

On the Interpretation of Verb-Modifying Measure Phrases in Japanese

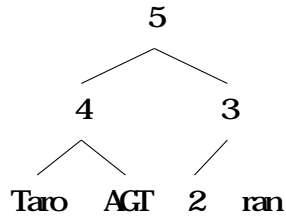
Introduction The purpose of this paper is to illustrate several semantic properties of a hitherto-unaddressed expression, Japanese Verb-Modifying Bare Measure Phrases (VBMPs), which modify the co-occurring verb but do not accompany postpositions as in (1), and to give a formal analysis of their semantics.

- (1) Taro-ga 5-kiro/5-jikan/#jisoku-5-kiro hasitta
Taro-NOM 5-kilometer/5-hour/per-hour-5-kilometer ran

Implementation To capture the properties of VBMPs observed so far, we assume two covert morphemes, MEAS, which is based on Savada and Grano (2011), and MON as in (7). MEAS requires the measure function g with a minimum point, and relates the degree measured by g and another degree d . MON takes an event e and returns a degree of e in some dimension that satisfies monotonicity (cf. Nakanishi (2007)).

- (7) a. $\llbracket \text{MEAS} \rrbracket = \lambda g^{(v,d)}. \lambda d_v. \lambda e_v. g(e) \quad d \text{ defined only if } g \text{ has a minimum point.}$
 b. $\llbracket \text{MON} \rrbracket = \lambda e_v. (e), \text{ defined only if } \exists e', e' [e \sqsubseteq e' \wedge (e) \leq (e')].$

The LF and composition of (1) proceeds as follows:



5km 1

MEAS MON

defined only if