Some Consequences of an LF Theory of Case

Howard Lasnik
The University of Connecticut

(1)   D-Structure
                |
           S-Structure
           /   \
         PF   LF
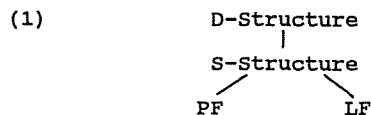
(2)   It seems [that he is here]
(3) *It seems [he/him to be here]
(4)   He seems [t to be here]
(5) *It was arrested he/him
(6)   He was arrested t
(7) a The subject of a finite clause is Nominative.
    b The object of a transitive verb is Accusative.
    c The object of a preposition is Oblique.
    etc.
(8) i   'Case assignment'?
 or ii 'Case checking'?
(9) Under (i), an NP is introduced into D-Structure Caseless,
     and a syntactic transformation ('Move α') might reposition
     it into a position where Case can be assigned to it, in
     accord with (7). If not, the Case Filter, which demands
     that an NP have Case, is violated, and the representation is
     marked as ill-formed.
(10) Under (ii), an NP is introduced into D-structure with an
     arbitrarily chosen Case, and Move α might reposition it into
     a position appropriate to its Case. If not, Case checking
     fails, and the representation is marked as ill-formed.
(11) Given that Case has phonological consequences, along with
     its syntactic effects, (i) entails that S-Structure (or
     possibly PF) is the level relevant to Case.
(12) (ii), on the other hand, creates the possibility that LF is
     the relevant level.
(13) XP -> SPECifier X'
     X' -> X Complement(s)
(14) S -> NP INFLection VP
          { AGReement }
          { Tense   }

(15)   AGRP
                 /   \
              SPEC   AGR'
                     /   \
                  AGR   TP
                         / \
                      SPEC   T'
                            / \
                           T   VP
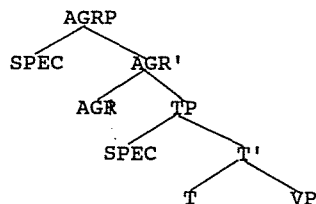
(16) Configuration of Nominative checking: SPEC AGR'
(17) Configuration of Accusative checking: V Complement

(18)
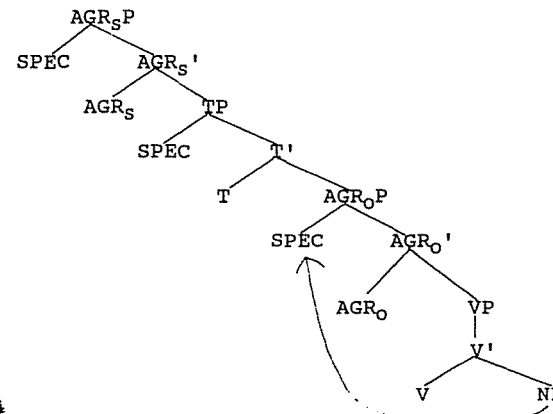
(19) i Y is in the domain of X only if Y is c-commanded by X.
    ii X c-commands Y iff the first branching node dominating X
        also dominates Y.
(20) *Joan believes him$_i$ to be a genius even more fervently than
     Bob$_i$ does
(21) *Joan believes him$_i$ even more fervently than Bob$_i$ does
(22) Joan believes he$_i$ is a genius even more fervently than Bob$_i$
      does
(23) ?The DA proved [the defendants to be guilty] during each
     other's trials
(24) ?The DA accused the defendants during each other's trials
(25) ?*The DA proved [that the defendants were guilty] during each
     other's trials
(26) No one saw anything
(27) *Anyone saw nothing
(28) The DA accused none of the defendants during any of the
      trials
(29) ?The DA proved [none of the defendants to be guilty] during
     any of the trials
(30) ?*The DA proved [that none of the defendants were guilty]
     during any of the trials
(31) The students solved three problems each
(32) *Three students each solved the problems (i.e., on the
     reading 'The problems were solved by three students each')
(33) Jones proved the prisoners guilty with one accusation each
(34) Jones proved the defendants to be guilty with one
      accusation each
(35) Jones prosecuted the defendants with one accusation each
(36) ?*Jones proved that the defendants were guilty with one
     accusation each
(37) I showed John himself (in the mirror)
(38) *I showed himself John (in the mirror)
(39) I showed the professors each other's students
(40) *I showed each other's students the professors
(41) I denied each worker$_i$ his$_i$ paycheck
(42) *I denied its$_i$ owner each$_i$ paycheck
(43) I gave each trainer the other's lion
(44) *I gave the other's trainer each lion
(45) I gave no one anything
(46) *I gave anyone nothing