

Case assignment I propose that merger of each phase head (v^0 , C^0 , D^0) triggers Spell-Out of its domain. *The category (nominal, verbal) of a Spell-Out domain is determined by the highest category head (n^0 , v^0) in the domain.* I further posit that Amis assigns case by the ordered rules in (6) and in a neutral context, only the last case assigned surfaces. (7) illustrates how (6) derives the case patterns in imperfective main clauses (4) and gerunds (3). First, in both, merger of v^0 triggers Spell-Out of nP , as in (7a, c). (6a) assigns ACC to the IA and (6b) assigns GEN to the EA because n^0 is the highest category head in this domain. Next, in a main clause, merger of C^0 triggers another Spell-Out, as in (7b). (6a) again assigns ACC to the IA, but (6b) assigns NOM to the EA this time because v^0 is the highest category head in this domain. In a gerund, I posit that the verbal structure is nominalized by another n^0 and this nP further merges with D^0 . Gerunds in Amis receive case and can be overtly marked by a demonstrative, showing that they are DPs externally. Merger of D^0 triggers the second Spell-Out in a gerund, as in (7d). (6a) assigns ACC to the IA and (6b) assigns GEN to the EA because n^0 is the highest category head in this domain. In this proposal, *movement into a higher phase is not a prerequisite for successive-cyclic case assignment*, contra Levin (2016) on Korean. The NOM EA in (4) needs not be specific and cannot surface with GEN. This differs from Korean, where a DP that receives multiple cases is necessarily specific and can appear with either case. Moreover, given that in (7), the results of the second Spell-Out completely overwrite those of the first, positing multiple case assignments might seem superfluous. However, I show below that *the presence of the first (nominal) case assignment in Amis is most clearly supported by case-stacking*.

- (6) a. If there are two DPs in the same phase such that DP_1 asymmetrically c-commands DP_2 , and if DP_1 is caseless, assign ACC to DP_2 .
 b. If a DP does not receive dependent case, assign GEN to the DP if the current Spell-Out domain is nominal, and assign NOM if the current Spell-Out domain is verbal.

(7)

Phase	Main Clause		Phase	Gerund	
a. vP	GEN.EA	ACC.IA	c. vP	GEN.EA	ACC.IA
b. CP	NOM.EA	ACC.IA	d. DP	GEN.EA	ACC.IA

Case-stacking *Overt Spell-Out of both case assignments in (7) is licensed only when a DP is contrastively focused* (indicated in the translation in (8)). In (8a), the focused EA can optionally surface with NOM-GEN, assigned at CP and vP , respectively (7a-b). Moreover, in (3) the EA of the gerund can optionally appear in the matrix clause, following the matrix NOM EA. When this raised gerund EA is focused, it can surface with ACC-GEN. I propose that *focus-triggered movement licenses overt case-stacking in Amis*. Crucially, (8b-c) show that even given an appropriate context, *a transitive IA cannot surface with ACC-GEN, whereas an unaccusative IA can appear with NOM-GEN*. This is predicted by the current proposal. As the bare root DPs in (2) show, a transitive IA receives ACC even in the first Spell-Out whereas an unaccusative IA receives GEN. Thus, ACC-GEN on the transitive IA in (8b) cannot be derived. I further propose that the focused IA in (8b) does not surface with ACC-ACC *tu-tu* is a result of haplogy, independently supported by DP conjunction. *Atu* ‘and’ can conjoin two DPs with case marking either the entire conjunction or both of the conjuncts, e.g. *ku pusi atu (ku) wacu* ‘NOM cats and (NOM) dogs’. Amis has three allomorphs for ACC: *tu* for common nouns and *ci/ca-...-an* for (plural) proper names and kinship terms. When the second conjunct would otherwise appear with ACC *tu*, but not with either of the other two ACC allomorphs, the string *atu tu* never appears. I attribute this and the ban on overt *tu-tu* in (8b) both to haplogy.

- (8) a. Mi-faca’ ku-nu tawki i matini tu riko’. (Stacked EA)
 AV-wash NOM-GEN boss P now ACC clothes
 ‘The boss is washing clothes now(, and I will be washing mine later.)’
 b. *Mi-faca’ ku tawki i matini tu-nu riko’. (*Stacked transitive IA)
 AV-wash NOM boss P now ACC-GEN clothes
 Intended: ‘The boss is washing clothes now(, and s/he will be washing towels later.)’
 c. Ma-leneng ku-nu tamina’. (Stacked unaccusative IA)
 STATIVE-sink NOM-GEN boat ‘The boat sank(, but the car did not.)’