STRUCTURAL CASE LICENSING IN PASHTO: A MINIMALIST PERSPECTIVE



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STRUCTURAL CASE LICENSING IN PASHTO: A MINIMALIST PERSPECTIVE

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Doctor of Philosophy

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Dedicated To

My Daughter Suhana Gul

SUPERVISOR'S CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the work in this dissertation, titled "Structural Case Licensing in Pashto: A Minimalist Perspective" was carried out under my supervision by Mr. Talat Masood, for submission in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Linguistics.

_____

Supervisor

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I have carried out the research work contained in this thesis, titled "Structural Case Licensing in Pashto: A Minimalist Perspective" under the supervision of Professor Mujib Rahman, PhD. I also declare that no part of the material within this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree at the University of Peshawar or any other university.

_____

Mr. Talat Masood

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ABSTRACT

Because of its ubiquitous and predominantly overt nature, grammarians have never been able to disregard the phenomenon of case. While the traditional grammar coined dozens of names for different forms of case, due to treating case simultaneously along syntactic, semantic and morphological lines, resulting in a confused tangle, the generative enterprise, especially the minimalist program, introduced a certain amount of clarity by separating these notions. However, Pashto grammarians remained oblivious of these phenomenal achievements in the area of case. All that we have are a few traditional accounts of case in Pashto.

To fill this gap, this thesis takes the minimalist idea of agreement in terms of features between a functional head and a nominal (Schütze, 1997; Chomsky, 2001) as its starting point. For Pashto language, it is proposed that a) ϕ-features agreement between the functional category T and a nominal results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal, b) ϕ-features agreement between υ or Voice and a nominal results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal, c) ϕ-features agreement between the functional head Appl and a nominal results in assigning dative Case to that nominal, and d) agreement in terms of [N] feature between the functional head D and a possessor results in assigning genitive Case to that nominal. Predominantly, Pashto nominals show nominative-accusative pattern in the present and future tenses, and accusative-nominative (ergative-absolutive) pattern in the past tense. The verb agrees with the subject in the present and future tenses, and with the object in the past tense. This thesis proposes that this has to do with the close relation that exists between the past tense and the passive voice in Pashto, a well-established fact already reported for other Indo-Iranian languages. To deal with this split-ergative nature of Pashto, we

propose that υ (not maintaining Chomskian distinction between υ* and υ) in Pashto past tense is defective (Chomsky, 2001), lacking [uϕ] features, hence unable to assign accusative Case. Following Collins (2005), we further propose (for Pashto) that [uϕ] in the past tense and the passive are withheld by the functional head Voice to itself. As such, whereas in the present and future tenses, υ is responsible for accusative Case assignment, in Pashto past tense and passive voice constructions, Voice assigns the accusative Case.

We studied structural case assignment in various Pashto constructions; such as, monotransitives, ditransitives (datives), *ao* (and) conjoined subject constructions, unaccusatives, unergatives, copular, passives, determiner phrases, clitics, conjoined constructions, relative clauses, and the constructions where either one or both of the arguments are clauses with the overall conclusion that agreement (in terms of features) between a functional head and a nominal results in assigning structural Case to that nominal. This thesis, being the first of its kind, proposes argument structures/derivations for all of the above mentioned Pashto constructions, thus laying a solid foundation for future research on Pashto clause structure, light verb constructions, the nature of determiner phrases, Pashto verb base form, and the difference in continuous and indefinite aspects.

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
APPL	applicative
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative
F	feminine
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
M	masculine
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PROG	progressive
PST	past
RL	relative
SG	singular
TOP	topic
GB	government and binding

SYMBOLS

ə	convey schwa sound in Pashto words
ɻ	convey retroflex r sound in Pashto

Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION ---------- 1

1.1 Introduction 1

1.1.1 Background to the study 1
1.1.2 Purpose of the Study 3

1.2 Research Questions 5
1.3 Research Hypotheses 5
1.4 Adopted Framework: the Minimalist Syntax 7

1.4.1 Merge and Move 7
1.4.2 Features 9
1.4.3 Agree 10
1.4.4 Phases 12

1.5 Materials 13
1.6 Original Contribution to Knowledge 14
1.7 Limitations of the Study 15
1.8 Delimitations of the Study 16
1.9 Organization of the Thesis 17

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW ---------- 21

2.1 Introduction 21
2.2 Case in Pashto 21
2.3 Case Theory in Government and Binding 26
2.4 Case in the Minimalist Program 29
2.5 Conclusion 42

CHAPTER 3: STRUCTURAL CASE ASSIGNMENT IN PASHTO TRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS ---------- 44

3.1 Introduction 44
3.2 Monotransitive Constructions 45

3.2.1 Case in the Present Tense Monotransitive Constructions 45

3.2.1.1 An Interlude: Pashto Light Verbs 48

3.2.2 Case in the Past Tense Monotransitive Constructions 60
3.2.3 Case in the Future Tense/Time Monotransitive Constructions 68

3.3 Ditransitive (Dative) Constructions 74

3.3.1 Case Assignment in the Present Tense Dative Constructions 79
3.3.2 Case Assignment in the Past Tense Dative Constructions 84
3.3.3 Case Assignment in the Future Tense Dative Constructions 90

3.4 Conjoined Subject Constructions and Case 94

3.4.1 Case Assignment in the Present Tense *Ao* Conjoined Subject Constructions 97
3.4.2 Case Assignment in the Past Tense *Ao* Conjoined Subject Constructions 102
3.4.3 Case Assignment in the Future Tense Ao Conjoined Subject Constructions... 108

3.5 Conclusion 113

CHAPTER 4: STRUCTURAL CASE ASSIGNMENT IN INTRANSITIVE PASHTO CONSTRUCTIONS---------- 115

4.1 Introduction 115
4.2 Unergative Clauses 116

4.2.1 Case Assignment in the Present Tense Unergative Constructions 118
4.2.2 Case Assignment in the Past Tense Unergative Constructions 123
4.2.3 Case Assignment in the Future Tense/Time Unergative Constructions 127

4.3 Unaccusative Clauses 131

4.3.1 Structural Case Assignment in Present Tense Unaccusative Constructions 132
4.3.2 Structural Case Assignment in Past Tense Unaccusatives Constructions 138
4.3.3 Structural Case Assignment in Future Unaccusative Constructions 142

4.4 Copular Clauses 146

4.4.1 Θ-Roles 151
4.4.2 Case on Predicate/ Adjunct Nominals 153
4.4.3 Case Assignment in the Present Tense Copular Constructions 159
4.4.4 Case Assignment in the Past Tense Copular Constructions 164
4.4.5 Case Assignment in the Future Tense Copular Constructions 166

4.5 Passive Voice Constructions 170

4.5.1 Case Assignment in the Present Tense Passive Voice Constructions 172
4.5.2 Case Assignment in the Past Tense Passive Voice Constructions 179
4.5.3 Case Assignment in the Future Tense Passive Voice Constructions 182

4.6 Conclusion 187

CHAPTER 5: THE STRUCTURE OF PASHTO DPs AND GENITIVE CASE ASSIGNMENT IN PASHTO---------- 188

5.1 Introduction 188
5.2 Genitive Case in Pashto 188
5.3 Salient Features of Pashto DPs and Determiners 190
5.4 Three Types of Pashto DPs Bearing Genitive Case 191
5.5 Different Structures Suggested for DPs on Cross-linguistic Basis 192

5.5.1 Longobardi (2001) 193
5.5.2 Watanabe (2006) 195
5.5.3 Adger (2004) 197

5.6 Pashto Simple Possessor DPs 200
5.7 Complex Possessor DPs 208
5.8 Arguments of a De-verbal Noun DPs 213
5.9 Nominals with Genitive Case in Different Pashto Constructions 218
5.10 Conclusion 221

CHAPTER 6: STRUCTURAL CASE ASSIGNMENT IN COORDINATE AND SUBORDINATE STRUCTURES IN PASHTO ---------- 222

6.1 Introduction 222
6.2 Structural Case in Coordinate Structures in Pashto 222
6.3 Case in Subordinate Pashto Constructions 233

6.3.1 Clauses Joined by Subordinators 233
6.3.2 Constructions Where Verbs have Clausal Arguments 238
6.3.3 Constructions Having Relative Clauses 243

6.4 Conclusion 254

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH---------- 255

7.1 Conclusions 255
7.2 Suggestions for Future Research 262

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Background to the study

Because of its ubiquity and predominantly overt nature, grammarians have never been able to brush aside the phenomenon of case, amply demonstrated by the fact that over the centuries, dozens of names have been coined to describe different forms of case. In the traditional grammar, this proliferation in names for cases was/is due to the treatment of case along syntactic, semantic and morphological lines at the same time: "case, as it has been discussed in linguistic theory, is a confused tangle of semantic, syntactic and morphological notions" (McFadden, 2004:1). The Government and Binding (GB) theory (Chomsky, 1980, 1981), for the first time, introduced a certain amount of clarity by separating these notions; i.e., semantic, syntactic, and morphological, from one another. This it did, on the one hand, by restricting the semantic roles of nominal elements/noun phrases (NPs)/ determiner phrases (DPs) to non-case-related functions 'theta-roles' within a separate module called 'theta' theory; and, on the other, it distinguished syntactic Case[1] (represented with a capital C, for 'Case') from a morphological case.

Minimalist program (Chomsky, 1993), successor to the GB model, also follows GB in the Case theory, but with certain modifications: "within the Minimalist Program, the basic role of abstract Case has remained essentially the same, but as the formal properties of syntactic derivation have been rethought, so has the formal implementation of Case"

[1] Normally, a capital 'C' is used in spelling for syntactic (abstract/structural) Case, while a small 'c' is used in spelling for semantic cases, morphological cases, and cases in general.

(McFadden, 2004:6). This has been due to the nature of the minimalist program itself. According to Chomsky (2004): the minimalist program is an attempt to "ask not only *what* the properties of language are, but *why* they are that way" (p. 105). Lasnik (2008) — "the world's second biggest syntactician," according to Al-Balushi (2011:v), "especially when it comes to Case theory" writes: "Chomsky constantly emphasizes that Minimalism is as yet still just an 'approach', a conjecture about how human language works ('perfectly'), and a general program for exploring and developing the conjecture" (Lasnik, 2008:436). Thus, because of extensive studies in generative syntax for more than a quarter of a century, we are now able to posit that confusion in case system arises due to either of two accounts: 1) in some languages, case is not differentiated along syntactic (abstract/structural) and semantic dimension; and 2) in some languages at some places morphology-syntax mismatch occurs. The latter may occur on three accounts: (2a) a particular nominal requires structural Case where there is no morphological realization for that Case (or another Case) on that nominal; (2b) a particular nominal requires one structural Case where a morphological realization exists for another structural Case on that nominal; or to further the confusion, (2c) a particular nominal can choose between "two case forms having the same morphological realization" (Haegeman, 1994:157), which is known as 'case syncretism.'

However, during this period of immense activity in the study of grammars, Pashto grammar, especially in the arena of case, mostly remained neglected. Pashto grammarians at large remained oblivious of the phenomenal strides made by the GB/minimalist programme in the theory of Case. Only a few scattered efforts, in traditional grammar, were made which were mostly descriptive in nature and did not attempt to explain the *whats* and *whys* of case in Pashto; thus, resulting in a disarrayed jumble of syntactic,

semantic and morphological approaches to case. Realising this unfortunate neglect, we propose that the Case theory of the minimalist program be applied to Pashto and vice-versa, since both need each other for "theory intensive research" (Weisskopf, 1965:25) and "theory extensive research" (Weisskopf, 1965:25).

1.1.2 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to look at the phenomenon of structural Case in Pashto from a minimalist perspective, in order to see whether the rules for Case-assignment/Case-checking/Case-licensing (so-called in the technical jargon) in the minimalist program are applicable to structural Case in Pashto or not. This consists of investigating the phenomenon of ϕ-feature agreement between functional categories (t, υ, Appl, etc.), and the relevant nominals in different Pashto constructions; such as control constructions, passives, unaccusatives, unergatives, monotransitives, ditransitives, copular clauses, double subject constructions, coordinated and subordinated constructions, and relative clauses. The chief emphasis is on discovering agreement in terms of phi-features and its effect on Case assignment. Originally, we proposed that if phi-features, through the apparatus of minimalism, were unable to account for some syntactic phenomena in Pashto in the area of Case, then we would adopt a modified approach consisting of phi-features and [uT]. What prompted us to propose the modified approach was the presence of split-ergativity in the past tense and its absence in the present tense and constructions showing future time, and since tense seemed to be the most important determiner in establishing the dichotomy between nominative and ergative Cases in Pashto. However, while dealing with different Pashto constructions, we found that ϕ-features agreement was able to account for Case

assignment, even in split-ergative constructions, we did not need to resort to the proposed alternative, the modified approach.

Although the thesis topic is related to abstract/structural Case in Pashto only, we consider, in addition to structural Case, the phenomena of the morphological and the default case, too, whenever and wherever they appear with reference to the Pashto language. Moreover, this study, when dealing with Case assignment in Pashto, will also seek to determine whether full ϕ-agreement (person, number and gender) exists or one or two of the ϕ-features also do.

Similarly, no attempt has been made hitherto to describe different argument structures for different Pashto constructions from a generative perspective; this study is the first of its kind to suggest derivations for different argument structures in Pashto. If, on the one hand, it is an effort to describe adequately the structures of different Pashto constructions; on the other, it is to achieve the minimalist ideals of economy, virtual conceptual necessity, and symmetry.

Largely, this study has two aspects. First, it deals with the application of Case-assignment theory in the minimalist program to the phenomenon of Case in Pashto. This is the theory extensive aspect of this research: "extensive research goes for the explanation of phenomena in terms of known fundamental laws" (Weisskoph, 1965; reproduced in Boeckx 2006:193). This is the dominant aspect throughout this study. Second, this study aims to glean and present information that may help us fill the gaps in the theory and practice of the minimalist program in the realm of Case. This is the theory intensive aspect of this study: "intensive research always goes for the fundamental laws" (Weisskoph, 1965; reproduced in Boeckx 2006:193). This is the difficult part of the study, as it has been observed over the years that scholars pursuing

doctoral studies have not been able to make significant/radical changes to the grounded theories they apply to some phenomena.

1.2 Research Questions

Is structural Case on nominals in Pashto the result of:

1. ϕ– features agreement between functional heads (T, ʋ, etc.) and the relevant nominal; or
2. valuing/matching a [uT] feature on the nominal; or
3. a mix of these two approaches?

1.3 Research Hypotheses

The main research hypothesis for this thesis is that ϕ-features agreement between a functional head and the relevant nominal results in assigning structural Case to that nominal.

This main hypothesis is divided into sub-hypotheses; namely, that in Pashto:

i. ϕ-features agreement between a nominal and the functional category T results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal;
ii. ϕ-features agreement between the functional categories ʋ or Voice and the relevant nominal results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal;
iii. ϕ-features agreement between the functional category Appl (applicative) and the relevant nominal results in assigning dative Case to that nominal; and

iv. the agreement in terms of [N] ϕ-feature between the functional category D and the relevant nominal results in assigning genitive Case to that nominal.

In addition to the main hypothesis and its sub-parts, we also present some additional hypotheses during the course of the thesis. They are:

i. Building on the work of Roberts (2010, n.d.), Holmberg (2007), Roberts (2000), Murasugi (1997), Bittner and Hale (1996), and Mahajan (1990), this thesis assumes that the past tense and the passive voice in Pashto have the same syntactic behaviour; thus supporting the idea that the past tense in Pashto, like other Indo-Iranian languages, is historically related to the passive voice.

ii. The functional category D, in Pashto DPs, is empty and the possessive marker *da* in Pashto DPs, in fact, moves from its base position to spec DP position.

iii. In case, two or more possessive markers are candidates for movement to the same spec DP position, only one of them moves while the rest move to the next available spec DP slots left-wards.

iv. In Pashto, visible agreement exists between T and the relevant nominal for nominative Case assignment; but no visible agreement exists between ʋ or Voice and the relevant nominal for accusative Case; however, the agreement between T and the relevant nominal, in almost all cases, becomes visible on V or ʋ, or both rather than on T.

v. In Pashto dative constructions, the Appl functional category takes an adpositional phrase as its complement and the other object as its specifier. In case, a postposition follows the nominal in the adpositional phrase, the

nominal along with the postposition prefers to move to the already filled spec ApplP, through scrambling, and ends up adjoined to the ApplP, resulting in an extended ApplP.

1.4 Adopted Framework: the Minimalist Syntax

The methods used in this thesis, especially with reference to the minimalist handling of the syntactic phenomena, will consist of the minimalist framework put forward in Chomsky (2001) with occasional support from Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008). In the next few sections, we will describe those techniques/ processes of the minimalist program that are very important for our purposes; and our study makes extensive use of them, namely, Merge, Move, Features, and Agree.

The minimalist program, in its different versions, considers human language faculty to consist of four components — the lexicon, the computational system, and the two interface levels — phonetic form (PF) and logical form (LF). Minimalism uses a derivational approach for building of phrases and clauses. The starting point for a derivation is a collection of unordered mass of lexical items, called a numeration. The derivation consists of a) combining elements with one another called Merge, 2) the upward movement of nodes called Move, and 3) assigning values to the features called Features Valuation.

1.4.1 Merge and Move

Human language is believed to have a recursive system which proceeds by means of a primitive operation, Merge. As Chomsky (2001) puts it, Merge is "the indispensable operation of a recursive system" (p. 3). Merge "takes two syntactic objects α and β and forms the new object γ= {α,β}" (p. 3). Merge is needed because a language needs phrases and clauses, and these are formed through the primitive operation, Merge. The idea of

Merge rose to prominence as a consequence of Bare Phrase Structure (BPS) and economy considerations; and also because it was the least controversial primitive syntactic operation.

Merge can be either External or Internal (Chomsky, 2001). In External Merge (E-Merge) two elements, for instance, α and β are picked up from the numeration and combined to form a new syntactic object γ. A verb V merged with its internal argument DP, for instance, represents an E-Merge. In Internal Merge (I-Merge), "β, itself a part of α, is re-Merged in the spec of α, thus forming a new syntactic object γ… β [which] is now at the edge of α and leaves a trace t_β behind" (Sultan, 2007:12). Trace is here not taken in the sense, as in the GB framework, as in that sense trace would violate the Inclusiveness Condition which requires that a derivation be based on the elements present in the numeration set. As such, trace in the minimalist framework is taken as a copy of the moved element. Thus, the whole operation of Internal Merge can be simply termed as 'Move' or 'displacement'.

Opinions differ as to the value of Internal Merge. Chomsky (1995) believes that E-Merge is 'free' whereas I-Merge is 'costly' as it is more complicated and involves not only a 'copy' but also a 'Merge'; therefore, because of economy considerations, operation Merge is preferred to operation Move (I-Merge). Chomsky (2001) changes his opinion and considers both the operations to be equally free. Again, the following quotation from Chomsky (2005) shows his changed opinion regarding I-Merge:

> Unless some stipulation is added, there are two sub-cases of the operation Merge. Given A, we can merge B to it from outside A or within A; these are external and internal Merge, the latter [the sic] operation called "Move", which therefore also "comes free" yielding the familiar displacement property of language. That property had long been regarded, by me in particular, as an

> "imperfection" of language that has to be somehow explained, but in fact it is a virtual conceptual necessity . . . (p. 12)

Although opinions still differ with respect to freeness/costliness of I-Merge, especially due to the presence of languages where no movement occurs, and most syntactic phenomena are derived '*in-situ*', there is no denying the fact that Merge as a primitive operation — responsible for the recursive quality of a language — is the least controversial issue in the generative enterprise, offering, at the same time, maximum benefit. Due to its importance for syntactic derivations, Chandra (2007) goes to the extent of abandoning Agree in favour of Merge; however, neither do we agree with her nor do we follow her in her method.

1.4.2 Features

If we study the syntactic phenomenon of agreement, for instance, we find the same feature expressed twice, once in the subject and again in the verb. However, since only one instance is enough for interpretation, it creates a certain amount of redundancy. To overcome this, the idea of interpretable and uninterpretable features was introduced. Interpretable features are those that contribute to the semantics, while uninterpretable features are simply 'ignored' by the semantics.

Features play an important role in the minimalist program, especially in the arena of structural Case. Minimalist program assumes that lexical items enter a derivation with different features: a noun, for instance, can have number and gender features, a determiner can have person, definiteness features, a verb can have tense and aspect features, etc. It is required that the values of certain features be fixed before starting the derivation; such as person, number and gender of a subject (noun/pronoun). Such features are interpretable features on that particular head. The values of certain

features are not fixed, and they are referred to as uninterpretable features. The values of such features are determined by agreement such as the number, person and gender of a verb. Consequently, minimalism requires a distinction to be made between interpretable and uninterpretable features.

In this thesis, we have made an extensive use of features, explaining every step in the derivations with reference to features. The chief source for the nomenclature of features has been Adger (2004). We have made use of his [N/uN], [D/uD], [V], [Infl/uInfl], [*uD], [uCase], [uclause type], [Decl], [NOM], [ACC], etc. features, many of which he himself borrows from Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001). In addition, we have introduced some features, such as [poss/uposs], [uN] for the functional category D, [*ufocus], [appl/ uappl], etc., that were unavailable in Adger (2004), but were necessary because of the peculiar nature of Pashto constructions.

1.4.3 Agree

Chomsky (2001) propounded the idea of Agree to account for the valuation of uninterpretable features, such as agreement on verbs and Case on nominals. These features do not have fixed values; rather, they acquire their values in the course of a derivation. Agree, as a feature checking/valuing operation, deletes such features. Chomsky (2001) writes:

> The empirical facts make it clear that there are (LF) uninterpretable inflectional features that enter into agreement relations with interpretable inflectional features. Thus, the ϕ-features of T(Tense) are uninterpretable and agree with the interpretable ϕ-features of a nominal that may be local or remote, yielding the surface effect of noun-verb agreement. The obvious conclusion, which we adopt, is that the agreement relation removes the uninterpretable features from the narrow syntax, allowing derivations to

> converge at LF while remaining intact for the phonological component (with language-variant PF manifestation). (p. 3)

Thus, Agree creates a relation between two elements: "We therefore have a relation Agree holding between α and β, where α has interpretable inflectional features and β has uninterpretable ones, which delete under Agree" (Chomsky, 2001:3). The element with interpretable features is called a *goal* while the element with uninterpretable features is called a *probe*. The probe searches for the goal, as is indicated by their names as well. Chomsky (2001) implies that the probe searches for its goal in its c-command domain. A probe searches for its goal probing downwards. This is the standard assumption among most generative linguists, though quite a few (for example, Al-Balushi, 2011; Baker, 2010; Bobaljik, 2006; Rezac, 2004), posit that the goal may c-command the probe or the probe may search upwards.

The Agree operation itself consists of two processes — *match* and *value*. Match refers to the coming together of a goal and a probe. Value refers to not only the coming together of a goal and a probe, but their features checking/valuation. Thus, simply put, not every match is a value but every value is a match. For Agree to occur, it is not necessary that the two elements be in a sisterhood relation to one another, though sisterhood is the most convenient situation for Agree. Therefore, in addition to sisters, Agree can also take place between elements that are separated from one another, referred to as Long-distance Agree in the minimalist literature. Moreover, for an Agree to occur, the goal and the probe must be 'active', which means that the relevant features on both the goal and the probe are not valued. For instance, Agree between a T and a nominal that have not already undergone Agree operation with one another or with other elements is allowed, but Agree between a T and a nominal with valued Case feature is not permissible.

As this study relates to Case assignment, we, for most of the time, will be concerned with ϕ-features agreement as it results in assigning structural/abstract Case. Chomsky (2001) stirred up a hornet's nest when he proposed that ϕ-complete probe is necessary for checking the goal's Case and that Case on a nominal cannot be checked (in terms of Agree) by ϕ-incomplete functional heads (2001:8,18). Several researchers, notably Carstens (2001), Bejar (2003), and Tanaka (2005), tried to show that Case exists in languages despite ϕ-incomplete agreements.

In our study, we do not face the dilemma of ϕ-complete/incomplete probes due to the nature of the Pashto language, which in Chomsky's (2001) technical parlance has ϕ-complete probes. Furthermore, we believe that, in Pashto, in the syntactic component or in the narrow syntax, ϕ-complete probe (person, number, and gender) agrees with the goal. However, in the spell-out stage or in the morphological component, it is not necessary that the ϕ-complete probe should get visible. It may be ϕ-complete, but it may be in terms of person and number, or only in terms of person, depending upon the tense and the nature of the language itself.

1.4.4 Phases

Chomsky (1993, 1995) presented the idea that, for a given numeration, the computational system of human language allows syntactic derivation to access the phonological component only once. However, Uriagereka (1999) presented the idea of Multiple Spell-Out (MSO), wherein, instead of a single Spell-Out, Multiple Spell-Out occurs, resulting in certain chunks of structures called cascades, being sent to the PF during a single syntactic derivation. Inspired by this — though with a difference — Chomsky (2000, 2001) proposed the idea of derivation by 'phase'. Each 'phase' is considered a separate chunk of structure, derived from a separate sub-numeration, and

then spelled-out cyclically to the interfaces. Chomsky (2001) argues that υ*P and CP are phases, as they contain 'a proposition'. For instance, υ*P represents argument structure and CP represents the tense and the illocutionary force of a sentence. Phase heads may carry EPP feature whose position is located at the 'edge' of the phase. The 'edge' itself is an extra specifier at the left periphery of the phase. Chomsky (2001) proposes that phase 'edges' are the sites, where 'surface semantics' effects arise, such as focus, topic, given information, etc.

In this thesis, we do not maintain Chomsky's (2001) distinction between υ* and υ, as all the constructions that we have used here have ϕ-complete probes. Thus, technically, we should use υ*; however, for convenience, we make use of υ in all situations. For all practical purposes, υP and CP serve as our phases. In addition, for the past tense and the passive constructions, we propose the functional category Voice as the assigner of the accusative Case.

1.5 Materials

The material consists of Pashto grammars written in Pashto, Urdu and English languages, and material related to GB and the minimalist program. Since no Pashto corpus was available on the internet or elsewhere, we (the researcher and the supervisor) — native speakers of Pashto representing the two main dialects of Pashto spoken in Pakistan, the northern and the southern — had to use examples of our own for explanation and discussion.

1.6 Original Contribution to Knowledge

This study makes some original contributions to the accumulated body of knowledge in syntax, which are highlighted as follows:

1. The most important contribution of this study lies in its application of the minimalist theory/ mechanism for Case assignment (nominative/ accusative/ genitive/ dative) to Pashto language, a language that has remained hitherto untouched by the minimalist/ generative influence/research.
2. This thesis proposes that the deviant behaviour of the 3rd person singular (near) *da* and (distant) *hagha* pronouns, in terms of accusative Case assignment in the present tense, is due to the fact that they are also used as demonstrative pronouns in Pashto meaning 'this' and 'that' respectively. Due to their frequent interchangeable use, demonstrative pronouns have effectively taken the place of the third person singular personal pronouns in day-to-day conversation.
3. This thesis adopts and makes use of the idea that historically past tense is related to the passive voice, and, as such, makes use of the Voice functional category for both the passive and the past tense constructions. It is assumed, following Roberts (2010, n.d.) and Collins (2005), that Voice withholds the [uϕ] features to itself, and that υ is defective (Chomsky, 2001), lacking [uϕ] features; hence the ability to assign accusative Case. The most welcome result of such treatment is that the phenomenon of split-ergativity in Pashto is adequately explained, without any resort to special derivational/theoretical provisions.
4. This thesis claims that Pashto DPs are of three types. Since these three types are unexplainable by the structures proposed for other languages, three structures for three types of Pashto DPs have been proposed.

5. This thesis proposes that the absence of the possessive marker *da* in the 1st and the 2nd person possessive pronouns, in the Northern varieties of Pashto in Pakistan, is not a universal phenomenon in Pashto. The southern varieties in Pakistan and the central and southern varieties in Afghanistan retain the possessive marker *da/day* in the 1st and the 2nd person possessive pronouns. It seems that the northern varieties in Pakistan lost it due to some phonological reason.
6. The so-called predicate DP is nothing but adjunct material adjoined to the main DP, called the subject DP. The subject DP along with its adjunct material originate inside VP. From there it moves to spec TP due to T's strong [*uD] feature, while the adjunct material called predicate DP is left behind stranded in the VP.
7. This thesis claims that in Pashto dative constructions, the Appl functional category takes an adpositional phrase as its complement and the other object as its specifier. In case a postposition follows the nominal in the adpositional phrase, the nominal along with the postposition prefer to move to the already filled spec ApplP, through scrambling, and ends up adjoined to the ApplP, resulting in an extended ApplP.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The chief limitation of this research is that there is no uniform variety of Pashto in use in all the Pashto speaking areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan. This study is mostly restricted to the northern variety of Pashto, with occasional help from the southern varieties, if needed to settle some syntactic or phonological issue.

Even in the traditional grammar, many aspects of the Pashto language have not been thoroughly and extensively researched and discussed. All that we have are grammar

books on Pashto language, written with the aim of teaching Pashto to non-native speakers of Pashto, lacking elaborate treatment of different syntactic phenomena. Only the topic clitics in Pashto has been thoroughly researched and studied as PhD research projects (Tegey, 1977; Roberts, 2000). But even here we find ourselves at odds with the authors.

The same situation prevails with reference to generative enterprise. No noteworthy account of any syntactic phenomenon in Pashto, especially, in the generative/minimalist perspective, exists that could help us in any substantial way or at least which we could use as a touchstone to evaluate the value of our own endeavour.

1.8 Delimitations of the Study

As mentioned earlier, no worthwhile account of any syntactic phenomenon in Pashto exists, especially, from the generative/minimalist perspective, which urged us to present thumbnail minimalist accounts of many a syntactic phenomena; such as, monotranstives, ditransitives, double subject, unergatives, unaccusatives, copular, coordinated and subordinated constructions; passives, DPs, and relative clauses, etc. Although we were aware that each one of these topics needed a PhD level account to describe them from the minimalist perspective, many of them having contentious issues needing more research; our topic constrained us to limit our minimalist discussion to only a few pages per topic so as not to stray away from our main topic.

Further, we also had to avoid detailed discussion on some generative topics with reference to Pashto. These topics included phases, the historical relation of the past tense and the passive, application of Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry to derivations we have proposed, the reason for visible agreement in terms of full ϕ-features, or, alternatively,

person and number features, clitics, determiner phrases, light verbs in Pashto and other languages, copular constructions, ʋ* vs. ʋ in Pashto, null phonetic pronouns, etc.

1.9 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is organised as follows:

Chapter 1 introduces the topic. It gives background of the study, the purpose of the study, research questions, research hypothesis/hypotheses, original contribution to knowledge, and the limitations and delimitations of the study. In addition, it gives an account of the adopted minimalist framework, especially its techniques of merge, move, agree and features valuation.

Chapter 2 reviews relevant literature, especially topics/ issues that have direct relevance to the topic of this thesis. The review comprises three strands of discussion. One relates to the review of the efforts made by different Pashto grammarians to describe case in Pashto from a traditional perspective since no minimalist/generative account of Pashto grammar is available. The second strand gives a thumbnail sketch of structural Case in the Government and Binding model, while the third strand exclusively deals with the history of structural Case in the minimalist program.

Chapter 3 discusses the assignment of structural Case in various transitive constructions, and includes monotransitive, ditransitive, and conjoined subject constructions. All these constructions are restricted to single clause constructions (multi-clausal transitive constructions are the topic of chapter 6). Here, ʋP serves as the phase for the present and future tense monotransitive and double subject constructions. Chomsky's (2001) distinction between ʋ* and ʋ has been avoided and in all

constructions υ has been used for convenience, though technically υ* is the stronger clement for use as all are finite clauses. In these constructions, the accusative Case is assigned due to ϕ-features agreement with υ, while the nominative Case is assigned because of ϕ-features agreement with T. In the past tense, following Roberts (2010 and n.d.) and Collins (2005), Voice functional category is introduced, and instead of υ, Voice assigns the accusative Case and T assigns the nominative Case to the relevant arguments. For Pashto ditransitive constructions, we introduce a unique treatment making use of Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) idea of Appl functional category with some modification in treatment and derivation, so that a dominant role is played by the adpositions. Importantly, dative Case in such constructions is assigned because of ϕ-features agreement with the functional category Appl.

Chapter 4 deals with the assignment of structural Case in monoclausal intransitive constructions. These are unergatives, unaccusatives, copular constructions, and passives. Although there is some controversy about the status of the passives with regard to their transitive/ intransitive nature, we have chosen to discuss them in this chapter for convenience and, more importantly like the other three constructions, they (passives) also possess defective υ (Chomsky, 2001) in terms of [uϕ] features, making them unable to assign the accusative Case.

We examine the nature of the Pashto copular clause in the light of three approaches: (a) copula as a small clause, (b) copula as a predicate phrase, and (c) copula as an ordinary verb. However, we do not follow any one of the approaches. Rather, we adopt an approach in which the canonical subject DP originates in complement to V position. The so-called predicate DP is nothing but the stranded part of the large DP that consists of the subject DP adjoined to the predicate DP. Based on this discussion, we suggest the

assignment of structural Case in Pashto copular clauses. In all Pashto passive voice constructions, Case is assigned due to the ϕ-feature agreement with the functional category Voice. This in a way supports the idea that historically past tense is considered a participle or an adjective (Holmberg, 2007), or related to the passive (Roberts, 2010; n.d.; Holmberg, 2007; Roberts, 2000; Murasugi, 1997; Bittner & Hale, 1996; Mahajan, 1990).

Chapter 5 describes genitive Case assignment in Pashto determiner phrases (DPs). In this chapter, we propose that Pashto has three types of DPs; namely, simple DPs, complex DPs, and arguments of a deverbal noun DPs. As the derivations/structures suggested for other languages are unable to adequately deal with the three types of Pashto DPs, we suggest three different structures/derivations for the three types of Pashto DPs, which, we argue, are able to adequately deal with the assignment of genitive Case in Pashto DPs. In addition, this chapter has a thumbnail sketch literature review of the genitive Case in Pashto, the different elements/constituents of a Pashto DP, and different approaches that have been adopted to treat DPs on cross-linguistic basis.

Chapter 6 dilates upon the nature of structural Case assignment in multi-clausal constructions in Pashto. These include coordinated and subordinated constructions. The account of coordinated constructions is restricted to constructions with *ao* 'and', *ya* 'or', and *kho* 'but', conjunctions. The account of subordinated constructions includes Case assignment in relative clauses and a discussion of Case assignment where either of the two arguments of a verb is a clause. Relative clauses turn out to be very interesting because of the resumptive clitic or in some cases resumptive pronouns within them. Only a thumbnail sketch for them along with Case assignment is provided due to space constraints. The overall conclusion that we obtain from this chapter is that the rules of

structural Case assignment remain the same whether the construction is mono-clausal or multi-clausal.

Chapter 7 brings to a close the various strands of discussion that we had embarked upon, culminating in the recommendations for future research. This section points out issues that we left untouched or unsolved/unresolved due to space limitations or because their further explanation or solution was of no direct relevance to our topic. In addition, some other topics in Pashto syntax are also suggested which need extensive research. Thus, this chapter will be of great importance to those native and non-native researchers of Pashto who want to undertake research in Pashto syntax, as this chapter provides them avenues that they may need to explore, without having to face, first, the painful process of topic selection.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three parts in order to discuss the problem from three perspectives. The first part relates to the status of case assignment studies in Pashto. We will see that no concerted or exclusive effort has been made hitherto to describe the phenomenon of case in Pashto, even in the traditional grammar, let alone from the generative or the minimalist perspective. What we do have are brief accounts of the phenomenon of case in different Pashto grammar books. The second part of this chapter deals with studies of structural Case from a GB perspective. The third part presents the structural Case as it is understood in the minimalist program. This section is more elaborate as compared to the second one because it looks at the different models/ mechanisms of Case assignment so far presented in the minimalist program to prepare grounds for our discussion of the assignment of structural Case in Pashto from a minimalist perspective in the chapters to come.

2.2 Case in Pashto

Two trends are visible among grammarians while classifying cases in Pashto. One group has divided case along the semantico-syntactic paradigm while the other has classified it along the morphological one. In the former group, Raverty (1855) is the first well-known grammarian of Pashto. He divides case in seven groups; namely, nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, ablative and actor or instrumental. About the formation of various case types, he says: "To form the various cases besides the nominative, several particles called حروفجر *hurūf-i-jarr* are used with the nouns in the inflected state" (Raverty, 1855:7). About the genitive case, he says, "*da** or sometimes ده *dah*, the

particle governing the genitive case, must always precede the noun. . . . The particle is not subject to any change in prose more than in verse" (Raverty, 1855:7).

About the dative and the ablative cases, Raverty writes:

> There are four particles governing the dative case, - ته *tah*, or وته *watah*, and ووته *wa- watah*, one و of which is sometimes placed before the noun, and the ته after it; لره *larah*; and له *lah*. The latter is less often used, as a particle similar in form governs the ablative; but the meaning is unmistakable…. The particles of the dative case are often used to denote 'for,' 'for the sake of,' etc., and must be used or translated accordingly. (1855:7, 8)

Similarly, about the other forms of cases, he says:

> The next case is the accusative, which remains the same as the nominative, or assumes the dative form,....The vocative case is denoted by the Arabic sign اي *ai*, sometimes pronounced *ay*, together with او *ao* and ؤ *wo*; but the latter signs are rarely used in writing, and are peculiar to Afghani. The vocative sign, when used, must precede the noun, which, with but a few exceptions, takes *zabar* after the final letter, and sometimes add ا and ه instead,....The ablative case is governed by the particles له *lah*, or له نه *lah nah*, the له preceding, and the نه following the noun. The noun in this case, in some instances takes (*zabar*) or (*zer*) after the final letter, …. The other particles used in this case are تر *tar* and ډ *da* or ډ *di*. The latter form is not common except amongst the Khattak tribe, who do not appear to make much, if any, difference between it and the ډ *da* of the genitive, but it may generally be known from being followed by نه . . . The locative, which I shall include in this case, merely substitutes other particles in place of له نه,له , and تر. They are په *pah* or پ *pa*, which precede the noun, and have various significations, such as 'in,' 'on,' 'with,' 'through,' 'by means of,' etc.; and کښي *kkhey* or *kshe*y, or کښ *kkhi* or *kshi*, which usually follow a noun preceded by په and signify 'in' or 'within'. Other particles are also used in this case such as په میان *pah-mī-ān*,په مینځ *pah-mi-yandz*, etc.; ….The whole of the particles governing the different cases just described remain unchanged both

> before masculine and feminine nouns, and in the singular and plural number. (1855: 9, 10, 11, 12)

In addition, Raverty gives nine declensions of Pashto nouns, based on various methods of inflection and the formation of plural nominative. Thus, in his classification, nominative, genitive, dative and accusative correspond to syntactic dimension while ablative and instrumental correspond to the semantic dimension of case classification. The vocative case mentioned in his classification can be considered a case marking, which is "oddly behaving" (Kibort, 2008).

Lorimer (1902) is the first grammarian who studies the grammar of Waziri[2] Pashto. He divides case in Pashto in two groups, the nominative and the oblique. He explains the oblique case as the case that is "governed by a preposition or used to express the agent when the verb is active and employed in the past tense" (Lorimer, 1902:1). Later in the book, he adds vocative and numeral cases in the inventory of Pashto case system:

> Most nouns have a vocative case, which in the singular of masculine nouns is usually formed by adding –a and making such further euphonic changes of vowels as may be required:- é plora! *oh father*! *from* plor….Many Waziri nouns possess what may be called a numeral case. It is used after a numeral adjective and is formed by adding the termination –a, and making any vowel changes which euphony may require: Examples:- Dwa sika (or sikina) mi waheli di, *I struck two blows (from* sik). (p. 8)

Roos-Keppel (1922) divides Pashto cases in seven groups, namely, nominative, accusative, genitive, instrumental, dative, ablative, locative and vocative. He says:

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[2] Waziri Pashto as its name indicates is a sub-variety of Pashto, spoken by the Wazir tribe, mostly living in the North Waziristan, the South Waziristan, and the Frontier Regions of Bannu.

> The *Nominative* and *Accusative cases* (and, in nouns which remain uninflected in the singular, the instrumental case) are identical with the crude form of the noun, and are only distinguishable from one another by their position in a sentence; thus:- (i.) In all sentences formed with an intransitive verb, or with the present and future tenses of a transitive verb, the nominative precedes the accusative….(ii.) In sentences formed with the past tenses of transitive verbs the nominative follows the instrumental…. The *Instrumental* case (which is identical with the Formative) is only employed with the imperfect and past tenses of transitive verbs. It represents in Pushto the agent, and precedes the object (which is in the nominative), being placed (in nouns incapable of inflection) at the commencement of the sentence….In the *Vocative* case, the noun is usually preceded by the interjection particle اي , but this may remain unexpressed but understood….All other cases are formed by means of prefixes and affixes to the formative of the noun….The *Genitive* is formed by prefixing ډ to the formative of the noun….The *Dative* is formed by affixing ته to the formative of the noun (in conversation له ,لره ,وته are commonly used for ته)…. The *Ablative* case is formed sometimes by prefixing له to the formative of the noun, sometimes by this prefix and the affix نه ….The *Locative* case is formed by prefixing په with or without the affix کښ (which is principally used when it is desired to express "in" or "at"). (pp. 21, 22, 23, 24)

He also gives eight declensions of Pashto nouns based on these cases. As such, it seems that he follows Raverty in his schematization of case in Pashto.

Shafeev (1964) divides case system in Pashto into absolute, oblique, vocative, genitive, dative, instrumental and prepositional cases. Rashteen (1994) is of the opinion that Pashto nouns have four cases according to meaning; they are nominative, objective, vocative and connective. It is evident that Rashteen did not consider the dichotomy between syntactic and semantic aspects. Zayar (2005), an important addition in the inventory of Pashto language grammarians, has not been able to rid

himself of the influence that Raverty (1855) has exerted on Pashto grammar. He divides Pashto cases into seven groups; namely, the nominative, the vocative, the dative, the instrumental, the possessive, the ablative and the locative.

On the other hand, Penzl (1955) is the first grammarian who classifies cases in Pashto on morphological basis, dividing them into four groups: direct, oblique 1, oblique 2, and vocative. He places nouns without prepositions, postpositions and transpositions into the direct case, while nouns with prepositions, postpositions and transpositions into the oblique case. Similarly, Mackenzie (1987) posits four cases for nouns in Pashto: direct, oblique, vocative and prepositional. Khattak (1988) believes that Pashto has direct, oblique and vocative cases. Tegey & Robson (1996) follow this trend by dividing nominal cases into the direct and the oblique. However, they neither explain nor describe what these cases are; they only tell the uses of the direct and the oblique forms of the nominals as subjects, objects, etc.

Moreover, some grammarians have tried to apply the idea of ergative-absolutive languages to the classification of cases in Pashto. In this respect, Tagey's (1977) is a pioneering work, who posits that Pashto behaves as a nominative/accusative language in the present tense and ergative/ absolutive in the past tense. Babrakzai (1999) also believes that the dichotomy of the nominative/ergative and the accusative/absolutive divide exists along the dimension of tense; thus nouns in the present tense behave as nominative/accusative and nouns in the past tense behave as ergative/absolutive. Takahashi (1999) deals with the issue of split-ergativity in Pashto and more or less endorses the findings of Tegey (1977) and Babrakzai (1999). However, we do not agree with any of them, as in this study we found that the phenomenon of split-ergativity in Pashto is a result of the close relation between voice and the past tense.

The anomaly of the above classifications is that if the semantico-syntactic classification is too complicated, the morphological classification is too simplistic to warrant attention. All this research in different directions has made the phenomenon of case more elusive, and our effort will be to simplify this hotchpotch of cases, at the same time, taking care that neither comprehensiveness be sacrificed for brevity nor brevity for comprehensiveness.

2.3 Case Theory in Government and Binding[3]

Government and Binding (Chomsky, 1980, 1981) is the most widely studied, and thoroughly researched model within the Principles and Parameters framework of the Generative/ Universal grammar. It is modular in form, having five/six important modules; namely, X-Bar theory, θ-theory, Case theory, Binding theory and Control, Movement theory, etc. As mentioned earlier, Case theory is one of the important modules of GB, successfully applied to the phenomenon of Case in many languages of the world. The idea of Case in generative linguistics can be traced back to Chomsky & Lasnik's (1977) concept of filter, an attempt to devise a condition on the distribution of NPs. This was followed by Chomsky's (1980:25; 1981:49) idea of Case Filter, thanks to the pioneering work of Vergnaud (1977, 1982) in this regard. Case Filter states:

1. *NP if NP has phonetic content and has no case.

[3] The discussion in this section is primarily based on Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2007), and Lasnik (2008).

For generative linguists, this was a satisfactory development as now they had one filter or condition which could be applied to NP licensing and movement cross-linguistically. In addition to this morpho-syntactic approach, Aoun (1979) proposed a semantic approach, based on the idea that (argumental) NPs require Abstract Case, thus making them visible for θ-role assignment at LF, termed as the 'Visibility Condition'.

Though Case Filter was a theoretical advancement, yet a need was felt that it should be implemented cross- linguistically; "In other words, linguists needed to make sure that a given NP in a given language has received Case (preferably in a uniform manner), thus passing the requirement of the Case Filter" (Al-Balushi, 2011:8). Resultantly, generative linguists concerned themselves with studying structures where Case could be assigned or not assigned. Thus, the apparatus for studying Case expanded, and notions, such as, government, proper government, c-command, m-command, minimality condition, adjacency requirement received currency among generative linguists. Among these notions, 'government' was perhaps the most important one, as it was the key to Case assignment, in addition to its involvement in the other modules of the GB model. Government is defined by Chomsky (1980:25) as:

2. α is governed by β if α is c-commanded by β and no major category or major category boundary appears between α and β.

Thus, the notion of government was able to account for the assignment of the accusative Case by verbs and prepositions to their objects (complements). In order to account for nominative Case assignment, which is through spec-head relation, the definition of c-command was modified to make it refer to maximal projections; while the c-command referred to branching nodes. This alterative was called m-command. Despite all this

theoretical advancements, an obvious asymmetry was there; namely, that accusative Case was assigned in a head-complement relation and nominative Case was assigned in specifier-head relation, thus requiring that a symmetry be searched. Other proposals followed to account for the data of less studied languages.

However, with the passage of time, despite all its sophistication and elegance, Case theory had to face some challenges. For instance, Zaenen, Maling, & Thrainsson (1985) showed that Icelandic language allows non-nominative subjects, suggesting no relation between abstract Case and morphological case. As such, they argued for abandoning the abstract Case. Moreover, Sigurðsson (1981, 2008) showed that PRO subjects of infinitival clauses in Icelandic receive Case. Also, Case data from languages with ergative/split ergative Case systems were not adequately accounted for. The relevance of Case for PF and LF was also questioned. The nature of 'I' also proved troublesome as it could not adequately explain the nature of the nominative Case assignment in a few languages of the world (Bobaljik & Wurmbrand, 2007; Lasnik, 2008).

The breakthrough for most of these challenges came with the momentous work of Pollock (1989), who introduced the Split-Infl- Hypothesis by splitting the traditional I^0 node into T^0 and Agr^0 in order to account for word order, verb movement, and verb inflectional differences between French and English. Inspired by this innovation, Chomsky (1991) introduced the idea of splitting Agr^0 into $Agrs^0$ and $Agro^0$, thus to account for those languages which in addition to subject agreement also showed verb agreement with the object. This development solved the problem of having a uniformed Case assigner for nominative and accusative Case, as nominative Case was now assigned by $Agrs^0$ when the subject was in spec AgrsP as a result of subject-verb agreement, accusative Case was assigned to the object when it was in spec AgroP as a result of object-verb agreement.

This proposal was significant in the sense that, firstly, it unified Case assigning mechanisms into one spec-head configuration thus enabling generative grammarians to do away with head-comp relation and government. Secondly, instead of nominative Case being assigned by a functional head-I and accusative Case assigned by lexical head-V, this proposal unified the nature of Case assigning heads, with both nominative and accusative Cases assigned by functional heads, $Agrs^0$ and $Agro^0$ respectively. While this uniform approach to Case-assignment removed the asymmetry, it faced a serious challenge with reference to order of subject, verb and object as they appeared on the surface structure. For instance, in this approach, the subject movement to AgrsP in a language like English will place the subject before the verb, as desired. However, the object movement to AgroP will incorrectly place the object before the verb. Thus it will predict an SOV order for English, which is wrong.

2.4 Case in the Minimalist Program

Despite all the theoretical and empirical advancements, achieved in different modules of GB, including Case theory, the quest for betterment continued. Moreover, as the GB model had expanded too much, a need was felt to minimize its theoretical apparatus. This resulted in introduction of the minimalist program (MP) by Chomsky (1993, 1995). The introduction of minimalism did not mean that GB had been dead forever; rather, it was/is relevant, as it was the base on which the whole paraphernalia of minimalism had been erected. Boeckx (2006) says in this regard:

> If, as I have argued, P&P provides the context of emergence for minimalism, the specific and best-worked-out version of the approach known as Government-Binding (GB) provides specific (technical) principles ('details')

> from which minimalist guidelines- what I will define as the conceptual core of minimalism – could be extracted.(pp. 61,62)

Boeckx (2006) compares minimalism to a tripod, which is standing firmly on the principles and parameters foundation, "The legs of the tripod (economy, virtual conceptual necessity and symmetry) stand for the most 'minimal list of defining attributes (Gould 2002: 10)" (Boeckx, 2006: 83).

This was a brief excursion into the origins of the minimalist program. Now let us get back to the idea of Case in the minimalist program, as it is our main concern here. To overcome the problems of word order created by Chomsky's (1991) splitting of Agr° into Agrs° and Agro°, Chomsky (1993) introduced the idea of two-cycle syntax, namely, an overt cycle and a covert cycle. Overt cycle syntactic operations made to the phonetic interface while covert syntactic operations made their way to the logical interface.

Under the two-cycle syntax, assignment of structural Case could take place either in the overt syntax or in the covert syntax, depending on a new notion of features 'strength' or 'weakness'. Strong features required that they should be licensed overtly, failing which the derivation would crash at the interface level. Contrary to it the weak features did not need to be licensed overtly. They had to wait until the covert cycle because of Procrastinate (Chomsky, 1993). In Chomsky (1995), he dispensed with the idea of independent agreement heads (Agrs°, Agro°), and instead contended that the same functional head checks both Case and verbal agreement. Thus, he argued for the small v and T functional heads assigning accusative and nominative Cases respectively.

Thus the minimalist program, in its search for simplicity and minimality, ended up bringing more complexity to the theory of Case. Further complications also arose with

reference to checking and movement. To solve all these problems, Chomsky (2000, 2001) introduced the idea of Agree, in place of spec- head relation. The Agree approach has the advantage that it treats Case assignment in a uniform fashion for both subjects and objects, not only in the same language but across languages, in addition to doing away with the notions of strong/weak features and overt/covert cycle. The operation Agree makes use of a primitive operation Merge, along with notions of valued/unvalued features and interpretable/uninterpretable features, to account, among other things, for the checking of structural Case to subjects and objects. At present, the dominant idea for Case assignment in the minimalist program is that Case on nominals is a result ϕ-features agreement between the functional heads (T, υ, etc.) and the relevant nominals.

In the minimalist program itself, different mechanisms have been proposed for the assignment of structural Case. Some of the mechanisms are, functional categories (T, υ, etc.) and agreement in terms of features; that structural Case is an uninterpretable tense feature [uT] on the relevant DP; that mood and modality are responsible for the licensing of Case; that, in one way or another, aspect assigns Case; and, that Case is assigned by location and person. First, we present a historical account of the idea/ mechanism that structural Case is the result of ϕ-features agreement between a functional category and the relevant nominal. In this respect, Schütze (1997) is the first one who pointed to the relation between agreement and Case. He makes an extensive study of different languages on cross-linguistic basis and concludes that Case and agreement are the two sides of one coin. He says, "Structural Case marking goes hand-in-hand with agreement. More specifically, I want to show that a single syntactic relationship, Accord (defined …as combined phi-feature and case-checking), underlies both structural case features on DP and agreement features on V/INFL" (p. 100). To

substantiate his point, he analyses Icelandic, Hindi, Portuguese, Modern Greek, Belfast English, and Standard English with reference to subject Accord, and Romance, Inuit and Choctaw with reference to object Accord.

In this respect the most important, in fact the landmark, effort is by Chomsky (2001). It is here that he explicitly expounds the relation between agreement in terms of ϕ-features between a functional category and a nominal and Case assignment:

> For the Case/agreement systems, the uninterpretable features are ϕ-features of the probe and structural Case of the goal N. ϕ-features of N are interpretable; hence, N is active only when it has structural Case. Once the Case value is determined, N no longer enters into agreement relations and is "frozen in place"…Structural Case is not a feature of the probes (T, υ), but it is assigned a value under agreement, then removed by Spell-Out from the narrow syntax. The value assigned depends on the probe: nominative for T, accusative for υ (alternatively ergative-absolutive, with different conditions). Case itself is not matched, but deletes under matching of ϕ-features. (p. 6)

In addition, he introduces the idea of defective and nondefective probes: "A nondefective probe is ϕ-complete, a defective one is not" (p. 6). A nondefective probe is able to assign structural Case, while a defective probe cannot, though it could have EPP-feature. It is this distinction between defective/ nondefective probes, based on ϕ complete/ incomplete features, that has given rise to a lot of literature, due to various reasons that will become clear in the next few sections.

Carstens' (2001) is an effort to argue against Chomsky's (2001) idea that probe be ϕ-complete to value the Case feature of the goal. She gives examples where the Case feature on goals is valued, despite the fact that the ϕ-sets of probes are incomplete. One such

example relates to French language, where she shows that the subject's Case remains unchecked, as is expected, due to the fact that the probe is ϕ-incomplete participle '*morte*', as it has only number and gender features. However, at the same time the Case of a subject is checked, if the probe is an auxiliary '*est*', despite the fact that it is also ϕ-incomplete and has only person and number ϕ-features and no gender feature. Based on this, Carstens (2001) opines that it is in fact the availability/ unavailability of person morphology on probe that makes them defective, hence unable to value Case.

Alternatively, it might be both person and number features that are responsible for Case checking. She provides data from Bantu language to show that here it does not work. She says that in Swahili Compound Tense Constructions (CTs), both the main verb and the (dummy) 'be' shows agreement with the subject, in terms of person and number. Based on her previous research, Carstens and Kinyalolo (1989), she concludes that CTs are raising constructions. She wonders why an AspP cannot value the Case feature of a subject, if it lies in Spec AspP, since the functional heads Asp and T have the same ϕ-features. Based on these observations she concludes that ϕ-features valuation for Case assignment is irrelevant and, instead, she advocates for the traditional view of Case assignment where both the probe and the goal have Case values.

These arguments do seem convincing but they can be easily rejected. For instance, the first part dealing with the French language can be accounted for, if we assume that in the narrow syntax ϕ-complete probe takes part in the Agree operation, but in the morphological/ spell-out/ PF component, it is not necessary that all the features get visible. Chomsky (2001) alludes to this fact when he says, "The obvious conclusion, which we adopt, is that the agreement relation removes the uninterpretable features from

the narrow syntax, allowing derivations to converge at LF, while remaining intact for the phonological component (with language-variant manifestation)" (p. 3).

So far as the second part of her argument, namely, that why an Asp cannot value Case, is concerned, it can be easily solved if we keep this fact into our consideration that in a simple monotransitive sentence, only the functional categories T and υ carry [uϕ] features; laying aside genitive and dative Case assignment for the time being. And, only these two functional categories are responsible for Case assignment. Now, as for instance, in Pashto past tense constructions υ is unable to assign accusative Case to the internal argument, adopting Collins (2005) and Roberts (2010, n.d.) idea that Voice in such situations withholds [uϕ] to itself, we have proposed that in Pashto past tense sentences Voice assigns accusative Case to the external argument. This at the same time solves the issue of split-ergativity in Pashto. The same solution can be extended to Carstens' (2001) question. Unless and until, there is T with [uϕ], it will assign Case. If, theoretically, however, there is a language where T does not have [uϕ] and hence unable to assign nominative Case, then another available functional category, as for instance, Asp can assign Case if somehow or another it has managed to obtain that [uϕ] of T. However, in the real world, it may be difficult to find a language that has Asp but lacks T/TP.

Bejar (2003) challenges Schütze's (1997) findings on different grounds:

> Schütze demonstrated persuasively that his theory made the correct predictions for a fair range of languages with both morphological Case and agreement, however, his sample was broad only in the sense that a variety of language families were analysed. In terms of the typology developed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, his sample was in fact quite narrow, as all of the languages were of the non-CSA variety, which I showed to be a narrow subset of the typology. When a broader (in my sense) range of languages is

> considered, the necessary conclusion seems to be that the relation between Case assignment and Agree is not straightforward. The anticipated isomorphy between CSA effects in agreement and Case patterns simply does not arise. (pp. 178, 179)

It is the last two sentences of the quotation above that Al-balushi (2011) quotes to imply that Bejar is against the idea of structural Case assignment because of ϕ-features. However, the fact is that she is only concerned with CSA (context sensitive agreement) constructions, in which case the agreement does not remain the canonical subject/verb or object/verb agreement; rather the agreement oscillates between the subject and object. Although, because of the nature of the thesis, we are not in a position to approve or disprove what Bejar says, but there are some points that we would like to make.

Firstly, she searches a solution for a morphological manifestation in the narrow syntax. Secondly, she claims that she is aware of the syntax-morphology dichotomy, but at many places admits her inability to draw the line between syntax and morphology. However, in one of her sentences, she says, "The target's ϕ-features, once valued, are marked for deletion, but they are not deleted immediately; deletion must be postponed at least until the derivation reaches PF, where the valued ϕ will serve as instructions for vocabulary insertion" (p. 14). This invites comparison with Chomsky (2001), "The obvious conclusion, which we adopt, is that the agreement relation removes the uninterpretable features from the narrow syntax, allowing derivations to converge at LF while remaining intact for the phonological component (with language-variant PF manifestation)"(p. 3). Thus, for Chomsky the idea of interpretable/ uninterpretable features has to do with narrow syntax and LF, and it would be more appropriate if PF in Bejar is substituted with LF.

Thirdly, the solution for CSA can be found in the morphological component without resorting to the narrow syntax. Fourthly, even in the narrow syntax the solution for CSA is possible, provided it is not studied with reference to ϕ-features agreement; rather, some other independent factor in the narrow syntax may be responsible for it. All these alternatives would need further research; however, at present we cannot simply dismiss the idea of ϕ-features agreement and Case on the ground that in the morphological component CSA does not act according to it.

Tanaka (2005) argues in the context of Chomsky's (2000, 2001) proposal that the Case on a subject is a reflex of ϕ-features agreement between the subject and ϕ-complete T, and that nominative Case on the subject is checked by a ϕ-complete T. He says that ϕ-complete T is neither sufficient nor necessary for nominative Case assignment; rather C is the locus of Case and agreement. He proposes a [C-T] configuration that is responsible for Case/agreement licensing to subjects. This assignment can be in both finite and non-finite clauses. He believes that T is not necessarily required to be ϕ-complete; it can be deficient in one or other aspect. Although, he considers C to be the locus of Case and agreement, yet at the same time he considers T necessary, as agreement "with T is a necessary step for Nom Case assignment".

Chomsky (2005, 2006) introduces a new idea of feature inheritance to account for the phenomenon of structural Case. He proposes that V and T cannot value Case on the relevant DPs unless they inherit Case and Agreement (valuation) properties from v and C respectively. He calls this phenomenon as 'feature inheritance'. Chomsky (2005) says that, for instance, T lacks tense and ϕ-features in the lexicon, and it inherits the ability of nominative Case and ϕ-features valuation from C. As such, such features are inherent not derivative. It is due to this reason that the absence of C

results in a raising or an ECM construction. Therefore, it seems likely to assume that such features are inherited from C.

Bobaljik and Branigan (2006) is an effort to explore a very complex construction- the spurious antipassive (SAP) in Chuckhi, an ergative language having many properties of morphosyntax, such as:

a. Ergative –Absolutive Case-Marking (Ergative is marked)
b. Subject > Object (all prominence test)
c. Complex Agreement (Prefix and Suffix; Subject and Object agreement)
d. Intransitive verbs have "double agreement", subject agrees twice
e. Suffixes (not prefixes) have portmanteau morphology
f. Antipassives are marked, derived intransitives. (p. 9)

Their analysis is not written with the purpose to approve or disprove the value of the idea that ϕ-features agreement is responsible for Case assignment. Rather, it takes for granted the idea of ϕ-features and Case, and is able to explain this difficult construction. Moreover, they give some illicit subject-object agreement combinations, in core tenses, such as, (i) *3sg>1sg, (ii) *2>1, and are able to explain this phenomenon without sacrificing the idea of ϕ-features as a bundle. This they do by introducing deletion and confining deletion to heads that are involved in multiple checking. For our purposes, the important statement is the following, where they again expressly consider ϕ-features to be a bundle: "Unlike the Impoverishment rules of the Distributed Morphology, however, we take deletion here to apply to the entire bundle of features that constitutes the object(more properly, the head of the object's agreement feature chain)" (p. 35).

Legate (2008) studies the relation of morphological and abstract Case, as the title of her paper also indicates. Her main contention is that morphological case realizes

abstract Case features in a post syntactic morphology. Her data/ material relate to four languages, namely, Warlpiri, Niuean, Enga and Hindi. The chief characteristic of these languages, in terms of Case, is:

> In this class of ergative-absolutive languages, nominative case morphology and accusative case morphology are lacking. Thus, when Vocabulary Insertion applies, the Elsewhere Condition determines that both nominative and accusative abstract Case are realized through a morphological default, the "absolutive," since no more specific compatible lexical item is available….These contrast with ABS=NOM languages, in which absolutive corresponds to abstract nominative Case, assigned by T to both S and O. (pp. 57, 58)

In addition, she has discussed many other things, such as inherent case, structural Case, default case, etc. but for our purposes, two things are important: firstly, the relation between abstract and morphological case:

> I argue that abstract Case features are determined syntactically and realized in a postsyntactic morphological component…, resulting in an imperfect relationship between syntax and morphology, but one that is as faithful as possible given the morphological resources of the language. (p. 55). And, "To wait until the morphology to do case and agreement is to wait too long"(p. 95).

Secondly, she supports Chomsky's idea that functional categories assign structural Case, "T assigns nominative Case to the intransitive subject (S) and v assigns accusative Case to the transitive object (O)" (p. 57).

Baker (2008, forthcoming) and Baker and Vinokurova (2010) can be considered as a sort of crystallization or evolutionary process vis-à-vis Case assignment and the relation of Case and agreement. Baker (2008) studies two groups of languages – Indo-European (IE)

languages and Niger-Congo languages- in terms of agreement and Case. He finds that "there is a tight relationship between subject agreement and nominative case in Indo-European (IE) languages, where the two track each other quite closely. It is reasonable, then, to conclude that these are two morphological realizations of a single abstract agreement relationship (Agree)" (Baker forthcoming, pp. 1, 2). However, he thinks that though this is true for a large class of languages, it is parameterized in some sense, as in most Niger-Congo languages, agreement between a DP/NP and a functional category does not result in valuing the Case feature. Baker and Vinokurova (2010) is a language specific study of the Turkic language Sakha. Here, they come forward with the idea that case in this language is assigned via two mechanisms. Nominative and genitive Cases are assigned as a result of agreement/Case relationship in the Chomskian (2001) style, while accusative and dative Cases are assigned as a result of the Marantzian (1991) "style configurational rules that do not refer directly to functional categories"(p. 1).

Developing on his earlier work, Baker (forthcoming) parameterizes his notion of eligibility and opines that there are two types of languages:

a. In some languages, only bare (uncase-marked) NPs are eligible for agreement.
b. In some languages, NPs marked for structural case are still eligible for agreement. (p. 20)

In his opinion, structural Case in a-type languages is assigned by functional heads under agreement, "In particular, nominative is assigned by T to the subject under agreement, and accusative is assigned by active Voice to the object under agreement. This is the standard Chomskian picture, and it holds for a significant range of languages" (p. 23). For the b-type languages, he adopts Marantz' (1991) idea of structural Case assignment.

Since Marantz' idea of dependent case "makes no reference to functional heads or to agreement, it can be the source of structural case in (…b)-type languages, where agreement functions independently of case" (p. 24).

Thus, if looked at Baker (forthcoming), it seems that he is applying his tentative ideas for Case assignment in Sakha (Baker & Vinokurova, 2010) to a wider and broader spectrum of 108 languages. For our purposes, the complications/ difficulties in his nomenclature arise because he looks at syntax and morphology at the same time and in some cases morphology precedes even syntax, thus running after the agreement pattern of each and every language, which is bound to create problems.

Richardson (2007: 31, 32) claims that the assignment of nominative Case in Slavic languages is linked to ϕ-features, in terms of person, number, and gender, of I°. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2006) also, on the basis of data from Passamaquoddy (an inverse language) and Lummi (an ergative split person language) prove that "Case checking in split and inverse systems is guided by the presence/ absence of specific *phi features*"(p. 41). This they believe shows a close connection between ϕ-features valuation and Case checking. While, Agbayani and Shekar (2007) believe that "tense/ agreement, though morphologically rich in [Kannada] is syntactically inert in that it does not license case" (p. 8).

On the whole, if looked at the history of the idea that ϕ-features agreement between a functional head and a nominal results in assigning structural Case to that nominal, we find that in the beginning, after Chomsky (2001), there was a lot of discussion about the composition of ϕ-complete/ incomplete probe. With the passage of time, a lot of dust, in this regard, has settled down and now researchers take it for granted

that for Case assignment the probe is ϕ-complete. Resultantly, research has got directed to the real issue that whether ϕ-features agreement between a functional head and a nominal results in assigning structural Case to that nominal or not. Alongside, there has been a constant interest in the issue of relation between syntax and morphology when it comes to Case assignment.

In addition to Agreement, there are alternative accounts for the assignment of structural Case. In this respect, the most influential one is that of tense. Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) propose that nominative Case is an uninterpretable tense feature [uT]. This feature is located on the DP, and is valued by an interpretable feature [iT] on the Case checking head. Later on, they extended this proposal to all structural Cases. Similarly, Uchibori (2000) suggests that tense is the feature responsible for Case checking in Japanese.

Besides Agreement and Tense, Aygen (2002) suggests a third alternative in the shape of Mood and Modality with reference to Turkish language. A fourth alternative, namely, Aspect is suggested by Richardson (2007). He thinks that in Belarusian, Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Slovak, Polish, and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian assignment of accusative Case is linked to the lexical aspect of the verb. Itkonen (1976), Ramchand (1997), Arad (1998), Kiparsky (1998), Torrego (1998), Svenonius (2001, 2002), Kratzer (2004), etc., in one way or another, argue that Case is related to Aspect. A fifth alternative for the assignment of Case is Location and Person. In this respect Ritter and Wiltschko (2009) argue that ‘location’ and ‘person’ license nominals in two indigenous American languages, namely, Halkomelem and Blackfoot, as these languages do not possess tense as a syntactic category.

The basic difference in the approach to Case between GB and minimalism is that GB believes in Case assignment while minimalism revolves around the idea that Case is checked rather than assigned. With reference to Case, minimalism itself can be divided into two stages – early minimalism (Chomsky, 1993, 1995) and recent minimalism (Chomsky, 2001, 2005, 2006). In early minimalism, it was believed that both Case assigner and Case assignee have Case features. The matching of these features between Case assigner and Case assignee resulted in checking the Case feature of the DP/nominal. In recent minimalism, it is believed that the DP/nominal has uninterpretable Case feature [uCase]. The Case on a DP/ nominal is not assigned as a result of match with a Case feature of the functional head, as the functional head itself does not have Case feature, rather, structural Case is assigned to a nominal as a result of the operation whereby the DP/ nominal values the ϕ-features of the relevant functional head:

> Structural Case is not a feature of the probes (T, υ), but it is assigned a value under agreement, then removed by Spell-Out from the narrow syntax. The value assigned depends on the probe: nominative for T, accusative for υ (alternatively ergative-absolutive, with different conditions). Case itself is not matched, but deletes under matching of ϕ-features. (Chomsky, 2001: 6)

2.5 Conclusion

Thus, these historical developments in the arena of Case have direct relevance to our present study. We saw that most of the studies relating to case in Pashto have been descriptive in nature, taking no cognizance of the dichotomy between syntactic, semantic, and morphological aspects of case. They can, at best, be described as traditional approaches to case having nothing to do with the generative enterprise. Thus, the present study is the first of its kind in the generative tradition that has

extensively dealt with the nature of structural Case assignment in Pashto. In the generative enterprise, especially its principles and parameters model, ideas about the nature of structural Case have undergone rapid change. At present, the dominant idea about structural Case, what we think, is that structural Case is a reflex/ result of ϕ-features agreement between a functional head and a nominal.

CHAPTER 3. STRUCTURAL CASE ASSIGNMENT IN PASHTO TRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the mechanism(s) responsible for structural Case assignment in the three main Pashto transitive constructions, namely, monotransitives, conjoined or double subject constructions, and ditransitive (dative) constructions. The discussion here is restricted to only those constructions that are monoclausal in nature, as different types of multi-clausal constructions we will discuss separately in chapter 7. While analysing Case assignment in the above mentioned three constructions, the main emphasis would be to test the validity of the main hypotheses. The main hypotheses are, nominative Case in Pashto is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between the functional category T and the relevant nominal, accusative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between the functional category υ and the relevant nominal, that in the past tense and passive voice sentences accusative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between the functional category Voice and the relevant nominal, and, dative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between the functional category Appl and the concerned nominal.

In addition to all these aspects of the study, we will take care of a morphological aspect, namely, that, in Pashto, nominative Case assignment results in visible agreement between T and the relevant nominal, and accusative Case assignment results in invisible agreement between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal. This sub-hypothesis will be the by-product of our main research programme on Case assignment. It is pertinent to mention at the outset that we will give a very detailed

treatment to the constructions and Case assignment in the section on monotransitive constructions, explaining every detail extensively, and in most cases making use of footnotes whenever possible. However, such luxury would not be available in the rest of the sections in this chapter and in the thesis as a whole, as that would be tantamount to repetitions and bulkiness. In case we felt the need for any explanation, we will refer back to 3.2 for details, etc.

3.2 Monotransitive Constructions

In Pashto, a large number of verbs, are used both as monotransitive and ditransitive, may be due to the relative flexibility of Pashto transitive verbs, as for instance, one Pashto verb *maɻ* is used for both 'death' and 'kill' in English. As this section is not devoted to drawing the boundaries between monotransitive and ditransitive verbs in Pashto, therefore, we would restrict ourselves to its monotransitive use. We will start our quest, for exploring the structural Case in Pashto, with the monotransitive verbs in the present tense. The motivation for starting with monotransitive verbs has been that they represent the most typical syntactic structure having both subject and object in addition to verb.

3.2.1 Case in the Present Tense Monotransitive Constructions

We take a simple monotransitive construction and see how our minimalist machinery deals with it:

1. *Zə* *khat* *lekum.*

I.NOM letter.ACC write.PRS.1SG

'I write a letter.'

First, we have the verb *leek/lekəl*[4], which is semantically a two-place predicate and assigns θ-roles to two arguments. It has the interpretable [V] feature and double uninterpretable [uD, uD] features, while the DP *khat* has the interpretable feature [D] and uninterpretable [uCase] feature. The motivation for this merge lies in the verb; the verb head projects and one of its [uD] features needs satisfaction. The merge of these two results in the verb phrase VP. The strike through [~~uD~~] in Figure 1, and the rest of the thesis, shows that an uninterpretable feature has been checked and deleted.

The small υ, having uninterpretable [uInfl, uϕ] features, where Infl stands for inflection and ϕ stands for phi-features, which in most cases are the features of person, number and gender, merges with the VP, through Hierarchy of Projection Principle[5], to form υ'. The first agree relation establishes between υ, acting as a probe,

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4. Among Pashto grammarians, there are two schools of thought on the nature of the base form of the verb. Raverty(1855) and most of the traditional grammarians after him believe that '*məsdər*' which can be roughly translated as 'infinitive' form, is the base form of the verb in Pashto. This form of verb is characterized by the morphological marking of 'ل' at the end of the word. This is similar to the English alphabet 'L' in its phonetic realization. However, Tegey and Robson(1996) came with the idea that 'infinitive' is not the base form of the verb, rather different verbs have different base forms, having different endings. So following the majority of grammarians our verb will have the base form *lekəl*, while following Tegey and Robson(1996) our verb will have the base form *leek*. On a personal note, we think that the formulation of Tegey and Robson (1996) may have some sophistication but the formulation of the rest of the grammarians has the advantage that it is very easy to learn. To avoid any controversy and to give a comprehensive picture, we have given both forms of the verb.

[5] Hierarchy of Projection Principle is an innovation on the part of Adger (2004). This is what he says about Hierarchy of Projection:

> In order to keep the relation between little υ and VP conceptually distinct from selection, we will just assume that there is a special Hierarchy of Projections, such that whenever we have a little υ, it always has a VP complement. In an intuitive sense, little υP is an extension of the projection of VP, in that it is still verbal, but it adds further semantic information. We will state the Hierarchy of Projections as follows:
>
> (112) υ > V
>
> If the Hierarchy of Projection is not met, then the structure will be ruled out. This means, for example, that the following structure is not generated by the system:
>
> (113)
>
> VP

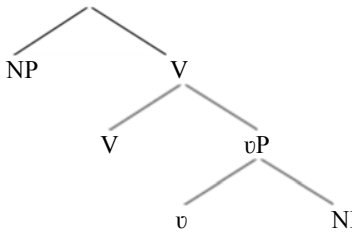
and the object DP *khat,* acting as a goal, for assigning Case to the object DP. Consider the following bracketed paradigm.

[υ {P: ?; N:?; G:?; }] [*khat* {P:3; N:SG; G:M; CASE:?}]

Here P: 3 means that the person of the DP is third person pronoun, N: SG means that the number of the DP is singular, G: M means that the gender of the DP is masculine, while CASE: ? means that the structural Case of the DP is still unknown/ not assigned yet. Due to the agree relation the [uϕ] of υ are valued as 3rd person singular male, while accusative Case is assigned to the DP. Note that by the word assign/ assignment we do not mean the traditional GB concept of assignment, rather, we use it in the minimalist sense (2001) of [uCase] checking/ assignment as a result of ϕ-features agreement between a nominal and a functional head. If looked at the Figure, this agree relation fulfills one of the most important conditions for establishing an agree relation, namely, c-command, as the probe searches and finds the goal DP in the VP, which is c-commanded by υ. It is pertinent to mention here that the agreement between υ and the object DP, like English, is covert/invisible in the present tense Pashto constructions. Therefore, we do not have phonetic/pronounced manifestation for this particular agreement.

At this stage, it seems more appropriate to give some idea of the light verb complex in Pashto, as they are important for the framework that we have adopted. However, due to

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Adger (2004: 135)

Later on, he completes his hierarchy of projection and gives it the following order:
"Hierarchy of Projection:
Clausal: C > T > (Neg) > (Perf) > (Prog) > (Pass) > υ > V
Nominal: D > (Poss) > n > N" (p. 333).
The items enclosed in round brackets show that they are optional.

space limitations and the different nature of our main study, we will keep this discussion to a few paragraphs. In addition, it is important to note that this discussion is the first one of its kind on light verb constructions in Pashto; therefore, all the observations and conclusions are tentative in nature:

3.2.1.1 An Interlude: Pashto Light Verbs

Generally, Indo-Aryan languages are characterized by a large number of light verbs, as for example, Urdu has 13 light verbs (Butt, 1995: 91), Gojri 17 (Bukhari, 2007: 450), Punjabi 10 light verbs (Singh, 1990), etc. Pashto, on the other hand, does not enjoy such a luxury. Still light verbs are there in Pashto and play an important role in different Pashto constructions. The most well-known and frequently used light verb in Pashto is *kawəl* which means 'to do' or 'to make'. It has different forms, which change with person, number, gender, and tense. The different forms of *kawəl* in the present tense are:

Present Imperfective:

kawum (1S), *kawo*(1P), *kaway* (2S), *kawai* (2P), *kawi* (3S), *kawi* (3P).

Present Perfective:

kɻum(1S), *kɻo*(1P), *kɻay*(2S), *kɻai*(2P), *kɻi*(3S), *kɻi*(3P).

Past forms of *kawəl*

Past Imperfective:

kawə (1S, 1P, 2S, 2P, 3S, 3P)

kawəlum (1S), *kawəlo* (1P), *kawəlay* (2S), *kawəlai* (2P), *kawə* (3S),

kawəla (3SGF), *kawəl* (3PM), *kawəlay* (3PF)

Past Perfective:

kɻum(1S), *kɻo* (1P), *kɻay* (2S), *kɻai(*2S), *kɻə* (3SM), *kɻa*(3SF), *kɻul*(3PLM), *kɻulay* (3PLF),*kɻulum* (1S), *kɻulo* (1P), *kɻulay* (2S), *kɻulai* (2P), *kɻə* (3SM), *kɻula* (3SF), *kɻul* (3PM), *kɻulay* (3PF).

The second most frequent light verb is *kedəl*. Its forms also change with person, number, gender and tense. The different forms of *kedəl* are:

Present Tense

Present Imperfective:

kegum (1S), *kego* (1P), *kegay* (2S), *kega*i (2P), *kegi* (3S), *kegi* (3P).

Present Perfective:

shum (1S), *sho* (1P), *shay* (2S), *shai* (2P), *shi* (3S), *shi* (3P) (Note that the Pashto 'be' has also the same forms for present perfective. The real difference between the two lies in the meaning and construction of sentences.)

Past Imperfective:

kedum (1S), *kedo* (1P), *keday* (2S), *kedai* (2P), *kedə* (3SM), *keda* (3SF), *kedəl* (3MF), *keday* (3PF) *kedəlum* (1S), *kedəlo* (1P), *kedəlay* (2S), *kedəlai* (2P), *kedəlo* (3SM), *kedəla* (3SF), *kedəl* (3PM), *kedəla* (3PF)

Past Perfective:

shwum (1S), *shwo* (1P), *shway* (2S), *shwai* (2P), *shə* (3SM), *shwa* (3SF), *shwəl* (3PM), *shway* (3PF) *shwəlum* (1S), *shwəlo* (1P), *shwəlay* (2S), *shwəlai* (2P), *shə* (3SM), *shwa* (3SF), *shwəl* (3PM), *shwəlay* (3PF) (Note again that past perfective forms of *kedəl* are the same as the past perfective forms of Pashto 'be'. The real difference lies in the meaning and construction of sentences.)

In addition to their use as light verbs, many of the verbs above, especially the perfective ones can also be used as light verbs if they are preceded by the prefix *o*. For instance, in the following examples the prefix *o* precedes the light verbs:

1. *Ma kar okɻə.*

   I.ACC work.NOM do.PST

   'I did the work.'

2. *Zə ba mehnəth okɻum.*

   I.NOM will hard work.ACC do.PRS

   'I will do the hard work.'

Moreover, there are some other verbs that in addition to their use as copulas can also be used as light verbs, such as *wum* (1SG), *wi* (1PL), *wo* (3SG), etc. depending on the context.

3. *Saleem hagha pen che tha <u>ledəlay wo</u> mathawi.*

   Saleem.NOM that pen.ACC that you.ACC see do.PST break.PRS

   'Saleem breaks that pen which you had seen.'

The proposed Pashto light verbs possess the typical properties of light verbs in other languages: firstly, they have base forms, as for instance, in the above paragraphs, the two light verbs have the base forms as *kawəl* and *kedəl*, while they have dozens of other forms according to their tense, person, number and gender. Secondly, like light verbs in other languages, they have a sort of light or bleached meaning. For instance, consider the light verb *kɻəl* in the following examples:

4. *Ma pen math kɻə.*

   I.ACC pen.NOM break do.PST

   'I broke a pen.'

5. *Haghə mehnəth kɻə.*

   he.ACC hardwork.NOM do.PST

   'He worked hard/ he used to work hard.'

In both these examples, we have the doing of something – in the first example the action of breaking a pen while in the second example the doing of hard work. In the first example an action on a concrete thing is involved, while in the second example an action on an abstract thing is involved. However, in both the examples, if the other parts, i.e. *math* 'break', a verb belonging to the light verb complex in the first example, and *mehnəth* 'hard work', a noun belonging to the light verb complex in the second example, are removed then the other parts of the compound verbs, i.e. *kɻə*, do not convey to us any complete/ substantial meaning. Rather, at the most they convey the meaning of 'doing', thus a sort of light or bleached meaning.

Thirdly, like light verbs in other languages, they can have combination with different parts of speech to form a sort of light verb complex. Pashto is rich in such combinations and the combinations that we find in Pashto are (N+ʊ), (adj+ʊ), (V+ʊ), (N+V) ʊ, and (adj+V) ʊ. The following examples show some of these combinations:

6. *Haghə pen <u>math kɻə</u>.* (V+ʊ)

   he.ACC pen.NOM break do.PST

   'He broke a pen.'

7. *Hagha saɻay [che thə ye <u>milma kaɻay way</u>] laɻo.* ($N+ʊ_1+ʊ_2$) (Roberts, 2000)

   that man.ACC COMP you.NOM he.ACC guest do-PART was go

   'The man who had invited you left'.

8. *Moong <u>umeed laɻo</u> che thə ba imthehan <u>pas kɻay</u>.*

   (N+ʊ) (V+ʊ)

   we.NOM hope keep that you.NOM will examination.ACC pass do.PRS

   'We hope that you will pass the examination.'

9. *Haghoi ghwaɻi che kha looba okɻi.* (Adj+N)υ

they.NOM want.PRS that good match do.PRS

'They want to play a good match.'

10. *Doctor da mareez elaj kawi.* (N+υ)

doctor.NOM of patient.GEN treatment do.PRS

'The/a doctor is treating the/a patient.'

The construction in example no. 7 is unique as it has two light verbs, *kɻay* and *way*. As it is a past tense clause, therefore, our solution for this example in chapter 7 is that both these light verbs $\upsilon_1\upsilon_2$ are defective, thus lacking [uϕ] features, hence the ability to assign accusative Case. However, if there is such a construction in the present tense, then our tentative solution would be that υ_1 is defective, lacking [uϕ] features and Case assignment, while υ_2 possess [uϕ] features, hence has the ability to assign accusative Case. The possible reason/ logic for this assumption is the fact that the nominal in the subject position agrees with υ_2 not with υ_1. Anyways, light verb construction in Pashto is an interesting topic in its own right and needs extensive research. At present, it is almost impossible to give a more detailed treatment to this topic, due to space limitations and different nature of the study at hand.

These were a few paragraphs on the nature of light verbs in Pashto. Now let us get back to that stage of our derivation where we had left it. The little υ' has the uninterpretable feature [uD] which it inherits/gets from the VP and it needs checking. The DP (1st person singular pronoun, in this case) merges with the υ' to get the subject or outer argument theta role; and, they form the υP. As a result of this merge, the uninterpretable [uD] feature of υ' is checked/ deleted. Figure 1 shows the derivation so far.

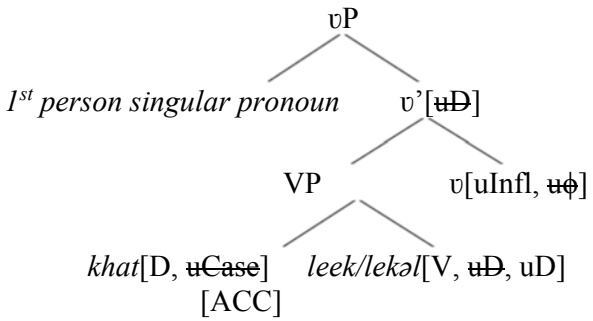


Figure 1.

The [uInfl] of υ is still unchecked and it ultimately gets projection on υP. T, in this particular instance, an empty functional head which has strong [*uD][6] feature, interpretable tense feature 'present', uninterpretable ϕ-features, and uninterpretable [uclause type] feature, merges with the υP to form T'.

This merge is very important, as it results in many things. Firstly, the uninterpretable [uInfl] of υ is valued as present. Secondly, an agree relation establishes between T and the subject DP 1st person singular pronoun in terms of person, number, and gender. Thus the [uϕ] of T are valued as 1st person singular male. While nominative Case is assigned to the DP in the specifier υP position as a result of agree relation in terms of ϕ-features. Here by assign, we mean the checking/ deletion/ valuation of the [uCase] feature of the nominal in the Chomskian sense (2001). Because of the nominative Case, the DP 1st person singular male pronoun gets the morphological form or the spell-out form as *zə*[7]. Moreover, for an agree relation, it is often considered necessary

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[6] Following Adger (2004), we would use the symbol * inside the bracket to show strong feature. However, we would not use it outside the bracket except for ungrammatical constructions, as this symbol is also being used by grammarians for unacceptable/ ungrammatical constructions.

[7] It would be better that the whole paradigm for strong Pashto personal pronouns is given, notwithstanding the fact that another paradigm for clitic pronouns or pronominal clitics exist, but they are irrelevant here:

Type of the pronoun	as subject	as object	as object of preposition
1S	*zə*	*ma*	*ma*

that the probe must c-command the goal and that the probe looks downwards for searching its goal. In this example, as Figure 2 shows, the goal *zə* is c-commanded by T, as the goal i.e. subject DP *zə* is serving as the specifier of the little ʋP.

It is important to mention here that the visible agreement between T and the subject DP does not get phonetic realization on T; rather, on the little ʋ or V. In this particular instance, the phonetic realization is on V. Therefore, the base form of the verb *leek/lekəl* becomes *lekum*.

The subject in spec ʋP moves to spec TP. The symbol < > used here, and in the rest of the thesis, will mean that the element/ elements inside the symbol undergoes movement. This movement is not because of some c-selectional feature or for establishing some agree relation; rather, it is because of the strong [*uD] feature of T, commonly referred to as the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). "Within GB, the Projection Principle is generally augmented to include a stipulation that all clauses must have subjects. This is the "Extended" Projection Principle (EPP)" (Hornstein, Nunes, & Grohmann, 2005: 23).

> Once we adopt this notion of feature strength, the EPP, which requires that all clauses must have a subject at SS, may then be re-described by saying that Infl has a strong D- or N feature; thus some element bearing a D/N-feature must occupy [Spec, IP] before the computation splits, so that the strong feature is appropriately checked. (Hornstein, Nunes, & Grohmann, 2005: 41)

1PL	*moong*	*moong*	*moong*
2S	*thə*	*tha*	*tha*
2PL	*thaso*	*thaso*	*thaso*
3S.M (distant)	*hagha*	*haghə*	*haghə*
3S.F (distant)	*hagha*	*haghay*	*haghay*
3PL (distant)	*hagoi*	*hagoi*	*hagoi*
3S.M (near)	*day*	*də*	*də*
3S.F (near)	*do*	*day*	*day*
3PL (near)	*doi*	*doi*	*doi*

In the last stage, following Adger (2004), we postulate that T has also an uninterpretable [u clause type] feature and this feature is satisfied by either the interpretable feature [Q] or the interpretable feature [Decl] on C. In this particular instance, it is [Decl] on C, and the [uclause type] of T is valued as [Decl]. As no movement to spec CP is involved, therefore, we do not introduce the intermediate category C'. Figure 2 shows the whole derivation.

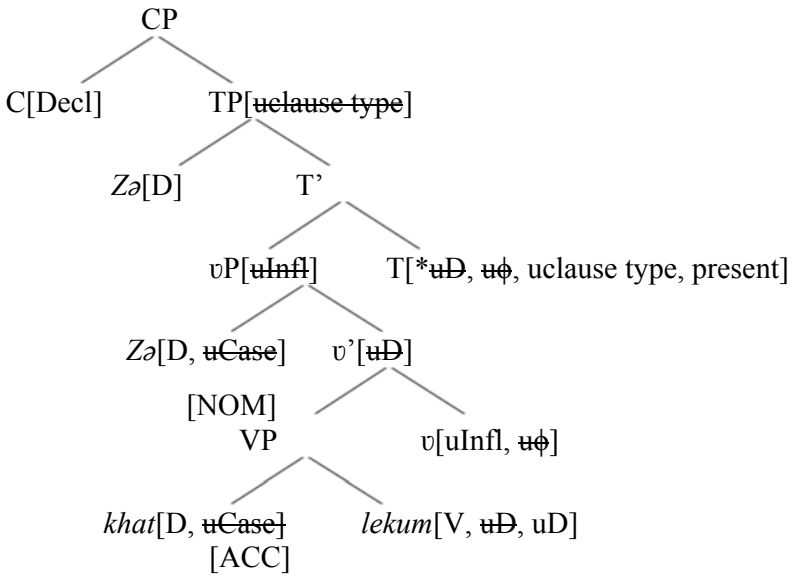


Figure 2. Complete derivation for the monotransitive construction *zə khat lekum*.

The example, we have discussed, has a noun as its object DP, therefore, we are empirically unable to substantiate the view that the Case is accusative. In addition, we saw that the subject DP or the external argument had nominative Case, in accordance with our hypothesis. However, is it a pattern or a single instance? We will be able to give answers to such questions by giving examples of monotransitive present tense sentences, which have pronouns used in the subject and object positions. This is

because in Pashto mostly pronouns have morphological markings for Case while nouns in most cases do not have such markings:

2. *Saleem* *hagha* *wahi.*
   Saleem.NOM he/she.NOM[8] beat.3
   'Saleem beats him/her.'[9]
3. *Hagha* *Saleem* *wahi.*
   he/she.NOM Saleem.NOM beat.3
   'He/she beats Saleem.'
4. *Saleem* *hagoi* *wahi.*
   Saleem.NOM they.ACC beat.3
   'Saleem beats them.'
5. *Hagoi* *Saleem* *wahi.*
   they.NOM Saleem.ACC beat.3
   'They beat Saleem.'
6. *Saleem* *day* *wahi.*
   Saleem.NOM he.near.NOM beat.3
   'Saleem beats him.'
7. *Day* *Saleem* *wahi.*

[8] The unexpected behaviour in examples no.2 and 6, will be explained in the next few paragraphs.

[9] For ease of expression, we are not following the distinction between the present indefinite and present continuous in the gloss. Rather, we are using the present indefinite tense as a default type. So far as, we have understood, the difference, in the given present tense verb, between indefinite and the continuous aspect lies not in the morphology of the verb, rather it seems that it lies in the phonetic realization of the verb i.e. it is related to the intonation of the word. For instance, in the sentence *zə Saleem wahum* if we say the verb *wahum* with one falling swoop then it means 'I beat Saleem', however, if we say the verb in two separate syllables *wa* and *hum*, then it means 'I am beating Saleem'. Even if our this idea is wrong, still this distinction is not important, as Case assignment in both constructions is the same, and here our topic is related to Case assignment.

he.near.NOM Saleem.ACC beat.3

'He beats Saleem.'

8. *Saleem doi wahi.*

Saleem.NOM they.near.ACC beat.3

'Saleem beats them.'

9. *Doi Saleem wahi.*

they.near.NOM Saleem.ACC beat.3

'They beat Saleem.'

10. *Saleem tha wahi.*

Saleem.NOM you.ACC beat.3

'Saleem beats you.'

11. *Thə Saleem wahay.*

you.NOM Saleem.ACC beat.2SG

'You beat Saleem.'

12. *Saleem thaso wahi.*

Saleem.NOM you.ACC beat.3

'Saleem beats you.'

13. *Thaso Saleem wahai.*

you.NOM Saleem.ACC beat.2PL

'You beat Saleem.'

14. *Saleem ma wahi.*

Saleem.NOM I.ACC beat.3

'Saleem beats me.'

15. *Zə Saleem wahum.*

I.NOM Saleem.ACC beat.1SG

'I beat Saleem.'

16. *Saleem moong wahi.*

Saleem.NOM we.ACC beat.3

'Saleem beats us.'

17. *Moong Saleem waho.*

we.NOM Saleem.ACC beat.1PL

'We beat Saleem.'

Based on the discussion and examples above, we can make a paradigm for the subject and object positions, along with the Case forms they exhibit.

Pronouns	Subject's Case Form	Object's Case Form
3rd Person Singular (distant)	Nominative	Nominative
3rd Person Plural (distant)	Nominative	Accusative
3rd Person Singular (near)	Nominative	Nominative
3rd Person Plural (near)	Nominative	Accusative
2nd Person Singular	Nominative	Accusative
2nd Person Plural	Nominative	Accusative
1st Person Singular	Nominative	Accusative
1st Person Plural	Nominative	Accusative

Thus, the Case forms for the subjects and objects in the paradigm above substantiate the main hypotheses. The hypotheses are that the nominative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between T and the relevant nominal, while accusative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between υ and the relevant nominal. Only,

two instances, namely, 3rd person singular (distant) and 3rd person singular (near) go against all the paraphernalia that we have proposed. What can be the possible reason for that? As far as we have understood, this deviation has nothing to do with the imperfection of the theory. Rather, it has to do with the use of these pronouns. In Pashto, *hagha* is also frequently used as a demonstrative pronoun meaning 'that'. Its use is so frequent that it has effectively taken the place of the third person singular pronoun, and Pashto speakers have almost become used to using it interchangeably. That this is the case will become evident as we proceed in the thesis, where in some constructions, the 3rd person singular pronoun exhibits deviant behavior while in the rest follows the nominative / accusative Case pattern. The same is the case with the 3rd person singular pronoun (near). It is not only used as a pronoun in the nominative Case, but as a possessive markerpre, and more importantly as a demonstrative. Therefore, we opine, that because of the various uses of the 3rd person singular pronoun, with the passage of time, the speakers of Pashto have lost distinction between its nominative and accusative morphological Case forms in the present tense.

A word on the Case markings of the plural pronouns is in order. In Pashto, plural pronouns have the same morphological form for the nominative and accusative structural Cases. However, the fact that they show the same form for both nominative and accusative Cases does not mean that they go against our theory. In the next section on the past tense, we will show through agreement pattern and the fact that Cases have been assigned at different places that though they show the same morphological form for both the nominative and accusative Cases, still they have different structural Cases.

If looked at the agreement pattern, they also substantiate one of our sub-hypotheses, namely, that in Pashto the agreement, for assignment of nominative Case, between T

and the relevant nominal is visible, while the agreement for the assignment of accusative Case, between υ and the relevant nominal is invisible.

3.2.2 Case in the Past Tense Monotransitive Constructions

We take the same construction, as we had taken in our treatment of the present tense monotransitive constructions, with the only change that its tense is the past tense. Pashto is a split-ergative language. So that in the present and the future tenses the internal and external arguments show nominative-accusative Case morphology, while in the past tense they show ergative-absolutive Case morphology. However, if looked at closely ergative-absolutive is only the reverse nominative-accusative scheme, therefore, for convenience we would not refer to them as ergative-absolutive, rather, we would call them accusative-nominative scheme/ structure. In order to accommodate this split-ergative pattern, we have proposed that there is a close relation between the past tense and passive voice in Pashto; so that in the past tense Pashto constructions accusative Case is assigned by the functional category Voice not υ. Details for this motivation and its historical background are available in the derivation that follows:

18. *Ma* *khat* *lekəlo.*

I.ACC letter.NOM write.3SG

'I was writing a letter.'

The derivation for the above example, in the past tense, involves the familiar steps of merge of the two place predicate verb *leek/lekəl* with the DP *khat* to form VP and to delete one of the two [uD] of the verb. This is followed by the merge of υ to form υ'. In normal circumstances, at this stage υ would have been required to assign Case to the internal argument. However, because of the peculiar nature of the Pashto language

υ is unable to assign Case to the internal argument. This is due to the defective (Chomsky, 2001) nature of Pashto υ, as it lacks [uϕ] feature, hence the ability to assign accusative Case. To satisfy the other [uD] of V which has projection on υ', a nominal 1st person singular pronoun merges with the υ' to form υP. Because of this merge, the other [uD] is checked/ deleted.

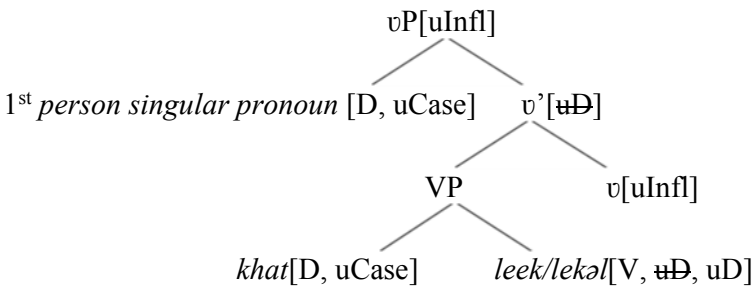


Figure 3. Initial stages of the derivation

Now let us back to the Case assignment. At this stage, a functional category Voice[10] (Kratzer, 1996; Collins, 2005; Roberts, 2010, n.d.; Holmberg, 2007) merges with the υP to form Voice'. Based on C and T relation, Voice and υ relation has been proposed[11]. As T inherits its features from C, similar is the case with υ and Voice. Hierarchy of Projection Principle, a topic that we have already discussed in the previous section, facilitates the merge of υP and Voice.

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[10] Based on Collins' (2005), Roberts (n.d.) gives some features of Voice as, "Voice has [uφ] features. In active clauses, Voice DONATES these features to υ. In passives, Voice KEEPs these feature (see Chomsky (2008), Ouali (2008) on KEEP/SHARE/DONATE of probing features). The external argument is merged in the same position as in actives (UTAH)… Voice licenses the external argument in Spec,vP….Collins' analysis has the great merit of allowing us to preserve both strict UTAH, and strict relativised minimality (for A-movement) in passives."(pp. 3,4).

[11] That why we have adopted the Voice option for past tense Pashto, has to do with the peculiar nature of Pashto past tense, due to which the idea of Voice suits it. And because historically past tense verbs are considered related to the passive (Mahajan, 1990; Bittner & Hale, 1996; Murasugi, 1997; Roberts, 2000; Holmberg, 2007; Roberts, 2010, n.d.), or historically past tense form has close relation to a participle (or an adjective) (Holmberg, 2007), that also prompted us to opt for Voice category for the past tense in Pashto.

An agree relation establishes between Voice and the subject DP in terms of person, number, and gender, ϕ-features. Because of this agree relation, the phi-features of the Voice are valued as 3SGM, while accusative Case is assigned to the subject DP 1st person singular pronoun. Because of the accusative Case, the 1st person singular pronoun gets the morphological form *ma*. (Notice the difference of form between *ma* here and *zə* in the example for the present tense monotransitive constructions). The [uInfl] of the little ʋ has not been checked / deleted yet and it ultimately gets projection on VoiceP. As this is a progressive sentence, following Adger (2004), we introduce the category Prog. The Prog having [Prog, uInfl] features (Adger, 2004) merges with the VoiceP to form ProgP and values the [uInfl] feature of ʋ as Progressive. The ProgP itself has the uninterpretable tense feature [uInfl] and it needs satisfaction/ valuation as well. Therefore, T which in this particular case is an empty functional head, bearing strong [*uD] feature, interpretable tense feature 'past', uninterpretable φ-features, and uninterpretable [uclause type] feature merges with ProgP, resulting in T'.

This merge is very important as it results in many things. Firstly, the uninterpretable tense of ProgP, is checked/valued as 'past'. Secondly, an agree relation establishes between T, working as the probe, and the internal argument *khat* in the VP, serving as the goal, in terms of phi-features of person, number and gender. Due to this agree relation, the ϕ-features of T in terms of person, number and gender are valued as 3SGM, while nominative Case is assigned to the DP *khat*. So here, we have a sort of opposite situation to the present tense. In the present tense, T establishes an agree relation with the external argument so that nominative Case is assigned to it, while the internal argument establishes an agree relation with ʋ in terms of ϕ-features so that the internal argument is assigned accusative Case. However, in the past tense T establishes

an agree with the internal argument and nominative Case is assigned to it, while Voice establishes an agree relation in terms of ϕ-features with the external argument and accusative Case is assigned to the external argument. It is noteworthy that even in the past tense, agreement between T and the internal argument does not get visible on T itself; rather, it gets visible on either V or ʋ, or both. In this particular instance, phi-features along with past progressive tense get visible on V. As a result, the *leek/lekəl* gets the phonetic realization of *lekəlo*.

A word on the role of the tense is in place. Tense plays an important role in determining the morphological form of a verb in a sentence. An analysis of the word *lekəlo* would make the point clear. The base form of this verb is *leek/lekəl*. In the example, *ma khat lekəlo* the verb shows past progressive form along with the phi-agreement features of 3rd person singular male. Similarly, in the example, *zə khat lekum* the verb shows present tense along with the agreement pattern of 1st person singular. This shows that in most cases verbs in Pashto show not only agreement but tense as well, though the terms of visible agreement may vary along with tense, nature of the verb and the pronouns concerned.

For an agree relation, it is considered necessary that the probe must c-command the goal and that the probe looks downwards for searching its goal. In this example, for both the agree relations the probes, Voice and T, c-command the goals, *ma* and *khat* respectively, as shown by Figure 4.

The external argument in spec ʋP moves to spec TP to check/delete the strong [*uD] feature of T, often referred to as the EPP feature. The [uclause type] remains unchecked

and C having [Decl] merges with the TP to check/ delete [uclause type] as declarative. Thus, our CP for the past progressive monotransitive constructions obtains:

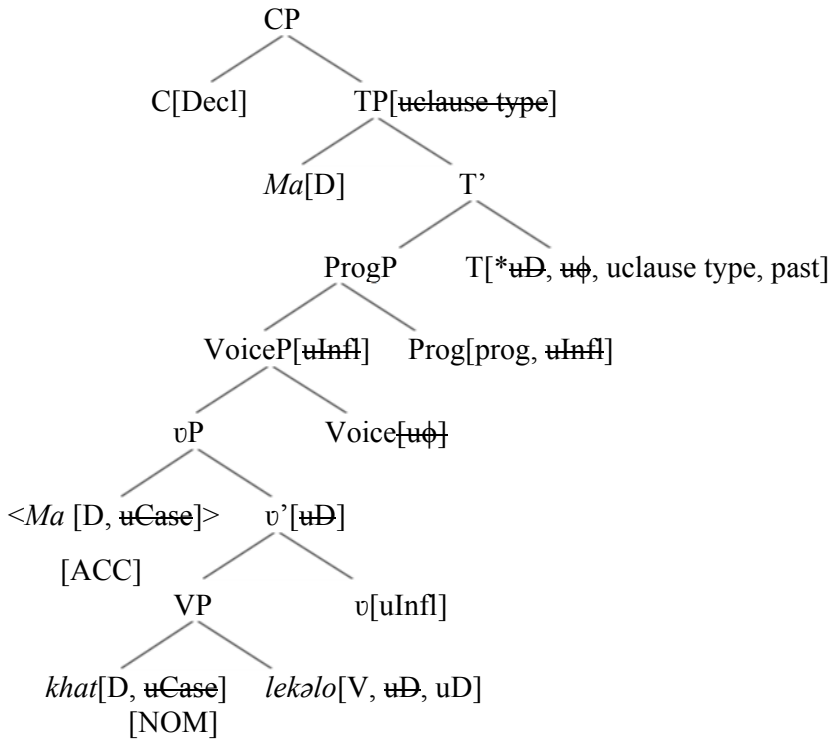


Figure 4. Complete derivation for the past tense monotransitive construction *ma khat lekəlo.*

The derivation, we just made above, had one noun and one pronoun. Therefore, we give a number of examples, making use of all Pashto pronouns, to see if the same pattern of accusative – nominative Case obtains or otherwise:

3rd Person Pronouns

19. *Saleem* *hagha* *wahəlo.*

Saleem.ACC he.distant.NOM beat.3SGM

'Saleem was beating him.'

20. *Haghə* *Saleem* *wahəlo.*

he.distant.ACC Saleem.NOM beat.3SGM

‘He was beating Saleem.’

21. *Saleem hagha wahəla.*

Saleem.ACC she.distant.NOM beat.3SGF

‘Saleem was beating her’.

22. *Haghay Saleem wahəlo.*

she.distant.ACC Saleem.NOM beat.3SGM

‘She was beating Saleem.’

23. *Saleem hagoi wahəl.*

Saleem.ACC they.distant.NOM beat.3PLM

‘Saleem was beating them.’

24. *Hagoi Saleem wahəlo.*

they.distant.ACC Saleem.NOM beat.3SGM

‘They were beating Saleem.’

25. *Saleem day wahəlo.*

Saleem.ACC he.near.NOM beat.3SGM

‘Saleem was beating him.’

26. *Də Saleem wahəlo.*

he.near.ACC Saleem.NOM beat.3SGM

‘He was beating Saleem.’

27. *Saleem do wahəla.*

Saleem.ACC she.near.NOM beat.3SGF

‘Saleem was beating her.’

28. *Day Saleem wahəlo.*

she.near.ACC Saleem.NOM beat.3SGM

‘She was beating Saleem.’

29. *Saleem doi wahəl.*

Saleem.ACC they.near.NOM beat.3PLM

‘Saleem was beating them (males).’

30. *Saleem doi wahəlay.*

Saleem.ACC they.near.NOM beat.3PLF

‘Saleem was beating them (females).’

31. *Doi Saleem wahəlo.*

they.near.NOM Saleem.NOM beat.3SGM

‘They were beating Saleem.’

2nd Person Pronouns

32. *Saleem thə wahəlay.*

Saleem.ACC you.NOM beat.2SG

‘Saleem was beating you.’

33. *Tha Saleem wahəlo.*

you.ACC Saleem.NOM beat.3SGM

‘You were beating Saleem.’

34. *Saleem thaso wahəlai.*

Saleem.ACC you.NOM beat.2PL

‘Saleem was beating you.’

35. *Thaso Saleem wahəlo.*

you.ACC Saleem.NOM beat.3SGM

‘You were beating Saleem.’

1st Person Pronouns

36. *Saleem* *zə* *wahəlum.*

Saleem.ACC I.NOM beat.1SG

'Saleem was beating me.'

37. *Ma* *Saleem* *wahəlo.*

I.ACC Saleem.NOM beat.3SGM

'I was beating Saleem.'

38. *Saleem* *moong* *wahəlo.*

Saleem.ACC we.NOM beat.1PL

'Saleem was beating us.'

39. *Moong* *Saleem* *wahəlo.*

we.ACC Saleem.NOM beat.3SGM

'We were beating Saleem.'

Based on the discussion above, we can make a paradigm for pronouns in the subject and object positions along with the morphological cases they exhibit, for the past tense monotransitive constructions.

Pronouns	Subject's Case Form	Object's Case Form
3rd Person Singular (distant) male	Accusative	Nominative
3rd Person Singular (distant) female	Accusative	Nominative
3rd Person Plural (distant)	Accusative	Nominative
3rd Person Singular (near) male	Accusative	Nominative
3rd Person Singular (near) female	Accusative	Nominative
3rd Person Plural (near)	Accusative	Nominative
2nd Person Singular	Accusative	Nominative
2nd Person Plural	Accusative	Nominative

1st Person Singular	Accusative	Nominative
1st Person Plural	Accusative	Nominative

Thus, all the examples given above and the paradigm substantiate and give empirical evidence to the hypothesis that in Pashto monotransitive past tense constructions, an agree between T and a nominal results in nominative Case assignment to that nominal, while an agree between Voice and a nominal results in accusative Case assignment to that nominal. Furthermore, the agreement pattern as shown by the above examples substantiates a sub-hypothesis, namely, that in Pashto language visible agreement is between T and the relevant nominal for nominative Case assignment. Thus, if in the present tense monotransitive constructions visible agreement is between the subject and the verb, in the past tense, it is between the object and the verb.

3.2.3 Case in the Future Tense/Time[12] Monotransitive Constructions

We take the same construction, as we had taken in our treatment of the present and the past tense monotransitive constructions with the only modification that its' tense is the future tense/time.

40. *Zə* *ba* *khat* *lekum.*

I.NOM will letter.ACC write.1SG

'I will write a letter.'[13]

---

[12] Pashto grammarians do not agree among themselves whether Pashto has future tense or not. Clearly, there is a modal clitic *ba* in the future tense constructions in Pashto that differentiates present tense constructions from the future tense. We do not fall into the controversy whether future tense exists in Pashto or not. However, to satisfy both sides, we will give and analyse Case assignment in the so-called future tense /time constructions. That is why we have used tense/time instead of tense.

[13] Here, we will adopt the indefinite reading instead of the continuous one, as in the derivation for the past tense monotransitive constructions; we had adopted the continuous one. For our purposes, it is important that Case assignment is not affected by the difference between the indefinite tense and the continuous tense.

As Figure 5 shows, the derivation for the future tense monotransitive constructions is the same as that for the present tense until the point when υP is formed. However, then in the future tense we adjoin[14] a modal clitic *ba* to the υP, resulting in an extended υP. As for our purposes Case assignment is the important aspect, therefore, let us see how Case is assigned in the future tense monotransitive constructions.

An agree relation establishes between the internal argument *khat* and υ in terms of ϕ-features of person, number, and gender. The phi-features of υ are valued as 3rd person singular male, while accusative Case is assigned to the DP *khat*. Another agree relation establishes between T and the 1st person singular pronoun. As a result of this agree relation the ϕ-features of the probe T are valued as 1st person singular, while nominative Case is assigned to the goal 1st person singular pronoun. Because of the nominative Case, the 1st person singular pronoun gets the spell-out or the phonetic form as *zə*. The agreement between T and the external argument does not get pronounced on T; rather, it gets phonetic realization on V.

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[14] The terms adjunct, adjunction, adjoin, etc. have been the topic of a lot of discussion during the last three decades. We will try to keep ourselves away from the thorny issues involved with these topics. We will restrict ourselves to the use of adjunction/adjoin in the sense that the merge of an adjective/adjunct with a nominal is not a pure merge of the kind that we find, for example, between a verb and a nominal, where the valuation of features and in most cases theta role assignment is involved. Rather, it is a merge, where neither the valuation of features takes place nor there is an assignment of theta-roles. Moreover, as adjuncts cannot be the heads of their constructions, therefore, whenever an adjunction/adjoin occurs the adjunct does not project, rather, the new formed structure is only the extension of the old structure, as for instance: an adjunction/adjoin of an adjunct to an NP will be an extended NP.

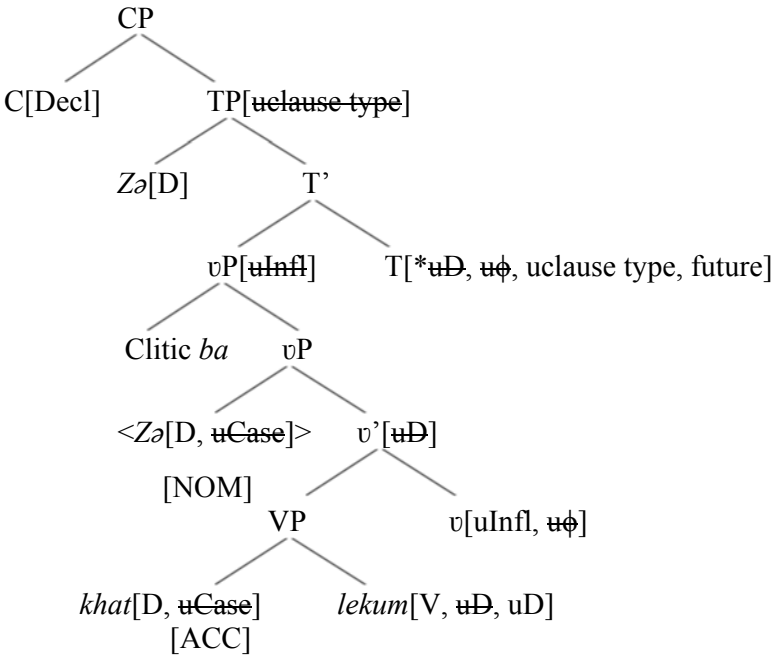


Figure 5. Derivation for the future tense monotransitive construction *zə ba khat lekum*

We claim that the nominal in the complement to V position has accusative Case, however, the nominal here is a noun and in most cases, in Pashto, nouns do not show Case markings. Therefore, we are giving examples that make use of the most Pashto pronouns at both the external and internal argument positions. The purpose is to see whether the hypothesis that ϕ-features agreement between T and the relevant nominal results in nominative Case and the agreement between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal results in accusative Case, is substantiated or not for the future tense monotransitive constructions in Pashto.

3rd Person Pronouns

41. *Saleem ba hagha wahi.*

Saleem.NOM will he/she.distant.NOM beat.PRS[15].3

'Saleem will beat/ will be beating him.'

42. *Hagha ba Saleem wahi.*

he/she.distant.NOM will Saleem.ACC beat.PRS.3

'He will beat Saleem.'

43. *Saleem ba hagoi wahi.*

Saleem.NOM will they.distant.ACC beat.PRS.3

'Saleem will beat them.'

44. *Hagoi ba Saleem wahi.*

they.distant.NOM will Saleem.ACC beat.PRS.3

'They will beat Saleem.'

45. *Saleem ba day wahi.*

Saleem.NOM will he.near.ACC beat.PRS.3

'Saleem will beat him.'

46. *Day ba Saleem wahi.*

he.near.NOM will Saleem.ACC beat.PRS.3

'He will beat Saleem.'

47. *Saleem ba doi wahi.*

Saleem.NOM will they.near.ACC beat.PRS.3

'Saleem will beat them.'

48. *Doi ba Saleem wahi.*

---

[15] The notation (PRS) needs some explanation. We have used the notation of (PRS) instead of (FUT) because of the fact that Pashto future active voice construction is the same as the present tense. The only difference lies with reference to the Pashto modal clitic *ba*, which we have translated as 'will' in English.

they.near.NOM will Saleem.ACC beat.PRS.3

'They will beat Saleem.'

2nd Person Pronouns

49. *Saleem ba tha wahi.*

Saleem.NOM will you.ACC beat.PRS.3

'Saleem will beat you.'

50. *Thə ba Saleem wahay.*

you.NOM will Saleem.ACC beat.PRS.2SG

'You will beat Saleem.'

51. *Saleem ba thaso wahi.*

Saleem.NOM will you.ACC beat.PRS.3

'Saleem will beat you.'

52. *Thaso ba Saleem wahai.*

you.NOM will Saleem.ACC beat.PRS.2PL

'You will beat Saleem.'

1st Person Pronouns

53. *Saleem ba ma wahi.*

Saleem.NOM will I.ACC beat.PRS.3

'Saleem will beat me.'

54. *Zə ba Saleem wahum.*

I.NOM will Saleem.ACC beat.PRS.1SG

'I will beat Saleem.'

55. *Saleem ba moong wahi.*

Saleem.NOM will we.ACC beat.PRS.3

'Saleem will beat us.'

56. *Moong ba Saleem waho.*
we.NOM will Saleem.ACC beat.PRS.1PL
'We will beat Saleem'.

Based on the discussion and future tense monotransitive examples above, we can draw the following paradigm of Case forms for pronouns in the subject and object positions:

Pronouns	Subject's Case Form	Object's Case Form
3rd Person Singular (distant)	Nominative	Nominative
3rd Person Plural (distant)	Nominative	Accusative
3rd Person Singular (near)	Nominative	Nominative
3rd Person Plural (near)	Nominative	Accusative
2nd Person Singular	Nominative	Accusative
2nd Person Plural	Nominative	Accusative
1st Person Singular	Nominative	Accusative
1st Person Plural	Nominative	Accusative

If looked at this paradigm, it substantiates the main hypothesis that nominative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between T and the relevant nominal, while accusative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between υ and the relevant nominal. Only, two instances, namely, 3rd person singular (distant) and 3rd person singular (near) go against all the paraphernalia that we have proposed. What can be the reason for that? We have already discussed this deviant behaviour in the last paragraphs of the section 3.2.1 on monotransitive present tense constructions.

The agreement pattern also substantiates one of our sub-hypotheses, namely, that in Pashto agreement between T and the relevant nominal for nominative Case assignment is morphologically visible while agreement between ʋ and the relevant nominal for accusative Case assignment is morphologically invisible.

3.3 Ditransitive (Dative) Constructions

Pashto ditransitive constructions are unique in the sense that the canonical 'he gives me a pen' type double object constructions, which Malchukov, Haspelmath, and Comrie (2010) call 'neutral alignment', cannot be found in them. Therefore, this discussion is mostly restricted to the 'indirective alignment' (Malchukov et al., 2010) type constructions where the receiver is treated differently from the theme or the patient argument. Such constructions have also been called as 'indirect object constructions' and 'dative constructions'. The canonical order of the two objects, i.e., direct and indirect objects in Pashto, like some other languages, is that the indirect object precedes the direct object. However, in many cases the opposite of it is also observable. The order of the two objects in Pashto sentences does not make any substantial change in terms of meaning except that it merely serves as 'singling out' the first of the two objects; the first object does not undergo focus. Therefore, in example no. 2 below, we have the placement of the direct object *rotai* in front of the indirect object *haghə,* which is perfectly grammatical/ acceptable in Pashto.

1. *Zə haghə tha rotai wərkawum.*
   I.NOM he.DAT to bread.ACC give.PRS.1SG
   'I give/ am giving him bread.'

2. *Zə rotai haghə tha wərkawum.*

   I.NOM bread.ACC he.DAT to give.PRS.1SG

   'I give/ am giving bread to him.'

Whereas in English, for instance, we observe that prepositions attach to the indirect objects to form prepositional phrases, in Pashto, on the contrary, postpositions attach with the indirect objects to form adpositional phrases.

Case assignment in Pashto dative constructions follows some patterns. The Case of the subject or the external argument is according to the familiar split-ergative pattern of nominative Case in the present and future tenses, and accusative Case in the past tense. The object with the postposition bears the dative Case while the object without postposition bears the familiar accusative or nominative Case depending on the tense of the sentence. To show this, we give some examples:

3. *Hagha ma tha kitab rakawi.* Present Tense

   he.NOM I.DAT to book.ACC give.PRS

   'He gives/ is giving me a book.'

4. *Haghə ma tha kitab rakɻə.* Past Tense

   he.ACC I.DAT to book.NOM give.PST

   'He gave me a book.'

5. *Hagha ba ma tha kitab rakawi.* Future Tense

   he.NOM will I.DAT to book.ACC give.PRS

   'He will give/ will be giving me a book.'

6. *Hagha ma tha bat rawɻi.* Present Tense

   he.NOM I.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He brings/ is brining me a bat.'

7. *Haghə ma tha bat rawɻə.* Past Tense

   he.ACC I.DAT to bat.NOM bring.PST

   'He brought/ was bringing me a bat.'

8. *Hagha ba ma tha bat rawɻi.* Future Tense

   he.NOM will I.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

   'He will bring/ will be bringing me a bat.'

Thus, these examples clearly show that the nominal with the postposition bears the dative Case, while the other nominal without the postposition shows the regular accusative or nominative Case, depending on the tense.

Two additional things need attention, as they further complicate the issue. Firstly, dative Case in Pashto has the same morphological form as the accusative Case. Secondly, the direct object in the above examples is a noun, and nouns in Pashto most of the time have the same morphological forms for the accusative and the nominative Cases. To show that our tentative conclusions for the above examples are correct, at the same time taking care of the above two points, we will now consider examples, which make an extensive use of pronouns, very rare in use in the day-to-day life:

9. *Hagha ma tha tha*[16] *rakawi.*

   he.NOM I.DAT to you.ACC give.PRS

   'He gives you to me.'

[16] Note that the postposition *tha* 'to' and the 2nd person singular pronoun in the accusative Case tha 'you' have the same morphological forms.

10. Haghə ma tha thə rakɻay.

he.ACC I.DAT to you.NOM give.PST

'He gave you to me.'

11. Hagha ba ma tha tha rakawi.

he.NOM will I.DAT to you.NOM give.PRS

'He will give you to me.'

These examples clearly show that the same pattern of the dative Case (morphologically similar to accusative marking) is there for all the nominals with the postpositions, while the Case of the other nominal changes between accusative and nominative with the change in tense. Thus, it substantiates the conclusions, we had drawn earlier for Case assignment in Pashto dative constructions, namely, that of the two objects, the object with the postposition is assigned the dative Case, while the other object is assigned either accusative or nominative Case, depending on the tense of the sentence.

In the generative enterprise, many efforts have been made to deal with the double object constructions. The postulation of V and small ʋ layers is considered one such important effort in this direction. On the other hand, some other treatments for double object constructions have been suggested, which are considered equally influential. In this respect, the first important analysis of double object construction has been Kayne's (1984) treatment of double object constructions in terms of small clause:

[VP…[V' V[XP IO[X' XDO]]]]

This was followed by Marantz (1993), who came with the idea of ApplP and the light applicative verb APPL that selects the lexical VP as its complement:

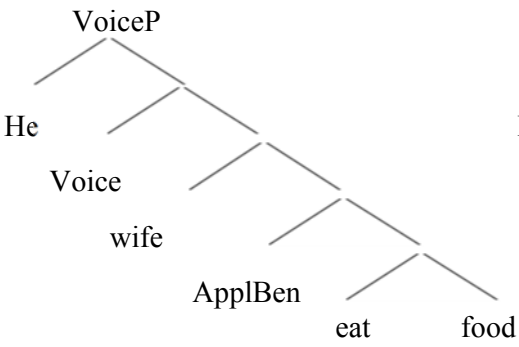
[VP IO[V' *APPL*[VP DO V]]]

Pesetsky (1995) presented the idea of cascade analysis:

[VP…[V' V[PP IO[P' *G* DP]]]]

Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) somehow gathered these different strands and gave the idea of high and low applicatives:

a. High applicative (Chaga)



b. Low applicative (English)

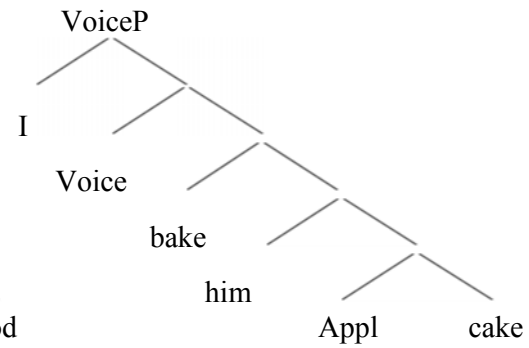


Figure 1. Pylkkänen's treatment/ structures for high and low applicatives (Adopted from Introducing arguments by Liina Pylkkänen, 2002, p.19. www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~ctjhuang/NTNU/Pylkkanen_2002.pdf. Accessed 15 November 2013.)

Georgala (2012) reproduces Pylkkänen's ideas about high and low applicatives as follows:

a. Syntactic structure for high applicatives:

[VoiceP DP AGENT[Voice' VOICE[ApplP DP BNF/LOC/INSTR…[Appl' Appl[VP V DP]]]]] (p.2)

b. Syntactic structure for low applicatives:

[VoiceP DP AGENT[Voice' Voice[VP V[ApplP DP GOAL/SOURCE [Appl' Appl DP THEME]]]]] (p.2)

Pylkkänen's treatment was readily welcomed and many made use of it (Legate, 2002; McGinnis, 2002; Anagnostopoulou, 2003;Cuervo, 2003; Doggett, 2004; Miyagawa & Tsujioka, 2004; Jeong, 2006; Citko, 2011), to name a few. At the same time some attempts such as Nash (2006), Georgala et al. (2008), Paul and Whitman (2010), Georgala (2012), etc. tried to challenge the theoretical grounds of this idea, or to modify the idea.

If we adopt the small clause approach, in addition to the small ʋ functional layer, then our explanation for Case assignment lands into trouble. Suppose the small ʋ assigns Case to both of the objects, then both of the objects should show accusative Case, assigned through the mechanism of multiple agree. However, in Pashto past tense dative constructions we find that the Case of one of the objects is nominative and that of the other is accusative (or dative, to be more precise). So, it gets a bit difficult to justify two types of Cases assigned by the same functional head.

We would make use of Pylkkänen's (2002, 2008) Appl functional category for assignment of dative Case in Pashto dative constructions. In addition, some modifications to cater to some of the specific needs of Pashto dative constructions, such as, in Pashto, indirect objects are followed by postpositions and the nominal with postposition comes before the direct object, will be made. Therefore, based on Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), we would adopt a modified approach, namely, *that in Pashto dative constructions, the Appl functional category takes an adpositional phrase as its complement and the other object as its specifier. In case a postposition follows the nominal in the adpositional phrase, the nominal along with the postposition prefer to move to the already filled spec ApplP, through scrambling, and ends up adjoined to the ApplP, resulting in an extended ApplP.*

3.3.1 Case Assignment in the Present Tense Dative Constructions

Now, we take a typical dative construction in the present tense, reproduced as example no. 12 below, and see how different Cases are assigned to the different nominals:

12. Hagha ma tha kitab rakawi.

he.NOM I.DAT to book.ACC give.PRS

'He gives me a book.'

In this example, first of all, an already formed postpositional phrase 1st person singular pronoun plus *tha* [PP, uCase] merges with the functional category Appl having [appl, uPP, uD] features to form Appl'. This merge results in checking/ deleting the [uPP] of Appl. In the PP the [uCase] of the nominal is still unsatisfied and it needs checking. An agree relation establishes between the nominal in the PP and Appl in terms of ϕ-features. As a result of the agree relation, the nominal satisfies/ values the ϕ-features of the Appl as 1st person singular male and dative Case is assigned to the nominal in return. Because of the dative Case, 1st person singular pronoun gets the spell-out form as *ma,* while the postpositional phrase gets the spell-out or morphological form as *ma tha*. Another DP *kitab* [D, uCase] merges with the Appl' to form ApplP. This merge results in satisfaction/ deletion of the [uD] of the Appl. As we have already stated that Pashto postpositional phrases that are assigned dative Case have the tendency to scramble to specifier ApplP, while the spec ApplP in this case is already occupied by another DP *kitab*, therefore, the scrambled postpositional phrase adjoins to the ApplP to form an extended ApplP. ApplP merges with the V *rakawəl* having [V, uappl, uD] features, to form VP. A small ʋ having [uInfl, uϕ] features merges with VP to form ʋ'. An agree relation establishes between the DP *kitab*, acting as a goal, and ʋ, acting as a probe, in terms of ϕ-features of person, number, and gender. As a result of this agree the [uϕ] of ʋ are valued as 3rd person singular male while in return accusative Case is assigned to the DP *kitab*. Figure 2 below, shows the derivation so far:

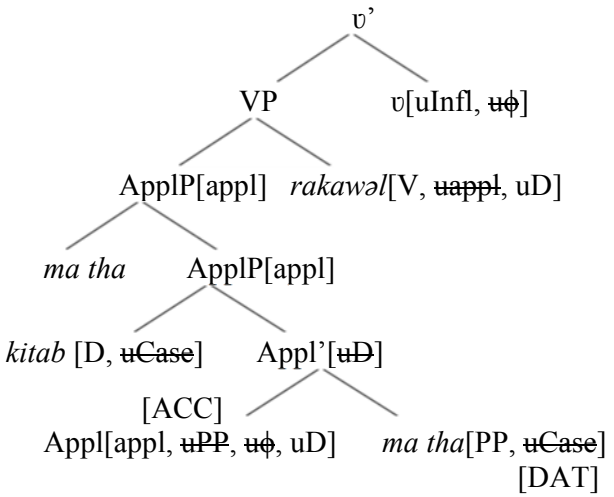


Figure 2. Initial stages of the derivation for the example making use of the applicative functional category

At this stage the external argument DP 3rd person singular male pronoun, having [D, uCase] features, merges with the υ' to form υP, and satisfy/ delete the [uD] of the verb which is still unchecked and has projection on υ'. In order to check/ delete the [uInfl] of υ, an empty, in this particular case, functional category T, having strong [*uD] feature and [uϕ, uclause type, present] features, merges with the υP to form T'. This merge results in many things. Firstly, the [uInfl] of υ is valued as present tense. An agree relation establishes between T, a probe, and the external argument DP 3rd person singular male, a goal, in terms of ϕ- features of person, number and gender. The [uϕ] of T are valued as 3rd person singular male, while the [uCase] of 3rd person singular male pronoun is valued as nominative. Because of the nominative Case, the 3rd person singular pronoun gets the morphological form *hagha*. To satisfy the strong [*uD] or EPP feature, the external argument in spec υP moves to spec TP. The symbol < > shows movement of the items inside it. At this stage an empty, in this particular case, functional category C having [Decl] feature merges with the T'. This merge results in valuation of [uclause type] as declarative. Figure 3 below shows in detail this whole derivation:

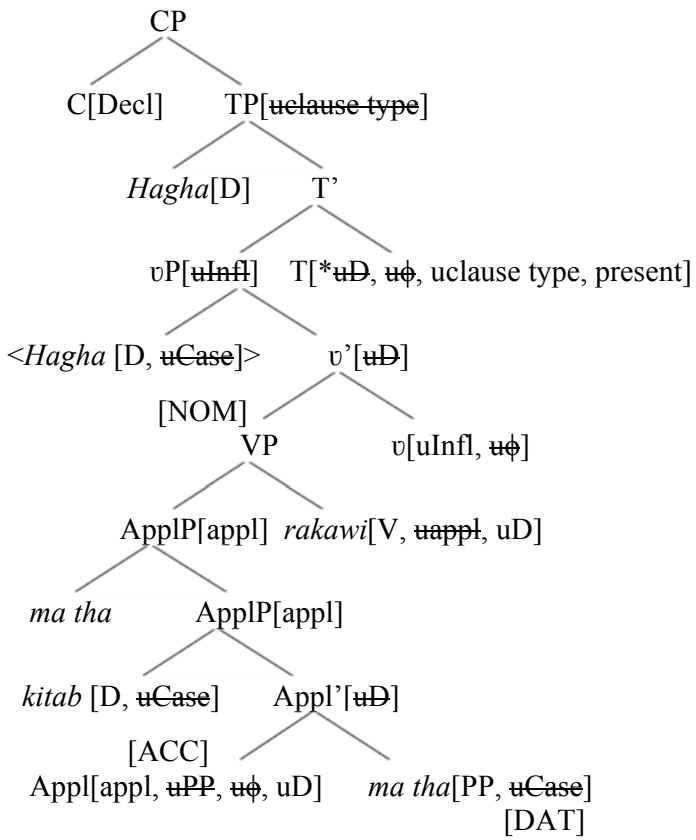


Figure 3. Complete derivation for the Pashto example *hagha ma tha kitab rakawi*

To note about this derivation/ structure and the derivations/ structures for the past and future tenses, is the fact that in all the three agree relations the functional categories, i.e. T, υ, and Appl c-command their respective nominals/ DPs. Thus, they fulfill the requirement that in an agree relation, the functional categories search downwards for their goals.

Thus, in the above derivation we are able to see how Case is assigned in the present tense dative constructions. However, those were only a few examples. Now, we will give some examples, which make use of the majority of Pashto pronouns, to show whether our hypothesis has empirical substantiation or it was a coincidence in the previous example.

13. Hagha[17] *ma tha bat raw.ɻi.*

he.NOM I.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He brings/ is bringing me a bat.'

14. Hagha moong tha bat raw.ɻi.

he.NOM we.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He brings/ is bringing us a bat.'

15. Hagha tha tha bat raw.ɻi.

he.NOM you.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He brings/ is bringing you a bat.'

16. Hagha thaso tha bat raw.ɻi.

he.NOM you.plural.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He brings/ is bringing you (plural) a bat.'

17. Hagha haghə tha bat raw.ɻi.

he.NOM he.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He brings/ is bringing him a bat.'

18. Hagha haghoi tha bat raw.ɻi.

he.NOM they.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He brings/ is bringing them a bat.'

19. Hagha də tha bat raw.ɻi.

he.NOM he.near.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He brings/ is bringing him a bat.'

---

[17] In these examples, the word *hagha* can stand for both male and female pronouns and the distinction whether the speaker is a male or a female is provided by the context of the speech. Here we have used the word 'he' for ease and generality.

20. Hagha doi tha bat raw.ɻi.

he.NOM they.near.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He brings/ is bringing them a bat.'

Based on the examples above, we can draw the following paradigm for different Cases assigned to the nominals in the present tense:

Pronouns	Subject's Case	Object's Case	Object with Postposition's Case
3rd Person Singular (distant)	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
3rd Person Plural (distant)	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
3rd Person Singular (near)	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
3rd Person Plural (near)	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
2nd Person Singular	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
2nd Person Plural	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
1st Person Singular	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
1st Person Plural	Nominative	Accusative	Dative

The paradigm and the examples above substantiate our tentative claims that we made in the beginning, namely, that in the present tense dative constructions the subject is assigned nominative Case, the object with the postposition is assigned the dative Case and the other object without the postposition is assigned the accusative Case.

3.3.2 Case Assignment in the Past Tense Dative Constructions

In the past tense dative constructions, the same pattern for dative Case assignment prevails as we have outlined for the present tense, namely, that of the two objects the object with the postposition is assigned the dative Case. However, a difference is

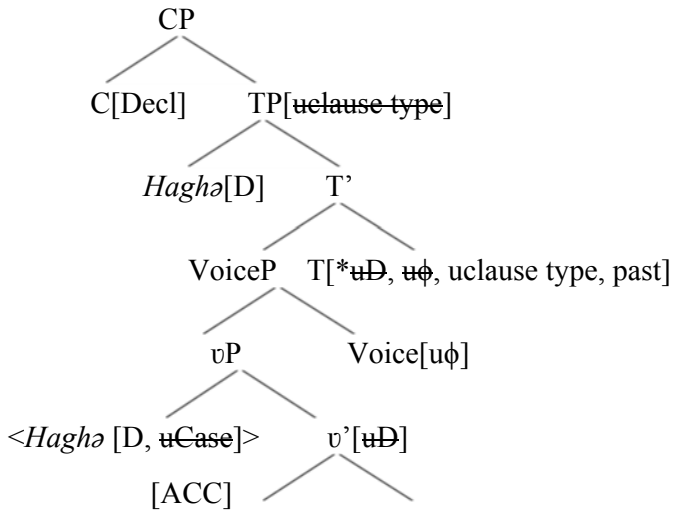
visible between the past and the present tense when it comes to Case assignment of the other nominals in the dative constructions. In the past tense, the other object, i.e. object without postposition is assigned nominative Case, while in the present tense it is accusative Case. The subject nominal/DP is assigned accusative Case in the past tense, while in the present tense it is assigned nominative Case. This difference between the present and the past tense in terms of Case assignment has more to do with the split-ergative nature of Pashto language. More importantly, in the past tense we have the same tendency that objects with postpositions, though they also get the dative Case, prefer to move to spec ApplP through scrambling.

We take the same Pashto dative construction that we have discussed for the present tense, with the only modification that the tense is past, reproduced as example no. 21 below. We make a derivation for it and see how different Cases to different nominals are assigned in it:

21. Haghə ma tha kitab rakɻə.

he.ACC I.DAT to book.NOM give.PST

'He gave me a book.'



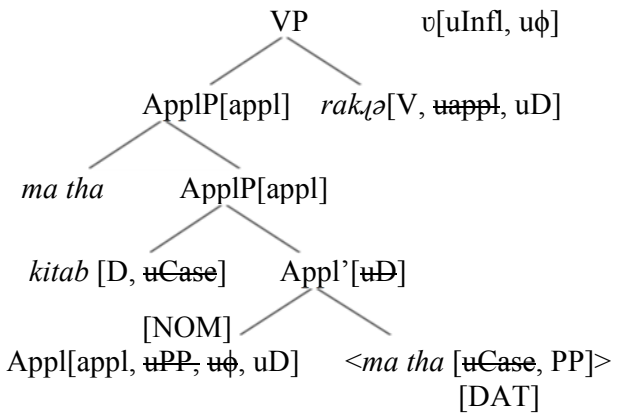


Figure 4. Derivation for the past tense Pashto double object construction *haghə ma tha kitab rakɻə*

In this derivation, first of all, the postpositional phrase 1st person singular male[uCase] plus *tha*[PP] merges with the functional category Appl having [appl, uPP, uϕ, uD] features to form Appl'. This merge results in checking/ deleting the [uPP] of the Appl. An agree relation establishes between the Appl, acting as a probe, and the DP 1st person singular male, in the postpositional phrase, acting as a goal, in terms of ϕ-features of person, number, and gender. As a result of this agree relation, the [uϕ] of the Appl are valued as 1st person singular male, while dative Case is assigned to the DP 1st person singular male pronoun in the postpositional phrase. Because of the dative Case, the 1st person singular pronoun gets the spell-out form as *ma*. Another DP *kitab,* which serves as direct object in the sentence, merges with the Appl' to form ApplP. As we have already stated that Pashto postpositional phrases, that are assigned dative Case, have the tendency to scramble to specifier ApplP, while the spec ApplP in this case is already occupied by another DP *kitab*, therefore, the scrambled postpositional phrase adjoins to the ApplP to form an extended ApplP. A verb *rakawəl* having [V, uappl, uD] features merges with the ApplP to form VP. This merge results in checking/ deleting the [uappl] of the verb.

A small υ having [uInfl] feature but no [uϕ] features merges with the VP to form υ'. As the [uD] of the verb is still not satisfied, it gets projection on υ'. To satisfy this [uD], a DP 3rd person singular male pronoun merges with the υ', resulting in a υP. As the υ here is unable to assign Case to the DP in spec ApplP, another functional category Voice having [uϕ] features merges with the υP, through Hierarchy of Projection Principle, to form VoiceP (see section 3.2.1. for a detailed treatment of the idea of Hierarchy of Projection Principle, and the background and motivation for introducing Voice category in the past tense Pashto constructions). An agree relation establishes between Voice and the DP in spec υP, in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. As a result of this agree relation, the [uϕ] of Voice is valued as 3rd person singular male while accusative Case is assigned to the 3rd person singular pronoun. Because of the accusative Case, the 3rd person singular male pronoun gets the morphological or spell-out form as *haghə*.

The [uInfl] of υ is still unchecked. T, having [*uD, uϕ, uclause type, past] features, merges with the VoiceP to form T'. As a result of this merge, the [uInfl] of υ is valued as the past tense. A third agree relation establishes between T and the DP *kitab* in spec ApplP, in terms of ϕ-features of person, number, and gender. The [uϕ] of T are valued as 3rd person singular male while the DP *kitab* in return gets the nominative Case. In Pashto language, this agreement and tense get visible on the verb. Verb in Pashto, unlike that in English, remains in V and does not move to υ. To satisfy/ check/ delete the strong [*uD] feature or EPP, the pronoun in the spec υP position moves to spec TP. In the last stage, C having [Decl] feature merges with the TP to form CP and [uclause type] is valued as declarative.

In the above derivation, we are able to see how Case is assigned in the past tense dative constructions. However, this was only one example making use of the 3rd person singular male pronoun, and now we will give some examples in which other pronouns have been used. This will again show whether our hypothesis has empirical substantiation or not:

22. *Haghə ma tha bat rawɻə.*
he.ACC I.DAT to bat.NOM bring.PST
'He brought/was bringing me a bat.'

23. *Haghə moong tha bat rawɻə.*
he.ACC we.DAT to bat.NOM bring.PST
'He brought/ was bringing us a bat.'

24. *Haghə tha tha bat rawɻə.*
he.ACC you.DAT to bat.NOM bring.PST
'He brought/ was bringing you a bat.'

25. *Haghə thaso tha bat rawɻə.*
he.ACC you.plural.DAT to bat.NOM bring.PST
'He brought/ was bringing you (plural) a bat.'

26. *Haghə haghə tha bat rawɻə.*
he.ACC he.DAT to bat.NOM bring.PST
'He brought/ was bringing him a bat.'

27. *Haghə haghoi tha bat rawɻə.*
he.ACC they.DAT to bat.NOM bring.PST
'He brought/ was bringing them a bat.'

28. *Haghə də tha bat rawɻə.*
he.ACC he.near.DAT to bat.NOM bring.PST

‘He brought/ was bringing him a bat.’

29. *Haghə day tha bat rawɻə.*

he.ACC she.near.DAT to bat.NOM bring.PST

‘He brought/ was bringing her a bat.’

30. *Haghə doi tha bat rawɻə.*

he.ACC they.near.DAT to bat.NOM bring.PST

‘He brought/ was bringing them a bat.’

Based on these examples, we can draw the following paradigm for the different Cases that are assigned to the different nominals in the past tense double object constructions in Pashto:

Pronouns	Subject’s Case	Object’s Case	Object with Adposition’s Case
3rd Person Singular (distant)	Accusative	Nominative	Dative
3rd Person Plural (distant)	Accusative	Nominative	Dative
3rd Person Singular (near)	Accusative	Nominative	Dative
3rd Person Plural (near)	Accusative	Nominative	Dative
2nd Person Singular	Accusative	Nominative	Dative
2nd Person Plural	Accusative	Nominative	Dative
1st Person Singular	Accusative	Nominative	Dative
1st Person Plural	Accusative	Nominative	Dative

These examples and the paradigm substantiate the claim that in the past tense Pashto dative constructions, accusative Case is assigned to the subject DP/ nominal, dative Case is assigned to the object with postposition and accusative Case is assigned to the object without postposition.

3.3.3 Case Assignment in the Future Tense Dative Constructions

For the future tense, we will use the same example that we have used for the present and the past tenses with the only change that its tense is future. Subsequently, we will present a derivation for the example and a discussion of how different nominals receive different Cases:

31. Hagha ba ma tha kitab rakawi.

he.NOM will I.DAT to book.ACC give.PRS

'He will give/ will be giving me a book'. (Here we will take the indefinite aspect.)

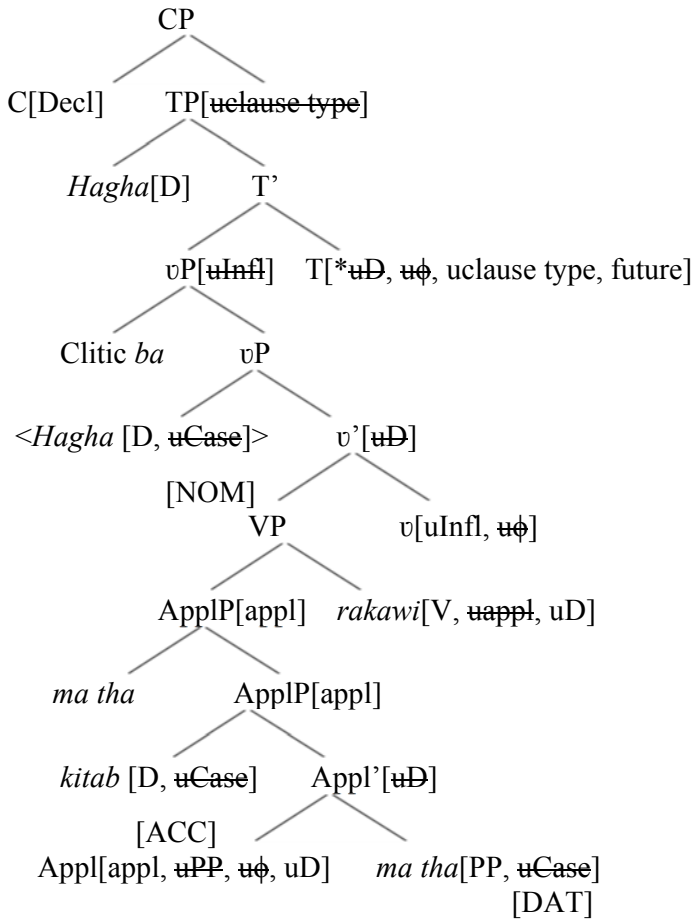


Figure 5. Derivation for the future tense Pashto dative construction *hagha ba ma tha kitab rakawi*

The derivation, as the Figure shows, is the same for the future tense as is for the present tense. The only exception is the addition of the modal clitic *ba*. This clitic adjoins the υP, thus resulting in an extended υP. The rest of the processes are the same. So far as Case assignment in the future tense dative constructions is concerned, first an agree relation establishes between the nominal in the postpositional phrase and the Appl functional category in terms of ϕ-features. Because of this agree, the ϕ-features of the Appl are valued and in return, dative Case is assigned to the DP 1st person singular male in the postpositional phrase. Due to dative Case, the postpositional phrase gets the morphological or spell-out form as *ma tha*.

The second agree relation establishes between υ and the other object *kitab* in spec ApplP, in terms of ϕ-features. Thus, the [uϕ] of υ are valued as 3rd person singular male, and accusative Case is assigned to the DP. The third agree relation establishes between T and the DP 3rd person singular male pronoun in terms of ϕ-features of person, number, and gender. As a result of this agree relation the [uϕ] of T are valued as 3rd person singular male, while nominative Case is assigned to the DP. Because of the nominative Case, the 3rd person singular male pronoun gets the morphological or spell-out form as *hagha*. Like most of the other Pashto constructions, the ϕ-features of T do not get visible on T, rather, they get visible on the verb. As a result, the base form of the verb *rakawəl* changes to *rakawi,* corresponding to 3rd person singular agreement.

Thus in the above derivation, we are able to see how Case is assigned in the future tense dative constructions. Now, we will consider different examples to see whether the patterns that we saw in the present and past tenses are also observable in the future tense or not.

32. *Hagha ba ma tha bat rawɻi.*

he.NOM will I.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He will bring/ will be bringing me a bat.'

33. *Hagha ba moong tha bat rawɻi.*

he.NOM will we.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He will bring/ will be bringing us a bat.'

34. *Hagha ba tha tha bat rawɻi.*

he.NOM will you.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He will bring/ will be bringing you a bat.'

35. *Hagha ba thaso tha bat rawɻi.*

he.NOM will you.plural.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He will bring/ will be bringing you (plural) a bat.'

36. *Hagha ba haghə tha bat rawɻi.*

he.NOM will he.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He will bring/ will be bringing him a bat.'

37. *Hagha ba haghay tha bat rawɻi.*

he.NOM will she.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He will bring/ will be bringing her a bat.'

38. *Hagha ba haghoi tha bat rawɻi.*

he.NOM will they.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He will bring/ will be bringing them a bat.'

39. *Hagha ba də tha bat rawɻi.*

he.NOM will he.near.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He will bring/ will be bringing him a bat.'

40. *Hagha ba day tha bat raw.i.*

he.NOM will she.near.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He will bring/ will be bringing her a bat.'

41. *Hagha ba doi tha bat raw.i.*

he.NOM will they.near.DAT to bat.ACC bring.PRS

'He will bring/ will be bringing them a bat.'

Based on the examples above we can draw the following paradigm for different Cases assigned to the nominals in the future tense Pashto dative constructions:

Pronouns	Subject's Case	Object's Case	Object with Postposition's Case
3rd Person Singular (distant)	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
3rd Person Plural (distant)	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
3rd Person Singular (near)	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
3rd Person Plural (near)	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
2nd Person Singular	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
2nd Person Plural	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
1st Person Singular	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
1st Person Plural	Nominative	Accusative	Dative

If looked at the examples and the paradigm, they follow the pattern that we have suggested earlier. The subject shows nominative Case, the object accusative Case, and the other object with the postposition shows dative Case.

Overall, for Pashto dative constructions, we find that the generative hypotheses, namely, that nominative Case is assigned as a result of an agree relation with the functional category T, and accusative Case is assigned as a result of an agree

relation with the functional category υ, hold equally good. In addition, the idea of Appl functional category, though with some modifications, can explain the assignment of dative Case in Pashto. Therefore, all these substantiate the minimalist idea that structural Case to a nominal is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between a functional category and the relevant nominal.

3.4 Conjoined Subject Constructions and Case

The most important and well-known conjunctions in Pashto are, *ao* 'and', *ya* 'or' and *kho* 'but'. There are also some correlating conjunctions. As here we are concerned with double subject or conjoined subject constructions, therefore, we will discuss *ao* conjunction with reference to the present, past, and future tenses. The conjunctions *kho* and *ya*, the correlating conjunctions, and the coordinating conjunctions, we will discuss in chapter 6 on multi-clausal constructions. It is because these conjunctions are of more relevance to multi-clausal constructions in Pashto.

In order to deal with the assignment of Case in *ao* conjoined subject constructions in Pashto, we are adopting a unique and an ambitious technique. Normally, from a generative perspective, the process for assignment of Case should have been that the functional category T or Voice assigns nominative or accusative Case to the one conjunct, and then to the other conjunct, thus resorting to the mechanism of multiple agree. However, we are adopting a new approach, in which T or Voice establishes an agree relation with both the parts of the conjoined subject acting as a syntactic and semantic whole. As a result of this agree relation, the [uϕ] of T or Voice are valued, not by the individual subject parts but by the subject parts acting as a syntactic whole,

and in return nominative Case is assigned to both the parts of the conjoined subject treating it as one DP.

That why we have adopted this approach when there is an alternative available needs attention. Solid grounds exist for adopting this approach. In Pashto, unlike English, the verb does not agree with one or the other of the conjoined subjects, rather, the verb agrees with the joint syntactic and semantic effect of the conjoined subject. To understand this, let us take some Pashto examples in the present tense:

1. *Zə ao Saleem pen mathawo.*
   I.NOM and Saleem.NOM pen break.PRS.1PL
   'I and Saleem break a pen/ I and Saleem are breaking a pen.'

Note that both the translations are right depending on the sense that we take of the sentence. However, for ease and economy in derivation we will adopt the former meaning throughout.

2. *Saleem ao Zə pen mathawo.*
   Saleem.NOM and I.NOM pen break.PRS.1PL
   'Saleem and I break a pen.'
3. *Thə ao Saleem pen mathawai.*
   you.NOM and Saleem.NOM pen break.PRS.2PL
   'You and Saleem break a pen.'
4. *Saleem ao thə pen mathawai.*
   Saleem.NOM and you.NOM pen break.2PL
   'Saleem and you break a pen.'
5. *Hagha ao Saleem pen mathawi.*
   he.NOM and Saleem.NOM pen break.3PL

'He and Saleem break a pen.'

6. *Saleem ao hagha pen mathawi.*

   Saleem.NOM and he.NOM pen break.3PL

   'Saleem and he break a pen.'

If looked at examples no. 1 and 2, the verb does not agree with any of conjunct subjects. Rather, the verb agrees with the 1st person plural pronoun which is not present in these sentences. 1st person plural pronoun is semantically equal to the joint meaning of the two conjuncts i.e. 'me and Saleem'. The second pair of examples, namely, 3 and 4, and the third pair, namely 5 and 6, also show the same situation. Here, in the former pair, the verb agrees with the 2nd person plural pronoun which is semantically and logically equal to the joint meaning of 'you and Saleem', while in the later pair the verb shows agreement with the 3rd person plural pronoun which is semantically and logically equal to the joint meaning of 'he and Saleem'.

What this agreement pattern conveys here is the fact that the two conjuncts in a conjoined subject construction, joined by the conjunction *ao* together, do not act as separate entities, rather, they act as a semantic and syntactic whole. Also, this phenomenon goes against the idea of single conjunct agreement for coordinated subjects, a phenomenon that has been found across many unrelated languages, for example Arabic (Aoun et al. 1994, Albalushi, 2011), Slovenian (Marušič, Navins, & Saksida, 2007), Serbo – Croatian (Bošković, 2009, 2010), and Hindi (Benmamoun,

2010). Single conjunct agreement may manifest itself either as first conjunct agreement[18] (FCA) or as second or last conjunct agreement[19] (S/LCA).

From minimalist perspective, to decide such issues, based on agreement, a post-syntactic phenomenon, is similar to putting a cart in front of a horse. However, we are using the agreement pattern only as a light house, and it is an effort to explain differently something that behave differently in similar circumstances, namely, to account for the point that why the verb does not agree with one or the other conjunct of the subject, as it has been doing in other languages.

3.4.1 Case Assignment in the Present Tense *Ao* Conjoined Subject Constructions

To show how Case is assigned to conjoined subjects in monoclausal sentences, first we will make a derivation for a sentence, given here as example no.7, followed by different examples making use of Pashto pronouns, so as to substantiate and give empirical weightage to our views/ hypotheses.

7. *Zə ao Saleem pen mathawo.*
   I.NOM and Saleem.NOM pen.ACC break.PRS.1PL
   'I and Saleem break a/the pen.'

First of all the verb *matheg/ mathawəl*, depending on the difference of opinion regarding the base form of the verb, as discussed in section 3.2.1., having [V, uD, uD]

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[18] In the first conjunct agreement, the first conjunct of the two preverbal conjoined conjuncts agrees with the verb.

[19] In the second or last conjunct agreement, the second or the last conjunct of the two preverbal conjoined conjuncts agrees with the verb.

features merges with the internal argument *pen* having [D, uCase] features, to form VP. This merge results in checking/ deleting the one [uD] of the verb. A small ʋ having [uInfl, uϕ] features merges with the VP through Hierarchy of Projection Principle (see section 3.2.1. for details of Hierarchy of Projection Principle) to form ʋ'. An agree relation establishes between the internal argument *pen*, acting as a goal here, and ʋ, acting as a probe here, in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. Because of this agree relation, the uninterpretable phi-features of ʋ are valued as 3SGM, while accusative Case is assigned to the DP *pen*.

To satisfy the other [uD] of the verb, the external argument in the form of 1st person singular pronoun plus *Saleem* having [D, uCase] features merges with the ʋ', as a unit, not as separate entities. This merge results in satisfaction/ deletion of the [uD] of the verb and formation of the ʋP. To check/ delete the [uInfl] of ʋ, an empty functional category T, having [*uD, uϕ, uclause type, present] features merges with the ʋP. Because of this merge, the [uInfl] is valued as present tense. An agree relation establishes between T, a probe, and the conjoined subject working as one syntactic unit, a goal, in terms of ϕ-features. The conjoined subject values the phi-features of T as 3PLM, while nominative Case is assigned to the nominals of the conjoined subject. Because of the nominative Case, the morphological or spell-out form of the 1st person singular pronoun becomes *zə* and the form of *Saleem* remains the same as is the case with other Pashto nouns vis-à-vis Case. As the 3PLM does not get visible on T, rather it gets visible along with the tense on either V or ʋ or both, therefore, the morphological base form of the verb *matheg/ mathawəl* changes to *mathawo.*

To satisfy the strong [*uD] of T, the conjoined subject moves from specifier ʋP, to specifier TP; the symbols [*], < > used in the Figures, following Adger (2004) show

strength and movement respectively. Another functional category C, empty in this particular case, having [Decl] feature merges with the TP to form CP. Because of this merge, the [uclause type] of T that had projection on TP is checked/ satisfied as declarative. Thus, our CP is complete, as is shown in the Figure below:

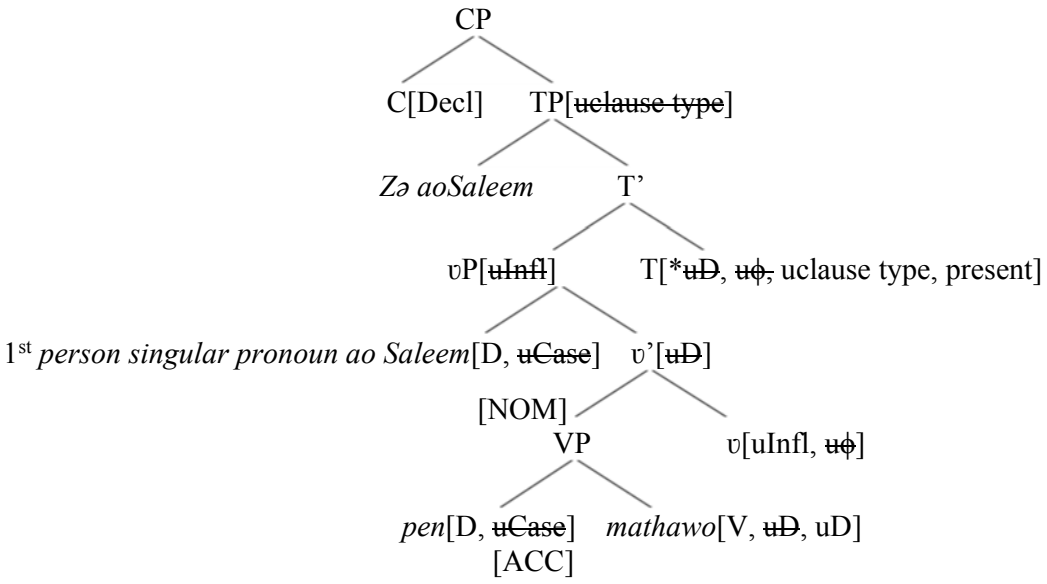


Figure 1. Complete derivation for the conjoined subject construction *zə ao Saleem pen mathawo*

The example, we discussed, had a noun i.e. *pen* as its object DP, therefore, we were empirically unable to substantiate the claim that the Case borne by the object DP is accusative. This is due to the often-mentioned fact that mostly pronouns have morphological markings for accusative and nominative Cases in Pashto, while nouns mostly do not have such markings. Therefore, towards the conclusion of this section on present tense *ao* cojoined subject constructions, we are giving a few examples where pronouns are used as objects.

8. *Saleem ao Adil ma wahi.*

   Saleem.NOM and Adil.NOM I.ACC beat.PRS.3

   'Saleem and Adil beat me.'

9. *Saleem ao Adil moong wahi.*

   Saleem.NOM and Adil.NOM we.ACC beat.PRS.3

   'Saleem and Adil beat us.'

10. *Saleem ao Adil tha wahi.*

    Saleem.NOM and Adil.NOM you.ACC beat.PRS.3

    'Saleem and Adil beat you.'

11. *Saleem ao Adil thaso wahi.*

    Saleem.NOM and Adil.NOM you.plural.ACC beat.PRS.3

    'Saleem and Adil beat you.'

12. *Saleem ao Adil hagha wahi.*

    Saleem.NOM and Adil.NOM he.NOM beat.PRS.3

    'Saleem and Adil beat him.'

13. *Saleem ao Adil haghoi wahi.*

    Saleem.NOM and Adil.NOM they.ACC beat.PRS.3

    'Saleem and Adil beat them.'

14. *Saleem ao Adil day wahi.*

    Saleem.NOM and Adil.NOM he.near.NOM beat.PRS.3

    'Saleem and Adil beat him.'

15. *Saleem ao Adil doi wahi.*

    Saleem.NOM and Adil.NOM they.near.ACC beat.PRS.3

    Saleem and Adil beat them.'

16. *Zə ao Saleem tha waho.*

    I.NOM and Saleem.NOM you.ACC beat.PRS.1PL

    'I and Saleem beat you.'

17. *Moong ao Saleem tha waho.*

we.NOM and Saleem.NOM you.ACC beat.PRS.1PL

'We and Saleem beat you.'

18. *Thə ao Saleem ma wahai.*

you.NOM and Saleem.NOM I.ACC beat.PRS.2PL

'You and Saleem beat me.'

19. *Thaso ao Saleem ma wahai.*

you.plural.NOM and Saleem.NOM I.ACC beat.PRS.2PL

'You and Saleem beat me.'

These examples again, like the earlier few paragraphs on agreement, show that the verb agrees with the semantic and logical equivalent of the two conjoined subjects, not with the subject parts taken as individuals. At the same time, it shows that there is no visible agreement between the verb and the object. Based on the examples and discussion above, we can draw the following paradigm for Case forms for present tense conjoined subject constructions.

Joint Effect of the Conjoined Subjects	Subject's Case Form	Object's Case Form
3rd Person Plural (distant)	Nominative	Accusative
3rd Person Plural (near)	Nominative	Accusative
2nd Person Plural	Nominative	Accusative
1st Person Plural	Nominative	Accusative

The examples discussed above give empirical weightage to the main hypothesis that in Pashto agreement between T and the relevant nominal results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal and agreement between ʋ or Voice and the relevant nominal results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal. In addition, they

substantiate a sub-hypothesis as well, namely, that in Pashto agreement between T and a nominal resulting in nominative Case is morphologically visible while agreement between ʋ or Voice and a nominal resulting in accusative Case is invisible.

3.4.2 Case Assignment in the Past Tense *Ao* Conjoined Subject Constructions

For the past tense conjoined subject constructions, we are using the same set of examples that we have used for the present tense, with the only change, that past tense has been used instead of the present tense. Let us see what the agreement pattern of the past tense *ao* conjoined subject constructions convey to us.

20. Ma ao saleem pen math kɻə.

I.ACC and Saleem.ACC pen.ACC.3SG break.3SG do.PST.3SG

'I and Saleem broke a pen.'

21. Saleem ao ma pen math kɻə.

Saleem.ACC and I.ACC pen.NOM.3SG break.3SG do.PST.3SG

'Saleem and I broke a pen.'

22. Tha ao Saleem pen math kɻə.

you.ACC and Saleem.ACC pen.NOM.3SG break.3SG do.PST.3SG

'You and Saleem broke a pen.'

23. Saleem ao tha pen math kɻə.

Saleem.ACC and you.ACC pen.NOM.3SG break.3SG do.PST.3SG

'Saleem and you broke a pen.'

24. Haghə ao Saleem pen math kɻə.

he.ACC and Saleem.ACC pen.NOM.3SG break.3SG do.PST.3SG

'He and Saleem broke a pen.'

25. *Saleem ao haghə pen math kɻə.*

Saleem.ACC and he.ACC pen.NOM.3SG break.3SG do.PST.3SG

'Saleem and he broke a pen.'

In the examples above, relating to the past tense, we see neither the first conjunct nor the second conjunct nor does a combination of the two agreeing with the verb. Rather, the object agrees with the verb. Thus, the examples relating to the past tense are not going to explain to us the agreement pattern between the verb and the conjunct subject and we will follow the information obtained from the present tense examples in the previous section.

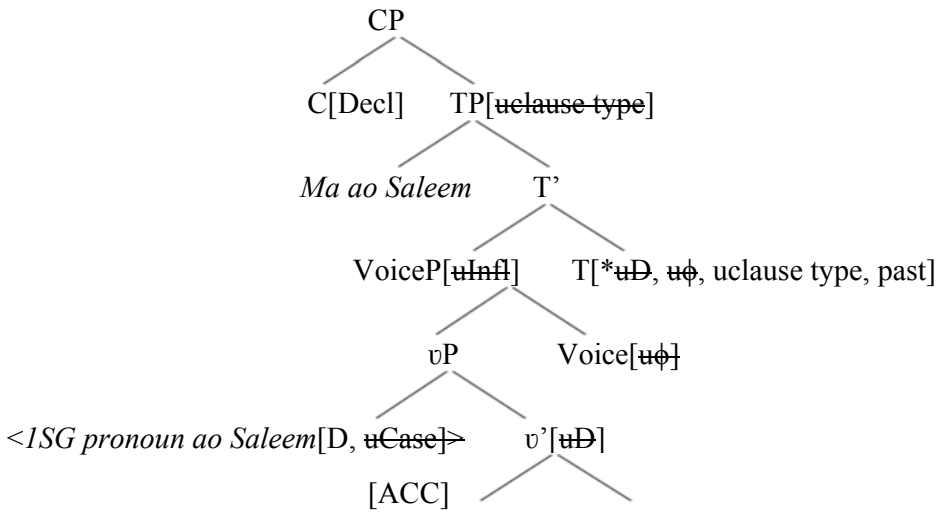
Now, we will derive a typical minimalist derivation for a past tense *ao* conjoined subject construction and see how Case is assigned in these constructions, as it is the focus of our discussion. In addition, due to the ergative-absolutive Case pattern in the past tense we would make use of the Voice functional category, as discussed in section 3.2.2.

26. *Ma ao Saleem pen math kɻə.*

I.ACC and Saleem.ACC pen.NOM.3SG break.3SG do.PST.3SG

'I and Saleem broke a pen.'

The derivation for the above example is shown in the Figure below:



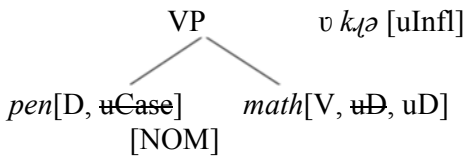


Figure 2. Complete derivation for the past tense conjoined subject construction *ma ao Saleem pen math kɻə*

This derivation is somewhat different from the derivation for the present tense, as in the past tense nominative Case is assigned to the internal argument and accusative Case is assigned to the external argument. Relevant literature (Kratzer, 1996; Collins, 2005; Roberts, 2010, n.d.; Holmberg, 2007) attributes this to the inability of υ to assign Case to the relevant nominal. Therefore, we introduce Voice in such situations (see section 3.2.2. for detailed discussion). Also, in the above example we have the light verb complex (V_1V_2), consisting of the main verb V_1 *math* and the light verb V_2 *kɻə/kɻəl*.

This derivation will follow the familiar steps of merge of the verb *math* with the DP *pen*, to form VP. A light verb υ *kɻə/kɻəl* having [uInfl] and lacking [uϕ] features merges with υ' to form υP. Thus, υ in Pashto past tense construction is defective (Chomsky, 2001), in terms of [uϕ] features, hence lacking the ability to assign accusative Case. The conjoined subject *1st person singular pronoun ao Saleem* merges with υ' to form υP. As υ here is unable to assign Case, either to the external or the internal argument, due to lack of ϕ-features, as they are withheld by Voice in this case, therefore, Voice merges with the υP, through Hierarchy of Projection Principle (discussed in section 3.2.1.), to form VoiceP. An agree relation establishes between Voice and the external argument, acting as a syntactic unit, in terms of ϕ-features, resulting in the valuation of the ϕ-features of Voice and in return accusative Case is

assigned to the external argument. Due to the accusative Case the *1st person singular pronoun ao Saleem* would get the *ma ao Saleem* spell-out or morphological form.

Another agree relation establishes between the internal argument *pen* acting as a goal, and T, acting as a probe, in terms of ϕ-features. Because of the agree relation the phi-features of T are valued as 3SGM while nominative Case is assigned to the internal argument *pen*. The phi-features of T do not get visible on T; rather, as has been the case with other constructions as well, they get visible on either V or both ʋ and V. In this case, the ϕ-features of T along with tense get visible on both V and ʋ. As a result, the light verb complex gets the form *math kɻə*. The rest of the processes such as movement of the external argument/ EPP, satisfaction of different uninterpretable features, addition of C[Decl] etc. remain the same as we had discussed for the present tense.

Now, we take up the issue that the Case, which the object nominal in Pashto past tense conjoined subject constructions receives, is nominative. The example, we discussed earlier had a noun as its object DP, therefore, we were empirically unable to substantiate the view that the Case is nominative, not accusative. We will now give examples of conjoined subject past tense sentences which have pronouns used in the subject and object positions, to substantiate our view.

Third Person Pronouns

27.	*Ma*	*ao*	*Saleem*	*hagha*	*wahəlo.*
	I.ACC	and	Saleem.ACC	he.distant.NOM.3SG	beat.3SGM

'I and Saleem were beating him.'

28. *Ma ao Saleem hagha wahəla.*

I.ACC and Saleem.ACC she.distant.NOM.3SG beat.3SGF

'I and Saleem were beating her.'

29. *Tha ao Saleem hagoi wahəl.*

you.ACC and Saleem.ACC they.distant.NOM.3PL beat.3PL

'You and Saleem were beating them.'

30. *Tha ao Saleem day wahəlo.*

you.ACC and Saleem.ACC he.near.NOM.3SGM beat.3SGM

'You and Saleem were beating him.'

31. *Haghə ao Saleem do wahəla.*

he.ACC and Saleem.ACC she.near.NOM.3SGF beat.3SGF

'He and Saleem were beating her.'

32. *Haghə ao Saleem doi wahəl.*

he.ACC and Saleem.ACC they.near.NOM.3PL beat.3PLM

'He and Saleem were beating them (males).'

33. *Haghə ao Saleem doi wahəlay.*

he.ACC and Saleem.ACC they.near.NOM.3PL beat.3PLF

'He and Saleem were beating them (females).'

2nd Person Pronoun

34. *Ma ao Saleem thə wahəlay.*

I.ACC and Saleem.ACC you.NOM .2SG beat.2SG

'I and Saleem were beating you.'

35. *Haghə ao Saleem thaso wahəlai.*

he.ACC and Saleem.ACC You.NOM.2PL beat.2PL

'He and Saleem were beating you.'

1st Person Pronouns

36. *Saleem ao tha zə wahəlum.*

Saleem.ACC and you.ACC I.NOM.1SG beat.1SG

'Saleem and you were beating me.'

37. *Ma ao Saleem thə wahəlay.*

I.ACC and Saleem.ACC you.NOM.2SG beat.2SG

'I and Saleem were beating you.'

38. *Saleem ao haghə moong wahəlo.*

Saleem.ACC and he.ACC we.NOM.1PL beat.1PL

'Saleem and he were beating us.'

39. *Moong ao Saleem thaso wahəlai.*

we.ACC and Saleem.ACC you.NOM.2PL beat.3PL

'We and Saleem were beating you.'

Based on the discussion and examples above we can make a paradigm of the conjoined/ double subject and object positions along with the morphological cases they exhibit on the pronouns:

Joint Effect of the Conjoined Subjects	Subject's Case Form	Object's Case Form
3rd Person Plural (distant)	Accusative	Nominative
3rd Person Plural (near)	Accusative	Nominative
2nd Person Plural	Accusative	Nominative
1st Person Plural	Accusative	Nominative

The paradigm and the examples above convey a few conclusions. First, the conjoined subject in the past tense bears accusative Case on both the conjoined nominals. Second, the internal argument in the past tense carries nominative Case. Third, the verb agrees with the internal argument in terms of different phi-features. Thus, these results substantiate and give empirical weightage to the hypotheses that we have adopted for Pashto language in the arena of Case. These hypotheses are that nominative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between T and the relevant nominal, and accusative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between ʋ or Voice and the relevant nominal, and the sub-hypothesis that, morphologically, in Pashto only the agreement for nominative Case between T and the relevant nominal is visible.

3.4.3 Case Assignment in the Future Tense Ao Conjoined Subject Constructions

For the future tense, the behaviour of the conjunct subjects joined through the conjunction *ao* is the same as that for the present and past tense constructions, namely, that they jointly behave like one syntactic unit, without the individual parts asserting themselves.

40. *Zə ao Saleem ba pen mathawo.*

I.NOM and Saleem.NOM will pen.ACC break.1PL

'I and Saleem will break a pen/ I and Saleem will be breaking a pen.'

Note that both the translations are acceptable depending on the sense that we take of the sentence. However, for ease and economy in derivation we will adopt the former meaning throughout.

41. *Saleem ao Zə ba pen mathawo.*

Saleem.NOM and I.NOM will pen.ACC break.1PL

‘Saleem and I will break a pen.’

42. *Thə ao Saleem ba pen mathawai.*

you.NOM and Saleem.NOM will pen.ACC break.2PL

‘You and Saleem will break a pen’.

43. *Saleem ao thə ba pen mathawai.*

Saleem.NOM and you.NOM will pen.ACC break.2PL

‘Saleem and you will break a pen.’

44. *Hagha ao Saleem ba pen mathawi.*

he.NOM and Saleem.NOM will pen.ACC break.3PL

‘He and Saleem will break a pen.’

45. *Saleem ao hagha ba pen mathawi.*

Saleem.NOM and he.NOM will pen.ACC break.3PL

‘Saleem and he will break a pen.’

These examples again follow the pattern that we have observed for the present and past tense conjoined subject constructions, namely, that the subject acts as a syntactic unit despite having two or more parts and that in the future tense the verb shows agreement with the joint effect of the two conjoined subjects. Thus, in the first pair of examples, i.e. 40 and 41, the conjoined subjects behave like the 1st person plural pronoun in terms of agreement with the verb. In the second pair of examples, i.e. 42 and 43, the conjoined subjects behave like the 2nd person plural pronoun and the conjoined subjects, in the third pair of examples, i.e. 44 and 45, behave like 3rd person plural pronoun in terms of agreement with the verb.

Now, we make a derivation for a future tense sentence, reproduced as example no. 46, and see how Case is assigned in it to the external argument, i.e. conjoined double subject, and the internal argument.

46. *Zə ao Saleem ba pen mathawo.*
I.NOM and Saleem.NOM will pen.ACC break.1PL
'I and Saleem will break a pen.'

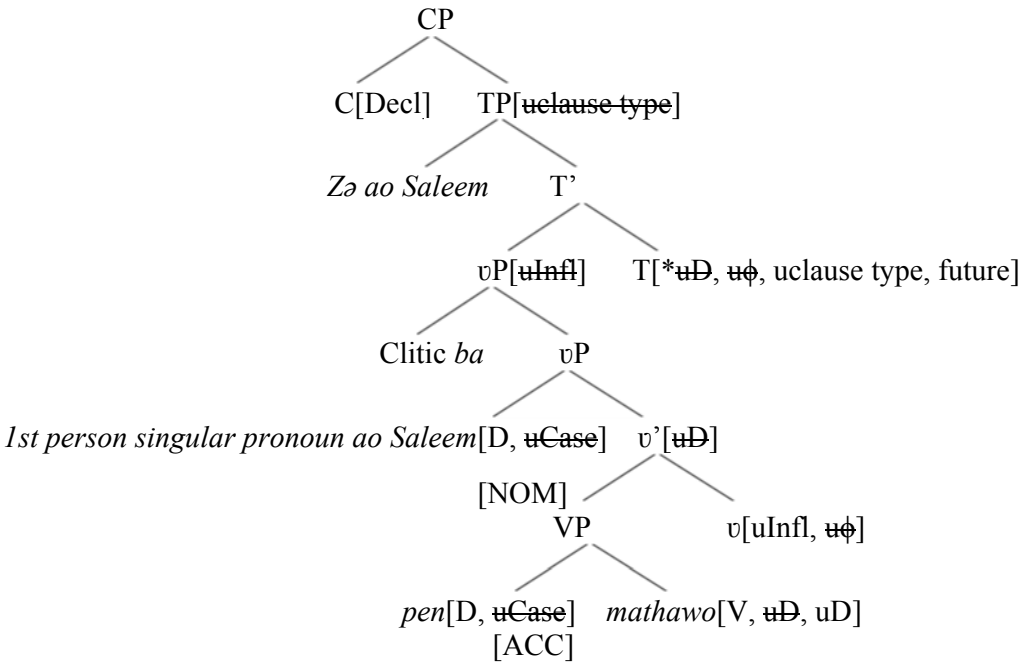


*Figure 3.*Derivation for future tense conjoined subject construction *zə ao Saleem ba pen mathawo.*

Thus, the derivation for the future tense is the same except that the Pashto modal clitic *ba* adjoins υP, resulting in an extended υP. The rest of the processes and valuation/ checking of uninterpretable features remain the same as we have discussed for the present tense. As for our purposes assignment of Case is the most important aspect, therefore, let us see how Case assignment takes place here. An agree relation establishes between υ, a probe, and the DP *pen* in complement to V position, a goal.

As a result of this agree relation the [uϕ] of ʋ are valued as 3rd person singular male, while in return, accusative Case is assigned to the DP. However, because of the peculiar nature of Pashto language this agreement does not get visible.

Another agree relation establishes between the conjoined subject *1st person pronoun ao Saleem*, a goal, and T, a probe, in terms of ϕ-features. The conjoined subject behaves as a syntactic whole and it shows the phi-features of 1st person plural pronoun. Thus, the [uϕ] of T are valued as 1st person plural, and nominative Case is assigned to the conjoined subject, so that both the parts show nominative Case. Because of the nominative Case, the conjoined subject takes the spell-out or morphological form of *zə ao Saleem*. This agreement on T does not get visible on T, as has been the case with other Pashto constructions as well; rather, it gets visible on V.

The example, we discussed, had a noun as its object DP, therefore, we were empirically unable to substantiate the view that the Case is accusative, not nominative. We will now give examples of *ao* conjoined subject future tense sentences, which have pronouns used either in the subject or in the object positions, to substantiate our view.

3rd Person Pronouns

47. *Zə ao Saleem ba hagha waho.*
I.NOM and Saleem.NOM will he.distant.NOM beat.1PL
'I and Saleem will beat/ will be beating him.'(Here we will use the indefinite aspect for convenience).

48. *Thə ao Saleem ba hagoi wahai.*
you.NOM and Saleem.NOM will they.distant.ACC beat.2PL
'You and Saleem will beat them.'

49. *Hagha ao Saleem ba day wahi.*
he.NOM and Saleem.NOM will he.near.ACC beat.3
'He and Saleem will beat him.'

50. *Do ao Saleem ba doi wahi.*
she.NOM and Saleem.NOM will they.near.ACC beat.3
'She and Saleem will beat them.'

51. *Doi ao Saleem ba hagha wahi.*
they.near.NOM and Saleem.NOM will he.ACC beat.3
'They and Saleem will beat him.'

2nd Person Pronouns

52. *Zə ao Saleem ba tha waho.*
I.NOM and Saleem.NOM will you.ACC beat.1PL
'I and Saleem will beat you.'

53. *Hagha ao Saleem ba thaso wahi.*
he.NOM and Saleem.NOM will you.ACC beat.3
'He and Saleem will beat you.'

1st Person Pronouns

54. *Thə ao Saleem ba ma wahai.*
you.NOM and Saleem.NOM will I.ACC beat.2PL
'You and Saleem will beat me.'

55. *Thaso ao Saleem ba moong wahai.*
you.NOM and Saleem.NOM will we.ACC beat.2PL
'You and Saleem will beat us.'

Based on the discussion and examples above, we can make a paradigm for the conjoined/ double subject and object positions along with the morphological cases they exhibit.

Joint Effect of the Conjoined Subjects	Subject's Case Form	Object's Case Form
3rd Person Plural (distant)	Nominative	Accusative
3rd Person Plural (near)	Nominative	Accusative
2nd Person Plural	Nominative	Accusative
1st Person Plural	Nominative	Accusative

The examples above and the paradigm once again show that the conjoined subjects in the future tense also behave like a single subject and the verb shows agreement with the joint syntactic and semantic effect of the two conjoined subjects. They also substantiate the hypothesis that ϕ-features agreement between T and the relevant nominal results in nominative Case, while ϕ-features agreement between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal results in accusative Case.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we studied Case assignment in three Pashto transitive constructions, with reference to the present, past, and future tenses. In all the situations, we found, that the constructions substantiated the postulated hypotheses. These hypotheses were that, in Pashto language, ϕ-features agreement between the functional category T and the relevant nominal results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal, ϕ-features agreement between the functional categories υ or Voice and the relevant nominal results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal, and ϕ-features agreement

between the functional category Appl and the relevant nominal results in assigning dative Case to that nominal. In addition, they also substantiated the morphological predictions that we had made with reference to the nominative and accusative Case assignment.

CHAPTER 4. STRUCTURAL CASE ASSIGNMENT IN INTRANSITIVE PASHTO CONSTRUCTIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with Case assignment in intransitive Pashto constructions. This chapter, like the previous one, we will restrict to single clause or monoclausal constructions; more than one clause constructions will be studied in chapter 6. This chapter analyses Case assignment in four main intransitive constructions in Pashto:

i. Unergative clauses
ii. Unaccusative clauses
iii. Copular clauses
iv. Passive voice clauses

Though opinions differ with respect to the transitive or intransitive nature of passive voice constructions, yet for the unique treatment that they require, along with the other three intransitive constructions, it is more appropriate to place them in this chapter. Another reason for inclusion of passive voice in this chapter had been to maintain balance between the two chapters in terms of size.

However, more importantly from generative perspective all these constructions share one important point in common, namely, that υ in all these constructions is defective (Chomsky, 2001) in terms of [uϕ] features. Due to lack of [uϕ] features, υ in these constructions lack the ability to assign accusative Case. Moreover, we cannot explain all these constructions through the canonical treatment that we used in the last chapter for monotransitive, conjoined subjects, and double object constructions. Rather, each one of

the four constructions to be discussed in this chapter requires a unique treatment due to presence/ absence of accusative Case in these constructions; thus, making use of the Voice functional category in some cases but not in others. The different mechanisms that we have suggested for Case assignment in the four types of constructions are given in the next four sections, titled according to the name of the construction discussed.

The task again for this chapter would be to see whether our different hypotheses for structural Case assignment in Pashto, hold good for these constructions or otherwise. These hypotheses are that nominative Case in Pashto is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between T and the relevant nominal, and that accusative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal. In addition, we will very briefly look at a morphological sub-hypothesis that in the case of nominative Case the agreement between T and the relevant nominal gets visible in the spell-out or morphological component, while in case of accusative Case assignment the agreement between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal remains invisible.

4.2 Unergative Clauses

The dominant majority of Pashto intransitive verbs are unergatives. Like other languages, the main difference between unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs, in Pashto, lies with reference to the initial placement of the subject DP. Perlmutter's (1978) Unaccusativity Hypothesis says that the subject of unaccusative verbs, not being a true agent, originates in the complement to V position, while the subject of unergative verbs starts in the canonical subject position, i.e. specifier VP/υP.

In Pashto unergative constructions, the subjects DPs are assigned nominative Case in the present and future tenses and accusative Case in the past tense. The most important aspect

of unergative verb constructions, in generative enterprise, especially in minimalism, has been the inability of its υ to assign Case to the nominals. Thus, υ in unergative constructions is technically defective (Chomsky, 2001) as it lacks [uϕ] features. This is shown by the fact that the canonical internal argument position to which υ assigns Case remains empty. Interestingly, unergative verbs present the opposite side of the problem, the generative grammarians face, with reference to copular constructions. In copular constructions, syntacticians have been at pains to find V or υ, thanks to the obvious absence of the θ-roles of the nominals, to some extent; in unergative verb constructions V and υ are both present but no DP to take the role of the internal argument.

Different structures have been proposed to deal with unergative verb constructions. Adger (2004: 140), after having accommodated the UTAH(Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis) into its structure, has given the following structure for the unergative verb *laugh*.

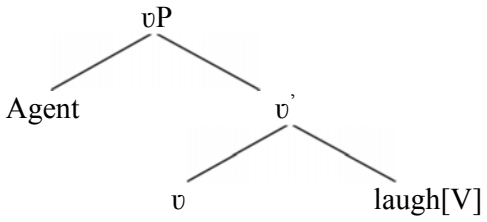


Figure 1.

We will make use of this structure, along with the idea of Voice head (Kratzer, 1996; Collins, 2005; Roberts, 2010, n.d.; Holmberg, 2007) for Pashto past tense unergative constructions.

4.2.1 Case Assignment in the Present Tense Unergative Constructions

Now, we are going to discuss Case assignment in a typical Pashto unergative construction in the present tense. The sentence is:

1. *Aslam khandi.*

   Aslam laugh.PRS.3

   'Aslam laughs.'

In this sentence, the unergative Pashto verb, in its base form *khandəl/khand*, according to the difference of view regarding the base form, bearing the c-selectional feature [V] and the uninterpretable feature [uD] finds no DP in its complement position to merge with. Semantically, the verb *khand/khandəl* is a monoargumental verb, requiring one argument as an agent. The little ʋ having [uInfl] and lacking [uϕ] merges with VP, because of Hierarchy of Projections Principle[20], to form ʋ'. Technically, ʋ here is a defective probe in the Chomskian (2001) sense as it lacks [uϕ] features, hence the ability to assign Case. In English, the movement of the verb to ʋ follows this merge, however, in Pashto verb remains in the VP. The [uD] of the verb that is still unchecked/ deleted gets projection on ʋ'. To satisfy this feature, the subject DP *Aslam* having [D, uCase] features merges with ʋ'; and, thus the ʋP is formed.

The little ʋ has the uninterpretable tense feature [uInfl] and it ultimately gets projection on ʋP. An empty T, having [*uD, uclause type, present, uϕ] features, merges with the ʋP to form T'. This merge is very important as it results in many things. Firstly, the tense of the ʋ is checked/satisfied as 'present'. Secondly, an agree relation establishes between T and

[20] See section 3.2.1for information regarding Hierarchy of Projection Principle.

the nominal, in spec ʋP. T has the uninterpretable phi-features in terms of person, number and gender, thus acting as a probe, while the nominal has the interpretable features of person, number and gender, and acts as a goal. At the time of agree, the two stand in the following relation:

[T {P:?; N:?; G:?}] [*Aslam* {P:3; N:SG; G:M; CASE:?}]

Because of the agree relation matching and valuation occurs and T gets the values of 3rd person singular male. It is important to note that the interpretable phi-features in the present tense Pashto unergative sentences do not pronounce on T. So here, the agreement remains invisible. Along with the tense value 'present' it gets pronounced on V. As a result, the verb gets the spell-out form as *khandi* instead of the base forms *khandəl/khand*.

Thirdly, we had hypothesized that phi-features agreement between T and a nominal in Pashto results in nominative Case assigned to the nominal. Here we have ϕ-features agreement between *Aslam* and T, in terms of person, number and gender, and the [uϕ] of T are valued as 3SGM, while in return nominative Case is assigned to *Aslam*. Thus, the subject DP *Aslam* gets nominative Case. That the DP *Aslam* does not have overt morphological markings for nominative Case is because of the nature of Pashto nouns, which, in most cases, do not bear overt markings for nominative or accusative Cases.

A natural question can be raised as why agree does not establishes between *Aslam* and the little ʋ. The little ʋ comes earlier in the derivation and consequently must be active before T. However, we see that T not ʋ establishes agree relation with the DP. The main explanation for this phenomenon can be that the DP *Aslam* lies upwards the little ʋ, and lies in the c-command domain of T. As is assumed that a probe can search for a goal downwards i.e. in its c-command domain and not upwards, therefore, this situation substantiates the assumption. More importantly, this situation/ configuration substantiates

the assumption that υ here is defective (Chomsky, 2001), lacking [uϕ] features. As it is defective hence it remains unable to establish an agree relation with any nominal.

Now, let us get back to the final stage of our derivation. We had said that T has strong uninterpretable feature [*uD] and for the convergence of the derivation this feature needs to be checked/satisfied. Movement of the subject DP occurs from spec υP to spec TP due to this strong feature of T. The enclosure of the DP *Aslam* in symbol < > shows that the DP undergoes movement. The strike through [*uD] shows that the strong uninterpretable [*uD] feature of T has been checked/deleted. The [uclause type] of T still remains unchecked and C having [Decl] feature merges with the TP, to check/delete this feature. Thus, our CP gets completed as is shown below:

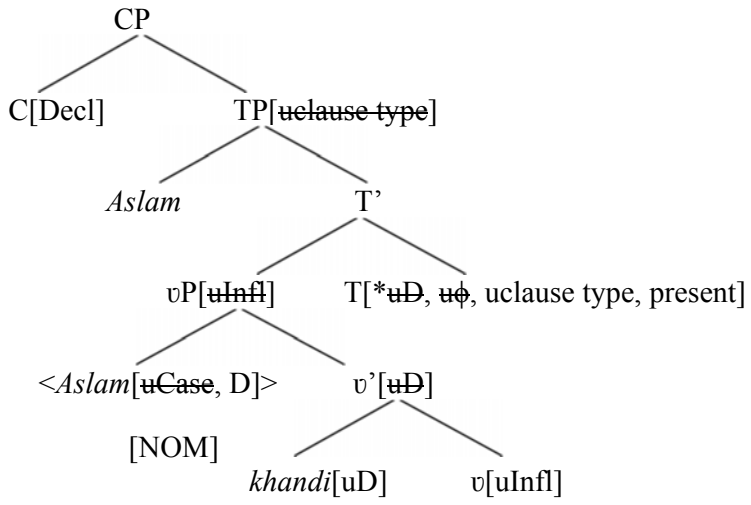


Figure 2. Complete derivation for the unergative construction *Aslam khandi*

To show that the same pattern prevails in other unergative present tense Pashto constructions as well, we are giving examples of unergative verbs where all the pronouns along with their Cases have been used:

2. *Hagha khandi.*

   he/she.distant.NOM laugh.PRS.3

   'S/he laughs/ is laughing.' (The same form of the verb is used for both the continuous and indefinite aspects).

3. *Hagoi khandi.*

   they.distant.NOM laugh.PRS.3

   'They laugh/ are laughing.'

4. *Day khandi.*

   he.near.NOM laugh.PRS.3

   'He laughs/ is laughing.'

5. *Do khandi.*

   she.near.NOM laugh.PRS.3

   'She laughs/ is laughing.'

6. *Doi khandi.*

   they.near.NOM laugh.PRS.3

   'They laugh/ are laughing.'

7. *Thə khanday.*

   you.NOM laugh.PRS.2SG

   'You laugh/ are laughing.'

8. *Thaso khandai.*

   you.NOM laugh.PRS.2PL

   'You laugh/ are laughing.'

9. *Zə khandum.*

   I.NOM laugh.PRS.1SG

'I laugh/ am laughing.'

10. *Moong* *khando.*

we.NOM laugh.PRS.1PL

'We laugh/ are laughing.'

Two or three things emerge from these examples. Firstly, all the pronouns exhibit nominative Case. Thus, it substantiates the hypothesis that phi-features agreement between T and the nominal results in nominative Case, to be assigned to the subject DPs here. To substantiate this point further we now give examples where the subjects bear accusative Case and see whether they are grammatical or not. If grammatical then the hypothesis is in serious troubles; however, if ungrammatical then it further substantiates the hypothesis.

11. **Haghə* *khandi.*

he.ACC laugh.PRS.3

'He laughs/ is laughing.'

12. **Haghay* *khandi.*

she.ACC laugh.PRS.3

'She laughs/ is laughing.'

13. **Ma* *khandum.*

I.ACC laugh.PRS.1

'I laugh/ am laughing'.

All these three examples show that if the pronoun bears accusative Case, then they are grammatically incorrect. Thus, it substantiates the claim/hypothesis.

4.2.2 Case Assignment in the Past Tense Unergative Constructions

Now, we are going to discuss Case in the past tense Pashto unergative constructions and see whether the same patterns of agreement and rules for Case assignment exist or not. We take an unergative Pashto example, as we had taken in the section on present tense unergative verbs with the change that the tense is past rather than the present:

14. Aslam wokhandəl.

Aslam.ACC laugh.PST

'Aslam laughed.'

The derivation for the past tense unergative constructions differ from their present and future tense counterparts in some important respects, due to the split-ergative nature of Pashto language. The derivation is same until the υP stage. As, in the past tense and passive voice Pashto constructions, υ is defective (Chomsky, 2001) and is unable to assign Case, due to its lack of [uϕ] features, and, nominals in spec υP position, in the past tense unergative constructions, do carry accusative Case, therefore, we introduce Voice functional category (see section 3.2.2 for the details and background of Voice). At this stage a functional category Voice (Kratzer, 1996; Collins, 2005; Roberts, 2010, n.d.; Holmberg, 2007) merges with the υP to form Voice'. Hierarchy of Projection Principle, a topic that we have already discussed in section 3.2.1, facilitates the merge of υP and Voice. An agree relation establishes between Voice and the subject DP in terms of person, number, and gender ϕ-features. Because of the agree relation the phi-features of the Voice are valued as 3SGM, while the subject DP *Aslam* is assigned accusative Case:

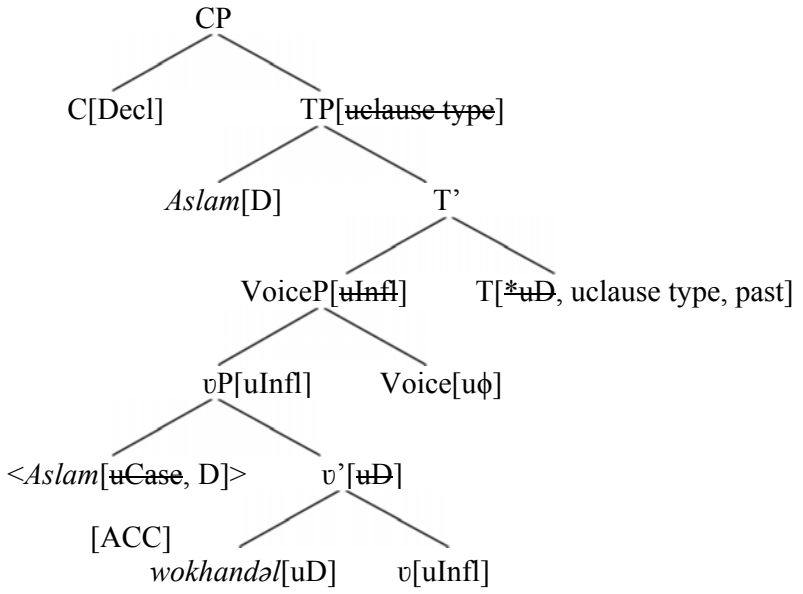


Figure 3. Complete derivation for the past tense unergative construction *Aslam wokhandəl*

The [uInfl] of ʊ finds projection on VoiceP, and T having strong uninterpretable [*uD] or EPP, uninterpretable [uclause type], and interpretable tense 'past' features merges with the VoiceP to satisfy the [uInfl]. It is important to mention here that the T in the past tnese Pashto unergative verb constructions lacks the [uϕ] feature. To check/delete the EPP or [*uD] the subject DP moves to spec TP position. C having interpretable [Decl] feature merges with TP to check/delete the [uclause type], and thus our CP is completed.

In order, to substantiate the hypothesis that agree between Voice and the subject DP results in accusative Case, we are giving some examples of unergative verbs, where all the pronouns along with their Cases have been used:

15. *Haghə* *wokhandəl.*
he.distant.ACC laugh.PST
'He laughed.'

16. *Haghay* *wokhandəl.*

she.distant.ACC laugh.PST

'She laughed.'

17. *Hagoi* *wokhandəl.*

they.distant.ACC laugh.PST

'They laughed.'

18. *Də* *wokhandəl.*

he.near.ACC laugh.PST

'He laughed.'

19. *Day* *wokhandəl.*

she.near.ACC laugh.PST

'She laughed.'

20. *Doi* *wokhandəl.*

they.near.ACC laugh.PST

'They laughed.'

21. *Tha* *wokhandəl.*

you.ACC laugh.PST

'You laughed.'

22. *Thaso* *wokhandəl.*

you.ACC laugh.PST

'You laughed.'

23. *Ma* *wokandəl.*

I.ACC laugh.PST

'I laughed.'

24. *Moong* *wokhandəl.*

we.ACC laugh.PST

'We laughed.'

Now, we consider some examples, where we use pronouns in the nominative Case with unergative verbs in the past tense and see what happens. In this respect, it is important to mention that some pronouns especially in the plural form have the same form for nominative and accusative Case. Therefore, to avoid creating confusion for non-native speakers, we would not use such pronouns in the examples that follow:

*25. *Hagha wokhandəl.*

he.distant.NOM laugh.PST

'He laughed.'

*26. *Day wokhandəl.*

he.near.NOM laugh.PST

'He laughed.'

*27. *Do wokhandəl.*

she.near.NOM laugh.PST

'She laughed.'

*28. *Thə wokhandəl.*

you.NOM laugh.PST

'You laughed.'

*29. *Zə wokhandəl.*

I.NOM laugh.PST

'I laughed.'

These two groups of examples reveal a couple of things. First, the examples in the second group consisting of no.25 through 29, show that the subject DPs of unergative

verbs in the past tense do not have nominative Case and thus stand in stark contrast to the DPs in the present and future tenses. All the sentences became ungrammatical when we used the subject DPs in the nominative Case. Second, the first group of examples, 15 through 24, shows that the verbs do not agree with their subjects. Thus, they are different from the examples in the present tense section where the verbs agree with their subjects.

4.2.3 Case Assignment in the Future Tense/Time Unergative Constructions

Rules for Case assignment in Pashto future tense unergative constructions remain the same as those for the present tense. To see that this is the case, we take the same example that we had taken for the present and the past tenses, with the only change that the tense of the example is the future tense.

30. Aslam ba khandi.

Aslam.NOM will laugh.PRS

'Aslam will be laughing.'

The derivation for the future clause is the same except with some minor differences. As this particular example has continuous aspect, therefore, we adjoin the modal clitic *ba* with the ProgP to form the extended ProgP. The [uInfl], which is still not checked / deleted, finds projection on the extended ProgP. The rest of the processes are the same as we have described for the present tense. For our purposes, the most important step is that of Case assignment. An agree relation establishes between *Aslam* and T in terms of ϕ-features and the ϕ-features of the probe T are valued by the goal *Ahmad* as 3SGM, and in return nominative Case is assigned to the subject DP *Aslam*. This agreement is not visible on T, rather, in this particular instance, it gets pronounced on V.

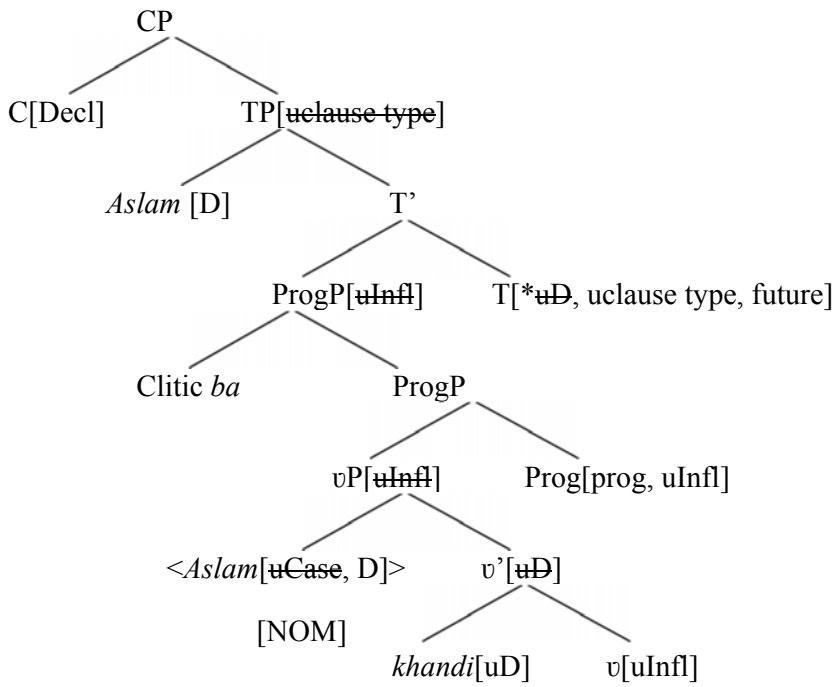


Figure 4. Derivation for the future tense unergative construction *Aslam ba khandi*

As the nominal in the example is a noun and in Pashto language nouns normally do not show morphological markings for nominative and accusative Cases, therefore, we are giving examples of unergative verbs, where pronouns have been used to show and substantiate the claim that agree between T and the subject DP in terms of phi-features results in nominative Case:

31. *Hagha* *ba* *khandi.*
    he/she.distant.NOM will laugh.3
    'S/he will be laughing.'

32. *Hagoi* *ba* *khandi.*
    they.distant.NOM will laugh.3
    'They will be laughing.'

33. *Day* *ba* *khandi.*
he.near.NOM will laugh.3
'He will be laughing.'

34. *Do* *ba* *khandi.*
she.near.NOM will laugh.3
'She will be laughing.'

35. *Doi* *ba* *khandi.*
they.near.NOM will laugh.3
'They will be laughing.'

36. *Thə* *ba* *khanday.*
you.NOM will laugh.2SG
'You will be laughing'.

37. *Thaso* *ba* *khandai.*
you.NOM will laugh.2PL
'You will be laughing.'

38. *Zə* *ba* *khandum.*
I.NOM will laugh.1SG
'I will laugh.'

39. *Moong* *ba* *khando.*
we.NOM will laugh.1PL
'We will be laughing.'

These examples show that all the pronouns exhibit nominative Case. Thus, it substantiates the hypothesis that phi-features agreement between T and the nominal

results in nominative Case. To substantiate this point further, we give examples where the subjects bear accusative Case and see whether they are grammatical or not.

40. **Haghə ba khandi.*

he.ACC will laugh.3

'He will laugh/ will be laughing.'

41. **Haghay ba khandi.*

she.ACC will laugh.3

'She will laugh/ will be laughing.'

42. **Ma ba khandum.*

I.ACC will laugh.1SG

'I will laugh/ will be laughing.'

These three examples show that if the pronouns bear accusative Case in the future tense unergative constructions, then they are grammatically incorrect. Thus, it substantiates the claim/hypothesis that in a future tense Pashto unergative construction agree between T and the subject DP results in assigning nominative Case to the subject DP.

The visible/ invisible agreement pattern, in the examples of the present, past, and future tense sections, needs attention. In the present tense examples, all the verbs agree with their subjects. In the past tense examples, no verb agrees with its subject. In the future tense, all the verbs agree with their respective subject DPs. Thus, all these results substantiate our morphological sub-hypothesis that in Pashto agree between T and the relevant nominal for nominative Case assignment gets visible on ʋ or V. While agree for accusative Case assignment between ʋ or Voice and the relevant nominal does not get visible in the morphological component.

4.3 Unaccusative Clauses

We have already dilated on the background of unaccusatives and unergatives in the topic on unergatives. From the generative perspective, the unergatives have no object DPs to assign structural Case to by virtue of agreement with the small ʋ, itself a defective (Chomsky, 2001) one, lacking [uϕ] features, hence the ability to assign accusative Case. In unaccusative constructions, on the other hand, we have DPs originating in the complement to V position, but the little ʋ is unable to assign accusative Case. Thus, again the little ʋ in unaccusatives is defective, lacking [uϕ] feature, hence the ability to assign accusative Case. So, they are the same coin with very different sides.

In very simple words, unaccusative verbs are those verbs where the DP occupying the canonical subject position does not do the act, i.e., it is not an actor or an agent; rather, it is the receiver of the action communicated by the verb. Thus, in most cases it is the theme. Whether it can also be the goal or not in Pashto language, would be going too deep into the intricacies, not allowed by the limitation of the topic, therefore, a cover term 'theme' we would use. In fact, the introduction of the Uniformity of Theta Role Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) (Baker, 1988) has been instrumental in providing a convenient way of maintaining the distinction between the unergative and unaccusative constructions in terms of structure. In addition, the generative enterprise tried to deal with unergative and unaccusative constructions through different efforts (Marantz, 1984; Hale & Keyser, 1993; Chomsky, 1995; Collins, 1995; Kratzer, 1996; Bowers, 2002; Adger, 2004; Adger & Ramchand, 2003; Collins, 2005; Hornstein, Nunes, & Grohmann, 2005; Harley, 2007; Radford, 2009; Gelderen, 2012) to name only a few. Of course, we cannot follow all of them at the same time, though we would seek guidance from their worthy efforts whenever we felt the need. Overall,

this section would try to substantiate the minimalist view that in unaccusative constructions the nominal/DP occupying the canonical subject position is not assigned Case by the little ʋ; rather, it receives nominative Case from T.

In Pashto, in majority of cases, the same verb functions as unaccusative and as transitive. In case of unaccusative verbs, it is the context/ situation and the number of the participants in an action that dictates the identity of an unaccusative verb at a particular time.

For instance,

1. *David maɻ sho.* (Unaccusative)
   David.NOM dead do.PST
   'David died.'
2. *David gedaɻ maɻ kɻə.* (Transitive)
   David.NOM jackal.ACC kill do.PST
   'David killed a jackal.'

In examples no.1 and 2, the same Pashto verb serves as unaccusative and as transitive, respectively. In English, this contrast is visible by the fact that English uses two verb forms 'dead' and 'kill', while Pashto uses the single verb form *maɻ* for both the situations.

4.3.1 Structural Case Assignment in the Present Tense Unaccusative Constructions

We make a derivation for a Pashto unaccusative construction, making use of Pashto verb *matheg/mathedəl* 'break', to see how structural Case is assigned in present tense unaccusative constructions:

3. *Largay mathegi*
   wood break.3SG

'The plank/wood/timber breaks.'

Here, we mean that the wood by itself breaks, not that some external agency breaks it. Because if we suppose that an external agent breaks it, then it would turn into a passive voice and would no longer remain unaccusative. In a typical minimalist treatment, a nominal/DP *largay* having the categorial c-selectional feature [D] and uninterpretable [uCase] merges with the unaccusative verb *matheg/mathedəl*, having [V, uD] features to form VP. As a result of this merge the [uD] of the verb is satisfied/ deleted. As the verb in this particular instance is a one-place predicate, therefore, it would assign theta role to one argument. The argument in this particular instance is a theme argument because in the simplest of words it does not act; rather, it is the receiver of the action. The motivator for this merge, following Adger (2004) and Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann (2005), is the verb, as the verb will ultimately project after the merge, and the verb has to satisfy its uninterpretable [uD] feature. Adger (2001) believes that the unaccusative verb is unique in the sense that it does not assign Case to the object:

> This line of reasoning forces us to assume that the little ʋ which occurs with an unaccusative predicate lacks both case features *and a selectional uN-feature (and hence, a specifier)*. In fact, it is the lack of accusative case with these predicates which gives them their name: unaccusatives. (p. 183)

Chomsky uses the small ʋ* for verbs which have agents and ʋ for verbs which have only themes. He believes that ʋ is the defective one. However, we would not follow the distinction between ʋ and ʋ*. Rather, we would use the small ʋ in the derivation with the understanding that it does not assign the Case if the verb is unaccusative.

The VP merges with the small ʋ[uInfl], under the Hierarchy of Projection Principle(see section 3.2.1 for details of Hierarchy of Projection Principle), to form ʋ'. As the

verb used here has been unaccusative, therefore, υ lacks [uϕ], hence the ability to assign accusative Case. Unlike English, verb in Pashto does not move to υ. As υ here does not have to satisfy the [uD] feature of the V, therefore, there is no need of spec υP. The little υ has the uninterpretable tense feature [uInfl] and it needs to be satisfied/ checked if the derivation has to converge. At this stage, T merges with the υP. T has strong [*uD] feature, interpretable tense feature 'present', uninterpretable phi-features, and uninterpretable [uclause type].T values the uninterpretable [-Infl] of υ as 'present'. An agree relation establishes between the uninterpretable phi-features of T, acting as a probe, and the interpretable features of the theme DP *largay*, acting as a goal. The probe searches for a goal in the specifier of υP as has been the tradition with transitive constructions. As, we have already said that the specifier of υP in this particular instance is empty, therefore, the probe searches for a goal in other places and ultimately finds it in the complement to V position. The probe and goal stand in the following relation at the time of agree:

[T {P:?; N:?; G:?; Infl: PRESENT}] [*largay* {P:1; N:SG; G:M; CASE:?}]

The agree relation is established between T and the object DP *largay* in terms of person, number and gender. It is important to note that the interpretable phi-features as well as tense in the present tense Pashto unaccusative sentences do not get pronounced on T. Instead, it is visible on the verb *matheg/mathedəl* as *mathegi*. Also, if we look at the agree relation, we can see that the probe searches for the goal in its c-command domain, thus sticking to the tradition that is followed by the most minimalist practitioners.

In return, nominative Case is assigned to the DP *largay*. T has also a strong uninterpretable [*uD] feature, commonly referred to as EPP (Extended Projection Principle). Because of this strong [*uD] feature, the nominal or pronominal DP in the object position moves to spec TP to satisfy this feature. The < > symbol shows the

movement of the items inside it. At this stage, C having [Decl] feature merges with the TP to satisfy/delete the [uclause type] feature that still remains unchecked and ultimately had got projection on TP. This merge results in satisfaction/ valuation of [uclause type] as declarative, and the overall CP is achieved:

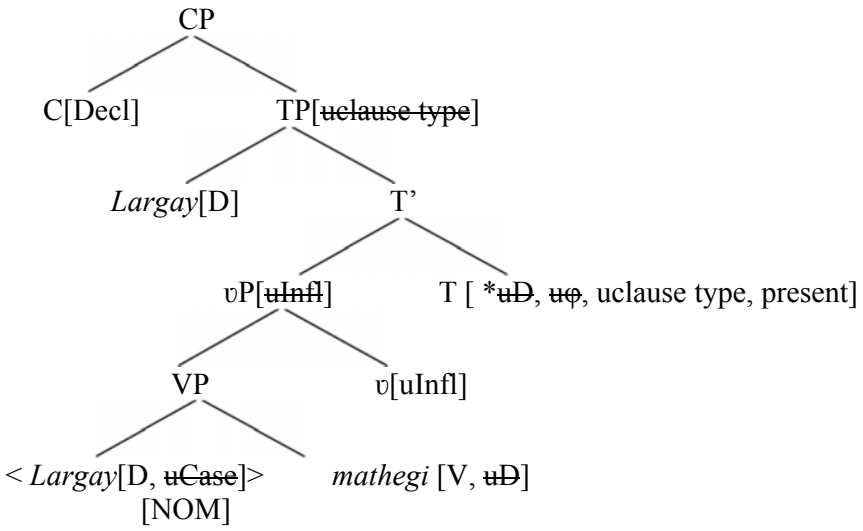


Figure 1. Derivation for *largay mathegi*

As this particular example has a noun as its nominal/DP while most nouns in Pashto do not have overt morphological markings for Case, therefore, we are unable to show the nominative Case explicitly. However, we can overcome this problem if we use pronouns instead of nouns; as pronouns in Pashto have overt markings for Case.

4. *Hagha* *prewazzi.*

   he/she.distant.NOM fall.PRS.3

   'S/he falls/ is falling.' (We are not falling into the intricacies of continuous and indefinite tense in Pashto)

5. *Hagoi* *prewazzi.*

   they.distant.NOM fall.PRS.3

   'They fall/ are falling.'

6. *Day* *prewazzi.*

   he.near.NOM fall.PRS.3

   'He falls/ is falling.'

7. *Do* *prewazzi.*

   she.near.NOM fall.PRS.3

   'She falls/ is falling.'

8. *Doi* *prewazzi.*

   they.near.NOM fall.PRS.3

   'They fall/ are falling.'

9. *Thə* *prewazzay.*

   you.NOM fall.PRS.2SG

   'You fall/ are falling.'

10. *Thaso* *prewazzai.*

    you.NOM fall.PRS.2PL

    'You fall/ are falling.'

11. *Zə* *prewazzum.*

    I.NOM fall.PRS.1SG

    'I fall/ am falling.'

12. *Moong* *prewazzo.*

    we.NOM fall.PRS.1PL

    'We fall/ are falling.'

All the pronouns, in the above examples, show that they are in the nominative Case. Thus, they substantiate the minimalist idea that nominals in unaccusative constructions receive nominative Case because of phi-features agreement between T and the nominal

in complement to V position. However, it is worth consideration to know/ determine that the subject nominal/DP has received Case from T and not from the little ʋ. In other words, we will need empirical evidence to substantiate the claim. For this, we will take the two examples of pronouns from monotransitive constructions where they show the accusative forms when they are assigned Case in the spec ʋP position by the little ʋ.

*13. *Tha prewazzay.*

you.ACC fall.PRS.2SG

'You fall/ are falling.'

*14. *Ma prewazzum.*

I.ACC fall.PRS.1SG

'I fall/ am falling.'

Here, these examples show that if the pronouns in the subject position are in the accusative Case then these sentences become ungrammatical. The whole idea is something like this, if the nominal in the complement to V position is assigned Case in that position by the little ʋ, then on its subsequent movement to spec TP, it should show the accusative Case which it had received in the complement to V position. However, as we have seen above, pronouns with accusative Case in the surface subject position are ungrammatical in Pashto unaccusative present tense sentences. Thus, this substantiates the claim made earlier in the derivation that the ʋ in unaccusative constructions is unique as it does not assign Case to the nominal in complement to V position.

4.3.2 Structural Case Assignment in the Past Tense Unaccusatives Constructions

The unaccusatives, discussed with reference to the present tense, have their counterparts in the past tense. Hence we will derive a derivation for a typical Pashto past tense unaccusative sentence, *hagha prewatha* 'she fell/ was falling' and see how structural Case is assigned in it, as it is the main focus of our thesis.

15. Hagha prewatha.

She.NOM fall.PRS.3SGF

'She fell.'

Figure 2 gives the derivation for example no. 15:

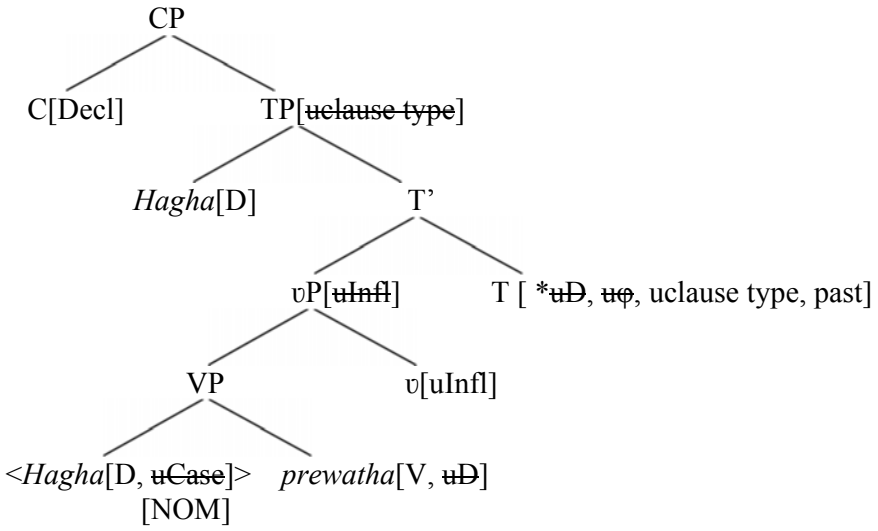


Figure 2. Hagha prewatha[21]

The derivation in Figure 2 shows that it is almost the same as it is for the present tense, with some minor changes. The derivation is the same until the υP, which

[21] The italicised spellings is due to the fact that Leipzig glossing rules requires the subject language to be in italics; so here we have relaxed the rule that the caption should be in the normal text.

projects the [uInfl] of υ. Again, υ here is defective (Chomsky, 2001), lacking [uϕ] features, hence the ability to assign accusative Case to the nominal in the complement to V position. In addition, past tense unaccusative constructions are unique in the sense that in other Pashto past tense constructions the functional category Voice withholds the [uϕ] features to itself; however, in unaccusative past tense constructions there is no Voice functional category. Hence, at this stage no Case assignment takes place. To check/ value [uInfl] of υ, T having [*uD, uϕ, uclause type, past] features, merges with the υP. T' is formed, while T, acting as a probe, agrees with the 3rd person singular female goal, in terms of person, number, and gender ϕ-features. Thus, the [uϕ] of T is valued as 3rd person singular female, and in return nominative Case is assigned to the 3rd person singular female pronoun. Because of the nominative Case 3rd person singular female pronoun gets the phonetic realization as *hagha*. The ϕ-features of T along with the tense do not get visible on T; rather, they find morphological manifestation on the verb as *prewatha*. Thus, even in the past tense, agreement between T and a nominal is visible. The rest of the processes are the same that we have described for the present tense.

At this stage, it is important to mention that due to split-ergative nature of Pashto language υ in all the other Pashto past tense constructions is defective, and accusative Case is assigned/ checked by Voice. However, past tense unaccusatives are unique in the sense that, though their υs are defective, there is no Voice to assign Case. Thus, past tense unaccusatives are different from all other past tense Pashto constructions when it comes to assignment of accusative Case.

Again, a relevant question arises, as what will be the consequence if we consider the unaccusative verb as behaving like a normal verb. In that case, the nominal/DP in the

object position will receive the accusative Case and after all the relevant operations and movements, we will get the following structure:

16. **Haghay prewatha*.
    she.ACC fall.PST.3SGF
    'She fell/ was falling.'

Thus, this example clearly shows that the sentence will be ungrammatical if the unaccusative verb in the past tense behaves like an ordinary verb.

As example no. 15, deals with only one instance of Case assignment, therefore, we are not in a position to say that this is the case with other unaccusative constructions as well. As such, we will now give examples, which contain Pashto pronouns and we will observe whether the same results obtain or not.

17. *Hagha prewatho.*
    he/she.distant.NOM fall.PST.3SGM
    'He fell/ was falling.'

18. *Hagha prewatha.*
    he/she.distant.NOM fall.PST.3SGF
    'She fell/ was falling.'

19. *Hagoi prewathəl.*
    They.distant.NOM fall.PST.3PLM
    'They (males) fell/ were falling.'

20. *Hagoi prewathay.*
    they.distant.NOM fall.PST.3PLF
    'They (females) fell/ were falling.'

21. *Day prewatho.*

he.near.NOM fall.PST.3SGM

'He fell/ was falling.'

22. *Do* *prewatha.*

she.near.NOM fall.PST.3SGF

'She fell/ was falling.'

23. *Doi* *prewathəl/prewath.*

they.near.NOM fall.PST.3PLM

'They (males) fell/ were falling.'

24. *Doi* *prewathay.*

they.near.NOM fall.PST.3PLF

'They (females) fell/ were falling.'

25. *Thə* *prewathay.*

you.NOM fall.PST.2SG

'You fell/ were falling.'

26. *Thaso* *prewathai.*

you.NOM fall.PST.2PL

'You fell/ were falling.'

27. *Zə* *prewathum.*

I.NOM fall.PST.1SG

'I fell/ was falling.'

28. *Moong* *prewatho.*

we.NOM fall.PST.1PL

'We fell/ were falling.'

So far as we have understood, the difference, in the given unaccusative past tense verb, between indefinite and the continuous aspect lies not in the morphology of the verb, rather it seems to us that it lies in the phonetic realization of the verb i.e. it is related to the intonation of the word. For instance, in the sentence *hagha prewatho* if we say the verb *prewatho* with one falling swoop then it means 'he fell', however, if we say the verb in three separate syllables *pre*, *wa* and *tho*, then it means 'he was falling'. This was a brief excursion into another field; now let us get back to our work.

In the above examples, we can see that all the pronouns in the surface subject positions have nominative Case. Thus, we can confidently claim that the derivation we had made above can be a representative for all the constructions formed with unaccusative verbs in the past tense. They also substantiate the claim that the υ in unaccusative verbs is of special kind in the sense that it lacks the ability to assign Case or to hold an argument in its specifier position.

4.3.3 Structural Case Assignment in the Future Tense/ Time Unaccusative Constructions

The use of unaccusatives in the future time, in Pashto, is more frequent than in the past tense. As our thesis does not deal with this issue, therefore, we will not go into the details of the topic; though this can prove a profitable area for researchers in future. The derivation and Case assignment in a typical Pashto future time unaccusative sentence, reproduced below as example no. 29, proceed as represented in Figure 3 below:

29. Hagha ba prewzi.

he.NOM will fall.3SG

'He will fall.' (If we change *prewzi* with insertion of an infix *prewəzzi*, then it would get the continuous aspect.)

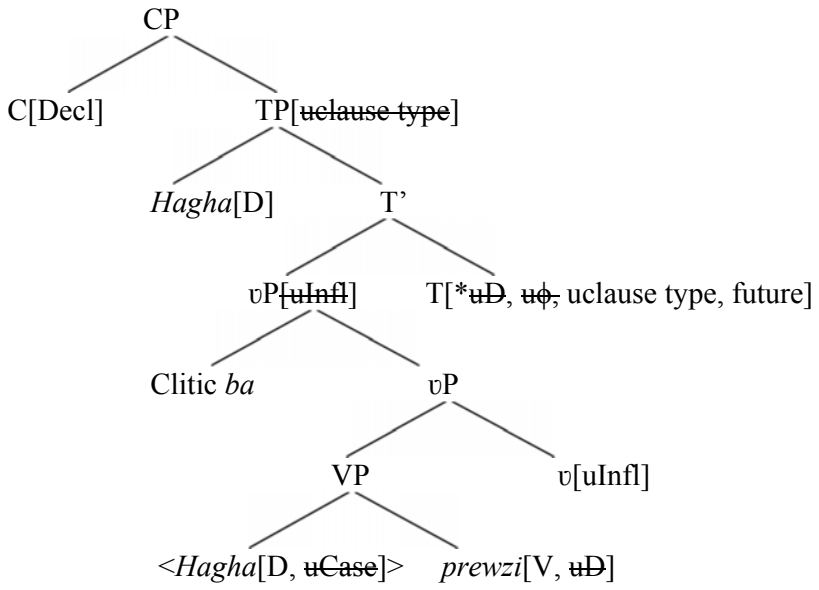


Figure 3. Hagha ba prewzi

The derivation is the same as for the present and past tenses, til the υP. At this stage, a modal clitic *ba* adjoins with the υP to form the extended υP. The [uInfl] that is still not checked/ deleted finds projection on the extended υP. The rest of the processes are the same as we have described for the present tense.

For our purposes, the most important step is that of Case assignment. As υ is defective, lacking [uϕ] features, hence unable to assign accusative Case, therefore, an agree relation establishes between the 3rd person singular pronoun and T in terms of ϕ-features, and the ϕ-features of the probe T are valued by the goal 3rd person singular male pronoun as 3SGM. Nominative Case is assigned to the DP 3rd person singular pronoun. Due to nominative Case, the 3rd person singular male pronoun gets the nominative morphological form *hagha*. In Pashto future unaccusative verb clauses, this agreement does not get pronounced on T, rather it gets pronounced on V.

As we have already postulated that an unaccusative verb or v for that purpose does not license Case, therefore, at this stage a hypothetical question can be raised. What will be the consequences of considering the unaccusative verb in the future tense as behaving like a normal verb? In that case, the DP in the subject position will receive the accusative Case and after all the relevant operations and movements, we will get the following surface structure:

*30. *Haghə ba prewzi.*
he.ACC will fall.PRS.3
'He will fall.'

The above example illustrates the fact that if we do not give special status to the unaccusative verb, we will have a situation where the nominal/DP will have an accusative Case. Consequently, such sentences will be ungrammatical, causing our derivations to crash.

As, the derivation in Figure 3, for example no. 29, deals with only one instance of Case assignment, therefore, it needs further substantiation in the form of other examples. We give examples that contain all the Pashto pronouns to see whether the same results obtain or not. Our preference for pronouns instead of nouns owes much to the morphological forms of the former.

31. Hagha ba prewzi.
he/she.distant.NOM will fall.PRS.3
'He/she will fall'.

32. Hagoi ba prewzi.
they.distant.NOM will fall.PRS.3

‘They will fall.’

33. *Day* *ba* *prewzi.*

he.near.NOM will fall.PRS.3

‘He will fall.’

34. *Do* *ba* *prewzi.*

she.near.NOM will fall.PRS.3

‘She will fall.’

35. *Doi* *ba* *prewzi.*

they.near.NOM will fall.PRS.3

‘They will fall.’

36. *Thə* *ba* *prewzay.*

you.NOM will fall.PRS.2SG

‘You will fall.’

37. *Thaso* *ba* *prewzai.*

you.NOM will fall.PRS.2PL

‘You will fall.’

38. *Zə* *ba* *prewzum.*

I.NOM will fall.PRS.1SG

‘I will fall.’

39. *Moong* *ba* *prewzo.*

we.NOM will fall.PRS.1PL

‘We will fall.’

In the above examples, we can see that all the pronouns in the surface subject positions have nominative Case. Thus, we can confidently claim that the

derivation, we had made above, can be a representative for all the constructions, formed with unaccusative verbs in the future time/tense.

A few words about agreement pattern in terms of ϕ-features are in place. In all the present, past, and future tense sentences above, an agreement pattern arises where the subject agrees with the verb. However, in the rest of other Pashto past tense we have seen that the verb agrees with the object, not with the subject. Thus, this substantiates the morphological sub- hypothesis that agree relation between T and the relevant nominal for nominative Case assignment gets visible in Pashto, though not necessarily on T, as in all these cases it gets visible on V, and agree between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal for accusative Case remains invisible in Pashto.

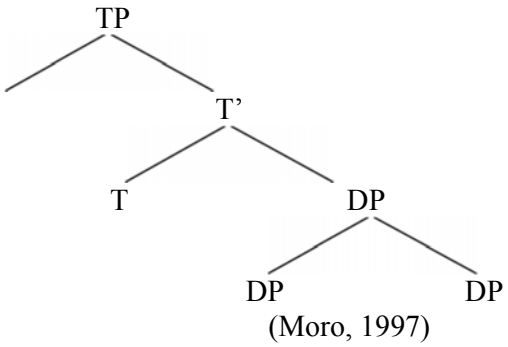
4.4 Copular Clauses

Copular sentences, because of their apparent noncompliance with the tenants of the linguistic theory, have often been referred to as the "Trojan horse" (Moro, 1997: 255) for linguistic theory. Many efforts to explain their nature have been made, but nothing conclusive and all-embracing has come out yet. As our topic relates to the assignment of structural Case in monoclausal Pashto copular constructions, we would merely scratch the surface of the issues involved, with their syntactic derivations and restrict ourselves to explaining the phenomenon of Case assignment in them.

In the generative literature, three approaches to the derivation/ structure of copular construction are worth consideration. The first approach is commonly referred to as the Small Clause (SC) approach. Here the subject and the predicate of the copular

clause are treated as the two DPs of a small clause: [$_{DP}$ = $_{SC}$ [DP_s] [DP_p]]

(Moro, 1997: 56)



(Moro, 1997)

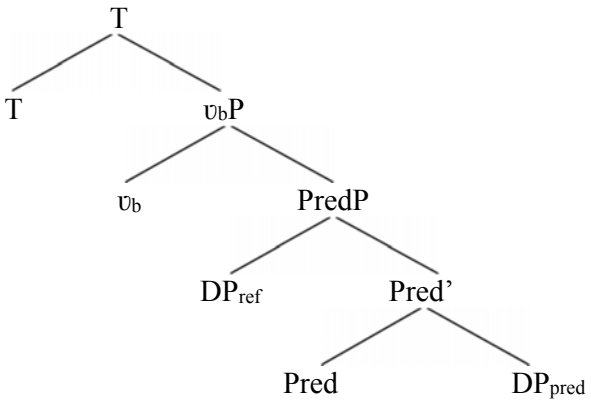
Figure 1.

The chief exponents of this approach have been Heggie (1988), Stowell (1995), Moro (1995, 1997, 2000), Lundin (2003), and DenDikken (2006), to name only a few.

The second approach is often referred to as the predicate phrase approach. The idea of predicate phrase came to the fore with the work of Bowers (1993, 2001), and was further expanded and developed by Eide (1996), Eide and Åfarli (1999), Åfarli and Eide (2000, 2001, 2003), Adger and Ramchand (2003), Baker (2003), and Mikkelsen (2005). Although, they differ in minor details, but the main idea is the same in almost all of them. This whole approach, we will sum up, in Mikkelsen (2005) work, where she opines that in the predicate phrase structure, Pred is a functional head, its specifier is the referential argument and the complement is the predicative argument (to borrow Lohndal (2006: 53) words). More importantly, she claims that the copula merges in a verb phrase above the PredP.

[$_{PredP}$ XP $_{ref}$[$_{Pred'}$ Pred XP_{pred}] (2005, p.167)

She says that XP_{pred} can be an AP, PP, NP, DP, and VP, while an XP_{ref} is typically a DP.



(Mikkelsen, 2006: 9)

Figure 2.

Lohndal (2006) presents the third approach. According to him, the copula merges in the ordinary verb phrase. He believes that copulas should be treated as an ordinary verb is treated, without postulating a special structure for copula clauses. On the basis of his observations, he presents two structures for copular clauses, the first one for copular clauses in those languages where the nominal in the predicate position bears nominative Case, while the second one for those languages where the nominal, in the predicate part of the copular clause, shows accusative Case.

1. Copula version α: Nominative – Nominative: [$_{VP}$ [DP][V XP]
2. Copula version β: Nominative – Accusative : [$_{\upsilon P}$ [DP] [$_{\upsilon}$ [$_{VP}$ V XP]]]

At first sight, this proposal seems attractive; however, the problem is really with the θ-roles assignment. Hale and Keyser (2002) say that all the semantic features are to be satisfied within the υP. Copula verbs, on the other hand, are believed to assign no θ – roles. Therefore, the introduction of copula in V creates the problem that it will have to assign the theta roles. Lohndal (2006) presents a solution by postulating that copulas do assign theta – roles, and "however, beyond 'pure' θ-roles, we also have s-(emantic) selection. In some ways, these two are dealing with the same issue: a demand that some relational properties be satisfied" (p. 58). "Collapsing these notions makes it possible

for us to say that θ-roles are labels for various kinds of semantic content: the thematic roles themselves, c-selection and s-selection" (p. 59). Without going into the debate whether his 'collapsing' is convincing or not, if we adopt his idea then we would have to rethink all the other θ-roles and structures; in order to solve one issue, there is every likelihood that other already settled issues would sprout up.

As far as the small clause approach to copular clauses is concerned, the main objection relates to the fact that in a small clause we do not have verbs, while a copula has always been considered a form of verb. Therefore, to consider a copular clause as small clause, no doubt a very easy solution, is somehow to divest a copular clause of its pivot; as verb is considered the most important element in a construction. Similarly, some aspects of the predicate phrase approach deserve criticism. The derivation for a predicate phrase along with υ and T does not has provision for V. At the same time, Mikkelsen (2005) says that an XP can be an AP, PP, NP, DP, and VP. Thus, VP has been given the same status as AP, PP, NP, DP, etc. which seems very strange as VP has very different nature as compared to the other Ps. In fact, if looked closely at the suggested derivation, it is nothing but a modified version of the small clause approach. The small υ stays at its place as has T been in the SC approach, only a PredP has been substituted for small clause. Similarly, it seems more like an effort to suggest a mechanism that prevents the nominals from coming near to V or υ, to avoid the trouble of assigning θ-roles to the nominals. In addition, this treatment adds another functional layer PredP to the inventory of functional categories, thus going against the minimalist principle of economy, and on the other hand, this addition may or may not be a virtual conceptual necessity. The word predicative, also, seems a bit restricted when we consider the fact that in addition to predication, copular constructions can also be identificational and specificational in nature.

We propose that the so-called subject DP originates inside VP, as in all cases the subject is never an agent. No special functional head like Pred, etc. is involved. The subject is assigned Case because of ϕ-features agreement between the subject and functional head T. At the same time, υ in copular constructions does not assign any Case, as we propose that υ in copular constructions is of a special kind. It is not only defective (Chomsky, 2001) in terms of person, number and gender ϕ-features, but also lacks the [uD] feature which in other constructions it gets from V. Due to this absence of [uD] feature, υ in copular constructions lacks its specifier. Moreover, as the different adjectives, nominals, etc. are in one way or another related to the subject nominal/ DP but have no θ-role relation with the subject nomial/ DP, therefore, we tentatively propose that they do not merge with the subject/ main nominal/DP, rather they are adjoined to the subject nominal/DP.

The subject nominal moves from its base position to spec TP due to T's strong [*uD] feature, leaving behind its related material stranding. The related material, in addition to adjectives, may contain nouns or pronouns, called predicate/complement nominals in the relevant literature. We would prefer to call them adjunct nominals, due to the reasons that we will elaborate in the sections to come. On its way, the nominal does not stop at spec υP, as υ does not have [uD] feature and hence does not support spec υP position. Moreover, our mechanism/ arrangement has the advantage that it does not violate the UTAH, as the main subject DP which is at most a theme/ patient argument is merged as the sister of V. This reminds us of the unaccusative and passive voice constructions where the argument acts as a theme or a patient and not an agent, therefore, by UTAH they are merged as sisters to their respective verbs (Vs).

4.4.1 Θ-Roles

In our proposed treatment for copular constructions, at two places, the use of nominals cannot be considered as very strictly obeying θ-role assignment or as it looks so, thus requiring an explanation. Firstly, the nominal in the predicate or adjunct portion of the DP does not seem to be carrying any sort of θ-role, while θ-criterion (Chomsky, 1981) says, "Each argument bears one and only one θ-role, and each θ-role is assigned to one and only one argument" (p. 36). So according to θ-criterion, the nominal should not be there. Secondly, we have proposed that the so-called subject bears a theme/ patient θ-role, and consequently originates in complement to V position. However, we do not see the subject involved in any kind of action either as a doer or as a receiver. So what is the logic for treating it like that? Let us explain/ examine these two points one by one.

First, we take the issue of the predicate (or in our terms the adjunct) nominal inside a DP. Our proposed treatment for such nominals does not assign it any theta-role. Alongside this, another issue also arises with reference to our proposed treatment for such nominals, namely, that in situations when the adjuncts portion of the extended DP also contains a noun or pronoun, why the main noun and not the adjunct noun or pronoun moves to spec TP? (In the next few paragraphs, we will come across the fact that the so-called predicate DP or the adjuncts portion of the extended DP in Pashto does not have pronouns.) Our tentative solution for this situation is that the nominals in the adjunct portion are neutralized and are not that nominal-like, rather, at the most they are sort of denominalized or adjectivalized as they most of the time explain/ elaborate/ augment/ modify, etc. the subject/ main nominal. This mechanism, alternatively, gives credit/ value to our earlier proposal that the different adjectives/

nominals adjoin the main/subject nominal/DP. More importantly, in our mechanism neither the [N] feature of the adjunct nominal is uninterpretable nor any uninterpretable [u] feature remains unvalued/ undeleted, therefore, our mechanism, at least, is not exposed to the danger of 'collapse' at any stage. Thus, our explanation for the latter problem, namely, movement to spec TP of the main nominal and not of the adjunct nominal, also explains and in fact reinforces our treatment for the earlier problem. Earlier, we had proposed, with reference to θ-role of the adjunct/ predicate nominal, that the adjunct/ predicate nominal does not bear any θ-role, as the adjunct/ predicate nominal does not remain truly nominal, rather it is neutralized and at most is denominalized and adjectivalized.

Secondly, we take up the issue of θ-role for the so-called subject nominal in copular constructions. Hale and Keyser (2002) think that all the semantic features are to be satisfied within the υP. However, about copular clauses it is believed that copular verbs do not assign θ-roles, as at the most they are believed to link two entities. Thus, they create a sort of dilemma for the linguistic theory, as their incorporation within υP would require them to assign θ-roles. Therefore, the small clause (SC) approach altogether dispenses with the υP, while the predicate phrase approach merges the copula above a phrase called predicate phrase. Our tentative proposal is that copular verb assigns theme/patient role to the subject DP inside VP. This proposal is encouraged by the idea that if a single nominal in an unergative or in an unaccusative construction can have a θ-role, similarly a single nominal in a copular construction can have a theme/ patient role, as all the time the subject has been the target of description, identification, specification, etc. An alternate account for the theme/patient rule of the subject could be that the subject should be considered in

relation with the speaker who utters a copular construction. It is the speaker, who makes the subject a theme/ patient due to his verbal action. Therefore, it is a sort of different action involving the speaker (actor) and the subject (theme/ patient). That this is not an unusual idea can be seen in the concept of speech-act theory. If speech act theory can give the idea of how to do things with words, similarly a speaker can do anything to the subject of a copular clause. He can make him a hero, a villain, a player, a joker, or anything with his words; and at the end of the day, the subject of the copular clause will be called a theme/ patient when seen in relation to the speaker. Thus, the speaker and the subject of a copular clause are involved in a sort of action where the speaker serves as the actor/ doer and the subject of a copular construction serves as the receiver/ theme/ patient of an action.

4.4.2 Case on Predicate/ Adjunct Nominals

In a situation when the adjunct portion of the extended DP also contains a noun or a pronoun, then according to Case-filter that nominal will also need a Case. To solve this issue, we will give some examples and see what the morphological manifestation for that Case in Pashto is, and how that Case is assigned if it is assigned at all. As nouns in most cases do not show morphological distinction for nominative and accusative Cases in Pashto, therefore, we have intentionally used pronouns instead of nouns so that the Case markings for nominative and accusative Cases are visible:

1. *Zama mulgaray thə yay.*
   my.GEN friend you.NOM be.PRS.2SG
   'You are my friend.'
2. *Zama mulgaray thə way.*
   my.GEN friend you.NOM be.PST.2SG

'You were my friend.'

3. *Zama mulgaray day day.*
   my.GEN friend he.near.NOM be.PRS.3SG
   'He is my friend.'
4. *Thə da haghə mulgaray yay.*
   you.NOM of he.GEN friend be.PRS.2SG
   'You are his friend.'

Apparently, the first three examples seem to have predicate pronouns and they show morphological markings for nominative Case. The natural result would be to conclude that they have default nominative Case. However, the picture is not that simple as it looks at the first sight. If looked at closely, these sentences are not in the normal word order. The subject follows the adjunct part of the complex DP, according to our mechanism. Thus, the adjunct parts either topicalize or scramble to pre-main nominal position. This topic needs further independent research, which we would avoid due to space limitations.

Overall, thus, in Pashto copular clauses, nouns can be found as the predicatorial DPs, but they do not show morphological distinction between the nominative and the accusative Cases. As far as pronouns are concerned, they are very rare in the predicatorial position. The most that we find, as in example no. 20, are in the genitive Case, which according to our hypothesis (please refer to chapter 5 for details) are assigned by the functional category D of the DP and have nothing to do with the construction of clause or its place in the clause. This absence of pronoun in the predicate DP position having nominative or accusative Case is a unique feature of Pashto language. At the same time, it makes our work a bit difficult, as Pashto nouns in most cases do not have morphological differentiation for nominative and accusative Cases.

Thus, regarding the Case of the predicate nominal, we can conclude that we have three solutions available. First, the predicate nominal is assigned the nominative Case because of ϕ-features agreement with T, and this proposal can be extended to all the Pashto copular constructions. This solution is rendered weaker by the fact that a probe once have its ϕ-features valued hence deactivated (Chomsky, 2001) cannot enter into another agree relation with another nominal. At the same time, morphological evidence makes it further weak. According to our hypothesis for different Pashto structures, agreement for nominative Case in Pashto between T and the nominal is visible, while in case of multiple agree we do not see T agreeing with the nominal of the predicate visibly; rather, agreement is visible between T and the nominal of the subject DP. Secondly, the idea of default case, which according to our hypothesis is the nominative case in Pashto, is also applicable to the nominals in the predicate DP of the copular constructions in Pashto. Thus, we could propose that the predicate or adjunct nominal is assigned default nominative Case. In case there is a language with accusative default Case, then the noun or pronoun in the adjunct portion of the extended DP will get accusative Case. Thirdly, the more radical and elaborate approach would be that the predicate or the adjunct nominal does not bear any Case at all, as we have already postulated that the predicate/ adjunct nominal has been neutralized/ de-nominalized/ adjectivilized. Hence once de-nominalized it has lost its nominal character and technically does not need any structural Case at all. Thus, the nominal in the predicate or the adjunct portion would show nominative Case in Pashto, as it is the default morphological form for nominals in Pashto, while in other languages it may show nominative or accusative depending on the default morphological Case forms of those languages. This also gives credit to another postulation of ours (discussed earlier) about predicate/ adjunct nominals that they do not bear any θ-role. Thus, out of the three

possible solutions, we would adopt the last one, namely, that the predicate/ adjunct nominal does not bear any structural Case at all and show morphological realization as nominative Case bearing nominal, due to the fact that nominative is the default morphological Case form among Pashto nominals.

Another observation also gives credit to our mechanism. In our proposed mechanism the extended DP in most cases consist of two or more nominals: the subject nominal and the adjunct nominal. The EPP (Extended Projection Principle) or [*uD] of T requires that one of two or more than two nominals should move to spec T. However, in all cases we see that the subject nominal/DP moves to spec T, while the so-called adjunct nominal/ DP remains behind. This again shows that the subject nominal/ DP has nominal characteristics while the adjunct nominal has not that nominal character. Rather, we have already hypothesized that the adjunct nominals or the so-called predicate nomianls are denomenalized or adjectivilized.

Monoclausal copular constructions abound in Pashto. Higgin's (1979) analysis of English copular sentences and their classification into three types- predicational, specificational, and identificational - is equally applicable to such constructions in Pashto, though with the minor differences regarding omission of copulas. The three types of copular sentences in Pashto are:

5. *Ahmad khə haləkday*. (Bukhari, 1984: 52) Predicational
   Ahmad.NOM good boy.NOM be.PRS
   'Ahmad is a good boy.'
6. *Ahmad doctor wo.* Predicational
   Ahmad.NOM doctor.NOM be.PST

'Ahmad was a doctor.'

7. *Doctor Ahmad day.* Specificational

   doctor.NOM Ahmad.NOM be.PRS

   'The doctor is Ahmad.'

8. *Hagha saɻay da Mary roor day.* Identificational

   that man of Mary brother be.PRS

   'That man is Mary's brother.' (Niimura, 2007: 203)

Change in order of words: A variation is visible in the meaning with the change in the order of words in Pashto copular sentences. Bukhari (1984) gives the following three examples in Pashto to show the difference in meaning with respect to change in order.

9. *Da maath laas day*. (p. 52)

   this broken hand be.PRS

   'This is the broken hand'.

10. *Da laas maath day*. (p. 52)

    this hand broken be.PRS

    'This hand is broken.'

11. *Maath laas da day*[22]. (p.52)

    broken hand this be.PRS

    'Broken hand is this'.

[22] It is worth mentioning that Bukhari (1984) does not use the above examples with reference to copular constructions; rather, he uses them for general purposes with reference to word order in Pashto. We have made use of Bukhari's (1984) examples to suit our own purposes.

Moreover, omission of copula is not possible either in the main copular clause or in the embedded copular clause in Pashto. This is in contrast to English language where it is possible to omit copula in predicational embedded clauses (Naiimura, 2007).

12. Saleem *(is) a doctor.
13. I consider the winner (to be) a good runner. (Naiimura, 2007)
14. I consider the winner *(to be) Mary. (Rothstein, 1995)
15. *Saleem doctor *(day).* (Matrix Clause)

    Saleem doctor *(be.PRS.3SG)
16. *Zə mahsosawum che Saleem bemar *(day).* (Embedded Clause)

    I.NOM feel.PRS.1SG that Saleem ill *(be.PRS.3SG)

Depending on tense, person, number, and, in some cases, gender, Pashto has different forms of 'be'. The different morphological forms of 'be' in the present tense are *yum*(1SG), *yo*(1PL), *yay*(2SG), *yai*(2PL), *day*(3SGM), *do*(3SGF), *de*(3PL), while in the past tense they are *wum*(1SG), *wo*(1PL), *way*(2SG), *wai*(2PL), *wə*(3SGM), *wa*(3SGF), *wi*(3PLM), and *way*(3PL.F). In addition, Tegey and Robson (1996) include *shum*, *sho*, *shay*, *shai*, *sha*, *she*, *she*, for present perfective, *shwum*, *shwo*, *shway*, *shwai*, *sho*, *shwa*, *shwal*, *shwala*, etc. for the past perfective, and an independent form *shtha*, in other morphological forms for 'be' in Pashto. However, in Pashto, all the forms of 'be' are not used in the formation of copular constructions; only, the so-called imperfective forms for the present tense such as *yum*, *day*, etc., the imperfective forms for the past tense such as *wum*, *wo*, etc., and the form *shtha* are used for forming copular sentences. The perfective forms for the present and the past tense are rarely used in forming copular constructions in Pashto; mostly when

constructions having light verb usage are semantically taken to represent predication, not an action, an interesting topic to explore if someone is interested.

4.4.3 Case Assignment in the Present Tense Copular Constructions

In order, to see how structural Case assignment in the present tense monoclausal copular sentences takes place, we will take a Pashto example, reproduced as example no. 13 below, and make a derivation for it.

17. Ahmad khə halək day.

Ahmad.NOM good boy.NOM be.PRS.3SG

'Ahmad is a good boy.'

First of all the predicate DP *khə halək* [uCase], which itself is already formed by the merge of an adjective *khə* and a nominal *halək*, adjoins with the subject DP *Ahmad* [uCase] to form the extended DP *khə halək Ahmad*. This DP merges with the V *day* [uD] to form a VP, resulting in satisfaction of [uD] feature of V. υ lacking [uD] and [uϕ] features but only having [uInfl] feature merges with V to form υP, through Hierarchy of Projection Principle. υ in case of copular sentences does not inherit/ receive the [uD] from V, as there is only one [uD] carried by the copular verb and that is checked/ deleted in the initial merge between V and the extended DP. υ because of its lack of [uϕ] remains defective, hence unable to assign accusative Case to the nominal *Ahmad*. As no nominal is required to satisfy [uD] of υ, due to the absence of the later, hence no spec υP is there. To satisfy the [uInfl] of υ, T having an uninterpretable strong

[*uD][23] feature, an uninterpretable [uclause type] feature, uninterpretable [uϕ] features, and interpretable tense feature 'present', merges with the υP to form T'. As a result of this merge an agree relation establishes between T, acting as a probe, and the subject nominal inside the VP, serving as a goal, in terms of person, number, and gender ϕ-features. Because of this agreement the [uϕ] of T are valued as 3rd person singular 3SGM, and the subject nominal *Ahmad* is assigned nominative Case. In Pashto, in the morphological component, this agreement gets visible on V instead of T as *day*. The nominal *halək* in the adjunct portion of the DP gets the default nominative Case (an issue already discussed in the earlier sections). Thus, we get the construction with the word order *khə halək Ahmad day*. The fact that our derivation is on the right track is shown by the fact that in the day-to-day Pashto conversations, we come across many of such constructions, though they are specificational in nature.

To satisfy the [*uD] or the EPP, the nominal subject in the complex DP moves to spec TP. It leaves behind the adjunct portion of the DP, i.e. *khə halək*. The < > symbol used in this derivation and the subsequent derivations stands for movement of the items inside it. To satisfy the [uclause type], an empty functional category C, having interpretable [Decl] feature merges with the TP to form the CP. Through this merge, the [uclause type] is valued as declarative. Figure 3 below graphically shows this whole process:

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[23] Following Adger(2004), we are using * symbol inside the brackets with strong uninterpretable features. However, outside brackets, we will use this symbol, as has been the tradition, to show unacceptable/ ungrammatical constructions.

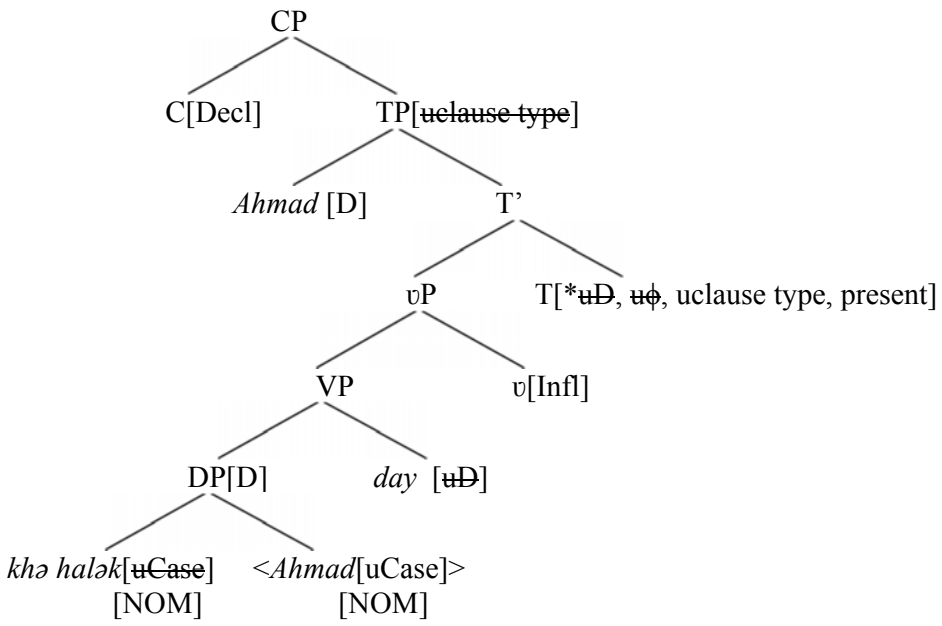


Figure 3. Ahmad khə haləkə day

Theoretically, the subject DP *Ahmad* receives the nominative Case in the above example. However, as nouns, in Pashto, in most cases, do not show morphological markings for nominative and accusative Cases, we would need empirical evidence to substantiate the view that the subject DP actually receives the nominative Case. As pronouns in Pashto bear morphological markings for nominative and accusative Cases, we will give some examples, which have pronouns in the subject position.

18. *Zə* *bemar* *yum.*
    I.NOM ill be.PRS.1SG
    'I am ill.'
19. *Thə* *bemar* *yay.*
    you.NOM ill be.PRS.2SG
    'You are ill.'

20. *Hagha bemar day.*

he.NOM ill be.PRS.3SG

'He is ill.'

All the three examples have pronouns in the subject position. These pronouns bear nominative Case. Thus, it substantiates our point that in the present tense agreement is between T and the subject DP. In addition, if looked at the copular verbs, in all the three instances, they show visible agreement with the subjects. This again substantiates our morphological hypothesis that agreement for nominative Case assignment between T and the relevant nominal in Pashto is visible while agreement for accusative Case assignment between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal is invisible.

Now, we take an instance of the present tense copular clause, which is identificational in nature, and is a bit difficult one when seen in the context of relatively simple nature of copular clauses in Pashto:

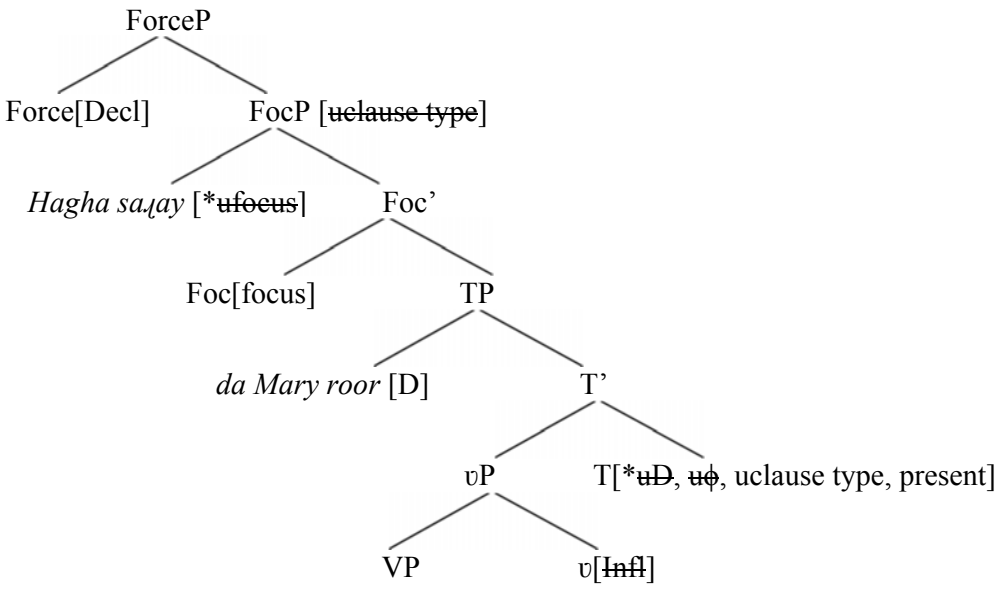
21. Hagha saɻay da Mary roor day.

that man.NOM of Mary.GEN brother.NOM be.PRS

'That man is Mary's brother.'

First of all, a DP *hagha saɻay* [uCase][*ufocus] adjoins to the already formed DP *da Mary roor,* which itself consists of genitive Case bearing nominal *da Mary* [GEN] and a nominal *roor* with [uCase] feature, to form an extended DP *hagha saɻay da Mary roor*. This DP merges with the V *day* [uD] to form VP. This merge results in satisfying the [uD] of the V. A small υ having [uInfl] and lacking [uϕ, uD] features merges with the VP to form υP. Due to the lack of [uϕ] υ remains defective (Chomsky, 2001), hence unable to assign accusative Case to a nominal in its c-command domain. To satisfy the [uInfl] of υ, T having [*uD, uϕ, uclause type,

present] features merges with υ, to form T'. Thus, the [uInfl] is valued as present. An agree relation establishes between T, acting as a probe, and the nominal *roor*, acting as a goal, in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. Because of the agree relation, the [uϕ] of T are valued as 3SGM. This agreement gets visible on V as *day*. In return, nominative Case is assigned to the nominal *roor*. The other nominal *saɻay* forming part of the adjunct part of the bigger DP, gets the default nominative Case, according to our hypothesis. The main part of the DP *da Mary roor* moves to spec TP to satisfy the [*uD] of T, leaving behind the adjunct part *hagha saray* of the complex DP stranded. However, our story does not end here. A functional category Foc having [focus] feature merges with the TP, resulting in Foc'. *Hagha saɻay* [*ufocus], the adjunct DP or the predicate DP of the extended DP in the VP moves to spec FocP due to its strong [*ufocus] feature. Due to this movement, the uninterpretable [*ufocus] is satisfied/ checked. As the [uclause type] feature of T is still unchecked, therefore, another functional category Force having [Decl] feature merges with FocP. Because of this merge the [uclause type] of T is checked/ valued as declarative.



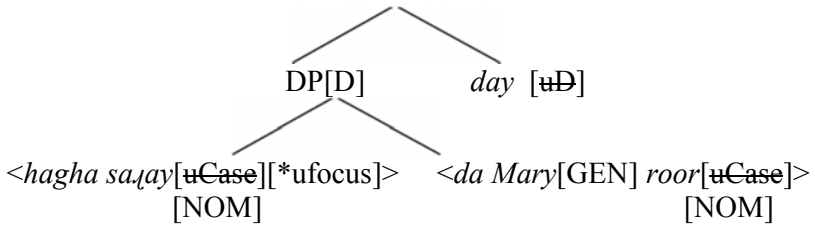


Figure 4. Hagha saɻay da Mary roor day

4.4.4 Case Assignment in the Past Tense Copular Constructions

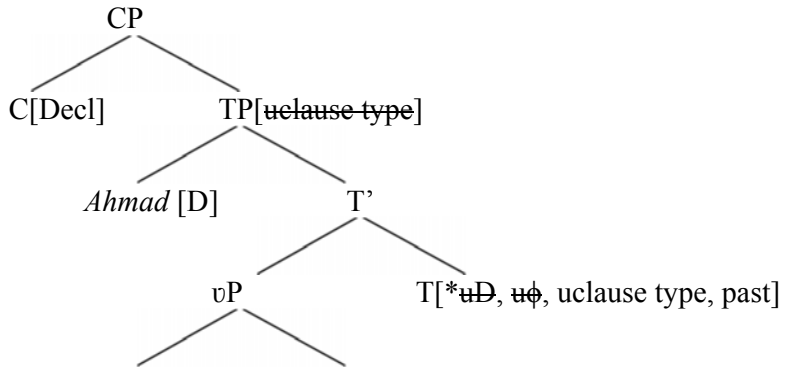
In the past tense, we have *wum*(1SG), *wo*(1PL), *way*(2SG), *wai*(2PL), *wə*(3SGM), *wa*(3SGF), *wi*(3PLM), and *way*(3PLF) copulas as markers of tense and agreement, referred to in the earlier paragraphs. We will take the same example, that we have already derived for the present tense, with the modification that instead of the present tense we will use the past form of the copula. The example is reproduced below as no. 22, with the relevant change:

22. Ahmad khə halək wo.

Ahmad.NOM good boy.NOM be.PST.3SG

'Ahmad was a good boy.'

For the past tense, we will have the same derivation as for the present tense except that the T will have the interpretable tense feature as past. Figure 5gives the overall derivation:



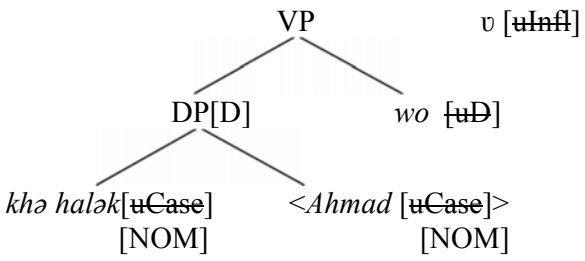


Figure 5. Ahmad khə haləkwo

The step that is important for our purposes is that of Case assignment. An agree relation establishes between T and the subject nominal in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. Because of the agree relation the [uϕ] of T are valued as 3SGM. These features along with the tense get visible on V as *wo* (PST.3SG). While nominative Case is assigned to the subject DP *Ahmad*. The predicate nominal *halək* gets its nominative Case form as default.

As the subject DP here is a noun, therefore, morphological markings for nominative Case are not visible on it. In order to substantiate our view that the subject nominal/DP receives the nominative Case we give some examples that have pronouns in the subject position; as pronouns, especially the singular ones, have different markings for nominative and accusative Cases.

23. *Zə* *bemar* *wum.*
    I.NOM ill be.PST.1SG
    'I was ill.'
24. *Thə* *bemar* *way.*
    you.NOM ill be.PST.2SG
    'You were ill.'

25. *Hagha bemar wə.*
he.NOM ill be.PST.3SG
'He was ill.'

All the pronouns, in the examples above, are in the subject position, and carry nominative Case. Thus, it substantiates our hypothesis that nominative Case has been assigned to them. In addition, the subject pronouns show agreement with the verb, thus substantiating our morphological hypothesis for Pashto that agreement for nominative Case assignment between T and a nominal is visible, while agreement for accusative Case assignment between υ and a nominal is invisible.

4.4.5 Case Assignment in the Future Tense Copular Constructions

In the future tense copular constructions, we have somewhat changed morphological forms of 'be', such as *wum*(1SG), *wo*(1PL), *way*(2SG), *wai*(2PL), *wi*(3SG), *wi*(3PL), etc. In addition, we have the clitic *ba* in future constructions, which also serves as future marker for almost all Pashto constructions. What is unique about future Pashto copular constructions is that in most cases they show different modalities:

26. Ahmad ba bemar wi.
Ahmad will ill be.3SG
'Ahmad would/may be ill.'

27. Thə ba zma mulgaray way.
you will I.GEN friend be.PST.2SG
'You would have been/ will be my friend.'

However, what is more important is the fact that such sentences do not occur by themselves. They are in response to some questions. For example, the above sentence would be uttered in response to a question like, *Ahmad party tha wəlay nə raghlo?*

'Why did Ahmad not attend the party?'. In addition, strikingly enough, these constructions in majority of cases form a part of Pashto conditionals – both, conditions or possibilities and their consequences, and counterfactuals or unreal conditions- and Pashto coordinate and subordinate constructions:

28. Ka zə bazar tha laɻum, bazar ba bənd wi.
if I.NOM market to go market.NOM will close be
'If I go to the market, it will be closed.'

29. Thə ba zma mulgəray way, ka huspathal tha raghəlay way.
you.NOM will I.GEN friend be.3SG if hospital to come be.3SG
'You would have been my friend, if you had come to the hospital.'

30. Zə mahsoosawum che Ahmad ba khə halək wi.
I.NOM feel.PRS that Ahmad.NOM will good boy be.3SG
'I feel that Ahmad will be a good boy.'

As conditionals and counterfactuals, and complex and compound sentences are more than one clause constructions, and here we are restricted to monoclausal copular constructions, we would not attempt to describe Case assignment in the multi-clausal sentences here. Rather, we have dealt with Case assignment in multi-clausal Pashto constructions in chapter 7.

Now, we take a typical monoclausal Pashto example, that we have already used for the present and past tenses, reproduced as example no. 31, with future modification, to analyze assignment of structural Case:

31. Ahmad ba khə halək wi.
Ahmad.NOM will good boy.NOM be.3SG

'Ahmad will be a good boy.'

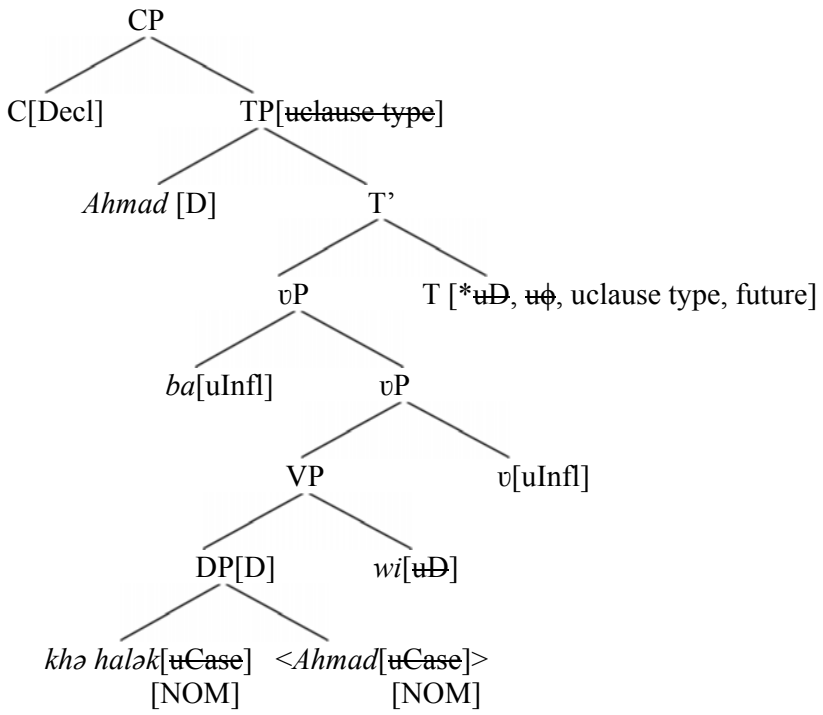


Figure 6. Ahmad ba khə haləkʰ wi.

The derivation for the future clause is the same except with some minor differences. Here, we adjoin the clitic *ba* with the υP to form the extended υP. This is followed by the merge of T with the υP to value the [uInfl] of υ. The rest of the processes are the same as we have described for the present tense. An agree relation establishes between *Ahmad* and T in terms of ϕ-features. The goal *Ahmad* values the ϕ-features of the probe T as third person singular male and nominative Case is assigned to the subject DP *Ahmad.* The nominal *haləkʰ* receives the default nominative Case form (as discussed in the earlier sections).

Now, we give a few examples, making use of singular pronouns, to show and substantiate the view that the Case assigned to the subject nominals/DPs is nominative:

32. *Zə ba bemar wum.*
I.NOM will ill be.1SG
'I will/would be ill.'

33. *Thə ba bemar way.*
you.NOM will ill be.2SG
'You will/would be ill.'

34. *Hagha ba bemar wə.*
he.NOM will ill be.3SG
'He will/would be ill.'

All the three pronouns in the above examples bear nominative Case, and this in a way substantiates the fact that nominative Case is assigned to the subject nominals in Pashto copular clauses. The agreement pattern in the above examples is that the subject agrees with the verb. Thus, it substantiates one of our morphological hypotheses, namely, that agreement for nominative Case assignment in Pashto between T and the relevant nominal is visible.

We can conclude our discussion with the result that in Pashto monoclausal copular constructions, nominative Case is assigned to the subject nominal as a result of ϕ-features agreement between T and the nominal, while nominals in the predicate DP are de-nominalized/ adjectivalized, hence do not carry/ need any Case at all, and consequently are assigned the default nominative Case form. Derivationally, the subject of copular clause originates inside the VP. The DP consists of two parts, one is the main DP or the DP that serves as the subject while the second part we would name as the adjunct DP, as it most of the time modifies/ provides information about the main or the subject part of the DP. The adjunct DP part, called predicate DP by grammarians, in

most cases is left behind stranded in the VP, unless focused or topicalized, while the main/subject DP moves to spec TP because of the EPP feature of T.

4.5 Passive Voice Constructions

To present an acceptable and working solution for passive constructions has always been a challenge for generative linguists. The problematic nature of passives has to do with the inverted order of the subject and object; the opposite Cases of nominative and accusative, for instance in English, on the internal argument and external argument respectively, and the myriad forms in which passives are available across languages of the world. During the last three decades, many syntacticians (Chomsky (1981: 124-125, 1995, 2008), Jaeggli (1986), Roberts (1987), Baker (1988), Lasnik (1988), Baker, Johnson, & Roberts (1989), Watanabe (1993), Mahajan (1995), Kural (1996), Goodall (1997), Fox & Grodzinsky (1998), Adger (2004), Hornstein, Nunes, & Grohmann (2005), Collins (2005), Radford (2009), Ishizuka (2010) (for Japanese passives)), to name only a few, have tried to deal with one or another aspect of passive constructions.

The use of passive voice in Pashto is not that frequent as we find it in some other languages of the world, such as English. We will not discuss the factors responsible for this phenomenon as it is outside the scope of our thesis. However, for our purposes, it is significant that passive sentences are used in Pashto, and ultimately receive Cases because of the Case filter. The most important aspect of Pashto passive voice constructions is that in most of the cases, there is no agent mentioned in the sentence. Either the agent is understood from the context, or not considered that important to be mentioned or in the last resort, the speakers prefer to use transitive sentences. The theme/ patient and the verbal predicate, in majority of cases, form the Pashto passive constructions. In addition,

in many cases, the instrument is mentioned but very rarely the agent is mentioned. Moreover, if the agent is used at all, then the sentence becomes so much changed semantically and syntactically, that the speaker prefers other constructions:

1. *Khur wahəlay kegi.*

   donkey beat.3SG do.PRS.3

   'A donkey is beaten/ being beaten.'

2. *Khur pə kothək wahəlay kegi.*

   donkey with rod beat.3SG do.PRS.3

   'A donkey is beaten/ being beaten with a rod.'

3. *Khur da ma na pə kothək wahəlay kegi.*

   Donkey from I.GEN from with rod beat.3SG do.PRS.3

   'A donkey is about to be beaten by me with a rod or the donkey forces me to beat it with a rod or I am forced to beat the donkey with a rod, etc.'

4. *Zə khar pə kothək wahum.*

   I.NOM donkey.ACC with rod beat.PRS.1SG

   'I beat a donkey with a rod.'

The first example is a typical passive construction with only the theme argument. The second example, in addition to the theme argument, also mentions the instrument that is used for action. The third example, in addition to theme and instrument, makes use of the agent. However, the meaning of the sentence is not the same that we wanted it to have. We wanted it to have the meaning 'The donkey is being beaten by me with a rod'; however, we find the meaning as 'The donkey is about to be beaten by me with a rod or the donkey forces me to beat it with a rod or I am forced to beat the donkey with a rod'. This confusion in meaning arises because there are no canonical Pashto passive constructions making frequent mention of the agents, and that we per force

inserted the agent in it and ambiguity was the result. As compared to example no 3, the last example is very clear, and that's why Pashto speakers prefer to use the forth construction as compared to the third one.

All the efforts that we have referred to in the above paragraphs to explain different aspects of passive voice have been very valuable. In order to analyse passive voice constructions we would take help from all of them whenever possible. However, we would mostly rely on Adger (2004) for his features paradigm, and on Collins (2005) for his idea of Voice, reported widely in the generative literature. This would give a sort of unity to our thesis, as in addition to passive constructions, we are also making use of the Voice functional category for our past tense structures. In addition, we would make use of Holmberg' (2010) idea of *null pronoun* for Finnish as it adequately describes the absence of subject in Pashto passive voice constructions.

The chief characteristic of Pashto passive voice constructions, from our perspective, has been the defectiveness of υ (Chomsky, 2001) in terms of [uϕ] features. Due to this defectiveness, υ in the passive voice lacks the ability to assign accusative Case. While in different Pashto constructions we have used the Voice functional category for the assignment of accusative Case in the past tense, except in the unaccusative constructions, in the passive voice Pashto constructions, we are making use of the Voice in all the three tenses- present, past, and future.

4.5.1 Case Assignment in the Present Tense Passive Voice Constructions

We will take a monoclausal present tense passive voice construction, make a derivation for it, and see how Case is assigned in it. Example no. 5 below shows the construction:

5. *Khət lekəlay kegi.*

   letter.NOM write.3SG do.PRS.3

   'A letter is (being) written.'

At the outset, it is notable that in Pashto the same construction can serve for the indefinite and continuous aspects, therefore, to avoid confusion we would not use the functional layer ProgP in the derivation and would treat the verb here in the indefinite sense. In the first step, the verb in its base form *lekəl/leek* (see section 3.2.1 on the two base forms of the Pashto verb), merges with the theme argument *khət* to give the VP. This reminds us Pashto unaccusative constructions where the argument acts as a theme or patient and not as an agent, therefore, by the UTAH is merged as the sister to the verb (Masood & Rahman, 2013). The verb has the categorial feature [V] and the uninterpretable features [uD, uD], while the DP *Khət* has the categorial feature [D]and the uninterpretable feature [uCase]. Merge between the verb and the DP results in checking/deleting one of the two uninterpretable [uD] features of the verb. The strike through [~~uD~~] and elsewhere shows that the uninterpretable feature has been checked/ deleted.

The VP merges with the small ʋ, here *keg/ kedəl*, having [uInfl] feature, through Hierarchy of Projection Principle, as proposed by Adger (2004) and explained in section 3.2.1 on monotransitive constructions, to form ʋ'. Unlike English, the main verb stays in VP and does not move to ʋ. Now, we have reached the difficult part of the derivation. In other languages, the agent is merged in the spec ʋP position, however, in Pashto, as in most cases we do not have an agent to merge into the specifier ʋP, therefore, some mechanism needs to be sorted out. Our solution for this situation is the postulation of a *null pronoun*. This *null pronoun* reminds us Holmberg's (2010) postulation of a *null*

pronoun for Finnish language; as the characteristics of his *null pronoun* are equally suitable for our purposes. Therefore, the *null pronoun* merges with υ to form υP.

Our υ here is defective (Chomsky, 2001) in the sense that it has no [uϕ] features. Following Collins (2005), Voice withholds [uϕ] features to itself. Due to the absence of [uϕ] features, the little υ is unable to assign accusative Case to any DP. Therefore, our DP in complement to V position remains Caseless for the time being. At this stage a functional category Voice (Kratzer, 1996; Collins, 2005; Roberts, 2010, n.d.; Holmberg, 2007) having [uϕ] features merges with the υP to form Voice'. Hierarchy of Projection Principle, a topic that we have already discussed in sections 3.2.1. and 3.2.2., facilitates the merge of υP and Voice. An agree relation establishes between Voice and the subject DP *null pronoun* in terms of person, number, and gender ϕ-features. Because of this agree relation, the phi-features of the Voice are valued and in return the subject DP, *null pronoun* in this case, is assigned accusative Case. The Voice feature gets visible on the verb in the VP; however, the valued [ϕ] features' values remain invisible. Thus, in a way, it corresponds to our hypothesis that in Pashto agreement for accusative Case remains invisible while for nominative Case it is visible. The derivation at this stage looks like the following:

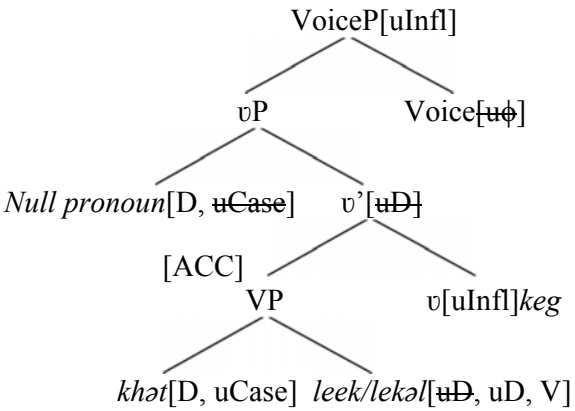


Figure 1.

The uninterpretable [uInfl] is still unchecked and ultimately gets projection on VoiceP, therefore, T bearing strong [*uD] feature, interpretable tense feature 'present', uninterpretable [uclause type] feature and uninterpretable phi-features merges with the VoiceP, resulting in T'. As a result of this merge the [uInfl] is valued as present, and an agree relation establishes between the uninterpretable phi-features of T, acting as a probe, and the interpretable features of the theme DP *khət,* acting as a goal. The probe searches for a goal in the specifier of ʋP as has been the practice with transitive constructions. As we have already said that the specifier of ʋP in this particular instance is occupied by a *null pronoun*, which has already been assigned accusative Case by the Voice head, therefore, the probe searches for a goal in other places and ultimately finds it in the complement to V position. As both the probe T and the goal *khət* are active, having not been deactivated by other agree relations, therefore, conditions are ripe for an agree relation between the two. The probe and goal stand in the following relation.

[T {P:?; N:?; G:?}] [*Khət* {P:1; N:SG; G:M; CASE:?}]

As a result of the agree relation the [uϕ] of T are valued as 3rd person singular male, while in return nominative Case is assigned to the nominal. The valued ϕ-features of T do not get visible on T, as has been the case with most of the Pashto constructions; rather, they get visible on V and ʋ as *lekəlay kegi*. This construction, the traditional Pashto grammarians term as complex verb, and we call as light verb construction. A nominal is needed to satisfy the strong [*uD] of T. The DP *khət* in the complement to V position moves to spec TP position. Now we are faced with a technical question; why not the *null pronoun* in the spec ʋP position moves to spec TP? This question assumes significance from the fact that it (the *null pronoun*) is far more nearer to the TP than the DP in the complement to V position. Again, we refer to Holmberg (2010),

"It is argued that the subject is a null pronoun which is assigned case and values the φ-features of T, just like a regular DP, but which is invisible to the EPP and therefore always remains vP-internal."(p.1). Same is the case with our *null pronoun*. It remains invisible to the EPP, hence υP internal. Next, C having [Decl] feature merges with the TP to check/ delete the [uclause type] feature of T that has projection on TP. Thus, our derivation for the CP is complete, as shown in the Figure below:

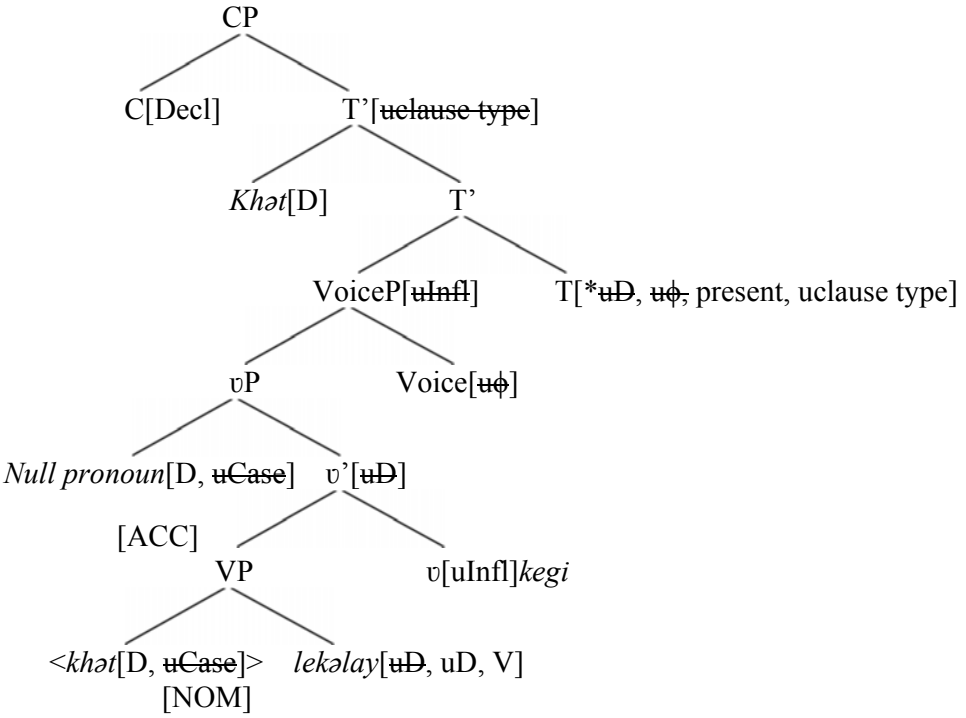


Figure 2. Khət lekəlay kegi

Now, we are giving present tense Pashto sentences in the passive voice, containing all Pashto pronouns, and see whether the same pattern for agreement and Case exists as we have found for the example above or not:

6.	*Hagha*	*wahəlay*	*kegi.*
	he/she.distant.NOM	beaten.SG	do.PRS.3

‘S/he is (being) beaten.’

7. *Hagoi wahəli kegi.*

they.distant.NOM beaten.PL do.PRS.3

‘They are (being) beaten.’

8. *Day wahəlay kegi.*

he.near.NOM beaten.SG do.PRS.3

‘He is (being) beaten.’

9. *Do wahəlay kegi.*

she.near.NOM beaten.SG do.PRS.3

‘She is (being) beaten.’

10. *Doi wahəli kegi.*

they.near.NOM beaten.PL do.PRS.3

‘They are (being) beaten.’

11. *Thə wahəlay kegay.*

you.NOM beaten.SG do.PRS.2SG

‘You are (being) beaten.’

12. *Thaso wahəli kegai.*

you.NOM beaten.PL do.PRS.2PL

‘You are (being) beaten.’

13. *Zə wahəlay kegum.*

I.NOM beaten.SG do.PRS.1SG

‘I am (being) beaten.’

14. *Moong wahəli kego.*

we.NOM beaten.PL do.PRS.1PL

'We are being beaten.'

Pronouns in all the above instances are in the nominative Case. These examples substantiate our hypothesis; however, we present further evidence to show that the subject has received Case from T and not from the little v. For this, we will take two examples of pronouns from monotransitive constructions where those pronouns had shown the accusative forms when they had been assigned Case in the spec vP position.

15. *Saleem* *tha* *wahi.*

Saleem.NOM you.ACC beat.PRS.3

'Saleem beats you.'

16. **Tha* *wahəlay* *kegay.*

you.ACC beaten.SG do.PRS.2SG

'You are (being) beaten.'

17. *Saleem* *ma* *wahi.*

Saleem.NOM I.ACC beat.PRS.3

'Saleem beats me.'

18. **Ma* *wahəlay* *kegum.*

I.ACC beaten.SG do.PRS.1SG

'I am (being) beaten.'

Thus, the examples, relating to the passive voice in the present tense, show that if the pronouns in the subject position are in the accusative Case then these sentences become ungrammatical.

4.5.2 Case Assignment in the Past Tense Passive Voice Constructions

For the assignment of Case, in the past passive voice monoclausal constructions, a sentence is given in example no. 19, with the understanding that we are only considering its indefinite aspect. First, we will make a derivation for it, as represented in Figure 3, and then analyse it for Case assignment purposes.

19. Khət lekəlay kedo.

letter written.SG do.PST.3SG

'A letter was (being) written.'

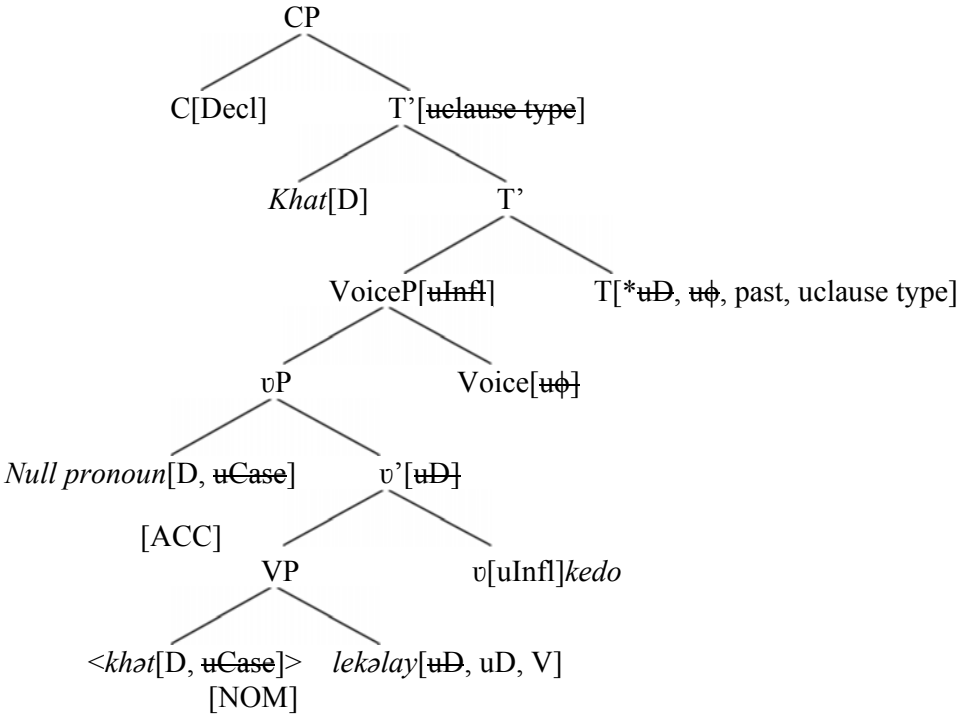


Figure 3. Khət lekəlay kedo

As the Figure shows, there are no major differences between the present and past tenses in terms of Case assignment. In T the interpretable feature 'present' is replaced by 'past'. In terms of Case assignment the same situation prevails as we find in the present tense,

namely, that an agree relation establishes between Voice head and the *null pronoun* in terms of ϕ-features. The ϕ-features of the Voice probe are valued by the *null pronoun* goal and accusative Case is assigned to the *null pronoun*. The Voice feature gets visible on the verb in the VP; however, the valued [ϕ] features' values remain invisible. Thus, this aspect is the same with passive constructions, as is the case with other Pashto constructions where agreement remains invisible in the morphological component between υ and a relevant nominal in terms of ϕ-features for accusative Case assignment.

Again, like the present tense, another agree relation establishes between T and the DP *khət* in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. The [uϕ] of T are valued as 3SGM. Nominative Case is assigned to the DP. Thus, the [uCase] of the DP *khət* is valued/checked. The valued ϕ-features of T, do not get visible on T; rather, they get visible on V and υ as *lekəlay kedo*, The rest of the processes, such as movement, completion of CP, etc. are the same that we have described for the present tense.

Now, we are giving examples of past tense Pashto sentences in the passive voice containing different Pashto pronouns in the nominative Case and see whether the same pattern for agreement and Case exists as we have found for the above example:

20. *Hagha* *wahəlay* *kedə.*

he.distant.NOM beaten.SG do.PST.3SGM

'He was (being) beaten.'

21. *Hagha* *wahəlay* *keda.*

she.distant.NOM beaten.SG do.PST.3SGF

'She was (being) beaten.'

22. *Hagoi* *wahəli* *kedəl.*

they.distant.NOM beaten.PL do. PST.3PL

'They were (being) beaten.'

23. *Day wahəlay kedə.*

he.near.NOM beaten.SG do.PST.3SGM

'He was (being) beaten.'

24. *Do wahəlay keda.*

he.near.NOM beaten.SG do.PST.3SGF

'She was being beaten.'

25. *Doi wahəli kedəl.*

they.near.NOM beaten.PL do.PST.3PL

'They were (being) beaten.'

26. *Thə wahəlay keday.*

you.NOM beaten.SG do.PST.2SG

'You were (being) beaten.'

27. *Thaso wahəli kedai.*

you.NOM beaten.PL do.PST.2PL

'You were (being) beaten.'

28. *Zə wahəlay kedum.*

I.NOM beaten.SG do.PST.1SG

'I was (being) beaten.'

29. *Moong wahəli kedo.*

we.NOM beaten.PL do.PST.1PL

'We were (being) beaten.'

Pronouns, in all the examples above, show that they are in the nominative Case. These examples substantiate our hypothesis. However, we would present further evidence to show that the subject has received Case from T and not from the little ʋ or Voice. Suppose, that the subject has received Case from Voice or ʋ, in such situations the subject nominal should show accusative Case. However, if the subject nominals in Pashto past tense passive voice show accusative Case then such constructions will be ungrammatical as is shown by the following examples:

30. **Tha wahəlay keday.*
you.ACC beaten.SG do.PST.2SG
'You were (being) beaten.'

31. **Ma wahəlay kedum.*
I.ACC beaten.SG do.PST.1SG
'I was (being) beaten.'

Thus, all this substantiate our hypotheses that nominative Case in Pashto past tense passive voice constructions is assigned as result of phi-features agreement between T and a nominal, and accusative Case is assigned as a result of phi-features agreement between Voice or ʋ and the relevant nominal.

4.5.3 Case Assignment in the Future Tense Passive Voice Constructions

In order to see the assignment of Case in the future passive voice monoclausal constructions, first, we will take a typical future tense sentence in the passive voice, as is given in example no. 30, then draw a derivation for it, as is shown in Figure 4, and analyse how structural Case is assigned in such sentences:

32. *Khət* *ba* *lekəlay* *kegi.*

letter.NOM will written.SG do.PRS.3

'A letter will be (being) written.'

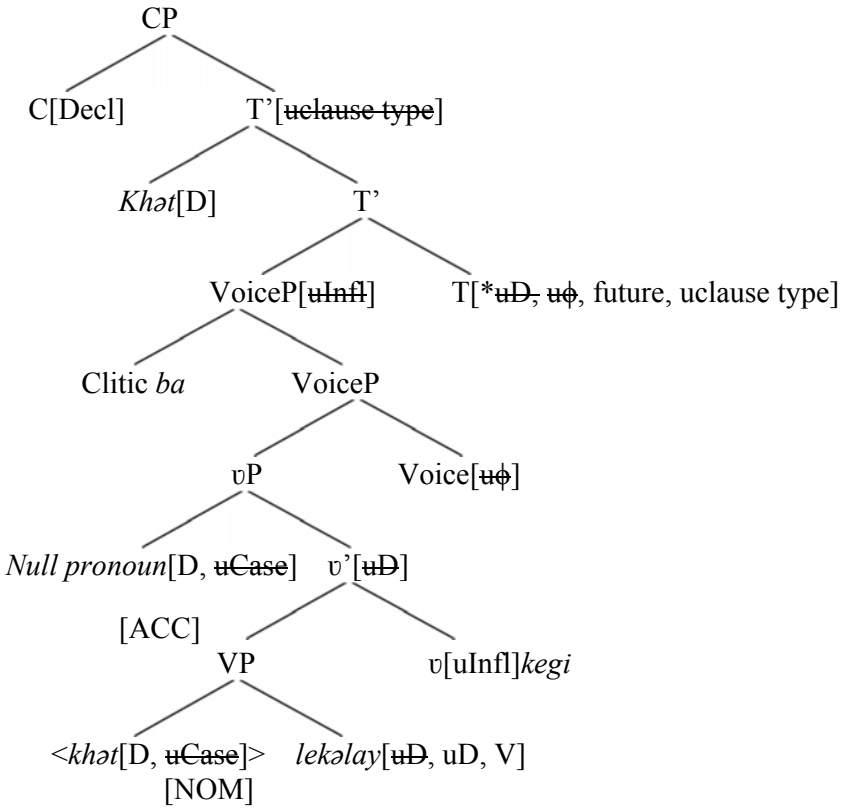


Figure 4. Khət ba lekəlay kegi

As the Figure shows, there are no major differences between the present and the future tense in terms of derivation and Case assignment. Only in T the interpretable feature 'future' replaces 'present'. In addition, a Pashto modal clitic *ba* adjoins the VoiceP. This adjoin results in an extended VoiceP. This modal clitic is the only difference between Pashto present and future tense constructions. In terms of Case assignment the same situation prevails as we find in the present and past tenses, namely, that an agree relation establishes between Voice head and the *null pronoun* in terms of ϕ-features. The ϕ-

features of the Voice probe are valued by the *null pronoun* goal. In return, accusative Case is assigned to the *null pronoun*. The Voice feature gets visible on the verb in the VP; however, the valued [ϕ] features' values remain invisible. Thus, this aspect is the same with passive constructions, as is the case with other Pashto constructions where agreement remains invisible in the morphological/ phonetic/ spell-out component between υ and a relevant DP in terms of ϕ-features for accusative Case assignment.

Again, like the present and past tenses, another agree relation establishes between T and the DP *khət* in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. Thus, the [uϕ] of T is valued as 3SGM, while nominative Case is assigned to the DP. The [uCase] of the DP *khət* is valued/ checked. The valued ϕ-features of T do not get visible on T; rather, they get visible on V and υ as *lekəlay kedə*. The rest of the processes, such as movement, completion of CP, etc. are the same that we have described for the present and past tenses.

We are giving examples of future tense Pashto sentences in the passive voice, containing different Pashto pronouns, and see whether the same pattern for agreement and Case exists as we have found for the example above or otherwise:

33. *Hagha ba wahəlay kegi.*
he.distant.NOM will beaten.SG do.PRS.3
'He will be (being) beaten.'

34. *Hagoi ba wahəli kegi.*
they.distant.NOM will beaten.PL do.PRS.3
'They will be (being) beaten.'

35. *Day ba wahəlay kegi.*
he.near.NOM will beaten.SG do.PRS.3

‘He will be (being) beaten.’

36. *Do ba wahəlay kegi.*

she.near.NOM will beaten.SG do.PRS.3

‘She will be (being) beaten.’

37. *Doi ba wahəli kegi.*

they.near.NOM will beaten.PL do.PRS.3

‘They will be (being) beaten’.

38. *Thə ba wahəlay kegay.*

you.NOM will beaten.SG do.PRS.2SG

‘You will be (being) beaten.’

39. *Thaso ba wahəli kegai.*

you.NOM will beaten.PL do.PRS.2PL

‘You will be (being) beaten.’

40. *Zə ba wahəlay kegum.*

I.NOM will beaten.SG do.PRS.1SG

‘I will be (being) beaten.’

41. *Moong ba wahəli kego.*

we.NOM will beaten.PL do.PRS.1PL

‘We will be (being) beaten.’

The notation (PRS) needs some explanation. We have used the notation of (PRS) instead of (FUT) because of the fact that the future passive voice verb construction is the same as the present tense. The only difference is with reference to the Pashto modal clitic *ba*, which we have translated as ‘will’ in English.

Pronouns, in all the above instances, are in the nominative Case. This substantiates the hypothesis that nominative Case is assigned to the relevant nominal/DP as a result of ϕ-features agreement with T and the accusative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement with υ, or by Voice in case υ is defective and does not contain the [uϕ] feature. In order to further substantiate our point that the subject nominal/DP has received Case as a result of agreement with T and not the little υ or Voice, we will take two examples of pronouns bearing accusative Case:

42. **Tha ba wahəlay kegay.*
you.ACC will beaten.SG do.PRS.2SG
'You will be (being) beaten.'

43. **Ma ba wahəlay kegum.*
I.ACC will beaten.SG do.PRS.1PL
'I will be (being) beaten.'

These examples show that if they are assigned Case in the specifier υP position, then they should exhibit accusative Case and in that case our sentences will become unacceptable.

As a whole, the above examples and the derivations substantiate the main hypothesis that in Pashto passive voice constructions nominative Case is assigned to a nominal as a result of ϕ-features agreement between T and the relevant nominal and accusative Case is assigned to a nominal as a result of ϕ-features agreement between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal. The sub-hypothesis, that in Pashto constructions the agree for nominative Case assignment between T and the relevant nominal gets morphologically visible while the agree for accusative Case assignment between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal is not visible on the verb or υ, is also substantiated.

4.6 Conclusion

Overall, in this chapter, we studied Case assignment in four Pashto constructions, namely, unaccusatives, unergatives, copular clauses, and passive voice sentences. All the four constructions had one important thing in common, namely, that υ was defective in them, and hence υ was unable to assign accusative Case. All the constructions substantiated the hypotheses, that nominative Case in Pashto is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between T and the relevant nominal, and that accusative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal. Nowhere, we found any instance, which goes against these hypotheses. In addition, these constructions also substantiated a morphological hypothesis for Pashto language, namely, that for nominative Case assignment the agreement between T and the relevant nominal gets visible in the spell-out or morphological component, while for accusative Case assignment the agreement between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal remains invisible. Although, this hypothesis was not the aim of this thesis, or had anything to do with the scheme of the things, however, we are enjoying its fruits as a by-product of our effort to explore structural Case assignment in Pashto language.

CHAPTER 5. THE STRUCTURE OF PASHTO DPs AND GENITIVE CASE ASSIGNMENT IN PASHTO

5.1 Introduction

Our hypothesis, for the assignment of genitive Case in Pashto DPs, is that agreement in terms of [N] feature between the functional category D and the possessor results in assigning genitive Case to the possessor. Thus, our hypothesis is a version of the 'functional categories and agreement in terms of features' mechanism. Morphologically, Pashto DPs are characterized by the presence of the morpheme *da*, showing possession. It is located at the left-most side of a genitive Case bearing possessive nominal. This may lead one to conclude that *da* represent represent the functional head D in Pashto DPs. However, we propose that D in Pashto DPs is empty. The morphological marking for genitive Case, in Pashto DPs, are visible only on pronouns, not nouns. The presence of *da* at the left-most side of a genitive Case marked possessive nominal is due to the movement of it from Poss to D in the spell-out/ morphological component. In the narrow-syntax it is located at the functional head Poss.

As no attempt, so far, has been made either to describe the assignment of genitive Case or the structure of Pashto DPs, therefore, we would first give some idea of a typical Pashto DP and its contents, and later on analyse the assignment of genitive Case in Pashto DPs.

5.2 Genitive Case in Pashto

In Pashto, so far, no attempt has been made to look at the genitive Case from a generative perspective; all that we have are traditional accounts of the genitive Case. In

this respect, Raverty (1855) gives the most influential account of genitive Case in Pashto. He believes that Pashto has seven cases, genitive being one of them. He says that *da/ dah* "the particle governing the genitive case, must always precede the noun" (p. 7). In addition, he gives the genitive Case forms for the personal pronouns along with their other forms. Lorimer (1902) is the first one who has tried his hand on the grammar of Waziri Pashto, a variety of Pashto spoken by the Wazir tribe. In his book, he divides cases in Pashto into two groups – nominative and oblique. Later on, in the same book he adds vocative and numeral cases in the inventory of Pashto case system. He gives "*tsok?* who? *Kim?* which? and *tse?* what?" (p. 16), as the different forms of the interrogative pronouns in Pashto. He considers *hagha* and *dagha* as demonstrative pronouns in addition to their function as personal pronouns. He also gives examples of indefinite pronouns in Pashto, such as, *yo* 'either/one'; *bel* 'another/the other'; *ghund* 'all'; *tsok* or *hetsok* 'anybody'; *har yo* or *har tsok* 'each or every'; *kim* 'any'; *tse* 'something or somewhat'; *har tse* 'everything'; *bel tsok* 'someone', else.

Roos-Keppel (1922) divides Pashto cases in seven groups, namely, nominative, accusative, genitive, instrumental, dative, ablative, locative and vocative. About genitive Case he says, "The Genitive is formed by prefixing [*da*] to the formative of the noun" (p. 23). Among many other things, he also gives the genitive forms of the personal pronouns. The third person singular (near and distant) and plural (near and distant) are preceded by *da* genitive Case marker while the first person pronouns, both singular and plural, are prefixed by the sound '*z*' and the second person pronouns, singular and plural, are preceded by prefix having'*s*' sound. He says that there are four demonstrative pronouns, having the same form as that of the third person pronoun. He shows the genitive Case of these pronouns by placing the genitive Case marker *da* before them. He considers *tsok*, *tse*, *tso* and *kom* as

interrogative pronouns and *tsok*, *tse*, *zenay* and *hech* as indefinite pronouns, depending on their use. He also gives the idea of compound indefinite pronouns and pronominal adjectives, where in the case of the former *har*, *bel*, *noor*, etc. combine with indefinite pronouns, while in the case of the later, some adjectives such as *der*, *tool*, *wara*, *har*, *bel*, *dwara*, and their feminine forms, do the work of pronouns in a sentence or clause.

Bukhari (1984) explains the possessive or genitive Case in Pashto by comparing it with Urdu. He says that possessive is obtained by placing the word *da* in front of the noun or the pronoun, while in Urdu the nouns and pronouns are followed by possessive marking words. So far as the absence of the genitive marker *da* with the first and second person pronouns is concerned he believes that they are actually there and their present forms are the result of the addition of the two (*da* + Pronoun). Zayar (2005), the latest in the series, propounds seven Cases for Pashto nouns with the only addition that instead of the words genitive Case he uses the words possessive Case. Alongside these grammarians, there are some other influential Pashto grammarians, such as Penzal (1955), Shafeev (1964), Mackenzie (1987), Rashteen (1994), Tegey and Robson (1996), etc. On the whole, they have more or less given the same information about the genitive Case. As such, repeating their ideas would be a mere repetition and we would avoid it.

5.3 Salient Features of Pashto DPs and Determiners

When seen from a cross-linguistic perspective, determiners and DPs in Pashto have their unique features. For instance, Pashto is an article-less language. In Pashto, determiners are not necessary for grammaticality, which may be the consequence of the first feature, namely, article-less-ness. Determiners, in Pashto DPs, unlike English, can

be staked together: *da* 'of' *zama* 'my' *hagha* 'that' *har* 'every' *yo* 'one' *pen* 'pen'/ '*my that every one pen'. The above example shows that that word order is acceptable in Pashto, while such arrangement is unacceptable in English. Adjectives, in Pashto, are non-gradable, thus at times making it difficult to differentiate determiners from adjectives. In Pashto DPs, determiners do not occur to the right of the nouns, as has been the case with certain languages. Nouns in Pashto inside a DP remain *in situ*, they do not move to the spec DP as is the case with Saxon genitives in English. Possessive pronouns in Pashto DPs are base generated in the region between D and NP. The constituents of a Pashto DP observe the following fixed order: Possessive Pronoun > Demonstrative > Quantifier > Adjective > Noun. Pashto possessive pronouns cannot stand on their own. They, most of the time, need a host (noun) to attach to. Possession in Pashto DP is realized via the possessive marker *da.* The functional category D in Pashto is empty.

5.4 Three Types of Pashto DPs Bearing Genitive Case

Three types of constructions, which bear genitive Case, can be found in Pashto – possessor DPs, possessor DPs that have more than one possessors, and arguments of a deverbal noun DPs. In the last case, one or more nominals carry genitive Case and the nominals are in a sort of relation that can better be described as if to denote processes. They are equivalent to 'David's analysis of the specimen' type DPs in English, where one nominal of the DP is the doer or agent and the other noun is the receiver, theme or patient of the action. It is important to note that in the third type of Pashto DPs the whole DP does not bear genitive Case, only one or two DPs inside the bigger DP bear genitive Case.

5.5 Different Structures Suggested for DPs on Cross-linguistic Basis

Different structures for DPs have been suggested during the last few decades. In fact, during the generative era, a trend of looking at things from a different perspective emerged with the postulation of Extended X-Bar theory (Chomsky, 1986) when functional categories as heads of sentences (C) and clauses (I), instead of lexical categories, were introduced. Imbibed in this spirit Reuland (1986), Hellan (1986), Abney (1987), and Bowers (1987), especially the later two with more comprehensive and convincing evidence, introduced, for the noun phrase, a functional category, called Determiner (D), to serve as its head. Others, such as Jackendoff (1977), Szabolsci (1984,1987, 1994), Stowell (1989), Grimshaw (1990), Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), Ritter (1991),Valois (1991), Cardinaletti (1993), Radford (1993), Cinque (1994, 1999, 2002, 2010), Haegeman (1994), Longobardi (1994, 2001), Svenonius (1994), Giusti (1997, 2002), Chierchia(1998, 2005), Haegeman and Gueron (1999), Lyons (1999), Burgè (2002), Carstens (2000), Alexiadou (2001), Shlonsky(2004), Borer (2005), Roehrs (2007), Gebhardt (2009), Ticio (2010), to name only a few, have discussed different aspects of determiner phrases. They have tried to enrich "the inventory of functional categories inside the noun phrase beyond the NP-DP basic structure"(Artiagoitia, 2002: 73), and shed light on the place of determiners, articles, specifiers, movement of nouns within the DP, adjectives in the DP, etc.

As is shown above, the list is very long and impressive. However, as we are not concerned with the structure of the DP for its own sake, but to observe the assignment of genitive Case in them, we will take only three of them and show how they are inadequate in our case. First, we will take Longobardi's (2001) model of DPs, which was/is considered very influential one.

5.5.1 Longobardi (2001)

Longobardi (2001) is more concerned with laying out principles and parameters for the structure/ nature of DPs on cross-linguistic basis. In the earlier sections, he is concerned with pointing out affinities and differences between nominals in a clause and nominals making parts of a DP. He divides the nominals/ genitives inside the DP into roughly two groups- prepositional genitives and five different types of heterogeneous genitives grouped under possessive genitives. He believes that the different forms of 'possessive genitives' tend to be higher than the 'prepositional genitives'. He gives a complex structure for the different possible arguments inside a nominal phrase.

[1 GenS 2 [S-oriented [Manner1 N [Manner2 [Argument 3 [GenO [α P[S [O…N…]] α]]]]]]] (p. 577)

He believes that positions 1 through 3 are the possible surface positions for possessive genitives cross-linguistically. He hypothesises that the lower position of prepositional genitive may be related to the base ones of P, S, and O in phrase α. He believes that 'liner order' in phrases such as α is 'essentially undetermined'. According to him, in many cases, the principal nominal N moves to D, while adjectives remain in-situ. Similarly, in some cases, the principal nominal moves to intermediate positions between D and N.

For our purposes, so far as Longobardi's (2001) treatment of DPs is concerned, it is more related to explaining the structural dynamics of DPs on cross-linguistic basis. Initially, he is concerned with checking out the differences between prepositional DPs and possessive DPs, which is not an issue in our case. His structure for DPs, no doubt comprehensive but too flexible, has reserved all the places outside the phrase α for possessive DPs. More importantly, his structure has two places for S and O nominals bearing genitive Case, while N does not bear genitive Case. In Pashto, on the other

hand, we can have constructions which consist of three nominals (see section 5.6 for details), only one of them bears genitive Case; thus, what to do with more than one Ns? The obvious solution could be to adjoin/merge the additional Ns to the principal N. Similarly, in Pashto we have DP constructions which have two, three or more nominals and two or more nominals bear genitive Case (see section 5.7 for details), however, unlike Longobardi they are not in a sort of θ-relations with one another. So his classification as S and O is, at least, useless for such Pashto constructions. In Pashto 'arguments of a de-verbal noun' type DPs (see section 5.8 for details), we can have DPs which have three or more than three nominals, only two serving as S and O respectively, but what about the other two nominals. They cannot be placed in a single spot N. In addition, in the section titled 'Case', he tells about the Cases of the nominals, but he is silent on the issue as how Case is assigned to these nominals. He also believes in movement of N leftwards in majority of cases. However, in our hypothesis for Pashto DPs, we do not think that the principal N moves anywhere; rather, in our case, the Pashto possessive marker *da* moves to D in the morphological or spell-out component, not in the narrow syntax. In addition, he does not say anything about genitive Case assignment, the role of functional layers in Case assignment, and the role of features in genitive Case assignment. While, on the other hand, in our case it is the pivot around which our whole idea of Case assignment revolves. We take Chomsky's (2001) idea that agreement between a functional category and a nominal results in assigning structural Case to that nominal. Overall, it can be said that no doubt Longobari is a worthy effort and could prove profitable starting point for a paper that is written with the intention to explore the structural dynamics of Pashto DPs. However, in our case, as we are concerned with structural Case assignment, and only a few paragraphs have been devoted to the structure of Pashto DPs, therefore, pursuing or discussing Longobardi

(2001) would lead us in entirely different direction. As such, we would take help from him whenever we find it profitable, but could not adopt him in entirety.

5.5.2 Watanabe (2006)

As Pashto has some affinities to Japanese language, therefore, we look at the model DP that Watanabe (2006) has presented for the Japanese language:

:

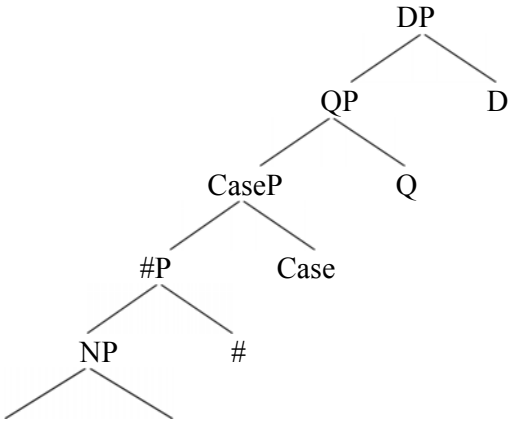


Figure 1. Watanabe's model for Japanese DP (p. 252)

Watanabe's mechanism has some features, such as, unlike Bittner and Hale (1996), it believes that the projection of Case is below the DP. Secondly, of the two alternatives suggested for Japanese nominals, in one the NP rises to spec CaseP, while in the other CaseP itself rises to spec DP. Third, if Agr having [-interpretable] feature is eliminable, then, based on the same argument, what could be the status of Case itself? Fourth, the Case head enters an agreement relation with the Case feature of NP. However, agreement between these two does not result in 'elimination of the two Case features'. Fifth, the nature of Case is determined by DP-external factors, such as υ or T, etc. Sixth, an agree relation between Case and D is 'responsible for specificity' and 'the raising of CaseP to Spec of DP'.

Again, this model does not seem suitable for describing genitive Case assignment in Pashto DPs, especially the complex ones. First, on theoretical grounds we do not find ourselves agreeing with the author, as he believes in an external agency (υ, T, etc.) outside the DP for assigning genitive Case while we believe that the genitive Case is assigned by a functional category from within the DP. Second, he believes that there is an agreement relation between the Case head and the Case feature on the NP, while we think that there is no Case head. Third, he believes in agreement between the Case head and D, while we do not believe that there is any Case head at all. Fourth, he questions the status of Case feature itself on the grounds that it is uninterpretable, while we believe, following (Chomsky 2001), that the Case feature gets valuation as a result of agreement between a functional category and a nominal. Fifth, even in the simple DPs there is a difference in the order of constituents between Pashto and Japanese. Sixth, if the arrangement of the constituents is somehow adjusted, the issue would remain with reference to placement of possessors. In Pashto, a possessor having genitive Case occupies the top most position in a DP, after the empty D. Seventh, Pashto has multiple possessors, having genitive Cases and if we staked all the possessors along with their genitive Cases that would create interpretation problems. Eighth, Watanabe's model is unable to deal with the DPs in which different nominals show processes and action.

Even before Watanabe (2006), this approach had its adherents such as Ritter (1988) (her KaseP for Case in Hebrew), Holmberg (1991), Sigurðsson (1993), Fukui and Takano (2000), to name a few. However, we are not following the idea of a Case phrase anymore, and instead would concentrate on an effort that has more to do with the assignment of genitive Case and the internal structure of the DP.

5.5.3 Adger (2004)

In this respect, Adger (2004) is an important attempt, as he comprehensively deals with the assignment of genitive Case as well as the relevant problems created by the complexity of DPs' internal structure. In addition, his approach has an affinity with ours, in the sense that he also believes in genitive Case assignment from inside the DP and that the DP does not look to an outside source for this purpose.

He proposes two mechanisms for the assignment of genitive Case. He suggests the structure in Figure 2 for assignment of genitive Case in possessors and the structure in Figure 3 for the assignment of genitive Case in constructions where the nominals show sort of processes. In addition, inspired by the idea of θ-roles in the verbal domain, he proposes θ-roles for the nominals inside the complex DPs of the nature 'David's analysis of Allen'.

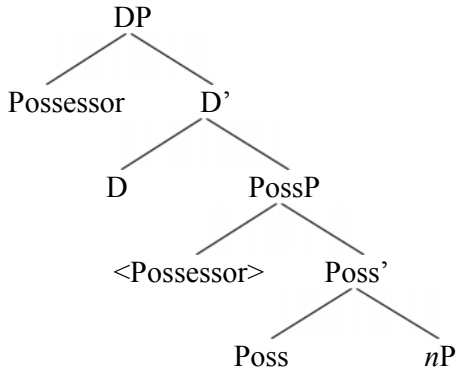
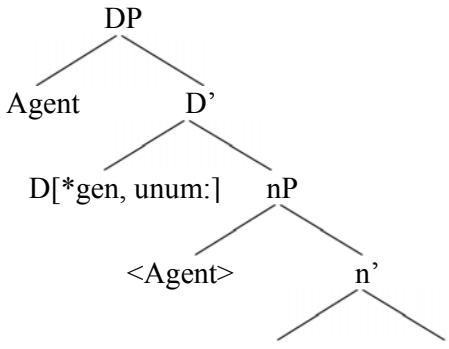


Figure 2. Adger's structure for genitive Case assignment in possessors (p. 274)



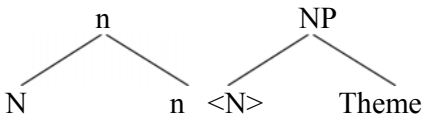


Figure 3. Adger's structure for genitive Case assignment in DPs showing processes (p. 279)

However, Adger's (2004) proposals are unable to deal with the varied nature of Pashto DPs. His idea of possessor DP is almost similar to our would-be mechanism, except that he postulates an additional functional category n. His possessor DPs can deal with those Pashto DPs which have one possessor. However, his possessor DP structure is unable to explain the assignment of genitive Case in complex Pashto possessor DPs; DPs which contain more than one possessors. Suppose, if we repeat his process of possession and genitive Case for the other possessor, then we would not be able to get the required result. To illustrate, look at the derivation for the following example:

1. *Da Saleem da khor spai*.

   Of Saleem of sister dog

   'Saleem's sister's dog'

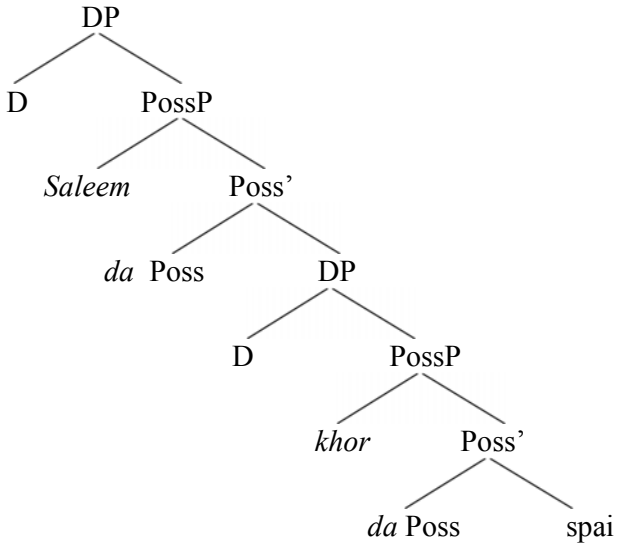


Figure 4.

Thus, his mechanism gives us the word order *Saleem da khor da spai*, which is a different one from the one that we wanted to derive for. However, this is not that big problem as movement of one sort or another would solve it. The real problem relates to the interpretation. Suppose that the word order is the one that we want, i.e. *da Saleem da khor spai*, what is troubling is the fact that the structure/ derivation does not convey the meaning [Saleem's sister]'s dog], rather, it conveys the meaning 'a dog owned by a sister, but which is ultimately owned by Saleem'.

Adger's (2004) proposal for arguments of deverbal nouns also does not fare well with Pashto complex DPs which have more than one possessors. His proposal assumes that the functional category n checks Case on the 'of-phrase', while the zero determiner D checks Case on the agent or the Saxon genitive. As for Pashto DPs, firstly, it is difficult to decide the criterion, based on which to place one possessor in the n functional category and the other possessor in D functional category, because in Pashto only a single possessive marker *da* is used. Secondly, the criteria of agent/ theme etc. does not apply to the so-called complex Pashto DPs which have more than one possessors, and still these possessors do not show the characteristics of agent/ patient, etc. Thirdly, even in the third type of Pashto DPs where the nominals show the characteristics of agent/ theme etc. we cannot apply his mechanism as in Pashto there is no difference of of-genitives and Saxon genitives. In addition, his mechanism requires assignment of genitive Case to an agent that has no possession of anything. Therefore, assignment of a genitive Case without having the feature of possession also seems unique. Still, if we ignore all these difficulties and problems, we would be required to make many modifications in the mechanism that Adger has proposed to make it workable for

Pashto. As such, we are inclined to present our own solutions for Case assignment in the three types of Pashto DPs that we have mentioned a few paragraphs back.

5.6 Pashto Simple Possessor DPs

First, we will consider simple Pashto possessor DPs. These DPs are characterized by the presence of a single possessor inside them. Whereas in English, possessors are realized either with a preposition or as the Saxon genitive, in Pashto it is only realized via a special genitive marker/ morpheme, pronounced as *da*.

2. *da chai rəng*

   of tea colour

   'the colour of the tea/ the tea's colour'

3. *da baz sthərgay*

   of hawk eyes

   'the eyes of a hawk / the hawk's eyes'

Our mechanism for genitive Case assignment is given in Figure 5 below, and afterwards we have presented explanation for it step by step:

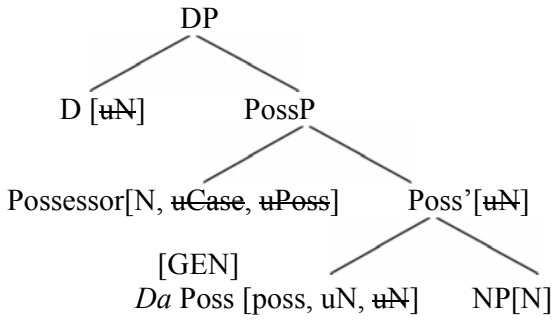


Figure 5.

Our explanation/ mechanism for genitive Case assignment in Pashto possessor DPs is that first an NP having [N] feature merges with an optional functional category Poss

having [poss, uN, uN] features and phonetic realization as *da*, to form Poss'. In the idea of optional functional category, two things, namely, Poss functional category and optionality, merit attention. The former, i.e., the Poss functional category, corresponds to the fact that in most cases a genitive Case marked DP also exhibits the feature of possession. The latter, i.e. optionality corresponds to the fact that if, hypothetically, a situation arises when the genitive marked DP does not show possession, then the addition/merge of Poss category is not required. Thus, it is something like stating that if the Poss exists in a numeration, then the derivation makes use of it and vice versa. This merge results in valuation/deletion of one of the two [uN] features of the Poss, while the second [uN] feature ultimately gets projection on Poss'. This is followed by the merge of the possessor ((pro)nominal) having [N, uCase, uposs] features to the Poss', to form PossP. As a result of this merge the [uN] of the Poss and the [uposs] of the possessor get checked/deleted. Once the PossP is formed, it is merged with the empty functional category D [uN]. In case of Pashto no intermediate category between PossP and DP is needed as (pro)nominals in Pashto do not move ahead of D. If there is a language in which the (pro)nominal moves ahead of the D, such as English Saxon genitives, then an intermediate category D' can be introduced to accommodate the (pro)nominal in the [Spec] DP. An agreement between the possessor and D in terms of [N] feature results in assigning genitive Case to the possessor. Also, this mechanism has the advantage that the D c-commands the possessor to which the genitive Case is to be assigned. Moreover, there are two goals which the D probe can use for satisfaction of its [uN] feature, but the D prefers the possessor goal because of nearness principle. This derivation has also the accommodation for a scenario when the genitive Case is assigned to the other NP instead of the possessor and this will purely be because of valuation of the D probe by the lower goal, due to some accidental reason, as normally

probes prefer to be valued by their nearest goals. As a result of all the syntactic processes we get the word order 'possessor > *da* > noun', while in real life the word order is '*da* > possessor > noun'. Therefore, we assume that in the spell-out or the morphological component the possessive marker *da* moves from its original place to D. That this postulation has very important consequences will become evident as we proceed with the other DP structures.

To explain the workings of the mechanism outlined, we will make a derivation for one of the examples above, repeated below as example no.4:

4. *da baz sthərgay*
   of hawk eyes
   'The eyes of a hawk or the hawk's eyes'

First, the optional functional category Poss *da* having [poss, uN, uN] features merges with the NP *sthərgay*, skipping the details of how an NP is formed, to form Poss'. The motivation for this merge lies in the Poss head as it has the uninterpretable features and it would project. Because of this merge, one of the two [uN] features of the Poss is valued, hence deleted. The possessor or the would-be possessor (to be more precise) *baz*, having [N, uCase, uposs] features merges with Poss' to form PossP. Due to this merge, the other unvalued [uN] feature of the Poss and [uposs] of the possessor are checked/deleted. In the final stage, the D in Pashto having unvalued [uN] feature merges with PossP to form the DP. This merge results in satisfaction/ valuation of the uninterpretable [uN] feature of the D. It is to be noted that the possessor *baz* serves as a goal for two probes, namely, the functional category Poss and the functional category D for the satisfaction of their [uN] features. More importantly as a result of the [N] feature agreement between D and the possessor, a genitive Case is assigned to the possessor. A

question may be raised about *baz* that it does not have any markings for genitive Case; however, we will solve this issue in the derivation for the next example, which makes use of a personal pronoun[24] with visible markings for genitive Case as compared to normal personal pronouns bearing nominative Case. At the spell-out stage the possessive marker *da* moves to D, and we get the order *da baz sthərgay*.

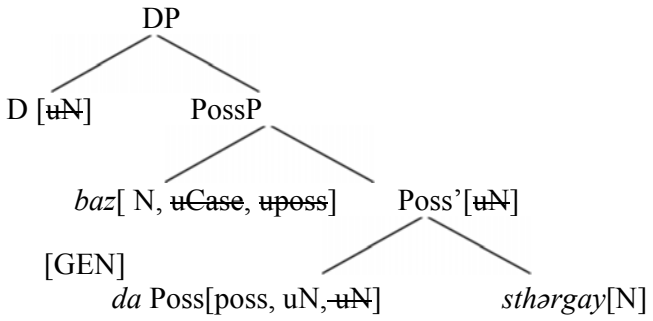


Figure 6. da baz sthərgay

Now, we will make a derivation for a Pashto DP, which has a pronoun in the genitive Case:

5. *da haghə pen*
   of his pen
   'His pen'

[24] It would be better that the whole paradigm for strong Pashto personal pronouns is given, notwithstanding the fact that another paradigm for clitic pronouns or pronominal clitics exist, but they are irrelevant here:

Type of the pronoun	as subject	as object	as object of preposition
1S	*zə*	*ma*	*ma*
1PL	*moong*	*moong*	*moong*
2S	*thə*	*tha*	*tha*
2PL	*thaso*	*thaso*	*thaso*
3S.M (distant)	*hagha*	*haghə*	*haghə*
3S.F (distant)	*hagha*	*haghay*	*haghay*
3PL (distant)	*hagoi*	*hagoi*	*hagoi*
3S.M (near)	*day*	*də*	*də*
3S.F (near)	*do*	*day*	*day*
3PL (near)	*doi*	*doi*	*doi*

First, the NP *pen* merges with the optional functional category Poss *da* having [poss, uN, uN] features, to form Poss'. This merge results in checking/deletion of the [uN] feature of the Poss. The other [uN] of Poss gets projected on Poss'. The possessor, a third person singular pronoun, *hagha* 'he' having [N, uCase, uposs] features merges with Poss' to form PossP. Because of this merge, the [uN] of Poss and the [uposs] get checked/deleted. Finally, the empty functional category D having [uN] feature merges with PossP to form DP and in the process its [uN] is also checked/deleted. Because of the [N] feature, agreement between D and the possessor, a genitive Case is assigned to the possessor. Due to the genitive Case, the morphological form of the 3rd person singular male pronoun changes from *hagha* to *haghə*. Thus, this example also solves the issue raised in the previous example relating to the morphological form of the genitive Case bearing nominal; as we are able to see that the morphological form of a pronoun changes while the morphological form of a noun remains unchanged in the genitive Case. At the spell-out stage, the Pashto possessive marker *da* moves from its base position to the D position, thus giving us the word order *da haghə pen*.

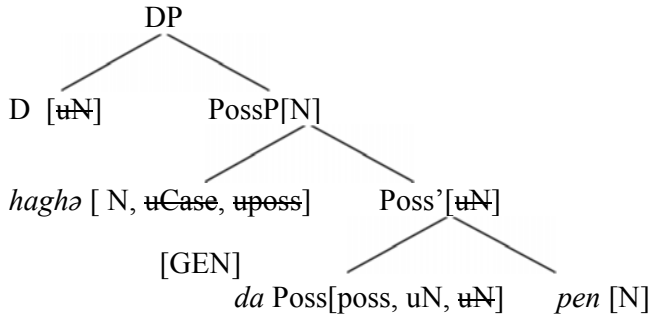


Figure 7. da haghə pen

Moreover, some grammarians implicitly believe that the first and the second person pronouns are not preceded by *da*. However, facts from Waziri Pashto, my native variety of Pashto, a variety almost never in touch with foreign invaders speaking other

languages, reveal that they are preceded by *da*: *day mo* 'my' (1S), *day meez* 'our' (1PL), *day tho* 'yours' (2S) and *day thos* 'yours' (2P). The same is the case with other Southern varieties, such as Khattak, Banuchi, Bangash, Betani, Sherani, and the varieties spoken in Zhob, Quetta, and Chaman districts of Baluchistan. In Afghanistan almost, the same situation prevails, where the central dialect has *da* sound in front of the first and second person pronouns (Tegey & Robson, 1996). Bukhari(1984) claims, even for the northern varieties, that the possessive marker *da* is actually there and that the present forms of the first and second person pronouns are the result of the addition of the two (*da* + Pronoun). Moreover, in Southern varieties of Pashto, mostly the phonetic sound *day* is used instead of *da*. Thus, if looked at the overall linguistic picture, then in almost all Southern varieties *da* is present in front of the first and second person pronouns. The loss of *da* by Northern varieties of Pashto, for the first and second person pronouns, may be because of intermixing with other nationalities or for economy purposes, or may be the result of some other phonetic phenomenon.

The next example relates to a Pashto DP that makes use of adjectives.

6. *Da haghə dwa khkuli penona*
   of his two beautiful pens
   'his two beautiful pens'

In the generative literature, adjectives are most of the time referred to as 'adjunts' or 'adjectival phrases APs'. In our analysis for this example, we will make use of the technique called adjunction/ adjoin[25] for the addition of an adjective to a nominal.

[25] The terms adjunct, adjunction, adjoin, etc. have been the topic of a lot of discussion during the last three decades. We will try to keep ourselves away from the thorny issues involved with these topics. We will restrict ourselves to the use of adjunction/adjoin in the sense that the merge of an

First, an adjective *khkuli* adjoins with the noun *penona*, to form an NP *khkuli penona*. This NP adjoins/ undergoes adjunction with the numeral adjunct *dwa* to form a larger NP *dwa khkuli penona*. The optional functional category Poss *da*, having [poss, uN, uN] features merges with the NP *dwa khkuli penona*[N] to form Poss'. Thus, one of the two [uN] features of Poss is checked, while the other one gets projection on Poss' (see Figure 8). The would-be possessor *hagha* 'he' having [N, uCase, uposs] merges with the Poss', to form PossP. This merge results in checking/deletion of the uninterpretable [uN] feature of the Poss and the [uposs] feature of the possessor. Next, the functional category D having [uN] feature merges with the PossP. Their merge results in satisfying the uninterpretable [uN] feature of D. At the same time, the agreement between D and the possessor in terms of [N] feature results in assigning genitive Case to the possessor. As a result of the genitive Case, the morphological form of the possessor changes from *hagha* to *haghə*. At the spell-out stage or in the morphological component the possessive marker *da* moves from its base position to D, and thus we get the word order *da haghə dwa khkuli penona*.

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adjective/adjunct with a nominal is not a pure merge of the kind that we find, for example, between a verb and a nominal, where the valuation of features and in most cases theta role assignment is involved. Rather, it is a merge, where neither the valuation of features takes place nor there is an assignment of theta-roles. Moreover, as adjuncts cannot be the heads of their constructions, therefore, whenever an adjunction/adjoin occurs the adjunct does not project, rather, the new formed structure is only the extension of the old structure, as for instance: an adjunction/adjoin of an adjunct to an NP will be an extended NP.

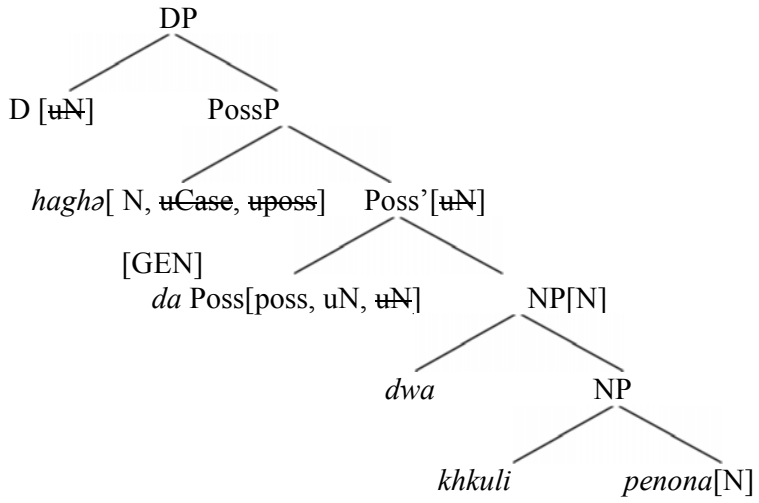


Figure 8. da haghə dwa khkuli penona

Now if a situation arises when the DP also contains a demonstrative *hagha* 'that' inside it:

7. *da haghə hagha dwa khkuli penona*
   of his that two beautiful pens
   'his that two beautiful pens'

The derivation for this example will be the same as for the previous one, except that when the NP *dwa khkuli penona* is formed, then a demonstrative having phonetic realization as *hagha*, adjoins with the NP to form another NP. The Poss[poss, uN, uN] *da* merges with this DP to form Poss', and the rest of the process remains the same as we have outlined for example no.6. Figure 9 shows the process in detail:

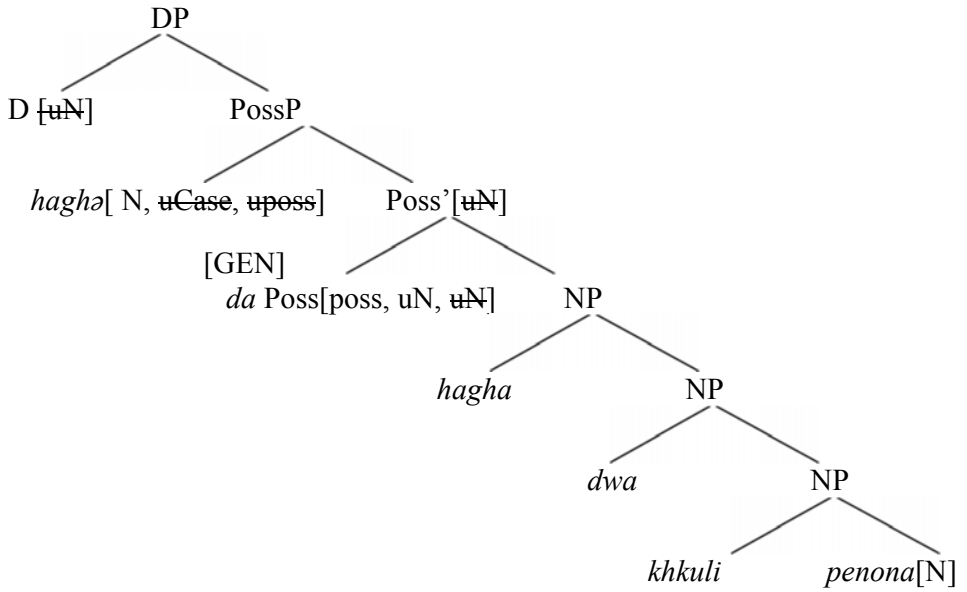


Figure 9. da haghə hagha dwa khkuli penona

5.7 Complex Possessor DPs

In Pashto, a large number of DPs can be found that have more than one possessors and these possessors also show genitive Case. Our solution for such complex DPs is that first a DP of the first possessor and its relevant noun, showing possession and genitive Case, is formed. This DP merges as possessor/ would-be possessor in the structure for the last or the main noun. Because of this arrangement, all the nouns/ possessors are involved with the main noun in a possessive relation. This arrangement has the advantage that it does not suffer from the problem of interpretation that we have noticed with respect to example no. 1.

To show how our suggested mechanism works, let us once again take example no.1, with the addition of an adjective and reproduced below as example no.8:

8. *da Saleem da khor thor spai*

   of Saleem of sister black dog

   'Saleem's sister's black dog'

In this construction, first, the functional category Poss *da* having [poss, uN, uN] features merges with the NP *khor* to form Poss'. Because of this merge, one of the [uN] features of Poss is checked/deleted. The would-be (to be more precise) possessor *Saleem* having [N, uCase, uposs] features merges with the Poss' to form PossP. Due to this merge, the other [uN] feature of the Poss and the [uposs] feature of the possessor are checked/deleted. An empty functional category D having [uN] feature merges with PossP to form the DP. The possessor *Saleem* in addition to having satisfied the [uN] feature of the Poss, also serves as a goal for the D and satisfy its [uN] feature. At the same time, the agreement between D and the possessor in terms of [N] feature results in assigning genitive Case to the possessor. Thus, we get the DP *Saleem da khor*.

However, the process does not stop here. The main noun of the complex DP, *spai*, adjoins the adjective *thor* to form the extended NP *thor spai*. This NP then merges with the possessive functional category Poss *da* having [poss, uN, uN] features, to form Poss'. As a result of this merge one of the [uN] features of Poss is checked/deleted. The possessor which in this case is the already formed DP *Saleem da khor* having [N, uCase, uposs] features merges with the Poss' to form PossP. Because of this merge, the other [uN] feature of the Poss and the [uposs] feature of the possessor are checked/deleted. An empty functional category D having [uN] feature merges with PossP to form the DP. The possessor *Saleem da khor*, in addition to having satisfied the [uN] feature of the Poss, also serves as a goal for the D and satisfy its [uN] feature. At the same time, the agreement between D and the possessor in terms of [N] feature

results in assigning genitive Case to the possessor. It is to be noted that the possessor *Saleem* inside the already formed DP *Saleem da khor* bear the genitive Case, and this fresh Case assignment and possessiveness has its effect on the whole DP. Thus, we have the word order *Saleem da khor da thor spai* at this stage. However, in the morphological or spell-out component we find that the word order is *da Saleem da khor thor spai*, showing that the possessive marker *da* in front of *thor spai* has moved to D position at the left-most. Two questions arise. Firstly, why, given the fact that we have already postulated in the earlier sections for simple Pashto DPs that the possessive marker *da* has the tendency to move to D, all *da*s do not move to the left-most D? Secondly, which *da* of the two *da*s move to the first and second D positions left-wards?

In Pashto, the possessive marker *da* has the tendency that in the morphological component it tends to move to the D position. Here, we have two *da*s and D at the left periphery is empty. Therefore, technically, both the *da*s should rush to fill that place. However, in reality we see that only one *da* moves to the left-most D while the other *da* remains in the second left-most D. Therefore, it can be concluded that only one *da* moves while the other *da* prefers to stay behind. That this is not an unusual solution/ mechanism is attested by the fact that though at some places languages exhibit repetition, but at the same time many languages at many places exhibit resistance to repetition, known in phonology as obligatory contour principle (OCP). The idea of OCP has also been extended to syntax and some syntacticians (Perlmutter, 1971; Yip, 1998; van Riemsdijk, 1998; Ackema, 2001; Neeleman & van de Koot, 2006) have tried to explain the non-occurance of identical elements in different languages, through OCP:

1. Hindi (Mohanan, 1994: 186)

   ??raam-ko bacco-ko sambhaalnaa padaa.

Ram-DAT children-ACC take.care.of.-NF fall.PERF

'Ram had to take care of the children.'

2. Dutch (Neeleman & Van de Koot 2006: 697)

   *Vroeg je nou of die plaats vrij is of of-ie bezet is.

   asked you now if that seat free is or if-it taken is

3. Old French (Ackema & Neeleman, 2003: 722)

   *Einsi corurent li Grieu par mer tant que Ø vindrent à Caldemelée.

   thus ran.3PLR the Greeks by sea until C came.3PLR to Cadée

In fact, Mohanan (1994) goes to the extent of formulating a generalized version of OCP that not only holds for phonology, but also for morphology, and syntax. All this point to the fact, that our mechanism has sound foundation, in theory and practice of linguistics.

In addition, our conclusion has been supported by various other syntactic studies, such as Bobaljik's (1995, 2002) restrictions on object shift in Germanic, Pesetsky's (1998) wh-in situ in English multiple questions, Franks'(1998) "low" clitics in Slavic, and Boškovic's (2002) exceptions to multiple wh-fronting.

In the last study Boškovic (2002) tells that in certain Slavic languages all wh-words must front in a multiple question, however, this is not the situation with all the multiple wh-words questions. In case multiple wh-fronting results in a sequence of homophonous wh-words, as in the examples a and b given below, then this condition is relaxed and the lower wh-word is in-situ pronounced:

a. *šta šta uslovljava t_i?

   what what conditions

   'What conditions what?'

b. šta uslovljava šta?

what conditions what

'What conditions what?' (p. 364)

Bobaljik and Branigan (2006) interpret this as:

> Post-syntactically, then, where highest-copy pronunciation is expected, a morphological anti-homophony Filter applies, blocking pronunciation of the highest copy, and automatically triggering the pronunciation of the next lower copy. (p. 37)

For our purposes, it is an important point that languages avoid, in certain situations, creating homophonous sequences. Pashto cannot be an exception. It also avoids the homophonous sequence of *da da*, especially when *da* sound is also used in Pashto as a demonstrative and as a clitic.

Now, we turn to the second question. In the final word order below *da* following *khor* has moved, while the *da* following *Saleem* has remained at its place, the second question requires that why it does not happen the other way round? At this stage of research about Pashto DPs, it is not clear that whether the process is something like that the *da* following *Saleem* first moves to D and then the *da* following *khor* moves to occupy its place, or that the *da* following *khor* directly moves from its base position to the front of *Saleem*. This issue requires further research, but the scope of this chapter does not permit us to delve into that issue. Therefore, we leave it at this point. In the end, we get the word order *da Saleem da khor thor spai*.

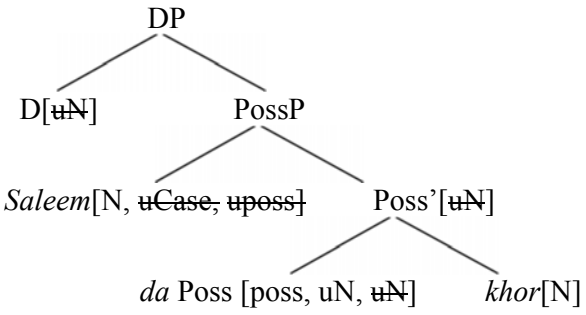


Figure 10. Saleem da khor

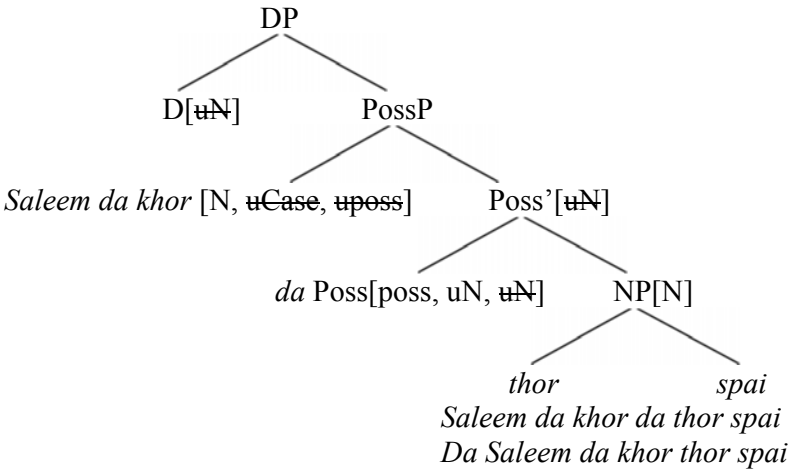


Figure 11.

5.8 Arguments of a De-verbal Noun DPs

Our treatment/mechanism for the third type of Pashto DPs has the advantage that it does away with the complex system of agent, theme, goal, etc., introduced by Adger (2004) and others before him. Instead, it is a very simple system. To be more precise this mechanism is a mix of the first two treatments introduced for simple and complex Pashto possessor DPs. Nothing new or theoretically difficult has been added. The simple postulation is that if the larger Pashto DP showing processes consists of three nominals, with one showing possession and genitive Case, such as *da Saleem pen mathawəl* 'Saleem breaking of a pen', then the mechanism that we have suggested for

simple Pashto possessor DPs also holds equally well for it. If the larger DP consists of more than three nominals such as *da Saleem da ma pen mathawəl* 'Saleem's breaking of my pen', then the mechanism that we have suggested for the complex possessor DPs also works for such constructions.

The only difference in treatment lies with reference to the deveral noun. While in the case of Pashto simple possessor DPs and complex possessor DPs, we do not have the deverbal nouns, they are a trademark of the Pashto DPs, which express processes. Moreover, as all the deverbal nouns do not show possession, therefore, our mechanism takes care of this fact, and in the last stage of the derivation, the deverbal noun adjoins to the already formed possessor DP consisting of two or more than two nominals. Thus, this adjoin at the last stage is what differentiates the mechanism of the deveral nouns showing processes from the simple and complex possessor DPs.

To show how our mechanism for the third type of Pashto DPs works, let us take a couple of examples. The first example has three nominals and makes use of the mechanism devised for the simple Pashto possessor DPs along with the relevant modifications, while the second example has four nominals and makes use of the mechanism devised for the complex Pashto possessor DPs, along with the relevant changes:

9. *Da Saleem pen mathawəl.*
   of Saleem pen breaking
   'Saleem's breaking of a/the pen.'

First, Pashto Poss functional category having phonetic realization as *da* and [poss, uN, uN] features merges with the nominal *pen* to form Poss'. Due to this merge, one of the [uN] features of Poss is checked/deleted. The would-be possessor *Saleem* having [N,

uCase, uposs] features merges with Poss' to form PossP. Because of this merge, the other [uN] feature of the Poss and the [uposs] feature of the possessor are checked/deleted. An empty functional category D having [uN] feature merges with PossP to form the DP. The possessor *Saleem*, in addition to having satisfied the [uN] feature of the Poss, also serves as a goal for the D and satisfy its [uN] feature. At the same time, the agreement between D and the possessor in terms of [N] feature results in assigning genitive Case to the possessor. Thus, we get the DP *Saleem da pen*. This DP adjoins with the deverbal noun *mathawəl* to form the still bigger DP *Saleem da pen mathawəl*. At the spell-out stage the Pashto possessive marker *da* moves from its base position to D. Thus, we get the word order *da Saleem pen mathawəl*.

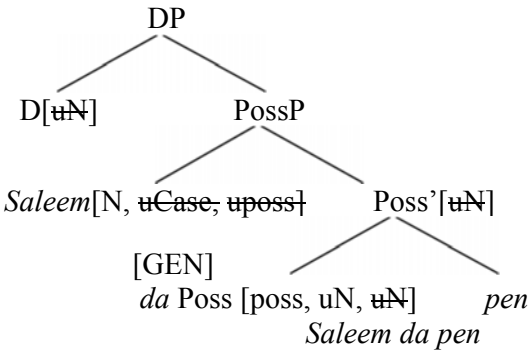


Figure 12.

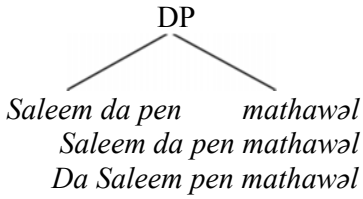


Figure 13.

10. Da Saleem da haghə pen mathawəl

of Saleem.GEN of he.GEN pen breaking

'Saleem's breaking of his pen.'

The derivation for this complex DP would involve three steps. First, the functional category Poss *da* having [poss, uN, uN] features merges with the 3rd person singular pronoun *hagha*, to form Poss'. Due to this merge, one of the [uN] features of the Poss is checked/deleted. The possessor *Saleem* having [N, uCase, uposs] features merges with the Poss' to form PossP. Because of this merge, the other [uN] feature of the Poss and the [uposs] feature of the possessor are checked/deleted. An empty functional category D having [uN] feature merges with the PossP to form the DP. The possessor *Saleem*, in addition to having satisfied the [uN] feature of the Poss, also serves as a goal for the D and satisfy its [uN] feature. The agreement between D and the possessor in terms of [N] feature results in assigning genitive Case to the possessor. Thus, the DP *Saleem da hagha* is obtained.

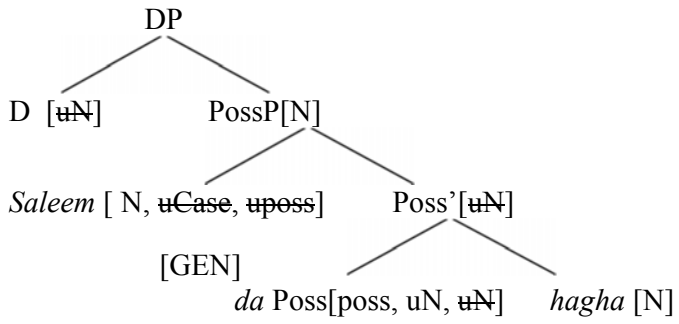


Figure 14. Saleem da hagha

Second, functional category Poss *da*[poss, uN, uN] merges with the nominal *pen* to form Poss'. Then the DP *Saleem da hagha* serving as the would-be possessor merges with this Poss', resulting in PossP. D merges with PossP to form the DP. [N] feature agreement between the possessor DP *Saleem da hagha* and D results in assigning genitive Case to the nominals in the possessor DP. As the nominal *Saleem* already has genitive Case, Pashto nouns have no morphological markigns for Case, while the other nominal 3rd person singular pronoun *hagha* does not have Case, therefore,

genitive Case gets visible on the pronoun *hagha*, and as a result of the genitive Case the morphological form of the pronoun changes from *hagha* to *haghə*. Thus, we get the word order *Saleem da haghə da pen*.

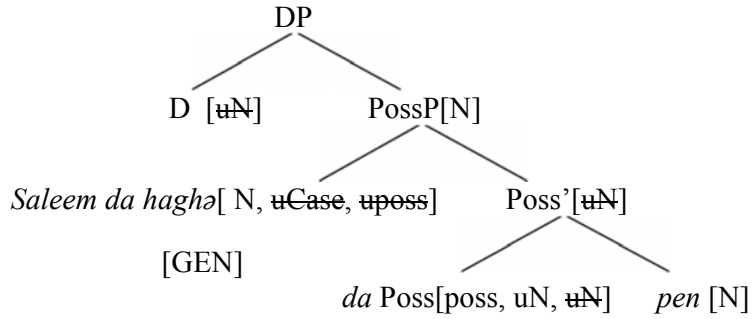


Figure 15. Saleem da haghə da pen

Third, the DP *Saleem da haghə da pen* adjoins to the deveral noun *mathawəl* to form the DP *Saleem da haghə da pen mathawəl*. As we have already mentioned that in Pashto the possessive marker *da* has the tendency that in the morphological component it tends to move to the D position. Here, we have two *da*s and it has been an established principle in phonetics and phonology that two similar sound objects prefer to stay away from one another, therefore, one *da* moves to left-most D while the other *da* remains in its base position in this example. As can be seen in the example that the *da* following *haghə* has moved, while the *da* following *Saleem* has remained at its place, requiring an explanation that why it does not happen the other way round? (Both these issues have been discussed in the previous section.) In the end, we get the word order *da Saleem da haghə pen mathawəl*.

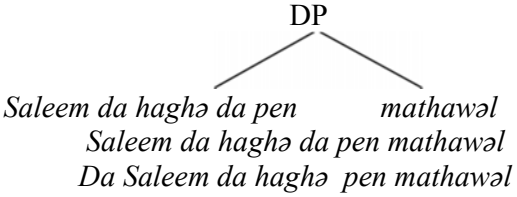


Figure 16.

5.9 Nominals with Genitive Case in Different Pashto Constructions

Now, we are giving a few examples of different Pashto constructions to see if any morphological changes occur in the genitive form of the nouns with reference to differences in constructions or they remain the same. In addition, we will observe changes in the morphological form of the genitive Case bearing nouns with reference to their placement in the subject, object and predicate complement positions.

A. Monotransitive

a. As Subjects

11. Da Saleem zoi pen mathawi.

of Saleem.GEN son pen.ACC break.PRS

'Saleem's son is breaking the pen.'

12. *Da Saleem zoi pen math kɻə.*

of Saleem.GEN son pen.NOM break do.PST

'Saleem's son broke the pen.'

13. Da Saleem zoi ba pen mathawi.

of Saleem.GEN son be.FUT pen.ACC break.

'Saleem's son will break the pen.'

b. As Objects

14. Hagha da Saleem zoi madəd kawi.

he.NOM of Saleem.GEN son help do.PRT

'He helps/ is helping Saleem's son.'

15. Haghə da Saleem zoi madəd okɻə.

he.ACC of Saleem.GEN son help do.PST

'He helped Saleem's son.'

16. Hagha ba da Saleem zoi madəd kawi.

he.NOM be.FUT of Saleem.GEN son help do

'He will help/ will be helping Saleem's son.'

(It is important to mention here that in Pashto, the same form of the verb conveys the indefinite and continuous senses in most cases, depending on the intonation of the speaker, however, we are not going to give importance to such distinctions as our main concern here is the morphological form of the genitive Case assigned DPs.)

B. Intransitives (Unaccusitive)

17. Da haghə jahaz prewazzi / prewathə / ba prewazi.

of he.GEN aeroplane fall.PRS / fall.PST / be.FUT fall

'His aeroplane falls/ fell/ will fall.'

C. Unergative

18. Da ma (zma) loor khandi/ khandəl / ba khandi.

of I.GEN daughter laugh.PRS/ laugh.PST / be.FUT laugh

'My daughter laughs/ laughed/ will laugh.'

D. Double Subject

19. Da Saleem zoi ao Irfan zi / laɻəl / ba zi.

of Saleem.GEN son and Irfan.NOM go.PRS/ go.PST / be.FUT go

'Saleem's son and Irfan go/ went/ will go.'

20. Irfan ao da Saleem zoi zi / laɻəl / ba zi.

Irfan.NOM and of Saleem.GEN son go.PRS/ go.PST/ be.FUT go

'Irfan and Saleem's son go/ went/ will go.'

E. Double Object

21. David da Isabella zoi tha pen wərkawi/ wərkɻə/ ba wərkawi.

David.NOM of Isabella.GEN son to pen give.PRS/give.PST/ be.FUT give

'David gives / gave / will give a pen to Isabella's son.'

F. Copular Constructions

22. Da David loor bemara da / wa.

of David.GEN daughter ill be.PRS.3SF / be.PST.3SF

'David's daughter is ill/ was ill.'

23. Hagha da David motorcycle day / wo.

that of David motorcycle be.PRT/ be.PST

'That is/ was David's motorcycle.'

These examples are given from a wide spectrum of Pashto constructions. They show that the genitive Case can be assigned in all the major constructions. They, also, show that the form of the genitive Case remains the same irrespective of the constructions involved. Similarly, they prove that the morphological form of the genitive Case remains the same whether it is assigned in the subject position or in the object position or in the predicate complement position.

5.10 Conclusion

Thus, in this chapter, we observed the assignment of genitive Case from a minimalist perspective. We tried to substantiate the claim that [N] feature agreement between D and the relevant possessor (nominal) results in assigning genitive Case to that possessor. Thus, in a way it was a continuation and confirmation of the minimalist idea that ϕ-features agreement between a functional category and the relevant nominal results in assigning structural Case to that nominal. In addition, we proposed three mechanisms to deal with the three types of Pashto DP structures and they adequately described the assignment of genitive Case in the three types of Pashto DPs. Only one issue, belonging to the morphological realm, we left for the future researchers. It is/ was that whether the Pashto possessive marker *da*, in case of constructions where there are more than one *da*s, moves directly from its base position to the top D position or moves through a step by step method. The step-by-step method could be, the highest *da* moving to the highest D position, the second *da* moving to the empty position of the first *da*, and so on.

CHAPTER 6. STRUCTURAL CASE ASSIGNMENT IN COORDINATE AND SUBORDINATE STRUCTURES IN PASHTO

6.1 Introduction

Both coordinate and subordinate structures can be found in Pashto. Coordinate structures in Pashto are formed through coordinating conjunctions; though in some cases coordinating conjunctions can be omitted. Subordinate structures are not only formed through subordinating conjunctions, but can also be found in the form of relative clauses, and constructions where one or the other argument is in the shape of a clause. In this chapter, we will look at all these constructions and see whether our rules/ hypotheses for structural Case assignment in different monoclausal constructions also hold good for multi-clausal constructions or otherwise. These rules/ hypotheses are, ϕ-features agreement between T and a nominal results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal, ϕ-features agreement between ʋ or Voice and a nominal results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal, ϕ-features agreement between Appl and a nominal results in assigning dative Case to that nominal, and [N] feature agreement between a possessor and D results in assigning genitive Case to the possessor.

6.2 Structural Case in Coordinate Structures in Pashto

Some important coordinating conjunctions that have been proposed in Pashto are, *ao* 'and', *ya* 'or' and *kho* 'but'. In addition, there are a number of correlative conjunctions, such as, *ham…ao ham* 'both…and', *nə….ao nə* 'neither…nor' etc. As here we are concerned with coordination of clauses, not with that of individual words or phrases, we may not need all of these coordinating and correlative conjunctions. Tegey and

Robson (1996) say in this regard, “It appears to be impossible to conjoin Pashto verbs or verb phrases in the same way that noun phrases can be conjoined” (p. 195). They further say that the coordinating conjunction *ao* is optional, also it may occur with *ya* or else *ao* is dropped and only *ya* remains; for clauses *kho* is also used as coordinating conjunction but it must be differentiated from the particle *kho*; also, the correlative conjunction *ya .....ya* ‘either … or’ can be used for coordination purposes.

Based on the discussion above, we can make some examples of Pashto where clauses are coordinated to one another:

1. *Ya thə rasha, ya ba zə darshum.*
   or you.NOM come.PRS or will I.NOM come.PRS
   ‘Either you come, or I will come to you.’
2. *Zə mehnəth kawum ao imthehan ba pass kɻum.*
   I.NOM hardwork do.PRS and examination.ACC will pass do.PRS
   ‘I work hard and will pass the examination.’
3. *Ma mehnəth okɻə ao imthehan may pass kɻə.*
   I.NOM hardwork do.PST and examination.NOM I.ACC pass do.PST
   ‘I worked hard and passed the examination.’
4. *Zə ba mehnəth kawum and imthehan ba pass kɻum.*
   I.NOM will hardwork do.PRS and examination.ACC will pass do.PRS
   ‘I will work hard and (will) pass the examination.’
5. *Hagha sust day, kho imandar day.*
   he.NOM lazy be.PRS but honest be.PRS
   ‘Though he is lazy, but he is honest.’

6. *Hagha sust wo, kho imandar wo.*
   he.NOM lazy be.PST but honest be.PST
   'Though he was lazy, but he was honest.'
7. *Hagha ba sust wi, kho imandar ba wi.*
   he.NOM will lazy be.PRS but honest will be.PRS
   'Though he will be lazy, but he will be honest.'
8. *Thə ma wahay, ao zə tha wahum.*
   you.NOM I.ACC beat.PRS and I.NOM you.ACC beat.PRS
   'You beat me and I beat you.'
9. *Tha zə wahalum, ao ma thə wahalay.*
   you.ACC I.NOM beat.PST and I.ACC you.NOM beat.PST
   'You were beating me and I was beating you.'
10. *Thə ba ma wahay, ao zə ba tha wahum.*
    you.NOM will I.ACC beat.PRS and I.NOM will you.ACC beat.PRS
    'You will beat me and I will beat you.'

Our task here is to test the validity of our hypothesis for Pashto structural Case assignment, namely, that θ-features agreement between a functional head and a nominal results in assigning structural Case to the relevant nominal. We will deal with all the four structural Cases, namely, nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive, that are present in coordinated Pashto constructions; the mechanisms involved in assignment of each case; the problems that may surface while dealing with these Cases; and the effort to restrict ourselves to the minimalist framework. In order to achieve our purposes, we will first take an example and discuss its derivation and

Case assignment. Then we will give other examples, especially those with pronouns, to observe the behaviour of different Cases in different positions. Finally, we will discuss the change in behaviour of Case with reference to change in tense.

Let us start with the derivation for the second example, reproduced here as example no.11:

11. Zə mehnəth kawum ao imthehan ba pass kɻum.
I.NOM hardwork do.PRS and examination.ACC will pass do.PRS
'I work hard and will pass the examination.'

This example has two parts, the first clause: *zə mehnəth kawum* is in the present tense, while the second clause: *imthehan ba pass kɻum,* is in the future tense. Both these clauses are joined by a coordinating conjunction *ao* 'and'. The second clause does not possess an overt subject, rather the agreement marking *um* on the verb gives us the information that the first person pronoun is its subject; of course, in the case at hand, the subject of the first clause gives us the required information about the subjecthood. However, suppose if the second clause had stood on its own, then the verb ending *um* would have given us the required information that the subject of the clause is first person singular pronoun.

First of all, the verb *pass*, a two-place predicate, having [uD, uD] features, merges with the internal argument *imthehan* to form VP. This is followed by the merge of the Pashto light verb ʋ *kɻə/kɻəl* having [uInfl, uϕ] with the VP to form ʋ', through Hierachy of Projection Principle[26]. Unlike English, the verb stays at its own place. An agree relation establishes between the nominal *imthehan*, the goal, and ʋ, the probe, in terms of ϕ-

[26] Please see chapter 3, section (3.2.1) for Hierarchy of Projection Principle as an innovation by Adger (2004).

features of person, number and gender. Because of this agreement the [uϕ] of υ are valued as 3rd person singular male and accusative Case is assigned to the DP *imthehan*.

A null pronoun [D, uCase] merges with υ' to form υP, and to satisfy the uninterpretable [uD] of V which had ultimately got projection on the υ'. It is to note here, that we are not using the often-used *pro* in the specifier to υP position. Rather, we are using a new idea of null pronoun introduced by Holmberg (2005, 2010) for Finnish:

> The null subject is specified for interpretable ϕ-features, values the uninterpretable features of Agr, and moves to Spec,IP, just like any other subject. This implies that the nullness is a phonological matter: the null subject is a pronoun that is not pronounced. (2005: 538)

The use of a null pronoun, having interpretable features, is also necessary because we are using the interpretable and uninterpretable features framework. In that framework, according to our hypothesis, the uninterpretable ϕ-features of the functional categories [T, υ, and D] get their values from their relevant DPs, a shortcoming of the *pro* theory referred to by Holmberg (2005).

At this stage, a Pashto modal clitic *ba* adjoins to the υP to form an extended υP. An empty functional category T, having [*uD, uϕ, uclause type, future] features, merges with the υP to form T'. Because of this merge, many things happen. The uninterpretable [uInf] feature of υ is valued as future. An agree relation establishes between T and the null pronoun that is situated in spec υP, in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. These phi-features of T are valued and resultantly nominative Case is assigned to the null pronoun. As the pronoun is phonetically null, therefore, we are unable to see the nominative Case on the null pronoun. Our hypothesis, that the null pronoun has nominative Case, is a familiar one. This is borne out by the fact that Holmberg (2010)

suggests nominative Case for Finnish generic pronoun or G-pronoun. This agreement does not get visible on T, rather, it gets visible on V and υ and the morphological form of the verb *kɻə/kɻəl* changes to *kɻum*. The phonetically null pronoun does not move to spec TP to satisfy the EPP feature of T. Thus, in a way, it echoes Holmberg's (2010) idea about G-pronoun in Finnish, as he says about G-pronouns that they are invisible for EPP. The internal argument *imthehan* moves to spec T to satisfy the EPP or the strong [*uD] feature of the T. The < > symbol shows the movement of the items inside it. Following Adger (2004), we postulate that T has also an uninterpretable [uclause type] feature and this feature is satisfied by either the interpretable feature [Q] or the interpretable feature [Decl] on C. In this particular instance, it is [Decl] on C and the [uclause type] of T is valued as [Decl]. As no movement to spec CP is involved, therefore, we do not introduce the intermediate category C'. Thus, the overall structure of the clause will look like the following:

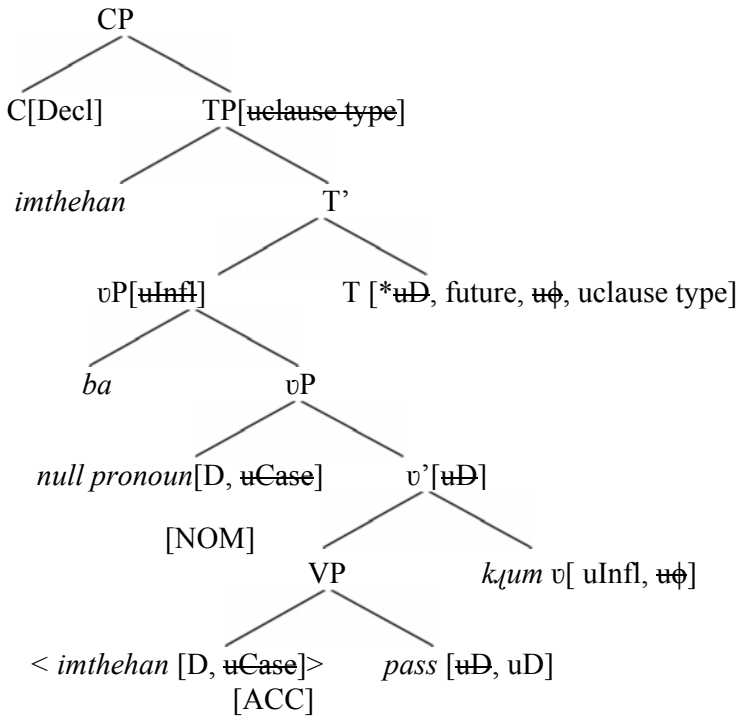


Figure 1. Imthehan ba pass kɻum

The same is the case with the first clause of the sentence, except that it is in the present tense: *zə mehnəth kawum*. The clause is unergative construction, and thus first of all the verb *mehnəth*[V, uD] merges with the light verb ʋ *kaw/kawəl*[uInfl] to form ʋ', often referred to as complex verb (Tegey & Robson, 1996; Roberts, 2000). In fact, technically *mehnəth* is a noun, but here it is not used as noun, rather, it forms the nominal part of the light verb complex (N+V). Overall, here it exhibits the characteristics of a verb. An alternative approach would be to treat *mehnəth* as the internal argument and *kaw/kawəl* as the main verb. However, that would be tantamount to saying that we do not believe in the concept of the light verb. In addition, ʋ here is defective (Chomsky, 2001) as it does not contain [uϕ] feature, hence unable to assign accusative Case (Chomsky, 2001).

The [uD] of the verb that is still unchecked/ deleted gets projection on ʋ'. To satisfy this feature, the subject DP 1st person singular pronoun having [D, uCase] features merges with ʋ'; and, thus the ʋP is formed. This merge results in checking the [uD] feature of the verb which had ultimately got projection on ʋ'. Now T merges with ʋP. T, in this particular instance, is an empty functional head which has strong [uD] feature, interpretable tense feature 'present', uninterpretable ϕ-features, and uninterpretable [uclause type] feature. The merge of T checks/deletes the [uInfl] of ʋ as present, while the [uϕ] of T are valued as 1st person singular male. In return, the 1st person singular male pronoun is assigned nominative Case, and as a result of the nominative Case it gets the morphological form *zə*. However, as is the case with Pashto, this agreement gets visible on ʋ rather than on T. As a result, the ʋ *kaw/kawəl*, in this case, gets the morphological form *kawum*. The pronoun *zə* moves to spec T to

satisfy the [*uD] or EPP feature of T. To check /delete the [uclause type] feature on T, C having [Decl] feature merges with the TP, as shown below:

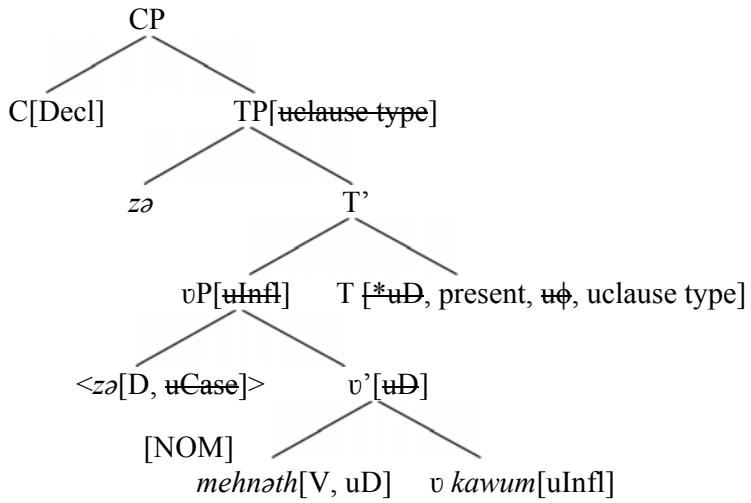


Figure 2.

These two clauses are joined to one another through an adjoin process, so that first the lower clause CP adjoins to the coordinating conjunction *ao* 'and' to form an extended CP. This extended CP is adjoined another CP *zə mehnəth kawum* to form a further extended CP *zə mehnəth kawum ao imthehan ba pass krum*.

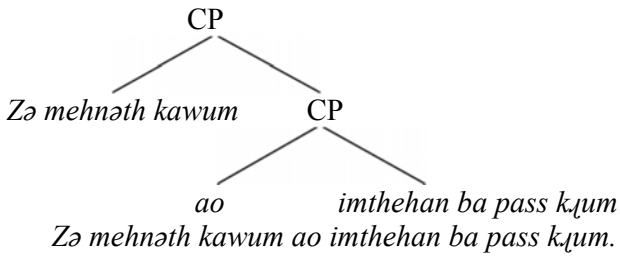


Figure 3.

Now consider the next example, which has past tenses in both of its clauses:

12. *Ma mehnəth okɻə ao imthehan may pass kɻə.*

I.NOM hardwork do.PST and examination.NOM I.ACC pass do.PST

'I worked hard and passed the examination.'

It has two clauses *ma mehnəth okɻə* and *imthehan may pass kɻə*. These clauses are joined by the coordinator *ao*. First, we take the effect clause and see how Case is assigned in it. The internal argument *imthehan*[D, uCase, ufocus] merges with the verb *pass*[uD, uD] to form VP. Next, a Pashto light verb ʋ[uInfl] *kɻəl* merges with the VP,to form ʋ'. Thus, we get the light verb complex (V_1V_2).The external argument 1st person singular male pronoun [D, uCase] merges with the ʋ' to form ʋP. As Pashto past tense ʋ is defective in Chomskian (2001) sense, lacking [uϕ] features, as the same are withheld by Voice to itself, therefore, ʋ is unable to assign accusative Case. As such Voice[uϕ] merges with the ʋP to form VoiceP. Agree between the DP 1st person singular male pronoun and Voice establishes in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. The [uϕ] of Voice are valued as 1st person singular male and accusative Case is assigned to the goal. Because of the accusative Case, the 1st person singular male pronoun gets the morphological form *ma*. Another functional category T[*uD, uϕ, uclause type, past] merges with the VoiceP to form T'. Again an agree relation establishes between T and the DP inside the VP in terms of ϕ-features of person, number, and gender. As a result, the [uϕ] of T are valued as 3rd person singular male while nominative Case is assigned to the internal argument *imthehan*. The external argument *ma* moves to spec TP because of the EPP.

A functional category, Foc, having [focus] feature, merges with the TP, resulting in Foc'. The object DP in the VP moves to spec FocP due to its strong [*ufocus] feature. Because of this movement the uninterpretable [*ufocus] is satisfied/ checked. In addition, due to the movement of the focused element, the pronoun *ma* degrades in its status and adopts the weak pronoun or clitic form *may*. As the [uclause type] feature of T is still unchecked, therefore, another functional category Force having [Decl]

merges with FocP. Because of this merge the [uclause type] of T is checked/ valued as declarative.

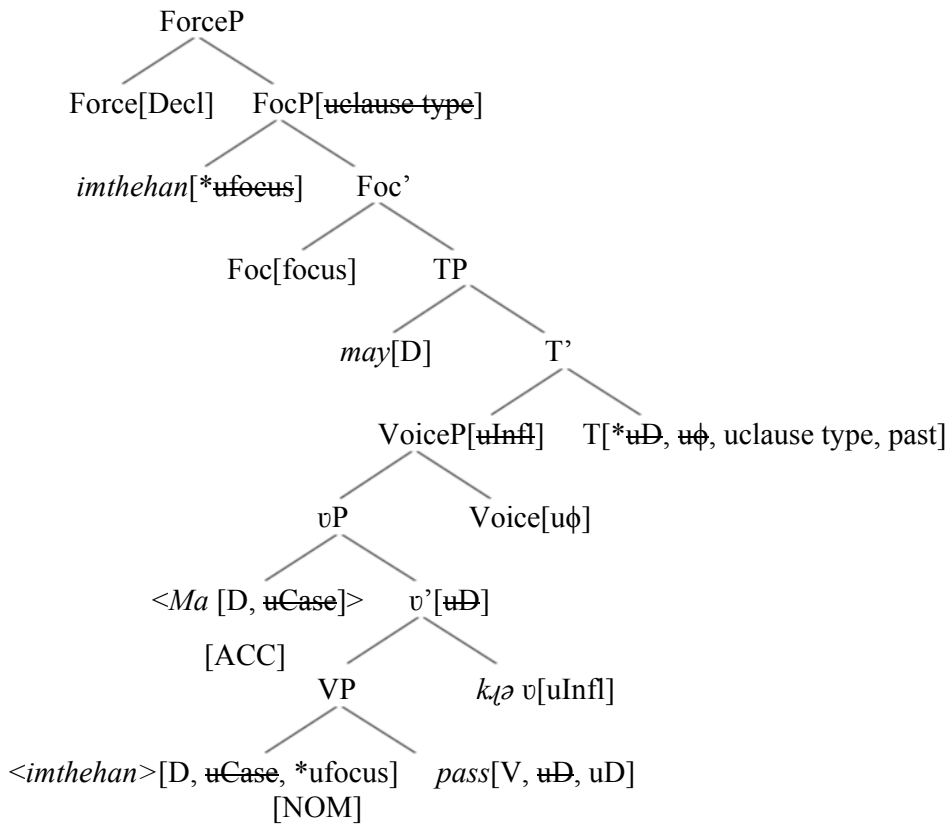


Figure 4. imthehan may pass kɻə.

The same mechanism for Case assignment exists in the first clause or the cause clause *ma mehnəth okɻə*. First, υ[uInfl] *kɻəl* merges with the V *mehnəth*[V, uD] to form υ', often referred to as the compound verb among traditional Pashto grammarians while in generative syntax it is considered light verb construction. The subject 1st person singular pronoun merges with υ' to form υP. Voice[uϕ] merges with the υP due to the reasons mentioned in the earlier derivation in this section as well as in section(3.2.1) in chapter 3. An agree relation establishes between the subject and Voice in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. The [uϕ] of the Voice are valued as 1st person singular male, while accusative Case is assigned to the subject. Because of the

accusative Case, the 1st person singular male pronoun gets the morphological form *ma*. This is followed by the merge of T[*uD, uclause type, past] and C[Decl], and we get the required CP *ma mehnəth okɻə*.

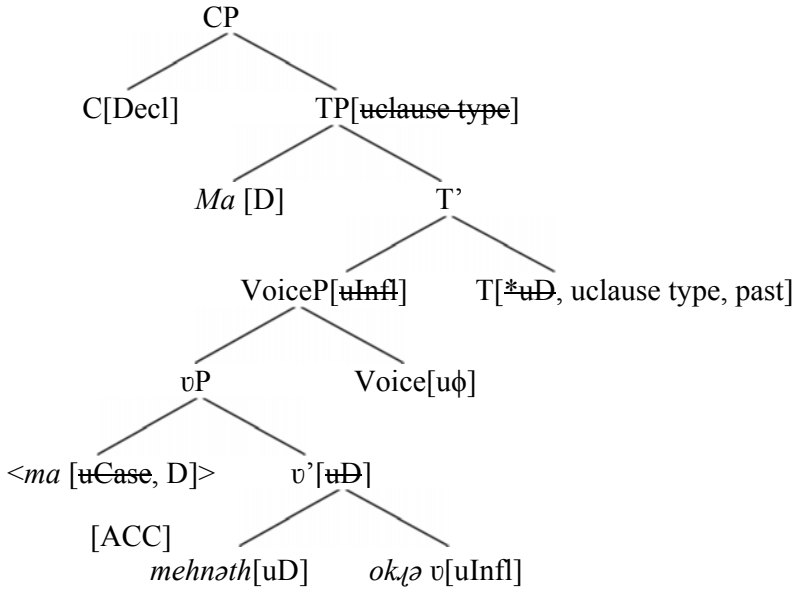
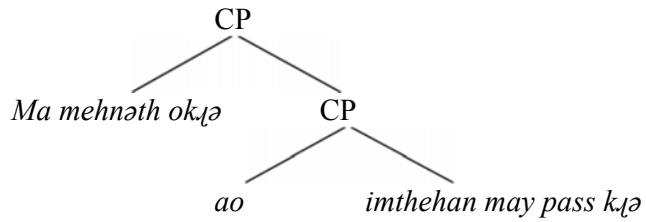


Figure 5. Ma mehnəth okɻə.

These two clauses are joined to one another through an adjoin process, so that first the lower clause CP adjoins to the coordinating conjunction *ao* 'and' to form an extended CP. Another CP *ma mehnəth okɻə* adjoins to the extended CP to form a further extended CP *ma mehnəth okɻə ao imthehan may pass kɻə*.



Ma mehnəth okɻə ao imthehan may pass kɻə.

Figure 6.

The derivations for the two examples reveal that agree between T and a nominal results in assigning nominative Case to the relevant nominal, while agree between υ

or Voice and a nominal results in assigning accusative Case to the relevant nominal. We had observed these same results for the monoclausal constructions in Pashto. This shows that the mechanism for Case assignment remains the same irrespective of the number of the clauses. Similarly, if looked at the ten examples above, they show that subjects of the clauses in the present and future tenses and objects of the clauses in the past tense show nominative Case (*thə, zə, zə, zə, hagha*, etc). While objects in the present and future tenses, and subjects in the past tense, show the accusative Case (*ma, tha, ma*, etc.). All these substantiate the hypotheses that we had stated earlier, namely, agree between T and a nominal results in nominative Case while agree between ʋ or Voice and a nominal results in accusative Case.

6.3 Case in Subordinate Pashto Constructions

6.3.1 Clauses Joined by Subordinators

Pashto language also contains constructions, where subordinate clauses join the main clause through a subordinator. There are a few subordinators in Pashto, but the most important one is *che*. The uniqueness of this subordinator is that it not only makes a clause subordinate by occurring at the start of the subordinate clause, but in many cases it makes a clause subordinate by occurring inside the other/main clause. As our main concern is with the assignment of the structural Case, therefore, we will concentrate on how structural Case is assigned in it. Consider a typical example:

13. *Hagha der mehnəth kawi che pə imthehan keh qamyab shi.*
    he.NOM very hardwork do.PRS so in examination.ACC in successful do.PRS
    'He works very hard so that he could be successful in the examination.'

This sentence contains a subordinate clause. The subordinate and the main clauses are *che pə imthehan keh qamyab shi* and *hagha mehnəth kawi*, respectively. First, we consider the subordinate clause and the assignment of structural Case in it. The transposition *pə…keh* merges with the noun *imthehan* to form the PP *pə imthehan keh*. This PP merges with the verb *qamyab*[uPP, uD] to form VP. This VP then merges with the light verb υ[uInfl, uϕ] *shi* to form υ'. An agree relation establishes between υ and the nominal of the DP in terms of phi-features of person, number, and gender. The [uϕ] of υ are valued as 3rd person singular male, and accusative Case is assigned to the nominal. A phonetically null pronoun merges with the υ' to form υP. The [uInfl] of υ is still unsatisfied, and T[uϕ, *uD, uclause type, present] merges with the υP to form T'. As a result of this merge the [uInfl] of υ is valued as present. An agree relation establishes between the null pronoun and T in terms of person, number, and gender features. Because of the agree relation the [uϕ] of T are valued as 3rd person singular male while nominative Case is assigned to the null pronoun. The agreement between T and the nominal does not get visible on T, rather, it finds phonetic/ morphological realization on V and υ as *qamyab shi*. As the null pronoun is phonetically null and useless for EPP purposes (Holmberg, 2010), the nominal along with its transposition in the VP moves to spec TP to satisfy [*uD] of T. An alternative account could be that T in this particular case has strong [*uPP] feature that forces the movement of the nominal along with transposition to spec TP. To satisfy/ delete the [uclause type] feature, C having realization as *che* [Decl] in this case merges with the TP to form CP. Thus, we obtain the following CP structure along with the two structural Cases:

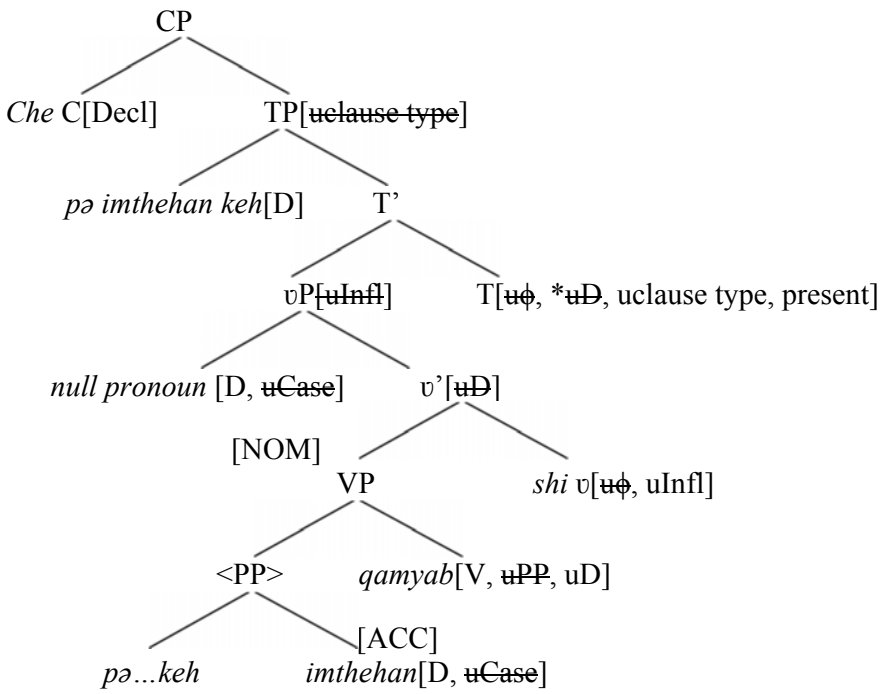


Figure 7. Che pə imthehan keh qamyab shi

The formation of the dependent or subordinate clause is followed by the formation of the main clause *Hagha der mehnəth kawi*. It is an unergative construction. First of all V *der mehnəth* or the nominal part of the light verb construction, to be more precise, having [V, uD] features merges with the light verb *kaw/kawəl* υ[uInfl] under Hierarchy of Projection Principle to form υ'. This light verb complex is unique as it consists of adj + noun + light verb, which is seldom observable in other languages. As it is an unergative verb construction, therefore, υ here is defective lacking [uϕ] features hence the ability to assign accusative Case in the present and future tenses. This is followed by the merge of the external argument 3rd person singular male in spec υP. Because of this merge υP is formed and [uD] of V is satisfied. The [uInfl] of υ is still unvalued and T having [uϕ, *uD, uclause type, present] features merges with the υP to form T'. As a result of this merge the [uInfl] of υ that has projection on υP is valued as present. An agree relation establishes between T and the subject in terms of

phi-features of person, number and gender. As a result of this agree the [uϕ] of the probe T are valued as 3rd person singular male, while the goal is assigned the nominative Case. Because of the nominative Case the pronoun gets the phonetic form *hagha*. This agree does not get visible on T, rather it gets visible on ʋ as *kawi*. Due to EPP the pronoun moves to spec TP; and, to satisfy the [uclause type] an empty C[Decl] merges with the TP to form CP:

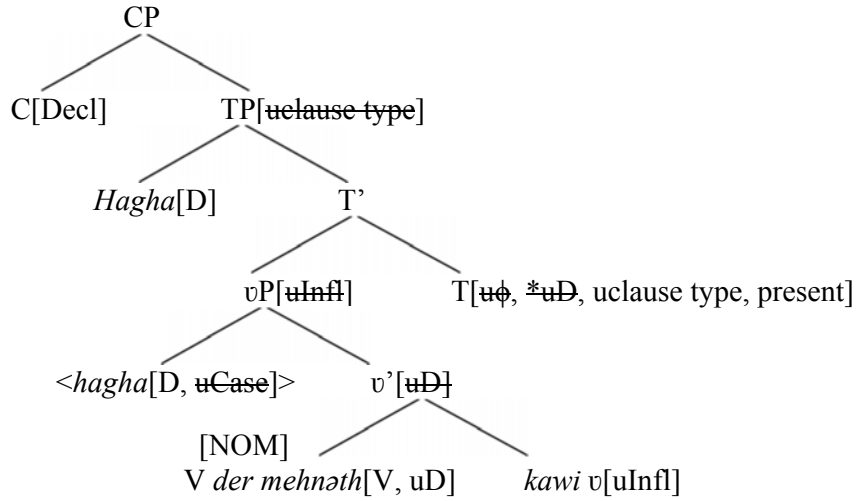


Figure 8. Hagha der mehnəth kawi.

Following Adger (2004), these two clauses, i.e. the main clause *hagha der mehnəth kawi* and the subordinate clause *che pə imthehan keh qamyab shi* adjoin to each other, thus resulting in the required structure: *hagha der mehnəth kawi che pə imthehan keh qamyab shi*.

This example shows that the assignment of the structural Case remains the same whether it is a monoclausal construction or a multi-clausal construction consisting of subordinate and superordinate clauses. Now, we will consider some examples at random to see whether the same results obtain or not:

14. *Thə da haghay imdad kaway che pə imthehan keh qamyaba shi.*

    you.NOM of she.GEN help do.PRS so in examination.ACC in successful do.PRS

    'You are helping her so that she could be successful in the exam.'

15. *Thə bemar ye zaka thə doctor tha zay.*

    you.NOM ill be.PRS because you.NOM doctor.ACC to go.PRS

    'As you are ill so you are going to the doctor.'

16. *Hagha vro vro rarawan day laka che bemar wi.*

    he.NOM slowly slowly coming do.PRS as if ill be.PRS

    'He is coming slowly towards us as if he is ill.'

17. *Saba ba Asad khar tha lego, che khə loi psə wakhli.* (Tegey & Robson, 1996)

    tomorrow will Asad.ACC city to send so good large lamb.ACC buy.PRS

    'We will send Asad tomorrow to the city so that he could buy a good full grown lamb.'

If looked at these examples, despite their diverse semantic structures, they share the same characteristic that nouns and pronoun in the subject position in the present and the future tenses show nominative Case, while they show accusative Case in the past tense. Similarly, pronouns and nouns in the object position in the present and future tenses show accusative Case while they show nominative Case in the past tense. Thus, they substantiate the main hypotheses of our thesis, namely, that ϕ-features agreement between T and a nominal results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal, while ϕ-features agreement between ʋ or Voice and a nominal results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal.

6.3.2 Constructions Where Verbs have Clausal Arguments

Constructions where verbs take clausal arguments can be found in Pashto. They are ubiquitous where a clause serves as the internal argument, however, they are sparse where a clause forms the external argument or clauses form both the internal and the external arguments. Our task here will be to see whether this arrangement as clausal arguments has any effect on the assignment of structural Case, or they follow the same rules of Case assignment as dilated in our hypotheses. To see this let us take an example, make an analysis for it and see what happens:

18. Haghə wail che tha pen math kɻə.

he.ACC say.PST that you.ACC pen.NOM break do.PST

'He was saying that you broke the pen.'

This sentence has one of its arguments as a clause. The derivation for this sentence would be that first of all the noun *pen*[D, uCase] merges with the verb *math*[uD, uD] to get the VP. The light verb ʋ *kɻə*/*kɻəl*[uInfl] merges with the VP to form the ʋ'. As we have already postulated that ʋ in the past tense is defective (Chomsky, 2001) lacks [uϕ] features therefore, it cannot assign Case. The external argument 2nd person singular male pronoun merges with the ʋ' to form ʋP. Another functional category Voice [uϕ] merges with the ʋP to form VoiceP. An agree relation establishes between Voice and the external argument in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. Due to this agree relation, the ϕ-features of Voice are valued as 2nd person singular male, while accusative Case is assigned to the external argument. Because of the accusative Case, the 2nd person singular pronoun gets the phonetic form *tha*. The [uInfl] of ʋ is still unvalued, so T having [uϕ, *uD, uclause type, past] features merges with VoiceP, to form T'. Due to this merge, the [uInfl] is valued as past. An agree

relation establishes between T and the noun *pen* in the VP in terms of ϕ-features of person, number, and gender. Thus, [uϕ] is valued as 3rd person singular male, while nominative Case is assigned to the noun *pen*. As has been the case with other Pashto constructions this agreement for nominative Case would get visible, but not necessarily on T, rather, it gets visible on V and ʋ as *math kɻə*. To satisfy the strong [*uD] feature, the external argument *tha* moves from its base position to spec TP. To satisfy [uclause type], a Pashto C[Decl] *che* merges with the TP to form CP.

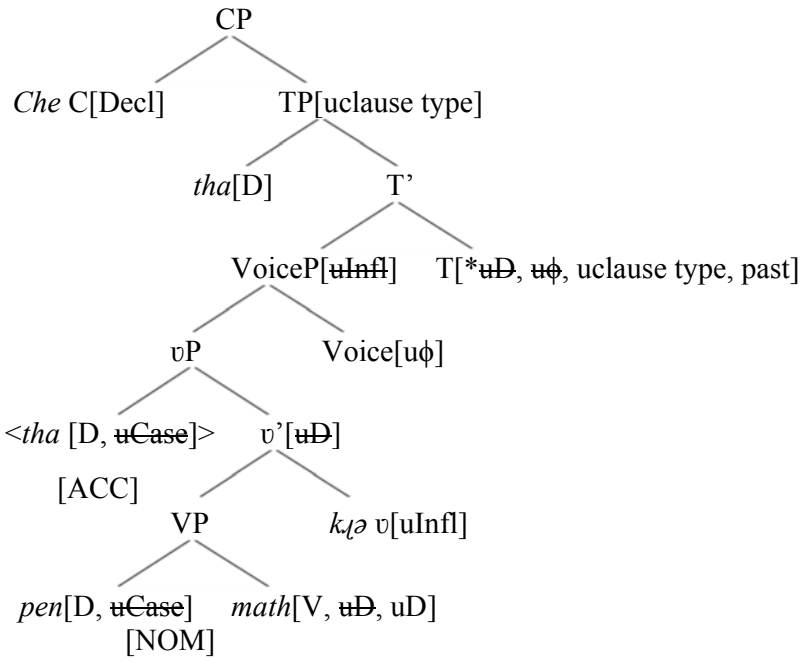


Figure 9. Che tha pen math kɻə.

Following Adger (2004) this CP merges with the verb *wail*[V, uD, uC] to form the VP. Thus, the [uC] is satisfied/ deleted. A functional category ʋ[uInfl] merges with the VP to form ʋ'. The external argument 3rd person singular male pronoun merges with ʋ' to form ʋP. Because of this merge [uD] of the verb is deleted. As we have postulated that ʋ in the past tense, in Pashto is defective (2001), lacking [uϕ] features, hence the ability to assign Case, therefore, another functional category Voice[uϕ] merges with ʋP to form

VoiceP. An agree relation establishes between Voice and the external argument in terms of [uϕ] of person, number, and gender. The [uϕ] of Voice are valued as 3PSGM, while accusative Case is assigned to the DP. Because of the accusative Case, the 3rd person singular male gets the morphological form *haghə*. As it is a progressive construction, therefore, Prog having [prog, uInfl] features merges with the VoiceP to form ProgP and values the [uInfl] of ʋ as Progressive. The ProgP itself has the uninterpretable tense feature [uInfl] and it needs satisfaction/ valuation. Therefore, T having [*uD, uclause type, past] features merges with the ProgP to form T'. It is important to note that the argument clause of the verb, either as the external or as the internal argument, has the [uCase] features of its nominals satisfied, therefore, one of the two functional categories, T or ʋ does not have [uϕ] features to assign Case to its relevant clause as a whole. Here, as because of the typical nature of Pashto past tense constructions Voice assigns accusative Case to the nominal, therefore, T does not have [uϕ] features, thus it does not have to assign Case to a nominal that is not there. The external argument moves to spec TP because of the strong [*uD] or EPP feature. An empty functional category C having [Decl] feature merges with the TP to form CP. Thus, we get the overall structure for example no. 18, in Figure 10.

This example shows that the Case assignment mechanism remains the same irrespective of the sentence structure. Now, let us consider some other examples, where the verb has one or the other argument as a clause.

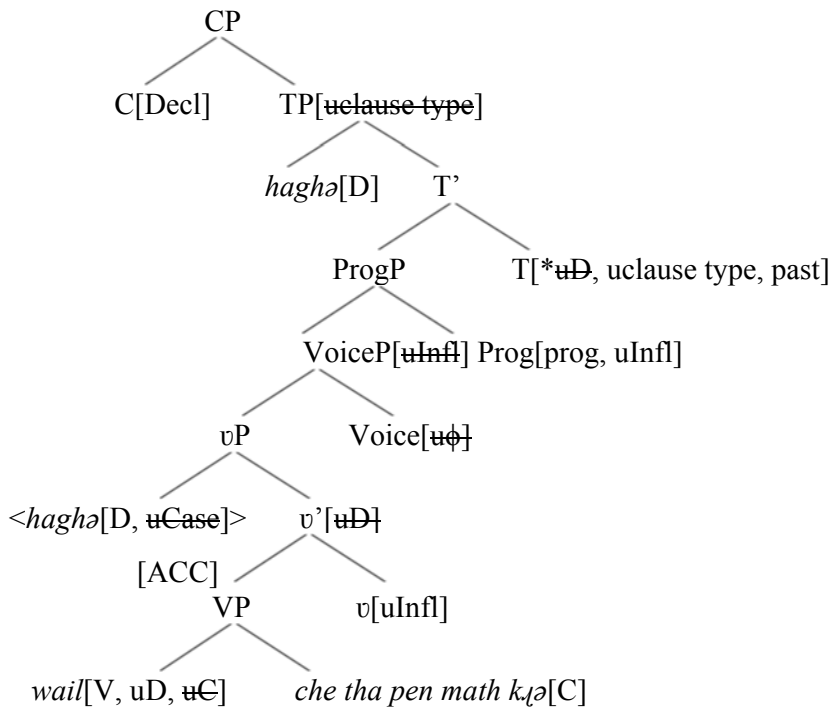


Figure 10. Hahghə wail che tha pen math kɻə.

19. *Moong umeed laro che thə ba imthehan pas kɻay.*
    we.NOM hope keep that you.NOM will examination.ACC pass do.PRS
    'We hope that you will pass the examination.'
20. *Ma ghokhthəl che hagha pen math kɻi.*
    I.ACC want.PST that he.NOM pen.ACC break do.PRS
    'I wanted that he break the pen.'
21. *Haghoi ghwaɻi che kha looba okɻi.*
    they.NOM want.PRS that good match do.PRS
    'They want to play a good match.'

In 19, the subject *moong* should have nominative Case assigned through agreement with T, and it has the nominative Case. The verb is a light verb compound consisting of

N+V construction requiring one clause as argument. As the nominals in the argument clause have their Cases already assigned, therefore, only the non-clause argument requires Case. As in this particular case T assigns Case, therefore, ʋ lacks the ability to assign Case. The *che* clause in example no.19 is in the future tense, so the same rules for Case assignment apply that are used for the present tense. Thus, *thə* has nominative Case as is shown by the morphological form of the noun, and theoretically it should bear nominative Case. While theoretically, the nominal *imthehan* should have accusative Case as it is assigned through agreement with the small ʋ.

In 20, in the *che* clause the 3rd person singular pronoun is assigned nominative Case through T, while accusative Case is assigned to the nominal *pen* through ʋ. The *che* clause also has light verb complex consisting of V+V construction, where *kɻi* is a ʋ. In the main clause, Voice assigns accusative Case to the external argument of the verb, while the internal argument does not need any Case as it is a clause and all its nominals have received their Cases from their respective functional categories. Therefore, T in this particular instance remains defective lacking [uϕ] and Case assignment. The issue that in case one of the arguments is a clause and the other a DP, why only one of the two functional categories T and ʋ or Voice, and not both, assigns Case is a research question to be answered on extensive cross-linguistic research. Now, we are not in a position to solve this issue, as it will digress us from our main topic.

In example no 21, the verb *ghwaɻi* has two arguments, the pronoun *haghoi* and the clause *che kha looba okɻi*. In the *che* clause argument itself, we have two arguments, the null pronoun and the nominal *looba*. As the clause is in the present tense, therefore, according to our mechanism the external argument, the null pronoun, is assigned the nominative Case through ϕ-features agreement with T, while the internal

argument *looba* is assigned accusative Case through ϕ-features agreement with υ. As the main clause is in the present tense, therefore, the external argument, *haghoi*, of the main clause should have theoretically nominative Case assigned to it through agreement with T, and nominative Case it has morphologically. As the internal argument is a clause, υ in this particular case lacks [uϕ] features and remains unable to assign Case. Thus, overall, all these three examples point to the fact that in those constructions where clauses form one or the other argument of the verb, the rules for Case assignment remain the same as we had postulated and substantiated for the monoclausal constructions in the previous chapters.

6.3.3 Constructions Having Relative Clauses

In Pashto, constructions having relative clauses can also be found. Thus, in this respect Pashto resembles other languages, where relative clauses are used to modify or add something to the meaning of the preceding noun. Tegey and Robson (1996) say about Pashto relative clauses: "The relative clause follows the noun it modifies and is introduced by the clause marker [*che*] or [*tse*], which translates as 'that', 'who', 'whom' or 'which'" (p. 219). In this section, we will see how structural Case is assigned in such constructions, and whether the hypotheses that we have postulated for Case assignment also hold good in case of constructions which have relative clauses or otherwise.

Relative clauses have received a lot of treatment during the last few decades. Overall, three important analyses have been attributed to the relative clauses, namely, the head- external analysis (Quine, 1960; Partee, 1975; Chomsky, 1977), the matching analysis (Lees, 1960; Chomsky, 1965; Sauerland, 1998, 2003; Hulsey & Sauerland, 2006) and the head raising analysis (Vergnaud, 1974; Kayne, 1994; Bhatt, 2002; de

Veries, 2002). No doubt, these are all worthy efforts, and it is very difficult to decide which one is the best. Salzmann (2006) sums up the whole situation, thus: "Even though the HRA has become almost the standard analysis of relative clauses in recent years, it still faces a number of difficulties that other analyses of relative clauses avoid" (p.9). For our purposes, we are adopting the matching analysis (MA), as it is relatively simple and adequately describes the structure of Pashto relative clauses. At the same time it is pertinent to state here that due to space limitations we are not in a position to compare all the three analysis for the their relative merits/ demerits[27].

The matching analysis is a sort of middle ground between the other two analyses. Like the head external analysis, the relative clauses join the head NP, while at the same time there is a representation of the external head inside the relative clause, as the internal head.

> The internal head is generated as the complement of the relative operator (which may be zero) in an argument position; the entire relative DP undergoes movement to Spec, CP. Subsequently, the internal head NP is deleted under identity with the external head. Importantly, external head and internal head are not part of a movement chain as in the raising analysis. Rather, they are related via ellipsis. (Salzmann, 2006: 10) "the [**book**]i [CP [Op which **book**]$_1$ John likes __$_1$]" (Salzmann, 2006: 10).

More importantly, for our purposes, Salzmann (2006) says about the (MA) "Crucially, in certain instances, there does not have to be perfect identity between the external head and the internal head. Since the external head and the internal head are not

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[27] For all those who are interested in the detailed analyses of all the three approaches, their relative merits, criticisms, Salzmann (2006) is suggested, which is a sort of critical review of the three approaches. Also, that thesis has useful reference section where information about individual works of authors representing these three approaches can be found.

related by movement, both must in principle be interpreted" (p. 10). The (MA) theory supposes that the internal nominal head inside the CP is deleted under identity with the external head. However, in our case, we modify this a bit and say that it is there but sometimes not phonetically pronounced, hence invisible morphologically. While in others, it is phonetically pronounced and morphologically visible.

These paragraphs had to do with the structural dynamics of relative clause. Now let us get back to the main issue of our topic and that is concerned with structural Case assignment in the relative clause. For Pashto relative clauses, we have the same hypotheses that we had for the monoclausal constructions, namely, that ϕ-features agreement between T and the relevant nominal results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal, while ϕ-features agreement between ʋ or Voice and the relevant nominal results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal. Moreover, ϕ-features agreement between the Appl and the relevant nominal results in assigning dative Case to that nominal, while ϕ-features agreement between the possessor and the functional category D in terms of [N] feature results in assigning genitive Case to the possessor.

Now, we will analyse two examples, the first representing a non-restrictive relative clause and the second a restrictive relative clause to see whether our hypotheses for structural Case assignment hold good in terms of relative clause constructions or they behave differently:

22. *Saleem hagha pen che tha ledəlay wo mathawi.*
    Saleem.NOM that pen.ACC that/which you.ACC see be.PST break.PRS
    'Saleem breaks that pen which you had seen.'

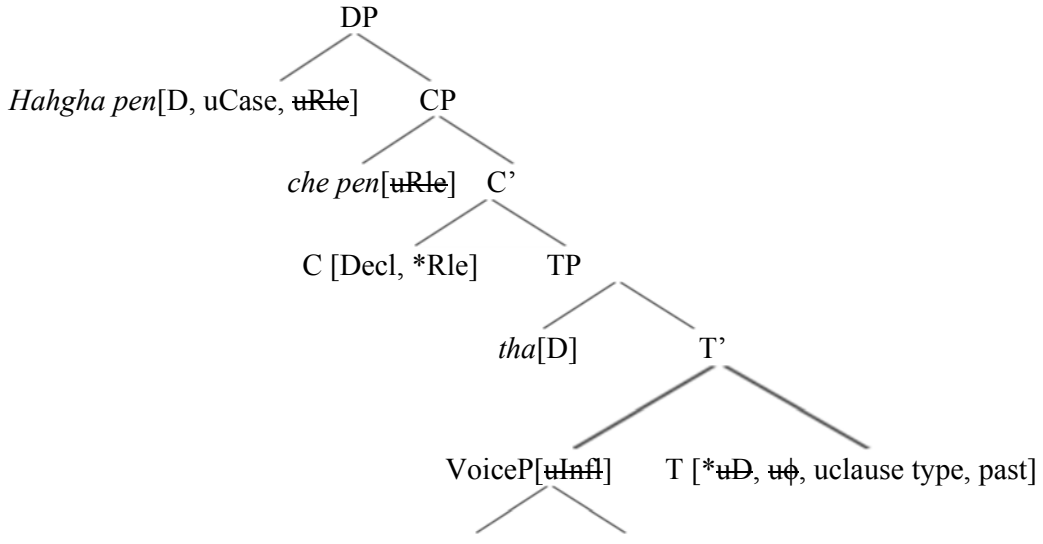
This sentence contains a relative clause, which is non-restrictive and gives additional information about the concerned noun. First of all, *che pen* [D, uCase, uRle][28], consisting of the relative operator *che* and the nominal *pen* that is to be relativised, merges with the verb *ledəl*[V, uD, uD] to form VP. Thus, one of the [uD] is satisfied/ valued. Next, υ[uInfl] *wo,* a Pashto light verb, merges with the VP, through the Hierarchy of Projection Principle, as explained in the earlier chapters, to form υ'. The external argument 2nd person singular pronoun [D, uCase] merges with the υ' to form υP, and satisfy/delete the other [uD] of the verb. As υ in the case of past tense is defective (Chomsky, 2001), lacking [uϕ] features, hence unable to assign accusative Case to the relevant nominal, therefore, Voice [uϕ] merges with the υP. We have already explained the introduction of the Voice functional category in chapter no.3. An agree relation establishes between Voice and the external argument in terms of phi-features of person, number and gender. Because of the agree relation the [uϕ] of Voice are valued as 2nd person singular male, while accusative Case is assigned to the 2nd person singular male pronoun. Due to the accusative Case, the pronoun gets the morphological form *tha*. As the [uInfl] of υ is still unvalued, therefore, a functional category T having [uϕ, *uD, uclause type, past] merges with the VoiceP to form T'.

Because of this merge, the [uInfl] of υ, which had projection on VoiceP is valued as past. An agree relation establishes between T and the nominal inside VP in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. The [uϕ] of T are valued as 3rd person singular male, while nominative Case is assigned to the nominal *pen*. The external

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[28] We are indebted to Adger (2004) for suggesting the [Rle] feature.

argument *tha* moves to spec TP to satisfy the [*uD] of T. An empty C [Decl] merges with the TP to value the [uclause type] as declarative. According to the matching analysis (MA) that we are following, the whole relative DP consisting of *che pen* moves to spec CP, thus, giving the word order *che pen tha ledəlay wo*. Next, this CP merges with the DP *hagha pen*[D, uCase, uRle] to form the bigger DP *hagha pen che pen tha ledəlay wo*. The (MA) theory supposes that the internal nominal head inside the CP is deleted under identity with the external head. However, in our case, we modify this a bit and say that it is there but sometimes not phonetically pronounced, hence invisible morphologically. While in others, it is phonetically pronounced and morphologically visible. Thus, we get the DP *hagha pen che tha ledəlay wo*. This larger DP has all its uninterpretable features satisfied, except the [uCase] feature for the nominal *pen* in *hagha pen*. So technically this DP cannot stand on its own (it will crash in the minimalist terms) unless it is part of some clause etc. where the nominal *pen* could get its Case. Practically also, the DP as we have formed so far, is unacceptable on its own unless it is a part of some other construction. Figure 11below graphically represents this whole process:



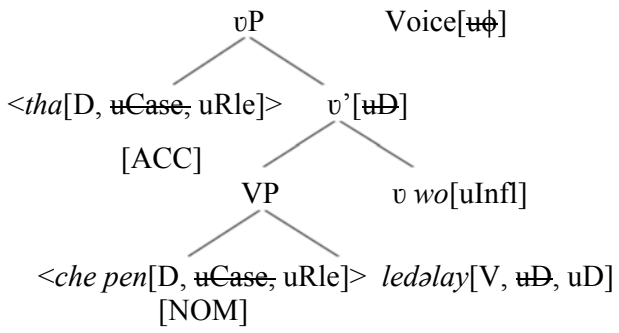


Figure 11. Hahga pen[uCase] *che tha ledəlay wo*

The next step in the derivation would involve the derivation for the main clause where the DP we have formed so far, would serve only as a DP in a clause. First of all, the internal argument which is in the form of the large DP *hagha pen* [uCase] *che tha ledəlay wo*[D] merges with the verb *math/ mathawəl* [V, uD, uD] to form VP. Because of this merge one of the two [uD] is satisfied/ deleted. The small υ having [uϕ, uInfl] features merges with the VP to form υ'. An agree relation establishes between the reletivised nominal *pen*, acting as a goal, and υ, acting as a probe, in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. Due to the agree relation the [uϕ] of υ are valued as 3rd person singular male while accusative Case is assigned to the noun *pen*. The morphological form of the *pen* remains the same as in Pashto most nouns do not change in morphological form with the change in Case from nominative to accusative or vice versa.

The external argument *Saleem*[D, uCase] merges with the υ' to form υP. As a result of this merge the other [uD] of the verb is also satisfied/ deleted. The [uInfl] of υ is still unvalued, therefore, T having [uϕ, *uD, uclause type, present] features merges with the υP to form T'. As a result of this merge the [uInfl] of υ is valued as present. An agree relation establishes between T, acting as a probe, and the external argument *Saleem*, acting as a goal, in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. As a result of this agree relation, the [uϕ] of T are valued as 3rd person singular male, while

nominative Case is assigned to *Saleem*. The external argument *Saleem* moves from spec υP to spec TP because of the strong [*uD] or EPP feature. To satisfy the [uclause type] of T, an empty C having [Decl] feature merges with the TP to form CP. Thus, the [uclause type] is valued as declarative. Below is the overall structure:

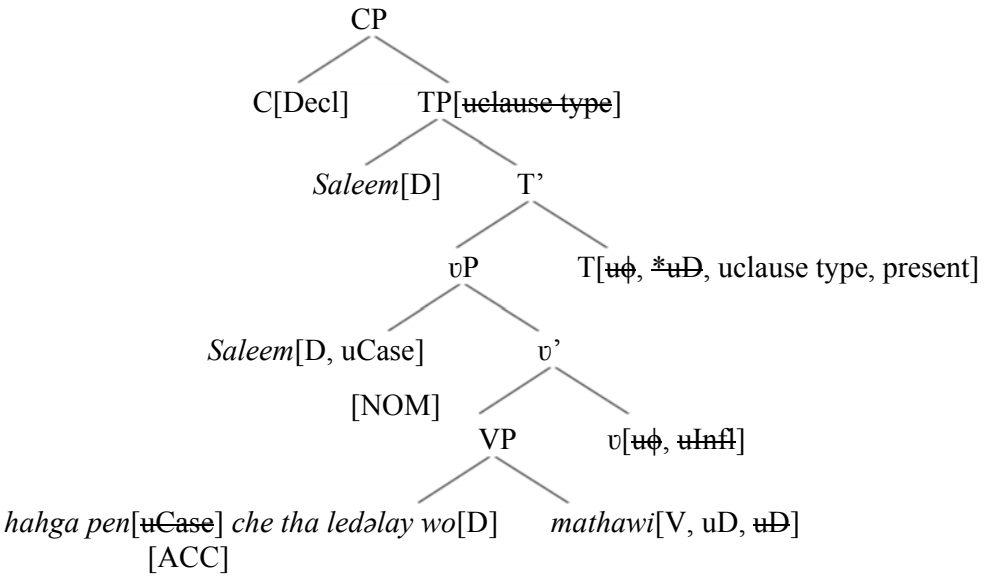


Figure 12. Saleem hagha pen che tha ledəlay wo mathawi.

23. *Hagha saɻay [che thə ye milma kaɻay way] laɻo*

that man.ACC COMP you.NOM he.ACC guest do-PAST was go

'That man who had invited you left.'

It is a restrictive relative clause, taken from Roberts (2000). It dealt with the use of clitics and considered a difficult example. We hope that the present mechanism along with the structural mechanism that we have proposed for Pashto clitics will be able to adequately account for the assignment of structural Case in this construction, and solve the structural complication of this sentence. According to our proposed mechanism, first of all, the verb *milma* [uD, uD, V] or the nominal part of the light verb complex N+V+V merges with the 2nd person singular male pronoun[D, uCase, *ufocus] to form VP. As a result one of the two [uD] is deleted. The light verb *kɻəl* υ[uInfl] merges with

the VP to form υ'. Again this is adjoined by another light verb υ_2 *way* to form an extended υ'. Next, the external argument, in this case a DP consisting of the relative operator *che* and the 3rd person singular male pronoun [D, uCase] merges with the υ' to form υP. As it is a past tense and according to our hypothesis for Pashto, there is a very close and intimate relation between past tense and Voice, hence in the past tense not only υ_1, but υ_2 also, cannot assign Case as [uϕ] are withhold by Voice to itself, therefore, Voice [uϕ] merges with the υP to form VoiceP.

An agree relation establishes between Voice, acting as a probe, and the nominal of the external argument, acting as a goal for the probe, in terms of ϕ-features of person, number and gender. As a result of the agree relation the [uϕ] of Voice are valued as 3SGM while accusative Case is assigned to the external argument. Because of the accusative Case, the 3rd person pronoun would get the morphological form *haghə*. The [uInfl] of υ_1 is still unvalued, and T having [uϕ, *uD, uclause type, past] features merges with the VoiceP to form T'. As a result of this merge the [uInfl] of υ_1 is valued as past. An agree relation establishes between T and the nominal in the complement to V position, 2nd person singular male pronoun. As a result of this agree the [uϕ] of T are valued as 2SGM while nominative Case is assigned to the goal. Because of the nominative Case, the 2nd person pronoun gets the morphological form *thə*. Here agreement between T and the internal argument for nominative Case assignment gets visible on υ_1 and υ_2.

The external argument *che+haghə* moves to spec TP to satisfy the [*uD] of T. Next, a functional category Foc, having [focus] feature, merges with the TP, resulting in Foc'. The object DP *thə*, having its [*ufocus] still unvalued/ undeleted, in the VP, moves to spec FocP due to its strong [*ufocus] feature. Due to this movement the uninterpretable [*ufocus] is satisfied/ checked. Also, as a result of the focus

movement of the one pronoun, the other pronoun *haghə* in spec TP degrades in its status and adopts the weak pronoun or clitic form *ye*. It is important to note that it is not one-to-one relation between the two pronouns, as focused movement of a verb, a part of a verb, an adjective, an adverb, a noun, etc. may also result in this degradation.

According to the mechanism we are following, the whole relative DP should move to the spec CP position, but here because of the introduction of the focus category we have to split CP into focus and force. Thus, technically the relative DP consisting of *che* and *ye* would move to force, however, as already a pronoun *thə* has been focused and moved as well, therefore, it blocks the other pronominal clitic *ye* from moving ahead of it, and only the relative operator *che* is allowed to move to spec ForceP. In addition the functional category Force values the [uclasue type] of T as [Decl]. Next, this CP merges with the DP *hagha saɻay*[D, uCase, uRle] to form the bigger DP. This larger DP has all its uninterpretable features satisfied, except the [uCase] feature of the nominal *saɻay*. So technically this DP cannot stand on its own unless it is part of some clause etc. where it could get Case. Practiclly also, the DP as we have formed so far, is unacceptable on its own unless it is a part of some other construction. Figure 13 below shows this whole process graphically.

Thus, the Figure and the large DP prove the value of our statement/ derivation towards the beginning of this section when we had postulated that in Pashto the internal nominal head inside the CP does not delete under identity with the external nominal head. Rather, it stays there, sometimes pronounced while at others invisible. Thus, if in example no. 18, it was morphologically invisible, in the example just discussed, it is phonetically/ morphologically present in the form of pronominal clitic *ye*.

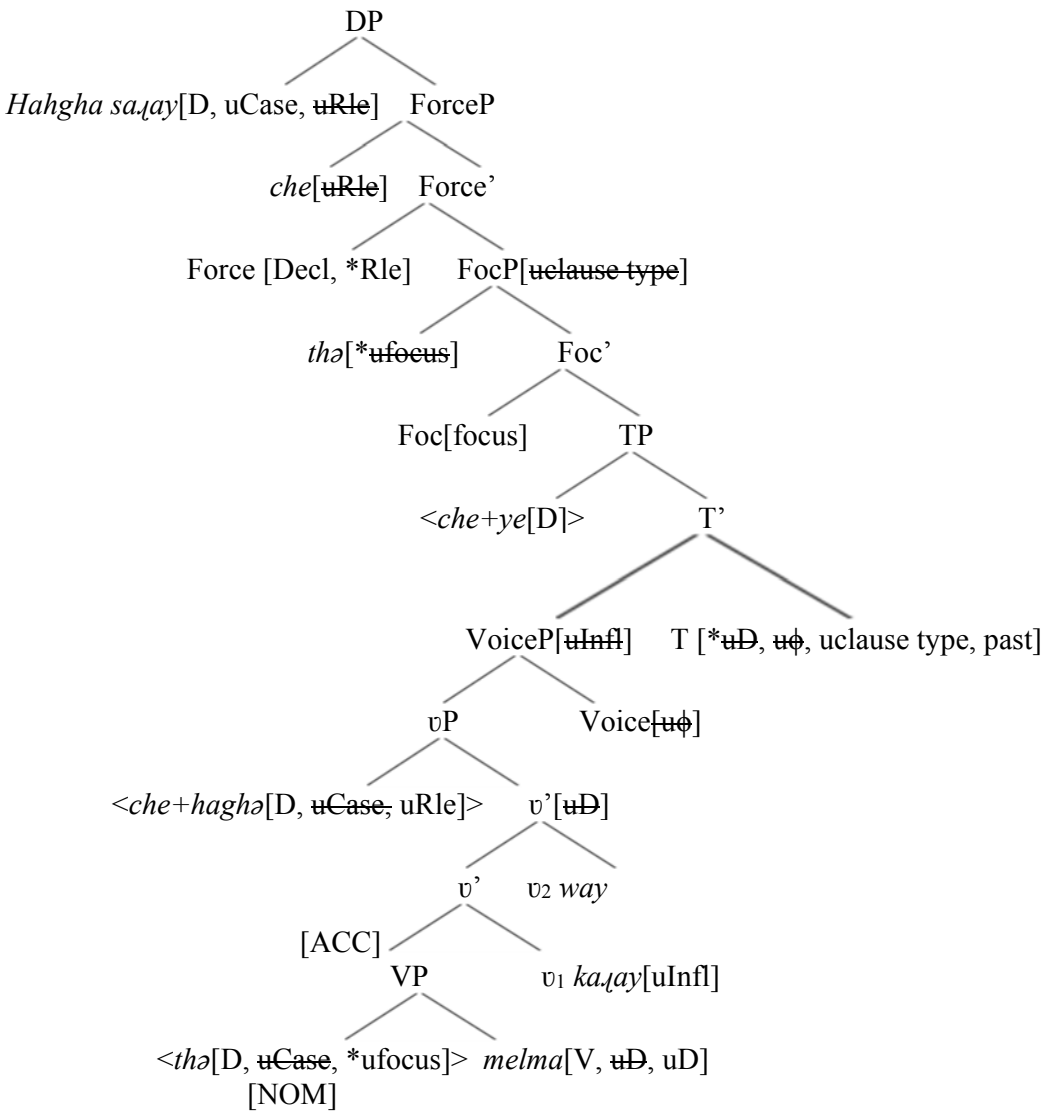


Figure 13. Hahga saɻay[uCase] *che thə ye melma kaɻay way*

The next step in the derivation would involve the derivation for the main clause where the DP we have formed so far, would serve only as a DP in a clause. First of all the unergative verb *thləl* [V, uD] merges with υ[uInfl] to form υ'. Generally, υ in Pashto, in case of the unergative verbs, in the present and future tenses, is defective (Chomsky, 2001), lacking [uϕ] feature, hence the ability to assign accusative Case. Only in the past tense, they can have these features, but even here, the Voice

functional layer withholds them, hence ʋ remains unable to assign accusative Case. Details about the relation between past tense and Voice in Pashto can be found in chapter 3, section 3.2.2. To satisfy the [uD] of the verb the large DP *hagha saɻay* [uCase] *che thə ye melma kaɻay way* [D] merges with ʋ' to form ʋP. Resultantly, the [uD] of the verb is satisfied. Also, the ʋ in the past tense Pashto constructions lacks the ability to assign Case, due to absence of the [uϕ], therefore, Voice [uϕ] merges with the ʋP. An agree relation establishes between the main nominal *saɻay* of the relative clause and Voice in terms of phi-features of person, number and gender. As a result the [uϕ] of Voice is valued as 3rd person singular male, while accusative Case is assigned to the initial nominal. Thus, the [uCase] of the nominal that we had mentioned is valued and now the DP is safe from collapsing. As the [uInfl] of ʋ is still unvalued, therefore, the functional category T having [*uD, uclause type, past] features merges with the VoiceP. The [uInfl] of T is valued as past, while the relative clause as DP moves from its place to spec TP to satisfy the strong [*uD]. To satisfy the [uclause type], C having [Decl] merges with TP to form the CP.

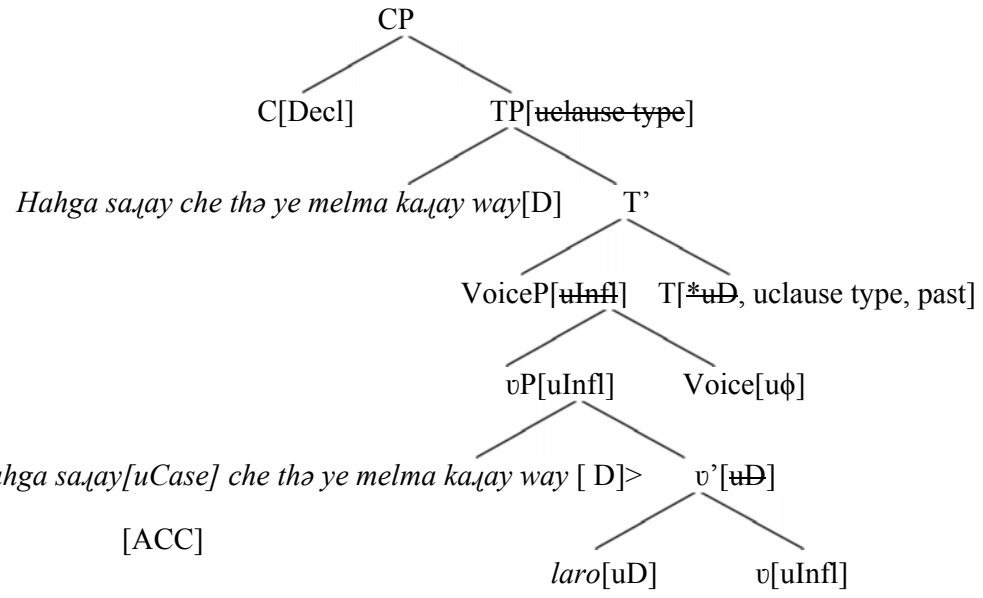


Figure 14. Hagha saɻay che thə ye melma kaɻay way laɻo

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we analysed the assignment of structural Case in multi-clausal Pashto constructions, namely, coordinate structures and subordinate structures. In the coordinate structures, we presented a detailed analysis of two examples wherein one example had one of its two parts in the present tense, while the second part was in the future tense. In the subordinate constructions, we presented a detailed analysis of three types of structures- constructions where clauses are joined by subordinators, constructions where verbs have clausal arguments, and constructions that have relative clauses. We analysed both restrictive and non-restrictive types of relative clauses. In all the constructions, we noticed/ observed that the same rules for Case assignment applied as we had observed for different monoclausal constructions in the previous chapters. These rules were, ϕ-features agreement between T and a nominal results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal, and ϕ-features agreement between υ or Voice and a nominal results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

7.1 Conclusions

This study aimed at presenting a minimalist account of the phenomenon of structural Case assignment in Pashto. In the shape of research questions we had charted out three alternative scenarios for Case assignment in Pashto, namely, that structural Case assignment is the result of ϕ-features agreement between a nominal and a functional head, or is the result of valuing/ matching a [uT] feature on the nominal, or is a mix of the two approaches. The would-be method to be adopted for the thesis was to first adopt the first alternative, namely, ϕ-features agreement as responsible for structural Case assignment and to apply it to different Pashto constructions. In case the first alternative was unable to explain the assignment of Case in different Pashto constructions, then a recourse was to be made to the second alternative, namely, [uT] feature valuation as responsible for structural Case assignment, and to apply this alternative to different Pashto constructions. In case the second alternative was also unable to explain the assignment of Case in different Pashto constructions, then a recourse was to be made to the third alternative, namely, that both ϕ-features agreement and valuation of [uT] feature are responsible for structural Case assignment.

However, we saw that the first alternative, namely, ϕ-features agreement between a functional category and a nominal as responsible for structural Case assignment to that nominal, was able to adequately describe structural Case assignment in different Pashto constructions, such as monotransitives, datives, double/ conjoined subject

constructions, unaccusatives, unergatives, passives, copular cosntructions, determiner phrases (DPs), coordinate constructions, subordinate constructions, restrictive relative clauses, non-restrictive relative clauses, etc. Nowhere, we were faced with a situation, where ϕ-features agreement was unable to explain the assignment of structural Case in any Pashto construction. As such no need, at any stage, was felt to make a resort to the 2nd or the 3rd alternative. Thus, the overall conclusion for the whole thesis and Pashto language is that ϕ-features agreement between a functional head and a nominal is responsible for structural Case assignment.

In order to make use of the minimalist idea of agreement in terms of ϕ-features between a functional category and a nominal as responsible for structural Case assignment, we made sub-hypotheses of the main hypothesis, and applied them to different Pashto constructions. Some of the sub-hypotheses were, ϕ-features agreement between the functional category T and a nominal results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal, ϕ-features agreement between the functional category υ or Voice and a nominal results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal, ϕ-features agreement between the functional category Appl and a nominal results in assigning dative Case to that nominal, and ϕ-features agreement in terms of [N] feature between the functional category D and a possessive nominal results in assigning genitive Case to that nominal.

Based on the research carried out in this project, the following conclusions were made:

i. In Pashto, ϕ-features agreement between a nominal and the functional category T, results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal.

ii. In Pashto, ϕ-features agreement between the functional categories ʋ or Voice and the relevant nominal, results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal.

iii. In Pashto, ϕ-features agreement between the functional category Appl (applicative) and the relevant nominal results in assigning dative Case to that nominal.

iv. In Pashto, agreement in terms of [N] ϕ-feature between the functional category D and the relevant nominal results in assigning genitive Case to that nominal.

v. Building on the work of Roberts (2010, n.d.), Holmberg (2007), Roberts (2000), Murasugi (1997), Bittner and Hale (1996), and Mahajan (1990), this thesis assumes that past tense and passive voice in Pashto have the same syntactic behaviour, thus supporting the idea that past tense in Pashto, like other Indo-Iranian languages, is historically related to the passive voice.

vi. The so-called predicate DP is nothing but adjunct material adjoined to the main DP, called the subject DP. The subject DP along with its adjunct material originate inside VP. From there it moves to spec TP due to T's strong [*uD] feature, while the adjunct material called predicate DP is left behind stranded in the VP.

vii. Functional category D, in Pashto DPs, is empty and the possessive marker in Pashto DPs *da*, in fact, moves from its base position to the spec DP position.

viii. In case two or more possessive markers are candidates for movement to the same spec DP position, only one of them moves while the rest move to subsequent spec DP positions.

ix. In Pashto, visible agreement is between T and the relevant nominal for nominative Case assignment and, for accusative Case, agreement between

υ or Voice and the relevant nominal is invisible. However, the agreement between T and the relevant nominal, in most cases, gets visible on V or υ or both, rather than on T.

x. In Pashto dative constructions, the Appl functional category takes an adpositional phrase as its complement and the other object as its specifier. In case a postposition follows the nominal in the apositional phrase, the nominal along with the postposition prefers to move to the already filled spec ApplP, through scrambling, and ends up adjoined to the ApplP, resulting in an extended ApplP.

In order to enable us to arrive at these conclusions, we made the following studies and obtained the relevant results:

In **Chapter 3,** we studied structural Case assignment in monoclausal transitive constructions. The constructions studied included monotransitive constructions, ditransitive constructions, and *ao* conjoined subject constructions. All the constructions discussed were restricted to single clauses. For the present and future tenses, monotransitive and conjoined subject constructions υP served as the phase. Chomsky's (2001) distinction between υ* and υ was avoided due to the nature of the constructions discussed. We observed that in those constructions agreement between a nominal and υ resulted in accusative Case on that nominal while agreement between T and a nominal resulted in nominative Case on that nominal. We made use of the Voice functional category for the past tense, as υ in the past tense Pashto constructions was defective in Chomskian (2001) sense, lacking [uϕ] feature, hence the ability to assign accusative Case. Following Collins (2005), we assumed that Voice withhold those features to itself. Hence, Voice assigned accusative Case in those past tense constructions.

As the mechanism making use of only υ functional category was unable to explain the nature of Case assignment in dative constructions, because both the objects in Pashto exhibited different Cases, therefore, multiple agreement could not work for a single functional category υ. As such, for Pashto dative constructions we introduced a unique treatment making use of Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) idea of Appl functional category with a lot of modification in the treatment and derivation, so that a dominant role was played by the adpositions (postpositions). Importantly, in such constructions agreement with the functional category Appl assigned the dative Case. For conjoined subject constructions, we studied those constructions where the conjoined subjects were joined by the Pashto conjunction *ao* meaning 'and'. There we posited that the two conjoined subjects acted as a syntactic and semantic unit/ whole, not as individual units. Furthermore, the functional categories made agree relations with the conjoined subjects as wholes not as individual units. The morphological fact that in all the examples studied the verb showed agreement not with the individual subjects but with the combined syntactic, semantic, logical effect of the two conjoined subjects, further substantiated that idea.

In **Chapter 4,** we dealt with the assignment of structural Case in monoclausal intransitive constructions. These were unergatives, unaccusatives, copular constructions, and passives. Although, there is somewhat controversy about the status of passives, as to their transitive/ intransitive nature, but they were placed in that chapter for convenience and to maintain balance in the size of the two chapters. More importantly, like the other three constructions, they also had defective υ; thus defectiveness of υ and its inability to assign accusative Case was a common characteristic among all those constructions. Pashto unaccusative constructions, like unaccusatives in other languages, had their υs lacking [uϕ] not only in the past tense

but other tenses as well, hence unable to assign accusative Case in all situations. All that we had was nominative Cases assigned to the subject nominals. In other past tense Pashto constructions, the nominals in subject position had exhibited accusative Cases due to split-ergativity in Pashto language. However, in the past tense unaccusative constructions even subject nominals bore nominative Case. This pointed to the fact that Pashto is no different from other languages of the world when it comes to Case assignment in unaccusative constructions. To put it shortly, split-ergative pattern required accusative Case, however, the quality of unaccusativity required that no accusative Case be assigned; and, no accusative Case was there. Thus, all that substantiated the findings for the nature of the Case assignment in unaccusative constructions.

Pashto unergative verb constructions also were characterized by a defective υ, lacking [uϕ] features, hence unable to assign accusative Case. In unergative verb constructions, we had subject nominals possessing nominative Case in the present and future tenses and accusative Case in the past tense. Thus, in the present/future tense unergative constructions Case was assigned because of ϕ-features agreement with T, while in the past tense unergative constructions Case was assigned due to ϕ-features agreement with the functional category Voice.

The nature of Pashto copular clauses, we examined in the light of (a) copula as a small clause, (b) copula as a predicate phrase, and (c) copula as an ordinary verb, approaches. Again, the most important characteristic was the defective nature of υ, lacking [uϕ] feature, hence the ability to assign accusative Case. We did not follow any of the three approaches, rather, devised one of our own, revolving around the idea that the so-called predicate DP was nothing but adjunct material adjoined to the main DP, called the subject DP. The

subject DP along with its adjunct material originated inside VP. From there it moved to spec TP due to T's strong [*uD] feature, while the adjunct material called predicate DP was left behind stranded in the VP. This mechanism was able to adequately deal with the assignment of structural Case in Pashto copular clauses.

In Pashto passive voice constructions, once again, ʋ was defective, lacking [uϕ] feature, and hence was unable to assign accusative Case. Thus, for all the three tenses, present, past, and future passive voice constructions, the functional category Voice was introduced. As such, in all the Pashto passive voice constructions the functional category Voice assigned Case. Thus, this in a way supported the idea that historically past tense is considered a participle or (an adjective) (Holmberg, 2007), or related to the passive (Roberts, 2010, n.d.; Holmberg, 2007; Roberts, 2000; Murasugi, 1997; Bittner & Hale, 1996; Mahajan, 1990).

Chapter 5 dealt with the assignment of genitive Case in Pashto DPs. This study proposed that Pashto had three types of DPs, namely, simple DPs, complex DPs, and arguments of a deverbal noun DPs. As the derivations/ structures suggested for other languages were unable to adequately deal with the three types of Pashto DPs, therefore, we suggested three different structures/ derivations for the three types of Pashto DPs. These structures were able to adequately deal with the assignment of genitive Case in Pashto DPs. In addition, these derivations made it evident that the assignment of genitive Case in Pashto DPs was the result of an agree relation between the functional category D and a possessive nominal in terms of phi-feature [N].

Chapter 6 dilated on the nature of structural Case assignment in multi-clausal constructions in Pashto. These included coordinated and subordinated constructions.

The account of coordinated constructions was restricted to constructions with *ao* 'and', *ya* 'or', *kho* 'but', etc. conjunctions. The account of subordinated constructions had information about Case assignment where either of the two arguments of a verb was a clause, and Case assignment in relative clauses. Relative clauses turned out to be very interesting because of the resumptive clitic or in some cases resumptive pronouns inside them. We adopted the matching analysis (MA) for relative clauses, with one modification that MA believed in deletion of the internal nominal inside CP with the external nominal through identity, while we assumed that the internal nominal inside the CP did not delete, rather, it got phonetically null in some cases and otherwise in others. We gave a thumbnail sketch of relative clauses along with Case assignment, though detailed treatment we avoided due to space limitations. The overall conclusion that we got from this chapter was that the rules for structural Case assignment remained the same whether the construction was monoclausal or multi-clausal.

7.2 Suggestions for Future Research

Almost every aspect of Pashto language has remained oblivious to the influence of the generative enterprise and every aspect needs to be extensively studied in the light of the knowledge accumulated so far. However, there were some topics/ issues that really turned out to be hindrances and bottlenecks. If some work, on these topics, was available that would have really made our study/ project easier for us. However, sadly no such work was present. As such, ours was the first attempt in majority of cases and ours were the first conclusions ever drawn. Consequently, we suggest the following topics/ issues for future/ further research:

a. Pashto clause structure
b. light verb constructions in Pashto
c. structure of Pashto DPs
d. the base form of the Pashto verbs
e. the difference in indefinite and continuous aspects in Pashto
f. the idea that ergative-absolutive scheme is nothing but the reverse nominative-accusative scheme in Pashto
g. the importance of the distinction between perfective and imperfective aspects in Pashto
h. the relative flexibility of Pashto verbs to be used as monotransitive and ditransitive as compared to the English verbs
i. the deviant behaviour of two pronouns i.e. 3rd person singular (near and distant) in the object position in the present and future tenses with reference to accusative Case assignment.
j. Why only those arguments bear dative Case in Pashto dative constructions, which are attached to by adpositions?
k. Why in Pashto dative constructions objects with postpositions prefer to move to spec ApplP through scrambling?
l. Suppose that we consider aspect as responsible for Case assignment in Pashto. Then, what will be the possible effect of the difference in continuous and indefinite aspects on the assignment of Case in Pashto? So far, the mechanism that we have adopted, namely, ϕ-features agreement between functional categories and nominals, makes us conclude that difference of aspect has no effect on the assignment of Case.

m. Why, in Pashto, there are different agreement patterns for conjoined subjects joined by different conjunctions?

n. In addition to being a 'theme', what other θ-roles a subject DP in copular clauses can perform?

o. Why the main DP of the extended DP moves to spec TP to satisfy EPP, and not the predicatorial DP?

p. Why the use of passives is not that frequent in Pashto, as e.g. in English?

q. Can the subject in Pashto unaccusatives be also a goal, in addition to its being a theme?

r. Why the Pashto possessive marker *da* prefers to move to D?

s. In case there are three D positions (D_1, D_2, D_3) and two *da*s (*da*$_1$, *da*$_2$), then the first two D positions are filled, but whether the second *da* i.e. *da*$_2$ first comes to position D_3 and then moves to D_2 or the *da*$_2$ directly moves from D_3 to D_2?

t. What is the exact nature of the so-called verbal clitics in Pashto? We have proposed that they are preverbs. However, a varied and extensive research on the nature of preverbs in Pashto will be a welcome addition.

u. Why, when a noun, pronoun, verb, part of a verb, preposition, adverb, or any part of speech is focused, then the pronoun inside a Pashto clitics sentence gets a clitic form?

v. What are the specific points of relation between a focused element and a pronoun that is cliticised?

w. In Pashto, some sentences have nouns surrounded by transpositions occupying the left-most positions. A question arises whether the nouns move along with transpositions to spec TP to satisfy EPP or alternatively T has strong [*uPP]

feature in this particular case that forces the movement of transpositions along with the nominal to spec TP.

x. Why, in situations where one argument of a verb is a clause while the other argument is a nominal/ DP, only one of the two functional categories T and *v* or Voice assigns the Case?

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