

# Contents

Series Foreword ix

Acknowledgments xi

- 1 Introduction to the Puzzles 1**
- 2 Do We Need the Traditional Case Categories? 5**
- 3 Russian as a Case-Stacking Language 11**
  - 3.1 The One-Suffix Rule in Russian 11
  - 3.2 Case Stacking in Lardil 13
  - 3.3 Interim Conclusions 18
- 4 Argument 1 for the Core Proposal: NGEN, DNOM, and POBL 21**
  - 4.1 Number Mismatch with Paucals 21
  - 4.2 Word Order and the Case Mismatch with Paucals 25
  - 4.3 Paucal Constructions in Oblique Environments and the Role of Agree 31
- 5 An Independent Argument from Gender Agreement for the Initial Low Position of Paucals 35**
  - 5.1 Gender, Noun Class, and Gender Mismatch 35
  - 5.2 The Feminizing Head Ж 39
  - 5.3 Gender Mismatch Is a Structural Phenomenon: Number in Lebanese Arabic 45
  - 5.4 Conclusions 50
- 6 Numerals and Other Quantifiers 51**
  - 6.1 The Category QUANT 51
  - 6.2 Quantifiers That Always Show a Homogeneous Case Pattern 58

<b>7</b>	<b>VACC and the Morphosyntax of Direct Objects</b>	<b>63</b>
7.1	Feature Assignment and Complements of V	63
7.2	Vergnaud-Licensing, “Default Nominative,” and the Case of Subjects	71
7.3	Prepositions That Appear to Assign VACC	75
<b>8</b>	<b>Argument 2 for the Core Proposal: “You Are What You Assign”</b>	<b>81</b>
8.1	Feature Assignment and Adnominals	81
8.2	An Apparent Locality Restriction on Feature Assignment	83
8.3	Explanation for the Locality Restriction	87
8.4	Stress Shifts in Numberless Nouns	89
8.5	Loose End: Prepositions That Appear to Assign NGEN	92
<b>9</b>	<b>Feature Assignment and the Notion “Prototype”</b>	<b>95</b>
9.1	Number in Adnominal Paucal Constructions	95
9.2	Overt Prototypes in Languages without Case Morphology	98
9.3	An Unresolved Puzzle of Lardil Case Stacking	102
9.4	Overt Case Stacking in Russian?	110
9.5	Summary	115
<b>10</b>	<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>117</b>
	<b>Appendix 1: Nominative Plural Adjectives in Paucal Constructions</b>	<b>119</b>
	<b>Appendix 2: A Defectivity Puzzle: The Numeral-Classifier Construction</b>	<b>125</b>
	<b>Appendix 3: A South Slavic Argument by Horvath (2011) That “You Are What You Assign” Holds of Prepositions</b>	<b>129</b>
	Notes	133
	References	155
	Author Index	165
	Subject Index	169