1. INTRODUCTION: APPROACHES TO LONG DISTANCE REFLEXIVES

There has been wide discussion of the fact that in some languages reflexives must occur in a “local” relation to their antecedents while in others locality requirements are much more relaxed. For instance, in English, *himself* is usually restricted to, roughly, the same clause as its antecedent,

(1) John thinks [Tom knows [Bill likes himself]].
while in Mandarin *ziji* ‘self’ can occur indefinitely far from its antecedent:

(2)  *Zhangsan* _renwei_ [Lisi _zhidao_ [Wangwu _xihuan ziji_]].

`Zhangsan think Lisi know Wangwu like self.`

We shall refer to reflexives which take “non-local” antecedents as “long-distance (LD) reflexives”. Three sorts of accounts for the differences in locality requirements among languages are found in the linguistic literature: grammatical accounts, discourse accounts, and “mixed” accounts.¹ According to the grammatical accounts, LD reflexives occur when certain specific grammatical conditions obtain. Thus, according to one current grammatical treatment, the head movement analysis (Pica, 1987; Battistella, 1989; Cole, _et al._, 1990; Hestvik, 1992 _inter alia_; Cole and Sung, 1994; Cole and Wang, 1996), LD reflexives involve LF movement of the reflexive to an INFL (or AGR) position in which the antecedent both c-commands the reflexive and is within the governing category of the reflexive. Under this analysis, a reflexive will be LD when it is an X⁰ rather than an XP form. The antecedent must c-command the reflexive and, therefore, in most cases, must be in subject position.² Somewhat different grammatical analyses have been presented by Tang (1989 _inter alia_), Huang and Tang (1991 _inter alia_), Progovac (1992 _inter alia_) and a variety of other authors. What these analyses have in common is that they attempt to specify the necessary and sufficient conditions for LD reflexives in purely syntactic terms, without reference to discourse.³

In contrast, a variety of authors have attempted to characterize the environments in which LD reflexives occur in terms of discourse and/or pragmatics alone. For instance, Chen (1992) argues that the distribution of Mandarin *ziji* can be explained in terms of two discourse properties, [+pivot] and [+high topicality]. Similarly, Yan Huang (1997) argues that the properties of LD reflexives can be explained fully in terms of neo-Gricean pragmatic principles like those in Levinson (1987, 1995 _inter alia_).

Unlike both the purely grammatical and the purely discourse approaches, we shall argue that neither grammatical nor discourse conditions alone can predict when LD reflexives will be possible. Rather, both grammatical and discourse conditions must be satisfied. Further, we will argue that while the grammatical conditions on LD reflexives are universal and are specified by Universal Grammar (UG), the ways in which discourse affects the distribution of LD reflexives vary from dialect to dialect and from language to language.

Our discussion will be based primarily on a comparison of the distribution of LD reflexives in two Chinese dialects, the Mandarin spoken in Singa-