Agree and Locality in Move[*]

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Kim, Youngroung. 2003. Agree and Locality in Move. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal, 11*(3), 83-102. This paper purposes to distinguish the relation between Agree and locality in nominal displacement. This paper thus focuses on how Agree and Move have an influence on the recent much-disputed issue concerning DP displacement. It is true that some scholars, including Chomsky (2000), argue that the operation Move is a composite operation. Meanwhile, others like Lee (2001) argue that Agree and Move are separate computational operations, noting the different roles that Agree and Move have to play, respectively. By examining these contradictory arguments, this paper tries to shed light on the Agree-Move relations, in view of DP movement in *wh*-questions, in particular. To see what influence the notion of locality has on DP-movement in Agree-Move operations, this paper reviews three different arguments. It also takes up Shakespearean and French data as a piece of supporting evidence for a new proposal.

Key Words: Agree, Move, Probe-Goal Matching, EPP, Value, Uninterpretable features, Expletive, Locality, Object Shift

1. Introduction

Recently, split arguments have been raised as to what the two computational operations, Move and Agree, should be like. Chomsky (1999, 2000) defines Move as a composite operation linked to three components: Agree, Identify, and Merge. On the contrary, Lee (2001:146) claims that Agree and Move should be considered separate, saying "The task of Agree is to erase uninterpretable features of both probe and goal, and that of Move is to satisfy the EPP-feature, which should be taken as an s-selectional feature." Which is more preferable and

reasonable between the two contradictory arguments, in accounting for a sentence derivation on a minimalist basis? On what grounds have they made such a proposal, diametrically? By taking account into each argument on the operations, Move and Agree, this paper focuses on how DP displacement should take place. Concerning selectional features, David (2003) draws a distinction between categorial/non-categorical features in terms of c-command. In particular, on a morphological basis, he accounts for value/unvalue sets on little v and T. Following Chomsky's (2000) clausal structure, a=[XP [(EA) H YP]], we can see two options concerning DP movement are available. To find out a clue on which one gives a more hands-on and in-depth explanation of DP movement, this paper examines three scholars' arguments as previous studies, and, based on the examination, this paper puts forward a new proposal of DP movement, with focus on locality in Move.

2. Previous Studies

2.1 Chomsky (2000)

Chomsky (2000) notes that displacement in syntax must require the probe-goal (P, G) association before the actual movement takes place[1], and that uninterpretable features are features that receive no interpretation at LF and receive none at PF.[2] In Chomsky (1999, 2000), checking is implemented by the computational operation, called Agree[3];

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1) Chomsky (1999) refers to the relevant leftward displacement as Thematization and to its rightward counterpart as Extraction. He hypotheses that leftward-moved thematized objects move to Spec-vP and that rightward-moved extracted objects adjoins to vP: in consequence of the V-DO constraint, an expletive passive direct object must obligatorily undergo either Thematization or Extraction:

   a. There were *several large packages* placed on the table
   b. There were place on the table *several large packages*
2) One of the typical uninterpretable formal features is structural case of nominals, which must be erased in the process of deriving interface representation. Agreement features, which are called ɸ, are also uninterpretable for verbs and adjectives but interpretable for nouns.

two operations Move and Agree are defined as a composite operation.

Chomsky (2000: 135) defines that Move of β, targeting α, consists of the following three components:

(1) a. A probe P in the label L of α locates its closest matching G in its domain[4].

    b. A feature G′ of the label containing G selects a phrase β as a candidate for "pied-piping"

    c. β is merged [with α] to a category K

Consider the following sentence to figure out probe-goal operations:

(2) A nice book was written

(3)
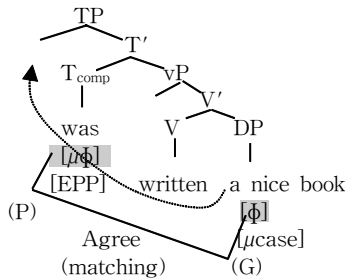
In (3) the operation Agree applies between (formal features of) T and DP *a nice book*. The ϕ-feature set of T is probe. The probe looks for a goal, which is matching features to establish a relation, agreement. In (3), the goal is the ϕ-feature set of *a nice book*, plus its uninterpretable structural case-feature.[5] The operation Agree applies, thereby deleting uninterpretable formal features of both the probe (the ϕ-set of T) and the goal (the nominative case feature of DP *a nice book*) to meet the

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3) Agree is defined as follows: Agree establishes a relation (agreement, case-checking) between a lexical item (LI) α and a feature F in some restricted search space (Chomsky 2000:101)

4) The domain of a head H is the domain c-commanded by H.

5) The three types of uninterpretable formal features are as follows:

    a. ϕ-feature of T

    b. EPP-feature of T

    c. structural case of DP

interpretation condition, because T_{comp} here can check DP structural case.[6] The uninterpretable EPP-feature must be erased and this is carried out by Move, that is, by raising DP *a nice book* to Spec-T. Now, let's consider the Agree-Move operations in (2) and its tree (3) again. In (3), probe (the φ-set of T) seeks matching features--named goal--to establish agreement, accordingly erasing uninterpretable features of both probe and goal. This is called Agree. In (3), the goal is the φ-feature set of *a nice book*, plus the nominative case. But the EPP feature of T must also be satisfied. This is done by raising the phrase *a nice book*, (goal), to Spec-T. On the grounds of such related operations, Chomsky (2000:122) claims that Agree and Move are composite, adding that "The combination of selection of P (G), Merge of P (G), and feature-deletion under match (Agree) is the composite operation Move, which dislocates [a nice book], eliminating all uninterpretable features." As for expletive constructions, Chomsky (2000) proposes a different derivation. Consider the expletive construction:

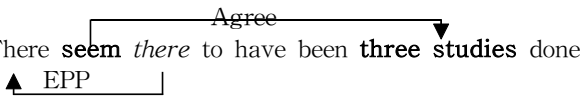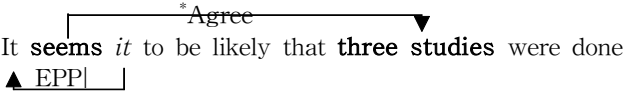(4) There seems [$_{TP}$ *t* to be a man in the room]

(5)
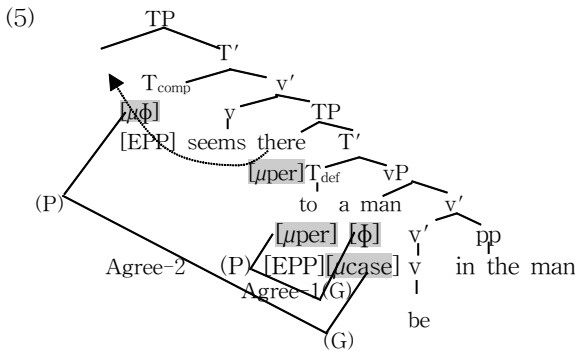
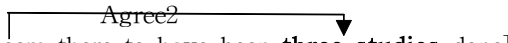

In (5), the probe (the φ-set of T) locates its matching features not in *a man* but in the expletive *there*[7], which Chomsky (1999, 2000) assumes

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6) Complete T (in tense and control clauses), which contains full φ-features (gender, number, person), has case properties; incomplete (defective) T (in raising and ECM constructions), which has only [person] feature, has no case properties.

contains [person] feature as its formal feature. Therefore, the phrase that raises to Spec-T is not the nominal *a man*, but the expletive *there* selected by its [person] feature.

Since 1998, Chomsky has claimed that expletives must have uninterpretable features, because they can move successive cyclically to higher T_{def} or T_{comp}. It is noted that expletive *it* has full complement of ɸ-features; while expletive *there* has just [person] feature. So with *there*, there are two Agree relations:

(6) a. There **seem** *there* to have been **three studies** done
           (Agree / EPP)

   b. It **seems** *it* to be likely that **three studies** were done
           (*Agree / EPP)

   c. seem **there** to have been three studies done
          (Agree1)
     (full ɸ on *seem* delete [person] on *there*)

   d. [seem there to have been **three studies** done]
          (Agree2)
     (full ɸ on *seem* delete full ɸ on *three studies*; full ɸ on *three studies* delete full ɸ on *seem*)

However, in (5), the uninterpretable ɸ-features of T cannot be valued and erased by matching the [person] feature of *there*, because the ɸ-feature set of the expletive is defective(incomplete).[8] Chomsky (2000) proposes the following condition for matching of probe-goal to induce Agree, which is called the Complete ɸ-feature Hypothesis:

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7) As noted above, Chomsky (1999, 2000) assumes that expletive *it* has full complement of ɸ-feature; *there* has just [person] feature as its formal feature.

8) T in raising infinitive clauses and in ECM constructions is incomplete; while T in tense clauses and control infinitive clauses is complete.

(7) The Complete ɸ-feature Hypothesis (CPH)
    α must have a complete set of ɸ-features (it must be ɸ-complete)
    to delete uninterpretable features of the paired matching element β

According to (7), only the uninterpretable [person] feature of the expletive deletes in the matching pair [T, there] in (5), but the uninterpretable ɸ-features of T remain unchecked, further looking for its another goal. Second agreement then takes place between T and *a man*, deleting uninterpretable ɸ-features of T and the structural case of the nominal.[9] Only the expletive *there*, but not the associate nominal, raises to Spec-T to delete the EPP-feature of T in (5).

2.2 David Adgar (2003)

David (2003) notes that there is a tense feature on the verbal complex, and that the tense feature has to be the same as the tense feature on T. Based on this assumption, we have the following basic configurations:

(8) a. T [past] . . . V + v[past]
    b. T[present] . . . V + v[present]
    c. *T[past] . . . V + v[present]
    d. *T[present] . . V + v[past]

An uninterpretable categorial feature on a head (c-selectional feature) is checked by a matching categorial feature. When this happens, the uninterpretable feature deletes.
 Concerning selectional features, it is assumed in David (2003) that they are checked under the syntactic relation of sisterhood. A difference

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  9) Chomsky (2001) notes that "If local (P, G) match and are active, their uninterpretable features must be eliminated at once, as fully as possible; partial elimination of features under Match, followed by elimination of the residue under more remote Match, is not an option. In particular, if probe P requires Move (i.e., has an EPP-feature), then the operation must be carried out as quickly as possible."

between categorial feature and non-categorial features is seen: the latter
is checked under c-command. This operation, which checks features
under c-command, is called Agree. Agree is defined as in (9) and the
configuration is illustrated in (10) below:

(9) Agree
    An uninterpretable feature F on a syntactic object Y is checked
    when Y is in a c-command relation with another syntactic
    object Z which bears a matching feature F.

(10)
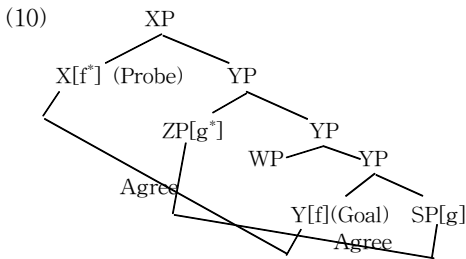
Here X and Y are both heads, so they are of the same phrasal
status. X c-commands Y. X has a probe [f*] and Y has an appropriate
goal [f], so we can set up a head-chain (X, Y). Similarly, ZP and SP
are both phrases, so they too are of the same phrasal status. ZP
c-commands SP, so, assuming ZP has a probe and SP a matching goal,
we can set up the phrasal chain (ZP, SP).

We can rule out the ill-formed ones by assuming that whatever tense
feature on the verbal complex is uninterpretable, tense features are
interpretable when they are on T:

(11) a. T [past] . . . V + v[μpast]
     b. T[present] . . . V + v[μpresent]
     c. *T[past] . . . V + v[μpresent]
     d. *T[present] . . . V + v[μpast]

The last two examples are ruled out because the uninterpretable tense

feature on the verbal complex has not been checked.

David (2003) claims that whether the right uninterpretable feature appears on the little v in the first place depends upon the choice that is made in the initial set of words (the numeration). If we choose a little v with a [μpast] feature, and end up merging in a T with a [present] feature, then the feature won't match, and the uninterpretable [μpast] feature won't be checked. He argues that little v is simply specified as having an uninterpretable tense feature, and what happens when this feature is checked is that it gets a value from the tense feature on T. Given the fact that features were classified into types: [past] and [present] were tense features; [nom] and [acc] were case features; [1], [2], and [plural] were φ-features, we can say that T bears a tense feature which has, for example, the value [past] and that little v bears an uninterpretable tense feature which is unvalued. What the checking operation does is value the tense feature of little v, as well as check it (since it is an uninterpretable feature). Schematically we have the following:

(11′) T[tense:past] . . . v[μtense:]→ T[tense:past] . . . v[μtense:past]

In structure (11′), [past] on T is a tense feature, and so it matches the unvalued tense feature on v. The tense features match and the unvalued tense feature on little v receives a value from the tense feature [past] on T. It follows from this fact that the mismatched structures in (11) are impossible, since the value of the tense feature on little v is just determined by the tense feature on T.

We can make this more general, incorporating it into the definition of Agree as follows:

(12) Agree
     In a configuration
     X[F: val] . . . Y[μF:]
     where . . . represents c-command, then F checks and values μF,
     resulting in:

X[F:val] . . . Y [μF:val]

David argues that the advantage of this second approach--checking by value--is that, instead of generating an ill-formed structure with non-matching features and then ruling it out because of the presence of an unchecked feature, we simply never generate the ill-formed structure in the first place.

The syntactic relation of Agreement is, then, one way of checking uninterpretable features. These features will get a value from a matching interpretable feature. If there is no matching feature with a value, then the unvalued feature will remain unvalued, and, we assume that it is unchecked. This means that, in a configuration like (13), checking can't take place.

(13) [μF:] . . . [μF:]

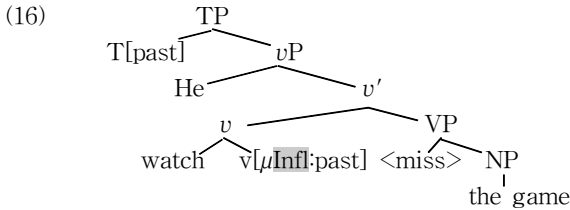David (2003) argues that if the features are privative and require no value, then they simply check in the way:

(14) a. [G] . . . [μG] $\rightarrow$ [G] . . . [μG]
     b. [μG] . . . [μG] $\rightarrow$ [μG] . . . [μG]

Accordingly, two syntactic relations which check features are thinkable: Agreement and Sisterhood. In fact, the latter reduces to a more local version of the former, since sisterhood is just one subtype of c-command.

Let us see in more detail how this system works for the problem at hand: how to ensure that tense features are pronounced on the verb, when there are no auxiliaries. The core of the analysis is that it is v that hosts an uninterpretable feature which can take a tense feature as its value. David calls this feature Infl. Little v contains an uninterpretable inflectional feature [μInfl:]:

(15) He watched the game

(16)

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                 TP
      T[past]          vP
          He                v′
              v          VP
          watch  v[μInfl:past]  <miss>  NP
                                         |
                                      the game
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In (16), first, we will build a vP, where V has raised to v. We assume, for concreteness, that V adjoins to v, then merges with T, which is a null head containing just a categorial feature T and the interpretable feature [past]. The tense feature on T Agrees with that on v, and the latter is thereby valued. When this structure is spelled out, the little v and the verb itself are pronounced as the past tense of the verb.

Let us consider a sentence with the pronunciation of agreeing present tense marking, as in (17):

(17) He watches the games

Verbal agreement in English is restricted to the present tense. A way of capturing this in the system here is to say that in this situation, T bears only a number feature, and it is this number feature that values Infl on v. For example, a [singular] number feature on T will match with [μInfl :], valuing it as [μInfl : singular]. This eventually leads to a pronunciation of little v as *(e)s*, as in *watches*. The semantic rules will interpret T lacking a tense feature as present tense.
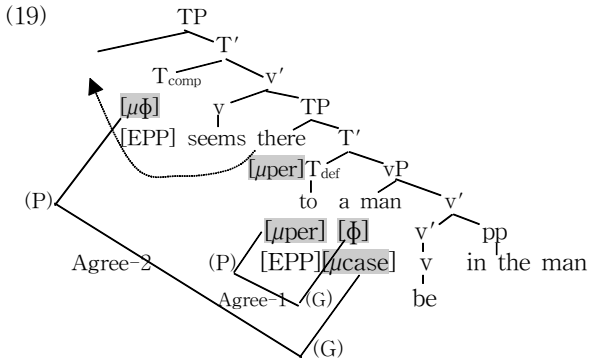
David (2003) has proposed that for English main verbs, an Agree relationship is established between the featural content of T and little v. This Agree relationship ensures that the semantics imposed on the sentence by the interpretable tense feature of T is compatible with the morphological form of the tense inflection in the sentence. The result is that a morphologically past tense sentence is also interpreted as past tense. According to David, the Agree relationship is a simple extension of the techniques, which operates under the extended version of sisterhood: c-command. Selectional feature checking, under this view, is

just a more local version of Agree.

2.3 Lee (2001)

Contrary to Chomsky (1999, 2000), Lee (2001) does not believe that Move is a composite operation, which is closely related to the combination of the process of seeking a goal for Agree. Rather, he argues that Move and Agree should be analyzed as independent syntactic operations, saying Move should apply only to meet EPP-feature of a relevant functional category. Lee claims that the expletive construction like (18) below shows that a moved category is not a phrase identified by the goal for Agree. Let us consider again (4) and (5), repeated here as (18) and (19):

(18) There seems [$_{TP}$ t to be a man in the room]

(19)

TP
T′
T$_{comp}$ v′
[$\mu\phi$]
[EPP] seems there TP
[μper]T$_{def}$ T′
to a man vP
[μper] [ϕ] v′
(P) [EPP][$u$case] v′ pp
Agree-2 (P) v in the man
Agree-1 (G) be
(G)

Superficially, no difference is seen between (4-5) and (18-19). That is, the Agree configurations look similar between Chomsky (1999, 2000) and Lee (2001). Their claims, however, are quite different about the derivation. Based on Chomsky′s view, *a man* has to be displaced in principle, but *there* is selected in lexical array. Thus, based on economy and Merge-over-Move principle (Chomsky 2000), merging *there* is preferred to moving *a man*. According to Lee (2001), following the definition of Move in (1), the operation Agree must apply: the probe

(the ɸ-set of T) seeks a goal (matching features of *a man*) for agreement, thereby eliminating the uninterpretable ɸ-set of T and the structural case of *a man*. But what raises to Spec-T is not a phrase determined by the goal, but the expletive *there*, instead. That is, in (19) T agrees with *a man*, but identifies the expletive *there* as a phrase for dislocation. On the grounds of such an expletive development, Lee (2001) claims that Move does not presuppose Agree, saying that a candidate for Move is not always determined by the goal of a probe. For this reason, Lee claims that Move and Agree should be separate operations. Lee (2001) notes that anther expletive construction like (20) confirms that the P(G) containing a goal for Agree is not identical with the phrase that is to merge with Spec-T to meet the EPP:

(20) There is a man in the room
(21)
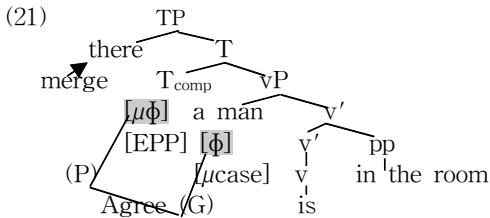
In (21) the probe (ɸ-set in T) takes matching features of *a man* as its goal, but the expletive *there* merges to Spec-T instead of raising *a man* to Spec-T.

Lee claims that the phrase selected to satisfy the EPP-feature has nothing to do with Match/Agree in this case[10]. Lee raises a question why the EPP-feature of T must be satisfied differently in (18) and (20). In (18), the EPP-feature of T is satisfied by the composite operation Move as defined in (1), while it is satisfied by selecting a relevant category in (20). In this case, it is done by the expletive DP *there*.

Based on the data examined (18) and (20), Lee (2001) argues that

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10) Chomsky (2000) assumes that the [person] feature of the expletive merged with Spec-T in (15) acts as a probe, while the ɸ-set of T acts as the goal, deleting the probe.

Move and Agree be separate operations. He further claims that Agree apply to delete uninterpretable formal feature, but Move apply to meet the selectional property (that is, the EPP-feature) of a head. EPP-feature of a head can be met by Merge. He believes that Move and Merge are the same operation, but they are only different in that they seek a relevant category to fill the Spec position of the head in a different fashion: If an operation applying to a head locates the category for its EPP-feature in its domain, it is Move[11]; otherwise, it is Merge.

He offers an interesting example, which supports his selection-based approach to Move. He adds that, if we follow the selection-based Move, the functional category C s-selects a *wh*-phrase as its specifier, as it invariably s-selects TP as its complement as in (22).

(22) Who does John love?

(23)

(23′)
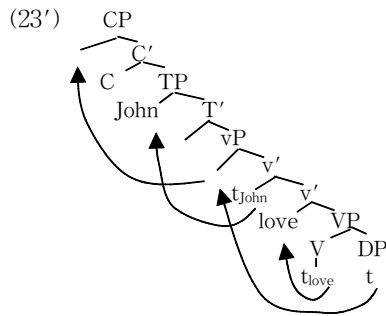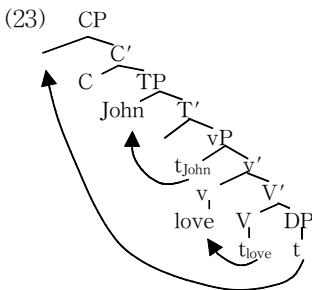
Both configurations (23) and (23′) show that ɑ=[XP [(EA) H YP]] (Chomsky 2000) has an option that a sentence like (22) can be derived by two methods. The difference between (23) and (23′) is that in (23), *who* directly moves from the position t to the Spec-C position without dropping anywhere in between; in (23′), *who* stops by an intermediate vP position before it reaches its final position Spec-C.

Direct object *who* must move to Spec-*v*, before it moves to Spec-C

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11) Lee (2001) claims that Move apply to meet the selectional properties of a head, noting the difference that his account of Move is selection-based Move and that Chomsky's (1999, 2000) account of Move is Agree-based Move.

because of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).[12][13] According to PIC, Move applying to phase CP cannot access to *who* in the domain of the lower phase *v*P. If it moves to Spec-*v*, Move applying to C can see *who* in the Spec position (i.e., edge) of phase *v*P.

Based on the derivation presented above, Lee raises a question: English is one of the typical languages that does not allow overt Object Shift (OS); then, how do we explain the fact that OS is required to derive sentences like (22)? In this connection, He claims that the phrase *who*, which has nothing to do with Agree, has to Move to the outer Spec and that this poses difficulties for the Agree-based approach to Move.

Lee (2001) adds that if we assume the EPP-feature is a selectional feature--in other words, if we assume that in English, the functional category *v* may select a phrase with [wh]-feature as its specifier, as the functional category C--then we can account for the fact that only *wh*-phrase, not other nominals, may undergo OS in English.

## 3. Locality-Based Data on Nominal Dislocation

We can find more sources showing that nominal dislocation cannot necessarily confirm to the Agree-Move composite operation. Evidence in support of Move based on locality, not on Agree-Move association, from the Shakespearean example in Early Modern English (EME):

(24) a. *The physics* I will try (King, All's Well That Ends Well, II.i)
  b. She may *more suitors* have (Tranio, The Tming of te Shrew, I.ii)
  c. The king *your mote* did see (Boyet, Love's Labours' Lost, IV.i)

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12) Chomsky (1999) defines a phase as follows: "verbal phrases with full argument structure *v*P and CP with force indicators, but not TP alone or "weak" verbal configurations lacking external arguments (passive, unaccusative)."

13) Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC): In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, but only H and its edge, where, given HP=[α [H β]], β is the domain of H, and α its edge (Chomsky 2000).
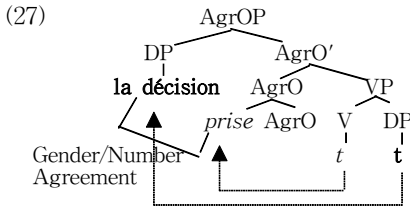
   Sentences such as (24a) and (24b) can be dealt with straightforwardly within the traditional IP/VP clausal analysis, assuming that *the physics* is adjoined to the left of the IP headed by *will* in (24a), and that *more suitors* is adjoined to the left of the VP headed by *have* in (24b). If, based on the previous the split-INFL analysis, we suppose that *did* in (24c) occupies the head T position of TP, we can then say that the scrambled complement *your mote* is adjoined to TP, while the subject *the king* occupies Spec-AgrSP. More specifically, (24c) is derived as in (25) below:

(25)
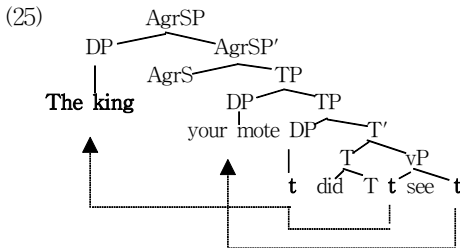
   Given that the nominal dislocation, *your mote*, in (25) involves adjunction of the scrambled DP to TP, we can analyze that this bespeaks availability of a sort of Object Shift in English. Judging from the fact that *the king* raised on a cyclic basis, *your mote* must have moved on a locality basis, whatsoever.

   Another cross-linguistic example supporting nominal displacement based on locality can be found in Kayne (1989a). He notes that passive participles in French agree with their superficial subjects. When we accept this paper's new proposal that Move follows locality, indifferent to Agree-Move relation, the agreement between the nominal and passive participle in (26) can be easily accounted for. The roughly-drawn treediagram is given in (27):

(26) La décision   a   été   prise   par le sénat
      The decision-FS has been taken-FS by   the senate

(27)

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                        AgrOP
              DP                  AgrO′
          la décision      AgrO          VP
                      prise AgrO    V      DP
      Gender/Number                 t      t
      Agreement
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We can suppose that based on locality, the DP *la décision* moves to Spec-AgrOP before moving into AgrSP. (26) involves an intermediate stage of derivation at which *la décision* has moved into Spec-AgrOP and the participle *prise*[14] has adjoined to AgrO, as in (27). Since the DP *la décision* and the passive participle *prise* are in a spec-head agreement relation, we can ensure that locality accounts for the two agreement in number and gender. Let us consider a passive sentence regarding our locality argument that passivized complements move through Spec-AgrOP on their way to Spec-AgrSP.

(28) a. The president signed the agreements

    b. The agreements were signed by the president

(29)

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              TP
                    T′
            was          AgrsP
                      AgrS′
                  AgrS    AgrOP
                            AgrO′
              X         AgrO    V′
                              V′      PP
              X               V   DP   by the president
                            signed  the agreement
                      X
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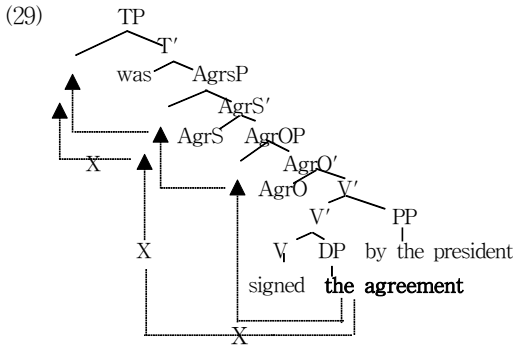
14) French verb *prendre* conjugates as follows:

    je prends   nous prenoms
    tu prends   vous prenez
    il prend   ils   prenent

Its male participle form is *pris*, and female form is *prise*.

In the active sentence (28a), the DP the agreement is the complement of the verb *signed*, and raises to Spec-AgrOP in order to check its objective case (cf. *The president signed **them***). But in (28b) the same DP raises to Spec-AgrSP in order to check its nominative case (cf. ***They** were signed by the president*). A question we might ask: whether the DP in the passive sentence (28b) moves through Spec-AgrOP before moving into Spec-AgrSP or it directly raises to Spec-AgrSP. We can provide a clear-cut answer. Locality should be applied to the movement. As clearly supported by cross-linguistic data (26) and (27), we can claim that, based on locality, passivized complements move through Spec-AgrOP on their way to Spec-AgrSP in English.

4. Conclusion

Chomsky (1999, 2000) claims that DP displacement, which aims to eliminate uninterpretable features, result from the composite operation of Move under Agree. Lee (2001) claims that Move and Agree be independent operations and Move apply just to satisfy EPP-feature.

As for expletive constructions, we see that, albeit agreement takes place between T and the structural case of a nominal, expletive *there*, not the nominal, raises to Spec-T to delete the EPP-feature on T. In this connection, Chomsky (1999, 2000), adhering to the Agree-Move composite operation, argues that, in view of the Merge-over-Move principle, merging *there* is more economical than moving a nominal. Lee (2001), contrary to Chomsky, argues that this imply that Move has nothing to do with Agree. He further extends his argument to the movement of *wh*-expressions.

David (2003) argues that the value of the tense feature on little v is just determined by the tense feature on T, saying uninterpretable categorical feature on a head deletes by assuming that tense feature on the verbal complex has to be the same as the tense feature on T. He claims that little v is simply specified as having an uninterpretable tense feature; that when this feature is checked, the little v gets a value from the tense feature on T; and that two syntactic relations, which check features, are Agreement and Sisterhood, based on locality. He notes that checking by value has the advantage: it simply does not generate

an ill-formed structure, instead of ruling out an unchecked feature after generating the ill-formed structure.

Taking account into the split arguments concerning the Agree-Move relations, this paper puts forward a new proposal: locality should be put before Agree-Move relations in nominal displacement, including *wh*-expressions. Based on the data considered above: Shakespearean example in Early Modern English in (25), the nominal-passive participle agreement in French in (27), and passivized complements dropping in an intermediate positions on their way to a final position in English as shown in (29), this paper claims that, before we decide on Agree-Move composite or separate operations concerning nominal displacement, nominal displacement is contingent upon locality. In a nutshell, I claim that the notion of locality should extend to Agree-Move relations.

Following David's argument that the Agree relationship is a simple extension of sisterhood (c-command) and selectional feature checking is just a more local version of Agree, I claim that priority should be given to locality rather than to deciding whether Agree and Move are composite or they are separate operations. Besides, Agree and Move should not be necessarily regarded as a composite operation. That is, when we have to move a nominal both on an economy basis and in confirmity with locality, then, it follows that the independent operation is more preferable to composite operation. In this vein, in deriving the sentence in (22) according to Chomsky's (2000) $\alpha=$[XP [(EA) H YP]], the derivation (23′), which is based on locality, is more desirable and economic in view of locality than the derivation in (23).

Judging from the availability of Object Shift shown in a Shakespearean example in Early Modern English, this is a sort of locality, which further evidences that in nominal displacement, locality is more preferable to Agree-Move relations. An additional clue on locality can be found in Kayne (1989a). Only when we assume that based on locality, DP *la décision* should drop in Spec-AgrOP before it reaches its final position Spec-AgrSP, can we account for the gender-number agreement between the feminine nominal *la décision* and past participle *prise* in French. We see that such a basic locality notion can be further supported with a passive derivation in English as shown in (29).

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