

We argue that the clause structure of these Sulawesi languages involves two functional projections that are responsible for the appearance of the agreement markers on the verb, with Absolutive superordinate to the Ergative.

5. [ABS ... [vP-ERG DP_i [VP V DP_j]]]

Ergative Case is locally determined on the subject, DP_i in Spec vP (cf. Woolford 1997, Legate 2002, Aldridge 2004, among others). We further assume that Case valuation for absolutive by the higher projection can skip to the direct object, DP_j, DP_i no longer being Case-active. We further suggest that in examples such as (4b), the complement clause is truncated (cf. Wurmbrand 2001); it lacks the higher Abs projection, and vP is selected.

6. [ABS ... [vP-ERG DP_k [VP know ... [vP-ERG DP_i [VP see DP_j]]] j]]]

Ergative case-valuation proceeds in the complement and main clauses of (4b) as above, but since the Abs projection is lacking in the lower clause, the upper Abs is the closest head that can value the Case feature on the remaining argument, DP_j, in the lower clause (Accusative Case is analogously valued on the lower subject of the example in (1b) in the absence of a closer element that values Nominative).

A similar analysis will be proposed for clausal nominalizations in these languages. Here the Abs projection is lacking in the nominalized clause (vP is recruited as a complement to D in this construction), and so Genitive, associated with higher DP structure, is valued on the absolutive argument by D. As above, v values Ergative on the argument (second-person *pro*) in its Spec. (6) is from SL.

Selayarese (Maki and Basri 2015)

7. a. ηarraŋ=i pa mu-lappaʔ-na (*-i)

*cry-3ABS because 2ERG-slap-3GEN(*3ABS)*

'He cried because you slapped him' ('He cried because of your slapping him')

b. [DP...D[gen] [vP-ERG DP [VP V DP]]]

references Authors, n.d. "Notes on Bugis, Makassar, and Selayarese" Aldridge, E. 2004, *Ergativity and word order in Austronesian languages*. Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell. Jukes, A. 2015 Focus and argument indexing in Makassar. *Proceedings of the second international workshop on information structure of Austronesian languages*. Tokyo Institute of Foreign Studies, pp. 53-63. Kayne, R. 1991. Romance clitics, verb movement, and PRO. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22.4: 647-686. Legate, Julie Anne 2002. *Warlpiri: theoretical implications*. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT. Maki, H. and Hasan Basri 2015, "The absolutive/genitive alternation in Selayarese, *English Linguistics* 32.2:327-345. Woolford, Ellen. 1997 Four-way case systems: Ergative, nominative, objective and accusative. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15:181–227. Wurmbrand, S. 2001 *Infinitives: Restructuring and clause structure*. Berlin: Mouton.