Move vs Agree

I will compare Move and Agree with respect its locality and motivation. A restrictive system is argued for in which in the configuration in (1), where X asymmetrically c-commands Y, movement of Y to X must be driven by a formal inadequacy of Y (in other words, Move is always moving-element driven), whereas an Agree relation between X and Y must be triggered by a formal inadequacy of X.

(1) X…Y

Furthermore, it will be argued that phases/the Phase-Impenetrability Condition and the Activation Condition constrain Move, but not Agree. I will explore consequences of the proposed system for a number of phenomena. Among other things, I will propose a new account of the impossibility of Case-marking an NP in an interrogative SpecCP (cf. (2), which is ruled out because the Case feature of the wh-phrase in SpecCP cannot be checked although the matrix verb has the ability to check Case (cf. (3)), as well as a new analysis of Postal’s (1974) notorious wager-class verbs, which are able to exceptionally Case-mark wh-traces, but not lexical NPs (cf. (4)).

(2) *I know what it seems clear.
(3) I know that.
(4) a. Who did John wager to know French?
   b. *John wagered Mary to know French.

The claim that Move is always moving-element driven implies that the Generalized EPP (i.e. the I-need-a-Spec property of attracting heads), which is standardly appealed to to drive movement of Y to SpecXP in (1), is superfluous. I will demonstrate that the generalized EPP is indeed dispensable by providing an EPP-free account of A-movement (5) (cf. also Epstein and Seely 2006), wh-movement, including both English-type and multiple wh-fronting languages like Bulgarian (6), and successive cyclic A/A’-movement (cf. (7)).

(5) John was arresteded.
(6) a. What did John buy?
   b. Koj kakvo e kupil?
      who what is bought
      ‘Who bought what?’
(7) a. What do you think [t that John bought t]
    b. John seems [t to t know French]

Finally, I will argue for a uniform account of successive cyclic $A$ and $A'$-movement, on which both successive cyclic $A$- and successive cyclic $A'$-movement target SpecCP.