Some Issues on Contact-Induced Grammaticalization: The Case of *ya-ina-ya* in Modern through Present Day Japanese[*]

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1 Overview of the Study

This study investigates the historical development of one conventionalized expression, i.e. *ya-ina-ya*, with a focus on the functional shift from the complementizer usage 'whether or not' to the adverbial-clause-linking usage 'as soon as' in terms of grammaticalization. Building on corpus-based survey results, I argue that the functional shift in *ya-ina-ya* from the complementizer usage to the adverbial-clause-linking usage starts to accelerate around the late nineteenth century, presumably due to language contact, especially with

English (see Section 5.1). The findings also tell us that in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, more than 90 percent of occurrences of *ya-ina-ya* are as the adverbial-clause-linking 'as soon as'. On the whole, this functional change is found to have proceeded hand-in-hand with the shift of writing forms from the kanji (Chinese characters)-based や否や, i.e. the more contentful form of writing, to the hiragana-written やいなや, i.e. the Japanese syllabary, which may dovetail with the general direction of semantic weakening or bleaching along with formal changes in grammaticalization (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 94).

On the other hand, what seems to challenge the tenet of grammaticalization is the fact that *ya-ina-ya* has undergone this change approximately over the twentieth century, at a relatively rapid rate, despite its long history from the eighth century. Theoretically, such a radical functional change occurring over a short period of time can be considered a case of 'switch context' (Heine 2002), triggered by language contact (Heine and Kuteva 2005).

Further, even in the twenty-first century, the adverbialized or grammaticalized *ya-ina-ya* may still be written in the kanji-based form; more than 40 percent of the retrieved examples are found to be や否や according to the survey shown below (Section 4.1). The reason for this time-lagged development and change can be attributed to a tidal shift in genre; namely, from the late nineteenth century onward, *ya-ina-ya* came to be used almost exclusively in written discourse genres, because well-known novelists-cum-translators, e.g. Tsubouchi Shōyō, Yamada Bimyō, Ozaki Kōyō, Mori Ōgai, had a liking for using *ya-ina-ya* almost entirely for the Japanese translation of *as soon as* in English (Morioka 1999: 250). This sociohistorical aspect of the usage of *ya-ina-ya* may provide evidence in favor of 'persistence' (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 98). These issues have been well discussed in traditional Japanese linguistics (Morioka 1999 and Yagishita 2018 inter alia). What this study lays emphasis on is another aspect that has so far gone 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.

The present paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, I briefly show the history of *ya-ina-ya*, while in Section 3, I make brief mention of the corpora and dictionaries used for this study. Section 4 presents the research findings from the corpus-based surveys and Section 5 analyzes the results, with a conclusion in Section 6.

2 History of *ya-ina-ya*

This section sketches the history of *ya-ina-ya* based on the descriptions of *ina*, *ina-ya*, and *ya-ina-ya*, all of which rest on *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* (2006: s.v. *ina-ya, ina*; Nikkoku hereafter) unless otherwise noted. In Old

Japanese (OJ), *ina* began its life as an interjection meaning 'no'; it was often accompanied by another interjection *ya*, deriving *ina-ya* 'no'. Around the same time, *ya-ina-ya* appeared. In this formulaic sequence, *ya* is regarded as a question particle (QP) and the whole clause with *ya-ina-ya* could be used as an interrogative. While the earliest example of this usage is witnessed in the article (c720) in *Nihonshoki*, i.e. Chronicles of Japan, we take a look at the following examples, both of which are used in spoken interaction in written discourse texts.[1] Elements in focus are underlined from here on.[2] Note that in OJ, the first *ya* is sometimes written separately from the following *ina-ya*, as in (1), which may imply that the whole phrase is not yet fully grammaticalized at this stage.

(1) *ake-te   mire-ba, "Omofu besi   ya,   ina-ya.   Fito   daiiti*
    open-and see-when cherish should QP   not-QP   human first
    nara-zu   wa   ikani" to   kak-ase-tamafe-ri
    be-not   TOP   how   QUOT   write-HON-HON-PERF
    'When (I) opened it, (I found that the Empress) wrote (there), "(Is it) good to love yourself or not? What if humans are not given top priority?"' (Late 10C *Makuranosōshi*; Nikkoku)

(2) *Dōshō   me o   firaki-te   desi   ni*
    Buddhist.monk   eye ACC open-and   apprentice to
    tuge-te   iwaku,   "Nanji-ra   kono   fikari o   ba
    tell-and   say   you-PL   this   light   ACC   PT
    miru   ya-ina-ya" to.
    see   QP-not-QP   QUOT
    'The monk *Dōshō* asked his apprentices with eyes open, "Can you see this light or not?"' (early 11C *Konjaku* 11; CHJ)

In these examples, the sequential form *ya-ina-ya* can be used as a clause/sentence ender indicating a direct question, not as a complement clause.

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[1] Among all the examples (35 tokens) of *ya-ina-ya* found before the nineteenth century in *The Corpus of Historical Japanese* (CHJ; see Section 4.1), 31 are used in conversational parts, all of which are found in OJ. This implies that *ya-ina-ya* was spoken-oriented at this stage. Considering the fact that *ya-ina-ya* was an innovative expression based on the Japanese reading of a Chinese passage, i.e. Kanbun kundoku 漢文訓読, this phenomenon deserves further investigation as a case of contact-induced grammaticalization.

[2] The glossing conventions for this study are as follows. ACC=accusative; AP=adverbial particle; COMP=complementizer; FP=final particle; GEN=genitive; HON=honorific; NEG=negative; NOM=nominative; PASS=passive; PERF=perfect; PL=plural; PST=past; PT=particle; QP=question particle; QUOT=quotation; TOP=topic; OJ=Old Japanese (8C~late 12C); MJ=Middle Japanese (late 12C~16C); EModJ=Early Modern Japanese (17C~late 19C); ModJ=Modern Japanese (late 19C~1940s); PDJ=Present Day Japanese (1950s to the present).

In Late Middle Japanese (MJ), *ya* gradually lost its property as a QP, with the result that it began to take on another property, that of a conjunction particle. Accordingly, *ya-ina-ya* started to bear the complementizer function 'whether or not', which is attested, albeit sporadically, in Early Modern Japanese (EModJ), but is more frequent in Modern Japanese (ModJ). Here is one example of this complementizer usage from the late EModJ period.

(3) *Kono ryō.setsu wa dozoku no kouhi ni*
   this both.opinion TOP folk.habit GEN story in
   tutauru tokoro, sikaru ya-ina-ya o shira zu
   hand.down COMP.place so QP-not-QP ACC know NEG
   'Both of these opinions are local customs handed down by tradition, so (I) don't know for sure about whether it is true or not.'
   (early 19C *Chinsetsu Yumihariduki*; Nikkoku)

On the other hand, *ya-ina-ya* shifted to the temporal adverbial function 'as soon as' from around the turn of the seventeenth century, as in (4). Nikkoku states that the other formulaic phrase *to-ina-ya* 'as soon as' is used in the same way, as in (5), with a note saying that *ya* ceases to be a QP from around this time in spoken genres.

(4) *Kuru ya-ina-ya kono.youna akai uo ya kuroi uo o*
   come as.soon.as this.like red fish and black fish ACC
   idei-te, nani.yara mutukasii ryōri o
   bring.out-and seemingly difficult dish ACC
   ii-tuker-are-ta ga
   say-stick-PASS-PST but
   'As soon as (he) came here, (he) took out such red and black fish, and (he) was asked (to prepare) a difficult-to-make dish but…'
   (late 16C/early 17C *Souhachi*, *Torahirobonkyōgen*; Nikkoku)

(5) *Ōtugomori no asa.mesi sugiru to-ina-ya,*
   New.Year's.Eve GEN breakfast finish as.soon.as
   "…" to kutibaya.ni ii-sute-te de-te-iku…
   utterance QUOT quickly say-abandon-and leave-and-go
   'As soon as (a merchant) finished (his) breakfast, (he) said quickly, "SNIP (his long utterance)" and came out…'
   (late 16C/early 17C *Souhachi*, *Torahirobonkyōgen*; Nikkoku)

From this stage onward, the adverbial *ya-ina-ya* 'as soon as' seems to be on the rise. As shown in Section 4, the adverbial function of *ya-ina-ya* has become predominant in terms of frequency in Present Day Japanese (PDJ). However, the remaining dual function of *ya-ina-ya*, as seen in (6) and (7) from PDJ, attests to the fact that grammaticalization is still ongoing,

specifically in written genres of texts, because no examples of *ya-ina-ya* are found in any spoken-oriented texts and corpora.[3] These examples tend to be written in the kanji form of 否, not only because the phrase is used in written genres but more particularly because it serves to retain the earlier complementizer function that is associated with its more lexical form, kanji (see Section 4.3).

(6) Complementizer function
   Jiken o   kentō-se-rare   yo. Ima, kono ten   ni.oite,
   case ACC review-do-HON   FP now this point about
   toki   uru <u>ya-ina (否)-ya</u> o   kangae-rare   yo.
   solve can PT-not-PT   ACC consider-HON   FP
   'Please consider the case. Please consider if (we) can break the case on this point now.'
   (2003 *Kōga Saburō Tanteishōsetsusen*; BCCWJ, PB39_00677)

(7) Adverbial-clause-linking function
   ...Shin wa, doa ga   hiraku <u>ya-ina (否)-ya</u> mouzen.to
    name TOP door NOM open   PT-not-PT   fierce.AP
   hashiri-dashi-ta.
   run-start-PST
   'The moment the door opened, Shin rushed fiercely.'
   (1986 *Hikuni*; BCCWJ, LBa9_00019)

3   Corpora and Dictionaries

The following corpora and dictionaries are used for this study. The last access date for BCCWJ and CHJ is March 2, 2023 unless otherwise specified.

(8) a. BCCWJ=*Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese* 1976-2008 <https://chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp/bccwj-nt/search>
     b. CHJ=*The Corpus of Historical Japanese*, the eighth though the early twentieth centuries, version 2023.3 <http://clrd.ninjal.ac.jp/chj/>
     c. NIKKOKU=*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* (The dictionary of the Japanese language), vols.1–13, 2nd ed., 2006. Tokyo: Shogakkan.
     d. Taiyo=*Taiyo Corpus* 1895, 1901, 1909, 1917 and 1925, CD-ROM, 2005. Tokyo: Hakubunkan Shinsha.

As addressed in Section 1, the majority of the examples of *ya-ina-ya* retrieved from the above corpora and dictionaries are from the late nineteenth century onward. In what follows, I will thus draw a comparison of the

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[3] This finding rests on the survey results based on all the corpora available under the name of KOTONOHA at the NINJAL (accessed March 8, 2023).

complementizer-to-adverbial functional shift between 1895–1925 and 1976–2008, for the purpose of clarifying the effects of language contact on the radical change in the function of *ya-ina-ya* within a short period.

4 Research Findings

4.1 A Preliminary Survey

The following is a preliminary survey concerning the general direction of change of *ya-ina-ya* using corpora available at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL). On the site called KOTONOHA (https://chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp/), one can use eight corpora, written/spoken or synchronic/diachronic, including one learner corpus, at one time with the help of the web application named *Chuunagon* (accessed on March 2, 2023). The result is that only CHJ and BCCWJ, mentioned in Section 3, include the target expressions, i.e. *ya-ina-ya* (や否や) and *ya-ina-ya* (やいなや). These are summarized in Tables 1 and 2, respectively. Raw freq.=raw frequency; rel. freq.=relative frequency.

Form	Token (raw freq. [rel. freq.])	Number of words surveyed
ya-ina-ya (や否や)	1,268 [98.1%]	18,365,154
ya-ina-ya (やいなや)	25 [1.9%]	18,365,154
Total	1,293[100%]	18,365,154

Table 1. The distributional patterns of *ya-ina-ya* in CHJ (8C~early 20C)

Form	Token (raw freq. [rel. freq.])	Number of words surveyed
ya-ina-ya (や否や)	183 [45.5%]	104,911,460
ya-ina-ya (やいなや)	219 [54.5%]	104,911,460
Total	402 [100%]	104,911,460

Table 2. The distributional patterns of *ya-ina-ya* in BCCWJ (1976–2008)

Here I provide supplementary explanations regarding the results in Tables 1 and 2. Firstly, among 1,293 examples of *ya-ina-ya* retrieved from CHJ, 98.1 percent (1,268 tokens) turn out to be kanji-oriented, i.e. や否や. Furthermore, fifteen of the twenty-five hiragana-written やいなや examples are found after the turn of the nineteenth century, while the remaining ten

examples occur sporadically in OJ and MJ.[4] In a nutshell, there is a growing trend toward hiragana instead of kanji in terms of the writing system.

Another point worth mentioning is that 1,250 examples (96.7%) out of 1,293 in CHJ are used from the eighteenth century onward, more specifically after the second half of the nineteenth century, although the corpus covers data up to the early twentieth century (the latest example is from 1941).[5] Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the distributional patterns. Numbers in the bars indicate the tokens of frequency at each stage; for the horizontal axis label, logarithmic scales are used for clarity.

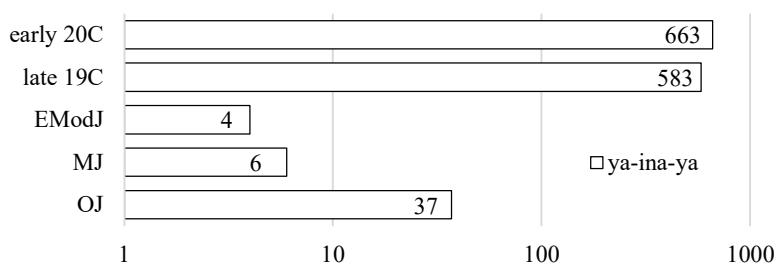|	
early 20C	663
late 19C	583
EModJ	4
MJ	6
OJ	37

□ ya-ina-ya

1   10   100   1000

Figure 1. The distribution map of *ya-ina-ya*

The last point of relevance here is that as far as KOTONOHA is concerned, *ya-ina-ya* is restricted to use in written genres. Remember that the usage of *ya-ina-ya* is identified only in BCCWJ and CHJ, the former of which consists only of written documents, as its name shows. To put it another way, none of the spoken-oriented corpora show any examples of *ya-ina-ya*, regardless of whether it is transcribed/written や否や or やいなや.

All things considered, I argue that the choice to use BCCWJ and Taiyo is an appropriate and effective analytical method whereby one can observe how *ya-ina-ya* has been grammaticalized since the late nineteenth century.

4.2 From Complementizer to Adverbial-Clause-Linking Usage

4.2.1 Modern Japanese: The Case of Taiyo

The outcomes of a Taiyo-based study are as follows. I found 689 examples of the kanji-written *ya-ina-ya* (や否や) and 3 examples of the hiragana-

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[4] Among the 10 examples, 7 are attested from works written in kana (i.e. hiragana) in the Heian period (794–1192), i.e. kana literature; one of them is presented in (1), from *Makuranosōshi* (late 10C).

[5] The rest of the data, 43 examples (3.4%), are sporadically used in OJ and MJ. However, 37 of these 43 are clearly used in a direct quotation or 'constructed dialogue' (e.g. Tannen 1986), because they report or reproduce another person's words in the process of remembering, in which the complementizer or quotation marker *to* frequently occurs. In fact, the above-mentioned 37 examples of *ya-ina-ya* all occur with *to*, as in (2).

written *ya-ina-ya* (やいなや), i.e. 692 examples in total. In ModJ, *ya-ina-ya* appears to have been kanji-oriented (99.6%). Considering the historical background addressed in Section 4.1, i.e. skewed to written discourse genres, this distributional pattern seems not unlikely.

In addition to the distribution of written forms, the classification of *ya-ina-ya* into complementizer and adverbial-clause-linking functions deserves attention. The complementizer function of *ya-ina-ya* can be attested in 616 examples in total (89%), all of which are written や否や. This finding supports the correlation that the older function tends to be preserved in its older and more frequently used form (cf. 'persistence' in Hopper and Traugott 2003: 96–7).

The rest of the data turns out to consist of the adverbial-clause-linking function of *ya-ina-ya*, i.e. 76 examples in Taiyo (11%), including 3 examples of the hiragana-written やいなや. Two points can be mentioned with respect to this finding. One is that, infrequent though it is, the newer function indicating 'as soon as' gradually appeared at this stage. The other concerns the idea that the relatively infrequent form やいなや may have been utilized to reflect the relatively newer function 'as soon as' at this stage, supposedly due to both intensive and extensive contact with English (see Section 5.1).

4.2.2 Present Day Japanese: The Case of BCCWJ

In PDJ, the functional shift in the use of *ya-ina-ya* has accelerated. To begin with, the adverbial usage 'as soon as' accounts for more than 90 percent of all the examples of *ya-ina-ya* (364 out of 402 tokens, 90.5%), while less than 10 percent are the complementizer usage 'whether or not' (38 out of 402 tokens, 9.5%). In other words, the complementizer-to-adverbial ratio has reversed over the twentieth century. Of course, it is necessary to scrutinize some intermediate stages, roughly speaking between the 1930s and the 1960s, in order to elucidate the exact nature of the change, i.e. whether there was a gradual increase up to the present or a drastic rise in number at some time in these periods.[6] However, this particular change from complementizer to adverbial clause linker seems not to have been well documented, especially from a diachronic perspective (e.g. Kuteva et al. 2019; cf. Croft 2001: Chap 9), so this finding can qualify as a pilot study for further research (see Section 5.1 below).

What deserves further mention is a drastic increase in the number of the hiragana-written *ya-ina-ya* やいなや from 0.4 percent in ModJ to

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[6] For this purpose, I made my own corpus consisting of data from the 1930s to the 1940s (see Shibasaki 2023 for details) and also used the Showa Speech Corpus (SSC) available at the NINJAL site that provides data from the 1950s to the 1970s. However, I could not obtain a sufficient quantity of related examples.

45.5 percent in PDJ. On the other hand, *ya-ina-ya* has become oriented toward written genres, as addressed in Sections 2 and 4.1. Therefore, while *ya-ina-ya* is grammaticalized mostly as an adverbial-clause-linker 'as soon as', the erstwhile more frequent kanji-form is retained to a certain degree (54.5%), even for such an adverbially grammaticalized function.

4.3 Role of Writing Systems in Grammaticalization

The following point should be recapitulated: the rapid pace of change in the functions of *ya-ina-ya* from complementizer to adverbial-clause-linker over a relatively brief span of time (which will be discussed in Section 5.2). This finding is potentially more important in the following respect. As shown in Section 4.2.1, 99.6 percent of all the *ya-ina-ya* examples retrieved from Taiyo are kanji-based や否や, and 89 percent of these turn out to be the complementizer function, while the remaining three examples of *ya-ina-ya* are hiragana-written forms やいなや serving an adverbial-clause-linking function. Setting such infrequent hiragana-written examples aside for now, we can see a strong correlation implied between form and function: the kanji form や否や has a high propensity for the complementizer function 'whether or not.' It thus follows that in ModJ, albeit limited to the data included in Taiyo, form and function are strongly associated with each other.

In PDJ, however, the form–function correlation has changed, to a certain extent in tandem with the progress of grammaticalization toward the adverbial-clause-linking function 'as soon as'. As shown in Table 2, BCCWJ includes 183 examples of the kanji-based や否や, out of which only 34 examples (18.6%) serve a complementizer function. Conversely, the grammaticalization of *ya-ina-ya* has advanced to the extent that the newer adverbial-clause-linking function 'as soon as' can be expressed in the kanji form (81.4%) and to the extent that the form–function correlation becomes weakly correlated in terms of kanji. These are visually represented in Figure 2. COMP=complementizer function; ADV LINK=adverbial-clause-linking function.

At first glance, the erstwhile strong correlation between form and function has weakened over time. However, I interpret this change as meaning that *ya-ina-ya* has been changing at a faster rate in function than in form; similar observations have been included in a wide range of related studies even from different perspectives (e.g. Brinton 2017; Heine and Kaltenböck 2021). On the other hand, one reason why a small portion of the kanji-written *ya-ina-ya* (18.6%) is still used in PDJ in its earlier complementizer function

is that *ya-ina-ya* is now found only in written discourse genres (Sections 2 and 4.1).

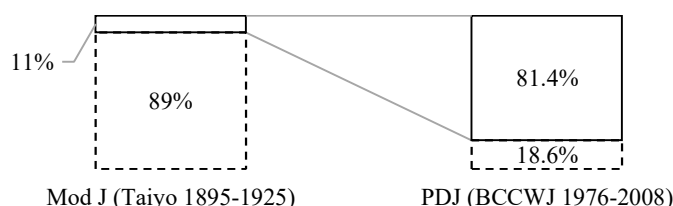⌐The kanji-written COMP usage □The kanji-written ADV LINK usage

Figure 2. The form–function correlation of the kanji-written *ya-ina-ya*

Once formally changed and conventionalized, albeit from the viewpoint of the writing systems, it seems that a form is not inversely correlated with its function. One piece of evidence for this view is shown in Figure 3 pertaining to the hiragana-written form of *ya-ina-ya*.

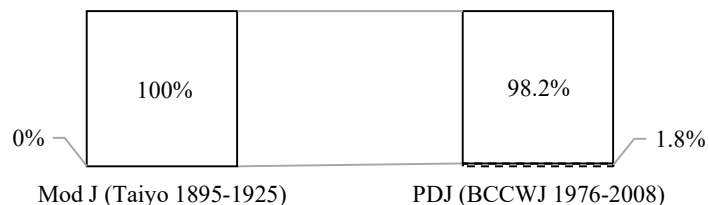□The hiragana-written ADV LINK usage ⌐The hiragana-written COMP usage

Figure 3. The form–function correlation of the hiragana-written *ya-ina-ya*

Obviously, the hiragana-written form is strongly associated with the adverbial-clause-linking function. In ModJ, there are only three examples of the hiragana-written *ya-ina-ya*; however, they all show their adverbial 'as soon as' meaning from the beginning, which appears to have paved the way for the other side of the strong form–function correlation, i.e. the hiragana-to-adverbial usage in this particular case of grammaticalization. The exceptional uses of the hiragana-written *ya-ina-ya* in its complementizer function in Figure 3 (1.8%, 4 out of 219 examples) are all found in those texts that are written in an old-fashioned style. All these findings and interpretations provide a fresh insight into the principles of grammaticalization.[7]

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[7] As mentioned in Note 1, *ya-ina-ya* arose out of language contact with Chinese in OJ. Interestingly, it is found to have often been used in a direct quotation, although it is assumed that *ya-ina-ya* is likely to have been a written language product. Further, *ya-ina-ya* is found exclusively

5 Discussions

5.1 A Potential Case of Contact-Induced Grammaticalization

As mentioned elsewhere in the current study, *ya-ina-ya* was created very early on through language contact with Chinese in OJ, as a clause/sentence ender that indicates a direct quotation, as in (1) and (2), but not as a complement clause.[8] This is because, at that stage, *ya* retained its QP property. From MJ onward, *ya-ina-ya* started to take on a new role as a conjunction due to the gradual loss of the earlier QP property of *ya*. One example from a later stage is shown in (3).

The adverbial-clause-linking function of *ya-ina-ya* 'as soon as' began to emerge, slowly, from around the turn of the seventeenth century, as in (4). At this incipient stage, one variant *to-ina-ya* presented in (5) could be attested, presumably because *ya-ina-ya* was still only weakly grammaticalized. The adverbial usage showed a gradual increase around the end of the nineteenth century, although the complementizer usage was still much more frequent. However, the situation changed dramatically toward the close of the twentieth century: the adverbial usage now has an undisputed lead in frequency, as summarized in Section 4.3, which has much influence on the permeation of hiragana in the writing of *ya-ina-ya*, i.e. やいなや.[9]

The radical change in the function of *ya-ina-ya* from complementizer to adverbial-clause-linker is likely to have been triggered by language contact with English, specifically around the turn of the twentieth century. Language contact issues in the emergence of innovative grammatical forms and functions have been briefly examined in traditional Japanese linguistics (Morioka 1999 and Yagishita 2018) and were pointed out early on by well-known novelist-cum-essayist Hisashi Inoue (Inoue 1981: 220). What is referred to in these preceding works is stochastically verified in this study through the use of corpora.

More interestingly, the functional shift from complementizer to adverbial-clause-linker, as seen in the case of *ya-ina-ya*, has, to the best of my

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in written discourse genres in PDJ, as addressed above. Considering this point, the interplay between spoken and written media is well worth (re)considering (Leech 2000), especially from a historical perspective, while recognizing the significance of 'written language bias' (Linell 2005).

[8] See Note 5 on this issue. The creation of the construction *ya-ina-ya* with the quotation particle *to* in clause/sentence-final position under the influence of contact with Chinese may have something to do with the clause/sentence-final evidential use of *to* in PDJ (Shibasaki 2007).

[9] The downward trend of the complementizer use of *ya-ina-ya* 'whether or not' may be associated with the upward trend of a newer counterpart *ka-dō-ka* 'whether or not' that appeared from the eighteenth century onward.

knowledge, gone unnoticed in grammaticalization studies (see Heine and Kuteva 2005; Kuteva et al. 2019). It is true that types of clauses cannot always be clearly differentiated, as addressed by Croft (2001: Chap 9), who mentions one (well-known) example in Japanese as a piece of evidence. NR=nominalizer (following Croft 2001).

(9) [Yoogisya -ga   heya -kara   dete.kita] tokoro   -o
     suspect -NOM   room -from   came.out NR   -ACC
  tukamae   -ta
  catch   -PST
  a. 'As the suspect came out of the room, (X) caught (him/her).'
     =Adverbial clause
  b. '(X) caught the suspect who came out of the room.'
     =Relative clause   (Ohori 2001: 280; cited in Croft 2001: 324)

In (9), the interpretation of the nominalizer *tokoro* varies according to the given context. Theoretically as well as descriptively, this type of functional versatility is significant. That said, language contact seems not to have a direct bearing on the case of *tokoro*, unlike the case of *ya-ina-ya*.

    To recap, the grammaticalization of *ya-ina-ya* turns out to be important in two ways: diachronically, it is a case of contact-induced grammaticalization, while cross-linguistically, it has been quite neglected and accordingly warrants further discussion, because it is hard to draw any firm conclusion just from one case study.

5.2 Rapid or Gradual: On the Pace of Change

Finally, we reconsider the pace of change seen in the process of this specific grammaticalization, i.e. whether it exhibits a case of rapid or gradual change. To come right to the point, the newer function of *ya-ina-ya* seems to have replaced its older function fairly suddenly, albeit relatively, between the periods in Taiyo and BCCWJ. In what follows, I illustrate the point using what has been uncovered in my related studies (Shibasaki 2023) as a standard of comparison.

    The comparative adverb *yori* 'more' is another case of contact-induced (de)grammaticalization. In OJ, *yori* acted mainly as an ablative marker 'from' and sporadically as a comparative standard usage 'than'; *yori* is thus considered to have expanded its function from ablative to comparative standard marker, which fits well with a well-known process of grammaticalization (Stassen 1985: 39–45; Kuteva et al. 2019: 36–7). Further, the comparative adverb usage 'more' was derived through contact with western languages in the late EModJ and ModJ periods, especially with English. However, the rate of change seen in *yori* and *ya-ina-ya* are contrastive, as summarized in Table

3. Note that Table 3 shows the degree of penetration of newer functions of *yori* and *ya-ina-ya*, which means that the figures are not calculated to be 100 percent for each period. For example, the newer comparative adverb usage of *yori* 'more' was 0.6 percent in Taiyo (1895–1925) and 9.9 percent in BCCWJ (1976–2008) in total, respectively.

	Taiyo (1895–1925)	BCCWJ (1976–2008)
ya-ina-ya 'as soon as'	11.0%	90.5%
yori 'more'	0.6%	9.9%[10]

Table 3. The degree of penetration of newer functions in *ya-ina-ya* and *yori*

If one uses terms introduced by Heine (2002), the adverbial-clause-linking function of *ya-ina-ya* 'as soon as' can be considered to have reached the stage called 'switch context' in terms of frequency, presumably close to the stage called 'conventionalization', in which new meanings (and maybe new forms too) are 'freed from the contextual constraints' (Heine 2002: 86). On the other hand, the comparative adverbial function of *yori* 'more' may still be at the stage named 'initial stage' or 'bridging context' (Heine 2002) at best, as the frequency shows (see Shibasaki 2021 for other related cases).

I carried out careful research on these phenomena, qualitatively and quantitatively, by making best use of corpora along with texts, reference grammars and period dictionaries of OJ through PDJ where possible. Contrary to (my) expectation, however, the pace of change varies considerably in each case, reinforcing the value of a reconsideration of contact-induced grammaticalization.

Nevertheless, I treat any cases of contact-induced grammaticalization with due caution, partly because the situation might be different if more data were available, and, more importantly, because some of the mechanisms underlying the rise of new functions in language contact situations are likely to vary, probably to an unpredictable extent, depending on each respective case. Examining a wide range of cases on the rise of discourse markers, Heine et al. (2021: 213) say honestly that contact-induced replication 'is notoriously difficult to reconstruct'. Undoubtedly, further careful studies are required.[11]

6 Conclusion

In this study I have shown one case of contact-induced grammaticalization with a focus on the history of *ya-ina-ya*. Two intensive and extensive

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[10] Examples of *yori* in the 1970s in BCCWJ are extremely small in number and thus excluded.

[11] In this regard, Higashiizumi and Shibasaki (in preparation) serve to bring in more speculations on contact-induced grammaticalization from East Asian languages.

language-contact situations, respectively, with Chinese in OJ and with English around the late nineteenth century, are closely tied to the emergence and development of *ya-ina-ya*, and this study probed into the latter contact situation that accelerated the functional shift from the complementizer usage to the adverbial-clause-linking usage. The rapidity of change turned out to be obvious because, around the turn of the twentieth century, the complementizer-oriented usage 'whether or not' was reversed to the adverbial-clause-oriented usage 'as soon as' within less than a century. On the other hand, such a rapid change is not always witnessed, as addressed in Section 5.2, which leaves open the possibility that the mechanisms of change behind language contact should be considered on an individual basis.

In addition, I investigated the role of writing systems in this particular case of grammaticalization. The finding is that the degree of grammaticalization is reflected somewhat later in the form of writing. The survey result may lend support to a common view that semantic change comes first, subsequently followed by formal changes.

The role of writing systems, as well as the pathway of change from complementizer to adverbial clause linker, have gone unnoticed in grammaticalization studies. What this study contributes here thus deserves a fuller investigation.

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Corpora and Dictionaries

BCCWJ=*Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese* 1976-2008 <https://chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp/bccwj-nt/search> last access: March 2, 2023

CHJ=*The Corpus of Historical Japanese*, the eighth though the early twentieth centuries, version 2023.3 <http://clrd.ninjal.ac.jp/chj/> last access: March 2, 2023

NIKKOKU=*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* (The Dictionary of the Japanese Language), vols. 1–13, 2nd ed., 2006. Tokyo: Shogakkan.

Taiyo=*Taiyo Corpus* 1895, 1901, 1909, 1917 and 1925, CD-ROM, 2005. Tokyo: Hakubunkan Shinsha.