Some Notes on the Syntax of Imposter DPs in Two Romance Languages

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English, like many other languages, has a class of expressions that while denoting the speaker or the addressee have the syntactic form of a standard 3rd person DP but crucially present alternations in pronominal phi-features which do not correlate with any truth conditional differences (see (1) taken from Collins & Postal 2012). In (1), the reflexive pronoun can either be 3PL, agreeing with the antecedent *this reporter and his son*, or 1PL. Labelling them (person) imposters, Collins & Postal (2012) (henceforth C&P) argue in favour of a syntactic analysis of the English imposters in (1), and of the cases in (2) showing similar behaviour.

C&P show that an imposter has a complex structure made up of an upper DP part (=shell) which is 3rd person and a subpart DP (=core) containing a covert 1st or 2nd person pronoun. The imposter complex DP is anteceded by AUTHOR (or ADDRESSEE) in the left periphery of the clause (3) (see also Bianchi 2003, 2009 on person as logophoric centre; Sigurdsson 2004, a.o.). In C&P's system, the reflexive can take its phi-feature values from the immediate antecedent (primary source), hence 3PL pronominal agreement, or from the ultimate antecedent of the reflexive, AUTHOR and this accounts for 1PL pronominal agreement.

This paper proposes an account of the behaviour of imposer DPs in Romanian and French which are a good testing ground given their rich verbal morphology. Adopting C&P's idea that imposters DPs contain an embedded covert 1st/2nd person pronoun, we show that the latter is subject to some further conditions in Romanian and French. The paper thus investigates: (i) Singular, plural and coordinate imposters in the two languages. The hypothesis is that the rich verb agreement affects imposters as shown by the availability of two agreement patterns with plural and coordinate structures containing an imposter; (ii) It also considers the status of the subject of predicate nominals in French and Romanian as compared to (2).

Plural imposters (4) in both languages only allow 3PL pronominal and verbal agreement. The ultimate antecedent, AUTHOR, a potential origin for phi-features for the verb and of the pronominal is unavailable. However, if the plural imposter is modified by the indexical *here present*, an ameliorating effect obtains (5). We argue that the imposter DP shell contains a PredP subpart (core) and that it is this subpart which contains the covert pronoun *we* in addition to the adjective (this covert pronoun is anteceded by AUTHOR in the left periphery). This is the first condition to which the covert pronoun is subject to in French and Romanian.

In coordinate structures with an imposter DP in Romanian (6-7a), 1PL verbal agreement is more readily available on condition the imposter gets topicalised across, for instance, an indexical adverb. We suggest that what moves to the left periphery is the shell part and that the core part (*we*) is represented by *pro* which has [1PL] phi-features, thus resulting in 1PL verb agreement. In French (7b), the subject containing an imposter can either fill the criterial subject position, above the ModP hosting the adverb, or or a lower position (see also Rizzi and Shlonsky 2007). In either position, the coordinate DP has AUTHOR (Plural) as an antecedent and thus verbal agreement is 1PL.

In configurations with a relative pronoun, Romanian (and French) show both 3rd person (8a) and 1st person verb agreement (8b). The DPs *care* and *professor* share a lexical basis in the sense of C&P, so *professor* is a source of *care*. Since *pro* is the subject of the predicate nominal *professor*, it is a source for anything that *professor* is a source for. Thus, *pro* is a source for *care* and the latter agrees with *pro* and is 1SG. Without fleshing out the details of an analysis of relative pronouns (Kayne 1994, Kayne 2008, Bianchi 1999, a.o.), the Rel can agree either with the predicate nominal or with the subject of the predicate nominal.

To sum up, the paper takes C&P's analysis of English imposters and suggests further refinements, in particular, imposters are subject to two distinct conditions: availability of an indexical modifier (*here present*) in both French and Romanian and pro-Topicalisation in coordinate structures in Romanian (given the null subject property). In French, coordinate structure with an imposter behave more like

English, except the overt character of verbal morphological agreement. Under these conditions, the imposter DP can then determine the more seemingly unexpected 1PL verbal (and pronominal) agreement.

(1) In this reply, the present authors (= the writers of the reply) attempt to defend ourselves/themselves.

(2)   I am a teacher who takes care of myself/himself.

(3)   a.   AUTHOR the present authors attempt to defend ourselves/themselves.
        b.   AUTHOR this reporter and his son are proud of ourselves/themselves.

(4)   a.   Les auteurs sont /*sommes fiers d'eux-mêmes/*de nous-mêmes.
               The authors are.3PL/are.1PL proud of themselves /of ourselves
               'The authors will be proud of themselves.'
        b.   Autorii vor /*vom fi mandri de ei insisi /*noi înşişi.
               Authors.the will.3.PL/*will.1PL be proud of themselves/ourselves
               'The authors will be proud of themselves.'

(5)   a.   ʔLes auteurs ci-présents sommes fiers de nous-mêmes.
               The authors here present.M.PL are.1.PL proud of ourselves
        b.   ʔAutorii aici prezenţi suntem mândri de noi înşine.
               Authors.the here present.M.PL are.1.PL proud of ourselves

(6)   a.   Mămica şi bunica Sofia vor cumpăra pălării foarte curand.
               Mommy and grand-mother Sofia will.3PL buy hats very soon.
               'Mommy and Grandmother Sofia will buy hats very soon.'
        b.   ʔʔMămica şi bunica Sofia vom cumpăra pălării foarte curand.
               Mommy and grand-mother Sofia will.1PL buy hats very soon

(7)   a.   ⁽ʔ⁾Mămica şi bunica Sofia, foarte curand, vom cumpăra…
               Mommy and grand-mother Sofia very soon will.1PL buy
        b.   ⁽ʔ⁾Maman et grand-maman, (très bientôt), allons acheter…

(8)   a.   Sânt un profesor care a avut mereu grijă de el (însuşi).
               Am a professor who has had always care of him (self)
               'I am a professor who has always taken care of himself.'
        b.   Sânt un profesor care am avut mereu grijă de mine (însumi).
               Am a professor who have.1SG had always care of me (self)
               'I am a professor who has always taken care of myself.'

Selected references: **Bianchi, V.** (2003). "On finiteness as logophoric anchoring." In J. Guéron & L.Tasmovski (eds.) *Temps et point de vue/Tese and Point of View*. 213-246. Université Paris X-Nanterre, Paris; **Collins, C. & P. M. Postal** (2012). *Imposters: A Study of Pronominal Agreement*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA; Rizzi, L. & U. Shlonsky (2007). "Strategies of subject extraction." In Gärtner, H-M. and Sauerland, U. (eds.). *Interfaces + Recursion = Language?* Pp: 115-160. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter ; **Sigurdsson, H. A.** (2004). "The syntax of Person, Tense and speech features." *Rivista di Linguistica* 16:219-251 [ed. by Valentina Bianchi & Ken Safir].