Revisiting the de se requirement on *ziji*: The relevance of evidentiality

Zeqi Zhao

The Mandarin long-distance bound (LDB) *ziji* "self" can be bound with antecedents out of its governing categories, which have vigorously challenged the standard theory of anaphor binding (Chomsky 1981). Many studies have offered evidence for LDB *ziji* to be analyzed as a logophor and therefore must be interpreted de se (Huang & Liu 2001, a.o.). However, recent studies have shown that LDB *ziji* can also have non-de se interpretations (Pollard & Xue 200). In this talk, I present evidence that support the theory based on a Mandarin-internal typology (Anand 2006). However, I argue for different typological generalizations of Mandarin given the previously unnoticed relevance of evidentiality. Therefore, an adequate theory of LDB *ziji* must respond to the following 2 desiderata at least:

a. LDB *ziji* refers to the author of the embedded attitude context.

b. Some Mandarin speakers allow the use of LDB *ziji* in non-de se contexts when an external evidence holder is present.