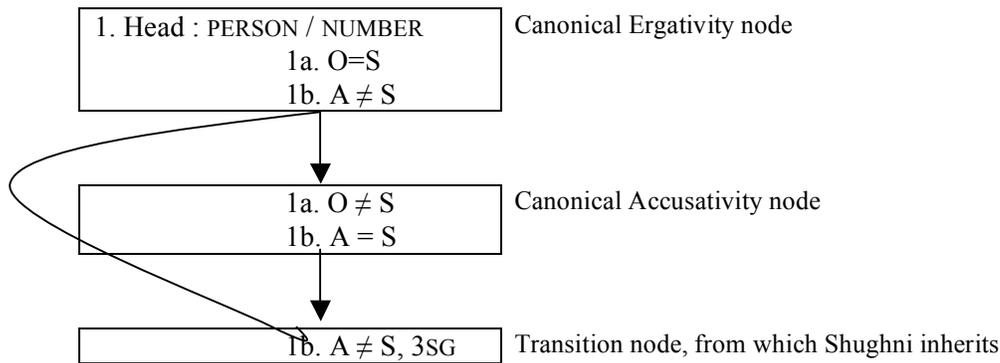


she stand.FEM-PAST
'She stood.'

he stand.MASC-PAST
'He stood.'

We offer a computational account of the synchronic facts about dependent and head marking that situates the morphosyntax of these languages in their historical context. Central to our account is the assumption that by default, each Pamir language inherits a complex of generalizations defining a canonical system of partial ergativity, but that these generalizations are subject to override by specific generalizations about individual languages. Overrides therefore express innovations of a particular kind. We work in Network Morphology (Brown and Hippius 2011), an inferential-realizational framework in which morphosyntactic features are theoretically independent of their phonological realization. We focus on the inheritance hierarchy of morphosyntactic features relevant for head and dependent marking, and assume an orthogonal hierarchy that captures the way these feature combinations are spelled out.

In our inheritance hierarchy, the highest node encodes facts that are true for canonical partial ergativity, the historical situation. The path towards canonical accusativity is represented as inheritance with overriding.



The historical system of object-agreement marking coinciding with subject agreement marking and subject agreement being distinct from agent agreement is overridden by an innovated accusative alignment system where A and S agreement are the same. However, a vestige of ergativity is found in the 3SG of Shughni, where S and A do not display the same agreement; this vestige is expressed as a second line of inheritance from the root node. A language like Shughni inherits part of its array of alignment facts from this transition node. When all the facts are distributed across a network of nodes such as these, the Pamir languages' varied alignment systems can be defined as inheriting from different source nodes; in this way, we capture both similarities and differences among the Pamir languages in the manner in which they preserve / override the inherited system of alignment, independent of variation of form.

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