TOWARD A UNIFIED ANALYSIS OF ADDRESSEE IN C: EVIDENCE FROM GALICIAN SOLIDARITY DATIVES

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Abstract. A consensus view in recent formal work has been that allocutive marking reflects the presence of structure in the left periphery of the clause encoding features of the addressee. A question largely unaddressed in this literature is how this syntax interacts with other phenomena taken to motivate person-features in the left periphery. This paper focuses on allocutive morphemes in Galician. It argues that properties of these morphemes suggest a relationship between the syntax of allocutivity and two other syntactic mechanisms implicating person features in the left periphery: "C–T" person-feature inheritance and person-indexical shift. Similar properties are shown to hold for two other allocutive clitic varieties, Basque and Lebanese Arabic.

Keywords: allocutivity; clitics; addressee; case; performative hypothesis, speech act.

1. INTRODUCTION

This article focuses on allocutivity – morphological marking of non-thematic addressees. This phenomenon is illustrated in (1) and (2) from Galician and Magahi respectively. In (1) the dative clitic, *che* expresses agreement in familiarity with an addressee when the latter is not an event participant. Similarly, in (2), the object agreement morpheme *-o* agrees in formality with a non-thematic addressee.

(1) ***Galician***
Non **che** me dá pena ningunha.
no **2SG.FAM** 1SG give sorrow any
'It doesn't make me feel bad at all.' (Alvarez Blanco 1997: 38)

(2) ***Magahi***
Ham unkaa dekha-l-i-**o**.
I him see-PST-1SG-**2SG.HON**
'I saw him.' (Verma 1991)

In recent years, there has been a considerable expansion of formal descriptions of allocutivity in different languages, including Galician (Álvarez Blanco, 1980, 1994; Uriagereka, 1995a; Álvarez Blanco, 1997; Álvarez *et al.*, 1986; Carbón Riobóo, 1995;

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Longa and Lorenzo, 2001; Huidobro, 2009, 2018), Levantine Arabic (Haddad, 2013, 2014), Japanese (Miyagawa, 2012, 2017), Jingpo (Zu, 2013, 2017), Korean (Pak, 2017; Portner *et al.*, 2019), Magahi (Verma, 1991; Bhattacharya, 2016), Mupun (Frajzyngier, 1989), Tamil (McFadden, 2017; Sundaresan, 2018) and Basque (Oyharçabal, 1993; Alberdi, 1995; Albizu, 1997, 2002; Arregi and Nevins, 2012; Miyagawa, 2012, 2013; Torrego, 2013; Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014; Torrego and Fernández, 2016; Haddican, 2018). This literature has arrived at a consensus on two aspects of representations of allocutivity cross-linguistically: (i) they involve an Addressee-related projection in the left periphery of the clause; and (ii) this projection contains a (usually) silent nominal that participates in case/agreement operations (Verma, 1991; Oyharçabal, 1993; Speas and Tenny, 2003; Miyagawa, 2012, 2017; Zu, 2013, 2017; Slocum, 2016; Portner et al., 2019). Let us represent this approach, for time being, as in (3).

(3) $[_{CP}$ C $[_{AddrP}$ Alloc$_{[N]}$ Addr $[_{TP}$ T ...]]]

A question largely unaddressed in this literature is what the relationship is between this Addressee element and the loci of person features associated with two other phenomena in the left periphery discussed in the literature: Person features inherited by T (Chomsky, 2008); and the operator or pro that governs indexical shift (Baker, 2008; Deal, 2017; Sundaresan, 2018).

This paper addresses these issues from the perspective of allocutive clitics in Galician, which have not been discussed previously in the literature on allocutivity. In particular, this article makes two main claims. First, an asymmetry between subjects and objects in allocutive blocking effects for second person agreement suggests evidence for a relationship between allocutivity and C-T person feature inheritance. Second, the otherwise surprising unavailability of clitic doubling with allocutive clitics is explained if these morphemes double a silent operator. Supporting evidence for this view comes from Tamil as described by McFadden (2017) and Sundaresan (2018), Basque and Lebanese Arabic.

The discussion is organized as follows. Part two of this paper provides a brief overview of Galician allocutive clitics. Part three discusses a subject-object asymmetry in Galician and proposes an account in terms of feature inheritance. Part four of this paper discusses the absence of clitic doubling.

2. OVERVIEW OF GALICIAN ALLOCUTIVE CLITICS

Allocutive forms of the kind in (1), repeated here, are called "solidarity clitics" in the Romance literature. They are accepted by most speakers but used more in informal registers and in rural dialects.[2] They differ from ethical datives in having a strictly non-participant interpretation, and in the fact that they can never double an overt DP (Carbón Riobóo, 1995; Huidobro, 2018). Unlike in some allocutive varieties including Basque and Korean, which require allocutive marking in a given register, Galician allocutive morphemes are optional. When used, they "involve the listener in facts being related" or ask for solidarity/complicity (Álvarez *et al.* 1986).

[2] Uriagereka (1995a) refers to these forms as "colloquial clitics".

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(1) ***Galician***
Non **che** me dá pena ningunha.
no **2SG.FAM** 1SG give sorrow any
'It doesn't make me feel bad at all.' (Alvarez Blanco 1997: 38)

A strong generalization about allocutive morphemes cross-linguistically, is that, if the allocutive morphemes are clitics/agreement morphemes, these will be close in exponence to some class of thematic clitics[3]. The most extensively described set of facts in this respect comes from Basque, where allocutive morphemes are near identical in exponence and allomorphy rules to those for ergative and dative forms. As shown in (4), the *-a/na-* morphemes which mark the gender and familiarity of the interlocutor, appear in contexts with thematic dative recipients (4b), and allocutive marking contexts (4a).

(4) ***Basque***
a. Bihar egin-go d-i-**a/na**-t.
Tomorrow do-FUT EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**-1SG.ERG
'Tomorrow I will do it.'
b. Hi-ri eman-go d-i-**a/na**-t.
you-ERG give-FUT EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**-1SG.ERG
'I will give it to you.'

In Galician, the allocutive clitic agrees in number and formality with addressee of the utterance. The form of the clitic is identical to that for thematic dative clitics as summarized in Table 1. Consequently, strings with second person datives are often ambiguous among allocutive, benefactive and ethical interpretations as in (5).[4]

Person	**Singular**	**Plural**
2 familiar	che	vos
2 formal	lle	lles

Table1: Dative clitics in Galician

(5) ***Galician***
Merquei-**che** unhas botas.
bought.1SG-**2SG.FAM.DAT** some boots
`I bought some boots.'/`I bought you some boots.'/`I bought some books on you.'

A second property of Galician allocutive clitics typical of allocutive morphemes elsewhere is that they have a surface word order suggesting a high position. In Korean, for

[3] The generalization that allocutive morphemes are *close* in exponence to some class of thematic clitics is exceptionless, as far as I know. See Albizu (2002) on some differences in exponence in between allocutive and dative/ergative clitics in Basque.

[4] Galician also has *teista* dialects in which the second person singular dative form is *te* Álvarez Blanco (1994).

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example, the allocutive morpheme *-eyo* appears to the right of the past tense morpheme. These morphemes also spell out clause type/force features, as in (6).

(6) ***Korean***
Inho-ka choysen-ul ta ha-**ess-eyo**.
Inho-NOM best-ACC all do-**PAST-DECL.POLITE**
`Inho did his best.' (Portner et al., 2019)

In Galician, evidence that the allocutive clitic occupies a left peripheral position comes from the fact that it must appear as the leftmost clitic in the clitic cluster, as in (7)[5]. As Uriagereka (1995a) notes, the proposal that allocutive clitics are first merged in a left peripheral position, together with the assumption that raising of lower, thematic clitics is order-preserving – i.e. that they "tuck in" to a position below the allocutive clitic – immediately expresses the fact that allocutive clitics must surface on the left edge of the clitic sequence[6].

(7) ***Galician***
A este rapaz todo **che** **lle** parece pouco.
to this boy all **2SG.FAM.DAT** **3SG** seem.3SG little.
`Nothing seems enough for this boy, you see.' (Carbón-Riobóo 1995: 19)

The exponence of these clitics as datives is in keeping the view of the left-peripheral speech act projections as an applicative structure. Haegeman and Hill (2013) and Miyagawa (2013, 2017), adapting Speas and Tenny's (2003) proposal, take the syntactic structure of speech acts to be parallel to the argument structure for applicative ditransitive structures, with the Speaker, Addressee and utterance content parallel to the agent, recipient and theme, respectively.

(8) Miyagawa's structure for Speech Act roles
[$_{SAP}$ Speaker [$_{SA'}$ SA [$_{SAP}$ Addressee [$_{SA'}$ SA CP]]]]

Similar facts have been described for Lebanese Arabic by Haddad (2013, 2014), where a class of first- and second-person non-thematic clitics are exponed as datives, as in (9)[7].

(9) ***Lebanese Arabic***
Ziya:d biʔadˤdˤi:-**li/lak** kil waʔt-o ne:yim.
Ziad spend-**2SG.DAT/2SG.DAT** all time-his sleeping
'Ziad spends all his time sleeping.' (Haddad 2014)

[5] An exception to this is that it can be preceeded by impersonal/reflexive *se* in some dialects. See Álvarez Blanco (1994, 1997).

[6] Indeed, clitic clusters in Galician can include multiple thematic clitics in addition to allocutive clitics. On clitic ordering, see also Raposo and Uriagereka (2005) and Uriagereka (1995b).

[7] Haddad calls these "attitude datives" and describes them as marking an evaluation of events relative to the speaker or hearer's evaluative position.

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A third case in which allocutive morphemes behave like datives comes from Basque where, in transitive contexts, the presence of an allocutive clitic triggers a root vowel alternation associated with thematic datives (Rebuschi, 1981, 1984; Albizu, 2002; Arregi, 2004). (10a) shows that in non-allocutive monotransitive contexts, the auxiliary root spells out as *-u-*. The addition of an alloctive clitic co-occurs with an *-i-* auxiliary root, as in (10b), the same form that appears in ditransitive contexts (10c).

(10) ***Basque***

a. Egin-go d-**u**-t.
   do-FUT expl-**ROOT**-1sg.erg
   `I'm going to do it.' [Monotransitive]

b. Egin-go d-**i**-**a**-t.
   do-FUT EXPL-**ROOT**-**2SG.FAM.MASC**-1SG.ERG
   `I'm going to do it.' [Monotransitive, allocutive clitic]

c. Eman-go d-**i**-**o**-t.
   give-FUT EXPL-**ROOT**-**2SG.DAT**-1SG.ERG
   `I'm going to give it to him.' [Ditransitive]

This paper takes no position on whether the "Speech-Act shell" should be thought of as structurally parallel to the functional architecture introducing verbal dependents as suggested by Speas and Tenny (2003); Haegeman and Hill (2013), and Miyagawa (2013, 2017). The fact that allocutive morphemes across several languages share properties with thematic datives, however, suggests the possibility of a unified account to this class of allocutive morphemes.

3. A SUBJECT-OBJECT ASYMMETRY

A striking cross-linguistic difference among allocutive languages not so far considered in detail in the formal literature concerns their ability to co-occur with other second person morphemes. These issues, are, again, best described in Basque, in which allocutive morphemes are strictly blocked in contexts with a second person argument, as in (11) (Oyharçabal, 1993; Miyagawa, 2012).

(10) ***Basque***

a. *Egin-go d-i-**zute-k**.
   do-FUT EXPL-ROOT-**2PL.ERG-ALLOC**
   `You all will do it.'

b. Egin-go d-u-**zute**.
   do-FUT EXPL-ROOT-**2PL.ERG**
   `You all will do it.'

This restriction in Basque, whatever its nature, cannot be characterized as one precluding multiple instances of an addressee/participant in a single domain, since first person inclusive contexts are compatible with allocutive marking, as in (12). Similar facts apply in Galician, as shown in (13).

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(12) ***Basque***
Egon-go **gait**-u-**k**.
be-FUT **1PL.ABS**-ROOT-**ALLOC**
`See you later.' (Lit.:`We will be.')

(13) ***Galician***
Será mellor que **che** nos vaiamos, nena.
will.be better that 2SG.FAM 1.PL go.1.PL girl
'It's better for us to go, child.' (Álvarez 1997: 44)

In Korean, by contrast, allocutive morphemes freely co-occur with clausemate second person arguments, as in (14).

(14) ***Korean***
Ne pap mek-ess-**e**?
you meal eat-PST-**ALLOC**
'Did you eat?' (Portner et al., 2019)

The nature of this restriction in Galician is somewhat more complex. For some speakers at least, allocutive clitics are marginally able to co-occur with a second person non-subject, as in (15). With second person subjects, however, solidarity clitics are completely impossible, as in (16).

(15) ***Galician***
?/%Manolo vai-**che-vos** a buscar.
Manolo go-**2.SG.FAM-2PL.FAM** to look.for
'Manolo will go to pick you all up.' (Spoken to one of the people to be picked up.)

(16) ***Galician***
*Tendes-**che** moito que facer.
have-2PL.FAM-**2.SG.FAM** much that do
'You all have a lot to do.' (Spoken to one of the people with much to do.)

Similar facts are reported in Tamil by McFadden (2017). Here, again, while allocutive marking can co-occur with a second person object (17), co-occurrence with a second-person subject is blocked (18).

(17) ***Tamil***
naan ongaɭ-æ paɖatt-læ paa-tt-een-ŋgæ.
I you.PL.OBL-ACC film-LOC see-PST-1SG.SBJ-**ALLOC**
'I saw you in a film.' (McFadden 2017)

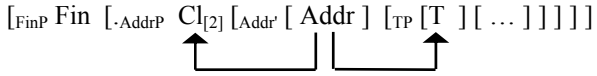
(18) ***Tamil***
*niiŋgæ rombaa smart-aa iru-kk-iiŋgæ-ŋgæ
you.PL very smart-PRED be-PRS-2PL-**ALLOC**
'You're very smart.' (McFadden 2017)

Let us assume, following the consensus neo-performative view outlined above, that allocutive clitics in Galician are introduced in a high addressee-related position, which will

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here be labeled Addr[8]. Following Chomsky (2008), let us assume that T – the locus of person agreement with subjects – inherits uninterpretable first- and second-person features from one or more higher heads. In particular, let us take this head to be Addr in the case of second person probes. If this probe agrees with another element – say, a silent addressee morpheme in the Speech Act layer – before inheritance applies, and then agreement on T with the subject is blocked. Specifically, let assume that, when an allocutive clitic is introduced in spec, Addr, it will agree with this head, interrupting the addresee probe's descent to T. This is illustrated in (19).

(19)



Let us further assume, more or less standardly in inheritance theory, that the person features involved in object agreement are merged lower, on a head atop the verbal shell, whence it will be inherited by v. Specifically, let us assume that this head is Voice. On these assumptions, the presence of an allocutive morpheme in the left periphery will have no consequence for the inheritance mechanism, and the improved status of second person object clitics relative to second person subject clitics in the presence of an allocutive clitic receives some account. Something further is needed to explain the degradation of forms like (15) for some speakers, an issue that will be set aside in the remaining discussion.

4. MISSING CLITIC DOUBLES

The remainder of this paper presents novel evidence in favor a second component of the neo-performative consensus view represented in (3) namely that the left peripheral head associated with addressee speech act roles contains a silent nominal. The crucial set of facts will come from patterns of clitic doubling. Let us begin by noting that non-thematic addressees in Galician cannot be overtly marked by non-clitics, as shown in (21). Thematic datives are not restricted in this way, as in (22).

(21) ***Galician***

a. Mourreu-**che** a vaca.
died.3SG-**2SG.FAM.DAT** the cow
`The cow died.'

b. *Mourreu a vaca a ti.
died.3SG the cow to you
`The cow died.' (Carbón-Riobóo (1995:89))

(21) ***Galician***

A	actitude	do	primeiro	ministro	preocupa	moito	**ó**
the	attititude	of.the	prime	minister	worries	much	to.the

[8] Again, this approach in essence was first proposed by Uriagereka (1995a).

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goberno.
government
'The attitude of prime minister worries the government a lot.'

In addition, doubling of the solidarity clitic is impossible, as in (23). Again, thematic dative clitics are not restricted in this way (24).

(23) ***Galician***
a. Os venres os alumnus sempre chégan-**che** (***a tí**) tarde á clase.
the Fridays the students always arrive-**2SG** (***to you**) late to-the class
'The students always arrive late to the class on Fridays.'
b. Dei-**lle** o libro **ao** **meu** amigo.
gave.1SG-**3SG.DAT** the book **to.the** **my** friend
'I gave the book to my friend.'

Identical restrictions apply in Basque and Lebanese Arabic, both al- locutive clitic language (Oyharçabal, 1993; Arregi and Nevins, 2012; Haddad, 2014). In Basque, thematic ergative, absolutive and dative clitics, which are obligatory, may co-occur with an overt coreferential DP as in (24). In contrast, allocutive clitics, which are identical in exponence to ergative and dative clitics, can never have an overt double, as in (25).

(24) ***Basque***
a. (**Hik**) egin du-**k**.
2SG.ERG do AUX-**2SG.ERG**
'You have done it.'
b. **(*Hi)** mintza niaiteke-**k**.
2SG.ERG talk AUX.1SG-**ALLOC**
'I can talk.' (Oyharçabal 1993)

Similarly, Haddad (2014) reports that in Lebanese Arabic the allocu- tive morpheme must be realized as a clitic, rather than a PP, and cannot be doubled:

(25) ***Lebanese Arabic***
a. Ziya:d ʕimil-**li/lak** ħaflet xitbe bitžannin
Ziad made-**1SG.DAT/2SG.DAT** party engagement stunning
'Ziad threw an excellent engagement party.'
b. Ziya:d ʕimil ħaflet xitbe bitžannin la-ʔil-**i/-ak**
Ziad made party engagement stunning for-to-**1SG.DAT/2SG.DAT**
* 'Ziad threw an excellent engagement party.'
Ok: Beneficiary interpretation (Haddad 2014)

The unavailability of a doubled co-referential DP/PP in Galician with clitic forms that otherwise freely allow doubling suggests the possibility that the representation, contrary to appearances, includes a doubled nominal that is always silent. An immediate advantage of positing a silent doubled nominal is that it suggests a partial explanation for the fact that allocutive clitics are obligatory in Basque but optional in Galician. Specifically, on the silent nominal approach, the problem reduces to whatever accounts for

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the fact that clitic doubling more generally is obligatory in the former, but optional in the latter.

(26) ***Basque***
Garestia izan-go d-u-***(k/n)**.
expensive BE-FUT EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM.MASC/FEM**
'It'll be expensive.'

(27) ***Galician***
Hoxe tíven-**(che)** pouco traballo.
today they.had-**2SG.FAM.MASC** little work.
'Today they had little work.'
(Álvarez 1997:40)

A question raised from the perspective of this proposal is what the nature of the silent nominal is. Building on a proposal by Sundaresan (2018), I suggest that, in the class of "missing double" allocutive languages – Basque and Galician – the silent double is an Addressee operator or *pro* proposed to model the interpretation of first and second person pronouns in indexical shift contexts (Anand and Nevins, 2004; Baker, 2008; Sundaresan, 2018).

McFadden (2017) describes the distribution of an allocutive morpheme, *-ŋgæ*, in colloquial Tamil, which marks either a formal singular addressee or a plural addressee (either familiar or polite). Importantly, McFadden (2017) and Sundaresan (2018), report that allocutivity interacts with indexical shift in Tamil. In a context like (28), in which no speaker/addressee-indexical shift is present, the allocutive morpheme is interpreted as honorifying the addressee of utterance.

(28) ***Tamil***
Maya$_i$ [avæ$_i$ pooʈʈi-læ dʒejkka-ppoo-r-redaaɭ-**ŋgæ** nnuŭ]
Maya.NOM **she.NOM** contest-LOC win-go-PRS-**3FSG-ALLOC**-C
Seetha-kiʈʈæ so-nn-aa.
Seetha-LOC say-PST-3FSG.SUBJ
'Maya$_i$ told Seetha$_j$ that she$_i$ would win the contest.'
(plural/polite form to **utterance** Addressee)

Example (29) differs minimally from (28) in having indexical (speaker/ addressee shift in the lower clause. Here, the subject of the embedded speech report is an anaphor, *taan* that triggers "monstrous" first person agreement in the lower clause. Crucially, the allocutive morpheme in the lower clause now honorifies the addressee of the embedded speech event. Sundaresan (2018) takes the above contrast as evidence that allocutive marking and indexical shift are related syntactically, both reflecting properties of an Addresee-related head.

(29) ***Tamil***
Maya$_i$ [taan$_{i,*j}$ pooʈʈi-læ dʒejkka-ppoo-r-een-**ŋgæ** nnuŭ]
Maya.NOM **ANAPH.NOM** contest-LOC win-go-PRS-**1SG-ALLOC**-C
Seetha-kiʈʈæ so-nn-aa.

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Seetha-LOC say-PST-3FSG.SUBJ
'Maya$_i$ told Seetha$_j$ that she$_i$ would win the contest.'
(plural/polite form to **embedded** Addressee)

A second set of facts suggesting that allocutivity is related to the syntax of perspective-taking comes from the interpretation of evaluative adverbs in Lebanese Arabic. Haddad (2013, 2014) describes Lebanese Arabic allocutive forms as marking evaluative perspective, "anchored to the speaker's (and hearer's) values, beliefs and what she considers culturally acceptable or unacceptable" (p. 79)[9]. In addition, these forms appear to interact with the interpretation of adverbs like 'fortunately'. In (30), with a first person clitic, la-ħisn-l-ħaz 'fortunately' is interpreted as meaning 'fortunately for the speaker'.

(30) ***Lebanese Arabic***

	farii$\S$-ak	ribiħ-**li:**	$\S$a$\int$er	mubaarayeet	ha-l-mawsam
Fortunately	your.team	won-**1SG.DAT**	ten	matches	this.season

'Fortunately (for me), your team won ten matches this season.'

In contrast, with the second person allocutive clitic, la-ħisn-l-ħaz is interpreted from the perspective of both the speaker and hearer 'Fortunately for me and you'[10].

(31) ***Lebanese Arabic***

la-ħisn-l-ħaz	farii$\S$-ak	ribiħ-**lak**	$\S$a$\int$er	mubaarayeet	ha-l-mawsam
Fortunately	your.team	won-**2SG.DAT**	ten	matches	this.season

'Fortunately (for me and you), your team won ten matches this season.'

We take both the indexical shift and the adverb orientation facts to reflect the presence of an Addressee-related operator in the left periphery. Specifically, Let us assume that, at least in the relevant varieties, all finite clauses contain an addressee projection that can potentially host an indexical operator (Baker, 2008; Woods, 2014, 2016; Shklovsky and Sudo, 2014; Deal, 2017; Sundaresan, 2018; Portner et al., 2019).

(32) $[_{\text{Clause-1}}\ [_{\text{AddrP}}\ \text{Op}\ \ldots\ [_{\text{Clause-2}}\ [_{\text{AddrP}}\ (\text{Op})\ ]\ ]\ ]\ ]$

For allocutive clitic languages, including Galician, let us assume that clitics and their doubles are merged in a "big DP" structure of category KP, such that allocutive datives and their associated operator have the representation in (33).

(33) $[_{\text{AddrP}}\ [_{\text{KP}}\ \text{D}_{\text{CL}}\ [_{\text{K'}}\ \text{OP}_{\text{Addr}}\ ]\ ]\ [_{\text{Addr'}}\ \text{Addr}\ [_{\text{TP}}\ \text{T}\ \ldots\ ]\ ]\ ]$

A unified approach to allocutivity and the structures responsible for indexical shift and perspective taking, as in (32), leads to the expectation that allocutivity should be possible in some embedded contexts. This is at odds, however, with some recent approaches that take allocutivity to be restricted to root clauses (Miyagawa, 2012, 2017; Portner et al., 2019). Indeed, allocutive marking in embedded contexts is attested in several varieties. In addition to Tamil, as described above, Galician freely permits allocutive clitics in embed- dings.

[9] Haddad refers to these as "attitude datives".
[10] I'm grateful to Youssef Haddad and Ghada Khattab for a discussion of these data.

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(34) ***Galician***

A filla de Ana---sabías que **che** comprou un coche nouvo?
the daughter of Ana---you.know that **2SG.DAT.FAM** buy a car new
'The daughter of Ana---did you know she bought a new car.'

(35) ***Galician***

Creo que **che** está tolo.
I.think that **2SG.DAT.FAM** COP.3SG crazy
'I think that he/she/it is crazy.'

In Basque, the availability of embedded allocutivity varies by dialect. Some younger speakers in Basque in particular readily accept and produce al- locutive marking in embedded contexts (Azkue Ibarbia, 1998). In such cases allocutive marking must apply in all finite contexts – root and embeddings. This availability is not restricted by embedding type, nor limited to "asserted" or Main Point of Utterance contexts (Hooper and Thompson, 1973; Simons, 2007).

(36) ***Verbs of saying***

Esa-n di**k** [etorri-ko d-u-(**k**)-ela].
say-PERF AUX-**2SG.MASC** come-FUT EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.FAM**-C
'He/she/it has said that he/she/it will come.'

(37) ***Factives***

Jon bazetorre-(**k**)-ela ahaztu d-u-**k**.
Jon.ABS come. 3SG-**2SG.MASC**-C forget EXPL-ROOT-**2SG.MASC**
'Jon forgot that he/she/it is coming.'

(38) ***Relatives***

zetorre-(**k**)-en ekaitza
come.3SG-**2SG.MASC**-C storm. DEF
'The storm that is coming.'

From the perspective of Sundaresan's (2018) proposal, the embedded allocutive marking in Galician and Basque entails that an Addressee projection can appear in all finite clauses. Importantly, in Basque dialects with embedded allocutivity, (i) there is no addressee indexical shift and (ii) no addressee double. This suggests that, in these varieties, Addr can host an operator that does not overwrite the contextual (Speaker/Addressee) parameters.

In Galician, unlike in Basque, the position of allocutive morpheme appears to be sensitive to focus. The answer in (39) is in a context focusing the root clause subject, and here, speakers consulted find it somewhat more natural for the allocutive clitic to appear in the higher clause.

(39) ***Galician***

Q: Quéen cree que vai chover?
who thinks that it.will rain
'Who thinks that it will rain?'

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A: Xoan cree-**(che)** que **(?che)** vai chover.
Xoan thinks-**2SG.FAM** that **2SG.FAM** it.goes rain
‘Xoan thinks that it will rain.’

In contrast, in (40), where the lower clause itself receives new information focus, subjects typically find it more natural to place the allocutive clitic in the lower clause.

(40) ***Galician***
Q: Que cree Xoan?
what thinks Xoan
‘What does Xoan think?’
A: Xoan cree-(?che) que (che) vai chover.
Xoan thinks-**2SG.FAM** that **2SG.FAM** it.goes rain
‘Xoan thinks that it will rain.’

Similarly, main clauses that resist focus interpretation typically are not marked with an allocutive clitic.

(41) ***Galician***
Es- **(??che)** que **(che)** está tolo.
it.is-**2SG.DAT.FAM** that **2SG.DAT.FAM** he/she.is crazy
‘It's that he's crazy.’

These facts suggest that, in Galician, the allocutive morpheme also bears focus features, which require an association with focus-marked constituents.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper has focused on allocutive clitic constructions in Galician, a set of facts not so far discussed extensively in the literature on allocutivity. Galician offers two hints about the way that allocutive morphemes relate to other phenomena that, in recent literature, have been taken to involve representations of Addressee speech act roles in the left periphery of the clause. First, an asymmetry between subjects and objects in allocutive blocking effects for second person agreement suggests evidence for a relationship between allocutivity and C-T person feature inheritance. Second, Galician shares with other allocutive clitic languages the property that the allocutive clitic cannot have an overt double. I have proposed that allocutive clitics in fact always have a DP double, but one that is silent. In particular, building on Sundaresan’s (2018) proposal, I have taken this silent element to be the operator responsible for indexical shift and perspective in the case of speaker/hearer-oriented adverbs.

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