Repair of Case Filter Violations?

A. Amelioration of a constraint on Japanese ga/no conversion

(1) Taroo-ga /-no itta tokoro  
   -NOM -GEN went place  
   ‘the place where Taroo went’

Saito (2001)

(2) A Case-marked object blocks ga/no conversion.

(3) Taroo-ga/*-no hon -o katta mise  
   -NOM/ -GEN book-ACC bought shop  
   ‘the shop where Taroo bought a book’

(4) An object relative gap does not block ga/no conversion.

(5) Taroo-ga/-no e katta hon  
   -NOM -GEN bought book  
   ‘the book that Taroo bought’

(6) A null object does not block ga/no conversion.

(7) Hanako-ga/*-no Ziroo-o tureteiku tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo -desu  
   -NOM -GEN ACC take place -TOP Nagoya Castle is  
   ‘The place that Hanako is taking Ziroo is the Nagoya Castle.’

(8) Hanako-ga/-no e tureteiku tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo -desu  
   -NOM -GEN take place -TOP Nagoya Castle is  
   ‘The place that Hanako is taking (him) is the Nagoya Castle.’

(9) If relative gaps can be null pronouns, as argued for by Perlmutter (1972), Murasugi (1991), then these two instances are one.

(10) Now suppose these “null pronouns” are actually the results of ellipsis. Then if the blocking effect is the result of accusative Case checking, failure to check can be repaired by deletion.

B. A kind of exceptional Case marking normally available only under A’-movement

(11) *I alleged John to be a fool

(12) Verbs of this class cannot normally license ‘exceptional’ Case

(13) ?John, I alleged to be a fool

(14) ?Who did you allege to be a fool

(15) But they can under A’-movement (as first discussed by Kayne).
(16) John, I alleged to be a fool. *Mary alleged John to be a fool too.
(17) John, I alleged to be a fool. ?*Mary alleged him to be a fool also.

(18) John, I alleged to be a fool. Mary did [allege John to be a fool] too.

(19) John in (18) should be in violation of the Case Filter, but it is fine, evidently repaired by deletion. This, along with Saito’s analysis above, suggests the early version (Chomsky (1980)) of Case theory, where the Case Filter reflects a morpho-phonological requirement.

References