1. Introduction

This paper proposes an analysis of two reflexive pronouns 《自》 (zi) and 《己》 (ji) in late archaic Chinese of the Warring States period (5th – 3rd centuries BCE) and also suggests a source for the modern Mandarin reflexive 《自》 《己》, which is a compound of the two earlier forms. (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 自 以 安 人。 (Analects 14)
   e_i xiu  《自》 yi  an ren.
   train self to  protect person
   “Train yourself in order to protect other people.”

   b. 多 行 不 義, 必 自 砍。 (Zuozhuan, Yin 1)
   Duo xing bu yi, e_i bi 《己》 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. In this paper, I first present the empirical data which support these conclusions, in sections 2 and 3. In section 4, I propose the analysis of the two archaic reflexives within the theory of Multiple Spell-Out. In section 5, I discuss the diachronic implications for the emergence of the modern Mandarin reflexive 《自》 《己》, a compound of the two classical reflexives.

2. Distribution of JI

In this section, I show that JI can be locally or long distance bound. When it 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 classical period, Analects of Confucius, Mencius, Zhuanzi, there are 58 occurrences of long distance JI. Of these, 30 appear as the object 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.

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1 This paper was presented at Theoretical Approaches to East Asian Linguistics (TEAL) 5 at the University of Potsdam on September 10, 2008.
(2) a. 諸侯 惡 其 害 己。 (Mencius 10)

Zhuhoui  wu  [qi  hai  ji].
feudal.lord  dislike  they  inconvenience  self
“The feudal lords dislike it that they inconvenience them.”

b. 不 患 人 之 不 己 知。 (Analects 1)

Bu  huan,  [ren  zhi  bu  ji  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 (3a), 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)

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 contrastivied 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. However, 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)

[JIi  su  bu  yu],  ei  wu  shi  yu  ren.
self  Rel  Neg  want  Neg.Imp  extend  P  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 can be long distance bound and 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, i.e. bound by the local subject. (5) shows examples of JI 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?
“Taking benevolence as your responsibility, is this not indeed a heavy duty?” (Analects 8)

b. 堯 以 不 得 舜 為 己 憂。  
Yao yi bu de Shun wei [ji you].
“Yao took not obtaining Shun (as his successor) as his own concern.” (Mencius 5)

There are thirteen examples 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.
“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.
“(One) seeks it in himself and that’s all.” (Mencius 11)

There are as many as fifty examples of JI in object position bound by the local subject.

(7)  a. 明 於 權 者 不 以 物 害 己。  
ming yu quan zhe bu yi wu hai ji.
“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.
“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. Long distance JI furthermore exhibits the general behavior of a logophoric anaphor. Therefore, it can be concluded that JI has the basic characteristics of modern Mandarin ziji.
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。 (Zuo zhuan, Yin 1)
   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.”

b. 夫子  自  道  也。 (Analects 14)
   Fu z_i dao ye.
   master self speak Decl
   “The master is speaking of himself.”

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.

(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_i ruo zhe_i].
   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.”

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_i ye.
   Conj privately self blame Det Decl
   “I have never seen someone who can see his errors and privately blame himself”

(10) shows examples involving complement clauses. JI is coreferential with the matrix subject, while ZI is coreferential with the embedded subject.
(10) a. 謂己謗人，則怫然作色。 (Zhuangzi 2.5)
   \( e_i \) we [ji\( \_ \_ \) yuren], ze \( e_j \) furan zuose.
   “If someone, says he\(_i\) is a flatterer, then he\(_j\) flushes in anger.”

b. 言非禮義，謂之自暴也。
   Yan fei Li Yi, \( e_i \) wei [zhi\( j \_ \_ \) bao] ye.
   “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。 (Mencius 14)
   Ranze fei \( e_i \) zi\( j \_ \_ \) sha zi ye.
   “Thus, it is not that (one) kills him oneself.”

b. 自為之與？ (Mencius 5)
   \( e_i \) zi\( j \_ \_ \) wei zhi yu?
   “Did you make it yourself?”

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. 鲁君之使者至，

Lu jun zhi shi zhe zhi,

Lu lord Gen send Det arrive

顏闔自對之。

Yan He zhi dui zhi

Yan He self meet 3.Obj

“The envoy of the lord of Lu arrived, and Yan He met with him himself.”

b. 夫子自道也。

Fu zhi zhi dao ye.

master self speak Decl

“The master is speaking of himself.”

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 subject\(^2\) 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.

4 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.”

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 P 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 tu, fu jiang zi gui.

Neg pull Neg push fortune Mod self return

“There is no need to pull or push it, fortune will return by itself.”

b. 不欲以靜，天下將自正。

Bu yu yi jing, tianxia jiang zi zheng ___.

Neg desire C passive world Mod self aright

“If (one) is without desire and passive, the world will aright itself.”

(Laozi 37)

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\(^2\) Embedded subjects typically appeared with genitive case in the classical period.
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 with way
    
    吾自得之也。
    [qi zi de zhi ye].
    desire self attain 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.”

ZI follows negation, which the subject precedes.

(16) a. 許子為不自織?
    Xuzi xi wei bu zi zhi?
    Xuzi what for Neg self weave
    “Xuzi, why didn’t you weave (it) yourself?”

b. 夫不自見而見彼。
    fu bu zi jian er jian bi
    Nom Neg self see Conj see other
    “not seeing oneself but seeing others”

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.”

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.”

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

(18) 畢自治其事，則事多。
    Jin zi zhi qi shi, ze shi duo.
    all self govern then affair many
    “If (the ruler) takes care of all matters himself, then there is too much for him to do.”
Object-oriented quantifiers in turn are located very low in the structure. (19a) shows that
they follow negation. They also naturally follow the subject, as shown in (19b).

(19) a. 不 尽 收 則 不 尽 御。
    Bu jin [VP shou pro] ze bu jin [VP yu pro]
    “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
    “If the lord often becomes angry and enjoys using military might….”

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 爲 功。
    yu [zi yi wei gong].
    want self take be credit
    “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.
    Neg dare self rely self call say insignificant
    “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 and analyzed as the argument in the subject grammatical
function. In the following subsection, I present evidence that ZI is a morphologically bound
form, adjoined to the verb.

3.3. ZI not Clitic

The position of ZI explored in the previous subsection could be accounted for by analyzing ZI as
a clitic which must immediately precede the verb. In this subsection, however, I show 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 are required to raise from VP and adjoin to the negator. (21) shows monoclusal 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 biclusal 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 嵖, 莫 之 敢 攖。
    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 1 dare block
    ‘If (we) are fierce as fire, then no one will dare to stand in our way.’

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。
    [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 懷, 自 命 曰 粟。
    Wei gan [zi shi ___], zi ming yue su.
    Neg 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.

The incorporation analysis also accounts for why only JI (as in 6) and ever ZI occurs in a PP. This is because movement of ZI to the verb would violate the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984), since ZI would have to skip the intervening P position in order to adjoin to the verb.

(24)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VP} \\
<z_i+V> \\
\text{PP} \\
P <z_i>
\end{array}
\]

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) Proposal

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ZI must be bound within its spell-out domain.} \\
\text{JI cannot appear in the same spell-out domain as its antecedent.}
\end{array}
\]

\[^3\] Lee-Schoenfeld (to appear) proposes that binding in German is also phase-based.
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 \( vP \) 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)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{fu} & \text{bu} & \text{zi} & \text{jian} & \text{er} & \text{jian} & \text{bi} \\
\text{Nom} & \text{Neg} & \text{self} & \text{see} & \text{Conj} & \text{see} & \text{other}
\end{array}
\]

“not seeing oneself but seeing others”

b. $
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{TP} & \text{DP}_{\text{Subj}} & \text{T'} & \text{T} & \text{vP} & <\text{DP}_{\text{Subj}}> & v' \\
\end{array}
$

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{zi}+V+v & \text{VP} & <\text{zi}+V> & <\text{zi}>
\end{array}
\]

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 \( vP \) 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 爲 之 與？  (Mencius 5)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
e_j & \text{zi}_i & \text{wei} & \text{zhi} & \text{yu} \\
\text{self} & \text{make} & 3.\text{Obj} & \text{Q}
\end{array}
\]

“Did you make it yourself?”
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。
(Mencius 3)
She zhe zheng ji er hou fa.
“An archer straightens himself and then shoots.”

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. 於己取之而巳矣。  
   \[ e_i \; [P \; yu \; ji_i] \; qu \; zhi \; er \; yi \; yi. \]  
   \[ self \; seek \; 3.\text{Obj} \; \text{Conj} \; \text{finish} \; \text{Asp} \]  
   “(One) seeks it in himself and that’s all.”

b. 

\[ \text{TP} \]
\[ \text{DP}_{\text{Subj}} \]
\[ T' \]
\[ T \]
\[ \nuP \]
\[ \PP \]
\[ j_i \]
\[ \text{<DP}_{\text{Subj}} \] \[ \nu' \]
\[ V+\nu \]
\[ \text{VP} \]
\[ \text{<V>} \]
\[ \text{DP}_{\text{Obj}} \]

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 \( \nuP \) boundaries and one \( \text{CP} \) 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. 不懼人之不己知。  
   \[ Bu \; huan \; ren \; zhi \; bu \; ji \; zhi \; \_\_. \]  
   \[ \text{NEG} \; \text{worry} \; \text{others} \; \text{GEN} \; \text{NEG} \; \text{self} \; \text{understand} \]  
   “Do not worry that others do not understand you.”

b. 愧不若黃帝而  
   \[ e_i \; kui \; bu \; ruo \; Huangdi \; er \]  
   \[ \text{be.ashamed} \; \text{Neg} \; \text{like} \; \text{Huangdi} \; \text{Conj} \]  
   “(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.
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。(Xunzi 22)

\[[TP Shengreni \text{ bu } jii \ldots \text{ VP ai ___ }]\]

“A saint does not love himself.”

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.

5. Diachronic Development: Emergence of ZIJI

It is well-known that the modern Mandarin reflexive 自己 (ziji) can be locally or long distance bound.

(35) Zhangsan i renwei [Lisi hai-le ziji$_{ij}$].

Zhangsan think Lisi hurt-Asp self

“As Zhangsan$_{ij}$ thought that Lisi$_{ij}$ hurt himself$_{ij}$.”

As can be seen, ZIJI is a compound of archaic Chinese ZI and JI. Dong (2002) proposes that the local and long distance properties of ZIJI are the result of combing the anaphor ZI with the pronoun JI. But, as we have seen, JI is not always long distance bound. Modern Mandarin ZIJI has essentially the characteristics of archaic Chinese JI. I propose that the diachronic scenario is better understood in the following way. ZIJI is indeed a compound of ZI and JI. But this compound was formed after ZI came to have the basic characteristics of JI. Consequently, ZIJI is a bisyllabic compound of two synonyms. In order for ZI to acquire the characteristics of JI,
the following two changes were necessary. First, ZI has to be possible in cases of long distance binding. The second change was morphological separability from the verb. In the following, I offer evidence that both of these changes took place from the first Han Dynasty (1st & 2nd C. BCE), resulting in a ZI which had the same basic functions as JI.

First, we can see that from the first Han Dynasty, ZI can be bound long distance. In both cases, ZI does not refer to the most local subject.

(36) a. 王 又 以 其 力 之 所 不 能 攻
Wang, you yi qi li zhi suo bu neng gong
King also with 3.Gen force Gen Rel Neg can conquer
以 資 之, 是 助 秦 自 攻 也。
yi zi zhi, shi [ ei zhu [Qin zI gong]] ye.
C grant 3.Obj Dem aid Qin self conquer Decl
“If your majesty grants them what they were unable to conquer by force, then this is aiding the Qin to conquer us.” (Zhanguoce, Zhao 3)

b. 虞丘 相 進 之 於 楚 莊 王
Yu Qiu xiangjin zhi ju Chu Zhuang wang
Yu Qiu recommend 3.Obj to Chu Zhuang king
以 自 代。
yi ej zi si dai.
C self replace
“Yu Qiu recommended him to King Zhuang of Chu so that he could replace him.” (Shiji 119)

ZI also achieved morphological independence. In (34), ZI appears to the left of the matrix verb with a resultative embedded predicate.

(37) 涉間 不 降 楚，自 燒 殺。
She Jian bu xiang Chu, zi shao sha ___.
She Jian Neg surrender Chu self burn kill
“She Jian did not surrender to Chu but committed suicide by burning himself.”

In (35), ZI precedes an adverb.

(38) 長 男 既 行，
Zhang nan ji xing,
eldest son Asp go
亦 自 私 資 數 百 金。
yi zi si ___ ji shu bai jin.
also self privately carry many hundred gold
“Having left, the eldest son also privately took with him several hundred gold pieces.”

In (39), a PP intervenes between ZI and the verb.
Yet, (he) still could not stop, so he made a tiger-hunting chariot. (He) made square holes but left it open and didn’t put a top on. One person acted as driver, while (he) himself shot from inside.”

(Sanguozhi, Zhang Zhao)

Finally, ZI could be used as a possessor. This clearly shows that ZI is no longer morphologically dependent on the verb.

(40) 大 呼 自 名，衝 壘。 (Sanguozhi, Zhang Liao)
Da hu [zi ming] chong lei.
great call self name charge fort
“He called out his own name and charged into the fort.”

To summarize, ZI loses both of its qualities which distinguish it from JI: local binding and morphological dependence on the verb. Zhu (2007) also notices the overlap between ZI and JI in middle Chinese Buddhist translations. He specifically cites examples like (37), in which ZI is used as a possessor. He claims that the expanded use of ZI is due to influence from Sanskrit on Chinese in translations of Buddhist texts. However, we have already seen that changes in ZI can be observed in the first Han dynasty, before the introduction of Buddhism to China. Therefore, the changes in ZI must be understood as an indigenous development.

References