<center>**Accusative Subject Licensing in Modern Inner Mongolian**</center>

1. Introduction: In the generative literature, abstract Case assigners/licensors are considered to be D, *v*, and I. These are functional categories. The question then arises as to whether C, another instance of functional categories, can be an abstract Case assigner/licensor in human language. To address this research question, this paper investigates the environments in which accusative Case is assigned/licensed in modern Inner Mongolian (Mongolian, hereafter), and argues, based on the newly found data, that C is actually an abstract accusative Case assigner/licensor in this language. This paper thus contributes to elaborating Case Theory in the framework of generative grammar.

2. Background: We will first see the distribution of genitive subject in Mongolian as a background to the subsequent sections. First, (1)-(2) show that genitive subject needs to co-occur with an outer nominal element. In the following examples, AND = adnominal and CON = conclusive.
(1)   Nidunun Ulagan-ø/*-nu   nom-ø   biči-jei.
         last year Ulagan-Nom/-Gen book-Acc write-past.CON   'Ulagan wrote a book last year.'
(2)   nidunun Ulagan-ø/-nu   *pro_1* biči-gsen/*-jei   nom_1
         last year Ulagan-Nom/-Gen   write-past.ADN/-past.CON book
         'the book which Ulagan wrote last year'
Second, (3)-(6) show that long distance genitive subject licensing by an outer nominal element is possible when the nominal originates from the same clause as the genitive subject.
(3)   Baɣatur-ø   [nidunun Ulaɣan-ø/*-nu   nom-ø biči-gsen/-jei   gejü] kele-jei.
         Bagatur-Nom last year Ulagan-Nom/-Gen book   write-past.ADN/-past.CON that   say-past
         'Bagatur said that Ulagan wrote a book last year.'
(4)   Baɣatur-ø   [nidunun Ulaɣan-ø/-nu   *pro_1* biči-gsen/*-jei   gejü]
         Bagatur-Nom last year Ulagan-Nom/-Gen   write-past.ADN/-past.CON that
         kele-gsen   nom_1
         say-past.ADN book   'the book which Bagatur said that Ulagan wrote last year'
(5)   nidunun Ulagan-ø/-nu   nom-ø   biči-gsen/*-jei   šiltaɣan/učir
         last year Ulagan-Nom/-Gen book-Acc write-past.ADN/-past.CON reason/fact
         'the reason/fact that Ulagan wrote a book last year'
(6)   Baɣatur-ø   [nidunun Ulaɣan ø/-*nu   nom-ø   biči-gsen   gejü]
         Bagatur-Nom last year Ulagan-Nom/-Gen book-Acc write-past.ADN that
         kele-gsen   šiltaɣan/učir
         say-past.ADN reason/fact
         'the reason/fact that Bagatur said that Ulagan wrote a book last year'
Based on these data, Maki *et al*. (2011) claim that percolation of a [+N] feature takes place from *pro* to the corresponding outer nominal, and the heads on the path have the [+N] feature. Then, the COMP *gejü* 'that' with the [+N] feature can license the genitive subject in (4), but not in (6).

3. Data: Let us now consider the distribution of accusative subject in Mongolian. Maki *et al*. (2010) show that accusative subject is possible in adjunct clauses, and the generalization on the distribution of accusative subject is (7).
(7)   *Generalization about the Distribution of Accusative Subject in Mongolian*
         Accusative subject may appear in adjunct clauses whose heads are not nominal.
(8)-(10) show that accusative subject is allowed in a temporal, conditional, and reason clause.
(8)   a.   Yaɣaru-ber Ulaɣan-ø/*-i   almurad-ø ide-jei.
             hastily   Ulagan-Nom/-Acc apple-Acc eat-past.CON   'Ulagan ate an apple hastily.'
       b.   Yaɣaru-ber Ulaɣan-ø/-i   almurad-ø ide-gsen-nü   daraɣa, Baɣatur-ø
             hastily   Ulagan-Nom/-Acc apple-Acc eat-past.ADN-Gen after   Bagatur-Nom
             jurji-ø   ide-jei.
             orange-Acc eat-past.CON 'After Ulagan had eaten an apple hastily, Bagatur ate an orange'
(9)   a.   Quyar čaɣ-un   daraɣa Ulaɣan-ø/*-i   ende ire-jei.
             two   hour-Gen after   Ulagan-Nom/-Acc here come-past.CON
             'Ulagan came here in two hours.'
       b.   Quyar čaɣ-un   daraɣa Ulaɣan-ø/-i   ende ire-bel, bögüdeger-ø   ɣaciɣdana.

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two   hour-Gen after   Ulagan-Nom/-Acc here come-if everyone-Nom trouble
'If Ulagan comes here in two hours, everybody will be in trouble.'

(10) a. Öčügedür Ulaɣan-ø/*-i   surɣaɣuli-du ire-gsen   ügüi.
    yesterday Ulagan-Nom/-Acc school-to   come-past.ADN not
    'Ulagan did not come to school yesterday.'

    b. Öčügedür Ulaɣan-ø/-i   surɣaɣuli-du ire-gsen   ügüi učir-eče, bögüdeger-ø
    yesterday Ulagan-Nom/-Acc school-to   come-past.ADN not   because everyone-Nom
    sedkil joba-jai.
    heart worry-past.CON
    'Because Ulagan did not come to school yesterday, everybody was worried.'

However, it is not allowed in relative clauses, as shown in (11).

(11)   nidunun Ulagan-ø/-nu/*-i   biči-gsen   nom
    last year Ulagan-Nom/-Gen/-Acc write-past.ADN book
    'the book which Ulagan wrote last year'

    Accusative subject is also allowed in complement clauses, as shown in (12).

(12)   Baɣatur-ø   [nidunun Ulaɣan-ø/-i   nom-ø biči-gsen/-jei   gejü] kele-jei.
    Bagatur-Nom last year Ulagan-Nom/-Acc book   write-past.ADN/-past.CON that   say-past
    'Bagatur said that Ulagan wrote a book last year.'

However, it is not allowed in a relative clause in which the nominal element originates from the same clause as it, as shown in (13-14).

(13) a. Baɣatur-ø   [nidunun Ulaɣan-ø/-nu/*-i   pro₁ biči-gsen   gejü] kele-gsen nom₁
    Bagatur-Nom last year Ulagan-Nom/-Gen/-Acc   write-past.ADN that say-past   book
    'the book which Bagatur said that Ulagan wrote last year'

    b. Baɣatur-ø   [nidunun Ulaɣan-ø/*-nu/*-i   pro₁ biči-jei   gejü] kele-gsen nom₁
    Bagatur-Nom last year Ulagan-Nom/-Gen/-Acc   write-past.CON that say-past   book

(14) a. Baɣatur-ø   [nidunun Ulaɣan-ø/-*nu/-i   nom-ø   biči-gsen   gejü] kele-gsen
    Bagatur-Nom last year Ulagan-Nom/-Gen/-Acc book-Acc write-past.ADN that   say-past
    šiltaɣan/učir
    reason/fact   'the reason/fact that Bagatur said that Ulagan wrote a book last year'

    b. Baɣatur-ø   [nidunun Ulaɣan-ø/-*nu/-i   nom-ø   biči-jei   gejü] kele-gsen
    Bagatur-Nom last year Ulagan-Nom/-Gen/-Acc book-Acc write-past.CON that   say-past
    šiltaɣan/učir
    reason/fact

4. Discussion: Let us consider what the above data suggest. We claim that they suggest that what licenses accusative subject/what assigns accusative Case to accusative subject is COMP without a [+N] feature. (8b)-(10b) with accusative subject are allowed, because the head of the adjunct clauses is COMP without a [+N] feature. (8a)-(10a) and (11) with accusative subject are ungrammatical, because there is no such COMP in the structures. (12) with accusative subject is grammatical due to the COMP without a [+N] feature. (13a, b) with accusative subject are ungrammatical, because the COMP has a [+N] feature by percolation of the feature from *pro* to the head noun. Finally, (14a, b) with accusative subject are grammatical, because they involve gap-less prenominal modifiers, so that the relevant COMP does not have a [+N] feature.

One may argue against the above argument, however, because verbs such as *kele* 'say' take accusative object, as shown in (15), so that these verbs actually assign/license accusative subject in examples such as (12), as in the raising-to-object construction in English.

(15)   Baɣatur-ø   Ulaɣan-nu učir-i   Batu-du kele-jei.
    Bagatur-Nom Ulagan-Gen thing-Acc Batu-to say-past
    'Bagatur told to Ulagan things about Batu.'

However, this argument does not hold for examples such as (8b), in which the matrix verb *ide* 'eat' does not have more than one accusative Case to assign/license. Therefore, in order to give a consistent account for the entire data shown above, we have to admit that C can assign/license accusative Case. If this argument is correct, Case assignment/licensing system looks like (16).

(16)   Case Assignment/Licensing System: Functional Categories D, *v*, I, C assign/license Case.
Therefore, the present study contributes to elaborating Case Theory in generative grammar.