

An Investigation of Spanish Imposters and Verbal Agreement
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0. Introduction

An imposter is a DP that has 3rd person phi-features but denotes the speaker (which is usually marked with 1st person phi-features) or the addressee (which is usually marked with 2nd person phi-features). Under the account of imposters in Collins and Postal (2011), singular imposters and plural imposters should only admit 3rd person verbal agreement while a coordinate DP with an imposter conjunct should permit either 1st or 3rd person verbal agreement. My research takes advantage of the relatively rich morphological system of Spanish to investigate the syntactic behavior of imposter constructions. The Spanish imposter data shows that while singular imposters only allow 3rd person verbal agreement, plural imposters actually take either 1st or 3rd person verbal agreement, contrary to the prediction in Collins and Postal (2011). Additionally, the Spanish data indicate that pronominal agreement with an imposter subject must be identical in feature values to the verbal agreement realized with that imposter. The singular/plural distinction in verbal agreement raises an important issue: should the difference in verbal agreement possibilities in English and Spanish be accounted for by parametric differences in the imposter structure or by parametric differences in the verbal agreement system? Since trying to reconcile the singular/plural distinction within the imposter structure proves difficult, the difference in verbal agreement possibilities between English and Spanish should boil down to the nature of verbal agreement in each language. An examination of the Spanish verbal inflection paradigm indicates that the both the singular/plural distinction in verbal agreement with Spanish imposters and the differences between English and Spanish can be accounted for if plural verb endings in Spanish are treated as incorporated subject clitics.

Section 1 of this paper describes imposters in greater detail and summarizes the predictions for their syntactic behavior based on the structure given in Collins and Postal (2011). Section 2 describes the imposters of Spanish and compares them to the English imposters

described in Collins and Postal (2011). Section 3 discusses some theoretical issues that will be relevant to an analysis of the Spanish imposter data. Section 4 describes my methodology in collecting data on Spanish imposters. Section 5 outlines generalizations for the verbal agreement that is permitted with Spanish imposters. Section 6 outlines generalizations for the pronominal agreement admitted by Spanish imposters. Section 7 summarizes the facts that need to be captured by an adequate analysis of Spanish imposters. Section 8, 9 and 10 outline three possible, but not entirely successful, alternative analyses of imposters that do not adopt the structure in Collins and Postal (2011). Section 11 introduces the analysis I advocate to account for the singular/plural distinction in verbal agreement with imposters. Section 12 provides evidence for the analysis outline in Section 11. Section 13 summarizes and concludes this thesis paper.

1. Theoretical Background: Imposters

DPs usually agree in their notional person and their grammatical person. That is to say that the grammatical person, or morphosyntactic features, of a DP will typically map directly onto the notional person, or semantic category, of that DP. The morphosyntactic features are realized through the phi-features on the DP—the feature values for person being 1st, 2nd or 3rd—and they generally correspond to the semantic referent of that DP, which can include the speaker, the addressee or neither. For example, the pronoun *I* refers to the speaker, it has 1st person phi-features and it determines 1st person verbal agreement and pronominal agreement.

(1) I_i like looking at myself_i in the mirror.

Additionally, the 2nd person pronoun *you* refers to the addressee and licenses 2nd person verbal agreement and pronominal agreement.

(2) You_i like looking at yourself_i in the mirror.

When a pronoun, like *he*, *she* or *it*, refers neither to the speaker nor the addressee it has third person phi-features and determines 3rd person verbal agreement and pronominal agreement (3).

- (3) a. He_i likes looking at himself_i in the mirror.
b. She_i likes looking at herself_i in the mirror.
c. It_i likes looking at itself_i in the mirror.

The sentences in (1-3) categorize the typical cases for pronominal DPs where the morphosyntactic features realized on the DP overlap exactly with the semantic category it denotes. Certain DPs, however, have been noted to disagree in notional and grammatical person. Some of these noted DPs are grammatically 3rd person but notionally either 1st person as in (4) or 2nd person as in (5).

- (5) a. [Yours truly]_i likes looking at himself_i in the mirror.
b. [The present author]_i likes looking at herself_i in the mirror.
- (6) a. Madam_i likes looking at herself_i in the mirror.
b. [The present reader]_i likes looking at himself_i in the mirror.

These exceptional 3rd person DPs, named “imposters” for their syntactic disguise, are inventoried and discussed in Collins and Postal (2011). While imposters were noted as early as Jespersen (1924), little formal work has been done on these syntactic poseurs until recently. The following is the list of possible 1st person imposters of English as formulated in Collins and Postal (2011) on p. 16-17.

- (7) a. *the* + Modifier + Human Proper Name
b. *this* + Common Noun denoting humans
c. yours truly, your faithful correspondent, the (present) author(s), the present reviewer(s), the undersigned, the court, the (present) writer(s)
d. personal names

- e. members of the set of diminutive kinship terms: daddy, mommy, auntie, granny, gramps
- f. various nondiminutive kinship terms plus a personal name: Uncle + Name, Aunt + Name, Cousin + Name, Grampa + Name, Granma + Name

In Collins and Postal (2011), two possible views on the character of imposters are laid out. The first, called the Notional View, proposes that imposters are regular, “vanilla” 3rd person DPs that have the discourse property of denoting the speaker or the addressee. This view implies that there is nothing that syntactically distinguishes the DPs in (7) from other DPs. The Notional View dissociates notional and grammatical person and relegates the exceptional properties of imposters to an area outside the syntax. The second view, which is adopted in Collins and Postal (2011) and in this paper, is called the Syntactic View. The Syntactic View proposes that imposters are syntactically different from other DPs and that their semantic properties follow from their syntactic properties. By asserting that imposter DPs contain, as a component of their complex syntactic structure, a covert DP that carries either 1st person or 2nd person features, the Syntactic View is able to preserve the link between notional person and grammatical person.

Under the Syntactic View, imposters must have as part of their complex structure some covert syntactic element that contributes to their unique semantic properties. What, then, is the structure of an imposter? In order to answer this question, Collins and Postal (2011) point to the relationship between imposters and what they call imposter precursors. Imposter precursors are appositive DPs such as the ones in (8).

- (8) a. *We, the present authors*, find it hard to believe your disparaging remarks.
- b. *I, yours truly*, will make an effort to correspond more frequently.
- c. *You, Madam*, can be a pain in the butt.

The appositive structures in (8) demonstrate parallels to the imposters in (9) in that they have as overt components a 1st person or 2nd person pronoun that denotes the speaker or addressee respectively and a 3rd person predicate nominal that is identical to an imposter DP.

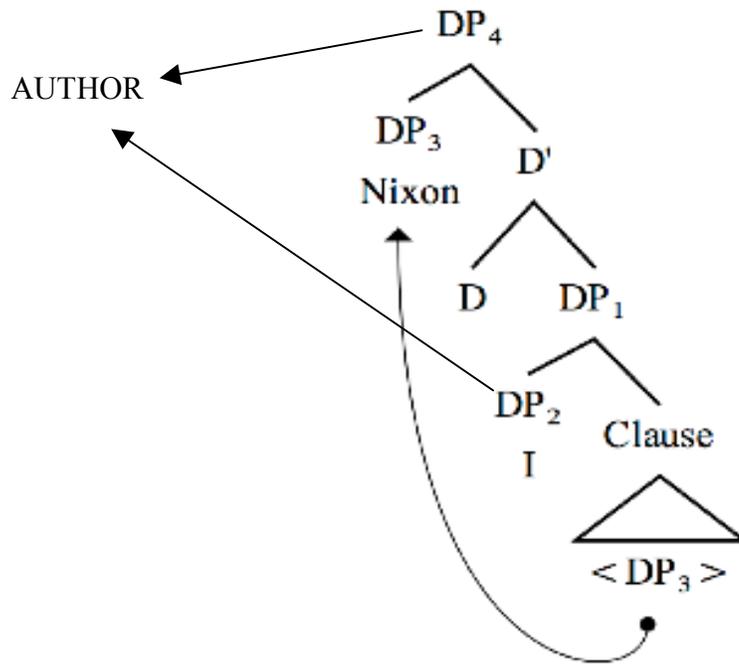
- (9) a. *The present authors* find it hard to believe your disparaging remarks.
b. *Yours truly* will make an effort to correspond more frequently.
c. *Madam* can be a pain in the butt.

It is important to note that imposter precursors with the structure [DP DP_i Clause]_j, where Clause contains a predicate nominal, behave like DP_i. If that DP_i is 2nd person, the whole DP_j will be 2nd person and if DP_i is 1st person than DP_j will be 1st person too. The sentences in (10) capture this.

- (10) a. I, Nixon, like/*likes to record my/*his conversations.
b. You, Madam, are/*is a pain in the butt.

Since imposter precursors take the phi-features of their pronominal element, Collins and Postal (2011) assert that precursors are anteceded and may antecede other pronominals just as any other pronoun might. Furthermore they propose that the ultimate antecedent of a precursor is some secondary source, following Ross (1970) and Baker (2008): AUTHOR, for 1st person imposters, or ADDRESSEE, for 2nd person imposters. Additionally, Collins and Postal (2011) make further claims about the types of antecedents that the elements of a precursor can have and the ability of those elements to antecede external to the precursor that lead them to suggest two possible structures of imposters. This paper adopts one of these structures that conforms to binary branching, given in (11) for the 1st person imposter *Nixon*. Imposters like the one given in (11) are assumed to be syntactic deformations of the corresponding precursor structures where the deformation process renders DP₂ covert. Moreover, the predicate nominal DP₃ is advanced to a status where it determines the phi-features of the whole imposter DP₄ through Spec-head agreement.

(11)



For Collins and Postal (2011), the deformation that must occur to derive an imposter like the one in (11) from the precursor structure determines that an imposter cannot allow verbal agreement that is not 3rd person. This is clear for singular imposters of English because English verbs have different forms for 1SG and 3SG as demonstrated in (12).

- (12) a. I am a fan of college football.
b. He is a fan of college football.
c. Yours truly is/*am a fan of college football.

This cannot be tested, however, for plural imposters of English since there is no morphosyntactic difference between the 1PL and 3PL verb forms in English, as demonstrated in (13).

- (13) a. We are fans of college football.
b. They are fans of college football.
c. The present authors are fans of college football.

But if we examine the imposters of a language with richer verbal morphology like Spanish, this prediction does not seem to hold up. While singular imposters of Spanish are required to take 3SG verbs, plural imposters can optionally take 3PL or 1PL verbal forms (see Section 5 for empirical evidence that backs this claim).

Beyond discussing the verbal agreement that should be possible with imposters, Collins and Postal (2011) also lays out some conditions on pronominal agreement. One of the pronominal agreement conditions they formulate, called the Homogeneity Principle (HP), accounts for the judgments given in (14), which are taken from Collins and Postal (2011).

- (14) a. The present authors_i feel that they_i need to defend themselves_i.
b. The present authors_i feel that we_i need to defend ourselves_i.
c. *The present authors_i feel that they_i need to defend ourselves_i.
d. *The present authors_i feel that we_i need to defend themselves_i.

Collins and Postal (2011) account for these facts by stating that pronominal elements that occur in the same chain must agree in feature values. This is formulated in the HP, which is reproduced below in (15) as given on p. 234 of Collins and Postal (2011).

- (15) If A and B are pronominal members of some U-availability chain, A and B agree.

In (15), “U-availability chain” refers to the complete set of DPs that are available for antecedence relations outside their own constituent and that are also members of the same immediate antecedence chain. In each sentence in (14), the plural imposter DP *the present authors* is a member of an immediate antecedence chain that also contains two pronominals. While *the present authors* can admit either 1st person or 3rd person feature values on the pronominals with which it is coindexed, those two pronominals must agree in feature values since they occur in the same U-availability chain. In (14a), *they* and *themselves* both have 3rd person feature values so the HP is satisfied. In (14b), *we* and *ourselves* both have 1st person

feature values so the HP is satisfied. In (14c), *we* and *themselves* clash in feature values and the HP is violated. The HP is also violated in (14d) because the pronouns *they* and *ourselves* do not agree in feature values. The HP is discussed again in sections 6 and 12.

2. Imposters of Spanish

The aim of this thesis project is to catalogue the standard imposters of Spanish and to describe and account for their syntactic behavior. While all Spanish dialects differentiate between 1PL and 3PL verb forms, some Spanish dialects do not have different verb forms for 2PL and 3PL. Furthermore, there is too much inter-dialect variation in 2nd person verbal agreement and 2nd person pronominal forms to account for in the scope of this project. As a result of the fact that there is no 2nd person strategy that is standard across all dialects, this thesis project examines only 1st person imposters. That is to say that I decided to forego 2nd person imposters and focus on 1st person imposters since the verbal agreement morphology is clearer in these cases. The hope is that examining the syntactic behavior of standard 1st person imposters (the ones that hold in each dialect) can inform a general analysis of Spanish person imposters that might later be extended to account for 2nd person imposters and dialectal variation in the realm of imposterhood.

The first step in my study of Spanish imposters was to identify and inventory the types that are possible. Using online corpora, dictionaries and grammars, I identified several potential 1st person imposters and then corresponded with informants in order to check that they were possible in each dialect.

The general templates for Spanish imposters are given below in (16). Any DPs I believe to be incapable of having an imposter reading are also discussed below.

- (16) a. *los* + common noun denoting sentient being
b. *este* + common noun denoting sentient being
c. *el abajo firmante* ‘the undersigned’
d. DET + *servidor*
e. DET + *menda*
f. *tu* + various nondiminutive kinship terms

The types given in (16b, c and d) can have imposter readings in either SG or PL. The type given in (16a) can only have an imposter reading when PL and the one given in (16e) can only have an imposter reading when SG.

The possibilities for the types given in (16d,e) should be clarified. Both *servidor* ‘servant’ and *menda* ‘guy’ can take multiple types of determiners to form imposter DPs. *Servidor* can take an indefinite to form the Spanish equivalent of *yours truly* or it can take a demonstrative to form a member of the type outlined in (16b). *Menda* is an interesting type of imposter that I was not able to examine in great depth because I could not find an informant who accepted it as an imposter of their dialect. However I did find mention of it in Beinhauer (1978) as a term related to *servidor*. In my search in online corpora, I encountered three members of the “menda” type: *el menda*, *este menda*, and *mi menda*. *El menda* is a definite 1st person imposter and *este menda* is a demonstrative 1st person imposter but *mi menda*, which is formed by adding the 1st person possessive to *menda*, looks like a 1st person camouflage construction¹ with a meaning akin to the British English *muggins*. Although I was not able to find any informants that

¹ For a detailed discussion of camouflage constructions, see Collins and Postal (2011).

accepted *mi menda*, I have found examples of it online where it occurs as the object of a preposition as in *una cervecita para mi menda*² ‘a beer for me’.

There are several differences between the types of DPs that can have an imposter reading in English and those that can have imposter readings in Spanish. As given in (16a), any plural definite DP that denotes a human can be a 1st or 2nd person imposter in Spanish (which is not the case for English). This imposter type (without ever being called an imposter) is often noted in the Spanish literature as part of the Unagreement phenomenon (Mancini 2010, Ordóñez and Treviño 1999, Jelinek 1984, Bosque 2010). Another difference between English and Spanish is that diminutive kinship terms such as *Mamá* ‘Mommy’ and *Papá* ‘Daddy’ cannot have an imposter reading while their English counterparts can.

3. Theoretical Background: Spanish

Before I proceed with an analysis of Spanish imposters, there are some important theoretical considerations to discuss. In this section I will briefly discuss the status of overt preverbal lexical subjects in Spanish and the verbal inflection paradigms of Spanish.

There has been much debate on the status of overt preverbal lexical subjects in null subject languages. Some accounts of these subjects claim they are left-dislocated (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998) while others argue that they occur in A-positions (Suñer 2001). My analysis does not adopt one of these options to the exclusion of the other. I do take it for granted, however, that even if they are not required to, overt preverbal lexical subjects can occur as left-dislocations (as advocated in Suñer 2001 and Ordóñez and Treviño 1999).

² <http://www.flickr.com/photos/53236182@N06/4914333209/>

It is also necessary to briefly discuss Spanish verbal inflection before proceeding. In this section, I will discuss how verbs are divided up into morphemes following Bosque (2010) using *amar* ‘to love’ as an example. According to Bosque (2010), there are four distinct parts of a verb: the root, the thematic vowel, tense-aspect-mood (TAM) inflection, and person/number inflection. The table in (17) demonstrates how Bosque (2010) divides up the four verb parts for a regular tense like conditional. For the complete paradigms from Bosque (2010), see Appendix C.

(17)

	Number	Person	Root	Thematic vowel	TAM inflection	P/N inflection	Surface form
Conditional	sg	1st	am	a	ria	∅	amaría
		3rd	am	a	ria	∅	amaría
	pl	1st	am	a	ria	mos	amaríamos
		3rd	am	a	ria	n	amarían

The root will be constant for all instantiations of a verb. As demonstrated in (17), the root of *amar* is *am-*. The thematic vowel will be one of two options: it will either be null or take the form of the final vowel in the infinitival form of the verb. (17) demonstrates that the thematic vowel of *amar* is *a* in the conditional. See Appendix C for other tenses like subjunctive that demonstrate that the thematic vowel can also take the form \emptyset . TAM inflection obviously depends on the tense and (17) demonstrates that for the conditional, it takes the form of *ria*. By delimiting the set of possibilities for these three parts (root, thematic vowel and TAM inflection) in this way, Bosque (2010) suggests that what remains is person and number inflection. This leaves us with the following person/number inflection: 1SG is $-\emptyset$, 3SG is $-\emptyset$, 1PL is $-mos$, 3PL is $-n$ and 2nd person forms vary across dialects. Although not all the tenses demonstrate the same regularity that the conditional exhibits, Bosque (2010) suggests that the verb root, the thematic vowel and the person/number marking on the verb are regular so any irregularity should be accounted for

within the TAM inflection. For more detailed examination of some verbal paradigms see Section 11.

4. Methodology

My thesis data comes from a questionnaire (provided in Appendix A) that asked native speakers of Spanish to provide grammaticality judgments (given in Appendix B) on sentences involving 1st person imposters.

Initially, I identified five informants. Three of these informants are from Spain, one is from Mexico and one was born in Puerto Rico but spent time in Argentina as a child. While some of the informants are bilingual, they all speak Spanish natively.

In order to compose the questionnaire, I did research in online corpora to identify possible imposters. I then corresponded with my speakers to check if these structures could act as imposters in their dialects. Based on these correspondences, I established a set of imposters that are accepted in all three dialects.

The questionnaire was composed of 17 sets of 4 sentences and the directions were given in Spanish. I also took measures to insure that the informants were focusing on the imposter reading of the tested DPs. For more detail on the measures taken, see the questionnaire directions given in Appendix A. Each set of questions on the questionnaire manipulated two of the conditions given in (18):

- (18)
- a. 1st vs. 3rd person verbal agreement
 - b. 1st vs. 3rd person pronominal agreement
 - c. imposter DP vs. normal pronoun
 - d. singular imposter vs. coordinate DP with imposter conjunct
 - e. plural imposter vs. coordinate DP with imposter conjunct
 - f. matrix-embedded clausal order vs. embedded-matrix clausal order

Speakers were asked to indicate the grammaticality of the questionnaire sentences with one of three options translated below in table (19). While they were asked to give their judgments based on the three options in (19), all of the informants responded with gradations of these judgments including: OK, OK/?, ??, ?, */?, *, **. The full spectrum of their judgments can be seen in Appendix B.

(19)

Judgment	Description	Mark
Grammatical	The sentence sounds completely natural in the daily speech or writing of your dialect.	OK
Marginal	The sentence sounds unusual or it might be difficult to understand in your dialect.	?
Ungrammatical	The sentence is completely anomalous or would never be used in your dialect.	*

While my speakers represent three different dialects, the data collected indicates that despite some inter-speaker variation, the syntactic behavior of Spanish imposters does not differ according to dialect.

5. A Generalization of Verbal Agreement with Spanish Imposters

Based on the deformation that results in the structure given in (11), imposters are predicted to only admit 3rd person verbal agreement. The verbal agreement of singular imposters in Spanish upholds this prediction. Singular imposters consistently allow 3rd personal verbal agreement. This is reflected in the judgments given for the sentences in (20).

- (20) a. Un servidor vive al lado de la iglesia católica.
 a servant live.3SG to.the side of the church catholic
 ‘Yours truly lives beside the Catholic church.’
- b. Tu hija ganó el partido ayer.
 your daughter won.3SG the game yesterday
 ‘Your daughter won the game yesterday.’

It is to be taken for granted though, that imposters allow 3rd person verbal agreement because their overt person marking is 3rd. The more relevant question for imposters is whether they admit 1st person verbal agreement. 1st person verbal agreement is never grammatical with singular imposters. (This generally holds with the exception that one informant found 1st person verbal agreement with singular imposters marginal (?) in two sentences). The judgments on 1st person verbal agreement for singular imposters are given in (21).

- (21) a. *Un servidor le³ compré una flor la semana pasada.
 a servant CL.DAT.3SG bought.1SG a flower the week last
- b. *Tu hija gané el partido ayer.
 your daughter won.1SG the game yesterday

Based on the sentences in (20-21) we can say that singular imposters in Spanish allow 3rd person verbal agreement but generally do not 1st person verbal agreement. This is a clear generalization that holds up across all dialects I have examined.

The same facts about verbal agreement with singular imposters do not hold for plural imposters. Under the account in Collins and Postal (2011), plural imposters should only admit 3rd person verbal agreement. Contrary to this prediction is the fact that Spanish plural imposters allow 1st person verbal agreement. See the judgments on 1st person verbal agreement with plural imposters in (22).

³ This *le* is an indirect object clitic.

- (22) a. Los abajo firmantes pensábamos en vender la casa.
 the.PL under signed.PL thought.1PL about to.sell the house
 ‘The undersigned were thinking about selling the house.’
- b. Unos servidores quedamos en encontrar-nos a las siete al lado
 some servants decided.1PL on to.meet-ourselves at the.PL seven to.the side
 del cine.
 of.the theater
 ‘These guys decided to meet at seven beside the theater.’

Alongside the sentences in (22) are the judgments in (23)⁴.

- (23) a. Los abajo firmantes pensaban en vender la casa.
 the.PL under signed.PL thought.3PL about to.sell the house
 ‘The undersigned were thinking about selling the house.’
- b. Unos servidores quedaron en encontrar-se a las siete al lado
 some servants decided.3PL on to.meet-themselves at the.PL seven to.the side
 del cine.
 of.the theater
 ‘These guys decided to meet at seven beside the theater.’

The judgments in (23) demonstrate that plural imposters in Spanish admit 3rd person verbal agreement. Contrary to the prediction for plural imposters, the Spanish constructions admit both 1st person and 3rd person verbal agreement. This generalization and the one given above for singular Spanish imposter constructions demonstrate the distinct behavior of plural imposters and singular imposters in Spanish.

Coordinate DPs with imposter conjuncts are predicted under the system in Collins and Postal (2011) to admit both 3rd person and 1st person verbal agreement and this holds up in Spanish. See the judgments in (24).

- (24) a. Un servidor y Amelia viven al lado de la iglesia católica.
 a servant and Amelia live.3PL to.the side of the church catholic
 ‘Yours truly and Amelia live beside the Catholic church.’

⁴ In (22b, 23b) and elsewhere in this paper, I use *these guys* as the English imposter counterpart of *unos servidores* ‘some servants’. While it is not a very precise equivalent, I know of no true English counterpart for this plural imposter.

- b. Tu hija y Isabel ganaron/ganamos⁵ el partido ayer.
your daughter and Isabel won.3PL/won.1PL the game yesterday
'Your daughter and Isabel won the game yesterday.'
- c. Este servidor y Julio quieren quedar-se hasta las diez.
this servant and Julio want.3PL to.remain-themselves until the.PL ten
'This servant and Julio want to stay until 10.'
- d. Maria y el abajo firmante pensábamos/pensaban en vender la casa.
Maria and the under signed thought.1PL/thought.3PL about to.sell the house
'Maria and the undersigned thought about selling the house.'
- e. Un servidor y sus amigos quedaron/quedamos en
a servant and his friends decided.3PL/decided.1PL on
encontrar-se/nos a las siete al lado del cine
to.meet-themselves/ourselves at.the.PL seven to.the side of.the theater
'Yours truly and his friends decided to meet at 7 beside the theater.'

While the majority of informants agreed with the judgments in (24), one informant found 1PL verbal agreement in (24d) marginal (?) and 3PL verbal agreement in (24e) ungrammatical (*).

The table in (25) sums up the generalizations about the verbal agreement that is admitted by Spanish imposters.

(25)

Verbal Agreement	Singular Imposter	Plural Imposter	Imposter Coordination
1 st person	*	OK	OK
3 rd person	OK	OK	OK

6. A Generalization of Pronominal Agreement with Spanish Imposters

The Spanish data also provide evidence for some generalizations of the pronominal agreement that is allowed with Spanish imposters. In order to examine pronominal agreement, the sentences I tested with my informants manipulate the person feature values on the anaphoric clitics *se*, *me* and *nos* that are 3rd person singular/plural, 1st person singular and 1st person plural forms respectively.

⁵ The informants gave diverse and conflicting judgments for this sentence with a 1PL verb: (ok, ok/? , ? , ?? , *)

There is a clear generalization to be made about the pronominal agreement allowed by plural imposters of Spanish. The plural imposters I tested allow both *se* and *nos*. See the judgments given in (26).

- (26) a. Unos servidores quedaron en encontrar-se a las siete al lado
some servants decided.3PL on to.meet-themselves at the.PL seven at.the side
del cine.
of.the theater
'These guys decided to meet each other at seven by the theater.'
- b.⁶ Unos servidores quedamos en encontrar-nos a las siete al lado
some servants decided.1PL on to.meet-ourselves at the.PL seven at.the side
del cine.
of.the theater
'These guys decided to meet each other at seven by the theater.'

The judgments in (26) reflect the ability of plural imposters to allow both 1st person and 3rd person pronominal agreement. While the plural imposters admit both types of pronominal agreement, it is important to note that the pronominal agreement must be identical to the verbal agreement as stated in (27).

- (27) In a clause where the subject binds a pronoun, the pronominal agreement must be identical in feature values to the verbal agreement.

More precisely, if a pronominal has the subject imposter as its antecedent, it must agree with the verb. See the judgments in (28) for matches and mismatches in verbal agreement and pronominal agreement.

- (28) a. Estas periodistas decidieron unir-se en promover esta causa.
these reporters decided.3PL to.unite-themselves in to.promote this cause
'These reporters decided to join forces in promoting this cause.'
- b. *Estas periodistas decidieron unir-nos en promover esta causa.
these reporters decided.3PL to.unite-ourselves in to.promote this cause

⁶ There is one exception to this judgment. One informant responded ?? and said that she finds *unos servidores* awkward as an imposter. She noted that she finds *este servidor* a little odd too.

- c. *Unos servidores quedamos en encontrar-se a las siete
 some servants decided.1PL on to.meet-themselves at the.PL seven
 al lado del cine.
 to.the side of.the theater
- d. Unos servidores quedamos en encontrar-nos a las siete
 some servants decided.1PL on to.meet-ourselves at the.PL seven
 al lado del cine.
 to.the side of.the theater
 ‘These guys decided to meet each other at seven beside the theater.’

The sentences in (28a, d) are grammatical because the verbal agreement and pronominal agreement in each sentence are have identical feature values. (28a) has a 3rd person verb form and a 3rd person pronominal form. (28d) has a 1st person verb form and 1st person pronominal form. (28b,c) are ungrammatical because in both sentences the pronominal agreement is not identical in feature values to the verbal agreement. In (28b) the verb *decidieron* is 3rd person but the pronominal *nos* is 1st person. In (28c) the verb *quedamos* is 1st person and the pronominal *se* is 3rd person.

This phenomenon of harmony between verbal agreement and pronominal agreement also holds for coordinate DPs with an imposter conjunct. The sentences in (29) demonstrate that imposter coordinates admit both *se* and *nos*.

- (29) a. Un servidor y sus amigos quedaron en encontrar-se a las siete
 a servant and his.PL friends decided.3PL on to.meet-themselves at the.pl seven
 al lado del cine
 to.the side of.the theater
 ‘Yours truly and his friends decided to meet each other at seven beside the theater.’
- b. Un servidor y sus amigos quedamos en encontrar-nos a las siete
 a servant and his.PL friends decided.1PL on to.meet-ourselves at the.PL seven
 al lado del cine.
 to.the side of.the theater
 ‘Yours truly and his friends decided to meet each other at seven beside the theater.’

In (29a) the imposter coordination admits 3rd person verbal agreement and 3rd person pronominal agreement. In (29b) the same imposter coordination admits 1st person verbal agreement and 1st

person pronominal agreement. The sentences in (30) below show examples of mismatches in pronominal and verbal agreement in the DP coordinates with imposter conjuncts.

- (30) a. *Este servidor y Julio quieren quedar-nos hasta las diez.
 this servant and Julio want.3PL to.remain-ourselves until the.PL ten
- b. *Un servidor y sus amigos quedaron en encontrar-nos a las siete
 a servant and his.PL friends decided.3PL on to.meet-ourselves at the.PL seven
 al lado del cine
 to.the side of.the theater
- c. *Un servidor y sus amigos quedamos en encontrar-se a las
 a servant and his.PL friends decided.1PL on to.meet-themselves at the.PL
 siete al lado del cine.
 seven to.the side of.the theater

In (30a, b), the verbal agreement is 3rd person and the pronominal agreement is 1st person. In (30c) there is 1st person verbal agreement and 3rd person pronominal agreement. In the sentences in (30), a mismatch in verbal agreement and pronominal agreement leads to ungrammaticality. The judgments in (30) reflect the fact that the pronominals anteceded by the imposter must agree in feature values with verbal agreement.

It remains to be discussed whether singular Spanish imposters meet the pronominal agreement generalization in (27). Singular imposter sentences with the 3SG pronoun *se* are grammatical but sentences with the 1SG pronoun *me* are ungrammatical, as predicted under the generalization in (27) given that 1st person verbal agreement is ungrammatical. See the judgments in (31).

- (31) a. El abajo firmante quiere comprometer-se a luchar contra tales
 the under signed wants.3SG to.commit-himself to to.fight against such.PL
 injusticias.
 injustices
 ‘The undersigned wants to commit himself to fighting against such injustices.’
- b. *El abajo firmante quiero comprometer-me a luchar contra tales
 the under signed wants.1SG to.commit-myself to to.fight against such.PL
 injusticias.
 injustices

- c. Este abogado puede enojar-se cuando sus expedientes están perdidos.
this lawyer can.3SG to.get.mad-himself when his briefs are lost
'This lawyer can get mad when his briefs are lost.'
- d. Este estudiante solía sentar-se detrás de Ana.
this student used.to.3SG to.sit-himself behind of Ana
'This student used to sit behind Ana.'
- e. *El abajo firmante quiero comprometer-se a luchar contra tales
the under signed wants.1SG to.commit-himself to to.fight against such.PL
injusticias.
injustices

The judgments in (31) appear to maintain the generalization about pronominal-verbal agreement. (31a, c and d) are grammatical because the agreement on the verb is 3rd person and there is 3rd person pronominal agreement. The sentences in (31b, e) are ungrammatical because the verbal agreement is 1st person and (31e) is ungrammatical either due to the 1st person verbal agreement or to a mismatch that violates the generalization in (27). See further pertinent judgments in (32).

- (32) a. *El abajo afirmante quiere comprometer-me a luchar contra tales
the under signed wants.3SG to.commit-myself to to.fight against such.PL
injusticias.
injustices
- b.⁷ *Este estudiante solía sentar-me detrás de Ana.
this student used.to to.sit-myself behind of Ana
- c. *Este servidor quiere quedar-me hasta las diez.
this servant want.3SG to.remain-myself until the.PL ten

The sentences in (32) all take 3rd person verbal agreement, which is grammatical for singular imposters, but they all have 1SG pronominal forms. Accordingly, they are ungrammatical because of the feature value mismatch in verbal agreement and pronominal agreement.

Generally, singular Spanish imposters are subject to the verbal-pronominal agreement condition mentioned in (27). However, there are some exceptions that do not hold across all

⁷ This sentence is notable because for the tense that the verb is given in, the 1SG and 3SG forms are syncretic. Nevertheless, the imposter is singular so 1st person verbal agreement should not be permitted and the verb behaves syntactically as if it were 3rd person.

dialects. A few speakers find some of the sentences in (32) marginal. I will return to the potential marginal status of these sentences in Section 11.

Another exception to this generalization involves purpose clauses. Purpose clauses seem to marginally allow a mismatch in verbal agreement and pronominal agreement (33).

- (33)⁸ a. Tu hijo necesita un buen impermeable para no empapar-se/?me
 your son need.3SG a good raincoat in.order not to.soak-himself/?myself
 hasta los huesos.
 to the.pl bones
 ‘Your son requires a good raincoat so he doesn’t soak himself/myself to the bone.’

The table in (34) summarizes the possibilities for pronominal agreement in Spanish based on the verbal agreement admitted with imposters.

(34)

Verbal Agreement	1 st person Pronominal Agreement	3 rd person Pronominal Agreement
1 st person	OK	*
3 rd person	* (??)	OK

Note that the verbal-pronominal agreement condition in (27) is very similar to the HP given in Section 1 in that both conditions require a pronominal to match another element in feature values. This parallel between the conditions and an explanation of why (27) strictly holds for plurals more than for singulars will be discussed in Section 12.

7. Towards an Explanation of the Spanish Imposter Data

Spanish imposters partially support the predictions in Collins and Postal (2011).

However, where plural imposters should only admit 3rd person verbal agreement, they can also optionally allow 1st person verbal agreement in Spanish. The question that remains to be answered is how 1st person verbal agreement is possible given the structure in Collins and Postal

⁸ The judgments given for the 1st person pronominal agreement in this sentence were 3? and 2*.

(2011) provided above in (11). How must the structure in (11) be modified to allow for the generalizations about verbal agreement shown in Section 5?

The Spanish imposter data on verbal agreement in (22) raises a couple issues for the structure given in (11). Firstly, how can the phi-features on the covert pronoun be accessed for verbal agreement relations? Secondly, why do plural imposters admit the 1st person verbal agreement while singular imposters do not? Any alternative analysis must deal with these two issues: explaining how the phi-features of the covert 1st person pronoun are accessed and accounting for the distinction between plural imposters and singular imposters. The three alternative analyses laid out in Sections 8-10 all provide an explanation for the optional 1st person verbal agreement but only the one given in Section 10 can account for the distinction between singulars and plurals. While the analysis in Section 10 might be able to account for the 1st person verbal agreement and the singular/plural distinction, none of the analyses in Sections 8-10 are successful enough to be adopted as the appropriate analysis of Spanish imposters. In Sections 11-12, I present my own analysis of Spanish imposters that accounts for both issues raised by the imposter data.

8. Covert Appositive Analysis

One alternative analysis that is discussed and rejected in Collins and Postal (2011) takes advantage of an appositive structure to explain the 1st person verbal agreement. An appositive structure would be identical to an imposter precursor (like those mentioned in Section 1) where the first person pronoun is simply covert and the putative imposter DP is just a normal, or non-imposter, 3rd person DP. In sentences where there is 1st person verbal agreement, the agreement would come from the 1st person phi-features on the covert pronoun. In sentences where the verbal agreement is 3rd person, there would be no covert pronoun and the agreement would come

from the phi-features on the normal 3rd person DP. This proposed appositive would look like an imposter precursor as demonstrated in (35) where the only difference is that the underlined 1st person pronominal is covert.

(35) I, *yours truly*, always make an effort to correspond more frequently.

With sentences like the one in (35), there would be no need for the Syntactic View of imposters because the semantic properties that refer to the speaker would come from the phi-features on the covert pronoun and would not be related to the imposter DP at all. (In fact, the imposter DPs should be called something else entirely since they would not be syntactic poseurs at all). The structure in (35) where only 1st person verbal agreement is possible would contrast with the sentence in (36) where only 3rd person verbal agreement is possible.

(36) Yours truly always makes/*make an effort to correspond more frequently.

The verbal agreement in (36) comes from the 3rd person phi-features on *yours truly*. The sentence in (36) would force one to adopt the Notional View because *yours truly* refers to the speaker but there is no 1st person element—not even a covert one—present in the sentence.

The covert appositive analysis is an attractive explanation for the 1st person verbal agreement in Spanish imposters because it takes advantage of an often-proposed feature of Spanish, an unpronounced pronominal subject: little *pro*. However, it does not allow for any way to distinguish between the plural imposters and the singular imposters. In Spanish, little *pro* can be either singular, as in (37a), or plural, as in (37b).

- (37) a. *pro* Salgo pronto cada mañana.
1SG leave.1SG early each morning
'I leave early each morning.'
- b. *pro* Salimos pronto cada mañana.
1PL leave.1PL early every morning
'We leave early every morning.'

If *pro* can be either singular or plural then the covert 1st person pronoun in the proposed appositive structure could also be either singular or plural. Under the appositive proposal provided in this section, the distinction between the Spanish plural imposters and singular imposters cannot be accounted for without some additional stipulation that blocks *pro* but only in the presence of 1SG imposters.

9. Left Dislocation Analysis

Another alternative analysis of imposters that accounts for the optional 1st person agreement would utilize left-dislocation structures. Since it has been proposed that overt preverbal subjects in null subject languages like Spanish and Greek can occur in left-dislocated structures (Suñer 2001, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998), this proposal would have the imposter subjects be left-dislocated. Parallel to the typical analysis of pro-drop languages, the verbal agreement in the sentence would not come directly from the left-dislocated imposter DP but rather from agreement relations with little *pro*. In sentences where the verbal agreement is 3rd person, *pro* would have 3rd person phi-features. Alternately, in sentences where the verbal agreement is 1st person, *pro* would have 1st person phi-features. Examples of what a left-dislocation sentences would look like for plural imposters are given in (38) for both types of verbal agreement.

- (38) a. Los abajo firmantes, *pro* quedaron en encontrar-se.
 the.PL under signed.PL 3PL decided.3PL on to.meet-themselves
 ‘The undersigned decided to meet each other.’
- b. Los abajo firmantes, *pro* quedamos en encontrar-nos.
 the.PL under signed.PL 1PL decided.1PL on to.meet-ourselves
 ‘The undersigned decided to meet each other.’

In the sentences in (38), the verbal agreement that is allowed is based on the phi-features on *pro*. Since *pro* can have either 1st person or 3rd person phi-features, the verb can take either 1st person

or 3rd person forms. The proposed structure for this left-dislocation analysis of imposters would look like the Collins and Postal (2011) structure in (11) with the one exception being that instead of moving to Spec, DP₄, DP₃ moves further out into the left periphery.

If the left dislocation analysis were a proper account, both the sentences in (39) should also be possible but, given the data presented above in Sections 5 and 6, the one in (39b) is not possible in Spanish.

- (39) a. El abajo firmante, *pro* quiere casar-se con Elena.
 the under signed 3SG wants.3SG to.marry-himself with Elena
 ‘The undersigned wants to marry Elena.’
- b. *El abajo firmante, *pro* quiero casar-me con Elena.
 the under signed 1SG want.1SG to.marry-myself with Elena
 ‘The undersigned wants to marry Elena.’

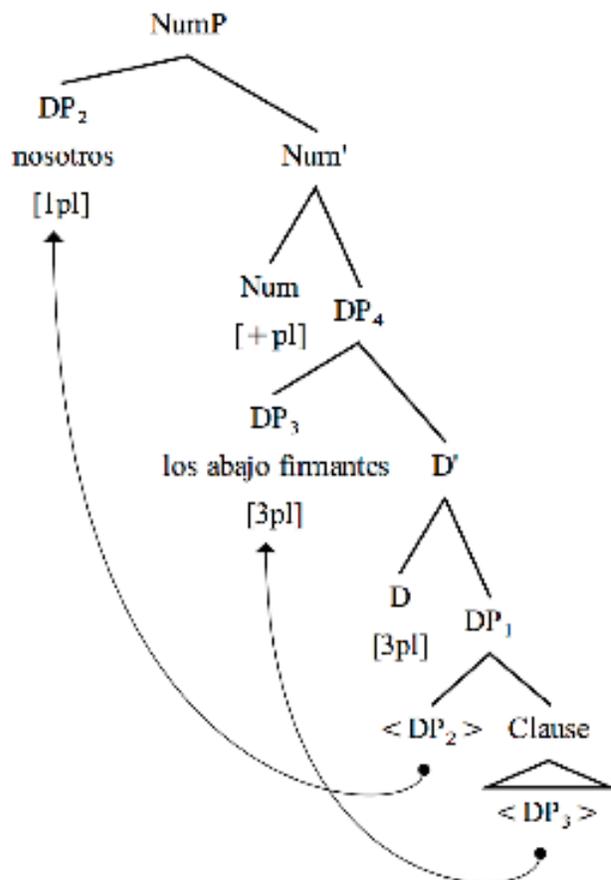
In (39a) the verbal agreement is 3rd person because the phi-features on *pro* are 3rd person. In (39b), the verbal agreement is 1st person because the phi-features on *pro* are 1st person. In Spanish, sentences like the ones in (38a,b and 39a) are grammatical but not ones like in (39b). The left-dislocation analysis of imposters structure fails to capture all the Spanish data because it cannot account for the SG/PL distinction in verbal agreement with imposters unless bolstered by some stipulation that blocks *pro* in singular imposters.

10. NumP Analysis

Another possible analysis, which was suggested to me by Stephanie Harves, adopts the structure, given in (11), from Collins and Postal (2011), and proposes the addition of another functional projection (NumP) in order to account for the Spanish facts. The structure in (11) fails to capture the Spanish facts because the 1st person features on the covert pronoun are inaccessible to subject-verb agreement relations external to the imposter structure when the pronoun is dominated by a DP with 3rd person phi-features (DP₃). In order to make the 1st person

phi-features accessible to subject-verb agreement relations, the covert pronoun must somehow raise up above DP₃. Since the 1st person phi-features are accessible in plural imposters but not in singular imposters, it should be the plural feature that is targeted for raising. If this is the case, then the covert pronoun is targeted to move up to some Spec, FP but only when plural. So the FP that probes for the covert pronoun is sensitive to plurality. The required FP would be NumP and it would have an uninterpretable number feature that needs to be checked. Under the NumP proposal, the singular imposters would have the structure in (11) and plural imposters would have the structure given below in (40). NumP would be active in plural imposters but it would never be present in singulars.

(40)



While proposing a NumP in the structure of plural imposters can account for the grammaticality of 1st person verbal agreement while maintaining a distinction between the verbal agreement allowed by plural imposters and the verbal agreement admitted by singular imposters, there are still some issues that would need to be resolved. First, the structure in (40) does not correspond to the DP-internal structural hierarchy given in Ritter (1991). The proposed structure in (40) has a DP as the complement of the NumP while the traditional NumP structure has an NP as the complement. Secondly, a sentence like the English one in (41) demonstrates that imposters can license both 1st person and 3rd person pronominal agreement in one clause.

(41) The present authors and their colleagues would like to thank our collaborators.

The NumP analysis provided in this section where the highest phi-features are the only ones accessible for agreement relations would not be able to account for cases of heterogeneity in the feature values of multiple cases of pronominal agreement in one clause.

For the structure in (40) to allow for a full analysis of the pattern, the following issues must be addressed: Why does the raising of the covert pronominal make 1st person phi-features accessible? Why does NumP target plural covert pronouns to the exclusion of singular ones? How is the movement motivated? Where exactly is NumP in the plural imposter structure and what reorganization of projections must be done to accommodate it? How could the NumP structure account for sentences like the one in (41) above where the pronominal agreement is not homogeneous? It is clear that there is no easy answer to these questions and while the NumP analysis is able to capture the singular/plural distinction, any proposal that solves the issues mentioned above would necessarily be very clunky.

Based on the discussion above in sections 8-10, it seems that attempts to account for the singular/plural distinction (the one demonstrated in verbal agreement with Spanish imposters) by

postulating a revision of the imposter structure itself are not entirely successful. In Section 11, an alternative type of analysis is expounded.

11. Incorporated Clitic Analysis

Another option to consider is that the singular/plural distinction is not one that distinguishes the structure of imposters in Spanish from those in other languages, but instead distinguishes the nature of subject-verb agreement in Spanish from that of other languages. Under an analysis of this type, the distinction should not be accounted for as a parametric setting in the structure of imposters but instead as a parametric setting within verbal agreement.

Under my proposal, plural subject DPs are obligatorily doubled by a clitic that incorporates into the verb. The plural subject DP can either be pronounced (as in 42a) or unpronounced (as in 42b). In addition, singular subject DPs are never doubled by a subject clitic but they can still be pronounced (42c) or unpronounced (42d)

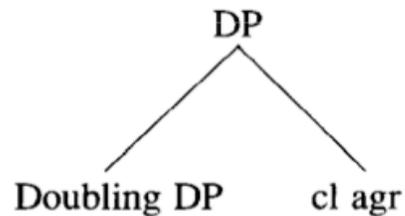
- (42)
- a. Algunos estudiantes fuero-n a la biblioteca.
 Some students went.3PL-CL.3PL to the library
 - b. *pro* Fuero-n a la biblioteca.
 3PL went.3PL-CL.3PL to the library
 - c. Algun estudiante fue a la biblioteca.
 a student went.3SG to the library
 - d. *pro* Fue a la biblioteca.
 3SG went.3SG to the library

Under my analysis of Spanish, singular imposters and plurals imposters have the same internal structure (given above in 11). The singular/plural distinction is captured by the fact that subject-verb agreement with singulars and subject-verb agreement with plurals are two different mechanisms. With singular imposters, and normal singular Spanish DPs, the mechanism behind verbal agreement is spec-head agreement. Plural subjects, on the other hand, are obligatorily

doubled by a subject clitic that either agrees with the phi features on the lexical subject DP or with the ultimate antecedent of that DP. In the case of plural imposter subjects, the difference is between agreeing with the 3rd person imposter shell and the 1st person AUTHOR.

The clitic doubling structure I adopt from Ordóñez and Treviño (1999) is given in (43).

(43)



In (43) the subject clitic (cl agr) is the head of the big DP and the Doubling DP in Spec, big DP is either a plural imposter or a normal plural DP. A summary of my proposal is stated in (44).

(44) Plural subject DPs occur as part of the big DP, whose head is a subject clitic that either agree with the plural subject DP or with the ultimate antecedent of the plural subject DP.

12. Evidence for the Subject Clitics

Following Hale (1973), Jelinek (1984), Ordóñez and Treviño (1999), I propose that the incorporated subject clitic is what is traditionally considered to be the person/number inflection on the end of plural verbs. This claim is supported by the parallelisms between subject-verb agreement and clitic doubling of objects, which for Suñer (1988) are the same mechanism. The evidence for this distinction in clitic doubling of singular subjects and plural subjects comes from the verbal paradigms of Spanish. An examination of these paradigms indicates that throughout every tense-aspect-mood combination (from here on I will use TAM or tense interchangeably), there is one string that is common to 1PL and one that is common to 3PL but no such string that is common to their singular counterparts 1SG and 3SG. That, coupled with the claim made in

Nevins (2010) that clitics, unlike agreement, are “tense-invariant” points to the fact that there are subject clitics for 1PL and 3PL but not 1SG or 3SG. In this section, I will discuss the evidence from four Spanish tenses but for a complete picture of the Spanish verbal data see Appendix C.

The first two tenses discussed in this section are past imperfective and present subjunctive. According to Bosque (2010), both of these tenses share the property that they are regular in everything but person/number inflection. The past imperfective forms of *amar* ‘to love’ are given in (45) and the present subjunctive forms of the same verb are given in (47).

(45)

	Number	Person	Root	Thematic vowel	TAM inflection	P/N inflection	Surface form
Past Imperfective	sg	1st	am	a	ba	∅	amaba
		3rd	am	a	ba	∅	amaba
	pl	1st	am	a	ba	mos	amábamos
		3rd	am	a	ba	n	amaban

The verb forms given in (45) indicate that not only the verb root but also the thematic vowel and the tense/mood inflection are constant across each person/number. The verb root is *am-*, the thematic vowel is *a*, the tense/mood inflection for past imperfective is *ba*. This is demonstrated by the fact that each form (regardless of the person/number) shares as a common denominator the string *amaba-*. Based on the fact that every person/number shares *amaba-*, Bosque (2010) claims that any additional morphemes will be person/number inflection. This is how we come up with the person/number marking given in table (38).

(46)

P/N	String
1SG	-∅
3SG	-∅
1PL	-mos
3PL	-n

(46) indicates that in the past imperfective, there is no string that is unique to 1SG or 3SG while 1PL is marked by *-mos* and 3PL is marked by *-n*. The information in (46) is also supported by the present subjunctive paradigm given in (47).

(47)

	Number	Person	Root	Thematic vowel	TAM inflection	P/N inflection	Surface form
Present Subjunctive	sg	1st	am	∅	e	∅	ame
		3rd	am	∅	e	∅	ame
	pl	1st	am	∅	e	mos	amemos
		3rd	am	∅	e	n	amen

The data in (47) is parallel to the data in (45) in that each person/number combination shares a common string, in this case *ame-*. Accordingly, the differences in person/number marking are easy to see and they have the same forms as indicated in (46).

The other two tenses discussed in this section, past perfective and present indicative, do not share the same type of regularity that the past imperfective and present subjunctive do but it is still clear that the person/number marking from (46) holds for these tenses too. Past perfective is given in (48) and present indicative is given in (49)

(48)

	Number	Person	Root	Thematic vowel	TAM inflection	P/N inflection	Surface form
Past Perfective	sg	1st	am	∅	e	∅	amé
		3rd	am	∅	o	∅	amó
	pl	1st	am	a	∅	mos	amamos
		3rd	am	a	ro	n	amaron

In (48), there are clear patterns for the form the thematic vowel takes for form TAM inflection. It appears that the thematic vowel takes different forms in the singular and the plural: *∅* in the singular and *a* in the plural. Furthermore, the TAM marking is different in each person/number pairing: *e* for 1SG, *o* for 3SG, *∅* for 1PL and *ro* for 3PL. However, the information in (48) does not

conflict with the claim presented in (46). It is simply evidence for the fact that person/number agreement can occur outside of the strings given in (46).

(49)

	Number	Person	Root	Thematic vowel	TAM inflection	P/N inflection	Surface form
Present Indicative	sg	1st	am	∅	o	∅	amo
		3rd	am	a	∅	∅	ama
	pl	1st	am	a	∅	mos	amamos
		3rd	am	a	∅	n	aman

The present indicative paradigm in (49) indicates that there might be special marking for 1sg but it does not contradict the claim made in (46) either.

My proposal is that the regularity demonstrated (in 45, 47, 48 and 49) in 1PL forms and 3PL forms (and summarized in 46) is due to the fact that the strings demonstrated in each TAM are actually incorporated subject clitics. The subject clitic for 1PL is *-mos* and the subject clitic for 3PL is *-n*. While these two strings could be construed to simply be examples of subject-verb agreement, it bears repeating that they are constant across all TAM, which is not property of agreement. According to Nevins (2010), an important morphosyntactic criteria for distinguishing pronominal clitics from agreement affixes is that clitics—as pronominal elements—are not subject to variation between tenses, while agreement—which is properly part of the verbal complex—is subject to variation between tenses. Furthermore, based on the information presented in (48), it appears that the proposed subject clitics are not the only markers of person and number; they are simply the person/number markers that are tense-invariant. For this reason, I do not advocate the rejection of the traditional notion of subject-verb agreement, but rather the adoption of an obligatory plural subject clitic.

Furthermore, while it is not conclusive evidence, it is important to note that *-mos* and *-n* share something that is common to all Spanish clitics: a consonant. The full set of Spanish object clitics is given below in (50), reproduced from Harris (1995).

(50)

		3		2	1
		m	f		
ACC	SG	lo	la	te	me
	PL	los	las	os	nos
DAT	SG	le		te	me
	PL	les		os	nos
REF(lexive)	SG	se		te	me
	PL			os	nos

The discussion of verbal paradigms above seems like good evidence for the fact that *-mos* and *-n* are subject clitics (for 1PL and 3PL respectively) and not verbal inflection. Yet, one question remains: Why is there no subject clitic for 1SG or 3SG?

While it is clear that there is no 1SG or 3SG subject clitic, I have not yet discussed any reason that clitic doubling of singular subjects would be blocked. In the literature, it is attested that the clitic doubling of objects is blocked by certain features (Schroten 2010) and that doubling of different types of objects are restricted in different ways (Suñer 1988). But, as of yet, I have discovered no adequate reason why the feature [+SG] should block doubling of the subject. The lack of motivation for blocking of the singular is not an indication that the incorporated subject clitic proposal should be abandoned however, because in languages that show robust clitic doubling of subjects like the Northern Italian Dialects (NIDs), there are often gaps in the paradigm. According to Rizzi (1986), “the largely predominant, and perhaps fully general pattern thus seems to be that for some choices of grammatical features the subject clitic is obligatory, for others it is optional or does not exist.”

Furthermore, if the person and number marking on the verb is actually an incorporated pronominal than the similarities between my pronominal-verbal agreement generalization in (27) and the HP from Collins and Postal (2011) are explained. If the plural verb endings are subject clitics and the free pronouns are part of the same U-availability chain as the subjects, than the HP explains why the free pronouns must agree in feature values with the verb endings. This would also explain the observation that singulars do not meet the condition given in (27) as well as their plural counterparts; since there is no pronominal element incorporated in the singular verbs, the HP does not apply as strongly to singulars.

13. Conclusion

For my thesis work, I collected and catalogued the standard 1st person imposters of Spanish in order to examine the possibilities for verbal agreement and pronominal agreement that they allow. The resulting Spanish imposter data demonstrates that although they share some similarities with English imposters, Spanish imposters also exhibit syntactic behavior that is not easy to account for. While English imposters, as predicted in Collins and Postal (2011), do not admit non-3rd person verbal agreement, plural Spanish imposters do optionally admit 1st person verbal agreement. Furthermore, while plural Spanish imposters do not behave according to the theory of imposters laid out in Collins and Postal (2011), singular Spanish imposters do behave according to the theory.

The main issues that need to be accounted for in an analysis of Spanish imposters are the singular/plural distinction in verbal agreement possibilities and the English/Spanish difference in verbal agreement possibilities. I explored three analyses that attempted to explain the issues by reworking Collins and Postal's (2011) imposter structure. All three of these analyses were unsuccessful because they required stipulations that are not supported by any other Spanish data.

As a result, the analysis I advocate claims that the two verbal agreement distinctions can be resolved by reworking the conception of verbal agreement in Spanish. Adopting an analysis, similar to the ones made in Hale (1973), Jelinek (1984) and Ordóñez and Treviño (1999), that plural verb endings are incorporated pronominal elements is successful because it resolves both verbal agreement distinctions. My proposal claims that plural Spanish subjects are obligatorily doubled by a clitic whereas the clitic doubling of singular Spanish subjects is impossible. Furthermore, the clitic doubling of a plural subject imposter results in the optionality between 1st person and 3rd person verbal agreement because the clitic can either agree with the 3rd person features on the imposter subject or with the 1st person feature of the ultimate antecedent AUTHOR. The incorporated subject clitic analysis is supported by evidence from the Spanish verbal paradigms and from other Romance languages like the Northern Italian Dialects. While there is evidence to support the subject clitic paradigm I propose for Spanish, it remains to be discovered what exactly blocks the clitic doubling of singular subjects.

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Appendix A: Imposter Questionnaire

With this questionnaire, I'm looking for your opinions on the acceptability of certain sentences in the context of everyday or colloquial speech and writing.

Please read the sentences that begin on the next page and mark your judgments based on the following criteria:

- Mark the sentences with OK if they sound completely natural and you would expect them to be used in everyday speech & writing.
- Mark the sentences with ? if they sound unusual but would understand them if others were to use them.
- Mark the sentences with * if they sound completely wrong and no one would ever use them.

If you see two or more words underlined, it means that the words all refer to the speaker or writer of the sentence. See the following examples:

Él tiene que bañarse antes de salir.

Ella siempre olvida sus gafas.

All of the following sentences contain expressions like “este estudiante”, “un servidor”, “el abajo afirmante” and “el menda”. Please understand that they are not proper names.

If you have any doubts about a sentence feel free to give some comments or notes about it. I'd appreciate any information you can provide to increase my comprehension of this topic.

Many thanks for your time.

En este cuestionario, me interesa conocer sus juicios de gramaticalidad y/o aceptabilidad con respecto a ciertas frases en el contexto de discursos cotidianos o coloquiales (tantos verbales como escritos).

Para completar este cuestionario, le ruego que lea las frases que empiezan en la pagina siguiente y las marque de acuerdo con las siguientes convenciones:

- Use OK si la frase le suena completamente natural o si se imaginaría que se lo dice en el habla cotidiano de su dialecto.
- Use ? si la frase le suena raro o si le parece que sería de difícil comprensión en su dialecto.
- Use * si la frase le suena completamente anómala o si Ud. nunca lo usaría.

Cuando una o más palabras aparezcan subrayadas en una frase, debe entenderse que esas palabras se refieren al hablante o escritor de la frase. Considere los siguientes ejemplos:

Él tiene que bañarse antes de salir.

Ella siempre olvida sus gafas.

En cada frase del cuestionario encontrará expresiones como “este estudiante”, “un servidor”, “el menda”, “tu hijo” y “el abajo firmante”. Note que estas expresiones no son nombres propios.

Si tiene dudas al respecto de cualquier frase o encuentra cualquier otra cosa digna de remarcar, le ruego que incluya su comentario o nota en el cuestionario. Cualquier información que pueda darme que contribuya a ampliar mi comprensión de este tema será del todo bienvenida.

Le agradezco mucho su ayuda.

1. Un servidor le compró una flor la semana pasada.
2. Un servidor le compré una flor la semana pasada.
3. Yo le compró una flor la semana pasada.
4. Yo le compré una flor la semana pasada.

5. Este doctor y los otros tienen que curar a sus pacientes.
6. Este doctor y los otros tienen que curar a nuestros pacientes.
7. Este doctor tiene que curar a sus pacientes.
8. Este doctor tiene que curar a mis pacientes.

9. Tu hijo necesita un buen impermeable para no empaparse hasta los huesos.
10. Tu hijo necesita un buen impermeable para no empaparme hasta los huesos.
11. Para no empaparse hasta los huesos, tu hijo necesita un buen impermeable.
12. Para no empaparme hasta los huesos, tu hijo necesita un buen impermeable.

13. Este estudiante vive frugalmente para no gastar su dinero.
14. Para no gastar su dinero, este estudiante vive frugalmente.
15. Este estudiante vive frugalmente para no gastar mi dinero.
16. Para no gastar mi dinero, este estudiante vive frugalmente.

17. El abajo firmante afirma que sus solicitudes anteriores son de extrema importancia.
18. El abajo firmante afirmo que sus solicitudes anteriores son de extrema importancia.
19. El abajo firmante afirma que mis solicitudes anteriores son de extrema importancia.
20. El abajo firmante afirmo que mis solicitudes anteriores son de extrema importancia.

21. El abajo afirmante quiere comprometerse a luchar contra tales injusticias.
22. El abajo afirmante quiere comprometerme a luchar contra tales injusticias.
23. El abajo afirmante quiero comprometerse a luchar contra tales injusticias.
24. El abajo afirmante quiero comprometerme a luchar contra tales injusticias.

25. Un servidor y Amelia viven al lado de la iglesia católica.
26. Un servidor vive al lado de la iglesia católica.
27. Amelia y yo vivimos al lado de la iglesia católica.
28. Yo vivo al lado de la iglesia católica.

29. Este abogado puede enojarse cuando sus expedientes están perdidos.
30. Este abogado puede enojarme cuando sus expedientes están perdidos.
31. Este abogado puede enojarse cuando mis expedientes están perdidos.
32. Este abogado puede enojarme cuando mis expedientes están perdidos.

33. Tu hija e Isabel ganaron el partido ayer.
34. Tu hija e Isabel ganamos el partido ayer.
35. Tu hija ganó el partido ayer.
36. Tu hija gané el partido ayer.

37. Este estudiante solía sentarse detrás de Ana.
38. Este estudiante solía sentarme detrás de Ana.
39. Yo solía sentarse detrás de Ana.
40. Yo solía sentarme detrás de Ana.

41. Este servidor quiere quedarse hasta las diez.
42. Este servidor quiere quedarme hasta las diez.
43. Este servidor y Julio quieren quedarse hasta las diez.
44. Este servidor y Julio quieren quedarnos hasta las diez.

45. Este escritor siempre cena antes de pasear con su perro.
46. Este escritor siempre cena antes de pasear con mi perro.
47. Yo siempre ceno antes de pasear con su perro.
48. Yo siempre ceno antes de pasear con mi perro.

49. Aquí tu hijo opina que necesitas cuidarte mejor.
50. Aquí yo opino que necesitas cuidarte mejor.
51. Yo opino que necesitas cuidarte mejor.
52. Tu hijo opina que necesitas cuidarte mejor.

53. Maria y el abajo firmante pensaban en vender la casa.
54. Maria y el abajo firmante pensábamos en vender la casa.
55. Los abajo firmantes pensaban en vender la casa.
56. Los abajo firmantes pensábamos en vender la casa

57. Unos servidores quedaron en encontrarse a las siete al lado del cine.
58. Unos servidores quedaron en encontrarnos a las siete al lado del cine.
59. Unos servidores quedamos en encontrarse a las siete al lado del cine.
60. Unos servidores quedamos en encontrarnos a las siete al lado del cine.

61. Un servidor y sus amigos quedaron en encontrarse a las siete al lado del cine
62. Un servidor y sus amigos quedaron en encontrarnos a las siete al lado del cine.
63. Un servidor y sus amigos quedamos en encontrarnos a las siete al lado del cine.
64. Un servidor y sus amigos quedamos en encontrarse a las siete al lado del cine.

65. Estas periodistas decidieron unirse para promover esta causa.
66. Nosotras decidimos unirnos para promover esta causa.
67. Nosotras decidimos unirse para promover esta causa.
68. Estas periodistas decidieron unirnos para promover esta causa.

Appendix B: Questionnaire Results

Sentence #	Speaker A	Speaker B	Speaker C	Speaker D	Speaker E
1	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
2	*	*	?	*	*
3	*	*	*	*	*
4	OK	*	OK	OK	OK
5	?/OK	OK	OK	OK	?
6	*	*	*	?	*
7	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
8	*	*	*	*	*
9	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
10	*	?	?	*	?
11	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
12	*	?	*	?	??
13	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
14	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
15	*	*	*	*	*
16	*	*	*	*	*
17	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
18	*	*	*	*	*
19	*/?	?	*	*	??
20	*	*	*	*	*
21	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
22	*/?	*	*	*	*
23	**	*	*	*	*
24	*	*	?	*	*
25	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
26	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
27	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
28	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
29	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
30	*/?	*	*	*	*
31	*/?	?	?	*	??
32	*/?	*	*	*	*
33	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
34	OK/?	*	OK	?	??
35	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
36	*	*	*	*	*
37	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
38	*	*	*	*	*
39	**	*	*	*	*
40	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
41	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
42	*	*	*	*	*

#	A	B	C	D	E
43	OK	?	OK	OK	OK
44	****	*	*	*	*
45	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
46	*/?	?	*	*	OK
47	*	*	*	*	*
48	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
49	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
50	OK	?	OK	OK	OK
51	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
52	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
53	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
54	OK	?	OK	?	OK
55	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
56	OK	OK	OK	?	OK
57	OK	*	OK	OK	??
58	*	*	?	*	*
59	*	*	*	*	*
60	OK	OK	OK	*	??
61	OK	*	OK	OK	OK
62	*	*	?	?	*
63	OK	OK	OK	?	OK
64	*	*	*	*	*
65	OK	*	OK	OK	OK
66	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
67	*	*	*	*	*
68	*	*	*	*	*

Appendix C: Verbal Paradigms

	Number	Person	Root	Thematic vowel	TAM inflection	P/N inflection	Surface form
Past Perfective	sg	1st	am	ø	e	ø	amé
		3rd	am	ø	o	ø	amó
	pl	1st	am	a	ø	mos	amamos
		3rd	am	a	ro	n	amaron

	Number	Person	Root	Thematic vowel	TAM inflection	P/N inflection	Surface form
Present Indicative	sg	1st	am	ø	o	ø	amo
		3rd	am	a	ø	ø	ama
	pl	1st	am	a	ø	mos	amamos
		3rd	am	a	ø	n	aman

	Number	Person	Root	Thematic vowel	TAM inflection	P/N inflection	Surface form
Future	sg	1st	am	a	re	ø	amaré
		3rd	am	a	ra	ø	amará
	pl	1st	am	a	re	mos	amaremos
		3rd	am	a	ra	n	amarán

	Number	Person	Root	Thematic vowel	TAM inflection	P/N inflection	Surface form
Past Imperfective	sg	1st	am	a	ba	ø	amaba
		3rd	am	a	ba	ø	amaba
	pl	1st	am	a	ba	mos	amábamos
		3rd	am	a	ba	n	amaban

	Number	Person	Root	Thematic vowel	TAM inflection	P/N inflection	Surface form
Conditional	sg	1st	am	a	ria	ø	amaría
		3rd	am	a	ria	ø	amaría
	pl	1st	am	a	ria	mos	amaríamos
		3rd	am	a	ria	n	amarían

	Number	Person	Root	Thematic vowel	TAM inflection	P/N inflection	Surface form
Present Subjunctive	sg	1st	am	ø	e	ø	ame
		3rd	am	ø	e	ø	ame
	pl	1st	am	ø	e	mos	amemos
		3rd	am	ø	e	n	amen