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PARECEN QUE LO OLVIDAN: HYPER-AGREEMENT IN NON-STANDARD SPANISH*

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ABSTRACT. The distribution of DDPP in raising constructions –depending on the embedded clause's formal properties– has been essential for Case Theory and movement. Likewise, the behavior of DDPP, according to agreement facts, has given rise to relevant discussions about the kind of movement involved (A-Movement/A'-Movement). Nevertheless, this distribution is not so clear in certain Spanish dialects which show double-agreement effects. It means that the embedded verb as well as the raising verb (*parecer* 'to seem') present inflectional number (and person) morphology: *Parece-n que lo olvida-n* (seem.3PL that it forget.3PL 'They seem to forget him'). The analysis of the data in these varieties allows us to define a number of characteristics which are relevant from a descriptive and a theoretical point of view. Descriptively, it is possible to identify some notable particularities, with respect to the position of the DP, which triggers agreement and the interaction of these constructions with dative experiencers as well (*Me parece que...* 'It seems to me that...'). From a theoretical point of view, these data have consequences for approaches on agreement, on the relationship between Case and movement, and on the discussion regarding the *Experiencer Paradox* in Spanish. Additionally, they allow us to identify a new empirical domain in which a DP plural number feature has an active role in the Probe-Goal domain.

Keywords. Spanish; raising constructions; plurality; case; agreement; movement

RESUMEN. La distribución de los SSDD en las construcciones de ascenso, a partir de las propiedades formales de la cláusula en la que se originan, ha sido central para el desarrollo de la Teoría del Caso en relación al movimiento. Asimismo, el comportamiento de los SSDD con respecto a la concordancia ha abierto discusiones relevantes en cuanto al tipo de movimiento involucrado (Argumental/No argumental). Sin embargo, esta distribución no es tan clara en ciertas variedades del español que manifiestan efectos de doble concordancia, es decir, tanto el verbo subordinado como el verbo de ascenso (*parecer*) presentan morfología flexiva de número (y persona): *Parece-n que lo olvida-n*. El análisis de los datos de estas variedades permite definir varios aspectos relevantes tanto a nivel descriptivo como teórico. Descriptivamente, es posible identificar una serie de particularidades notables con respecto a la posición del SD que desencadena la concordancia, así como a la interacción de estas construcciones con dativos experimentantes (*Me parece que...*). Desde el punto de vista teórico, estos datos tienen consecuencias para las propuestas sobre la concordancia, la vinculación entre caso y movimiento y las discusiones con respecto a la *Paradoja del Experimentante* en español. Asimismo, permiten identificar un nuevo contexto en el que los rasgos de número plural del SD tienen un rol central en la relación entre Sondas y Metas.

Palabras clave. español; construcciones de ascenso; pluralidad; caso; concordancia; movimiento

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1. Introduction

The subject-matter of the present paper is the study of variation in impersonal sentences with *parecer* 'to seem' and the consequences of this variation for theoretical discussion. The characteristic of impersonal constructions in Spanish is the materialization of third person singular (3SG) morphology because of the lack of a syntactic subject. Existential verbs like *haber* (*Había₃SG muchos alumnosPL en el aula* 'There were many students in the classroom') or impersonal constructions with the clitic *se* (*Se castigó₃G a los culpablesPL* 'The guilty parties were punished') represent this pattern as it has been widely described. Nevertheless, it is well-known that in many Spanish varieties, these constructions can be pluralized, showing agreement with Case-marked internal arguments (see Rodríguez Mondoñedo 2007, Saab 2009, Gallego 2016): *Habían₃PL muchos alumnosPL en el aula* 'There were many students in the classroom'; *Se castigaron₃PL a los culpablesPL* 'The guilty parties were punished'.

In the case of impersonal constructions with *parecer* 'to seem' –referring to 'perception' or 'opinion'– the double agreement pattern shown in (1) has not received attention in the bibliography devoted to Spanish, neither from descriptive approaches, nor from theoretical ones.

(1)   Los seres humanos **parecen que** son capaces de […]
          the.PL being.PL human.3PL seem.3PL that be.3PL capable.PL of
          'human beings seem to be capable of […]'
          [H. Farro, *Industria pesquera*, 1996, Perú]

According to the literature on Spanish (see Fernández Soriano & Táboas Baylín 1999, Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009) the structure in which *parecer* shows variability in person/number morphology, and the one in which this verb materializes defective 3SG are in complementary distribution, the former being followed by an infinitive verb (2) and the latter by an inflectional sentence headed by *que* 'that' (3). Examples like (1) are judged as "ungrammatical" in different approaches to raising verbs in Spanish (Gallego 2014: 30, for instance).

(2)   Los seres humanos **parecen ser** capaces de […]
          the.PL being.PL human.PL seem.3PL be.INFcapable.PL of
          'human beings seem to be capable of […]'
(3)   **Parece que** los seres humanos **son** capaces de […]
          seem.3G that the.PL being.PL human.PL be.3PL capable.PL of
          'it seems that human beings are capable of […]'

Beyond normative observations, the distribution shown in (2) and (3) has received wide attention from a theoretical perspective. For Generative Grammar, these sentences exemplify the relationship between Case and Agreement. In fact, a verb like *parecer* in (2) is defined as a raising verb because the embedded argument (*Los seres humanos*) is thematic, selected by the adjective (*capaces*), but must raise to the Specifier position of a non-defective TP.[1] In that position it can receive Case. On the other hand, in a sentence like (3), in which the embedded sentence has a non-defective T, the argument does not raise further, and *parecer* presents the morphology of an impersonal verb (3SG). This kind of analyses will be discussed in sections 3 and 4,

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[1] See Gallego (2010: 132- 136) for arguments against Austin's (2001) proposal on *parecer* as a modal verb.

considering data like (1), in which the embedded clause has a non-defective T, and this notwithstanding, a subject raise is not only possible, but also triggers agreement.

The aim of this study is to offer a detailed description of cases in which impersonal constructions present plural morphology and person features –regardless of plurality– to discuss what these data tell us about previous proposals on that topic, specifically, of the relationship between Case assignment and agreement. The paper is divided as follows. In section 2, we provide a detailed description of the data, focusing on agreement and on the presence of dative arguments when possible. In §3, we develop the main theoretical proposals for this kind of constructions. Section 4 is devoted to discussing the problems that the data in §2 pose for previous approaches. Final remarks and conclusions are summarized in section 5.

2. The data

Raising verbs receive descriptive and theoretical attention in the bibliography because of the morphological properties they show according to the characteristics of their complement. Verbs that belong to this group include *parecer* 'to seem', *resultar* 'to turn out', *semejar* 'to seem' (infrequent in colloquial Spanish), among others. This section focuses on the description of the double agreement phenomena with these verbs. The data corresponding to *parecer,* and related constructions, is presented in §2.1. In §2.2 we focus on person agreement. Finally, §2.3 is devoted to Brazilian Portuguese, which presents a similar phenomenon for these verbs.

2.1. Parecen que... *and related constructions*

A brief look at the CORPES XXI data (RAE 2016)[2] shows that the pluralisation of *parecer* would be a minor phenomenon in Spanish (2.8%), compared to standard and normative syntactic construction (*parece que*, 97.2%), as we can see in Table 1. It is interesting to note that both the plural and singular constructions present the same percentages with the verbs analyzed (*parece(n) que son/ están/ han + -do*). In fact, as the examples in this paper show, this phenomenon is productive and it is not restricted to particular verbs or predicates.

Table 1. Cases (N) and percentages (%) of 'parece que' and 'parecen que' from CORPES XXI data

	parece que		*parecen que*		Totals	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
son	119	96.7	4	3.3	123	100
están	141	97.2	4	2.8	145	100
han + -do	165	97.6	4	3.4	169	100
Totals	425	97.2	12	2.8	437	100

Nevertheless, for the documentation of non-normative uses —RAE/ASALE (2009: 2980) considers *parecen que* an incorrect one— different online sources can be

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explored (CORPES XXI, *Corpus del español*[3], written press, personal blogs and social media).[4]

(4)   a. Hola, estaba en un grupo de Facebook pero **parecen que** me sacaron
        hello, was.1SG in a group of Facebook but seem.3PL that me get-out.3PL
        'Hello, I was in a Facebook group but they seem to get me out'
        [Facebook, 19/01/2016, Spain]
    b. estas celebridades **parecen que** se llevan una gran diferencia de años
        DEM.PL celebrity.PL seem.3PL that CL take.3PL a big difference of years
        'Although they are the same age these celebrities seem that they take a great difference of years'
        [Univision, 13/02/2017, USA]

The pluralisation of *parecer* can be documented in the written press from Mexico to Argentina:

(5)   a. La higiene y las barbas pronunciadas **parecen que** no son grandes aliados
        the hygiene and the beards pronounced.PL seem.3PL that not be.3PL big allies
        'Hygiene and pronounced beards do not seem to be great allies'
        [Debate, 17/04/2017, Mexico]
    b. Nos refugiamos en las divinidades y estas **parecen que** son cómplices de los políticos
        CL.1PL take-refuge.1PL in the divinities and DEM.PL seem.3PL that be.3PL accomplices of the politicians
        'We take refuge in the divinities and these seem to be accomplices of politicians'
        [El Periódico, 16/10/2011, Guatemala]
    c. Deudas que **parecen que** no van a acabar.
        debt.PL that seem.3PL that not go.3PL to end.inf.
        'Debts that do not seem to end'
        [Crónica, 07/04/2017, Ecuador]
    d. Chile es tierra de migrantes, algunos **parecen que** lo olvidaron
        Chile is land of migrants, some.PL seem.3PL that it forget.3PL
        'Chile is a land of migrants, some seem to have forgotten'
        [La Prensa Austral, 14/12/2016, Chile]
    e. Los ex cuñados **parecen que** tienen demasiada buena onda
        the ex brothers-in-law.PL seem.3PL that have.3PL too much good vibe
        'Former brothers-in-law seem to have a good vibe... Row on the Nazarena Channel'
        [Muy, 06/04/2017, Argentina]

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[3] The Web/ Dialects option of the *Corpus del español* (Davies 2015-2017) contains nearly two billion words from web pages of the 21 Spanish-speaking countries published between 2013 and 2014 (see www.corpusdelespanol.org).

[4] In all examples presented, its source is duly indicated. In the case of literary examples, the information includes the name of the author, the title of the work, the date of publication and the author's country of origin. In the case of the examples from written press, personal blogs we give the newspaper, blog or social media (Twitter, Facebook) reference, the date of publication and the writer/user's country. It is important to clarify that the searches have respected the standard spelling of Spanish, so we do not take into account other orthographic options (for example: *paresco* instead of *parezco*).

We must also consider examples of *me parecen que.* These cases are particularly interesting because traditionally, it has been said that the presence of experiencer clitics block the raising of embedded subjects (**Juan me parece cantar bien* 'John seems to sing well'). However, the examples below show that raising and agreement occur in combination with *parecer* taking a dative clitic.

(6)   a. Hay dos cosas que España puede hacer excepcionalmente bien […], que a mí
       me parecen que son sencillas
       there-are two thing.PL that Spain can do exceptionally well […], which to
       me CL.1SG seem.3PL that be.3PL simple.PL
       'There are two things that Spain can do exceptionally well [...], which to me
       seem to be simple
       [TVE, 08/10/87, Spain]
       b. Este Gobierno ha hecho dos cosas que recomendé desde el primer día y que
       me parecen que han sido muy positivas
       this Government has done two things that I recommended from the first day
       and that they CL.1SG seem.3PL that they have.3PL been very positive.PL
       'This Government has done two things that I recommended from the first day
       and I think they have been very positive'
       [El Universal, 15/04/1997, Venezuela]
       c. Pero estas precisiones **me parecen que** son necesarias
       but DEM.PL precisions.PL CL.1SG seem.3PL that be.3PL necessary.PL
       'But these precisions seem to me to be necessary'
       [Senado de la República, 22/10/1998, Mexico]

On the other hand, the subordinate can be introduced by the modal *como* ('as') or *si* ('if'), with the meaning of 'giving the impression of being true' (RAE 2005). Some examples of this discursive use with *como que* and *como si* (indicating a hypothetical or supposed value) are the following:

(7)   a. Estas fotos son hechas en la actualidad, pero **parecen como que** fueran del
       siglo XIX
       DEM.PL photo.PL be.3PL made.PL in present time, but seem.3PL **like that**
       be.PRT.3PL from the 19th century
       'These photos are made today, but they look like they were from the 19th
       century'
       [Fulloutdoor, 01/12/2016, Chile]
       b. El Zestiria parece el lado opuesto de Berseria, los personajes **parecen como
       que** hacen siempre lo correcto
       the Zestiria seems.3SG the side opposite of Berseria, the.PL character.PL
       seem.3PL **like that** do.3PL always the right thing
       'The Zestiria seems the opposite side of Berseria, the characters seem like
       they always do the right thing'
       [3djuegos, 11/01/2017, Spain]
       c. Las imágenes más desconcertantes de la serie representan habitaciones que
       parecen como si sus habitantes las acabaran de dejar
       the.PL image.PL more disconcerting.PL of the series represent.3PL room.PL
       that seem.3PL **as if** their.PL inhabitant.PL them have-just.3PL of leave.INF

'The most disconcerting images of the series represent rooms that seem as if their inhabitants have just left them'
[Peru.com, 20/06/2014, Peru]
  d. Sus casas **parecen como si** estuvieran clonadas una a una
    their.PL house.PL seem.3PL **as if** be.3PL cloned.PL one by one
    'Their houses look as if they are cloned one by one'
    [20 minutos, 07/04/2017, Spain]

Furthermore, the subordinate can also be introduced by the preposition *de*, thus raising cases of *dequeísmo*. Demonte & Fernández Soriano (2010) argue that *de* is the head of its own projection inside of a split CP (ForceP). The examples documented in written texts are not abundant, since this is a non-normative feature, but Twitter data show us its use in Peru and Argentina, among other areas.[5]

(8)   a. De cada 10 personas, 6 no necesitan el pasaporte. **Parecen de que** la mayoría son noveleros
        for every 10 people, 6 do not need.3PL the passport. seem.3PL **of** that most of them are bullies.PL
        'For every 10 people, 6 do not need a passport. They seem like most of them are bullies'
        [Twitter, 12/07/2016, Peru]
      b. Vi varios tw, **parecían de que** se había quemado todo
        saw several tw, seem.3PL **de** that it had been burned everything
        'I saw several tw, it seemed that everything had been burned'
        [Twitter, 07/04/2016, Argentina]

Another verb that behaves similarly to *parecer* is *resultar* 'to turn out/happen' (cf. Fernández Soriano & Taboas Baylin 1999). In fact, it does not present a thematic subject, but a derived one as can be shown in the contrast below:

(9)   a. **Resulta que** ellos fueron los culpables
          happen.3SG that they be.3PL the.PL guilty.PL
          'It happens that they were the guilty'
       b. (Ellos) **resultaron** ser los culpables
          they happened.3PL be.INF the.PL guilty.PL
          'They happened to be the guilty'
       c. Juan **resultó** un miedoso
          Juan happened.3PL a coward
          'Juan happened to be a coward'

Unlike *parecer*, *resultar* presents some restrictions. It only admits the alternation between the inflectional and the infinitive clause with copular verbs (**Tu hermana resultó trabajar duro/ arreglar el coche/ morir joven* 'Your sister turned out to work hard/ repair the car/ die young'). Moreover, it does not admit neutral pronouns as complement (**Lo resultó/ ??Eso resultó* 'It turned out'), neither adverbs (**Así resultó* 'it turned out in that way'), nor experiencer dative clitics (**Juan me resultó ser el*

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[5] As an anonymous reviewer points out, dequeismo in some Latin American varieties is related to contrasts in the degree of commitment to the proposition that follows (see, for instance, Di Tullio 2011 and Marchoveccio *et al.* 2014 for the difference between *decir* 'to say' and *decir de* 'to suggest'). As far as we know, there are not such contrasts with *parecer*.

ganador 'Juan turned out to me to be the winner').[6] Nevertheless, like *parecer*, this verb also shows unexpected pluralisation. The following examples belong to Spain (10a-b), El Salvador (10c) and Colombia (10d).[7]

(10) a. Aunque pensamos que son simplemente guías turísticos [...], **resultan que** son verdaderos guardias

    although think.1PL that be.3PL simply tour.PL guide.PL […], turn-out.3PL that be.3PL real.PL guard.PL

    'Although we think they are simply tour guides [...], they turn out to be real guards'

    [Absolutviajes, 11/04/2011, Spain]

   b. los hombres que tienen barriguita 'cervecera' y no se cuidan [...] **resultan que** son súper atractivos

    the men who have.3PL belly 'beer' and not CL take-care.3PL […] turn-out.3PL to be.3PL super attractive.PL

    'men who have 'beer' belly and do not take care of themselves [...] turn out to be super attractive'

    [Qué!, 09/10/2015, Spain]

   c. si **resultan que** están implicados sus casos serán certificados a la Fiscalía

    if turn-out.3PL that are involved.PL their cases will-be.3PL certified.PL to the Office-of-the-Prosecutor

    'If they turn out to be involved, their cases will be certified to the Office of the Prosecutor'

    [El Salvador, 07/04/2016, El Salvador]

   d. pero **resultan que** están a escasamente un metro de los pequeños

    but turn-out.3PL that be.3PL to barely one meter from the little-ones

    '[…] but they turn out to be barely one meter from the little ones'

    [El Tiempo, 09/07/1999, Colombia]

Table 2 shows, firstly, the distribution of pluralization of *parecer* in two verbal forms: present *parecen que* (N=1354) and imperfect *parecían que* (N=165), a well-documented phenomenon in all Spanish varieties. As we can see, the first of these forms reaches a frequency greater than the second one. Therefore, we can estimate that present tense favors pluralization more than any other tense. Furthermore, pluralization of *parecen que* has a score higher than 25% in just one country (Spain, where mobility is a factor: there is a large Latin American population), five other countries (Mexico, USA, Peru, Argentina, and Colombia) have a percentage between 6-10%. Meanwhile, the remaining 15 countries' percentage is of less than 5% (Venezuela to Bolivia). Secondly, Table 2 reports the case of pluralisation of the verb *resultar* in present tense as well: *resultan que* (N=61). In comparison with *parecer*, the cases of *resultar* are significantly less numerous.

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[6] When the complement of *resultar* is an adjective, the occurrence of the dative experiencer is possible: *Juan me resulta antipático/ atractivo* 'Juan turns out to me to be unpleasant/ attractive'.

[7] At the moment, we have not found the plural pattern with *suceder* 'to happen' (*suceden que*).

Table 2. Cases (N) and percentages (%) of 'parecen que', 'parecían que' and 'resultan que' in Corpus del español (Web/ Dialects) data

Country	Parecen que		Parecían que		Resultan que	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Spain	358	26.44	48	29.09	14	22.95
2. Mexico	148	10.93	17	10.30	13	21.31
3. USA	140	10.33	14	8.48	8	13.11
4. Peru	120	8.86	12	7.27	4	6.55
5. Argentina	118	8.71	15	9.09	4	6.55
6. Colombia	86	6.35	7	4.24	2	3.27
7. Venezuela	63	4.65	1	0.60	2	3.27
8. Ecuador	35	2.58	3	1.81	2	3.27
9. Dominican Rep.	34	2.51	3	1.81	2	3.27
10. El Salvador	34	2.51	7	4.24	1	1.63
11. Guatemala	29	2.14	4	2.42	2	3.27
12. Cuba	27	1.99	3	1.81	1	1.63
13. Costa Rica	24	1.77	2	1.21	1	1.63
14. Chile	24	1.77	5	3.03	2	3.27
15. Uruguay	20	1.47	3	1.81	0	0
16. Puerto Rico	19	1.40	5	3.03	0	0
17. Nicaragua	18	1.32	4	2.42	1	1.63
18. Paraguay	18	1.32	2	1.21	0	0
19. Panama	17	1.25	3	1.81	0	0
20. Honduras	13	0.96	6	3.63	0	0
21. Bolivia	9	0.66	1	0.60	1	1.63
Totals	**1354**	**100**	**165**	**100**	**61**	**100**

Finally, we would like to mention the pluralisation found in the constructions with *poder* 'can' in its epistemic use. Again, when *poder* has a *que*-clause as complement, it can agree with the subject of the embedded clause, showing plural morphology.

(11)   a. **Pueden que** se hagan un análisis
        can.3PL that CL do.3PL an analysis
        'It could be that they make themselves an analysis'
        [A. Eisenberg et al., *Qué esperar cuando se está esperando*, 2005, Colombia]
    b. los factores de crecimiento **pueden que** lleguen a ser importantes con el tiempo
        the.PL factor.PL of growing can.3PL that arrive.3PL to be important.PL with the time
        'Growing factors could become to be important though time'
        [El Mundo, 06/03/1997, Spain]

In sum, plural morphology is not restricted to *parecer* (cf. 4-8), but can be found in other impersonal constructions. *Resultar* (cf. 10), as well as *poder* (cf. 11), can be analysed as raising verbs, and in non-normative Spanish, both can present agreement

with the embedded subject regardless of the inflectional properties of the complement clause.

2.2. Beyond plurality

The data shown in §2.2 give rise to the following question: is the phenomenon restricted to 3PL? Examples in (12) and (13) allow us to answer this question: this pattern is also observed when person features are involved.

(12)   **parecemos que queremos** ganar con la camiseta
         seem.1PL that want.1PL win with the shirt
         'It seems that we want to win with the team shirt'
         [RasadeDeportes, 08/09/2017, Mexico]
(13)   algunos **parecéis que vivís** en una cueva
         some.PL seem.2PL that live.2PL in a cave
         'It seems that some of you live in a cave'
         [Forochoches, 13/06/2017, Spain]

Moreover, it must be acknowledged that the singular forms of the first and second person are also possible across Spanish dialects. As discussed in the following sections, the presence of person features is a problem for proposals such as Baker's (2008) (see below).

(14)   a. pero **parezco que** ya estoy vieja y llorona
            but seem.1SG that already be.1SG old and weeping
            'but I look like I'm old and weeping'
            [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Argentina]
         b. **parezco que** estuviera embarazada
            seem.1SG that be.1SG pregnant
            'I seem to be pregnant'
            [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Mexico]
         c. y **parezco que** vengo de la guerra
            and seem.1SG that come.1SG from the war
            'and I seem to come from the war'
            [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Uruguay]
(15)   a. porque **pareces que** estas perdido
            because seem.2SG that be.2SG lost
            'because you look like you're lost'
            [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Bolivia]
         b. Tú **pareces que** persigues soles
            you seem.2SG that be.2SG pursing suns
            'You seem to be pursuing suns'
            [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Honduras]
         c. José **pareces que** vives en una burbuja
            José seem.2SG that you live.2SG in a bubble
            'José, you look like you live in a bubble'
            [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Peru]

Last but not least, dative clitics are also possible when person features are involved (cf. 16, examples from *Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects) data, and 17 from Internet data).

(16)   a. **me pareces que** sos de oposición
         CL.1SG you seem.2SG that you be.2SG from opposition
         'you look like you're from opposition'
         [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Chile]
       b. **me pareces que** el próximo sos vos
         CL.1SG you seem.2SG that the next be.2SG you
         'you seem like the next one is you'
         [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Argentina]
       c. **me pareces que** cocinas con mucho sazón
         CL.1SG you seem.2SG that you cook.2SG with a-lot-of seasoning
         'you look like you cook with a lot of seasoning'
         [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Venezuela]

(17)   a. **me pareceis que** en la mayoría de los casos haceis un trabajo excelente
         CL.1SG you seem.2PL that in the most of cases you do.2PL a job excellent
         'you seem to me that in most cases you do an excellent job'
         [Boards, 23/09/2015, Spain]
       b. pero **me parecemos que** ahora pasamos por "boludos"
         but CL.1SG seem.1PL that now we go through.1PL fools
         'but I think we now go through fools'
         [Tiempo Sur, 06/07/2009, Argentina]
       c. **me parecemos que** le cagamos la vida
         CL.1SG seem.1PL that we screwed-up.1PL his life
         'I think we screwed up his life'
         [Taringa, 04/05/2015, Argentina]

As shown in table 3, there is a significant difference in productivity between the 3PL (92.10%) and first/second person (7.9% of all forms). Nevertheless, something must be said about these constructions and the consequences of these data for theoretical discussion.

Table 3. Cases (N) and percentages (%) of 'parecer + que' in Corpus del español (Web/ Dialects) data

	N	%
parezco que	19	1.29
pareces que	87	5.91
parecemos que	9	0.61
parecéis que	1	0.06
parecen que	1354	**92.10**
Totals	**1470**	100

2.3. The case of Brazilian Portuguese

The phenomenon we have just presented in non-standard Spanish has also received attention in colloquial Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP). In fact, as Fernández-Sánchez (2015: 4) points out, "an apparently similar construction is found in Portuguese, Greek or Romanian, where a plural subject triggers plural agreement on the raising verb". For this author, this kind of agreement is the result of A'-Movement: a fronted constituent sits in the left periphery of the matrix clause and in that position triggers agreement. In sections 3 and 4, we discuss different theoretical proposals.

As has been highlighted in the literature (see for instance Fernández-Salgueiro 2008, Martins & Nunes 2010, among many others), in BP, when *parecer* is followed by an infinitive, the former, as well as the infinitive, can show agreement. As a result, it is possible to find three constructions: one in which only *parecer* shows agreement (18a) –this is considered the most frequent one–; another in which agreement appears in the infinitive (18b); and finally, a construction in which both *parecer* and the infinitive show agreement with the embedded subject.

(18)   a. Carine e Davi **parecem** gostar um do outro
          Carine and Davi seem.3PL like.INF one of.the other
        b. Carine e Davi parece **gostarem** um do outro
          Carine and Davi seem.3SG like.INF.3PL one of.the other
        c. Carine e Davi **parecem gostarem** um do outro
          Carine and Davi seem.3PL like.INF.3PL one of.the other
          'Carine and Davi seem to like each other'

Interestingly, when *parecer* takes a *que*-clause as complement, it shows the same behaviour as non-standard Spanish (see Ferreira 2000, Fernández-Salgueiro 2008, and Martins & Nunes 2010).

(19)   a. Os meninos **parecem que viajaram** ontem
          the.PL boy.PL look like.3PL that they traveled.3PL yesterday
          'The boys look like they traveled yesterday'
          [Martins & Nunes 2010: 145]
        b. As luzes **parecem que ficaram** mais fortes
          the.PL light.PL seem.3PL that they get.3PL more strong
          'The lights seem to get stronger'
          [B. Palandi, *O Criminoso*, 2017, Brazil]
        c. **Parecem que não vivem** no Brasil, aqui todo ano estoura uma música e tem milhões de views
          seem.3PL that not live.3PL in Brazil, here all year pops up.3SG a song and it has.3SG millions of views
          'They do not seem to live in Brazil, every year a song pops up and it has millions of views'
          [Twitter, 22/07/2017, Brazil]

BP, as well as non-standard Spanish, present agreement with singular subjects, and consequently, person features are involved in the morphology of *parecer*.

(20)   Eu **pareço que** 'tou doente
        I seem.1SG that be.1SG sick
        'I seem to be sick'
        [Martins & Nunes 2010: 146]

2.4. Summing up
To summarize this section, non-standard Spanish presents double-agreement with [*parecer* + *que*-clause] and related constructions. Moreover, the occurrence of experiencer clitics and other complementizers such as *como* (*si*) (cf. 7) or *de que* (cf. 8) does not affect the possibility of having double-agreement. Finally, this kind of unexpected agreement is not restricted to the third person, but it is also found when

person features are involved. It is relevant to mention that BP shows a similar behaviour to that of non-standard Spanish. In the following section, we present the main debates proposed for Spanish raising verbs and for cases like BP examples shown in (19).

3. Raising constructions: Case assignment and Agreement

In the introduction to this paper, we referred to the significance of these constructions as a theoretical discussion about Case assignment and Agreement. Moreover, the comparison between Spanish and English impersonal constructions provides evidence to assume an expletive null pronoun for the former (*pro*[expl] *parece que*...), which is the null counterpart of the English expletive pronoun *it* (*It seems that*...). All these ingredients played a significant role in understanding the movement to a subject position, and derived from the formulation of the *Extended Projection Principle* (EPP) (Chomsky 1981, 1982), which requires that all sentences have a subject. As is well known, the EPP has been reinterpreted and reformulated throughout the years (see Bošković 2007 for an overview), however, this principle still refers to Inflection and, taking into account the data presented in §2, it is relevant to review some proposals related to raising constructions. In this section, we focus on the distribution of *que*-clauses (*that*-clauses) and infinitive clauses (§3.1), and on the occurrence of a dative experiencer with these verbs (§3.2).

3.1. Inflection, Case and Movement

Raising verbs exemplify what is called A-Movement, i.e. the movement from and to an argumental position. In this case, an embedded argument moves to the SpecTP related to *parecer* when it takes an infinitive (or adjectival) complement, leaving a trace in its original position, in the Government and Binding (GB) terminology.

(21)   ___ parece [Juan trabajar mucho/ cansado]
         ___ seems [John to work hard/ tired]
(22)   Juan$_i$ parece [t_i trabajar mucho/ cansando]
         John$_i$ seems [to t_i work hard/ tired]

In the Principles & Parameters framework, it is said that what motivates this movement is the absence of a φ-complete T in the embedded clause, with which the subject can check its case. According to the Case Filter (Chomsky 1981: 49), every overt DP must be assigned abstract Case, and to get Case, it must move to a finite T. On the other hand, when the embedded clause presents a finite T, movement does not take place because the DP gets its Case inside the *que*-clause.

(23)   ___ parece que [Juan trabaja mucho]
         ___ seems that [John work.3SG hard]
(24)   Parece que [Juan trabaja mucho]
         It seems that [John works hard]

In GB terminology, raising verbs like *parecer* do not theta-mark the subject position, a position required for the EPP, but as it is related to a φ-complete T, it assigns Nominative Case. In an embedded non-finite clause, the subject position is theta-marked but it cannot assign Case. Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach (2009: 354) mention some cases in which movement takes place despite the fact that the complement of *parecer* is a *que*-clause.

(25)　　a. Luis **parece que** vino
　　　　　Luis seem.3SG that come.3SG
　　　　　'Luis seems to have come'
　　　　b. Tus primos **parece que** vinieron
　　　　　your.PL cousin.PL seem.3SG that come.3PL
　　　　　'Your cousins seem to have come'
　　　　　[adapted from Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009: 354]

Example (25b) clearly shows that DP movement does not trigger agreement with *parecer* – this verb still materializing 3SG morphology. The authors point out that in these cases, the DP moves for topicalization, but the construction remains impersonal (see also Holmlander 2004 and Fernández-Sánchez 2015). As has been mentioned, agreement cannot be possible in standard Spanish, but it is found in colloquial Brazilian Portuguese (BP) as Martins & Nunes (26) show.

(26)　　Os meninos **parecem que** eles viajaram ontem.
　　　　The.PL boy.PL seem.3PL that they travelled.3PL yesterday
　　　　'The boys seem to have travelled yesterday'
　　　　[Martins & Nunes 2010: 145]

According to Martins & Nunes, the DP that triggers agreement behaves like a topic in (26) allowing the resumptive pronoun *eles* 'they'. They compare examples like (26) with (27), which were presented in §2.

(27)　　Os meninos **parecem que** viajaram ontem
　　　　The.PL boy.PL seem.3PL that travelled.3PL yesterday
　　　　'The boys seem to have travelled yesterday'
　　　　[Martins & Nunes 2010: 145]

As Ferreira (2000 and subsequent work) shows, the DP *os meninos* 'the boys' in (27) does not behave as a topic, but as a derived subject.[8] The author proposes that finite Ts in BP are ambiguous in being associated with either a complete or an incomplete set of φ-features. In the former case, T is a Case assigning head, and consequently, it assigns nominative to the subject DP, freezing it for further movement. In the latter, T cannot assign Case, and therefore the DP appears in a hyper-raising configuration. Following Ferreira's proposals, Nunes (2008) argues that φ-completeness is related to the presence of number features on T: when T is only specified with number features –and not with person features– the DP cannot valuate its Case, and it is active for agreement and A-movement (*Activity Condition*, Chomsky 2000: 131).

(28)　　$[_{TP}$ $T_{\varphi\text{-complete}}$ $[_{VP}$ seem $[_{CP}$ that $[_{TP}$ DP $T_{\varphi\text{-incomplete}}...]]]]$

Chomsky (2000: 124) argues that a Probe T is defective when it lacks either number or person features. There are some further specifications regarding the discussion about Tφ-complete/incomplete as a strong or a weak phase in Chomsky's (2000, 2001) terms, which will not be handled here, as they are not immediately relevant to the discussion at hand. For current purposes, we want to focus on the

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[8] We revisit Ferreira's arguments in the following section.

relationship between Case and Inflection which has been proposed to help explain the DP subject distribution in verbs like *parecer*. Accordingly, Baker (2008: 210) points out that Indo-European languages sometimes show a limited form of double agreement, but that this double agreement "never happens when the lower verb is a fully verbal, finite form". In fact, the author mentions that there is a lack of person features involved in this specific agreement (there is just number/gender agreement).

3.2. Experiencers with parecer

Discussion about raising also concerns the presence of dative DPs with *parecer*[9], because experiencers clitics blocks the raising of embedded subjects, as has been studied in detail by Torrego (1996, 1998, 2002).[10]

(29)   **Me parece que** Juan trabaja mucho
       me seem.3SG that Juan work.3SG hard
       'It seems to me that John works hard'
(30)   a. *Juan **me parece** trabajar mucho
         Juan me seem.3SG work.inf hard
         'Juan seems to me to work hard'
      b. *Me parece trabajar mucho Juan.
         me seem.3SG work.inf hard Juan

Considering different data, Torrego argues that the status of *parecer* as a raising or a modal verb is parasitic on the presence of the experiencer. When the clitic is present, *parecer* is a raising verb.[11] She proposes that in this case, there is a new peripheral head P, higher than T, related to point of view: [$_{PP}$ **P**[$_{TP}$ T$_S$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{PP}$EXP] *seem* [...]]]]]. The clitic realization of the experiencer prevents subject-to-subject raising, and blocks Agree even if the subject remains *in situ* (30b).

Nonetheless, the presence of the experiencer in other languages gives rise to interesting theoretical discussion regarding intervention effects: the clitic should trigger agreement or at least it should block agreement with the embedded subject according to locality; however, in many languages it does not. That phenomenon is known as the *Experiencer Paradox*.

(31)   John$_i$ seems [$_{PP}$ **to Mary**] [$_{CP}$ C$_{def}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ T to be t$_i$ the best]]

Torrego's (2002) solution for the *Experiencer Paradox* is that both the peripheral P head and the experiencer PP have a [person] feature which needs to be checked by Agree. In the case of English (the derived subject triggering agreement), the author proposes that the embedded subject must be raised before the merger of P in the structure. In Spanish, the derivation crashes because when the peripheral P is merged, every DP has checked its Case feature: the derived subject checks its Case against matrix T and the experiencer (a null *pro*) checks its Case against the clitic. As there is

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[9] Unlike agreement facts, experiencers DPs do not appear with all raising verbs.

[10] It necessary to mention, that the judgments regarding the ungrammaticality of the data in (30) are not shared by many speakers of Spanish. As an anonymous reviewer points out, it would be relevant to explore if there is a relationship between accepting/not accepting the dative and lacking/having double agreement. We leave this topic for future research, because the sources explored for our data do not allow us to establish a connection between these two facts.

[11] See Pujalte & Saab (2011) for a different approach to the dative clitic intervention in this construction. The authors propose an analysis in which *parecer* is always a raising verb.

no active element left, P cannot valuate "its uninterpretable features, and the resulting derivation does not converge at LF" (Torrego 2002: 258). In the following section, we revisit this proposal considering the data described in §2, which pose new problems for the Experiencer Paradox.

4. What does Spanish variation tell us about Case and agreement?
    The data presented in §2 shows that in non-standard Spanish, the embedded subject can trigger agreement with raising verbs regardless of the inflectional properties of the embedded clause. In fact, agreement is also possible when a dative experiencer merges with the structure (*Me parecen que son simpáticos* 'They seem to me to be nice'). Furthermore, some analyses have been proposed considering the standard data, which point out the interaction between Case and agreement (see Gallego 2009, 2014, López 2015). In this regard, the discussions around the phenomenon in BP seem to be relevant in order to review Spanish data. In the previous section, we briefly presented Martin & Nunes' proposal: that in BP the DP that triggers agreement could be the subject of the main clause or it could be a topic. In the latter case, a resumptive pronoun appears. In Spanish, different authors mention that the embedded subject can move to a topic position, but the main verb (*parecer*, *resultar*) goes on showing 3SG verbal morphology (see examples in (25) from Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009). This section is devoted to revisiting the theoretical proposals presented in section 3, to be able to establish what the data in §2 can tell us about the relationship between Case and agreement.

4.1. Case and Agreement: marriage in trouble
    The data under discussion are relevant for theoretical purposes about Case and agreement in at least two ways. On the one hand, the double agreement pattern is problematic for explanations regarding DP movement for Case reasons (*Activity Condition*). On the other hand, if Case motivation is dismissed, something must be said about the kind of movement involved: is it the result of A'-Movement? Specifically, if the DP moves to an argument position –i.e., subject *hyper-raising*–, agreement with *parecer* 'to seem' is explained, but the reasons of DP movement remain uncertain. If the DP is subject to A'-Movement instead, the presence of the Experiencer is explained (see for instance Fernández-Sánchez 2015), but it would be necessary to determine how a DP topic agrees with *parecer*. As shown in the following examples, fronting movement is not necessary for agreement. Nevertheless, data like (32) are more productive than the one in (33).

(32)   a. <u>algunos</u> **parecen que** lo intuyen
            some.PL seem.3PL that it intuit.3PL
            'some seem to intuit'
            [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Spain]
        b. <u>muchos</u> **parecen que** no leen los correos
            many.PL seem.3PL that not read.3PL the emails
            'many seem not to read the emails'
            [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Argentina]
        c. <u>sus asesores</u> **parecen que** estuvieran viviendo en otro país
            his/her/their.PL advisor.PL seem.3PL that be.3PL living in another country
            'his/her/their advisors seem to be living in another country'
            [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Bolivia]

(33)   a. en el video **parecen que** son <u>los Aymaras</u> los que lo hacen[12]
      in the video seem.3PL that are.3PL the.PL Aymaras.PL the.PL who it do.3PL
      'in the video it seems that it is the Aymaras who do it'
      [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Bolivia]
    b. **parecen que** <u>algunos</u> todavía quieren seguir creyendo
      seem.3PL that some.PL still want.3PL continue.INF believing
      'it seems that some still want to continue believing'
      [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Spain]
    c. **parecen que** <u>los aviones</u> vuelan bajo
      seem.3PL that the.PL plane.PL fly.3PL low
      'it seems that the planes fly low'
      [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Spain]

Moreover, there are also clear examples of hanging topics (34) and multiple topics (35) which trigger agreement.

(34)   a. Acerca de <u>los zapatos</u>, si **te parecen que** están muy desactualizados y puedes comprarte unos nuevos, mejor
      about the.PL shoe.PL, if CL.2SG think.3PL that be.3PL very outdated.PL and you can buy some.PL new.PL, better
      'About the shoes, if you think they are very outdated and you can buy new ones, better'
      [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Colombia]
    b. <u>sus técnicos</u>ᵢ **me parecen que** hay algunosᵢ excelentes
      his/her/your.PL technicians.PL CL.1SG think.3PL that there-are some.PL excellent
      'his/her/your technicians I think there are some excellent'
      [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Peru]
    c. Y volviendo a <u>las casualidades</u>, también **me parecen que** pueden ser buenas
      and going-back to the.PL coincidence.PL, also CL.1SG seem.3PL that can.3PL be good.PL
      'And going back to coincidences, I also think that they can be good'
      [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Argentina]
    d. ¿<u>Los derechos de autor</u>? **Parecen que** no existen.
      the.PL right.PL of author? Seem.3PL that no exist.3PL
      'Authors' rights? They seem not to exist'
      [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Peru]
(35)   a. <u>eso</u> algunos **parecen que** no lo entienden
      that some.PL people.PL seem.3PL that not it understand.3PL
      'that some people seem to not understand'
      [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Spain]
    b. pero <u>en tu artículo</u> <u>los israelitas</u> **parecen que** son ovejas
      but in your paper the.PL Israeli.PL seem.3PL that are sheep.PL
      'but in your paper, Israelis seem to be sheeps'
      [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), USA]

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[12] Note that *los Aymaras* is a focalized constituent inside the *que*-clause.

If we assume that in these dialects topics can trigger agreement (like in Brazilian Portuguese stated by Nunes 2016), we would expect to find productive agreement with different topics not only in raising constructions, but also in any sentence.[13]As Martins & Nunes point out, the fact that topics behave like regular subjects in BP is independent of raising constructions (36a): "if there is no element in subject position, a topicalized locative or possessor may occupy this position and trigger verbal agreement" (p. 153). As mentioned, these elements can undergo *hyper-raising* (36b).

(36)   a. [Essas gavetas]ᵢ cabe-m muita coisa Øᵢ
          DEM.PL drawer.PL fit-3PL many things
          'Many things can fit in these drawers'
       b. [Essas gavetas] **parece-m que** Øᵢ cabe-m muita coisa Øᵢ
          DEM.PL drawer.PL seem-3PL that fit-3PL many things
          'It seems that many things can fit in these drawers'

According to our corpus, agreement in Spanish dialects is mainly triggered by the subject of the embedded clause. In fact, there are examples of object topicalization – inside and outside the embedded clause–, but *parecer* still agrees with the subject.[14]

(37)   a. Ahora **parecen que** a Zubeldíaᵢ no loᵢ van a bancar
          now seem.3PL that to Zubeldía not him.SG go.3PL to bank
          'Now it seems that they are not going to support Zubeldía'
          [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Argentina]
       b. pues pocos incentivos **parecen que** tienen estos trabajadores
          because few.PL incentive.PL seem.3PL that have.3PL these workers
          'because few incentives seem to have these workers'
          [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Spain]
       c. a algunos **parecen que** los riegan
          to some.PL seem.3PL that them.PL be-watered.3PL
          'some seem to be watered'
          [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Spain]

Nevertheless, it is worthy to mention that there are some clear cases of non-subject DPs agreeing with *parecer*. As examples in (38) show, the embedded verb, along with *parecer*, presents different inflectional morphology. The main difference with BP is that this kind of agreement is not possible outside of the raising construction.[15]

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[13] An anonymous reviewer suggests that "a way of testing whether these elements are topics or not would be to try to have them embedded with recomplementation". At the moment, we have not found examples of this kind in our corpus.

[14] The example below seems to be a case of object focalization:
i. la vida parecen que te hacen de cuadritos
   the life seem.3PL to make.3PL you small squares
   'life seems to make you small squares'
   [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Colombia]

[15] There are also some examples with the impersonal verb *haber*. In these cases agreement with the object is frequent in different dialects (see Rodríguez Mondoñedo 2007, among many others), but this does not depend on topicalization.
i. Había-n técnicos excelentes.
   there were-3PL technician.PL excellent.PL
   'There were some excellent technicians'
ii. sus técnicosᵢ me parecen que hay algunosᵢ excelentes
    his/her/your.PL technicians.PL CL.1SG think.3PL that there are some.PL excellent

(38)   a. <u>estas personas</u> **parecen que** no <u>les</u> gusta su oficio
           DEM.PL people.PL seem.3PL that not to them.PL like their trade
           'these people do not seem to like their trade'
           [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), USA]
       b. <u>las cosas</u> que todavía quedan y **parecen que** no <u>las</u> vemos
           the.PL things.PL that still be.3PL and seem.3PL that not them.PL see.1PL
           'things that are still there and it seems that we do not see them'
           [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Venezuela]
       c. <u>algunos defectos superficiales</u> **parecen que** Dios mismo <u>los</u> deja en los santos
           some.PL defect.PL superficial seem.3PL that God himself them.PL leaves in the saints
           'some superficial defects seem that God himself leaves them in the saints'
           [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Mexico]
       d. les siguen <u>los otros dos del Correa y Evo, que</u> más **parecen que** Chávez <u>les</u> amarró un par de pitas en el gatillo
           them be-followed.3PL the other two from Correa and Evo, who more look like.3PL that Chavez them.PL tied a couple of pitas on the trigger
           'they are followed by the other two from Correa and Evo, who look more like Chavez tied a couple of pitas on the trigger'
           [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Guatemala]
       e. **parecen que** nunca un tren <u>los</u> atropella
           seem.3PL that never a train.SG them.PL hit.3SG
           'they never seem to be hit by a train'
           [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Colombia]
       f. empresas como Viscofan **parecen que** no <u>les</u> afecta nada
           company.PL like Viscofan seem.3PL that not them.PL affect.3SG nothing
           'companies like Viscofan seem to be affected by nothing'
           [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Spain]

Regarding agreement with different topics, the occurrence of these cases represents a low percentage of the total (c. 1,2%). This notwithstanding, when we compare them with all the examples in which a non-subject DP is topicalized, the number changes significantly (66,6%).[16]

The presence of a DP linearly preceding the verb *parecer* in general Spanish has motivated discussions about the status of the moved DP, and consequently, about the kind of movement involved. Fernández-Salgueiro (2011), for instance, considers this configuration as the result of hyper-raising (A-Movement). Accordingly, he presents different arguments to defend the proposal that the DP subject of the embedded clause raises to the specifier of TP in the matrix clause. One of the many tests that allegedly argue for an A-Movement analysis is *ad sensum* agreement behavior (i.e., agreement according to meaning, like in *a group (of students)* or collective DPs as *equipo* 'team'). Fernández-Salgueiro claims that syntactic agreement is only possible with A-Movement (preverbal subjects), while movement to a Topic position triggers both

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    'his/her/your technicians I think there are some excellent'
    [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Peru]
[16] We are not considering examples like (37c,d) as instances of topicalized object agreement, but we do not know whether they are or not.

syntactic and semantic agreement.[17] A different position is assumed in Fernández-Sánchez (2015), who argues that there is not something like hyper-raising in Spanish. Regarding *ad sensum* agreement (one of Fernández-Salgueiro's test), this author demonstrates compellingly that there is no distinction between A-movement and A'-Movement and, consequently, it does not constitute evidence in favor (or against) hyper-raising.[18]

Going back to non-standard Spanish, the data in our corpus show that the so-called *ad sensum* agreement is possible, and in fact, it also triggers double plural agreement (39). However, as Fernández-Sánchez claims, "the availability of semantic agreement does not really hinge on movement type" (2015: 9). It means that the behavior shown by DPs in (39) does not shed light on the kind of movement involved.

(39)   a. este grupo de jugadores actuales **parecen que** tuviesen sangre yuca
       this group of player.PL current.PL seem.3PL that have.3PL blood yucca
       'this group of current players seem to have cassava blood'
       [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Colombia]

      b. Incluso el grupo de curas presentes **parecen que** tienen sus pensamientos en otro lugar
       even the group of priest.PL present.PL seem.3PL that have.3PL their thoughts in other place
       'Even the group of present priests seem to have their thoughts elsewhere'
       [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Spain]

      c. La mayoría de estos medios y sus periodistas **parecen que** olvidaron los últimos acontecimientos
       the most of DEM.PL media.PL and their.PL journalists.PL seem.3PL that forget.3PL the latest events
       'Most of these media and their journalists seem to have forgotten the latest events'
       [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Paraguay]

Finally, and related to the previous remark, it is worthy of mention that null subjects (40), as well as non-topicalized subjects (41), can trigger plural agreement. This group of examples would show that double agreement takes place, regardless of overt DP movement.

(40)   a. aunque **parecen que** la asustaron
       although seem3PL that her scare.3PL
       'although they seem to scare her'
       [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Argentina]

      b. **Parecen que** tienen buenas perspectivas
       seem.3PL to have.3PL good.PL perspective.PL
       'They seem to have good perspectives'
       [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Spain]

      c. En este programa **parecen que** le están lavando las caras a los impresentables de la corrupción [impersonal]

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[17] It is proposed (see Brucart's 1997 classical paper, for instance) that partitive and pseudo-partitive constructions trigger both syntactic and semantic agreement, the former being singular and the latter being plural as result of a plural/collective interpretation. See also Corbett (2003).
[18] See Fernández-Sánchez (2015) for relevant discussion about Fernández-Salgueiro's tests.

in this program seem.3PL CL.3SG be.3PL washing the.PL face.PL to the.PL unpresentable.PL of the corruption
'In this program they seem to be washing the faces of the unpresentable of corruption'
[*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Peru]

(41)   a. opuestas **parecen que** eran <u>sus personalidades</u>[19]
opposite.PL seem.3PL that be.3PL their.PL personality.PL
'opposite they seem to be their personalities'
[*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Spain]

    b. en esta inmensa soledad **parecen que** se han potenciado <u>todas esas características</u>
in this immense solitude seem.3PL that CL have.3PL enhanced all.PL DEM.PL characteristics.PL
'in this immense solitude it seems that all these characteristics have been enhanced'
[*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Costa Rica]

    c. **Parecen que** fermentan <u>las borrascas</u>[20]
seem.3PL that ferment.3PL the.PL storm.PL
'They seem to ferment the storms'
[*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Mexico]

    d. Por todas partes **parecen que** se cierran <u>los caminos de la hispanidad</u>
for all parts seem.3PL that CL close.3PL the.PL road.PL of Hispanicness
'Everywhere it seems that the roads of Hispanicness are closed'
[*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), USA]

In sum, the variation observed is relevant and we should be careful with the relationship between Case and agreement. Following Chomsky's (2000, 2001) terminology, whatever Case may be, agreement does not depend on the activity or inactivity of the Goal[21]. We could assume any kind of defectiveness in the embedded CP, but the data do not clearly support this hypothesis. In fact, examples like the ones we have seen (37) would force us to also assume a defective Probe *v**. Some data seem to provide evidence for an A'-Movement analysis, in which a topicalized DP triggers agreement with *parecer*. Nevertheless, there are quite a few examples of agreement with a not-so-clear topicalized DDPP (39)-(40). Again, as in many other cases of unexpected agreement, the rule in these dialects seems to be "just agree", as if defective agreement (or agreement with a null expletive) were not possible. And the most local DP, regardless of Case, becomes a Goal. The technicisms of this observation are not the focus of this paper. Nevertheless, the features involved in this phenomenon deserve discussion, as we show in the following sections.

4.2. The Paradox of the Experiencer Paradox

The *Experiencer Paradox* is a problem for locality effects in Minimalist terms (see section 3.2). In Preminger's (2014: 133) words: "datives cannot be thought as nonbearers of φ-features, since they interact with φ-probing; but they cannot be thought of as normal bearers of φ-features either, since they quite plainly do not

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[19] *Opuestas* 'opposed' is in a focalized position and, as expected, it triggers subject inversion.
[20] This phrase belongs to the poem *Nido de cóndores* 'Condors' nest' (Olegario V. Andrade). The original text presents the standard agreement: *Parece que fermentan las borrascas*.
[21] Or at least, DPs activity does not depend on Case in all languages/varieties, as Carstens (2011) points out for agreement in Bantu languages.

behave as such". As mentioned, Spanish, contrary to English (42), does not present this paradox because the dative is impossible with embedded infinitive clauses (43).

(42)   They **seem to him** to like John
        [Chomsky 1995: 304]
(43)   a. *Ellos le$_i$ **parecen** a Ana$_i$ estar contentos
            they CL.DAT seem.3PL to Ana to be happy.PL
            'They seem to Ann to be happy'
         b. A Ana le **parece que** ellos están contentos
            to Ann CL.DAT seem.3SG that they be.3PL happy.PL
            'It seems to Ana that they are happy'

Nonetheless, in the dialects presented here, we find a mixed pattern. The DP subject agrees with *parecer*, like in (43a), but the presence of the experiencer remains possible, like in (43b).

(44)   a. Las parejas interraciales **a mí me parecen que** van...
           the.PL couple.PL interracial.PL to me CL.1SG think.3PL that go.3PL
           'Interracial couples I think are going'
           [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Argentina]
        b. cada uno de los elementos **a mí me parecían que** sonaban armónicos
           each one of the.PL element.PL to me CL.1SG seemed.3PL that sound.3PL
           harmonic.PL
           'each of the elements seemed to me to sound harmonic'
           [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Peru]
        c. Algunos casos **me parecen que** serán valiosos
           some.PL case.PL CL.1SG seem.3PL that will-be.3PL valuable.PL
           'Some cases I think will be valuable'
           [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Costa Rica]

If (44) is the result of *hyper-raising*, then we are dealing with the *Experiencer Paradox* in Spanish: where the dative should block agreement as an intervener, but it does not (like in English). Regarding Torrego's explanation, the embedded subject cannot raise because the experiencer is already merged. The point is that, raising or not, the embedded DP agrees with the subject and Torrego explicitly argues that the constituent, which blocks agreement, is the experiencer.

Again, DP fronting can be the result of A'-Movement, as Fernández Sánchez argues, but the problem for agreement still remains. For example, we could say that *parecer* agrees with a topic and therefore Spanish is well-behaved as far as the *Experiencer Paradox*. But there is a new paradox because a DP triggers agreement even when not being a topic. As shown in (45), the DP-triggering agreement can be a null subject (45a), an embedded subject (45b) or a right dislocated subject (45c).

(45)   a. **a mí no me parecen que** sean lo mismo [null subject]
           to me not CL.1SG seem.3PL that be.3PL the same
           'I do not think they are the same'
        b. **a mí me parecen que** <u>tus ideas</u> son geniales
           to me CL.1SG seem.3PL that your.PL idea.PL be. 3PL great.PL
           'it seems to me that your ideas are great'
        c. **a mí me parecen que** divagan demasiado <u>algunas personas</u>

to me CL.1SG seem.3PL that wander.3PL too-much some.PL people.PL
'it seems to me that some people wander too much'

Finally, there are true locality effects when the experiencer is a plural DP. As the examples below show (46), *parecer* agrees with the experiencer which is against the *Experiencer Paradox,* and against the explanation regarding the lack of the Paradox in Spanish.[22]

(46)   a. A muchos **les parecen que** tanta libertad para el individuo equivale a una anarquía total
        to many.PL CL.DAT.PL seem.3PL that so much freedom.3SG for the individual amount.3SG to an anarchy total
        'It seems to many that so much freedom for the individual amounts to total anarchy'
        [*Corpus del español* (Web/Dialects), Argentina]
     b. ¿Qué **les parecen que** haya tantos temas de amor tipo pop de rap?
        what CL.DAT.3PL think.3PL that there-be.3SG many.PL song.PL of love like pop rap?
        'What do you think there are so many rap-like-pop love songs?'
        [Hip Hop Groups, 08/01/2013, Mexico]
     c. A muchos no **les parecen que** sea la postura apropiada para un técnico
        to many.PL not CL.DAT.3PL seem.3PL that be.3SG the.3SG position.3SG appropriate for a technician
        'Many do not seem to be the appropriate position for a technician'
        [Goal, 23/06/2014, Mexico]

4.3. Personality disorders

The next problematic aspect, for theoretical purposes, regards person features and the fact that, in Spanish, plurality is always involved in unexpected agreement phenomena. As we have mentioned, some of these phenomena are analyzed in terms of defective Probes. In fact, Nunes (2008) argues that when a Probe lacks person features the DP cannot valuate its Case, and therefore, it is active for agreement. Baker (2008: 210) develops a similar explanation regarding limited double agreement in Indo European languages when the embedded predicate is defective for person features (adjectives, participles). In sum, defective Probes cannot value the Case of a DP and, consequently, it is active for agreement with another Probe.

Depending on the approach to third person features, this kind of explanation could be maintained for general examples. Let us assume that the third person is the lack of person features (Halle 1997, among many others). All other things being equal, it is possible to propose that the embedded T is φ-incomplete in these dialects. Accordingly, the embedded DP subject cannot valuate its Case feature, and it remains active for agreement. The next Probe is related to the T over *parecer*, which is φ-complete. As the DP is active, it is a proper Goal, and triggers agreement. The result is the double agreement pattern.

(47) $[_{TP}$ $T_{\varphi\text{-complete}}$ $[_{VP}$ parecen $[_{CP}$ que $[_{TP}$ DP_{PL} $T_{\varphi\text{-incomplete}}$...$]]]]$

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[22] We cannot propose that the experiencer is an interventor, because all the examples in our corpus lack overt hyper-raising. To consider the dative as an interventor, we should find examples with the following characteristics: DP_{SG} EXP_{PL} *parece-n*$_{PL}$ *que* V_{SG}...

The problem in the dialects under review is that this phenomenon is not restricted to the third person. But, as shown in §2.2, double agreement with first and second person is less frequent, however, still possible. Interestingly, it is not limited to plurals, and the embedded verb, as well as *parecer,* shows the same person/number morphology. In a feature sharing approach (Frampton & Gutmann 2000), the idea of defectiveness could be maintained. Nevertheless, the panorama shown throughout these pages deserves the revision of approaches that relate agreement to Case.

5. Final remarks

The main goal of these pages was twofold: to present a more complete description of a double agreement phenomenon with raising verbs in Spanish, and accordingly, to highlight the consequences that these data present to agreement and Case approaches. Descriptively, it is noteworthy that the phenomenon is geographically widespread, and it is productive. It is more frequent when third person plural morphology is involved, but it is not confined to these features. Moreover, double agreement is also found when a dative Experiencer is present.

Theoretically, double agreement is problematic for traditional explanations about raising verbs, agreement and movement. According to the relationship between agreement and movement, we know that *parecer* can agree with dislocated DPs and hanging topics. This means that agreement is not contingent on A-Movement, but it can be triggered by A'-Movement. Nevertheless, non-topicalized subject DDPP can also trigger double-agreement. Plural number features and locality seem to be responsible for agreement, regardless of topicalization.

Finally, the comparison of this phenomenon and other cases of unexpected inflection in impersonal construction is relevant for further research on variation regarding agreement. In some dialects, agreement is blocked by locality effects, giving rise to defective third-person singular morphology. Other dialects behave as if there were a rule of obligatory agreement with the nearest DP. This observation can be revisited in terms of Activity or in terms of Phases, probably the two sides of the same coin.

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