

### Flexible Theta-Marking and (Anti-)Labeling

**Synopsis:** This paper aims at proposing a novel analysis of the rather flexible pattern of theta-marking, typically exhibited by so-called light-verb construction (LVC) the fact that neither arguments nor predicates participate in labeling gives rise to the apparent “non-configurational” phrase structure in the sense of Hale (1983), making flexible theta-marking possible. It is further claimed that the proposed analysis provides a novel support for the LfL-based solutions to labeling problems.

**Flexible Theta-Marking:** The examples in (1), where the VN *keikoku* ‘warning’ is underlined, exemplify a case of flexible theta-marking. In (1a), all the arguments of the VN (in this particular case, agent-DP, goal-PP and theme-CP) appear within the domain of the VN (informally labeled as “VNP”), and they are all marked as genitive. (1b-c) are the examples of LCV, where the VN and the light verb *su-* ‘do’ form a complex predicate. In (1b), only the agent DP appears outside the VNP, while in (1c) all the arguments appear outside it.

- (1) a. [“VNP” [DP Taroo]-no [PP murabito-e]-no [CP ookami-ga kuru to]-no keikoku]  
T.-gen villager-to-gen wolf-nom come C-gen warning  
‘Taroo’s warning to the villagers that the wolf is coming’  
b. [DP Taroo]-ga [“VNP” [PP murabito-e]-no [CP ookami-ga kuru to]-no keikoku]-o sita  
T.-nom villager-to-gen wolf-nom come C-gen warning-acc did  
‘Taroo did a warning to the villagers that the wolf was coming.’  
c. [DP Taroo]-ga [PP murabito-ni] [CP ookami-ga

(Borer 2005, a.o.), I propose that Th is an acategorial (as it can appear both in verbal and nominal domains) weak head so that it functions as an anti-labeling device. Given this, an intransitive verb consists of at least three heads, namely R(oot), Th, and  $\nu$ , and only  $\nu$  can provide a label as the other two are weak heads (see Chomsky 2015 for R). If an argument lacks K (as the DP in (4)), it must be introduced after the R-Th- $\nu$  combination is formed as in (4c). In (4a), the DP argument is Merged with  $\{? R_w, Th_w\}$  with MS dete.011 T.013 Tc00netonoa