

overwrite inner ones. One might also expect non-local overwrite to be more typologically prevalent (the book offers us only the Russian numerical constructions in Oblique contexts as examples of overwrite), a consequence Pesetsky does not discuss.

By virtue of pioneering a new approach to old problems, Pesetsky's monograph forces us to accept a fairly wide range of non-conventional assumptions and conclusions. The discussion of prototypes and selection in Chapter 9 is one such consequence of the larger system, whereby we must worry about the spread of plural features to "numberless" nouns in paucal constructions (or lack thereof) in the relevant constructions. When the paucal is Nominative and the head noun Genitive (as in (5)), we have to be sure (a) that Nominative case does not overwrite Genitive and (b) that plural number spreads throughout the constructions in Oblique contexts, but not in Nominative contexts. The machinery created to achieve the necessary result is to value P for number in the course of the derivation rather than inherently. However, we would not expect this to be possible with a singular N taking a plural DP complement, since N enters the derivation carrying number. (Clearly, this is an issue standard theories do not face). For this reason, Pesetsky offers the *prototype system* described in Chapter 9, and then delves into additional support for it, including a possible analysis of English "little words" such as *of*, which turn out to be the prototype heads themselves surfacing in the syntax. This nicely exemplifies the reach of the monograph – it carries us from analysis of a minor mismatch problem in a single language through a serious re-imagining of the status of case in grammar, with important consequences for number valuation, that in turn require a rethinking of selection, leading to a possible analysis for a set of initially entirely unrelated items that may have previously defied satisfactory analysis. This is how the best results in science are often discovered, and Pesetsky is a master tour guide through such uncharted territories.

It must be noted, however, that the journey is not without stops that are less appealing than others. Readers will have to decide for themselves the degree to which the end result is worth the difficult journey – for me there were three such required "stops" that caused concern, all involving the "structural" cases (Nominative and Accusative). One, discussed in Chapter 5, concerns the status of Nominative case in Pesetsky's larger case theory. The second is perhaps the hardest to swallow for those

dedicated to theoretical elegance, namely the unfortunate need for Pesetsky to maintain a notion of abstract case, in the form of “Vergnaud-licensing,” alongside the otherwise satisfying reduction of case to part-of-speech features. The third, and perhaps most worrisome for Russianists, involves the proposed divorce of Nominative and Accusative “contexts” under which the primeval Genitive appears, (both discussed in Chapter 7).

The three issues are all related, stemming from Pesetsky’s claim that Nominative case is a reflex of the D category, meaning, in essence, that all else being equal, DPs (can and do) assign (Nominative) case to themselves. This is the “ D_{NOM} claim”. This claim is, of course, at odds with a long linguistic tradition associating Nominative case with (finite) T, and, ironically, at odds with the 2001/2007 claim by Pesetsky & Torrego that Nominative case *is* the realization of T on nominals.⁶ Here, Nominative is claimed to represent a different category (D) than it is in the Pesetsky & Torrego papers (T). The discussion of default case in Chapter 7 brings only partial satisfaction in this regard – the interested reader will have to decide for him/herself whether the advantages of looking at things this way outweigh the potential pitfalls. For advocates of the original P&T notion that Nominative is simply [T] morphology on nominals, it may be hard to embrace the D_{NOM} claim for various reasons.

For one thing, to accept D_{NOM} claim we have to abandon traditional generative approaches to Nominative as being somehow related to T.⁷ There are well-known paradigms of finite vs. non-finite contexts where nominals are licensed and not-licensed, respectively, that would now have to be disassociated with the morphological appearance of Nominative case. Instead, Nominative will appear on any DP not otherwise overwritten from above. As Pesetsky argues, this accords with notions of

⁶Ironically, because although the P&T claim is an important precursor to the central claim about case in the current monograph, (namely that it is nothing more than a spellout of a part of speech feature) the details differ so radically.

⁷At least for Russian. Pesetsky does allow the possibility (p. 74) that “T might be a [Nominative] morphology assigner in other languages.”