Operator Fronting in Hungarian and the typology of control from an LFG perspective

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1. Introduction

Operator Fronting in Hungarian

1. INTRODUCTION

An element that semantically belongs to the embedded clause, appears in the main clause.

(1) (*Azt)* *mondtad, hogy* *János jön.*
    that.ACC said.2SG that(c) John comes
    'You said (it) that John comes.'

(2) a. ***János*** *mondtad, hogy* *jön.*
     John.NOM said.2SG that(c) comes

   b. ***János-t̲*** *mondtad, hogy* *jön.*
     John-ACC said.2SG that(c) comes
     '(Of) John you said that he comes.'

- The fronted element usually bears some discourse function (topic, focus).
- Some previous accounts: Kenesei (1994), Lipták (1998), Gervain (2002), Coppock (2003), Jánosi (2013).

1. INTRODUCTION: 2 TYPES OF OPERATOR FRONTING

(2) a. ***János*** *mondtad, hogy jön.*
      John.NOM   said.2SG that(c)   comes

    b. ***János-t*** *mondtad, hogy jön.*
      John-ACC   said.2SG that(c)   comes
      '(Of) John you said that he comes.'

Contrasts between the two types:
- Island sensitivity
- Reconstruction
- Agreement patterns
- Licensing verbs
- Idiom-chunks

1. INTRODUCTION: 2 TYPES OF OPERATOR FRONTING

(3) a. ***János***   *mondtad,*   *hogy*   *hallottad*   *a*   *hírt,*
John.NOM   said.2SG   that(c)   heard.2SG   the   news
hogy   *jön.*
that(c)   comes.

b. ***János-t***   *mondtad,*   *hogy*   *hallottad*   *a*   *hírt,*
John-ACC   said.2SG   that(c)   heard.2SG   the   news
hogy   *jön.*
that(c)   comes
'(Of) John you said that you heard the news that he comes.'

(4) a. ***Egymás***   ***szülei***   *mondtad, hogy elszomorította*
each. other   parents.poss   said.2SG   that(c)   saddened.3SG
a   *fiúkat.*
the   boys.ACC

b. ****Egymás***   ***szülei-t***   *mondtad,*   *hogy*
each. other   parents.poss-ACC   said.2SG   that(c)
elszomorította   *a*   *fiúkat.*
saddened.3SG   the   boys.ACC
'(Of) Each other's parents you said that they saddened the boys.'
       (backward binding of experiencers)

1. INTRODUCTION: 2 TYPES OF OPERATOR FRONTING

- **Agreement-variation**: only with the accusative version.

(5) *Az összes   lány   mondtad,   hogy   jön /   *jönnek.*
the   all   girl.NOM said.2SG   that(c)   come.3SG / come.3PL
'(Of) all the girls you said that they come.'

(6) *Az összes   lány-t mondtad,   hogy   jön /   jönnek.*
the   all   girl-ACC said.2SG   that(c)   come.3SG / come.3PL
'(Of) all the girls you said that they come.'

- **Licensing verbs**: with the accusative version, several non-bridge verbs are acceptable.

(7) **János   kételted/   sérelmezted,   hogy   jön.*
John.NOM   doubted.2SG resented.2SG   that(c)   comes

(8) *János-t   kételted/   sérelmezted,   hogy   jön.*
John-ACC   doubted.2SG resented.2SG   that(c)   comes
'(Of) John you doubted/resented that he comes.'

1. INTRODUCTION: 2 TYPES OF OPERATOR FRONTING

- Idioms: not acceptable in either version, for different reasons.

(9)   *Jánost   elkapta   a   gépszíj.*
      John.ACC caught.3SG the   driving.belt
      'The driving belt caught John.' → 'John has to work a lot.'

(10) **Mondtad   a   gépszíj,   hogy elkapta   Jánost.*
      said.2SG   the   driving.belt.NOM that(c)   caught.3SG   John.ACC

(11) *#Mondtad   a   gépszíj-**at**,   hogy   elkapta   Jánost.*
      said.2SG   the   driving.belt-ACC that(c)   caught.3SG   John.ACC
      '(Of) the driving belt you said that it caught John.'

(Hungarian preverbal positions are associated with discourse-functions.)

1. INTRODUCTION: 2 TYPES OF OPERATOR FRONTING

(2) a. ***János***   *mondtad, hogy jön.*
        John.NOM   said.2SG that(c)   comes

    b. ***János-t***   *mondtad, hogy jön.*
        John-ACC   said.2SG that(c)   comes
        '(Of) John you said that he comes.'

- 2a: a proper functional dependency ("movement"-like properties)

- 2b: a "base-generated" construction → **our main focus**

1. INTRODUCTION: THE RESEARCH FOCUS

(2) b.   ***János-t$_i$***   *mondtad,*   *hogy* ___$_i$ *jön.*
          John-ACC   said.2SG   that(c)   comes
          '(Of) John you said that he comes.'

OBJ —— (i) —— main pred

(ii) —— embedded GF

(iii) —— SYNTAX
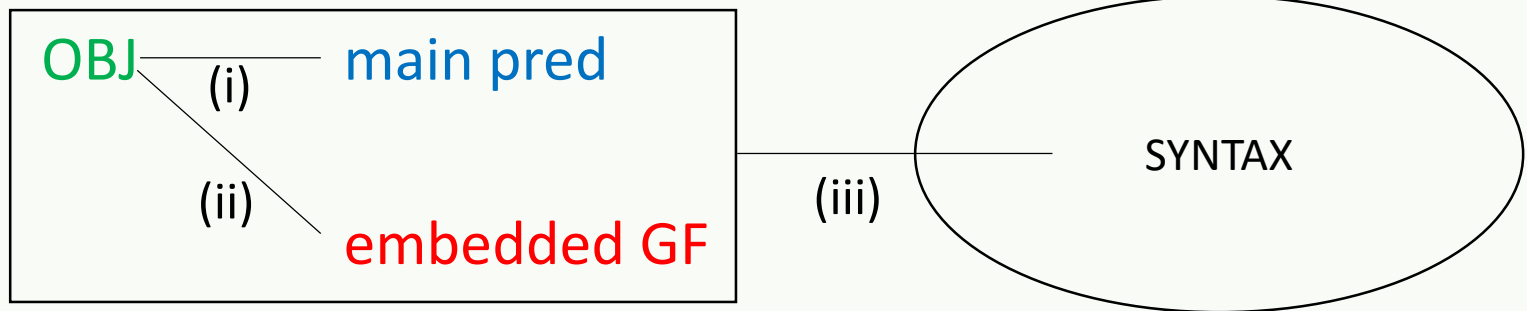
MAIN QUESTIONS

- What is the relationship between the main predicate and the accusative-marked element? (i)

- What is the relationship between the accusative-marked element and the coreferent embedded GF? (ii)

- How does the construction fit into general syntactic theory? (iii)

2. LFG accounts

What is the relationship between the main predicate and the accusative-marked element?

What is the relationship between the accusative-marked element and the coreferent embedded GF?
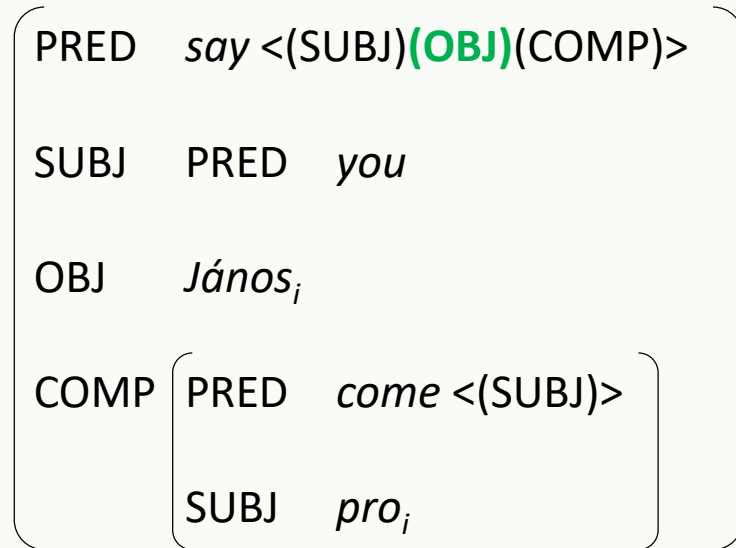
2. LFG ACCOUNTS: COPPOCK (2003)

(2) b. ***János-t*** *mondtad, hogy jön.*
John-ACC said.2SG that(c) comes
'(Of) John you said that he will come.'

PRED *say* <(SUBJ)(COMP)>**(OBJ)**

SUBJ PRED *you*

OBJ PRED *János$_i$*

COMP PRED *come* <(SUBJ)>

SUBJ *pro$_i$*

FEATURES OF THE ANALYSIS
- Non-thematic main clause OBJ
- Anaphoric identification ($\rightarrow$ agreement mismatch, see later)
- Violation of Semantic Coherence $\rightarrow$ posits that Semantic Coherence is a violable OT-style constraint.
- Does not account for the impossibility of idiom-chunks.

2. LFG ACCOUNTS : THE PROLEPTIC ACCOUNT

PRED   *say* <(SUBJ)**(OBJ)**(COMP)>

SUBJ   PRED   *you*

OBJ   *János$_i$*

COMP   PRED   *come* <(SUBJ)>

    SUBJ   *pro$_i$*

FEATURES OF THE ANALYSIS
- Szűcs (2017).
- Thematic main clause OBJ → semantically coherent.
- **PROLEPSIS:** "a structural complement of the matrix verb is semantically related to the predicate of a finite embedded clause" (Salzmann (2017).

IS THERE INDEPENDENT EVIDENCE FOR A THEMATIC OBJECT?
- No idiom chunks (10-11).
- The accusative pronoun in standard subordinate clauses is contentful.
- Ellipsis (see later).

2. LFG ACCOUNTS : THE PROLEPTIC ACCOUNT

PRONOUNS ASSOCIATED WITH SUBORDINATE CLAUSES ARE CONTENTFUL IN HUNGARIAN

(1) a. _Azt_ _mondtad,_ _hogy_ _János jön._
that.ACC said.2SG that(c) John comes
'You said that John comes.'

 b. _*(Jánost) azt mondtad (Jánost), hogy jön._

- Kenesei (1994) vs. Tóth (2000), Rákosi & Laczkó (2005), Szűcs (2015).

- _predicate_ <(SUBJ)(COMP)>OBJ vs. **<(SUBJ)(OBJ)>**

- Discourse functions.

- Coordination with standard thematic objects.

- Argument-adjunct asymmetries (also cross-linguistically).

2. ACCOUNTS: THE PROLEPTIC ACCOUNT

PRONOUNS ASSOCIATED WITH SUBORDINATE CLAUSES ARE CONTENTFUL IN HUNGARIAN – Discourse functions (12) (vs. canonical expletives, (13))

(12) *János* **CSAK AZT** *mondja,* *hogy* *hazamegy.*
John only that.ACC says that(c) home.goes
'John only says that he goes home.'

(13)a. ***Only it** *seems that John is smart.*

b. ***Only it** *rains a lot nowadays.*

PRONOUNS ASSOCIATED WITH SUBORDINATE CLAUSES ARE CONTENTFUL IN HUNGARIAN – Canonical objects

(14) *Fontolgatom* **a** **lemondást** *és* **azt,**
contemplate.1SG the resignation.ACC and that.ACC
hogy *elutazom.*
that(c) away.travel.1SG
'I'm contemplating about resignation and that I travel somewhere.'

2. ACCOUNTS: THE PROLEPTIC ACCOUNT

PRONOUNS ASSOCIATED WITH SUBORDINATE CLAUSES ARE CONTENTFUL IN HUNGARIAN – Argument-adjunct asymmetries

(15)   *Hova   mondod   (*azt)   hogy   mész ____ ?*
         where   say.2SG   that.ACC that(c)   go.2SG
         'Where do you say **(*it)** that you go?'

• Pronoun is present → clause is an adjunct → no extraction.

   Pronoun is absent → clause is an OBJ argument.

• See also Bennis (1986), Berman (2001).

(16)a.   *weil   er (es)   gesagt   hat,   dass   Hans krank   ist*
          because he it   said   have that(C)   Hans ill   is
          'because he said that Hans is ill'

   b   *Was   hat   er   (*es) gesagt,   dass   er   gelesen hat?*
         what has   he   it   said   that   he   read   has
         'What did he say that he read?'

2. ACCOUNTS: THE PROLEPTIC ACCOUNT

THE PROLEPTIC OBJECT IS THEMATIC – evidence from complement ellipsis (17 is based on Bresnan (1982: 71-72))

(17) a. *Someone had to wash my car. I persuaded John (to wash my car).*

   b. *Someone stole my car. I believed John *(to have stolen my car.)* → incoherence

(18) A: *Szerintem   János   a   legokosabb.*
   in.my.opinion John   the   smartest.
   'I think John is the smartest.'

   B: *De   eddig   te   Pétert   mondtad   (hogy*
   but   so.far   you   Peter.ACC   said.2SG   that(c)
   ő   a   legokosabb).
   he   the   smartest
   'But so far you said (of) Peter (that he is the smartest).'

2. ACCOUNTS: THE PROLEPTIC ACCOUNT

AGREEMENT

(6)   *Az összes   lányt mondtad,   hogy   **jön /   jönnek.***
the   all   girl.ACC   said.2SG that(c)   come.3SG / come.3PL
'(Of) all the girls you said that they come.'

- The variation may be observed with quantified nominals.
- Wechsler & Zlatic (2003): Concord vs. Index vs. Semantic/Pragmatic agreement.
- (6) is an instance of index-semantics mismatch.
- In Hungarian, quantified nominals have singular index, but are semantically plural.

(19) a. *[Az   összes   lány/ Két   lány]* *[**jön /   *jönnek**].*
the   all   girl   two   girl   come.3SG   come.3PL
'All the girls come.'

   b. *Én hívtam   meg   ***őt/   őket.***
I   invited   PRT   her   them
'I invited them.'

2. ACCOUNTS: THE PROLEPTIC ACCOUNT

AGREEMENT

- Prolepsis involves anaphoric binding.

- "The only value shared between a pronoun and its antecedent is the index value. (…) Concord agreement for personal pronouns is impossible. (…) A pronoun and its antecedent is closely related semantically. (…) This invites the possibility of pragmatic/semantic agreement." (Wechsler & Zlatic 2003:84)

- Semantic/Pragmatic agreement in OF favors a collective interpretation.

(20)a   *Két   fiút   mondtál, hogy   vitt   egy   bőröndöt.*
          two   boy.ACC   said.2SG   that(c) carried.3SG a   suitcase.ACC
          '(Of) two boys you said that they carried a suitcase.'
             → distributive or collective reading

    b   *Két   fiút   mondtál, hogy   vittek   egy   bőröndöt.*
          two   boy.ACC   said.2SG   that(c) carried.3PL a   suitcase.ACC
          '(Of) two boys you said that they carried a suitcase.'
             → collective reading is strongly favored

2. ACCOUNTS: THE PROLEPTIC ACCOUNT

ARGUMENT-STRUCTURE

- Valency-increasing with an OBJ.

  <(SUBJ)(OBJ)> → <(SUBJ)(OBJ)(COMP)>

- Obligatory co-reference of the added OBJ with an embedded argument.

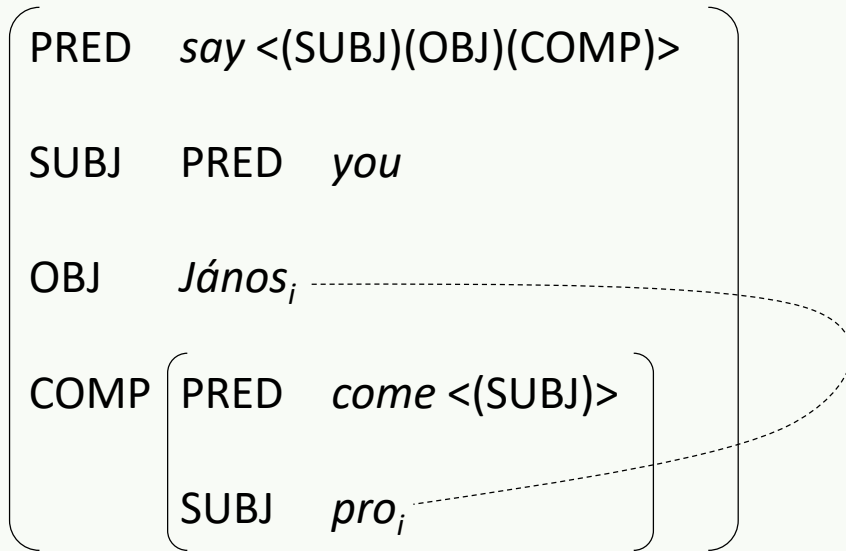 OBJ INDEX={COMP$^+$ GF*} GF INDEX   (long-distance)

- The newly added OBJ has a "subject matter" theta-role (Pesetsky 1995).

- A matter to lexical variation, much depends on whether the base verb is compatible with a delative-marked dependent.

(21)   a. *mond* (x-ről) – 'say (of x)'

         b. *parancsol* (*x-ről) – 'command (*of x)'

3.Prolepsis:
an overview

3. PROLEPSIS: AN OVERVIEW

PRED   *say* <(SUBJ)(OBJ)(COMP)>

SUBJ   PRED   *you*

OBJ   *János$_i$* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

COMP   PRED   *come* <(SUBJ)>

          SUBJ   *pro$_i$* - - - - - - - - -

PROLEPSIS
- "a structural complement of the matrix verb is semantically related to the predicate of a finite embedded clause" (Salzmann (2017).
- Origin of the term: rhetorics ("anticipation")

- Higgins (1981), Massam (1985).
- Davies (2005) brought the term into theoretical limelight.
- Often contrasted to raising/ECM structures.
    o Idioms
    o Productivity
    o Island-effects
    o Semantics (e.g. passive)

3. PROLEPSIS: AN OVERVIEW

English (Massam 1985)

(22)   *I read of Carrol that she was awfully shy.*

(23)   *And God saw the light, that it was good.*

(24)   *Whom do you suggest should be the president?*
(Chomsky 1981)

Madurese (Davies 2005)

(25)   *Siti   ngera   Hasan   bari'   melle motor.*
Siti   think   Hasan   yesterday   buy   car
'Yesterday Siti thought about Hasan$_i$ that he$_i$ bought a car.'

Greek (Kotzoglou & Papangeli 2007)

(26)   *Theoro   ton   jani   pos   ine   eksipnos.*
consider   the   John.ACC that(c)   he   smart
'I consider John to be smart. / I believe of John that he is smart.'

Prolepsis has been also suggested in German, Japanese, Korean.
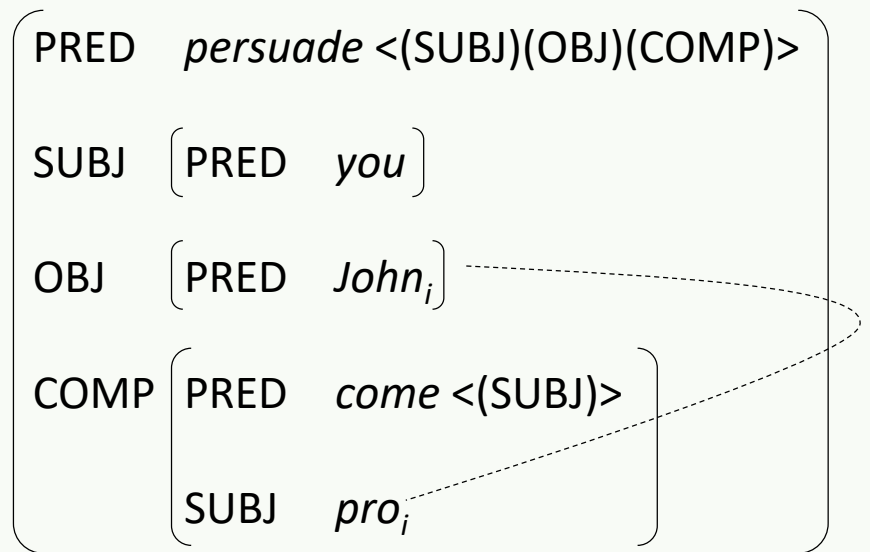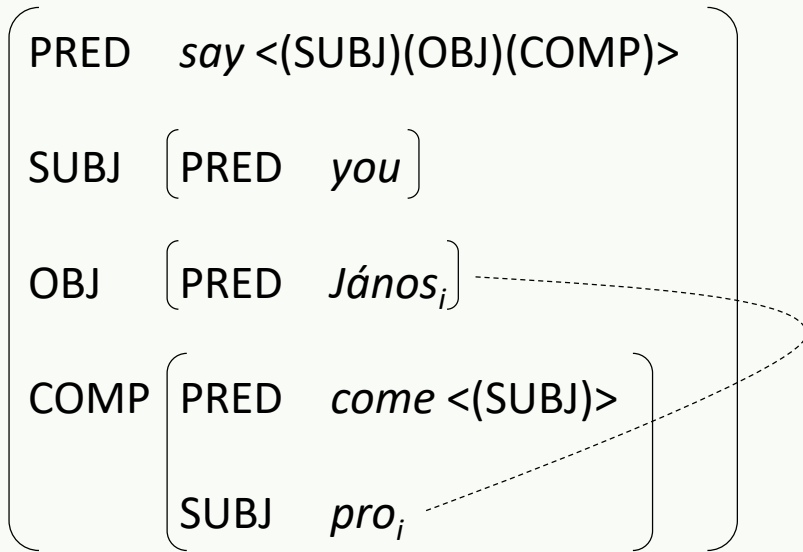
3. PROLEPSIS: AN OVERVIEW

SUMMARIZING PROLEPSIS

- 3 dependents for the matrix verb: SUBJ, (proleptic) OBJ, COMP.

- Referential identity of the proleptic OBJ with an embedded argument.

Points of divergence

- Argument (direct object) vs. adjunct (oblique/PP) proleptic element.

- Productivity.

- Restrictions on GF and distance (Greek: only immediately embedded SUBJ may be the coreferent GF).

3. PROLEPSIS: AN OVERVIEW

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & say <(\text{SUBJ})(\text{OBJ})(\text{COMP})> \\ \text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & you \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & János_i \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{COMP} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & come <(\text{SUBJ})> \\ \text{SUBJ} & pro_i \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & persuade <(\text{SUBJ})(\text{OBJ})(\text{COMP})> \\ \text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & you \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & John_i \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{COMP} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & come <(\text{SUBJ})> \\ \text{SUBJ} & pro_i \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

János-t   mondtad,   hogy   jön.
John-ACC   said.2SG   that(c) comes

You persuaded John to come.

- Thematic OBJ

- Anaphoric identification

- Obligatory co-reference

→ PROLEPSIS AS A CONTROL-STRUCTURE?

Differences

- Finiteness

- Distance

- The controlled GF

3. PROLEPSIS: AN OVERVIEW

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN CANONICAL CONTROL AND PROLEPSIS

- Obligatory co-reference

(2) b. *Jánost$_i$ mondtad, hogy pro$_{i/*j}$ jön.*
John.ACC said.2SG that(c) comes
'(Of) John you said that he comes.'

- Bound variable interpretation (based on Landau 2013)

(27) *Only Bill forced himself to jump.* (Bill = Only x [x forced x to jump].)

(28) *Csak János mondta magát, hogy (ő) nyert.*
only John said.2SG himself.ACC that(c) he won.3SG
'Only John said (of) himself that he had won.'

- Sloppy interpretation under ellipsis (based on Landau 2013)

(29) *Mary encouraged Paul$_i$ PRO$_i$ to attend the ceremony, but not David$_j$ (encourage PRO$_{*i/j}$ to attend the ceremony).*

(30) *Én Jánost$_i$ mondtam, hogy jön, te pedig Pétert$_j$*
I John.ACC said.1SG that(C) comes you but Péter.ACC
(mondtad, hogy PRO$_{*i/j}$ jön).
said.2SG that(C) comes
'(Of) John I said that he comes and you did so of Peter.'

3. PROLEPSIS: AN OVERVIEW

Differences

- Finiteness → semi-finite control has already been attested e.g. in Zec (1987).

- Distance

(31) *Jánost   mondtad,   hogy   hallottad,   hogy   jön.*
      John.ACC said.2SG   that(c)   heard.2SG   that(c)   comes
      '(Of) John you said that you heard that he comes.'

(32) **John persuaded Mary$_i$ for John to want for her$_{i/j}$ to go out.*

- The controlled GF

(33) **I persuaded Mary for John to like.*

(34) *Párizst$_i$ mondtad,   hogy   [$_{OBL}$ oda$_i$] utazol.*
      Paris.ACC   said.2SG   that(C)   there   travel.2SG.
      '(Of) Paris you said that you will go there.'

5. Control typology

How does the construction fit into general syntactic theory?

5. CONTROL TYPOLOGY

- Control in LFG terminology: raising & equi.

- Axes of the classification:
  - Thematicity of the controller (raising vs. equi)
  - Finiteness of the controlled clause (finite vs. nonfinite)
  - Nature of identification (functional vs. anaphoric)

➢ Thematicity of the controller (raising vs. equi):

(35) *John seems to be happy.*

(36) *John tries to be happy.*

➢ Finiteness: having tense/agreement features.

5. CONTROL TYPOLOGY

➢ Nature of identification (functional vs. anaphoric)

- o Functional control: full identity → always exhaustive

- o Anaphoric control: referential dependency → scale of obligatoriness

  obligatory – "quasi"-obligatory (Haug 2013) – no control

(37) *John tried/agreed finish earlier.* → which one?
  - o Dalrymple (2001): anaphoric
  - o Falk (2001): depends on the verb, *try* involves functional control, *agree* involves anaphoric control

  (38) a.   **It was tried to finish earlier.* → *missing controller*
      b.   *It was agreed to finish earlier.* → *discourse control of pro$_{arb}$ is possible*

CONTROL TYPE			EXAMPLE
Raising	Finite complement	Functional identification	Copy Raising & Hyperraising
		Anaphoric identification	expected not to exist
	Non-finite complement	Functional identification	Canonical raising
		Anaphoric identification	expected not to exist
Equi	Finite complement	Functional identification	Object control in Turkish
		Anaphoric identification	Prolepsis
	Non-finite complement	Functional identification	Canonical equi (*try*)
		Anaphoric identification	Canonical equi (*agree*)

5. Control typology

Copy Raising, Hyperraising (raising, finite, functional)

(39)a.   DP$_i$ [IP$_{finite}$ resumptive$_i$]   b. DP$_i$ [IP$_{finite}$ ____$_i$]

- **Copy Raising**

(40) a.   *Ó   di   m   [kà   Ézè   hũrũ   Adá].* (Igbo, Ura 1998)
　　　　EXPL   seems   to.me that   Eze   saw   Ada
　　　　'It seems to me that Eze saw Ada.'

  b.   ***Ézè$_i$*   *di   m   [kà   ọ$_i$ hũrũ   Adá].*
　　　Eze   seems   to me that   he   saw   Ada
　　　approx.: 'Eze seems to me that he saw Ada.'

　For English, see Asudeh & Toivonen 2012 vs. Landau 2011.

(41)   *John seems like he smokes.*

5. CONTROL TYPOLOGY

COPY RAISING, HYPERRAISING (RAISING, FINITE, FUNCTIONAL)

- **Hyperraising**
  - Carstens & Diercks (2013)
  - Raising from a fully finite (+tense, +agr) complement clause

(42) a. *Ka-lolekhana mbo chisaang'i chi-kona.* (Lubukusu)
SM-seem that animal SM-sleep.PRES
'It seems that the animals are sleeping.'

  b. *Chisaang'i chi-lolekhana mbo chi-kona*
animal SM-seem that(C) SM-sleep.PRES
'The animals seem to be sleeping.'

(43) a. *Bi-bonekhana koti eng'ombe chi-ng'were amachi.*
SM-appear that cow SM-drink water
'It appears that the cows drank the water.'

  b. *Eng'ombe chi-bonekhana chi-ng'were amachi.*
cow SM-appear SM-drink water
'The cows appear to have drunk the water.' (Lusaamia)

5. CONTROL TYPOLOGY

COPY RAISING, HYPERRAISING (RAISING, FINITE, FUNCTIONAL)

"An important empirical generalisation, first noted by Ura (1994), which is empirically supported by the data discussed in this thesis, is that if a language has Hyperraising or Hyper-ECM, it is also a pro-drop language. <u>On the basis of this generalisation, it is argued that Hyperraising and Hyper-ECM constructions involve the use of resumptive *pro* in the embedded subject position, while languages with Copy raising and Copy ECM use overt pronouns</u>. Apart from this difference, it is argued that these A-movement constructions are identical in all crucial respects." (Ademola-Adeoye 2010)

- Copy raising and Hyperraising are amemable to the the same structural analysis.

- Copy raising occurs in languages with a strong overt subject requirement, hyperraising occurs in "pro-drop" languages.

- No general requirement on filled object-positions → no Copy Raising to object, only Hyperraising to object.

5. CONTROL TYPOLOGY

Turkish (equi, finite, functional) (Ince 2006)

(44) *Ben   Ali-yi   yarın   balığı   yiyecek sanıyordum.*
       I   Ali-ACC   tomorrow   fish   eat.FUT.3SG assumed.1SG
       'I thought that Ali will eat the fish tomorrow.'

(45)a.   *Alinin   anası   bellendi.*
         Ali.GEN   his.mother was.screwed.3SG
         Idiomatic: 'They really messed up Ali.'
         Literal: 'They raped Ali's mother.'

   b.   *Alinin   anası-nı   bellendi   sanıyordum.*
         Ali.GEN   his.mother-ACC   was.screwed.3SG assumed.1SG
         Only literal: 'I thought that Ali's mother was raped.'

- Only controlled SUBJs.

- Functional control ("structure-sharing") is more tightly regulated by UG than anaphoric dependecies (syntax vs. semantics).

6. Summary

6. SUMMARY

(2) b.   ***János-t***   *mondtad, hogy   jön.*
John-ACC   said.2SG   that(c)   comes
'(Of) John you said that he will come.'

- What is the relationship between the main predicate and the accusative-marked element? Thematic argumenthood.
- What is the relationship between the accusative-marked element and the coreferent embedded GF? Obligatory anaphoric control.
- How does the construction fit into general syntactic theory? It's a finite, anaphorically-controlled equi structure.

- Further avenues:
  - The connection to applicatives. (valency-increasing with an OBJ)
  - A better understanding of various anaphorically controlled constructions (e.g. partial, split control) and agreement patterns.
  - Improve the typology of long-distance dependencies in LFG.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION!

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CONTROL TYPOLOGY

- Subjunctive complements (dependent tense).

- Overt embedded subjects are possible.

Serbo-Croatian (Zec 1987) (equi, semi-finite, anaphoric)

(46) *Petar$_i$ je   pokusao   da   PRO$_{i/*j}$ dodje   na vreme.*
      Peter AUX   tried.3SG   that(C)   comes   on time
      'Peter tried to come on time.'

(47)   *Ana$_i$ je   naterala   Mariju$_j$ da   one$_{*i/j}$ dodje.*
      Anna AUX   forced.3SG Maria.ACC   that(C)   she   comes
      'Anna forced Marija that she should come.

Greek (Spyropoulos 2007) (equi, semi-finite, anaphoric)

(48) *o   janis$_i$ prospaϑise na PRO$_{i/*j}$ ftasi   noris*
      the   John   tried.3SG   SBJV   arrives   early
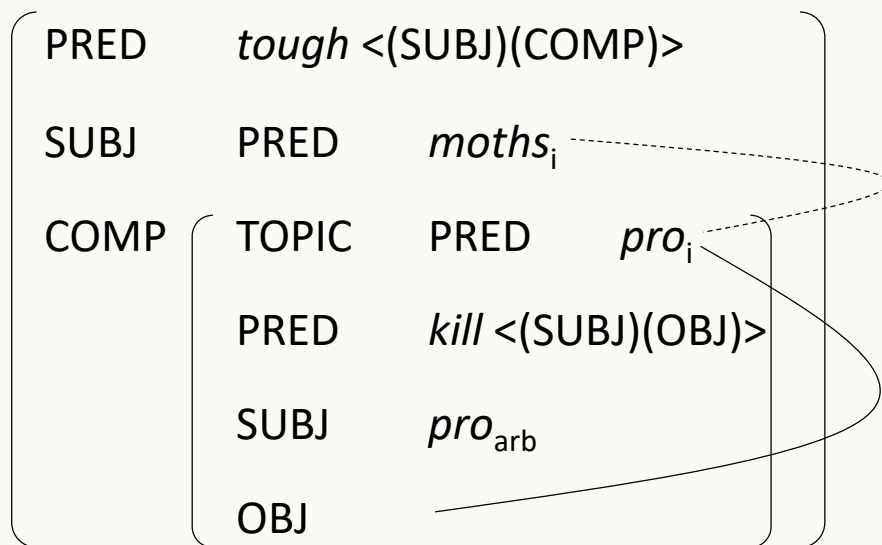   'John tried to arrive early.'

PROLEPSIS: AN OVERVIEW

DIFFERENCES

GF & finiteness: connection with English *tough*-constructions? (Dalrymple & King 2000)

(49)　*Moths are hard to kill.*

(50)　*Mary is tough for me to believe that John would ever marry .*

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & tough <(\text{SUBJ})(\text{COMP})> \\
\text{SUBJ} & [\text{PRED} \quad moths_i] \\
\text{COMP} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{TOPIC} & [\text{PRED} \quad pro_i] \\
\text{PRED} & kill <(\text{SUBJ})(\text{OBJ})> \\
\text{SUBJ} & pro_{arb} \\
\text{OBJ} &
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

- Thematic main clause SUBJ
- Anaphoric control of COMP TOPIC
- Long-distance functionally controlled OBJ