

As a result, the Shell DP is grammatically 3rd person and 1st person simultaneously. According to them, this is exactly why English imposters, while taking a 3rd person agreement, can actually refer to the speaker (1st person), and in other cases to the addressee (2nd person). This is their syntactic analysis for imposters, as opposed to what they call Notional Hypothesis that is based on some semantic or interpretative mechanism¹.

Chinese also has imposter DPs and, as a matter of fact, they are quite productive. I provide a few examples in (5).

(5) Chinese Imposters:

a. 1st Person:

laoshi ‘teacher’, *jizhe* ‘reporter’, *bizhe* ‘writer’, *benren* ‘this person’
A-Bian ‘Proper Name’, kinship terms (plus names)...

b. 2nd person:

furen ‘Madam’, *jiangjun* ‘General’, *tingshan* ‘Judge (lit. court-up)’...

Why are they imposters? It is because all these DPs are otherwise used as 3rd person DPs. For example, *laoshi* ‘teacher’ in (6) is a common DP (i.e. *R-Expression*) and it refers to neither 1st person (speaker) nor 2nd person (addressee).

(6) *Laoshi zuotian ma wo*

teacher yesterday scold me

‘The teacher scolded me yesterday.’

Nevertheless, the same DP *laoshi* ‘teacher’ can certainly refer to the speaker himself/herself (in some context). In this respect, it is exactly like English imposters, as exemplified in (7). For simplicity, I will only use 1st person imposters in the discussion but the same analysis applies to 2nd person imposters as well.

(7) *Laoshi zhende bu xihuan ma ren²*

teacher really NEG like scold person

‘Teacher (= I) really doesn’t like to scold anyone.’

In this paper, I offer extensive evidence based on the comparison of imposters from English and Chinese to show that there is some fundamental difference between them. In particular, I show that the Chinese imposter construction, though a complex DP as well, is on a par with appositives whereas the English counterpart is more likely to be a special kind of construction that has to be syntactically derived (i.e. the camouflage process, as suggested by C&P). In other words, the discussion of Chinese imposters clearly shows that it is not possible to account for English imposters merely with a semantics-based approach because, if it were the case, there would be no way to account for the discrepancy between the two languages.

2. Chinese Imposters and Binding

¹ For other arguments against various kinds of Notional Hypotheses, see Collins and Postal (to appear).

² Abbreviations: NEG=Negation, INCHO=Inchoative Aspect Marker, POSS=Possessive, PL=Plural, CL=Classifier.

As is widely known, there is no (visible) verbal agreement in Chinese. This leads to some difficulty in examining whether or not the subject imposter DPs are really grammatically 3rd person. Thus, I will rely on the person agreement between imposters DPs and bound pronouns/reflexives.

English imposters tend to co-index with pronouns and (local) reflexives of 3rd person form. So the person agreement between the imposter DPs and the bound pronouns/reflexives is, like the verbal agreement, 3rd person. However, as the following data clearly suggest, the pronominal and reflexive agreement is never 3rd person in Chinese. That is, the agreement is in accordance with the notional person. In the following, I provide systematic comparison between English and Chinese with respect to bound pronouns, (long-distance) reflexives, Control, plurality, and coordination.

When an imposter DP binds a (possessive) pronoun in cases like (8) and (10) in English, only 3rd person variants (i.e. *his/her* and *he/she*) are allowed. This is in sharp contrast with Chinese parallel examples provided in (9) and (11), where 3rd person pronoun *ta* ‘he/she’ is impossible.

Bound Pronouns and Imposters in English and Chinese

- (8) *This reporter*₁ lost his₁/her₁/*my₁ cool. (C&P:(33))
- (9) *Laoshi*₁ kuai yao shiqu { * ta₁ / wo₁ } de naixing le
 teacher almost going.to lose s/he I POSS patience INCHO
 Lit. ‘Teacher₁ (= I) is going to lose { *his₁/ *her₁ / my₁ }patience.’
- (10) *Yours truly*₁decided that *he*₁/*she*₁ would not go abroad.
- (11) *Benren*₁ yijin jue ding { * ta₁ / wo₁ } bu chu guo le
 this.person already decide s/he I NEG exit country INCHO
 Lit. ‘This person₁ (= I) decided that { *he₁ / I₁ } would not go abroad.’

The same contrast is also observed in local and long-distance reflexives. As in English (12) and (14), only *himself*, but not *myself*, can be bound by an imposter. On the contrary, Chinese examples in (13) and (15) evidently show that the 3rd person *ta-ziji* ‘him/herself’ is not possible. Thus, only the 1st person reflexive *wo-ziji* ‘myself’ is permitted.

Local and Long-Distance Reflexives

- (12) *Yours truly*₁ will only vote for {himself₁/*myself₁}. (C&P:(36b))
- (13) *A-Bian*₁ zhi hui tou gei { *ta-ziji₁ / wo-ziji₁ } (A-Bian = the nickname of a President)
 A-Bian only will vote to he-self / I-self
 Lit. ‘A-Bian₁ (= I/speaker) will only vote for { * himself₁ / myself₁ }’
- (14) *Daddy*₁ doesn’t consider Captain Marve to be much different than himself₁ /?myself₁. (C&P:(39b))
- (15) *Baba*₁ bu renwei chaoren bi { * ta-ziji₁ / wo-ziji₁ }hai yonggan
 Daddy NEG think Superman than he-self I-self more brave
 Lit. ‘Daddy₁ doesn’t think that Superman is braver than { * himself₁ / myself₁ }.’

A more interesting situation is shown in (16) and (17) below. When the word order of the reflexives and the binding imposters are reversed in the purpose-clause example, imposter-bound 1st person reflexives, in addition to usual 3rd person ones, are actually attested³. However, what’s

³ See Collins and Postal (to appear) for an account for this observation.

crucial to the discussion is that Chinese still invariably exhibits only 1st person agreement between the imposter and the reflexive, as in (17).

Control

(16) PRO₁ to keep myself₁/himself₁ from getting sunburned, *Daddy*₁ will put on lotion. (C&P:(48))

(17) PRO₁ yao rang {*ta-ziji₁ / wo-ziji₁} gen jiankang, *laoshi*₁ juejin tiantian yundong
want.to make he-self I-self more healthy teacher decide everyday exercise

Lit. ‘To make {*himself₁/myself₁} healthier, teacher₁ (=I) decided to exercise everyday.’

Similar to the case of *PRO* Control, plural imposters and coordinated constituents with imposters are also allowed to bind only the 1st person (plural) reflexives in English, which is shown in (18) and (20) respectively. As expected, Chinese still chooses 1st person agreement and in this case, the plural pronoun *women* ‘we’ and reflexive *women-ziji* ‘ourselves’ are used respectively, as exemplified in (19) and (21).

Plural Imposters

(18) In this reply, the present authors₁ attempt to defend {ourselves₁/themselves₁} against the scurrilous charges which have been made. (C&P:(40b))

(19) *Jizhe-men*₁ faxian { * tamen₁ / women₁ } zuixian laidao fazui xianchang
reporter-PL found they we earliest arrive crime scene

Lit. ‘Reporters₁ found that {*they₁/we₁} are those who arrived the crime scene the earliest’.

Coordination

(20) ... [this reviewer and others]₁ allowed ourselves₁ to anticipate another transcendent overview, ... (C&P:(42c))

(21) [*Bizhe* han tongshi]₁ qiwang { * tamen-ziji₁ / women-ziji₁ } keyi you xin faxian
author and colleague expect they-self we-self can have new finding

‘[The present author and colleague(s)]₁ expect {*themselves₁/ourselves₁} to have new findings.’

The data above clearly suggests that Chinese uniformly exhibit 1st person agreement between imposters and bound pronouns/reflexives. There is no case where 3rd person agreement is attested.

3. The Occurrence of Notional Pronouns

In addition to the systematic differences in terms of binding and agreement, Chinese imposter construction differs from its English counterpart in another important aspect. Namely, a (notional) pronoun can felicitously occur after the imposter. As shown in (22) and (23), the 1st person singular pronoun *wo* ‘I’ can freely occur after the imposter DP *laoshi* ‘teacher’.

(22) *Laoshi*₁ wo₁ kuai yao shiqu wo₁ de naixing le
teacher I almost going.to lose I POSS patience INCHO

Lit. ‘Teacher₁ I₁ is going to lose my₁ patience.’

(23) *Benren*₁ wo₁ yijin jue ding wo₁ bu chu guo le
this.person I already decide s/he NEG exit country INCHO

Lit. ‘This person₁ I₁ decided that I₁ would not go abroad.’

A notional pronoun can also occur with the imposter in either the complement of a preposition or the object position, suggesting that the pronoun is likely to be DP-internal. In other words, it indicates that the imposter and the pronoun constitute a (complex) DP.

- (24) Xiaozhang gen *laoshi* **wo** baozheng jiaoshi hui zhengxiu
 principal to teacher **I** guarantee classroom will remodel
 Lit. ‘The principle guaranteed to teacher₁ I₁ that the classroom will be remodeled.’
- (25) Bu yao xiang zai qipian benren₁ **wo**₁ le
 NEG want think again cheat this.person **I** INCHO
 Lit. ‘Don’t ever think of cheating this person₁ I₁ again.’

However, as exemplified in (26), this particular property is not shared by English imposters.

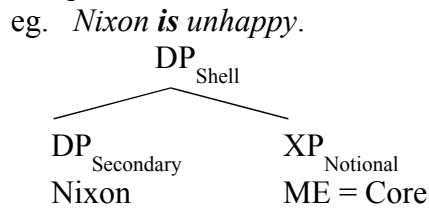
- (26) * *This reporter*₁ {he / she / I} lost his₁/her₁ cool.

The observation here further distinguishes Chinese imposters from English imposters, and, as will be clear later, this particular property in question will turn out to be crucial.

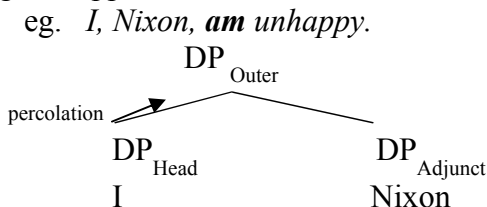
4. English Imposters and Appositives

C&P specifically argue that imposters and appositives bear a close resemblance, though they are not exactly identical. Granted that, a natural question to ask is what exactly the difference between English imposters and appositives is? The relevant examples are given below.⁴

- (27) Nixon is unhappy. (Imposters, *Nixon* refers to the speaker)
- (28) English Imposters



- (29) I, Nixon, am unhappy. (Appositives, *Nixon* also refers the speaker)
- (30) English Appositives



From the structures, it is clear that the difference lies in the source of Phi-feature. Namely, for imposters like *Nixon* in *Nixon is unhappy*, the secondary DP serves as the Head of the

⁴ For more semantic differences between imposters and appositives in English, see Collins and Postal (to appear).

complex DP (recall the camouflage process and predicate inversion in Section 1), from which the Phi-feature percolates to the Shell DP, as shown in (28). According to C&P, this is exactly why the verbal agreement, as well as the person agreement, is (or prefers) 3rd person. On the other hand, the appositive in (29) has the pronoun *I* as its head, as shown in (30). Its Phi-feature, being 1st person singular, percolates to the Outer DP, resulting in the verbal agreement of 1st person singular (i.e. *am*). In conclusion, though imposters and appositives share some structural relation between their two inner DPs, they still differ with respect to the source and the percolation of Phi-feature.

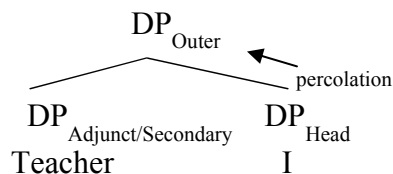
5. Chinese Imposters as Complex DPs

Given the fact that a (notional) pronoun can freely occur after an imposter DP in Chinese, it can be argued that Chinese imposters are also complex DPs. That is, it can be that the pronoun, occupying the D⁰ head position (cf. Postal 1967, Kayne 2002), projects its own DP and the imposter (i.e. *teacher*) is like an adjunct in the form of a DP to the original DP. The schematic structure is provided in (31).

(31) Schematic Structure for Chinese Imposters⁵

e.g. *Teacher (I) will be on leave next semester.*

Phi-feature values of DP_{Outer} = Phi-feature values of DP_{Head}



By assuming that the head of the complex DP is the co-occurring notional pronoun, the patterns observed in Chinese follows naturally. That is, the percolation of Phi-feature goes from the pronoun (i.e. the head) to the outer DP, resulting in the uniform non-3rd person agreement as I have shown in the previous discussion. To put it differently, the non-3rd person agreement is fully expected since it is simply what one would expect for a pronoun that heads a DP.

Moreover, given the structure, both the head (i.e. the notional pronoun) and the adjunct (i.e. the imposter) are assumed to be base-generated within the complex DP. This amounts to saying that the camouflage/amalgamation process, as suggested for English imposters by C&P, does not occur in Chinese⁶. I take this to be the underlying reason why English and Chinese differ with respect to person agreement.

Consider the English appositive shown in (30) again. It seems that it looks quite similar to Chinese imposters since the percolation of Phi-feature in both cases starts from the pronoun to

⁵ The distribution of the notional pronoun with a co-referring DP seems to be more widespread than just imposters. For example, the so-called antilogophor *renjia* discussed in Liu (2001, 2004) can co-occur with 1st and 3rd person pronouns (but not 2nd person pronoun) and notionally refer to the speaker and the some 3rd person referent.

(i) Renjia {wo/*ni/ta} bu renzhi shizhang de nuer.
 RENJIA I/you/he NEG know mayor POSS daughter
 ‘I/*you/he do/esn’t know the mayor’s daughter.’

⁶ A potential question to ask is why Chinese does not have the camouflage process. Note that the camouflage process is similar to sideward movement as in Nunes (2001) because both involve some sort of “outside” merge. Although it is not attested in Chinese imposters, Cheng (2007) argues for a sideward movement approach to verb copying phenomenon in Chinese.

the outer DP. As mentioned, this is due to the fact that the pronoun occupies the head position of the complex DP. However, there is evidence showing that Chinese independently allows parallel appositives which maximally resembles English counterparts. As exemplified in (32), a pronoun can be further specified by an appositive *yi-ge da nanren* ‘a big man’ after it.

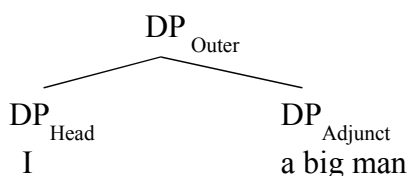
- (32) Wo (, yi-ge da nanren,) bu hui xiang jin chufang
 I one-CL big man NEG will want enter kitchen
 Lit. ‘I, a big man, will not want to enter the kitchen.’

Given the similarity, it can be said that the structure for Chinese appositives is exactly the same as English counterparts. This is demonstrated in (33).

(33) Schematic Structure for Chinese Appositives

e.g. *I (, a big man,) will not want to enter the kitchen.*

Phi-feature values of DP_{Outer} = Phi-feature values of DP_{Head}



Interestingly, the structure looks exactly like English appositives as shown in (30). Nevertheless, as a matter of face, this kind of construction is not as productive as the construction under investigation. For example, when *yi-ge da nanren* ‘a big man’ is replaced with the imposter DP like *laoshi* ‘teacher’, the sentence sounds really odd.

- (34) *Wo, yi-ge laoshi, kuai yao shiqu wo de naixing le
 I one-CL teacher almost going.to lose I POSS patience INCHO
 Intended: ‘I, a teacher, am going to lose my patience.’

I will set aside the question as to what the structure of sentences like (32) really is, but note that the non-productivity of this type of appositive construction may be related to the fact that Chinese does not have productive use of post-nominal relative clauses. Instead, the relative clause occurs pre-nominally, as shown in (35).

- (35) [_{RC}Lisi mai de] shu bu jian le (Pre-nominal RC in Chinese)

Lisi bought DE book NEG see INCHO

‘The book that Lisi bought was gone.’

- (36) The book that John bought was lost. (Post-nominal RC in English)

This fact may also account for why Chinese imposters/appositives like (31) have the modifying Adjunct DP in the pre-nominal position, as opposed to the English appositive (30) in which the Adjunct DP occurs post-nominally.

In the following section, I offer additional pieces of evidence in terms of antilogophoricity and Principle C violation to show that Chinese imposters and appositives from both languages share the same distribution, as opposed to English imposters which are

systematically different. This will further strengthen the special status of English imposters and call for a syntactic analysis for the underlying structure and derivation of English imposters.

6. Antilogophoricity

C&P propose an Antilogophoricity Constraint on pronouns bound by imposters and the constraint is provided in (37).

(37) Antilogophoricity Constraints for Pronouns Bound by Imposters⁷

A 1st person imposter *cannot* bind a 1st person pronoun in a logophoric context.

This constraint successfully accounts for why sentences like (38) sound odd. The reason is quite straightforward. In (38), the 1st person pronoun in the embedded subject position is bound (as indicated by the co-indexation) by the 1st person imposter *your faithful correspondent* in the matrix subject position, which is a clear violation of (37).

(38) ?? *Your faithful correspondent*₁ thinks that I₁ should write more often.

(modified from C&P:(139c))

However, the parallel counterpart in Chinese, shown in (39), is grammatical and sounds perfect. The question is how to account for the contrast.

(39) Laoshi₁ (wo) renwei wo₁ yizhi hen nuli, danshi ...
teacher I think I always very work.hard but

Lit. 'Teacher (I) think(s) that I have been working very hard, but'

The reason why (39) is good is simply because the Antilogophoricity Constraint applies only to English imposters but not to appositives or Chinese imposters. As shown below, English and Chinese appositives do not observe the same constraint.

(40) I₁ (, a reporter,) think that I₁ deserve credit. (modified from C&P:(139b))

(41) Wo₁ (, yi-ge da nanren,) renwei wo₁ bu yinggai jin chufang
I one-CL big man think I NEG should enter kitchen

Lit. 'I, a big man, think that I shouldn't enter the kitchen.'

The contrast here actually provides support to the treatment that Chinese imposters are on a par with appositives (from both languages) but not with English imposters.

7. Principle C

⁷ One may wonder why a stipulative constraint like (37) should be applicable to Chinese examples, given that Chinese imposters are more likely to be appositives. However, the idea behind the discussion is that a constraint for English imposters should *not* work for the parallel Chinese counterparts, because it has been shown that they exhibit systematic differences.

In addition to the Antilogophoricity Constraint, English and Chinese imposters further show some clear contrast regarding Principle C violation.

As observed by C&P, the contrast between (42) and (43) indicates that there is some sort of discrepancy between imposters bound by 3rd and non-3rd person pronouns. To be more precise, the question is whether or not an imposter DP is like an *R*-expression that must not be bound. However, the contrast in question results in a dilemma for the situation. By simply saying that imposters should or should not be bound does not account for the contrast since either one of them will still be left unexplained.

- (42) * He₁ thinks that yours truly₁ was treated rather well. (C&P:(140a))
 (43) I₁ think that yours truly₁ was treated rather well. (C&P:(139a))

To deal with this, they propose the following principles and assume them to be universal. The principles are given in (44) and (45).

- (44) Restricted Principle C Alternative (C&P:(141))
 If a DP Q is an *immediate antecedent* of a pronominal DP P, then P does not c-command Q.
 (45) Pronominal Agreement Principle (C&P:(96))
 If P is a pronominal, then for some immediate antecedent, A, of P, P is assigned (or, takes on) the exact Phi-feature values of A.

Given the principles, the imposter *yours truly* in (42) is the immediate antecedent of the matrix pronoun *He* since the imposter, being a 3rd person (in terms of the value of the Shell), values the Phi-feature of the matrix pronoun. As a result, the sentence is ruled out. On the contrary, the imposter *yours truly* in (43) does not value the matrix pronoun *I*, and instead, the pronoun *I* is valued by an ultimate antecedent in the left periphery which they call AUTHOR. Therefore, since there is no evaluation relation between the two subjects, the binding between them is not subject to (44).

Turning to the parallel counterpart (46) from Chinese, to see whether the principles should be operative here is to check whether the constituent [*laoshi wo*] ‘Teacher I’ in the embedded sentence values the Phi-feature of the matrix *wo* ‘I’.

- (46) Wo₁ renwei [*laoshi (wo)*]₁ yizhi hen nuli, danshi ...
 I think teacher I always very work.hard but ...
 Lit. ‘I think that Teacher (I) has been working very hard, but’

As the grammaticality indicates, the answer to the question should be negative. I have shown that Chinese imposters take 1st person agreement so it is not like the English counterpart *yours truly* whose person value is 3rd person. That amounts to saying that if the imposter in (46) were really an imposter (of the English sort) bearing the 3rd person value (on the Shell), (46) should be expected to be ungrammatical. However, the fact shows that it is simply not the case. The grammaticality again follows naturally from the analysis of Chinese imposters in this paper. Namely, with the head of the DP being the notional pronoun, the imposter sentence in Chinese is expected to behave like a sentence that involves a co-indexed pronoun, as shown in (47). Granted that the first person pronoun is bound by the ultimate antecedent AUTHOR, the analysis for (46) is shown in (48) in which no Principle C violation is incurred in any sense.

- (47) AUTHOR₁ [wo₁ renwei wo₁ yizhi hen nuli, danshi ...].
 I think I always very work.hard but ...
 Lit. ‘I think that I have been working very hard, but ...’
- (48) AUTHOR₁ [wo₁ renwei [laoshi (wo)]₁ yizhi hen nuli, danshi ...].
 I think teacher I always very work.hard but ...
 Lit. ‘I think that Teacher (I) has been working very hard, but ...’

A comparison with appositives from both languages further strengthens the idea that Chinese imposters are quite different from English counterparts. As shown in (49) and (50), with the appositives in the embedded subject position, the sentences are still grammatical, suggesting that there is no Principle C violation.

- (49) AUTHOR₁ [I₁ think that [I, (a reporter),]₁ deserve the credit].
- (50) AUTHOR₁ [wo₁ renwei wo (, yi-ge da nanren,) bu yinggai jin chufang].
 I think I one-CL big man NEG should enter kitchen
 Lit. ‘I think that I (, a big man,) shouldn’t enter the kitchen.’

To sum up, the previous two sections offer evidence to show that Chinese imposters are quite different from English counterparts. Instead, they are on a par with appositives from both languages.

8. Chinese Imposters are not Topics.

I have provided examples to show that imposters with a co-occurring (notional) pronoun can appear in the complement position of a preposition or in the object position, which has effectively ruled out the possibility that imposters is a Topic. However, one might still argue that subject imposters and non-subject imposters in Chinese could still be different. Given the *pro*-drop characteristic as well as no Case marking on nominals in Chinese, the co-occurring notional pronoun might suggest that the (subject) imposters are simply a Topic in the left periphery, as shown in (51).

- (51) Laoshi_{TOPIC} wo_{SUBJ} xia xueqi yao shoujia
 teacher I next semester going.to recess
 Lit. ‘(As for) Teacher₁, I₁ will be on leave next semester.’

As a matter of fact, the aforementioned properties in Chinese often make the boundary between a Subject and a Topic really murky. The claim is easily exemplified, as the following comparison clearly indicates. A simple sentence like (52) can still be argued as involving a Topic. Namely, the potential subject *Lisi* might be a Topic if the sentence is analyzed as having a null subject, which is represented in (53). Moreover, a more related sentence with the discussion of this paper is given in (54), where it is in fact possible to put the 3rd person singular pronoun *ta* ‘s/he’ right after the proper name *Lisi*.

- (52) Lisi maile yi-tai che
 Lisi bought one-CL car
 ‘Lisi bought a car.’

- (53) Lisi, *pro* maile yi-tai che
 Lisi *pro* bought one-CL car
 Lit. ‘(As for) Lisi, (he) bought a car.’
- (54) Lisi, ta maile yi-tai che
 Lisi he bought one-CL car
 Lit. ‘(As for) Lisi, he bought a car.’

Recall that the observation in Section 3 shows that a (notional) pronoun can freely occur right next to the imposters and this property seems to imply that the pronoun is the real subject and the imposter is a Topic. However, this possibility is incorrect and should be rejected. Note first that in cases like (54), it is possible to have the (optional) element *a* that usually signals the existence of a Topic⁸ to its left. This is exemplified in (55).

- (55) Lisi *a*, ta maile yi-tai chezi.
 Lisi *a*, he bought one-CL car
 ‘(As for) Lisi, he bought a car.’

Crucially, this option is never attested for cases that involve an imposter DP. With that being said, the sentence (51) should be ruled out if the element *a* occurs after the imposter. The prediction is met, as exemplified in (56).

- (56) * Laoshi₁ *a*, wo₁ xia xueqi yao shoujia
 teacher TOP I next semester going.to recess
 Intended: ‘(As for) Teacher₁, I₁ will be on leave next semester.’

Therefore, the discussion and evidence presented in this section, in addition to the fact that imposter DPs with a notional pronoun can occur in the complement of a preposition and in the object position, convincingly reject the possibility that imposter DPs are Topics.

9. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I have shown that Chinese imposters behave quite differently from English counterparts, but are on par with appositives. The striking difference between English and Chinese imposters clearly suggests that no semantic-based analysis is tenable, since it has been shown that the imposter construction in both languages share some similar interpretation while exhibiting huge difference with respect to person agreement in binding. In other words, the imposter constructions in both languages must be syntactically derived and as I adopted in the paper, the discrepancy may simply well be due to that the camouflage process does not occur in Chinese imposters, resulting in different Phi-feature percolation to the outer/Shell DP.

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⁸ The element *a* can also signal the vocative case of the DP to its left.

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726 Broadway, 7th Floor
New York, NY 10003
cawang@nyu.edu