The origin and the development of 焉 *yān* in Old Chinese

An example of Trans-East Asian linguistic study

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The Old Chinese function word 焉 *yān* is frequently interpreted as a fusion of [於 ('at/on/in') + 此 (near demonstrative pronoun)] in terms of its meaning. Ever since Kennedy (1940a, b; 1953) argued that 焉 is a fusion of [於 + *an (third-person pronoun)], it has been controversial as to exactly which third-person pronoun/demonstrative pronoun *an corresponds to in Old Chinese. There is no third-person pronoun/demonstrative pronoun that is appropriate for this reconstruction.

This paper illustrates how 焉 *ʔan is a fusion of 於 *ʔa and *niʔ; *nih or *nɔʔ; *nɔh, which means 'this' in Proto-Austroasiatic (PAA). The demonstrative is borrowed into Chinese through language contact in the Early Archaic Chinese period (10th to 6th c. BC). This fusion is plausible in historical and phonological terms, while the grammaticalization path of 焉 also accords with that of [於 + demonstrative].

The grammaticalization path of 焉 is examined by analyzing all occurrences of it in the Bronze Inscriptions (BI), *The book of odes* (*Shījīng* 詩經), *The book of documents* (*Shàngshū* 尚書), and *Zuo's commentary* (*Zuǒzhuàn* 左傳). Also, the usages of its etymological doublet 爰, which is considered to be a fusion of [于 *wa ('at/on/in') + near demonstrative pronoun], are analyzed in order to strengthen the argument.

Keywords: 焉, Old Chinese reconstruction, Proto-Austroasiatic, language contact, borrowing, grammaticalization

1. Summary of previous studies on 焉

The Old Chinese (OC) function word 焉 has a wide range of usages. It is a fusion word that is interpreted as [於 ('at/on/in') + 此 (near demonstrative pronoun)] in terms of its meaning. § 1.1 below summarizes the usages of 焉 in Old Chinese. § 1.2 provides the possible origins of 焉 suggested by various scholars.

1.1   The usages of 焉 in Old Chinese

焉 in Middle Chinese (MC) has two readings: *ʔjan* and *hjan*.[1] Their difference lies only in the initials. While the former has a voiceless laryngeal stop (*yǐngmǔ* 影母), the latter has a voiced laryngeal fricative (*yùsān* 喻三).

　　焉 in Old Chinese has a wide range of usages. According to *Wang Li's Old Chinese dictionary* (*Wang Li Gu Hanyu cidian* 王力古漢語詞典, by Wang et al. 2000), *ʔjan* is used as a noun referring to a yellowish bird or a question word meaning 'where', whereas *hjan* means 於此 'at/on/in + this' or resumes the pre-posed object. It is used as a sentence connective (s-AND) meaning 乃 'thereupon' or 則 'then'. It is also used as a sentence-final modal particle or an adjectival suffix. Examples of each case are as follows.

焉 *ʔjan*
A. According to *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, 焉 refers to a yellowish bird appearing in Jiangnan. It is pictographic. (焉, 鳥, 黃色, 出于江南. 象形.)
B. A question word 'where'[2]

> (1) 焉　　得　　諼草，　言　樹　　之　背。
> 　　　*Yān　dé　　xuāncǎo, yán　shù　zhī bèi.*
> 　　　Where obtain day-lily　CONJ plant it　behind (the house)
> 　　　'Where can I get a day-lily to plant behind the house?'
> 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Odes* 62.1 "Bo xi 伯兮", Waley 1996: 53)

焉 *hjan*
C. Means 於此 ('at/on/in + this')

> (2) 制，巖　邑　　也，　虢叔　　死　焉。
> 　　　*Zhì, Yán yì　yě,　GuóShū sǐ　yān.*
> 　　　Zhi　Yan town PRT　Guo Shu died there
> 　　　'Zhi is a town in Yan. Guo Shu died there.'
> 　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Yin Gong 隱公" 1.4, Yang (1981: 11))[3]

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1. Old and Middle Chinese reconstructions referred to in this paper follow Schuessler (2007), unless otherwise indicated. *h-* represents a voiced laryngeal fricative initial, which may represent phonetic [ɣ] or [ɦ].

2. English translation of *The book of odes* follows that of Waley (1996). Italics are this author's modification.

3. 1.4 means "in the first year, the fourth entry" according to Yang (1981). All examples from *Zuo's commentary* (*Zuo's* being short for *Zuozhuan* 左傳) follow this convention. English translation of *Zuo's commentary* follows Legge (1960[1872]). Italics are this author's modifications.

焉 is interpreted as 於此 'at/on/in this' > there.[4]

D.   Resumes the pre-posed object

(3)   我　周　　之　東　　遷，晉　鄭　　　焉　　　依。
　　　Wǒ Zhōu zhī dōng qiān, Jìn Zhèng yān   yī.
　　　our Zhou ATR east   move Jin Zheng on them rely
　　　'When our state of Zhou moved eastward, we relied on Jin and Zheng.'

(*Zuo's* "Yin Gong 隱公" 6.7, Yang (1981: 51))

焉 resumes the pre-posed object, 晉鄭. 焉依 is interpreted as 'relied on them'.

E.   A conjunction meaning 乃 'thereupon' or 則 'then'[5]

(4)   信　不　足，　　焉　有　不　信　焉。[6]
　　　Xìn bù zú,   yān yǒu bú xìn yān.
　　　trust NEG enough then exist NEG trust PRT
　　　'When trust is not enough, then there is distrust.'

(*Laozi* 老子 Chapter 17, Zhu (1984: 69))

焉 links two clauses and it can best be interpreted as an S-AND meaning 'then, thereupon'.

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4. Thus far, 焉 has been roughly interpreted as 於此 'at/on/in this'. However, it is obvious that 此 is not the right constituent of 焉, because it does not fit phonologically. What exactly the demonstrative following 於 is must be re-evaluated. This problem will be discussed in depth in § 2 and § 3. In § 3, it is argued that *n is from *niʔ; *nih or *nɔʔ; *nɔh, which is the Proto-Austroasiatic word meaning 'this'.

5. 17 refers to the chapter number among a total of eighty-one chapters in the entire *Laozi*. English translation of *Laozi* is this author's.

6. In fact, this line in *Laozi* has several variations. Zhu (1984: 96) reads 信不足，有不信! Zhu quoted Kejun Yan's 嚴可均 (1762 AD–1843 AD) note that 焉 appears after 信不足 in Heshanggong's 河上公 and Bi Wang's 王弼 versions of *Laozi* (rendering it as 信不足焉…). Also, Bi Wang's version has another 焉 after 有不信 (hence 信不足焉，有不信焉). Niansun Wang 王念孫 (1744 AD–1832 AD) argued that 焉 after 有不信 is not necessary. Also, the punctuation should be 信不足，焉有不信, where 焉 is interpreted as 於是 'thereupon'. Zhu followed Wang's idea. The Mawangdui 馬王堆 manuscripts read 信不足，案有不信 (the *jiǎ* 甲 version) and 信不足，安有不信 (the *yì* 乙 version), respectively (Gao 1996: 307). This shows that 案 *ʔâns and 安 *ʔân are used as loan characters for 焉.

F. A sentence-final particle[7]

(5) 君子   病   無能   **焉，**不 病   人   之 不 己
    Jūnzǐ   *bìng*   *wúnéng*   *yān,* *bú bìng rén   zhī bù jǐ*
    gentleman regrets not capable PRT   NEG regrets people ATR NEG himself
    知   也。
    zhī   *yě.*
    esteem PRT
    'The gentleman regrets that he is not capable; he does not regret that people do not esteem him.'

                 (*Analects* Chapter 15, Entry 19, "Weilinggong 衛靈公")

G. An adjectival suffix

(6) 我 心 憂   傷， 怒   **焉** 如 擣。
    Wǒ xīn yōu   shāng, nì   yān rú dǎo.
    my heart grieved pained dissatisfied SFS as if a fulling mallet
    'My heart is grieved and pained. I am hungrily dissatisfied as if *beaten with a fulling mallet*.'   (*Odes* 197.2 "Xiao bian 小弁")

As shown above, 焉, which originally means 'a yellowish bird', is much more frequently used as a loan character for a function word with a wide range of usages. However, its origin, its grammaticalization path, and the interrelationship among the various meanings have not yet been fully explained.

1.2   The origin of 焉

It is widely agreed that 焉 is a fusion word. However, the exact origin of 焉 has been controversial. There are several interpretations.[8]

I. *Mashi wentong* 馬氏文通 explained that 焉 is equivalent to [於 + 是/此/之]. 焉 indicates a thing when it can be replaced by "於是", a place when it can be replaced by "於此", and a person when it can be replaced by "於之". (Lü & Wang (1986), *Mashi wentong duben* 馬氏文通讀本, page 104.)

II. He (1989: 309) built on Jiangzhong Ma's interpretation. She stated that 焉 is a fusion (*jiāncí* 兼詞) of [preposition + pronoun], which corresponds to [於/

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7. English translation of the *Analects* is this author's.

8. Previous studies on 焉 and 爰 (the etymological doublet of 焉) include Yang (1962), S. Guan (1986), H. Guan (2006), Ma (2006), Liu (2007), Ding & Yu (2008), Y. Zhang (2008), R. Zhang (2009), Z. Li (2011), M. Li (2012), Fang (2015), Mei (2018), and others.

于 + 之/此/是/安/何].[9] The pronoun has an antecedent in the previous sentence. 焉 is used in order to avoid repetition and stress the antecedent.

III. Guo et al. (1991: 323) and Cui (2004: 182) rejected the idea that 焉 is a fusion word. Instead, they argued that 焉 itself is a special type of demonstrative pronoun, but did not provide any further explanation.[10]

IV. Kennedy (1940a, b; 1953) for the first time tried to reconstruct an object of 於 that is plausible not only semantically but also phonologically. He argued that 焉 is a fusion of [於 + *an (third-person pronoun)]. He did not, however, explain exactly what third-person pronoun *an corresponds to in Old Chinese or its neighboring languages.

V. Norman (1988: 86) suggested that 焉 is a fusion of 於 and a pronominal or demonstrative element having an initial *n, parallel to the case of 然 = [如 + *n]. He suggested that 焉 and 然 must have arisen in a dialect which did have such a form.

VI. Schuessler (2007: 76) agreed with Norman in that 焉 is a fusion of [於 + *n]. The origin of *n is uncertain. It could be either of Sino-Tibetan (ST) or of Austroasiatic (AA) origin. In Written Tibetan, -*na* is used as a locative suffix. In Lushai,[11] -*na* is a verbal suffix meaning 'the place where, with what, whom'. It could also be from the Austroasiatic third-person/demonstrative pronoun *na.

Phonologically, it is legitimate to assume that 焉 is a fusion of [於 + *n]. However, the origin of *n is still problematic.

2. Origin of *n: Sino-Tibetan or Austroasiatic?

In the following two subsections, the two possible origins of *n that Schuessler suggested – Sino-Tibetan or Austroasiatic – is next examined.

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9. She followed Jianzhong Ma's explanation that 焉 is equivalent to [於 + 是/此/之] and also suggested that 焉 is equivalent to [於/于 + 安/何] in order to explain the case where 焉 is used as a question word 'where'. It should be mentioned that only [於 + 是/此/之/安/何] corresponds to 焉, while [于 + 是/此/之/安/何] corresponds to 爰.

10. Chang (2019) argued that 焉 is a fusion word, not a special type of demonstrative pronoun, by showing that the usages of the postverbal 焉 are identical with those of [於 + Object] in *Zuo's commentary*.

11. Lushai is also called Mizo. It belongs to the Kuki-Chin subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages. It is spoken in India by approximately 830,000 speakers. For more information, see Eberhard et al. (2022) <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/lus> (Accessed 2019-04-09.)

2.1   Evaluating the possibility of a Sino-Tibetan origin for *n

Assuming a Sino-Tibetan origin for *n is problematic because the evidence is very scant. None of Schuessler's examples (a locative suffix -*na* and a verbal suffix -*na* 'the place where, with what, whom') have a demonstrative meaning. The Proto-Sino-Tibetan (PST) form for 'this/that' is totally unrelated to *n. According to Coblin (1986: 149), it is reconstructed as **djiɣ/djeɣ/djɨɣ. There is no distinction between proximate or distal demonstrative. From the form **djiɣ, the Old Chinese demonstrative 時 *djəg (*də in Schuessler's reconstruction) > źï 'this' (near demonstrative) developed. The Old Chinese demonstrative 是 *djigx (*deʔ in Schuessler's reconstruction) > źje: 'this, that' (anaphoric pronoun) also originated from the form **djiɣ/djeɣ followed by the -x suffix, which begat a rising tone. Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) 'this/that' is reconstructed as *day (Benedict 1972: 220).

In sum, the evidence for ST origin is very scanty, and PST has a demonstrative which is totally unrelated to *n, all of which seriously undermines the argument that *n is of ST origin.

2.2   Evaluating the possibility of an Austroasiatic origin for *n

The evidence for Austroasiatic origin is much more abundant, with deeper time depth. § 2.2.1 through § 2.2.3 briefly explains the distribution of the Austroasiatic languages, their subgrouping, and the homeland of Proto-Austroasiatic. § 2.2.4 argues that *n in 焉 *ʔan is from a PAA word for 'this' *niʔ; *nih or *nɔʔ; *nɔh.

2.2.1   The Austroasiatic languages: Introduction

The Austroasiatic languages are mainly spoken in "mainland Southeast Asia, also scattered throughout India, Bangladesh, Nepal and the southern border of China, with around 117 million speakers."[12] There are 167 languages that belong to this language family.[13] The Austroasiatic languages have been heavily influenced by neighboring languages of other language families, such as Sino-Tibetan, Tai, Hmong-Mien, Austronesian, and Indo-Aryan.

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12. The distribution of the Austroasiatic languages is adopted from Wikipedia <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austroasiatic_languages>, which is originally from *The Language Gulper* <http://www.languagesgulper.com/eng/Austroasiatic.html> (Accessed 2019-04-09.)

13. The exact number of Austroasiatic languages is adopted from Eberhard et al. (2022) <https://www.ethnologue.com/subgroups/austro-asiatic> (Accessed 2019-04-09.)

2.2.2   Subgrouping of the Austroasiatic languages

The subgrouping of AA has been controversial.[14] Anderson (2007) divided AA into two groups: the Munda language in central and eastern India, and the rest of the family in southeast Asia. Diffloth (2005) divided AA into three major subgroups: Munda, Khasi-Khmuic (including Khasian, Pakanic, Palaungic, and Khmuic), and nuclear Mon-Khmur (including Vietic Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmeric, Monic, Aslian, and Nicobarese).

Sidwell & Blench (2011) analyzed twenty-eight AA languages using a lexico-statistical comparison and divided AA into thirteen subgroups in a "flat array", i.e., with no internal branching. Their thirteen subgroups, from one end to the other end of a flat array, are Munda, Khasian, Palaungic, Khmuic, Mangic (equal to Diffloth's Pakanic), Vietic, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmeric, Pearic, Monic, Aslian, and Nicobarese. They noticed a language contact between Katuic and Bahnaric. Languages of all branches, apart from the geographically distant Munda and Nicobarese, show great similarity to Katuic and Bahnaric as they appear closer to these two subgroups in the flat array model.

Figure 1 below shows the distribution of the Austroasiatic languages in Southeast Asia.

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14. For a summary of the complexity of subgrouping AA, see Sidwell (2009: 1–4).
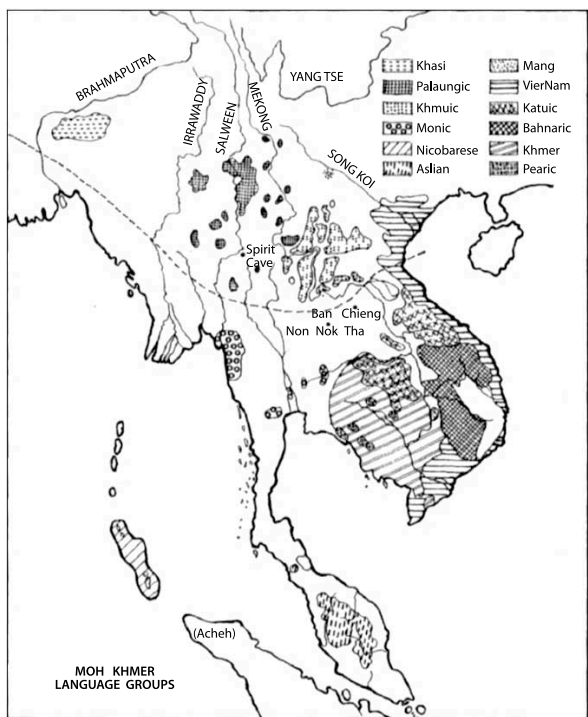
Figure 1. Distribution of the Austroasiatic languages in Southeast Asia[15]
(Source: Adopted from Sidwell (2009: 56), which is originally from Diffloth (1979))

2.2.3   The homeland of Austroasiatic languages

The homeland of Austroasiatic has also been controversial, with possibilities ranging from:

(1)   Northeastern India or in the vicinity of the Bay of Bengal (van Driem 2001),
(2)   The middle Mekong (Sidwell & Blench 2011),
(3)   Near the Yangtze river (Perios 2011; Sagart 2011; Bellwood 2013), to
(4)   The Pearl river in southern China (van Driem 2011).

Van Driem's (2001) western origin theory assumes that Munda is a conservative subgroup. Sidwell & Blench (2011) argued for the middle Mekong, dating to 2000 BC. Peiros (2011) criticized Sidwell & Blench, arguing that the homeland of Austroasiatic is somewhere near the Yangtze River. He stated, "The Sichuan Basin is

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15. This map does not include Munda, which is spoken mainly in eastern and central India. The dashed line indicates the division between northern and southern AA that Diffloth once suggested.

likely to be the homeland of proto-Austroasiatic before they migrated into other parts of central and southern China and then into Southeast Asia." Van Driem (2011) assumed that the homeland is near the Pearl River in southern China.

Although the exact linguistic homeland of the AA languages is still controversial, it is indisputable that the AA languages were once spread much farther north than they are now. Norman & Mei (1976:274) argued that the Austroasiatics inhabited the shores of the middle Yangtze and parts of the southeast coast from 1000 BC to 500 BC, with influence from Old Chinese. The influence of the AA languages in Old Chinese vocabulary and its residues in modern Min dialects, the most conservative dialect group in China, are well attested.[16]

In the following section, it is argued that the final *-n in 焉 is also very likely of AA origin. The evidence is the PAA form for a near demonstrative 'this' and its modern reflexes, all of which have the n- initial.

2.2.4   PAA word for 'this' and its reflexes in modern AA languages

Schuessler (2007:76, 395) alternatively suggested *n in 焉 *ʔan may well have originated from an Austroasiatic third-person/demonstrative pronoun *na. This section claims that *n in 焉 *ʔan is truly from an Austroasiatic origin by providing a PAA reconstruction for the word meaning 'this' and its numerous reflexes in modern AA languages.

According to *A Mon-Khmer comparative dictionary* by Shorto (2006:90–91), the near demonstrative pronoun 'this' in PAA is reconstructed as *niʔ; *nih or *nɔʔ; *nɔh. Quite a number of modern AA languages that belong to various subgroups use demonstratives derived from these two proto-forms. Examples are as follows.

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16. For examples, see Norman & Mei (1976:277–299). Examples of OC lexical items from AA origins include 江 **krong 'Yangtze River', 'river' (cognate with Vietnamese *song*; Bahnar, Sedang *krong*; Katu *karung*; Bru *klong*; Gar, Koho *rong*; Laʔven *dakhom*; Biat *n'hong*; Hre *khroang*; Old Mon *krung*); 蠅 **riwəi 'fly' (cognate with Vietnamese *ruõi*; Cambodian *ruy*; Lawa *rue*; Mon *rùy*. PAA is reconstructed as *ruway); 虎 **k'la(g) 'tiger' (PAA form is *kalaʔ. It is cognate with Munda *kiṛɔʔ, kul, kula, kilo*, etc.; Old Mon *kla*; Mon *kla*; Bahnar, Sedang *kla*; Sue *kala*; Brou *klo*; Old Kumer *klā*; Khmer *khla* 'felines'; Khasi *khla*; Vietnamese *khái*; Muong *k'al, k'lal, Kanh*, etc.); 牙 **ngra 'tooth, tusk, ivory' (Vietnamese *ngà* 'ivory'; Proto-Mnong (Bahnar) *ngo'la 'tusk'). Examples of modern Min dialect words from AA origins are as follows: The word for 'son, child' 囝 is reconstructed as *kian in Proto-Min and it is attested for all Min dialects. Its reflexes are *kiaŋ³* in Fuzhou 福州, *kiã³* in Xiamen 廈門, *kiɛŋ³* in Fu'an 福安, and *kian³* in Ningde 寧德. It is cognate with Vietnamese *con* 'child', Khmer *koun*, spoken Mon *kon*, Written Mon *kon, kwen*, Bru *kɔɔn*, Chong *kheen*, Wa *kɔn*, and Khasi *khu:n*. The cognates in the Munda subgroup include Kharia *kɔnɔn* 'small', Satali *hɔn* 'son, child', and Ho *hon* 'child'. The word for 'damp, wet, moist' is *tam²* in Xiamen and Fu'an, which is cognate with Vietnamese *đằm, đãm* 'wet, moist'.

(7) a. ***niʔ; *nih**

Languages that belong to the Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-
Mương, or Nicobaric subgroups use forms that descended from PAA *niʔ.
Examples include Kuy **nìː**, Stieng **neːi, ni** 'this, here'; Sre **ne** 'there'; Bah-
nar **ʔnɛy, ʔni** 'that'; Kammu-Yuan **nìʔ** 'this near at hand'; Khasi -**ne**,
Mương **nì** 'this'; and Central Nicobarese **əne** 'that' (pronoun).
Languages that belong to the Khmer or Palaungic subgroups use a demon-
strative descended from PAA ***nih**. Examples include Old Kumer **neh**;
Middle Kumer **neh ɲeḥ, nìh neḥ**; and Riang-Lang **ni** 'this'.

b. ***nɔʔ; *nɔh**

Languages that belong to the Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mương,
South Aslian, or Khmuic subgroups use forms that descended from PAA
*nɔʔ. Examples include Mon -**nɔʔ** 'this'; Chrau **nɔʔ** 'there near at hand';
Bahnar **ʔnuː, ʔnɔw, ʔnəw** 'here, this'; Mae Sariang **[saŋeʔ] nɔʔ** 'to[day]';
Vietnamese **nọ** 'this'; Semelai **nɔʔ** 'here' (morphologically related to Mid-
dle Mon **'ano'** /**ənɔʔ**/, Modern Mon **ənɔʔ** 'here'); Temoq **ʔanɔʔ** 'this' (mor-
phologically related to Semelai **nɔʔnɔʔ** 'this'); Kammu-Yuan **nɔː** 3rd
person plural pronoun; and Praok **nɔ** 3rd person singular pronoun.
Languages that belong to the Khmer, North Bahnaric, or Central Aslian
subgroups still use the forms descended from *nɔh. Examples include Old
Khmer **noḥ**; Middle Khmer **nɔh ṇoḥ** 'that, there', **nùh noḥ** 'that'; Bahnar
(ʔ)nɔh 'here, this'; and Semnam **nɔh** 'this'.

Thus far, it has been shown that the near demonstrative pronoun for 'this' in PAA
is reconstructed as *niʔ; *nih or *nɔʔ; *nɔh, and its reflexes are still widespread
in modern AA languages of various subgroups. This suggests that the forms *niʔ;
*nih, *nɔʔ; *nɔh were very widely used in PAA times. Considering the fact that
PAA was spread further north than it is now (up towards the Yangtze river) and
affected Old Chinese lexicons, it is highly likely that the final *n in 焉 *ʔan is from
PAA *niʔ; *nih or *nɔʔ; *nɔh 'this'.[17]

The argument that 焉 *ʔan was the result of fusion of [於 *ʔa + *niʔ; *nih,
*nɔʔ; *nɔh] accords with the principle of fusion in Old Chinese. There are a siz-
able number of parallel examples in which the final of a fused word comes from
the initial of the second syllable in Old Chinese. Well-known examples include *fú*

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17. Norman (1988: 86, 267) pointed out that more personal pronouns and demonstratives with
an *n initial appear in Classical and later Chinese. Examples include *ěr* 爾 'you, your, that'
(MC *ńźjeː*, OC *njidx); *nà* 那 'that' (MC *nâ-*); and *ruò* 若 'you, that' (MC *ńźjak*, OC *njak)
as in 君子哉，若人！ 'What a true gentleman that person is!' (*Analects* Chapter 5, Entry 3,
"Gongyechang 公治長"). These words are also possibly of AA origin, although determining the
exact time and mechanism of borrowing still awaits further research.

弗 (fusion of 不之), *wù* 勿 (fusion of 無之), and *hé* 盍 (fusion of 何不), as shown below.

(8) a. 弗 *pə**t** = 不 *pə (negative)   + 之 ***tə** (demonstrative)

b. 勿 *mə**t** = 無 *ma (negative)   + 之 ***tə** (demonstrative)

c. 盍 *gâ**p** = 何 *gâi (interrogative) + 不 ***pə** (negative)

In the following section, the usages and the grammaticalization path of 焉 are illustrated by analyzing all of its occurrences in *The book of odes* (*Shījīng* 詩經), *The book of documents* (*Shàngshū* 尚書), and *Zuo's commentary* (*Zuǒzhuàn* 左傳). In addition, the occurrences of 爰 (fusion of [于 *wa + *niʔ; *nih, *nɔʔ; *nɔh]), which is an etymological doublet of 焉, are analyzed for comparison. It is shown that the usages and the grammaticalization path of 爰/焉 accord with those of a demonstrative (or [demonstrative + other element]), which in turn support the hypothesis that *n originates from a demonstrative.

3.   The occurrences of 爰 and 焉 in Archaic Chinese texts

In the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions (OBI), only 爰 is observed. It is used as a loan-word for 援 'pull by hand, aid, rescue' or as a proper name. There is no example of 爰 used as a fusion of [于 *wa + *n]. On the other hand, 焉 does not appear at all in OBI, which is predictable from the fact that 於 itself does not appear in the OBI.

In *Indexes of bronze inscriptions* (*Jinwen yinde* 金文引得, 2 vols., The Center for the Study and Application of Chinese Characters, East China Normal University 2001–2002), 爰 appears only once, as a loanword for 援. 焉 occurs twice in the same corpus, both in "Zhongshan wang fang hu 中山王方壺", which was cast in the early Warring States period. One is in 不羊(=祥)莫大焉 'in terms of inauspiciousness, nothing is greater than this'; the other is in 觀焉 'look at this intently'. In either case, 焉 is interpreted as [於 + anaphoric pronoun].

In some received texts, both 爰 and 焉 appear. 爰 mainly appears in pre-classical Chinese texts, such as *The book of documents* and *The book of odes*. There are seven occurrences of 爰 in *The book of documents* and 41 occurrences in *The book of odes*. Its numbers of occurrences plunged by the time of *Zuo's commentary* (ten occurrences). This is due to the replacement of 于 by 於. That is, as 于 was replaced by 於, 爰 (the fusion of [于 + *n-]) disappeared and was substituted by

焉 (the fusion of [於 + *n-]) in Late Archaic Chinese.[18] The vestigial 爰 in *Zuo's commentary* and later texts mainly appears in quotations from *The book of odes*, personal names, or place names.

In contrast, 焉 appears only sporadically in *The book of documents* (four occurrences). 焉 started to appear more frequently in *The book of odes* (25 occurrences), yet 爰 (41 occurrences) still outnumbered 焉 in this text. Its frequency soared in Late Archaic Chinese, as is reflected in *Zuo's commentary* (890 occurrences). By the time of the Warring States period, 焉 replaced 爰, as is reflected in the *Analects*. Only 焉 appears – 88 times in this text.

The numbers of occurrences of 爰 and 焉 in Archaic Chinese texts are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. The numbers of occurrences of 爰 and 焉 in Archaic Chinese texts

Texts	爰	焉
The book of documents	7	4
The book of odes	41	25
Zuo's commentary	10	890
Analects	0	88

It is noteworthy that 爰 (=[于 + *n]) and 焉 (=[於 + *n]) did not appear at all in the OBI (dated c. 1300 to 1050 BC) and started to appear in *The book of documents* and *The book of odes*, both of which reflect Early Archaic Chinese (10th to 6th c. BC) language. This is in accord with Norman & Mei's (1976: 274) argument that Austroasiatics influenced Old Chinese from 1000 BC to 500 BC, inhabiting areas as far north as the shores of the middle Yangtze and parts of the southeast coast. It is plausible that the PAA near demonstrative pronoun *niʔ; *nih or *nɔʔ; *nɔh was introduced to Chinese during that time and begat 爰/焉 via the fusion of [于/於 + *niʔ; *nih or *nɔʔ; *nɔh].

In § 3.1 and § 3.2, all occurrences of 爰 and 焉 in *The book of documents* and *The book of odes* are analyzed. In § 3.3, the usages of 焉 in *Zuo's commentary* are summarized. In § 4, their grammaticalization path is described, based on the analysis in § 3 and parallel grammaticalization paths of a demonstrative and [demonstrative + other element] in other languages.

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18. Regarding the origins and the grammaticalizations of 于 and 於, as well as the process of encroachment of the former by the latter, see Chang (2012).

3.1   爰 in *The book of documents* and in *The book of odes*

In this section, all occurrences of 爰 in *The book of documents* and in *The book of odes* are analyzed.

3.1.1   *The book of documents*

爰 appears seven times in the New Text (*Jīnwén* 金文) portion of *The book of documents*. Two instances are interpreted as 援 'pull by hand, aid' and four are interpreted as 于時 'then, thereupon'. One is used as a loanword for 曰 'say, is called'. The usages of 爰 in *The book of documents* are summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 2. The usages of 爰 in *The book of documents*

Usages	=援 'pull by hand, aid'	=于時 'then, thereupon'	loanword for 曰 'say, is called'	Total
Numbers of occurrences	2	4	1	7

Examples of each usage are provided below.[19]

[爰 *meaning* 援 *'pull by hand, aid'*]

(9) 盤庚　　既　　遷，　奠　厥　攸　　居，乃　正　　厥
　　 PánGēng jì   qiān, diàn jué yōu   jū, nǎi zhèng jué
　　 Pan Geng already moved fixed 3.POSS REL.PRO dwell CONJ rectify 3.POSS
　　 位，　綏　　　　爰　有眾。
　　 wèi, suí   yuán yǒuzhòng.
　　 position tranquilized aided multitudes
　　 'When Pan Geng had moved, he fixed their (where they dwelled=) dwelling places, and then he determined their (public) emplacements. He tranquillized and *aided* his multitudes.'
　　　　 (*Documents* "Pangeng xia 盤庚下", Karlgren (1950b: 24); Qu (1983a: 95))

綏 'to tranquilize' and 爰 (=援) 'to aid' are serial verbs and 有眾 'the multitudes' is the object. 綏爰有眾 is interpreted as 'tranquilized and aided the multitudes'.

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19. Page numbers of *The book of documents* follow Qu (1983a). English translation follows Karlgren (1950b). Italics are this author's modifications.

[爰 *interpreted as* 于時 *'thereupon' (S-AND)*]

(10) 不　義　惟　　王，舊　　為　小人。　作　　　其　　即
　　　Bú　yì　wéi　wáng, jiù　wéi xiǎorén.　Zuò　qí　jí
　　　NEG right become king　formerly COP petty man at the start 3.POSS reach
　　　位，　爰　知　小人　　之　依。
　　　wèi,　yuán zhī　xiǎorén　zhī yī.
　　　position CONJ know petty men ATR lean on
　　　'It was not (right, reasonable=) to be expected that he should become king,
　　　and for long he was (one of) the small people. At the start, when he came to
　　　the high position, then he knew the suffering of the small people.'
　　　　　　　　　(*Documents* "Wuyi 無逸", Karlgren (1950b: 58); Qu (1983a: 198))

The passage means that Zu Jia 祖甲 was once one of the small people; therefore, he knew their sufferings when he ascended the throne. 爰 is interpreted as a sentence connective (S-AND) meaning 'then, thereupon'.

[爰 *used as a loanword for* 曰 *'say, is called'*]

(11) 水　日　潤　　下，　　[...] 土　爰　稼　　　穡。
　　　Shuǐ yuē　rùn　xià,　　tǔ　yuán jià　sè.
　　　water is said moisten descend　earth is said sow grain harvest
　　　'Water is said to *moisten* and descend; [...] earth is said to take seeds and give
　　　crops.'　(*Documents* "Hongfan 洪範", Karlgren (1950b: 30); Qu (1983a: 111))

爰 *wan is used as a loanword for 曰 *wat, which is phonologically possible. As Qu (1983a: 111) pointed out, the parallel passage in *The grand scriber's record* (*Shǐjì* 史記) has 曰 instead, which supports the idea that 爰 is used as a loanword for 曰 in the above example.

3.1.2　爰 in *The book of odes*

There are 41 occurrences of 爰 in *The book of odes*. There are 14 occurrences in the "Feng 風", 14 occurrences in the "Xiao Ya 小雅", and 13 occurrences in the "Da Ya 大雅". There is no occurrence of 爰 in the "Song 頌".

　　　Eleven out of the total of 41 occurrences are interpreted as [于+ anaphoric pronoun], which is the most essential usage of 爰. Nineteen are interpreted as 于時 'then, thereupon' (S-AND), which was already observed in *The book of documents*. A notable usage of 爰 in *The book of odes* which did not appear in *The book of documents* is that of a question word meaning 'where' (8 occurrences).

There are three occurrences of 爰爰 glossed as 緩行貌 'the appearance of walking slowly.'[20]

It is noteworthy that 爰 used as a question word mainly appears in the "Feng 風". Seven occurrences out of the total of eight appear in this section. On the other hand, the great majority of 爰 in the "Da Ya 大雅" are used as s-AND. Eleven out of the total of 13 occurrences in this section are used as s-AND. It is known that the relative dates of compilation of *The book of odes* are "Song 頌" > "Da Ya" > "Xiao Ya 小雅" > "Feng". Therefore, one can assume that 爰 used as s-AND is its earlier usage, while 爰 used as a question word is a later development.

The usages of 爰 in *The book of odes* are summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The usages of 爰 in *The book of odes*[*]

Usages	[于+ anaphoric pronoun]	=于時 'then, thereupon'	Question word ('where')	爰爰 (緩行貌)	Total
風	2	2	7	3	14
小雅	7	6	1	0	14
大雅	2	**11**	0	0	13
頌	0	**0**	0	0	0
Numbers of occurrences	11	19	8	3	41

[*] The usages of 爰 that are already observed in *The book of documents* are marked in grey.

Examples of each usage are provided below.

[于 + *anaphoric pronoun*]
When 爰 is interpreted as [于+ anaphoric pronoun], the antecedent of the anaphor is, in many cases, a place word. There are nine such occurrences of 爰. There are two occurrences of 爰 in *The book of odes* whose antecedent is a target (i.e., an object or goal that is being aimed at; someone or something that is the focus of attention, interest, etc.). Examples of each case are provided below.

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20. In this mimetic expression, 爰 is used as a loan graph. This usage is unrelated to the original usage of 爰; therefore, it is excluded from our discussion.

(12) 樂　　彼　　　之　圓[wan]，　爰　有　　樹　　　檀[dân]。
　　　Lè　　bǐ　　　zhī yuán,　　yuán yǒu　shù　　tán.
　　　pleasant 3SG.NOM ATR garden　　there exists planted hardwood trees
　　　'Pleasant is that man's garden where the hardwood trees are planted.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Odes* 184.1 "He ming 鶴鳴", Waley (1996: 158))

爰 is interpreted as [于 + anaphoric pronoun]. The antecedent of the anaphor is 彼之圓 'that garden' (a place word).

(13) 維 彼　　　四　國，　　**爰**　　究　　　**爰**　　度[dâk]。
　　　Wéi bǐ　　　sì　guó,　　yuán　jiū　　　yuán　dù.
　　　COP DIS.DEM four kingdoms on them scrutinize on them measure
　　　'*As for those four kingdoms, (he) scrutinized them and measured them.*'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Odes* 241.1 "Huang yi 皇矣", Waley (1996: 236))

爰究爰度 originates from 究 + [于 + anaphoric pronoun]$_{PP}$ and 度 + [于+ anaphoric pronoun]$_{PP}$. 爰 is pre-posed before 究 and 度 in order to place 度 in the rhyming position. The common antecedent of the anaphor is 四國 'four states', which is the target of 究 'investigate' and 度 'measure'.

[爰 *interpreted as* 于時 *'thereupon' (S-AND)*]
There are 19 occurrences of 爰 used as S-AND, which is interpreted as 于時 'then, thereupon'. It can be interpreted either as a time sequence or as a cause-and-effect. Examples of each case are provided below.

(14) 弓　矢　　斯　張，　干　戈　　戚　　揚，　　　　　　　[time sequence]
　　　Hōng shǐ　sī　zhāng, gān gē　qī　yáng,
　　　bow　arrow then display shield dagger halberd battle-axe
　　　爰　　方　　　啟　　行。
　　　yuán　fāng　qǐ　xíng.
　　　and then just then begin march
　　　'The bows and arrows he *displayed*. (*He also displayed*) shield and dagger, hal-
　　　berd and battle-axe; And then *he just then began* the march.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Odes* 250.1 "Gong Liu 公劉", Waley (1996: 252))

Qu (1983b: 318, 497) interpreted 啟行 as 起行 'initiated a march'. This line means that he displayed various weapons and then initiated his march. 爰 can best be interpreted as an S-AND indicating time sequence.

(15) 止基   迺 理，   爰   眾   [cause-and-effect]
      Zhǐjī   *nǎi lǐ,*   *yuán*   *zhòng*
      settlement then well-distributed thereupon numerous
      爰   有。
      yuán   *yǒu.*
      thereupon rich
      '*The settlements were well-distributed, thereupon, they were numerous and rich.*'
                                (*Odes* 250.6 "Gong Liu 公劉", Waley (1996: 253))

爰 in the above example is used as an S-AND, which can best be interpreted as a cause-and-effect. That is, the settlements were well-distributed, *thereupon*, (they) were numerous, *thereupon* (they) were rich.

[爰 *interpreted as 'where'*]
There are eight occurrences of 爰 used as a question word 'where'. An example is as follows.

(16) 爰   有   寒 泉? 在   浚 之 下。
      Yuán yǒu   hán quán? Zài   Xùn zhī xià.
      where exists cold spring located Xun ATR below
      '*Where* is *the Cool spring*? (*It is*) under the burgh of Xun.'
                                (*Ode* 32.3 "Kai feng 凱風", Waley (1996: 29))

Karlgren (1950a) interpreted 爰有寒泉 as 'and then there is the Cool spring'.[21] However, 爰有寒泉 appears at the beginning of a sentence; therefore, it is unnatural to interpret 爰 as an S-AND. 爰 cannot be interpreted as [于 + anaphoric pronoun] either, because there is no antecedent. 爰 is used as a question word meaning 'where' in the above example. The above sentence is interpreted as a question and its answer. The two interpretations of 爰 (or 焉), as [于/於 + anaphoric pronoun] and as a question word 'where', show a complementary distribution in terms of their position. As a question word, they appear at the beginning of a sentence. When used as [于/於 + anaphoric pronoun], they appear sentence-finally.[22] Additionally, they are differentiated by initials, as explained in § 1.1. While the question word 焉 is reconstructed as *ʔjan* (voiceless laryngeal stop) in Middle Chinese, it is reconstructed as *hjan* (voiced laryngeal fricative) when used as a fusion.

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21. According to Karlgren's interpretation, there is no occurrence of 爰 used as a question word in *The book of odes*.

22. Except for the case where 爰/焉 is pre-posed to make the verb appear in the rhyming position as in (12) and (13). The preposition of 爰/焉 mainly appears in *The book of odes*, and it is very rare in other texts.

In sum, the main usages of 爰 reflected in *The book of documents* and *The book of odes* are as follows. It is interpreted as [于 + anaphoric pronoun], which is frequently rendered as a place expression 'there'. 爰 is used as a sentence connective, which can be understood either as a time sequence or as a cause-and-effect. 爰 is also used as a question word meaning 'where', appearing at the beginning of a sentence.

In § 3.2, the usages of 焉 in the same texts are analyzed. In § 3.3, the usages of 焉 in *Zuo's commentary* are summarized. It is in *Zuo's commentary* that we find peak diversity in terms of the usages of 焉.

3.2 焉 in *The book of documents* and in *The book of odes*

In this section, all occurrences of 焉 in *The book of documents* and in *The book of odes* are analyzed.

3.2.1 焉 in *The book of documents*

焉 appears only four times in the New Text (*Jīnwén* 金文) portion of *The book of documents*. Three of them are interpreted as [於 + anaphoric pronoun]. The antecedent of the anaphor appears in the previous sentence. There is one occurrence of 焉 used as a descriptive adverbial suffix, which is equivalent to 然 in later Archaic Chinese texts. The usages of 焉 in *The book of documents* are summarized in Table 4 below.

Table 4. The usages of 焉 in *The book of documents*

Usages	[於 + anaphoric pronoun]	Adverbial suffix (equivalent to 然)	Total
Numbers of occurrences	3	1	4

Examples of each usage are provided below.

[於 + *anaphoric pronoun*]

(17) 為　　壇　　於南　　　方　　北　　面，周公　　　立　　**焉**。
　　　Wéi   tán   yú nán   fāng   bĕi   miàn, Zhōu Gōng lì   yān.
　　　make altar on southern region north face   Zhou Gong stand there
　　　'(They) made an altar on the southern side, facing north. Zhou Gong took his place there.'

　　　　　　　　　(*Documents* "Jinteng 金縢", Karlgren (1950b: 35); Qu (1983a: 128))

周公立焉 is interpreted as 'Zhou Gong stood in that place (=there)'. 焉 is analyzed as [於 + anaphoric pronoun]. The antecedent of the anaphoric pronoun, 壇 'the altar', appears in the previous sentence.

[*Adverbial suffix (equivalent to 然)*]

(18)   其   心   休休 **焉**，   其   如   有   容。
       Qí   *xīn*   *xiūxiū yān,*   *qí*   *rú*   *yǒu*   *róng.*
       3SG.POSS heart fine   ADV.SFS MOD as if have generosity
       'His heart is very fine, *as though he has* (indulgence=) generosity.'
                              (*Documents* "Qinshi 秦誓", Karlgren (1950b: 81); Qu (1983a: 268))

焉 *ʔan and 然 *nan have the same final, and the former can be used as a loanword for the latter.[23]

3.2.2   焉 in *The book of odes*

焉 appears 25 times in the entire *Book of odes*. It appears 14 times in the "Feng" and 11 times in the "Xiao Ya". It does not appear at all in the "Da Ya" or the "Song". Obviously, the emergence of 焉 is later than that of 爰. While 爰 is distributed evenly in "Feng" (14 occurrences), "Xiao Ya" (14 occurrences), and "Da Ya" (13 occurrences), as shown in Table 3 in § 3.1.2, 焉 does not appear at all in "Da Ya" or "Song". It appears most frequently in "Feng", which was compiled the latest.

   This difference in the time of emergence of 焉 versus 爰 is due to the fact that 於 emerged later than 于. While 于 flourished as early as in the OBI and still appears frequently in *The book of odes* and *The book of documents*, 於 started to appear only sporadically in these two pre-classical texts.[24] 於 became very popular in Late Archaic Chinese and almost replaced 于. So, it is more than natural that 焉, which is the fusion of [於 + *n], appears in the sections of *The book of odes* which were compiled later.

   The usages of 焉 in *The book of odes* are summarized as follows, although there are some examples whose interpretations are still controversial. 焉 used as a fusion of [於 + anaphoric pronoun] appears nine times. There are two occurrences of 焉 used as a loanword for 然 (adverbial suffix), a usage already observed

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23. According to He (1989: 369), both 焉 and 然 are used as adverbial suffixes. Yet one is often preferred to the other depending on the text. The numbers of occurrences of 焉 and 然 is 1:0 in *The book of documents*, 12:2 in *Zuo's commentary*, 1:5 in *Analects* 論語, 2:27 in *Mencius* 孟子, 0:21 in *Han Feizi* 韓非子, and 0:12 both in *Gongyang's commentary* 公羊傳 and in *Guliang's commentary* 穀梁傳. She concluded that 焉 frequently appears in earlier texts compared to 然.
24. According to Chang (2012: 17), 于 appears as many as 382 times, while 於 appears only seven times, in *The book of documents*. In *The book of odes*, 于 appears 335 times, while 於 appears only 13 times. (於 used as an exclamatory particle is excluded from this count.)

in *The book of documents*.[25] There are five occurrences of 焉 used as a sentence connective meaning 'then, thereupon'. 焉 used as a question word 'where' appears once in "Feng". It is also used as a sentence-final particle in eight cases, a unique usage that is not shared with 爰. All of the occurrences of 焉 in *The book of odes* are summarized in Table 5 below.

Table 5. The usages of 焉 in *The book of odes*[*]

Usages	[於 + anaphoric pronoun]	Loanword for 然 (adverbial suffix)	=於是 (s-AND)	Question word ('where')	Sentence-final particle	Total
風	7	0	2	1	4	14
小雅	2	2	3	0	4	11
大雅	0	0	0	0	0	0
頌	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**9**	**2**	**5**	**1**	**8**	**25**

* The usages of 焉 that were already observed in *The book of documents* are marked in grey.

Examples of 焉 used as [於 + anaphoric pronoun], sentence-connective, question word, and sentence-final particle are as follows.

[於 + *anaphoric pronoun*]

(19) 嗟　　行　之　人，　　胡　不　比　　　　焉？　人　　無
　　Jiē　　xíng zhī rén,　　hú　bù　bǐ　　　　yān?　Rén　wú
　　heigh road ATR person why NEG be side by side with him person not have
　　兄弟，　胡　不　佽　　焉？
　　xiōngdì, hú　bú　cì　　yān?
　　siblings why NEG assist to/in/on him
　　'Heigh, *the one* upon the road, *why do you not accompany him?* A man that has no brothers, why do you not help him?'

(*Odes* 119.1 "Di du 杕杜", Waley (1996: 94))

比 'to be side by side' is frequently followed by [於 + Object]. The two 焉 in the above example are both interpreted as [於 + anaphoric pronoun]. The antecedents are 嗟行之人 'the one on the road, wanderer' and 人無兄弟 'a person with no brothers', respectively.

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25. For an example of 焉 used as a loanword for 然, see (18) in § 3.2.1.

(20) 人   之 為 言， 胡   得   焉！
      Rén   zhī wéi yán, hú dé   yān!
      people ATR false words what obtain from them
      'The false stories that people tell – What is to be got from them?'
                      (*Ode* 125.1 "Cai ling 采苓", Waley (1996: 97))

焉 is interpreted as [於 + anaphoric pronoun] and the antecedent is 人之為(=偽)言 'people's false words'. 得焉 means 得於人之為言 'obtain from people's false words'. 於 is used as a source marker. As shown in (19) and (20), the antecedent of [於 + anaphoric pronoun] is not restricted to a place word (as in (17)) at all. Obviously, anything that can be the object of a function word 於 'in/on/at' (indicating locative), 'to' (indicating allative or recipient), 'toward' (indicating target), 'from' (indicating ablative or source), 'than' (indicating the standard of comparison), 'by' (indicating the agent), and so on, can appear as the antecedent.[26]

[焉 *used as an* S-AND]

(21) 誰 侜 予   美，   心 焉   忉忉。
      Shéi zhōu yǔ   měi,   xīn yān   dāodāo.
      Who lie   1.POSS lovely one heart therefore so sad
      'Who has lied to my lovely one? My heart is, *therefore*, so sad.'
              (*Odes* 142.1 "Fang you que chao 防有鵲巢", Waley (1996: 110))

The interpretation of 焉 in the above sentence has been controversial. Shang (2014: 605) considered it a sentence-medial particle with no meaning. However, it can be best interpreted as a sentence connective, given that the position of a sentence connective is either in front of the second sentence or between the subject and the predicate of the second sentence.[27]

[焉 *used as a question word* '*where*']

(22) 焉   得   諼草， 言 樹 之 背。
      Yān   dé   xuāncǎo, yán shù zhī bèi.
      Where obtain day-lily CONJ plant it behind (the house)
      'Where can I get a day-lily to plant behind the house?'
               (*Odes* 62.1 "Bo xi 伯兮", Waley (1996: 53))

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26. For the peak diversity of 焉 as a fusion word, see § 3.3 焉 in *Zuo's commentary* and Late Archaic Chinese texts.

27. An example of a sentence connective appearing between the subject and the predicate of the second sentence is as follows: 紂囚文王七年, 諸侯皆從之囚, 紂**於是乎**懼而歸之. (*Zuo's* "Xiang Gong 襄公" 31.13, Yang (1981: 1195)) 'Zhou imprisoned King Wen for seven years. Dukes all followed him (=King Wen) and imprisoned (themselves). Zhou, then, was scared and returned him (=King Wen).'

焉 at the beginning of a sentence can be interpreted as a question word 'where', which is the same as the case of 爰 in §3.1.2.

[焉 *used as a sentence-final particle*]

(23) 終   竇   且   貧，莫   知   我   艱。   已   焉   哉！
     Zhōng   jù   qiě pín, mò   zhī   wǒ   jiān.   Yǐ   yān zāi!
     in the end in need also poor no one know 1SG.POSS misfortune stop PRT PRT
     天   實   為   之，   謂   之   何   哉！
     Tiān   shí   wéi zhī,   wèi zhī   hé   zāi!
     heaven truly do 3SG.ACC talk 3SG.ACC what PRT
     'I am utterly poverty-stricken and destitute; yet no one heeds my misfortunes.
     Well, all is over now. No doubt it is Heaven's doing, so what's the good of talk-
     ing about it?'   (*Ode* 40.1 "Bei men 北門", Waley (1996: 35))

已 is a verb meaning 'to finish'. The interpretation of 焉哉 in 已焉哉 has been problematic. Shang (2014: 605) interpreted 焉 as a sentence-final particle and 焉哉 as an example where two particles are used consecutively.[28] He argued that 焉, as a final particle, conveys the meaning of pointing out (*tíshì* 提示) and/or emphasis (*qiángdiào* 強調). The interpretation of 焉 as a sentence-final modal particle rests on a solid basis.[29] 哉 is a final particle of exclamation.

So far, the usages of 爰 and 焉 in *The book of odes* and *The book of documents* have been analyzed. 爰 (the fusion of [于 + *n-]) appears more often than 焉 (the fusion of [於 + *n-]) in these two texts. This is because 于 occurs by far more frequently in this period, while 於 was still quite scarce. 爰 not only represents 援 'pull by hand, aid', but also appears as a function word with a wide range of usages. It is interpreted as [于 + anaphoric pronoun] and is also used as an S-AND meaning 于時 'then, thereupon'. 爰 is also used as a question word meaning 哪 儿 'where'. Just like 爰, 焉 is used as a fusion of [於 + anaphoric pronoun], as an S-AND (equivalent to 於是), and as a question word 'where'. The unique functions of 焉 that are not shared with 爰 are its usages as a loanword for 然 (adverbial suffix) and as a sentence-final modal particle.

3.3   焉 in *Zuo's commentary* and Late Archaic Chinese texts

焉 appears 890 times in the entire *Zuo's commentary*. In this text 焉 showed a peak diversity in terms of its usages. Among the usages of 焉 in *Zuo's*, there are

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28. For the occurrences of two or three particles appearing in a row, see Guo (1989: 80–82). Examples include 也已 and 也已矣. 也 expresses judgement; 已 expresses restriction; and 矣 delivers the meaning of realization.

29. For previous studies on the modal usage of 焉 and its examples, see §3.3.3.

several noteworthy changes compared to its usages in *The book of documents* and *The book of odes*.[30]

焉 is frequently used as a fusion of [於 + anaphoric pronoun] with a wide range of meanings. This is due to the fact that by the time of *Zuo's*, the usage of 於 as a function word was fully developed.[31] 焉 is used as a spatial goal marker; as a locative marker; as a dative marker; or as a source marker co-occurring with a verb of giving or depriving. It marks the addressee or the source when it appears with a verb of speech or inquiry. It indicates a target. 焉 is used as a so-called "concern marker", corresponding to 'on, about, in regard to' in English. It also marks the agent in a passive sentence or indicates the standard of comparison in a comparative sentence.

焉 is not only used as a question word 'where' but also is frequently used as a rhetorical question marker rendered as 'how (can)...' (interpreted as 哪裡[能], 怎麼[能] in Contemporary Chinese). This is a new usage of 焉 in *Zuo's*, which derived from its function as a question word 'where'.

The use of 焉 as a sentence-final modal particle increased drastically. As is already explained in § 3.2.2, this usage first appears in *The book of odes* (eight occurrences). In *Zuo's*, 焉 is often in the form [必...焉] 'It must be...,' [其...焉] 'It is probably...,' [將...焉] 'will, intend to,' [如/猶...焉] 'It would be like...,' [若/苟...焉] 'If...,' [有/無...焉] 'There would be (no) ....,' or [何...焉] 'How...?.'

In the following subsections, examples of 焉 in each usage are provided.[32]

3.3.1 焉 (= [於 + anaphoric pronoun]) shows a wide range of meaning

焉, which is a fusion of [於 + anaphoric pronoun], shows a wide range of meaning as the grammaticalization of 於 is complete and the semantic scope of 於 is fully expanded. 焉 is interpreted as [於 (allative or locative marker) + anaphoric pronoun] when preceded by a verb of movement or a locative verb. Verbs of movement that co-occur with 焉 include 入 'to enter', 反(=返) 'to return', 遷 'to move', and others. Locative verbs include 止 'to cease', 卒 'to die', 死 'to die', and 置 'to place'. Examples are as follows.

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30. On the other hand, 爰 appears only vestigially in *Zuo's commentary* (a total of 10 occurrences) and later texts. It mainly appears in quotations from *The book of odes*, personal names, or place names.

31. For discussion on the usages of 於 and the subclassification of the co-occuring verbs, see Chang (2012).

32. The exact frequency count of 焉 used in different usages in *Zuo's* will be very difficult due to the number of transitional or controversial examples. This paper only introduces the categories of different usages of 焉 and does not venture to provide the exact count of each usage.

(24) 諸侯　　城　　緣陵　　而　**遷**　杞　焉。
Zhūhóu chéng Yuánlíng ér　qiān Qǐ yān.
marquis walled Yuanling CONJ move Qi there
'The *marquis* walled Yuanling, and *moved Qi there* (=*Yuanling*).'
(*Zuo's* "Xi Gong 僖公" 14.1, Yang (1981: 347))

(25) 宋　老佐　　華喜　圍　　彭城，　　老佐　**卒**　**焉**。
Sòng LǎoZuǒ HuáXǐ wéi　Péngchéng, LǎoZuǒ zú yān.
Song Lao Zuo Hua Xi besiege Pengcheng Lao Zuo died there
'Lao Zuo of Song and Hua Xi laid siege to Pengcheng. *Lao Zuo died there*
(=*Pengcheng*).'　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Cheng Gong 成公" 18.8, Yang (1981: 913))

遷杞焉 is interpreted as 遷杞+ [於 (allative) + anaphoric pronoun (=Yuanling)].
卒焉 is interpreted as 卒 + [於 (locative) + anaphoric pronoun (=Pengcheng)].

焉 is interpreted as [於 (dative/source marker) + anaphoric pronoun] co-occurring with a verb of giving/depriving. Verbs of giving include 致 'to bring to', 納 'to hand in', 賜 'to bestow', and 獻 'to offer up'. Verbs of depriving include 取 'to take' and 娶 'to take a wife'.

(26) 讓　　鮑國　　而　**致**　邑　**焉**。
Ràng　BàoGuó ér　zhì yì　yān.
abdicate Bao Guo CONJ give town to him
'(He) declined the appointment in favor of Bao Guo, and gave the town up to
him.'　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Cheng Gong 成公" 17.6, Yang (1981: 898))

(27) 鄭伯　　圍　　　戴。癸亥，克　　之，　**取** 三師
ZhèngBó wéi　Dài. Guǐhài, kè　zhī,　qǔ sānshī
Zheng Bo surrounded Dai guihai reduce 3SG.ACC take three armies
焉。
yān.
from them
'The earl of Zheng surrounded Dai; on *guihai*, he reduced it; taking the three
armies *from them* (=*Dai*).'　　　(*Zuo's* "Yin Gong 隱公" 10.4, Yang (1981: 69))

致邑焉 is originally 致邑 + [於 (dative) + anaphoric pronoun (= Bao Guo)]. On the contrary, 取三師焉 is derived from 取三師 +[於 (source marker) + anaphoric pronoun (= Dai)].

When 焉 co-occurs with a verb of speech, it is analyzed as [於 (addressee marker) + anaphoric pronoun]. When 焉 co-occurs with a verb of hearing or inquiry, it is analyzed as [於 (source marker) + anaphoric pronoun]. Examples of verbs of speech include 告 'to inform' and 言 'to say'. An example of a verb of hearing or inquiry is 聽 'to hear'.

(28) 叔向　　亦　不　**告**　免　　**焉**　而　朝。
ShūXiàng yì　bú　gào　miǎn　yān　ér　cháo.
Shu Xiang also NEG inform liberation to him CONJ go to court
'*Shu Shang* also *did not inform* him (=Qixi) of his being liberated *and* went to court.'　　　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Xiang Gong 襄公" 21.5, Yang (1981: 1061))

(29) 若　我　　伐　宋，諸侯　之　伐　我　　必　　疾，
Ruò wǒ　fá　Sòng, zhūhóu zhī fá　wǒ　bì　jí,
if　1PL.NOM attack Song marquis ATR attack 1PL.ACC certainly immediate
吾　　乃　**聽**　命　　**焉**。
wú　nǎi　tīng mìng　yān.
1PL.NOM CONJ hear command from them
'If we attack Song, the states are sure to attack us immediately. We will then *hear a command from them* (=states).'
　　　　　　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Xiang Gong 襄公" 11.2, Yang (1981: 988))

告免焉 is interpreted as 告免 + [於 (addressee marker) + anaphoric pronoun]. The anaphoric pronoun refers back to Qixi 祁奚 appearing in the previous sentence. 聽命焉 originated from 聽命 + [於 (source marker) + anaphoric pronoun (= marquis)].

焉 is used as a fusion of [於 (target marker) + anaphoric pronoun] when preceded by verbs such as 禮 'to be courteous to', 弔 'to condole', and 朝 'to present oneself for imperial audience'.

(30) 宋　襄　　夫人，襄王　　之　姊　　也，昭公　　不　**禮**
Sòng Xiāng fūrén,　Xiāngwáng zhī zǐ　yě, Zhāogōng bù　lǐ
Song Xiang wife　　king Xiang ATR sister PAR　Duke Zhao NEG courteous
焉。
yān.
to her
'The wife (=widow) of (Duke) Xiang of Song was a sister of king Xiang, and Duke Zhao *was not courteous to her*.'
　　　　　　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Wen Gong 文公" 8.6, Yang (1981: 567))

焉 in 不禮焉 is a fusion of [於 (target marker) + anaphoric pronoun (=the wife of Duke Xiang of Song)]. 於, as a target marker, indicates the target that the action (禮 'to be courteous') is aimed at/directed toward.

A concern marker corresponds to 'on, about, in regard to' in English. There are examples of 焉 interpreted as [於 (concern marker) + anaphoric pronoun] in *Zuo's commentary*.

(31) 國 有 大 命， 而 有 正卿， 童子 言 焉， 將 為
        Guó yǒu dà mìng, ér yǒu zhèngqīng, tóngzǐ yán yān, jiāng wéi
        State has great mandate CONJ have chief minister boy   talk about it will be
        戮   矣！
        lù   yǐ!
        executed PRT
        'The *state has a great mandate as well as its chief minister. If a boy like you talk
        about it so, you will* be executed.'

                                             (*Zuo's* "Xiang Gong 襄公" 8.3, Yang (1981: 956))

In 言焉, 焉 is a fusion of [於 (concern marker) + anaphoric pronoun]. The antecedent of the anaphoric pronoun is the military expedition that is described in the previous lines.

    In the following example, 焉 is interpreted as [於 (agent marker) + anaphoric pronoun].

(32) 夫 火 烈，民 望   而 畏   之， 故   鮮
        Fū huǒ liè, mín wàng   ér wèi zhī, gù xiān
        PRT fire fierce people gaze it from afar CONJ afraid of 3SG.ACC therefore few
        死 **焉**。
        sǐ yān.
        killed by it
        '*Fire is fierce, so people gaze it from afar and are afraid of it. Therefore, few peo-
        ple are killed by it.*'   (*Zuo's* "Zhao Gong 昭公" 20.9, Yang (1981: 1421))

死焉 is interpreted as 死 + [於 (agent marker)+ anaphoric pronoun (=fire)]. The sense is 'killed by fire'.

    Finally, 焉 can be interpreted as [於 (comparative marker) + anaphoric pronoun] when preceded by a stative verb, often in the form [莫 + V$_{STAT}$ + 焉] "Nothing is V$_{STAT}$-*er* than that", [孰 + V$_{STAT}$ + 焉] "What is even more V$_{STAT}$-*er* than that?" or 甚焉 "It is even more extreme than that". Examples include:

(33) 過   而 能 改， 善   莫   大   **焉**。
        Guò   ér néng gǎi, shàn mò dà yān.
        have faults CONJ able to mend goodness nothing greater than that
        'When one has faults to be able to mend one's ways, *in terms of goodness, there
        is nothing greater than that.*'   (*Zuo's* "Xuan Gong 宣公" 2.3, Yang (1981: 657))

(34) 能   以 國 讓， 仁 孰 大   **焉**？
        Néng yǐ guó rang, rén shú dà yān?
        able to take state decline virtue what greater than that
        'What greater virtue could there be than for him thus to decline the dignity of
        the State?'   (*Zuo's* "Xi Gong 僖公" 8.5, Yang (1981: 323))

In 善莫大焉 in (33), the anaphor is the previous sentence, 過而能改 'when one has faults, one is able to fix'. It is interpreted as 'as for goodness, nothing is greater than that'. In (34), in 仁孰大焉, the anaphor is 能以國讓 'being able to yield the state'. It is interpreted as 'when it comes to virtue, what is greater than that?'

In sum, 焉 as a fusion of [於 + anaphoric pronoun] shows the maximum range of usages in *Zuo's commentary*, as 於 was fully grammaticalized.

3.3.2 焉 used as a question word 'where' or as a rhetorical question marker

As is illustrated in § 3.2.1, there is one occurrence of 焉 used as a question word 'where' in *The book of odes*. In *Zuo's*, 焉 is not only frequently used as a question word, but is also used as a rhetorical question marker, often in the forms 焉用 'What is the use of …..?' or 焉得/焉能 'How can one…?'. Examples of each case are as follows.

(35) 朝者　　曰：「公 **焉**　在？」其　人　　曰：「吾　　公　在
　　　Cháozhě yuē: "Gong yān　zài?" Qí rén　　yuē: "Wú　　gōng zài
　　　audience said duke   where located DEM person said 1SG.POSS duke located
　　　壑谷。」
　　　hègǔ."
　　　valley
　　　'*The court audience* asked, "Where is the duke?" The one said, "He is in the
　　　valley."'   (*Zuo's* "Ai Gong 哀公" 30.10, Yang (1981: 1775))

(36) 魯侯　　　　焉　知　　禮！
　　　Lǔhóu　　　yān zhī　lǐ!
　　　Marquis of Lu how know propriety
　　　'How does the marquis of Lu know propriety?'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Zhao Gong 昭公" 5.3, Yang (1981: 1266))

(37) 民　　無　　內　　憂，　而　　又　　無　　外　懼，　　　國
　　　Mín　wú　　nèi　yōu,　ér　　yòu, wú　　wài　jù,　　　guó
　　　people has no inner anxiety CONJ also has no outer apprehension state
　　　焉用　　　　城？
　　　yānyòng　　chéng?
　　　what is the use of build a wall
　　　'The people had no cause for anxiety in the State, and there were no apprehen-
　　　sions from abroad; *what is the use of building a wall?*'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Zhao Gong 昭公" 23.9, Yang (1981: 1448))

(38) 自　郢　及　我　　九百　　　里，**焉能**　害　我？
　　　Zì　Yǐng jí　wǒ　　jiǔbǎi　　lǐ,　yānnéng hài　wǒ?
　　　from Ying to 1PL.ACC nine hundred *li*　how can harm 1PL.ACC
　　　'From Ying (the capital of Chu) to us is nine hundred *lǐ*; what harm can Chu
　　　do to us?'　　　　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Xi Gong 僖公" 12.2, Yang (1981: 340))

焉 is used as a question marker in (35), while it is used as a rhetorical question
marker in (36)–(38). The use of 焉 as a rhetorical question marker increased sig-
nificantly in high Classical Chinese. An example is 未能事人, 焉能事鬼? […] 未
知生, 焉知死? (*Analects* Chapter 11, Entry 11, "Xian jin 先進"): 'I am still unable
to serve people; how can I possibly serve a ghost? […] I haven't yet figured out the
life, how can I possibly know the death?' The use of '焉' as a rhetorical question
marker was derived from its use as a question word 'where'.[33]

3.3.3　焉 used as a sentence-final modal particle

The use of 焉 as a sentence-final modal particle increased significantly in *Zuo's
commentary*. In § 3.3.3.1, previous studies on 焉 as a sentence-final particle are
summarized. In § 3.3.3.2, such usage of 焉 in *Zuo's commentary* is illustrated.

Previous studies on 焉 *as a sentence-final particle*
According to Trask (1993: 76–77, 92, 173–174), modality is "a grammatical cate-
gory which expresses the degree or kind of reality of a proposition, as perceived
by the speaker." It is mainly subdivided into two kinds. One is epistemic modality,
which is "concerned with knowledge and belief, including at least the expression
of possibility, probability, and certainty (as perceived by the speaker)." The other
is deontic modality, which is "concerned with permission, obligation, and prohi-
bition."

　　焉 is used as a sentence-final modal particle in Archaic Chinese. Yet, there is
a controversy regarding the exact function of it.

　　Wang (1976: 105–108) mentioned that 焉, which was originally a demonstra-
tive, developed into a sentence-final particle because it frequently appeared at the
end of a sentence. Its function is to point out and draw one's attention. An exam-
ple is 君子病無能**焉**, 不病人之不己知**也** (*Analects* Chapter 15, Entry 19, "Weil-
inggong 衛靈公") 'The gentleman regrets that he is incapable; He does not regret
that people do not esteem him.' 焉 and 也 are used in parallel positions, which in
turn suggests that 焉, like 也, is a sentence-final particle.[34]

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33. As Peyraube & Wu (2000: 316) pointed out, a question word meaning 'where' can also be
used as an interrogative pronoun asking the reasoning (詢問事理的疑問代詞), which can fur-
ther develop into a rhetorical question marker. 哪兒/哪裡 (frequently written as 那裡 until
Modern Chinese) in Modern and Contemporary Chinese is a well-known example.

34. It must be stressed that the functions of 焉 and 也 are distinct. The function of 焉 is point-
ing out and drawing one's attention. 也 expresses simple declaration. Therefore, 君子病無能

Guo (1988; 1989) listed sentence-final particles in Archaic Chinese and stressed that each of them has its own meaning. 焉 expresses pointing out while 也 delivers judgment.

Lü (1990[2004]: 276–278) argued that the function of 焉 as a sentence-final particle is similar to that of 呢 in Modern Chinese, although he did not define the function of 呢 which 焉 corresponds to. It is most likely "to confirm the fact and to persuade the listener appearing at the end of a declarative sentence."[35] An example is 國人望君如望慈父母焉 (*Zuo's* "Ai Gong 哀公" 16.5, Yang (1981: 1703)) 'The people of the state look to you with expectation as they would to a loving parent.'

Fang (2015: 422–424) argued that 焉 is used at the end of a declarative, interrogative, optative, or exclamatory sentence to express the mood. Examples are as follows.

(39) 君   以為   易， 其   難   也 將 至   **矣**；君   [declarative]
      Jūn yǐwéi   yì,   qí   nán   yě jiāng zhì yǐ; jūn
      lord consider easy DEF.ART hardship PRT will arrive PRT lord
      以為   難，   其   易   也 將 至   **焉**。
      yǐwéi nán,   qí   yì   yě jiāng zhì yān.
      consider difficult DEF.ART easiness PRT will arrive PRT
      'If the lord considers it easy, the hardship will definitely come. If the lord considers it difficult, the easiness will definitely come.'   (*Guoyu* "Jinyu si 晉語四")

(40) 「子   聞   寡人   之 聲   聞 亦   [interrogative]
      Zǐ   wén guǎrén   zhī shēng   wén yì
      2SG.NOM heard I, unvirtuous one ATR reputation heard also
      何   如 焉？」
      hé   rú yān
      what like PRT
      '"You have heard about my reputation. What is it like?"'
                          (*Han Feizi* "Neichushu shang 內儲說上")

(41) 反   是 不 思，[36] 亦 已 焉 哉！   [exclamatory]
      Fǎn shì bù sī, yì yǐ yān zāi!
      Reverse DEM NEG think also over PRT PRT
      '*He is not willing to reconsider. Alas! it is over!*'   (*Odes* 58.6 "Mang 氓")

焉 is stressing that the gentleman regrets that he is incapable (i.e., his incapability, not anything else, is what he regrets). 不病人之不己知也 is a simple declaration with no emphasis.

35. *Xiandai Hanyu cidian* [Contemporary Chinese dictionary], published by Chinese Academy of Social Science (1996[1978]: 918), "用在陳述句的末尾表示確認事實, 使對方信服."

36. Qu (1983b: 110) interpreted 反是不思 as 回頭想一想都不肯 'not even willing to look back and reconsider'. I follow his interpretation.

In (39), 矣 and 焉 are used as sentence-final particles. According to Kroll (2015: 546), 矣 not only expresses perfective aspect and change of status, but also delivers rhetorical finality, which is rendered into 'surely' or 'definitely'. 焉 expresses pointing out or emphasis in (39)–(41). The use of 焉 as a sentence-final particle first appears in *The book of odes* (8 occurrences, as stated in § 3.2.2), and its numbers of occurrences increased significantly in *Zuo's* and Late Archaic Chinese texts.

The use of 焉 as a sentence-final modal particle in Zuo's commentary

It has been controversial when 焉 should be interpreted as [於 + anaphoric pronoun] and when as a sentence-final particle. He Leshi (1989: 319–320) also mentioned this difficulty. She stated that she treated 焉 as a fusion when such interpretation is helpful (or does not hurt) in understanding the context. Only 焉 appearing in the form [...於 + Obj + 焉]$_{SENTENCE}$ is treated as a sentence-final particle because *[...於 + Obj + 於 + Obj] is illogical. According to her statistics, among the total of 877 occurrences of 焉 in *Zuo's*, only one occurrence of 焉 (provided below) is used as a sentence-final particle,[37] whose function is to close the statement (用以煞句).

(42) 靈王   遷   許 胡 沈   道 房   申   **於** 荊 **焉**。
     Língwáng qiān   Xǔ Hú Shěn Dào Fáng Shēn yú jīng yān.
     King Ling moved Xu Hu Shen Dao Fang Shen to Jing PRT
     'King Ling removed Xu, Hu, Shen, Dao, Fang, and Shen within the boundaries of Jing.'   (*Zuo's* "Zhao Gong 昭公" 13.5, Yang (1981: 1360))

The scope of 焉 treated as a fusion by He is too broad. Guo (1989: 76–77, 82) is the other extreme. He agreed that it is hard to determine whether 焉 is used as a fusion or as a sentence-final particle. Therefore, he chose to treat all of them as sentence-final particles. According to his statistics, there are as many as 766 occurrences of 焉 used as a sentence-final particle in *Zuo's*.

I assume that 焉 is interpreted as [於 + anaphoric pronoun] when there is an overt antecedent appearing in the previous context. Quite a number of the occurrences of 焉 treated as a fusion by He must be understood as a sentence-final modal particle. It conveys the meaning of pointing out (*tíshì* 提示) and/or emphasis (*qiángdiào* 強調), co-occurring with an assumptive ('must' as in "You must be hungry" in English), dubitative (rendered as 'perhaps it is so', or 'can it be so'), declarative (associated with the uttering of a state which the speaker believes

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37. According to her statistics, 859 are used as a fusion, 14 are used as *zhùcí* 助詞 (including 12 occurrences used as an adverbial suffix equivalent to 然), one is used as a sentence-final particle, one is used as a particle in the form 於是焉 (equivalent to 於是乎), one is used as a preposition, and one is used as a pronoun.

to be true), and interrogative modal particles.[38] The modal particles that co-occur with 焉 include 必 'certainly', 將 'will' or 'intend to', and 其 'probably'. 焉 also appears in the form [如/猶…焉] 'It would be like…', [有/無…焉] 'There would be (no) …', and [何…焉] 'How…?' In all cases, the function of 焉 is identical, i.e., pointing out and emphasizing the previous utterance.[39] Examples of each case are as follows.

[必/將/其…焉]: *'It is certainly…'/ 'It will…'/ 'It is probably…'*
必/將/其 are all interpreted as epistemic modality. The difference among them is that, while 必 expresses assumptive modality and 其 expresses dubitative modality, 將 is in between in terms of the certainty.

(43) 夫　　能　　固　　位　　者，　**必**　度　　於　　本　　末，
　　　Fū　néng　gù　　wèi　zhě,　bì　dù　　yú　　běn　　mò,
　　　PRT able to solidify position the one must measure on/it/to beginning end
　　　而　　後　立　　衷　　　　焉。
　　　ér　　hòu　lì　　zhōng　　yān.
　　　CONJ after establish proper one PRT
　　　'He who would be able to *solidify the position* must measure the beginning and the end and then establish *the proper one*.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Zhuang Gong 莊公" 6.1, Yang (1981: 168))

衷 means 適合 'proper' or 'the proper one'. 焉 cannot be interpreted as a fusion of [於 + anaphoric pronoun] because there is no antecedent for it. 焉 can best be interpreted as a sentence-final modal particle co-occurring with a modal adverb 必 'certainly'. 必度於本末, 而後立衷焉 is interpreted as 'must measure the beginning and the end and then establish the proper one'.

(44) 公　　曰：「吾　　**將**　略　地　　　焉。」遂　　　往。
　　　Gōng yuē: "Wú　　jiāng lüè　dì　　yān." Suì　　　wǎng.
　　　Duke said　1SG.NOM will　walk country PRT　　thereupon went
　　　'The duke said, "I will walk over the country," and so he went.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Yin Gong 隱公" 5.1, Yang (1981: 44))

將 as a modal adverb marks the future action or intent. [將…焉] is interpreted as 'will, intend to' and 焉 can best be understood as a sentence-final modal particle. 吾將略地焉 is interpreted as 'I will walk over the country'.

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38. The definitions of dubitative and declarative modality are adopted from Trask (1993: 86–87, 72), respectively.

39. He (1989: 364, 369) was also aware that there are cases in which 焉 can be interpreted either as a fusion or as a sentence-final particle, especially when it is used in the form [有/無/若…焉] or [何 + verb + 焉]; yet she still treated them as a fusion.

(45) 「聖人　不　煩　卜　　　　筮。」惠王　　**其**　　　有　**焉**。
"Shèngrén bù fán bǔ　　　shì." Huìwáng qí　　　yǒu yān.
sage　　NEG trouble tortoise-shell reed　　King Hui probably exist PRT
'"A sage does not trouble the tortoise-shell and reeds." This is probably the case
of King Hui.'　　　　　　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Ai Gong 哀公" 18.2, Yang (1981: 1713))

(46) 賞　　而　去　　之，　**其或**　難　　**焉**。
Shǎng ér qù zhī, qíhuò nán yān.
reward CONJ put away 3SG.ACC probably difficult PRT
'To reward them, and at the same time put them away, should be a difficult
thing, I think.'　　　　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Wen Gong 文公" 21.2, Yang (1981: 1057))

In (45), 惠王其有焉 is an inversion of 其有惠王焉 'There is probably king Hui',
which means 'This is probably the case of King Hui'. In (46), 其或 is a modal
adverb indicating uncertainty. It can also be rendered as 'probably'. 焉 is used as a
modal particle. 其或難焉 is interpreted as '(It) is probably difficult, I suppose'.

[*A*如/猶B焉]: *'It would be like…'*
焉, as a sentence-final particle, often appears in the form [A如/猶B焉] 'It would
be like…' It is a declarative sentence (i.e., the uttering of a state which the speaker
believes to be true). There has been a controversy as to whether declarative should
also be treated as a type of mood or not. Palmer (1986: 26–29) pointed out that, in
languages that have systems of mood, the declarative is marked by the verbal mor-
phology, just as the subjunctive and imperative are. This supports the idea that
declarative must also be understood as a kind of epistemic modality. Examples of
焉 in [A如/猶B焉] are as follows.

(47) 小國　　　之 仰　大國　　　也，**如**百　　　穀　之 仰
Xiǎoguó zhī yǎng dàguó yě, rú bǎi gǔ zhī yang
Small states ATR look up great states PRT　as hundred grain ATR look up
膏　　　雨　**焉**。
gāo yǔ yān.
fattening rain PRT
'The small States *look up to* your great State as all the kinds of grain *look up to*
the fattening rains.'　　　　　(*Zuos'* "Xiang Gong 襄公" 19.3, Yang (1981: 1047))

(48) 人　　心　之 不 同　**如** 其　　面　**焉**。
Rén xīn zhī bù tóng rú qí miàn yān.
People's mind ATR NEG same as 3PL.POSS face PRT
'People's minds differ, just as their faces do.'
　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zuos'* "Xiang Gong 襄公" 31.12, Yang (1981: 1193))

(47) and (48) are declarative sentences expressing the speaker's belief. 焉 can best be treated as a sentence-final modal particle.

[有/無…焉]*: 'There would be (no)…'*

(49)   君子   曰：「詩 所 謂   『白 圭 之 玷， 尚   可 磨   也；
     Jūnzǐ   *yuē: "Shī suǒ wèi*   *"bái guī zhī diàn, shàng kě mó*   *yě;*
     gentleman say   *Odes* REL address white jade ATR flaw   still   can polish PRT
     斯   言 之 玷， 不 可   為 也，』 荀息 有 焉。」
     sī   *yán zhī diàn, bù kě*   *wéi yě,"*   *XúnXī yǒu yān."*
     PROX.DEM word ATR flaw   NEG possible do   PRT   Xun Xi exist PRT
     'The gentleman remarks: "*The odes* says: "A flaw in a white jade baton can still be polished away. But a flaw in one's words – nothing can be done about that!"" This applies to Xun Xi.'   (*Zuo's* "Xi Gong 僖公" 9.4, Yang (1981: 330))

荀息有焉 is an inversion of 有荀息焉. The effect of the inversion is to stress the object. Therefore, 荀息有焉 means 'This is exactly the case of Xun Xi.' 焉 cannot be interpreted as a fusion because there is no antecedent. It can best be understood as a sentence-final particle conveying pointing out and/or emphasis.

(50)   盈 曰：「雖然， 因   子   而 死，吾   無   悔 **矣**。
     Yíng yuē: "Suīrán, yīn   zǐ   ér sǐ, wú   wú   huǐ yǐ.
     Ying say   even so   due to 2SG.ACC CONJ die   1SG.NOM have no regret PAR
     我   實 不 天， 子   無   咎   **焉**。」
     Wǒ   shí bù tiān, zǐ   wú   jiù   yān."
     1SG.NOM truly NEG heaven 2SG.NOM has no blame PRT
     'Ying replied, "Granted, but if through your help I go to my death, I will not regret it. I may not have Heaven on my side, *and* you will be free from blame."'
                 (*Zuo's* "Xiang Gong 襄公" 23.3, Yang (1981: 1073))

矣 and 焉 are used in parallel positions. Both of them are interpreted as sentence-final particles. 矣 delivers rhetorical finality which is rendered as 'surely' or 'definitely'. 焉 indicates the subject's belief. Their function is to confirm the fact and persuade the listener.

[何…焉] *'How…?'*

(51) 愎　　諫　　違　　卜，　　固　　敗　　是　　求，　　又
　　　Bì　*jiàn*　*wéi*　*bǔ,*　*gù*　*bài*　*shì*　*qiú,*　*yòu*
　　　reject admonition go against divination certainly defeat RES.PRO look for also
　　　何　逃　　**焉**？
　　　hé　*táo*　*yān?*
　　　how escape PRT
　　　'You rejected my admonitions and went against the results of divination. You
　　　have brought defeat upon yourself! How can you hope to escape?'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zuo's* "Xi Gong 僖公" 15.4, Yang (1981: 356))

何 in [何…焉] is used as a rhetorical question marker. 何逃焉 'How can you hope to escape?' means you cannot escape.

　　　It must be mentioned, however, that not all instances of 焉 appearing in [何…焉] are interpreted as a modal particle. 焉 is still interpreted as a fusion of [於 + anaphoric pronoun] when an antecedent appears in the previous sentence. An example of such a case is 肉食者謀之, 又何間焉? (*Zuo's* "Zhuang Gong 莊公" 10.1, Yang (1981: 182)) 'The flesh-eaters are planning for the occasion; what have you to do to meddle *between them (=in their affairs)*?' 焉 is a fusion of [於 + anaphoric pronoun (肉食者 'the flesh-eaters')].

　　　It is often the case that the interpretation of 焉 in [何…焉] is ambiguous. For instance, in 何患焉, 焉 can either be interpreted as a sentence-final particle or still be interpreted as a fusion of [於 + anaphoric pronoun], given that an example [何患於+Obj] (e.g. 何患於彗? 'Why should you be troubled about a comet?') still exists. Such a transitional example shows an intermediate stage of 焉 developing from [於 + anaphoric pronoun] to a sentence-final modal particle.[40]

4.　The grammaticalization path of 焉

In this section, the development of 焉 used as an S-AND is discussed by providing parallel cases in Chinese and in other languages. It is also explained that its use as a question word 'where' derived from [于/於 + anaphoric pronoun] meaning 'here' or 'there'. A sentence-final particle 焉 derived via reanalysis.

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40. For the grammaticalization path from [於 + anaphoric pronoun] to a sentence-final particle, see § 4.3.

4.1   Demonstrative (+ other element) > S-AND

In § 3.2.2, it is illustrated that there are occurrences of 焉 used as an S-AND in *The book of odes*. Its etymological doublet, 爰, was also often used as an S-AND in *The book of documents* and *The book of odes*.

Diessel (1999: 125–127) has already pointed out that sentence connectives (also called "conjunctive adverbials") "are frequently formed from a pronominal demonstrative and some other element (e.g., an adverb or adposition) that indicates the semantic relationship between the conjoined propositions." This shows that the grammaticalization of a demonstrative pronoun or related form into an S-AND is very common cross-linguistically.

In Old Chinese, the development of demonstrative (+other element) into an S-AND is not restricted to 爰 and 焉. 時 'this, that', 是 'this, that', 于時, 於是, 於斯 (all [adposition + demonstrative]) and others are frequently used as an S-AND. Examples are as follows.[41]

(52) 刑   罰   罕   用，罪人   **是**   希。
      Xíng   *fá*   *hǎn*   *yòng, zuìrén* *shì*   *xī.*
      Corporal defiguring punishment seldom used criminals thereupon scanty
      'Corporal defiguring and punishment was seldom applied, thereupon, criminals became scanty.' (*Shiji* 史記 "Lü taihu benji 呂太后本紀" vol. 9/page 412)

(53) 我   其 夙 夜，畏 天   之 威， **于時** 保   之。
      Wǒ   *qí* *sù* *yè,* *wèi tiān* *zhī wēi,* *yúshí bǎo* *zhī.*
      1SG.NOM MOD day night fear heaven ATR wrath thus   preserve 3SG.ACC
      'Now let us day and night fear Heaven's wrath, and thus *preserve it*.'
                                (*Odes* 272 "Wo jiang 我將", Waley (1996: 293))

In the above two examples, 是 and 于時 are used as S-AND.

Similar examples of grammaticalization are observed in other languages. For instance, in Khasi (a member of the Mon-Khmer group in the Austroasiatic family), an adpositional marker *naŋ* and a distal demonstrative root *-ta* are used as sentence connectives meaning 'then'.

(54) *u khla u la ba:m* **naŋ- ta** *u la thyú.*
      ART tiger ART PST ate   PREP- DEM ART PST slept
      'The tiger ate and then he slept.'   (adopted from Heine & Kuteva (2002: 108))

In modern literary Korean, *ie* 'hereupon, thereupon' is also derived from *i* (near demonstrative) + *e* (locative marker). In modern colloquial Korean, *ku* 'that (near

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you)' is widely used to form lexical conjunctive adverbials. Examples include *kuliko* 'and' (<*kuli ha-ko* 'did it and'), *kulena* 'but' (<*kule ha-na* '(it) is so, but'), *kulemyen* 'then' (*kule ha-myen* 'if (it) is so'), *kulayto* 'nevertheless' (<*kule hay-to* 'even if (we) do so'), and so on.[42] All of these cases show that the grammaticalization of [demonstrative (+ other element)] into an s-AND is well attested cross-linguistically.

4.2   焉 used as a question word

The use of 焉 *ʔan as a question word 'where' first appeared in *The book of odes* and became very popular in *Zuo's, Analects*, and *Mencius*.[43] Whence, then, did the question word usage of 焉 originate? The source is very likely in its locative meaning. As already discussed in § 3.3.1, 焉 can be interpreted as 'there' when preceded by a locative verb, as in (25) 宋老佐華喜圍彭城, 老佐卒焉 'Lao Zuo of Song and Hua Xi laid siege to Pengcheng. Lao Zuo died there (=Pengcheng).'

It is not uncommon that a word has both interrogative and non-interrogative meanings. Kennedy (1940a, b) has already pointed out that 那 not only means 'what' (later written as 哪), but also means 'that'. 幾個 can be interpreted as 'how many' as well as 'some'. Modern Chinese question words can also deliver the meaning of indefiniteness. 焉 as a question word and as a word meaning 'there' show complementary distribution in terms of the position in which they occur. The former appears at the beginning of a sentence, while the latter appears at the end. Noting this, Pulleyblank (1995: 96) stated that "the interrogative pronoun *yān* 焉 'how? where?' which always appears in front of the verb is a positional variant of the third person pronoun substitute *yān* 焉 'in it, there, etc.' which appears in postverbal position."

4.3   [於 + anaphoric pronoun] to sentence-final modal particle

It is widely agreed that a sentence-final particle 焉 derived from [於 + anaphoric pronoun]. Explanations of the process of this development, however, have not

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42. Examples of conjunctive adverbials in Korean containing the form *ku* 'that (near you)' are adopted from Sohn (1999: 399).

43. Peyraube & Wu (2000: 324–325) found one occurrence of 焉 used as interrogative in Early Old Chinese (including *Odes* and *Documents*), 37 occurrences in Middle Old Chinese (as in *Zuo's, Analects, Mencius, Laozi, Mozi* 墨子, *Zhuangzi* 莊子, *Xunzi* 荀子, and *Han Feizi* 韓非子) and only two occurrences in Late Old Chinese (as is reflected in *Shiji, Lunheng* 論衡, and Han Dynasty commentators' commentaries). On the other hand, 安 *ʔân appears twice, 15 times, and 32 times, respectively, in the same corpus. In sum, 安 became more and more popular from Mid Old Chinese and almost replaced 焉 by the time of Late Old Chinese.

been satisfactory. For instance, both Wang (1976: 105–108) and He (1989: 363) stated that 焉 as a fusion word appears at sentence end. In that position, it was prone to be grammaticalized into a sentence-final particle whose function is to close the statement (用以煞句).

Liu & Li (2007; 2013) explained the development of 焉 (=[於 + anaphoric pronoun]) into a sentence-final particle as follows. As the demonstrative function of 焉 died out, 焉 lost its syntactic function as a prepositional phrase and started to carry out a pragmatic function. In other words, this is a case of reanalysis. Reanalysis is "change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation" (Langacker 1977: 58) yet "involves a change in constituency, hierarchical structure, category labels, grammatical relations, and cohesion (type of boundary)" (Harris & Campbell 1995: 61).[44] Although 焉 used as a fusion of [於 + anaphoric pronoun] and used as a sentence-final particle do not have any difference in terms of their surface manifestation, they are distinct in terms of their constituency, hierarchical structure, category labels, grammatical relations, and so on. While 焉 used as a fusion word is interpreted as a prepositional phrase which is a complement or an adjunct of the verb, 焉 used as a sentence-final particle is attached to the whole sentence. The grammaticalization of [於 + anaphoric pronoun] into a sentence-final modal particle was completed when it could appear with no antecedent in the previous line or understood through the context.

焉 as a sentence-final particle delivers the meaning of pointing out (*tíshì* 提示) and/or emphasis (*qiángdiào* 強調). Where did this meaning derive from? Liu & Li (2007) argue that it developed from the original demonstrative meaning of 焉. A demonstrative, by its own nature, has the feature of pointing out. A demonstrative is also often used to emphasize the preceding noun. Examples include 是 in 唯利是圖 ('only profit, that is what one pursues'), 之 in 其王之謂乎 ('This is probably illustrating the case of the king'), and so on. Its function of pointing out and emphasizing the previous utterance still survives even when 焉 is grammaticalized into a sentence-final particle and no longer interpreted as [於 + anaphoric pronoun].

5.   Conclusion

This paper investigated the origin of *n in 焉 (=[於 + *n]) and its grammaticalization paths.

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44. For more explanation and examples of reanalysis, see Hopper & Traugott (2003: 50–52).

It is shown that *n is a demonstrative borrowed from Austroasiatic languages during the Early Archaic Chinese period (10th to 6th c. BC). A Proto-Austroasiatic word for 'this' is reconstructed as *niʔ; *nih or *nɔʔ; *nɔh. The final *n of 焉 is very likely from this PAA word for 'this'. This is supported by the fact that the range of the Austroasiatic languages extended much farther north at that time than it does now, coming into contact with Old Chinese. The remnants of AA words in the Old Chinese lexicon, as well as in modern Min dialect lexicons, support the hypothesis that AA heavily influenced Old Chinese.

The usages and grammaticalization paths of 焉 are explained by analyzing all its occurrences in *The book of documents, The book of odes*, and *Zuo's commentary*. Its etymological doublet 爰, which is a fusion of [于 + *n], is analyzed for comparison. It is demonstrated that 焉 is interpreted as [於 + anaphoric pronoun]. 於 is used as a spatial goal marker or as a locative marker. It is also used as a dative marker or as a source marker co-occurring with a verb of giving or depriving. It marks the addressee or the source when it appears with a verb of speech or inquiry. 於 is also used as a so-called "concern marker", corresponding to 'on, about, in regard to' in English. Finally, it marks the agent in a passive sentence or indicates the standard of comparison in a comparative sentence.

焉 is also used as a sentence connective and as a question word 'where'. The use of 焉 as a rhetorical question marker is observed in *Zuo's commentary* and Late Archaic Chinese texts. It is also frequently used as a sentence-final modal particle indicating epistemic modalities of possibility, probability, and certainty as perceived by the speaker, often in the form [必/將/其... 焉] 'certainly, will, probably,' [如/猶...焉] 'It would be like...', [有/無...焉] 'There would be (no) ....', and [何...焉] 'How is....?'

The grammaticalization path of 焉 is explained by providing parallel examples in other languages and in Chinese itself. The development of a demonstrative (+ other element) into a sentence connective is well-attested. The use of 焉 *ʔan as a question word is explained as a positional variant of 焉 'there', which appears postverbally. The grammaticalization from 'where' to a rhetorical question marker is also observed. 哪兒/哪裡 (frequently written as 那裡 until Modern Chinese) is such a case. Finally, the development of 焉 into a sentence-final particle is a case of reanalysis. As the demonstrative function of 焉 died out, 焉 lost its syntactic function as a prepositional phrase and started to carry out a pragmatic function.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

1	first person	OC	Old Chinese
2	second person	*Odes*	*The book of odes* (*Shījīng* 詩經)
3	third person	PAA	Proto-Austroasiatic
AA	Austroasiatic	PL	plural
ACC	accusative	POSS	possessive
ADV	adverb	PP	prepositional phrase
ART	article	PREP	preposition
ATR	attributive	PROX	proximate
BI	Bronze Inscription	PRT	particle
CONJ	conjunction	PST	past
COP	copula	PST	Proto-Sino-Tibetan
DEF	definite	PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
DEM	demonstrative	REL.PRO	relative pronoun
DIS	distal	RES.PRO	resumptive pronoun
DO	direct object	S-AND	sentence connective
Documents	*The book of documents* (*Shàng-shū* 尚書)	SFS	suffix
		SG	singular
IO	indirect object	ST	Sino-Tibetan
MC	Middle Chinese	TB	Tibeto-Burman
MOD	modal	V$_{STAT}$	stative verb
NEG	negative	*Zuo's*	*Zuo's commentary* (*Zuǒzhuàn* 左傳)
OBI	Oracle-Bone Inscriptions		

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