

INTRO: Work on allocutive agreement (ALLAGR) patterns has shown significant variability with respect to several aspects related to clause type, agreement restrictions, and the general nature of obligatory implementation. In this abstract, I propose a novel Agree-based account for ALLAGR in Galician (GALLAGR). Taking an *interaction/satisfaction* model approach (Deal 2015, 2021, *a.o.*), I show that constraints on ALLAGR may be syntactically predicted based on the fact that GALLAGR may not surface if an addressee [ADDR] feature surfaces on a DP in the c-command domain of the probe (above TP). I claim that valuation of this feature prohibits its spell-out at PF and that GALLAGR surfaces as a Last Resort strategy only after valuation has failed.

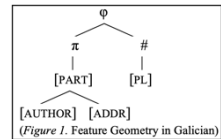
DATA: Galician ALLAGR shares the same morphological identity as 2nd-person datives in both singular and plural forms (*che*, *vos*), as well as 3rd-person ‘formal’ forms (*lle*, *lles*). Unlike most ALLAGR phenomena (Antonov 2015), Galician does not show a specification for gender. Galician pairs with Tamil (McFadden 2020) in the fact that it may appear in both matrix and embedded clauses (1), unlike Basque (Haddican 2018) and Korean (Pak 2017). It may also appear in both clauses within the same utterance, owing to a one-agreement-morpheme-per-clause restriction (2). Within the Galician clitic paradigm, GALLAGR distinguishes itself from other dative uses in that it may combined with any verb type (even those ruled out with ethical datives; cf. 3a-b). It may also combine with any number of argumental and non-argumental clitics, showing no PCC effect (4).

- (1) a. Non **vos** son a mellor persoa pra isto
NEG ALLAGR be.PRS.1SG the best person for this
‘I’m not the best person for this.’
b. Xurastedes que **che** tiña xeito
swear.PST.2PL COMP ALLAGR have.IMPF.3SG manner
‘You swore that it made sense.’
- (2) Sabía-**lles** que **lles** era importante cando **lles** veu.
know.IMPF.1SG-ALLAGR COMP ALLAGR be.IMPF.3SG important when ALLAGR come.PST.3SG
‘I knew that it was important when he came along.’
- (3) a. Hai-**che** unhas moi boas
be.EXIST.3SG-ALLAGR some very good
‘There are some really good ones.’
b. *Hai-**me** moito traballo por facer
be.EXIST.3SG-CL_{DAT}.1SG much work for do.INF
Intended: ‘There is a lot of work to do (and it’s bogging me down).’
- (4) Ía achegando-se-**che-me-lle** o lume ó meu neno
go.IMPF.3SG arrive.PROG-CL_{3,REFL}-ALLAGR-CL_{DAT}.1SG-CL_{DAT}.3SG the fire DAT my boy
‘The fire was closing in on my boy (and it affected me).’

Like other ALLAGR phenomena, GALLAGR may not surface if any argument (subject, direct object, dative) is 2nd-person.

- (5) a. Intentas(*-**che**) amañar dabondo nesa relación
want.PRS.2SG-(ALLAGR) fix.INF too-much in-that relationship
‘You want to fix too much in that relationship.’
b. Sacaron(*-**che**)-te desa merda axiña
remove.PST.3PL-(ALLAGR)-CL_{ACC}.2SG of-that shit soon
‘They got you out of that mess quickly.’
c. Din(*-**che**) as moegas a ti pra faceres viño
give.PST.1SG-(ALLAGR) the baskets DAT you_{DAT} COMP make.INF.2SG wine
‘I gave you the baskets to make wine.’

PROPOSAL: Many approaches to ALLAGR claim that this phenomenon is oriented in the C-domain with variation regarding its exact position coming from its relationship to other agreement morphemes. I follow this idea, claiming that GALLAGR is found in a functional projection directly related to 2nd-person (ADDR°; cf. Myler 2017) above TP, eventually clustering with other clitic morphemes on f^0 (or Fin°; cf. Uriagereka 1995, Gupton 2014, Author 2021, *a.o.*). Following an *interaction/satisfaction* approach to Agree (Deal 2015, 2021, *a.o.*), I claim that the satisfaction feature for the ALLAGR probe is [ADDR], owing to an elaborate feature geometry (Harley & Ritter 2002, *a.o.*; Figure 1). When this probe is valued by a DP bearing [ADDR], GALLAGR may not surface (or is spelled-out as Ø). I claim there are two ways in which this valuation may occur, block ALLAGR. In a scenario in which either the direct object (5b) or dative (5c) argument is 2nd-person, [ADDR] is valued on a low functional head (F°; cf. Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004, Wood 2015, *a.o.*) above v^0 which controls agreement restrictions in PCC contexts. I claim that any feature valuation that occurs on this head bleeds Agree with the higher ADDR°, owing to the lack of GALLAGR in (5b-c). This type of derivational mechanism may be thought of as a version of *Cyclic Agree* (Béjar & Rezac 2003, 2009) in which the valuation of a feature at one stage in the derivation bleeds Agree with another further up in the phrase marker. The difference here is that this inherently entails head-to-head movement as shown in Bárány's (2015) account of the *Inverse Agreement Constraint* in which the valuation of a particular person feature on v^0 determines what further agreement operations may take place once v^0 adjoins to T°. In this instance, if [ADDR] is valued on F° low in the phrase marker, this valuation serves to saturate the u [ADDR] probe on f^0 , resulting in the lack of ALLAGR at PF. In the case of (5a), it is the subject (or *pro*) in [Spec,T°] that values the u [ADDR] probe that c-commands it, the same outcome as predicted above for 2nd-person objects.



Differently from a *Cyclic Agree* account, however, I claim that when the probe on ADDR° does not find a viable goal to agree with, Agree fails without a derivational crash (Preminger 2014). Additionally, it is under these circumstances that GALLAGR may be spelled-out as a Last Resort phenomenon in the specifier of ADDR°. As the final landing spot for clitics in Galician is on f^0 /Fin°, the ALLAGR clitic would be the last to merge. I follow Deal (2021) in claiming that clitic order is templatic (6), an observation that dates back to the original claims in Bastida (1976) for Romance clitics. This can be seen comparing the linear order of GALLAGR (4) with its 2nd-person accusative counterpart (7), showing that argumental and non-argumental clitics alike share the same templatic slot in (6).

(6) *Person-based Romance clitic template* : || SE – 2 – 1 – 3 ||

(7) Presentou-te-me-lle

present.PST.3SG-CL_{ACC}.2SG-CL_{DAT}.1SG-CL_{DAT}.3SG

‘She presented you to me (and it affected him).’

An Agree-based proposal in the nature outline above accounts for the well-known syntactic restrictions of cross-linguistic ALLAGR varieties and provides the necessary explanatory adequacy that links the surfacing of ALLAGR with its exclusion in the presence of 2nd-person arguments elsewhere in the syntax unlike previous proposals (Alok & Haddican 2022, Haddican 2019, Huidobro 2022, McFadden 2020, *a.o.*). In addition, it provides further evidence for phenomena that rely on Agree across multiple functional heads whose valuation at one stage or another may bleed agreement with a higher probe.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Alok, D. & Haddican B. 2022. The formal heterogeneity of allocutivity. *Glossa* 7(1). 1-41. Antonov, A. Verbal allocutivity in a crosslinguistic perspective. *Linguistic Typology* 19(1): 55-85. Gupton, T. 2014. *The syntax-information structure interface: Clausal word order and the left periphery in Galician*. Berlin: De Gruyter. Haddican, B. 2018. The syntax of Basque allocutive clitics. *Glossa* 3(1): 101. 1-31. McFadden, T. 2020. The morphosyntax of allocutive agreement in Tamil. In P. Smith, J. Mursell & K. Hartmann (eds.) *Agree to Agree: Agreement in the Minimalist Programme*, 391-424. LSP. Uriagereka, J. 1995. Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in Western Romance. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26(1): 79-123.