

Labeling Small Clauses*

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Lee, Jeong-Shik. (2014). Labeling Small Clauses. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 22(4), 21-37. In this paper, I suggest a few ways of labeling small clauses, $SO = \{XP, YP\}$, the label of which is to be determined by a more prominent term. As one possibility, I suggest that along with phi-features, the theta-feature of the predicate makes the predicate prominent (Cecchetto and Donati 2010). As another, particles like *as* and *for* in complex small clauses are regarded as a defective T or a Pred head (Bowers 1993), which provides the small clause with a label T or Pred. I suggest to extend this to labeling of *as*-less regular small clauses; that is, they involve null-*as* and receive a label as T or Pred. Also, labeling ambiguity in Chomsky (2013) in regular small clauses is resolved by defining locality in terms of label.

Key Words: label, labeling, small clause, labeling ambiguity, locality

I. Introduction

Chomsky (2013: 43) in his recent article, Problems of Projection (henceforth, POP), discusses a labeling possibility for the following syntactic object (SO):¹⁾

(1) $SO = \{XP, YP\}$

In POP, neither XP nor YP is a head, so minimal search is ambiguous, locating

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1) In another straightforward case, $SO = \{H, XP\}$, labeling selects the label H, the head, as usual.

the heads X and Y of XP and YP, respectively. Either X or Y is eligible for providing a label. He suggested a way in which SO can be labeled: either XP or YP raises so that there is only one remaining visible head.²⁾

One relevant case in point comes from the copula small clause (SC):

- (2) XP copula [β XP, YP]
 (e.g., lightening [be [~~lightening~~, the cause of the fire]])

If one of the terms, here XP, raises, the remaining term YP will determine the label of β as Y, the lower XP copy being invisible to labeling.

In this paper, I will consider two other types of small clauses, one regular (3) and the other complex (4), to see if the above suggestion can equally apply.

- (3) a. I consider [β John a hero].
 b. I consider [β John happy].
 (4) a. I regard [β John as a hero].
 b. I took [β John for a hero].

Under the POP's approach, the small clause subject *John* will have to move to a position higher than the matrix verb, for example, Spec, VP; the matrix verb then has to move over the moved *John* to recover the surface order.³⁾

So labeling of the small clause can be done after a few more Merge operations. This leads to dropping the requirement that every syntactic object must be labeled (Chomsky 2013: 44). In this paper, I will closely examine this part of the labeling process and eventually claim, contra Chomsky (2013), that "label" is required for Merge (as well as interpretation) basically in line with Chomsky (2008), Hornstein (2009), among others.

2) Chomsky (2013: 43) considers another possibility: X and Y are identical in a relevant respect, providing the same label, which can be taken as the label of the SO. Chomsky (2013: 45) also says that if a relation like Agree holds between the two terms, the label is the feature involved.

3) A question as to why the other term (i.e., *a hero*) doesn't raise under the POP's approach remains to be answered:

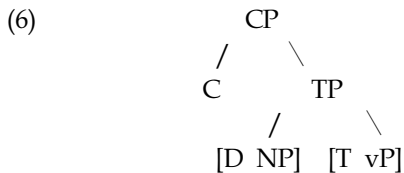
(i) *I consider a hero John.

2. Locality and labeling

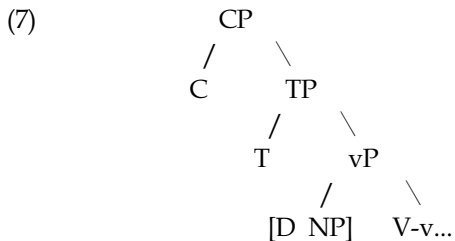
Chomsky (2013: 39) also discusses ambiguous labeling with Yes/No question formation via T-to-C movement in English.

- (5) a. Can eagles that fly swim?
 b. Are eagles that fly swimming?
 c. *Are eagles that swimming fly?

He then reiterates structure-dependency of grammatical processes: grammatical operations like T-to-C movement are structure-dependent, based on hierarchical relations instead of linear proximity, and locality is independent of category. Thus, as seen in the structural input below, there arises a question of why Yes/No question moves T rather than (a subpart of) the expression in Spec T, viz. D, both being equi-distant from C.



POP's solution to this question relies on a timing approach: Under the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis only T can raise to C because the C-T relationship is established when EA (External Argument, i.e., Subject) is still in situ, as seen below.



Carstens, Hornstein, and Seely (2013) (henceforth, CHS), however, point out

a number of problems with this kind of timing approach, according to which minimal search should find D and v as they are equi-distant from T, and thus, either D-to-T or v-to-T should be allowed.⁴ CHS, in favor of the traditional approach to head-movement, argue for an analysis that allows only v-to-T movement sensitive to categorial and other features of the target and the moving item, not just to locality. Their data include the following contrast in Wh-questions (their (5)):

- (8) a. Which boys (*did) eat the pizza?
 b. Which pizza *(did) the boys eat?
 c. Which boys *(did) you say t ate the pizza?

This fact shows that local subject Wh-questions disallow T-to-C movement but all other direct Wh-questions require it, indicating that something other than locality is involved in motivating and constraining head-movement.

Under the POP's approach, in (7) EA-raising to Spec, TP takes place before V-v-to-T movement. Recall that in POP only T can raise to C in (7) because C-T relationship is established when EA is still in situ. Thus it needs to be assumed that T-to-C and EA-raising both precede V-v-to-T. CHS point out that this is not only counter-cyclic but also incompatible with the fact that V-v-to-T feeds T-to-C movement in languages like Spanish:⁵

- (9) a. Que querian esos dos?
 what wanted those two
 'What did those two want?'
 b. [CP what want+T+C [TP [DP those two]<T>
 [vP <EA> <v> ...]]]

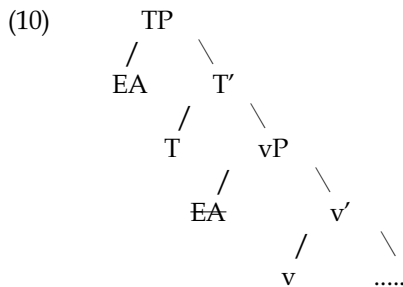
In short, CHS (p. 13) claim that head-movement is driven and constrained by factors other than pure locality; selection for category and other features

4) Both labeling and identification of candidates for Internal Merge are based on minimal search in POP.

5) CHS (in section 2.4) discuss more examples of head-movement from Irish and Xhosa that present problems with POP.

work in concert with hierarchical locality considerations to dictate what moves. In line with this approach, I assume that a head category always provides a label, being a selector of some sort, and deny having an ambiguity in determining a label in a structure like (1).

In a configuration like (10), thus, the head *v* provides the label of the category identified as *vP*; when the head *T* merges with its complement *vP*, it also provides the label of the category identified as *TP*; when *EA* is internally merged to *Spec, TP* from out of *Spec vP*, the moved *EA* does not provide a label.⁶⁾

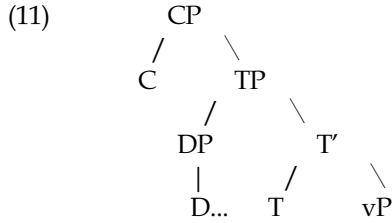


Given the failure of the timing approach of Chomsky, now, the fact that T-to-C precedes D-to-C in a structure like (6), or in its more traditional structure in (11) should follow from the relation between the two categories C and T.

6) Chomsky (2013) endorses Cecchetto and Donati's (2010) ambiguous labeling for the following data: the moving LI (Lexical Item) *what* provides the label, either C for (ia) or D for (ib).

- (i) a. I wonder what you read.
 b. I read what you read.

So labeling for the complement of *read* in (ib) remains to be worked out under the current claim (see Lee 2014 for an analysis).



It is observed that C-T relation is directly associated with the label T while D-C relation is only indirectly associated owing to the presence of the intermediate label T. From another perspective, T-to-C does not cross another label, but D-to-C does so, viz., T (see Hornstein 2009 for a similar path account in terms of node crossing). Thus, it can be said that T-to-C is a shorter movement than D-to-C, suggesting that locality can be measured by counting the number of labels intervening. This directly applies to the configuration in (7) as well. Now due to the locality conceived here, it can be said that C-T relation forces T to provide a label of the category identified as TP above. Importantly, the current suggestion implicates that labeling is required for Merge (as well as interpretation) as in Chomsky (2008), but contra Chomsky (2013, fn 30).

3. Labeling small clauses

The current approach now has to suggest ways for deciding a label of SC, where α and β correspond to XPs in the usual sense of X' -structure:



Chomsky (2013: 45) considers that α and β in SCs do not involve a relation like agreement (e.g., traditional Spec-Head agreement) strong enough to pinpoint any prominent feature for a label. Under the POP's approach, as aforementioned, either α or β is eligible for providing a label, so after the one undergoes Internal Merge to a higher position, the other remaining one is going to provide a label. Thus, the SC subject *John* in (3a), repeated below, will

have to move to an upper position first, namely, Spec, vP.⁷⁾

(3) a. I consider [_β John a hero]. (β = SC, small clause)

The labeling of the SC will be obtained as the derivation proceeds, as illustrated below.

- (13) a. [consider [John a hero]] => Merge *v*, Merge *I*
 b. [I [v [V consider [John a hero]]]]
 => Move *John*, Label SC as D
 c. [John [I [v [V consider [_D John a hero]]]]]
 => Move *consider*
 d. [V-v consider [John [I [v [V consider [_D John a hero]]]]]]]
 => Move *I*
 e. I [_v V-v consider [John [I [v [V consider [_D John a hero]]]]]]]
 => (3a)

After the raising of the SC subject, the label of the SC is determined as D, as illustrated in (13c); the matrix verb then raises to a higher position together with *v* to restore the base order, as seen in (13d); further movement of the internal subject will finally produce the surface order, as seen in (13e).⁸⁾

Here the label of the resulting structure [*John* [_I [_v [V *consider* [_D *John a hero*]]]]] in (13e) appears to be D since the two remaining visible terms share the same category or the D feature.⁹⁾ This conjecture, however, will face

7) I assume that Spec, vP is the right position. It seems that Chomsky (2013) assumes that it is Spec, VP, as I understand from his discussion of the following ECM construction:

(i) They consider [_β John to be intelligent]. (cf. Chomsky 2013: (24))

According to him (p. 47), *John* raises to sister-of-*[consider a]*, followed by raising of *consider* to *v**. I will return to this matter shortly and show why the position is Spec, vP rather than Spec, VP.

8) Notice that the head-movement of *consider* to *v* and subsequent V-v movement over *John* in (13d), which is considered syntactic, leads to violation of the Extension Condition (see Lee 2014 for related discussion of this problem).

9) One might say, along with Chomsky (2013: 45), that this structure is still unlabelable, but raising of *consider* might overcome the problem since the structure resulting from the

difficulty in another SC construction, repeated from (3b), where the SC predicate is an adjective. Its derivation and labeling are represented in (14).

- (3) b. I consider [_β John happy]. (β = SC)
- (14) a. [consider [John happy]] => Merge *v*, Merge *I*
 b. [I [_v [V consider [John happy]]]]
 => Move *John*, Label SC as D
 c. [John [I [_v [V consider [_A John happy]]]]
 => Move *consider*
 d. [V-*v* consider [John [I [_v [V consider [_A John happy]]]]]]
 => Move *I*
 e. I [_v V-*v* consider [John [I [_v [V consider [_A John happy]]]]]]
 => (3b)

Under the POP's approach, after the raising of the SC subject, this SC will be labeled as A, as seen in (14c); the matrix verb raises to a higher position to restore the base order, with the movement of the internal subject, as seen in (14d,e). This time, the label of the resulting structure [*John* [_I [_v [V consider [_A *John* happy]]]] will have to be determined by re-raising of *John* to a higher position to the left of the raised verbal complex V-*v* *consider*, again followed by another subsequent move of this verbal complex to recover the surface order. The result, however, will be only an infinite regress of the sort.

It may be said that the structure in question is still unlabelable, but raising of *consider* might overcome the problem since the structure resulting from this verb raising is labeled *v** (see Chomsky 2013: 45 for relevant discussion). Thus the question is reduced to whether the structure under consideration needs to be interpreted or not. If it is, it will require labeling. In what follows, I will consider the following ECM (Exceptional Case Marking) construction from Chomsky (2013: (24)) to show it is indeed the case.

- (15) They consider [_β John to be intelligent].

Chomsky (2013: 47) suggests the following derivation and labeling thereof:

movement of this verb is labeled *v**. I will comment on this conjecture shortly.

- (16) a. [V consider [β John to be intelligent]] => Move *John*
 b. [John [V consider [β John to be intelligent]]]
 => Label β as T, Merge *v*
 c. [v [John [V consider [τ John to be intelligent]]]]
 => Move *consider*
 d. [V-v consider [John [V consider [τ John to be intelligent]]]]
 => Merge *I*
 e. I [v^* V-v consider [John [V consider [τ John to be intelligent]]]]
 => (15)

John is assumed to have raised to Spec, VP in the matrix clause, viz., to sister-of-[*consider* β], as seen in (16b), followed by raising of *consider* to v^* in restoration of the base order, as seen in (16d), endorsing the "raising to object" analysis in Lasnik and Saito (1991) (assuming raising to Spec, AgrOP). The important thing to note is that raising of *John* here is attributed to the labeling problem, permitting β to be interpreted. As for the resulting structure [*John* [V *consider* [τ *John* to be intelligent]]], he (p. 47) says, "[it] is still unlabelable, but the effect of obligatory raising of *consider* to v^* perhaps overcomes the problem since the resulting structure is labeled v^* , and for interpretability that might suffice, though loose ends remain."

However, I would like to rake up some loose ends here. I will argue that the resulting structure in question in fact needs to be interpreted and thus it requires a label. One argument comes from implications of Lasnik and Saito's (1991) analysis. Lasnik and Saito argue that ECM subject raises to Spec, AgrOP in the higher clause by discussing examples like the following:

- (17) The D. A. proved [two men_i to have been at the scene of
 the crime] during each other_i's trial.

The fact that the embedded subject can bind the anaphor beyond the embedded clause constitutes an empirical evidence for the claim that this subject is actually in the higher clause in surface structure. Provided that the adjunct *during*-phrase is adjoined to the matrix VP, *the men* must be in a higher position than this VP to c-command *each other*. Although Spec, AgrOP most

likely translates into Spec, VP in the recent phrase structure in which AgrO is no longer posited, I assume that *the men* raises to Spec, vP for the above binding reasons. This conclusion thus leads to different derivation than that illustrated in (16), one that is essentially the same as that in (13, 14) except the label of β .¹⁰⁾

At this point, what must be pointed out is that the resulting structure, [*two men* [~~the~~-D- A- [v [V *proved* [T *two men* to ...]]] ... *each other* ...]], is to be interpreted because *the men* can serve as a binder only in (outer) Spec, vP, not in the original lower position, and for that matter, [[*John* [H - v [V *consider* [D *John* *a hero*]]]]] and [[*John* [H - v [V *consider* [A *John* *happy*]]]]] in (13, 14) as well, contrary to what Chomsky (2013: 24) says. This means that these structures should be labeled--"in accord with the general principle that all SOs that reach the interfaces must be labeled" (Chomsky 2013: 45). For the structure in question to receive a label, then, *the men/John* has to raise to an unknown higher position, followed by movement of the matrix verb *proved/consider* again, which could lead to a situation like infinite regress, noted in the discussion below (14).¹¹⁾

I also consider another case in which the ECM subject appears to be placed in the embedded subject position. Lasnik (1999) notes optional "raising to object" in English ECM construction as in (18), which can be represented either as in (19a) or as in (19b).

(18) John believes Mary to be intelligent.

10) I do not intend to provide the derivation here.

11) One might say that the raising of the embedded infinitive subject in question does not have to raise again. Consider the stage provided in (i).

(i) [v^* *proved* [β *two men* [v^* *proved* [α *two men* [~~the~~-D- A- [v [V *proved* [T *two men* to ...]]] ...]]]]]]

In other words, as α can be provided a label through the re-raising of *two men* and thus can be interpreted, the label for β in the next step up may be unnecessary since the re-raised *two men* does not have to serve as a binder again and the re-raised verb provides the final resulting structure with a label v^* . However, it is still unclear to me whether any structure can contain a category like β that cannot be interpreted owing to the lack of a label for this category.

- (19) a. John [vP v+believes [VP Mary t_{believes} [TP **Mary** to be intelligent]]].
 b. John believes [α Mary to be intelligent].
 (α = TP, $\alpha \neq$ DP)

What is of interest is the analysis provided in (19b) in which the ECM subject *Mary* stays in its place. If this analysis is right, the label of α has to be decided without having to raise this subject. This evidently runs counter to Chomsky's (2013) position introduced above, in which raising of *Mary* is required to resolve ambiguous labeling possibility in (19b).¹²

In POP's approach, SCs are regarded as not involving a stronger relation that leads to a label, the relation that needs "not just matching but actual agreement holding in subject-predicate examples [involving prominent phi-features], the so-called Spec-Head agreement" (Chomsky 2013: 45). Thus, SCs of the structure, SC= {XP, YP}, do not receive a label unless either of the two terms raises despite the fact that XP and YP display certain amount of matching/agreement in phi-features, particularly, in number and gender:

- (20) a. I consider [John a hero/*a heroine/*heroes].
 b. I consider [the men *a hero/*a heroine/*heroines/heroes].

In addition, I note that SC predicates assign a subject theta-role to their subjects.

Under the current approach in which label is required for Merge and thus label is decided without having to raise the SC subject, the predicates should be able to provide a label for the SC. The question that arises is then what makes them prominent in determining a label. What kind of features are involved here? I suggest that the phi-features plus a theta-feature on the predicate noted above lead to offering a label of the SC. Or the SC predicate has more features than its subject and so it provides a label in the sense of Cecchetto and Donati (2010) in which an LI with more features wins over and

12) If (19b) is understood as involving A-reconstruction from (19a) at LF, the point may not apply. It is often observed that A-reconstruction is optional (Lasnik 1999):

(i) I believe everyone not to have arrived yet. (every > not, not > every)

provides a label. This suggestion may also extend to ECM constructions to the effect that the ECM subject and the defective T exhibit hidden Spec-Head agreement, so that the ECM clause can be labeled T.¹³⁾

4. Complex small clauses and labeling

Let us consider the following examples which I call "complex SC" construction, repeated from (4) (see Rafel 2001, among others).

(4) a. I regard [_β John as a hero].

b. I took [_β John for a hero].

Unlike regular SCs like (3a,b), complex SCs contain *as* in (4a) and *for* in (4b). These particles are closely tied with the matrix verb: *as* is selected by *regard* and *for* is by *take*. At this point, recall that I suggested that locality can be measured in terms of label. Thus, C-T relation in a structure like (11) prevents D from providing a label and makes T project a label instead, so that there may be no other label between C and T. Likewise, selectional relation between *regard/take* and *as/for*, respectively, in (4a,b) can lead *as/for* to provide a label. Now I assume that the elements *as/for* are the realization of defective T or Pred (Bowers 1993). The whole complex SC would then be TP or PredP, as shown in (21).

(21) a. I regard [_{TP/PredP} John [_{T'/Pred'} [_{T/Pred} as [**John** a hero]]]].
 (=> (4a))

b. I took [_{TP/PredP} John [_{T'/Pred'} [_{T/Pred} for [**John** a hero]]]].
 (=> (4b))

Thus the whole SCs here will receive T or Pred as its label in order to merge with their matrix verb.

13) Assuming that the matrix verb and the small clause predicate form a kind of complex predicate at LF (Chomsky 1986) and that label is required only for interpretation, there may be a certain selectional relation between them that can possibly make the SC predicate more prominent in deciding a label. This suggestion is yet to be refined.

Interestingly, *consider* can also select *as* in the complex SC:

(22) I consider [John as a hero].

The same analysis above can apply to (22) to provide the complex SC with a label as T or Pred, as shown below.

(23) I consider [_{TP/PredP} John [_{T'/Pred'} [_{T/Pred} as [~~John~~ a hero]]]].

Extending this analysis to regular SCs like (3a) constitutes another way to provide a label for them.

(3) a. I consider [_β John a hero].

It possibly leads to the postulation of the null *as* head in the SC, as shown below.

(24) I consider [_{TP/PredP} John [_{T'/Pred'} [_{T/Pred} \emptyset [~~John~~ a hero]]]].
 (=> (3a))

The SC will then have T or Pred as its label in order to merge with the matrix verb.

The structure offered above has advantage in dealing with Passives:

(25) a. John is considered as a hero.
 b. [John is considered [~~John~~ as ~~John~~ a hero]]].

If the intermediate copy of *John* in (25b) is in Spec, CP, an A'-position (see Starke 1995 for treating *as/for* in (4a,b) as prepositional C(omplementizer)s), the passive in (25a) will involve improper movement, as seen in (25b). Under the current approach, the movement of *John* proceeds only through A-positions.

Rafel (2001: 169) proposes the following structure in (26a), where *as* serves as C heading CP, to avoid the improper movement:

- (26) a. I consider [CP John_i [C' [C as [PRO_i a hero]]]].
 b. [John_i is considered [CP John_i [C' [C as [PRO_i a hero]]]].

Rafel (p. 167) assumes that the SC subject *John* in Spec, CP, as represented in (26a), is in A-position since it is base-generated there, and thus, the passive in (26b) involves no improper movement. But it remains still unclear if an epistemic verb like *consider* can take a clause containing PRO in English, if the particle *as* can play any role in controlling PRO, and if any argument can be base-generated in Spec, CP. In addition, in non-finite clauses the subject appears after C in general, and PRO cannot appear after a prepositional C:

- (27) a. I want [for John to succeed].
 b. *I want [for PRO to succeed].
 (28) a. I would prefer [for John to read the paper].
 b. *I would prefer [for PRO to read the paper].

The current structure in (23, 24) is free from this worry.

5. More discussion

In passing, let us note that examples like (27, 28) show that labeling does not always force raising of the non-finite subject (cf. *[*John for [John to succeed]*]), but that it is the local C-T relation, namely, *for-to*, that crucially leads the related T to provide a label T for the structure α below (in the simpler Merge system assumed in Chomsky 2013):

- (29)
- $$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{C} \\
 / \quad \backslash \\
 \text{C} \quad \alpha \\
 \text{for} \quad / \quad \backslash \\
 \quad \text{DP} \quad \text{TP} \\
 \quad | \quad | \\
 \text{D(John)} \quad \text{T(to)...}
 \end{array}$$

In this connection, it is also natural that essentially the same local relation between *regard/take* and *as/for*, respectively, in (4a,b), repeated below, can lead *as/for* to provide a label, T or Pred here.

- (4) a. I regard [_β John as a hero].
 b. I took [_β John for a hero].

Recall that according to Chomsky (2013: 45), a stronger relation like the so-called Spec-Head agreement between the subject and the predicate involving prominent phi-features leads to a label. Thus it seems to me that Chomsky doesn't think that the Spec-Head agreement under consideration holds in infinitive clauses as in (15), repeated below, T being defective.

- (15) They consider [_β John to be intelligent].

The reason is that the infinitive subject *John* shares no prominent phi-features with the defective infinitive *to*, and thus, the label of β is not provided through the Spec-Head agreement in question but by raising of *John* to avoid the ambiguity in labeling possibility (Chomsky 2013: 47). However, infinitive or defective T projects a label anyway whether the infinitive subject is claimed to raise to the higher clause in examples like (15) or it actually remains in those like (27a, 28a). My point is that it seems that labeling does not necessarily force movement of a term in a structure like $SO = \{XP, YP\}$.

6. Summary

In this paper, I argued for a few ways of labeling small clauses. Maintaining a more conservative position (Chomsky 2008), labeling is assumed to be required for Merge (as well as interpretation), unlike in Chomsky (2013). In cases where there appears no head as in small clauses, for example, $SO = \{XP, YP\}$, the label of this SO is to be determined by a more prominent term (or atom). As one possibility, I took note of the theta-feature of the predicate that is assigned to the subject and suggested that along with phi-features, this

feature makes the predicate prominent in small clauses in the sense of Cecchetto and Donati (2010) in which an LI with more features provides a label. Another possibility is motivated from the complex small clauses which contain particles like *as* and *for* that are selected by the matrix verb. These particles are regarded as a defective T or a Pred head (Bowers 1993), thus providing the small clause with a label T or Pred. This analysis was extended to labeling of *as*-less regular small clauses. I suggested that they involve null-*as* and receive a label as T or Pred. So labeling in terms of Agree (or, the usual Spec-Head agreement) is generalized over non-finite/small clauses as well as finite clauses. Thus there is no such ambiguity issue as in Chomsky (2013) in regular small clauses, which is resolved by defining locality in terms of label-intervention. Refining the suggested ways remains to be worked out.

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