

Local and Long Distance Reflexives in Archaic Chinese

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1. Introduction

This paper proposes an analysis of the two reflexive pronouns – *zi* (自) and *ji* (己) – in late archaic Chinese of the Warring States period (5th – 3rd centuries BCE). (1) shows examples of ZI and JI, both functioning as a direct object bound by the local subject. In surface order, JI follows the verb, while ZI precedes the verb.

- 1) a. 脩 己 以 安 人。 (Analects 14)
e_i xiu ji_i yi an ren.
train self to protect person
“Train yourself in order to protect other people.”
- b. 多 行 不 義， 必 自 斃。 (Zuozhuan, Yin 1)
Duo xing bu yi, e_i bi zi_i bi.
much do NEG right certain self kill
“Having done much wrong, he will certainly do himself in.”

Regarding the positional difference, I propose in this paper that JI is a free form and occurs in a variety of argument positions. ZI, on the other hand, is a bound form and must be adjoined to the verb. There is also a functional difference between the two. JI can be locally or long distance bound, while ZI must be locally bound. At first blush, it appears that the difference between the two cannot be captured in terms of Principles A and B of Chomsky’s (1981, 1986) Binding Theory. However, I argue that a Phase-based analysis does show the two forms to be subject to complementary licensing conditions. ZI must be spelled out in the same domain as its antecedent at the time of transfer to the interfaces in the theory of Multiple Spell-Out (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004). In contrast, JI must be spelled out in a different domain from its antecedent.

2. Distribution of JI

In this section, I show that JI can be locally or long distance bound in terms of the tradition notion of governing category. When JI is long distance, it functions as a logophor, strongly associated with point-of-view. It will also be clear from this section that JI occurs in a variety of argument positions and should be analyzed as a free form and not morphologically dependent on the verb.

2.1. Long Distance JI

In three texts of the late archaic period, *Analects of Confucius*, *Mencius*, *Zhuanzi*, there are 58 occurrences of long distance JI. Of these, 30 appear in a clause embedded under a psych verb. This is clear evidence that JI is a logophoric anaphor, given that examples like those in (2) express the emotional state of its antecedent.

- 2) a. 諸侯 惡 其 害 己。 (Mencius 10)
Zhuhou_i wu [qi_j hai ji_i].
feudal.lord dislike they inconvenience self
“The feudal lords_i dislike it that they_j inconvenience them_i.”
- b. 不 患 人 之 不 己 知。 (Analects 1)
Bu huan_i [ren_j zhi bu ji_i zhi].
NEG worry others GEN NEG self understand
“Do not worry that others do not understand you.”

There are 16 examples of JI appearing in other embedded contexts, coreferential with the matrix subject. There are also 12 examples in which JI which is unbound. However, these examples also provide clues as to the logophoric nature of JI. In (3), JI is the object in a monoclausal construction which does not contain the antecedent of JI. Here, JI displays typical logophoric behavior, referring to the speaker. The sentence also expresses the speaker's lament, i.e. his emotional state.

- 3) 莫 己 知 也。
(Analects 14)
e_j mo ji zhi ye.
 none self know DECL
 "Noone understands me!"

In the examples in (4), JI is used contrastively. (4a) shows JI in embedded subject position coreferential with the matrix subject. It is being contrasted with the internal argument in the matrix clause *ren* 'person'. In (4b), JI is also contrasted with *ren* in the preceding clause. It has been suggested by Harbsmeier (1981) that the basic function of JI is to express contrast. However, such a characterization cannot account generally for the use of this pronoun, as it very frequently is not used contrastively. On the other hand, the contrastive use can be subsumed under an analysis in which JI is a logophor strongly associated with the speaker's point-of-view. Specifically, JI is used when the speaker stands firmly on the side of JI's antecedent, as opposed to others.

- 4) a. 己 所 不 欲， 勿 施 於 人。
(Analects 12)
 [Ji_i suo bu yu], e_i wu shi yu ren.
 self REL NEG want NEG.IMP extend to person
 "What you yourself do not desire, do not inflict on others."
 b. 人 皆 取 先， 己 獨 取 後。
(Zhuangzi 3.11)
 Ren jie qu xian, ji du qu hou.
 other all take lead self alone take rear
 "While others all take the lead, one alone himself remains in the rear."

In sum, we can say that JI need not be in a structurally local relation with its antecedent. JI also displays the expected characteristics of a logophoric anaphor. It is especially sensitive to speaker's point-of-view.

2.2. Local JI (bound by local subject)

JI can also be locally bound. Here, I am generalizing the notion of local binding as binding by the local grammatical subject. I include cases which could be understood as long distance binding, specifically when JI functions as the possessor in an NP. (5) shows examples of this type; JI functions as possessor of the direct object. There are eight such examples in the three texts examined.

- 5) a. 仁 以 為 己 任， 不 亦 重 乎？
 Ren yi wei [ji ren], bu yi zhong hu?
 benevolence take be self responsibility NEG indeed heavy Q
 "Taking benevolence as your responsibility, is this not indeed a heavy duty?" *(Analects 8)*
 b. 堯 以 不 得 舜 為 己 憂。
(Mencius 5)
 Yao yi bu de Shun wei [ji you].
 Yao take NEG obtain Shun be self concern
 "Yao took not obtaining Shun (as his successor) as his own concern."

There are also cases in which JI is unambiguously locally bound. There are thirteen examples in the three texts which I consulted in which JI is the object of a preposition. Note that *zhu* in (6a) is a portmanteau form consisting of the object pronoun *zhi* and the preposition *yu*.

- 6) a. 君子 求 諸 己， 小 人 求 諸 人。
 Junzi qiu zhu (=zhi+yu) **ji**, xiao ren qiu zhu ren.
 gentleman seek 3.OBJ+P self small person seek 3.OBJ+P other
"A superior man seeks it within himself, while a small-minded person demands it of others."
 (Analects 15)
- b. 於 己 取 之 而 已 矣。
 Yu **ji** qu zhi er yi yi.
 in self seek 3.OBJ Conj finish ASP
"(One) seeks it in himself and that's all."
 (Mencius 11)

Finally – and crucially – there are as many as fifty examples of JI itself functioning as an internal argument bound by a clause-mate subject.

- 7) a. 明 於 權 者 不 以 物 害 己。
 ming yu quan zhe bu yi wu hai **ji**.
 clear P react DET NEG with thing harm self
"One who understands how to react will not harm himself with anything"
 (Zhuangzi 2.10)
- b. 射 者 正 己 而 後 發。
 She zhe zheng **ji** er hou fa.
 shoot DET correct self CONJ then shoot
"An archer straightens himself and then shoots."
 (Mencius 3)

In sum, JI occurs in a variety of argument positions and can be either locally or long-distance bound, in terms of the traditional Binding Theory. Long distance JI furthermore exhibits the general behavior of a logophoric anaphor. I note in passing that these are the basic characteristics of the modern Mandarin anaphor *ziji*¹.

3. Distribution and Function of ZI

In this section, I show that ZI must be locally bound, in contrast to JI. Additionally, I provide evidence that ZI is a morphologically bound form and must be adjoined to the verb, accounting for its pre-verbal position.

3.1. Local Antecedent

The examples in (8) show ZI in pre-verbal position bound by the local subject.

- 8) a. 多 行 不 義， 必 自 斃。
 Duo xing bu yi, *e_i* bi **zi** bi.
 much do NEG right certain self kill
"Having done much wrong, he will certainly kill himself."
 (Zuozhuan, Yin 1)
- b. 夫子 自 道 也。
 Fuzi **zi** dao ye.
 master self speak DECL
"The master is speaking of himself."
 (Analects 14)

The examples in (9) and (10) show that ZI also takes the most local subject as its antecedent. If JI appears in an embedded clause, it will generally be coreferent with the matrix subject. On the other hand, ZI must refer to the embedded subject. (9) shows examples of relative clauses. JI is the object in the relative clause in (9a), coreferential with the matrix subject. ZI is the object of the relative clause in (9b), coreferential with the embedded subject.

¹ See Tang (1989), Battistella (1989), Cole and Song (1994), Pan (1998), and Huang and Liu (2001), among many others, for detailed discussion of modern Chinese anaphors.

- 9) a. 愧 不 若 黃帝 而
 e_i kui bu ruo Huangdi er
 be.ashamed NEG like Huangdi CONJ
 哀 不 己 若 者。
 e_i ai [e_j bu ji ruo zhe_j].
 feel.sympathy NEG self like DET
 “(He) is ashamed of not being as good as Huangdi and feels sympathy for those who are not as good as he is.” (Zhuangzi 3.2)
- b. 吾 未 見 能 見 其 過
 Wu_i wei jian [e_j neng jian qi guo
 I not.yet see can see 3.GEN error
 而 內 自 訟 者 也。
 er nei zi_j song zhe_j ye.
 CONJ privately self blame DET DECL
 “I have never seen someone who can see his errors and privately blame himself” (Analects 5)

(10) shows examples involving complement clauses. JI is coreferential with the matrix subject, while ZI is coreferential with the embedded subject.

- 10) a. 謂 己 諛人， 則 怫然 作色。
 e_i wei [ji_j yuren], ze e_j furan zuose.
 say self flatterer then anger flush
 “If someone_i says he_j is a flatterer, then he_j flushes in anger.” (Zhuangzi 2.5)
- b. 言 非 禮 義， 謂 之 自 暴 也。
 Yan fei Li Yi_i e_i wei [zhi_i zi_i bao] ye.
 speech betray Rite Righteousness say 3.OBJ self injure DECL
 “If his speech betrays the Rites and Righteousness, then (one) says of him that he harms himself.” (Mencius 7)

Thus, it should be clear that ZI is a local anaphor, always taking the local subject as its antecedent.

3.2. ZI Left-adjacent to V

In this and the following subsection, I argue that ZI is a morphologically bound form, adjoined to the verb. But first I introduce a second usage of ZI . ZI can cooccur with an overt object, in which cases ZI is not itself the object. I argue in this subsection that ZI in these cases is an adverbial bound by the subject.

- 11) a. 然則 非 自 殺 之 也。
 Ranze fei e_i zi_i sha zhi ye.
 thus not.be self kill 3.OBJ DECL
 “Thus, it is not that (one) kills him oneself.” (Mencius 14)
- b. 自 為 之 與?
 e_i zi_i wei zhi yu?
 self make 3.OBJ Q
 “Did you make it yourself?” (Mencius 5)

I should point out that there is no overt nominal argument which clearly functions as the subject in the examples in (11). This fact invites speculation that ZI itself could be the subject, which in turn would mean that ZI in these cases is unbound. If this speculation turned out to be true, it would refute the claim of the preceding subsection that ZI is always locally bound.

However, I will argue in this subsection that ZI is not the subject. ZI never occurs in subject position, its position being strictly adjacent to the verb, which is not true of the subject. Therefore, ZI clearly cannot be the element which checks the EPP feature on T . Furthermore, ZI can co-occur with an overt subject. And this co-occurrence is not limited to contexts permitting a clitic left dislocation analysis. Consequently, ZI cannot be analyzed as a resumptive pronoun in a topicalization structure.

In the following discussion, I use examples of both object ZI and adverbial ZI wherever possible in order to show that the two types of ZI occupy the same position. I indicate the object use of ZI with a line following the verb to show that there is a gap in VP for the base position of ZI.

To begin, ZI can cooccur with an overt subject, which it always follows in surface order.

- 12) a. 魯 君 之 使 者 至，
 Lu jun zhi shi zhe zhi,
 Lu lord GEN send DET arrive
 顏闔 自 對 之。
 Yan He **zi** dui zhi
 Yan He self meet 3.OBJ
"The envoy of the lord of Lu arrived, and Yan He met with him himself." (Zhuangzi 3.6)
- b. 夫子 自 道 也。
 Fuzi **zi** dao ye.
 master self speak — DECL
"The master is speaking of himself." (Analects 14)

ZI clearly does not occupy subject position, since it follows constituents which the subject always precedes, like subject-oriented quantifiers. (13a) shows ZI following the quantifier *jie*. The subject precedes *jie* but could be analyzed as a topic, particularly because it precedes the adverb *yi*. However, the subject also precedes *jie* in the embedded clause in (13b). On the assumption that topic position is not available in nonfinite embedded clauses, the embedded subject² in (13b) must be in [Spec, TP], showing that the position for the quantifier must be lower than the [Spec, TP] subject position.

- 13) a. 四 面 之 吏 亦 皆 自 行 其 守。
 Si mian zhi li yi **jie** zi xing qi shou.
 four side GEN officer also all self perform 3.GEN duty
"The officers at each of the four sides (of the fortress) also all perform their duties by themselves." (Mozi 70)
- b. 民 知 誅罰 之 皆 起 於 身 也。
 Min zhi [zhufa zhi **jie** qi yu she] ye.
 people know punishment GEN all originate from body DECL
"The people know that all punishments are the result of their own actions." (Hanfeizi 38)

ZI also follows the modal adverb *jiang*. Note that the subject in both examples below precedes the modal.

- 14) a. 勿 引 勿 推， 福 將 自 歸。
 Wu yin wu tui, fu **jiang** zi gui.
 NEG.IMP pull NEG.IMP push fortune will self return
"Do not pull or push it; fortune will return by itself." (Guanzi 49)
- b. 不 欲 以 靜， 天下 將 自 正。
 Bu yu yi jing, tianxia **jiang** zi zheng
 NEG desire C passive world will self aright
"If (one) is without desire and passive, the world will aright itself." (Laozi 37)

It might be suggested that ZI is a resumptive clitic pronoun in a clitic left dislocation construction in (12) – (14). However, (15) shows that ZI also follows subjects which cannot be analyzed as dislocated topics, i.e. embedded subjects.

- 15) a. 君子 深 造 之 以 道，
 Junzi shen zao zhi yi dao
 gentleman deep study 3.OBJ with way

² Embedded subjects typically appeared with genitive case in the classical period.

欲 其 自 得 之 也。 (Mencius 8)
 yu [qi zi de zhi] ye.
 desire 3.GEN self attain 3.OBJ DECL

“A gentleman studies deeply in the proper way, as he desires that he attain enlightenment himself.”

- b. 其 自 任 以 天下 之 重 如 此。
 [Qi zi ren yi tianxia zhi zhong] ru ci.
 3.GEN self burden with world GEN weight like this
 “Thus was his burdening himself with the weight of the world.” (Mencius 9)

ZI follows negation, which the subject precedes.

- 16) a. 許子 奚 為 不 自 織?
 Xuzi xi wei bu zi zhi?
 Xuzi what for NEG self weave
 “Xuzi, why didn’t you weave (it) yourself?” (Mencius 5)
- b. 夫 不 自 見 而 見 彼
 fu bu zi jian er jian bi
 NMLZ NEG self see CONJ see other
 “not seeing oneself but seeing others” (Zhuangzi 8)

ZI follows vP-adjoined adverbs, e.g. manner adverbs.

- 17) a. 翼然 自 來， 神 莫 知 其 極。
 Yiran zi lai, shen mo zhi qi ji.
 Flying self come god none know 3.GEN origin
 “(A bird) comes flying by itself; even the gods don’t know where it comes from.” (Guanzi 37)
- b. 見 不 賢 而 內 自 省 也。
 Jian bu xian er nei zi xing ye.
 see NEG superior CONJ within self examine DECL
 “Upon seeing someone not of superior quality, (I) inwardly examine myself.” (Analects 5)

ZI follows object-oriented quantifiers like *jin* ‘all’ or ‘completely’.

- 18) 盡 自 治 其 事， 則 事 多。
 Jin zi zhi qi shi, ze shi duo.
 all self govern 3.GEN affair then affair many
 “If (the ruler) takes care of all matters himself, then there is too much for him to do.” (Guanzi 52)

Object-oriented quantifiers in turn are located very low in the structure. (19a) shows that they follow negation. Naturally, they also follow the subject, as shown in (19b).

- 19) a. 不 盡 收 則 不 盡 御。
 Bu jin [vp shou pro] ze bu jin [vp yu pro]
 not all harvest then NEG all use
 “If (the grain) is not all harvested, then it cannot all be used.” (Mozi, Qihuan)
- b. 主 多 怒 而 好 用 兵
 Zhu duo [vp nu] er hao yong bing
 lord much anger CONJ enjoy use military
 “If the lord often becomes angry and enjoys using military might....” (Hanfeizi 15)

Among the clearest evidence for the low position of ZI comes from its placement in subject-control embedded clauses. ZI is left-adjacent to embedded verb and is not located in the matrix clause. This clearly

shows that ZI does not occupy the position of the overt subject. Assuming that the subject of the embedded clause is PRO, the overt controller can only occur in the matrix clause.

- 20)a. 貴人 或 得 計 而
 Guiren huo de ji er
 ruler sometimes succeed plan CONJ
 欲 自 以 為 功。
 yu [zi yi wei gong].
 want self take be credit

(Hanfeizi 12)

“Sometimes the ruler succeeds in some endeavor and wants to take credit for it himself.”

- b. 未 敢 自 恃， 自 命 曰 粟。
 Wei gan [zi shi ___], zi ming yue su.
 not.yet dare self rely self call say insignificant

(Guanzi 51)

“One does not dare to be overconfident in himself and refers to himself as ‘insignificant’.”

To summarize this subsection, I have shown that ZI always immediately precedes the verb. It does not occupy subject position. Nor is it a resumptive clitic pronoun in a dislocation structure. Therefore, ZI cannot be analyzed as the grammatical subject. In the following subsection, I present evidence that ZI is a morphologically bound form, adjoined to the verb.

3.3. ZI not Clitic

The positioning of ZI explored in the previous subsection could be accounted for by analyzing ZI either as an affix or as a clitic which must immediately precede the verb. In this subsection, I argue that ZI is not a clitic but rather is morphologically adjoined to the verb. This claim is supported by the fact that ZI does not exhibit the behavior of other pronouns undergoing cliticization. There is a grammatical phenomenon in archaic Chinese which is traditionally analyzed as cliticization. In sentences containing negation, object pronouns raised from VP and adjoined to the negator. (21) shows monoclausal examples.

- 21) a. 驕 而 不 亡 者， 未 之 有 也。
 Jiao er bu wang zhe, wei zhi you ___ ye.
 arrogant and not lose DET not.yet 3.OBJ exist DECL
 “There has not yet been one who is arrogant and does not lose everything.” (Zuozhuan, Ding 13)
- b. 吾 先 君 亦 莫 之 行 也。
 Wu xian jun yi mo zhi xing ___ ye.
 I former lord also none this do DECL
 “None of our former lords did this either.”

In biclausal contexts with nonfinite embedded clauses, embedded object pronouns undergo cliticization under certain circumstances. This is particularly true when the matrix clause contains the negative quantifier *mo* ‘none’.

- 22) a. 虎 負 嵎， 莫 之 敢 撻。
 Hu fu yu, mo zhi gan [ying ___].
 tiger back crevice none 3.OBJ dare approach
 “The tiger backed into a crevice and no one dared to approach it.”
- b. 如 火 烈 烈， 則 莫 我 敢 遏。
 Ru huo lielie ze mo wo gan [e ___].
 like fire fierce then none I dare block
 “If (we) are fierce as fire, then no one will dare to stand in our way.”

(Mencius 14)

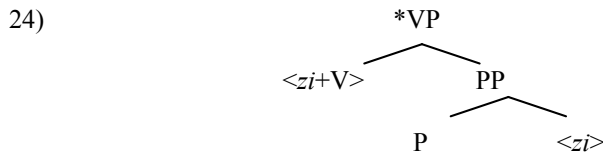
(Xunzi 15)

However, ZI never raises from an embedded clause. It remains in the embedded clause, immediately adjacent to the embedded verb.

- 23) a. 萬 乘 之 國、 莫 敢
 Wan sheng zhi guo mo gan
 10,000 charriot GEN nation none dare
 自 頓 於 堅 城 之 下。 (Hanfeizi 49)
 [zi dun yu jian cheng zhi xia].
 self secure in strong wall GEN beneath
 “None of the great nations would dare to just secure themselves at the base of their castle walls.”
- b. 未 敢 自 恃， 自 命 曰 粟。 (Guanzi 51)
 Wei gan [zi shi ___], zi ming yue su.
 not.yet dare self rely self call say insignificant
 “One does not dare to be overconfident in himself and refers to himself as ‘insignificant’”.

The proposal in this paper that ZI is adjoined to embedded verb offers an explanation for the inability of ZI to move out of an embedded clause. Since ZI attaches to the lower verb via incorporation, i.e. head movement, it is not able to undergo long distance movement, since this would require skipping intervening head positions along the way, in violation of Travis’ (1984) Head Movement Constraint .

The incorporation analysis also accounts for why only JI (as in 6), and ever ZI, can occur in a PP. This is because movement of ZI to the verb would also violate the Head Movement Constraint, since ZI would have to skip the intervening P position in order to adjoin to the verb.



To summarize the distribution and function of ZI, ZI is a local anaphor, requiring binding from the local subject. ZI is also a morphologically bound form, adjoined to the verb via incorporation.

4. Analysis of ZI and JI

Dong (2002) proposes an analysis of ZI and JI within the Binding Theory of Chomsky (1981, 1986, and others). She treats ZI as a locally bound anaphor subject to Condition A, which is consistent with the facts examined in this paper. However, she claims that JI is never locally bound, treating it as a pronominal subject to Condition B.

- 25) ZI: Locally bound (anaphor subject to Condition A)
 JI: Long distance (pronoun subject to Condition B)

The problem with Dong’s analysis is that, as we have seen in section 2.1, JI can in fact be locally bound (cf ex. 7). The correct descriptive generalization must be as in (26). However, an obvious disadvantage of this generalization is that it cannot capture the difference between ZI and JI in terms of pure complementarity.

- Descriptive Generalization
 26) ZI: Locally bound
 JI: Local or long distance

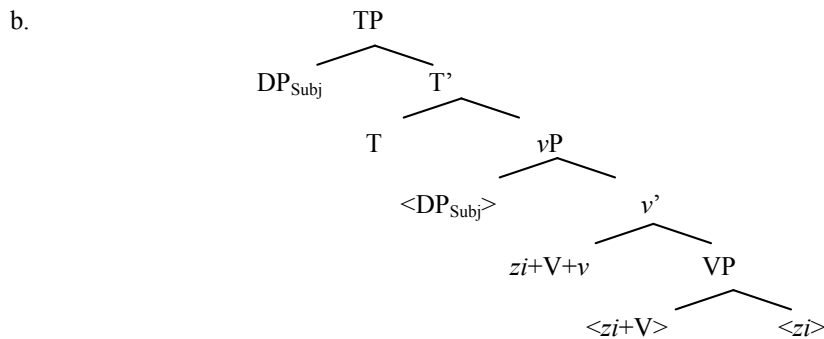
On the other hand, complementarity between ZI and JI can be maintained if we modify our approach to licensing of anaphors. Specifically, this becomes possible if we consider the phase to be the relevant domain for application of the binding principles, rather than the traditional notion of governing category. I offer the formal proposal in (27) as the syntactic licensing conditions governing the distribution of ZI and JI.

- 27) Proposal³
 ZI must be bound within its spell-out domain.
 JI cannot appear in the same spell-out domain as its antecedent.

I propose that the licensing conditions in (27) apply at the point in the derivation when the domain of a phase head is transferred to the interfaces. Let us examine how (27) accounts for each of the cases of ZI and JI examined in this paper. When ZI functions as an internal argument, it is base merged in VP and incorporates to the verb. The complex verb then raises to *v*. After the *v*P phase edge is built and T is merged, VP is transferred to the interfaces. The conditions in (27) apply but since there is no reflexive in VP, they apply only vacuously.

After building the TP layer and moving the subject to [Spec, TP], the rest of the clause will be spelled out. This part of the derivation does contain a reflexive, adjoined to the verb in *v*. [Spec, TP] also contains the subject, which is the antecedent, so the conditions in (27) are met.

- 28) a. 夫 不 自 見 而 見 彼 (Zhuangzi 8)
 fu bu zi jian er jian bi
 NMLZ NEG self see CONJ see other
 “not seeing oneself but seeing others”

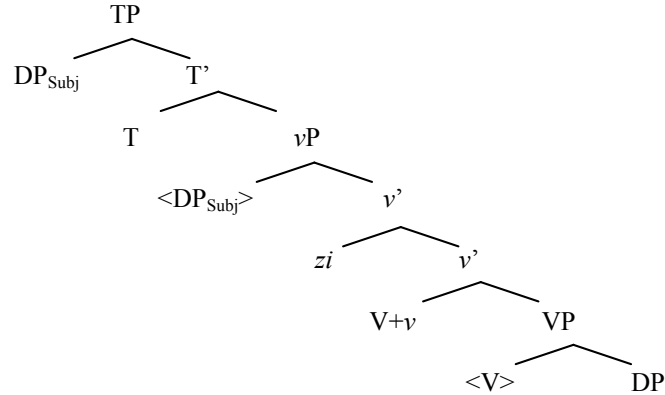


When ZI functions as an adverbial ZI, we can analyze it as adjoined either to *v* or to *v*'. If ZI is base merged in a position adjoined to *v*, then it will simply be spelled out in this position. If it is adjoined to *v*', then it can undergo Merger with *v* in the Morphological Component. What is relevant to the discussion at hand is that ZI is base merged in the edge of *v*P so it will always be sent to Transfer at the same point in the derivation as its antecedent, the subject, and will therefore always be licensed according to conditions in (27).

- 29) a. 自 為 之 與?
 e_i zi_i wei zhi yu?
 self make 3.OBJ Q
 “Did you make it yourself?” (Mencius 5)

³ Baltin (2003), Canac-Marquis (2005), Lee-Schoenfeld (2008), Quicoli (2008), and others have also proposed phase-based approach to binding.

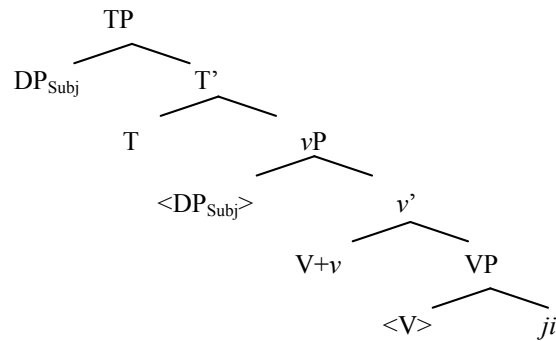
b.



Moving on to JI, when JI is a direct object bound by the local subject, it is merged in VP. But since JI is a free form it does not raise out of VP. After the vP is built and VP is sent to Transfer, JI will be in VP but its antecedent will not, since the subject is base merged in [Spec, vP] and then moved to [Spec, TP]. Therefore, even when JI is locally bound, it will not be spelled out on the same cycle as its antecedent.

- 30) a. 射 者 正 己 而 後 發。
 She zhe zheng **ji** er hou fa.
 shoot DET correct self CONJ then shoot
 “An archer straightens himself and then shoots.” (Mencius 3)

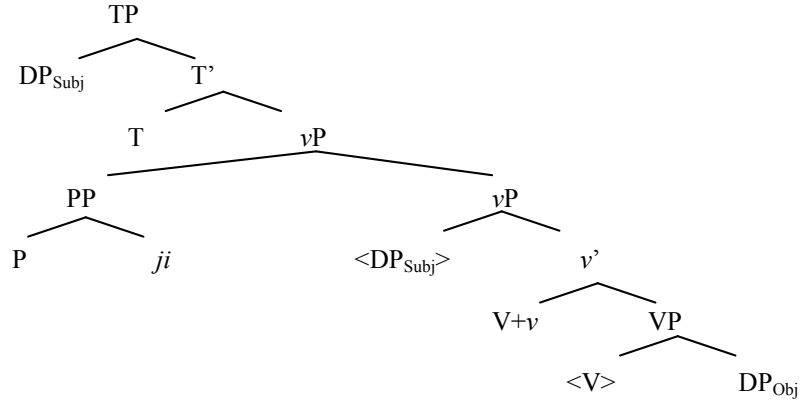
b.



Another case of local binding is when JI is contained in a PP and coreferential with the clause-mate subject. This case also does not violate the conditions in (27). Either, we can analyze the PP as phase, in which case its domain will be sent to Transfer when T is merged into the derivation, before the subject moves to [Spec, TP]. Alternatively, we can assume recent approaches to CED effects (Nunes 1999, Nunes and Uriagereka 2000, Stepanov 2007, and others) which propose that the contents of adjoined constituents are spelled out prior to adjunction. This means that JI will also be spelled out inside the PP before the PP is merged into the structure.

- 31)a. 於 己 取 之 而 已 矣。
 e_i [_{PP} yu ji_i] qu zhi er yi yi.
 in self seek 3.OBJ CONJ finish ASP
 “(One) seeks it in himself and that’s all.” (Mencius 11)

b.



The cases of long distance binding are naturally accounted for, since JI will be separated by its antecedent by multiple phase boundaries. For example, when JI is the object in an embedded complement clause, JI will be spelled out in the embedded VP, with two *vP* boundaries and one CP boundary intervening between JI and its antecedent in the matrix clause. When JI serves as the possessor of an object, it will still be spelled out in VP, just as when JI itself serves as the object.

One final paradigm is accounted for by this analysis. Like other object pronouns, JI can be observed to raise in the context of negation. However, only long distance JI raises. In the following biclausal examples, JI moves out of the embedded VP and attaches to the negator above that VP.

- 32) a. 不 患 人 之 不 己 知。
 Bu huan ren zhi bu ji zhi ____.
 NEG worry others GEN NEG self understand

“Do not worry that others do not understand you.”

- b. 愧 不 若 黃帝 而
e_i kui bu ruo Huangdi er
 be.ashamed NEG like Huangdi CONJ
 哀 不 己 若 者。
e_i ai [*e_j* bu ji ruo zhe].
 feel.sympathy NEG self like DET

“(He) is ashamed of not being as good as Huangdi and feels sympathy for those who are not as good as he is.”

In the following examples, however, JI is locally bound by its clause-mate subject. In these cases, raising does not take place, and JI remains in post-verbal position.

- 33) a. 聖人 不 愛 己。
 Shengren_i bu ai ji.
 saint NEG love self

“A saint does not love himself.”

- b. 唯 至 人 乃 能 遊 於 世 而 不 僻，
 Wei zhi ren_i nai neng you yu shi er bu pi,
 only superior person FOC can travel in world CONJ NEG stray
 順 人 而 不 失 己。
 shun ren er *e_i* bu shi ji.
 accommodate person CONJ NEG lose self

“Only a superior person can travel through the world and not stray, accommodate to others and without losing himself.”

The difference between (32) and (33) is captured straightforwardly on the analysis of JI proposed in this section. Raising cannot take place in (33), since that would force JI to be spelled out in the same domain as its antecedent, i.e. TP, thereby violating the licensing condition in (27).

- 34) * 聖人 不 己 愛。
 [TP Shengren_i bu ji_i [VP ai ___]]
 saint NEG self love
 “A saint does not love himself.” (Xunzi 22)

Raising is not prevented in (32), however, because cliticization of JI to the clause-mate negator still allows JI to be spelled out in a lower domain than its antecedent which will be spelled out in a later phase in the matrix clause.

In sum, then, we can maintain a complementary analysis of the distribution of ZI and JI if we restrict the domain of licensing to spell-out domains at the point of Transfer and not the traditional governing category.

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