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Yú 于 and *yū* 於: Their origins, their grammaticalization,
and the process of encroachment of the former by the latter from a historical perspective

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Abstract

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and the process of encroachment of the former by the latter from a historical perspective

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There has been controversy regarding the functional differences between the forms *yú* 于 and *yū* 於 in Classical Chinese. Because of their similar usages, 于 and 於 are often considered graphic variants. However, 于 and 於 actually came from different origins in different times, and the latter not only gradually encroached upon the former, but also developed new functions. This dissertation explores the origin and grammaticalization of 于 and 於, as well as the process of the encroachment of the former by the latter.

The usages of 于 and 於 are illustrated by semantic features using a binary (+ or -) system in order to show clearly the original feature sets of 于 and 於, their grammaticalization paths, and the step-by-step process of the encroachment of the former by the latter.

于 was originally a verb indicating movement, which can be either toward or away from the point of reference. The verbal feature set of 于 can be illustrated as [+lexical, +movement, +goal, -source] or [+lexical, +movement, -goal, +source]. On the other hand, 於 was originally a locative verb, with the feature set [+lexical, -movement, -goal, -source]. All usages of 于 and 於 were derived from their original verbal usages through grammaticalization. The grammaticalization path of 于 is parallel to that of a verb of movement in the world's languages, whereas that of 於 follows that of a locative verb.

The use of semantic feature analysis is also crucial in explaining the process of encroachment of 于 by 於. When 於 started to encroach upon the semantic scope of 于, those functions of 于 that are closely related to its original feature set (such as a spatial goal marker and a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give]) resisted the encroachment better, while those functions that are distant from its original feature set or closely related to the original feature set of 於 (such as a spatial locative marker, a non-spatial goal marker with V[+addressee] or V[+target], and a non-spatial source marker with V[-give], V[-addressee], or V[-target]) were more prone to be encroached upon by 於.

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GLOSSARY 1. ABBREVIATIONS

1 ST : first person	F: feminine gender
2 ND : second person	FUT: future
3 RD : third person	GEN: genitive
A: agent	H: head
ABS: absolutive	inanim: inanimated
ACC: accusative	IO: indirect-object
ADD: additive	JUNC: juncture
ALL: allative	LMC: Late Middle Chinese
AOR: aorist particle	LOC: locative
anim: animated	M: modifier
ART: article	Masc: masculine gender
ATTR: attributive	MC: Middle Chinese
C: common gender	mvt: movement
CAU: cause	N: noun
COM: comitative	NEG: negative
CONJ: conjunction	NEUT: neuter gender
CONV: converb	NOM: nominative
DAT: dative	NP: noun phrase
DBO: double-object	NP-AND: noun phrase conjunction
DEF: definite	O=OBJ: object
DEM: demonstrative	OBI: Oracle-Bone Inscriptions
DO: direct-object	OC: Old Chinese
DU: dual	PART: particle
EM: Early Mandarin	PARTCP: participle
EMC: Early Middle Chinese	PASS: passive
ERG: ergative	PP: prepositional phrase

PL: plural

PRE: present

PST: Proto-Sino-Tibetan

R: recipient

RE.CL: relative clause

RES: restrictive

SG: singular

ST: Sino-Tibetan

SUB: subject

T: theme

TB: Tibeto-Burman

TEMP: temporal

TOP: topic

V: verb

Vint: intransitive verb

Vst: stative verb

Vtr: transitive verb

VP: verb phrase

WT: Written Tibetan

GLOSSARY 2. LIST OF SEMANTIC FEATURES OF 于 AND 於

于 as a verb of movement = [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] (e.g. 呼去伯于冥)

於 as a locative verb = [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source] (e.g. 上射於左)

GOAL (Trask 1993:11): The semantic role borne by an NP expressing the end point of motion in an abstract or concrete sense.

e.g. I am flying to London.

e.g. How did you reach that conclusion?

spatial goal marker = [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, -source] (e.g. 丙戌卜韋貞令役往于虞)

non-spatial goal marker = [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source] (e.g. 定之方中, 作于楚宮; 惠于朋友, 庶民小子)

also occurs with V[+give] (e.g. 出于妣己)

or with V[+addressee] (e.g. 告于妣己眾妣庚)

temporal goal marker = [-lexical, -spatial, +temporal, +goal, -source] (e.g. 己巳帝允令雨至于庚)

SOURCE (Trask 1993: 255): the start point of motion in an abstract or concrete sense.

e.g. We walked from the mountain.

spatial source marker = [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, +source] (e.g. 乎取女于林)

non-spatial source marker = [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, +source] (e.g. 予迓續乃命于天; 有寵於莊公)

also occurs with V[-give] (e.g. 于父乙 希 出句)

or with V[+addressee] (e.g. 問名於申繻)

PATH (Trask 1993:202): the stretch of territory through which concrete or abstract motion occurs.

e.g. We crossed the bridge to the far side.

e.g. We flew to Sydney via Bangkok.

path marker = [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, +source] (e.g. 王从媿涉于河)

LOCATION (Trask 1993:164) : expresses the place in which something exists or occurs.

spatial locative marker = [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, -source] (e.g. 貞其沚于妣)

temporal locative marker = [-lexical, -spatial, +temporal, -goal, -source] (e.g. 貞于庚申伐羌)

AGENT (Trask 1993:11): the conscious instigator of an action.

agent marker = [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source, +agent] (e.g. 貞衛于妣己于妣庚)

or [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source, +agent] (e.g. 司射不釋弓矢, 北面命上射曰: “某御於子.” 命下射曰: “子與某子射.”)

CONCERN MARKER (Heine & Kuteva 2002:307-8): meaning ‘on, about, in regard to’

e.g. *Une conférence sur la drogue*

A conference on the drug

a lecture on drug addiction

concern marker = [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source, +theme] (e.g. 告汝于難)

THEME:(Goldberg 1995:122): An argument which undergoes a change of state or location.

(Margetts & Austin 2007: 396): Three-place predicates and other expressions of three-participant events take an agent-like A, a participant that will label R on the basis of its most common role as recipient (but that may also be a beneficiary, goal, addressee, location, or source), and a T [=Theme] (typically something or information conveyed by A to R).

e.g. John gave Mary a present. (Margetts & Austin 2007:404)

A R T

e.g. Mary told Harry the story. (*Ibid*)

A R T

RECIPIENT (Trask 1993:220): The participant role borne by an NP which expresses the (usually animate) entity which receives some concrete or abstract object.

e.g. I gave Lisa the book; Lisa received a letter.

recipient marker = [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source, +recipient] (e.g. 舉觶于賓)

ADDRESSEE (Matthews:2007): The normal term for a person to whom someone else (the speaker) speaks or ‘addresses’ an utterance .

addressee marker = [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source, +addressee] (e.g. 告于妣己眾妣庚)

COMPARATIVE (Trask 1993:50): A construction in which some entity is characterized as possessing some property to a greater or lesser degree than some other entity.

e.g. Janet is taller than Lisa;

e.g. This book is less interesting than that one. (comparative of inferiority)

According to (Heine & Kuteva 2002:201), it is very common across the world’s languages that a locative marker also introduces the standard of comparison through case extension. Examples include Naka (Sino-Tibetan) *ki* ‘on’ > comparative marker and Hungarian *nál* ‘at’ > comparative marker:

e.g. *Themma hau lu ki vi- we.* (Heine & Kuteva, 2002:201, quoted from Stassen 1985:147)

Man this that on good- is

“This man is better than that man.”

comparative marker = [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source, +standard] (e.g. 右賢於左)

STANDARD (Trask 1993:258): In a comparative construction, that element to which some other element is compared. In English, the standard is normally marked by a preceding formative *than*. Thus, in the example *Lisa speaks better French than Sue (does)*, *Sue* is the standard.

ADDITIVE (Rice & Kabata 2007: 472): ‘and/in addition to’

e.g. I bought a pen {and/in addition to} a new wallet.

additive marker [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source, -target] (e.g. 五人卯五牛于二册; 齊人卒平
宋衛于鄭)

TARGET: an object or goal that is being aimed at; someone or something that is the focus of attention, interest, etc.

e.g. They threw stones at the wall. (Lindstromberg 1998:179)

According to Rice (1999:269), goals can be conceptualized as physical locations or metaphorically as abstract targets of communication, perception, or ideation.

e.g. Perceptual target: I listened to the radio. (Rice & Kabata 2007:455)

e.g. Conceptual target: It seems to me that he is wrong (*Ibid*); I am mad at you.
(Lindstromberg 1998:170)

target marker = [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source, +target] (e.g. 不實於宣)

GLOSSARY 3. BOOK TITLES

AM: Asia Major

BB: Yinxu wenzi Bingbian 殷墟文字丙編

BCL: Bulletin of Chinese Linguistics

BIHP: Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology

BMFEA: Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

CLAO: Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale

CQ: Chunqiu 春秋

EC: Early China

EY: Erya 爾雅

GHYYJ: Gu Hanyu yanjiu 古漢語研究

GWZYJ: Gu wenzi yanjiu 古文字研究

GY: Guangya 廣雅

GY: Gyangyun 廣韻

HJ: Jiaguwen heji 甲骨文合集

HJAS: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies

JAOS: Journal of American Oriental Society

JB: Jiabian 甲編

JC: Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng 殷周金文集成

JCL: Journal of Chinese Linguistics

JZSC: Jingzhuan shici 經傳釋詞

JWYD: Jinwen yinde 金文引得

JYSW: Jingyi shuwen 經義述聞

LJJ: Lijing ji 荔鏡記

MS: Monumenta Serica

MWX: Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwenxuan 商周青銅器銘文選
QB: Qianbian 前編
QY: Qieyun 切韻
SSJZS: Shisanjing zhushu 十三經注疏
SJZYXL: Shijiazhai yangxin lu 十駕齋養新錄
SKQS: Siku quanshu 四庫全書
SWJZ: Shuowen jiezi 說文解字
SWJZZ: Shuowen jiezi zhu 說文解字注
SWJZGL: Shuowen jiezi gulin 說文解字詁林
TP: T'oung pao
WWHJ: Wuwei hanjian 武威漢簡
XBZZJC: Xinbian zhuzi jicheng 新編諸子集成
XXSKQS: Xuxiu siku quanshu 續修四庫全書
YJ: Yunjing 韻鏡
YWYJ: Yuwen yanjiu 語文研究
YXJGWCMSZJ : Yinxu jiaguwen keci moshi zongji 殷墟甲骨刻辭摹釋總集
YYXLC: Yuyanxue luncong 語言學論叢
YYYJ: Yuyan yanjiu 語言研究
ZGWZ: Zhongguo wenzi 中國文字
ZGYW: Zhongguo yuwen 中國語文
ZJ: Jinwen zongji 金文總集
ZYYY: Zhongyuan yinyun 中原音韻
ZZJC: Zhuzi jicheng 諸子集成

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DEDICATION

To my parents.

1. Introduction

In this chapter, problems concerning the functional differences between 于 and 於 as well as previous studies on the similarities and differences between the two are summarized. In 1.4, the scope of this study is specified.

1.1. Problems concerning the functional differences between 于 and 於

There has been controversy regarding the functional differences between the forms *yú* 于 (also written as 亏 or 𠄎) and *yū* 於 in Classical Chinese. Both forms are used as function words marking a goal or a location, markers of a recipient and so on. Therefore, they have often been considered as graphic variants. Examples include:¹

1. 伐木丁丁, 鳥鳴嚶嚶. 出自幽谷, 遷于喬木. (*Ode* 165.1)
They hew the trees, (it sounds) ‘Ding! Ding!’ The birds cry, ‘Ying! Ying!’ They come from the dark valleys and remove to the high trees.
2. 則奉書以使於四方. (*The Rites of Zhou* 周禮, “Aestival Offices, Minister of War” 夏官司馬 31.474)²
Then one holding the document with two hands goes to the four corners as a messenger.³

In 1 and 2, both 于 and 於 are used as goal markers.

3. 伐木于阪, 釃酒有衍. 籩豆有踐, 兄弟無遠. (*Ode* 165.3)
They hew the trees on the slope; the strained wine is abundant; the *bian* and *dou* vessels are there with presents of food; of the brothers, no one is absent.
4. 靜女其姝, 俟我於城隅. (*Ode* 42.1)
The good girl is beautiful; she waits for me at the corner of the wall.

In 3 and 4, both 于 and 於 are used as locative markers.

5. 吉蠲為饗, 是用孝享. 禴祠烝嘗, 于公先王. (*Ode* 166.4)
Auspicious and pure are your sacrificial wine and food; with them you make filial offerings; you perform summer, spring, winter and autumn sacrifices, to princes and former kings.
6. 獻民數於王. (*The Rites of Zhou*, “Autumnal Offices, Minister of Justice” 秋官司寇 35.525)
(One) offered several people to the king.

¹ English translation of *The Book of Odes* is adopted from Karlgren (1950a).

² The volume number and page number of *The Rites of Zhou* follow Li Xueqin (2001).

³ English translation of *The Rites of Zhou* is my own.

In 5 and 6, both 于 and 於 are used as recipient markers.

Because of their similar usages, 于 and 於 are often considered graphic variants or *gǔjīn zì* 古今字 (archaic-contemporary graph relationship). However, 于 and 於 actually came from different origins in different times and the latter not only gradually encroached upon the former, but also developed new functions. In order to see their emergence and development, as well as the process of encroachment, their occurrences should be analyzed text by text.⁴

1.2. Explanations of the functional differences between 于 and 於 by pre-Qing and Qing dynasty philologists

Shuowen jiezi 說文解字 (*Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters*, hereafter *SWJZ*), compiled in AD 100 by Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. AD 58 – ca. AD 147), interpreted 于 as equivalent to 於.

7. 亏, 於也. 象气之舒. (SWJZ 1963:101下)
亏 is equivalent to 於. It is similar to release of air.

Guangya 廣雅 (*Expanding What is Refined*, hereafter *GY*), compiled by Zhang Yi 張揖 (fl. AD 227-232), explained that 於 is equivalent to 于.

8. 於, 于也. (SKQS vol. 221:445 上b)
於 is equivalent to 于.

Qing dynasty philologists, such as Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735 - 1815) and Wang Yinzhi 王引之 (1766-1834), believed that they were graphic variants. Duan Yucai in *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 (*Annotations on Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters*, hereafter *SWJZZ*) stated that 于 and 於 were graphic variants in Zhou 周 times.

⁴ Both forms are also used as exclamatory particles (often appearing in the form 于嗟 or 于嗟乎 and 於乎, respectively). Examples include:

麟之趾, 振振公族, 于嗟麟兮! (*Ode* 11.1)
The feet of the Lin! You majestic sons of the prince! Oh, the Lin!

於乎小子! 未知臧否. (*Ode* 256.10)
Oh, you youngsters! You do not know what is good or not.

9. [亏, 於也。]⁵ 於者, 古文烏也。…… 凡詩, 書用亏字, 凡論語用於字。蓋于於二字在周時為古今字. (SWJZZ 1998:204下)

[亏 is equivalent to 於.] 於 in ancient writings is written as 烏. In general, *The Book of Odes* 詩經 and *The Book of Documents* 書經 use 亏, and *The Analects* 論語 uses 於. 于 and 於 were in an archaic-contemporary graph relationship in Zhou times.

Wang Yinzhi in *Jingzhuàn shìcí* 經傳釋詞 (*Classics, Commentaries, and Interpreting Words*, hereafter *JZSC*) also treated 于 and 於 as graphic variants, quoting *Erya* 爾雅 (*What is Refined*, hereafter *EY*) and *GY*. He only listed their usages as function words.

10. 爾雅曰: 于, 於也. 常語也. 亦有於句子中倒用者. (*JZSC* 1966: 36)
EY reads: 于 is equivalent to 於. It is an ordinary word. Also, there are some cases in which 于 is preposed in a sentence.
11. 廣雅曰: 於, 于也. 常語也. 亦有於句子中倒用者. (*JZSC* 1966: 33)
GY reads: 於 is equivalent to 于. It is an ordinary word. Also, there are some cases in which 於 is preposed in a sentence.

Only Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1744-1813) in *Shijiazhai yangxin lu* 十駕齋養新錄 (*Records of Nourishing New at Ten Carriage Building*, hereafter *SJZYXL*) pointed out that they have the same meaning with slightly different sounds:

12. 于於兩字義同而音稍異. (*XXSKQS* vol.1151:107上a)
于 and 於 have the same meaning, yet their pronunciation is slightly different.

Qian also mentioned that in *The Book of Documents* and *The Book of Odes*, 于 appears in the majority of cases, and he listed the lines where 於 appears instead. In *The Analects*, 於 is almost always used except in quotations from *The Book of Documents* and *The Book of Odes*.

Regarding the difference in their sound, he further stated the following.

13. 今字母家以於屬影母于屬喻母. 古音無影喻之別也. (*Ibid*)
Scholars working on initials nowadays include 於 in the *yǐng* initial group and 于 in the *yù* initial group. It is the case that, in Old Chinese pronunciation, *yǐng* and *yù* initials did not have any distinction.

In fact, the pronunciation of 于 and 於 in Old Chinese (OC) is presumed to be different by various scholars.⁶ Table 1 shows the reconstructions of 于 and 於 by Karlgren (1957), Li Fang-kuei (1980), and Baxter (1992).

⁵ The line in square brackets is the original explanation by Xu Shen and the following lines are Duan Yucai's commentary.

⁶ The term "Old Chinese" refers to a language reconstructed on the basis of the rhyming patterns in *The Book of Odes* (may be dated between c. 1000 and c. 600 BC, according to Loewe 1993b:415),

Table 1. Old Chinese reconstructions of 于 and 於 by Karlgren, Li Fang-Kuei, and Baxter

	OC (and MC categories) ⁷	Karlgren	Li Fang-Kuei	Baxter
于	魚部/(平/虞韻/喻三)	*g ₁ wō > j ₁ u	*gwjag	*w(r)ja
於	魚部/(平/模韻/影)	*·o > ·uo	*ʔjag	*ʔa

As seen in Table 1, both 于 and 於 are assigned by scholars to the *yú* 魚 rhyme category in Old Chinese, but with different initials.

1.3. Previous studies on the functional differences between 于 and 於

As shown in 1.2, the difference between 于 and 於 was barely noticed in pre-modern times. However, issues concerning their functional difference received modern sinologists' attention. In the following subsections, the accounts of Karlgren (1926), Wang Li (1980), Pulleyblank (1986, 1995), and He Leshi (1989) are summarized.

1.3.1. Karlgren (1926)

Karlgren (1926:41-9) first argued that 于 and 於 are distinct in their sound as well as in usage. He further explored the difference in their usage in *Zuo's Commentary* 左傳 and drew the following conclusion:⁸

- (1) In 於是, 於是乎 'there, then' and 於此 'here,' only 於 occurs.⁹
- (2) In the sense of 'from,' only 於 occurs. Examples include:

14. 君姑修政, 而親兄弟之國, 庶免於難. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ "Duke Huan" 桓公 6.2/111).

I pray you to cultivate good government, and be friendly with the States of your brother princes. Then you will escape calamity.

In other cases, the rules are not as absolute as the above two cases, but there exist the following tendencies:

xiéshēng 諧聲 series (Chinese graphs that share the same phonetic part), and a Middle Chinese rhyme dictionary, *Qieyun* 切韻 (*Cutting Rhymes* or *Refined Rhymes*, hereafter *QY*) compiled in 601 AD by Lu Fayuan 陸法言 (581-618 AD) *et al.*

⁷ From the left, Old Chinese rhyme category, Middle Chinese tonal category, rhyme and initial are provided.

⁸ Page numbers of the quoted lines from *Zuo's Commentary* follow Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (1981a). The English translation is from Legge (1960).

⁹ 於是乎 does appear once in *Zuo's Commentary*: 君子謂鄭莊公於是乎可謂正矣. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ "Duke Yin" 隱公 10.3/68) "The superior man will say that in this matter duke Zhuang of Zheng may be pronounced a correct man." However, compared to the number of occurrences of 於是 (91 times) and 於是乎 (76 times), the single occurrence of 於是乎 is insignificant. 于是 and 于此 do not appear at all.

(3) In the sense of *apud*, which in French would be expressed by *chez*, *auprès de*, *vis-à-vis de*, followed by the name of a person or some analogous word, 於 is used. Examples include:

15. 亟請於武公, 公弗許. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 1.4/10)
Often she demanded of Duke Wu (*auprès du duc*),¹⁰ but he refused it.
16. 管敬仲言於齊侯. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Min” 閔公 1.2/256)
Guan Jingzhong said to the marquis of Qi (*vis-à-vis du marquis*).

(4) In the sense of ‘at’ and ‘to’ followed by a place name (i.e. in cases where in French one would have *à*), 于 is the rule. Examples include:

17. 惠公之季年, 敗宋師于黃. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 1.8/18)
In the last year of Duke Hui, we defeated the army of Song at Huang.

(5) In the sense of French *dans* ‘in, into’ indicating position in or movement into a place (apart from place names where 于 is used, see (4) above), both 於 and 于 are used. Examples include:

18. 宋華父督見孔父之妻于路. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Huan” 桓公 1.5/83)
Hua Fudu of Song happened to see the wife of Kongfu on the way.
19. 趙棼夜至於楚軍. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xuan” 宣公 12.2/737)
Zhao Zhan arrived during the night into the army of Chu.

In order to illustrate the functional differences between 于 and 於, Karlgren excluded some ambiguous cases. For instance, the state name following 于 and 於 can be interpreted as either a place or a person (political body). Examples include 請師于楚 “He asked for an army in Chu” (state as locality), 為質於衛 “He was taken hostage in Wei” (political body), 宿于/於趙氏 “He stayed overnight in the house of the family Zhao/with (chez) the family Zhao” (Karlgren 1926:44).¹¹ He also excluded some abstract cases such as 何憂於無君 “Why are you anxious about having no prince?” (“Duke Ai” 哀公 5.4/1630), 動於惡 “He was incited to crime” (“Duke Huan” 桓公 2.1/85) and 至于今 “until now” (“Duke Xiang” 襄公 14.1/1006).

Karlgren summarized the occurrences of 于 and 於 as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. The functional differences between 于 and 於 in *Zuo's Commentary* (Karlgren 1926:44)

	auprès de etc.	à	dans
於	581	97	197
于	85	501	182

¹⁰ French translation is from Karlgren (1926).

¹¹ Karlgren did claim that they are from *Zuo's Commentary*, but he did not provide the sources for these examples.

Karlgren speculated that 于 and 於 showed a clear complementary distribution in their function. As for the overlap in their usage, he explained that as the pronunciation of 于 and 於 became more similar, they were often confused in oral transmission.¹²

In spite of Karlgren's pioneering work, there still remain some problems.

First, he differentiated 于 and 於 based on how they are glossed in French or English, as well as on the features of the following noun (in other words, whether the following noun is a place or a person). However, these two categories are not enough to clearly illustrate the functional difference between 于 and 於. Other criteria should be applied, too. One of them must be the features of the preceding verb. According to Karlgren's examples, whereas 請 'to ask for,' 問 'to ask,' 有寵 'to have a favor,' 言 'to say,' and 宣 'to declare' are followed by 於 + Person, 敗 'to defeat,' 至 'to arrive at,' and 田 'to hunt' are followed by 于 + Place. Even this handful of examples suggests that there is a difference in terms of the preceding verb. That is, whereas 於 is often preceded by a verb of speech or inquiry, 于 is often preceded by an action verb or a verb of movement in *Zuo's Commentary*. More detailed analysis on the type of the preceding verb will provide a clue to illustrate the functional difference between 于 and 於.

Second, Karlgren only sketched the difference between 于 and 於 in *Zuo's Commentary*, and failed to find the underlying reason for them. The reason for the difference can be understood only from a historical perspective. In other words, in order to understand their distributional difference in *Zuo's Commentary*, it should first be explained how the two forms originated and developed, and in what order the former was encroached upon by the latter. In order to do so, the usage of 于 and 於 in the texts where 于 occurs more frequently than 於 and in the texts where 於 occurs more frequently than 于 should be analyzed and compared.

1.3.2. Wang Li (1980)

Wang Li (1980:332-335) stated that 于 is the archaic form of 於. In Wang's account, 於 not only encroached upon 于, but also developed at least two unique functions that are not shared with 于. One is that when the preceding verb is a stative verb, only 於 appears being used as a comparative marker. For example:¹³

20. 青取之於藍, 而青於藍; 冰水為之, 而寒於水. (*Xunzi* 荀子, "Encouraging to study" 勸學 1.1)

As for blue, one takes it from the indigo plant, but it is bluer than the indigo plant. As for ice, water produces/constitutes it, but it is colder than water.

¹² Karlgren's claim that the similarity in the pronunciations of 于 and 於 caused confusion in the process of oral transmission is problematic. As Pulleyblank (1986) pointed out, they were distinct as late as in Early Mandarin. For details, see 1.3.3. Sun Jingtao (2002) claimed that 於 was pronounced *yū* before the Qing dynasty. In modern Sino-Korean, 于 and 於 are still distinct. The former is pronounced as [u] and the latter is pronounced as [ə], both of them having a zero initial. Therefore, Karlgren's claim that the similarity of their pronunciation in pre-Qin times caused confusion is not very plausible.

¹³ The page number of Warring States philosophical texts follows that of *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng* 新編諸子集成 (1974, *Newly Compiled Collections of All Masters*, hereafter *XBZZJC*). The translation of *Xunzi* follows that of Knoblock (1988-94).

Second, only 於 can be followed by a verb phrase. For example:

21. 此無他故焉，生於節用裕民也。(*Xunzi*, “Enriching the state” 富國 10.114)
This is due to no other cause than its being the natural product of moderation in the use of goods and allowing the people a generous living.

However, according to my investigation, there are occurrences of 于 + VP and even 于 + Sentence found in *The Book of Documents*, although they are very rare. For example:¹⁴

22. 嗚呼。篤棊時二人我式克至于今日休。我咸成文王功于不怠。丕冒海隅出日罔不率俾。(*The Book of documents*, “Lord Shi” 君奭 60.21) (于 + Verb phrase)
Oh, by sincerely assisting those two men (sc. the founders Wén and Wǔ), we (Zhōu) have been able to attain to the prosperity of today. Let us (all=) together achieve Wén Wáng’s work, without laziness. I shall grandly extend over the corners of the seas and the (rising sun=) place where the sun rises. There shall be none who are not obedient and humble.
23. 予惟小子。若涉淵水予惟往求朕攸濟。敷賁敷前人受命茲不忘大功。予不敢閉于天降威。(*The Book of Documents*, “Imperial Edict” 大誥 34.2) (于 + Sentence)
Oh, I am a little child; (I am) as if I were to cross a deep water, I go and seek where I can cross. I shall extend the great thing (sc. the realm) and extend the mandate received by the former men (i.e. princes). Now I do not forget the great (work=) task. I dare not raise obstacles to Heaven’s sending down its (severity=) inflictions.

Therefore, it is not a unique function of 於 that it is followed by a verb phrase.

1.3.3. Pulleyblank (1986, 1995)

Pulleyblank (1986, 1995:53-5) stated that 于 and 於 have distinct origins, and that the distinction in their pronunciation had been maintained until Early Middle Chinese (EMC), Late Middle Chinese (LMC), and as late as in Early Mandarin (EM).¹⁵ Table 3 shows Pulleyblank’s reconstruction of 于 and 於 in EMC, LMC, and EM.

¹⁴ The page numbers and line numbers of *The Book of Documents*, as well as the English translation, are adopted from Karlgren (1950b).

¹⁵ Pulleyblank’s Early Middle Chinese (EMC) refers to the sound system of *QY*. Late Middle Chinese (LMC) refers to the sound system reflected in a Song dynasty rime table, *Yunjing* 韻鏡 (*Mirror of Rhymes*, hereafter *YJ*). Early Mandarin refers to the language codified in *Zhongyuan yinyun* 中原音韻 (*The Phonology of the Central Plains*, hereafter *ZYYY*) compiled by Zhou Deqing 周德清 in 1324. In the *ZYYY*, both 于 and 於 belong to the *yúmó* 魚模 rhyme and have a level tone (*píngshēng* 平聲). However, whereas the former is listed under the *yáng* 陽 tone, the latter is listed under the *yīn* 陰 tone.

Table 3. Pulleyblank’s (1991) reconstruction of 于 and 於 in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin

	EMC	LMC	EM
于	wuǎ	yǎ	jy’
於	ʔiǎ	ʔiǎ/ʔyǎ	y

As shown in Pulleyblank’s reconstruction, the phonological distinction between 于 and 於 was maintained as late as EM. Therefore, it is less likely that they were confused in Classical Chinese due to their phonological similarity, as Karlgren (1926:45-6) claimed.

1.3.3.1. The origin and development of 于

Pulleyblank argued that 于 and 於 do have functional difference. As a co-verb in *The Book of Odes*, Pulleyblank (1995:53) mentioned, “it [=于] is mainly used to indicate destination after verbs of motion or, less frequently, location where motion is not involved.” Pulleyblank (1986:1-4) has a detailed discussion regarding the origin and grammaticalization process of 于, mainly based on its occurrences in *The Book of Odes*. His five main points are detailed below.

First, 于 was originally a verb meaning ‘to go.’ It is often glossed as 往 in the Mao’s commentary (*Mao zhuan* 毛傳) of *The Book of Odes* as well as by the Later Han commentator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (AD 127-200). To be more precise, 于 *wǎǎ > EMC wuǎ and 往 *wǎŋ > EMC wuaǎŋ are etymologically related. The difference between the two is that, while 往 is rarely followed by a noun indicating a destination, 于 is almost always followed by a destination.¹⁶

Second, a verb ‘to go,’ through a serial verb construction, was grammaticalized into a preposition ‘to.’ There are ample examples in the world’s languages in which an allative marker is derived from a verb ‘to go.’ An example is from Sranan, a Creole language spoken in Suriname (formerly Dutch Guiana) in northeastern South America. In this language, a word derived from English ‘go’ is used as an allative marker.

24. a waka go a wosa¹⁷ (Pulleyblank 1986:2)
 he walk to house
 He walked home.

¹⁶ He further explained that the relationship between 于 and 往 is parallel to that of 無 EMC muǎ ‘not have’ and 亡 EMC muaǎŋ ‘not have; disappear, run away, die; lose.’ While the former is almost always followed by an object, the latter is used either as an intransitive verb ‘run away, die, disappear’ or a transitive verb ‘to lose’ as well as ‘not have.’ Examples of 亡 ‘not have’ with no object include: 人皆有兄弟, 我獨亡 (*Analects* 12/5) “Others all have brothers. I alone have none.” Therefore, Pulleyblank (1986:2) speculated “the nasal ending evidently played a definite inflectional or, at least, derivational role of some kind.”

¹⁷ However, *waka go* can still be interpreted as Verb + Verb, rendering the sentence “He walked (and) went home.” For a clearer example of an allative marker derived from a verb ‘to go,’ see example 90 in 2.2.2.1.1.

Examples of 于 as an allative marker in *The Book of Odes* cited by Pulleyblank (1986:3) include:¹⁸

25. 葛之覃兮，施于中谷。¹⁹ (*Ode* 2.1)
How the creeper spreads, it reaches to the middle of the valley.
26. 于以求之，于林之下。 (*Ode* 31.3)
We go in search of them, down in the forests.

Regarding example 26, Pulleyblank explained: “Even in cases where it is more natural to translate by ‘in, at,’ displacement is often clearly implied. . . . The searchers must go to the forests to carry out their search.”

Third, some weakening of the meaning ‘go’ had occurred, so that 于 could simply imply location rather than direction or destination. Examples include:

27. 鶴鳴于垤，婦歎于室。 (*Ode* 156.3)
The heron cries on the ant-hill; the wife sighs in the chamber.

于 indicating a location is less common than indicating a direction. According to Pulleyblank’s preliminary statistics, among the over two hundred occurrences of 于 in *The Book of Odes*, 137 indicate a direction, whereas only 41 indicate a location.

Fourth, there are cases where 于 is followed by a time expression, as well as by the recipient of an action, which can still be interpreted as a derivation from the original meaning of ‘go.’ Examples include:

28. 自我不見，于今三年。 (*Ode* 156.3) (time expression)
From the time that we (have not seen=) last saw this, until now, it is three years.
29. 言私其豨，獻豨于公。 (*Ode* 154.4) (recipient of an action)
We keep for ourselves the young boars; we present the older boars to the prince.

Finally, he listed three cases in which 于 can possibly be interpreted as ‘from’ (=source marker):

30. 乃造其曹，執豕于牢。²⁰ (*Ode* 250.4)
He sent out his servant to take a pig from the sty.

¹⁸ Pulleyblank followed Karlgren’s (1950a) English translation of *The Book of Odes*.

¹⁹ Although Pulleyblank interpreted 于 as an allative marker, it can also be interpreted as a verb (“The creeper spreads and advances to the valley”) or as a locative marker (“The creeper is spread in the middle of the valley”). There are cases in which the interpretation of 于 is ambiguous.

²⁰ 于 can also be interpreted as a locative marker, rendering 執豕于牢 as “take a pig in the sty.”

31. 假樂君子, 顯顯令德, 宜民宜人, 于周受命. (Ode 249.1)

Greatly happy be the lord; illustrious is his good virtue; he orders well the people, he orders well the men; from Zhou you receive a charge.

32. 錫山土田, 于周受命. (Ode 262.6)

I give you hills and soil and fields; from Zhou you receive a charge.

Following Karlgren (1926), Pulleyblank believed that one of the differences between 于 and 於 is that only 於 can express ‘from’ (Pulleyblank 1986:7).²¹ In order to avoid the dilemma, he interpreted 執豕于牢 as an inversion of 于牢執豕 “(one) went to the sty and took a pig” and 周 in 于周受命 as a place name, which is same as 崎周, following Zheng Xuan’s commentary. As for the third example, he attributed it to a textual corruption and believed that it is supposed to be 於.

1.3.3.2. The origin and development of 於

Pulleyblank (1986:4) admitted that the verbal connection of 於 are less obvious than those of 于. Although Yang Shuda 楊樹達 (1932:9.1) glossed 於 as an intransitive verb meaning ‘to be at’ (於, 內動詞, 在也), Pulleyblank doubted this interpretation because the examples cited by Yang can easily understood as elliptical expressions where the verbs are omitted and 於 still has its prepositional meaning.²² Later, Pulleyblank (1995:54) mentioned that there are some very rare cases in which 於 is used as a verb meaning ‘to be in, at’:

²¹ This claim as well as the interpretation of 于 in example 30 through 32 will be re-examined in 3.1.2.2.2.

²² Yang Shuda listed three examples of 於 as a verb:

[自稱於諸侯曰天子之老]. 於外曰公, 於其國曰君 (*The Record of Rites* 禮記, “Second Half of Summary of the Rules of Propriety” 曲禮下 5.89)

[To the feudal princes, they designate themselves, ‘the ancients of the son of Heaven.’] Outside (their own states), they are styled ‘duke’; in their states, ‘ruler.’

於 in this example is better interpreted as a preposition with a verb 稱, which is elided as it appears in the previous sentence.

[所以娛耳目樂心意者], 麗靡爛漫於前, 靡曼美色於後. (*Han shu* 漢書, “Biography of Sima Xiangru” 司馬相如傳 27. 2569)

[Those things that entertain eyes and ears and amuse the heart] are beautiful, refined, brilliant, and overflowing in front and refined and overflow the beautiful color in the back.

於 in the above example is better interpreted as a preposition. The third example is the same as example 33.

Among the three examples of 於 provided by Yang, the first and second are best interpreted as prepositions.

33. 邊鄙殘，國固守，鼓鐸之聲於耳，而乃用臣斯之計，晚矣。 (*Han Feizi* 韓非子，
“Chapter Two Preserving Han” 存韓第二 2.12)
When the borders and outlying regions are in ruin, the capital is closely invested, the
sound of drums and clappers is in your ears, and then it will be too late to use the
plans of your servant Si.

Pulleyblank (1986:4-5) argued that when 於 is used as a preposition, unlike 于, it is more often followed by a location rather than a direction. According to him, among the 15 occurrences of 於 in *The Book of Odes*, 12 are used to indicate a location ‘in’ or ‘at.’ Examples include:

34. 靜女其姝，俟我於城隅。 (*Ode* 42.1)
The good girl is beautiful; she waits for me at the corner of the wall.
35. 心之憂矣，於我歸處。 (*Ode* 150.1)
Oh, the (grief=) anxiety of the heart! Come home and dwell with me!

There are two cases in which the preposition expresses more an abstract relationship:

36. 靡聖管管，不實於亶。 (*Ode* 254.1)
You have no wise men and are (exhausted=) helpless, you are not true in your
sincerity.
37. 不顯不承？無射於人斯。 (*Ode* 266.1)
The greatly illustrious, greatly honored ones, never weary of (the homage of) men.

Pulleyblank (1995:54-5) discussed various functions of 於 based on its occurrences in the *Mencius*, a Warring States-period text. He concluded that 於 can introduce a locative complement indicating a destination or locus of an action. 於 can be glossed as ‘in, at, to’ as well as ‘from,’ depending on the preceding main verb.²³

38. 王立於沼上。 (*Mencius* 1A/2) (locus of an action)
The king was standing above his pond.
39. 河內凶，則移其民於河東，移其粟於河內。 (*Mencius* 1A/3) (destination)
When there was a crop failure in Henei, I moved the people to Hedong and moved the
grain to Henei.

²³ Note that in *The Book of Odes*, 於 can only introduce the location of an action; the destination is introduced by 于. Later, the usage of 於 broadened and encroached upon that of 于. Consequently, 於 not only introduces a location, but also a destination. For the emergence and development of 於, see Chapters 4, 5.1, and 6.

40. 吾聞出於幽谷遷于喬木者。 (*Mencius* 3A/4) ('from')
I have heard of [birds] that 'came out of dark valleys and moved to lofty trees.'

於 + Noun can appear in front of the verb phrase for topicalization, contrast or emphasis:

41. 於我心有戚戚焉。 (*Mencius* 1A/7)
In my heart there was a responsive feeling.

Some functions of 於 are not shared with 于. 於 can be used to express comparison (#42) after stative verbs and agency (#43) after passive verbs:²⁴

42. 則無望民之多於鄰國。 (*Mencius* 1A/3)
...then do not hope that your people will be more numerous than [those of] neighboring countries.
43. 勞心者治人, 勞力者治於人, 治於人者食人, 治人者食於人。 (*Mencius* 3A/4)
Those who labor with their minds [literally: labor their minds] rule others, those who labor with their strength are ruled by others. Those who are ruled by others feed others, those who rule others are fed by others.

1.3.3.3. A case study: 于 vs. 於 in *Zuo's Commentary*

Pulleyblank (1986:7) made a very important proposal criticizing Karlgren (1926). Pulleyblank argued that, in order to see the functional difference between 于 and 於 more clearly, one should pay attention to the word order (in other words, whether 于/於 + Noun precedes or follows the verb) and the types of verbs that go with each form, rather than the features of the following nouns.

Pulleyblank noticed that, while phrases introduced by 于 can only follow the main verb, those introduced by 於 can come either before or after the verb. He stated that the Verb + 于 + Noun order can be explained by the origin of 于: it was originally a verb 'to go' and the prepositional usage was derived from a serial verb construction, where the order of verbs follows the logical or temporal order. Therefore, it would be very unnatural if 于 + Noun preceded the verb. On the other hand, 於 did not have such a restriction.

Regarding the relationship between the preceding verb and 于/於, he stated that after verbs of going (such as 至 'to arrive at,' 遷 'to remove,' 入 'to enter,' and 門 'to attack a gate'), 于 was dominant, although there are occasional occurrences of 於, too. On the other hand, in the sense of 'from' (such as 免 'to avoid,' 問 'to ask,' and 請 'to request'), 於 is by far dominant. 告 'to report' is more often followed by 于 than by 於 (49 to 24 occurrences). Only 於 is used after a stative verb in the sense of 'than.'

²⁴ The claim that only 於 can be used to express agency is refuted in 2.3.2.4, 3.1.2.4, 3.2.2.5 and 6.1.6, where examples of 于 used as an agent marker are cited.

1.3.3.4. Evaluation

Pulleyblank's accounts of 于 vs. 於 point out two important facts.

First, he mentioned that 于 as a verb means 'to go.' It is also used as a function word indicating a direction (after verbs of motion), and less frequently, a location (after verbs of no motion). Through his account, one can see that the different usages of 于 are not unrelated. Rather, they were derived through grammaticalization: 于 was originally a lexical word 'to go to,' which can be described as [+verb, +mvt (=movement)]. Later, it grammaticalized and became a function word, such as an allative marker (which is [-verb, +mvt]), as well as a locative marker (which is [-verb, -mvt]).

Second, following Yang Shuda, Pulleyblank pointed out that there are very rare cases where 於 is used as a verb. The origin of the function word 於 has not been very clear and 於 is often understood as the only function word in Classical Chinese that is not derived from a verb. However, Yang Shuda's and Pulleyblank's accounts open up the possibility that the function word 於 also originated from a verb meaning 'to be at.' The problem with positing this hypothesis is that its occurrence as a verb is very rare and the example given by Pulleyblank appears in the *Han Feizi*, which is dated as late as the late Warring States period. This hypothesis can be strengthened only by finding more examples of 於 as a verb in earlier texts.

Despite his good observation, Pulleyblank's account is still sketchy. More should be explained, such as the origin and development of 于 reflected in the earliest Chinese writing, the origin and development of 於, the differences between 于 and 於 when they co-exist in a single text, and the process of encroachment of 于 by 於, as well as the semantic scopes of 于 and 於. In order to answer these questions, the difference between 于 and 於 should be systematically analyzed using an integrated system.

1.3.4. He Leshi (1989)

He Leshi (1989) analyzed the differences between 于 and 於 in *Zuo's Commentary*. She analyzed whether 于/於 + Noun precedes or follows the verb, as well as the types of verbs that co-occur with 于 and 於.

Although 于/於 + Noun appears after the verb phrase in the great majority of cases, it can also appear in front of the verb phrase. As He Leshi pointed out, while 于 + Noun + VP is extremely rare (only seven occurrences, all of which are quotations from *The Book of Odes*), there are 230 occurrences of 於 + Noun + VP/Sentence.

於 + Noun + VP/Sentence conveys the meaning of contrast and emphasis. Examples include:

44. 狄之廣莫, 於晉為都. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ "Duke Zhuang" 莊公 28.1/240)

Since the lands of the barbarians are vast, one should establish minor administrative centers for Jin.

In the above example, 於 + Noun is followed by a verb phrase, conveying the meaning of emphasis.

45. 吳人曰：“於周室，我為長。” 晉人曰：“於姬姓，我為伯。” (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Ai” 哀公 13.4/1677)
They said on the side of Wu, “In relation to the House of Zhou, we are the eldest branch.” On the side of Jin they said, “We have the presidency of all the Ji.”

In the above example, 於 + Noun is followed by a sentence, conveying the meaning of contrast.

There are also examples of Noun + 於 + VP. She speculated that it originated from VP + 於 + Noun, and 於 + Noun is preposed for emphasis. Subsequently, the noun is preposed before 於 for more emphasis:

46. 晉卻芮使夷吾重賂秦以求入，曰：“人實有國，我何愛焉？入而能民，土於何有？” (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xi” 僖公 9.1/ 330)
Qie Rui made Yi Wu offer heavy *presents* to Qin,²⁵ to obtain its help in entering Jin, saying to him, “The State is really in the possession of others; I need grudge nothing. If I enter and can get the people, I will have no difficulty about the territory.”

He Leshi recognized that the choice of 于 or 於 is also influenced by the preceding verb. She divided verbs into the following three categories:

- (1) There are 166 verbs that co-occur with both 于 + N and 於 + N. Examples include 敗 ‘to defeat,’ 盟 ‘to make a covenant,’ 會 ‘to meet,’ 朝 ‘to go to court,’ 戰 ‘to have a battle,’ 聘 ‘to go to inquire,’ 請 ‘to request,’ and 求 ‘to beg for.’ There are 1908 occurrences, making up 66 percent of the total occurrences of VP + 于/於 N.
- (2) There are 102 verbs that only co-occur with 于 + N. Examples include 毙 ‘to die,’ 崩 ‘(the king) to die,’ 克 ‘to conquer,’ 降 ‘to surrender,’ 弑 ‘to assassinate (the ruler),’ 定 ‘to settle,’ 師 ‘to lead a troop,’ 止 ‘to stop’ and so on. There are 172 occurrences, making up 6 percent of the total occurrences of VP + 于/於 N.
- (3) There are 254 verbs (including 44 stative verbs and seven nouns²⁶) that take only 於 + N. Examples include 安 ‘to pacify,’ 薄 ‘to be pressed,’²⁷ 臣 ‘(to serve as) a subordinate,’ 巢 ‘(to make) a nest,’ 城 ‘(to make) a city wall,’ 除 ‘to eliminate,’ 伏 ‘to submit,’ 旅 ‘to travel,’ 築 ‘to build’ and so on. There are 792 occurrences, making up 28 percent of the total occurrences of VP + 于/於 N.

²⁵ Karlgren translated 賂 as ‘bribes.’ However, ‘presents’ is a better rendering for 賂. Translation in italic is my own modification.

²⁶ Although He Leshi said that there are seven nouns that only take 於 + N, in a language like Chinese which does not have inflection, only context can determine whether an instance of a word should be analyzed as a noun or a verb. For instance, 城 can be interpreted either as a noun or as a verb. In the following example, 城 is used as a noun ‘(city) wall.’

祭仲曰：都，城過百雉，國之害也。 (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 1.4/10)
Zhong of Ji said to the duke: “Any metropolitan city, whose wall is more than 3,000 cubits round, is dangerous for the State.”

She also argued that while high-frequency verbs are followed by 于 + N, many other verbs, including newly emerged verbs, stative verbs, and nouns, are followed by 於 + N. He's analysis raises a question: What is the underlying reason for the distributional difference?

In order to answer this question, the difference between 于 and 於 should be explained from a historical perspective. In order to do so, texts before the time of *Zuo's Commentary*, where 于 is more dominant, and texts after it, where 於 is more dominant, should be investigated to explain the process of encroachment of 于 by 於 over time. Also, not only the objects of 于 and 於, but also the co-occurring verbs should be analyzed in terms of their features (for example, [±movement], [±goal], [±source], [±give] and so on). This will allow a systematic explanation of the encroachment process in terms of the relationship between the features of 于 and 於 and those of the co-occurring verbs.²⁸ Also, by drawing the semantic scope of 于 and 於, it can be explained how the different functions of 于 and 於 were derived from the core functions, and how one function is related to another. This approach can also explain what functions of 于 were first encroached upon by 於, and what functions resisted encroachment most and why.

1.4. The scope of this study

The limitations of Karlgren's and He Leshi's studies reveal that the difference between 于 and 於 cannot be explained satisfactorily based on a single text. As already shown in Pulleyblank (1986), the distribution and function of 于 and 於 in *The Book of Odes*, *Zuo's Commentary*, and the *Mencius* are quite different. Therefore, their differences can be explained satisfactorily only by examining different texts where the frequency of 于 and 於 differs.

On the contrary, in the following example, 城 is used as a verb 'to make a city wall' and can no longer be interpreted as a noun.

夏四月，費伯帥師城郎。(Zuo's Commentary/ "Duke Yin" 隱公 1.3/10)
In summer, the fourth month the earl of Fei led a force and walled Lang.

²⁷ 薄於 appears in 楚師薄於險 (Zuo's Commentary/ "Duke Cheng" 成公 16.5/ 888). Yang Bojun (1981a) interpreted 薄 as a graphic variant of 迫 and rendered the sentence as 楚軍於險阻之地為晉軍所強迫 "The Chu army was pressed by the Jin army in a rugged place."

²⁸ Sub-classification of the preceding verbs by features is discussed in 2.2.

Only 于 appears in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions (OBI hereafter).²⁹ 於 as a function word first appears in Western Zhou bronze inscription. In *The Book of Documents* and *The Book of Odes*, 于 is still by far dominant. During the time of *The Ceremonies and Rites* 儀禮 and *The Rites of Zhou* 周禮, 於 started to appear more and more frequently and was only used as a function word. In *Zuo's Commentary*, the ratio of 于 to 於 is almost 1:1. By the Warring States period, 於 had almost completely replaced 于. Table 4 shows the number of occurrences of 于 and 於 in Ruan Yuan's 阮元 (1764-1849) *Commentaries and Subcommentaries on Thirteen Classics* 十三經注疏, carved on woodblock in 1815.³⁰

²⁹ The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions (OBI, *jiǎgǔwén* 甲骨文 in Chinese), which literally means “(turtle) shell and (ox) bone writing,” are divinatory records made during the Late Shang dynasty (ca. 1200-1045 B.C. according to Keightley). The OBI corpus is a genuine and intact material of the historical record of early China. For more information about the OBI, see Keightley (1978) *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China*.

³⁰ The number of occurrences of 于 and 於 is based on Academia Sinica database.

Table 4. The ratio of the occurrence of 于 and 於 in *The Thirteen Classics* in descending order³¹

Text	于	於	于:於
<i>The Book of Documents</i> 尚書 ³²	382	7 (9) ³³	98.2:1.8 (97.7:2.3)
<i>The Book of Odes</i> 詩經 ³⁴	335	13 (46)	96:4 (88:12)
<i>The Ceremonies and Rites</i> 儀禮 ³⁵	1465	146	9:1
<i>The Zhou Changes</i> 周易 ³⁶	116 (121) ³⁷	16 (54)	88:12 (7:3)

³¹ *Erya* 爾雅 is excluded from the statistics because it is a dictionary. The dating of each text follows that of Loewe (1993).

³² According to Shaughnessy (1993b:337-40), dates of each of the chapters in *The Book of Documents* range from early Zhou to the Warring States period or as late as the Qin dynasty.

³³ As for *The Book of Documents*, only the occurrences in the “New Text” (*jīnwén* 今文) edition are counted and discussed because the “Old Text” (*gǔwén* 古文) is proven as a later forgery. In the Old Text, 于 appears 204 times and 於 appears 6 times. The ratio of 于 to 於 is 97:3. It is shown that the ratio of 于 to 於 is approximately the same in the New Text and the Old Text. Numbers in parentheses indicate the total number of occurrences of 於, including 於 used as an exclamatory particle. Numbers without parentheses indicates only the number of occurrences of 於 used as a function word, based on my own counting.

³⁴ According to Loewe (1993b:415), *The Book of Odes* may be dated between c. 1000 and c. 600 BC.

³⁵ Regarding the origin and dating of *The Ceremonies and Rites*, Boltz (1993c:237) speculated that “the extant *Yili* is in origin a part of a larger corpus of similar ceremonial and ritual texts dating from pre-Han times, perhaps as early as the time of Confucius.”

³⁶ Shaughnessy (1993a:219) summarized that *The Zhou Changes* did not attain its final form until the latter part of the 9th century BC.

³⁷ Numbers without parentheses refer to the number of occurrences only in the main text (*běnjīng* 本經), excluding commentaries (*zhuàn* 傳), based on my own counting. Commentaries are later additions, which are no earlier than the Warring States period (Shaughnessy 1993a:221). Numbers in parentheses refer to the number of occurrences in the entire *Zhou Changes*.

Table 4 continued

<i>Gongyang's Commentary</i> 公羊傳 ³⁸	544	109	83:17
<i>Guliang's Commentary</i> 穀梁傳	452	156	74:26
<i>The Rites of Zhou</i> 周禮 ³⁹	217	92	7:3
<i>Zuo's Commentary</i> 左傳 ⁴⁰	1440	1821	44:56
<i>The Record of Rites</i> 禮記 ⁴¹	289	1243	18:82
<i>Mencius</i> 孟子 ⁴²	46	512	8:92
<i>The Analects</i> 論語 ⁴³	7	176	4:96
<i>The Canon of Filial Piety</i> 孝經 ⁴⁴	1	40	2:98

³⁸ Regarding the date of compilation of *Gongyang's Commentary* and *Guliang's Commentary*, Cheng (1993a:68) mentioned that *Gongyang's Commentary* already existed in written form by the end of the Warring States period. The text was dispersed and damaged during Qin times but put together again early in the Han period. It is usually believed that *Guliang's Commentary* was written later than *Gongyang's Commentary*, given its numerous borrowings from and elaboration upon *Gongyang's Commentary*.

³⁹ Boltz (1993a:26-8) concluded that *The Rites of Zhou* was compiled in the Warring States period.

⁴⁰ *Zuo's Commentary* covers the period between 722 and 463 BC.

⁴¹ Riegel (1993:293) mentioned that *The Record of Rites* is a ritualist's anthology and it does not seem that each section originated at the same time or in the same scholastic context. It was edited by Dai Sheng 戴聖 (fl. 73-48 BC) in the first century BC.

⁴² *Mencius* is attributed to Meng Ke 孟軻 (372-289 BC; other possible dates: 385-303/302 BC) and his disciples.

⁴³ Cheng (1993b:314) summarized that its date of compilation ranges from the Warring States period to the Former Han between 157 and 87 BC.

⁴⁴ Boltz (1993b:142-3) states, "Because the *Hsiao ching* appears in large part to be a record of questions and answers between Confucius and Tseng tzu, it was early on assumed that Confucius or perhaps Tseng tzu was the author. . . . There are at least two sizable citations from the *Hsiao ching* found in the *Lü shih ch'un ch'iu*. The date of the compilation of the *Lü shih ch'un ch'iu*, about 239 B.C., gives us therefore a date by when the *Hsiao ching* must have been compiled and in circulation." In sum, it is proposed that *The Canon of Filial Piety* was compiled sometime between Confucius and Zengzi's time and the time of the compilation of *Lüshi chungiu*.

Table 5 shows the occurrences of 于 and 於 in Warring States philosophical texts based on their occurrences in *The Collection of Masters* 諸子集成.⁴⁵

Table 5. The ratio of the occurrence of 于 and 於 in Warring States philosophical texts in descending order

	于	於	于：於
<i>Yin Wenzi</i> 尹文子	66	2	97:3
<i>Annals of Yanzi</i> 晏子春秋 ⁴⁶	486	25	95:5
<i>Guanzi</i> 管子 ⁴⁷	106	1501	7:93
<i>Mozi</i> 墨子 ⁴⁸	40	598	6:94
<i>Annals by Lü</i> 呂氏春秋 ⁴⁹	58	1181	5:95
<i>Xunzi</i> 荀子 ⁵⁰	17	527	3:97

⁴⁵The number of occurrences of 于 and 於 is based on *Hanquan* 寒泉 database.

⁴⁶ Durrant (1993:483) stated: “The *Yen tzu ch'un ch'iu* is a collection of remonstrances delivered by Yen Ying 晏嬰 primarily to Duke Ching 景 of Ch'i 齊 (held the title 547-489 B.C.) and other miscellaneous anecdotes depicting Yen Ying's pious behaviour.” The date of compilation of this text is problematic. It ranges from Zhou times to the late Warring States period (Durrant 1993:486-7).

⁴⁷ Rickett (1993:247), following Luo Genze 羅根澤 (1931), stated: “none of the *Kuan tzu* chapters predates the Warring States period, and that most of them come from the end of that period or the time of the Han dynasty, i.e. from the fourth to the first centuries B.C.”

⁴⁸ Mohist school was founded by Mo Di 墨翟 (ca. 479-403 BC). Regarding the date of *Mozi*, Graham (1993:337) states: “Except in the Military Chapters, and possibly in ch. 1 and 2, it displays everywhere the distinctive thought of the Mohist school, which died out in the second century B.C.” Graham (1993:338) also stated: “The Dialectal Chapters represent a late and sophisticated stage in Mohist thought, and discuss issues raised toward the end of the fourth century B.C. by the Sophists and by Chuang Tzu.”

⁴⁹ Carlson & Loewe (1993:324) stated, “The *Lü shih ch'un ch'iu*, of about 239 B.C., has been ascribed to Lü Bu-wei, a merchant from Han 韓 who finally became chancellor of Ch'in 秦 and committed suicide in 235 B.C. (...) Its authenticity as a pre-Ch'in text is generally accepted.”

⁵⁰ *Xunzi* is attributed to Xun Kuang 荀況 (ca. 335 - ca. 238 BC).

Table 5 continued

<i>Han Feizi</i> 韓非子 ⁵¹	12	464	3:97
<i>Zhuangzi</i> 莊子 ⁵²	12	723	2:98
<i>Liezi</i> 列子 ⁵³	4	312	1:99
<i>Documents of the Ruler by Shang</i> 商君書 ⁵⁴	0	224	0:100
<i>Sunzi</i> 孫子 ⁵⁵	0	71	0:100
<i>Wuzi</i> 吳子 ⁵⁶	0	52	0:100
<i>Laozi</i> 老子 ⁵⁷	0	47	0:100
<i>Shenzi</i> 慎子 ⁵⁸	0	27	0:100

⁵¹ *Han Feizi* is attributed to Han Fei 韓非 (ca. 280-233 BC). Levi (1993a:117) stated that this book has suffered very few losses, therefore, it may be accepted as authentic.

⁵² *Zhuangzi* is attributed to Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (369-286 BC). Regarding the compilation of *Zhuangzi*, Roth (1993:57) states: “The text of the *Chuang tzu* thus seems to have taken its form in a period of over a century as a heterogeneous collection of material from Chuang Chou or his followers and from other sources believed to be related to him in some way.”

⁵³ Barrett (1993:298-9), following Graham (1960-1), concluded, “The *Liezi* cannot be used as a source for pre-Qin Chinese thought without proof that the specific passage involved was incorporated into it from an earlier work of that period.”

⁵⁴ According to Levi (1993b:368-70), some chapters (*piān* 篇) quite possibly derive from the hands of Shang Yang 商鞅, who served as minister to Duke Xiao 孝 of Qin 秦 from 359 BC until his death in 338 BC. As to the formation of the book, he states: “During the third century, and in the Han period, new material that was related in some ways to the works and personality of Shang Yang was appended to his writings to form a book.”

⁵⁵ Gawlikowski & Loewe (1993:447-9) concluded that *Sunzi* was compiled in the present form towards the end of the Spring and Autumn period.

⁵⁶ *Wuzi* is attributed to Wu Qi 吳起 (440 - ca 361 BC) and his disciples. Sawyer (1993:192) stated, “The core of the *Wu-tzu* was probably composed by Wu Ch’i himself, then expanded and revised by his disciples - perhaps from their own memories or from court records. Much of the original version appears to have been lost; what remains has been edited into a succinct, fairly systematic, and remarkably comprehensive work. Although earlier versions of the text apparently date back to at least the fourth century B.C., it probably assumed its present form during the Han dynasty... Few textual problems exist, and only small differences are found among the various editions.”

⁵⁷ Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1932) argued that the text of the *Laozi* was compiled in its final form in the second half of the third century BC, and became widely circulated and well known in the second century BC.

This dissertation is focused on the emergence and development of 于 and 於, as well as the process of the encroachment of the former by the latter. The dissertation examines the occurrences of each form in a selection of texts from various time periods, chosen in order to show different stages of the development of 于 and 於 and the process of encroachment of 于 by 於. The texts include *The Yinxu wenzi bingbian* 殷墟文字丙编 (*Fascicle Three of Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins*, hereafter *BB*),⁵⁹ where only 于 occurs; bronze inscriptions in *Indexes of Bronze Inscriptions* (*Jinwen yinde* 金文引得, hereafter *JWYD*, 2001, 2002), *The Book of Documents*, *The Book of Odes*, and *The Ceremonies and Rites*, where 於 appears sporadically; and *Zuo's Commentary*, where the ratio of 于 vs. 於 is around 1:1.⁶⁰ Analysis and comparison of the differing distributions of 于 and 於 over time provide a means to understand the historical development of each form and the process of encroachment of the former by the latter.

1.5. The use of semantic feature analysis

In this dissertation, the usages of 于 and 於 are illustrated using semantic features.⁶¹ Semantic features are illustrated in square brackets using a binary (+ or -) system.⁶² This will help us to show clearly the original feature sets of 于 and 於 and their grammaticalization paths, as well as the step-by-step process of the encroachment of the former by the latter.

⁵⁸ *Shenzi* is attributed to Shen Dao 慎到 (?350-?275 BC). Only fragments of this text survive; however, this text can be partially reconstructed based on its fragments in ancient and medieval sources. For more details on this text, see Thompson (1993:399-404).

⁵⁹ In the *BB*, only 于 appears. *BB* is a collection of oracle bone inscriptions made during King Wuding's 武丁 reign (1339-1281 BC according to Dong Zuobin's 董作賓 periodization). It was scientifically excavated from 1928 to 1937 from Anyang 安陽, Henan, and reassembled by Zhang Bingquan 張秉權. It consists of 613 inscriptions on over 300 plastrons and it constitutes "the earliest examples of Chinese writing so far discovered." For more details, see Takashima (1985), iii.

⁶⁰ The use of received texts for the study of Chinese historical grammar has been controversial because received texts presumably underwent considerable contamination by later redactors. However, to be precise, later redaction is not just contamination. Rather, it reflects later linguistic change. Therefore, by analyzing the language reflected in a received text, one can say what layer or layers of language it consists of and when it got its present form. For discussion on determining the date of compilation of received texts based on their syntactic structure, see Hong (1958) and Yue (2003).

⁶¹ For the list of semantic features of 于 and 於, see Glossary 1.

⁶² For a complete list of the semantic features of 于 and 於, see Glossary 1.

It is discussed in the later chapters that 于 was originally a verb indicating movement, which can be either toward or away from the point of reference.⁶³ The verbal feature set of 于 can be illustrated as [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] or [+lexical, +mvt, -goal, +source].⁶⁴ On the other hand, 於 was originally a locative verb, with the feature set [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source].⁶⁵ All usages of 于 and 於 were derived from their original verbal usages through grammaticalization. The grammaticalization path of 于 is parallel to that of verbs of movement in a number of the world's languages, whereas the grammaticalization path of 於 follows that of a locative verb.

于 and 於 are frequently followed by a place word, in which case they can be interpreted as a goal marker, a source marker, a locative marker, or a path marker. Using a binary system, a goal marker is described as [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, -source], a source marker is described as [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, +source], a locative marker is described as [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, -source], and a path marker is described as [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, +source].⁶⁶ As expected from their original feature sets, 于 was more prone to grammaticalize into a goal marker, a source marker, or a path marker, whereas 於 first grammaticalized into a locative marker.

于 and 於 co-occurring with Verbs [±give] or Verbs of speech and inquiry (that is, verbs which occur with an addressee or an addresser, hereafter, V[±addressee]) mark a non-spatial goal or a non-spatial source, extended from a spatial goal marker or a spatial source marker, respectively. While a spatial goal marker or a spatial source marker involves an overt movement (that is, is [+mvt]), a non-spatial goal or a non-spatial source marker with Verbs [±give] or V[±addressee] does not involve an overt movement (that is, is [-mvt]).

While the abovementioned functions account for the great majority of the occurrences of 于 and 於, there are some other functions that occur less frequently.

于 and 於 are used as an agent marker in a passive sentence. An agent marker is derived from either a source marker or a locative marker.⁶⁷ Consequently, its feature set can be described as [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, +source, +agent] (extended from a source marker) or [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source, +agent] (extended from a locative marker).

⁶³ For discussion, see 2.2.1 and 2.3.

⁶⁴ [+lexical] means that the word is used as a lexical word, whereas [-lexical] means that it is used as a function word. For more discussion, see 2.2. Haspelmath (2009:515) stated, "Cases expressing spatial relations can be grouped into four broad directional classes: cases expressing location ('at'), goal ('to'), source ('from'), and path ('through, along'). The basic terms for the first three are locative, allative, and ablative. Alternative synonym terms for 'allative' are *directional*, *directive*, and *lative*. For cases denoting a path, there is no terminological agreement. Perhaps the most common label is perlativ ('along, through'). ...Synonyms are *prosecutive*, *prolative*, *traversal*, *translative*, *vialis*, and *meditative*."

⁶⁵ For discussion, see 5.1.1.

⁶⁶ Earlier, Hjelmslev (1937) stated that there are four major cases that are local: ablative (case expressing source), allative (case expressing goal), locative (case expressing location), and perlativ (case expressing path). He described ablative as [+from, -to], allative as [-from, +to], locative as [-from, -to], and perlativ as [+from, +to]. In this dissertation, Hjelmslev's "from" is replaced by "source" and "to" is replaced by "goal," because the feature of "from" can be interpreted as [+source] and "to" can be interpreted as [+goal].

⁶⁷ It is argued that 于 as an agent marker was derived from a non-spatial source marker (see 2.2.2.4.2), whereas 於 as an agent marker was derived from a non-spatial locative marker (see 5.1.2.5.1).

Only 于 is used as an additive marker in the form NP1 + 于 + NP2. An additive marker is an extended function from a goal marker. Its feature set can be described as [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source, -target]. Only 於 is used as a comparative marker, whose feature set is [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source, +standard], which is derived from a spatial locative marker.

The use of semantic feature analysis is also crucial in explaining the process of the encroachment of 于 by 於. When 於 started to encroach upon the semantic scope of 于, those functions of 于 that are closely related to its original feature set (such as a spatial goal marker, a source marker, a path marker, or a locative marker) resisted the encroachment better, while those functions which are distant from its original feature set or closely related to the original feature set of 於 (such as a spatial locative marker or a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target]) were more prone to be encroached upon by 於.⁶⁸ The process of encroachment of 于 by 於 is summarized in Table 6 below

Table 6. The process of encroachment of 于 by 於

The stage of encroachment	Text reflecting the language of this stage	The feature set of 于 encroached upon by 於/The features of the co-occurring verb
Stage 1	<i>The Book of Odes</i> <i>JWYD</i>	[+spatial, -goal, -source] [-spatial, +goal, -source]/V[+target] ⁶⁹
Stage 2	<i>The Book of Documents</i>	[-spatial, -goal, +source]/ V[-target] ⁷⁰
Stage 3	<i>The Ceremonies and Rites</i>	[-spatial, +goal, -source]/ V[+addressee] [-spatial, -goal, +source]/V[-give]
Stage 4	The first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes of <i>Zuo's Commentary</i>	[-spatial, +goal, -source]/ V[+give]
Stage 5	Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes of <i>Zuo's Commentary</i>	[-spatial, +temporal, +goal, -source] [+spatial, +goal, -source]

⁶⁸ For the process of encroachment of 于 by 於 and their semantic scopes, see Figure 4, 5 and 6.

⁶⁹ V[+target] refers to a verb which is neither V[+give] nor V[+addressee]; yet, the noun following 于/於 is the goal where the action is directed toward. For examples, see 1.6.

⁷⁰ V[-target] refers to a verb which is neither V[-give] nor V[-addressee]; yet, the noun following 于/於 is the source where the action is derived from. For examples, see 1.6.

In Stage 1, 于, when used as a spatial locative marker, or a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with a verb which is neither V[+give] nor V[+addresser] (i.e. V[+target]), first started being encroached upon by 於. In Stage 2, 于, when used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with a verb which is neither V[-give] nor V[-addresser] (i.e. V[-target]), was encroached upon by 於. In Stage 3, 于, when used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+addresser] and as a non-spatial source marker with V[-give], was encroached upon by 於. In Stage 4, 于, when used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give], was encroached upon by 於. Finally, 于, when used as a temporal goal marker and as a spatial goal marker, was encroached upon by 於. From this encroachment process, it is shown that while 于 used as a spatial locative marker was first encroached upon by 於, 于 used as a spatial or temporal goal marker resisted encroachment best because these usages are the closest to the original feature set of 于, which is [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source].

1.6. Subcategorization of the verb co-occurring with 于 or 於⁷¹

于 and 於 in the chosen texts are used as function words with multiple meanings far more frequently than they are used as verbs, although their verbal functions still exist. Two questions arise: How is a function word derived from a lexical word? Also, how is a new usage as a function word derived from the existing usage(s)? It is very important to explain the derivation from one usage to another in a systematic way, rather than simply listing the different usages, given the fact that our purpose is to show clearly the development of 于 and 於 from a verb to a function word and from one function word to another, and to draw the semantic scope of 于 and 於. In later chapters, it is argued that the functions of 于 closest to the historical core meaning resisted encroachment by 於 the most.

The development from a verb to a function word can be explained from the perspective of grammaticalization. According to Hopper & Traugott (2003:1), the term “grammaticalization” “refers to that part of the study of language change that is concerned with such questions as how lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions and how grammatical items develop new grammatical functions” or “the steps whereby particular items become more grammatical through time.”⁷²

⁷¹ The co-occurring verb can appear before or after 于/於 + Noun. Examples include:

貞𤝵犬于父庚卯羊. (BB 12.7o=HJ 6482.7o) (VP + 于 + Noun)
 Tested: (We) should make an offering of dogs to Fu Geng (and) (split open:) halve [劉] a sheep.

于羌甲𠄎𠄎. (BB 47.11o=HJ 721.11o) (于 + Noun + VP)
 To Qiang Jia (we) should direct the exorcism ritual [over (His Majesty's ?) bone trouble].

⁷² The development of a function word from one usage to another usage has also been explained as a process of case extension or case polysemy, that is, the derivation of a new case from an existing case due to a transparent semantic base. A well-known example is allative-dative polysemy in many European languages (Malchukov & Narrog 2009:518). In these languages, a dative marker is derived from the existing allative marker (indicates a movement to another place such as ‘to’ or ‘toward’ in English).

In order to explain the process of grammaticalization and extension of grammatical function of 于 and 於 in the chosen texts and draw a clear semantic scope, all occurrences of 于 and 於 are first subcategorized by use of binary features. First of all, they are subcategorized into [±lexical]. [+lexical] means that 于 or 於 itself is used as a verb and [-lexical] means that 于 or 於 is used as a function word. When 于 or 於 is used as a function word, there are two factors that play a role in determining its use: one is the type of the co-occurring verb and the other is the object of 于 or 於. In the great majority of cases, the co-occurring verb plays a key role in the interpretation of 于. Therefore, in this section, the co-occurring verbs are sub-classified based on their features.

The verbs that co-occur with 于 or 於 are first subdivided into [±spatial]. Verb [+spatial] means that it has a spatial notion, whereas Verb [-spatial] means that it has a non-spatial notion, which can be conceptual or temporal.

Verb [+spatial] is followed by a place noun. Verb [+spatial] can be subdivided into [+goal, -source], [-goal, +source], [-goal, -source], and [+goal, +source]. When 于 or 於 co-occurs with Verb [+mvt, +goal, -source], it may be interpreted as a spatial goal marker, whose feature set is [-lexical, +spatial +goal, -source]. When 于 or 於 co-occurs with Verb [+mvt, -goal, +source], it may be interpreted as a spatial source marker, whose feature set is [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, +source]. When 于 or 於 co-occurs with Verb [-mvt, -goal, -source], it may be interpreted as a locative source marker, whose feature set is [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, -source]. Finally, when 于 or 於 co-occurs with Verb [+mvt, +goal, +source], it may be interpreted as a spatial path marker, whose feature set is [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, +source].

Examples of Verb [+mvt, +goal, -source] include 往 ‘to go,’ 出 ‘to move out (to),’ 使 ‘to send a messenger,’ 來 ‘to come’ and so on.⁷³ For example:

47. 丁巳卜癸貞王出于臺. (BB 559.10=HJ 7942.10)

Crack making on the *dingsi* day [54], Bin tested: His Majesty should sally forth to Chun.

48. 方其來于止. (HJ 6728.4)

Fang should come to Zhi.

Examples of Verb [+mvt, -goal, +source] include 出 ‘to move out (from),’ 退 ‘to retreat (from),’ and 濟 ‘to cross the river (from).’ For example:⁷⁴

49. 主人降, 立于阼階東, 西面. 尸謦, 祝前, 尸從, 遂出于廟門. (*The Ceremonies and Rite*/ “The assistant clears away” 有司徹50.1130-1)

The host goes down the eastern steps and stands to the east of them facing west. Then the liturgist goes first, followed by the personator, and they go out the temple door.

⁷³ Examples of each type of verb are mainly taken from the *BB*, *The Book of Odes*, *The Book of Documents*, *The Ceremonies and Rites*, and *Zuo’s Commentary*.

⁷⁴ The page number and the punctuation of *The Ceremonies and Rites* follow Li Xueqin (2001). English translation is adopted from Steele (1917; rpt. 1966).

It is noteworthy that, even though examples 47 and 49 have the same verb 出, 于 in example 47 indicates a goal, whereas 于 in example 49 indicates a source.

Examples of Verb [-mvt, -goal, -source] include 宿 ‘to stay overnight,’ 在 ‘to be at/in,’ 止 ‘to stop,’ 止 ‘to stay’ and so on.

50. 貞其止于嬖. (BB 122.1o=HJ 418.1o)

Tested: (We) will stay at Zi.

An example of Verb [+mvt, +goal, +source] is 涉 ‘to cross over.’

51. 王从媿涉于河. (BB 238.1r=HJ 14198.1r)

His Majesty should (following:) by way of Mian ford the River He.

Verb [-spatial] is followed by a non-place noun. Verb [-mvt, -spatial, +goal, -source] refers to a type of verb that does not involve an overt movement with no spatial sense, yet still has a goal. When 于 or 於 co-occurs with Verb [-mvt, -spatial, +goal, -source], it may be interpreted as a non-spatial goal marker, whose feature set is [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source]. V[+give], V[+addressee], and V[+target] are subtypes of Verb [-mvt, -spatial, +goal, -source]. In a sentence with V[+give], what is transferred to the goal is a real object, which can be described as [+concrete] theme, whereas in a sentence with V[+addressee], what is transferred is a word, speech, or a piece of information, which is a [-concrete] theme.

Examples of V[+give] include 出 ‘to offer,’ 獻 ‘to present,’ and many sacrificial verbs. An example is as follows.

52. 貞出犬于父庚卯羊. (BB 12.7o=HJ 6482.7o)

Tested: (We) should make an offering of dogs to Fu Geng (and) (split open:) halve [劉] a sheep.

Examples of V[+addressee] include 告 ‘to report,’ 赴 ‘to send an obituary report’ and 言 ‘to say.’ An example is as follows.

53. 丁巳卜殼貞告于祖[乙]勿出歲禘. (BB 98.10o=HJ 10613.10o)

Crack making on the *dingsi* day [54], Nan tested: In making the ritual announcement concerning [HM’s] bone trouble to Zu [Yi], (we) should not make an offering of what-has-been-*gui* cut (歲) (and) perform a libation (?).

Some other verbs that are Verb [-mvt, -spatial, +goal, -source] include 惠 ‘to be benevolent to,’ 作 ‘to work on,’ 觀 ‘to observe,’ 畏 ‘to be afraid of’ and so on. They are neither V[+give] nor V[+addressee]. Yet, the noun following 于/於 is the goal where the action is directed toward. These verbs may be described as V[+target].

54. 惠于朋友, 庶民小子. (*Ode* 256.6)

Be kind to your friends, your common people, and your young ones.

55. 定之方中, 作于楚宮. 揆之以日, 作于楚室. (*Ode* 50.1)

When (the constellation) Ding was at the zenith, he started work on the Chu palace.

When he had measured it by the sun, he started work on the Chu mansion.

Verb [-mvt, -spatial, -goal, +source] refers to a type of verb that does not involve an overt movement with no spatial sense, yet still has a source. When 于 or 於 co-occurs with Verb [-mvt, -spatial, -goal, +source], it may be interpreted as a non-spatial source marker, whose feature set is [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, +source]. V[-give], V[-addressee], and V[-target] are subtypes of Verb [-mvt, -spatial, -goal, +source].

Examples of Verb [-give] include 取 ‘to take,’ 求 ‘to seek,’ 娶 ‘to take a wife,’ 得 ‘to obtain,’ as well as 受 ‘to receive.’

56. 假樂君子, 顯顯令德. 宜民宜人, 受祿于天. 保右命之, 自天申之. (*Ode* 249.1)

Greatly happy be the lord; illustrious is his good virtue; he orders well the people, he orders well the men; he receives blessings from Heaven; it protects and helps and appoints him; from Heaven (comes the favor) that keeps him in power.

Examples of V[-addressee] include 問 ‘to inquire’ and 聽 ‘to hear.’

57. 曰: “某命某聽命于吾子.” (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of the marriage of an ordinary officer” 士昏禮 6.117)

(The messenger then) says: “So-and-so has ordered to receive your honor’s command.”

V[-target] refers to a verb which is neither V[-give] nor V[-addressee]; yet, the noun following 于/於 is the source where the action is derived from. An example is 監 ‘to examine.’

58. 古人有言曰: 人無於水監, 當於民監. (*Book of Documents*/ “Imperial edict on wine” 酒誥 44.12)

The ancients had a saying: men should not (examine=) mirror themselves in water; they should mirror themselves in the people.

The subclassification of the verb co-occurring with 于/於 + Noun is summarized as follows.

Verb [+mvt, +spatial, +goal, -source]: 往 ‘to go,’ 使 ‘to send (a messenger),’ 出 ‘to move out (to),’ 來 ‘to come’

Verb [+mvt, +spatial, -goal, +source]: 出 ‘to move out (from),’ 退 ‘to retreat (from),’ 濟 ‘to cross the river (from)’

Verb [-mvt, +spatial, -goal, -source]: 宿 ‘to stay overnight,’ 在 ‘to be at/in,’ 止 ‘to stop,’ 止 ‘to stay’

Verb [+mvt, +spatial, +goal, +source]: 涉 ‘to cross over’

Verb [-mvt, -spatial, +goal, -source]:

出 ‘to offer,’ 燎 ‘to perform a burnt offering,’ 叩 ‘to perform an exorcism’ (=V[+give])

告 ‘to inform,’ 命 ‘to command,’ 赴 ‘to send an obituary report,’ 言 ‘to say’

(=V[+addressee])

惠 ‘to be benevolent to,’ 作 ‘to work on,’ 觀 ‘to observe,’ 畏 ‘to be afraid of’

(=V[+target])

Verb [-mvt, -spatial, -goal, +source]:

取 ‘to take,’ 求 ‘to request,’ 娶 ‘to take a wife,’ 得 ‘to obtain,’ 受 ‘to receive’ (=V[-give])

問 ‘to ask,’ 聽 ‘to hear’ (=V[-addressee])

監 ‘to examine (through)’ (=V[-target])

2. The emergence and development of the word 于

This chapter examines the emergence and development of 于. It is argued that the understanding of the original meaning of 于 that is found in the literature should be revised, based on evidence from its usage in the *BB*. Section 2.1 reviews the literature on the etymology of 于 and the possibly-related 往 and examines the usage of 于 and 往 in the *BB*. Section 2.2 reviews the occurrences of 于 in the *BB* in detail. Section 2.3 summarizes the findings of this chapter and presents an alternative account of the original meaning and development of 于.

2.1. The etymology of 于 and 于 vs. 往

According to Coblin (1986:86), the word meaning ‘go’ in Proto-Sino-Tibetan (PST) can be reconstructed as ***sywjaj*. Its reflex is 于 **gwrjag* > *ju* ‘to go’ in Old Chinese and **s-wa* in Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB). The reflexes of PTB **s-wa* in modern Tibeto-Burman languages include *hwa* ‘walk’ in Magari and Chepang, *wa* ‘come’ in Newari, *wa* ‘to be in motion’ in Kachin, and *swa* ‘go’ in Written Burmese.

On the other hand, the word meaning ‘go/come’ in PST can be reconstructed as ***ywjang*. Its reflex in Old Chinese is 往 **gwrjangx* > *jwang* ‘to go.’ In Written Burmese, *wang* means ‘enter,’ ‘go or come in.’

Gong (2002:25, 38-9, 114) explained that 于 **gwrjag* > *ju* ‘go to’ and 往 **gwrjangx* > *jwang* ‘go to’ are cognate with Written Tibetan *gro* ‘to go,’ ‘to walk’ and Written Burmese *krwa* ‘to proceed, whether going or coming.’

Schuessler (2007:76) argued that a Sino-Tibetan suffix **-ŋ* had a so-called “terminative” meaning which indicates an action with an ending point or a goal.⁷⁵ The difference between 于 and 往, then, can also be explained by the presence or absence of the terminative suffix **-ŋ*. Examples of doublets with and without **-ŋ* provided by Schuessler are summarized in Table 7.

⁷⁵ Pulleyblank (1986:2) first noticed that **-ŋ* plays a derivational role based on the examples 于 vs. 往 and 無 vs. 亡. For details, see footnote 16 in 1.3.3.1.

Table 7. Examples of doublets with and without the terminative *-ŋ suffix

without *-ŋ	with *-ŋ
1. 無 OCM ⁷⁶ *ma ‘there is no’	亡 *maŋ ‘to disappear’
2. WT <i>bla</i> ‘above’	WT <i>laŋ-ba</i> ‘to rise,’ ‘arise,’ <i>ldaŋ-ba</i> ‘to get up’ 揚 *laŋ ‘to rise,’ ‘to raise’
3. 煦 *hoʔ/h ‘warm’ (with breath or air)	煦 *hoŋʔ ‘to become warm’ (of the rising sun)
4. PTB *sri ‘to be,’ ‘exist’	PTB *sriŋ ‘live,’ ‘alive’ 生 *srêŋ ‘to live,’ ‘to be alive’ > (‘to cause to live’) ‘to give birth’
5. 于 *wa ‘go to, in, at, on, to’ PTB *(s-)wa ‘go,’ ‘come’	往 *waŋʔ ‘to go to,’ ‘gone,’ ‘past’ PTB *waŋ > WT <i>’oŋ-ba</i> ‘to come’ WB <i>waŋ</i> ‘to enter,’ ‘to go or come in’
6. 於 *ʔa ‘to be in, at, on’	央 *ʔaŋ ‘to hit the center,’ ‘to reach the middle’ (< ‘get to be in it’)

Schuessler’s explanation of the terminative suffix *-ŋ is enlightening, yet still has a few points that need to be clarified. First, based on examples 1-4 above, it is observed that while words without the *-ŋ ending have a stative meaning, words with the *-ŋ ending have an active meaning. In these four examples, the presence of *-ŋ is not related to a goal or an ending point. Second, Schuessler glossed both 于 and 往 as ‘to go,’ which does not reflect the difference in meaning with and without *-ŋ. If *-ŋ is truly a terminative suffix indicating a spatial ending point or a goal, 往 should be glossed as ‘to go to Place X’, while 于 can be glossed as ‘to go towards.’

Schuessler (2007:46-8) also argued that Tone B (*shǎngshēng* 上聲 “rising tone”) has the function of “endoactive” derivation, which expresses that the action is inwardly directed with no external object. Schuessler’s examples are summarized in Table 8.

⁷⁶ OCM (Minimal Old Chinese) refers to an Old Chinese reconstruction based on Baxter (1992) with slight revision by Schuessler (2007). For details, see Schuessler (2007:121-5).

Table 8. Examples of doublets with non-Tone B and Tone B (endoactive derivation)

non-Tone B		Tone B	
1. 張 *ʈaŋ	‘to stretch’	長 *ʈaŋ ^B	‘to grow tall’
2. 上 *dʒaŋ ^C	‘above’	上 *dʒaŋ ^B	‘to rise’
3. 面 *mian ^C	‘to face’	徧 *mian ^B	‘to turn from’
4. 仰 *ŋaŋ	‘to be high’	仰 *ŋiaŋ ^B	‘to look up’
5. 揚 *jaŋ	‘to lift, raise’	?養 *jaŋ ^B	‘to nourish, raise, support’

Based on Schuessler’s hypotheses on the terminative suffix *-ŋ and endoactive Tone B, the differences between 于 and 往 can be tentatively interpreted in the following two points.

1. 于 does not have an innate goal or spatial ending point, whereas 往 does. 于 can be glossed as ‘to go towards,’ whereas 往 can better be glossed as ‘to go to Place X.’ This explains why 于 is always followed by a place object when it is used as a verb, whereas 往 may or may not be followed by a place object.
2. While 往 is endoactive, 于 is not.

We turn now to the usage of 于 and 往 in the BB. Although Coblin (1986) and Gong (2002) considered 于 to be a verb, in fact, it has been controversial whether 于 is used as a verb or only used as a function word in the BB, as well as in Classical Chinese.⁷⁷ Yet, Liu Xiang *et al.* (1989:360) provided a clear example where 于 can only be interpreted as a verb.

59. 貞王去⁺于臺. (QB 1.8.1=HJ 36234)

His Majesty left Place ⁺ and moved forward to Chun.

They glossed 于 in this sentence as a verb meaning 往 ‘to go,’ and interpreted the whole sentence as 王離開⁺地前往臺地 ‘His Majesty left Place ⁺ and moved forward to Chun.’ Their claim is very plausible in that, since 去 means ‘to leave’ and Chun 臺 is a destination, 于 before Chun can only be interpreted as a verb meaning ‘head for’ or ‘move to.’ 于 cannot be interpreted as a goal marker indicating a goal, rendering the sentence as “*His Majesty left Place ⁺ to Chun.”

It is also noteworthy that, even in cases where 于 is grammaticalized and used as a function word, it is still always followed by an object, such as a place object, an indirect-object (=IO), an agent or a time word. I have investigated the total of 697 occurrences of 于 in the BB and found that, among the 641 occurrences of 于 as a function word in the BB, there is no single

⁷⁷ For details, see 2.3.1.

occurrence of it with no following noun.⁷⁸

On the other hand, 往 is only used as a verb in the *BB*. It can either appear alone or be followed by a place word. Among the total of 71 occurrences of 往 in the *BB*, 13 are used without any following PP, NP or complement VP.⁷⁹ Examples include:⁸⁰

60. (a) 己巳卜爭貞王往若. (*BB* 550.2o=*HJ* 7427.2o)

Crack making on the *jisi* day [6], Zheng tested: His Majesty should go, (for it) will be agreeable (to Di).

(b) 貞王勿往不若. (*BB* 550.3o=*HJ* 7427.3o)

Tested: His Majesty should not go, (for it) will not be agreeable (to Di).

The 13 occurrences of Subject + 往 can be explained by the endoactive derivation by Tone B and the terminative suffix *-ŋ proposed by Schuessler (2007). In other words, since Tone B has the function of endoactive derivation, the subject of 往 is interpreted as an agent with no external object. Also, since 往 itself contains the terminative suffix *-ŋ, which indicates a goal, there are numerous examples of 往 without any following (于) + Place.

When 往 is followed by a place word, it can be followed by either 于 + Place (14 occurrences) or a place word with no intervening 于 (9 occurrences). Examples of each case are as follows.

61. 丙戌卜韋貞令役往于虞. (*BB* 110.3o=*HJ* 6033.3o) (往 + 于 + Place)

Crack making on the *bingxu* day [23], Wei tested: (We) should order Pai to go to Ju.⁸¹

62. 貞乎往長. (*BB* 563.1r=*HJ* 11499.1r) (往 + Place)

Tested: (We) should issue a call to go [往] to Wei [兗].⁸²

63. 丙子卜宥貞(王)往西. (*BB* 446.3o=*HJ* 3217.3 o) (往 + Place)

Crack making on the *bingzi* day [13], Bin tested: His Majesty should go west.

The appearance of (于) + Place after the verb 往 may be explained in the following way. Presumably, as *-ŋ later stopped being used as a terminative suffix, the users of the language lost the sense that 往 itself included a goal. As a result, the forms 往 + Place and 往于 + Place began to occur.

⁷⁸ For the analysis of all occurrences of 于 used as a function word, see 2.2.2.

⁷⁹ All of the 71 occurrences of 往 in the *BB* are listed in Appendix I.

⁸⁰ The interpretation of graphs as well as the English translation of the *BB* is adopted from Takashima (2010 vol.1-2).

⁸¹ Takashima (2010 vol.2:302) rejected Zhang Bingquan's interpretation of the graph as 役 and interpreted it as a variant of 派 or 永.

⁸² Takashima (2010 vol.2:564) treated 往 as a typographical error and interpreted it as 往.

There are 21 occurrences of 往 + Verb. Examples include:

64. 丙辰卜爭貞王往省从西若. (BB 409.3o= HJ 7440.3o)

Crack making on the *bingchen* day [53], Zheng tested: His Majesty should go to inspect [i.e., make a royal progress?] (following:) by way of the west, (for) it will meet with (Di's) approval.

65. 貞王往狩. (BB 631.1o=HJ 905.1o)

Tested: His Majesty should go hunting [獸=狩].

There are four occurrences of 往 + Verb followed by 于 + Place.

66. 壬寅卜余 夂 往田于不乎从希 弘. (BB 511.2r=HJ 891.2r)

Crack making on the *renyin* day [39]: (After) I (raise up [登]:) mobilize those who had gone to hunt at Pi, (I) should issue a call to follow Cai [蔡] (?) (and) Gou [穀] (?).

There are six occurrences of 往來. In all cases, 往來 is interpreted as “going and coming.” The appearance of 往來 is very significant in that it implies it is 往, not 于, that contrasts with 來 ‘to come.’ All six occurrences of 往來 are presented below.

67. 貞夏往來其 咎 困. (BB 32.26o=HJ 914.26o)

Tested: (As for) Jia's coming and going, there might be misfortunes.

68. 癸丑卜爭貞夏往來 亡 困. 王固曰 亡 困. 上吉. (BB 32.27o=HJ 914.27o)

Crack making on the *guichou* day [50], Zheng tested: (As for) Jia's coming and going, there will be no misfortunes. His Majesty, having prognosticated, declared: There shall be no misfortunes. Second announcement [二告].

69. 辛巳卜內貞般往來 亡 困. (BB 128.5o=HJ 152.5o)

Crack making on the *xinsi* day [18], Nei tested: Pan, in going and coming, shall have no misfortunes.

70. 貞 夂 往來 亡 困. (BB 128.6o=HJ 152.6o)

Tested: Ya, in going and coming, shall have no misfortunes.

71. 戌午卜 咎 貞般往來 亡 困. (BB 130.1o=HJ 4259.1o)

Crack making on the *wuwu* day [55], Dun tested: Pan/Ban, in going and coming, shall have no misfortunes.

72. 貞般往來其 咎 (困). (BB 130.2o=HJ 4259.2o)

Tested: Pan/Ban, in going and coming, might have misfortunes.

There is one case where 往 is followed by a noun 芻 ‘soldier.’ 往 is used as a modifier and 往芻 can be interpreted as “the gone soldiers” > “the runaway soldiers.”

73. 貞: 往芻 𠄎. (BB 560.10=HJ 133.10)

Tested: The gone (in the sense of runaway [逃?]) soldiers will be caught [=得].

All of the 71 occurrences of 往 in the *BB* are summarized in Table 9 below.

Table 9. The usages of 往 in the *BB*

The usage of 往	Subject + 往	往 + 于Place	往 + Place	往 + VP	往V 于 Place	[往來] _N “going and coming”	[往 + N] _N	Inscription fragmentary or interpretation problematic	Total
Example	王往	令役往于虞	乎往長, 王往西	往狩, 往省	往田于不	戛往來其出囿	往芻		
Number of times occurring	13	14	9	21	4	6	1	3	71

In the following section, all 697 occurrences of 于 in the *BB* are analyzed. It is illustrated that, as Yang Shuda (1954), Han Yaolong (1973), Guo Xiliang (1997), Mei Tsu-lin (2004) and Qiu Xigui (2010) pointed out, the lexical use of 于 still appears in the OBI. However, 于 is far more frequently used as a function word such as indicating a goal or location, or a recipient marker. In this corpus, 于 is followed not only by a place word, but also by a time word.

2.2. 于 in the *BB*

于 is a very high-frequency word in the *BB*. According to Guo Xiliang’s (1997) count, 于 occurs around 9,000 times in the entire *Yinxu jiaguwen keci moshi zongji* 殷墟甲骨刻辭摹釋總集 (*Collection of Carved Bone Graphs and the Transcriptions of the Bone Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins*, hereafter *YXJGWKCMSZJ*). In the *BB*, 于 occurs 697 times. After excluding the occurrences of 于 where the inscription is not clear or is fragmentary, as well as occurrences where the interpretation is problematic, there are 680 occurrences of 于 that are interpretable.

Among the 680 interpretable occurrences of 于 in the *BB*, there are 39 in which 于 is used as a verb. In all of these cases, 于 is a verb that indicates movement.

Although 于 does appear as a verb in the *BB*, it is by far more frequently used as a function word. As a function word, 于 is used as a spatial goal marker in 42 cases co-occurring with Verb [+mvt, +goal, -source] (such as 出 ‘to go out,’ 入 ‘to enter,’ and 往 ‘to go’). 于 is also used as a spatial locative marker with Verb [-mvt, -goal, -source] (a stationary verb) in 55 cases. There are three cases where 于 is used as a path marker (which can be interpreted as ‘across,’ ‘through,’ ‘along’ in English) co-occurring with 涉 ‘to cross,’ which is Verb [+mvt, +goal, +source].

It is very common that spatial markers are also used as temporal marker through metaphorical extension. 于 is used not only as a spatial goal and locative marker, but also as a so-called “temporal goal” and “temporal locative” marker. 于 is used as a temporal goal marker in a duration expression in 25 cases. There are 34 cases where 于 is used as a “temporal locative” marker indicating a specific point in time. All of these cases appear in the form “于 + (來/羽) + 干支” followed by a VP.

于 is by far most frequently used as a non-spatial goal marker. It co-occurs with V[+give] (such as 出 ‘to offer,’ 燎 ‘to perform a burnt offering,’ and 叩 ‘to perform an exorcism’) in 413 cases. 于 co-occurs with V[+addressee], such as 告 ‘make ritual announcement,’ 禱 ‘make a prayer ritual,’ and 呼 ‘to call,’ in 25 cases. 于 is used as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+target] in five cases. There is one case where it is used as an additive marker, which is derived from a non-spatial goal marker.

There are eight cases where 于 is used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-give] (such as 取 ‘to take’ and 求 ‘to request’). There are 28 cases where 于 is used as an agent marker, which is derived from a non-spatial source marker.

In Table 10 below, the usages and numbers of occurrences of 于 used as a function word in the *BB* are summarized.

Table 10. Summary of 于 in the *BB* used as a function word

The use of 于	spatial			non-spatial								Total
				temporal		non-temporal						
	goal	locative	path	goal	locative	goal			additive marker	non-spatial source marker	agent marker	
						recipient marker	addressee marker	target marker				
Feature set of the co- occurring verb	[+mvt +goal -source]	[-mvt -goal -source]	[+mvt +goal +source]	[+goal, - source]	[-goal, - source]	[-spatial, +goal, - source, +give]	[-spatial, +goal, - source, +addressee]	[-spatial, +goal, - source, +target]		[-spatial, - goal, +source, - give]		
example	往于虞	宿于父乙	涉于河	自今壬寅 至于甲辰, 至于庚寅	于羽辛 丑	出于妣己	乎舞于蚩	于之若	五牛于二 朋	求牛于夫, 取于戈	左于下 上	
Number of occurrences	42	55	3	25	34	413	25	5	1	8	28	639

In the following section, each usage of 于 in the *BB* is discussed.

2.2.1. 于 used as a verb

The question of whether 于 is, in fact, used as a verb in the OBI in some instances, in addition to its usages as a function word, is a controversial one. In 2.2.1.1, previous studies on this matter are summarized. In 2.2.1.2, examples of 于 used as a verb in the *BB* are provided.

2.2.1.1. 于: A verb or a function word?

Zhang Yujin (1994:266-301) only listed the usages of 于 as a preposition and a conjunction. Chow (1982:96-116) and Takashima (2010) doubted the verbal use of 于. Chow (1982) rejected the idea that 于 is a full verb based on the following three reasons. First, a sentence such as *王于 “(The king) goes” is unattested. Second, examples such as 王于商 and 爭于河 can be explained by the practice of elision. For instance, 爭于河 is presumably an abbreviated form of 爭于河也 “Zheng performed a sacrifice to the River god.” Third, 于 is always followed by a verbal element. Chow (1982:105) interpreted 于 in 于 + Verb as an auxiliary verb signifying that the action of the verb is in process or is the main point of an entire action. Takashima (2010 vol.2:339) assumed that there is a verb (presumably 往) elided in front of 于. Consequently, 于 can still be interpreted as a preposition.

All of the three pieces of evidence provided by Chow are problematic. First, the absence of *王于 does not prove that 于 is not a verb. The reason that *王于 does not occur can be explained by the original meaning of 于. As explained in 2.1, 于, which can be interpreted as “to be directed toward/away from,” requires a goal (or a source). Therefore, in contrast to 往, examples like *王于 cannot occur. Second, it is often the case that there is no implied verb appearing in the paired-line (*duìzhēn* 對貞) or in the same plastron. Therefore, one cannot assume that 王于商 and 爭于河 is a kind of elision, in which case, 于 should be interpreted as a verb. Third, Chow (1982:105) interpreted 于 in 于 + Verb as an auxiliary verb signifying that the action of the verb is in process or is the main point of an entire action. However, the origin and derivation of such an auxiliary verb still remains unexplained.

On the contrary, Karlgren (1950a:3), Yang Shuda (1954), Han Yaolong (1973), Serruys (1981), Liu *et al.* (1989), Guo Xiliang (1997, 2005), and Mei Tsu-lin (2004) argued that 于 was used as a verb meaning ‘to go’ in the OBI.

Recently, Qiu Xigui (2010:422-34) argued that there are cases where 于 can only be interpreted as a verb meaning ‘到...去’ (“reach to...”), although they are quite rare. One case is where 于 appears in “Person + 于 + Place” and the other is where 于 appears in the pivotal construction (to be more precise, “the imperative complement construction”): “令 ‘to command’/呼 ‘to call on’ + Person + 于 + Place.”⁸³ Examples include:

⁸³ To be precise, this is not a pivotal construction, but an “imperative complement construction,” where 于 + Place is an imperative complement. The NP following 令/呼 is the object of the previous verb, yet it is not the subject of the following verb, which differentiates an imperative complement construction from the pivotal construction. The fact that the NP is not the subject of the following verb becomes obvious when the second VP is negated. For instance, in modern Chinese, the negation of 我叫

74. 壬寅卜, 王于商. (HJ 33124.1)
Crack making on the *renyin* day [39]: His Majesty should go to Shang.⁸⁴

75. 貞: 呼去伯于冥. (HJ 635.1o)
Tested: (One will) command Qubo to go to Ming.

Qiu further explained that the examples where 于 can only be interpreted as a verb appear in early OBI, mainly in the inscriptions dated to Wuding's 武丁 (1200-1181 BC) and Zugeng's 祖庚 (1180-1171 BC) times.⁸⁵ Therefore, he concluded that the use of 于 as a verb became more and more obsolete even during the period when the OBI were produced, and 于 was mainly used as a function word.

Qiu's argument is persuasive; in particular, the point that 于 in the imperative complement construction can only be interpreted as a verb can serve as proof that 于 is, in fact, used as a verb in the OBI. Further, 于 in "Subject + 于 + Place" can only be interpreted as a verb unless there is some clear evidence of elision.

One can compare examples 74-75 and 76(b). In 74(b), the preceding verb 往 is elided, yet it is implied from the previous line 74(a), which is its positive counterpart. Therefore, 于 in 76(b) is interpreted as a function word rather than a full verb.

76. (a) 丙戌卜韋貞令 役 往 于 虞. (BB 110.3o=HJ 6033.3o)
command Pai to go GOAL Place
Crack making on the *bingxu* day [23], Wei tested: (We) should order Pai to go to Ju.

(b) 丙戌卜韋貞勿 令 役 () 于 虞. (BB 110.4o=HJ 6033.4o)
NEG command Pai to go GOAL Place
Crack making on the *bingxu* day [23], Wei tested: (We) should not order Pai (to go) to Ju.

There is one type of indirect evidence that 于 was used as a verb in the OBI. There are numerous examples where 于 is used as a verb in pre-classical Chinese texts such as *The Book of*

他去學校 is 我叫他別/不要去學校. The appearance of 別/不要 proves that 去學校 is an imperative complement and the elided subject of it is the second person pronoun rather than the preceding NP. The term "imperative complement" as well as the difference between the imperative complement construction and the pivotal construction is adopted from the course packet of Chinese 443, *Structure of Chinese*, taught by Prof. Anne Yue at the University of Washington.

In any event, 于 + Place in "令 / 呼 + Person + 于 + Place" should be interpreted as a full verb phrase, rather than a prepositional phrase where the preceding verb is elided.

⁸⁴ English translation of Qiu's examples is my own.

⁸⁵ The reign period follows Keightley (1978) *Sources of Shang History: the Oracle-Bone Inscription of Bronze Age China*.

Documents and *The Book of Odes*.⁸⁶ According to my investigation, there are 14 cases where 于 is used as a verb in *The Book of Odes*. Also, there are 70 cases where 于 is followed by another verb which can be interpreted either as a purpose or as a manner complement.⁸⁷ In *The Book of Documents*, there are two cases where 于 is used as a verb and four cases where 于 is followed by another verb which can be interpreted as a purpose complement. For example:

于 used as a verb in *The Book of Odes*:

77. 于以采蘩, 于沼于沚. 于以用之, 公侯之事. (*Ode* 13.1)
 go-to-gather the Fan plants go-to use them (于:verb)
 She goes to gather the Fan plants, by the ponds, on the islets. She goes to use them as an offering, in the sacrifices of the prince.

以 in 77 is used as a goal marker (derived from the verb ‘to lead’) and 于 is interpreted as a verb indicating movement.

78. 叔于田, 乘乘馬. (*Ode* 78.1)
 go-hunt (于 + Verb (=purpose), 于: verb)
 Shu goes hunting, he rides in a carriage with four horses.
79. 之子于歸, 遠于將之, 瞻望弗及, 佇立以泣. (*Ode* 28.2)
 far-go-escort her (于 + Verb (=purpose), 于: verb)
 This young lady goes to her new home. Far I go and escort her. I gaze after her, can no longer see her. I stand still and weep.

In example 79, 于 is modified by an adverb 遠 ‘far,’ which strengthens the argument that 于 is used as a verb.

80. 燕燕于飛, 頡之頡之. (*Ode* 28.2)
 go-fly (于 + Verb (=manner), 于: verb)
 The swallows go flying. They straighten their necks, they stretch their necks.

⁸⁶ The term “pre-classical texts” is adopted from Pulleyblank (1995:3). He mentioned, “the earliest of the Chinese classics – parts of the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), the *Book of Documents* (*Shujing* 書經), and the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經) – also date from the early centuries of the Zhou dynasty. All these texts are written in an archaic form of Chinese referred to as pre-classical.”

⁸⁷ For the complete list of 于 used as a verb in *The Book of Odes*, see Appendix III. For the complete list of 于 + Verb in the same text, see Appendix IV.

于 as a verb in *The Book of Documents*:

81. 惟三月, 周公初于新邑洛, 用告商王士. (*Book of Documents*/“Many Officials” 多士 54.1) first-go to-new city Luo (于:verb)
In the 3rd month, *the Duke of Zhou first went to the new city Luo*,⁸⁸ and on that occasion made an announcement to the royal officers of Shang.

用 is used as a goal marker (extended from the instrument marker, which was derived from the verb ‘to use’), which is similar to 以. Therefore, 周公初于新邑洛 can only be interpreted as a sentence and the verb in this sentence is 于.⁸⁹

82. 予得吉卜, 予惟以爾庶邦, 于伐殷逋播臣. (*Book of Documents*/“Great Imperial Edict” 大誥 34.6) go-attack (于 + Verb (=purpose))
I have received auspicious tortoise oracles. I shall *lead* you, various states, go and attack the fugitive and thrown-out (king’s servant=) grandee of the Yin (house).

The use of 于 as a verb in pre-classical Chinese texts suggests two facts. First, it is very likely that 于 was indeed used as a verb in the OBI, too. If 于 had only been used as a function word in the OBI, it would be very difficult to explain how the verbal use of 于 from PST **sywjay had disappeared in the OBI, yet reappeared in pre-classical Chinese texts. It is more likely to be the case that the verbal use of PST **sywjay was maintained in the OBI and survived as late as in pre-classical Chinese. Second, although the examples where 于 is used as a verb mainly appear in early OBI as Qiu pointed out, its residue appears as late as pre-classical Chinese received texts, although there might be regional differences.

2.2.1.2. 于 used as a verb in the *BB*

There are 39 examples in the *BB* where 于 is used as a verb.⁹⁰ The feature set of 于 as a verb is described as [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source].

The sentences where 于 is used as a verb are formulated as follows:

- Subject + 于 + goal
- Subject + 勿于 + goal
- 乎 + Object + 于 + goal (2 occurrences)
- 于 + Verb (1 occurrence)

⁸⁸ Karlgren translated 周公初于新邑洛 as “Zhou gong started in the new city Luo.”

⁸⁹ Chow (1982:285) was aware of this example of 于, yet, he interpreted 告 as a verb and 于新邑洛 as locative. He did not mention how 用 is interpreted in this sentence.

⁹⁰ All occurrences of 于 used as a verb in the *BB* are listed in Appendix II.

Examples of “Subject + 于 + goal” and “Subject + 勿于 + goal” include:

83. (a) 庚辰卜方貞朕芻于鬥. (*BB* 128.1o=*HJ* 152.1o)

Crack making on the *gengchen* day [17], Bin tested: My soldiers/foragers/grooms [駟?] (should go) to Dou.⁹¹

(b) 貞朕(芻)于丘劓. (*BB* 128.2o=*HJ* 152.2o)

Tested: My soldiers/foragers/grooms [駟?] (should go) to the hill (at) Suo.

(c) 貞朕芻于鬥. (*BB* 128.3o=*HJ* 152.3o)

Tested: My soldiers/foragers/grooms [駟?] (should go) to Dou.

(d) 貞朕芻于劓. (*BB* 128.4o=*HJ* 152.4o)

Tested: My soldiers/foragers/grooms [駟?] (should go) to Suo.

84. (a) 己巳卜爭貞方女于臺. (*BB* 201.1o=*HJ* 11018.1o)

Crack making on the *jisi* day [6], Zheng tested: As for the women of Fang, (we) should (send them?) to Chun.⁹²

(b) 貞:方女勿于臺. (*BB* 201.2o=*HJ* 11018.2o)

Tested: As for the women of Fang, (we) should not (send them) to Chun.

An example of “乎 + Object + 于 + goal” is as follows.

85. 乎目于河虫來. (*BB* 107.5r=*HJ* 456.5r)⁹³

If we call upon Mu to (proceed to) the River He, (he) will, in fact, (be able to) (come:) do so.

There is one case where 于 is followed by another verb, although the interpretation is rather controversial.

86. 佳之乎犬....茲于誑. (*BB* 144.4r=*HJ* 7426.4r)

It is (due to [this reason]) (or: for this [purpose]) that (we) call upon Quan ... this/here (?) go marching (?). Or, His Majesty, having prognosticated, declared: This (crack means) that therein (于之 ‘in the crack’) (he) is to go on campaign (?).

⁹¹ Note that Takashima (2010:307) interpreted 于 as a function word with a verb (presumably 往) elided before 于. Therefore, Takashima’s translation put “should go” in a parenthesis.

⁹² Takashima (2010:405) doubted the verbal use of 于 and interpreted it as a function word. Therefore, he put “send them” in a parenthesis and interpreted the elided verb “go” as a causative.

⁹³ The same example appears in *BB* 475.3o=*HJ* 14787.3o.

HJ Shiwen interpreted the above example as 往之乎犬/不佳/王固曰○兹于征. Takashima's second translation reflects *Shiwen*'s interpretation. If 往 is a verb, as Serruys and Takashima as well as *HJ Shiwen* suggested, then 于往 can be interpreted as 于 + Verb and this can be interpreted as the predecessor of the numerous 于 + Verb constructions in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*, where the verb following 于 can be interpreted as the goal expressed in a manner or purpose complement.⁹⁴

Our observation on the verbal usage of 于 in the *BB* can be summarized as follows:

1. There are 39 cases where 于 is used as a verb.
2. As Schuessler (2007:76) pointed out, when 于 is used as a verb, unlike 往, it does not have an innate goal. Therefore, 于 is [+goal] and must be followed by a goal [=a place object]. Indeed, all occurrences of 于 used as a verb in the *BB* are followed by a place object (or another verb, as in example 86). On the contrary, 往, which includes an innate goal is [±goal] and may or may not be followed by a place object or 于 + goal in the *BB*. It is presumably the case that, originally, 往 was not followed by a goal or 于 + goal. Later, as the fact that 往 itself contains an innate goal became more and more obscure, 往 started being followed by a goal or 于 + goal.
3. Based on the fact that 于 and 往 are etymological doublets and 往 is proposed to descend from a PST word meaning both 'go' and 'come,' as Coblin (1986: 86) pointed out, it may well be the case that 于 is originally also a bi-directional verb including 'moving toward the point of reference' as well as 'moving away from the point of reference.'
4. Consequently, the feature set of 于 can be described as [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, +source].
5. In sum, 于 can be tentatively glossed as 'to move toward/away from' or 'to be directed toward/away from,' either of which is neutral in terms of direction. In other words, it can mean mvt both away from and toward the point of reference.⁹⁵

2.2.2. 于 used as a function word

While 于 still preserves its verbal usage in the *BB*, in most cases, it is already grammaticalized into a function word. In the following sections, the usage of 于 as a function word in the *BB* is summarized.

⁹⁴ For discussion on 于 + Verb in these two texts, see 3.1.1.2 and 3.2.1.2 respectively.

⁹⁵ Claims 3-5 are re-examined in 2.3.

2.2.2.1. 于 + Place

于 in the *BB* followed by a place word is used as a goal, locative, or path marker. There are 42 occurrences of 于 used as a goal marker, 55 as a locative marker, and three as a path marker. In the following subsections, examples of each usage are provided.

2.2.2.1.1. 于 used as a spatial goal marker

When 于 co-occurs with Verb [+mvt, +goal, -source] (such as 出 ‘to go out,’ 往 ‘to go,’ 入 ‘to enter,’ 來 ‘to come’ etc.), 于 is interpreted as a goal marker. There are 42 examples in the *BB* where 于 is used as a goal marker, which can be formulated as follows.⁹⁶

于 used as a goal marker (42 occurrences):

Verb [+mvt, +goal, -source] + 于 [-lexical, + spatial, +goal, -source] + Place

Or, less frequently, (Verb) + 于 + Place

In all examples, 于 + goal appears after the verb. Examples include:

87. 丙戌卜韋貞令役往于虞. (*BB* 110.3o=*HJ* 6033.3o)

Crack making on the *bingxu* day [23], Wei tested: (We) should order Pai to go to Ju.

88. (貞)王勿出于臺. (*BB* 559.2o =*HJ* 7942.2o)

Tested: His Majesty should not sally forth to Chun.

89. 甲辰卜穀貞王勿衣入于利入. (*BB* 34.1o=*HJ* 9520.1o)

Crack making on the *jiachen* day [41], Nan tested: His Majesty should not (in the end:) after all [卒] enter into the harvest area. [Verification:] (He) entered.

The development of a verb of movement into a function word indicating a goal can be explained from the perspective of grammaticalization. As Heine & Kuteva (2002:160-1), as well as Heine (2009:463), pointed out, a verb of movement (such as ‘go to,’ ‘come to,’ ‘reach’ and ‘arrive at’) is a very common source of the goal marker. An example is as follows.

⁹⁶ All of the 42 occurrences of 于 used as a goal marker are as follows: 34.1o, 35.1o, 36.1o, 37.1o, 56.1-2r, 87.10-11r, 96.25-26o, 110.3-4o, 116.8o, 121.304r, 155.7-7o, 156.6r, 159.5-6o, 159.10o, 159.13o, 177.10-11o, 227.5o, 238.2r, 261.2o, 352.1-2o, 385.1o, 403.2o, 415.7-8o, 463.2o, 519.1-2o, 521.13-14o, 559.1-2o, 559.5o.

90. *Fa d'Ambu*⁹⁷ (Heine & Kuteva 2002:161)
wan namín zugá wan budu ba zinál.
 ART child throw ART stone go window
 ‘The child threw a stone at the window.’

In the above example, *ba*, which originally meant ‘go,’ is used as a goal marker.

2.2.2.1.2. 于 used as a spatial locative marker

When 于 co-occurs with Verb [-mvt, -goal, -source] (=stationary verb), such as 伐 ‘behead human sacrificial victims,’ 止 ‘to stay,’ 用 ‘use for sacrifice’ and so on, 于 is interpreted as a locative marker. There are 55 occurrences of 于 used as a locative marker, which can be formulated as follows.⁹⁸

于 used as a locative marker (55 occurrences):

Verb [-mvt, -goal, -source] + 于 [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, -source] + Place

Examples include:

91. 貞其止于嬖。 (BB 122.1o =HJ 418.1o)

Tested: (We) will stay at Zi.

92. 貞祖辛宿于父乙。 (BB 225.1o=HJ 1779.1o)

Tested: Zu Xin will be seated (坐) *in situ* at (the altar place/niche of) Fu Yi.

There are ample examples in the world’s languages in which a goal marker and a locative marker are of the same form. The difference between these two markers is that, while a goal marker co-occurs with Verb [+mvt], a locative marker co-occurs with Verb [-mvt] (=stationary verb). Also, while a goal marker has the feature set [+spatial, +goal, -source], the locative marker has the feature set [+spatial, -goal, -source]. For example, both Japanese and Korean use the same marker for the goal and the locative marker. In Japanese, *-ni* is used:

⁹⁷ According to Gordon *et al.* (2005, http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=fab), *Fa d'Ambu* is also known as the Annobonese language. It is a Portuguese creole spoken by an estimated 2,500 people in the Annobon and Bioko Islands off the coast of Equatorial Guinea, mostly of mixed African, Spanish, and Portuguese descent.

⁹⁸ All of the 74 occurrences of 于 as a locative marker are as follows: 39.2-5o, 39.11o, 39.15-18o, 41.1o, 47.1-6o, 66.3r, 90.7-8o, 92.5o, 96.11-12o, 112.3o, 122.1-2o, 126.8o, 141.13-14o, 156.1r, 167.1-6o, 203.5-6o, 208.2r, 210.1r, 216.5-6o, 225.1-2o, 226.2r, 286.1o, 309.3-4o, 316.1o, 338.1-10o, 339.2r, 352.3-4o, 353.1-2o, 382.2r, 392.7o, 400.15o, 492.2o, 511.2-3r, 545.1-2r, 563.2r, 599.2-3o.

93. (a) *Kare wa hakubutzukan ni it-ta.* (Rice & Kabata 2007:457)
 He TOP museum GOAL go-PAST
 He went to the museum.
- (b) *Musume wa Tokyo ni iru.* (*Ibid*)
 Daughter TOP Tokyo LOC be.anim
 My daughter is in Tokyo.

In Korean, *-e* is used both as a goal marker and as a locative marker:

94. (a) *Keu neun hakkyo e ka-ssta.*
 He TOP campus GOAL go-PAST
 He went to campus.
- (b) *Keu neun hakkyo e iss-ta.*
 He TOP campus LOC be-PRESENT
 He is on campus.

Therefore, when 于 is preceded by Verb [+mvt, +goal, -source], it can be interpreted as a goal marker, whereas it can be interpreted as a locative marker when it is preceded by Verb [-mvt, -goal, -source].

2.2.2.1.3. 于 used as a spatial path marker

There are three cases where 于 is used as a path marker, which are formulated as follows.

于 used as a path marker (3 occurrences):

Verb [+mvt, +goal, +source] + (Person) + 于 [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, +source] + Place

All of the three occurrences of 于 used as a path marker are listed below.

95. 庚子卜殷貞令子鬲先涉羌于河。七月。 (*BB* 264.7o=*HJ* 536.7o)
 Crack making on the *gengzi* day [37], Nan tested: (We) should order Zi Shang to advance and make the Qiang tribesmen ford the River He. Seventh month.
96. 庚子卜殷貞勿令子鬲先涉羌于河。 (*BB* 264.8o=*HJ* 536.8o)
 Crack making on the *gengzi* day [37], Nan tested: (We) should not order Zi Shang to advance and make the Qiang tribesmen ford the River He.

In 95 and 96, 涉 in 涉羌于河 is interpreted as causative. 涉羌于河 is rendered as “make the Qiang tribesmen ford the River He.”

In sum, in the bone language reflected in the *BB*, 于 is followed by a place word marking a goal, location, as well as a path, which shows that 于 was a very versatile function word.

2.2.2.2. 于 + Time

In 2.2.2.1, it is explained that 于 as a function word followed by a place word marks a goal, location, or a path. It is very common among the world's languages that spatial markers are also used in a temporal sense through metaphorical extension. 于 in the *BB* is used in spatial as well as temporal contexts.

2.2.2.2.1. 于 used as a temporal goal marker

There are 25 examples where 于 marks a temporal goal with the meaning of “up to certain point of time.”

When 于 appears in the expression “自 + time1 + 至于 + time2 + VP/Sentence” (16 occurrences),⁹⁹ or “time1 + 至于 + time2 + VP/Sentence” (1 occurrence), or “于 + time + VP/Sentence” (1 occurrence), or “Verb + 至于 + time” (1 occurrence), the entire expression marks a temporal boundary carrying the meaning “(from Time 1) until Time 2,” where “until” means an action lasts up to the given time.

Examples include:

97. 貞自今壬寅至于甲辰子嚮 戕 基方. (*BB* 302.5o=*HJ* 6571.5o) (自 + time1 + 至于 + time2)
Tested: From the present *renyin* day [39] until *jiachen* day [41] (i.e., between today and the *jiachen* day), Zi Shang will (be able to) harm the Ji fang.
98. 貞今五日至[于丙午]不其雨.¹⁰⁰ (*BB* 454.2o=*HJ* 12316.2o) (time1 + 至于 + time2)
Tested: (From) the present, in five days down to the *bingwu* day [43] it may not happen to rain.
99. 丁亥卜 妣 甲 疾于今二月弗水. (*BB* 613.1o=*HJ* 22098.1o) (于 + time)
Crack making on the *dinghai* day [24]: As for (Fu) Shan (or: Rong?) having illness, to [the end of?] the present second month, it will not last (水 > 永).
100. 己巳帝允令雨至于庚. (*BB* 530.1r=*HJ* 14153.1r) (至于 + time)
(On) the *jisi* day Di indeed ordered rain [to fall] until the *geng* day (i.e., *gengwu*).

⁹⁹ 自 and 至 are interpreted as verbs meaning ‘to come out from’ and ‘to reach’ respectively.

¹⁰⁰ 自 in front of 今五日 is elided, yet it is still implied from the previous line 貞自今五日至于丙午雨 (*BB* 454.1o=*HJ*12316.1o). The square brackets mean that this missing portion is reconstructed based on its paired-line.

It is very common among the world's languages that a verb indicating movement is grammaticalized into "until." For example, in //Ani (belonging to the Khoisan group of languages spoken in southern and eastern Africa), *kûn-à-nà* meaning 'going (to)' later grammaticalized into 'toward' as well as 'until' (Heine 1999:45). Another example is 到 *dào* in Chinese (originally a verb 'arrive at') > 'to' > 'until' (Heine & Kuteva 2002:41).

There are six cases where 于 can be interpreted as a temporal goal marker "by."¹⁰¹ All of them appear in the form 至于 + time followed by a VP. 于 used as a temporal goal marker "by" can be formulated as follows:

于 used as a temporal goal marker "by" (total 6 occurrences):

至 [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] + 于 [-lexical, -spatial, +temporal, +goal, -source] + time + VP/ Sentence

An example is as follows.

101. 至于庚寅飨迺既若. (BB 83.10o=HJ 5775.10o)

Tested: (We) should by the *gengyin* day (perform) disembowelment (sacrifices), then (it) will be (completely:) absolutely agreeable (to Di).

2.2.2.2.2. 于 used as a temporal location

There are 34 occurrences of 于 where it marks a temporal location. 于 in this case can be interpreted as "on" in English. 于 marking a temporal location can be formulated as follows.

于 marking a temporal location "on" (34 occurrences)¹⁰²

于[-lexical, -spatial, +temporal, -goal, -source] + (羽/來)¹⁰³ + 干支 + (VP)

Examples are as follows.

¹⁰¹ All of the six occurrences of 于 marking temporal goal "by" are as follows: 83.10-11o, 302.11-3o, 329.3r.

¹⁰² All of the 33 occurrences of 于 marking temporal location "on" are as follows: 1.3o, 7.2o, 96.18-9o, 97.14r, 102.3-6o, 157.7-8o, 166.11-2r, 198.2r, 257.9-10o, 263.8o, 302.10o, 312.4r, 344.1o, 348.8r, 433.3r, 462.6o, 485.4o, 485.14o, 515.4o, 522.5r, 559.5-6o, 611.24-5o, 611.44o, 617.3o.

¹⁰³ Based on his statistics using 英藏 700-705 OBI materials, Handel (2004:66-7, 71-2) concluded that the differences between *yì* 羽 and *lái* 來 are as follows: 羽 refers to the next day of the day of reference in 75 percent of cases, yet it can refer to a day which is as far as eight days later than the day of reference. On the other hand, 來 refers to a day which is within the same ten day cycle only in seven percent of cases. In 32 percent of cases, it refers to a day within ten days apart and in 61 percent of cases, it refers to a day which is ten or more days apart from the point of reference.

102. 貞于庚申伐羌. (BB 7.2o=HJ 466.2o)

Tested: On the *gengshen* day (we) should decapitate the Qiang.

103. 貞于羽辛丑煮. (BB 97.14r=HJ 376.14r)

Tested: On the next *xinchou* day, (we) should conduct the burnt offering.

104. 于來乙卯丑祖乙. (BB 198.2r=HJ 903.2r)

On the coming *yimao* day [52], (we) should make an offering (to) Zu Yi.

Qiu (2010:438-9) argued that when 于 is used as spatial or temporal locative marker, it tends to be followed by a place or a time which is distant from the point of reference. For the spatial and temporal locatives which are near the point of reference, *zai* 在 and *hui* 惠 are used, respectively. Qiu's argument is supported by the *BB* data, where 于 is often followed by “羽/來 + 干支” meaning “in the next/coming *ganzhi* day.” Also, whereas 惠今(日) (copular + ‘today’ > ‘now,’ ‘today’) appears twice, 于今 does not appear at all. Likewise, whereas 在茲 (‘to be at’ + near demonstrative > ‘here’) appears six times in the *BB*, 于茲 does not appear at all. The fact that 于 is not compatible with 茲 and 今(日) can be explained by the original meaning of 于. 于 originally meant ‘to move toward/away from’ and, even when it is grammaticalized into a locative marker, it is often used to refer to a place or time which is distant from the point of reference.

Heine & Kuteva (2002:41), as well as Creissels (2009:623-4), point out that spatial markers are widely used to encode temporal relations through metaphorical extension. A goal marker is very often used as a temporal preposition. Examples include German *zu* allative preposition > temporal preposition, Lezgian (Northeast Caucasian) *-z* directional marker (nominal suffix) > temporal marker (Heine & Kuteva 2002:40-1), as well as Korean *-e* allative or locative case marker (nominal suffix) > temporal marker. In the following examples, spatial markers are used as temporal markers:

105. *German*

(a) *Komm zu mir!*

come to me

Come to me! (*zu*: marks a spatial goal)

(b) *Er kommt immer zum Wochenende*

he comes always to:the weekend

He always comes on the weekend. (*zu*: marks a temporal location)

106. *Lezgian*
- (a) *Zun* *medinstitutdi-zfi-da*
 I:ABS medical: school-DAT go-FUT
 I'll go to medical school. (*z*: marks a spatial goal)
- (b) *M. Hažiev* *1958=jisa-* *n* *22=nartdi-* *z* *kečmiš xa-* *na*
 M.Hažiev 1958=year- GEN 22=March- DAT dead become-AOR
 M. Hažiev passed away on 22 March 1958. (*z*: marks a temporal location)
107. *Korean*¹⁰⁴
- Cheolsu-nin* *naenyon-e* *mikuk-e* *ka-nta*
 Cheolsu-NOM coming year-TEMP US-ALL go-PRE/FUT
 Chulsu will go to the US next year. (*e*: marks a temporal location and a spatial goal)

In example 107, while the first *-e* marks a temporal location, the second *-e* marks a spatial goal.

In sum, 于 in the *BB* is grammaticalized from a verb into a marker of a spatial goal or location and they further extended to a temporal marker meaning “until,” “by,” and “on” through metaphorical extension.

2.2.2.3. 于 used as a non-spatial goal marker

There are 444 occurrences of 于 is used as a non-spatial goal marker. 于 by far most frequently co-occurs with V[+give] (413 occurrences). Among the 413 occurrences, 28 appear with no verb. Yet, 于 can still be interpreted as a non-spatial goal marker marking the recipient because the following noun is an ancestor who is interpreted as the recipient of a sacrifice. It is presumably the case that some kind of sacrificial verb (presumably 𠵼 ‘to offer,’ which is most common and general) is elided. There are four possible cases where 于 co-occurs with V[-give]. There are 25 cases where 于 co-occurs with V[+addressee]. There are five cases where 于 co-occurs with V[+target]. There is one occurrence of 于 used as an additive marker, which is derived from 于 marking a non-spatial goal.

2.2.2.3.1. 于 co-occurring with V[+give]

When 于 is used as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give] (a subtype of V [-mvt, -spatial, +goal, -source]), it marks the recipient of giving. Marking a recipient is the most common usage of 于 in the *BB*, which is presumably due to the fact that the largest portion of the *BB* (as well as the *OBI* as a whole) is a record of sacrifice directed to the ancestors.

Among the 385 cases where 于 marks the recipient, 𠵼 ‘to offer’ (213 occurrences) is by far the most frequently occurring verb. All of the V[+give] and their numbers of occurrences in the *BB* are summarized in Table 11.

¹⁰⁴ For examples of Korean *-e* as a spatial allative and locative marker, see example 94 (a)-(b) above.

Table 11. V[+give] and their numbers of occurrences with 于 + Noun in the *BB*

	Verb [+theme, +concrete theme, +recipient]	Number of occurrences
1	𠬪 ‘make an offering’	213
2	𠬫 ‘make an exorcism’	77
3	燎 ‘make a burnt-offering’	31
4	𠬬 ‘make the binding sacrifice’	11
5	𠬭 ‘make the <i>you</i> -cut sacrifice’	11
6	歲 ‘make an offering of what has been <i>gui</i> -cut’	8
7	帝 ‘make <i>di</i> -binding sacrifice’	6
8	𠬮 ‘offer a liberation’	5
9	登 ‘present’	3
10	册 ‘inscribe,’ ‘pledge’	2
11	复 ‘return’	2
12	𠬯 ‘perform the <i>bin</i> -entertainment ritual’	2
13	𠬰 ‘X-sacrifice’ (meaning unclear)	2
14	𠬱 ‘disembowel’	2
15	𠬲 ‘perform the <i>bin</i> -guesting ritual’	2
16	歸 ‘return’	2
17	用 ‘use for a sacrifice’	2
18	𠬳 = 𠬳 ‘split open’	1
19	史 = 使 ‘dispatch (to someone)’	1
20	𠬴 ‘perform the <i>li</i> -sacrifice’(?)	1
21	𠬵 = 祝 ‘make a prayer offering’	1
	total	385

Sentences with V[+give] show several different word orders. In order to illustrate this, the word order of sentences where 𠬪 ‘to offer’ appears (or is implied), as well as the number of occurrences of each word order in the first 50 occurrences of 𠬪, are summarized as follows.

𠩺 + 于 + recipient	(16 occurrences out of the first 50 occurrences of 𠩺)
𠩺 + 于 + recipient + theme	(12 occurrences)
𠩺 + theme + 于 + recipient	(9 occurrences)
于 + recipient + 𠩺 + theme	(5 occurrences)
于 + recipient ¹⁰⁵	(4 occurrences)
勿于	(2 occurrences)
theme + 于 + recipient	(2 occurrences)

Examples of each word order are as follows:

108. 𠩺于妣己. (BB 41.20o=HJ 248.20o) (𠩺 + 于 + recipient)
(We) should make an offering to Bi Ji.
109. 羽辛亥𠩺于王亥四十牛. (BB 117.31o=HJ 672.31o) (𠩺 + 于 + recipient + theme)
(On) the next *xinhai* day [48] (we) should make an offering of forty bovines to Wang Hai.
110. 貞𠩺犬于父庚卯羊. (BB 12.7o=HJ 6482.7o) (𠩺 + theme + 于 + recipient)
Tested: (We) should make an offering of dogs to Fu Geng (and) (split open:) halve [= 劉] a sheep.
111. 庚戌卜𠩺貞于河𠩺報. (BB 122.3o=HJ 418.3o) (于 + recipient + 𠩺 + theme)
Crack making on the *gengxu* day [47], Nan tested: To (the spirit of) the River He (we) should offer *bao*-captives.
112. 于妣庚.¹⁰⁶ (BB 47.25o=HJ 721.25o) (于 + recipient)
To Bi Geng [we should make the offering].
113. 勿于. (BB 47.26o=HJ 721.26o) (勿于)
(We) should not [make the offering to Bi Geng].

¹⁰⁵ Although 𠩺 does not appear in 于 + recipient, 勿于, or theme + 于 + recipient, it is implied from their paired-lines (*duìzhēn* 對貞), or the previous lines in the same plastron where 𠩺 appears.

¹⁰⁶ The verb 𠩺 is elided in examples 112 and 113, yet it can be reconstructed from the previous line in the same plastron that reads as follows:

𠩺良于妣庚. (BB 47.21o=HJ 721.21o)
(We) should make an offering of a captive to Bi Geng.

114. 貞一宰于上甲告我報衛.¹⁰⁷ (BB 114.9o=HJ 6664.9o) (theme + 于 + recipient)
 Tested: (We should make an offering of) one specially reared ovine to Shang Jia in order to make a ritual announcement (about) the *bao*-captives (?) (and) shackled (prisoners).

There are some examples where “𠬪 + theme + 于 + recipient” and “于 + recipient + 𠬪 + theme” appear even in the same plastron:

115. (a) 羽甲寅𠬪伐于大甲. (BB 235.17o=HJ 902.17o)
 (On) the next *jiayin* day [51] (we) should make an offering of decapitated human victims to Da Jia.
- (b) 貞于下乙𠬪伐. (BB 235.22o=HJ 902.22o)
 Tested: To Xia Yi (we) should make an offering of decapitated human victims.
- (c) 貞𠬪于祖丁. (BB 235.24o=HJ 902.24o)
 Tested: (We) should make an offering to Zu Ding.

Judging from the fact that “𠬪 + theme + 于 + recipient” word order occurs several times more frequently than “于 + recipient + 𠬪 + theme,” the former can be considered as the base structure and the latter as derived from it by preposing 于 + recipient for emphasis.¹⁰⁸

The development of a goal marker into a recipient marker through extension of grammatical function is very well-attested. Rice and Kibata (2007:499-503) pointed out that 34 percent of the 44 “genetically and areally diverse languages” in their sample used an allative case to mark a recipient. The 44 languages and their allative markers investigated by Rice and Kibata include (in the 18 underlined languages, the underlined allative markers are also used as the marker of a recipient through case extension) Japanese *ni, e*, Korean (*-ey*), *-ulo*, Mandarin *dào*, Tagalog *sa*, Tamil *-iku*, Thai *pai, thǎŋ*, Tibetan *-la*, Vietnamese *den* (all in Asia), Basque *-gana, -ra*, English *to, for*, Farsi (Persian) *be*, French *à*, German *zu, nach*, Lezgian *-z*, Polish *do, na*,

¹⁰⁷ Likewise, the verb 𠬪 is elided, yet can be reconstructed from its paired-line that reads as follows:

- 貞𠬪于上甲三宰告我報衛. (BB 114.8o=HJ 6664.8o)
 Tested: (We) should make an offering to Shang Jia of three specially reared sheep in order to make a ritual announcement (about) our *bao*-captives (and) shackled (prisoners).

¹⁰⁸ Whether 于 + Noun precedes or follows the verb is another complicated yet interesting issue. Whereas there are 49 examples of 于 + Noun preceding the verb in the entire *BB*, this word order became obsolete by the time of Classical Chinese. He Leshi (1989) pointed out that in *Zuo's Commentary*, there are only seven occurrences of 于 + Noun preceding the verb, which are all in quotations from *The Book of Odes*, whereas there are 230 occurrences of 於 + Noun preceding the verb. This issue is related to word order change in archaic Chinese, as well as the functional difference between 于 and 於.

Rumanian *la*, Russian *v*, Spanish *a*, Turkish *-e* (in Europe), Acholi *bòót, kà*, Hausa *zuwà, Ik k^e*, Kanuri *ro*, Luganda *e*, Senúfo *má*, Swahili *kwa*, Yoruba *si* (in Africa), Bidyara *-gu*, Dyrbal *-gu*, Hawaiian *ia*, Kayardild *-kir[ing]/-jir -kiiwa-tha*, Maori *ki*, To'abaita *uri-*, Yimas *nampán, ira-*, Wardaman *-garr/-warr* (in Pacific), Bella Coola *ʔut*, Hopi *-mi*, Slave (North Slave) *- ts'é*, Tohono 'O'odham *wui*, Totonac *la'h-* (in North America), Ika *-seʔ*, Koasati *-fon*, Quechua (Imbabura) *-man*, and Rama *bang* (in South Africa).

Rice and Kibata (2007:473) also stated that an allative marker is frequently used as a locative marker (e.g. 'be at LOC') or a marker of a time point (e.g. 'at Time'), as well as a marker of an addressee (e.g. 'talk to ANIM'). 32 percent of the allative markers in the above 44 languages are also used as locative markers, 26 percent are used as markers of time point, and 25 percent are used as markers of an addressee. This agrees with the case of 于 in the BB. It is used not only as a goal marker, but also as a recipient marker, a locative marker, a marker of a time point, a marker of an addressee and so on.

There are ample examples of recipient markers in Chinese which were derived from directional verbs. Examples provided by Chin (2009:95-100, 115-148, 2010:5-9) include 于 'to go' (or 'to move to/away from' according to my hypothesis) in the OBI, 來 'to come' in the 17th century Wu dialect, 度 [=渡] 'to cross (the river)' in the 16th century Min dialect which still survives in some modern southern Min dialects such as Jinjiang 晉江, Quanzhou 泉州, and Shaowu 邵武, 去 in modern Wenchang 文昌 dialect (Southern Min), as well as 過 'to cross' in pre-modern Cantonese.¹⁰⁹

In the 17th century Wu dialect reflected in *Mountain Songs* 山歌, compiled in 1612 by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍, 來 was used as a recipient marker. An example is as follows.

116. 就是送個物事來渠也難理會。(Chin 2009:142, quoted from Shi 2006:180)
Giving this thing to him/her is hard to understand.

In the Min dialect of the 16th century reflected in the *Lijing ji* 荔鏡記 (*The Record of Lychee Mirror*, hereafter *LJJ*), 度 is used as V[+give] as well as a recipient marker.¹¹⁰ In example 117 below, 度 is used as V[+give], while it functions as a recipient marker in examples 118 and 119.

¹⁰⁹ Chin (2010:4-9) claimed that there are two types of IO markers in Chinese: the *give*-type and the *go*-type. That is, IO markers were derived from a verb meaning 'to give' as well as from a directional verb. The *give*-type IO markers include 給 in standard Mandarin, 分 [pun] in Hakka, 乞 [k'øyʔ] in the Min dialect spoken in Leizhou, 把 [pa] in the Xiang dialect spoken in Changsha, and 拔 [pəʔ⁵⁵] in the Wu dialect spoken in Shanghai.

¹¹⁰ According to Lien (2002:180), *Lijing ji* contains "a mixture of Chaozhou and Quanzhou dialects." Chin considered 度 to be an IO marker derived from a directional verb. 度 presumably represents 渡 'to cross (a river)' rather than its original meaning 'to measure.'

117. 只個卜度我買酒食. (Chin 2009:144, quoted from Lien 2002:186)
This is to be crossed (=transferred, given) to me to buy wine to drink. (度 used as a V[+give])
118. 入門棍度你. (*Ibid*)
The first club is given to you. (度 used as a recipient marker)
119. 送去度伊. (*Ibid*)
Send it to him. (度 used as a recipient marker)

The use of 度 as a recipient marker is still observed in some modern southern Min dialects such as Jinjiang 晉江, Quanzhou 泉州, and Shaowu 邵武. In the Jinjiang dialect, it is pronounced as [t'ɔ̃ 11]. An example is as follows.

120. 看 見 這 個 學 生 給(=度)¹¹¹ 他 兩 百 兩
銀. (Chin 2009:144, quoted from Tung 1959)
k'uā55 kī55 tsit5 ge11 hak11 sɿ44 t'ɔ̃ 11 i44 nŋ11 pa53 niu35
gun24
see this CL student give he two hundred tael
silver
(Someone) saw this student giving him 200 silver taels.

In the Wenchang dialect, a variety of Southern Min, which is spoken on the island of Hainan, 去 'to go' is used as a recipient marker. It is used as a verb in example 121 below, and as a recipient marker in 122.

121. 我 無 想 去. (Chin 2009:145)¹¹²
gua²¹ bɔ¹¹ ŋɔ̃³¹ hu³³
I not want go
I did not want to go. (去 is used as a verb)
122. 送 那 卵 糕 去 伊 (*Ibid*)
taŋ¹¹ mɔ¹¹ nui¹¹ kau²⁴ hu⁵⁵ ʔi¹³
give that cake go s/he
Give that cake to him/her. (去 is used as an IO marker)

Besides in the Wenchang dialect as illustrated by Chin, 去 is also used as a recipient marker in the Haikou dialect also spoken on the island of Hainan. It is used as a verb in example 123 and as

¹¹¹ As Chin (2009:144) pointed out, Tung interpreted [t'ɔ̃ 11] as 給, whereas it is actually 度.

¹¹² Wenchang dialect data are quoted from Dr. Lin Deng's field work material on this dialect conducted in Summer 2008.

a recipient marker in example 124 below.¹¹³

123. 伊 去 孤 仔 院。
i²⁴ hu³⁵ ku²⁴ zi²¹ zuan³³
She visits orphanage
She visits the orphanage. (去 is used as a verb)

124. 我 想 伊 嫁 去 爾。
va²¹ tio³³ i²⁴ ke³⁵ hu³⁵ lu²¹
I want her marry off to you
I want to marry her off to you. (去 is used as a recipient marker)

Another example of a *go*-type recipient marker is 過 ‘to pass’ in pre-modern Cantonese:

125. 佢 畀 信 過 你。(Chin 2009:94, quoted from Fulton 1888:95)
k'u pi sun kwo ni
S/he gives a letter pass you.
S/he gives a letter to you.

In sum, it is illustrated in this section that 于, which was originally a verb of movement, was grammaticalized into a spatial goal marker, which further extended into a non-spatial goal marker. The development from a verb of movement into a spatial goal marker, as well as the extension from a spatial goal marker into a non-spatial goal marker, are well-attested by parallel examples in a number of the world’s languages. It is also illustrated that there are examples in Chinese of a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give] that is directly derived from a verb of movement. The process of grammaticalization and extension of grammatical function of a verb of movement, a spatial goal marker, and a non-spatial goal marker can be illustrated as in Figure 1.

¹¹³ Haikou dialect data is my own and it was collected in the Field Methods class offered by Prof. Anne O. Yue at the University of Washington in Spring, 2010.

Verb of movement \longrightarrow spatial goal marker \longrightarrow non-spatial goal marker
[+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, -source] [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source]

Or: Verb of movement \longrightarrow non-spatial goal marker
[+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source]

Figure 1. Grammaticalization and extension of grammatical function of a spatial goal marker and a non-spatial goal marker from Verb of movement

2.2.2.3.2. 于 co-occurring with V[+addressee]

There are 25 cases of 于 used as a non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+addressee]. There are 15 occurrences of 告 ‘to make ritual announcement,’ nine occurrences of 禱 ‘to make a prayer ritual,’ and one occurrence of 乎 ‘to call,’ which can be formulated as follows.

于 used as a non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+addressee] (25 occurrences):

Verb [-mvt, -spatial, +goal, -source]+ (theme) + 于 [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source] + addressee

Or, less frequently, 于 + addressee + Verb + theme

Examples are as follows.

126. 告王鬯于[父]... (BB 349.13o=HJ 974.13o)

(We) should announce the king’s bone trouble to Fu ...

127. 癸未卜設貞告于妣己眾妣庚. (BB 392.3o=HJ 1248.3o)

Crack making on the *guiwei* day [20], Nan tested: (We) should make the ritual announcement to Bi Ji and Bi Geng.

128. 貞禱年于大甲十宰祖乙十宰.¹¹⁴ (BB 117.24o=HJ 672.24o)

Tested: (We) should make the prayer ritual [禱] for (a good) crop to Da Jia (with) ten specially reared ovines (and) Zu Yi (with) ten specially reared ovine.

129. 貞乎舞于蚩. (BB 431.8o=HJ 1140.8o)

Tested: (We) should issue a call to dance [i.e., to perform rain dance] (directed) to Kun.

The development of an addressee marker from a goal marker is not uncommon among the world’s languages. Rice and Kibata (2007:473) stated that among the 44 “genetically and areally diverse languages” in their sample, an allative marker [=a goal marker] is also used as a marker of an addressee (e.g. ‘talk to ANIM) in 25 percent.

2.2.2.3.3. 于 co-occurring with V[+target]

于 marks a non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+target]. 于 can be interpreted as ‘(action) directed toward.’ There are two occurrences of 若 ‘to be favorable to,’ both in the form 于之若, which can be formulated as follows:

¹¹⁴ According to Takashima (2002:100-102), 禱 ‘to pray for’ is a special type of verb in the OBI that is [+request, +ritual]. It allows the use of four participants, which are the subject, DO, IO, and the instrument. It is noteworthy that the instrument appears with no marker, which can be formulated as follows: 禱 + (DO) + 于 + IO + Oinstrument. This type of verb includes 祝 ‘to invoke, entreat,’ 寧 ‘to conduct pacifying ritual,’ 御 ‘to lustrate, purify; exorcise,’ 告 ‘to make ritual announcement,’ and 裸 ‘to offer a libation.’

于 [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source] + Noun + Verb [-mvt, -spatial, +goal, - source]

Examples include:

130. 戊寅卜爭貞改王循于之若. (BB 300.1=HJ 16152.1o)

Crack making on the *wuyin* day [15], Zheng tested: (We) should disembowel, (and) His Majesty will put it aright [徯]; for this (Di) will give (divine) favor.

131. 貞𠩺復左子循于之益若. (BB 311.13=HJ 811.13o)

Tested: As for (the one that) was returned (to) Zuo Zi, His Majesty will put it aright; it will be even more agreeable to this.

Also, there are three cases where 于 can be interpreted as a beneficiary marker, all of which are listed below.

132. 于王亥畀我. (BB 440.3o=HJ 478.3o)

For Wang Hai (we) should kill a Wo-tribesman. (i.e., “It is for Wang Hai that we kill a Wo tribesman.”)

133. (repeat of [129]) (BB 400.4o=HJ 478.4o)

134. 勿于王[亥]. (BB 400.5=HJ 478.5o)

All of the above usages of 于 imply an action directed toward the following noun, and the development of such a function of 于 can be explained from the grammaticalization of its original verbal function.

2.2.2.3.4. 于 used as an additive marker

There is one example in the entire *BB* in which 于 is used as an additive marker, which was often misinterpreted as a noun phrase conjunction (NP-AND) linking two nouns.

135. 五人卯五牛于二朋. (BB 425.4o=HJ 1052.4o)

[The victims should be] five men, (and we) should split open [=𠩺] five bovines (and including:) with two pairs of jade [=二珌].

卯 ‘to split open’ is a verb and 五牛于二朋 ‘five bovines and two pairs of jade’ is a direct-object. Takashima (2010:510) interpreted, “the particle 于 here should be taken as a conjunction meaning ‘and’ with a strong underlying sense of ‘even, including’.”¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ According to Takashima (1989:341-7), 眾, 𠩺 (also written as 又), and 于 are the three conjunctions that link nouns or noun phrases in the bone language. They have slightly different

Chen Mengjia (1956:120-1), Zhou Fagao (1972 vol.1:113), Liu *et al.* (1989:362), and Chen *et al.* (2004:509) suggested that 于 is used as an NP-AND in the OBI as well as in the BI. An example is as follows:

136. 余其从多田于多白伯正征孟方.¹¹⁶ (JB 2395, 2416=HJ 36513, 36511)
I will following Duotian and Duobo conquer Yufang.

However, it is problematic to interpret 于 as an NP-AND. It is still used as an additive marker and has not yet grammaticalized into an NP-AND. The difference between an additive and an NP-AND is that, while NP2 has a heavier semantic weight than NP1 in the case of an additive marker, NP1 and NP2 have an equal semantic weight in the case of an NP-AND. Therefore, switching NP1 and NP2 does not cause any change in meaning when they are linked by an NP-AND, while the switch does affect the meaning when they are linked by an additive marker. If 于 is a conjunction implying ‘even, including,’ as Takashima (1989:341-7) claimed, NP1 and NP2 do not have an equal syntactic weight and switching NP1 and NP2 does change the meaning. Therefore, 于 can better be interpreted as an additive marker. It has not yet completely grammaticalized into an NP-AND.

The syntactic structures of 于 used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target] or as an additive marker show the following similarities and differences. When 于 is used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target], it is preceded by Verb [+target] and followed by an NP. On the other hand, when 于 is used as an additive marker, 于 is preceded and followed by two NPs. The difference between a non-spatial goal marker and an additive marker in terms of their features is that while the former is followed by a target of an action (i.e. [+target]), the latter is not (i.e. [-target]). The syntactic structures and feature sets of 于 used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target] and as an additive marker are summarized as follows.

non-spatial goal marker:

Verb [+target] + 于 [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source, +target] + NP

additive marker:

NP1 + 于 [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source, -target] + NP2

2.2.2.4. 于 used as a non-spatial source marker

2.2.2.4.1. 于 co-occurring with V[-give]

There are eight occurrences of 于 in the *BB* which can be interpreted as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with Verb [-give], which can be formulated as follows.

connotations: 眾, which literally means ‘have an eye-contact,’ developed into ‘to annex, to unite,’ ‘to be together’ > ‘and.’ 又, whose original meaning is ‘to have,’ developed into ‘besides, in addition.’ 于, which originally indicates a goal (note that Takashima, following Zhou (1982), doubted the verbal usage of 于 and interpreted it as a preposition), developed into a conjunction implying ‘even, including.’

¹¹⁶ Zhao Cheng (1988:301), in *Jiaguwen jianming cidian* 甲骨文簡明詞典, interpreted the third character as 比 ‘to be side by side,’ instead of 从 ‘to follow.’

于 used as a non-spatial source marker (four occurrences):

Verb [-mvt, -spatial, -goal, +source] + 于 [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, +source] + Place
or 于 + Verb + Place

These are four occurrences of 取 followed by 于 + source, all of which are listed below.

137. 貞今般取于𠄎王用若. (BB 96.80=HJ 376.90)

Tested: As for the Tun [𠄎 = 𠄎] tribes men that Pan just now took, (if) His Majesty use (them), it will meet with approval (of Di).

138. 貞乎从卯取𠄎于𠄎. (BB 156.1=HJ 667r)

Tested: (We) should get [Gong?] to follow Mao/Liu to fetch Tun [𠄎] at Wu (?).

139. 乎取女于林. (BB 332.15o =HJ 9741.15o)

(We) should issue a call to fetch (or: take for marriage?) the woman/women at Lin.

140. 取羊于戈... (BB 526.3r =HJ 3521.3r)

(We) should take sheep from Ge...

Takashima (2010) interpreted 于 as ‘at’ as well as ‘from,’ which indicates that 于 is interpreted either as a locative marker or as a source marker. 于 may be better interpreted as a source in that in the form “取 + (victim) + 于 + foreign state,” because the victims are not merely taken **at** the foreign states. Instead, it implies that the victims are taken **from** the foreign states and brought to Shang. In other words, 于 has an implied sense of source; therefore, it can better be interpreted as a source marker than as a locative marker. 于 can best be interpreted as a non-spatial source marker, because the co-occurring verb 取 is Verb [-mvt].

There are four examples in the *BB* in which 于 is used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with 希 (=求) ‘to request, seek.’ All of the four occurrences are listed below.

141. 于父乙希𠄎. (BB 51.6o=HJ 272.6o)

To Fu Yi (we should direct our request for [求] what (we) lack.

142. 勿于父乙希𠄎. (BB 51.7o=HJ 272.8o)

(We) should not (direct our) request for what (we) lack **to** Fu Yi.

143. 貞王希牛于夫. (BB 413.2o=HJ 940.2o)

Tested: His Majesty should (request:) requisition [求] cattle **from** Fu.

144. 貞: 勿_希牛于夫. (BB 413.3o=HJ 940.3o)

Tested: (He) should not (request:) requisition [求] cattle from Fu.

Takashima interpreted 于 as ‘to’ in 141 and 142 and as ‘from’ in 143 and 144. Takashima (2010 vol.2: 203-4) noted that 于 in BB 51.6-7 (example 141 and 142 above) can better be interpreted as ‘to’ based on the following two reasons. First, an act of seeking or beseeching must necessarily be directed to some potential “donor.” Second, it is difficult to explain how a source marker is grammaticalized from a verb ‘to go.’ Regarding this dilemma, Chin (2009:133) argued that 于 in these examples marks a source as well as a recipient. In other words, these two sentences indicate that “the request is directed to the recipient” (于: marks a recipient); at the same time, the subject is “asking for something from the source” (于: marks a source).

However, 于 does have the function of marking a source. In some received texts, such as *The Book of Odes*, *The Book of Documents* and *The Ceremonies and Rites*, there are cases where 于 marks a source co-occurring with V[-give], such as 得 ‘to obtain’ and 受 ‘to receive.’¹¹⁷ In these cases, 于 can only be interpreted as a source marker and cannot be interpreted as a marker of a recipient. The problem of how to explain a source marker’s derivation from a verb ‘to go’ can be resolved as follows. It is possibly the case that 于, as well as 往, are “bi-directional” verbs, which include going to, as well as coming from, the point of reference. As explained in 2.1, the PST word **ywjang means ‘to go’ as well as ‘to come.’ Its reflex 往, as well as 往’s etymological doublet 于, may well be a motion verb which indicates movement both toward and away from the point of reference. This possibility will be further illustrated in 2.3.

2.2.2.4.2. 于 used as an agent marker

It has been controversial whether 于 is used as an agent marker. Takashima (2010 vol.2:179-82) first doubted the use of 于 as an agent marker, arguing that in the language of the bone inscriptions, 于 can be interpreted as ‘to’ and ‘at, in,’ but not yet as ‘from/by.’ However, quoting Alain Peyraube (p. c.), he mentioned that the distance separating location and agency (in that particular location) is not necessarily large. His final conclusion is: “My most recent thinking on this issue [=于] is perhaps to admit all the directional features (to, from, by), as well as the locative feature in OBI (Takashima 2010 vol.2:182).”

Regarding a plausible explanation for 于 marking a source as well as an agent, Chin (2009:134) speculated, “于 had undergone grammaticalization by extending its primary sense. It includes actions not only directed to a recipient but also those coming from a source.”

However, as argued in 2.1, there is a possibility that 于 was originally a bi-directional verb, including movement “moving toward” as well as “moving away from” the point of reference. Also, as illustrated in 2.2.2.4.1, there are examples of 于 marking a non-spatial source co-occurring with V[-give]. To sum up, it is possible that 于 was originally a bi-directional verb and from the meaning ‘to move away from,’ its usages as a non-spatial source marker with V[-give] and as an agent marker were derived. The difference between a non-spatial source marker and an agent marker is that while the former is [-agent], the latter is [+agent].

¹¹⁷ For examples from each text, see 3.1.2.4.1, 3.2.2.4.1. and 5.1.2.4.1, respectively.

There are 28 occurrences of 于 in the entire *BB* that can be interpreted as an agent marker, which can be formulated as follows:¹¹⁸

于 used as an agent marker:

Transitive verb (宥/若/左/衛) + 于 [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, +source, +agent] + Agent

There are 20 occurrences of 宥于 + Agent. An example is as follows.

145. 貞咸宥于帝. (*BB* 39.2o=*HJ* 1402.2o)

Tested: Cheng will be treated as a guest at (the place of)/by Di.

There are four occurrences of 若于 + Agent, two occurrences of 左于 + Agent and 衛于 + Agent respectively. Examples are as follows.

146. 己未[卜]...貞旨...千若于帝又. (*BB* 212.7o=*HJ* 14199.7o)

Crack making on the *jiwei* day [56], ... tested: (If) Shao [召]... a thousand, it will be agreeable to Di (and Di) will assist.

147. 貞王爨多匹不若左于下上. (*BB* 523.1o=*HJ* 809.1o)

Tested: (If) His Majesty cuts for blood consecration (?) the Many Garrison soldiers [匹>屯], it will not be approved (and) opposed by (the spirits of) Below and Above.

Example 148 below is noteworthy in that it is followed by the active counterpart:

148. (a) 貞衛于妣己于妣庚. (*BB* 556.1r=*HJ* 916.1r)

Tested: (We) will be protected by Bi Ji (and) by Bi Geng.

(b) 貞妣己妣庚衛. (*BB* 556.2r=*HJ* 916.2r)

Bi Geng will protect (us).

Therefore, in 148, 妣己 and 妣庚 can be interpreted as agents with no doubt, and 于 can be interpreted as an agent marker.

The derivation of an agent marker from a source marker is one of the very common extensions of grammatical function. Examples include German *von* ‘from’ ablative preposition > agent marker, Krongo (a Kadu language spoken in Sudan) *nkà-/nkí-* ablative marker > agent marker, as well as Bulgarian *ot* ‘from’ ablative preposition > agent marker (Heine & Kuteva 2002:29-30). Examples are as follows.

¹¹⁸ All of the 28 occurrences of 于 used as an agent marker are as follows: 39.2-5o, 39.10-11o, 39.15-18o, 212.7-8o, 338.1-10o, 523.1-2o, 556.1r (2 occurrences), and 605.1-2o.

149. *Krongo*
n- ác- èetá átíjí nì nkà káaw y- íkkì
 NEUT-PART-kill PASS snake ABL- person Masc- that
 That snake has been killed by that man.

150. *Bulgarian*
 (a) *Toj idva ot basejna.*
 He come:3:SG:RES from swimming:pool:DEF
 He is coming from the swimming pool. (*ot*: source marker)

(b) *Tazi kartina e narisuvana ot Picaso.*
 This picture is draw:PAST:PASS:PARTCP from Picasso
 This picture is painted by Picasso. (*ot*: agent marker)

In sum, the derivation of an agent marker from a source marker is well-attested. 于 used as an agent marker is also derived from a source marker.

2.2.3. Semantic scope of 于 in the *BB*

Based on the occurrences of 于 in the *BB*, the semantic scope of 于 can be drawn as follows (Arrows indicate grammaticalization path):

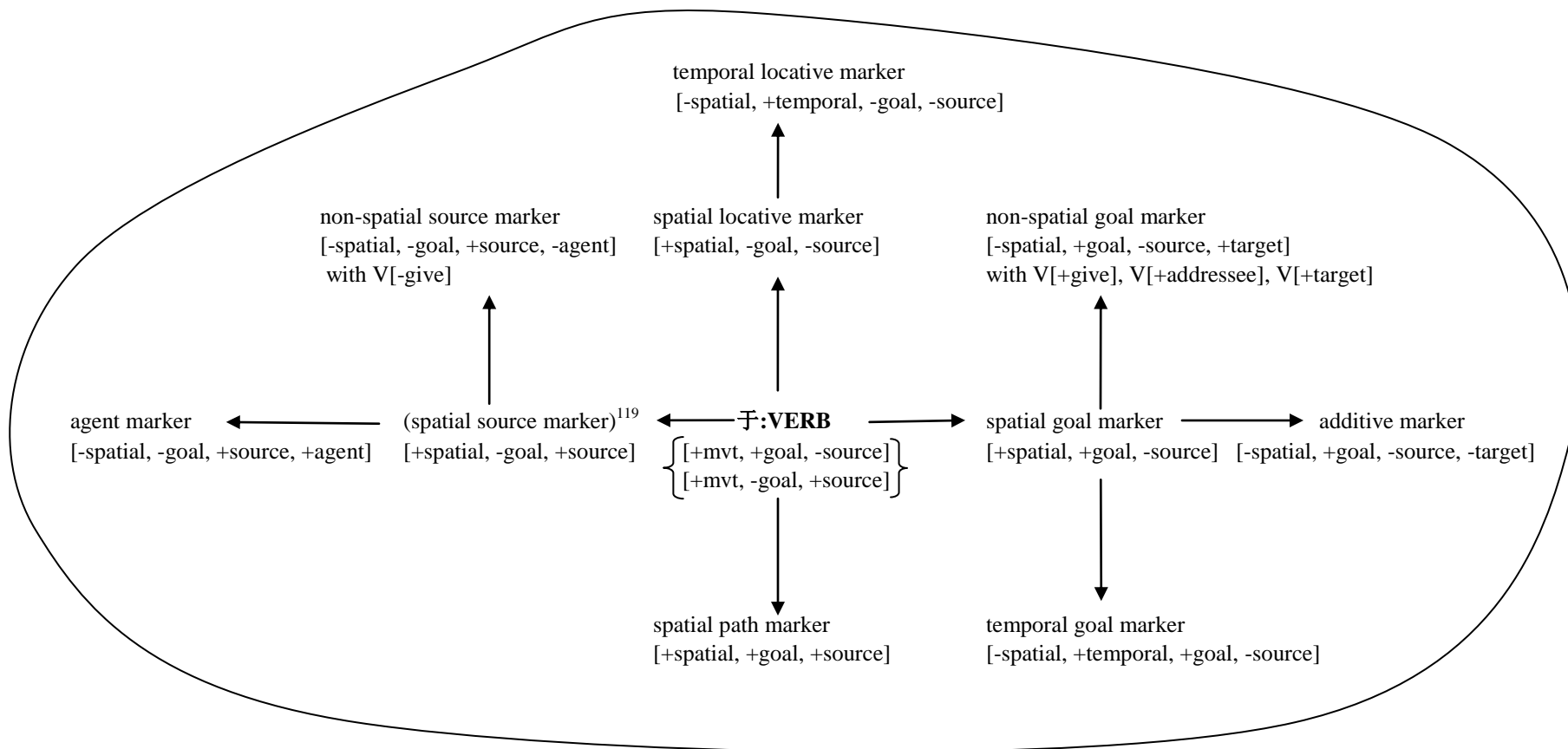


Figure 2. Semantic scope of 于 based on its occurrences in the *BB*

¹¹⁹ 于 used as a spatial source marker is put in a parenthesis because there is no example found in the *BB*. However, it can be assumed that 于 had the function of a spatial source marker based on the fact that it is used as a non-spatial source marker in the *BB*. A non-spatial source marker is most likely to be derived from a spatial source marker.

于 was originally a verb of movement which indicated ‘going toward/away from’ the point of reference. The feature set of 于 as a verb can be described as [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] or [+lexical, +mvt, -goal, +source]. From this, a spatial goal marker [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, -source], a spatial locative marker [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, -source], and a spatial path marker [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, +source] were derived. Although there is no example of 于 used as a spatial source marker, 于 marking a non-spatial source co-occurring with V[-give] is most likely derived from 于 used as a spatial source marker. Therefore, one can presume that 于 as a spatial source marker had appeared by the time of the *BB*.

The temporal goal marker and the temporal locative marker were extended from the spatial goal and the spatial locative marker, respectively, through metaphorical extension.

From the spatial goal marker and the spatial source marker, the non-spatial goal marker with V[+give], V[+addressee], V[+target] and non-spatial source marker with V[-give] were derived respectively. The agent marker was extended from the non-spatial source marker. An additive marker was extended from the non-spatial goal marker.

2.3. Rethinking the original meaning of 于

This chapter has reviewed a variety of evidence suggesting that our understanding of the original meaning of 于 should be reconsidered. The sections below discuss the evidence from the *BB* and Old Chinese reconstruction, respectively.

2.3.1. Rethinking based on the *BB* data

Ever since the Late Han commentator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (AD 127-200) interpreted 于 as 往, 于 has been widely interpreted as ‘to go’ when it is used as a verb. This interpretation was followed by modern scholars. However, it is suggested by the examples of 于 in the *BB* that there are several cases where 于 cannot be interpreted as a verb meaning ‘to go’ or a function word derived from a word meaning ‘to go’:

First, 往來 “going and coming” appears six times in the *BB*.¹²⁰ The combination of 往 and 來 clearly shows that it is 往, not 于, that contrasts with 來 ‘to come,’ meaning ‘to go.’ Then, what does 于 mean?

Second, there are eight cases where 于 is used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-give]. 于 co-occurring with V[-give] has the feature [+source]. In other words, the theme is transferred from the source to the agent, showing an inward movement. If 于 had been originally a verb ‘to go,’ which is [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source], it would be very difficult to explain how a non-source marker was derived from it.

It is well-known that a word with more general meaning is more prone to be grammaticalized than a word with more specific and restricted meaning (Bybee *et al.* 1994, Bybee 2008:152). Then, what is more general about 于 compared with 往 ‘to go to’ or other verbs of movement such as 格 ‘to reach,’ 之 ‘to go,’ 及 ‘to reach, to arrive,’ 越 ‘to leap over’ and so on?

We are now led to rethink the original meaning of 于. This opens up the possibility that

¹²⁰ For all of the six occurrences of 往來 in the *BB*, see example 67-71 in 2.1.

于 does not exactly mean ‘to go.’ Rather, it is a directional verb meaning ‘directed toward/away from,’ which encompasses both going toward and away from. In sum, one can suspect that 于 originally does not exactly mean ‘to go to.’ Rather, it means ‘to be directed toward/away from,’ ‘to move toward/away from,’ or, even more generally, ‘to be in motion.’ Therefore, 于 is compatible with both [+goal] and [+source] verbs in the *BB*, although it by far more frequently appears with the [+goal] type of verb.

2.3.2. Rethinking based on Old Chinese reconstruction and Tibeto-Burman cognates

As mentioned in 2.1, Coblin (1986:86) argued that 于 *gwjag ‘to go’ is the reflex of the Proto-Sino-Tibetan **sywjaj ‘go.’ On the other hand, 往 *gwrjangx is the reflex of the PST **ɣwjang ‘go/come.’ Although Coblin glossed **sywjaj as ‘to go,’ it is noteworthy that not all of its reflexes in modern Tibeto-Burman languages mean ‘to go.’ Magari and Chepang *hwa* means ‘walk.’ Newari *wa* means ‘come’ and Kachin *wa* means ‘to be in motion.’ More notably, in Burmese *krwa* means ‘to go’ as well as ‘to come.’ The fact that the modern reflexes of **sywjaj not only mean ‘to go’ but also mean ‘to come’ as well as ‘to be in motion’ opens up the possibility that the meaning of **sywjaj in PST was not exactly ‘to go’ but something more general in terms of its direction, such as ‘to be directed toward/away from,’ or ‘to be in motion.’

In sum, based on the distribution of 于 in the *BB*, as well as its cognates in Tibeto-Burman languages, 于 can be interpreted not only as ‘to go to’ but also as ‘to come from,’ or even more generally, ‘to be in motion.’

In Chapter 3, the usages of 于 in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents* are analyzed. In these two texts, although 于 and 於 co-exist, the former occurs far more frequently than the latter. The ratio of 于 to 於 is 88 to 12 in *The Book of Odes* and 98 to 2 in *The Book of Documents*.¹²¹ By examining the occurrences of 于 in these two texts, it is possible to illustrate what changes took place in terms of the usages of 于 compared to those found in the *BB*.

¹²¹ Although 於 occurs more frequently in *The Book of Odes* than in *The Book of Documents*, 於 in *The Book of Odes* is more frequently used as an exclamatory particle than as a function word. Among a total of 46 occurrences of 於, it is used as an exclamatory particle in 33 cases and as a function word only in 13 cases. On the other hand, in *The Book of Documents*, among the total 9 occurrences of 於, only two are used as an exclamatory particle.

3. Peak diversity in the functions of 于

In Chapter 2, it is argued that 于 originated from the Proto-Sino-Tibetan word *sywjaj, the possible meaning of which is ‘to be directed toward/away from.’ It appears as a function word with a wide range of usages in the *BB*, although its verbal usage still remains.

The usages of 于 in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents* overlap with those in the *BB* in the great majority of cases.¹²² However, there are some new or extended usages of 于 in these two texts. Examples include 于 + Verb, 于 used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-target], and 于 used as a concern marker. 于 reached its peak in terms of the diversity of its usages in these two texts. Later, the frequency of 于 gradually decreased and its semantic scope shrank as 於 gradually encroached upon it, starting with the locative marker.

3.1. 于 in *The Book of Odes*

于 appears 335 times in *The Book of Odes* as a whole. It appears 120 times in the *Feng* 風 (Airs), 186 times in the *Ya* 雅 (Odes), and 29 times in the *Song* 頌 (Hymns) section.¹²³ In 84 cases, it is used as a verb. In 14 cases among them, 于 is used as a verb without any following verb. In the remaining 70 cases, 于 is followed by another verb, which can be interpreted syntactically as a serial verb construction expressing a purpose, manner, or result. Usages of 于 as a verb in *The Book of Odes* are summarized in Table 12. For the rest of the occurrences, 于 is used as a function word, as summarized in Table 13.¹²⁴

¹²² According to Shaughnessy (1993b:337-40), dates of individual chapters in *The Book of Documents* range from the early Zhou to the Warring States period, or possibly even as late as the Qin dynasty. According to Loewe (1993b:415), *The Book of Odes* may be dated between c. 1000 and c. 600 BC.

¹²³ There are 11 occurrences of 于嗟 or 于嗟乎 in the *Feng*. Examples include:

麟之趾, 振振公族, 于嗟麟兮! (*Ode* 11.1)

The feet of the Lin! You majestic sons of the prince! Oh, the Lin!

彼茁者葭, 壹發五豝, 于嗟乎騶虞! (*Ode* 25.1)

Those sprouting reeds! By one discharge five pigs! Lo, you grooms and gamesters!

Qu Wanli (1983:19), as well as Gao Heng (1980:14), interpret 于 as the morpheme that we now conventionally write as 吁. Gao Heng explained that it is an exclamatory particle expressing lamentation. In the *Ya* and *Song*, the graph 於 is used as an exclamatory particle instead.

¹²⁴ There is one case where the interpretation of 于 is controversial:

維予小子, 不聰敬止. 日就月將, 學有緝熙于光明. 佛時仔肩, 示我顯德行. (*Ode* 288.2)

I, the little child, am not wise or reverent; but I will every day progress and every month advance; I will learn from those who are continuously bright in their (brightness=) enlightenment; great is the burden on my shoulder; but it (Heaven) shows me the bright path of virtue.

Table 12. 于 used as a verb in *The Book of Odes* (84 occurrences)

Type of 于		于 used as a verb	于 + Verb		
			purpose	manner	resultative
Number of occurrences	<i>Feng</i> 風	10	30	8	0
	<i>Ya</i> 雅	1	16	7	3
	<i>Song</i> 頌	3	3	3	0
	total	14	49	18	3

Karlgren interpreted 有緝熙于光明 as a noun phrase. He interpreted 于 as a function word. On the other hand, Qu Wanli (1983:586) and Gao Heng (1980:400) interpreted 于 as a verb meaning ‘to reach to’ and 緝熙 as 繼續 ‘continuously, ceaselessly.’ 學有緝熙于光明 can be interpreted as “study ceaselessly and reach to the brightness.” The interpretation of 于 in this example is ambiguous; therefore, it is excluded from the statistics.

Table 13. 于 used as a function word in *The Book of Odes* (239 occurrences)

Type of 于		于 as a function word										total number of occurrences of 于
The use of 于		spatial		non-spatial								
				temporal		non-temporal						
		goal	location	goal "to"	location "on"	goal			source			
Type of co-occurring verb		[+mvt, +goal, -source]	[+mvt, -goal -source]	[+mvt, +goal, -source]	[-mvt, -goal, -source]	[-spatial, +goal, -source, +give]	[-spatial, +goal, -source, +addressee]	[-spatial, +goal, -source, +target]	[-spatial, -goal, +source, -give]	[-spatial, -goal, +source, -addressee]	[-spatial, -goal, +source, -target]	
Number of occurrences	<i>Feng</i>	17	37	1	0	1	0	4	0	0	1	61
	<i>Ya</i>	33	90	1	1	6	3	21	3	1	0	159
	<i>Song</i>	7	10	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	19
	Total	57	137	2	1	7	4	26	3	1	1	239

As shown in Table 12 and Table 13, most usages of 于, such as the verbal, spatial/temporal goal or locative marker, and non-spatial goal marker, are also very frequently observed in the *BB*. On the other hand, 于 + Verb and 于 co-occurring with V[-addressee] or V[-target] are usages found in *The Book of Odes* that do not appear in the *BB*. The subsections that follow give examples of each of these usages of 于 in *The Book of Odes*.

3.1.1. 于 as a verb

There are 84 occurrences of 于 used as a verb in the entire *The Book of Odes*. Among them, 14 occur with no following verb, and 70 are followed by another verb.

3.1.1.1. 于 used as a verb without a following verb

于 is used as a verb with no following verb 14 times in the entire *The Book of Odes*. It appears ten times in the *Feng*, in all of these occurrences in the form 于以 + VP.¹²⁵ There is one occurrence of 于 used as a verb in the *Ya*, and three occurrences in the *Song*. Examples of “于以 + VP” include:

151. 于以采蘩, 于沼于沚. 于以用之, 公侯之事.¹²⁶ (*Ode* 13.1)

She goes to gather *Artemisa Sieversiana*, by the ponds, on the islets. She goes to use them as an offering, in the sacrifices of the prince.

152. 爰居爰處, 爰喪其馬. 于以求之, 于林之下. (*Ode* 31.3)

And then we settle down, and then we remain, and then we lose our horses; we go in search of them, beneath the forests.

Qu Wanli (1983:23), quoting Hu Chenggong 胡承珙 (1776-1832), interpreted 于以 as 越以, which Hu understood as a particle with no meaning. However, it is shown in 2.2.1 and 2.3 that 于 was originally a verb meaning ‘to be directed toward/away from.’ Yi 以, which originated from a verb meaning ‘to take’ or ‘to lead,’ grammaticalized into a goal marker.

There are cases where 于 can be interpreted either as a verb or as a goal marker. These cases cannot serve as clear evidence for the use of 于 as a verb in *The Book of Odes*. Examples include:

153. 揚之水, 白石鑿鑿. 素衣朱襮, 從子于沃. (*Ode* 116.1)

In the stirred waters the white stones are (rinsed clean) shining; with white robe and red collar I follow you to Wo.

¹²⁵ For the complete list of instances of 于 used as a verb in *The Book of Odes*, see Appendix III.

¹²⁶ 于 in 于沼于沚 can be interpreted as a locative marker or as a path marker meaning ‘along.’

從子于沃 can be interpreted as “(I) follow you (and) go to Wu” (于: verb), as well as “I follow you to Wu” (于: goal marker).

154. 我出我車, 于彼牧矣! 自天子所, 謂我來矣! (*Ode* 168.1)

We bring out our carriages on that pasture-ground; from the place of the Son of Heaven, they tell us to come.

我出我車, 于彼牧矣 can be interpreted as “We bring out our carriages (and) go to that pasture-ground” (于: verb), as well as “We bring out our carriages to that pasture-ground” (于: goal marker).

However, 于 in the following example is best interpreted as a verb:

155. 比物四驪, 閑之維則. 維此六月, 既成我服. 我服既成, 于三十里. 王于出征,¹²⁷ 以佐天子. (*Ode* 177.2)

We matched according to quality (strength) the four black horses (of each chariot), we trained them according to the rules; in this sixth month we (completed:) prepared our clothes; our clothes were prepared in our (areas of) 30 li (our homesteads). The king sent out a war expedition, it was to help the Son of Heaven.

Karlgren interpreted 于 as a locative marker, while Qu Wanli (1983), Ma Chiyang (1971), and Gao Heng (1980) interpreted it as a verb. Qu (1983:317) interpreted this line as 師一日行三十里 “The army goes thirty *li* a day,” following the *Mao* commentary 毛傳 which reads 師行三十里 “The army goes thirty *li*” as well as Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄 (AD 127–200) commentary which reads 日行三十里, 可以舍息 “(The army) can rest after going thirty *li* a day.” Ma and Gao interpreted 于 as the same as 往 ‘to go.’ Qu, Ma, and Gao’s interpretation of 于 as a verb is more plausible.

There are three occurrences of 于 in *Ode* 298 for which interpretation has also been problematic.

156. 有駟有駟, 駟彼乘黃. 夙夜在公, 在公明明. 振振鷺, 鷺于下. 鼓咽咽, 醉言舞, 于胥樂兮. (*Ode* 298.1)

Well-fed, well-fed, well-fed are the teams of bays; morning and evening they (sc. the officers) are in the palace; in the palace they are very bright; (in numerous array=) in a flock go the egrets, the egrets go and alight; the drums (sound) iwen-iwen; when drunk they will dance; they go to rejoice together.

¹²⁷ 于 in 王于出征 can also be interpreted as a verb, and 于出征 is 于 + Verb, which will be discussed in 3.1.1.2.

157. 有駉有駉，駉彼乘牡。夙夜在公，在公飲酒。振振鷺，鷺于飛。鼓咽咽，醉言歸，于胥樂兮。(Ode 298.2)

Well-fed, well-fed, well-fed are the teams of stallions; morning and evening they are in the palace; in the palace they drink wine; in a flock go the egrets, the egrets go flying; the drums (sound) yan-yan when drunk they will go home; they go to rejoice together.

158. 有駉有駉，駉彼乘駟。夙夜在公，在公載燕。自今以始，歲其有。君子有穀，詒孫子，于胥樂兮！(Ode 298.3)

Well-fed, well-fed, well-fed are the teams of iron greys; morning and evening they are in the palace; in the palace they feast; from this time forth the years will be (having=) rich; the lord has (good=) luck, he transmits it to his grandsons and sons; they (the officers) go to rejoice together.

Karlgren interpreted 于 in the above three examples as a verb meaning ‘to go.’ Qu Wanli (1983:603) interpreted it as “meaningless opening word” 發聲詞. Both Zhu Shouliang (1984:927) and Gao Heng (1980:523) interpreted it as a graphic variant of 吁, which is an exclamatory particle. In the above sentences, 于 can still be interpreted as a verb and Karlgren’s interpretation is plausible.

3.1.1.2. 于 + Verb

于 + Verb appears 70 times in *The Book of Odes*.¹²⁸ It has been controversial how to interpret 于 in 于 + Verb. Zhou Fagao (1962 vol.3:251), as well as Wang Li (1980:432), interpreted it as a verbal prefix with no meaning. Gao Heng (1980:3), Qu Wanli (1983:6), Zhu Shouliang (1984:42) and so on interpreted 于 as 在 or 正在, which indicates a progressive aspect. Chow (1982:105) also interpreted 于 in 于 + Verb as an auxiliary verb signifying that the action of the verb is in process or is the main point of an the entire action. An example of 于 interpreted as a progressive aspect is 黃鳥于飛 “Yellow bird is flying” (Ode 2.1). Although it is true that the grammaticalization of a locative marker into a progressive aspect is well-attested cross-linguistically,¹²⁹ 于 in 于 + Verb in *The Book of Odes* can better be interpreted as a verb than as a progressive aspect marker (See examples 159-169 below).

¹²⁸ For the complete list of 于 + Verb in *The Book of Odes*, see Appendix IV.

¹²⁹ Examples include Imonda (a Trans-New Guinea language) -ia, locative marker > progressive marker; Diola Fogny (a Niger-Congo language) verbal noun + copula -em + locative preposition di > progressive construction (Heine & Kuteva 2002:202); modern Chinese locative verb zài 在 > locative marker > progressive marker.

Imonda (Seiler 1985:72)

tōbtō soh- ia ale- f.
fish search-LOC stay-PRES

He is looking for fish.

On the other hand, Ma Chiyang (1971:10) interpreted 于 as 往. Chen Niangao (2009) also argued against Zhou Fagao's and Wang Li's interpretation of 于 in 于 + Verb as a verbal prefix. Rather, he interpreted 于 as 往 and 于 + Verb (e.g. 之子于歸) as “要去做+Verb” “go in order to Verb.” His interpretation is plausible; yet it still remains problematic how to explain some other cases of 于 + Verb, such as 燕燕于飛 “The swallows go flying,” where 于 + Verb cannot be interpreted as “要去做+Verb” “?The swallows want to fly.”

It is illustrated in 2.1 that 于 is a motion verb. 于 and 往 are etymological doublets, yet their meaning is not identical: 往 truly means ‘to go,’ and it is the antonym of 來. 往 may or may not be followed by a goal. On the contrary, 于 can be glossed as ‘to be directed toward/away from’ and it is obligatorily followed by a goal. In 于 + Verb, which is a serial verb construction syntactically, 于 is a verb, and the verb following 于 can be interpreted semantically as a goal expressed with a manner, purpose, or result.¹³⁰ Chen's (2009) interpretation of 于 + Verb as “要去做 + Verb” only explains the cases where the following verb is a purpose complement.

于 + purpose

There are 49 occurrences of 于 + purpose in *The Book of Odes*. Among them, there are 12 occurrences of 于歸 “go (in order to) return,” “go (in order to) get married,” four occurrences of 于田 “go (in order to) hunt,” four occurrences of 于役 “go (in order to) do forced labor,” three occurrences of 于狩 “go (in order to) do winter hunting,” three occurrences of 于興師 “go (in order to) raise the army,” three occurrences of 于征 “go (in order to) conquer,” two occurrences of 于出征 “go (in order to) go out for military expedition,” and 18 others. Examples include:

159. 燕燕于飛，頡之頡之。之子于歸，遠于將之。瞻望弗及，佇立以泣。(Ode 28.2)

The swallows go flying, they straighten their necks, they stretch their necks; this young lady goes *in order to return*, far I go *in order to* escort her; I gaze after her, can no longer see her, I stand still and weep.

In the above example, both 于歸 and 于將之 are interpreted as 于 + purpose, semantically. 于歸 means “go in order to return” or “go in order to get married.” 將 has the meaning of 送 ‘to send off,’ and 于將之 can be interpreted as “go in order to send her off.” 于 in 遠于將之 can better be interpreted as a verb, rather than a progressive marker, because it is modified by an adverb 遠 ‘far.’

More examples of 于 + purpose are as follows:

¹³⁰ The verb in 于 + Verb can be interpreted as a complement only semantically. True syntactic verbal complementation had not yet emerged during the time of *The Book of Odes*.

160. 叔于田, 乘乘馬. (*Ode* 78.1)
Shu goes *in order to hunt*, he rides in a carriage with four horses.
161. 豈曰無衣? 與子同袍. 王于興師, 脩我戈矛. 與子同仇. (*Ode* 133.1)
How can you say that you have no clothes? I will share my tunics with you; the king goes *in order to* raise his army, we put in order our dagger axes and mao lances; I will have the same enemies as you.
162. 王于出征, 以匡王國. (*Ode* 177.1)
The king went *in order to go out for military expedition* in order to (correct:) set aright the king's state.
163. 維曰于仕, 孔棘且殆. 云不可使, 得罪于天子; 亦云可使, 怨及朋友. (*Ode* 194.6)
You say: to go *in order to* take office, is very harassing and dangerous; if one is not willing to take a commission, one offends against the Son of Heaven; if one is willing to take a commission, the odium (one incurs) reaches to (befalls also) one's friends.

于 + manner

There are 18 cases of 于 + manner. There are 15 occurrences of 于飛 go + fly > “go flying,”¹³¹ two occurrences of 于邁 go + march > “go marching,” and one occurrence of 于逝 go + remove > “go removing.” Examples of 于 + manner include:

164. 燕燕于飛, 頡之頡之. 之子于歸, 遠于將之, 瞻望弗及, 佇立以泣. (*Ode* 28.2)
The swallows go flying. They straighten their necks, they stretch their necks. This young lady goes to her new home. Far I go and escort her. I gaze after her, can no longer see her. I stand still and weep.
165. 汎彼涇舟, 烝徒楫之. 周王于邁, 六師及之. (*Ode* 238.3)
Floating along are those boats on the Jing (river), many men are rowing them; the King of Zhou goes marching, and the six armies go along with him.
166. 穀旦于逝, 越以騶邁. 視爾如晷, 貽我握椒. (*Ode* 137.3)
On an auspicious morning they go preceding, yea, they come forward and go: “We look on you as (if you were) a Malva! She gives us a handful of pepper-plants.”

¹³¹ It is pointed out by Prof. Anne O. Yue that 于飛 can be interpreted as Verb + manner in a serial verb construction (p.c., Fall 2009). Her interpretation led me to think that 于 + Verb is a Verb + complement structure semantically, where the complement can be interpreted as a purpose, manner, or a result.

于 + result

There are three cases where 于 is followed by a result:

167. 王命南仲，往城于方；出車彭彭，旂旐央央。天子命我，城彼朔方。赫赫南仲，玁狁于襄。(Ode 168.3)

The king has ordered Nan Zhong to go and build a wall in Fang; the out-going carriages go Peng Peng the dragon banner and tortoise-and-snake banner are brilliant; the Son of Heaven ordered us to build a wall in that Shuo Fang; awe-inspiring is Nan Zhong; the Xian Yun *goes to expulsion* .

168. 春日遲遲，卉木萋萋；倉庚喈喈，采芣祁祁。執訊獲醜，薄言還歸。赫赫南仲，玁狁于夷。(Ode 168.6)

The spring-days are lengthening out, the plants and trees are luxuriant; the orioles sing in unison; in crowds they gather the southernwood; we have seized prisoners for the question and caught a crowd; and now we return home; awe-inspiring is Nan Zhong, the Xian Yun *goes to pacification*.

169. 旱既大甚，則不可推。兢兢業業，如霆如雷。周餘黎民，靡有孑遺。昊天上帝，則不我遺。胡不相畏？先祖于摧。(Ode 258.3)

The drought is excessive, it cannot be (pushed away=) removed: it is fearsome, it is terrible, like lightning, like thunder; of the crowd of people that remained of the Zhou, there is not an (integer=) undamaged body left; Great Heaven, God on high does not let us survive, how should we not all fear; the ancestors *go to repression*.

Many commentaries argue that 于 is used as a conjunction linking two sentences in this context. Qu Wanli (1983:299) interpreted 于 as 是, quoting *Jingzhuan shici* 經傳釋詞. Zhu Shouliang (1984:469) interpreted it as 乃 ‘then,’ ‘thereupon.’ Gao Heng (1980:232) interpreted it as 以. However, 于 can still be interpreted as its original verbal meaning ‘to go’ and 于襄, 于夷, and 于摧 can be treated as serial verb constructions. The following verb can be interpreted as a resultative complement semantically, rendering 于襄 into go + expel > “to go to expulsion,” 于夷 into go + pacify > “to go to pacification,” and 于摧 into go +repress > “to go to repression.”

To sum up, 于 in 于 + Verb is neither a verbal prefix nor a progressive aspect marker. It is a full verb meaning ‘to go’ or ‘to be directed toward.’ The verb following 于 can best be interpreted as a goal with a purpose, manner, or resultative complement.

At this point, a question arises. It is shown in 2.2 that 于 is used as a verb in the *BB* 39 times out of a total of 697 occurrences. These verbal usages, then, only account for around six percent of the total occurrences of 于. The verbal usage of 于 was on its way to disappearing by the time of the *BB*, and it is mainly used as a function word. However, in *The Book of Odes*, there are 84 instances of 于 used as a verb out of a total of 335 occurrences, accounting for 25 percent of the total occurrences of 于. Why has the percentage of verbal 于 increased drastically in *The Book of Odes*? This question can be answered from the following two perspectives.

First, it can be explained as a dialectal difference. The language reflected in the *BB* is presumably the standard language or koiné of the Shang times, which is based on the Anyang 安陽 dialect. The dialectal basis of *The Book of Odes*, especially the *Feng* section, is controversial. It is a collection of folk songs from fifteen different states whose territory ranges across modern Hebei 河北, Henan 河南, Shandong 山東, Shanxi 山西, Shaanxi 陝西, and Gansu 甘肅. Folk songs are presumably written in local dialects rather than in the standard language, and it is possibly the case that 于 as a verb survived better in those dialects.¹³²

Second, the appearance of 于 can be explained in the majority of cases as a set phrase or cliché. It is noteworthy that 于 as a verb appears in very restricted forms. Among the total 84 occurrences of 于 as a verb, ten appear in the form 于以 + VP and 70 appear in the form 于 + Verb. 于 as a verb mainly survived in these two set structures, while it is used as a function word in the great majority of cases.

3.1.2. 于 used as a function word

So far, it has been shown that 于 is used as a verb in *The Book of Odes*. However, 于 is by far most frequently used as a function word whose usages overlap with those in the *BB* in the great majority of cases.

3.1.2.1. 于 + Place

于 in *The Book of Odes* marks a spatial goal, and more frequently, a spatial location. There are 57 occurrences of 于 marking a spatial goal and 137 occurrences of 于 marking a spatial location. Also, there are three occurrences of 于 used temporally.

¹³² A parallel example is the perfective aspect marker 了 in modern Chinese. It originated from a verb meaning ‘to finish,’ ‘to complete.’ However, it first grammaticalized into a verbal complement and then further grammaticalized into a perfective aspect marker. In modern standard Chinese, it is used as a perfective aspect marker in the majority of cases, except in a handful of compounds (such as 完了 ‘end,’ ‘be over’ and 終了 ‘end’) or in a very limited context. However, in southern Chinese dialects such as Hakka and Min, 了 is still used as a verb or a verbal complement. For instance, in the Haikou 海口 dialect, belonging to the southern Min group, which is spoken in the island of Hainan, 了 is still used as a verb in limited contexts, and can be negated. Also, it is used as a verbal complement, equivalent to 完 in modern standard Chinese, and it did not develop into a perfective aspect marker. For more examples in the Haikou dialect, see Chang (2010:226-33). For examples in the Liancheng 連城 dialect, which belongs to the Hakka dialect group, see Xiang (1997:167-171).

3.1.2.1.1. 于 used as a spatial goal marker

Examples of 于 marking a spatial goal include:

170. 伐木丁丁, 鳥鳴嚶嚶. 出自幽谷, 遷于喬木. (*Ode* 165.1)

They hew the trees, (it sounds) ding ding; the birds cry ying ying; they come from the dark valleys and remove to the high trees.

171. 二之日鑿冰沖沖, 三之日納于凌陰. (*Ode* 154.8)

In the days of the second, we cut out the ice, (it sounds) Chong Chong. In the days of the third we take it into the ice-house.

172. 申伯番番, 既入于謝. (*Ode* 259.7)

The prince of Shen was martial, he entered into Xie.

When 于 marks a goal or location, it can be followed not only by a place but also by a time, situation, person or thing through extension:

于 + place > 于 + time
> 于 + situation
> 于 + person or thing¹³³

In the following example, 于 is followed by a situation, not by a place:

173. 祈父! 予, 王之爪牙. 胡轉予以恤? 靡所止居. (*Ode* 185.1)

Minister of War, you are the claws and teeth of the king; why do you throw us into misery? We have nowhere to settle and rest.

恤 ‘misery’ is not a place, but a situation; yet 于 can still be interpreted as a goal marker because the co-occurring verb 轉 is [+mvt, +goal, -source].

174. 三歲為婦, 靡室勞矣. 夙興夜寐, 靡有朝矣. 言既遂矣, 至于暴矣. 兄弟不知, 咥其笑矣. 靜言思之, 躬自悼矣. (*Ode* 58.5)

For three years I was your wife, I (had no toil from the household =) never felt toiled by the household; early I rose and late I went to sleep, I (had no morning:) never had the leisure of a morning; my words have been (achieved:) fulfilled, but I have (come to:) met with maltreatment; my brothers take no cognizance, jeering is their laughter; silently I brood over it, I feel grief for myself.

¹³³ For examples where 于 is followed by a person or a thing, see 3.2.2.1.1.

至于 in the above example has a figurative meaning. It is followed by a result or situation 暴 ‘violence,’ ‘maltreatment’ rather than a real place. Yet, 于 can still be interpreted as a goal marker because the co-occurring verb 至 is [+mvt, +goal, -source].

3.1.2.1.2. 于 used as a spatial locative marker

Examples in which 于 marks a spatial location include:

175. 鶴鳴于九皋, 聲聞于天. 魚在于渚, 或潛在淵. (*Ode* 184.2)

The crane cries in the Nine marshes, its voice (is heard in:) carries up to heaven; the fish lies by the islet, or it plunges into the deep.

176. 營營青蠅, 止于樊. 豈弟君子, 無信讒言. (*Ode* 219.1)

The green flies go buzzing about, they settle on the fence; joyous and pleasant lord, do not believe slanderous words.

3.1.2.2. 于 + Time

There are two occurrences of 于 marking a temporal goal ‘to’ and one occurrence marking a temporal location ‘on.’ Examples are as follows.

3.1.2.2.1. 于 used as a temporal goal marker

177. 自我不見, 于今三年. (*Ode* 156.3)

From the time that we (have not seen=) last saw this, *up to know*, it is three years.

于 in 于今 can be interpreted as a temporal goal marker ‘to’ and 于今 means ‘up to now.’ 三年 is a noun predicate meaning “(has been) three years.” 于今三年 can be interpreted as “up to now, it has been three years.”

178. 印盛于豆, 于豆于登. 其香始升, 上帝居歆. 胡臭亶時, 后稷肇祀. 庶無罪悔, 以迄于今. (*Ode* 245.8)

We fill (food) in the *tou* vessels, in the *Dou* and *Deng* vessels; as soon as the fragrance ascends, God on High (tranquilly=) placidly enjoys it; the far-reaching fragrance is truly (correct=) good; Hou Ji initiated the sacrifice, and the (multitude:) people have given no offense no cause for regret unto the present day.

迄 is a Verb [+mvt, +goal, -source] meaning ‘reach,’ ‘come to’ and 于 can be interpreted as a temporal goal marker. 迄于今 literally means “reach to the present day.”

3.1.2.2.2. 于 used as a temporal locative marker

An example of 于 used as a temporal locative marker is as follows:

179. 其在于今, 興迷亂于政. (*Ode* 256.3)

Those who are in the present, they raise disorder in the government.

在 is a stationary verb (=Verb [-mvt, -goal, -source]); therefore, 于 in 在于今 marks a temporal location.

3.1.2.3. 于 used as a non-spatial goal marker

于 is used as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give] (seven occurrences), V[+addressee](four occurrences) and V[+target] (26 occurrences).

3.1.2.3.1. 于 co-occurring with V[+give]

In the *BB*, 于 is by far most frequently used as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give]. In this case, 于 marks an recipient. As is mentioned in 2.2.2.3.1, among 680 occurrences of 于 that are interpretable, 413 are used as a recipient marker. In *The Book of Odes*, however, there are only seven occurrences of 于 as a recipient marker. This is not so much due to the change in usages of 于 as due to the different contents of the *OBI* and *Odes*. In other words, one of the most common topics of the *OBI* is a record of a sacrifice directed toward the ancestors, which results in the frequent occurrence of 于 as a recipient marker.

180. 言私其豨, 獻豨于公. (*Ode* 154.4)

We keep for ourselves the young boars, we present the older boars to the prince.

181. 吉蠲為饗, 是用孝享; 禴祠烝嘗, 于公先王. (*Ode* 166.4)

Auspicious and pure are your sacrificial wine and food; with them you make filial offerings; you perform summer, spring, winter and autumn sacrifices, to princes and former kings.

3.1.2.3.2. 于 co-occurring with V[+addressee]

As already observed in 2.2.2.3.2, in the *BB*, 于 + Noun co-occur with a V[+addressee]. There are four such occurrences in *The Book of Odes*. There are two occurrences of 告 ‘to report,’ one occurrence of 對 ‘to respond,’ and one occurrence of 命 ‘to command.’ An example is as follows.

182. 江漢湯湯，武夫洸洸。經營四方，告成于王。(Ode 262.3)

The Jiang and the Han were (voluminous=) large-flowing, the warriors formed a rushing flood; they regulated and disposed (the regions of) the four quarters, and reported the achievement to the king.

3.1.2.3.3. 于 co-occurring with V[+target]

As is mentioned in 2.2 and 2.2.2.3.3, there are cases where 于 is preceded by Verb [+target], indicating “(an action is) directed toward.” In these cases, although 于 is grammaticalized into a function word from a verb ‘to be directed toward,’ which is [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source], its [+goal] feature still survives. The noun following 于 can be interpreted as a goal of an action. In the *BB*, there are only five occurrences of this type. In *The Book of Odes*, however, this usage of 于 appears 26 times. Examples include 惠 ‘to be benevolent to,’ 作 ‘to make,’ ‘to work on,’ 觀 ‘to observe,’ 御 ‘to govern,’ 伐 ‘to attack,’ and 覲 ‘make an audience.’¹³⁴ Examples include:

183. 惠于朋友，庶民小子。(Ode 256.6)

Be kind to your friends, your common people, and your young ones.

184. 定之方中，作于楚宮，揆之以日，作于楚室。(Ode 50.1)

When (the constellation) Ding was at the zenith, he started work on the Chu palace; when he had measured it by the sun, he started work on the Chu mansion.

The interpretation of 于 in this usage is rather problematic. Qu Wanli (1983:90) interpreted 作于 as 作為 ‘make into,’ quoting *Jingyi shuwen 經義述聞 (Describing What was Heard on the Meaning of Classics, hereafter JYSW)* by Wang Yinzhi. Gao Heng (1980:73) interpreted it as an inversion of 于作楚宮 “Thereupon, (he) worked on the Chu mansion.” Both interpretations are arbitrary. 于 can best be interpreted as a goal marker meaning “(an action) directed toward.”

More examples are as follows:

185. 升彼虛矣，以望楚矣，望楚與堂，景山與京。降觀于桑，卜云其吉，終然允臧。(Ode 50.2)

He ascended that ruin-mound in order to look out over Chu; he looked out over Chu and Tang; he measured mountains and hills by their shadow; he descended and inspected the mulberry grounds. The tortoise-shell oracle was auspicious, all through it was truly good.

¹³⁴ Some of V[+target] are usually not followed by 于 in Classical Chinese. Instead, they are typically used transitively, directly followed by a DO. For example, in the entire *Zuo's Commentary*, 觀/御 + 于 + Noun appears only once, respectively, and 作/伐 + 于 + DO does not appear at all.

186. 惠于宗公, 神罔時怨, 神罔時恫. 刑于寡妻, 至于兄弟, 以御于家邦. (*Ode* 240.2)
He (sc. King Wen) was obedient to the (dead) princes of the clan (his ancestors); of the Spirits, none were annoyed with him; of the Spirits, none were (pained, grieved=) dissatisfied with him; he was a model to his consort, it extended to his brothers, and so he governed his family and state.
187. 文王受命, 有此武功. 既伐于崇, 作邑于豐. 文王烝哉! (*Ode* 244.2)
King Wen received the appointment, he had these martial achievements; when he had made the attack on Chong, he made a city in Feng; King Wen was splendid.
188. 四牡奕奕, 孔脩且張, 韓侯入覲, 以其介圭, 入覲于王. (*Ode* 261.3)
The four stallions were large, very long and broad; the prince of Han came in to an audience; with his great Gui tesserà he came in to an audience with the king.

3.1.2.4. 于 used as a non-spatial source marker

In the *BB*, there are eight occurrences of 于 used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-give]. In *The Book of Odes*, there are five occurrences of 于 used as a non-spatial source marker. Three of them co-occur with V[-give], one with V[-addressee], and one with V[-target]. These examples are particularly important in that they clearly show that the direction of 于 can not only be [+goal] but also [+source]. They serve as evidence that 于 was originally a bi-directional verb.

3.1.2.4.1. 于 co-occurring with V[-give]

All of the three examples of 于 + source co-occurring with V[-give] are as follows:

189. 維曰于仕, 孔棘且殆. 云不可使, 得罪于天子; 亦云可使, 怨及朋友. (*Ode* 194.6)

You say: to go and take office, is very harassing and dangerous; if one is not willing to take a commission, *one gets punishment from the Son of Heaven*; if one is willing to take a commission, the odium (one incurs) reaches to (befall also) one's friends.

得罪 in modern Chinese is one word meaning 'to offend,' 'to displease.' It can be followed by a DO (e.g. 這個職員不敢得罪他的老板 "This clerk does not dare to offend his boss.") However, it is doubtful that 得罪 in Classical Chinese had the same meaning as in modern Chinese. In Classical Chinese, 得罪 can be interpreted as Verb + Object. Also, 罪 in 得罪 means 'punish' or 'punishment,' not 'misdemeanor.' Examples in which 罪 means 'punish' or 'punishment' include 待罪 "wait for punishment" and 畏罪 "be afraid of punishment." 得罪 can be literally interpreted as "to obtain punishment" > "to be punished." In 得罪于天子, 得 is V[-give] and 于 is followed by a source.

The other two examples of 于 + source co-occurring with V[-give] are as follows.

190. 假樂君子，顯顯令德。宜民宜人，受祿于天。保右命之，自天申之。 (*Ode* 249.1)
Greatly happy be the lord; illustrious is his good virtue; he orders well the people, he orders well the men; he receives blessings from Heaven; it protects and helps and appoints him; from Heaven (comes the favor) that keeps him in power.

191. 釐爾圭瓚，秬鬯一卣，告于文人。錫山土田，于周受命，自召祖命。虎拜稽首，天子萬年。 (*Ode* 262.6)
I give you a Gui ladle, and a Yu vessel of aromatic wine from black millet; report to your ancestors; I give you hills and soil and fields; from Zhou you receive a charge it (follows=) continues the charge of your ancestors in Shao; Hu made obeisance and bowed the head; he wishes the Son of Heaven ten thousand years.

As mentioned in 1.3.2.1, Pulleyblank (1986:7), following Karlgren (1926:42), believed that one of the differences between 于 and 於 is that only 於 can be interpreted as ‘from.’ He listed three cases in *The Book of Odes* where 于 can be interpreted as ‘from’ on the surface, and rejected the possibility in each case. He considered examples 190 and 191 above, and the following example:

192. 乃造其曹，執豕于牢。 (*Ode* 250.4)
He sent out his servant to take a pig from the sty.

Pulleyblank rejected the interpretation of 于 as ‘from’ in 190-192. Instead, he attributed the occurrence of 于 in 190 to textual corruption and believed it should have been 於. For 191, he considered 周 in 于周受命 as a place name (same as 崎周), following Zheng Xuan’s commentary, and interpreted 于 as a locative marker. For 192, he interpreted 執豕于牢 as an inversion of 于牢執豕 and interpreted 于 as a verb: “(one) went to the sty and took a pig.” However, 于 can also be interpreted as a locative marker, rendering 執豕于牢 as “take a pig in the sty.” The interpretation of 于 in this example as ‘from’ is not obligatory.

In sum, there is no good basis for attributing 于 in these examples to textual corruption or inversion. It is already shown in 2.2.2.4.1 that 于 is not only followed by a recipient, but also by a source. Therefore, it is very likely that 于 in the above three examples from *The Book of Odes* can also be interpreted as a source marker meaning ‘from.’

3.1.2.4.2. 于 co-occurring with V[-addressee]

于 marks a non-spatial source co-occurring with V[-addressee]. There is one occurrence of 詢 ‘to enquire.’

193. 我言維服，勿以為笑。先民有言：詢于芻蕘。 (*Ode* 254.3)
My words are about the service, do not make them a matter for laughter; the ancient people had a saying: “Consult with the grass- and fuel-gatherers.”

3.1.2.4.3. 于 co-occurring with V[-target]

There is one occurrence of 于 marking a non-spatial source co-occurring with V[-target].

194. 憂心悄悄，慍于群小；觀閔既多，受侮不少。靜言思之，寤辟有標。 (*Ode* 26.4)

My grieved heart is pained, I am hated by all the petty ones; I have met with suffering in plenty, I have received insults not a little; in the quietude I brood over it, awake I knock and beat (my breast).

In the above example, 于 is a non-spatial source marker indicating the source of the feeling. In other words, the hatred *comes out from* the petty ones > the petty ones hate me.

3.1.3. Word order of the 于-phrase in *The Book of Odes*

In *The Book of Odes*, 于 + Noun appears after the verb in the great majority of cases. However, 于 + Noun + Verb appears 12 times in the *Ya*. In all 12 cases, the verb appears in the rhyming position.¹³⁵ Therefore, it can be assumed that the underlying word order is Verb + 于 + Noun, and 于 + Noun is pre-posed in some cases for the purpose of rhyming. Examples of 于 + Noun + Verb include:

195. (a) 穆穆文王，於緝熙敬止 [tjiə]. 假哉天命，幽商孫子 [tziə]. (*Ode* 235.4)
(之 rhyme group)

August was King Wen, continuously bright and reverent; great, indeed, was the appointment of Heaven; there were Shang's grandsons and sons.

(b) 商之孫子，其麗不億 [iək]. 上帝既命，侯于周服 [biuək]. (*Ode* 235.4)
(職 rhyme group)

Shang's grandsons and sons, their number, was it not a hundred thousand! But God on high gave his appointment, and so they became subject to Zhou.

(c) 侯服于周，天命靡常 [zjiang]. 殷士膚敏，裸將于京 [kyang]. (*Ode* 235.5)
(陽 rhyme group)

They became subject to Zhou; Heavens appointment is not for ever; the officers of Yin were fine and active but their libations were presented in the capital (of Zhou).

(d) 厥作裸將，常服黼黻 [xiua]. 王之蓋臣，無念爾祖 [tza]. (*Ode* 235.5)
(魚 rhyme group)

When they made their presentation of libations, they wore, as (regular=) ritual garments; the embroidered skirts and ceremonial caps; oh, you promoted servants of the king, should you not think of your ancestors?

¹³⁵ The reconstruction of the rhymes in *The Book of Odes* follows Wang Li (2004).

In 侯于周服 in 195(b), the 于-phrase is preposed in order to allow the verb to appear in the rhyming position. When the verb does not appear in the rhyming position, the word order is 侯服于周 as is in 195(c).

More examples of 于 + Noun + Verb are as follows:

196. 京師之野 [jya], 于時處處 [thjia], 于時廬旅 [lia]. 于時言言, 于時語語 [ngia].
(Ode 250.3) (魚 rhyme group)

The lands for the capital; there he dwelt, there he lodged, there he spoke, there he talked.

197. 釐爾圭瓚, 秬鬯一卣, 告于文人 [njien], 錫山土田 [dyen]. 于周受命 [myen], 自召祖命 [myen]. 虎拜稽首, 天子萬年 [nyen]. (Ode 262.5) (眞 rhyme group)

I give you a Gui ladle, and a Yu vessel of aromatic wine from black millet; report to your ancestors; I give you hills and soil and fields; from Zhou you receive a charge; it (follows=) continues the charge of your ancestors in Shao; Hu made obeisance and bowed the head; he wishes the Son of Heaven ten thousand years.

In 2.2.2.3.1 and 2.2.2.3.2, it is shown that 于 + Noun + Verb word order appears frequently in the *BB*, especially when the verb is [+give]. Therefore, it can be assumed that, unlike in the *BB* where Verb + 于 + Noun and 于 + Noun + Verb word order co-exist, the basic word order of the language reflected in *The Book of Odes* is Verb + 于 + Noun.

3.2. 于 in *The Book of Documents*

There are 383 instances of 于 in the entire *The Book of Documents*. While most of the usages of 于 in *The Book of Documents* are already observed in the *BB* or *The Book of Odes* (such as 于 as a verb, 于 + Verb, 于 indicating spatial/temporal goal or location, 于 used as a non-spatial goal or source marker), there is one usage of 于 that does not appear in the *BB* or in *The Book of Odes*: 于 used as a “concern marker.”

In the following sections, the usages of 于 in *The Book of Documents* will be summarized, with a focus on the changes in its usages.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Unlike in *The Book of Odes*, there is no example of the graph 于 used as an exclamatory particle in *The Book of Documents*. As an exclamatory particle, the graph 吁 is used instead.

3.2.1. 于 used as a verb

There are six occurrences of 于 used as a verb in the entire *The Book of Documents*. Two occur with no following verb and four are followed by another verb.

3.2.1.1. 于 used as a verb without a following verb

There are two examples in *The Book of Documents* where 于 is used as a verb with no following verb:

198. 凡民自得罪，寇攘姦宄，殺越人于貨，譬不畏死，罔弗懃。(*Book of Documents*/"Imperial Edict to Kangshu" 康誥 41.15)

All people who draw guilt upon themselves, being robbers and thieves and villains and traitors, who kill and (overthrow =) destroy and go for (goods=) spoil, and are forceful and do not fear death, there are none who do not detest them.

Wang Shishun (1982:158) interpreted 于 as 取 'to take from.' Qu Wanli (1983:152) interpreted 于 as 為 (departing tone) and 殺越人于貨 as 為貨財而殺人 "kill people for goods." However, there is no good basis for interpreting 于 as 取 or 為. 于 can be interpreted as a motion verb 'to move toward' or 'to be directed toward.' Karlgren's translation of 于 as 'go for' best reflects the correct analysis of 于.

199. 惟三月，周公初于新邑洛，用告商王士。(*Book of Documents*/"Many Officials" 多士 54.1)

In the 3rd month, *Duke of Zhou first moved to the new city Lu*, and on that occasion made an announcement to the royal officers of Shang.

用 is used as a goal marker derived from a verb 'to use.' Therefore, 周公初于新邑洛 should be interpreted as a sentence. 于 is used as a verb meaning 'to move to.' Karlgren treated 初 as a verb 'to start' and 于 as a locative marker, rendering 周公初于新邑洛 into "Zhou gong started in the new city Lu." However, his interpretation is problematic in that 初 is seldom, if any, used as a verb 'to start, initiate.' The most common usages of 初 is a noun 'first, beginning' or an adverb 'at first, formerly.'

The two occurrences of 于 as a verb in *The Book of Documents* are significant in that they prove that the verbal use of 于 survived even after the *BB* times. Even though there are 11 occurrences of 于 in *The Book of Odes* used as a verb, ten occur in the form of 于以 + VP. It is not clear whether 于 was still used freely as a verb, or only survived in a set phrase. The above two examples support the idea that the verbal use of 于 survived until the time of *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*.

3.2.1.2. 于 + Verb

于 + Verb occurs four times, and in all four cases, the verb following 于 can be interpreted as the goal expressed in a purpose complement. For example:

200. 今蠹今翼日, 民獻有十夫. 予翼以于救寧武圖功. (*Book of Documents*/“Great Imperial Edict” 大誥 34.5)

Now they (sc. the enemies) crawl about, now they buzz about. But recently there have been ten eminent men among the people; I respectfully go with them, *in order to* achieve the serene (dead) Wu’s planned work.

201. 予得吉卜, 予惟以爾庶邦, 于伐殷逋播臣. (*Book of Documents*/“Great Imperial Edict” 大誥 34.6)

I have received auspicious tortoise oracles. I shall with you, various states, go *in order to* attack the fugitive and thrown-out (king’s servant=) grandee of the Yin (house).

于 + Verb appears in the OBI, although there are no occurrences in the *BB*.¹³⁷ It appears 70 times out of the total 335 instances of 于 in *The Book of Odes*. There are four occurrences in *The Book of Documents*. However, as 于 was grammaticalized and increasingly used as a function word, the verbal usage of 于 became obsolete. As a result, in later texts such as *The Ceremonies and Rites* and *The Rites of Zhou*, neither 于 as a verb nor 于 + Verb is found.¹³⁸

3.2.2. 于 as a function word

In the subsections that follow, the occurrences of 于 as a function word are analyzed.

3.2.2.1. 于 + Place

Marking a spatial/temporal goal or location is by far the most common usages of 于 in *The Book of Documents* and *The Book of Odes*, as well as in the *BB*. In *The Book of Documents*, there are 109 cases where 于 marks a spatial goal and 87 cases where 于 marks a spatial location

¹³⁷ As mentioned in 2.2.1.2, there is one occurrence of 于 班 in the *BB*, which can be interpreted as 于 + Verb “go marching.” The interpretation, however, is still controversial.

¹³⁸ As is already mentioned in 1.4 and summarized in Table 4, 于 was by far more dominant than 於 in these two texts. The ratio of 于 to 於 is approximately 9:1 in *The Ceremonies and Rites* and 7:3 in *The Rites of Zhou*. Yet, there is no example where 于 is used as a verb in these two texts. The usages of 于 in *The Ceremonies and Rites* are discussed in 5.2.

3.2.2.1.1. 于 used as a spatial goal marker

202. 流共工于幽洲, 放驩兜于崇山. (*Book of Documents*/ “Canon of Yao” 堯典 6.23)
He banished Gonggong to Youzhou, he banished Huandou to Chongshan.

203. 夾右碣石, 入于河. (*Book of Documents*/ “Tribute of Yu” 禹貢 13.3)
He closely followed to the right the Jie Shi (rocks), and (entered=) arrived at the He.

There are 10 cases where 至于 is followed by a person or a thing. As is mentioned in 3.1.2.1.1, when 于 marks a spatial goal, it may not only be followed by a place but also by a situation, time, person, or thing through extension. Examples of “至于 + person/thing” include:

204. 王啟監厥亂為民. 曰: “無胥戕, 無胥虐, 至于敬寡, 至于屬婦.” (*The Book of Documents*/ “Chinese catalpa timber” 梓材 44.3) (至于 + person)
The king instructs his inspectors (i.e. the feudal lords) about their governing and managing the people, saying: Do not injure each other, do not oppress each other; (reach to=) attend even to widowers and widows, attend even to pregnant women.

205. 此厥不聽, 人乃訓之, 乃變亂先王之正刑, 至于小大. (*The Book of Documents*/ “Don’t be idle 無逸 57.15) (至于 + thing)
If you are not wise the people will comply with you and change and disorder the former kings’ correct laws reaching to both small and large.

3.2.2.1.2. 于 used as a spatial locative marker

Examples of 于 used as a spatial locative marker co-occurring with V[-mvt, +spatial, -goal, -source] are as follows.

206. 正月上日, 受終于祖. (*Book of Documents*/ “Canon of Yao” 堯典 2.15)
In the first month, the first day, he accepted the abdication (of Yao) in (the temple of) the Accomplished Ancestor(s).

207. 大戰于甘, 乃召六卿. (*Book of Documents*/ “Oath in Gan” 甘誓 16.1)
There was a great battle in Gan. He convoked the six minister- generals.

3.2.2.2. 于 + Time

There are 10 cases in *The Book of Documents* where 于 is followed by a time word. 于 can be interpreted as a marker of a temporal goal “to” in seven cases: there are two occurrences of “自 + time 1 + 至于 + time2,” four occurrences of “至于 + time,” and one occurrence of “于 + time.” There are three cases where 于 is used as a marker of temporal location “on.”

3.2.2.2.1. 于 used as a temporal goal marker

Examples of 于 used as a temporal goal marker are as follows.

208. 凡爾眾其惟致告, 自今至于後日, 各共爾事, 齊乃位, 度乃口. (*Book of Documents*/ “Pangeng shang” 盤庚上 22.17)
All you multitudes should effectuate the announcement. From now until future days, each of you (furnish=) execute your work, adjust your positions, (rule=) regulate your mouths.
209. 已. 若茲監惟曰: 欲至于萬年惟王子子孫孫永保民. (*Book of Documents*/ “Chinese catalpa lumber” 梓材 47.8)
Yes, being an inspector like this I say: I wish that unto myriad years the king’s sons and grandsons may forever (guard=) have charge of the people!
210. 先王有服, 恪謹天命, 茲猶不常寧, 不常厥邑, 于今五邦. (*Book of Documents* / “Pangeng shang” 盤庚上 19.3)
When the former kings had some business, they reverently (attended to=) obeyed the commands of heaven. But (in this=) doing so, they still did not always have tranquility; they did not perpetuate their cities: *up to now* (there have been) five capitals.¹³⁹

3.2.2.2.2. 于 used as a temporal locative marker

Examples of 于 used as a temporal locative marker are as follows.

211. 其汝克敬德, 明我俊民在(=哉), 讓後人于丕時. (*Book of Documents*/ “Lord Shi” 君奭 60.20)
May you be able to attend carefully to virtue. Distinguish our prominent men. (Give way to=) accede to the successor (sc. the king, who wants you to stay) in this great time.
212. 周公居東二年, 則罪入斯得. 于後, 公乃為詩以貽王名之曰鴟鴞 王亦未敢誚公. (*Book of Documents*/ “Metal-bound Coffin” 金縢 34.13-4)
The duke of Zhou dwelt in the east for two years, and then the criminal men (sc. the slanderers) were apprehended. Afterwards, the prince made an ode and presented it to the king, it was called Chī Xiaō. The king still did not dare to blame the prince.

¹³⁹ Karlgren translated 于今 as “at present.”

3.2.2.3. 于 used as a non-spatial goal marker

In *The Book of Documents*, 于 is used as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give], V[+addressee], and V[+target].

3.2.2.3.1. 于 co-occurring with V[+give]

There are 38 cases where 于 marks a non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+give]. Examples of V[+give] include 降 ‘to send down’ (seven occurrences), 讓 ‘to yield’ (five occurrences), 施 ‘to bestow,’ 獻 ‘to present,’ and sacrificial verbs such as 類 ‘make *lei*-sacrifice’ (two occurrences), 享 ‘offer a feast,’ 望 ‘make *wang*-sacrifice’ and 禋 ‘make *yin*-sacrifice.’

Examples of 于 co-occurring with V[+give] used as a non-spatial goal marker are as follows.

213. 弗弔天降喪于殷. (*Book of Documents*/ “Lord Shi” 君奭 60.1)
The merciless Heaven sent down destruction on Yin.¹⁴⁰
214. 禹拜稽首, 讓于稷契暨皋陶. (*Book of Documents*/ “Canon of Yao” 堯典 6.32)
Yu saluted and bowed down the head and ceded to Ji, Xie, and Gao Yao.

3.2.2.3.2. 于 co-occurring with V[+addressee]

There are 16 cases where 于 is used as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+addressee]. Examples of V[+addressee] include 命 ‘to command’ (six occurrences), 告 ‘to proclaim,’ (three occurrences), 言 ‘to speak,’ 教 ‘to teach’ and so on. 于 can be interpreted as an addressee marker.

215. 有命曰割殷, 告勅于帝. (*Book of Documents*/ “Many Officials” 多士 54.14)
There was the (heavenly) charge, saying: (injure=) destroy Yin. And (now) he has reported his (regulating=) reform work to God.
216. 盤庚教于民, 由乃厥在位, 以常舊服, 正法度. (*Book of Documents*/ “Pangeng shang” 19.5 盤庚上)
When Pan Geng instructed the people, he started with those of them who were in high positions (sc. officers), and according to the constant and old (affairs=) procedures he determined the laws and regulations.

¹⁴⁰ In this interpretation, 殷 is interpreted as a political body, which is a recipient; however, 殷 can also be interpreted as a location. Therefore, 于 can be interpreted as a recipient marker as well as a spatial goal marker. In both cases, however, 于 has the feature [+goal]. There are some cases where the interpretation of 于 is ambiguous.

3.2.2.3.3. 于 co-occurring with [+target]

In *The Book of Documents*, 于 marking the non-spatial goal co-occurring with Verb [+target] is one of the most common usages of 于. It co-occurs with different types of verbs, such as Vtr, and Vint, as well as Vst. There are 86 occurrences of 于 of this usage. Examples of 于 marking directionality in *The Book of Documents* include:

217. 其今爾何懲, 惟時苗民, 匪察于獄之麗, 罔擇吉人觀于五刑之中. (*Book of Documents*/ “Punishment of the State of Lü” 呂刑 75.12)

Now what should you make a warning? Is it not those Miao people’s making no examinations in regard to those assigned (for punishment) in criminal cases (i.e. simply declaring them all guilty)? They did not select good men, who examined the (justness=) just application of the five punishments.

察 ‘to examine, scrutinize’ and 觀 ‘to examine, observe’ are transitive verbs, and they are followed by 于 [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source] + Noun. 于 is used as a non-spatial goal marker.

218. 惟不役志于享, 凡民惟曰不享, 惟事其爽侮. (*Book of Documents*/ “Imperial Edict in Luo” 洛誥50.12)

If (a prince) does not exert his will in the offerings, (even) the common people will say: We bring no offerings. And the performances (of the sacrifices) will be faulty and disgraced.

役志, which is Vtr + DO, is followed by 于 + Noun.

219. 兄亦不念鞠子哀, 大不友于弟. (*Book of Documents* / “Imperial Edict to Kang(shu)” 康誥 41.16)

The elder brother likewise does not think of his tender younger brother’s pitiableness and is greatly unfriendly towards his younger brother.

友 is a noun as well as a stative verb ‘to be friendly.’ It is followed by 于 + Noun.

220. 嗚呼! 有王雖小, 元子哉. 其不能誠于小民. (*Book of Documents*/ “Imperial Edict by Duke Zhao 召誥 47.13)

Oh, though the present king is small, he is the principal son. May he grandly be able to be concordant with the people.

誠 is a stative verb meaning ‘to be sincere,’ and it is followed by 于 + Noun.

3.2.2.4. 于 used as a non-spatial source marker

There are examples of 于, although very rare, used as a non-spatial source marker.

3.2.2.4.1. 于 co-occurring with V[-give]

There are two occurrences of V[-give]: one occurrence of 求 ‘to seek for’ and one occurrence of 得罪 ‘(literally) obtain a punishment’ > ‘punished.’ All occurrences of 于 co-occurring with V[-give] used as a non-spatial source marker are as follows.

221. 今民將在祗遜乃文考, 紹聞衣德言, 往敷求于殷先哲王, 用保乂民. (*Book of Documents* / “Imperial Edict to Kang(shu)” 康誥 38.5)

Now the people will (dwell on=) be disposed respectfully to follow your father Wen, to continue what they have heard and to follow the virtuous words. Go and widely seek from the Yin’s former wise kings, thereby protecting and governing the people.

222. 兄亦不念鞠子哀, 大不友于弟. 惟弔茲, 不于我政人得罪, 天惟與我民彝大泯亂. (*Book of Documents* / “Imperial Edict to Kang(shu)” 康誥 41.16)

The elder brother likewise does not think of his tender younger brother’s pitiableness and is greatly unfriendly towards his younger brother. If we are (pitying) kind to these, and *they do not obtain punishment from our ruler*,¹⁴¹ the norms given by Heaven to our people will be greatly brought into disorder.

Karlgren interpreted 得罪 as ‘to offend.’ He interpreted 不于我政人得罪 as a passive sentence and 于 as an agent marker. However, as is already discussed in 3.1.2.4.1, 得罪 in Classical Chinese does not mean ‘to offend’ as in modern Chinese. It can be interpreted as ‘obtain punishment’ > ‘be punished.’ 于 can be interpreted as a non-spatial source marker.

3.2.2.4.2. 于 co-occurring with V[-target]

There are two occurrences of 于 used as a non-spatial source marker.

223. 予小子新命于三王, 惟永終是圖. (*Book of Documents* / “Metal-bound Coffin” 金縢 34.10)

I, the little child, anew have obtained an appointment from the three kings (i.e. a new spell of life); for a distant end I shall plan.

There is one case where 于 marks a non-spatial source co-occurring with a noun.

¹⁴¹ Karlgren interpreted 不于我政人得罪 as “they are not considered as offenders by us, the rulers.”

224. 予迓續乃命于天, 予豈汝威, 用奉畜汝眾. (*Book of Documents*/ “Pangeng zhong” 盤庚中 22.26)

I go to welcome and preserve your endowment from Heaven (sc. in the new place).
Do I overawe you? (No), by this I take care of and (nourish) sustain you all.

命 is a verb as well as a noun. In the above example, it is clearly used as a noun meaning ‘mandate’ because it is preceded by the second person possessive 乃. In 3.2.2.3.3, it is illustrated that 于 frequently marks the non-spatial goal co-occurring with different types of verbs. In this section, it is shown that 于 can co-occur not only with a verb but also with a noun marking a non-spatial source. 乃命于天 in the above example can be interpreted as “your mandate from Heaven.” Example 223 and 224 prove that when 于 marks directionality, it can mark not only a goal, but also a source, which suggests the possibility that 于 was originally a bi-directional verb.

3.2.2.4.3. 于 used as an agent marker

Examples where 于 is used as an agent marker are not scarce. In 2.2.2.4.2, it is already illustrated that an agent marker is frequently derived from a non-spatial source marker. The feature set of an agent marker is described as [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, +source, +agent]. In *The Book of Documents*, there are three cases where 于 is used as an agent marker, all of which are listed below.

225. 乃既先惡于民, 乃奉其恫, 汝悔命何及? (*Book of Documents*/ “Pangeng shang” 盤庚上 19.12)

When you now have first become hated by the people, and then receive the pain, what does it avail that you regret your fate?

226. 我有周佑命, 將天明威致王罰, 令殷命, 終于帝. (*Book of Documents*/ “Many Officials” 多士 54.2)

We Zhou have assisted the decree, and taking Heaven’s bright majesty we effected the royal punishment and rightly disposed the mandate of Yin; it was terminated by God.

227. 別求聞由古先哲王, 用康保民, 弘(覆)于天. 若德裕乃身, 不廢在王命. (*Book of Documents* / “Imperial Edict to Kang(shu)” 康誥 38.5)

You should, besides that, seek information from the ancient former wise kings (i.e. those anterior to Yin), and so tranquilize and protect the people. You will be grandly (covered=) protected by Heaven, a compliant virtue will be abundant in your person, you will not neglect to (dwell on=) be intent on the king’s orders.

Both Karlgren (1950:38) and Qu Wanli (1969:98) reconstructed 覆 ‘to cover’ in front of 于 based on the quotation of this line in the *Xunzi* 荀子, and interpreted 于 as an agent marker.

3.2.2.5. 于 used as a non-spatial locative marker

In the following subsection, it is illustrated that 于 is used as a “concern marker,” which is presumably derived from 于 used as a non-spatial locative marker.

3.2.2.5.1. 于 used as a “concern marker”

In *The Book of Documents*, there are cases where 于 is used as a “concern marker” meaning ‘on, about, in regard to.’¹⁴² The word order is “Verb + (addressee) + 于 + theme.” There are three occurrences of 告 ‘to report’ and one occurrence of 教 ‘to instruct.’ Examples are as follows:

228. 予告汝于難, 若射之有志. (*Book of Documents*/“Pangeng shang” 盤庚上 22.15)
I tell you about the difficulties (sc. to be overcome), just as an archer (has his aiming=) aims (at the target).

229. 乃惟孺子頒, 朕不暇, 聽朕教汝于斐民彝. (*Book of Documents*/“Imperial Edict in Luo” 洛誥 50.13)
Now you, youngster, (are ranked=) put in your proper rank (sc. as a king), but I shall not be idle, you should listen to my instructions to you in regard to what are not the proper practices of the people.

What is the origin of 于 as a concern marker? There is cross-linguistic evidence that locatives (including *on*, *up*, and *under*) have developed into concern markers. Examples include English *on* locative preposition > ‘about’, Spanish *sobre* ‘on’ > ‘about’, French *sur* ‘on’ > ‘about’, German *über* ‘over’ > ‘about,’ as well as Swahili *juu ya* ‘above,’ ‘on top of,’ ‘up’ > concern marker. Examples are as follows (Heine & Kuteva 2002:201-2, 307-8).

230. *French*

(a) *Sur la table*
On the table
on the table (locative)

(b) *Une conférence sur la drogue*
A conference on the drug
a lecture on drug addiction (concern marker)

¹⁴² For discussion on the grammaticalization of a locative marker into a concern marker, see Heine and Kuteva (2002:307-8).

231. *Swahili*

(a) *Ndege* *yu-ko* *juuya* *nyumba*.
 Bird C1-LOC above house
 The bird is above the house. (locative)

(b) *A- na- katta ku-sema juu ya ajali yake*.
 He-PRES- refuse to-speak on:top:of accident his
 He refuses to talk about his accident. (concern marker)

All of the above examples show that a locative marker as in (a) can also be used as a concern marker as in (b).

The derivation of a concern marker from a locative marker can be explained by features. 于 is interpreted as a spatial locative marker when it is followed by a place, whereas it is interpreted as a concern marker when it is followed by a theme. Therefore, 于 in “告 + addressee + 于 + theme” and “教 + addressee + 于 + theme” in *The Book of Documents* can be interpreted as a concern marker which originated from a locative marker. Therefore, the feature set of a concern marker can be described as [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source, +theme].

3.2.3. Word order of the 于- phrase in *The Book of Documents*

In *The Book of Documents*, the word order is Verb + 于 + Noun in the great majority of cases. There are only two occurrences of 于 + Noun + Verb, which are listed below:

232. 曰皇極之敷言，是彝是訓，于帝其訓。(Book of Documents/“The Grand Norm” 洪範 31.15)

Thus: As to the king, the propagation and teaching of correctness, this he makes his norm, this he complies with, and with the sovereign (God) he will then comply.

The preposing of 于 + Noun in the above example is possibly due to the influence of the word order of the preceding line 是彝是訓, where the anaphoric pronoun 是 is preposed for emphasis.

The other example is as follows:

233. 兄亦不念鞠子哀，大不友于弟。惟弔茲，不于我政人得罪，天惟與我民彝大泯亂。(Book of Documents /“Imperial Edict to Kang(shu)” 康誥 41.16)

The elder brother likewise does not think of his tender younger brother’s pitiableness and is greatly unfriendly towards his younger brother. If we are (pitying) kind to these, and they are not considered as offenders by us, the rulers, the norms given by Heaven to our people will be greatly brought into disorder.

In the above example, 于 + Noun is preposed before the verb phrase because of the negative 不. In Classical Chinese, when the object is a pronoun or there is a prepositional phrase following

verb, it is often preposed before the verb when the verb is negated. Preposing 于 + Noun in the above example can also be interpreted as due to the negation of the verb.

Therefore, one can conclude that the 于 + Noun + Verb word order which appears frequently in the *BB* had almost died out by the time of *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*. As mentioned in 3.1.3, in *The Book of Odes*, 于 + Noun + Verb word order only appears when the 于-prepositional phrase is preposed in order to allow the verb to appear in the rhyming position. In later texts, for instance, in *Zuo's Commentary*, 于 + Noun + Verb word order completely died out, appearing only in quotations from *The Book of Odes* (He 1989; rpt 2004:83).¹⁴³

3.3. Summary: Semantic scope of 于 based on its occurrences in the *BB*, *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*

In Figure 2 in 2.2.3, the preliminary semantic scope of 于 was provided based on its occurrences in the *BB*. In this chapter, it has been shown that there are new usages of 于 in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents* that did not appear in the *BB*. They are non-spatial source markers co-occurring with V[-addressee] or V[-target] and a concern marker. In 3.2.2.4.1 and 3.2.2.4.2, it is discussed that 于 marks a non-spatial source co-occurring not only with V [-give] as illustrated in 2.2.2.4.1, but also with V[-addressee] or V[-target]. As discussed in 3.2.2.5.1, 于 used as a concern marker is derived from a spatial locative marker, a path of grammaticalization that is also well-attested cross-linguistically, which can also be explained by features. 于 is interpreted as a spatial locative marker when it is followed by a [+concrete] object (which is a place), whereas it is interpreted as a concern marker when it is followed by a [-concrete] object (which is a concern).

In Figure 2 in 2.2.3, the preliminary semantic scope of 于 was provided based on its occurrences in the *BB*. In this chapter, it has been shown that there are new usages of 于 in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents* that did not appear in the *BB*. In Figure 3 below, the semantic scope of 于 is revised based on its new usages in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*. The newly added functions of 于 found in these two texts are underlined:

¹⁴³ One of the differences between 于 and 於 in *Zuo's Commentary* is that while “于 + Noun + Verb” order is obsolete, “於 + Noun + Verb” appears frequently. It appears 230 times out of a total of 1770 occurrences of 於. For details on the word order in *Zuo's Commentary*, see 6.1.1.

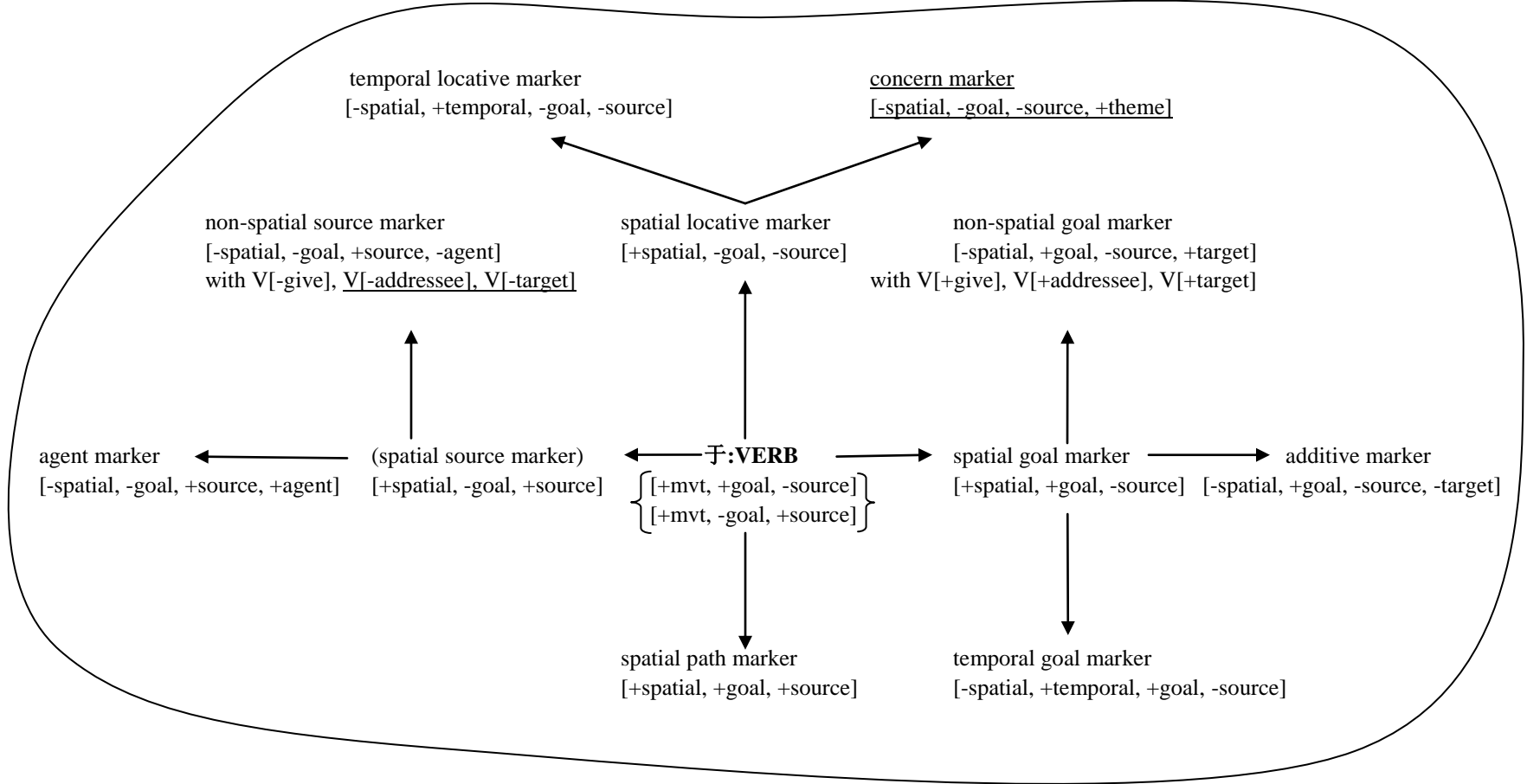


Figure 3. Semantic scope of 于, revised based on its occurrences in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*

4. The emergence of the word 於

This chapter estimates the time at which the word 於 first started to appear based on its occurrences in the *JWYD*. Also, the function of 於 is illustrated based on its occurrences in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*. Although 於 did start to appear as a function word in these two texts, 于 is by far dominant.

4.1. 於 in the *JWYD*: When did the word 於 first appear?

The time when the word 於 first appeared can be estimated by examining the earliest excavated texts, such as OBI and bronze inscriptions. 於 does not appear in the OBI. It first appears in a late Western Zhou bronze inscription. *JWYD* includes one occurrence of 於 in the Western Zhou and 35 occurrences in the Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions used as a function word.¹⁴⁴ The time periods of the bronze inscriptions where 於 appears are illustrated in Table 14 below.

Table 14. Time periods of the bronze inscriptions in the where 於 appears

	Late Western Zhou (ca. 877 BC-770 BC)	Eastern Zhou (770 BC - 221 BC)						total	
		Spring and Autumn (770 BC - 403 BC)				late Spring and Autumn or early Warring states period	Warring States (403 BC -221 BC)		
		early	mid	mid-late	late		early		mid
Number of occurrences	1	0	0	6	3	1	9	36	
							10	2	4

From Table 14, it is observed that the word 於 does not appear frequently until the mid or late Spring and Autumn period. In contrast, as mentioned in chapter 2, 于 frequently appears from the Shang times as a function word with a variety of usages, while its verbal usage still remains vestigially.

¹⁴⁴ There are six occurrences of the graph 於 as a phonetic loan for 與 in the Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions listed in the *JWYD*: 於賜 is used as a phonetic loan for 與夷 (personal name) once in a late Spring and Autumn bronze inscription and four times in early Warring States period inscriptions. 才於 is used as a phonetic loan for 在與 (personal name) once in a late Warring States bronze inscription in the *JWYD*. There are also nine occurrences of 於虜 used as an exclamatory particle in the Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions in *JWYD*. Two appear in late Spring and Autumn inscriptions, two in early Warring States inscriptions, and five in late Warring States inscriptions.

In the bronze inscriptions, 於 is used as a spatial locative marker, a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+target], and an agent marker. Examples include:¹⁴⁵

4.1.1. 於 used as a spatial locative marker

In the following example, 於 is used as a spatial locative marker, whose feature set is [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, -source].

234. 大司馬邵陽暘敷敗晉師於襄陵之戡歲。(噩君啓舟節, Warring States period, *JC* 18.12113)

The year Grand Minister of War Shao Yang defeated the army of Jin at Xiangling.

235. 王居於郢茂之遊宮。(噩君啓舟節, Warring States period, *JC* 18.12113)

The king resided in the vacation palace at Yingmao.

236. 將與虛吾君竝立於堯世。(中山王響方壺, early Warring States period, *JC* 15.9735)

(He was) about to stand side by side in the world with my lord.

4.1.2. 於 used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target]

In the following examples, 於 is used as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+target]. The feature set of 於 in this function can be described as [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source].

237. 可乍作於元用僉劍。(越王劍, late Spring and Autumn or early Warring States period, *JC* 18.11704)

(One) can work on the sword of the primary use.

238. 則尚上逆於天, 下不恣順於人施也。(中山王響方壺, early Warring States period, *JC* 15.9735)

(It is equivalent to) going against the Heaven in the high and not being obedient to people in the low.

¹⁴⁵ Inscription numbers follow those in *Collections of Yin and Zhou Bronze Inscriptions (Yin Zhou Jinwen Jicheng)* 殷周金文集成, hereafter *JC*.

4.1.3. 於 used as an agent marker

There is one occurrence of 於 used as an agent marker whose feature set can be described as [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source, +agent]. 於 used as an agent marker was derived from its spatial locative function, which is a common extension of grammatical function cross-linguistically.¹⁴⁶

239. 猶親迷惑於子之而逃亡其國。(中山王罍鼎, late Warring States period, *JC* 5.2840)
Moreover, (he) was infatuated by Zizhi and broke the country.

4.2. The word 於 in *The Book of Odes*

The graph 於 appears 46 times in *The Book of Odes*. Yet, in only 13 occurrences, is it used as a function word.¹⁴⁷ The usages of the word 於 in *The Book of Odes* are summarized in Table 15 below.

Table 15. The usages of the word 於 in *The Book of Odes*

The use of 於		Function word		total
		spatial locative	non-spatial goal with V [+target]	
Number of occurrences	<i>Feng</i>	9	0	9
	<i>Ya</i>	2	1	3
	<i>Song</i>	0	1	1
	Total	11	2	13

It is noteworthy that nine out of a total of 13 occurrences of 於 appear in the *Feng* section, which was presumably compiled later than the other two sections.

In the following subsections, examples of each usage of 於 as a function word are provided.

4.2.1. 於 used as a spatial locative marker

Marking a spatial location is by far the most common usage of 於 as a function word. There are 11 occurrences of 於 marking a spatial location out of a total of 13 occurrences of 於 as a function word. There are four occurrences with 俟 ‘to wait for,’ two occurrences with 處 ‘to be located,’ one occurrence each with 息 ‘to rest,’ 說 ‘to lodge,’ and 宿 ‘to stay overnight,’ and two others, all of which are described as [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source]. Examples are as follows:

¹⁴⁶ For detailed discussion on the derivation of an agent marker from its spatial locative function, see 5.1.2.5.1.

¹⁴⁷ In 33 of these occurrences, the graph 於 is used as an exclamatory particle in the form 於 or 於乎. It appears twice in the *Feng*, 15 times in the *Ya*, and 16 times in the *Song*.

240. 靜女其姝, 俟我於城隅. 愛而不見, 搔首踟躕. (*Ode* 42.1)
The good girl is so beautiful, she waits for me at the corner of the wall; I love her but do not see her; I scratch my head and walk hesitatingly.
241. 蜉蝣之羽 [hiua], 衣裳楚楚 [tshia]. 心之憂矣, 於我歸處 [thjia].¹⁴⁸ (*Ode* 150.1)
The wings of the magfly - how rich are the clothes! Oh, the (grief=) anxiety of the heart! Come home and dwell *where I am!*

There are two occurrences of 於焉 in *The Book of Odes*. The interpretation of these examples has been controversial:

242. 皎皎白駒, 食我場苗 [miô]. 繫之維之, 以永今朝 [tiô]. 所謂伊人, 於焉逍遙 [jiô]. 皎皎白駒, 食我場藿 [xuak]. 繫之維之, 以永今夕 [zyak]. 所謂伊人, 於焉嘉客 [kheak]. (*Ode* 186.1-2) (宵 rhyme group, 鐸 rhyme group)
Bright is the white colt, he eats the shoots of my vegetable garden; tether him, bind him, so as to prolong this morning; he whom I call “that man” (rambles=) takes his ease here. Bright is the white colt, he eats the bean shoots of my vegetable garden; tether him, bind him, so as to prolong this evening; he whom I call “that man”, he is a fine guest here.

Chen Huan 陳奐 (1786-1863), in his *Shi Maoshi zhuan* 詩毛氏傳疏 (*Commentaries on the Mao's version of Odes*, hereafter *SMSZS*), interpreted 焉 as 是 semantically, following the entry in the *Yupian* 玉篇 (*Jade chapters*, hereafter *YP*). Qu (1983:336) interpreted 於 as an exclamatory particle.

Kennedy's (1964:76-7) explanation of 於焉 is probably the most plausible one. He states, “... It is clear that in the *Shi* [=The *Book of Odes*], both •iwo [=於] and •iän [=焉] are, so to speak, in their infancy ... If the characters are only an imperfect reflection of sounds, they give us here a picture of the intermediate, assimilating stage in the progress of •iwo an [=於 + *an (pronoun)] to •iän [=焉].”

In sum, 於 in 242 can be interpreted as a spatial locative marker and *an can be interpreted as a spatial pronoun. 於焉 is preposed in front of the verb in order to allow 遙 and 客 to appear in the rhyming position.

4.2.2. 於 used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target]

There are two cases in which 於 marks a non-spatial goal with V[+target].

¹⁴⁸ It is presumably the case that the underlying word order is 歸處於我 and 於我 is preposed to allow 處 to appear in the rhyming position.

243. 上帝板板, 下民卒瘁. 出話不然, 為猶不遠. 靡聖管管, 不實於亶. 猶之未遠, 是用大諫. (*Ode 254.1*)
 God on High is very grand; but the lower people are utterly exhausted; you make speeches that are not true, you make plans that are not (far-reaching:) far-seeing; you have no wise men and are (exhausted=) helpless, you are not true in your sincerity; because your plans are not far-seeing, therefore I make this great remonstrance.
244. 於穆清廟, 肅雝顯相. 濟濟多士, 秉文之德. 對越在天, 駿奔走在廟. 不顯不承, 無射於人斯. (*Ode 266.1*)
 Oh, august is the pure temple, solemn and (concordant=) acting in unison are the illustrious assistants; stately are the many officers, they possess a fine virtue; they respond to and (proclaim=) extol those in Heaven, quickly they hurry about in the temple; the greatly illustrious, greatly honored ones, never weary of (the homage of) men.

In examples 243 and 244, 實 ‘to be true’ and 射 ‘to be weary of’ are verbs that are neither V[+give] nor V[+addressee]. However, they are followed by a non-spatial goal marker 于 indicating “action directed toward.”

4.3. The word 於 in *The Book of Documents*

There are only a handful of examples of the word 於 in *The Book of Documents*. The graph appears nine times in the entire *The Book of Documents*. However, only in six occurrences, is it used as a function word.¹⁴⁹ The occurrences of 於 in *The Book of Documents* are summarized in Table 16 below.

¹⁴⁹ In two occurrences, the graph 於 is used as an exclamatory particle. It appears once in “The Canon of Yao” 堯典 and once in “The Canon of Shun” 舜典.

There is one case where the interpretation of the graph 於 is problematic.

克明俊德, 以親九族, 九族既睦, 平章百姓, 百姓昭明, 協和萬邦, 黎民於變時雍. (*Book of Documents*/“Canon of Yao” 堯典 2.2)

He was able to make bright his lofty (great) virtue, and so he made affectionate the nine branches of the family. When the nine branches of the family had become harmonious, he distinguished and (gave marks of distinction to=) honored the hundred clans (the gentry). When the hundred clans had become (bright=) illustrious, he harmonized the myriad states. The myriad people were amply nourished and prosperous and then became concordant.

Karlgren (1950:48-9) interpreted the graph 於 as a graphic loan for 饌 (=飫) ‘to give a plenty of food,’ ‘to satiate’ and 變 as a loanword for 蕃 ‘much, plenty.’ Karlgren’s translation of 時雍 “...and then became concordant.” Qu (1969:3) interpreted the graph 於 as an exclamatory particle equivalent to 嗚. Wang Shishun (1982:5) translated 於變 as 隨堯的教化而變 “reformed by Yao’s teaching.” Wang interpreted 時 as the same as 是 and 雍 as 和 ‘harmonious.’

Karlgren’s interpretation of the graphs 於 and 變 as graphic loans for 饌 (=飫) and 蕃 respectively is plausible, but it is still doubtful how well-attested such a case is. Qu’s interpretation of the graph 於 as an exclamatory particle is dubious because the graph 於 as an exclamatory particle seldom

Table 16. The usages of 於 in *The Book of Documents*

The use of 於			Function word			total
			spatial	non-spatial		
			locative marker	non-spatial goal marker with Verb [+target]	non-spatial source marker with Verb [-target]	
Number of occurrences	虞夏書	堯典	0	0	0	0
		舜典	0	0	0	
	商書		0	0	0	0
	周書	金縢	2	1	0	6
		酒誥	0	0	2	
		顧命	1	0	0	
	Total		3	1	2	6

It is noteworthy that three out of a total of six occurrences of 於 appear in “Metal-bound Coffer” 金縢. Qu Wanli (1969:84) argued that this chapter was compiled during the Spring and Autumn period or the Warring States period based on the fact that it is easy to read. In general, both in *The Book of Odes* and in *The Book of Documents*, 於 tends to appear in chapters that were compiled later.

In the following subsections, examples of 於 as a function word are provided.

4.3.1. 於 used as a spatial locative marker

There are three cases where 於 is used as a spatial locative marker, all of which are listed below.

245. 公乃自以為功，為三壇同墀，為壇於南方。(Book of Documents/“Metal-bound Coffer” 金縢 31.4)

The *duke* then proffered himself. He made three altars on the same arena. He made an altar on the southern side.

246. 武王既喪，管叔及其群弟，乃流言於國曰：公將不利於孺子。(Book of Documents/“Metal-bound Coffer” 金縢 34.12)

When King Wu had died, Guan Shu and all his younger brothers spread talk in the state, saying the *duke* will do no good to the infant.

appears in the middle of a sentence. The interpretation of the graph 於 in this line still remains problematic.

247. 齊侯呂伋以二千戈，虎賁百人逆子釗於南門之外。(Book of Document/ “Looking-back decree” 顧命 69.11)
The *marquis* of Qi, Lü Ji, with two (men with) shields and dagger-axes (i.e. two squires) and tiger braves one hundred men, went to meet the son Zhao outside the south gate.

4.3.2. 於 used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target]

There is one cases in which 於 marks non-spatial goal with V[+target].

248. 武王既喪，管叔及其群弟，乃流言於國曰：公將不利於孺子。(Book of Documents/ “Metal-bound Coffin” 金縢 34.12)
When King Wu had died, Guan Shu and all his younger brothers spread talk in the state, saying: The *duke* will do no good to the infant.

利 ‘to be beneficial’ is a verb, which is neither V[+give] nor V[+addressee]. However, 於 in 利於孺子 is still used as a non-spatial goal marker indicating “action directed toward.”

4.3.3. 於 used as a non-spatial source marker with V[-target]

There are two occurrences of 於 used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with a verb, which is neither V[-give] nor V[-addressee].

249. 古人有言曰：人無於水監，當於民監。(Book of Documents/ “Imperial edict on wine” 酒誥 44.12)
The ancients had a saying: men should not (examine=) mirror themselves in water; they should mirror themselves in the people.

In the above example, 於 marks the source of examination. Consequently, it can be interpreted as a non-spatial source marker.

4.4. Summary: The emergence of 於 and the semantic scope of 于 and 於 based on their occurrences in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*

In *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*, 於 is used as a spatial locative marker or as a function word marking a non-spatial goal or non-spatial source. There is no example where 於 is used as a spatial goal marker, a spatial path marker followed by a place, a temporal goal or locative marker, a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give] or V[+addressee], a non-spatial source marker with V[-give] or V[-addressee], a concern marker, an agent marker, or an additive marker, all of which are attested as functions of 于. In the bronze inscriptions in the *JWYD*, 於 is used as a spatial locative marker and a non-spatial goal marker, as well as an agent marker, which was derived from its spatial locative function.

Pulleyblank (1986:4-5) was already aware of the fact that 於 as a function word first co-occurs with a stationary verb, being used as a locative marker. He found 15 occurrences of 於 as

a preposition in *The Book of Odes*.¹⁵⁰ He noted, “In twelve of these, the reference is local and it [=於] can be translated as ‘in’ or ‘at.’” Regarding the examples from *Ode 254.1* and *Ode 266.1* in 4.2.2, he stated, “the preposition expresses more abstract relationships, in neither of which ‘to’ would be an appropriate rendering.” He drew a tentative conclusion on the function of 於 in contrast with 于 as follows: “In marked contrast to 于, it [=於] always occurs with verbs that imply rest rather than motion.” Pulleyblank’s argument is supported by the occurrences of 於 in the bronze inscriptions and *The Book of Documents*.

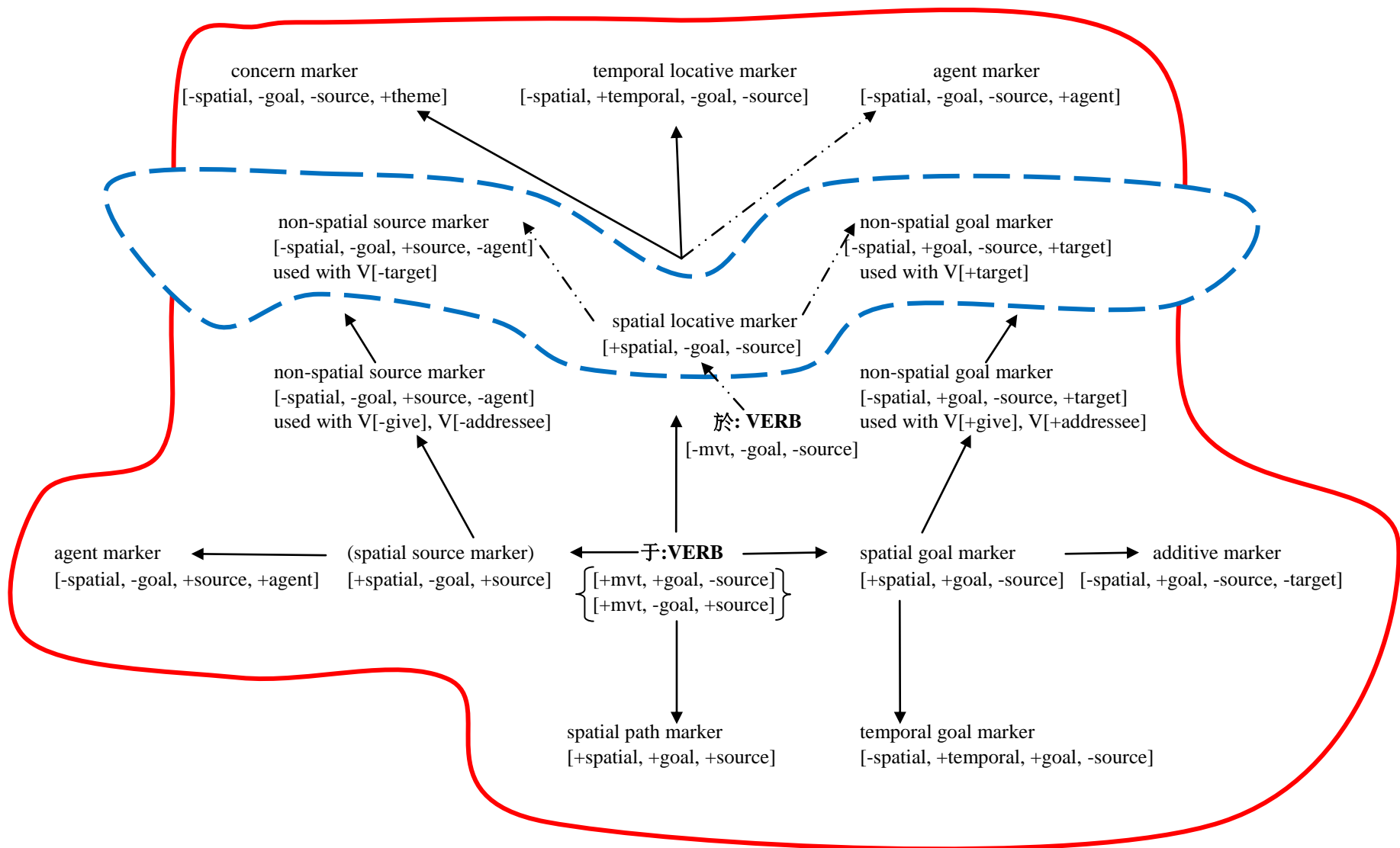
If this account of the distinction between 于 and 於 is correct—if it is the case that 於 occurs with stationary verbs, while 于 occurs with active ones—then the question arises: what is the historical source for this functional difference between 于 and 於? The difference can be explained from the origins and grammaticalization processes of 于 and 於. As illustrated in chapter 2 and chapter 3, 于 was originally a motion verb meaning ‘to be directed toward/away from,’ which can be described as [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] or [+lexical, +mvt, -goal, +source]. It was first grammaticalized into a spatial goal marker, a spatial source marker, a spatial locative marker and a spatial locative marker. 于 subsequently developed into a temporal goal and locative marker, a non-spatial goal, source, path, and locative marker. An agent marker was extended from a non-spatial source marker. An additive marker was extended from a non-spatial goal marker. A concern marker was extended from non-spatial locative marker.


On the other hand, 於, whose possible origin is a locative verb, which can be described as [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source],¹⁵¹ first grammaticalized into a spatial locative marker, which is [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, -source]. Therefore, when 於 first started to encroach upon 于, the encroachment started with the spatial locative function because it was directly derived from the original feature set of 於. Next, 於 also encroached upon 于 used as a non-spatial goal marker with Verb [+target] and a non-spatial source marker with Verb [-target]. These two functions of 于 are more distant from the core function of 于 compared to 于 marking a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give] or V[+addressee] and 于 marking a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-give] or V[-addressee]. This is because V[±give] and V[±addressee] have a strong sense of directionality in that they indicate a transfer of a theme, whereas V[+target] or V[-target] do not indicate a transfer of a theme, which implies that they have a weaker sense of directionality. Consequently, 于 marking a non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+target] or a non-spatial source co-occurring with V[-target] are more distant from the original core feature set of 于 and more prone to be encroached upon by 於.

The semantic scope of 于 and 於 based on their occurrences in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents* is as follows:

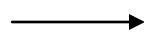
¹⁵⁰ Pulleyblank (1986:4-5) has two more occurrences of 於 than are noted in 4.2. One is 受祿于天, in which he interpreted 于 as a textual corruption of 於. (For discussion on the interpretation of 受祿于天, see 3.1.3.2.2.) The location of the other is not certain. It is possible that his count is based on another version of *The Book of Odes*; conceivably, the number of occurrences of 于 and 於 can vary slightly depending on the version of the text.

¹⁵¹ The verbal origin of 於 is not obvious, and is still controversial. Examples where 於 is interpreted as a verb ‘to be placed at’ in Classical Chinese texts are provided in 5.1.1.



 : The scope of 于

 : The scope of 於

 : The grammaticalization path of 于

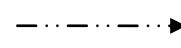
 : The grammaticalization path of 於¹⁵²

Figure 4. Semantic scope of 于 and 於 in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*

¹⁵² The grammaticalization path of 於 is discussed more in detail in 5.1 and 5.3. It is argued that 於 was originally a locative verb and first grammaticalized into a spatial locative marker. From a spatial locative marker, other functions that have a weak sense of direction, such as a non-spatial goal marker and non-spatial source marker, were derived.

However, the handful of occurrences of 於 examined so far are not enough to draw semantic scope of 於 and see the process of encroachment of 于 by 於. Their differences are observed more clearly in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, where 於 appears more frequently. In this text, there are 15 examples where 於 is used as a verb meaning ‘to be placed at,’ which is parallel to 在. The usages of 於 and 于 as function words overlap in many cases. There are nonetheless several noticeable differences. For instance, only 于 is used as an additive marker; 于 is still preferred over 於 as a spatial goal or a source marker; only 於 is used as a comparative marker; and only a 於-prepositional phrase can appear before the verb. It will be shown in the following chapter that 於 was originally a locative verb meaning ‘to be placed at’ or ‘to be located at,’ and its grammaticalization process is typical of that of locative verb in a number of the world’s languages. It was first grammaticalized into a locative marker, and subsequently extended to an agent marker, comparative and so on.

5. The core function and early development of 於 and the process of early encroachment of 于 by 於 based on their occurrences in *The Ceremonies and Rites*

In *The Ceremonies and Rites*, 於 starts to occur more frequently than in *The Book of Documents* and *The Book of Odes*, although 于 is still dominant. 于 appears 1,465 times and 於 appears 146 times. The ratio of 于 to 於 is 9:1.

In this chapter, the core function and early development of 於 is investigated based on its occurrences in *The Ceremonies and Rites*. Also, the process of early encroachment of 于 by 於 is illustrated.

5.1 presents a piece of evidence that 於 was originally a locative verb meaning ‘to be located at’ or ‘to be placed at,’ parallel to 在. It first grammaticalized into a locative marker, and subsequently developed into a non-spatial goal or source marker. The grammaticalization process of 於 agrees with that of a locative verb. On the other hand, 於 is seldom used as a spatial goal marker or a source marker. 于 is used instead for such functions, which indicate overt movement. In *The Ceremonies and Rites*, it is newly observed that 於 marks a non-spatial goal co-occurring with a V[+addressee]. This is because the 於 of this usage is closely related to the original feature set of 於, and distant from that of 于. Finally, it is shown that only 於 + Noun appears in front of the verb or the sentence expressing a contrast or an emphasis.

In 5.2, the process of encroachment of 于 by 於 is discussed. As illustrated in Chapter 4, 於 first encroached upon 于 used as a spatial locative marker, a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target], or as a non-spatial source marker with V[-target]. This is because 於 in these two usages is closely related to the original feature set of 於, which is [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source], and most distant from the original feature set of 于, which is [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] or [+lexical, +mvt, -goal, +source]. Next, 於 encroached upon 于 which is used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+addressee]. On the other hand, 于 used as a spatial goal or spatial source marker, as well as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give], resisted encroachment best. This can be explained from the perspective of the original feature set of 于: a spatial goal marker, which is [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, -source], or a spatial source marker, which is [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, +source], is most closely related to its original verbal feature set. The use of 于 as a recipient marker with V[+give] also resisted encroachment because it is directly derived from 于’s function of marking a goal.

In studying *The Ceremonies and Rites*, it is of great importance that there exists an excavated version of it included in the cache of wooden and bamboo strips found at Wuwei 武威 in Gansu 甘肅 province in 1959, which presumably preserves intact the earlier shape of the text as it existed in the late Western Han period. The excavated text consists of seven full sections of *The Ceremonies and Rites* and two other versions of “Mourning garments” 喪服.¹⁵³ Discussion

¹⁵³ In the discussion of the usages of 於 and 于 in 5.1 and 5.2, when there is a corresponding line in the *Wuwei hanjian* 武威漢簡 (1964, *The Han Bamboo Strips from Wuwei*, hereafter *WWHJ*), the line from the received text is provided first and the line from the *WWHJ* is provided below for comparison. The page number and strip number of the *WWHJ* follow those in *Wuwei hanjian* (1964). The punctuation of *WWHJ* is provided based on the corresponding line in Li Guerin’s (2001) version of the received text. If there is no corresponding line in the *WWHJ*, only the line from the received text is provided.

of the discrepancies between the received version of *The Ceremonies and Rites* and the excavated version is postponed to section 5.4.

5.1. The core function and early development of 於

Among the 17 sections in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, “Mourning garments” 喪服 should be excluded from the statistics on the occurrence of 于 and 於. Unlike the other chapters where 于 and 於 co-exist and the former appears several times more frequently than the latter, only 於 appears in this section, occurring 18 times. An explanation can be found in the textual history of this section. Boltz (1993b:235) points out, “Of the seventeen *I li* sections only this one [= “Mourning garments”] has been extracted and treated as a separate text, both in having a wealth of commentaries written expressly for it alone, and in having an early transmission of its own, independent of the *I li* as a whole.” Therefore, this section is excluded from the analysis of the early stage of 於. It is presumably the case that the language of “Mourning garments” reflects that of a later period, in which 於 completely replaced 于.

In the remaining 16 sections, although 于 is still dominant, there are a sizable number of occurrences of 於, as compared to *The Book of Documents* and *The Book of Odes*. Interestingly enough, among a total of 128 occurrences, there are 15 cases where 於 is interpreted as a locative verb ‘to be placed at.’ 於 is used as a function word in the rest of the cases. Among 113 occurrences of 於 used as a function word, 於 + Noun follows the verb in 102 cases, whereas it precedes the verb in 11 cases.

The usage of 於 as a function word parallels to the development of a function word from a locative verb in other languages of the world.¹⁵⁴ It is often observed that a locative verb ‘to be at’ develops into a locative marker (Malchukov & Spencer 2009:463). Also, it is very common that a locative marker develops into an agent marker, a marker of comparison, a temporal marker, and so on through case extension (Heine & Kuteva 2002:199-206, Heine 2009:467, Creissels 2009:623-4).

Table 17 below summarizes all usages of 於 in *The Ceremonies and Rites*.

¹⁵⁴ For details, see 5.1.1.3.

Table 17. The usages of 於 in *The Ceremonies and Rites*

The use of 於	locative verb 'to be located at,' 'to be placed at'(with the feature set [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source])	function word										total		
		spatial		non-spatial										
				temporal	non-temporal									
		goal	locative	locative	goal			source	location					
								comparative	agent marker	concern marker				
Type of co-occurring verb		[+mvt, +goal, -source]	[-mvt, -goal, -source]	[-spatial, +temporal, -goal, -source]	[-spatial, +goal, -source, +give]	[-spatial, +goal, -source, +address]	[-spatial, +goal, -source, +target]	[-spatial, -goal, +source, -give]						
Number of occurrences	15	4	54	2	2	8	24	4	6	7	1	127(128) ¹⁵⁵		

¹⁵⁵ There is one occurrence of 於 used as a phonetic loan for 與.

In the following subsections, examples of each of the usages of 於 categorized in Table 17 are provided.

5.1.1. 於 used as a locative verb ‘to be located at,’ ‘to be placed at’

There are 15 occurrences of 於 which are interpreted as a locative verb in *The Ceremonies and Rites*. All of the 15 occurrences are listed in 5.1.1.1. It has been controversial whether 於 in Classical Chinese derived from a verb or merely used as a function word. However, it is illustrated in 5.1.1.2 that many early dictionaries listed 於’s verbal usage. In 5.1.1.3, it is illustrated that it is very common cross-linguistically that a locative verb is grammaticalized into a locative marker.

5.1.1.1. Examples of 於 used as a locative verb in *The Ceremonies and Rites*

All of the 15 occurrences of 於 which are interpreted as a locative verb are listed below:

250. 以爵拜者不徒作, 坐卒爵者拜既爵, 立卒爵者不拜既爵. 凡奠者於左, 將舉於右. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of district drinking” 鄉飲酒禮 10.194)

Those who drink after pouring a libation do not rise without reason. Those who sit to drink off the cup bow before finishing it. Those who stand to drink finish off the cup without bowing. *In general, the one (=cup) that is put down is on the left; the one that will be lifted is on the right.*¹⁵⁶

The interpretation of 凡奠者於左, 將舉於右 has been controversial. Regarding 凡奠者於左, Zheng Xuan’s commentary reads: 不飲者, 不欲其妨 “The one who does not drink, does not want the hindrance.” Jia Gongyan’s 賈公彥 (fl. 627-656) subcommentary reads: 奠於左者, 謂主人酬賓之觶, 主人奠於薦右, 客不盡主人之歡, 奠之於左, 是不欲其妨後奠爵也 “Putting on the left means that the host put the wine vessel offered to the guest on the right side of the mat. When the guest cannot finish the host’s hospitality [=the wine provided by the host], he put it on the left in order not to hinder later placing the vessel.” Jia arbitrarily switched 奠者於左 to 奠於左 or 奠之於左. Regarding 將舉於右, Zheng Xuan’s commentary reads: 便也 “It is for convenience.” Jia’s subcommentary reads: 其將舉者於右, 以右手舉之便也 “The one [=vessel] which will be raised later is placed on the right in order to facilitate the lifting with the right hand.” Jia supplemented 者 after 將舉, which is supported by the following parallel line in “District archery rites” 鄉射禮:

¹⁵⁶ Steele translated the line as “the goblet is laid down with the left hand, but raised with the right.”

251. 凡奠者於左，將舉者於右。(The Ceremonies and Rites/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮 13.269)

凡奠者於左，將舉於右 can be interpreted without switching 奠者於左 to 奠之於左. It has the same structure as the preceding line 爵拜者不徒作，坐卒爵者拜既爵，立卒爵者不拜既爵, which can be formulated as [[[VP1]者]_{NP} VP2]_S. 奠者 can be interpreted as “the one [=the vessel] that is put down” and 將舉(者) can be interpreted as “the one [=the vessel] that will be raised.” 於左 and 於右 are verb phrases which mean “is on the left” and “is on the right” respectively. 奠者於左，將舉(者)於右 can be interpreted as “the one that is put down is on the left; the one that will be lifted is on the right.”

More examples of 於 used as a locative verb are as follows.

252. 上射降三等，下射少右，從之，中等，並行，上射於左。(The Ceremonies and Rites/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮 12.231, also “The great archery ceremony” 大射 17.377)

上射降三等，下射少右，從之，中等，並行，上射於左。(WWHJ 124.50.1)

The first shot descends three steps, and the second, a little to his right, comes down to the middle step. *They walk side by side*,¹⁵⁷ the first shot being on the left.

Jia’s subcommentary reads: 此上射下射升與降，皆上射為先，又上射升降皆在左 “When the first shot and the second shot ascend and descend, the first shot always has the priority. Also, when he ascends and descends, the first shot is always on the left.” Jia’s subcommentary interpreted 於左 as 在左, which suggests that Jia interpreted 於 as a verb which is similar to 在 ‘to be at.’

253. 既拾取乘矢，揖，皆左還，南面揖，皆少進，當楅南，皆左還，北面，搯三挾一個。揖，皆左還，上射於右。(The Ceremonies and Rites 儀禮/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮 12.237)

When they have taken all their arrows they salute, and both turn to the left, and, facing south, salute, then go forward a little together until they are abreast of the arrow-stand on the south of it, and, turning together to the left, face the north. Putting three arrows into their belts, they fit one on the string, salute, and turn to the left again together, with the first shot on the right.

Zheng Xuan commentated: 上射轉居右，便其反位也 “the first shot returns and occupies the right, which means returning to his original position.” Zheng Xuan interpreted 於 in 上射於右 as 居 ‘to dwell in,’ which supports the idea that 於 can be interpreted as a locative verb.

¹⁵⁷ Steele translated 並行 as “then they both continue their descent.”

254. 司射在司馬之北, 司馬無事, 不執弓. 始射獲而未釋獲, 復釋獲, 復用樂行之. 上射於右. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮 13.275)

The director stands to the north of the master-at-arms, and if the latter have no business in hand he does not carry his bow. The advance in the elaboration of the three shootings is indicated by this, that in the first shooting no hit is tallied, in the second the hits are tallied, and the third takes place in time with the music. In shooting, the first shot takes his place on the right.

Steele’s translation implies that 於 is interpreted as a verb. However, Jia’s subcommentary interpreted 於 as a function word. It reads: 於右物射 “shooting the thing on the right.” It is rather arbitrary to supplement the verb 射 and interpret 右 as 右物. Jia’s interpretation is problematic and 於 can best be interpreted as a verb.

255. 適福南, 皆左還, 北面揖, 搯三挾一个. 揖, 以耦左還, 上射於左. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The great archery ceremony” 大射 17.381)

適福南, 皆左還, 北面簪三挾一个. 揖, 以偶左還, 上射於左. (*WWHJ* 125.60)

When they reach the south of the arrow-stand, they both turn by the left, and, facing north, salute, putting three arrows in the belt, and laying one on the bow. Then they bow and turn together to the left, the first shot being on the left side.

The argument that 於 is used as a locative verb is supported by parallel examples of 在. 在 in pre-Qin texts is only used as a locative verb and had not yet been grammaticalized into a preposition. 在 appears 224 times in the entire *The Ceremonies and Rites* and there are two occurrences of 上射在左, in which 在 appears in exactly the same environment as 於 in 上射於左/右 or 下射於左/右.

256. 司射還, 當上耦, 西面作上耦射, 司射反位. 上耦揖進, 上射在左, 並行. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮 12.229)

Then the director of archery turns, and, standing opposite the first of the three pairs,¹⁵⁸ with his face to the west, sends them to shoot. After that he returns to his place, and the first pair salute and go forward, and with the first shooter on the left, and both walking together.

¹⁵⁸ Steele translated 耦 as ‘couple.’

257. 司射適次, 作上耦射. 司射反位. 上耦出次, 西面揖進, 上射在左, 並行. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*, “The great archery ceremony” 大射 17.375)
 司射適次, 作上耦射. 司射反[位. 上耦出次, 西面揖進, 上射在左, 並行.]¹⁵⁹
*Then the director of archery goes to the tent and commands the first pair to shoot. The director of archery returns to his position. The first pair goes out of the tent, facing to the west, bow and move forward. The first shot is placed on the left walking side by side.*¹⁶⁰

In 上射在左 in the above two examples, 在 is undoubtedly used as a verb. 上射於左/右 appear in the same section, which suggests that 於 and 在 are used interchangeably and 於 is used as a locative verb.

There are two occurrences of 皆於 + Place, in which 於 is interpreted as a locative verb preceded by an adverb 皆:

258. 主人洗, 升自西階, 獻庶子于阼階上, 如獻士之禮. 辨(獻),¹⁶¹ 降洗, 遂獻左右正與內小臣, 皆於阼階上, 如獻庶子之禮. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* / “The Banquet ceremony” 燕禮 15.327, also in “The great archery ceremony” 大射 18.408)
 主人洗, 升自西階, 獻庶子于作階上, 如獻士之禮. 辨, 降洗, 遂獻左右正與內小臣, 皆於作階上, 如獻庶子之禮. (*WWHJ* 119.41)

The Master of Ceremonies washes the goblet, and, ascending the western steps, offers wine to the cadets at the top of the steps, with the ceremonial used in the case of the ordinary officers. When they have all partaken, he descends, washes the goblet, and offers wine to the senior official of the left and right divisions and the retainers *all* at the top of the eastern steps with the ceremonial used toward the cadets.

¹⁵⁹ The square brackets mean that this portion is missing in the *WWHJ* and reconstructed based on the Ruan Yuan version of the received text; therefore, one cannot tell what the original line looked like.

¹⁶⁰ Steele did not provide a translation for 265 for the reason that this line is very similar to 264.

¹⁶¹ 獻 does not appear in 燕禮 15.327.

The idea that 於 in 皆於 + Place can be interpreted as a verb is supported by the occurrence of 皆在 + Place in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, which is listed below.

259. 司射降自西階, 階前西面命弟子納射器. 乃納射器, 皆在堂西. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/"District archery rites" 鄉射禮 11.222)

Then the director of archery descends by the western steps, and, standing in front of them and facing westward, commands the junior pupils to bring the implements of archery. Whereupon they bring them in. These are all together at the west of the western hall.

From the fact that 於 and 皆 appear in exactly the same syntactic environment, one can tell that 於 in 皆於 + Place should be interpreted as a locative verb.

There are cases where 於 can be interpreted as either a verb or a function word:

260. 乃射. 若中, 則釋獲者坐而釋獲, 每一个釋一筭. 上射於右, 下射於左. 若有餘筭, 則反委之. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/"District archery rites" 鄉射禮 12.240)

The shooting then begins. If a hit be made, the scorer sits down and tallies it, laying down a tally for each hit, to the right for the first, and to the left for the second. [Or, *the first shot is placed on the right and the second shot is placed on the left.*] If there are any tallies left over, they are returned and laid out in the place whence they were taken.

261. 乃射. 若中, 則釋獲者每一个釋一筭, 上射於右, 下射於左. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/"The great archery ceremony" 大射 17.384)

乃射. 若中, 則澤獲敏一个澤一筭, 上射於右, 下射於左. (*WWHJ* 125.64-5)

The shooting then begins. If a hit be made, the scorer lays down a tally for each hit, to the right for the first, and to the left for the second. [Or, *the first shot is placed on the right and the second shot is placed on the left.*]

The interpretation of 於 in this line is controversial. Jia's subcommentary reads: 賓黨於右, 主黨於左, 是以上射於右, 賓黨也; 下射於左, 主黨也 “the guest party is on the right and the host party is on the left. Therefore, being on the right means he is the guest party. Being on the left means that he is the host party.” Jia's subcommentary implies that 於 is interpreted as a locative verb. However, Yang Tianyu (2004:113) regarded the verb 釋 as implied in front of 於 and interpreted 上射於右, 下射於左 as 上射的筭放在中的右邊, 下射的筭放在中的左邊 “the tally of the first shot is on the right and the tally of the second shot is on the left.” Steele's translation suggests that his interpretation of 於 is the same as Yang's. Yet, Jia's interpretation is still noteworthy not only in that 於 in the above examples can be interpreted as a verb, but also in that 於 is used as a verb in his subcommentary (賓黨於右, 主黨於左). Judging from other occurrences of 上射於左/右 and 下射於左/右, it is more legitimate to interpret 於 as a verb.

So far, it is observed that there are 15 cases in which 於 is used as a locative verb in *The Ceremonies and Rites*. Then, why does the use of 於 as a locative verb not appear in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*, or in the bronze inscriptions, where 於 first started to appear? It is presumably because the number of occurrences of 於 in these texts is still small and 於 as a locative verb does not appear among these scanty occurrences, rather than because 於 was originally a function word which degrammaticalized into a locative verb.

5.1.1.2. Examples of 於 glossed as a locative verb in early Chinese dictionaries

In 5.1.1.1, it is shown that, in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, which shows an early grammaticalization stage of 於, there are 15 examples of 於 used as a locative verb. Although the occurrences of 於 as a locative verb still appear to be scanty in Classical Chinese, in fact, there are a sizable number of examples in which 於 is interpreted as a locative verb in early Chinese dictionaries.

For instance, *Guangya* 廣雅, in “Explaining Words in a Text II” 釋詁二 2.51上, interpreted 於 as equivalent to 居 ‘to dwell in,’ or 在 ‘to be at.’

Jingzhuan shici 經傳釋詞 (1966:33) also interpreted 於 as a verb similar to 在, providing the following examples from the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *The Zhou Changes*, respectively:¹⁶²

262. 簡子曰: “不如而言也。衛有士十人於吾所。吾乃且伐之, 十人者其言不義也, 而我伐之, 是我為不義也。” (*Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 “Scrutinizing a sage” 察賢篇, ZZJC vol. 7, 21:278)

Jianzi said: “Things are not like what you say. The state of Wei has ten officers residing in my place. If I, nonetheless, attack it, ten people will probably say that I am not righteous. If I still attack it, it represents that I am committing unrighteousness.”

Gao You 高誘 (fl. 205-212) commentated that 於 in the above example is similar to 在 ‘to be at’ (於, 猶在也), which implies that 於 is used as a locative verb.

¹⁶²The English translation of *Lüshi chunqiu* follows Knoblock & Riegel (2000). The English translation of *The Zhou Changes* is my own.

263. 易之興也,其於中古乎? (*The Zhou Changes* 周易, “Xici zhuan” 繫辭傳 8.368)
As for the rise of change, isn’t it in middle antiquity?

In the above example, 其 may be interpreted as a modal particle and 於 may be interpreted as a locative verb.¹⁶³ The occurrence of 於 as a locative verb opens up the possibility that 於 was originally a locative verb and its other functions, such as a spatial or temporal locative marker and a non-spatial goal marker were derived from its verbal function.

Hanyu da zidian 漢語大字典 (1992 vol.2:2175) interpreted 於 as 在 ‘to be at’ or 存在 ‘to exist,’ providing the following example:¹⁶⁴

264. 君子無終食之間違仁,造次必於是,顛沛必於是. (*Analects*, “Liyin” 里仁 4.5)
The gentleman will not *transgress* goodness even during the time of a meal. Even when in a hurry, he is certainly in such behavior. Even when in poverty, he is certainly in such behavior.

In 造次必於是 and 顛沛必於是, only 於 can be interpreted as a verb. 於 is modified by an adverb 必 ‘certainly,’ which suggests that 於 is used as a verb.

In sum, all of the above entries for 於 in dictionaries, as well as the examples of 於 in texts during the Warring States period, suggest that there are cases in which 於 can be interpreted as a locative verb.

5.1.1.3. Examples of a locative verb developed into a locative marker in the world’s languages

A locative verb developed into a locative marker is very common path of grammaticalization cross-linguistically. Examples provided by Heine & Kuteva (2002:100-101) include Ewe (a Niger-Congo language) *le* ‘be at’ > ‘at,’ preposition; Supyire (a Niger-Congo language) *na* ‘be at,’ locative copula > *na* ‘at,’ ‘on,’ locative postposition (Carlson 1991:207-9); Kikuyu (a Niger-Congo language) *kũ-rĩ, kwĩ* ‘be at’ > locative preposition ‘to,’ ‘from’ (Barlow 1960:200, 236); Chinese *zài* ‘be at’ > ‘at,’ ‘in,’ preposition (Hagège 1975; Peyraube 1994, 1996:182-5); Yao Samsao (a Hmong-Mien language) *yiəm* ‘be at’ > ‘in,’ preposition (Matisoff 1991:417-8); Hmong (a Hmong-Mien language) *nyob* ‘be at’ > preposition. Examples are as follows.

¹⁶³其 in this sentence can better be interpreted as a modal particle rather than a third person nominative pronoun. 其 as a third person nominative pronoun appears as late as early Six dynasty period. For details, see Wei Peiquan (2004:52-7).

¹⁶⁴ English translation of *The Analects* follows that of Harbsmeier in *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae* (TLS) http://tls.uni-hd.de/main/basic_ch_main.lasso. Harbsmeier translated 違 as ‘to leave.’

265. *Ewe*
- (a) *agbalěá* *le* *kplǎá* *dzí.*
 book:DEF be:at table:DEF on
 The book is on the table. (*le*: locative verb)
- (b) *me* *kpɔ́* *lɔ́ri* *le* *mɔ́* *dzí.*
 1:SG see lorry at street top
 I saw a lorry on the street. (*le*: locative preposition)
266. *Hmong* (Matisoff 1991:418)
- (a) *kuv* *txiv* *tsis* *nyob* *hauv* *tsev.*
 1:SG male NEG be:at inside house
 My father is not at home.’ (*nyob*: locative verb)
- (b) *nws* *pw* *nyob* *hauv* *txaj.*
 3:SG lie be:at inside room
 He’s sleeping in the room. (*nyob*: locative preposition)

In sum, 於 in Classical Chinese was originally a locative verb which first grammaticalized into a locative marker. This grammaticalization path is well-attested among the world’s languages.

5.1.2. 於 as a function word

Although 於 as a function word does not occur very frequently compared to 于 in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, 於 already co-occurs with all types of verbs, as is shown in Table 17 above. In Chapter 4, it is already observed that 於 is used as a spatial locative marker, an agent marker, a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target], and a non-spatial source marker with V[-target] in the bronze inscriptions, *The Book of Odes*, and *The Book of Documents*. In *The Ceremonies and Rites*, as shown in 5.1.1.1, there are 15 occurrences of 於 used as a locative verb. Therefore, it is presumably the case that 於 was originally a locative verb and first grammaticalized into a spatial locative marker, a temporal locative marker, and a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+target], or a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-target]. 於 in *The Ceremonies and Rites* is also used as a spatial goal marker, a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give] or V[+addressee], or non-spatial source marker with V[-give] or V[-addressee]. In addition, it is used as a marker of comparison, as an agent marker, or as a concern marker, all of which are extended from a spatial locative marker.

Compared to the usages of 于 in the same text,¹⁶⁵ the usages of 於 as a function word show the following unique features:

First, although there are cases where 於 is used as a spatial goal marker, the frequency is very low compared to 于. There are only four occurrences of 於 used as a spatial goal marker, whereas there are 129 occurrences of 于 used as a spatial goal marker. There is no occurrences of

¹⁶⁵ The usages of 于 in *The Ceremonies and Rites* are discussed in 5.2.

於 used as a spatial source marker, whereas there are 16 occurrences of 于 used as a spatial source marker. The fact that 于 is preferred over 於 as a spatial goal or source marker can be explained from the origins of 于 and 於: 于 was originally a verb of movement, which can be formulated as [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] (or Verb [+lexical, +mvt, -goal, +source]), and the derivation from a verb of movement to a goal marker, which is [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, -source], or a source marker, which is [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, +source], is very plausible. On the contrary, as is explained in 5.1.1, 於 was originally a locative verb meaning ‘to be placed at,’ ‘to be located at,’ which can be described as [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source]. The derivation of a spatial goal or a spatial source marker from a locative verb is less plausible; a locative verb is more prone to develop into a locative marker, or other function words that are derived from a locative marker, such as a comparative marker or an agent marker, none of which imply any overt movement.

Second, as non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give], 于 is by far preferred to 於. There are 54 occurrences of 于 used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give], whereas there are only two occurrences of 於 with the same type of verb. In *The Rites of Zhou*, in which the ratio of 于 to 於 is 7:3,¹⁶⁶ the same tendency is observed: there are only three occurrences of 於 used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give], while there are 57 occurrences of 于 co-occurring with the same type of verb. This can also be explained by the original feature set of 于 and 於: 于 as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give] is directly derived from a verb of movement or a goal marker through the extension of grammatical function.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, it is more closely related to the original verbal feature set of 于 and distant from the original verbal feature set of 於. Therefore, 于 is preferred to 於 in this context.

Third, in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, it is newly observed that 於 frequently co-occurs with V[+addressee] marking the non-spatial goal (eight occurrences). This is because the 於 of this usage is close to the original feature set of 於, as a spatial locative marker, as the non-spatial goal marker with V[+target], and as the non-spatial source marker with V[-target], and distant from that of 于.

Fourth, only 於 is used as a comparative marker. 於 as a comparative marker appears six times in *The Ceremonies and Rites*. Cross-linguistically speaking, it is frequently observed that a comparative marker is derived from a spatial locative marker, which has often originated from a locative verb.

Fifth, there are seven occurrences of 於 used as an agent marker, which is presumably derived from a spatial locative marker rather than from a spatial source marker. This is because by the time of *The Ceremonies and Rites*, 於 as a spatial source marker had not yet been fully developed, whereas 於 had been fully developed into a spatial locative marker. Therefore, it is

¹⁶⁶ Among the six sections of *The Rites of Zhou*, “Dongguan kaogongji” 冬官考工記 should be analyzed separately, since this chapter was transmitted separately and the grammar reflected in this chapter is distinct from that of the other sections. 於 is by far dominant in “Donggua kaogongji.” While 于 appears only four times, three of which are used as a lexical word referring to a part of a bell), 於 appears 30 times. The ratio of 于 to 於 in *The Rites of Zhou* excluding “Dongguan kaogongji” is 3:1.

¹⁶⁷ See Figure 1 in 2.2.2.3.1.

more likely that 於 as an agent marker was derived from a spatial locative marker rather than from a spatial source marker.

Sixth, it is already discussed in 3.2.2.5.1 that 于 is used as a concern marker in *The Book of Documents*. In *The Ceremonies and Rites*, there is one occurrence of 於 used as a concern marker. A concern marker was derived from a non-spatial locative marker and the occurrence of 於 as a concern marker in this text implies that 於 started to encroach upon 于's function which is extended from a non-spatial locative marker.

Finally, unlike [于 + NP]_{PP}, which only occurs after the verb, there are 11 occurrences of [於 + NP]_{PP} appearing before the verb. In this position, it expresses contrast or emphasis. Examples of [[於 + NP]_{PP} + Verb]_{VP} are provided in 5.1.2.6.

5.1.2.1. 於 + Place

There are four occurrences of 於 used as a spatial goal marker and 54 occurrences as a spatial locative marker.

5.1.2.1.1. 於 used as a spatial goal marker

There are only four cases where 於 is used as a spatial goal marker. Examples include:

267. 醴, 曰: “子為事故, 至於某之室. 某有先人之禮, 請醴從者.” (*The Ceremonies and Rites*, “Rites of the marriage of an ordinary officer” 士昏禮6.118)

At the treating of the messenger the host says: “Since your honour has come on business to my house, I use the custom of ancient time, and *ask for permission to treat the follower with sweet wine.*

至 ‘to arrive at’ is Verb [+mvt, +goal, -source] and 某之室 “place of so-and-so” is a place expression; therefore, 於 is interpreted as a spatial goal marker.

268. 公就物, 小射正奉決拾以筥. 大射正執弓, 皆以從於物. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The great archery ceremony” 大射 18.386)

公就物, 小射正奉決拾以筥, 泰射正執弓, 皆以從於物. (WWHJ 125.68)

*Then the Duke approaches the shooting position, while the minor archer carrying his finger-stall on a bamboo tray, and the major archer holding the bow, follow him to the shooting position.*¹⁶⁸

從 ‘to follow’ is Verb [+mvt, +goal, -source] and 於 is interpreted as a goal marker. 從於物 can be interpreted as “follow to the shooting position.”

¹⁶⁸ Steele translated this line as “Then the Duke goes to his mat, while the archery lieutenant, carrying his finger-stall on a bamboo tray, and another holding the bow, follow him.”

269. 三耦既拾取矢，諸公卿大夫皆降，如初位，與耦入於次，皆袒決遂執弓，皆進當楅。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/“The great archery ceremony” 大射 18.398)

三耦既取矢，諸公卿[大夫皆降，如初位，與耦入於次，皆袒決遂執弓，皆進當楅。] (WWHJ 127.91)

When the three *pairs* have taken the arrows,¹⁶⁹ the ducal and other ministers and great officers all descend, and, taking their former places, enter with the three *pairs* into the dressing-tent, and all bare the arm, put on finger-stall and armband, take their bows, and advance until they come abreast the arrow stand.

入 is Verb [+mvt, +goal. -source] and 次 is a place word; therefore, 於 is interpreted as a spatial goal marker. 入於次 can be interpreted as “enter into the tent.”

As a spatial goal marker, 于 appears far more frequently than 於 in this text. There are 129 occurrences of 于 used as a spatial goal marker.¹⁷⁰ Among them, there are 29 occurrences of 至于 + Place and 31 occurrences of 入于 + Place, including five occurrences of 入于次. Examples are as follows:

270. 尸至于階，祝延尸。尸升，入，祝先，主人從。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/“Rites of offering special sacrificial animals” 特牲饋食禮45.990-1)

尸至于階，祝延尸。尸升，入，祝，主人從。 (WWHJ 97.16)

When the *substitute for the spirit at a sacrifice* reaches the steps,¹⁷¹ the liturgist invites him to ascend, and he complies and enters the chamber preceded by the liturgist, and followed by the Master of Ceremonies.

271. 婦人入，丈夫踊，升自阼階，主婦入于室，踊出即位。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/“Rites of obsequies” 既夕禮 40.881)

The womenfolk enter, the men stamping the while, and go up by the east steps. The wife of the Master of Ceremonies then enters the room and stamps, and afterwards comes out and goes to her place on the east side of the hall.

272. 司射入于次，搯三挾一个，出于次，¹⁷² 西面揖。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/“The great archery ceremony” 大射 17.373)

司射入于次，簪三挾一个，出于次，西面揖。 (WWHJ 124.44-5)

The director enters the dressing-tent, and, putting three arrows into his belt, fits one on his bow. Then, having gone out, he salutes, with his face to the west.

¹⁶⁹ Steele translated 耦 as “couple.”

¹⁷⁰ For examples, see 5.2.1.1.

¹⁷¹ Steele translated 尸 as “personator.”

¹⁷² 于 in 出于次 “go out of the tent” is used as a source marker.

It is often the case that the same verb is followed either by 于 + Noun or by 於 + Noun in a given text. Yet, one is often preferred to the other. As a spatial goal marker, 于 is by far preferred to 於 in *The Ceremonies and Rites*.

5.1.2.1.2. 於 used as a spatial locative marker

There are 54 occurrences of 於 used as a spatial locative marker. Examples include:

273. 冠之日, 主人紒而迎賓, 拜, 揖, 讓, 立于序端, 皆如冠主, 禮於阼. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of capping an ordinary officer” 士冠禮3.53)

On the day of the capping, the Master of Ceremonies with hair tied up, goes to meet the guests. The bowing, saluting, *yielding* and standing at the end of the east wall,¹⁷³ are done as the Master of Ceremonies would do them in ordinary circumstances, and the ceremony proper is carried out at the top of the eastern steps.

274. 遂升, 反坐. 士終旅於上, 如初. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The Banquet ceremony” 燕禮15.330)

遂升, 反坐. 士終旅於上, 如初. (*WWHJ* 119.44)

Thereafter they go up again, return to their mats, and sit down, the ordinary officers finishing their general pledging up in the hall as before.

275. 宵, 則庶子執燭於阼階上, 司宮執燭於西階上, 甸人執大燭於庭, 閽人為大燭於門外. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The Banquet ceremony” 燕禮15.330)

宵, 則庶子執燭於阼階上, 司宮執燭於西階上, 甸人執大燭於庭, 閽人為燭於門外. (*WWHJ* 119.44-5)

When it grows dark a cadet holds a torch at the head of the eastern steps, and the keeper of the vessels another at the head of the western steps; while the cultivators of the ducal domain hold large torches in the court, and the doorkeeper prepares a large one outside the door.

¹⁷³ Steele did not translate 讓.

276. 君國中射，則皮樹中，以翻旌獲，白羽與朱羽糝；於郊，則閭中，以旌獲；於竟，則虎中，龍旌。¹⁷⁴ (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮13.283-4)

When the Prince shoots in the *state* the tally-holder is in the figure of a *p’i-shu*,¹⁷⁵ and a feather standard is used by the marker, or red and white feathers combined. When the shooting is in the suburbs the tally-holder is a *lu*, and an ordinary standard is used by the marker. If the shooting take place in the *border*,¹⁷⁶ the tally-holder is tiger-shaped, and the marker uses a dragon banner.

Examples of 於 used as a spatial locative marker has already been observed in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*. In *The Ceremonies and Rites*, where there are numerous examples of 於, it is observed that 於 is frequently used as a spatial locative marker because this function is directly derived from its original function as a locative verb.

5.1.2.2. 於 + Time

There are examples of 於 used as a temporal locative marker in *The Ceremonies and Rites*. However, there is no example of 於 used as a temporal goal marker.

5.1.2.2.1. 於 used as a temporal locative marker

There are two cases in which 於 may be interpreted as a temporal locative marker:

277. 士見於大夫，終辭其摯。於其入也，一拜其辱也。賓退，送，再拜。(*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of ordinary officers’ meeting” 士相見禮7.132) 士見於大夫，終辭其摯。於其入也，壹拜其辱也。賓退，再拜。(WWHJ 89.6)

When an ordinary officer visits a great officer, the latter declines altogether to receive his present. At his entrance the host bows once, acknowledging his condescension. When the guest withdraws, he escorts him and bows twice.

In the above example, 於其入 can be interpreted as “at his entry” and 於 may be interpreted as a temporal locative marker or a non-spatial locative marker. 於其入也 is focused, appearing in front of a verb phrase.

¹⁷⁴ In the above example, preposing 於 + Noun indicates a contrast. In other words, the cases when the Prince is shooting in the state, in the suburb, and in the border are contrasted.

¹⁷⁵ Steele translated 國 as “city.”

¹⁷⁶ Steele translated 竟 as “provinces.”

278. 雖無娣,媵先. 於是與始飯之錯. (The Ceremonies and Rites/ “Rites of ordinary officers’ wedding” 士昏礼5.103)
 Although the bridesmaid may not happen to be the bride’s younger sister, she is given precedence of the driver. On this occasion they use the inversion which is obtained when the bride and bridegroom had eaten.

In the above example, 於是 can be interpreted as “at this,” “on this occasion,” or “at this time,” and 於 may be interpreted as a temporal locative marker or a non-spatial locative marker.

5.1.2.3. 於 used as a non-spatial goal marker

於 is used as a non-spatial goal marker. There are two occurrences of 於 used as a recipient marker co-occurring with V[+give] and eight occurrences used as an addressee marker co-occurring with V[+addressee]. It is noteworthy that 於 frequently co-occurs with a V[+addressee], which is not observed in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*. Also, 於 marks a non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+target] in 24 cases.

5.1.2.3.1. 於 co-occurring with V[+give]

Both of the occurrences of 於 used as a recipient marker co-occurring with V[+give] are listed below:

279. 主人復見之,以其摯,曰:“鄉者吾子辱,使某見. 請還摯於將命者.” (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of ordinary officers’ meeting” 士相見禮 7.131)
 主人復見之,以某摯,曰:“鄉者吾子辱,使某見. 請還摯於將命者.” (*WWHJ* 89.4)
 When the former host pays his return visit, he takes the other’s present with him. Addressing the usher he says: “Recently when his honour demeaned himself by visiting me, he commanded me to an interview. I ask now permission return his gift by the hands of the usher.”
280. 賓弟子及兄弟弟子洗,各酌于其尊,中庭北面西上, 舉觶於其長,奠觶拜,長皆荅拜. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of offering special sacrificial animals” 特牲饋食禮 46.1015)
 賓弟子及兄弟弟子洗,各酌于其尊,中庭北面西上, 舉觶于其長,鄭觶拜,長皆合拜. (*WWHJ* 98.41)
 The juniors among the guests and descendants wash cups, and each ladles out wine at the holder appropriated to him. Then they stand in the centre of the court, facing north, and graded from the west, and raise the cup each to his senior. They then lay down the cup and bow, the seniors bowing in return.

Note that in the above example, 于 appears instead in the *WWHJ*. In the received version of *The Ceremonies and Rites*, 舉 is a verb that allows both “舉 + theme + 於 + recipient” and “舉 +

theme + 于 + recipient.” There are six occurrences of “舉觶于 + recipient.” An example of this is the following:

281. 使二人舉觶于賓, 介, 洗, 升實觶于西階上, 皆坐奠觶, 遂拜, 執觶興. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of district drinking” 鄉飲酒禮10.182)

The host orders two men to raise goblets to the guests of both orders. These having washed the goblets, go up the steps and fill them. Then both sit down at the top of the western steps, and, laying down the goblets, bow. They then take the goblets and stand up.

Given the fact that 于 appears in place of 於 in the *WWHJ* as well as the fact that 舉觶 is followed by 于 + recipient in all of the other examples in the received text, it is presumably the case that 於 in the received text in example 281 is a later corruption and the line in the *WWHJ* reflects the line in the proto-text.

As already mentioned in 5.1.2, as a recipient marker co-occurring with V[+give], 于 is by far preferred to 於. While there are only two occurrences of 於 used as a recipient marker with V[+give], there are 54 occurrences of 于 with the same type of verb. If the occurrence of 於 in example 281 is attributed to a later corruption, there is only one occurrence of 於 used as a recipient marker with V[+give] in *The Ceremonies and Rites*.

5.1.2.3.2. 於 co-occurring with V[+addressee]

As mentioned in 5.1.2, in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, it is observed that 於 frequently used as an addressee marker co-occurring with V[+addressee]. There are eight such cases. There are three occurrences of 告 ‘to report,’ two occurrences of 辭 ‘to decline,’ two occurrences of 請 ‘to invite,’ and one occurrence of 稱 ‘to call.’ Examples are as follows:

282. 司正升自西階, 受命于主人. 主人曰: “請坐于賓.” 賓辭以俎. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of district drinking” 鄉飲酒禮10.183)

The overseer then ascends by the western steps, and goes to take his orders from the host, who says to him: “Invite the guest to sit.” But they decline to do so, alleging the presence of the stand as an excuse.

283. 司射復位, 釋獲者遂進, 取賢獲執之, 由阼階下北面告於公。¹⁷⁷ (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮 18.389)

Then the director of archery returns to his place, and the scorer thereupon advances, and taking up a tally for the winning side, holds it, and *going down from the east stairs*,¹⁷⁸ faces north and announces the score to the Duke.

Among the three V[+addressee] that are followed by 於 + addressee, 告 is also followed by 于 + addressee. This shows that the distribution of 于 and 於 is not exactly complementary. There are 48 occurrences of 告 followed by 于 + addressee. An example is as follows:

284. 主人受視, 反之. 筮者還, 東面, 長占. 卒, 告于主人: “占曰吉.” (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of offering special sacrificial animals” 特牲饋食禮 44.972)

主人受視, 反之. 筮者還, 東面, 長占. 卒, 告于主人: “占曰吉.” (*WWHJ* 96.3)

The Master of Ceremonies looks it over and returns it, and thereafter the diviner turns east, and the assistants go over the diagram, in the order of their seniority. When they are finished, the diviner reports to the Master of Ceremonies that the day is propitious.

5.1.2.3.3. 於 co-occurring with V[+target]

The use of 於 marking the non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+target] is already observed in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*. 於 in this usage continues to appear very frequently in *The Ceremonies and Rites*. There are 24 occurrences of 於 of this usage. Examples include:

285. 主人對曰: “某不足以習禮, 敢固辭.” 賓對曰: “某也不依於塾不敢見, 固以請.” (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of ordinary officers’ meeting” 士相見禮 7.129)

主人對曰: “某不足以習禮, 敢固辭.” 賓對曰: “某不依于塾不敢見, 敢固以請.”¹⁷⁹ (*WWHJ* 89.3)

The host replies: “I am not sufficient for the conduct of these ceremonies, and so I venture to persist in declining.” The guest answers: “If I cannot have the support of my gift, I dare not pay you this visit. So I persist in my request.”

¹⁷⁷ For this example, Li Xueqin (2001:18.389) has 告于公, although Ruan Yuan version has 告於公. This chapter is not included in the *WWHJ*, which makes it hard to know which one is closer to the proto-text.

¹⁷⁸ Steele translated 由阼階下 as “going to the foot of the east stairs.”

¹⁷⁹ Note that in the *WWHJ*, 于 appears instead.

286. 大射之儀。君有命戒射。宰戒百官有事於射者。(The Ceremonies and Rites/ “The great archery ceremony” 大射 16.341)

泰射之儀。君有命戒射。宰戒官有事於射者。(WWHJ 121.1)

*The ceremonies of The great archery ceremony*¹⁸⁰: The Prince issues orders that notice of the meeting shall be given to the persons concerned. The high steward then apprises those among the officials who are to take part in the shooting-match.

287. 與君言，言使臣。與大人言，言事君。與老者言，言使弟子。與幼者言，言孝弟於父兄。與眾言，言忠信慈祥，與居官者言，言忠信。(The Ceremonies and Rites/ “Rites of ordinary officers’ meeting” 士相見禮 7.137)

與君言，言使臣。與大人言，言事君。與老者言，言使弟子。與幼者言，言孝弟於父兄。與眾言，言忠信慈諒，與居官者言，言忠信。(WWHJ 89.11)

In speaking with the Prince, one talks of one’s official business; with an official, of one’s service of his Prince; with older men, of the control of children; with young people, of their filial and brotherly duties; with the common man, of geniality and goodness; with those in minor offices, of loyalty and sincerity.

In 孝弟於父兄, 孝弟 is a verb meaning “to be filial and to have a brotherly love,” which is followed by 於 marking the target of an action.

288. 始見于君，執摯，至下，容彌蹙。庶人見於君，不為容，進退走。(The Ceremonies and Rites/ “Rites of ordinary officers’ meeting” 士相見禮 7.135)

見于君，執摯，至下，容送俶。庶人見于君，不為容，進退走。(WWHJ 89.9)

At their first interview with the Prince, ordinary officers and others above these in rank carry with them a gift, reach to the bottom, and deport themselves so as to show a respectful uneasiness. When commoners have an interview with their Prince, they do not assume any ceremonious carriages, but hurry along both in advancing and retreating.

It is noteworthy that in the above example, 見 is followed both by 于 + goal and by 於 + goal in the same paragraph in the received text, whereas it is followed by 于 + goal in both instances in the WWHJ. 見 is a type of a verb which is followed either by 于 + goal or by 於 + goal. In the received text, there are seven occurrences of “見 + 于 + goal” and four occurrences of “見 + 於 + addressee.”

¹⁸⁰ Steele translated 大射之儀 as “The following are the observances at The great archery ceremony meeting.”

289. 公於賓, 壹食, 再饗.....大夫於賓, 壹饗, 壹食. (*The Ceremonies and Rites/* “Rites of inquiry” 聘禮22.493, 495)
*The duke to the guest, one meal and two feasts.*¹⁸¹ *The great officer to the guest, one feast and one meal.*¹⁸²

In the above example, 於 is used as a non-spatial goal marker.

5.1.2.4. 於 used as a non-spatial source marker

In *The Ceremonies and Rites*, there are examples of 於 used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with [-give].

5.1.2.4.1. 於 co-occurring with V[-give]

There are four occurrences of 於 used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with Verb [-give]:

290. 筮人執筴, 抽上韞, 兼執之, 進受命於主人. (*The Ceremonies and Rites/* “Rites of capping an ordinary officer” 士冠禮1.12)
 Taking up the stalks, the diviner draws off the upper case, and holding it, along with the stalks, still in the lower case, he goes forward to take his instruction from the Master of Ceremonies.

受命 is also followed by 于 + source. There are also seven occurrences of “受命于 + source.” An example is the following:

291. 筮人取筮于西塾, 執之, 東面受命于主人. (*The Ceremonies and Rites/* “Rites of offering special sacrificial animals” 特牲饋食禮 44.970)
 筮人取筮于西塾, 執, 東面受命于主人. (*WWHJ* 96.2)
 The diviner takes the stalks from the west gatehouse, and, holding them, faces east, to receive his instruction from the Master of Ceremonies.

The other three examples of “V[-give] + theme + 於 + source” are as follows:

¹⁸¹ Steele’s translation is “The Prince entertains the commissioner to one dinner and two feasts.”

¹⁸² Steele’s translation is “The great officer gives one feast and one dinner to the commissioner.”

292. 唯受爵於公者拜。卒受爵者興，以酬士于西階上。(*The Ceremonies and Rites*/
“Banquet ceremony” 燕禮15.329)

唯受于公者拜。卒受者興，以州士于西階上。(WWHJ 119.43)

It is only the one who receives the cup directly from the Duke who bows. The last to receive it rises, and *proposes a toast* to the ordinary officers at the top of the western steps.¹⁸³

Note that in the above example, the WWHJ has 于 instead of 於. It can be assumed that the proto-text had 于 in this line, and 於 in the received text is a later corruption.

293. 如饋食之禮。假器於大夫。(*The Ceremonies and Rites*/“Rites of inquiry” 聘禮
24.540-1)

The formalities observed are similar to those observed in presenting the small set of animals. The necessary vessels are borrowed from a great officer.

假 is V[-give], and it is followed by “theme + 於 + source.”

294. 主人坐取爵於上筐以降。(*The Ceremonies and Rites*/“Rites of district
archery” 鄉射禮11.206)

The host then sits, and, taking a cup from the upper cup-basket, goes down with it.

As a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-give], there is no obvious preference between 于 and 於 in this text. There are 37 occurrences of 于 used as the same usage. There are 11 occurrences of 受 ‘to receive’ (including seven occurrences of 受命 ‘to receive a mandate’) and 26 occurrences of “取 + theme + 于 + source,” six of which are 取爵于筐 “take a cue from the cup-basket.” An example is the following:

295. 始加，醯用脯醢。賓降，取爵于筐，辭降如初。卒洗，升酌。(*The Ceremonies and Rites*/
“Rites of capping an ordinary officer” 士冠禮3.48-9)

At the first capping dried flesh and hash are served. The guest goes down the west steps, and taking a cue from the basket; the declining of the honour being as before, he finishes the washing, goes up the steps, and fills the cup.

5.1.2.5. 於 used as a non-spatial locative marker

It is already observed in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents* that 於 is used as a spatial locative marker. In *The Ceremonies and Rites*, it is observed that 於 is frequently used as a non-spatial locative marker, which is derived as an extension from the spatial locative

¹⁸³ Steele translated 酬 as “to pledge.”

marker. Usages of 於 as a non-spatial locative marker include an agent marker, a comparative marker, and a concern marker.

5.1.2.5.1. 於 used as an agent marker

In *The Ceremonies and Rites*, there are six occurrences of “Person1 + 御於 + Person2,” including five occurrences of 某御於子 “So-and-so will be controlled by your honor” and one occurrence of 士御於大夫 “Officers will be controlled by the great officer.” 御 means ‘to control,’ and the semantic role of the noun following 於 is agent. Therefore, 於 can best be interpreted as an agent marker. An agent marker in *The Ceremonies and Rites* was derived from a spatial locative marker and the feature set of an agent marker can be described as [-spatial, -goal, -source, +agent]. Examples include:

296. 司射不釋弓矢, 遂以比三耦於堂西. 三耦之南, 北面命上射曰: “某御於子.” 命下射曰: “子與某子射.” (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮 11.223)

The director of archery does not lay down his bow and arrows, but uses them to discriminate the three *pairs* of competitors to the west of the western hall. Then, standing to the south of these three *pairs*, and facing north, he says to the first shot in each couple: “So-and-so will follow your honour.” To the second shot he says: “Your honour will shoot with his honour So-and-so.”

Zheng Xuan’s commentary reads 古文曰某從於子 “Old Text reads: ‘So-and-so will follow your honor.’” However, 御 means ‘to control’ and there is no firm basis to interpret it as 從 ‘to follow.’ The following noun of 於 is the agent of an action (i.e. the one who controls) and 於 can best be interpreted as an agent marker. The interpretation of the above sentence should be “so-and so is controlled by you,” which means “So-and so is at your command.”

More examples are as follows:

297. 遂告于大夫，大夫雖眾，皆與士為耦。以耦告于大夫，曰：“某御於子。”(*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮 12.234)

Then an announcement is made to the great officer. Although there happen to be several of these present, they are all paired off with ordinary officers, and the *pair* is announced to the great officer thus: “So-and-so will follow your honour.”

298. 遂告曰：“大夫與大夫，士御於大夫。”(*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The great archery ceremony” 大射 17.371)

述告曰：“大夫與大夫，士御于大夫。”(*WWHJ* 124.41)

*Thereupon, he announces, “If a great officer is paired with a great officer, an ordinary officer serves for a great officer.”*¹⁸⁴

Zheng Xuan’s commentary reads, 御猶侍也。大夫與大夫為耦，不足，則士侍於大夫，與為耦也。今文於為于 “御 is similar to ‘to serve.’ When a great officer is paired with a great officer, it is not sufficient; therefore, an ordinary officer follows a great officer to serve as his pair. In the New Text, 於 is written as 于 instead.” However, there is no good basis to interpret 御 ‘to control’ as 侍 ‘to serve.’ In fact, ‘to control’ and ‘to serve’ have exactly opposite direction of action. In other words, “A controls B” implies “B serves A.”¹⁸⁵ In the above examples, 於 can best be interpreted as an agent marker.

The interpretation of 於 in the following example has been controversial. It can be interpreted either as a temporal locative marker or as an agent marker.

299. 主人門東南面。宗人朝服北面，曰：“請祭期。”主人曰：“比於子。”宗人曰：“旦明行事。”主人曰：“諾。”乃退。(*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The smaller set of beast offered as food to the ancestor” 少牢饋食禮 47.1044)

主人門東南面。宗人朝服北面，曰：“請祭期。”主人曰：“比於子。”宗人曰：“旦明行事。”主人曰：“諾。”乃退。(*WWHJ* 101.6)

The host, to the east of the door, faces south, and the temple-keeper in dress clothes stands facing north, and says: “Please name the time for the sacrifice.” The host replies: “The hour depends on the season in which the first day of *the ten celestial stems* falls.”¹⁸⁶ Then the temple-keeper says: “Tomorrow, at daybreak, we shall begin the ceremony,” and to this the host consents, and withdraws.

¹⁸⁴ Note that in the *WWHJ*, 于 appears instead. 士御於大夫 can best be interpreted as “An ordinary officer serves the great officer.” The use of 于 as an agent marker is already observed in the *BB* and in *The Book of Odes*.

¹⁸⁵ This point was brought up by Prof. Anne O. Yue (p.c., summer, 2012) and it led me to conclude that 於 is used as an agent marker in this sentence.

¹⁸⁶ Steele translated 子 as “this month.”

Zi 子 can be interpreted as a time word meaning “the first one in the celestial stems” according to Steele (1917) and 於 can be interpreted as a temporal locative marker ‘on’ or ‘at.’ 比 is a verb which literally means ‘to be side by side, to arrange in order.’ 比於子 literally means “to arrange with the first one in the celestial stems” > “falls on the first one in the celestial stems.”

On the other hand, 子 can also be interpreted as a second person pronoun and 比於子 as “to be arranged by you.” Yang Tianyu (2004) interpreted 比於子 as 時間由您安排 “The time is arranged by you.” This interpretation is more plausible because the following sentence is the answer from the temple keeper about when to begin the ceremony (旦明行事 “Tomorrow, at day break, we shall begin the ceremony”). Therefore, the interpretation of 於 as an agent marker is more plausible than the interpretation as a temporal locative marker.

於 was not yet observed as an agent marker in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*. Unlike the agent marker 于, which was derived from its function marking a source, the use of 於 as an agent marker was more likely derived from a spatial locative marker, rather than from a spatial source marker. This is because the use of 於 as a spatial source marker has not yet been firmly established. Therefore, it is even less likely that marking an agent, which is an extended grammatical function, was derived from it. The development of an agent marker from a locative marker is very common cross-linguistically. An example is Albanian *prej* ‘at,’ locative preposition > preposition marking the agent of an action (Heine & Kuteva 2002:199-200, originally from Buchholz *et al.* 1993:441).

300. *Shkruar prej meje*
 PARTCP:write by 1:SG:ABL
 Written by me

Therefore, it can be presumed that the function of 於 as an agent marker was derived from its locative function.

5.1.2.5.2. 於 used as a concern marker

There is one occurrence of 於 used as a concern marker in *The Ceremonies and Rites*.

301. 古者於旅也語. 凡旅, 不洗. 不洗者不祭. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮13.280)

In olden days, *they conversed on the general pledge*.¹⁸⁷ Those who take part in the general pledging do not wash the cup, and when it is not washed no libation is poured from it.

¹⁸⁷ Steel translated 於旅也語 as “during the general pledging they conversed on grave and appropriate subjects.”

The underlying structure of 於旅也語 is 語於旅. 於旅 is preposed and 也 can be interpreted as a focus marker. 於 in the above sentence is interpreted as a concern marker co-occurring with 言 ‘to converse,’ which is a V[+addressee].¹⁸⁸ As mentioned in 3.2.2.5.1, in *The Book of Documents*, there is one occurrence of 于 used as a concern marker. In this section, it is observed that 於, instead of 于, is used as a concern marker. A concern marker was derived from a spatial locative marker and the feature set of a concern marker can be described as [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source, +theme]. The occurrence of 於 as a concern marker shows that 於, which was originally a spatial locative marker, developed into a concern marker, which is a type of non-spatial locative marker. It also shows that 於 started to encroach upon the semantic scope of 于.

5.1.2.5.3. 於 used as a comparative marker

There are six examples where 於 is used as a comparative marker, appearing in the form “X + Vst + 於 + Y.” All examples are listed below:

302. 若右勝, 則曰: “右賢於左.” 若左勝, 則曰: “左賢於右.” (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮 12.243, also appears in “The great archery ceremony” 大射 18.389)

若右勝, 則曰: “右賢滅左.”¹⁸⁹ 若左勝, 則曰: “左賢於右.” (*WWHJ* 126.77)

If the right side has won, he says: “The right side has excelled the left”; while if the left side has won, he says: “The left has excelled the right.”

303. 若父, 則遊目, 毋上於面, 毋下於帶. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of ordinary officers’ meeting” 士相見禮 7.138)

In the case of a father, the son’s eyes are allowed to wander, but not higher than his face,¹⁹⁰ nor lower than the girdle.

To be more specific, 於 in the above examples can better be interpreted as a standard marker. That is, in 302, 左 ‘the left’ and 右 ‘the right’ that appear after 於 are the standard of the comparison. In 303, both ‘face’ and ‘girdle’ are the standard and the whole sentence means that the son’s eyes are not allowed to be higher than the face or lower than the girdle.

According to Heine & Kuteva (2002:201), it is very common across the world’s languages that a locative marker also introduces the standard of comparison through case extension. Examples include Naka (Sino-Tibetan) *ki* ‘on’ > comparative marker and Hungarian *nál* ‘at’ > comparative marker:

¹⁸⁸ For a discussion on a concern marker, see 3.2.2.5.1.

¹⁸⁹ *WWHJ* clearly has 滅 in place of 於. 右賢滅左 can be interpreted as “the right side is wise and defeated the left side.” It is presumably the case that the proto-text had 滅, which is replaced by 於 in the Ruan Yuan version, making the line parallel to the following line 左賢於右 “the left is wiser than the right.”

¹⁹⁰ Steele’s translation supplemented “so as not to seem too proud” after it.

304. *Themma hau lu ki vi- we.* (Heine & Kuteva, 2002:201, quoted from Stassen 1985:147)
 Man this that on good- is
 “This man is better than that man.”
305. *János nagyobb József-nál.* (Heine & Kuteva, 2002:201, quoted from Heine 1997:114)
 John bigger Joseph-at
 “John is bigger than Joseph.”

It is the case that 於, which is a stationary verb meaning ‘to be placed at,’ was first grammaticalized into a locative marker, and it further developed into a comparative marker through the extension of grammatical usages. The feature set of 於 used as a comparative marker can be described as [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source, +standard].

5.1.2.6. Word order of the 於-phrase in *The Ceremonies and Rites*

There are 11 examples where 於 + Noun appears in front of a verb or a sentence in *The Ceremonies and Rites*.¹⁹¹ Preposing 於 + Noun often expresses a focus or a contrast.

5.1.2.6.1. 於 + Noun + Verb/Sentence expresses a focus

In the following examples, preposing 於 + Noun in front of a verb or a sentence expresses a focus. A focus marker 也 often appears after 於 + Noun.

306. 士見於大夫，終辭其摯。於其入也，一拜其辱也。賓退，送，再拜。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of ordinary officers’ meeting” 士相見禮7.132)
 士見於大夫，終辭其摯。於其入也，壹拜其辱也。賓退，再拜。 (*WWHJ* 89.6)
 When an ordinary officer visits a great officer, the latter declines altogether to receive his present. At his entrance the host bows once, acknowledging his condescension. When the guest withdraws, he escorts him and bows twice. (於: temporal locative marker or a non-spatial locative marker)

In the above example, 於其入也 is focused, appearing in front of a sentence.

¹⁹¹ There is no occurrence of 于 + Noun in front of a verb or a sentence.

307. 古者於旅也語. 凡旅, 不洗. 不洗者不祭. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮13.280)

In olden days, *they conversed on the general pledge*.¹⁹² Those who take part in the general pledging do not wash the cup, and when it is not washed no libation is poured from it. (於 used as a concern marker)

The underlying structure of 於旅也語 is 語於旅. 於旅 is preposed and 也 can be interpreted as a focus marker.

5.1.2.6.2. 於 + Noun + Verb/Sentence expresses a contrast

In the following examples, preposing 於 + Noun expresses a contrast.

308. 君國中射, 則皮樹中, 以翻旌獲, 白羽與朱羽糝; 於郊, 則閭中, 以旌獲; 於竟, 則虎中, 龍旛. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮13.283-4)

When the Prince shoots in the *state* the tally-holder is in the figure of a *p’i-shu*,¹⁹³ and a feather standard is used by the marker, or red and white feathers combined. When the shooting is in the suburbs the tally-holder is a *lu*, and an ordinary standard is used by the marker. If the shooting take place in the *border*,¹⁹⁴ the tally-holder is tiger-shaped, and the marker uses a dragon banner. (於: spatial locative marker)

In the above example, preposing 於 + Noun indicates a contrast. In other words, the cases when the Prince is shooting in the state, in the suburb, and in the border are contrasted.

309. 公於賓, 壹食, 再饗……大夫於賓, 壹饗, 壹食. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of inquiry” 聘禮22.493, 495)

The duke to the guest, one meal and two feasts.¹⁹⁵ …… *The great officer to the guest, one feast and one meal*.¹⁹⁶ (於: non-spatial goal marker with V[+target])

In the above example, how the duke treats the guest is contrasted with how the great officer treats the guest.

He (1989; rpt 2004:83-8) already pointed out that preposing 於 + Noun expresses contrast, and this is one of the unique functions of 於 + Noun that is not shared with 于 + Noun. Among a total of 1,770 occurrences of 於 in *Zuo’s Commentary*, there are 230 cases in which 於

¹⁹² Steel translated 於旅也語 as “during the general pledging they conversed on grave and appropriate subjects.”

¹⁹³ Steele translated 國 as “city.”

¹⁹⁴ Steele translated 竟 as “provinces.”

¹⁹⁵ Steele’s translation is “The Prince entertains the commissioner to one dinner and two feasts.”

¹⁹⁶ Steele’s translation is “The great officer gives one feast and one dinner to the commissioner.”

+ Noun is preposed. Approximately seventy percent of the cases in which 於 + Noun is preposed appear in the Latter Four Dukes 後四公, which suggests that preposing 於 + Noun occurred more and more frequently. In *The Ceremonies and Rites*, preposing 於 + Noun started to appear and 於 + Noun + Verb/Sentence appears 11 times, while “Verb + 於 + Noun” appears 102 times.

5.2. The decline of 于 in *The Ceremonies and Rites*

In *The Ceremonies and Rites*, 于 is only used as a function word. There is no case where it is used as a verb. This implies that 于 had been fully grammaticalized into a function word by the time of *The Ceremonies and Rites*, and its lexical usage had died out.

As 於 came into the picture, the semantic scope of 于 started to shrink. It is observed that 于 used a spatial goal marker or spatial source marker, as well as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give], resisted encroachment best. This can be explained from the perspective of the original feature set of 于: a spatial goal marker, which is [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, -source], or a spatial source marker, which is [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, +source], is more closely related to the original verbal feature set, which is [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] or [+lexical, +mvt, -goal, +source]. The use of 于 as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give] also resisted encroachment because it is directly derived from 于’s function of marking a spatial goal.

On the other hand, as is observed in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*, 于 is more prone to be encroached upon by 於 when it is used as a spatial locative marker, which is [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, -source], a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target], or a non-spatial source marker with V[-target]. This is because these are most distant from the original feature set of 于 and close to the original feature set of 於, which was [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source].

The next step of the encroachment is, as is observed in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, the encroachment of 于 by 於 in contexts marking the non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+addressee]. This type of verb is followed by 于 in 70 occurrences and by 於 in 8 occurrences. The reason that 于 in this function resisted encroachment better, compared to 于 used in the two above-mentioned functions, can be explained by the fact that it is more closely related to the original features of 于: It still requires three participants and has a directional sense. In other words, a theme is transferred from the agent to the addressee. Yet, its directional sense is not as strong as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give] or V[-give], respectively, in that what is transferred is a word, speech, or information, all of which are [-concrete].

Next, 於 is frequently used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-give] in *The Ceremonies and Rites*. There are four occurrences of 於 in that usage.

The order of the encroachment of 于 by 於 can be summarized as follows:

Step 0. The encroachment of 于 by 於 has not yet started (as in the *BB*).

Step 1. Examples of 於 used as a spatial locative marker appear in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*.

Step 2. Examples of 於 used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target] or as a non-spatial source marker with V[-target] appear in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*, respectively.¹⁹⁷

Step 3. Examples of 於 used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+addressee] appear in *The Ceremonies and Rites*.

Step 4. Examples of 於 used as a non-spatial source marker with V[-give] appear in *The Ceremonies and Rites*.

Step 5. Examples of 於 used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give] appear in the first four dukes in *The Former Eight Dukes of Zuo's Commentary*.¹⁹⁸

Step 6. Examples of 於 used as a spatial or temporal goal marker appear in Duke Xiang in *The Latter Four Dukes of Zuo's Commentary*.¹⁹⁹

于 in *The Ceremonies and Rites* is used as a spatial goal marker, a spatial source marker, a spatial locative marker, and a temporal locative marker. It is also used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give], V[+addressee], or V[+target], and as a non-spatial source marker with V[-give]. In the following sections, examples of each usage of 于 are provided. Although the functions of 于 and 於 overlap in the great majority of cases, it is observed that one is often preferred to the other depending on the function that it carries out. In addition, it is illustrated that 于 appears in the form Verb + 于 + Noun except for in a time expression. That is, while 於 + Noun can precede the verb, there is no case in which 于 + Noun precedes the verb.

5.2.1. 于 + Place

于 is used as a spatial goal marker, a spatial source marker and a spatial locative marker in *The Ceremonies and Rites*.

¹⁹⁷ In fact, there is no clear evidence that the encroachment of 于 as a locative marker predates the encroachment of 于 as a marker of the target or the recipient of an action. However, from the facts that the feature matrix of a locative marker is most distant from the original feature matrix of 于, and the marker of the target/recipient is less distant in that it has the feature [+goal] in common with the original feature matrix of 于, it is projected that the encroachment of 于 as a locative marker predates the encroachment of 于 as a marker of the target or the recipient of an action.

¹⁹⁸ For a discussion on the functional differences between 于 and 於 in the first four dukes in *The Former Eight Dukes of Zuo's Commentary*, see 6.1.

¹⁹⁹ For a discussion on the functional differences between 于 and 於 in Duke Xiang in *The Latter Four Dukes of Zuo's Commentary*, see 6.2.

5.2.1.1. 于 used as a spatial goal marker

There are 129 cases where 于 is used as a spatial goal marker. This is in stark contrast to the fact that there are only four examples of 於 used as a goal marker in the same text, as is shown in 5.1.2.1.1. The verbs that precede the spatial goal marker 于 include 入 ‘to enter’ (31 occurrences), 至 ‘to arrive’ (29 occurrences), 送 ‘to send off’ (22 occurrences), 反 (=返) ‘to return’ (seven occurrences), 徹 ‘to remove’ (six occurrences), 出 ‘to move out’ (five occurrences), 舉 ‘to raise’ (four occurrences), 遷 ‘to move’ (three occurrences), 卻 ‘to step back’ (three occurrences), 造 ‘to reach’ (two occurrences), 退 ‘to retreat’ (two occurrences), 降 ‘to send down’ (two occurrences), 納 ‘to bring in’ (two occurrences), 就 ‘to approach’ (two occurrence), 駕 ‘to drive a chariot’ (one occurrence), 歸 ‘to return’ (one occurrence), 還 ‘to return’ (one occurrence), 辟 (=避) ‘to escape’ (one occurrence) and so on, all of which can be described as Verb [+mvt, +goal, -source]. Examples include:

310. 賓出, 主人送于外門外, 再拜. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* / “Rites of capping an ordinary officer” 士冠禮 2.46)

When the guests are leaving, the Master of Ceremonies accompanies them to the outside of the outer gate and bows twice.

311. 司宮闔牖戶, 祝告利成. 乃執俎以出于廟門外, 有司受歸之. (*The Ceremonies and Rite* / “The assistant clears away” 有司徹 50.1132)

司宮闔牖戶, 祝告利成. 乃執俎以出于廟門外, 有司受歸之. (*WWHJ* 115.15=79)

Then the keeper of the vessels shuts the window and door of the room. The liturgist announces that the presentation of food to the spirit is complete, and taking his meat stand, carries it outside the temple door, where an assistant receives it and takes it into the house.

312. 公許, 賓升, 公揖退于箱. 擯者退, 負東塾而立. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* / “Rites of the duke treating the commissioner” 公食大夫禮 25.569)

The *Duke* assents, and the *guest* ascends, the *Duke* saluting and withdrawing into the east side hall. Then the usher also withdraws and stands with his back to the east gate-house.

5.2.1.2. 于 used as a spatial source marker

There are 16 cases where 于 is used as a spatial source marker. The verb that precedes the source marker 于 is 出 ‘to move out’ (16 occurrences), which is Verb [+mvt, -goal, +source]. It is noteworthy that 于 preceded by 出 can be interpreted as a spatial goal marker as well as a spatial source marker. Whether 于 in 出于 should be interpreted as a goal or a source marker depends on the context. Examples in which 于 is used as a source marker are as follows:

313. 主人降，立于阼階東，西面。尸饗，祝前，尸從，遂出于廟門。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The assistant clears away” 有司徹50.1130-1)

The host goes down and stands to the east of them facing west. Then the liturgist goes first, followed by the personator, and they go out the temple door.

In example 313, 于 in 出于 is used as a source marker, while it is used as a goal marker in example 311.

5.2.1.3. 于 used as a spatial locative marker

The usage as a spatial locative marker is by far the most common usage of 于, as well as of 於. When 于 is used as a spatial locative marker, the preceding verbs include 立 ‘to stand’ (143 occurrences), 設 ‘to set up’ (125 occurrences), 奠 ‘to place’ (96 occurrences), 實 ‘to put’ (50 occurrences), 陳 ‘to arrange’ (34 occurrences), 位 ‘to take one’s place’ (31 occurrences), 筵 ‘to put a bamboo mat’ (28 occurrences), 席 ‘to seat’ (28 occurrences), 迎 ‘to welcome’ (22 occurrences), 俟 ‘to wait’ (17 occurrences), 拜 ‘to bow’ (10 occurrences), 待 ‘to wait’ (nine occurrences), 筮 ‘to divine by stalks’ (one occurrence), and so on, all of which can be described as Verb [-mvt, -goal, -source]. Examples include:

314. 厥明夕，為期于廟門之外。主人立于門東，兄弟在其南，少退，西面，北上。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of capping an ordinary officer” 士冠禮 1.19)

On the eve of the day the time is fixed outside the door of the temple. The Master of Ceremonies stands to the east of the door, with his brothers and cousins to the south of him, and slightly retired, facing west, and graded from the north.

315. 筮于廟門。主人玄冠，朝服，緇帶，素鞶，即位于門東，西面。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of capping an ordinary officer” 士冠禮 1.5-7)

The divining (with the stalks) is carried on in the doorway of the ancestral temple. The father of the boy, as Master of Ceremonies, in his dark cap, *court garment*,²⁰⁰ black silk girdle, and white knee-pads, takes his place on the east side of the doorway, with his face to the west.

316. 出迎于門外，再拜。賓荅再拜。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of ordinary officers’ meeting” 士相見禮7.131)

出迎，再拜。賓合拜。 (*WWHJ* 89.3)

(Then the host) goes to meet him outside the gate, and there bows twice, and answered by two bows from the guest.

²⁰⁰ Steele translated 朝服 as “dress clothes.”

317. 宗人戒侑. 侑出, 俟于廟門之外. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The assistant clears away” 有司徹49.1081)

宗人戒或. [或出, 俟于廟門之外. (*WWHJ* 107.1)

Then the temple-keeper apprises the aides of the selection. And he goes out and waits outside the temple door.

318. 庶兄弟襚, 使人以將命于室, 主人拜于位, 委衣于尸東牀上. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*, “Rites of the funeral of an ordinary officer” 士喪禮35.769)

The various male distant relatives, in sending clothes, send a messenger to deliver their message in the room. The Master of Ceremonies bows from his place, and he lays out the clothes to the east of the corpse and on the couch.

5.2.2. 于 + Time

于 is used as a temporal locative marker in *The Ceremonies and Rites*.

5.2.2.1. 于 used as a temporal locative marker

There is only one case where 于 appears in a time expression marking a temporal locative:

319. 聘君若薨于後, 入竟則遂. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of inquiry” 聘禮 23.514)

When the Prince who sent the mission dies after the mission has departed, if the mission has already entered the territory of the other State, it proceeds with its business.

5.2.3. 于 used as a non-spatial goal marker

于 is used as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give], V[+addressee], or V[+target].

5.2.3.1. 于 co-occurring with V[+give]

There are 54 occurrences of 于 marks a recipient preceded by V[+give]. Examples include 獻 ‘to offer up’ (10 occurrences), 致 ‘to bring’ (eight occurrences), 舉 ‘to lift’ (seven occurrences), 媵 ‘to send’ (five occurrences), 進 ‘to bring in’ (five occurrences), 薦 ‘to present’ (five occurrences), 羞 ‘to offer food’ (five occurrences), 賜 ‘to bestow’ (three occurrences), 授 ‘to give’ (one occurrence), 歸 ‘to return’ (one occurrence), 還 ‘to return’ (one occurrence), and so on, all of which can be described as Verb [-mvt, -spatial, +goal, -source]. Among them, 還 and 舉 are also followed by 於 + recipient, as is discussed in 5.1.2.3.1. Examples of V[+give] + 於 + recipient include:

320. 主人曰：“孝孫某，來日丁亥，用薦歲事于皇祖伯某，以某妃配某氏，尚饗！”(*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The smaller set of beast offered as food to the ancestor” 少牢饋食禮 47.1038)

主人曰：“孝孫某，來日丁亥，用薦歲事于皇祖伯某，以某蟲蟲某氏是，尚薌！”(*WWHJ* 101.1-2)

The host says: “The filial grandson So-and-so in the coming day *Ding-hai* would make the anniversary offering before his noble grandfather, the eldest of his brother So-and-so, and would associate with him and his wife, inviting them to take a little refreshment.”

321. 賓長洗爵，獻于尸。尸拜受，賓戶西北面荅拜。爵止。(*The Ceremonies and Rite*/ “The assistant clears away” 有司徹50.1125)

賓長洗爵，獻尸。尸拜受，賓戶西北面合拜。爵止。(*WWHJ* 114.4=68r)

A senior guest washes a cup and offers wine to the personator, who bows as he receives it, the guest standing to the west of the door, facing north, and bowing in reply. Thereafter the cup is held back for the time being.

322. 主婦洗于房中，酌，致于主人，主人拜受，主婦戶西、北面拜送爵。司宮設席。(*The Ceremonies and Rite*/ “The assistant clears away” 有司徹 50.1126)

主婦洗于房，酌，致主人，主人拜受，主婦戶西、北面拜送爵。司宮執席。(*WWHJ* 114.4=68r)

The lady washes a cup in the chamber, and filling it, gives it to the host, who bows as he receives it, she to the west of the door; facing north, and bowing as she asks him to drink. The mat is set by the keeper of the vessels.

Note that in the *WWHJ*, both 獻 and 致 in the above two examples are directly followed by a recipient without the intervening marker 于.

5.2.3.2. 于 co-occurring with V[+addressee]

There are 70 occurrences of 于 preceded by V[+addressee]. Examples include 告 ‘to report’ (48 occurrences), 請 ‘invite for’ (14 occurrences), 命 ‘to command’ (five occurrences), 赴 ‘to report’ (one occurrence), and 聘 ‘to inquire’ (one occurrence), all of which can be described as Verb [-mvt, -spatial, +goal, -source]. In this case, 于 marks an addressee. Examples include:

323. 祝告于主人曰：“利成。”祝入。(*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The assistant clears away” 有司徹50.1130)

祝告于主人曰：“利成。”祝入。(*WWHJ* 115.13)

The liturgist announces to the host that the offering of food to the spirit is complete, and goes into the room.

324. 司射適西階西，倚扑，升自西階，東面請射于公。（“District archery rites” 鄉射禮 17/378-9）

The director then goes to the west of the western step, laying his rod against them, ascends and, facing east, invites the Duke to shoot, he consenting.

5.2.3.3. 于 co-occurring with V[+target]

Examples of 于 marking a spatial goal co-occurring with [+target] includes “東/南/西/北 + 面” ‘to face east/south/west/northward’ (38 occurrences), 見 ‘to make an audience’ (seven occurrences), 樂 ‘to entertain’ (2 occurrences), 傷 ‘to harm’ (one occurrence), 覲 ‘to have audience with a superior’ (one occurrence) and so on. Examples include:

325. 筮於廟門之外。主人朝服，西面于門東。（*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The smaller set of beast offered as food to the ancestor” 少牢饋食禮 47.1037）

筮于廟門之外。主人朝服，西面于門東。（*WWHJ* 101.1）

The divination is carried on outside the temple door, the host putting on his dress clothes, and standing facing west to the east of the door.

326. 多貨則傷于德，幣美則沒禮，賄，在聘于賄。（*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of inquiry” 聘禮 24.535-6）

If the things are many, the virtue of the ceremony is impaired. If the silks are over gay, the ceremonial idea is lost. The return gifts are regulated by the quantity and nature of the gifts presented.

327. 諸侯覲于天子，為宮方三百步，四門壇十有二尋，深四尺，加方明于其上。（*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of having audience” 覲禮 27.607）

For the audience of all the feudal Dukes with the Son of Heaven an enclosure is prepared, three hundred paces in circumference, and having four gates. Within is a raised platform twelve *hsun* in circumference, and 4 feet high, with the Brilliant Ark on top.

328. 司射與司馬交于階前，去扑，襲，升，請以樂樂于賓。（*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮 15.252）

The director and the master-at-arms meet before the steps, and the former lays aside his rod, draws on his coat, ascends, and asks permission to entertain the guest with music.

5.2.4. 于 used as a non-spatial source marker

In *The Ceremonies and Rites*, 于 is used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-give] or V[-addressee].

5.2.4.1. 于 co-occurring with V[-give]

There are 37 occurrences of 于 used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-give]. There are 26 occurrences of 取 ‘to take’ and 11 occurrences of 受 ‘to receive,’ including seven occurrences of 受命 ‘to receive a mandate’ and one occurrence of 受祿 ‘to receive blessing.’ Examples include:

329. 始加，醢用脯醢。賓降，取爵于筐。辭，降如初。卒洗，升酌。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of capping an ordinary officer” 士冠禮 16.349)

At the first capping dried flesh and hash are served. The guest goes down the west steps, and taking a cup from the basket, washes it; the declining of the honour being as before, he finishes the washing, goes up the steps, and fills the cup.

330. 司正洗觶，升自西階，阼階上北面受命于主人。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of district drinking” 鄉飲酒禮 9.178)

The overseer washes a goblet, and, going up by the west steps, takes his orders from the host at the head of the east steps *facing north*.²⁰¹

331. 受賜者興，授執散爵者。執散爵者乃酌行之。唯受于公者拜。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The great archery ceremony” 大射 18.409-10)

受賜者興，授執散爵者。執散爵者乃酌行之。唯受于公者拜。 (*WWHJ* 128.111)

The great officer who receives the cup at the Duke’s order rises, and hands it to the bearer of the ordinary cup, who ladles wine into it and sets it on its round. It is only the one who receives the cup directly from the Duke who bows.

5.2.4.2. 于 co-occurring with V[-addressee]

There is also one occurrence of 聽命 ‘to hear a mandate’ followed by 于 + addresser.

332. 曰：“某命某聽命于吾子。” (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of the marriage of an ordinary officer” 士昏禮 6.117)

(The messenger then) says: “So-and-so has ordered to receive your honor’s command.”

So far, it is illustrated that 于 in *The Ceremonies and Rites* is used as a spatial goal marker, spatial source marker, or spatial locative marker, temporal locative marker, non-spatial goal marker, as well as a non-spatial source marker. While 于 used as a spatial goal or spatial source marker, as well as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give], resisted encroachment best, 于 is more prone to be encroached upon by 於 when it is used as a spatial locative marker, a non-spatial goal marker with V[+addressee] or with V[+target]. That is, while those functions that are

²⁰¹ Steele did not translate 北面.

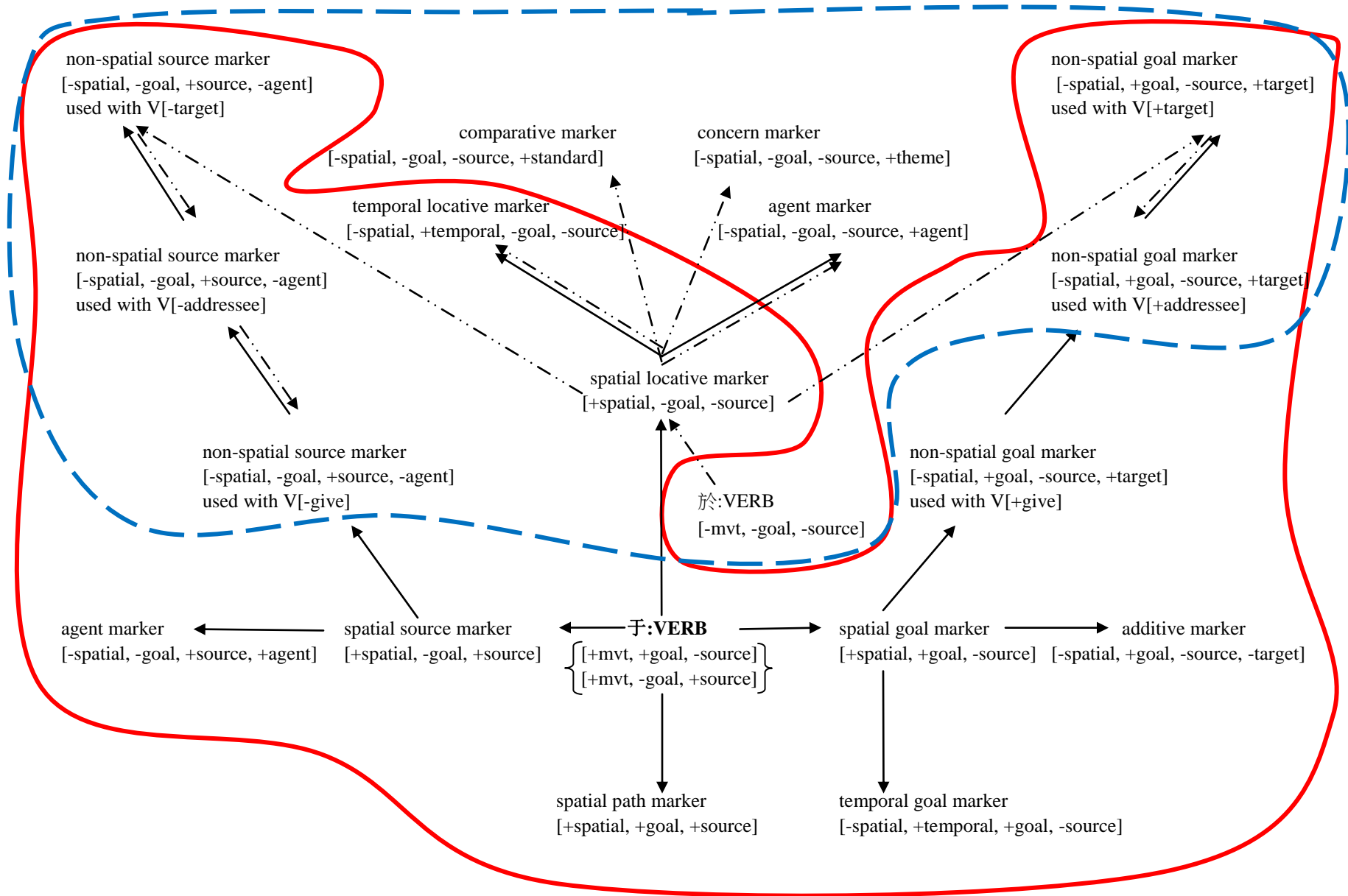
more closely related to the original feature set of 于 resisted encroachment better, those functions that are more distant from it were more prone to be encroached upon by 於.

5.3. The semantic scopes of 于 and 於 based on the data from the *BB*, *The Book of Odes*, *The Book of Documents*, and *The Ceremonies and Rites*

In this section, the semantic scopes of 于 and 於 is illustrated based on the data analyzed so far – the data from the *BB*, *The Book of Odes*, *The Book of Documents*, and *The Ceremonies and Rites*. As shown in Figure 5 below, the scope of 于 and 於 overlap in some areas. That is, both of them have the function of spatial locative, temporal locative, marking the non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+target] or V[+addressee], and marking the non-spatial source with V[-target], V[-addressee], and V[-give]. Even though there are examples of 於 marking a spatial goal, or 於 marks the non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+give] in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, they are still extremely scanty. These functions are, in the great majority of cases, carried out by 于. Therefore, they have not yet been included in the scope of 於 yet. It is clear from the figure that while those functions of 于 whose feature sets are close to its original verbal feature set resisted encroachment better, those functions of 于 whose feature sets are more distant from its original verbal feature set and close to the original verbal feature set of 於 were more prone to be encroached upon by 於.

The grammaticalization path of 於 can be summarized as follows. 於 was originally a locative verb and it first grammaticalized into a spatial locative marker. From a spatial locative marker, other extended functions, such as a temporal locative marker, a comparative marker, an agent marker, and a concern marker were derived. Also, from a spatial locative marker, functions that have a covert sense of directionality, such as a non-spatial source marker and a non-spatial goal marker, were derived. Later, from functions that have a covert sense of directionality, functions with an overt sense of directionality, such as a spatial or temporal goal marker and a spatial source marker, were derived.²⁰²

²⁰² For more discussion, see 6.1 and 6.2.



: The scope of 于 : The scope of 於

—————▶: The grammaticalization path of 于 - - - - -▶: The grammaticalization path of 於

Figure 5. Semantic scope of 于 and 於 based on data from the *BB*, *The Book of Odes*, *The Book of Documents*, and *The Ceremonies and Rites*

5.4. Comparison of the occurrence of 于 and 於 in the received text and in the *Wuwei hanjian* 武威漢簡

In this section, the occurrence of 于 and 於 in the received text and in the *Wuwei hanjian* 武威漢簡 is compared.

5.4.1. The dating and structure of the *WWHJ*

As has already been mentioned, there exists an excavated version of *The Ceremonies and Rites*, which is included in the cache of wooden and bamboo strips found at Wuwei 武威, Gansu 甘肅 in 1959. It can be assumed that it preserves intact the earlier shape of the text in the time of the late Western Han.

The excavated version of *The Ceremonies and Rites* is composed of nine sections, which can be subdivided into the following three groups:

The *jia* 甲 group, which is written on wooden strips, includes seven sections of *The Ceremonies and Rites*, including “Rites of ordinary officers’ meeting” 士相見之禮, “Commentary on garments” 服傳 (corresponding to “Mourning garments” 喪服 in the received text), “Special sacrificial animal” 特牲, “The smaller set of beasts” 少牢, “The assistant” 有司, “Banquet ceremony” 燕禮, and “The great archery ceremony” 泰射 (equivalent to 大射 in the received text).

The *yi* 乙 group, which is written on wooden strips, includes a version of “Commentary on garments” 服傳 which is slightly different from that in the *jia* group.

The *bing* 丙 group, which is written on bamboo strips, includes a version of “Mourning garments” 喪服 with no commentaries, which is presumably earlier than those in the *jia* and *yi* group.

Regarding the dating of the text, Chen Banghuai (1965:585-6) assumed that it was compiled during Wang Mang’s 王莽 (c. 45 BC –23 AD) time based on the following two pieces of evidence. First, the way that 四 and 七 are written in the *jia* group (as 𠄎 and 𠄎 respectively) agrees with the script style of Wang Mang’s time, which is different from the conventional script style of the Western Han. Second, the currency used during this time (called *daquan wushi* 大泉五十) was also found in the tomb.

5.4.2. Comparison of the occurrence of 於 in the received text and in the *Wuwei hanjian*²⁰³

The correspondence of 於 in the Ruan Yuan version of *The Ceremonies and Rites* and in the *Wuwei hanjian* are summarized in Table 18. The first column lists six sections—excluding “Mourning garments”—appearing in the *jia* group of the *Wuwei hanjian*.²⁰⁴ The second and

²⁰³ For the complete list of the correspondence of 於 in the received text and in the *Wuwei hanjian*, see Appendix V.

²⁰⁴ “Mourning garments” is excluded from the statistics. As is explained in 5.1, only 於 appears in this section in the received text and it is presumably the case that this section reflects the language in which 於 completely replaced 于. In the *WWHJ*, it is also the case that only 於 appears in this section. 於 appears 18 times in the received text and 11 times in the *WWHJ*.

third columns show the number of occurrences of 于 and 於 in the Ruan Yuan version. The fourth and fifth columns show the number of occurrences of 于 and 於 in the *WWHJ*. The sixth to eighth columns compare the occurrence of 于 and 於 in the Ruan Yuan version and in the *WWHJ*. They show the number of occurrences in which 於 in the Ruan Yuan version corresponds to 於 in the *WWHJ*, 於 in the Ruan Yuan version corresponds to 于 in the *WWHJ*, and 于 in the Ruan Yuan version corresponds to 於 in the *WWHJ* respectively.

Table 18. The correspondence of 於 in the Ruan Yuan version of *The Ceremonies and Rites* and in the *Wuwei hanjian*²⁰⁵

	Ruan Yuan version		<i>WWHJ</i>		於 in RY: 於 in <i>WWHJ</i>	於 in RY: 于 in <i>WWHJ</i>	于 in RY: 於 in <i>WWHJ</i>	total
	于	於	于	於				
士相見	8	11	5	13	10	1	2	13
特牲	114	4	109	4	3	1	0	4
少牢	128	2	119	1	1	1	0	2
有司	201	2	181	0	0	1	0	1
燕禮	76	10	51	8	8	1	0	9
泰射	165	24	146	20	20	2	0	22
total	692	71	611	46	42	7	2	51

As is shown in Table 18, 於 in the received text corresponds to 於 in the excavated text in the great majority of cases. This correspondence accounts for 42 cases out of a total of 51. When the received text and the excavated text differ, it is mostly the case that 于 in the excavated text is replaced by 於 in the received texts. There are seven such cases. There are two rare cases in which 於 in the excavated text correspond to 于 in the received text.

In the following subsections, examples of all three cases are provided. When there is a discrepancy between the received and excavated text, a possible reason for the encroachment is suggested and the proto-text form is reconstructed.

5.4.2.1. 於 in both the received text and *WWHJ*

There are 42 cases where 於 appears in both the received text and the *WWHJ*. Examples include:

²⁰⁵ The major reason that the *WWHJ* has an overall smaller number of 于 and 於 compared to the received text is that some strips are missing or broken.

333. 士見於大夫，終辭其摯。於其入也，一拜其辱也。賓退，送，再拜。(The Ceremonies and Rites/ “Rites of ordinary officers’ meeting” 士相見禮7.132)
士見於大夫，終辭其摯，於其入也，壹拜其辱也。賓退，再拜。(WWHJ 89.6)

When an ordinary officer visits a great officer, the latter declines altogether to receive his present. At his entrance the host bows once, acknowledging his condescension. When the guest withdraws, he escorts him and bows twice.

見 is a type of verb which is followed by either 于 + goal or 於 + goal. In the above example, it is followed by 於 + goal in both the received and excavated texts. As mentioned in 5.1.2.6, only 於 + Noun appears in front of a verb or a sentence to focus or contrast. On the other hand, 于 + Noun always appears after the verb. Therefore, 於 appears both in the received and excavated texts in “於其入也 + Sentence.”

334. 上射降三等，下射少右，從之，中等，並行，上射於左。²⁰⁶ (The Ceremonies and Rites/ “The great archery ceremony” 大射17.377)

上射降三等，下射少右，從之，中等，並行，上射於左。(WWHJ 124.50.1)

The first shot descends three steps, and the second, a little to his right, comes down to the middle step. Then they both continue their descent, the first shot being on the left.

In 334, both the received and excavated texts have 於, which is used as a verb ‘to be placed at.’

335. 若右勝，則曰：“右賢於左。”若左勝，則曰：“左賢於右。”(The Ceremonies and Rites/ “District archery rites” 鄉射禮12.243, also appears in “The great archery ceremony” 大射18.389)

若右勝，則曰：“右賢滅左。”若左勝，則曰：“左賢於右。”(WWHJ 126.77)

If the right side has won, he says: “The right side has excelled the left”; while if the left side has won, he says: “The left has excelled the right.”

As mentioned in 5.1.2.5.3, only 於 is used as a standard marker in a comparative sentence. Therefore, both the received and excavated texts have 於 in 左賢於右 “the left is wiser than the right.”

²⁰⁶ While Ruan Yuan version has 於 in this line, Li Xueqin’s version has 于 instead. He noted that 陳本, 閩本, 監本, and 葛本 all mistakenly have 與. However, there is a variety of direct and indirect evidence that 于 in the Li Xueqin version is an error for 於. First, in all other occurrences of “上射/下射 + 于 + 左/右,” 於 appears instead in the received text. Second, 與 is often used as a graphic variant of 於. Therefore, 與 in other versions of received texts may well be interpreted as 於. Finally, the most conclusive evidence is that the WWHJ, which presumably preserves the earlier stage of the text better, has 於 in this line.

336. 宵, 則庶子執燭於阼階上, 司宮執燭於西階上, 甸人執大燭於庭, 閽人為大燭於門外. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* / “The Banquet ceremony” 燕禮15.330)

宵, 則庶子執燭於阼階上, 司宮執燭於西階上, 甸人執大燭於庭, 閽人為燭於門外. (*WWHJ* 119.44-5)

When it grows dark a cadet holds a torch at the head of the eastern steps, and the keeper of the vessels another at the head of the western steps; while the cultivators of the ducal domain hold large torches in the court, and the doorkeeper prepares a large one outside the door.

In the above example, 於 appears both in the received text and in the *WWHJ*, being used as a spatial locative marker co-occurring with a verb 執燭 “hold a torch,” which is considered to be a low frequency verb.

5.4.2.2. 於 in the received text: 于 in the *WWHJ*

There are seven cases where 于 in the *WWHJ* corresponds to 於 in the received text. Examples include:

337. 賓弟子及兄弟弟子洗, 各酌于其尊, 中庭北面西上, 舉觶於其長, 奠觶拜, 長皆荅拜. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* / “Rites of offering special sacrificial animals” 特牲饋食禮 46.1015)

賓弟子及兄弟弟子洗, 各酌于其尊, 中庭北面西上, 舉觶于其長, 鄭觶拜, 長皆合拜. (*WWHJ* 98.41)

The juniors among the guests and descendants wash cups, and each ladles out wine at the holder appropriated to him. Then they stand in the centre of the court, facing north, and graded from the west, and raise the cup each to his senior. They then lay down the cup and bow, the seniors bowing in return.

As mentioned in 5.1.2.3.1, 舉 is a type of verb which appears in the form “舉 + theme + 于 recipient” as well as “舉 + theme + 於 + recipient.” In the Ruan Yuan version, there are six occurrence of the former and only one occurrence of the latter. Therefore, it is presumably the case that the proto-text has 于 as in the *WWHJ*, which is replaced by 於 in the received text.

338. 少牢饋食之禮. 日用丁, 巳. 筮旬有一日. 筮於廟門之外. (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “The smaller set of beast offered as food to the ancestor” 少牢饋食禮47.1037)
 少牢饋食之禮. 日用丁, 己, 筮旬有一日. 筮于廟門之外. (*WWHJ* 101.1)

The ceremonial observed by a great officer in offering the smaller set of animals for the reflection of the ancestral spirits is as follows: *For the day of divination, they use the fourth or the sixty day of the ten celestial stems.*²⁰⁷ They divine forward eleven days. The divination is carried on outside the temple door.

There are two occurrences of 筮于 + Place and one occurrence of 筮於 + Place in the received text. Given the fact that 筮 is followed by 于 + Place in both the received and excavated texts in all other cases, it is legitimate to say that the line in the proto-text would have been same as in the *WWHJ*.

For the cases where 于 in the *WWHJ* was replaced by 於 in the received text, it can be assumed that later redactors, who considered 于 archaic and obsolete, replaced it with 於.

5.4.2.3. 于 in the received text: 於 in the *WWHJ*

There are two rare cases where 於 in the *WWHJ* corresponds to 于 in the received text, both of which are listed below.

339. 主人復見之, 以其摯, 曰: “曩者吾子辱, 使某見. 請還摯於將命者.” [.....] 賓對曰: “某也非敢求見, 請還摯于將命者.” (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/ “Rites of ordinary officers’ meeting” 士相見禮 7.131)

主人復見之, 以某摯, 曰: “鄉者吾子辱, 使某見. 請還摯於將命者.” [.....] 對曰: “某非敢求見, 請還摯於將命者.” (*WWHJ* 89.4-5)

When the former host pays his return visit, he takes the other’s present with him. Addressing the usher he says: “Recently when his honour demeaned himself by visiting me, he commanded me to an interview. I ask now permission to return his gift by the hands of the usher.” [.....] The guest answers: “I do not dare to ask for an interview; I only presume to request permission to return to the gift by the usher.”

“請還摯 *yú/yū* 將命者” appears twice in the received text, both times in “Rites of ordinary officer’s meeting” as in the above example. While the *WWHJ* has 於 in both occurrences, in the received text, 於 and 于 appear, respectively. Given the fact that the contexts where *yú/yū* appears are the same (both are in “請還摯 *yú/yū* 將命者”), it can be supposed that the same form should appear. Therefore, 於 in the *WWHJ* is presumably the same as what the proto-text had, and 于 in the received text is a later corruption.

²⁰⁷ Steele translated 日用丁, 己 as “For the occasion they divine a ‘soft’ day, either the 4th or 6th of the decade.”

340. 賓出, 使擯者還其摯于門外, 曰: “某也使某還摯.” (*The Ceremonies and Rites*/
“Rites of ordinary officers’ meeting” 士相見禮7.133)

賓出. 使擯者還其摯於門外, 曰: “某也, 使某還摯.” (*WWHJ* 89.7)

When the guest leaves, the host sends the usher to return the gift outside the gate,
saying: “So-and-so sends me to hand back your gift.”

In the above example, the received text has “還其摯于 + location,” whereas the corresponding line in the *WWHJ* has “還其摯於 + location.” It is presumably the case that the occurrence of 于 + location in the received text is a later corruption, possibly due to the influence of 于 appearing in the preceding line “請還摯于 + recipient,” as in 339.

5.4.3. Conclusion

From the comparison of parallel lines of the Ruan Yuan version of the received text and the *WWHJ*, it is shown that the distinction between 于 and 於 is preserved well through time in around eighty percent of the total occurrences. As can be expected, 於 carrying on its unique function, which is not shared with 于, is less often confused with 于. Examples include 於 appearing before the verb phrase (as in e.g. 333), and 於 used as a verb (e.g. 334) or used as a marker of comparison (e.g. 335). When there is a discrepancy between the received and excavated texts, it is more often the case that 于 in the excavated text corresponds to 於 in the received text. It can be supposed that 于 in the excavated text is the same as in the proto-text, and 於 in the received text is a later corruption. There are two rare cases in which 於 in the *WWHJ* corresponds to 于 in the received text. The appearance of 于 in the received text is presumably due to the influence of the preceding line which contains 于 + Noun. Therefore, it is presumably the case that the *WWHJ* preserves the form in the proto-text.

The comparison of the Ruan Yuan version of *The Ceremonies and Rites* and the *WWHJ* implies that the distinction between 于 and 於 was kept considerably well in the received texts. Therefore, it is still valid to use received texts with care for the study of the functional differences between 于 and 於.

6. The encroachment of 于 by 於 based on the data in *Zuo's Commentary*

In *Zuo's Commentary*, 於 appears slightly more frequently than 于. 于 appears 1450 times and 於 appears 1811 times, resulting in a ratio of 于 to 於 of 44:56.

It has been pointed out by He (2000a, 2000b) that there are considerable grammatical differences observed between The Former Eight Dukes and The Latter Four Dukes. Regarding the numbers of occurrences of 于 and 於, she states that, while 于 slightly outnumbered 於 in The Former Eight Dukes, 於 is more dominant in The Latter Four Dukes. According to my count of 于 and 於 in *Zuo's Commentary*, the ratio of 于 to 於 in The Former Eight Dukes is 53:47, while it is 39:61 in The Latter Four Dukes.

Table 19 shows the numbers of 于 and 於 in each of the twelve Dukes in *Zuo's Commentary*.

Table 19. The number of occurrences of 于 and 於 in *Zuo's Commentary*

		于	於	Percentage of 于 vs. 於	于 + 於
The Former Eight Dukes 前八公	Duke Yin 隱公	72	41	64:36	113
	Duke Huan 桓公	64	49	57:43	113
	Duke Zhuang 莊公	85	48	64:36	133
	Duke Min 閔公	15	9	63:37	24
	Duke Xi 僖公	162	150	52:48	312
	Duke Wen 文公	92	117 ²⁰⁸	44:56	209
	Duke Xuan 宣公	98	77	56:44	175
	Duke Cheng 成公	133	148	47:53	281
	total	721	639	53:47	1360
The Latter Four Dukes 後四公	Duke Xiang 襄公	254	402	39:61	656
	Duke Zhao 昭公	272	476	36:64	748
	Duke Ding 定公	91	125	42:58	216
	Duke Ai 哀公	112	169	40:60	281
		total	729	1172	38:62
前八公 + 後四公		1450	1811	44:56	3261

In the following subsections, the usages of 于 and 於 in The Former Eight Dukes and The Latter Four Dukes are compared. Among The Former Eight Dukes, the first four dukes (Duke Yin, Duke Huan, Duke Zhuang, and Duke Min) are chosen for analysis because 于 is more dominant in these four sections. Among The Latter Four Dukes, the first duke, Duke Xiang 襄公 is chosen. It is observed that although it is the first chapter of The Latter Four Dukes, it already

²⁰⁸ It is noteworthy that, even though Duke Wen belongs to The Former Eight Dukes, it has more 於 than 于. This can be explained as follows. First, there are large numbers of 於是 ‘thereupon’ (8 occurrences) and 於是乎 ‘thereupon’ (5 occurrences) in this section, as compared to other parts of The Former Eight Dukes. Second, as shown in 6.4, 於 tends to appear in “complex” syntactic environments more frequently than 于 does. In Duke Wen, these complex syntactic environments appear more frequently than in any other part of The Former Eight Dukes, resulting in more frequent occurrences of 於 than of 于. Complex syntactic environments include 于/於 in a modifier ([VyuN]_M + 之 + Head), in the head noun (Modifier + 之 + [VyuN]_H), or before a noun phrase whose structure is [Modifier + 之 + Head], as well as within a phrase nominalized by 者. For examples, see 6.4. Syntactic features of the [于/於 + NP]_{PP}.

shows a significant difference from The Former Eight Dukes in terms of the usages of 于 and 於.

6.1. The usage of 于 and 於 in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes

The usage of 于 and 於 in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes shows the following characteristics:²⁰⁹ 于 is preferred as a spatial goal and locative marker; 於 is preferred as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give], V[+addressee], and V[+target]; 於 is preferred as a non-spatial source marker with V[-give] and V[-addressee]; only 於 co-occurs with V[-target] marking a non-spatial source; only 于 is used as an additive marker; both 于 and 於 are used as an agent marker. In the following subsections, each claim is discussed, with examples.

6.1.1. 于/於 + Place

In the following subsections, it is illustrated that 于 is preferred as a spatial goal marker and a spatial locative marker. Marking a spatial locative is the core function of 於. Therefore, when 於 first started to encroach upon 于, the encroachment started from a spatial locative marker as is already observed in the *JWYD*, *The Book of Odes*, *The Book of Documents*, and *The Ceremonies and Rites*. However, in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes in *Zuo's Commentary*, it is also observed that since a spatial locative marker is also a core function of 于, it resisted encroachment by 於.

6.1.1.1. 于 is preferred as a spatial goal marker

As a spatial goal marker, 于 is still preferred over 於. There are 31 examples out of a total of 236 occurrences of 于 in Duke Yin, Duke Huan, Duke Zhuang, and Duke Min used as a spatial goal marker, while there are only 14 examples out of a total of 147 occurrences of 於 used

²⁰⁹ Examples in which 于 and 於 are part of a place name or a personal name, as well as examples in which 于 appears in a quotation from an earlier text, are excluded from the count. Examples include:

冬, 淳于公如曹. 度其國危, 遂不復. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Huan” 桓公5.6/108) (place name)

In winter, the duke of Chúnú went to Cáo, reckoning that his State was in a perilous state; and he did not return to it.

秋, 申公鬥班殺子元. 鬥穀於菟為令尹, 自毀其家, 以舒楚國之難. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Zhuang” 莊公 3.30/247) (personal name, pronounced as 烏)

In autumn, Dòu Bān, duke of Shēn, put Zǐyuán to death. Dòu Gǔ Wūtù became chief minister, and emptied his house of everything to alleviate the difficulties of the State.

陳侯使筮之, 遇觀之否, 曰: “是謂: ‘觀國之光, 利用賓于王.’”(Zuo's Commentary/ “Duke Zhuang” 莊公 3.22/223) (quotation from *The Book of Change* 易經)

The marquis made him consult it by the milfoil on the future of the boy, when he found the hexagram guān, and then by the change of manipulation, the hexagram pǐ. “Here”, he said, “is the deliverance;” “We behold the light of the State. This is auspicious for one to be the king’s guest.”

for the same function in the same corpus of the text. This agrees with Pulleyblank's (1986:7) observation that “[In *Zuo's Commentary*] after verbs of going, both are found but 于 predominates.”²¹⁰

As is pointed out in 5.2.1.1, the preference for 于 over 於 as a spatial goal marker can be explained from the perspective of the original feature set of 于: the feature set of a spatial goal marker, which is [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, -source], is most closely related to the original verbal feature set of 于, which is [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] in that they share the features [+goal]. On the other hand, the feature set of a spatial goal marker is rather distant from the original verbal feature set of 於 ‘to be placed at,’ which is [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source], in that 於 has the feature [-goal]. This explains why 于 used a spatial goal marker resisted encroachment by 於 better than 于 used in any other function in *Zuo's Commentary*.

Verbs that precede the spatial goal marker 于 include: 歸 ‘to return,’ 入 ‘to enter,’ 納 ‘to bring in,’ 遷 ‘to move,’ 封 ‘to enfeoff,’ 逐 ‘to expel,’ 送 ‘to send,’ 帥 ‘to lead,’ 召 ‘to summon,’ 放 ‘to expel,’ 孫 (=遜) ‘to escape,’ 追 ‘to pursue,’ 投 ‘to throw,’ 降 ‘to move down,’ and 復 ‘to return,’ all of which can be described as Verb [+mvt, +goal, -source]. Examples include:

341. 仲子生而有文在其手，曰為魯夫人，故仲子歸于我。 (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 2-4)

Zhòngzǐ, at birth, had a pattern on her hand. The pattern said: ‘Becomes wife in Lǔ.’ As a result Zhòngzǐ got married to our state.

342. 四月甲辰，鄭公子忽如陳逆婦媯。辛亥，以媯氏歸。甲寅，入于鄭。 (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公8.4/58-9)

In the fourth month, on the day *jiǎchén*, Hū, son of the earl of Zhèng went to Chén, and met his Fù bride. On the day *xīnhài*, he commenced his return with her. On the day *jiǎyín*, they entered the capital of Zhèng.

343. 惠之二十四年，晉始亂，故封桓叔于曲沃。 (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Huan” 桓公 2.8/93)

In the twenty-fourth year of duke Huì of Lǔ, Jīn began to be in confusion, and the marquis of Zhao enfeoffed Huánshú at Qūwò.

Although 于 is preferred as a spatial goal marker, there are 14 occurrences of 於 used as a spatial goal marker in the same corpus of the text. It is noteworthy that 於 is followed not only by a “real” place, but also by a more “figurative” place, such as a degree, result, or situation.²¹¹ A “real” place can be formulated as [+concrete] and a “figurative” place can be formulated as [-

²¹⁰ He further stated, “Thus I find 65 instances of 至于 ‘arrive at’ as against 21 of 至於. After 遷 ‘remove’ there are 31 instances of 于 as against 13 of 於. After 入 ‘enter’ there are 53 instances of 于 as against 12 of 於. 門 in the sense of ‘attack a gate’ is followed by 于 19 times and 於 only once” (Pulleyblank 1986:7).

²¹¹ For more details on the semantic features of the object of 於, see 6.5.

concrete]. While there are seven examples of 於 followed by a [+concrete] place, there are the same number of examples where 於 is followed by a [-concrete] place. This shows a sharp contrast with the fact that all occurrences of 于 as a spatial goal marker in the same corpus are followed by a [+concrete] place, such as 朝 ‘court,’ 曲沃 ‘Qūwò (place name),’ or a state name. Table 20 lists all occurrences of 於 + Place where 於 is used as a spatial goal marker followed by a [±concrete] place.

Table 20. All occurrences of 於 + Place where 於 is used as a spatial goal marker followed by a [±concrete] place in Duke Yin, Duke Huan, Duke Zhuang, and Duke Min of The Former Eight Dukes

於 + Place [+concrete] (7 occurrences)	
1. <u>至於廩延</u> . (Duke Yin 1.4/12)as far as Lǐnyán.
2. 段入 <u>於鄆</u> . (Duke Yin 1.4/13)Duan entered Yan.
3-4. 鳥獸之肉, 不登 <u>於俎</u> , 皮革齒牙骨角毛羽不登 <u>於器</u> . (Duke Yin 5.1/43)	Now when the birds and beasts are such that their flesh is not presented in the sacrificial vessels, and their skins, hides, teeth, bones, horns, feathers, and hair are not used in the furniture of the State.
5. 秦人納芮伯萬 <u>於芮</u> . (Duke Huan 10.3/128)	Qín restored Wàn, earl of Ruǐ, to Ruǐ.
6. <u>驅楚役徒於山中</u> . (Duke Huan 12.3/134) to pursue the service-men of Chǔ upon the hill.
7. <u>遷權於那處</u> . (Duke Zhuang 18.5/208) removing also the people to Nàchǔ.
於 + Place [-concrete] (7 occurrences)	
1. <u>弗納於邪</u> . (Duke Yin 3.7/31)and not help him on in the course of depravity.
2. 君, 將納民 <u>於軌物</u> 者也. (Duke Yin 5.1/41)	Into the idea of a ruler it enters that he lead and helps the people on to what should be observed, and all the ramifications thereof.

Table 20 continued

3-4. 諫以自納於刑, 刑猶不忘納君於善. (Duke Zhuang 19.1/211) He remonstrated with him till he led himself to a severe punishment; and after that punishment, he still did not forget to urge on his prince to what was good.
5. 羈旅之臣幸若獲宥, 及於寬政. (Duke Zhuang 22.1/220) Your subject is here an exile. I am fortunate if I obtain your forgiveness, and enjoy the advantage of your indulgent government.
6.弗納於淫, 仁也. (Duke Zhuang 22.1/221)and then not to allow him to go to excess, was truly virtuous.
7. 周公弗從, 故及於難. (Duke Min 2.7/272) But the duke of Zhōu would not listen to him, and so came to his unfortunate end.

As shown in Table 20 above, 於 is followed not only by a [+concrete] place, such as 廩延 ‘Linyan’ (place name), 鄢 ‘Yan’ (place name), 俎 ‘stand for sacrificial meat,’ 器 ‘vessel,’ and 山中 ‘deep in the mountain,’ but also by a [-concrete] place indicating degree, result, or situation, such as 邪 ‘evil,’ 刑 ‘punishment,’ 淫 ‘licentiousness,’ 寬政 ‘generous governing,’ and 難 ‘difficulty.’

In sum, 于 is preferred over 於 as a spatial goal marker whose features are [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, -source] in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes. The underlying reason for which 于 used as a spatial goal marker resisted encroachment by 於 can be found in the fact that the features of 于 as a spatial goal marker are most directly related to the original verbal feature set of 于, which is [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source]. Also, it is noteworthy that when 於 is used as a spatial goal marker, it can be followed not only by a [+concrete] place, but also by a [-concrete] place, while 于 is only followed by a [+concrete] place.

6.1.1.2. 于 is preferred as a spatial locative marker

As a spatial locative marker, 于 is still preferred over 於. A spatial locative marker is a core function of 于 in that it is [+spatial], and it resisted encroachment by 於. While there are 144 cases out of a total of 236 occurrences of 于 used as a spatial locative marker, there are only 32 cases out of a total of 147 occurrences of 於 used in the same function. The verbs that co-occur with the spatial locative marker 于 include 盟 ‘to make a covenant,’ 會 ‘to meet’ (24 occurrences), 戰 ‘to have a battle’ (9 occurrences), 敗 ‘to defeat’ (8 occurrences), 遇 ‘to encounter’ (7 occurrences), 次 ‘to stay three nights’ (6 occurrences), 逆 ‘to welcome,’ 殺 ‘to kill’ (5 occurrences), 弑 ‘to kill the lord,’ 死 ‘to die,’ 薨 ‘(a feudal lord) to die’ (2 occurrences), 軍 ‘to encamp,’ 處 ‘to be located,’ 館 ‘to lodge,’ 哭 ‘to cry,’ 狩 ‘to do the great winter hunt,’ 田 ‘to hunt’ (1 occurrence), and so on, all of which can be described as Verb [-mvt, -goal, -source]. Examples include:

344. 三月, 公及邾儀父盟于蔑, 邾子克也. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 1.2/9)

In the third month the Duke and Zhū Yífū made a covenant at Miè. This was because Zhūzǐ had won a victory.

345. 冬, 公會齊侯于防, 謀伐宋也. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 9.5/65)

In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qí in Fáng, to arrange for making a military expedition against Song.

On the other hand, the verbs that co-occur with 於 are quite different from those that co-occur with 于: 為 ‘to become’ (5 occurrences), 邑 ‘to establish a city,’ 敗 ‘to defeat,’ 軍 ‘to lodge,’ 享 ‘to hold a banquet’ (2 occurrences), 立 ‘to establish,’ 昭 ‘to be bright,’ 次 ‘to stay three nights,’ 薨 ‘(a feudal lord) to die,’ 卒 ‘to die (suddenly),’ 鬥 ‘to fight,’ 葬 ‘to bury,’ 著 ‘to appear,’ and 大 ‘to be great’ (1 occurrence). Among them, only 敗, 軍, 次, and 薨 co-occur with 于 as well as 於. For the rest of verbs, the distribution is complementary. Examples of 於 used as a spatial locative marker are as follows:

346. 王子狐為質於鄭, 鄭公子忽為質於周. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 3.3/27)

The king’s son Hú became a hostage to Zhèng and the earl’s eldest son Hū became a hostage to Zhōu.

347. 王遂行, 卒於櫛木之下. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Zhuang” 莊公 1.3/164)

The king marched immediately after this, and died under a mán tree.

348. 武王克商, 遷九鼎于雒邑, 義士猶非之, 而況將昭違亂之賂器於大廟, 其若之何? (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Huan” 桓公 2.7/89)

When king Wǔ had subdued Shāng, he removed the nine tripods to the city of Luò, and the righteous Biye and others, it would appear, condemned him for it; but what can be said when this bribe is seen in the grand temple, this bribe of wickedness and disorder?

349. 使俱曰: “狄之廣莫, 於晉為都, 晉之啟土, 不亦宜乎!” 晉侯說之. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Zhuang” 莊公 28.2/240)

They ordered both men to say: “Since the lands of the barbarians are vast, one should establish minor administrative centers for Jin (at Pú and Qū). Such an opening up of the Jin territory would that not be wise?” Duke Xiàn was pleased.

The choice of 於 over 于 in examples 347-349 can be explained as follows. As is illustrated in 6.4, 於 tends to appear in “complex” syntactic environments more frequently than 于 does. Example 347 can be formulated as [V於[N1之N2]_{NP}]_{VP} and example 348 can be formulated as [V[VP之N]_{NP}於N]_{VP}, both of which are considered complex syntactic structures as compared to [V於N]_{VP}. In example 349, [於+N] appears before the verb, in an environment

in which only 於 can appear.²¹²

In sum, the choice of 于 or 於 is not just conditioned by a single factor. Instead, it is conditioned by several interwoven factors. The conditioning factors pointed out so far include:

- (1) The function that 于 or 於 carries on;
- (2) The semantic feature of the following noun—whether it is [+concrete] or [-concrete];
- (3) The complexity of the syntactic environment where 于/於 appears.

6.1.2. 于 and 於 used as a non-spatial goal marker

In the following subsections, it is illustrated that 於 is preferred as a non-spatial goal marker.

6.1.2.1. Both 于 and 於 co-occur with V[+give]

As a non-spatial goal marker with Verb [+give], both 于 and 於 occur frequently. There are five cases out of a total of 236 occurrences of 于 marking a non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+give], and there are eight cases out of a total of 147 occurrences of 於 used in the same function. V[+give] followed by 于 includes 使 ‘to send a messenger,’ 發 ‘to distribute,’ 嫁 ‘to marry out a daughter,’ 獻 ‘to offer up,’ and 禘 ‘to make a *di*-sacrifice.’ V[+give] followed by 於 includes 嫁 ‘to marry out a daughter’ (3 occurrences), 薦 ‘to present,’ 羞 ‘to offer,’ 致 ‘to bring,’ 獻 ‘to offer up,’ and 女 ‘to marry a daughter.’ Also, it is often the case that a single verb can be followed by not only 于 but also 於. Among V[+give], 嫁 and 獻 is followed by not only 于 but also 於. Examples of 于 and 於 co-occurring with V[+give] are as follows:

V[+give] + 于 + goal

350. 凡公女, 嫁于敵國, 姊妹, 則上卿送之, 以禮於先君; 公子, 則下卿送之. 以禮於先君; 公子, 則下卿送之. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Huan” 桓公 3.6/99)

If the intermarriage were with a State of equal dignity and power, and the ladies were sisters of the ruling prince, a minister of the highest rank escorted them, out of respect to their father, the former lord of the state; but if they were daughters of the ruling prince, only a minister of a lower rank escorted them, out of respect to their father, the former lord of the State; but if they were daughters of the ruling prince, only a minister of a lower rank escorted them.

²¹² For more detailed discussion on the relationship between the choice of 于 or 於 and the syntactic complexity of the sentences where they occur, see 6.4.

V[+give] + 於 + goal

351. 筐筥錡釜之器, 潢汙行潦之水, 可薦於鬼神, 可羞於王公, 而況君子結二國之信, 行之以禮, 又焉用質? (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 3.3/28)

In baskets round and square and cooked in pans and pots with the water from standing pools and road hollows, may be presented to the Spirits, and set before kings and dukes; much more may we conclude that when two princes are contracting their States in good faith, and their proceedings are according to the proper rules, there is no good in hostages.

From the limited data provided above, it is observed that as a non-spatial goal marker with Verb [+give], 於 is slightly preferred over 于. This shows a sharp contrast with the fact that, in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, there are only two occurrences of 於 used as a non-spatial goal marker with Verb [+give], while there are 54 occurrences of 于 co-occurring with the same type of verb.²¹³ This implies that the scope of 于 was encroached upon by 於 considerably in *Zuo's Commentary*, as compared to *The Ceremonies and Rites*. As a result, while 于 as a spatial goal marker or as a spatial locative marker, which is directly derived from the verb, still resisted encroachment by 於, 于's function marking a non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+give], which is extended from its function as a spatial goal marker, has been considerably encroached upon by 於.²¹⁴ In Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes, 于 as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give] was further encroached upon by 於, and 於 was more frequently used.

6.1.2.2. Both 于 and 於 co-occur with V[+addressee]

With a V[+addressee], both 于 and 於 occur frequently. While there are seven cases out of a total of 236 occurrences of 于 that co-occur with V[+addressee], there are same number of cases out of a total of 147 occurrences of 於 that co-occur with the same type. V[+addressee] that co-occur with 于 are as follows: 告 ‘to report’ (5 occurrences), 譖 ‘to slander,’ and 言 ‘to say.’ V[+addressee] that co-occur with 於 are as follows: 言 ‘to say’ (3 occurrences), 告 ‘to report’ (2 occurrences), 聘 ‘to go to inquire’ (1 occurrence), and 譖 ‘to slander’ (1 occurrence). Examples of 于 and 於 marking a non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+addressee] include:

²¹³ However, by comparison with the corresponding lines in the *WWHJ*, it is suggested that one occurrence of 於 as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give] can be interpreted as a later corruption, and it can be presumed that the proto-text had 于 instead. If so, there is only one occurrence of 於 with V[+give]. For discussion on 于 used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give] in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, see 5.2.3.1. For discussion on 於 in the same function, see 5.1.2.3.1.

²¹⁴ For the revised semantic scopes of 于 and 於 based on their occurrences in *Zuo's Commentary*, see Figure 6 in 6.3.

V[+addressee] + 于 + goal

352. 巴子使韓服告于楚, 請與鄧為好. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Huan” 桓公 9.2/124)
The viscount of Bā sent Hán Fú with an announcement to Chǔ, asking Chǔ’s services to bring about good relations between it and Dèng.

V[+addressee] + 於 + goal

353. 周桓公言於王曰: “我周之東遷晉鄭焉依. 善鄭以勸來者, 猶懼不訖, 況不禮焉? 鄭不來矣.” (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 6.7/51)
The Duke Huán of Zhōu said to him, “Our Zhōu’s removal to the east was all through the help of Jīn and Zhèng. You should treat Zhèng well, to encourage other princes to come to the court and still there is a fear that they will not come. Now when he receives discourtesy, Zhèng will not come again.”

6.1.2.3. 於 is preferred with V[+target]

Although both 于 and 於 are used as a non-spatial goal marker with [+target], 於 is preferred over 于. There are 17 occurrences out of a total of 236 occurrences of 于 and 24 occurrences out of a total of 147 occurrences of 於 in this usage.

Verbs that co-occur with 于 marking a non-spatial goal marker with [+target] include: 朝 ‘to pay court visit (3 occurrences),’ 見 ‘to appear,’ 傅 ‘to be next to,’ 貳 ‘to divide the authority,’ 怨 ‘to begrudge,’ 禍 ‘(to bring) a calamity,’ 降 ‘to surrender,’ 惡 ‘to hate,’ and 警 ‘to warn.’ Examples include:

354. 及衛州吁立, 將修先君之怨于鄭, 而求寵於諸侯, 以和其民. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 4.3/36)
And now, when Zhōuyù had made himself marquis of Wèi, he thought at once of putting to rights his father’s grudge against Zhèng, and of getting for himself the favour of the princes, in order to make his people better affected.
355. 鄭伯之享王也, 王以后之鞶鑑予之. 虢公請器, 王予之爵. 鄭伯由是始惡于王. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Zhuang” 莊公21.1/218)
When the earl of Zhèng feasted the king, the king had given him a queen’s large girdle with a mirror in it. The duke of Guó now begged for something, and the king gave him a drinking cup. This was the first occasion of the hatred which the earl of Zhèng (duke Wén, son of Tū) cherished against the king.

Verbs that co-occur with 於 marking a non-spatial goal marker with [+target] include: 近 ‘to be close to,’ 憾 ‘resentment,’ 貳 ‘to divide the authority,’ 睦 ‘to be friendly with,’ 禮 ‘to show respect,’ 忠 ‘to be loyal,’ 信 ‘to be trustworthy,’ 昏 ‘to marry,’ 加 ‘to attack upon,’ and 害 ‘to harm.’ Examples include:

356. 邊伯之宮近於王宮, 王取之. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Zhuang” 莊公 19.2/212)
As the mansion of Biān Bó was near to the royal palace, he also appropriated it.
357. 所謂道, 忠於民而信於神也. 上思利民, 忠也; 祝史正辭, 信也. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Huan” 桓公 6.2/111)
What I mean by being ruled according to reason, is showing a loyal love for the people, and a faithful worship of the spirits. When the ruler thinks only of benefiting the people, that is loyal loving of them; when the supplication scribes' words are all correct, that is faithful worship.
358. 鬥廉曰: “鄆人軍其郊, 必不誠. 且日虞四邑之至也. 君次於郊郢, 以禦四邑, 我以銳師宵加於鄆.” (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Huan” 桓公 11.2/131)
Dòu Lián said, “the people of Yǔn, having their army in their suburbs, are sure to be off their guard; and they are daily anxious for the arrival of the forces of the other four States. Do you, Sir, take up a position at Jiāoyǐng to withstand the advance of those forces, and I will make an attack upon Yǔn at night with a nimble, ardent troop.”

So far, it is observed that while 于 is still preferred as a spatial goal marker or a spatial locative marker, 於 is preferred as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give], V[+addressee], and V[+target]. In other words, while those functions of 于 which are closely related to its original verbal feature set resisted encroachment better, 于 with the functions which are distant from its original feature set was more prone to be encroached upon by 於.

6.1.2.4. Only 于 is used as an additive marker

Only 于 is used as an additive marker. There is no example in which 於 is used as an additive marker. The use of 于 as an additive marker has already been observed as early as in the *BB*,²¹⁵ and it still survives until the time of *Zuo's Commentary*, although the most common additive marker in *Zuo's Commentary* is 及.²¹⁶ As illustrated in 2.2.2.3.4, 于 as an additive marker was derived from its usage as a spatial goal marker. An example of 于 used as an additive marker is as follows:

²¹⁵ For details, see 2.2.2.3.4.

²¹⁶ Examples in which 及 is used as an additive marker are as follows:

夏, 公及宋公遇于清. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 4.2/36)
In summer, the duke and the duke of Sòng met at Qīng.

為之娶於齊, 而美, 公取之. 生壽及朔. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Huan” 桓公 16.5/145)
A bride was brought for him from the state of Qí, and she turned out quite handsome. Duke Xuān took her for himself. She gave birth to Shòuzǐ and Shuò.

359. 齊人卒平宋衛于鄭. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 8.5/59)
The people of Ji finally pacified Song, Wei, and even Zheng.

The fact that 於 did not develop into an additive marker, while 于 did, can also be explained by the differences in their original feature sets as well as their paths of grammaticalization. 于, whose original feature set was [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source], first grammaticalized into a goal marker [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, -source], and subsequently developed into an additive marker [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source, -target]. On the other hand, 於 was originally a locative verb, whose feature set was [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source], and it first grammaticalized into a locative marker [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, -source]. The relationship between the original verbal feature set of 於 and the features of a goal marker is rather distant compared to the relationship between the original verbal feature set of 于 and the features of a goal marker. As a result, 於 is less prone to be grammaticalized into an additive marker.

6.1.3. 于 and 於 used as a non-spatial source marker

In this section, the occurrences of 于 and 於 used as a non-spatial source marker are discussed. While both of them frequently co-occur with V[-give], 於 is preferred with V[-addressee]. When the co-occurring verb is V[-target], only 於 is used.

6.1.3.1. Both 于 and 於 co-occur with V[-give]

As a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with Verb [-give], both 于 and 於 are used. There are 13 cases out of a total of 236 occurrences of 于 marking a non-spatial source with V[-give]. Also, there are 12 cases out of a total of 147 occurrences of 於 used in the same function.

V[-give] followed by 于 includes 娶 ‘to take a wife’ (four occurrences), 求 ‘to seek’ (three occurrences), 取 ‘to take’ (two occurrences), 假 ‘to borrow,’ and 乞 ‘to beg for’ (one occurrence). V[-give] followed by 於 includes 求 ‘to seek,’ 取 ‘to take’ (three occurrences), 娶 ‘to take a wife’ (two occurrences), 責 ‘to look for,’ and 得 ‘to obtain’ (one occurrence). Among V[-give], 娶, 求, and 取 can similarly be followed by either marker. Examples of 于 and 於 co-occurring with V[-give] are as follows:

V[-give] + 于 + source

360. 夏, 盟向求成于鄭, 既而背之. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Huan” 桓公 7.2/119)
In the summer, Méng and Xiàng sought terms of peace from Zhèng, and afterwards broke them.

V[-give] + 於 + source

361. 公攝而欲求好於邾, 故為蔑之盟. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 1.2/9)
The duke arranged it to cultivate friendly relations with his neighbor. *Therefore, he made a covenant at Miè.*

6.1.3.2. 於 is preferred with V[-addressee]

As a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-addressee], 於 occurs more frequently than 于. While there are only 8 cases out of a total of 236 occurrences of 于 that co-occur with this type of verb, there are 19 cases out of a total of 157 occurrences of 於 that co-occur with the same type. V[-addressee] that co-occur with 于 are as follows: 請 ‘to request’ (7 occurrences) and 徇 (=詢) ‘to ask’ (1 occurrence). Verbs that co-occur with 於 include: 問 ‘to inquire’ (9 occurrences), 請 ‘to request’ (6 occurrences), and 聽 ‘to hear’ (4 occurrences). Examples of 于 and 於 with V[-addressee] include:

V[-addressee] + 于 + source

362. 往歲, 鄭伯請成于陳, 陳侯不許. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Yin” 隱公 6.4/49)
The year before, the earl had requested peace from Chén, when his proposals were rejected.

V[-addressee] + 於 + source

363. 公問名於申繻. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Huan” 桓公 6.6/115)
The duke asked Shen Xu about names.
364. 史嚚曰: “虢其亡乎! 吾聞之: 國將興, 聽於民; 將亡, 聽於神.” (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Zhuang” 莊公 32.3/252)
The historiographer Yín said, “Ah! Guó will perish. I have heard that, when a State is about to flourish, its ruler receives his lessons from the people; and when it is about to perish, he receives his lessons from Spirits.”

It is noteworthy that 問 and 聽 are only followed by 於 in the entire *Zuo's Commentary*. There are 47 occurrences of “問 + (theme) + 於 + source” (13 in The Former Eight Dukes and 34 in The Latter Four Dukes) and eight occurrences of “聽 + (theme) + 於 + source”

6.1.3.3. Only 於 co-occurs with V[-target]

As a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-target], only 於 is used. There are eight occurrences of 於 of this usage. There are five occurrences of 寵 ‘favor’ (all in the form 有寵於 + Person “have a favor from someone”) and three occurrences of 免 ‘to avoid’ (two

occurrences of 免於難 “avoid calamity” and one occurrence of 免於罪戾 “avoid crime and guilt”). Examples include:

365. 初, 祭封人仲足有寵於莊公, 莊公使為卿. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Huan” 桓公 11.3/132)
Formerly, the boundary maker Zhòng Zú of Ji obtained favor with Duke Zhuāng, who made him one of his chief ministers.
366. 及於寬政, 赦其不閑於教訓, 而免於罪戾, 弛於負擔. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Zhuang” 莊公 22.1/220)
.....and enjoy the advantage of your indulgent government. That you pardon my want of practice in the lessons of instruction, and hold me guilt of crime, and remove me from a life of toil.

It is noteworthy that 寵 and 免 are only followed by 於 in the entire *Zuo's Commentary*. There are 20 occurrences of “有寵於 + Person” and 19 occurrences of “免於 + Thing” (including 免於難 “avoid difficulty,” 免於討 “avoid attack,” 免於罪 “avoid guilt,” and so on).

6.1.3.4. Both 于 and 於 are used as agent markers

Both 于 and 於 are used as agent markers in *Zuo's Commentary*. He Leshi (1989:115) found 13 occurrences of 于 and 56 occurrences of 於 used as an agent marker in the entire *Zuo's Commentary*. In Duke Yin, Duke Huan, Duke Zhuang, and Duke Min, there is only one occurrence of 于 and three occurrence of 於 used as an agent marker. As illustrated in 2.2.2.4.2, the use of 于 as an agent marker has already been observed as early as in the *BB*. This usage lasted until the time of *Zuo's Commentary*, although it was on its way to being encroached upon by 於.

The decline of 于 as an agent marker can be explained as follows. In *Zuo's Commentary*, it is observed that the semantic scope of 于 starts to shrink.²¹⁷ It is noteworthy that those functions of 于 that have a [+source] feature start to die out.²¹⁸ The usages of 于 which have a [+source] feature include the spatial path marker, with the feature set [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, +source]; the spatial source marker, with the feature set [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, +source]; the non-spatial source marker with V[-give], V[-addressee], and V[-target], with the feature set [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, +source].²¹⁹ As a result, 于 used as an agent marker, which was derived

²¹⁷ For the semantic scopes of 于 and 於 revised based on their occurrences in *Zuo's Commentary*, see Figure 6 in 6.3.

²¹⁸ For further discussion, see 6.2.2.

²¹⁹ It is illustrated in 6.2.2 that, in Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes of *Zuo's Commentary*, 於 is preferred as a spatial source marker and as a non-spatial source marker with V[-give]. In 6.1.3.2, it is shown that, as early as the time of the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes, 於 is preferred as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-addressee]. Examples of such verbs include 問 ‘to ask’

from the spatial source marker, is also on the retreat, and this function starts to be carried out by 於.

The occurrence of 于 and 於 appear as an agent marker are as follows:

于 used as an agent marker

367. 初, 王姚嬖于莊王, 生子頹. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Zhuang” 莊公 19.2/212)
Before this, a lady Yáo had been favored by King Zhuāng, and bore him a son, called Zītúí.

於 used as an agent marker

368. 宋人請猛獲于衛. 衛人欲勿與. 石祁子曰: “不可, 天下之惡一也, 惡於宋而保於我, 保之何補? 得一夫而失一國, 與惡而棄好, 非謀也.” (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Zhuang” 莊公 12.1/192)

The people of Sòng requested Wèi to deliver up Měnghuò to them; and when there was an unwillingness to do so, Shí Qǐzǐ said, “Refuse him not. Wickedness is the same all under heaven. If we protect the man who has done wickedly in Sòng, of what advantage will our protecting him be? To gain a fellow and lose a State; to favour wickedness and cast away friendship, is not wise counsel.”

In sum, both 于 and 於 are used as agent markers in *Zuo's Commentary*. However, 于 is on the retreat as its semantic scope starts to shrink. 於 is used as an agent marker instead.

6.1.4. Summary: 于 and 於 in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes

Major functions of 于 and 於 in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes and the number of occurrences of each function are summarized in Table 21 below.

and 聽 ‘to hear.’ In 6.1.3.3, it is shown that only 於 is used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-target].

Table 21. Major functions of 于 and 於 in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes and the number of occurrences

major functions of 于 and 於		number of occurrences									
		于					於				
		Duke Yin	Duke Huan	Duke Zhuang	Duke Min	total	Duke Yin	Duke Huan	Duke Zhuang	Duke Min	total
spatial	goal marker	4	11	12	4	31	6	2	5	1	14 ²²⁰
	locative marker	45	40	50	9	144	7	9	12	4	32
non- spatial goal marker	with V[+give]	2	1	1	1	5	2	6	0	0	8
	with V[+addressee]	2	3	2	0	7	3	2	1	1	7
	with V[+target]	9	3	5	0	17	5	10	8	1	24
	additive marker	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
non- spatial source marker	with V[-give]	5	4	3	1	13	3	5	4	0	12
	with V[- addressee]	2	2	4	0	8	9	3	6	1	19
	with V[- target]	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	2	1	8
	agent marker	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	0	3
total number of occurrences		72	64	85	15	236	41	49	48	9	147

So far, it has been illustrated that the choice between 于 and 於 is conditioned by at least the following three factors:

First, it is conditioned by the function that is performed. 于 is preferred as a spatial goal marker and as a spatial locative marker. On the other hand, 於 is preferred as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+target] or as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-addressee] or V[-target]. The reason for this is clear from the semantic scope of 于 and 於 provided in Figure 5 in 5.3 and the feature set of each function. 于 marking a spatial goal and a spatial locative, which are derived directly from the verbal usage, resist encroachment better. In contrast, when 于 has a function that is more distant from its original verbal features, such as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+target] or as a non-spatial source marker co-

²²⁰ There are seven occurrences followed by a [+concrete] place and seven occurrences followed by a [-concrete] place.

occurring with V[-addressee] or V[-target], it is more prone to be encroached upon by 於. Also, only 于 is used as an additive marker, which usage is derived from its function of marking a non-spatial goal. 於, which was originally a locative verb [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source], did not develop such a function.

Second, the choice between 于 and 於 is conditioned by the semantic feature of the following noun. As shown in 6.1.1.1, when 於 is used as a spatial goal marker, the object of 於 can not only be a real place, which can be formulated as [+concrete], but also a “figurative” place, such as a result, degree, or situation, all of which can be formulated as [-concrete]. On the contrary, 于 is only followed by a real place, which is [+concrete].²²¹

Third, the choice between 于 and 於 is conditioned by the complexity of the syntactic environment where 于/於 appears. While 于 tends to appear in a simple sentence, 於 tends to appear in a complex sentence such as with a modifier 之, a nominalizer 者, or a relativizer 所.²²²

6.2. The usage of 于 and 於 in Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes

于 appears 254 times and 於 appears 402 times in Duke Xiang, resulting in a ratio of 于 to 於 of 39:61. The usages of 于 and 於 in Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes show the following similarities and differences compared to their usages in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes.

6.2.1. 於 is replacing 于’s core functions

In Duke Xiang in the Latter Four Dukes, it is observed that 於 is replacing 于 even in its core functions, such as usages as a spatial goal marker, a spatial locative marker, a spatial path marker, and a spatial source marker, as well as a temporal goal marker.

6.2.1.1. 於 is frequently used as a spatial goal marker

The first difference in usage between 于 and 於 in Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes is that, while 于 is still preferred as a spatial goal marker, 於’s usage as a spatial goal marker is more frequent than in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes. In 6.1.1.1, it is mentioned that in Duke Yin, Duke Huan, Duke Zhuang, and Duke Min, there are 31 occurrences of 于 used as a spatial goal marker, while there are only 14 occurrences of 於 with the same usage. On the contrary, in Duke Xiang, there are 26 occurrences of 于 and 19 occurrences of 於 used as a spatial goal marker. This implies that 於 is encroaching on even the core function of 于, which is closely related to its original verbal feature set. Also, from the perspective of its features, it is very distant from 於, which is [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source]. From the fact that 於 started to encroach upon 于’s function as a spatial goal marker, one can conclude that 於 is replacing even 于’s core function.

It is also observed in 6.1.1.1 that when 於 is used as a spatial goal marker in the first four

²²¹ The difference between 于 and 於 in terms of the semantic feature set of their following noun is discussed more in detail in 6.5.

²²² For further discussion, see 6.4.

dukes in The Former Eight Dukes, it is often the case that it expresses a more “figurative” meaning, which is [-concrete], rather than a “real destination,” which is [+concrete]. Seven out of a total of 14 occurrences of 於 in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes are followed by a [-concrete] place.²²³ In Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes, however, there are only 4 occurrences of 於 followed by a [-concrete] place, out of a total of 19 occurrences. For the rest of the occurrences, 於 is followed by a [+concrete] place. This implies that 於 is encroaching upon the core function of 于, the marking of a [+concrete] spatial destination. Examples of 於 as a goal marker followed by Place [\pm concrete] are as follows:

於 + Place [+concrete]

369. 盜入於北宮, 乃歸, 授甲, 臣妾多逃, 器用多喪. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 10.9/981)

When the bandits had entered the northern palace, however, he returned, and began giving out their arms (to his followers). Most of the servants and concubines had fled, and most of the vessels and utensils were lost.

370. 五月甲辰, 晉趙武至於宋. 丙午, 鄭良霄至. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 27.4/1129)

In the fifth month, on *jiachen*, Zhao Wu of Jin arrived at that city, and on *bingwu*, Liang Xiao of Zheng arrived.

於 + Place [-concrete]

371. 君師不武, 執事不敬, 罪莫大焉. 臣懼其死, 以及揚干, 無所逃罪. 不能致訓, 至於用鉞. 臣之罪重, 敢有不從以怒君心? 請歸死於司寇. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 3.7/929)

If your lordship’s soldiers had failed in their duty, and your officers in theirs, the offense would have been extreme. I was afraid that the death which I should incur would also extend to Yanggan; I do not dare to escape from the consequences of guilt, for I was unable to give the necessary instructions previously, and proceeded to use the axe. My offense is heavy, and I dare not shrink from accepting the due, so as to enrage your mind. Allow me to return, and die at the hands of the Minister of Crime.

6.2.1.2. 於 is frequently used as a spatial locative marker

The second difference is that 於 started being used as a spatial locative marker more frequently in Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes, although 于 is still preferred. There are 128 occurrences of 于 and 109 occurrences of 於 used as a spatial locative marker. (Note that in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes, there are 144 occurrences of 于 and only 32 occurrences of 於 used in the same function.) The fact that 於 is frequently used as a spatial

²²³ For examples, see Table 20 in 6.1.1.

locative marker in Duke Xiang implies that even the core function of 于 has been considerably encroached upon by 於 by that time. Examples of 於 used as a spatial locative marker are as follows:

372. 楚師伐鄭, 次於魚陵. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 18.4/1042)
The army of Chu had now entered the State and was halting at Yuling.

373. 辛巳, 將盟於宋西門之外. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 27.4/1131)
On *xinsi*, they were about to covenant outside the western gate.

6.2.1.3. 於 is used as a spatial path marker

In the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes, there is no occurrence of 于 used as a spatial path marker and one occurrence of 於 with the same function. In Duke Xiang of The Latter Four Dukes, there are two occurrences of 于 used as a spatial path marker and one occurrence of 於 with the same function. From this limited data, it is observed that both 于 and 於 are used as a spatial path marker in *Zuo's Commentary*. A spatial path marker is a core function of 于, and the fact that 於 is also used as a spatial path marker implies that the semantic scope of 于 was encroached upon by 於 considerably during the time of *Zuo's Commentary*. Examples of 于 and 於 used as a spatial path marker are as follows.

374. 六月, 諸侯會于北林, 師于向. 右還, 次于瑣. 圍鄭, 觀兵于南門, 西濟于濟隧. 鄭人懼, 乃行成. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 11.3/989)

In the sixth month, the States assembled at Beilin, and encamped in Xiang. Thence they took a circuit, and halted at Suo, after which they *surrounded* the capital, and made a (grand) display of their forces outside the south gate, and on the west crossed over the Jisui. The people of Zheng (now) became afraid, and sought terms of accommodation.

Jisui is the place that they cross over. Therefore, 于 should be interpreted as a spatial path marker.

375. 欒盈過於周, 周西鄙掠之. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 21.5/1061)
When Luan Ying was passing by Zhou, the people in its western borders plundered him.

6.2.1.4. 於 is preferred as a spatial source marker

In the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes, there are two occurrences of 于 used as a spatial source marker and no occurrence of 於 with the same function. On the contrary, in Duke Xiang, there is only one occurrence of 于 used as a spatial source marker and five occurrences of 於 with the same function. A spatial source marker is one of the core functions of 于. The fact that 於 is more frequently used as a spatial source marker in Duke Xiang shows that

the semantic scope of 于 shrank considerably and 於 even encroached upon 于 used as its core function. Examples of 于 and 於 used as a spatial source marker are as follows.

376. 閏月戊寅, 濟于陰阪, 侵鄭. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 9.6/969)
Then on *wuyin*, they crossed (the Wei) at Yinfan and overran the country.

Note that Yinfan is the place of departure. Therefore, 于 should be interpreted as a spatial source marker.

377. 子南之臣謂棄疾: “請徙子尸於朝.” (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 22.6/1069)
Zinan’s servants then asked Qiji to beg leave to remove his father’s body from the court.

6.2.1.5. 於 is frequently used as a temporal goal marker

於 is frequently used as a temporal goal marker in Duke Xiang The Latter Four Dukes. While there are six occurrences of 至于今 “reach to the present,” in which 于 is used as a temporal goal marker “until,” there are at least nine occurrences of 於 used as a temporal goal marker, including one occurrence of 至於今 and eight occurrences of 於今 “up to now.” As already mentioned, the temporal goal marker is directly derived from the spatial marker through metaphorical extension.

Examples of 于 and 於 used as temporal goal markers are as follows.

378. 恃此質誓, 故能相保以至於今. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 16.3/1380)
Through this attested covenant, (our rulers and the descendants of that merchant) have preserved their mutual relations down to the present day.

379. 楚重得志於晉, 晉之恥也. 子相晉國, 以為盟主, 於今七年矣. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 1.1/1201)
If Chu a second time gets its will as against Jin, it will be a disgrace to Jin. You have guided the government of Jin, maintaining it as lord of covenants, *up to now, it has been seven years.*

380. 叔魚見季孫, 曰: “昔鮒也得罪於晉君, 自歸於魯君, 微武子之賜, 不至於今……” (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 13.9/1362)
[Shuyu] went and saw Jisun, and said to him, “Formerly, I was an offender in Jin, and betook myself to the ruler of Lu. But for the help of (your grand-father) Wuzi, I should not have come to *the present*……”

To sum up, compared to the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes, in Duke Xiang, 於 is frequently used as a spatial goal, locative, path, or source marker, as well as a temporal goal marker, which implies that even the core function of 于, which is directly derived from its verbal

features, are considerably encroached upon by 於.

Major functions of 于 and 於 in Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes and the number of occurrences are summarized below.

Table 22. Major functions of 于 and 於 in Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes and the number of occurrences

major functions of 于 and 於		the number of occurrences	
		于	於
spatial	goal marker	26	19 (15 followed by [+concrete] place; 4 followed by [-concrete] place)
	locative marker	128	109
	path marker	2	1
	source marker	1	5
temporal goal marker		6 (all in 至于今)	9 (1 occurrence of 至於今 ; 8 occurrences of 於今)
non-spatial goal marker	with V[+give]	8	10
	with V[+addressee]	24	36
	with V[+target]	18	73
	additive marker	0	0
non-spatial source marker	with V[-give]	12	27
	with V[-addressee]	1	20
	with V[-target]	0	8
	agent marker	0	3
total		254	402

6.2.2. For a function having the feature [+source], 于 is considerably encroached upon by 於

Another noteworthy difference in terms of the usages of 于 and 於 in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes and Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes is that 于 is considerably encroached upon by 於 as a function word having the feature [+source], whereas in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes, the preference is not as obvious as in Duke Xiang. Function words having the feature [+source] include a spatial source marker and a non-spatial source marker with V[-give], V[-addressee], or V[-target], which is originally derived from a spatial

source marker, and an agent marker.²²⁴ Table 23 below compares the number of occurrences of 于 and 於 in these usages in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes and in Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes.

²²⁴ It is illustrated in 6.1.3.2 that as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-addressee], 於 is already by far preferred over 于 in The Former Eight Dukes. There are only eight occurrences of 于, while there are 19 occurrences of 於 in this usage. It is observed in 6.1.3.3 that only 於 is used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-target].

Table 23. The number of occurrences of 于 and 於 having the feature [+source]

major functions of 于 and 於		number of occurrences												
		于						於						
		Duke Yin	Duke Huan	Duke Zhuan g	Duke Min	Yin+Huan+Zhuang+Min	Duke Xiang	Duke Yin	Duke Huan	Duke Zhuang	Duke Min	Yin+Huan+Zhuang+Min	Duke Xiang	
spatial source marker		0	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
non-spatial source marker	with V[-give]	5	4	3	1	13	12	3	5	4	0	12	27	
	with V[-addressee]	2	2	4	0	8	1	9	3	6	1	19	20	
	with V[-target]	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	2	1	8	8	
	agent marker	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	3	3	

In the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes, there are two occurrences of 于 used as a spatial source marker and there is no occurrence of 於 with the same usage. Also, there are 13 occurrences of 于 and 12 occurrences of 於 used as a non-spatial source markers with V[-give]. In Duke Xiang, however, there are five occurrences of 於 used as a spatial source marker, while there is only one occurrence of 于 with the same usage. There are 27 occurrences of 於 marking the non-spatial source co-occurring with Verb [-give], while there are only 12 occurrences of 于 with the same function.

On the other hand, as a non-spatial source marker with V[-addressee] or V[-target], 於 is preferred both in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes and in Duke Xiang. However, compared to the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes, 於 is by far preferred as a non-spatial source marker with V[-addressee] in Duke Xiang. There are 20 occurrences of 於 marking a non-spatial source with V[-addressee], whereas there is only one occurrence of 于 in the same function. When the co-occurring verb is V[-target], only 於 is used both in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes and in Duke Xiang.

Examples of 于 and 於 with the feature [+source] in Duke Xiang include:

于 used as a spatial source marker

381. 閏月戊寅, 濟于陰阪, 侵鄭. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 9.6/969)
On *wuyin* they crossed (the Wei) at Yinfan and overran the country.

Yinfan is the point of departure; therefore, 于 is used as a spatial source marker.

於 used as a spatial source marker

382. 子庚門于純門, 信于城下而還, 涉於魚齒之下, (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公18.4/1042)
Zigeng made an attack on the Chun gate, passed two nights at the foot of the wall, and then withdrew, crossing the river at the foot of (the hill) Yuchi.

Yuchi is the point of departure; therefore, 於 can be interpreted as a spatial source marker.

于 used as a non-spatial source marker with Verb [-give]

383. 齊人以其未得志于我故, 秋, 齊侯伐我北鄙, 圍桃. 高厚圍臧紇于防. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 17.3/1030)
The people of Qi having been unable to obtain their aim from us, in autumn the marquis invaded our northern border, and laid siege to Tao, while Gao Hou besieged Zang Ge in Fang.

384. 壬寅, 子產入. 癸卯, 子石入. 皆受盟于子皙氏. (Zuo's Commentary/ "Duke Xiang" 襄公 30.10/1176)
On *renhai*, Zichan entered the capital, and, on *guimao*, Zishi entered; and both accepted a covenant with Xishi.

於 used as a non-spatial source marker with Verb [-give]

385. 欒桓子娶於范宣子, 生懷子. (Zuo's Commentary/ "Duke Xiang" 襄公 21.5/1058)
Luan Huanzi had married a daughter of Fan Xuanzi, who bore him Huaizi.

386. 子之愛人, 傷之而已, 其誰敢求愛於子? (Zuo's Commentary/ "Duke Xiang" 襄公 31.12/1073)
You try to look out for the man, but all you do is injure him. In that case, who would ever let you look out for him?

于 used as a non-spatial source marker with V[-addressee]

387. 崔成有疾而廢之, 而立明. 成請老于崔, 崔子許之. (Zuo's Commentary/ "Duke Xiang" 襄公 27.7/1137)
In consequence of some disease which he had, he was degraded from his position (as the oldest son), and Ming appointed in his place, after which he begged that he might be put in possession till his old age of Cui. Cuizi granted him that city.

於 used as a non-spatial source marker with V[-addressee]

388. 靈王求后于齊, 齊侯問對於晏桓子. (Zuo's Commentary/ "Duke Xiang" 襄公 12.5/996)
King Ling sought a queen from Qi. The marquis asked Yan Huanzi how he should reply.

於 used as a non-spatial source marker with V[-target]

389. 鄭伯歸自晉, 使子西如晉聘, 辭曰: "寡君來煩執事, 懼不免於戾, 使夏謝不敏." (Zuo's Commentary/ "Duke Xiang" 襄公 26.9/1119)
When the earl of Zheng returned from Jin, he sent Zixi to that State on a mission of friendly inquiries, and to make the following speech: "My ruler came and troubled your ministers, so that he is afraid he must have incurred the charge of offending you, and has sent me to apologize for his want of intelligence."

As mentioned in 6.1.3.4, both 于 and 於 are used as agent markers in *Zuo's Commentary*. He (1989:115) found 13 occurrences of 于 and 56 occurrences of 於 used as agent markers. The non-occurrence of 于 as an agent marker in Duke Xiang implies that 于 as an agent marker was being encroached upon by 於 as 于 gradually loses the feature [+source]. All of the three occurrences of 於 used as an agent marker are as follows:

390. 君師不武, 執事不敬, 罪莫大焉. 臣懼其死, 以及揚干, 無所逃罪. 不能致訓, 至於用鉞. 臣之罪重, 敢有不從以怒君心? 請歸死於司寇. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 3.7/929)

If your lordship's soldiers had failed in their duty, and your officers in theirs, the offense would have been extreme. I was afraid that the death which I should incur would also extend to Yanggan; I do not dare to escape from the consequences of guilt, for I was unable to give the necessary instructions previously, and proceeded to use the axe. My offense is heavy, and I dare not shrink from accepting the due, so as to enrage your mind. Allow me to return, and die at the hands of the Minister of Crime.

391. 宋皇國父為大宰, 為平公築臺, 妨於農收. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 17.6/1032)

In Sung, Huang Guofu, being grand-administrator, was building a tower for Duke Ping. The work interfered with the labors of harvest.

392. 仲尼曰: “知之難也. 有臧武仲之知, 而不容於魯國, 抑有由也, 作不順而施不怨也. 乃弗與田.” (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 23.8/1085)

Zhongni said, “It is hard to be wise. There was the wise Zang Wuzhong, and yet he was not allowed to remain in Lu. And there was reason for it. He did what was not accordant with right, and did not act on the principle of reciprocity.”

The fact that 於 considerably encroached upon 于 which has the feature [+source] in Duke Xiang implies that the semantic scope of 于 has started shrinking considerably.

Karlgren (1926:41-2) explored the difference between 于 and 於 in their usages in *Zuo's Commentary* and argued that only 於 occurs in the sense of ‘from.’ Succeeding Karlgren's idea, Pulleyblank (1986:4) argued that 于 cannot be used in the sense of ‘from,’ quoting examples from *The Book of Odes*.²²⁵ However, so far it has been argued that 于 was originally a bi-directional verb and there is plenty of evidence that 于 is undoubtedly used as a function word having the feature [+from] (= [+source]) in the *BB*, *The Book of Odes*, *The Book of Documents*, *The Ceremonies and Rites*, and *Zuo's Commentary*. In this section, it is illustrated that 於 started being preferred for function words having the feature [+source] in Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes, which is very significant in that it shows that the semantic scope of 于 has started to

²²⁵ For detail on Pulleyblank's argument, see 3.1.2.4.1.

shrink considerably. Later, in Warring States period texts, 於 almost replaced 于 having the feature [+source].


6.3. The semantic scopes of 于 and 於 based on the data from *Zuo's Commentary*

In this section, the semantic scopes of 于 and 於 are revised based on their occurrences in *Zuo's Commentary*. Examining the semantic scopes of 于 and 於 based on their occurrences in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, as provided in 5.3, the following changes are observed.


In the first four dukes in *The Former Eight Dukes*, the semantic scope of 於 has expanded considerably. It includes not only a spatial locative marker, a temporal locative marker, a comparative marker, a non-spatial goal marker with V[+addressee] or with V[+target], and a non-spatial source marker with V[-give], V[-addressee], and V[-target], all of which have already been observed in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, but also a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give] and a spatial goal marker.

It is noteworthy that there are differences in the usages of 于 and 於 between the first four dukes in *The Former Eight Dukes* and Duke Xiang in *The Latter Four Dukes* of *Zuo's Commentary*. In Duke Xiang in *The Latter Four Dukes*, 於 encroached considerably upon even the core functions of 于, such as the spatial and temporal goal marker or the spatial locative, the spatial path, and the spatial source marker. Also, for functions having the feature [+source], 於 started to be preferred. This implies that the semantic scope of 于 shrank even more considerably in *The Latter Four Dukes*, and its feature [+source] was on the retreat.


In Figure 6 below, the semantic scopes of 于 and 於, revised based on their occurrences in *Zuo's Commentary*, are provided.

 : The scope of 于 in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes in *Zuo's Commentary*

 : The diminished scope of 于 in Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes in *Zuo's Commentary*

 : The scope of 於 in the first four dukes in The Former Eight Dukes of *Zuo's Commentary*

 : The expanded scope of 於 in Duke Xiang in The Latter Four Dukes of *Zuo's commentary*

 : The grammaticalization path of 于

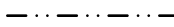
 : The grammaticalization path of 於

Figure 6. The semantic scopes of 于 and 於, revised based on their occurrences in *Zuo's Commentary*

6.4. Syntactic features of the [于/於 + NP]_{PP}

Another significant difference between 于 and 於 is the syntactic environment in which they occur. To be specific, 於 tends to appear in complex syntactic environments more frequently than 于 does. Complex syntactic environments include: 于/於 in a modifier ([V_{yu}N]_M + 之 + Head), in the head noun (Modifier + 之 + [V_{yu}N]_H), or before a noun phrase whose structure is [Modifier + 之 + Head], as well as within a verb phrase nominalized by 者. Even with the limited amount of data available, it is suggested that 於, especially in The Latter Four Dukes, tends to appear in a complex syntactic environment. In the first four dukes of The Former Eight Dukes, there are only one occurrence of 于 and three occurrences of 於 appearing in complex syntactic environments as described above. In Duke Xiang, however, there are 12 occurrences of 于 and 31 occurrences of 於 appearing in those syntactic structures. Table 24 below provides the number of occurrences of 于 and 於 appearing in each syntactic structure.

Table 24. Syntactic features of the [于/於 + NP]_{PP}

		[V _{yu} N] _M 之H	M之[V _{yu} N] _H	V _{yu} [M之H]	[[V _{yu} N]者] _{NP}	total
Duke Yin	于	0	0	0	0	0
	於	0	0	0	0	0
Duke Huan	于	0	0	0	0	0
	於	0	0	0	0	0
Duke Zhuang	于	0	0	1	0	1
	於	0	0	2	1	3
Duke Min	于	0	0	0	0	0
	於	0	0	0	0	0
Yin+Huan+ Zhuang+Min	于	0	0	1	0	1
	於	0	0	2	1	3
Duke Xiang	于	2	1	9	0	12
	於	2	8	16	5	31

Examples of each case are as follows:

[[V于N]_M + 之 + H]_{NP}

393. 吳子使壽越如晉, 辭[[不會于雞澤]_M之[故]_H]_{NP}, 且請聽諸侯之好. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 5.5/943)
The viscount of Wu sent Shouyue to Jin, to explain the reason of his not attending the meeting at Jize, and to ask for another opportunity of joining the alliance of the other States. (于:locative marker)

[M + 之 + [V于N]_H]_{NP}

394. 夫子之在此也, 猶[[燕]_M之[巢于幕上]_H]_{NP}. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 29.13/1167)
He lives here like a swallow which has its coffin in the ancestral temple. (于:locative marker)

[V + [于 + [M之H]_{NP}]_{PP}]_{VP}

395. [[遇大宰督[于[[東宮]_M之[西]_H]_{NP}]_{PP}]_{VP}, 又殺之. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Zhuang” 莊公 12.1/191)
He then met the chief minister, Dū, on the west of the eastern palace, and also killed him. (于:locative marker)

[[V於N]_M + 之 + H]_{NP}

396. 季武子以[[所得於齊]_{VP}]_M之[兵]_H]_{NP}作林鐘而銘魯功焉. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 19.4/1047)
Ji Wuzi had a bell, toned to the second note of the chromatic scale, cast from the weapons which he had acquired in Qi, and had the services performed by Lu engraved upon it. (於: non-spatial source marker with V[-give])

[M + 之 + [V於N]_H]_{NP}

397. 君子是以知[[季文子]_M之[忠於公室]_H]_{NP}也. (*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 5.10/944)
The superior man hereby knows that Ji Wenzi was loyal to the ducal House. (於: non-spatial goal marker with V[+target])

[V + [於 + [M之H]_{NP}]_{PP}]_{VP}

398. 夏四月，葬楚康王，公及陳侯鄭伯許男送葬，[至[於[[西門]_M之[外]_H]_{NP}]_{PP}]_{VP}，諸侯之大夫皆至于墓。(*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 29.3/1155)
In summer, in the fourth month, at the burial of King Kang of Chu, the duke, with the marquis of Chen, the earl of Zheng, and the baron of Xu, all accompanied it to the outside of the western gate, and the great officers of the States went to the grave. (於 :spatial goal marker)

[[V於N]_{VP}者]_{NP}

399. 復使蘧子馮為令尹，公子齷為司馬，屈建為莫敖。[[[有]_V[[寵]_N[[於蘧子]_{PP}]_{NP}]_{VP}者]_{NP}八人，皆無群而多馬。(*Zuo's Commentary*/ “Duke Xiang” 襄公 22.6/1070)
(The king) then again appointed Wei Ziping to be chief minister. The Gongzi Yi was made (grand-) marshal, and Qu Jian was made the Mo'ao. The favorites of Yuanzi were eight men, all of whom, though having no emoluments, were possessed of many horses. (於: non-spatial source marker with V[-target])

He Leshi (1989:116) has mentioned that the object of 於 tends to be more narrowly specified than that of 于: the object of 於 frequently includes a modifier which indicates a place or is followed by a noun indicating direction. Also, 於 is more frequently followed by a personal name or an abstract noun. In this section, it is illustrated that 於, in general, tends to appear in more complex syntactic environments than 于 does. This can be explained from a diachronic perspective. 于, which is derived from Proto-Sino-Tibetan, is frequently used in the OBI, the BI, *The Book of Odes*, and *The Book of Documents*. It started being encroached upon by 於 in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*, and more frequently in *The Ceremonies and Rites*. 於 started to outnumber 于 in *The Latter Four Dukes of Zuo's Commentary*. It can be supposed that by the time when more the complex syntactic structures of Classical Chinese (such as those including the modifier 之, the nominalizer 者, the relativizer 所 and so on) appeared and flourished, 於 occurred more and more frequently, while 于 was on the retreat. This is why there are more examples of 於 co-occurring with such syntactic structures.

6.5. Semantic features of the object of 於

So far, it has been observed that the differences between 于 and 於 lie not only in the features of the co-occurring verb, but also in the syntactic environment in which the 于/於 prepositional phrase appears. In this section, it is illustrated that the choice of 于 or 於 is conditioned by the semantic features of the object. It is only 於 that is followed by an abstract noun, a pronoun 此 indicating degree, or a verb phrase which indicates degree, result, or

situation, all of which can be formulated as [-concrete].²²⁶ This agrees with He's (1989:116) observation that the object of 於 can be an abstract noun. There are two occurrences of 於 in Duke Yin, seven occurrences in Duke Zhuang, two occurrences of Duke Min, and nine occurrences in Duke Xiang followed by an abstract noun, a pronoun, or a verb phrase, all of which are listed Table 25 below.

Table 25. “於 + noun/pronoun/verb phrase [-concrete]” indicating degree/result/situation

	location	example
1	Duke Yin 3.7/31	弗納於邪.not help him on in the course of depravity.
2	Duke Yin 5.1/41	君, 將納民於軌物者也. The ruler leads and helps the people on to what should be observed, and all the ramifications thereof.
3-4	Duke Zhuang 19.1/212	諫以自納於刑, 刑猶不忘納君於善. He remonstrated with him till he led himself to a severe punishment; and after that punishment, he still did not forget to urge on his prince to what was good.
5-8	Duke Zhuang 22.1/220	及於寬政, 赦其不閑於教訓, 而免於罪戾, 弛於負擔.and enjoy the advantage of your indulgent government. That you pardon my want of practice in the lessons of instruction, and hold me guiltless of crime, and remove me from a life of toil.
9	Duke Zhuang 22.1/221	弗納於淫.and then not to allow him to go to excess.
10	Duke Min 2.7/269	則免於難.so shall you escape calamity.
11	Duke Min 2.7/272	故及於難.and so came to his unfortunate end.
12	Duke Xiang 3.7/292	不能致訓, 至於用鉞.for I was unable to give the necessary instructions previously, and proceeded to use the axe.

²²⁶ The fact that a goal marker 於 is frequently followed by a degree, result, or situation, all of which can be formulated as Place [-concrete], has been already mentioned in 6.1.1.1.

Table 25 continued

13	Duke Xiang 9.3/965	而與 <u>於</u> 亂.and associated with disorder.
14	Duke Xiang 10.2/976	牽帥老夫以 <u>至於</u> 此.and even dragged an old man like myself into your scheme.
15	Duke Xiang 19.9/1050	故及 <u>於</u> 難.and hence they came together to trouble.
16	Duke Xiang 21.5/1061	<u>於</u> 難.became involved in (the present) difficulties.
17	Duke Xiang 29.13/1166	乃免 <u>於</u> 難.you can escape difficulty.
18	Duke Xiang 29.13/1166	是以免 <u>於</u> 樂高之難. Because he did so, he was able to escape the troubles brought on by the Luan and Kao families.
19	Duke Xiang 29.13/1167	必思自免 <u>於</u> 難.and will take thought how to escape yourself from calamities (that are coming).
20	Duke Xiang 30.1/1170	而不免 <u>於</u> 戾.and do not escape being charged with some transgression.

In example 12, 於 is followed by a verb phrase (用鉞 “use the axe”). In example 14, 於 is followed by a pronoun 此. 至於此 is interpreted as “to reach to this point/degree.” In the rest of the examples, 於 is followed by an abstract noun such as 難 “difficulty,” 邪 ‘depravity,’ 善 ‘goodness,’ or 淫 ‘licentiousness.’

The reason that only 於 is followed by an abstract noun, a pronoun, or a verb phrase may be found, as discussed in 6.4, in diachrony. That is, 于 was already used as a function word with a wide range of usages as early as in the *BB*, and was gradually encroached upon by 於. The *OBI* treat a very limited subject matter, and are for the most part simple recordings of concrete events. In contrast, the texts of later periods, during which 于 was already in retreat and 於 was by far dominant, deliver more complex and abstract ideas. Therefore, there are plenty of examples of 於 followed by an abstract noun or a pronoun indicating degree, as well as by a verb phrase—all of which are [-concrete]—while there are very few occurrences of 于 in the same context.

So far, the usages of 于 and 於 in the first four dukes in *The Former Eight Dukes* and in Duke Xiang in *The Latter Four Dukes* have been discussed. It is significant that, in Duke Xiang, 於 starts to encroach upon the core function of 于, its usage as a spatial goal, locative, path, and source marker as well as a temporal goal marker. Also, the semantic scope of 于 shrank considerably, and 於 is preferred for functions having the feature [+source].

7. Summary

This chapter highlights the main point of this dissertation. 7.1 summarizes the origins and the grammaticalization of 于 and 於, and the process of encroachment of the former by the latter based on their occurrences in the chosen texts. 7.2 summarizes their development and the process of encroachment in semantic feature format, showing the rationale for such development and encroachment in terms of features.

7.1. The origins and the grammaticalization process of 于 and 於, and the process of encroachment of the former by the latter based on their occurrences in the chosen texts

It is argued that 于 was originally a bi-directional verb whose feature set was [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] or [+lexical, +mvt, -goal, +source]. 于 originated from PST **sywjay, whose etymological doublet is 往 PST **ywjang ‘to go/come.’ The difference between 于 and 往 is that, while the latter with an *-ŋ ending includes a goal, and therefore, precisely speaking, can be glossed as ‘to go/come to Place X,’ the former does not include a goal. 于 can be more precisely glossed as ‘to be directed toward/away from.’

By the time of the *BB*, 于 had grammaticalized into a spatial goal marker [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, -source], spatial source marker [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, +source], spatial path marker [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, +source], and spatial locative marker [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, -source], all of which indicate spatial relationships. 于 was also used as a temporal goal marker or temporal locative marker through the extension of grammatical function. From a spatial goal marker, 于 further grammaticalized into a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give], V[+addressee], or V[+target]. From a spatial source marker, 于 further grammaticalized into a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-give]. From its function of marking a spatial source, the function of marking the agent was derived. 于 also grammaticalized into an additive marker from its function of marking a goal.²²⁷

于 reached its peak in terms of the frequency as well as the diversity of its usages in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*. The semantic scope of 于 for these two pre-classical texts overlaps with that of the *BB* in the great majority of cases. There are only a couple of new usages observed. 于 was used as a non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-addressee] or V[-target]. It was used as a concern marker, which was derived from its locative function.²²⁸

In contrast, it is argued that 於 was originally a locative verb [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source] equivalent to 在. 於 starts to appear in the bronze inscriptions, *The Book of Odes*, and *The Book of Documents* as a spatial locative marker [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, -source], a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target], or a non-spatial source marker with V[-target].

In this dissertation, early usages of 於 were investigated based on occurrences in *The Ceremonies and Rites*, where the ratio of 于 to 於 is approximately 9:1. It is noteworthy that, in

²²⁷ For the semantic scope of 于 based on its occurrences in the *BB*, see Figure 2 in 2.2.3.

²²⁸ For the revised semantic scope of 于 based on its occurrences in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*, see Figure 3 in 3.3.

this text, there are 15 examples of 於 used as a stationary verb parallel to 在. When 於 first started being used as a function word, it was seldom used as a spatial goal/source marker or as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+give]. Instead, it was 于 that was by far more frequently used for those functions. This is because the feature sets of these markers are more closely related to the original verbal feature set of 于 and rather distant from that of 於, in that they have the feature [+goal] or [+source] feature. Instead, 於 first grammaticalized into a spatial locative marker, and further grammaticalized into a comparative marker and an agent marker, which, cross-linguistically, are commonly derived from a locative marker.²²⁹

In *Zuo's Commentary*, the ratio of 于 to 於 is almost 1:1. The usages of 于 and 於 in this text show the following characteristics. In the first four dukes in *The Former Eight Dukes*, in which 于 outnumbers 於, while the functions of 于 that are close to its core feature set resisted encroachment by 於 better, the derived functions of 于, which are distant from its core feature set, were the first to be encroached upon by 於. That is, while the functions of 于 marking a spatial goal or location, which were directly derived from its verbal usage, resisted encroachment better, 于 marking a non-spatial goal co-occurring with V[+addressee] or V[+target] or marking a non-spatial source were encroached upon by 於 relatively early. In Duke Xiang in *The Latter Four Dukes*, where 於 outnumbers 于, 於 started to encroach upon 于's core functions such as the spatial goal marker, source marker, path marker, and locative marker, in addition to the derived function of a temporal goal marker. Also, it is noteworthy that 於 is preferred for function words having the feature [+source], including a spatial source marker, a non-spatial source marker with V[-give], and an agent marker, which implies that the semantic scope of 于 had started to shrink considerably.²³⁰ This misled later scholars to assume that one of the differences between 于 and 於 was that only the latter could express “from” [=source].

It is illustrated in 6.4 and 6.5 that the choice of 于 or 於 is conditioned not only by their feature sets, but also by the semantic features of the following noun phrase,²³¹ as well as by the syntactic structure where each occurs. That is, semantically speaking, while 于 used as a goal marker is followed by a [+concrete] goal, 於 with the same function is frequently followed by a [-concrete] goal, such as a degree, result, or situation. The reason can be found in the fact that by the time Chinese prose developed, flourished, and became fully eloquent delivering more complex and abstract ideas, 于 had almost lost its productivity, and was considered obsolete. Consequently, it was seldom followed by a [-concrete] noun. Also, it is 於 which frequently appears in a complex syntactic structure, such as with a nominalizer 者, relativizer 所, noun modifier 之, and so on. It is because an obsolete function marker [=于] was less likely to appear in a new syntactic structure.

²²⁹ For the semantic scopes of 于 and 於 based on the data from the *BB*, *The Book of Odes*, *The Book of Documents*, and *The Ceremonies and Rites*, see Figure 5 in 5.3.

²³⁰ For the semantic scopes of 于 and 於, revised based on their occurrences in *Zuo's Commentary*, see Figure 6 in 6.3.

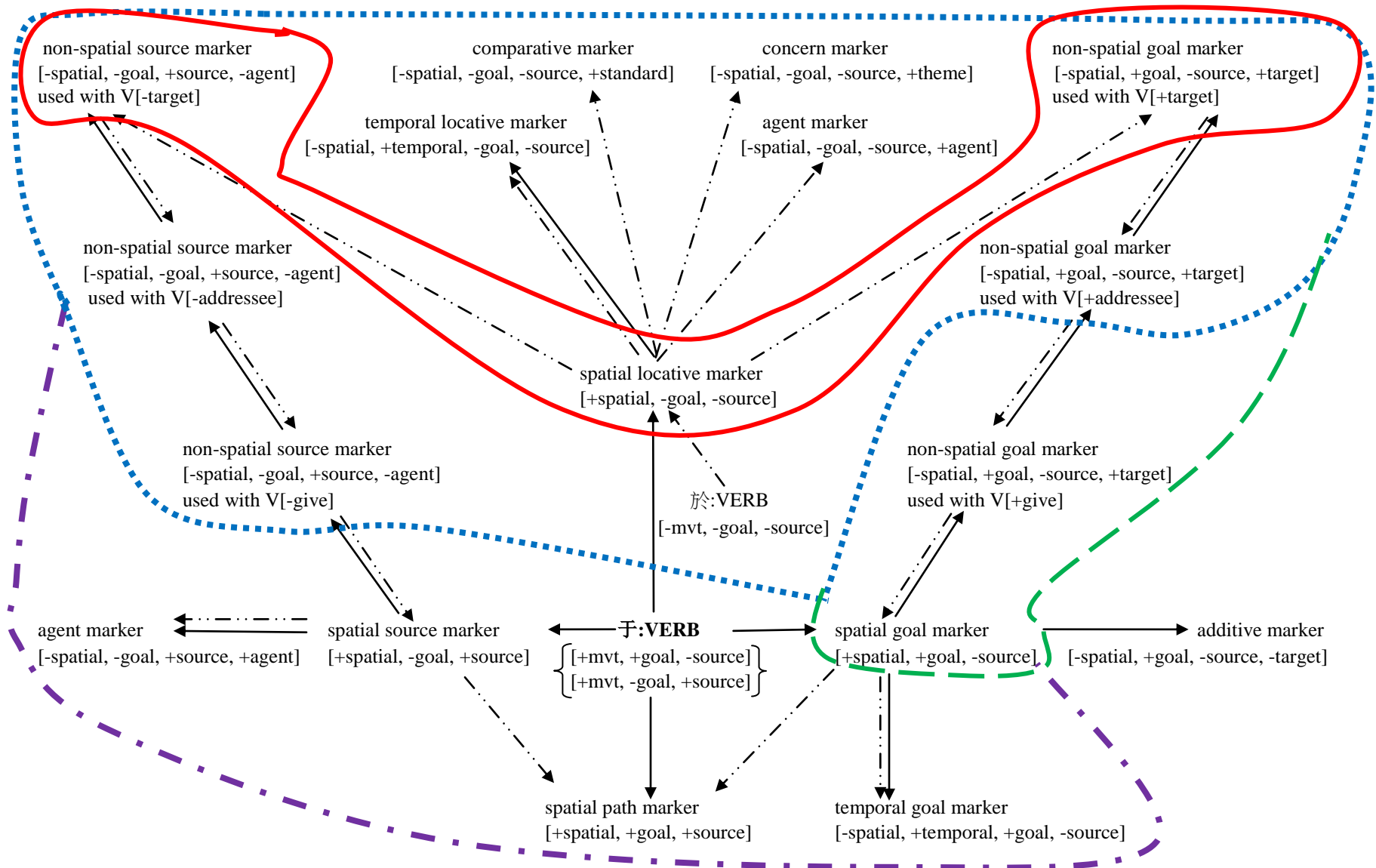
²³¹ Also see 6.1.1.

In sum, 于 and 於 are anything but graphic variants or an archaic-contemporary graph pair. Rather, they originated from different sources in different times and underwent different grammaticalization paths. The former was encroached upon by the latter in a diachronic process that started with the function most distant from the original verbal feature set of 于 and then, eventually, spread to 于's core functions. When the two co-exist in a single text or time period, they still show significant differences in the syntactic and semantic environments in which they occur.


7.2. Grammaticalization of 于/於 and the process of encroachment in semantic feature format


In this section, grammaticalization of 于/於 and the process of encroachment are illustrated using semantic features. Semantic feature analysis shows clearly the original characteristics of 于 and 於, their grammaticalization paths, and the overlap in their functions. The use of semantic feature analysis is also crucial in explaining the rationale of the process of encroachment of 于 by 於. When 於 started to encroach upon the semantic scope of 于, those functions of 于 whose feature sets are closely related to its original feature set resisted encroachment better, while those functions of 于 whose feature sets are distant from its original feature set and close to the original feature set of 於 were more prone to be encroached upon by 於. This can be called “the principle of feature proximity.”

Figure 7 summarizes the origin and grammaticalization path of 于 and 於 and the process of encroachment of 于 by 於 based on the chosen texts.




 : The scope of 於 in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of documents*

 : The scope of 於 in *The Ceremonies and Rites*

 : The expanded scope of 於 in the first four dukes in *The Former Eight Dukes of Zuo's Commentary*

 : The expanded scope of 於 in Duke Xiang in *The Latter Four Dukes of Zuo's commentary*

 : The grammaticalization path of 于

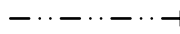
 : The grammaticalization path of 於

Figure 7. The origin and grammaticalization path of 于 and 於 and the process of encroachment of 于 by 於 based on the chosen

于 was originally a verb indicating movement, with the feature set [+lexical, +mvt, +goal, -source] or [+lexical, +mvt, -goal, +source]. It first grammaticalized into a spatial goal marker [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, -source], spatial source marker [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, +source], spatial path marker [-lexical, +spatial, +goal, +source], and spatial locative marker [-lexical, +spatial, -goal, -source]. From a spatial goal marker and a spatial locative marker, a temporal goal marker [-lexical, -spatial, +temporal, +goal, -source] and a temporal locative marker [-lexical, -spatial, +temporal, -goal, -source] were derived, respectively.

From a spatial goal marker and a spatial source marker, a non-spatial goal marker [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source] and a non-spatial source marker [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, +source] were derived, respectively. A non-spatial goal marker co-occurs with V[+give], V[+addressee], or V[+target], and a non-spatial source marker co-occurs with V[-give], V[-addressee], or V[-target].

于 as an agent marker was extended from a non-spatial source marker, and its feature set can be described as [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, +source, +agent]. 于 as a concern marker was extended from a non-spatial locative marker [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source], and its feature set can be described as [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source, +theme]. 于 as an additive marker was extended from a non-spatial goal marker, and its feature can be described as [-lexical, -spatial, +goal, -source, -target].

On the other hand, 於 was originally a locative verb, with the feature set [+lexical, -mvt, -goal, -source]. From this, functions that do not involve an overt movement, such as a spatial locative marker, a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target], and a non-spatial source marker with V[-target] were derived. A non-spatial goal marker with V[+target] and a non-spatial source marker with V[-target] have the weakest sense of directionality compared to the same markers co-occurring with V[+give], V[-give], V[+addressee], or V[-addressee], in that the sense of directionality is not inherent in the verb. In other words, while V[+give] and V[-give] have the strongest sense of directionality in that the verb indicates the transfer of a theme from the agent to the recipient, or from the source to the agent, V[+addressee] and V[-addressee] have a weaker sense of directionality in that the theme is a word, speech, or inquiry, all of which can be described as [-concrete]. A comparative marker was also extended from a non-spatial locative marker, and it can be described as [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source, +standard]. 於 as an agent marker was also derived from a non-spatial locative marker, and its feature set can be described as [-lexical, -spatial, -goal, -source, +agent].²³²

When 於 started to encroach upon the semantic scope of 于, while 于 used in a function which is closely related to its original verbal feature set resisted encroachment better, 于 used in a function which is distant from its original verbal feature set or close to the original feature set of 於 was first encroached upon by 於. That is, 于 used as a spatial locative marker, a non-spatial goal marker with V[+target], and a non-spatial source marker with V[-target], were encroached upon by 於 first, which is reflected in *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Documents*.

Second, 于 used as a non-spatial goal marker with V[+addressee] and a non-spatial source marker with V[-give] and V[-addressee] were encroached upon by 於, which is observed in *The Ceremonies and Rites*.

²³² For the rationale that 於 as an agent marker was derived from a non-spatial locative marker rather than a non-spatial source marker as 于 was, see 6.1.6.

Third, 于 used as a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give] and as a spatial goal marker were encroached upon by 於, which is observed in the first four dukes in *The Former Eight Dukes in Zuo's Commentary*. Marking a spatial goal is a core function of 于, and a non-spatial goal marker co-occurring with V[+give] is directly derived from a spatial goal marker. The encroachment of 于 in these two functions shows that even the core functions of 于 started to be encroached upon by 於.

Finally, 于 marking a spatial relationship (i.e. a spatial goal marker, a locative marker, a source marker, and a path marker), which was directly derived from its verbal usage, was further encroached upon by 於, as is observed in Duke Xiang in *The Latter Four Dukes in Zuo's Commentary*.²³³ Also, 于 is considerably encroached upon by 於 as a function word having the feature [+source], such as a spatial source marker, a non-spatial source marker with V[-give] or V[-addressee], and an agent marker. A non-spatial source marker co-occurring with V[-target] was completely replaced by 於 in Duke Xiang. This implies that 于 was on its way to losing the feature [+source], and the semantic scope of it shrank considerably.

As has been shown in this summary, the use of semantic feature analysis allows a clear and principled explanation of the grammaticalization processes of 于 and 於 and the process of the encroachment of the former by the latter.

²³³ In *The Latter Four Dukes of Zuo's Commentary*, it is observed that 於 is frequently used as a goal marker. Also, it is observed that for a function having the feature [+source], 於 is preferred. For details see 6.2.

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Appendix I. List of 往 in the BB (total 71 occurrences)

I. (Subject) + (neg) + 往 (13 occurrences)

1. 亩王往. (BB 3.7o=HJ 7352.7o)
It should be His Majesty (who) goes.
2. 勿佳王往. (BB 3.8o=HJ 7352.8o)
It should not be His Majesty (who) goes.
3. [亩]王往 (BB 3.13o=HJ 7352.13o)
[It should be] His Majesty who goes.
4. 王固曰佳句. 言亩往. 不往. (BB 79.1r=HJ 9472.1r)
His Majesty, having prognosticated, declared: It is the case that (we) should pray (for aid from Di). (Or: It is the case that it will be harmful [害].) Yan should go. (Or: It should be the act of going Yan does.) [Verification:] He did not go.
5. 王固曰佳句. 言亩往. 不往. (BB 79.1r=HJ 9472.1r)
His Majesty, having prognosticated, declared: It is the case that (we) should pray (for aid from Di). (Or: It is the case that it will be harmful [害].) Yan should go. (Or: It should be the act of going Yan does.) [Verification:] He did not go.
6. 王往. (BB 156.5r=HJ 667.5r)
His Majesty should go.
7. 勿(往不)... (BB 160.17r=HJ 6477.17r)
(He) should not go, (for) it will not [meet with approval [by Di]].
8. 勿往. (BB 200.5r=HJ 14207.5r)
(He) should not sally forth.
9. [乙]丑卜王其逐麇隻. (不)[往]. (BB 323.8o=HJ 10950.8o)
Crack making on the *yichou* day [2], His Majesty [tested]: If (we) should chase *zhai*-animals, (we) will (be able to) catch (some). (We) did not go.
10. 乙丑卜王其逐麇隻. 不往. (BB 323.10o=HJ 10950.10o)
Crack making on the *yichou* day [2], His Majesty [tested]: If (we) should chase *zhai*-animals, (we) will (be able to) catch (some). (We) did not go.

11. 乙丑卜王不其逐麇隻. 不往. (BB 323.11o=HJ 10950.11o)
Crack making on the *yichou* day [2], His Majesty [tested]: (We) might not (be able to) catch *zhai*-animals. (We) did not go.
12. 己巳卜爭貞王往若. (BB 550.2o=HJ 7427.2o)
Crack making on the *jisi* day [6], Zheng tested: His Majesty should go, (for it) will be agreeable (to Di).
13. 貞王勿往不若. (BB 550.3o=HJ 7427.3o)
Tested: His Majesty should not go, (for it) will not be agreeable (to Di).

II. 往 + 于 + Place (14 occurrences)

14. 乎(雀)往于帛. (BB 56.1r=HJ 6460.1r)
(We) should call upon Qiao to go to Bian [or: the border?].
15. 勿(乎雀)往于帛. (BB 56.2r=HJ 6460.2r)
(We) should not call upon Qiao to go to Bian (or: the border ?).
16. 丙戌卜韋貞令役往于虞. (BB 110.3o=HJ 6033.3o)
Crack making on the *bingxu* day [23], Wei tested: (We) should order Pai to go to Ju.
17. 癸卯卜般貞乎呂往于隹从乘. (BB 155.7o=HJ 667.7o)
Crack making on the *guimao* day [40], Nan tested: (We) should get Gong to go to Wei [Huai 淮?] following Cheng.
18. 勿往于... (BB 156.6r=HJ 667.6r)
(He) should not go to...
19. 貞王往于雋京. (BB 159.5o=HJ 6477.5o)
Tested: His Majesty should go to Zhu Citadel.
20. 貞王往于朱京. (BB 159.6o=HJ 6477.6o)
Tested: His Majesty should not go to Zhu Citadel.
21. 貞王往于雋京. (BB 159.10o=HJ 6477.10o)
Tested: His Majesty should go to Zhu Citadel.
22. 貞乎往于河不若. (BB 227.5o=HJ 226.5o)
Tested: (If we) issue a call to proceed to the River He, it will not meet with (Di's) approval.
23. 戊午卜宀貞乎雀往于(隹). (BB 261.1o=HJ 6946.1o)

Crack making on the *wuwu* day [55], Bin tested: (We) should call upon Qiao to go to Shi (?).

24. 戊午卜宀貞勿乎雀往于楸. (BB 261.2o=HJ 6946.2o)

Crack making on the *wuwu* day [55], Bin tested: (We) should not call upon Qiao to go to Shi (?).

25. 貞乎虞往于(楸). (BB 352.1o=HJ 368.1o)

Tested: (We) should call upon Ju to go to Shi (?).

26. 勿乎虞往于楸. (BB 352.2o=HJ 368.2o)

(We) should not call upon Ju to go to Shi (?).

27. [貞]乎(旨)往于河出从雨. (BB 463.2o=HJ 7387.2o)

Tested: (If we) call upon Shao [召] to proceed to the River, (there will be:) we will get ensuing rain.

III. 往 + Place (9 occurrences)

28. 往西多紕(挈)伐... (BB 76.9o=HJ 6771.9o)

The Many Yin (?) whom (we) sent to the west [or: who have gone to the west] will bring the king decapitated human victims.

29. 往西多紕其挈伐. (BB 78.11o=HJ 9472.11o)

The Duo Yin whom (we) sent to the west [or: who have gone to the west] may bring (以) decapitated human victims.

30. 往西多紕弗其挈伐. (BB 78.12o=HJ 9472.12o)

The Duo Yin whom (we) sent to the west [or: who have gone to the west] might not bring human victims.

31. 己未卜般令兕往沚. (BB 304.10o=HJ 6947.10o)

Crack making on the *jiwei* day [56], Nan [tested]: (We) should order Yuan (?) to go (to) Zhi.

32. 己未卜般勿令兕往沚. (BB 304.11o=HJ 6947.11o)

Crack making on the *jiwei* day [56], Nan [tested]: (We) should not order Yuan (?) to go (to) Zhi.

33. 貞宙王自往西. (BB 307.5o=HJ 6928.5o)
Tested: It should be His Majesty himself who goes west.
34. 貞王往 ^夬我至于宥 ^巽. (BB 403.2o=HJ 17230.2o)
Tested: His Majesty should go to Yao [夬] (and) Cai, as far as Bin (and) Bie [別] (?).
35. 丙子卜宥貞(王)往西. (BB 446.3o=HJ 3217.3o)
Crack making on the *bingzi* day [13], Bin tested: His Majesty should go west.
36. 貞乎往長. (BB 563.1r=HJ 11499.1r)
Tested: (We) should issue a call to go [往] to Wei [巳].

IV. 往 + VP (21 occurrences)

37. 王往出. (BB 26.3o=HJ 6475.3o)
His Majesty should set out to take the field.
38. 王勿往出. 小吉. (BB 26.4o=HJ 6475.4o)
His Majesty should not set out to take the field. (Small:) abbreviated (?) announcement.
39. ...卜韋貞王往从之. (BB 65.7o=HJ 14129.7o)
Crack making on the ... day, Wei tested: His Majesty should go to follow him. (Or: His Majesty should go by way of here).
40. 貞王勿往敦 ^巽. (BB 65.8o=HJ 14129.8o)
Tested: His Majesty should not go to encamp (次) at Di (弟?).
41. 貞王勿其往从之. (BB 66.9r=HJ 14129.9r)
Tested: His Majesty should not [no 其 after 勿] go and follow him. (Or: His Majesty should not go by way of here).
42. 貞羽庚辰王往途首. (BB 111.1r=HJ 6033.1r)
Tested: (On) the next *gengchen* day [17], His Majesty will proceed/go to (do away with:) expel the Shou people.
43. 羽庚辰王往途首. (BB 111.2r=HJ 6033.2r)
(On) the next *gengchen* day [17], His Majesty will proceed/go to (do away with:) expel the Shou people.
44. 戊午卜爭貞宙王自往阱. 十二月 (BB 114.6o=HJ 6664.6o)
Crack making on the *wuwu* day [55], Zheng tested: It should be His Majesty himself who goes to catch *mi*-deer. Twelfth month.

45. 丙午卜癸貞王往出田若. (BB 126.7o=HJ 9504.7o)
Crack making on the *bingwu* day [43], Bin tested: (If) His Majesty goes out hunting, it will meet with (Di's) approval.
46. 羽乙酉王往途亡... (BB 160.5r=HJ 6477.5r)
(On) the next *yiyou* day [22], if His Majesty goes to expel [除] (enemy), there will be no [不若? disapproval (of Di)].
47. 貞羽乙酉王往途亡若. (BB 160.16r=HJ 6477.16r)
Tested: (On) the next *yiyou* day, (he) should go to expel [除] (enemy), (for) it will meet with approval [by Di].
48. [貞] (王)往狩[獸]. (BB 163.3o=HJ 10601.3o)
Tested: His Majesty should go hunting.
49. 勿往狩[獸]. (BB 163.4o=HJ 10601.4o)
(He) should not go hunting.
50. 王往田啓鷹. (BB 179.1r=HJ 267.1r)
(When) His Majesty goes (fielding:) hunting, he will (be able to) ensnare *zhai*-animals.
51. 七月咸王往出. (BB 200.4r=HJ 14207.4r)
(Seven days completed:) (at) the (completion:) end of the seventh day (?), His Majesty should proceed to sally forth. Or, perhaps better as: In seven days [some event] came to an end; His Majesty should proceed to sally forth.)
52. 貞王往省[南]. (BB 351.5o=HJ 7773.5o)
Tested: His Majesty should go to inspect the south.
53. 王固曰佳其凶事佳其往執. (BB 397.2r=HJ 150.2r)
His Majesty, having prognosticated, declared: It is (the case) that (he) does harm [害] on the (king's) business; it is (the case) that (he goes to:) will surrender.
54. 丙辰卜爭貞王往省从西若. (BB 409.3o= HJ 7440.3o)
Crack making on the *bingchen* day [53], Zheng tested: His Majesty should go to inspect [i.e., make a royal progress?] (following:) by way of the west, (for) it will meet with (Di's) approval.
55. 貞王勿往省不若. (BB 409.4o= HJ 7440.4o)
Tested: His Majesty should not go to inspect, (for) it will not meet with (Di's) approval.

56. 貞 宙 王往阱(𤝵). (BB 605.8o=HJ 7075.8o)
Tested: It should be His Majesty who goes to trap deer [鹿] (?), (for he) will catch (some).

57. 貞王往狩. (BB 631.1o=HJ 905.1o)
Tested: His Majesty should go hunting [獸=狩].

V. 往 + VP + 于 + place (4 occurrence)

58. 癸卯卜般貞(勿)乎 𠄎 往从乘于佳. (BB 155.8o=HJ 667.8o)
Crack making on the *guimao* day [40], Nan tested: (We) should not get Gong to go following Cheng to Wei [Huai 淮?].

59. 王其往逐麋[于] 虞 [其隻]. (BB 216.5o=HJ 14295.5o)
If His Majesty should go (chasing:) hunting *mi*-deer at Gui (?), he will (be able to) catch (some).

60. 王其往逐麋于 虞 不其隻. (BB 216.6o=HJ 14295.6o)
If His Majesty should go (chasing:) hunting *mi*-deer at Gui (?), he might not happen to (be able to) catch (any).

61. 壬寅卜余 爻 往田于不乎从 希 (BB 511.2r=HJ 891.2r)
Crack making on the *renyin* day [39]: (After) I (raise up [登]:) mobilize those who had gone to hunt at Pi, (I) should issue a call to follow Cai [蔡] (?) (and) Gou [穀](?).

VI. 往來 “going and coming” (6 occurrences)

62. 貞夏往來其 咎 困. (BB 32.26o=HJ 914.26o)
Tested: (As for) Jia’s coming and going, there might be misfortunes.

63. 癸丑卜爭貞夏往來 亡 困. 王固曰 亡 困. 上吉. (BB 32.27o=HJ 914.27o)
Crack making on the *guichou* day [50], Zheng tested: (As for) Jia’s coming and going, there will be no misfortunes. His Majesty, having prognosticated, declared: There shall be no misfortunes. Second announcement [二告].

64. 辛巳卜內貞般往來 亡 困. (BB 128.5o=HJ 152.5o)
Crack making on the *xinsi* day [18], Nei tested: Pan, in going and coming, shall have no misfortunes.

65. 貞 𠄎 往來 亡 困. (BB 128.6o=HJ 152.6o)

Tested: Ya, in going and coming, shall have no misfortunes.

66. 戌午卜𠄎貞般往來亡困. (BB 130.1o=HJ 4259.1o)

Crack making on the *wuwu* day [55], Dun tested: Pan/Ban, in going and coming, shall have no misfortunes.

67. 貞般往來其虫(困). (BB 130.2o=HJ 4259.2o)

Tested: Pan/Ban, in going and coming, might have misfortunes.

VII. 往芻 “the runaway soldiers” (1 occurrence)

68. 貞往芻貝又. (BB 560.1o=HJ 133.1o)

Tested: The gone (in the sense of runaway [逃?]) soldiers will be caught [=得].

VIII. Interpretation problematic (3 occurrences)

69. 王往馬. (BB 112.6o=HJ 14735o)

(S) The king will proceed (to) the Ma tribe.

(T) His Majesty will send a (horse:) marshal. (Or, though less likely: ...will go to the Ma [area]).²³⁴

[Serruy interpreted 馬 as a tribe name. The first translation of Takashima implies that he interpreted 馬 as a horse and 往 as causative ‘to send.’ In his second translation, he interpreted 馬 as a place name.]

70. 貞乎王(往) ... (BB 261.11o=HJ 6946.11o)

Tested: (We) should call upon the Royal Clan [族] to go ...

[Inscription is fragmentary. Therefore, one cannot tell whether anything is following 往.]

71. 乎子往... (BB 312.24r=HJ 811.24r)

(We) should call upon the Zi to go ...

[Inscription is fragmentary. Therefore, one cannot tell whether anything is following 往.]

²³⁴ S represents Serruys and T represents Takashima.

Appendix II. List of 于 used as a verb in the BB (39 occurrences)

1. 貞王于龔[白]. (BB 3.9o=HJ 7352.9o)
(S) (He) tested: The king at Gong will camp. Or: The king (will go) to camp at Gong.
(T) Tested: His Majesty should [encamp] at Gong.²³⁵
2. 勿于龔白. (BB 3.10o=HJ 7352.10o)
(S) Do not [have him] go (to) the camp of Gong.
(T) (His Majesty) should not [go] to encamp at Gong.²³⁶
3. 己未卜般貞我于雉入白. 上吉. (BB 3.19o=HJ 7352.19o)
(S) At *jiwei* day [56] divination, Gu (2nd diviner) tested: We, going to Zhi, will enter the camp.
(T) Divining on the *jiwei* day [56], Que tested: We should enter Zhi to encamp. (Or: ... enter to encamp at Zhi.) Second announcement.
4. 貞勿于雉白.²³⁷ (BB 3.20o=HJ 7352.20o)
(S) (He) tested: Do not (make it be >) assume to go (to) Zhi camp.
(T) (We) should not encamp at Zhi.
5. 乎目于河虫來. (BB 107.5r=HJ 456.5r)
(S) If we call upon Mu to go to He river (or: at He river go), (one) has (chance) he will come.
(T) If we (call on:) get Mu to (proceed to) the River He, (he) will, in fact, (be able to) (come:) do so.²³⁸

²³⁵ Takashima (2010 vol.2:60) mentioned that 白 is the verb ‘to encamp,’ whereas the same graph written without the bottom line, 𠄎, is the noun ‘camp,’ as already pointed out by Li Xiaoding in *Jiagu wenzi jijie* 甲骨文字集解 14.4127. If so, 𠄎 in this inscription should be interpreted as a noun, rendering the whole sentence as “His Majesty should go to Gong encampment.”

²³⁶ Serruys interpreted 于 as a verb meaning ‘to go to’ whereas Takashima interpreted 于 as a function word and put ‘go’ in a square bracket. However, 于 can best be interpreted as a verb, as Serruys interpreted it, because there is no elided verb understood through the context.

²³⁷ Although 白 is the verb ‘to encamp,’ it can better be interpreted as a noun in this example, because its paired-line above has 𠄎 (noun).

²³⁸ Serruys interpreted 于 as a verb meaning ‘to go to,’ whereas Takashima interpreted 于 as a function word and put ‘to go’ in a parenthesis. However, in the examples listed above, 于 can best be interpreted as a verb because there is no elided verb implied through the context.

6. 貞妾于媿. (*BB* 120.10o=*HJ* 190.10o)
 (S) Test: The concubine (wife?) is about to deliver (her baby).
 (T) Tested: Yun [媿?] (should do something/go) at/to Ming.²³⁹
7. 妾勿于媿. (*BB* 120.11=*HJ* 190.11o)
 (S) As to the concubine (= wife), do not [make her >] assume her to be about to give birth.
 (T) Yun [媿?] should not (do something/go) at/to Ming.
8. 庚辰卜宀貞朕芻于鬥. (*BB* 128.1o=*HJ* 152.1o)
 (S) At *gengchen* day [17] divination, Bin tested: My grass-cutters/gatherers will go to Dou.
 (T) Divining on the *gengchen* day [17], Bin tested: My soldiers/foragers/grooms [駟?] (should go) to Dou.
9. 貞朕(芻)于丘剡. (*BB* 128.2o=*HJ* 152.2o)
 (S) Test: My grass-gatherers will go to Mound Suo.
 (T) Tested: My soldiers/foragers/grooms [駟?] (should go) to the hill (at) Suo.
10. 貞朕芻于鬥. (*BB* 128.3o=*HJ* 152.3o)
 (S) Test: My grass-gatherers will go to Dou.
 (T) Tested: My soldiers/foragers/grooms [駟?] (should go) to Dou.
11. 貞朕(芻)于剡. (*BB* 128.4o=*HJ* 152.4o)
 (S) Test: My grass-gatherers will go to Suo.
 (T) Tested: My soldiers/foragers/grooms [駟?] (should go) to Suo.
12. 隹之乎犬…茲于厓. (*BB* 144.4r=*HJ* 7426.4r)
 (S) It is > means that coming to call upon the Quan...this/go to/verb...
 (T) It is (due to [this reason])(or: for this [purpose]) that (we) call upon Quan ... this/here (?) go marching (?)/His Majesty, having prognosticated, declared: This (crack means) that therein (于之 ‘in the crack’)(he) is to go on campaign (?).²⁴⁰
13. 己巳卜爭貞方女于臺. (*BB* 201.1o=*HJ* 11018.1o)
 (S) At *jisi* day [6] divination, Zheng tested: Woman of foreign tribe shall go to Chun.
 (T) Divining on the *jisi* day [6], Zheng tested: As for the women of Fang, (we) should

²³⁹ According to Takashima, 媿 is a personal name. 媿 is a place name and I interpret 于 as a verb ‘to go toward.’

²⁴⁰ *HJ Shiwen* separates the latter preceded by 王固曰. Takashima’s second translation reflects *Shiwen*’s arrangement.

(send them?) to Chun.

14. 貞方女勿于臺. (BB 201.2o=HJ 11018.2o)

(S) Tested: As to (the) foreign tribe woman (women?) do not have (them) go to Chun.

(T) Tested: As for the women of Fang, (we) should not (send them) to Chun.

15. ...于商彫缶. (BB 309.5o=HJ 3061.5o)

[We should?] *you*-sacrifice Fou [Tao 匄/ 陶?] at Shang.²⁴¹

16. 勿...王于示. (BB 312.17r=HJ 811or)

(We) should not [call on?] His Majesty to the Altar.²⁴²

17. ...貞...毋于臺. (BB 326.7o=HJ 7852.7o)

...tested: [The Fang (方)] women [女] (should be) called on (乎) to (go) to Chun.

18. 勿于臺. (BB 326.8o=HJ 7852.8o)

(They) should not (go to) Chun.

19. 貞方毋乎于臺. (BB 326.10o=HJ 7852.10o)

Tested: The Fang women [女] should be called on to (go) to Chun.

20. 雖芻于養. (BB 396.1o=HJ 150.1o)

Yong's foragers/soldiers (should go) to X.

21. 雖芻勿于養. (BB 396.2o=HJ 150.2o)

Yong's foragers/soldiers should not (go) to X.

22. 貞雖于藪. (BB 396.3o=HJ 150.3o)

Tested: Yong's foragers/soldiers (should go) to Qiu [藪 as in 藪].

²⁴¹ 于 in this line can be interpreted as a verb meaning 'to go to' or 'to be directed toward.' As Takashima mentioned, the Crown Prince had captured Fou (or Tao) of the Jifang tribe and *delivered him to* the king. 于商 in this line cannot be interpreted as a locative phrase because all locative phrases in the *BB* appear after the verb rather than before the verb.

²⁴² I agree with his translation except 于 should be interpreted as a verb. 乎 is reconstructed from the previous line 貞(乎)王 "Tested: (We) should call on His Majesty... [to the Altar?]." If the missing verb is 乎, 于 in this example can be interpreted as a verb.

23. 雖芻勿于龜. (BB 396.4o=HJ 150.4o)
Yong's foragers/soldiers should not (go) to Qiu [龜 as in 龜].
24. 貞雖芻于 𠄎. (BB 396.5o=HJ 150.5o)
Tested: Yong's foragers/soldiers (should go) to Y.
25. 雖芻于雇. (BB 396.6o=HJ 150.6o)
Yong's foragers/soldiers (should go) to Gu [雇] (or: Hu [雇]).
26. 勿于雇. (BB 396.7o=HJ 150.7o)
They should not (go) to Gu [雇] (or: Hu [雇]).
27. [乙巳卜 𠄎] 貞弓芻勿于 𠄎. (BB 413.21o=HJ 940.21o)
Divining on the *yisi* day [42], Dun tested: Gong's soldiers/foragers should not (go) to Bo/Bei [𠄎].
28. 乙巳卜 𠄎 貞弓芻于 𠄎. (BB 413.22o=HJ 940.22o)
Divining on the *yisi* day [42], Dun tested: Gong's soldiers/foragers (should go) to Bo/Bei [𠄎].
29. 貞芻于丘. (BB 421.4o=HJ 140.4o)
Tested: The soldiers/foragers (should [not 勿 ?]) (specifically [詳]:) necessarily (go) to Qiu (=the hill).
30. ...勿...于... (BB 421.5o=HJ 140.5o)
... should not ... (go) to ...
31. 𠄎从于河. (BB 443.5r=HJ 14755.5r)
(S) There is [case] that one will, following, go to the He (river).
(T) (If we) indeed follow, (it should be) to the River (?). (Grammar unclear here again; but 𠄎从 is contrasted with 其从, offering a piece of evidence for our interpretation of the former as being more emphatic than the latter.)
32. 其从勿于河. (BB 443.6r=HJ 14755.6r)
(S) It is expected that, following, one ought not to make him go to the He (river).
(T) If (we) should follow, (it) should not (be) to the River (?).

33. (乎)目(于)河虫來. (*BB* 475.3o=*HJ* 14787.3o)
 (If we) call Mu to (go) to the River, (he) will indeed come.
34. 貞于(靡). (*BB* 510.7o=*HJ* 891.7o)
 Tested: (We should go) to Pang.
35. 貞勿(于)靡 (*BB* 510.8o=*HJ* 891.8o)
 Tested: (We) should not (go) to Pang.
36. 勿于靡. (*BB* 591.3o=*HJ* 1899.3o)
 (We) should not (go) to/(sacrifice) at (?) Pang.
37. 于車舞. (*BB* 599.1o=*HJ* 13624.1o)
 At Ju (we) should dance (for rain).
 [Or, We should head for Ju and dance.]²⁴³
38. 于妥. (*BB* 602.5r=*HJ* 8720.5r)
 To (the place of) Tuo (we should go).²⁴⁴
39. 勿于妥(*BB* 602.6r=*HJ* 8720.6r)
 (We) should not (go) to (the place of) Tuo.

²⁴³ A locative phrase does not appear before the verb in the *BB*. Therefore, 于 can only be interpreted as a verb, rather than as a locative marker.

²⁴⁴ Takashima mentioned in his note 602.1 that Tuo is a name of a living person based on its occurrences in other *BB* inscriptions. Therefore, it is awkward to interpret 于 in this inscription as an indirect-object marker with a sacrificial verb implied. Alternatively, Takashima interpreted it as a goal marker. However, since there is no verb elided in front of 于, I interpret it as a verb.

Appendix III. List of 于 used as a verb in *The Book of Odes* (total 11 occurrences)

Feng -10 occurrences (all in the form 于以 + VP)

1. 于以采蘋, 于沼于沚. 于以用之, 公侯之事. (*Ode* 13.1)
She goes to gather the Fan plants, by the ponds, on the islets; she goes to use them as an offering, in the sacrifices of the prince.
2. 于以采蘋, 于澗之中. 于以用之, 公侯之宮. (*Ode* 13.2)
She goes to gather the Fan plants, in the stream-valley; she goes to use them as an offering, in the temple of the prince.
3. 于以采蘋, 南澗之濱. 于以采藻, 于彼行潦. (*Ode* 15.1)
She goes to gather the Pin waterplants, on the bank in the southern stream-valley; she goes to gather the Zao waterplants, in those running pools.
4. 于以盛之, 維筐及筥; 于以湘之, 維錡及釜. (*Ode* 15.2)
She goes to put them in vessels, there are baskets square and round; she goes to boil them, here are cauldrons and pans.
5. 于以奠之, 宗室牖下; 誰其尸之, 有齊季女. (*Ode* 15.3)
She goes to deposit them, under the window in the ancestral shrine; who sets them forth? There is a reverent young girl.
6. 爰居爰處, 爰喪其馬. 于以求之, 于林之下. (*Ode* 31.3)
And then we settle down, and then we remain, and then we lose our horses; we go in search of them, down in the forests.

Ya – 1 occurrence

7. 比物四驪閑之維則. 維此六月, 既成我服. 我服既成, 于三十里. 王于出征, 以佐天子. (*Ode* 177.2)
We matched according to quality (strength) the four black horses (of each chariot), we trained them according to the rules; in this sixth month we (completed:) prepared our clothes; our clothes were prepared *and we march thirty-li.*²⁴⁵ The king sent out a war expedition, it was to help the Son of Heaven.

²⁴⁵ Karlgren translated 于三十里 as “in our (areas of) 30 li (our homesteads).”

Appendix IV. List of 于 + Verb in *The Book of Odes*

I. 于 + Verb (=manner complement): total 18 occurrences

Feng – 8 occurrences

1. 葛之覃兮，施于中谷，維葉萋萋。黃鳥于飛，集于灌木，其鳴喈喈。 (*Ode 2.1*)
How the He creeper spreads, it reaches to the middle of the valley: its leaves are luxuriant; the yellow birds go flying, they settle on the thickly-growing trees; they sing in unison.
2. 燕燕于飛，差池其羽。之子于歸，遠送于野。瞻望弗及，泣涕如雨。 (*Ode 28.1*)
The swallows go flying, uneven-looking are their wings; this young lady goes to her new home, far I accompany her out in the open country; I gaze after (her), (do not reach her=) can no longer see her, the tears are like rain.
3. 燕燕于飛，頡之頡之。之子于歸，遠于將之。瞻望弗及，佇立以泣。 (*Ode 28.2*)
The swallows go flying, they straighten their necks, they stretch their necks; this young lady goes to her new home, far I go and escort her; I gaze after her, can no longer see her, I stand still and weep.
4. 燕燕于飛，下上其音。之子于歸，遠送于南。瞻望弗及，實勞我心。 (*Ode 28.3*)
The swallows go flying, falling and rising are their voices; this young lady goes to her new home, far I accompany her to the south; I gaze after her, can no longer see her, truly it grieves my heart.
5. 雄雉于飛，泄泄其羽。我之懷矣，自詒伊阻。 (*Ode 33.1*)
The male pheasant goes flying, slow-moving are his wings; oh, my beloved one, you have yourself given me this trouble.
6. 雄雉于飛，下上其音。展矣君子，實勞我心。 (*Ode 33.2*)
The male pheasant goes flying, falling and rising is his voice; truly, my lord, you do indeed afflict my heart.
7. 穀旦于逝，越以騶邁。視爾如晷，貽我握椒。 (*Ode 137.3*)
An auspicious morning they proceed, yea, they come forward and go: “We look on you as (if you were) a Malva! She gives us a handful of pepper-plants.”
8. 我徂東山，惓惓不歸。我來自東，零雨其濛。倉庚于飛，熠熠其羽。 (*Ode 156.4*)
We marched to the Eastern mountains, we went away and did not return home; now that we are coming from the East, the falling rain is darkening; The oriole goes flying, brilliant are its feathers.

Ya - 7 occurrences

9. 鴻雁于飛，肅肅其羽。之子于征，劬勞于野。爰及矜人，哀此鰥寡。 (*Ode* 181.1)
The wild geese go flying, beating are their wings; these gentlemen go on an expedition, they toil in the wilds; alas both for those pitiable men, and for these solitary ones and widows.
10. 鴻雁于飛，集于中澤。之子于垣，百堵皆作。雖則劬勞，其究安宅。 (*Ode* 181.2)
The wild geese go flying, they settle in the middle of the marsh; these gentlemen go and build walls, a hundred *du* measures (of wall) all arise; although they toil, in the end they will find rest in their dwellings.
11. 鴻雁于飛，哀鳴嗷嗷。維此哲人，謂我劬勞；維彼愚人，謂我宣驕。 (*Ode* 181.3)
The wild geese go flying, their woeful cry is (clamoring:) resounding; “these wise men say that we are toiling and suffering, but those stupid men say that we are boastful and arrogant.”
12. 鴛鴦于飛，畢之羅之。君子萬年，福祿宜之。 (*Ode* 216.1)
The ducks go flying, we take them with hand-nets and spread-nets; may the lord have a myriad years, may felicity and blessings come to him as his (right:) due.
13. 淠彼涇舟，烝徒楫之。周王于邁，六師及之。 (*Ode* 238.3)
Floating along are those boats on the Jing (river), many men are rowing them; the King of Zhou marches, and the six armies go along with him.
14. 鳳凰于飛，翩翩其羽，亦集爰止。藹藹王多吉士。維君子使，媚于天子。 (*Ode* 252.7)
The phoenixes go flying, hui hui (sound) their wings; again they settle and then stop; a great crowd are the king's many fine officers, the lord gives them their charges; they have love for the Son of Heaven.
15. 鳳凰于飛，翩翩其羽，亦傳于天。藹藹王多吉人。維君子命，媚于庶人。 (*Ode* 252.8)
The phoenixes go flying, hui-hui (sound) their wings: they even (touch=) reach heaven; a great crowd are the king's many fine officers, the lord appoints them; they have love for the common people.

Song – 3 occurrences

16. 振鷺于飛，于彼西雝。我客戾止，亦有斯容。 (*Ode* 278.1)
(In numerous array=) in a flock the egrets go flying, on that western moat; our guests arrive, they also have that appearance.

17. 有駟有駟，駟彼乘牡。夙夜在公，在公飲酒。振振鷺，鷺于飛。鼓咽咽，醉言歸。于胥樂兮。 (*Ode 298.2*)
Well-fed, well-fed, well-fed are the teams of stallions; morning and evening they are in the palace; in the palace they drink wine; in a flock go the egrets, the egrets go flying; the drums (sound) yan-yan. When drunk they will go home; they go to rejoice together.
18. 思樂泮水，薄采其芹。魯侯戾止，言觀其旂。其旂茝茝，鸞聲噦噦。無小無大，從公于邁。 (*Ode 299.1*)
Oh, pleasant is the semi-circular water, we gather its cress; the prince of Lu has come, we see his banners; his banners flutter, the sound of the bit-bells (goes) hui-hui without distinction between small and great, all follow the prince in his going.

II. 于 + Verb (=purpose complement): total 49 occurrences

Feng – 30 occurrences

1. 桃之夭夭, 灼灼其華. 之子于歸, 宜其室家. (*Ode* 6.1)
How delicately beautiful is the peach-tree, brilliant are its flowers; this young lady goes to her new home, she will order well her chamber and house.
2. 桃之夭夭, 有蕢其實. 之子于歸, 宜其家室. (*Ode* 6.2)
How delicately beautiful is the peach-tree, well-set are its fruits; this young lady goes to her new home, she will order well her house and chamber.
3. 桃之夭夭, 其葉蓁蓁. 之子于歸, 宜其家人. (*Ode* 6.3)
How delicately beautiful is the peach-tree, its leaves are luxuriant; this young lady goes to her new home, she will order well her house-people.
4. 翹翹錯薪, 言刈其楚. 之子于歸, 言秣其馬. (*Ode* 9.2)
Tall-rising is that mixed firewood, we cut the (leaves of) the wild thorn; this young lady goes to her new home, we feed her horses.
5. 翹翹錯薪, 言刈其蕞. 之子于歸, 言秣其駒. (*Ode* 9.3)
Tall-rising is that mixed firewood, we cut the (leaves of) the Lu plant; this young lady goes to her new home, we feed her colts.
6. 維鵲有巢, 維鳩居之. 之子于歸, 百兩御之. (*Ode* 12.1)
It is the magpie who has the nest, it is the Jiu bird who inhabits it; this young lady goes to her new home, a hundred carriages meet her.
7. 維鵲有巢, 維鳩方之. 之子于歸, 百兩將之. (*Ode* 12.2)
It is the magpie who has the nest, it is the Jiu bird who has her place in it; this young lady goes to her new home, a hundred carriages escort her.
8. 維鵲有巢, 維鳩盈之. 之子于歸, 百兩成之. (*Ode* 12.3)
It is the magpie who has the nest, it is the Jiu bird who fills it; this young lady goes to her new home, a hundred carriages (achieve her=) make her (outfit) complete.
9. 燕燕于飛, 差池其羽. 之子于歸, 遠送于野. 瞻望弗及, 泣涕如雨. (*Ode* 28.1)
The swallows go flying, uneven-looking are their wings; this young lady goes to her new home, far I accompany her out in the open country; I gaze after (her), (do not reach her=) can no longer see her, the tears are like rain.

10. 燕燕于飛，頡之頡之。之子于歸，遠于將之。瞻望弗及，佇立以泣。 (*Ode 28.2*)
 The swallows go flying, they straighten their necks, they stretch their necks; this young lady goes to her new home, far I go and escort her; I gaze after her, can no longer see her, I stand still and weep.
11. 燕燕于飛，頡之頡之。之子于歸，遠于將之，瞻望弗及，佇立以泣。 (*Ode 28.2*)
 The swallows go flying, they straighten their necks, they stretch their necks; this young lady goes to her new home, far I go and escort her; I gaze after her, can no longer see her, I stand still and weep.
12. 燕燕于飛，下上其音。之子于歸，遠送于南。瞻望弗及，實勞我心。 (*Ode 28.3*)
 The swallows go flying, falling and rising are their voices; this young lady goes to her new home, far I accompany her to the south; I gaze after her, can no longer see her, truly it grieves my heart.
13. 君子于役，不知其期，曷至哉！雞棲于埘；日之夕矣，羊牛下來。 (*Ode 66.1*)
 My lord has gone on an expedition of war, I do not know for how long; when will he come? The fowls roost in their wall-holes, it is the evening of the day; the sheep and oxen are coming down.
14. 君子于役，如之何勿思！ (*Ode 66.1*)
 The lord has gone on an expedition of war, how could I think (of him)?
15. 君子于役，不日不月；曷其有佸？雞棲于桀；日之夕矣，羊牛下括。 (*Ode 66.2*)
 My lord has gone on an expedition of war, not for days, not for months; when (will there be a union:) will he join me? The fowls roost on their perches, it is the evening of the day; the sheep and oxen go down and are brought together.
16. 君子于役，苟無飢渴？ (*Ode 66.2*)
 My lord has gone on an expedition of war, may he not hunger and thirst!
17. 叔于田，巷無居人。豈無居人？不如叔也；洵美且仁。 (*Ode 77.1*)
 Shu has gone hunting; in the street there are no dwellers how could there be no dwellers? (There are, but) they cannot compare with Shu; he is truly handsome and kind.
18. 叔于狩，巷無飲酒。豈無飲酒？不如叔也；洵美且好。 (*Ode 77.2*)
 Shu has gone hunting, in the street there are no wine-drinkers; how could there be no wine-drinkers? (There are, but) they cannot compare with Shu; he is truly handsome and good.

19. 叔于田, 乘乘馬. 執轡如組, 兩驂如舞. (*Ode* 78.1)
 Shu goes hunting, he rides in a carriage with four horses; he holds the reins as if they were silken strings.
20. 叔于田, 乘乘黃. 兩服上襄, 兩驂鴈行. (*Ode* 78.2)
 Shu goes hunting, he rides in a carriage with four yellow horses; the two yoke horses (rise upwards =) raise their heads high; the two outside horses go wild-goose fashion.
21. 叔于田, 乘乘鵠. 兩服齊首, 兩驂如手. (*Ode* 78.3)
 Shu goes hunting; he rides in a carriage with four grey horses; the two yoke-horses have their heads in a line, the two outside.
22. 駟驥孔阜, 六轡在手. 公之媚子, 從公于狩. (*Ode* 127.1)
 The four black horses are very big; the six reins are well in hand; the favorites of the prince follow the prince in the chase.
23. 豈曰無衣? 與子同袍. 王于興師, 脩我戈矛, 與子同仇. (*Ode* 133.1)
 How can you say that you have no clothes? I will share my tunics with you; the king raises his army, we put in order our dagger axes and mao lances; I will have the same enemies as you.
24. 豈曰無衣? 與子同澤. 王于興師, 脩我矛戟, 與子偕作. (*Ode* 133.2)
 How can you say that you have no clothes? I will share my trousers with you; the king raises his army, we put in order our Mao lances and Ji lances; together with you I will start (on the expedition).
25. 豈曰無衣? 與子同裳. 王于興師, 脩我甲兵, 與子偕行. (*Ode* 133.3)
 How can you say that you have no clothes? I will share my skirts with you; the king raises his army; we put in order our mail-coats and sharp weapons; together with you I will march.
26. 穀旦于差, 南方之原. 不績其麻, 市也婆娑. (*Ode* 137.2)
 A (good:) auspicious morning they go and choose: the (lady) Yuan of the South side; no longer spinning her hemp, she dances in the market place.
27. 三之日于耜, 四之日舉趾. 同我婦子, 饁彼南畝, 田峻至喜. (*Ode* 154.1)
 In the days of the third we go to plough; in the days of the fourth we lift the heels¹⁹⁰; all our wives and children¹⁹¹ carry food (to us) in those southern acres; the inspector of the fields comes and is pleased.

28. 一之日于貉, 取彼狐狸, 為公子裘. (*Ode 154.2*)
 In the days of the first we go for badgers, we catch those foxes and wild-cats; we make furs for the young noblemen.
29. 晝爾于茅, 宵爾索綯; 亟其乘屋, 其始播百穀. (*Ode 154.7*)
 In day time you shall go and gather the Mao grass, in the evening you shall make ropes; quickly let us get up on the (house=) roof; then we will start again to sow all the cereals.
30. 之子于歸, 皇駁其馬. 親結其縈, 九十其儀. 其新孔嘉, 其舊如之何?(*Ode 156.4*)
 this young lady goes to her new home, yellow-and-white-spotted and red-and-white-spotted are her horses; the mother ties her kerchief; the rules for her good conduct are both nine and ten; the new (matches) are very fine - what about the old ones?

Ya: 16 occurrences

31. 六月棲棲, 戎車既飭. 四牡騤騤, 載是常服. 玁狁孔熾. 我是用急. 王于出征, 以匡王國. (*Ode 177.1*)
 In the (roosting=) quiet rest of the sixth month, the war chariots were equipped; the four stallions (of each chariot) were strong; we loaded (on the cars) the (regulation clothes=) uniforms; the Xian Yun were greatly ablaze, we were thereby pressed (harassed); the king sent out a war expedition, in order to (correct:) set aright the king's state.
32. 比物四驪, 閑之維則. 維此六月, 既成我服. 我服既成, 于三十里. 王于出征, 以佐天子. (*Ode 177.2*)
 We matched according to quality (strength) the four black horses (of each chariot), we trained them according to the rules; in this sixth month we (completed:) prepared our clothes; our clothes were prepared in our (areas of) 30 li (our homesteads); the king sent out a war expedition, it was to help the Son of Heaven.
33. 之子于苗, 選徒囂囂; 建旄設旐, 搏獸于敖. (*Ode 179.3*)
 These gentlemen go to the summer hunt, they count the footmen with great clamor; they set up the tortoise-and-snake banner and the oxtail flag; they catch animals in Ao.
34. 之子于征, 有聞無聲. 允矣君子, 展也大成. (*Ode 179.8*)
 These gentlemen go on the expedition, it is audible but there is no noise; truly, they are noblemen; indeed a great achievement!
35. 鴻雁于飛, 肅肅其羽. 之子于征, 劬勞于野. 爰及矜人, 哀此鰥寡. (*Ode 181.1*)
 The wild geese go flying, beating are their wings; these gentlemen go on an expedition, they toil in the wilds; alas both for those pitiable men, and for these solitary ones and widows.

36. 鴻雁于飛, 集于中澤. 之子于垣, 百堵皆作. 雖則劬勞, 其究安宅. (*Ode* 181.2)
The wild geese go flying, they settle in the middle of the marsh; these gentlemen go and build walls, a hundred *du* measures (of wall) all arise; although they toil, in the end they will find rest in their dwellings.
37. 維曰于仕, 孔棘且殆. 云不可使, 得罪于天子; 亦云可使, 怨及朋友. (*Ode* 194.6)
You say: to go and take office, is very harassing and dangerous; if one is not willing to take a commission, one offends against the Son of Heaven; if one is willing to take a commission, the odium (one incurs) reaches to (befalls also) one's friends.
38. 或燕燕居息, 或盡瘁事國, 或息偃在床, 或不已于行. (*Ode* 205.4)
Some are feasting peacefully and live at rest, some exhaust themselves in serving the country; Some rest and lie on their beds, Some never cease going on their (marches=) expeditions.
39. 之子于狩, 言韞其弓; 之子于釣, 言綸之繩. (*Ode* 226.3)
This gentleman went hunting, I encased his bow; this gentleman went angling, I twisted the line for him.
40. 之子于狩, 言韞其弓; 之子于釣, 言綸之繩. (*Ode* 226.3)
This gentleman went hunting, I encased his bow; this gentleman went angling, I twisted the line for him.
41. 篤公劉, 于胥斯原. 既庶既繁. 既順迺宣, 而無永歎. (*Ode* 250.2)
Staunch was prince Liu he went and (lingered=) stayed in that plain; it was abundant, it was flourishing; it was suitable, and so he made his proclamation (sc. to settle there); there were not long-drawn sighs.
42. 崧高維嶽, 駿極于天. 維嶽降神, 生甫及申. 維申及甫, 維周之翰. 四國于蕃, 四方于宣. (*Ode* 259.1)
Lofty is the Sacred Mountain, grandly it reaches to Heaven; the Sacred Mountain sent down a Spirit who bore (the princes of) Fu and Shen; (the princes of) Shen and Fu became the supports of Zhou; the states in the four (quarters) they went to (fence, be a fence to=) protect, the (states of) the four quarters they went to (wall, be a wall to=) defend.
43. 崧高維嶽, 駿極于天. 維嶽降神, 生甫及申. 維申及甫, 維周之翰. 四國于蕃, 四方于宣. (*Ode* 259.1)
Lofty is the Sacred Mountain, grandly it reaches to Heaven; the Sacred Mountain sent down a Spirit who bore (the princes of) Fu and Shen; (the princes of) Shen and Fu became the supports of Zhou; the states in the four (quarters) they went to (fence, be a fence to=) protect, the (states of) the four quarters they went to (wall, be a wall to=) defend.

44. 臚臚申伯，王纘之事。于邑于謝，南國是式。王命召伯，定申伯之宅。登是南邦，世執其功。 (*Ode 259.2*)

Vigorous was the prince of Shen, the king let him continue (his ancestors) in the service; he went and took his residence in Xie, to the southern states he became a model; the king charged the prince of Shao to establish the dwelling of the prince of Shen; he went up to that southern state, hereditarily to hold the meritorious charge.

45. 江漢之滸，王命召虎，式辟四方，徼我疆土。匪疚匪棘，王國來極。于疆于理，至于南海。 (*Ode 262.4*)

On the banks of the Jiang and the Han, the king charged Hu of Shao: Open up the (regions of) the four quarters, tax my territories and soil, without distressing, without pressing (the people) go all through the royal state, go and draw boundaries, go and make divisions, as far as the southern sea.”

46. 江漢之滸，王命召虎，式辟四方，徼我疆土。匪疚匪棘，王國來極。于疆于理，至于南海。 (*Ode 262.4*)

On the banks of the Jiang and the Han, the king charged Hu of Shao: “Open up the (regions of) the four quarters, tax my territories and soil, without distressing, without pressing (the people) go all through the royal state, go and draw boundaries, go and make divisions, as far as the southern sea.”

Song – 3 occurrences

47. 綏萬邦，婁豐年，天命匪解。桓桓武王，保有厥土，于以四方，克定厥家。於昭于天，皇以聞之。 (*Ode 294.1*)

He tranquillized the myriad states, and (reiterated the rich years; Heaven’s charge (did not slacken=) was never remitted; the very martial King Wu protected and held his officers; he went and (used=) held sway over the (states of the) four quarters, and was able to settle his house, oh, he was bright in the sight of Heaven, augustly he (made a replacement=) came to the succession.

48. 有駉有駉，駉彼乘黃。夙夜在公，在公明明。振振鷺，鷺于下。鼓咽咽，醉言舞。于胥樂兮。 (*Ode 298.1*)

Well-fed, well-fed, well-fed are the teams of bays; morning and evening they (sc. the officers) are in the palace; in the palace they are very bright; (in numerous array=) in a flock go the egrets, the egrets go and alight; the drums (sound) iwen-iwen; when drunk they will dance; they go to rejoice together.

49. 濟濟多士，克廣德心。桓桓于征，狄彼東南。 (*Ode 299.6*)

Stately are the many officers, they are able to enlarge the (virtuous hearts=) virtue of their hearts; martially they went on the warlike expedition, to keep at a distance those (tribes of) the south-east.

III. 于 + Verb (=resultative complement): total 3 occurrences

Ya – 3 occurrences

1. 王命南仲，往城于方；出車彭彭，旂旐央央。天子命我，城彼朔方。赫赫南仲，玁狁于襄。
(Ode 168.3)

The king has ordered Nan Zhong to go and build a wall in Fang; the out-going carriages go Peng Peng the dragon banner and tortoise-and-snake banner are brilliant; the Son of Heaven ordered us to build a wall in that Shuo Fang; awe-inspiring is Nan Zhong; the Xian Yun are expelled.

2. 春日遲遲，卉木萋萋；倉庚喈喈，采芣祁祁。執訊獲醜，薄言還歸。赫赫南仲，玁狁于夷。
(Ode 168.6)

The spring-days are lengthening out, the plants and trees are luxuriant; the orioles sing in unison; in crowds they gather the southernwood; we have seized prisoners for the question and caught a crowd; and now we return home; awe-inspiring is Nan Zhong, the Xian Yun are pacified.

3. 旱既大甚，則不可推。兢兢業業，如霆如雷。周餘黎民，靡有孑遺。昊天上帝，則不我遺。胡不相畏？先祖于摧。(Ode 258.3)

The drought is excessive, it cannot be (pushed away=) removed: it is fearsome, it is terrible, like lightning, like thunder; of the crowd of people that remained of the Zhou, there is not an (integer=) undamaged body left; Great Heaven, God on high does not let us survive, how should we not all fear; the ancestors repress us.

Appendix V. The correspondences of 于 and 於 in the Ruan Yuan version of the received text and in the *Wuwei hanjian*

I. 士相見禮 (13 occurrences)

於: 於 = 10 occurrences, 於: 于 = 1 occurrence, 于: 於 = 2 occurrences

1. 主人對曰: “某不足以習禮, 敢固辭。” 賓對曰: “某也不依於摯不敢見, 固以請。” (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 7.129)
主人對曰: “某不足以習禮, 敢固辭。” 賓對曰: “某不依于摯不敢見, 敢固以請。” (*WWHJ* 89.3)
The host replies: “I am not sufficient for the conduct of these ceremonies, and so I venture to persist in declining.” The guest answers: “If I cannot have the support of my gift, I dare not pay you this visit. So I persist in my request.”
2. 主人復見之, 以其摯, 曰: “曩者吾子辱, 使某見. 請還摯於將命者。” (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 7.131)
主人復見之, 以某摯, 曰: “鄉者吾子辱, 使某見. 請還摯於將命者。” (*WWHJ* 89.4)
When the former host pays his return visit, he takes the other’s present with him. Addressing the usher he says: “Recently when his honour demeaned himself by visiting me, he commanded me to an interview. I ask now permission to return his gift by the hands of the usher.”
3. 賓對曰: “某也非敢求見, 請還摯于將命者。” (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 7.131)
對曰: “某非敢求見, 請還摯於將命者。” (*WWHJ* 89.5)
The guest answers: “I do not dare to ask for an interview; I only presume to request permission to return to the gift by the usher.”
4. 賓對曰: “某不敢以聞, 固以請於將命者。” (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 7.131)
賓對曰: “某非敢以聞, 固以請於將命者。” (*WWHJ* 89.5)
The guest answers: “I do not dare to listen to such a speech, so I venture to press my request through the usher.”
5. 士見於大夫, 終辭其摯. 於其入也, 一拜其辱也. 賓退, 送, 再拜. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 7.132)
士見於大夫, 終辭其摯, 於其入也, 壹拜其辱也. 賓退, 再拜. (*WWHJ* 89.6)
When an ordinary officer visits a great officer, the latter declines altogether to receive his present. At his entrance the host bows once, acknowledging his condescension. When the guest withdraws, he escorts him and bows twice.

6. 賓出，使擯者還其摯于門外，曰：“某也使某還摯。” (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 7.133)
 賓出。使擯者還其摯於門外，曰：“某也使某還摯。” (*WWHJ* 89.7)
 When the guest leaves, the host sends the usher to return the gift outside the gate, saying:
 “So-and-so sends me to hand back your gift.”
7. 庶人見於君，不為容，進退走。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 7.135)
 凡燕見於君，必辯君之南面。如不得，則正方。不疑君。 (*WWHJ* 89.10)
 When commoners have an interview with their Prince, they do not assume any
 ceremonious carriage, but hurry along both in advancing and retreating.
8. 與君言，言使臣。與大人言，言事君。與老者言，言使弟子。與幼者言，言孝弟於父兄。
 與眾言，言忠信慈祥。與居官者言，言忠信。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 7.137)
 與君言，言使臣。與大人言，言事君。與老者言，言使弟子。與幼者言，言孝弟於父兄。
 與眾言，言忠信慈湯。與居官者言，言忠信。 (*WWHJ* 89.11)
 In speaking with the Prince, one talks of one’s official business; with an official, of one’s
 service of his Prince; with older men, of the control of children; with young people, of
 their filial and brotherly duties; with the common man, of geniality and goodness; with
 those in minor offices, of loyalty and sincerity.
9. 若父，則遊目，毋上於面，毋下於帶。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 7.138)
 如父，則游目，無上於面，無下於帶。 (*WWHJ* 89.12)
 In the case of a father, the son’s eyes are allowed to wander, but not higher than his face
 so as not to seem too proud, nor lower than the girdle.
10. 凡侍坐於君子，君子欠伸，問日之早晏，以食具告，改居，則請退可也。 (*The Ceremonies
 and Rites* 7.139)
 凡侍坐於君子，君子吹申，問日之蚤宴，以食具告，改居，請退可也。 (*WWHJ* 89.12)
 When one is sitting in attendance on a great man, if he should yawn or stretch himself, or
 ask the time of day, or tell the attendants what he wants for dinner, or change his place,
 then it is allowable to ask permission to retire.
11. 凡自稱於君，士大夫則曰“下臣。”宅者在邦，則曰“市井之臣”；在野，則曰“草茅之臣”
 ”；庶人則曰“刺草之臣。”他國之臣則曰“外臣。” (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 7.144)
 凡自稱於君，士大夫曰“下臣。”詒者在國則曰“市井之臣”；在野，則曰“草茅之臣”；
 庶人則曰“刺草之臣也。”國之人則曰“外臣。” (*WWHJ* 90.16)
 When a man speaks of himself to his Prince, if he be an ordinary or great officer, he calls
 himself “The servant under you.” If the speaker being residing with his family and not in
 office, should his home be in the city, he calls himself “Your servant in the marketplace,
 and by the well”; and if in the country, “Your servant in the grass and undergrowth.” If a
 commoner, he calls himself “Your servant the grass-cutter.” If the man resides
 somewhere in the States outside the capital, he calls himself “Your servant at a distance.”

II. 特牲饋食禮 (4 occurrences)

於: 於 = 3 occurrences, 於: 于= 1 occurrence

12. 賓弟子及兄弟弟子洗, 各酌于其尊, 中庭北面西上, 舉觶於其長, 奠觶拜, 長皆荅拜. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 46.1015)

賓弟子及兄弟弟子洗, 各酌于其尊, 中庭北面西上, 舉觶于其長, 鄭觶, 拜; 長皆合拜. (*WWHJ* 98.41)

The juniors among the guests and descendants wash cups, and each ladles out wine at the holder appropriated to him. Then they stand in the centre of the court, facing north, and graded from the west, and raise the cup each to his senior. They then lay down the cup and bow, the seniors bowing in return.

13. 宗人, 獻與旅齒於眾賓. 佐食, 於旅齒於兄弟. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 46.1028)

宗人, 獻與旅齒於眾賓. 佐食, 於旅齒於兄弟. (*WWHJ* 99.50)

At the offering of wine and the general pledging the temple-keeper takes his place along with the body of guests, and is graded according to his age. At the general pledging the waiter is graded along with the descendants according to his age.

III. 少牢饋食禮 (2 occurrences)

於: 於 = 1 occurrence, 於: 于= 1 occurrence

14. 少牢饋食之禮. 日用丁, 己. 筮旬有一日. 筮於廟門之外. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 47.1037)

少牢饋食之禮: 日用丁, 己, 筮旬有一日. 筮于廟門之外. (*WWHJ* 101.1)

The ceremonial observed by a great officer in offering the smaller set of animals for the reflection of the ancestral spirits is as follows: For the occasion they divine a “soft” day, either the 4th or 6th of the decade. They divine forward eleven days. The divination is carried on outside the temple door.

15. 主人門東南面. 宗人朝服北面, 曰: “請祭期.” 主人曰: “比於子.” (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 47.1044)

主人門東南面. 宗人朝服北面, 曰: “請祭期.” 主人曰: “比於子.” (*WWHJ* 101.6)

The host, to the east of the door, faces south, and the temple-keeper in dress clothes stands facing north, and says: “Please name the time for the sacrifice.” The host replies: “The hour depends on the season in which the first day of the ten celestial stems falls.”

IV. 有司 (1 occurrence)

於: 于= 1 occurrence

16. 賓一人舉爵于尸, 如初, 亦遂之於下. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 50.1117)

賓一人舉爵于尸, 如初, 亦遂之于下. (*WWHJ* 113.9=60r)

One of the guests raises the cup to the personator as before, and follows it by a general pledging of the guests in the court.

V. 燕禮 (9 occurrences)

於: 於 = 8 occurrences, 於: 于= 1 occurrences

17. 公有命, 則不易不洗, 反升酌膳觶, 下拜. 小臣辭. 賓升, 再拜稽首. 公荅再拜. 賓以旅酬於西階上. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 14.307)

公有命, 則弗更不洗, [反升酌]膳, 下拜. 小臣辭. 升, 再拜稽首. 公合再拜. 賓以旅州於西階上. (*WWHJ* 117.20-1)

Should the Duke command it, the goblet is not changed, but is brought back unwashed. The guest ascends and ladles out a cupful from the Duke's wine holder, descends, and bows, a retainer declining the honour on behalf of the Duke. Thereupon the great ascends and kowtows twice, the Duke responding with two bows. The guest, having obtained permission, takes the goblet, and starts the general pledging at the top of the western step.

18. 主人洗, 升自西階, 獻庶子于阼階上, 如獻士之禮. 辨, 降洗, 遂獻左右正與內小臣, 皆於阼階上, 如獻庶子之禮. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 15.327)

主人洗, 升自西階, 獻庶子于作階上, 如獻士之禮. 辨, 降洗, 遂獻左右正與內小臣, 皆於作階上, 如獻庶子之禮. (*WWHJ* 119.41)

The Master of Ceremonies washes the goblet, and, ascending the western steps, offers wine to the cadets at the top of the steps, with the ceremonial used in the case of the ordinary officers. When they have all partaken, he descends, washes the goblet, and offers wine to the senior official of the left and right divisions and the retainers, at the top of the eastern steps, with the ceremonial used toward the cadets.

19. 唯受爵於公者拜. 卒受爵者興, 以酬士于西階上. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 15.329)

唯受于公者拜. 卒受者興, 以州士于西階上. (*WWHJ* 119.43)

It is only the one who receives directly from the Duke who bows. The last to receive rises, and pledges the ordinary officers at the top of the western steps.

20. 遂升, 反坐. 士終旅於上, 如初. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 15.330)

遂升, 反坐. 士終旅於上, 如初. (*WWHJ* 119.44)

Thereafter they go up again, return to their mats, and sit down, the ordinary officers finishing their general pledging up in the hall a before.

21. 宵, 則庶子執燭於阼階上, 司宮執燭於西階上, 甸人執大燭於庭, 閹人為大燭於門外. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 15.330)

宵, 則庶子執燭於阼階上, 司宮執燭於西階上, 甸人執大燭於庭, 閹人為燭於門外. (*WWHJ* 119.44-5)

When it grows dark a cadet holds a torch at the head of the eastern steps, and the keeper of the vessels another at the head of the western steps; while the cultivators of the ducal domain hold large torches in the court, and the doorkeeper prepares one outside the door.

22. 燕, 朝服於寢. 其牲, 狗也. 亨于門外東方. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 15: 332-3)

燕: 朝服於寢. 其牲, 狗也. 亨于門外東方. (*WWHJ* 120.48)

At the banquet, dress clothes are worn, and the feast is held in the private apartments. The domestic animal slaughtered is a dog, which is cooked outside the door, and on the east side.

VI. 大射 (22 occurrences)

於: 於 = 20 occurrences, 於: 于 = 2 occurrences

23. 大射之儀. 君有命戒射. 宰戒百官有事於射者. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 16.341)

泰射之儀: 君有命戒射. 宰戒官有事於射者. (*WWHJ* 121.1)

The following are the observances at The great archery ceremony meeting: The Prince issues orders that notice of the meeting shall be given to the persons concerned. The high steward then apprises those among the officials who are to take part in the shooting-match.

24. 遂命量人, 巾車張三侯, 大侯之崇, 見鵠於參, 見鵠於干, 干不及地武. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 16.344)

遂命量人, 巾車張三侯, 泰侯之崇, 見鵠於參, 參見鵠於竿, 竿不及地武. (*WWHJ* 121.2)

Then he orders the measurer and the officer in charge of the curtained chariot to stretch the three targets. Because of its height, the great target shows its *center* over the top of the second, and the *center* of the second is visible over the top of the smallest. The lower edge of this last is a foot off the ground.

25. 司射適次，袒，決，遂。執弓，挾乘矢於弓外，見鏃於附，右巨指鉤弦。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 17.369-70)
 司射適次，但，決，述。執弓，挾乘矢於弓外，見口於附，右鉅指句弦。 (*WWHJ* 124.40-1)
 The director of archery goes to the dressing-tent, and baring his left arm, puts on the finger-stall and armlet, and takes up his bow, laying his set of arrows across it on the outer side, so that their points appear at the bow hold, while with his right thumb he hooks the bow-string.
26. 遂告曰：“大夫與大夫，士御於大夫。” (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 17.371)
 述告曰：“大夫與大夫，士御于大夫。” (*WWHJ* 124.41)
 He announces that great officers will pair with great officers, and that if an ordinary officer is paired with a great officer, he will take the second place.
27. 司射命上射，曰：“某御於子。”命下射，曰：“子與某子射。” (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 17.373)
 司射命上射，曰：“某御於子。”命下射，曰：“子與某子射。” (*WWHJ* 124.44)
 Then the director of archery says to the first shots: “So-and-so will wait on your honour.” To the second shots he says: “Your honour will shoot with So-and-so.”
28. 上射降三等，下射少右，從之，中等，並行，上射於左。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 17.377)
 上射降三等，下射少右，從之，中等，並行，上射於左。 (*WWHJ* 124.50.1)
 The first shot descends three steps, and the second, a little to his right, comes down to the middle step. Then they both continue their descent, the first shot being on the left.
29. 司射東面于大夫之西比耦。大夫與大夫，命上射曰：“某御於子。”命下射曰：“子與某子射。” (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 17.379)
 司射東面于大夫之西比偶。大夫與大夫，命上射曰：“某御於子。”命下射曰：“子與某子射。” (*WWHJ* 125.56-7)
 Then the director, standing facing east to the west of the great officers, arranges the couples, great officer with great officer, and instructs the first shots: “So-and-so will wait on your honour.” And the second: “Your honour will shoot with honour So-and-so.”
30. 若有士與大夫為耦，則以大夫之耦為上。命大夫之耦曰：“子與某子射。”告於大夫曰：“某御於子。” (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 17.379-80)
 若右士與大夫為偶，則以大夫之偶為上，命大夫之偶曰：“子與某子射。”告于大夫曰：“某御於子。” (*WWHJ* 125.57-8)
 If an ordinary officer be paired with a great officer, the great officer's partner is made the first shot, and the director instructs him as follows: “His honour So-and-so will shot with your honour.” To the great officer he says: “So-and-so will wait on your honour.”

31. 適福南，皆左還，北面揖，搯三挾一个。揖，以耦左還，上射於左。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 17.381)
 適福南，皆左環，北面簪三挾一个。揖，以偶左環。上射於左。 (*WWHJ* 125.60)
 When they reach the south of the arrow-stand, they both turn by the left, and, facing north, salute, putting three arrows in the belt, and laying one on the bow. Then they bow and turn together to the left, the first shot being on the left side.
32. 乃射。若中，則釋獲者每一个釋一筭，上射於右，下射於左。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 17.384)
 乃射。若中，則澤獲敏一个澤一筭，上射於右，下射於左。 (*WWHJ* 125.64-5)
 The shooting then begins. If a hit be made, the scorer lays down a tally for each hit, to the right for the first, and to the left for the second.
33. 公就物，小射正奉決拾以筭。大射正執弓，皆以從於物。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 18.386)
 公就物，小射正奉決拾以筭，泰射正執弓，皆以從於物。 (*WWHJ* 125.68)
Then the Duke approaches the shooting position, while the minor archer carrying his finger-stall on a bamboo tray, and the major archer holding the bow, follow him to the shooting position.
34. 若右勝，則曰：“右賢於左。”若左勝，則曰：“左賢於右。” (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 18.389)
 若右勝，則曰：“右賢滅左。”若左勝，則曰：“左賢於右。” (*WWHJ* 126.77)
 If the right side has won, he says: “The right side has excelled the left”; while if the left side has won, he says: “The left has excelled the right.”
35. 辯獻。降洗，遂獻左右正與內小臣，皆於阼階上，如獻庶子之禮。 (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 18.408)
 辨。降洗，述獻左右正與內小臣，皆於作階上，如獻庶子之禮。 (*WWHJ* 128.109)
 When they have all partaken, he descends, washes the goblets, and offers wine to the senior officials of the left and right divisions and the retainers, at the top of the eastern steps, with the ceremonial used towards the cadets.

36. 升, 反位. 士終旅於上, 如初. 無箏樂. 宵, 則庶子執燭於阼階上, 司宮執燭於西階上, 甸人執大燭於庭, 閽人為燭於門外. (*The Ceremonies and Rites* 18.410)

升, 反位. 士終旅於上, 如初. 無箏樂. 宵, 則庶子執燭於阼階上, 司宮執燭於西階上, 甸人執大燭於庭, 閽人為燭於門外. (*WWHJ* 128.112-3)

Thereafter they go up again, return to their mats, and sit down, the ordinary officers finishing their general pledging up in the hall as before. Then follows music without restriction. When it grows dark a cadet holds a torch at the head of the eastern steps, and the keeper of the vessels another at the head of the western steps; while the cultivators of the ducal domain hold large torches in the court, and the doorkeeper prepares a large one outside the door.

VITA

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