

EXPLAINING TH/EX

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The Phenomenon: In certain Expletive Sentences (ES), the associate DP mysteriously moves a short distance toward the subject position and then stops. (Milsark 1974; Rezac 2006)

- (1) a. There arrived a train
- b. There is a train arriving (*a train)
- c. There was someone arrested (*someone)
- d. There is someone being (*someone) arrested (*someone)

Chomsky (2001) refers to such movement as ‘Thematization/Extraction’ or ‘TH/EX’. The target positions for such movement are referred to as TH/EX positions. The questions that are still left open by recent works on ES such as Rezac (2006) and Deal (2009) are (i) where and why do TH/EX positions arise, and (ii) what motivates movement to them?

Other Background: Contra Chomsky’s (2001) claim of ‘high’ *There* Insertion in Spec,TP, Richards & Biberauer (2005) and Deal (2009) argue that *There* Insertion is ‘low’, in Spec,vP. Further, Deal offers an analysis of the various Spec properties of the distinctive verbalizing heads accompanying different verb types. She argues that *There* Insertion is limited to the theta-empty Spec,vP position of the verbalizing head \tilde{v} of non-inchoative unaccusative verbs (including *arrive* and *be*), thus explaining the limitation on verbs that may be involved in *There* Insertion. However, these works all leave TH/EX unexplained.

The Analysis: The present analysis builds on these works, and on Chomsky’s observation that movement is complex and may be articulated into its Agree and Merge aspects. In this analysis, EPP features (which drive movement) are articulated into their Agree and Merge components, and this articulation is lexically idiosyncratic—it is different for different verbalizing heads. Rather than T bearing a split EPP feature (Chomsky 2001), it is \tilde{v} , the verbalizing head for non-inchoative unaccusative verbs (e.g. *arrive* or *be*) which bears such a feature, as in (2).

- (2) EPP for \tilde{v} : [$u\text{Theta}_{\text{AGR}}$, uD_{MRG}]

This EPP feature says that \tilde{v} must agree a true (theta-marked) argument, but may merge either that argument or *there*. The latter possibility allows \tilde{v} of *arrive* to agree *a train* and merge *there*, as in (1a). In (1b), the higher \tilde{v} of *be* must agree a theta-marked argument. If the lower \tilde{v} of *arrive* has merged *there*, locality only allows [$u\text{Theta}_{\text{AGR}}$] of the higher \tilde{v} access to *there*, and the derivation will fail. Therefore, in (1b), the lower \tilde{v} must agree and merge *a train*, so that the higher \tilde{v} finds the requisite argument to satisfy its [$u\text{Theta}_{\text{AGR}}$], explaining this TH/EX movement. Likewise in (1c), the verbalizing head for the passive verb *arrest* must also agree and raise the theta-marked argument so that \tilde{v} of passive *be* can locally satisfy its [$u\text{Theta}_{\text{AGR}}$] feature. In (1d), both the verbalizing head of the passive verb *arrest* and the \tilde{v} of passive *be* must agree and merge the theta-marked argument so that \tilde{v} of progressive *be* can locally satisfy its [$u\text{Theta}_{\text{AGR}}$] feature. Thus, the TH/EX movements in (1) are all explained. In addition, multiple *There* Insertion is automatically disallowed in the realm of vP structure.