa mochiron kenmeini-mo onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i
John-TOP surely wisely same person-with date do-NEG-PRES
‘Surely John wisely doesn’t go out with the same person’

(37)   * John wa kenmeini-mo mochiron onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i
John-TOP wisely surely same person-with date do-NEG-PRES

(38)   EVIDENTIAL > SUBJECT-ORIENTED

(39)   John wa kenmeini-mo tsūjō onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i
John-TOP wisely usually same person-with date do-NEG-PRES
‘Wisely John usually doesn’t go out with the same person’

10. When two “mo”-adverbs are present in the same sentence, they can cause a sense of “heaviness”. The contiguous placement of two “mo”-adverbs sounds strange and funny to the native speakers. For example if we use “saiwa(ni)” in the place of “kōunni-mo” the sentence is acceptable:

i.   John-wa saiwa(ni) kenmeini-mo onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i
John-TOP fortunately wisely same person-with date do-NEG-PRES

On the other side, if we use “saiwani-mo”, the sentence sounds strange again:

ii.  ? John-wa saiwani-mo kenmeini-mo onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i
John-TOP fortunately wisely same person-with date do-NEG-PRES
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(40) ? John wa tsūjō kenmeini-mo onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i
    John-TOP usually wisely same person-with date do-NEG-PRES

Although both orders seem to be correct, the order kenmeini-mo > tsūjō is preferred.

(41) SUBJECT-ORIENTED > HABITUAL

2.1.6. Habitual Adverbs

Cinque (1997) proposes the existence of two habitual heads: one higher, event-related, and one lower, process or state-related. In Italian it is possible to say:

(42) Gianni di solito frequentava le stesse persone abitualmente
    ‘Gianni generally frequented the same persons habitually’

(43) * Gianni abitualmente frequentava le stesse persone di solito
    ‘Gianni habitually frequented the same persons habitually’

(44) ? Gianni abitualmente frequentava le stesse persone abitualmente
    ‘Gianni habitually frequented the same persons habitually’

I’ve tried to find out, if also in Japanese there are two different habitual projections:

(45) ??/* John wa tsūjō onaji hito to futsū deeto shi-na-i
    John-TOP generally same person-with usually date do-NEG-PRES
    ‘John generally doesn’t go out with the same person habitually’

(46) * John wa futsū onaji hito to tsūjō deeto shi-na-i
    John-TOP usually same person-with generally date do-NEG-PRES
(47)  * John wa tsūjiō onaji hito to tsūjiō deeto shi-na-i  
      John-TOP generally same person-with generally date do-NEG-PRES  

(48)  * John wa fūtsū onaji hito to fūtsū deeto shi-na-i  
      John-TOP usually same person-with usually date do-NEG-PRES  

'Fūtsū' and 'tsūjiō' basically have almost the same meanings, but 'fūtsū' is much  
more commonly used than 'tsūjiō', which sounds more formal and official. In my data  
there are no clear indications of the presence of two different habitual projections.  
Sambo (1999), in her work about the verbal functional heads in Japanese, suggests  
that the habitual projection in this language is more an 'habituation' projection,  
which corresponds in meaning to 'get used to', and not 'use to' or 'be used to', and  
this could be an explanation for the differences between Japanese and Italian. Since  
the habituation projection is located after other modal projections, corresponding to  
subject-oriented adverbs, and before frequentative/repetitive and continuative  
adverbs, no obvious differences in order are visible. As seen in (39) and (40), the  
preferred order between 'subject-oriented' and 'habitual' adverbs is subject-oriented  
> habitual, but the reverse order is also accepted and with respect to 'frequentative'  
adverbs, habitual adverbs precede them:  

(49)  John wa tsūjiō mettani onaji hito to deeto shi-na-i  
      John-TOP usually seldom same person-with date do-NEG-PRES  
      'John usually doesn't go out with the same person seldom'  

(50)  * John wa mettani tsūjiō onaji hito to deto shi-na-i  
      John-TOP seldom usually same person-with date do-NEG-PRES  

(51)  HABITUATIVE > FREQUENTATIVE  

(52)  Yamada-san wa tsūjiō mada nete-i-masu  
      Yamada-Mr-TOP usually still sleep-PROGR-PRES  
      'Yamada is usually still sleeping'  

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2.2. Lower Adverbs

Lower adverbs are mostly associated with verbal “aspects” and this is the order proposed by Cinque (1999):

\[(55) \quad \text{As}_{\text{repetitive 1}} > \text{As}_{\text{frequentative 1}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{volitional}} > \text{As}_{\text{celerative 1}} > \text{Tense} \]
\[\quad (\text{Anterior}) > \text{As}_{\text{terminative}} > \text{As}_{\text{continuative}} > \text{As}_{\text{perfect (?)}} > \text{As}_{\text{retrospective}} \]
\[\quad \text{As}_{\text{proximative}} > \text{As}_{\text{durative}} > \text{As}_{\text{gerundopressive}} > \text{As}_{\text{prospective}} > \text{As}_{\text{completive 1}} \]
\[\quad \text{Voice} > \text{As}_{\text{celerative II}} > \text{As}_{\text{repetitive II}} > \text{As}_{\text{frequentative II}} > \text{As}_{\text{completive II}} \]

I will not consider the two “celerative” projection, although both are present in Japanese, with two different interpretations (in (56) the adverb quantifies over the event, in (57) it quantifies over the process):

\[(56) \quad \text{John wa} \text{subayaku te o age-ta} \]
\[\quad \text{John-TOP quickly hand-ACC lift-PAST} \]
\[\quad \text{‘John quickly lifted his arm’} \]

\[(57) \quad \text{John wa te o subayaku age-ta} \]
\[\quad \text{John-TOP hand-ACC quickly lift-PAST} \]
\[\quad \text{‘John lifted his arm quickly’} \]

2.2.1. Repetitive and Frequency Adverbs I and II

“Repetitive” adverbs express one action repetition (and only one repetition), on the other side “frequency” adverbs express multiple repetition of the same action.
Both groups can occupy two different positions in the sentence: Repetitive I and II and Frequency I and II.

(58) John wa mettani onaji hito to nandomo deeto shi-na-i
John-TOP often same person-with seldom date do-NEG-PRES
‘John often goes out with the same person seldom’

(59) * John wa nandomo onaji hito to mettani deeto shi-na-i
John-TOP seldom same person-with often date do-NEG-PRES

(60) FREQUENCY I > FREQUENCY II

Frequency adverbs are located after habitual adverbs:

(61) Mark wa futsu yoku uchi ni iru
Mark-TOP usually often home-in be-PRES
‘Mark usually stays often at home’

(62) * Mark wa yoku futsu uchi ni iru
Mark-TOP often usually home-in be-PRES

(63) HABITUATIVE > FREQUENCY

(64) Yamada-san wa tsujō kurikaeshi tabete-i-masu
Yamada-Mr-TOP usually repeatedly eat-PROGR-PRES
‘(When I arrive home), Mr. Yamada is usually eating repeatedly’

(65) */!* Yamada-san wa kurikaeshi tsujō tabete-i-masu
Yamada-Mr-TOP repeatedly usually eat-PROGR-PRES

(66) HABITUATIVE > REPETITIVE
2.2.2. ‘Already’/Tempus Anterior

This adverb indicates that the event happened before the expected time. It is located after frequentative and repetitive adverbs:

(67) Yamada-san wa *yoku mō* tabe-ta
    Yamada-Mr-TOP often already eat-PAST
    ‘(When I arrive home), Mr Yamada has often already eaten’

(68) *??*/ Yamada-san wa *mō yoku* tabe-ta
    Yamada-Mr-TOP already often eat-PAST

(69) FREQUENTATIVE > ALREADY

2.2.3. ‘any/no longer’/Terminative Aspect

Japanese doesn’t have a corresponding adverb to ‘any/no longer’. This language uses the adverb “mō” ‘already’ and the negative form of the verb to express that a particular action has finished:

(70) Sono koro ni-wa *mō* nanimo mottei-nakat-ta
    That time-in-TOP already nothing have-NEG-PAST
    ‘At the time he didn’t possess already any longer anything’

2.2.4. ‘Still’ / Continuative Aspect

‘Mada/still’ indicates that an event is not ended. The use of the progressive verbal form in Japanese, which usually accompanies “mada”, is a confirmation that the action is “still” in course:

(71) Yamada-san wa *tsūjō mada* tabete-i-masu
    Yamada-Mr-TOP usually still eat-PROGR-PRES
'When I arrive home,) Mr Yamata is usually still eating'

(72)  * Yamada-san wa mada tsūjō tabete-i-masu  
Yamada-Mr-TOP still usually eat-PROGR-PRES

(73)  HABITUATIVE > STILL

(74)  Yamada-san wa itsumo mada tabete-i-masu  
Yamada-Mr-TOP. always still eat-PROGR-PRES  
'(When I arrive home,) Mr. Yamada is still always eating'

(75)  ?? Yamada-san wa mada itsumo tabete-i-masu  
Yamada-Mr.-TOP still always eat-PROGR-PRES

(76)  ALWAYS > STILL

2.2.5. 'Always' / Perfective Aspect (?)

As seen in (74) and (75), "itsumo" seems to occupy a position before the continuative projection and after habituative adverbs. This contradicts the expected order 'mada>itsumo', proposed by Cinque (1999). Cinque himself admits that "the whole matter needs to be understood better"[12]. He suggests to correlate "always" with the perfective/imperfective aspect or to a "continuous" aspect, different from the Continuative Aspect ("keep on"/"still"). In Japanese "itsumo" can also have other interpretations, "usually, ever, never, invariably, constantly", which can justify the different behaviour of this adverb.

(77)  Yamada-san wa itsumo tadaima tabe-ta tokoro desu  
Yamada-Mr-TOP. always just eat-PAST-RETR-PRES  
'(When I arrive home,) Yamada-san has always just finished to eat'

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(78)  * Yamada-san wa *tadaima itsumo* tabe-ta tokoro desu
Yamada-Mr-TOP just always eat-PAST-RETR-PRES

(79)  ALWAYS > JUST

(80)  Kare wa hito no tanjobi o *itsumo sukkari* wasurete shimau
Er-TOP people-of-birthday-ACC always completely forget-COMPL\(^{13}\)-PRES
‘He always forgets the birthdays completely’

(81)  * Kare wa hito no tanjobi o *sukkari itsumo* wasurete shimau
Er-TOP people-of-birthday-ACC completely always forget-COMPL-PRES

(82)  ALWAYS > COMPLETELY

2.2.6. ‘Just’/Retrospective Aspect

‘Just’ expresses that a determinate event has taken place a short while before some reference time. As seen in (77) and (78), “tadaima” follows “itsumo” and precedes “sukkari”:

(83)  John wa rōsuto o *tadaima sukkari* kogashite-shimat-ta
John-TOP roast-ACC just completely burn-COMPL-PAST
‘John has just completely burned the roast’

(84)  ? John wa rōsuto o *sukkari tadaima* kogashite-shimat-ta

\(^{13}\) I indicate the auxiliary/modal verb “shimau” as completive. Sambo (1999) maintains that this particular verb expresses a “completive aspect” but also an emotional involvement from the speaker’s point of view, with a sense of “to end by”. For this reason, she calls this aspect “conclusive”. I’ve used the term “completive” to underline the co-presence of “sukkari” and “shimau”, both expressing a completive nuance.
John-TOP roast-ACC completely just burn-COMPL-PAST

(85) JUST > COMPLETELY

2.2.7. ‘Soon’/Proximative Aspect

‘Soon’ indicates that an event is going to take place a short while after some reference time.

(86) Anata mo suguni subete o sukkari wasureru deshô
You-also soon all-ACC completely forget-FUT
‘You also will soon all completely forget’

(87) * Anata mo sukkari suguni subete o wasureru deshô
You-also completely soon all-ACC forget-FUT

(88) SOON > COMPLETELY

2.2.8. ‘Briefly, long’/Durative Aspect

Durative adverbs indicate that an event takes place or has taken place for a certain period of time:

(89) ? John wa kyuka ni tsuite temijikani tadaima jôshi to hanashi-ta bakari-da
John-TOP holidays-about shortly just boss-with speak-PAST RETR-PRES
‘John has just shortly spoken with his boss about holidays’

(90) John wa kyuka ni tsuite tadaima temijikani jôshi to hanashi-ta bakari-da
John-TOP holidays-about just shortly boss-with speak-PAST RETR-PRES
(91) JUST > DURATIVE

2.2.9. ‘Almost’/Prospective Aspect (?)

This adverb express that an action is about to begin or be completed:

(92) Anata-gata wa sensei ni hotondo subete o yoku setsume ni shi-ta
You-TOP teacher-DAT almost all-ACC well explanation do-PAST
‘You have explained almost all well to the teacher’

(93) * Anata-gata wa sensei ni subete o yoku hotondo setsume ni shi-ta
You-TOP teacher-DAT all-ACC well almost explanation do-PAST

(94) ‘ALMOST’ > ‘WELL’

2.2.10. ‘Completely’ / Completive Aspect I

‘Completely’ expresses as expected that a certain event has concluded. As seen in (80)-(81), (83)-(84) and (86)-(87), ‘sukkari’ follows ‘itsumo’, ‘tadaima’ and ‘suguni’.

(95) Anata mo suguni subete o sukkari wasureru deshô
You-also soon all-ACC completely forget-FUT
‘You also will soon all completely forget’

(96) * Anata mo sukkari suguni subete o wasureru deshô
You-also completely soon all-ACC completely forget-FUT

(97) ALWAYS > JUST > SOON > COMPLETELY
2.2.11. Manner Adverbs / Voice

"Light" manner adverbs, like "well" and "bad", are the last group I will consider.

Cinque (1997) and (1999) proposes another sequence of adverbs located after the so-called "voice" projection, where the active or passive verb form is formed. Completive adverbs and light manner adverbs in Japanense (and German), as already pointed out in Pozzobon (1998), seem to be generated deeper in sentence structure than the same adverb groups in other Romance languages. Again, I have no sufficient data to maintain that this is a SOV property.

The Japanese adverb for "well", "yoku" has a double interpretation: it can mean "well" but also "often". The respective distribution is not the same: "often-yoku" is situated higher in the structure than "well-yoku". See the examples:

(98) John wa yoku okāsan ni oretachi no koto o yoku hanasu
    John-TOP often mother-DAT us-of-things-ACC well speak-PRES
    'John often speaks with his mother well about us'

The two adverbs can be present in the same sentence, but in the sequence "often-yoku> well-yoku".

(99) John wa yoku okāsan ni oretachi no koto o hanasu
    John-TOP often/well mother-DAT us-of-things-ACC speak-PRES
    'John often speaks with his mother about us'
    'John well speaks with his mother about us'

(100) John wa okāsan ni oretachi no koto o yoku hanasu
    John-TOP mother-DAT us-of-things-ACC often/well speak-PRES
    'John speaks with his mother often/well about us'

"Well-yoku" is not acceptable in a high position as in (99) or in (102). On the other side "often-yoku" is not completely acceptable in a deeper position as in (101).
Some Notes on the Distribution of Japanese Adverbs

(101) Anagata wa sensei ni hotondo subete o yoku setsume ei shi-ta
You-TOP teacher-DAT almost all-ACC well/?often explanation do-
PAST
‘You explained almost all well to the teacher’
‘You explained often almost all to the teacher’

(102) Anagata wa sensei ni yoku hotondo subete o setsume ei shi-ta
You-TOP teacher-Dat often/?well almost all-ACC explanation do-
PAST

With respect to other lower adverbs, “mô” for example, is the behaviour of the
two “yoku” forms similar:

(103) Yamada-san wa yoku mô tabe-ta
Yamada-Mr-TOP often already eat-PAST
‘(When I arrive home,) Yamada has often already eaten’

(104) ??/* Yamada-san wa mô yoku tabe-ta
Yamada-Mr-TOP already often eat-PAST

(105) * Yamada-san wa yoku mô tabe-ta
Yamada-Mr-TOP well already eat-PAST

(106) Yamada-san wa mô yoku tabe-ta
Yamada-Mr-TOP already well eat-PAST
‘(When I arrive home,) Yamada has often eaten well’

3. Conclusion

In the previous sections I tried to determine an approximate adverbs hierarchy.
To sum up, (107) gives an idea of the results:
(107) Mood\textsubscript{speech act} > Mood\textsubscript{evaluative} > Mood\textsubscript{evidential} > Mod\textsubscript{epistemic} > subject-oriented (Mod\textsubscript{necessity} > Mod\textsubscript{possibility}) > Mood\textsubscript{realis/epistemic II} (?) > Asp\textsubscript{habitual} > (Asp\textsubscript{pred/position}) > Asp\textsubscript{repetitive I} > Asp\textsubscript{frequentative I} > (Asp\textsubscript{cleftative I}) > Tense (Anterior) > (Asp\textsubscript{terminative}) > Asp\textsubscript{perfect (?) > Asp\textsubscript{continuous} > Asp\textsubscript{retroactive} > Asp\textsubscript{proximate} > Asp\textsubscript{durative} > Asp\textsubscript{prescriptive} > (Asp\textsubscript{completive I}) > Asp\textsubscript{cleftative II} > Asp\textsubscript{repetitive II} > Asp\textsubscript{frequentative II} > Asp\textsubscript{completive II} > Voice

The most evident differences from Cinque’s hierarchy are the following:

- a second “epistemic” projection (maybe Mood\textsubscript{realis}) located after “subject-oriented” projection (Mod\textsubscript{necessity} and Mod\textsubscript{possibility}).
- “itsumo” (Asp\textsubscript{perfect ?}) precedes the continuative Aspect.
- it seems that Japanese has only one position for completive adverbs, which is situated deep in the structure (Asp\textsubscript{completive II}).
- the voice projection (like completive aspect) is located very deep in the sentence structure, as if after Voice no other “place” is available.

Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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References:


