

The blocking effect and Korean *caki*

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Abstract

When the Chinese reflexive *ziji* is located far from its antecedents, it is not uncommon to see the blocking effect, since the long-distance binding of *ziji* is normally blocked by the presence of a first (or second) person pronoun intervening in the reported speech. Conversely, it has generally been accepted that Korean *caki* does not manifest any blocking effects. However, in this paper, we propose that the blocking effect exists in the long-distance binding of Korean *caki*.

1 Introduction

When the Chinese reflexive *ziji* is located far from its antecedents, it is not uncommon to see the blocking effect, since the long-distance binding of *ziji* is normally blocked by the presence of a first (or second) person pronoun intervening in the reported speech (Y.-H. Huang 1984, Cole et al. 1990, Huang and Tang 1991, Huang and Liu 2001, Pan 2001, Cole et al. 2006, among others), as shown in (1) and (2).

- (1) Zhangsan_i renwei Lisi_j zhidao Wangwu_k
 Zhangsan think Lisi know Wangwu
 xihuan ziji_{i/j/k}.
 like self
 ‘Zhangsan_i thinks Lisi_j knows Wangwu_k likes self_{i/j/k}.’

(Cole et al. 1990:1)

- (2) Zhangsan_i renwei wo_j zhidao Wangwu_k
 Zhangsan think I know Wangwu
 xihuan ziji_{i/*j/k}.
 like self

‘Zhangsan_i thinks that I_j know that Wangwu_k likes him_{*j}/me_{*j}/himself_k.’

(Cole et al. 1990:15)

The antecedent of Chinese *ziji* in (1) can be the matrix subject *Zhangsan*, the intermediate subject *Lisi*, or the most embedded subject *Wangwu*. In contrast, *ziji* in (2) can only be coreferential with the local antecedent *Wangwu* rather than the matrix subject *Zhangsan* or the intermediate subject *wo* of a first person pronoun. This phenomenon of Chinese *ziji* has long been accounted for in terms of the blocking effect, which occurs when an immediately higher noun phrase differs in the person feature from a lower noun phrase. Therefore, in (2), the intermediate subject *wo* ‘I’ serves as a blocker because the person feature of *wo* ‘I’ differs from the third person *Wangwu*.

Conversely, it has generally been accepted that Korean *caki* does not manifest any blocking effects (Yoon 1989, Cole et al. 1990, Sohng 2004, Cole et al. 2006, Han and Storoshenko 2012, Kim 2013, among others), as exemplified in (3).¹

- (3) Chelswu_i-nun nay_j-ka caki_{i/*j}-lul
 Chelswu-Top I-Nom self-Acc
 cohaha-n-ta-ko sayngkakha-n-ta.
 like-Prs-Decl-Comp think-Prs-Decl
 ‘Chelswu_i thinks I_j like him_i/myself_{*j}.’

¹ Cole et al. (1990), contrary to *caki*, assume that long-distance *casin* is subject to the blocking effect, as shown in (i).

- (i) *Chelswu_i-nun nay_j-ka casin_i-ul saranha-n-ta-ko
 Chelswu-Top I-Nom self-Acc love-Prs-Decl-Comp
 sayngkakha-n-ta.
 think-Prs-Decl
 ‘*Chelswu thinks I like himself.’

(Cole et al. 1990:18)

However, we will not discuss the long-distance binding of *casin* here.

(Cole et al. 1990:19)

In (3), *caki* can only refer to the matrix subject *Chelswu* while it does not refer to the first person pronoun *nay*. However, even if the matrix subject *Chelswu* and the first person pronoun *nay* in the embedded clause are switched, the coreferential relationship remains unchanged. Here is the relevant example.

- (4) Na_i -nun $Chelswu_j$ -ka $caki_{*i/j}$ -lul
 I-Top $Chelswu$ -Nom self-Acc
 cohaha-n-ta-ko sayngkakha-n-ta.
 like-Prs-Decl-Comp think-Prs-Decl
 ‘I_i think $Chelswu_j$ likes me_{*i}/himself_j.’

Nonetheless, the question then arises as to how we can explain what blocks Korean *caki*, in a certain context, from referring to the long-distance potential antecedent, as illustrated in (5).

- (5) $Hyengsa_i$ -nun nay_j -ka $caki_{*i/j}$ pwumo-lul
 detective-Top I-Nom self parents-Acc
 salhayha-n phaylyunpem-i-lako
 kill-Adn reprobate-being-Comp
 sayngkakha-n-ta.
 think-Prs-Decl
 ‘The detective thinks that I am a reprobate who killed his (*the detective’s/speaker’s) parents.’
 (Park 2016:102)

We assume that the first person pronoun *nay* in (5) functions as a blocker since it is unnatural for *caki* to refer to the matrix subject *Hyengsa* in this discourse.² Thus, based on the observed fact, this pa-

² Some may claim that (5) is a kind of a special occasion in this context and thus the blocking of *caki*’s referring to *hyengsa* is attributed just to the lexical property of *phaylyunpem* ‘reprobate’, which means to harm one’s own lineal ascendant and descendant. Thus, if *phaylyunpem* is replaced by neutral word *pemin* ‘criminal’, *caki* can also refer to either *hyengsa* or *nay*, as shown in (i).

- (i) $Hyengsa_i$ -nun nay_j -ka $caki_{i/j}$ pwumo-lul salhayha-n
 detective-Top I-Nom self parents-Acc kill-Adn
 pemin-i-lako sayngkakha-n-ta.
 criminal-being-Comp think-Prs-Decl
 ‘The detective thinks that I am a criminal who killed his (the detective’s/speaker’s) parents.’

We agree with the view. If so, however, how should we account for the following sentence?

- (ii) $Salamtul_i$ -un nay_j -ka $caki_{*i/j}$ pwumo-lul salhayha-n
 people-Top I-Nom self parents-Acc kill-And

per would like to show that a blocking effect does hold in Korean as well and to suggest the analysis of the blocking effect in Korean *caki* in terms of a unified account in line with that of Chinese *ziji*.

The organization of the paper is as follows. In the section 2, we discuss what has been said about Korean *caki*, especially with respect to the properties of *caki*. Then, in section 3, we review Huang and Liu’s (2001) analysis on blocking effects. And in section 4, the blocking effect of Korean *caki* is considered. Section 5 summarizes our findings and conclusions, with a discussion of some predictions that follow from the current analysis.

2 Korean *caki*’s puzzle

Since Lee’s (1973) observation, it has generally been held in the literature (Kim 1976, Cho 1985, O’Grady 1987, Yoon 1989, Cole et al. 1990, Sohng 2004, Han and Storoshenko 2012, among others) that *caki* can only have a third person human noun as its antecedent. Thus, Sohng (2004) argues that *caki* has inherent Φ -features with a third person. Such a distinction could be demonstrated by the following sentences.

-
- pemin-i-lako sayngkakha-n-ta.
 criminal-being-Comp think-Prs-Decl
 ‘The people think that I am a criminal who killed his (*their/the speaker’s) parents.’

The matrix subject *Salamtul* ‘people’ cannot be the antecedent of *caki* in this sentence while *nay* ‘I’ can. On the other hand, in the following example, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the internal speaker *Chelswu* is much more likely to be the antecedent of *caki* here rather than the external speaker *nay* unlike (ii).

- (iii) $Chelswu_i$ -un nay_j -ka $caki_{i/?j}$ pwumo-lul salhayha-n
 Chelswu-Top I-Nom self parents-Acc kill-Adn
 pemin-i-lako sayngkakha-n-ta.
 criminal-being-Comp think-Prs-Decl
 ‘Chelswu thinks that I am a criminal who killed his (Chelswu/??the speaker’s) parents.’

In this case, we can only conjecture that this is attributed mainly to the typical property of *caki* to refer to an attitude holder. In other words, Korean *caki* functions as a logophor in the majority of cases unless particular clues are provided in the discourse. In the same vein, *caki* in (i) can have two readings in that it is coreferential with *hyungsa* when used as a logophor while it is also coindexed to *nay* when the actual speaker objectively describes the situation from the detective’s perspective, as in Kuno’s (1987) empathy. Ultimately, likelihood of the story depends on the context.

Based on the observed facts, we assume here that a blocking effect does hold in Korean as well. Further discussion is included in section 4.

- (6) *Nay_i-ka caki_j-lul piphanhay-ess-ta.
I-Nom self-Acc criticize-Pst-Decl
'I criticized myself.'
- (7) *Ney_i-ka caki_j-lul piphanhay-ess-ta.
You-Nom self-Acc criticize-Pst-Decl
'You criticized yourself.'
- (8) Chelswu_i-ka caki_j-lul piphanhay-ess-ta.
Chelswu-Nom self-Acc criticize-Pst-Decl
'Chelswu criticized himself.'

In comparison with *caki*, *ziji* seems to be much more versatile in that it can be used to refer to all persons, as shown in (9) and (10).

- (9) Zhangsan_i juede {wo/ni}_j dui ziji_{i/j}
Zhangsan think I/you to self
mei xinxin.
not confidence
'Zhangsan thinks I/you have no confidence in myself/yourself/*him.'
- (10) Zhangsan_i zhidao Lisi_j dui ziji_{i/j} mei xinxin.
Zhangsan think Lisi to self not confidence
'Zhangsan thinks Lisi has no confidence in him/himself.'

(Pan 2001:280)

On the other hand, Yoon (1989:486) points out that the incompatibility of *caki* with first or second person antecedents can be readily accounted for in terms of the notion of a logophor since it could be very awkward for an external speaker or an addressee participating in the current discourse to report their own thoughts or feelings in an indirect way.³ For this reason, she further argues that the behaviors of *caki* binding fit nicely into the notion of logophoricity. In fact, Pearson (2013) reports that logophoric pronouns in Ewe are necessarily construed as referring to the reported speaker and the attitude holder is preferentially occupied by a third person.⁴ The relevant data are from Pearson (2013).

³ As pointed out by many authors working on Korean *caki*, there are two different uses. One is a syntactic anaphor and the other is a logophor. We do not discuss here the syntactic anaphor, which is related to locally bound *caki*.

⁴ As is seen in (9) and (10), *ziji* can refer to the antecedents regardless of person features. Thus, Pan (2001) contends that the long-distance binding of *ziji* should not be treated as a logophor. In addition, *ziji* in the complement clause can be coindexed to the first (or second) person pronoun in the matrix subject, as shown in (i) and (ii).

(i) Wo_i zhidao Lisi_j de baogao hai-le ziji_{i/j}.

- (11) a. *M xɔse be yè nyi sukuvi nyoe de.
Pro believe that Log Cop student good Art
'I believe that I am a good student.'
- b. M xɔse be m nyi sukuvi nyoe de.
Pro believe that Pro Cop student good Art
'I believe that I am a good student.'
- (12) a. *O xɔse be yè nyi sukuvi nyoe de.
Pro believe that Log Cop student good Art
'You believe that you are a good student.'
- b. O xɔse be o nyi sukuvi nyoe de.
Pro believe that Pro Cop student good Art
'You believe that you are a good student.'
- (Pearson 2013:449-50)

The only difference between (11a) and (11b) is that a logophor *yè* in (11a) is used in the complement clause and it is replaced by the first person pronoun *m* in (11b). However, it is incorrect when *yè* refers to the first person pronoun in the matrix subject while the first person pronoun *m* can refer. It is not correct in (12a), either when *yè* refers to the second person pronoun *o* in the matrix subject.

It seems that there is a clear relationship between the role of a logophor and the absence of blocking effects in Korean *caki*. A blocking effect does not usually occur in a logophoric environment since a logophor preferentially occurs with a third person antecedent. The following examples illustrate this point.

- (13) Kofi_i xɔ agbalẽ tso gbɔ-nye_j be
Kofi receive letter from side-Pro that
yè_{i/j}-a-va me kpe na m.
Log-T-come cast block for Pro
'Kofi_i got a letter from me saying that he_j should come cast blocks for me.'
- (14) Me_i-xɔ agbalẽ tso Kofi_j gbɔ be
Pro-receive letter from Kofi side that
ma_i-va me kpe na yè_j.
Pro/T-come cast block for Pro
'I_i got a letter from Kofi_j saying that I_i should come cast blocks for him_i.'

I know Lisi DE report hurt-Perf self
'I knew that Lisi's report hurt me/him.'

- (ii) Ni_i xiang mei xiang guo Lisi_j conglai jiu
You think not think Guo Lisi never Conj
mei xihuan guo ziji_{i/j}?
not like Guo self
'Have you ever thought about the idea that Lisi never liked you/himself?'

(Pan 2001:283-4)

(Clements 1975:159)

The first person pronouns intervening between the logophor *yè* and the higher potential antecedent *Kofi* both in (13) and (14) really do not affect the long-distance binding of logophors. The behaviors of long-distance binding of *caki* exactly correspond to those of a logophor. Consider the related examples in Korean *caki*, repeated here in (15) and (16) from (3) and (4).

- (15) Chelswu_i-nun nay_j-ka caki_{i/*j}-lul
 Chelswu-Top I-Nom self-Acc
 cohaha-n-ta-ko sayngkakha-n-ta.
 like-Prs-Decl-Comp think-Prs-Decl
 ‘Chelswu_i thinks I_j like him_i/myself_{*j}.’
- (16) Na_i-nun Chelswu_j-ka caki_{*i/j}-lul
 I-Top Chelswu-Nom self-Acc
 cohaha-n-ta-ko sayngkakha-n-ta.
 like-Prs-Decl-Comp think-Prs-Decl
 ‘I_i think Chelswu_j likes me_{*i}/himself_j.’

Then now let’s go back to the blocking effect of *caki*, repeated here in (17) from (5).

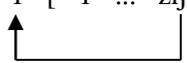
- (17) Hyengsa_i-nun nay_j-ka caki_{*i/j} pwumo-lul
 detective-Top I-Nom self parents-Acc
 salhayha-n phaylyunpem-i-lako
 kill-Adn reprobate-being-Comp
 sayngkakha-n-ta.
 think-Prs-Decl
 ‘The detective thinks that I am a reprobate who killed his (*the detective’s/speaker’s) parents.’

Caki in (17) may be coreferential with the first person pronoun *na(y)* here, even though the long-distance binding of *caki* is blocked by the person mismatch. If the sentence is grammatical, it should be noted that the notion of logophoricity is not functioning properly here. Thus, we would like to propose an alternative analysis for blocking effects in the next section.

3 Reanalysis of Huang and Liu (2001)

Huang and Liu (2001) give a plausible account of the so-called blocking effect of long-distance binding in Chinese by relying on the notion of logophoricity. The crucial thing is that a blocking effect arises as a consequence of a conflict of perspective

in the process of switching from direct to indirect speech.

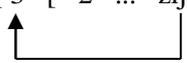
- (18) [1 [1 ... ziji ...]]


- (19) [2 [2 ... ziji ...]]


- (20) [3 [3 ... ziji ...]]


According to their view, (18) to (20) do not induce the blocking effect since the referents are homogeneous in a single context. On the other hand, the blocking effects occur in the following situation instead.

- (21) *[3 [1 ... ziji ...]]


- (22) *[3 [2 ... ziji ...]]


Thus the following examples are the typical cases of blocking effects in Chinese.

- (23) Zhangsan_i juede {wo/ni}_j zai piping ziji_{*i/j}.
 Zhangsan think I/you at criticize self
 ‘Zhangsan_i thinks that {I/you}_j are criticizing him_{*i}/myself_j/yourself_j.’
 (Huang and Liu 2001:161-2)

However, blocking effects are much more complicated than they predicted. Here is the evidence in favor of this view.

- (24) Mama_i shuo jia chuqu-de nüer_j
 mother say marry go.out-DE daughter
 yijing hui lai ziji_{i/*j}-de jia le.
 already return come self-DE home Asp
 ‘Mother_i said that the married daughter_j had already come back to her_{i/*j} home.’
- (25) Mama_i shuo jia chuqu-de nüer_j
 mother say marry go.out-DE daughter
 yijing hui qu ziji_{*i/j}-de jia le.
 already return go self-DE home Asp

‘Mother_i said that the married daughter_j had already gone back to her_{*i/j} home.’

(Liu 1999:39)

Only third person referents, such as *mama* ‘mother’ and *nüer* ‘daughter’, exist in (24) and (25). Nonetheless, *ziji* cannot be bound by the long-distance antecedent *mama* ‘mother’ in (25) whereas it can be bound in (24). In that case, a third person intervener can serve as a blocker, as in (26).

(26) *[3 [3 ... ziji ...]]

This is totally opposed to what Huang and Liu expected, as shown in (20).⁵ Here are more examples to support this point.

(27) Lisi_i shuo tamen_j chang piping ziji_{i/j}.
Lisi say they often criticize self
‘Lisi_i said that they often criticized him_i/themselves_j.’

(28) Tamen_i shuo Lisi_j chang piping ziji_{*i/j}.
they say Lisi often criticize self
‘They_i said that Lisi_j often criticized them_{*i}/himself_j.’

(29) Tamen_i shuo tamen_j chang piping ziji_{*i/j}.
they say they often criticize self
‘They_i said that they_j often criticized them_{*i}/themselves_j.’

(Huang and Liu 2001:164-5)

An instance such as (27) shows that there is no blocking effect. However, number features, a singular noun phrase in (28) and plural noun phrase in (29), may cause blocking effects for long-distance binding even with the same person feature.

The first person plural noun phrase in (30) and the second person plural noun phrase in (31) may trigger the blocking effect of long-distance binding in Chinese.

(30) Wo_i zhidao women_j dui ziji_{*i/j}
I know we to self
mei you xinxin.
not have confidence

‘I know that we have no confidence in ourselves.’

(31) Ni_i zhidao nimen_j dui ziji_{*i/j}
you(sg) know you(pl) to self
mei you xinxin.
not have confidence
‘You know that you have no confidence in yourselves.’

(Xu 1993:133-4)

If this is a correct judgment, it could be opposed to what was expected as in (18) and (19).

Pan (2001), followed by Huang and Liu (2001), claim for the first time that the blocking effect in Chinese is asymmetrical: an intervening first and second person pronoun can block a third person long-distance antecedent from being coindexed with *ziji* whereas an intervening third person referent does not necessarily block a first and second person antecedent from being coindexed with *ziji*, as exemplified in (32).

(32) Wo_i bu xihuan Lisi_j guan ziji_{i/j}
I not like Lisi interfere self
de shi.
DE matter
‘I don’t like Lisi_j interfering in my_i (own) business.’

(33) Lisi_i bu xihuan wo_j guan ziji_{*i/j}
Lisi not like I interfere self
de shi.
DE matter
‘Lisi_i does not like me_j interfering in my_j (own) business.’

(Pan 2001:283)

The person asymmetry of the blocking effect basically does not admit a third person blocker. However, as mentioned before, a third person intervener can also trigger the blocking effect.

(34) Ni_i shuo Zhangsan_j chang piping ziji_{*i/j}.
you say Zhangsan often criticize self
‘You_i said that Zhangsan_j often criticized you_{*i}/himself_j.’

(Huang and Tang 1991:277)

The intervening third person referent *Zhangsan* in (34) does block *ziji* from referring to the second person long-distance antecedent, as shown in (35).

⁵ Korean *caki* and Japanese *zibun* as well as Chinese *ziji* also exhibit the blocking effect by means of a third person intervener. We will discuss this matter again in section 4.

(35) *[2 [3 ... ziji ...]]

Furthermore, a closer look reveals a much more complicated situation with respect to the blocking effect. Consider the following examples.

(36) Lisi_i shengpa wo_j chaoguo ziji_{i/*j}.
Lisi worry I surpass self
'Lisi_i was afraid that I_j would surpass him_i/myself_j.'

(Pollard and Xue 2001:321)

(37) Zongtong_i qing wo_j zuo zai ziji_{i/*j} de shenbian.
president ask I sit at self DE side
'The president_i asked me_j to sit beside him_i/himself_j.'

(Pollard and Xue 2001: 321)

(38) Wo_i juede AlphaGo_j yudao ziji_{i/*j}
I think AlphaGo face self
meixiangdao de yishouqi shi
unexpected DE situation when
duiying nengli xiajiang.
react ability fall
'I think it revealed some kind of bug when AlphaGo faced unexpected positions.'

(Lee Se-dol' interview, 13 March, 2016)

In (36) and (37), as is well known, the intervening first person does not function as a blocker. Besides, (38) presents a very interesting fact: the inanimate feature as well as person and number can trigger the blocking effect in Chinese.⁶

In short, the blocking effect of the long-distance bound *ziji* has long been explained in terms of the notion of logophoricity. However, it cannot elucidate the nature of the blocking effect properly. For the evidence, we propose the data from Korean *caki* in the next section.

4 The blocking effect revisited and *caki*

As previously mentioned, a common thread in the literature on the blocking effect of the long-distance anaphor has mainly been concerned with the mismatch of person features between potential candidates. In addition, blocking effects have long

⁶ Tang (1989) argues that the antecedent of *ziji* is inherently animate. However, we think that inanimate noun phrase can be the antecedent of *ziji*. It will be discussed for Korean *caki* in section 4.

been treated exclusively in connection with Chinese *ziji*. However, we propose here that the blocking effect in the long-distance binding of Korean *caki* also exists.⁷

It is well known that Korean *caki* is not compatible with first or second person antecedents locally as well as at a distance. Contrary to this, we propose that Korean *caki*, in some contexts, can refer to a first or second person as its referent. The following example is compatible with this idea.⁸

(39) Na_i-nun caki_j casik-ul cwuki-n api-lo
I-Top self child-Acc kill-Adn father-as
kiloktoylkesita.
be recorded
'I will be remembered as a father who killed my own child.'
(Slightly modified from the movie 'The Throne' (2015))

Based on this fact, we further argue that the blocking effect of long-distance binding is observed in Korean as well. We repeat the relevant example here.

(40) Hyengsa_i-nun nay_j-ka caki_{i/*j} pwumo-lul
detective-Top I-Nom self parents-Acc
salhayha-n phaylyunpem-i-lako
kill-Adn reprobate-being-Comp
sayngkakha-n-ta.
think-Prs-Decl
'The detective thinks that I am a reprobate who killed his (*the detective's/speaker's) parents.'

⁷ Nishigauchi (2014) also reports the existence of the blocking effect in Japanese *zibun* while no one has yet reported its presence for Korean *caki*. Here are the examples.

(i) *Taroo_i-wa boku_j-ga zibun_i-ni kasi-te kure-ta
Taroo-Top I-Nom self-Dat lend benef-Pst
okane-o nakusi-ta rasii.
Money-Acc lose-Pst seem
'*Taroo_i seems to have lost the money that I_j had loaned him_i (as a favor).'

(Nishigauchi 2014:198)

⁸ Im (1987) also claims that *caki* can be coreferential with a first (or second person), as shown in (i).

(i) Hyeng_i-un nay_j-ka caki_j-lul piphanha-n-untey
elder brother-Top I-Nom self-Acc criticize-Prs-about
insaykha-ta-ko sayngkakha-n-ta.
stingy-Prs-Comp think-Prs-Decl
'The older brother thinks that I am stingy with criticizing myself.' (Im 1987:150)

In this case, the long-distance binding of *caki* is blocked by the presence of an argument differing in person, as in (41).

(41) *[3 [1 ... *caki* ...]]

There is reason to believe that it does. Below we display the relevant examples.

(42) Emeni_i-nun sicip-ka-n nay_j-ka
 mother-Top marry-go.out-Adn I-Nom
*caki*_{*i/j} cip-ulo tola-ka-ass-tako
 self home-to return-go-Pst-Comp
 malha-yss-ta.
 say-Pst-Decl

‘Mother_i said that I_j, who is married, had already gone back to her_{*i/j} home.’

(43) Emeni_i-nun sicip-ka-n ne_j-ka
 mother-Top marry-go.out-Adn you-Nom
*caki*_{*i/j} cip-ulo tola-ka-ass-tako
 self home-to return-go-Pst-Comp
 malha-yss-ta.
 say-Pst-Decl

‘Mother_i said that you_j, who is married, had already gone back to her_{*i/j} home.’

The blocking effect is induced by the intervening first person pronoun *nay* in (42) and (43) shows that the intervening second person pronoun can act as a blocker of long-distance binding in Korean. It can be represented as in (44).

(44) *[3 [2 ... *caki* ...]]

A third person intervener may also trigger the blocking effect in Korean, as in (45) and (46).

(45) John_i-i Mary_j-eykey Tom_k-i *caki*_i-lul
 John-Nom Mary-Dat Tom-Nom self-Acc
 pole-o-ass-tako malha-yess-ta.
 see-come-Pst-Comp say-Pst-Decl

‘John_i told Mary that Tom came to see/visit him_i.’

(46) *John_i-i Mary_j-eykey Tom_k-i *caki*_i-lul
 John-Nom Mary-Dat Tom-Nom self-Acc
 pole-ka-ass-tako malha-yess-ta.
 see-go-Pst-Comp say-Pst-Decl

‘John_i told Mary that Tom went to see/visit him_i.’

(Yoon 1989:486)

The blocking effect occurs only in (46), but not in (45). This is because the embedded subject *Tom* should be reported by the external speaker as the empathy locus to which *ka-* ‘go’ refers. However, the actual speaker empathizes with the internal speaker if *caki* refers to the matrix subject *John*. Thus the third person, *Tom*, blocks long-distance binding of *caki*, as in (47).

(47) *[3 [3 ... *caki* ...]]

In addition, multiple occurrences of *caki* in the same clause must refer to the same antecedent, as in (48).⁹

(48) John_i-i Bill_j-i *caki*-uy emma-ka
 John-Nom Bill-Nom *caki*-Gen mother-Nom
caki-lul silhehanta-ko sayngkakhanta-ko
 self-Acc hate-Comp think-Comp
 malhayssta.
 said

‘John_i said that Bill_j thought that his_i mother hates him_i.’

‘John_i said that Bill_j thought that his_j mother hates him_j.’

*‘John_i said that Bill_j thought that his_i mother hates him_j.’

*‘John_i said that Bill_j thought that his_j mother hates him_i.’

(Park 2014)

We can observe that it is grammatical when the two occurrences of *caki* refer to the same antecedents whereas it is not grammatical when they refer to different antecedents. Thus a third person referent functions as a blocker if multiple instances of *caki* are not coreferential. Consider the following examples.

(49) Chelswu_i-nun salam-tul_j-i *caki*_{i/*j}-lul
 Chelswu-Top people-PI-Nom self-Acc

⁹ Huang and Liu (2001) also point out that multiple occurrences of *ziji* must be coreferential, which was originally coined by Pan (1997).

piphanha-yess-tako sayngkakha-n-ta.
criticize-Pst-Comp think-Prs-Decl
'Chelswu_i thinks that people_j criticized
him_i/themselves_j.'

- (50) Salam-tul_i-un Chelswu_j-ka caki_{*i/j}-lul
people-Top Chelswu-Nom self-Acc
piphanha-yess-tako sayngkakha-n-ta.
criticize-Pst-Comp think-Prs-Decl
'People_i think that Chelswu_j criticized
them_{*i}/himself_j.'
- (51) Salam-tul_i-un cemata Chelswu_j-ka
people-Pl-Top each Chelswu-Nom
caki_{i/j}-lul piphanha-yess-tako
self-Acc criticize-Pst-Comp
sayngkakha-n-ta.
think-Prs-Decl
'People_i each think that Chelswu_j criti-
cized them_i/himself_j.'

The third person *Chelswu* in (50) can induce the blocking effect as well.

Although it has been noted in the literature that the property of the antecedent of *caki* is limited to animate noun phrase, we propose that *caki* can refer to an inanimate noun phrase. At this time, an inanimate referent can induce the blocking effect as well.

- (52) Na_i-nun AlphaGo_j-ka caki_{*i/j}-ka
I-Top AlphaGo-Nom self-Nom
sayngkakhaci moshan swu-ka
think not move-Nom
nawassul ttay tayche-nunglyek-i
come.out when react-ability-Nom
ttelecintako sayngkakha-n-ta.
fall think-Prs-Decl
'I think it revealed some kind of bug when
AlphaGo faced unexpected positions.'

Therefore, in order to accommodate these new types of blocking effect in Korean *caki* as well as in Chinese *ziji*, the alternative approach should be proposed in terms of a unified account.¹⁰

¹⁰ We think that empathy theory, firstly proposed by Kuno and Kaburaki (1979) and developed by Oshima (2007), Nishiguchi (2014), and Wang and Pan (2014, 2015), could be an appropriate solution. We leave it to future research to elaborate on the detail.

5 Conclusion

The blocking effect of long-distance binding in Chinese *ziji* has commonly been explained in terms of the notion of logophoricity and a person asymmetry. In addition, the blocking effect has long been treated exclusively in connection with Chinese *ziji*. However, this paper proposes that the blocking effect exists in Korean *caki* as well. Moreover another type of blocker is presented for both Chinese *ziji* and Korean *caki*. In order to accommodate various blocking effects across languages, we need an alternative approach.

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