Some Consequences of an LF Theory of Case

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D-Structure
S-Structure
PF
LF

It seems [that he is here]
*It seems [he/him to be here]
He seems [to be here]
*It was arrested he/him
He was arrested [he/him]

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.

Case assignment?
Case checking?

Under (i), an NP is introduced into D-Structure Caseless, and a syntactic transformation ('Move a') 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.

Under (ii), an NP is introduced into D-structure with an arbitrarily chosen Case, and Move a might reposition it into a position appropriate to its Case. If not, Case checking fails, and the representation is marked as ill-formed.

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.

(ii), on the other hand, creates the possibility that LF is the relevant level.

XP → SPECifier X'
X' → X Complement(s)

S → NP INFlection VP
{ AGREement }
{ Tense }

Configuration of Nominative checking: SPEC AGR'
Configuration of Accusative checking: V Complement

(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.

*Joan believes himi to be a genius even more fervently than Bobi does
Joan believes hei is a genius even more fervently than Bobi does
The DA proved [the defendants to be guilty] during each other's trials
The DA accused the defendants during each other's trials
*The DA proved [that the defendants were guilty] during each other's trials
No one saw anything
Anyone saw nothing
The DA accused none of the defendants during any of the trials
The DA proved [none of the defendants to be guilty] during any of the trials
*The DA proved [that none of the defendants were guilty] during any of the trials
The students solved three problems each
*Three students each solved the problems (i.e., on the reading 'The problems were solved by three students each')
The students proved the prisoners guilty with one accusation each
Jones proved the defendants to be guilty with one accusation each
Jones prosecuted the defendants with one accusation each
*Jones proved that the defendants were guilty with one accusation each
I showed John himself (in the mirror)
*I showed himself John (in the mirror)
I showed the professors each other's students
*I showed each other's students the professors
I denied each workeri hisi paycheck
*I denied itsi owner eachi paycheck
I gave each trainer the other's lion
*I gave the other's trainer each iion
I gave no one anything
*I gave anyone nothing