Adjuncts in Japanese and the Adverbial Function of *dake* 'only'*

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（要旨）

副助詞ダケは、文の主語や目的語など、動詞の項となるものには自由に付くことがで
きる（「太郎（だけ）がおかし（だけ）を食べた」）。しかし、動詞と項関係にない付
加詞については、付くことができる場合とそうでない場合とがある（「健康を回復す
るために（だけ）運動をする」vs.「健康を回復したために（*だけ）運動をする」）。
動詞の項はすべて動詞句（VP）内にあるが、付加詞は動詞句内にあるものとそうで
ないものとがある。本論は、VP 内付加詞と VP 外付加詞とを統語的に厳密に区別し
た上で、VP 内要素、すなわち動詞の項および VP 内付加詞にしか、ダケは付くこと
ができないという記述的一般化を正当化する。そしてこの一般化は、ダケの、述語を
修飾するという副詞としての性質と、修飾関係に関する一般的制約からの帰結である
ということを示す。すなわち、被修飾語の投射内 (被修飾語が V なら VP 内) に修飾
語がなければ修飾関係は成り立たず、それゆえ述語 V を修飾するダケは VP 内の要
素に付かなければならないのである。

0. Introduction

Dake 'only' is a postpositional particle that attaches rather freely to arguments like subjects or objects. In addition, it may also attach to adjuncts. This paper shows, however, that there is a severe restriction on the type of adjuncts that *dake* may attach to, arguing that the type in question is characterized in syntactic rather than semantic or functional terms. This restriction on the distribution of *dake* will be shown to be a

natural consequence of its adverbial function combined with a general condition on modification.

1. Adverbial function of *dake*

Dake is associated with two functions. One is a focussing function: it functions to focus on the phrase it attaches to. The other is an adverbial function: it 'modifies' a predicative element that it is construed with, in a way similar to adverbs that modify predicates. Thus in a sentence like the following,

(1) Taroo wa   terebi de [[yakyuu] dake] o   mi-ru

        TOP   TV   on baseball only ACC   watch-PAST

   'Taro watches only baseball games on TV'

dake attaches to and focuses on the NP *yakyuu* 'baseball.' Also, it is construed with and modifies *mi* 'watch,' the predicate that the focused phrase is a complement of. These two functions provide the whole sentence with an implication that denies the existence of anything other than baseball games that Taro watches on TV.

     It is important to recognize that *dake*, because of its adverbial function, requires a predicate for it to modify. To see this, consider first the following:

(2) Taroo wa [$_α$ [$_{CP}$ moo   dame-da   to] (itte)]   nakidasi-ta

        TOP   already no-good-COP C   saying   cry-begin-PAST

   'Taro began to cry (saying) that it's all over'

The bracketed CP headed by the complementizer *to* is a clausal complement to the parenthesized predicate *itte*, the *te* form of the verb *iw* 'say.' The whole phrase *α* headed by the verb of this form functions like an adverbial clause. As indicated by the parentheses, this verbal head is omissible; the sentence is acceptable and is interpreted almost the same way whether it is present or absent. Now, observe that *dake* may attach to the CP complement to *itte*, as in the following:

(3) Taroo wa [$_\alpha$ [[moo dame-da to] dake] itte] nakidasi-ta

　　'Taro began to cry saying only that it's all over'

However, the presence of *dake* requires the presence of *itte;* the omission of *itte* from

(3) results in utter unacceptability:

(4) * Taro wa [$_\alpha$ [[moo dame-da to] dake] ＿] nakidasi-ta

　　'Taro began to cry only that it's all over'

Thus, *itte* must be present to be modified by *dake*, to satisfy the adverbial function of

the particle.

　　The same phenomenon is observed with a typical adverb instead of *dake*. Consider

the following:

(5) Taroo wa   totuzen   moo   dame-da   to itte   nakidasi-ta

　　　　　TOP suddenly already no-good-COP C saying cry-begin-PAST

　　'Taro began to cry saying that it's all over suddenly'

This sentence is ambiguous: the adverb *totuzen* 'suddenly' may be construed either as

modifying *itte* or else *nakidas* 'begin to cry.' [1] The ambiguity comes from the ambig-

uous structural position of the adverb. That is, *totuzen* may be internal to the sub-

ordinate clause, as a modifier of *itte*, or external to it, as a modifier of the matrix pred-

icate, as indicated in (6):[2]

(6) Taroo wa (totuzen) [$_\alpha$ (totuzen) [moo dame-da to] itte] nakidasi-ta

Note that *totuzen* can be a constituent of the subordinate clause α because α has a

predicate, namely *itte*, that it can modify. If *itte* is omitted, the adverb cannot find a

predicate to modify in α; thus the following sentence is unambiguously construed as

totuzen modifying the matrix predicate:

(7) Taro wa   totuzen   moo   dame-da   to nakidasi-ta

      TOP suddenly already no-good-COP C cry-begin-PAST

   'Taro began to cry that it's all over suddenly'

In other words, the structure in which the adverb is a constituent of the subordinate clause is ill-formed when the clause has its predicate omitted:

(8) Taroo wa (totuzen) [$_\alpha$ (* totuzen) [moo dame-da to] __] nakidasi-ta

We saw in (4) the unacceptable occurrence of *dake* in a predicateless clause α. We now see that this is quite parallel to the unacceptable occurrence of *totuzen* in α in (8). In both cases, the unacceptability is attributed to the lack of a predicate to be modified by the relevant material.[3]

    We will sometimes speak of *dake* as being construed with an element when the former modifies the latter in its adverbial function.[4] Furthermore, we will refer to the phrase *dake* attaches to for focalization as its *host*, and say that such a phrase serves as a host of, or simply hosts, *dake*. We will see that whether a phrase can serve as a host of *dake* is dependent on its structural relation to an element that *dake* is construed with; *dake*'s target for focalization must be related to its target for modification in a structural sense.

2. The relation between *dake* and its target for modification

    While *dake* is syntactically combined with its host, it is separated from the category it is construed with; *dake* combines with its target for focalization, not with its target for modification. But it cannot be that *dake* does not have any structural connection with its target for modification. In general, a modifier may modify an element X only if it is in a certain domain of X, at a relevant level of representation. Thus an English adverb like *completely* that modifies a verb must be within VP, namely within a projection of the category it modifies (cf. McCawley (1983)):
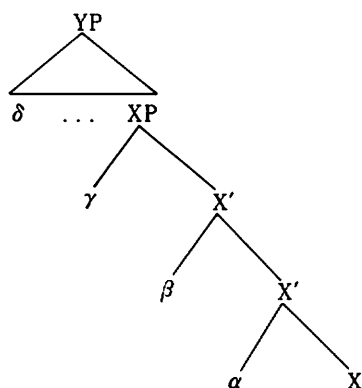
(9)a. the team can [$_{VP}$ rely on my support *completely*] (, certainly)

a'. * the team can [vp rely on on my support] certainly, *completely*

b. the team can [vp rely *completely* on my support]

c. the team can [vp *completely* rely on my support]

d. * the team *completely* can [vp rely on my support]

e. * *completely*, the team can [vp rely on my support]

(Adapted from Radford 1988: 73)

The effect of a condition of this sort is often obscured, however, by the availability of reordering rules that displace modifiers from the positions in which they are inter-preted; thus the rule responsible for the so-called extraposition from NP moves a modi-fier of a noun out of the projected NP to a clause-final position. Similarly, whatever rule or principle may be responsible for the well-known free word-order phenomena in Japanese is likely to obscure the effect on the language of the condition responsible for the English paradigm (9). An unacceptable example like (9e), for example, may corre-spond to an acceptable Japanese sentence in which the Japanese analogue of *completely* appears in a position displaced from the position in which it should be, under such an operation as scrambling. As far as *dake* is concerned, however, since it is a dependent word ('huzoku-go') that cannot be detached from its host by such a reordering opera-tion, the effect of the condition should be detectible. Thus if *dake* is to modify X, the condition on modification requires that it occur inside a projection of X; it must there-fore be hosted by a phrase that is (or at least originates) in a projection of X. In other words, *dake*'s target for focalization must be a constituent of a projection of its target for modification. Consider a structure like the following:

(10)

Here α, β and γ are all constituents of a projection of X, being within its maximal projection XP. But δ is outside XP and is not a constituent of any projection of X. Thus if *dake* is to be construed with X for modification, it may attach for focalization to α, β or γ but not to δ.

Under the predicate-internal subject hypothesis, which we will adopt, if X in (10) is a predicate, then γ (or β) will be its subject, β (or γ) an adjunct, and α an object (complement). In (1), *dake* attaches to the object, but the subject *Taroo* as well as the adjunct *terebi de* should serve as its hosts, and indeed they do:

(11) a. [Taroo dake] ga   terebi de yakyuu o   mi-ru

            only NOM TV   on baseball ACC watch-PRES

         'only Taro watches a baseball game on TV'

    b. Taroo wa   [terebi de dake] yakyuu o   mi-ru

            TOP TV   on only baseball ACC watch-PRES

         'Taro watches a baseball game only on TV'

Note that *terebi de* appearing in (1) and (11) is an adjunct internal to VP (VP-adjunct), corresponding to β in (10). This is indicated by the possibility of the adjunct exclusively modifying a 'bare' VP (namely a VP whose head is an inflectionless V), such as the VP appearing as a complement of the causative predicate *sase:*

(12) Hanako wa Taroo ni   terebi de yakyuu o   mi-sase-ta

            TOP   DAT TV   on baseball ACC watch-CAUSE-PAST

         'Hanako made Taro watch a baseball game on TV'

In (12), the adjunct may be construed as a modifier of *yakyuu o mi* 'watch a baseball game,' referring to the means of the activity that Taro is caused to perform, rather than to the means of the causative activity Hanako performs. Furthermore, this adjunct can appear in an independent phrase expressing the caused activity, such as the bracketed *koto*-phrase in (13), a 'cleft' version of (12):

(13) Hanako ga Taroo ni   s-ase-ta   no wa [terebi de yakyuu o

　　　　　NOM   DAT do-CAUSE-PAST C TOP TV   on baseball ACC

　mi-ru   koto] da

　watch-PRES C   COP

　'what Hanako made Taro do is to watch a baseball game on TV'

The *koto*-phrase contains the adjunct together with other VP materials to express what Hanako made Taro do. This also indicates that *terebi de* in (12) may be part of the constituent expressing what Hanako made Taro do, namely the VP complement of *sase*. Thus the relevant part of the structure for (12) may be represented as something like the following:[5]

(14) Hanako wa [vp Taroo ni [vp PRO terebi de yakyuu o mi] sase] ta

We will sometimes refer to the outer VP in a structure like (14) as matrix VP and to the inner one as embedded VP. We will take the occurrence of an adjunct in such an embedded VP to be an indication that the adjunct is a VP(-internal) adjunct, as distinct from a VP-external adjunct.

As already suggested in the general discussion made above concerning (10), whether the given adjunct is internal to VP or not is crucial in determining whether it can host *dake*. If *dake* is to take V as its target for modification, it must take as its target for focalization a constituent of a category projected from V, namely V' or VP. This means that *dake* cannot attach to an adjunct external to VP to modify its head V, but only to an internal one like *terebi de*. We will see empirical evidence for this in the following sections.

3. Clauses headed by *to* and *kara*

Let us begin with a clause headed by the complementizer *to*. Consider the following example:

(15) Taroo wa [syukudai o   sumase-ru   to] (dake) itta

   TOP homework ACC finish-PRES C only   say-PAST

  'Taro said (only) that he would finish his homework'

As already noted, the *to*-clause that is a complement to the verb *iw* 'say' hosts *dake* (see (3)). The occurrence of *dake* in (15) is similarly acceptable. This is a natural consequence from the complement status of the host, since a complement to X is within a projection of X.

 A clause headed by *to* may also function as something other than a complement; thus consider the following:

(16) a. Taroo wa [syukudai o   sumase-ru   to] terebi o   mi-ta

    TOP homework ACC finish-PRES C TV   ACC watch-PAST

   'Taro watched TV after he finished his homework'

  b. Taroo wa [syukudai ga   sum-u   to] terebi o   mi-ta

    TOP homework NOM finish-PRES C TV   ACC watch-PAST

   'Taro watched TV after his homework was finished'

The bracketed *to*-clause in (16a) is identical in form with the one in (15), with the accusative object followed by the transitive verb *sumase* 'finish.' The *to*-clause in (16b) is its intransitive counterpart, with the nominative followed by the intransitive *sum* '(be) finish(ed).' These *to*-clauses in (16) are adverbial adjuncts rather than complements, each expressing an event in such a way that the event expressed in the matrix clause is seen to occur as a consequence of it. The matrix event temporally following the event expressed in the *to*-clause, the sentences (16a) and (16b) may respectively be paraphrased as (17a) and (17b), with a postposition of time-space *kara* 'after/from' instead of *to:*

(17) a. Taroo wa [syukudai o   sumasete kara] terebi o   mi-ta

    TOP homework ACC finishing after TV   ACC watch-PAST

   'Taroo watched TV after finishing his homework'

b. Taroo wa [syukudai ga   sunde   kara] terebi o   mi-ta

       TOP homework NOM finishing after TV   ACC watch-PAST

'Taroo watched TV after finishing his homework'

Kara takes here a clause whose predicate is the *te*-form of a verb. Now consider what happens if *dake* attaches to the bracketed clauses in (16) and (17):

(16)' a. *Taroo wa [syukudai o sumase-ru to] dake terebi o mi-ta

         'Taroo watched TV only after he finished his homework'

     b. *Taroo wa [syukudai ga sum-u to] dake terebi o mi-ta

         'Taroo watched TV only after his homework was finished'

(17)' a. Taroo wa [syukudai o sumasete kara] dake terebi o mi-ta

         'Taroo watched TV only after finishing his homework'

     b. Taroo wa [syukudai ga sunde kara] dake terebi o mi-ta

         'Taroo watched TV only after finishing his homework'

As these examples show, while the *kara*-clause hosts *dake*, the adjunct *to*-clause does not. If, as claimed above, only those phrases internal to VP can host an occurrence of *dake* modifying the head V, then the contrast will follow if the *kara*-clause is internal to VP (VP-adjunct), and the adjunct *to*-clause is external to VP.

In fact, there is evidence suggesting that such an adjunct *to*-clause cannot appear as a constituent of VP. The evidence comes from the construction already considered: the one involving a predicate that takes a 'bare' VP complement, namely the causative construction. Thus consider the following example:

(18) Hahaoya wa Taroo ni   [syukudai   ga   sum-u   to] terebi o

     mother TOP   DAT homework NOM finish-PRES C TV   ACC

     mi-sase-ta

     watch-CAUSE-PAST

     'his mother let Taro watch TV after his homework was finished'

The bracketed *to*-clause must be so interpreted as to modify the matrix causative

clause *(Hahaoya wa Taroo ni) terebi o mi-sase-ta* '(his mother) let (Taro) watch TV,' and cannot be taken as exclusively modifying *terebi o mi* 'watch TV,' the embedded VP complement of the causative *sase*. Thus (Taro's) finishing homework must be taken as antecedent to the causative event that his mother brings about, not as part of the activity that Taro is caused to perform. If the *to*-clause is forced to modify the caused activity part alone, unacceptability results:

(19) hahaoya ga Taroo ni   sase-ta   no wa [(*syukudai ga   sum-u   to)
     mother NOM   DAT CAUSE-PAST C TOP   homework Nom finish-PRES C
     terebi o   mi-ru   koto] da
     TV   ACC watch-PRES C   COP
     'what his mother caused Taro to do is to watch TV (after his homework was finished)'

Here the caused activity is expressed in the bracketed phrase headed by *koto*. As indicated by the asterisk, the *to*-clause cannot appear within this phrase.

    This suggests that the adjunct *to*-clause cannot be a constituent of VP to function as a VP-adjunct; if such were possible, it should be able to appear as a constituent of the VP complement to *sase* to modify the rest of the VP, contrary to the fact. This contrasts with the *kara*-clause, which may be a constituent of the VP complement to *sase:*

(20) hahaoya wa Taroo ni   [syukudai ga   sunde   kara] terebi o
     mother TOP   DAT homework NOM finishing after TV   ACC
     mi-sase-ta
     watch-CAUSE-PAST
     'his mother let Taro watch TV after finishing his homework'

The bracketed *kara*-clause in (20) may be taken as exclusively modifying *terebi o mi* 'watch TV,' and interpreted as part of the activity that Taroo is caused to perform. In this reading, to watch TV after finishing homework is what Taro's mother let him do. The *kara*-clause can therefore appear within the *koto*-phrase that expresses the caused activity:

(21) hahaoya ga Taroo ni   sase-ta   no wa [[syukudai ga   sunde kara]

mother NOM   DAT CAUSE-PAST C TOP homework NOM finish   after

terebi o   mi-ru   koto] da

TV   ACC watch-PRES C   COP

'what his mother let Taro do is to watch TV after finishing his homework'

In (21), the presence of the *kara*-clause is acceptable, in contrast to the *to*-clause in (19).

There is other evidence supporting the view that the adjunct *to*-clause is VP-external while the *kara*-clause is VP-internal. This is concerned with anaphoric interpretations. Consider the following:

(22) a. hahaoya wa Taroo ni   [syukudai o   sumase-ru   to] terebi o

mother   TOP   DAT homework ACC finish-PRES C   TV   ACC

mi-sase-ta

watch-CAUSE-PAST

'his mother let Taroo watch TV after __ finished homework'

b. hahaoya wa Taroo ni   [syukudai o   sumasete kara] terebi o

mother   TOP   DAT homework Acc finishing after TV   ACC

mi-sase-ta

watch-CAUSE-PAST

'his mother let Taroo watch TV after __ finishing homework'

These sentences differ from (18) and (20) in that the nominative—intransitive sequence *syukudai ga sum-u/sunde* in the bracketed clauses in (18) and (20) is replaced by the corresponding accusative—transitive sequence *syukudai o sumase-ru/sumasete*, with the agentive subject of the transitive verb left unexpressed. The question is what the unexpressed subject refers to. From our common-sense knowledge, it is most natural to take it to refer to Taro rather than to his mother, since homework is usually given to and done by a pupil or a student, and Taro is more likely to be one than his mother. Indeed, the unexpressed subject of the *kara*-clause in (22b) can be naturally understood as referring to Taro. However, in (22a) the corresponding construal with Taro as the referent does not seem readily available if not impossible, and the construal that seems

to be somehow required is the one in which his mother is understood as the referent of the subject in question, however it may go against our knowledge about the world. Of course, if we use an overt pronominal subject like *kare (ga)* 'he (NOM)' in the *to*-clause, this can refer to Taro. But with the *kara*-clause, the use of such an overt pronoun is quite unnecessary to determine the referent.[6] Assuming the significance of this differ- ence between (22a) and (22b), we may attribute it to the different syntactic positions occupied by the relevant clauses. That is, if the *to*-clause in (22a), being unable to be a VP-adjunct, occupies outside the VP complement of the causative, then the unexpressed subject should take as its antecedent the matrix subject *hahaoya* in preference to the dative *Taroo (ni)*, under the natural assumption that the subject NP is more accessible than a non-subject NP as the antecedent of an unexpressed subject. In contrast, the unexpressed subject in the *kara*-clause in (22b) will refer to Taro in preference to his mother under the same assumption, if the clause occupies a position internal to the VP- complement of the causative, because the VP has in its Spec the subject that serves as the antecedent, namely PRO controlled by the dative *Taroo(ni)*.[7]

We conclude that the adjunct *to*-clause is VP-external while the *kara*-clause is VP- internal; the former can only appear outside VP, adjoined to some projection of T (or to a even higher category) to function as a TP-adjunct modifying the event expressed in TP. If so, the occurrence of *dake* that attaches to such a *to*-clause cannot modify V and its adverbial function will not be satisfied, leading to unacceptability.

The *kara*-clause considered above for comparison with the adjunct *to*-clause ex- presses a temporal relation, with its predicate in the *te*-form of a verb. There is another kind of clause that is headed by the postposition *kara* but that functions as a reason clause, with its predicate in the tensed or the ending form *(syuusi-kei)*. Sharply contrasting with the temporal *kara*-clause, this *kara*-clause of reason cannot host *dake:*

(23) a. Taroo wa [syukudai ga sun-da kara] (*dake) terebi o mi-ta

TOP homework NOM finish-PAST only TV ACC watch-PAST

'Taro watched TV (only) because he had finished his homework'

b. Taroo wa [omosiroi bangumi ga ar-u kara] (*dake) terebi o mi-ta

TOP interesting program NOM be-PRES only TV ACC watch-PAST

'Taro watched TV (only) because there was an interesting program on'

Using the same kind of evidence as above, we can show that this reason *kara*-clause is a TP-adjunct, external to VP. Thus consider the following:

(24) a. hahaoya wa Taroo ni |syukudai ga   sun-da   kara]   terebi o

mother   TOP   DAT homework NOM finish-PAST because TV   ACC

mi-sase-ta

watch-CAUSE-PAST

'his mother let Taro watch TV because he had finished his homework'

b. hahaoya wa Taroo ni   [omosiroi   bangumi ga   ar-u kara] terebi o

mother   TOP   DAT interesting program NOM be-PRES   TV   ACC

mi-sase-ta

watch-CAUSE-PAST

'his mother let Taro watch TV because there was an interesting program on'

The bracketed *kara*-clause in each of the above examples expresses the reason for Taro's mother's causative activity, not for his watching TV; it modifies the matrix causative clause. It cannot therefore appear in the *koto*-clause expressing the activity caused:

(25) * hahaoya ga Taroo ni   s-ase-ta   no wa [|syukudai ga   sun-da /

mother   NOM   DAT do-CAUSE-PAST C TOP   h. w. NOM finish-PAST/

omosiroi   bangumi ga   ar-u] kara] terebi o   mi-ru   koto da

interesting program NOM be-PRES   TV   ACC watch-PRES C   COP

'what his mother let Taro do is to watch TV because {he had finished his homework / there was an interesting program on|'

Thus the reason *kara*-clause cannot be a constituent of VP; therefore, it is natural that it should not host *dake*.

4. Clauses headed by *yoo-ni*

In this section we consider clauses headed by the complex complementizer (or sub-

ordinator) *yoo-ni*, as exemplified by the bracketed phrases in the following examples:

(26) Taroo wa [zyoosi ni yorokob-are-ru   yoo-ni] huruma-u

        TOP boss   by like-PASSIVE-PRES C   behave-PRES

    'Taro behaves in a manner that will please his boss'

(27) Taroo wa [zyoosi ni yorokob-are-ru   yoo-ni] hookokusyo o   kak-u

        TOP boss   by like-PASSIVE-PRES C   report   ACC write-PRES

    'Taro writes a report in a manner that will please his boss / so that he will be

    liked by his boss'

In (26) the *yoo-ni*-clause is a complement to the verb *huruma(w)* 'behave,' while in (27) it is an adjunct. As indicated by the English glosses, the adjunct *yoo-ni*-clause is ambiguous, functioning either as a manner adverbial or else as a purpose clause. Phonologically, the manner *yoo-ni* is read with a rising intonation, while the purpose *yoo-ni* is read with a falling intonation, often with a pause following. Semantically, with the manner *yoo-ni* it is the report that the boss will be pleased with, while with the purpose *yoo-ni* it is Taro.[8] The manner reading becomes predominant, or perhaps almost obligatory, when the *yoo-ni*-clause is put between the object and the verb:

(28) Taroo wa   hookokusyo o   [zyoosi ni yorokob-are-ru   yoo-ni] kak-u

        TOP report   ACC boss   by like-PASSIVE-PRES C   write-PRES

    'Taro writes a report in a manner that will please his boss'

The *yoo-ni*-clause must also be read as a manner adverbial if placed after some other manner adverbial:

(29) Taroo wa   kuwasiku [zyoosi ni yorokob-are-ru   yoo-ni] hookokusyo o

        TOP in-detail   boss   by like-PASSIVE-PRES C   report   ACC

    kak-u

    write-PRES

    'Taro writes a report in detail in a manner that will please his boss'

In (29), we have to interpret the sentence as containing two manner adverbials, modi-
fying the verbal phrase *hookokusyo o kak(-u)* 'write a report' simultaneously. Note that
if placed before, the *yoo-ni*-clause may have a purpose reading:

(30) Taroo wa [zyoosi ni yorokob-are-ru   yoo-ni] kuwasiku hookokusyo o

        TOP boss   by like-PASSIVE-PRES C   in-detail   report   ACC

    kak-u

    write-PRES

    'Taro writes a report in detail so that he will be liked by his boss'

Finally, if there are before the verbal phrase two consecutive *yoo-ni*-clauses, each ambi-
guous if used in isolation from the other, the first one is given the purpose reading
(with a falling intonation) and the second, the manner reading (with a rising
intonation):[9]

(31) Taroo wa [zyoosi ni yorokob-are-ru   yoo-ni] [syatyoo   ni

        TOP boss   by like-PASSIVE-PRES C   president by

    yorokob-are-ru   yoo-ni] hookokusyo o   kak-u

    like-PASSIVE-PRES C   report   ACC write-PRES

    'Taro writes a report in a manner that will please the president, so that he will

    be liked by his boss'

All these facts cooperate to indicate that the manner *yoo-ni*-clause is internal to VP
just as other manner adverbials are generally, while the purpose *yoo-ni*-clause is out-
side of VP; the former is a VP-adjunct and the latter a TP-adjunct. Thus two *yoo-ni*-
clauses occurring consecutively, as in (31), is taken as a TP-adjunct of purpose fol-
lowed by a VP-adjunct of manner and not conversely, for phrase-structural reasons.
The occurrence of a *yoo-ni*-clause after some manner, VP-internal adverbial, as in (29),
will force the clause to be VP-internal as well, hence to be read as a manner adverbial.
But its occurrence before a manner adverbial, as in (30), allows the *yoo-ni*-clause to be
a TP-adjunct of purpose.[10] Turning to (28), the position between an object and a verb
will not be open to a TP-adjunct, which is required to be adjoined to a projection of T,

but only to VP-internal materials like the manner *yoo-ni*-clause. The semantic fact will be given a natural account by some theory of control or binding, in terms of the difference in structural position between the two types of *yoo-ni*-clause; thus a higher element like the subject (*Taroo*) will be the controller or the antecedent of the (covert) subject of a higher clause like the purpose *yoo-ni,* while a lower element like the object (*hookokusyo* 'report') will be the controller or the antecedent of the (covert) subject of a lower clause like the manner *yoo-ni.* The phonological fact will be accounted for, at least in part, in terms of the presence vs. absence of the VP-boundary after the relevant *yoo-ni*-clause.

Turning to our main concern, note first that a complement *yoo-ni*-clause like the one in (26) naturally serves as a host of *dake:*

(32) Taroo wa |zyoosi ni yorokob-are-ru   yoo-ni] dake huruma-u

        TOP boss   by like-PASSIVE-PRES C   only behave-PRES

    'Taro behaves only in a manner that will please his boss'

But if the manner *yoo-ni*-clause is internal to VP but the purpose one is external, as claimed above, only the former should host *dake.* This is indeed the case:

(33) Taroo wa |zyoosi ni yorokob-are-ru   yoo-ni] dake hookokusyo o kak-u

        TOP boss   by like-PASSIVE-PRES C   only report   ACC write-PRES

    'Taro writes a report only in a manner that will please his boss / *only so that he will be liked by his boss'

As indicated by the English glosses, the occurrence of *dake* attached to the *yoo-ni*-clause forces it to be read as a manner adverbial, as a VP-internal adjunct. The example below similarly illustrates the disambiguating effect of *dake:*

(34) Taroo wa |kenkoo o   sokonaw-anai yoo-ni] (dake) undoo   o   su-ru

        TOP health Acc injure-NEG   C   only exercise ACC do-PRES

    'Taro exercises |(only) in a manner that does not affect his health / (*only) so that he will keep his health| '

Without *dake,* the bracketed *yoo-ni*-clause is ambiguous between manner and purpose readings, in just the same way as the one in (27). But addition of *dake* makes only the manner reading available.

If the occurrence of a *yoo-ni*-clause in a sentence is interpreted only as a TP-adjunct of purpose, *dake* attaching to it should render the sentence unacceptable. This also appears to be the case; compare the following pair of examples:

(35) a. Taroo wa [kenkoo o   sokonaw-anai yoo-ni] (dake) zangyoosu-ru

        TOP health ACC injure-NEG   C   only work-overtime-PRES

   'Taro works overtime (only) in a manner that does not affect his health'

  b. Taroo wa [hayaku syoosinsu-ru   yoo-ni] (?*dake) zangyoosu-ru

        TOP quickly be-promoted-PRES C   only work-overtime-PRES

   'Taro works overtime (?*only) so that he will be promoted quickly'

Under the most natural interpretation, the *yoo-ni*-clause in (35a) is taken as expressing a manner of working overtime, while the one in (35b) is taken as expressing its purpose. As expected, the latter is degraded in acceptability by addition of *dake,* or is forced to be read as expressing a manner of working overtime. This manner reading, however, is a strained construal, since it is hard to conceive of the manner of working overtime (rather than the activity itself) that would lead one to get a promotion.

5. Clauses with *tame-ni*

This section is concerned with a clause introduced by *tame-ni,* which, while analyzable into a nominal *tame* 'sake' followed by a postposition *ni* 'for,' nevertheless functions like a single (though complex) subordinator. The whole *tame-ni*-clause functions either as an adjunct of reason or purpose, but it is only as an adjunct of purpose that it can serve as a host of *dake.* Thus the *tame-ni*-clauses in the *a*-examples below are purpose adjuncts and may host *dake,* but those in the *b*-examples are reason adjuncts and do not host it:

(36) a. Taroo wa [hayaku syoosinsu-ru   tame-ni] (dake) zangyoosu-ru

        TOP quickly be-promoted-PRES   only work-overtime-PRES

    'Taro works overtime (only) in order to be promoted quickly' (cf. (35b))

  b. Taroo wa [hayaku syoosinsi-tai tame-ni] (*dake) zangyoosu-ru

        TOP quickly be-promoted-want   only work-overtime-PRES

    'Taro works overtime (only) because he wants to be promoted quickly'

(37) a. Taroo wa [kenkoo o   kaihukusu-ru tame-ni] (dake) undoosi-ta

        TOP health ACC recover-PRES   only exercise-PAST

    'Taro exercised (only) in order to recover his health'

  b. Taroo wa [kenkoo o   kaihukusi-ta tame-ni] (*dake) undoosi-ta

        TOP health ACC recover-PAST   only exercise-PAST

    'Taro exercised (only) because he had recovered his health'

Note that while the *b*-examples are unacceptable with *dake* attached to the reason *tame-ni*-clauses, their English translations are fine with *only* attached to the *because*-clauses, suggesting that the unacceptability comes from some source other than semantics. The reason for the unacceptability, again, is attributed to the VP-externality of the relevant adjuncts. Thus while the purpose *tame-ni*-clause may be a constituent of the VP-complement of the causative, the reason one cannot:

(38) a. Taroo no   zyoosi wa kare ni   [hayaku syoosinsu-ru tame-ni]

        GEN boss   TOP he   DAT quickly be-promoted-PRES

    zangyoos-ase-ta

    work-overtime-CAUSE-PAST

    'Taro's boss made him work overtime in order to be promoted quickly'

  b. Taroo no   zyoosi wa kare ni   [hayaku syoosinsi-tai tame-ni]

        GEN boss   TOP he   DAT quickly be-promoted-want-PRES

    zangyoos-ase-ta

    work-overtime-CAUSE-PAST

    'Taro's boss made him work overtime because he wanted to be promoted quickly'

The bracketed *tame-ni*-clause in (38a), a purpose adjunct, may be construed as exclusively modifying *zangyoos* 'work overtime,' the activity to be caused.[11] This gives the reading saying that to work overtime with the purpose of being quickly promoted is what Taro's boss made him do. But the *tame-ni*-clause in (38b), a reason adjunct, cannot be construed as modifying the caused activity part alone; the only possible construal is that it modifies the matrix causative activity, with the unexpressed subject of the reason clause taking as its antecedent the matrix subject *Taroo no zyoosi* 'Taro's boss' rather than the dative *kare (ni)* 'he (= Taro).' Thus (38b) says that the boss's desire to be quickly promoted is the reason for making Taro work overtime, and cannot be taken as saying that to work overtime according to the desire to be quickly promoted is what Taro's boss made him do.

Consistent with these observations is the fact that the purpose *tame-ni*-clause but not the reason one may be a constituent of the *koto*-phrase denoting the caused activity, as in the following:

(39) Taroo no   zyoosi ga   kare ni   s-ase-ta   no wa [[hayaku
        GEN boss   NOM   he   DAT do-CAUSE-PAST C   TOP quickly

     syoosinsu-ru / *syoosinsi-tai] tame-ni] zangyoosu-ru   koto] da
     be-promoted-PRES / be-promoted-want work-overtime-PRES C   COP

     'what Taro's boss made him do is to work overtime [in order to be promoted
     quickly / because he wanted to be promoted quickly] '

Similarly, consider the following:

(40) a. Isya   wa Taroo ni   [kenkoo o   kaihukusu-ru tame-ni] undoos-ase-ta
        doctor TOP   DAT health ACC recover-PRES   exercise-CAUSE-PAST
        'The doctor made Taro exercise in order to recover his health'
    b. Isya   wa Taroo ni   [kenkoo o   kaihukusi-ta tame-ni] undoos-ase-ta
        doctor TOP   DAT health ACC recover-PAST   exercise-CAUSE-PAST
        'the doctor made Taro exercise because he had recovered his health'

The purpose *tame-ni*-clause in (40a) may exclusively modify *undoos* 'exercise,' but the

reason clause in (40b) cannot; the latter must modify the matrix causative activity to specify the reason for it. Furthermore, note that the subject of the reason clause, un-expressed in (40b), had better be overt, with a pronoun like *kare ga* 'he Nom,' if it is to refer to Taro rather than to the doctor. But such a pronominal device is quite un-necessary in the case of the purpose clause in (40a), where Taro as the referent of the unexpressed subject is unproblematic.[12] This anaphoric difference, too, argues for the claim that the purpose clause and the reason one are differentiated in terms of VP-constituency, for the reason noted above (see the discussion below (22)). As before, the reason clause cannot appear in the *koto*-phrase denoting the caused activity:

(41) Isya   ga Taroo ni   s-ase-ta   no wa [[kenkoo o
     doctor Nom   DAT do-CAUSE-PAST C TOP health ACC
     [kaihukusu-ru / *kaihukusi-ta] tame-ni] undoosu-ru   koto] da
     recover-PRES / recover-PAST   exercise-PRES C   COP
     'what the doctor made Taro do is to exercise [in order to recover his health /
     because he had recovered his health] '

Thus the purpose *tame-ni*-clause but not the reason one is a constituent of VP, and again we see a systematic correspondence between VP-constituency of a phrase and its ability to host *dake*.

Some *tame-ni*-clauses display ambiguity between the purpose and the reason con-strual, as in the following:

(42) a. Taroo wa [amerika ni ik-u tame-ni] eigo   o   benkyoosi-ta
              TOP America to go-PRES   English ACC study-PAST
         'Taro studied English [in order to go to America / because he was to go to
         America] '
     b. Taroo wa [Hanako to   kekkonsu-ru tame-ni] okane o   tame-ta
              TOP   with marry-PRES   money ACC save-PAST
         'Taro saved money [in order to marry Hanako / because he was to marry
         Hanako] '

The clausal expressions *amerika ni ik-u* 'go to America' and *Hanako to kekkonsu-ru* 'marry Hanako' may be taken either as expressing Taro's intentions, or else as events that are assumed to be realized or whose realization is taken for granted. In the former reading the whole *tame-ni*-clauses functions as purpose clauses, while on the latter they are reason clauses. Just as in the case of the ambiguous *yoo-ni*-clause, the ambiguity is removed by addition of *dake*:

(43) a. Taroo wa [amerika ni ik-u tame-ni] dake eigo   o   benkyoosi-ta
           TOP America to go-PRES   only English ACC study-PAST
         'Taro studied English [only in order to go to America / *only because he
         was to go to America]'

   b. Taroo wa [Hanako to   kekkonsu-ru tame-ni] dake okane o   tame-ta
           TOP   with marry-PRES   only money ACC save-PAST
         'Taro saved money only in order to marry Hanako / *only because he was
         to marry Hanako'

These *tame-ni*-clauses, because of *dake* attaching to them, must be VP-internal, so that they are construed only as purpose clauses. Similarly, an occurrence of *tame-ni*-clause that is more readily interpreted as a reason clause than as a purpose one is forced by *dake* to have the latter construal:

(44) Taroo wa [america ni   tenkinsu-ru tame-ni] (dake) eigo   o   benkyoosi-ta
          TOP America to be-transferred-PRES only English ACC study-PAST
        'Taro studied English [(only) in order to be transferred to America /(*only)
        because he was to be transferred to America'

Since a transfer is usually something one is forced to accept rather than one he/she intends to get, the *tame-ni*-clause in (44) will normally be taken as a reason clause in itself. But the addition of *dake* to it makes such construal impossible, forcing the purpose construal.

Recalling the observation in section 3 that the reason *kara*-clause cannot host *dake* (see (23)) , one might wonder if adjuncts expressing reason are generally incompatible

with *dake*. But this is not the case; compare the following examples:

(45) a. Taroo wa [kaze o   hii-ta {tame-ni/kara}] (*dake) kaisya   o

   TOP cold ACC catch-PAST   only company ACC

yasun-da

be-absent-PAST

'Taro stayed away from work (only) because he had caught a cold'

   b. Taroo wa [kaze o hii-ta to-yuu riyuu   de] (dake) kaisya o yasun-da

   C-say reason with

'Taro stayed away from work (only) for the reason that he had caught a cold'

The bracketed phrase in (45a), expressing reason with either *tame-ni* or *kara*, does not host *dake*. But the one in (45b), also expressing reason but with a complex expression *to-yuu riyuu de* 'for the reason that,' has no difficulty in hosting it. This latter phrase is syntactically a PP headed by the postposition *de* 'with.' As expected, this *de*-phrase functions as a VP-adjunct and can appear as a constituent of the VP complement of the causative. Thus observe the following examples:

(46) a. Taroo no   tuma wa kare ni   [kaze o   hii-ta {tame-ni/kara}] kaisya   o

   GEN wife TOP he   DAT cold ACC catch-PAST   company ACC

yasum-ase-ta

be-absent-CAUSE-PAST

'Taro's wife made him stay away from work because (s)he had caught a cold'

   b. Taroo no   tuma wa kare ni [kaze o   hii-ta   to-yuu riyuu de]

   GEN wife TOP he   DAT cold ACC catch-PAST C-say reason with

kaisya   o   yasum-ase-ta

company ACC be-absent-CAUSE-PAST

'Taro's wife made him stay away from work for the reason that he had caught a cold'

The bracketed *tame-ni/kara*-clause in (46a) must modify the matrix causative activity, with the referent of its (unexpressed) subject determined in accordance with the same

principle as before: if the reference is to Taro, namely the intended referent of the dative *kare (ni)*, an overt pronominal expression (like *kare (ga)* 'he (NOM)') will be preferred in the subject position, and if such an overt expression is not used, the reference tends to be to Taro's wife, the referent of the matrix subject, rather than Taro. In contrast, the *de*-phrase in (46b) may be taken as exclusively modifying the embedded caused activity, with the unexpressed subject in it unproblematically construed as referring to Taro. Again, this *de*-phrase of reason can appear in the *koto*-phrase that rejects the reason *tame-ni/kara*-clause:

(47) Taroo no   tuma ga   kare ni   s-ase-ta   no wa [[kaze o   hii-ta

       GEN wife NOM he   DAT do-CAUSE-PAST C TOP cold ACC catch-PAST

       [to-yuu riyuu de/ *tame-ni/ *kara]] kaisya   o   yasum-u   koto] da

                           company ACC be-absent-PRES C   COP

       'what Taro's wife made him do is to stay away from work {for the reason that / because} he had caught a cold'

The *de*-phrase of reason is therefore like the purpose *tame-ni*-clause in being a VP-internal adjunct that can host *dake*. Since the reason *tame-ni/kara*-clause as well as the purpose *yoo-ni*-clause cannot host *dake*, it is evident that simple semantic notions like purpose and reason cannot properly make the relevant distinction; syntactic characterization in terms of VP-constituency is required.

6. Nonclausal adjuncts

Some clausal adjuncts discussed above have nonclausal counterparts. In this section we will simply observe that nonclausal adjuncts also are divided into ones that host *dake* and ones that do not, without repeating the now-familiar tests for VP-constituency to see that the former but not the latter are VP-internal.

Tame-ni may take as its complement not only a clause but also an NP marked with the genitive *no* 'of,' and the whole phrase of the form *NP no tame ni* 'for the sake of NP' may express purpose or reason, with the capacity to host *dake* only under the purpose construal:

(48) a. Taroo wa [kenkoo-izi   no   tame ni]   (dake) zyogingusi-ta

            TOP health-maintenance GEN sake DAT only   jog-PAST

         'Taro jogged (only) for the maintenance of his health'

    b. Taroo wa [undoo-busoku no   tame ni] (*dake) zyogingusi-ta

            TOP exercise-lack GEN sake DAT only   jog-PAST

         'Taro jogged (only) for lack of exercise'

The *tame-ni* phrase in (48a) is a purpose adjunct and may host *dake,* but the one in (48b) is a reason adjunct and does not host it. In some cases a phrase of this form is ambiguous between the purpose and the reason construal:

(49) Taroo wa [Hanako to   no   kekkon no   tame ni]   ̇okane o   tame-ta

         TOP   with GEN marriage GEN sake DAT money ACC save-PAST

       'Taro saved money for the sake of his marriage to Hanako'

If *Hanako to no kekkon* 'marriage to Hanako' is taken to express Taro's intention, the *tame-ni*-phrase functions as a purpose adjunct, while if it is taken to express an event whose realization in the future is assumed, the phrase functions as a reason adjunct. The ambiguity disappears if *dake* attaches to it:

(50) Taroo wa [Hanako to no kekkon no tame ni] dake okane o tame-ta

       'Taro saved money only for the sake of his marriage to Hanako'

The *tame-ni*-phrase hosting *dake* can only express purpose, Taro's intention.

    A *de*-phrase with a simplex NP, just like the one with a complex NP of the form Clause + *to yuu riyuu* 'reason that + Clause,' may express reason and host *dake,* contrasting with the reason *tame-ni*-phrase:

(51) a. Taroo wa [kaze de] (dake) kaisya   o   yasun-da

            TOP cold with only company   ACC be-absent-PAST

         'Taro stayed away from work (only) because of cold'

b. Taroo wa [kaze no   tame ni] (*dake) kaisya   o   yasun-da

    TOP cold GEN sake DAT only   company ACC be-absent-PAST

'Taro stayed away from work (only) because of cold'

What we see from the above observation is a parallelism between clausal adjuncts
and their nonclausal analogues with regard to the capacity to host *dake*.

7. Conclusion

Adjuncts that are headed by the same morphemes or have similar semantic func-
tions are often differentiated with respect to whether they occupy VP-internal or VP-
external positions. We have shown that *dake* may be hosted only by VP-internal mate-
rials. This property of *dake* comes from the adverbial function of the particle as a
modifier of a predicate, coupled with the general condition on modification that a modi-
fier be within a projection of what is to be modified.

Notes

* I wish to thank Robert L. MacLean for suggesting stylistic improvements in this paper.
Any remaining inadequacies are entirely my own responsibility.

1. We put aside the question whether the latter construal is itself ambiguous as to whether
   the adverb can exclusively modify one or the other constituent of the complex verb *naki-*
   das, namely *naki* 'cry' or *das* 'begin.'

2. The ambiguity of interpretation disappears if the adverb is put in an unambiguously
   embedded or matrix position:

(i)a. Taroo wa [$_\alpha$ [$_{CP}$ moo   dame-da to] totuzen   itte]   nakidasi-ta

          TOP   already no-good C suddenly saying cry-begin-PAST

      'Taro began to cry saying suddenly that it's all over'

  b. Taroo wa [$_\alpha$ [$_{CP}$ moo   dame-da to] itte]   totuzen nakidasi-ta

          TOP   already no-good C saying suddenly cry-begin-PAST

      'Taro began to cry suddenly saying that it's all over'

In (ia), *totuzen* is placed between the subordinate verb *itte* and its CP complement. It must therefore be inside the subordinate clause α and modify *itte*. In (ib), the adverb is be-tween *itte* and the matrix verb. Since Japanese is a head-final language and *itte* is the head of α, the subordinate verb should allow no element to its right inside α. The adverb must therefore be a matrix constituent modifying the matrix verb.

3. In fact, the omission of *itte* is blocked not only by the occurrence of its modifying adver-bial (where 'adverbial' is meant to include an adverbial particle like *dake* as well as *totuzen*) but also by the occurrence of its dative complement, *Hanako ni* in (i):

(i)a. Taroo wa [Hanako ni [moo   dame-da   to] itte]   nakidasi-ta

         TOP   DAT already no-good-COP C   saying cry-begin-PAST

   'Taro began to cry saying to Hanako that it's all over'

   b.   * Taroo wa [Hanako ni [moo dame-da to] __] nakidasi-ta

In the traditional grammar of Japanese, the term 'modification' is used not only for the rela-tion between a predicate and an adverb but also for the one between a predicate and a complement to it, where complements, as well as adverbs, are said to be *ren'yoo syuusyokugo* 'adpredicative modifiers.' In fact, both relations may be viewed as an instance of licensing relation: the occurrence of a complement or an adverb is licensed by that of a particular element, typically a predicate. It is natural, then, that *dake, totuzen* and *Hanako ni* should all block omission of *itte* when they are constituents of a phrase projected from it; without the predicate, their occurrences are not licensed. Left unexplained, then, is the question why the complement *to*-clause is allowed to occur without its apparent licenser *itte*. This question is interesting, but independent of the argument for the adverbial function of *dake*.

4. Although the phrase focussed by *dake* is in a certain sense modified by it, in discussing the properties of the particle we will use the term modification only for its adverbial func-tion.

5. In (14), the causative *sase* is analyzed as a multi-argument verb, taking a dative comple-ment *Taroo ni* as well as a VP complement, with the dative controlling the PRO subject of the VP. Another possible analysis is to take the dative itself to occupy the subject position of the VP complement, in place of PRO. The choice between the alternatives is irrelevant to the following argument, except where indicated.

    The sentence (12) could also be read with the adjunct as modifying the matrix causative activity, as referring to a means that Hanako employed to perform the relevant activity. In this reading the adjunct should occupy a position outside the inner VP in (14). In general,

if an adjunct in a causative sentence can be interpreted as modifying the em-
bedded caused activity part alone, it also allows a different construal as modifying the mat-
rix causative activity. See Shibatani (1978) for discussion of such ambiguity. However,
we are only concerned with the availability of the former, embedded construal, and will
ignore the latter in most of the following discussion.

6. In fact, use of the overt pronominal subject referring to Taro turns the *kara*-clause that
contains it into an adjunct modifying the matrix VP:

(i) hahaoya wa Taroo ni |kare ga   syukudai o   sumasete kara| terebi o
     mother TOP   DAT he NOM homework ACC finish   · after TV   ACC
     mi-sase-ta
     watch-CAUSE-PAST
     'his mother let Taro watch TV after he finished his homework'

The *kara*-clause in (i), with *kare (ga)* referring to Taro, must be taken as expressing an
event that precedes the mother's causative action, and not, as is possible with an unex-
pressed subject as in (22b), as part of the activity she caused Taro to perform. Thus this
kara-clause with *kare ga* cannot appear within the *koto*-clause expressing the caused activ-
ity:

(ii) hahaoya ga Taroo ni   s-ase-ta   no wa |[(*kare ga)   syukudai o
      mother NOM   DAT do-CAUSE-PAST C TOP   he   NOM homework ACC
      sumasete kara| terebi o   mi-ru   koto| da
      finishing after TV   ACC watch-PRESS C   COP
      'what his mother let Taro do is to watch TV after (he) finished his homework'

Note that it is the use of the overt subject taken to refer to Taro that makes the *kara*-clause
an adjunct of the matrix VP rather than the embedded complement VP; if the overt subject
is taken to refer to some other person understood in the discourse, then the *kara*-clause in
(i) may be taken to modify the caused activity part alone, and (ii) becomes acceptable with
the use of the subject with such a referent.

7. Or *Taroo (ni)* itself might be analyzed as occupying the Spec of VP as the subject (see the
first paragraph of note 5). Under this analysis the dative *Taroo ni* in sentences like (22a)
and (18) must have been moved by scrambling from the specifier position of the embedded
VP to some matrix position, across the *to*-clause that occupies a matrix position. In fact,
even under the analysis of the dative as originally occupying a matrix VP position as con-

troller of the PRO subject, it must have been scrambled in (22a) and (18) over the adjunct *to*-clause if, as we are claiming, the *to*-clause cannot be a VP-adjunct and must be external not only to the embedded VP complement but also to the matrix VP. The non- scrambled version of a sentence like (22a) will be the following, with only the matrix VP indicated:

(i) hahaoya wa [syukudai o sumase-ru to] [VP Taroo ni terebi o mi-sase] ta

8 . That the boss is taken to be pleased with the report under the manner reading is related to the fact that the report is a product of the action involved, with *kak* 'write' being a verb of creation that takes an effectum object (cf. Fillmore (1968)). With a verb of some other type it is the manner of the activity that the boss is taken to be pleased with:

(i) Taroo wa [zyoosi ni   yorokob-are-ru   yoo-ni] hookokusyo o   yom-u
        TOP boss DAT like-PASSIVE-PRES C   report   ACC read-PRES
    'Taro reads a report in a manner that will please his boss'

Here the matrix verb is *yom* 'read,' whose object refers to something already existent, not something to be created. In this case, under the manner reading what the boss will be pleased with is the manner of reading of a report, not the report itself. (Take *yom* to de-note an oral reading.) In fact, even with a creation verb a construal parallel to this is not impossible; thus in (27) it might be the manner of writing activity per se that the boss, seeing Taro being engaged in the activity, will be pleased with. However, it is difficult to imagine what sort of manner of writing a report would please an observer of the activity, while we can easily imagine what content or style of a written report one would be satis-fied with. Thus in (27), the reading in which the boss is pleased with the report is far more likely than the one where he is pleased with the writing activity.

9 . However, if each occurrence of *yoo-ni* is read with a distinctive rising intonation, with a particularly high accent on *ni*, the two *yoo-ni*-clauses may be taken as each expressing a manner. Naturally, this construal is disfavored because of juxtaposition of phrases with the same function with the same form.

10. This does not exclude the possibility of the clause to be a VP-adjunct of manner. But this results in juxtaposition of two VP-adjuncts with similar functions, and is disfavored given the option of construing the clause as a TP-adjunct of purpose.

Note that the occurrence of a *yoo-ni*-clause after a manner adverbial as in (29) has no op-tion but to be read as manner. Note further that the adverb *kuwasiku* 'in detail' is non-clausal and completely different in form from the clausal adjunct. Cf. note 9.

11. It may also be taken as modifying the matrix causative activity, in which case the unex-
pressed subject of the *tame-ni*-clause is taken to refer to Taro's boss in preference to Taro;
if Taro is to be taken as the referent of the subject of the *tame-ni*-clause on this matrix
reading, an overt pronoun like *kare* 'he' had better be used in place of the subject unex-
pressed. Such use of an overt pronoun to refer to Taro is not necessary (in fact, not possi-
ble; see note 6) under the embedded construal of the *tame-ni*-clause.

12. The same remarks that are made in note 6 apply here.

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