

[*u*HON] projects as well due to (2c). The search space of [*u*HON] is now the c-command domain of ForceP, the maximal projection. Upon merge of Addr, [*u*HON] agrees with [*i*HON].

At this point, the reader might wonder if [*u*HON] is actually at Fin, not Force. But the strong morphological link between Force and AH, as well as the indifference of AH to change in tense/finiteness, is evidence for placing Korean AH at Force. Pak (2008) describes how Korean AH changes form depending on sentential force – (*s*)*upni*, for example, is replaced by the allomorph *upsi* in imperative clauses. Meanwhile, the presence or absence of AH is not affected by the finiteness of a sentence. This contrasts with a language like Magahi, which truly locates its AH at Fin.

Crosslinguistic variation: Addressee and 2nd person subject Magahi is an Indo-Aryan language that shows an honorification system similar to that of Korean. Unlike Korean, where (*s*)*upni* appears at Force, Alok (2021) analyzes Magahi AH to be realized at Fin. This is due to the fact that Magahi AH appears in all and only finite clauses, as well as its linear position adjacent to the subject honorification (SH) marker at T. Given this background, consider (6). When the subject is second person, SH and AH cannot co-occur in Magahi. In contrast, the two co-occur in Korean.

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| (6) a. <i>Magahi</i> (Alok 2021:271) | b. <i>Korean</i> |
| Tu dauR-l-a>(*o). | Tangsin-kkeyse ttuy-si-ess-supni-ta. |
| you.HON run-PRF-2.SH-AH | you.HON-NOM run-SH-PST-AH-DECL |
| ‘You (honorified) ran.’ | ‘You (honorified) ran.’ |

Alok accounts for the ban on co-occurrence by appealing to a version of Kinyalolo’s Constraint, stated below. The verb in (6a) is agreeing with both the honorified subject and the honorified addressee. But since the subject and addressee are co-referential, SH agreement on T is predictable from AH agreement on Fin. Therefore, one of the two agreements should be silent.

(7) *Kinyalolo’s Constraint* (Kinyalolo 1991; cited from Alok and Baker 2018:21)

In a word (phonologically defined), AGR on one head is silent if and only if its features are predictable from AGR on another head.

The grammaticality of Korean (6b) may seem problematic for this account. However, the difference between Magahi and Korean naturally follows if we consider the different positions of AH in the two languages, plus an intuitive modification of (7). Tyler and Kastner (2021) point out that since (7) makes reference to both a phonologically defined word and AGR, the generalization should apply at the syntax-prosody interface. I suggest (8) as a simple way of implementing their intuition: Kinyalolo’s constraint applies as a filter at spellout to PF at the phase edge.

(8) *A Phase-based implementation of Kinyalolo’s constraint*

AGR on one head is silent if and only if its features are predictable from AGR on another head **in the same spellout domain.**

Given (8), the crosslinguistic difference is now to be expected. Magahi has SH at T and AH at Fin. It was assumed in (2a) that there is a phase boundary at FinP. Therefore, the two are located in the same spellout domain and one of them should be silent under (8). On the other hand, Korean AH is located at Force, which is in a different spellout domain from T. The sufficiently higher position of AH in Korean guarantees their co-occurrence.

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