

- (9) Iaq **m-anre=i** otti-mmu. (10) Ero=jaq **an-ruppa=i** kana-ngku.
 1SG QI-eat=3ABS banana-your want=1ABS QI-follow=3ABS word-my
 ‘I ate your banana.’ Bugis; Laskowske 2016 ‘I’ll keep my word.’ Makassar; Jukes 2006

7: Low Absolutive Syntax. The quirky intransitive construction shows Low Absolutive syntax. Its absolutive agreement is verb-adjacent: it cannot move to second position. It originates in v^0 .

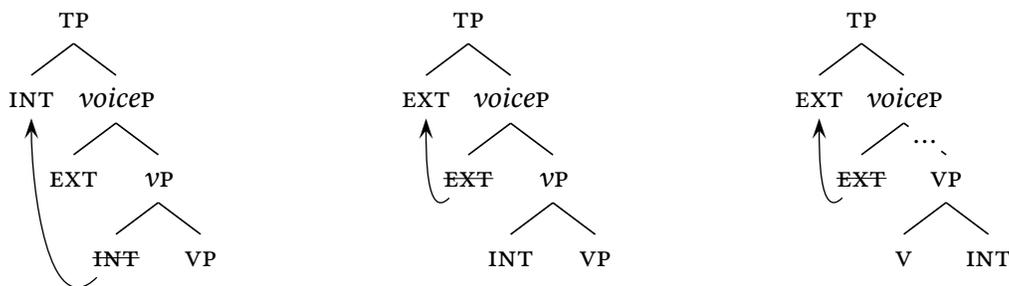
- (11) Indang=**i** pura meloq s-um-obal. (12) Innai indang pura **mam-baca=i**?
 not=3ABS ever want AV-sail who not ever QI-kiss=3ABS
 ‘He never wanted to go sail’ Mandar ‘Who never kissed him?’ Mandar

Moreover, the INT remains within the VP in this construction. In the SSul languages, the patient voice INT can float a quantifier into the middle field. The quirky intransitive INT cannot.

- (13) **Sangnging na**-ita=o a? (14) *Innai **sangnging maq**-ita=o?
 all 3ERG-see=2ABS PRT who all QI-see=2ABS
 ‘Did he see all of you?’ Mandar IM: ‘Who saw all of you?’ Mandar

8: Proposal: Last-Resort Licensing. The SSul languages require a definite INT to be licensed by T^0 (patient voice) under normal circumstances (15). When this cannot occur, they employ the v^0_{QI} . This v^0 (i) shifts the INT out of the VP and (ii) licenses it in $SPEC,VP$ (16). This process allows the EXT to move to $SPEC,TP$ and be extracted or controlled in the presence of a definite INT. The agent voice v^0 cannot be used in this context: it does not allow its INT to leave the VP (17).

- (15) $PV: INT \rightarrow SPEC,TP$ (16) $QI: EXT \rightarrow SPEC,TP$ (17) $AV: INT \rightarrow VP$



9: Parallel Splits. Many Philippine-type languages show an identical pattern of Low Absolutive case marking. For instance, Squaliq Atayal allows the ‘agent voice’ INT to bear the absolutive case-marker *qu* in the contexts above. This pattern suggests that this split is widespread. This raises a challenge for non-ergative analyses of Philippine-type alignment (Rackowski 2002, Chen 2017).

- (18) Cyux **m-aniq** sehuy qasa **qu** Yuraw. (19) **Ima** wal **m-aniq qu** sehuy qasa?
 AUX AV-eat taro that ABS NAME who AUX QI-eat ABS taro that
 ‘Yuraw is eating that taro.’ ‘Who ate that taro?’
 Squaliq Atayal; Erlewine 2016:8 Squaliq Atayal; Erlewine 2016:3

10: Citations. ◇ Aldridge, E.C. (2004). Ergativity and word order in AN languages. ◇ Chen, Y. H. (2017). A Reexamination of the Philippine-Type Voice System and its Implications for AN Primary Level Subgrouping. ◇ Erlewine, M. (2016). Subject marking on non-subjects in Squaliq Atayal. ◇ Mead, D. E. (1998). Proto-Bungku-Tolaki. ◇ Legate, J. A. (2008). Morphological and abstract case. ◇ Rackowski, A. (2002). The structure of Tagalog.