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Accusative Case without Agree

Introduction: Since Chomsky (2000), Case assignment via Agree has been widely assumed, and Japanese is no exception in this respect (Hiraiwa 2005, Nomura 2005, Takahashi 2011, Ura 2007). However, there is another strategy to assign a case (not a Case) to a DP, which is also widely discussed since Marantz (1992). Namely, case assignment is purely morphological, consulting c-command relations of multiple DPs in a given case-competition domain. The aim of this talk is rather modest: we will argue that the morphological approach to case assignment is needed at least for a certain set of Japanese adjectives whose (theme) argument can bear an accusative case.

Accusative Case and Adjectives: Adjectives like *suki-da* 'be fond (of)' or *kirai-da* 'be averse (to)', which Nishiyama (1999) calls Nominal Adjectives (NAs), allow their theme argument to get an accusative case when embedded in a relative clause (1a) or an embedded question (1b). However, as (1c) shows, it sounds very awkward in the matrix context.

(1) a. [Taroo-ga Hanako-{o/?ga Taro-nom