

On the role of writing systems in the process of grammaticalization: The case of *ya-ina-ya* in Modern through Present Day Japanese*

*For a talk

In Present Day Japanese (PDJ), one conventionalized expression, i.e. *ya-ina-ya*, is used almost exclusively to introduce a temporal adverbial clause ('as soon as...'), regardless of whether it is written in kanji (Chinese characters) or in hiragana, as in (1) and (2).

- (1) *Doa-ga hiraku-ya.ina (否).ya moozen-to hashiri-dashi-ta.*
door-NOM open-as.soon.as fierce-AP run-put.out-PST
'As soon as the door opened, (the person) began to rush out.' (1986 *Hi no kuni*; BCCWJ)
- (2) ... *toi.tadasu-ya.ina (レ).ya hoteru-o yoyaku-shi-ta.*
ask-as.soon.as hotel-ACC reservation-do-PST.
'As soon as (my wife got me to) explain the date, (she) reserved (a room) at the hotel.'
(1991 *Tabi wa jiyuuseki*; BCCWJ)

On the other hand, amid the grammaticalization from the complementizer function (i.e. 'whether or not') to the temporal adverbial function (i.e. 'as soon as...') in Early Modern Japanese (EModJ) through Modern Japanese (ModJ), these two usages are found to have been scribed differently from each other in the majority of cases, as in (3) and (4), albeit except some fluctuations of description. Note that the examples are all excerpted from the results of the corpus-based surveys; the corpora used for this study are summarized on the second page.

- (3) ... *kataru-o kiki-tamau-ya.ina (レ).ya, ware-wa tukue-goshi-ni te-o-dashi-nu, ...*
narration-ACC hear-HON-as.soon.as I.TOP desk-over-PT hand-ACC-put.out-PERF
'As soon as (you) began to talk, I stretched forth (my) hands over the desk.' (1985 *Ukiyo no saga*; CHJ)
- (4) ... *kokoroyoku kyoka-shi-tamau-beki-ya.ina (否).ya imada shiru-bek-ara-zu.*
willingly accept-do-HON-should-whether.or.not not.yet know-should-be-NEG
'(Members of the Diet) were not yet sure whether (they) should be willing to accept (it) or not.' (1874 *Mei roku*; CHJ)

Building on these survey results, this study investigates how *ya-ina-ya* expanded the usage from the complementizer to the temporal adverbial especially from the late eighteenth century onward, and argues that these two usages had developed in a complementary style, specifically between the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries: the former was likely to be written in kanji (Chinese characters), while the latter was likely to be written in hiragana. Of course, there is a possibility that such different from-function pairings may have been related to 'a multiple-grammar model' (Iwasaki 2015) in these transition periods. However, shortly after these periods, the shift from the complementizer to temporal adverbial function had been almost complete except compositions written in literary Japanese, and such an orthographic division of labor had gone according to the corpus-based surveys. Since these layering phenomena or functional differentiations have not been addressed even in the well-known studies on literally translation of or language contact with Western languages (e.g. Morioka 1999; Yagishita 2018), it deserves a full-scale investigation also in accordance with the rising demand of studies in language contact and grammaticalization (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2005; Hickey 2020).

In Old Japanese (OJ), *ina* ('no') or *ina-ya* ('no'-INJ) began its life as an interjection 'no.' Around the same time, *ya-ina-ya* (QP-'no'-QP) 'whether or not' appeared; the whole clause could be used as a rhetorical question. In Late Middle Japanese (LMJ), as *ya* had gradually lost the property of QP, it began to take on another property of a conjunction particle (Kitahara 2006: s.v. *ina-ya*). Accordingly, *ya-ina-ya* rendered the 'whether or not' complement function, which could be attested albeit sporadically in EModJ but frequently in ModJ. From ModJ onward, *ya-ina-ya* has shifted to the temporal adverbial function ('as soon as...') and currently it is almost exclusively used as part of the temporal adverbial clause.

The gradual loss of the complementizer function of *ya-ina-ya* 'whether or not' may have been partially ascribable to the dramatic increase of the similar expression *ka-doo-ka* (QP-'what'-QP) 'whether or not' in ModJ through PDJ. As a result, the directions of change concerning the grammaticalization of *ya-ina-ya* turn out to be complicated, partly because it had developed functions from one synchronic stage to another (sometimes parting with a function to other expressions such as *ka-doo-ka*) language-internally and partly because literal translation through language contact especially with English may have bearing on the emergence of a new function, i.e. a temporal adverbial ('as soon as...') language-externally. All of these aspects have been well discussed especially in traditional Japanese linguistics (Morioka 1999 and Yagishita 2018 inter alia). What this study lays emphasis on is another aspect that has been unheeded, i.e. the role of writing systems in the process of grammaticalization, and that can be well explored by making best use of corpora.

References

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- Hickey, Raymond (ed.) 2020. *The handbook of language contact*, second ed. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
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Corpora

BCCJW=*Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese*

<<https://chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp/bccwj-nt/search>> (last access: 2021/12/08)

CHJ=*The Corpus of Historical Japanese* <<https://ccd.ninjal.ac.jp/chj/>> (last access: 2021/12/07)

CSJ=*The Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese* <<https://ccd.ninjal.ac.jp/csj/>> (last access: 2021/12/08)

Glossing conventions and the periodization of Japanese in this study

ACC=accusative; AP=adverbial particle; HON=honorific; INJ=interjection; NOM=nominative; NEG=negative; PERF=perfect; PST=past; PT=particle; QP=question particle; TOP=topic; OJ=Old Japanese: 8th century; EMJ=Early Middle Japanese: 9th-12th centuries; LMJ=Late Middle Japanese: 13th-16th centuries; EModJ=Early Modern Japanese: 17th-mid 19th centuries; ModJ=Modern Japanese: late 19th century-late 1920s; PDJ=Present Day Japanese: late 1920s-to the present