

## **C-agreement (in Bavarian): Feature inheritance or feature insertion?**

Eric Fuß, IDS Mannheim

### **Abstract.**

In recent minimalist work, C-agreement is sometimes presented as further support for the idea (Chomsky 2004, 2008) that the set of  $\phi$ -features traditionally associated with T is actually a property of the phase head C, which passes down (a subset of) its uninterpretable features to T via a process of *feature inheritance*. C-agreement is then attributed to an Agree operation initiated by C itself that targets the subject (cf. e.g. Carstens 2003, van Koppen 2005). Focusing on data from Bavarian, this paper claims that C-agreement is established by operations that are part of the post-syntactic computation (cf. Ackema & Neeleman 2004 for related ideas). The argument is based on the observation that the realization of inflectional features in the C-domain is sensitive to adjacency effects and other PF-related processes such as deletion of the finite verb in gapping and comparative deletion. The fact that C may not carry inflection when the finite verb has been deleted is taken to suggest that complementizer agreement does not involve a dependency between C and the subject, but rather between C and the finite verb (i.e., T). More precisely, it is argued that inflectional features present in the C-domain are added post-syntactically via a process of *feature insertion* (cf. e.g. Embick 1997, Embick & Noyer 2001, Harbour 2003) that creates a copy of T's (valued)  $\phi$ -set. The observed restrictions on complementizer agreement are then analyzed in terms of constraints on this insertion procedure.