Are *Ren'yoo* Forms in Japanese Really Converted Nouns?: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective

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Japanese has inflected forms of verbs known as *ren'yoo* forms (e.g. *hasir-i* 'a run' (<*hasir-u* 'to run')). These forms can be used as nouns without derivational suffixes. Thus, normally, they are analyzed as converted nouns. But a careful cross-linguistic survey reveals that their converted status is very dubious because *ren'yoo* forms behave differently from English converted nouns (e.g. *a call* (< *to call*)). For example, the former cannot occur independently (e.g. * *akas-i* (< *akas-u* 'to reveal')), with a few exceptions, in contrast to the latter. The dubious converted status is also seen from the fact that Japanese is almost lacking in conversion, unlike English, where the process is very productive. Given these points, instead, this article proposes that *ren'yoo* forms correspond to English gerundive nominals (e.g. * *(flower-)growing*) because both exhibit behavioral parallelism; they are impossible as independent words but possible within compounds (e.g. * *(tane-)akas-i* '* (trick) revealing'/ * *(flower-)growing*). Our further proposal is that the two nominal expressions share the status as deriving from transposition. This is a purely category-changing process, which is syntactically triggered without semantic effect. Thus, *ren'yoo* forms and gerundive nominals inherit verbal properties. Our proposal implies that the morpheme *-i* in *ren'yoo* forms is an independent suffix corresponding to the gerundive suffix *-ing*. Another implication is that V-to-N conversion is almost impossible in Japanese. Relying on Morphological Markedness Hypothesis (Miyake (2011, 2015, 2017)), we point out that this impossibility can be captured as illustrating the more general property of Japanese.

Keywords: *Ren'yoo* form, Converted noun, Gerundive nominal, Transposition, Morphological Markedness Hypothesis

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0. Introduction

In Japanese, native verbs are inflected to take so-called *ren'yoo* forms. Since Martin (1975), they have been regarded as infinitives. The term *ren'yoo* means that they are followed by non-nominals, which are called *yoogen* in Japanese. Specifically, *ren'yoo* forms and non-nominals form verbal clusters to express various semantics. For example, in (1), the verb *hasir-u* 'to run' takes the *ren'yoo* form *hasir-i* to be followed by the politeness suffix *-masu*.

(1) John-wa hyaku-meetoru-o zyuuiti-byoo-de hasiri-masu.
John-Top 100-meters-Acc 11-seconds-in run-Polite
'John runs 100 meters in 11 seconds.'

The topic of this article is another function of *ren'yoo* forms. They also function as nouns. The *ren'yoo* forms used as nouns are illustrated in (2).

(2) hasir-i 'a run' (<hasir-u 'to run'), kaer-i 'a return' (<kaer-u 'to return'), nom-i 'a drink' (<nom-u 'to drink')

Henceforth, we refer to such expressions as those given in (2) as *ren'yoo* nominals. This article aims to explore their categorial status. Normally, they are treated as converted nouns because verbs change into nouns without any derivational suffix. But, challenging this treatment, we claim that they correspond to gerundive nominals and not to converted nouns. This can be clearly seen if we compare Japanese with English focusing on conversion. Our claim means that V-to-N conversion is absent from Japanese. Seemingly, this may be strange and surprising. But, given the general property of Japanese, the absence is very reasonable.

The organization of this article is as follows. Section 1 proves that *ren'yoo* nominals are not converted nouns, based on two facts: *ren'yoo* nominals behave differently from English converted nouns and conversion is much less productive in Japanese than in English. Section 2 demonstrates that *ren'yoo* nominals correspond to gerundive nominals in English, observing that both are parallel in behaviors. Section 3 confirms that these two types of nominal derive from transposition, which is due to Marchand (1969). Section 4 shows that the lack of converted nouns is one of the widely observed phenomena in Japanese, which are generalized as Morphological Markedness Hypothesis by Miyake (2011, 2015, 2017). Section 5 makes concluding remarks.

1. *Ren'yoo* Nominals≠ Converted Nouns

As mentioned in Introduction, normally, *ren'yoo* nominals are analyzed as converted nouns. However, this conversion analysis is questionable because these two entities behave differently. Plausibly, this implies their different status. Their different behaviors become clear if we compare *ren'yoo* nominals with English converted nouns.

1.1. Different Behaviors: *Ren'yoo* Nominals vs. English Converted Nouns

First, *ren'yoo* nominals differ in shape from English converted nouns:

(3) a. a call (< to call), a guess (< to guess), a jump (< to jump) (Plag (2003: 107))

b. hasir-i 'a run' (<hasir-u 'to run'), kaer-i 'a return' (<kaer-u 'to return'), nom-i 'a drink' (<nom-u 'to drink') (= (2))

English converted nouns have the one and same shapes as base verbs, without any overt marking, as shown in (3a). On the other hand, *ren'yoo* nominals attach the morpheme *-i* to bases to change their shapes, as shown in (3b). Note here that conversion is defined as in (4).

(4) Conversion is the change in form class of a form without any corresponding change of form. (Bauer (1983: 32))

This definition states that *ren'yoo* nominals do not derive from conversion at all because they involve 'corresponding change of form' by the attachment of the morpheme *-i*.

Another difference is about independent occurrence. In English, converted nouns can occur as independent words. This is not true of *ren'yoo* nominals, though there are a few exceptions, which are illustrated in (3b). The impossibility of their independent occurrence is exemplified in Table 1.

Table 1 Impossible *Ren'yoo* Nominals

(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
verbs	**supposed *ren'yoo* nominals**	**verbs**	**supposed *ren'yoo* nominals**
akas-u 'to reveal'	* akas-i	katug-u 'to carry'	* katug-i
asar-u 'to scavenge'	* asar-i	matag-u 'to span'	* matag-i
erab-u 'to choose'	* erab-i	mat-u 'to wait for'	* mat-i
hiro-u 'to pick up'	* hiro-i	nobas-u 'to smooth'	* nobas-i
hos-u 'to air'	* hos-i	okos-u 'to build'	* okos-i
hum-u 'to step on'	* hum-i	sagas-u 'to hunt	* sagas-i
kak-u 'to write'	* kak-i	sara-u 'to clear'	* sara-i
kar-u 'to mow'	* kar-i	ut-u 'to drive'	* ut-i

The verbs in column (a) are listed in a Japanese dictionary (*Iwanami Japanese Dictionary*). However, column (b) indicates that their *ren'yoo* nominals are impossible as independent words. Thus, they are not listed in that dictionary. This is remarkable when we use *ren'yoo* nominals to express concrete entities. English converted nouns are characterized by denoting concrete entities as well as action:

(5) a. She hung the wash on the clothes line.

b. Monohosihimo-ni {# arai /arai-mono}-o kake-ta.
clothes.line-Dat wash wash-thing -Acc hang-Past
(Kageyama (1999: 110), with slight modifications)

For example, in (5a), the converted noun *(the) wash* means '(the) thing that was washed.' The *ren'yoo* nominal *aria-i* 'a wash' in (5b) derives from the verb *ara-u*, the Japanese counterpart of *to*

wash. Nevertheless, this nominal cannot mean '(the) thing that was washed.' To denote concrete entities, *ren'yoo* nominals must be supported by concrete entity-denoting nouns like *mono* 'thing.'

This difference means different productivity. In English, converted nouns are fully productive. On the other hand, some *ren'yoo* nominals may occur independently, as shown in (3b), but they have limited productivity at best. This limited productivity is statistically demonstrated. For example, Miyake (1940) examines 2,000 basic verbs in Japanese. According to his examination, about 482 verbs, i.e. only 24.1 %, have the nominal usage of *ren'yoo* forms. Also, Kimu (2003) investigates 2033 verbs, based on a Japanese dictionary (*Shinmeikai Japanese Dictionary*). This investigation shows that 766 verbs, i.e. 37.7 %, allow freestanding *ren'yoo* nominals. Furthermore, the limited productivity is seen from their semantics. They often lack a semantically transparent correspondence with their source verbs. Thus, in many cases, the etymological relationships are not clear. Notable examples of such *ren'yoo* nominals are given in (6).

(6) tatam-i 'tatami mat' (< tatam-u 'to put away'), tat-i 'sword' (< tat-u 'to cut off'), tayor-i 'letter, news' (< tayor-u 'to rely') (Yumoto (2016: 313))

For example, the *ren'yoo* nominal *tatam-i* 'tatami mat' means something like a matt. We cannot easily associate this meaning with that of the source verb *tatam-u* 'to put away.'[1]

1.2. Fundamental Difference in Conversion: Does Japanese Really Have Conversion?

We can safely assume that the different behaviors observed so far come from the fundamental difference in conversion between English and Japanese. Given this difference, it is very doubtful that these two languages have the same process of conversion. This poses a question whether Japanese really has conversion. If this process is absent from Japanese, it is natural that *ren'yoo* nominals are not converted nouns. In English, conversion is characterized by its wide range of input and output categories. Regarding this point, Bauer (1983: 226) states that "[s]imilarly, all form classes seem to be able to undergo conversion, and conversion seems to be able to produce words of any form class, [...]." This is exemplified in (7).

[1] According to Yumoto (2016: 319-320), typically, freestanding *ren'yoo* nominals appear in fixed or idiomatic constructions, as exemplified in (i).

(i) # nige (< nige-ru 'to flee, to get away') → nige o utu 'to back out'
nar-i (< nar-u 'to sound') → nar-i o hisomeru 'to be quiet and inactive'
kir-i 'end' (< kir-u 'to cut') → kir-i ga yoi 'to be a good place to stop'
her-i 'reduction' (< her-u 'to decrease') → denti no her-i 'running down of a battery'
(Yumoto (2016: 320), with slight modifications)

These examples demonstrate that the productivity of *ren'yoo* nominals is severely restricted because only limited contexts allow their independent occurrence. Thus, this is another piece of supporting evidence for the present analysis.

(7) a. (V → N) I was awakened by a loud call from my wife. (OED, s.v. *call*)

b. (N → V) They decided to napalm the village. (Bauer (1983: 32))

c. (A → N) I'd like two pints of bitter, please. [= type of beer] (Quirk et al. (1985: 1560))

d. (N → A) His accent is very Mayfair (very Harvard). (Quirk et al. (1985: 1562))

e. (V → A) Whatever the sound is, it is a worrying sound. (OED, s.v. *worrying*)

f. (A → V) These seeds are employed to clear muddy water. (OED, s.v. *to clear*)

g. minor categories

(CONJCT → N) His argument contains too many ifs and buts.

(ADV/PART → V) They downs tools in protest.

(PRON → N) That's how the Fieldings next door do it, but it's not quite us. [= our style or standard] (Quirk et al. (1985: 1563))

(my underlines)

The wide range results in another notable characteristic, i.e. bidirectionality. For example, English has not only V-to-N conversion, illustrated in (7a), but also N-to-V conversion, illustrated in (7b). Because of these characteristics, as pointed out by Bauer (1983: 226), conversion is an extremely productive word formation process in English. On the other hand, in Japanese, putative conversion shows no such characteristics. Compare (8) with (7) to note the limited input and output categories in Japanese.

(8) a. (V → N) obi 'sash, wide belt' (< obi-ru 'to wear'), os-i 'boldness' (< os-u 'to push'), toor-i 'street' (< toor-u 'to go past'), ar-i 'existence, presence' (ar-u 'to be, to exist')

b. (N → V) **NONE**

c. (A → N) nasi 'none, nothing, absence' (< na-i 'null, non-existent'), susi 'sushi' (< su-i 'sour'), asi-baya 'quick steps' (asi 'leg,' haya-i 'fast')

d. (N → A) **NONE**

e. (V → A) **NONE**

f. (A → V) **NONE**

g. minor categories

(V → CONJCT) oyob-i 'and' (< oyob-u 'to extend to'), tinam-i(-ni) 'in this connection' (< tinam-u 'to be connected with')

(complex particles) X ni tuk-i 'per X' (< ni tuk-u 'to attach to X'), X o hazime 'including X' (< o hazime-ru 'to begin X'), X-ni oite 'at X' (< ok-u 'to put on X')

(V → ADV) amar-i ‘(not) much’(< amar-u ‘to be left over’), bakar-i ‘about’ (< hakar-u ‘to measure’)

(Yumoto (2016: 312), with slight modifications)

It can be seen from (8) that in Japanese the two inflecting categories, i.e. verbs and adjectives, convert into four non-inflecting categories, i.e. nouns, conjunctions, particles, and adverbs.[2] Observe that Japanese disallows the four types of conversion given in (8b, d, e, and f). Furthermore, in Japanese, conversion is unidirectional; certainly V-to-N conversion may be attested, but N-to-V conversion is unattested. The examples given in (9) show that Japanese verbalizes nouns by compounding with the light verb *suru* ‘to do.’

(9) sanpo ‘a walk’ → sanpo-suru ‘to walk’ / tesuto ‘a test’ → tesuto-suru ‘to test’

Nouns like *sanpo* ‘a walk’ and *tesuto* ‘a test’ are so-called verbal nouns (see Kageyama (1993)). They cannot serve as verbs without the light verb *suru* ‘to do.’ We have observed that conversion is severely restricted in Japanese. As a result, conversion in itself has no productivity in Japanese.

Our observation so far demonstrates that *ren’yoo* nominals and English converted nouns are different products coming from different processes. This leads us to the natural conclusion that *ren’yoo* nominals have no converted status.

2. *Ren’yoo* Nominals= Gerundive Nominals

Given the conclusion reached in the last section, we would like to propose that *ren’yoo* nominals correspond to gerundive nominals and not converted nouns in English. In the following discussion, we examine motivations for this proposal.

The gerundive status of *ren’yoo* nominals is motivated by parallelisms between the two types of nominal. Recall from the section 1.1 that *ren’yoo* nominals are impossible as independent words. The data given in column (b), Table 2, indicate their ungrammaticality.

[2] The present analysis tells us that even the attested examples given in (8) do not derive from conversion in a true sense because of their limited productivity, if we assume that conversion is a rule-governed word formation process based on the general principles of morphology.

Table 2 Pairs of *Ren'yoo* Nominals and Compounds

(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)
verbs	**supposed *ren'yoo* nominals**	***ren'yoo* compounds**	**verbs**	**supposed *ren'yoo* nominals**	***ren'yoo* compounds**
akas-u 'to reveal'	* akas-i	tane-akas-i 'trick revealing' (lit. seed revealing)	katug-u 'to carry'	* katug-i	mikosi-katug-i 'portable-shrine carrying'
asar-u 'to scavenge'	* asar-i	gomi-asar-i 'dumpster diving' (lit. garbage scavenging)	matag-u 'to span'	* matag-i	kai-matag-i 'inning spanning'
erab-u 'to choose'	* erab-i	yoohuku-erab-i 'clothes choosing'	mat-u 'to wait for'	* mat-i	syoonin-mat-i 'approval waiting'
hiro-u 'to pick up'	* hiro-i	gomi-hiro-i 'trash picking'	nobas-u 'to smooth'	* nobas-i	siwa-nobas-i 'wrinkle smoothing'
hos-u 'to air'	* hos-i	huton-hos-i 'bedclothes airing'	okos-u 'to build'	* okos-i	tiiki-okos-i 'community building'
hum-u 'to step on'	* hum-i	take-hum-i 'bamboo stepping'	sagas-u 'to hunt'	* sagas-i	takara-sagas-i 'treasure hunting'
kak-u 'to write'	* kak-i	ronbun-kak-i 'article writing'	sara-u 'to clear'	* sara-i	dobu-sara-i 'ditch clearing'
kar-u 'to mow'	* kar-i	siba-kar-i 'lawn mowing'	ut-u 'to drive'	* ut-i	kui-ut-i 'pile driving'

Move on to Table 3, where the data given in column (b) show that gerundive nominals cannot also stand alone.

Table 3 Pairs of Gerundive Nominals and Synthetic Compounds

(a)	(b)	(c)
verbs	**supposed gerundive nominals**	**gerundive synthetic compounds**
to grow	* the growing	flower-growing
to keep	* the keeping	house-keeping
to form	* the forming	habit-forming
to catch	* the catching	eye-catching
to bear	* the bearing	child-bearing
to chew	* the chewing	gum-chewing

(adopted from Roeper and Siegel (1978: 220))

In this connection, interestingly, *ren'yoo* and gerundive nominals become well-formed if both appear as heads in compounds. Let us return to Table 2. In this table, column (c) illustrates compounds whose heads are the impossible *ren'yoo* nominals given in column (b). For convenience, we refer to these compounds as *ren'yoo* compounds. Again, we put our focus on Table 3, where column (c) has compounds headed by the impossible gerundive nominals given in column (b). These examples are so-called synthetic compounds. Then, we refer to compounds like those given in column (c) as gerundive synthetic compounds. The proposed analysis can nicely explain why *ren'yoo* and gerundive nominals need compounding in order to be well-formed. We assume that *ren'yoo* compounds and gerundive synthetic compounds constitute a natural class as transpositional derivatives. According to Marchand (1969: 18-19), these derivatives merely transform VPs into N^0s (also see Fabb (1984) and Beard (1995: 165-168, Ch. 8)). To take *flower-growing* for example, this compound is a transposition of the VP *to grow flowers*. In other words, the compound is a transposed VP. The point is that transposition purely changes one category into another because this process is syntactically triggered when a particular category is required. In this sense, transposition is inflectional rather than derivational, as pointed out by Fabb (1984: 190). Thus, the process adds no semantic content to bases, like inflection. For example, VPs transpose into nominal compounds when N^0s are syntactically required. As a result, they inherit properties from underlying VPs, except for their categorial labels. This implies that *ren'yoo* and

gerundive nominals inherit argument structures. Thus, they must be compounded to saturate their inherited arguments. Given Grimshaw's (1990) classification of nominals, this suggests that these two types of nominal are complex event nominals.

If so, one may wonder why some *ren'yoo* nominals can stand alone, as exemplified in (10a).

(10) a. hasir-i 'a run' (<hasir-u 'to run'), kaer-i 'a return' (<kaer-u 'to return'), tatam-i 'tatami matt' (< tatam-u 'to put away'), tat-i 'sword' (< tat-u 'to cut off')

b. the drinking, the singing, the shopping, the dressing, the drawing

((b)= Roeper and Siegel (1978: 219))

We suppose that the independent occurrence is due to lexicalization. As pointed out in Section 1.2, many of them lack semantic opacity to gain special meanings. Observing this fact, Yumoto (2016) points out that they are listed as such in the lexicon. The special meanings suggest that they are insensitive to verbal argument structures. This results in their independent occurrence. This explanation is true of the gerundive nominals illustrated in (10b). Roeper and Siegel (1978) reduce their independent occurrence to their listedness in the lexicon. If argument structures are absent from such nominals as those given in (10), it means that they are simple event or result nominals.

Lexicalization can be taken as a random process, given that its necessary ingredient is listing, which is not rule-governed (see Lieber (1992: 159), Brinton and Traugott (2005: 96-97), and Nagano (2008: 108), among others). Thus, we cannot predict which *ren'yoo* and gerundive nominals can occur as independent words; their occurrence is lexically conditioned, defying a principled explanation. One might doubt that all freestanding *ren'yoo* and gerundive nominals come from lexicalization. But the point is that they are not products of rule-governed processes like transposition.

3. Transpositional Analysis

3.1. Retained Verbal Properties: Argument Structures and Others

We would like to observe more carefully that *ren'yoo* compounds and gerundive synthetic compounds can be best analyzed as transpositional derivatives. A primary motivation for this transpositional analysis is that the two types of compound retain verbal properties. These properties confirm their transposed status.

First, as further evidence for inherited argument structures, let us observe that the compounds under consideration cannot incorporate external arguments, i.e. subjects, of base verbs as nonheads, which are reserved only for internal arguments, i.e. objects. This robust fact suggests that well-formed compounding is regulated by the organization of argument structures. Notice that we cannot interpret the nonheads as subjects in the following compounds:

(11) a. * kodomo-sawag-i ‘child noise’ (Kageyama (1993: 197))
intended reading: Children make a noise.
b. * The hours for [girl swimming] at this pool are quite restricted. (Selkirk (1982: 34))
intended reading: Girls swim.

In (11a), *kodomo-sawag-i* ‘child noise’ cannot describe the situation in which children make a noise.[3] Also, in (11b), we cannot use *girl swimming* to mention that girls swim.

Next, consider (12) and (13) to confirm other verbal properties (the following capital letters denote accent positions).

(12) a. hoN-YOmi ‘book reading’ (Sugioka (2002: 498))
a’. hoN-o YOmu ‘to read a book’ (Sugioka (2002: 499), with slight modifications)
b. yoMI-ga asai.
reading-Nom shallow
‘Reading (interpretation) is shallow.’
(Sugioka (2002: 499))

(13) a. city-destroying to prove a point (Roeper (1987: 294))
a’. You invite these situations to prove a point, [...].
(M.A. DuVernet, *Pushkin’s Ode to Liberty*)
b. * the trip in order to prove a point (Ito and Sugioka (2002: 77))

For example, *ren’yoo* compounds have the same accent pattern as VPs. The *ren’yoo* compound given in (12a) has a preaccented head; we must pronounce it as *hoN-YOmi*. Likewise, the VP given in (12a’) has a preaccented head, pronounced as *hoN-o YOmu*. Compare (12b) with (12a). The *ren’yoo* nominal given in (12b) is final-accented, pronounced as *yoMI* and not as *YOmi*. Now, turn to (13) to confirm that gerundive synthetic compounds license the same dependent as VPs. The example given in (13a) indicates that infinitival clauses can go with gerundive synthetic compounds just as VPs, which are illustrated in (13a’). This is not true of non-deverbal nouns like *trip*, as shown in the ungrammaticality of (13b). The phenomenon exemplified in (13a) is known as event control. As well known, it is licensed by argument structures (see Roeper (1987) and Grimshaw (1990)).[4]

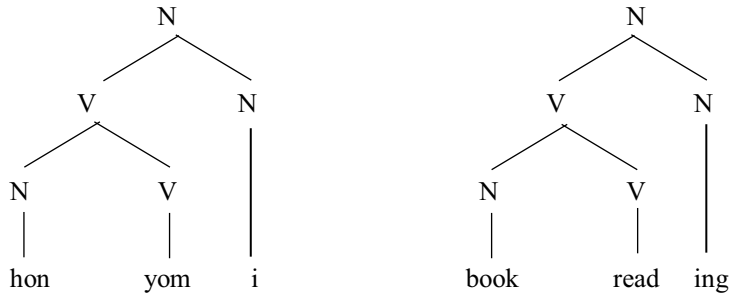
[3] In compounds like *inu-kak-i* ‘dog paddle,’ their nonheads may have subject-like interpretation. But, in fact, these nonheads are interpreted as adjuncts and not as arguments. For example, *inu-kak-i* ‘dog paddle’ means swimming in the way specific to dogs. On the other hand, certainly, compounds such as *kami-kakus-i* ‘lit. god hiding= being spirited away’ may allow their nonheads to be interpreted as subjects, but, according to Kageyama (1993: 198), such compounds are very rare having non-compositional meanings; *kami-kakus-i* means the sudden disappearance of someone and not gods’ hiding him or her. Given these considerations, it is reasonable that the relevant nonheads do not have the status as subjects.

[4] In *ren’yoo* compounds, we cannot use event control to prove their inherited verbal arguments. Compare (ia)

3.2. Internal Structure

Now, let us elaborate on the internal structure. Under the present analysis, we can analyze *ren'yoo* compounds as in (14a). Likewise, gerundive synthetic compounds are analyzed as in (14b).

(14) a. hon-yom-i 'book reading' b. book reading



What is noteworthy in (14a) is that the morpheme *-i* is an independent suffix. In Japanese linguistics, specifically, in a traditional approach known as *kokugogaku*, *ren'yoo* forms have been treated as unanalyzable. But the present analysis tells us that they are decomposed into verbal roots and the suffix *-i* (on its status as an independent suffix, also see Nishiyama (2016)).[5] This structural analysis means that it corresponds to the gerundive *-ing*. Given the correspondence between *ren'yoo* and gerundive synthetic compounds, that between *-i* and *-ing* is very plausible.

The present analysis implies that *-i* is a transpositional suffix in parallel with the gerundive

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with (ib).

(i) a. kenbun-o hirogeru-tame-no hon-yom-i
knowledge-Acc broaden-to-Gen book-reading
'book-reading (in order) to broaden one's knowledge'
b. kenbun-o hirogeru-tame-no tabi
knowledge-Acc broaden-to-Gen trip
'(lit.) a trip (in order) to broaden one's knowledge'

((b)= Ito and Sugioka (2002: 100))

In Japanese, infinitival clauses can go with non-deverbal nouns like *tabi* 'trip', as shown in (ib). This suggests that in Japanese the cooccurrence with infinitival clauses is irrelevant to the presence of argument structures.

Apart from event control, some other established tests for argumenthood (e.g. the cooccurrence with aspectual modifiers) are not applicable to Japanese nominals (see Ito and Sugioka (2002: 99-100)). In this regard, it may be that our analysis of *ren'yoo* compounds as complex event nominals is not so convincing. In fact, in the literature such as Kageyama (1993) and Ito and Sugioka (2002), these compounds are analyzed as simple and not complex event nominals. Nevertheless, the correspondence between *ren'yoo* compounds and gerundive synthetic compounds points to the possibility that the former also involve argument structures, though this possibility must be explored with great care.

[5] The suffix *-i* does not appear in *ren'yoo* nominals like those illustrated in (i), whose verbal roots end with vowels.

(i) kane-mooke 'money making' (cf. mooke-ru 'to profit'), kitte-atume 'stamp collecting' (cf. atume-ru 'to collect'), tako-age 'kite flying' (cf. age-ru 'to fly')

In this case, we follow Nishiyama (2016) in assuming that the suffix exists underlyingly but drops for some phonological reason.

-ing. The point is that these suffixes are pure category-changers. That is, their only and primary function is to change one category into another, which yields no semantic effect on their bases (see Section 2). This can be seen from the following examples, where *ren'yoo* compounds and gerundive synthetic compounds retain the same idiomatic reading as their underlying VPs:

(15) a. kata-o tataku 'lit. to trap someone's shoulder= to encourage someone to retire'
b. kata-tatak-i 'lit. shoulder trapping= encouragement to retire'

(16) a. If you **blow the whistle** on someone, or on something secret or illegal, you tell another person, especially a person in authority, what is happening.
b. **Whistle-blowing** is the act of telling authorities or the public that the organization you are working for is doing something immoral or illegal.
(COBUILD, (a); s.v. *whistle*, (b); s.v. *whistle-blowing*, original bold types)

The Japanese VP *kata-o tataku* 'lit. to trap someone's shoulder' in (15a) may idiomatically mean that we encourage someone to retire. This idiomatic meaning is shared by the corresponding compound *kata-tatak-i* 'lit. shoulder trapping= encouragement to retire' in (15b). On the other hand, (16a) defines the English VP idiom *to blow the whistle*, whereas (16b) is the definition of its nominalization *whistle-blowing*. Observe that this compound has the same idiomatic reading as the VP idiom *to blow the whistle*.

4. The Impossibility of V-to-N Conversion in Japanese: Morphological Markedness Hypothesis

Another implication of the present analysis is that V-to-N conversion is impossible, or very marginal at best, in Japanese. This section shows that this impossibility or marginality can be captured as an instance reflecting the general property of Japanese under Morphological Markedness Hypothesis, which is proposed by Miyake (2011, 2015, 2017).

Let us start our discussion with the following examples:

(17) a. She hung the wash on the clothes line.
b. Monohosihimo-ni {# arai /arai-mono}-o kake-ta.
clothes.line-Dat wash wash-thing -Acc hang-Past
(= (5))

As mentioned in Section 1.1, to denote a concrete entity, the *ren'yoo* nominal *ara-i* in (17b) 'a wash' needs support by the concrete entity-denoting noun *mono* 'thing,' whereas such a noun is unnecessary in the converted noun *(the) wash* in (17a). Put another way, the meaning of 'concrete entity' requires corresponding morphological marking in Japanese but not in English. In a series of

studies, Miyake observes contrasts along a similar line to propose Morphological Markedness Hypothesis, which is formulated as in (18).

(18) In order to express constructional meanings, Japanese is strongly inclined to be morphologically marked, while English is more likely to be morphologically unmarked.

(Miyake (2017: 68))

Adopting this hypothesis, we may assume that the meaning of 'concrete entity' is a kind of constructional meaning.[6] Then, the meaning in question requires morphological marking in Japanese under the pressure to be morphologically marked. As a result, it is encoded as the concrete entity-denoting *mono* 'thing.' Thus, according to Morphological Markedness Hypothesis, the impossibility of V-to-N conversion in Japanese is due to its general tendency to be morphologically marked. Note here that the same is true of verbalization in Japanese. Recall from Section 1.2. that Japanese needs the light verb *suru* 'to do' to encode the verbal meaning, as shown in (19).

(19) sanpo 'a walk' → sanpo-suru 'to walk' / tesuto 'a test' → tesuto-suru 'to test' (= (9))

This means that Japanese is lacking in V-to-N conversion, too, unlike English. Given Morphological Markedness Hypothesis, this lack is also a reflection of the general tendency toward morphological marking.

Such English-Japanese translation pairs as those given in (20) and (21) lead Miyake to the above hypothesis.

(20) a. This car sells well. [middle construction]

b. Kono kuruma-wa yoku {ureru/*uru}.
this car-Top well sold sell
'This car sells well.'

(21) a. Your home is very close to the campus. [agreement-requiring sentence]

b. Kimi-no ie-wa daigaku-ni zuibun tikai*(-ne)
your home-Top campus-to very close
'Your home is very close to the campus.'

(Miyake (2017: 69), with slight modifications)

In (20a), the verb *to sell* has passive semantics but no corresponding passive morpheme; the verb is morphologically simplex with the same form as in the active usage. Because of this semantics-form mismatch, the relevant construction is called middle. In the Japanese counterpart given in (20b), the semantics in question is morphologically marked with the morpheme *-re*, which distinguishes the

[6] According to Miyake's (2017: 68) definition, 'constructional meaning' is a specific meaning which directly correlates with a particular sentence form and cannot be decomposed into individual components of a given expression.

middle verbal complex *ureru* 'to sell (to be sold)' from the active base *uru* 'to sell.' The sentences given in (21) are performative in that the speaker requires the agreement of the hearer. This performative sentence has no morphological marking in English, as shown in (21a). On the other hand, it must be morphologically marked with the sentence-final particle *-ne* in Japanese, as shown in (21b); without this particle, the sentence in question can denote only a proposition. All these pairs tell us that dedicated markers are required to encode the intended readings in Japanese but not in English.

Nominalization and verbalization are lexical phenomena in that they are word formation processes. Middle constructions involve predicate domains, which are relevant to VPs. Performative sentences are phenomena at the discourse level, which concerns CPs. Thus, morphological markedness in Japanese is observable over the whole range of grammar, from the lexicon to CP (the same is true of morphological unmarkedness in English). Given Morphological Markedness Hypothesis, the lack of V-to-N conversion in Japanese is essentially the same phenomenon as the necessity for dedicated morphemes in (20b) and (21b) in that they are illustrations of the same general property of morphological markedness in Japanese. As such, all these phenomena can, and should, be given a unified treatment.[7,8]

5. Concluding Remarks

This article has explored the categorial status of *ren'yoo* nominals. Challenging the conversion analysis, we have confirmed that they can be best analyzed as gerundive nominals. Both types of nominal are parallel in that they are impossible as independent words but well-formed in compounds. This parallelism means that they form a natural class as involving transposition. Our exploration reveals that *ren'yoo* nominals have the sperate morpheme *-i*, corresponding to the gerundive *-ing*, as a pure category-changer. Furthermore, our analysis implies that V-to-N conversion is missing in Japanese. Given Morphological Markedness Hypothesis, this missing is not mysterious at all, because it reflects the more general property of Japanese. According to this

[7] Recall from Section 1.2. that conversion is very productive in English but almost unattested in Japanese. If so, this process typologically differs as to whether it is allowed in a given language or not. It follows from Morphological Markedness Hypothesis that the typological difference reflects whether the relevant language is inclined to be morphologically marked or not.

[8] As Miyake (2011: 191, 2015: 268, n. 9) himself admits, Morphological Markedness Hypothesis is a mere descriptive generalization, which seeks for a theoretical explanation. Nishimaki (2018b) proposes that Competition Theory, which is due to Ackema and Neeleman (2004), is promising as the theoretical explanation (also see Nishimaki (2018a) and Yasuhara and Nishimaki (2015, 2017)). According to this author, the relevant theory points to the possibility that morphology-syntax competition is the ultimate reason for the generalization given by Miyake, suggesting that Morphological Markedness Hypothesis ultimately follows from Competition Theory.

hypothesis, this language tends to be morphologically marked. Under the pressure of morphological marking, specific meanings require their dedicated markers for encoding. As a result, Japanese avoids conversion, which, by definition, is a word formation process without morphological marking.

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