

Genitive Case Assignment in Pashto Simple Possessor Determiner Phrases

Talat Masood¹

Abstract

Over the years, different mechanisms have been proposed to account for the assignment/ checking of genitive Case in determiner phrases (DPs), on cross-linguistic basis. However, none of the mechanisms so far suggested, for the assignment of genitive Case, can adequately account for the assignment of genitive Case in Pashto simple possession DPs. The goal of this paper is to propose a mechanism for the assignment of genitive Case in Pashto simple possession DPs. For this purpose, Chomsky's framework of 'the minimalist program', with its techniques of Merge, Move, Agree, Features, Goal, Probe, and Value, is adopted. While the mechanisms proposed by Adger and Watanabe are unable to account for Pashto simple possession DPs, the mechanism proposed in this study, under the umbrella of the minimalist program, is applied to different kinds of Pashto simple possession DPs, and is able to adequately account for the assignment of genitive Case in them. The overall conclusion for this paper is that agreement in terms of [N] feature between the functional head D and a possession results in assigning genitive Case to the possession inside the DP; thus, it is a continuation of the standard theory that agreement in terms of features between a functional head and a nominal results in checking/ assigning structural case to that nominal.

Keywords: Genitive Case, determiner phrase, case assignment, possession, features

1. Introduction

This paper is about genitive Case assignment in Pashto simple possession determiner phrases (DPs), as exemplified in (1-3).

1. da chai rəŋg
of tea colour
'the colour of the tea/ the tea's colour'
2. da haghə pen
of his pen
'his pen'

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3. da haghə dwa khkuli penona
 of his two beautiful pens
 'his two beautiful pens'

As can be seen from the examples above, genitive case bearing possession DPs are preceded by a possession marker *da*. In Pashto, possession and genitive Case are borne by the same nominal; I have not come across DPs in Pashto where there is only genitive Case and no possession.

Genitive Case¹ bearing nominals - in most cases having different morphological realizations when compared to nominative/ accusative Case bearing nominals, though, occupying the same slots in a clause as nominatives and accusatives do - have always been of interest for grammarians. From a generative perspective, this gave rise to interest in the agency that is responsible for this different manifestation of Case on nominals. Two important views have emerged over the years regarding genitive Case assignment: genitive Case is assigned from outside the possession DP to a nominal inside the DP and genitive Case is assigned from inside the DP to a nominal inside the DP. Since genitive Case assignment in Pashto can better be accounted for by the latter view, therefore, the latter is argued for in this study.

As genitive Case assignment cannot be accounted for adequately without first knowing the structure of a DP; this study for the first time proposes a detailed structure for Pashto simple possession DPs. The derivation for the proposed structure of Pashto simple possession DPs² proceeds in a bottom up fashion and following Adger (2004) makes use of different functional heads which are strung together by virtue of satisfaction/ valuation of different features. In the steps where the valuation of features is not involved, a resort is made to the processes of adjunction, resulting in an extended phrase.

In the minimalist program itself, different mechanisms have so far been suggested for the assignment of structural Case. Some of the well-known proposals about Case assignment are: functional categories (T, v, n, and D) and agreement in terms of features (Schütze, 1997; Chomsky, 2000,

¹ As per generative tradition, a capital 'C' is used in the spelling of Case when a structural Case is meant while for case in general a small 'c' is used in spelling.

² An anonymous reviewer has kindly referred to the term 'possessor' and its ambiguity in terms of meaning. They have suggested the term 'possession' as it means a 'DP which expresses the possession relation between a noun and a DP' while the term possessor means 'the DP which has the role Possessor'.

2001, 2005, 2006; Carstens, 2001; Bejar, 2003; Tanaka, 2005; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 2006; Bobaljik & Branigan, 2006; Richardson, 2007; Legate, 2008; Baker, 2008, 2015; Baker & Vinokurova, 2010; Masood, 2014); structural Case as an uninterpretable tense feature on the relevant DP (Pesetsky & Torrego, 2001); mood and modality result in the assignment of Case (Aygen, 2002); aspect, in one way or another, is responsible for Case assignment (Itkonen, 1976; Ramchand, 1997; Arad, 1998; Kiparsky, 1998; Torrego, 1998; Svenonius, 2001, 2002; Kratzer, 2004); Case is due to location and person (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2009). For the assignment of genitive Case in Pashto DPs, this study proposes that agreement in terms of [N] feature between the functional category D and a possession results in assigning genitive Case to the possession. Thus, the hypothesis for this study is a version of the 'functional categories and agreement in terms of features' mechanism.

This paper is laid out as follows: the first section introduces the topic. The second section, titled 'Literature Review', relates the accounts of genitive Case assignment/ checking on a cross-linguistic basis. Later in the section, a brief account is added to show the efforts that were made to describe genitive Case in Pashto. The third section 'Method/Framework' gives details about the framework that is adopted for this study. The fourth section gives a brief account of the features of Pashto DPs, an account of the types of DPs bearing genitive Case, and a detailed analysis of genitive case assignment in Pashto simple possession DPs. The last section concludes the paper.

2. Literature Review

Cross-linguistically, during the last forty years, some efforts have been made to account for the assignment of genitive Case (Sezar, 1972; Watanabe, 1994, 1996, 2006; Bittner & Hale, 1996; Cornelia, 2001; Hiraiwa, 2001; Borschev & Partee, 2002; Adger, 2004; Miyagawa, 2011; Kusumoto, 2013; Mertyris, 2014; Inoue, 2015; Anagnostopoulou, Mertyris & Sevdali, 2018). These accounts at places overlap and at other places are poles apart. For the current study, two well-known accounts, namely, Watanabe (2006) and Adger (2004) – the first dealing with genitive Case assignment in Japanese and the second dealing with genitive Case assignment in English (and cross-linguistically) – are taken and it is shown how they are inadequate in our case.

2.1 Watanabe (2006)

In this respect, Adger (2004) is an important attempt, as he deals comprehensively with the assignment of genitive Case as well as the

relevant problems created by the complexity of DPs' internal structure. Also, his approach has an affinity with ours, in the sense that he also argues for 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 no. 2 for assignment of genitive Case in possessions and the structure in figure no. 3 for the assignment of genitive Case in constructions where the nominals show sort of processes. Additionally, he, inspired by the idea of θ -roles in the verbal domain, proposes θ -roles for the nominals inside the complex DPs of the nature 'David's analysis of Allen'.

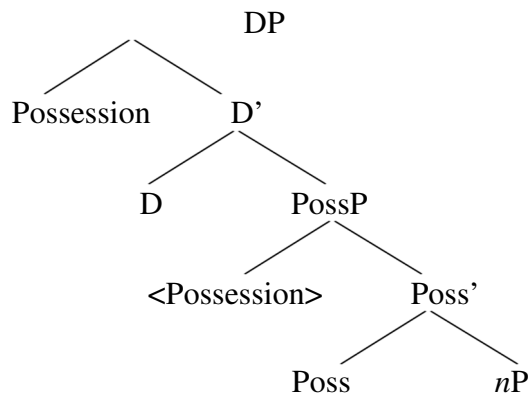


Fig. 2.1. Adger's structure for genitive Case assignment in possessions (p. 274)

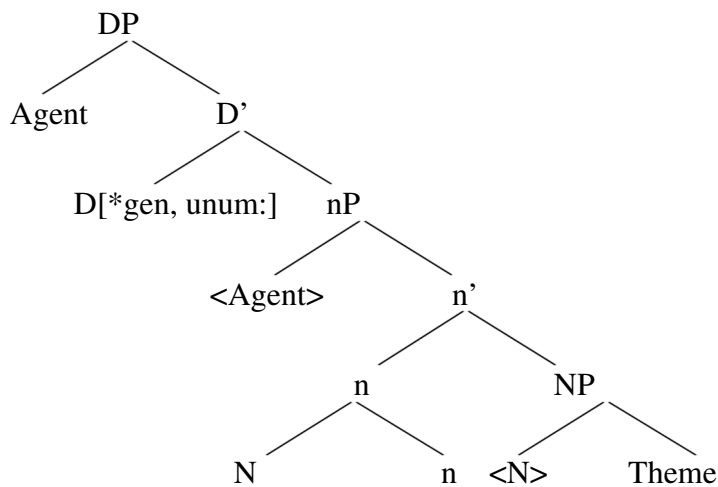


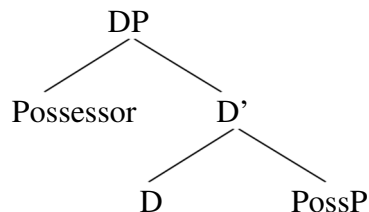
Fig. 2.2. Adger's structure for genitive Case assignment in DPs showing processes (p. 279)

However, Adger's (2004) proposals are unable to deal with the varied nature of Pashto DPs. His possession DPs can deal with those Pashto DPs which have one possession; however, his idea of possession DP postulates an additional functional category *n*, which may not be necessary in our case; hence, not a virtual conceptual necessity. Additionally, his possession DP structure is unable to account for the assignment of genitive Case in complex Pashto possession DPs and arguments of a deverbal noun DPs; hence, a mechanism, which has a universal applicability would be preferable¹.

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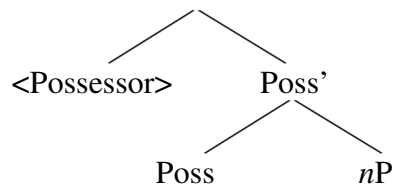


Fig. 2.3. Adger's structure for genitive Case assignment in possessors (p. 274)

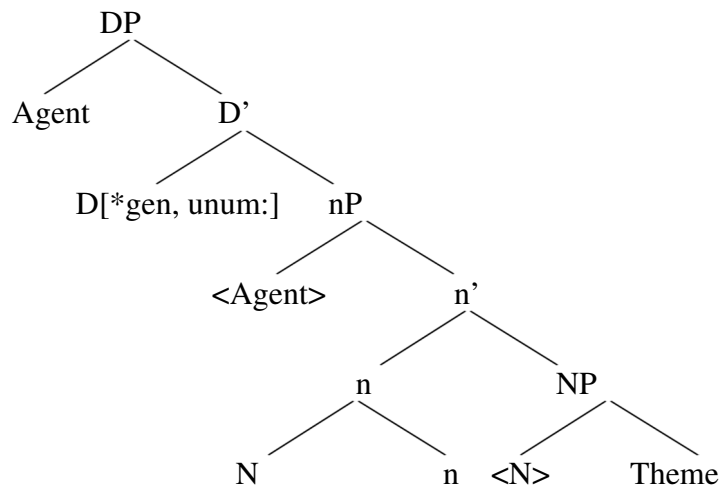


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2.3 Genitive Case in Pashto

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, the most influential account of the genitive case is given by Raverty (1855), who claims 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). Also, he gives the genitive case forms for the personal pronouns along with their other forms. 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, where 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 ‘z’ and the second person pronouns, singular and plural, are preceded by prefix ‘s’. 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.

Bukhari (1984) describes 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 a noun or a pronoun, while in Urdu 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 claims that they are actually there and their present forms are the result of the fusion 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 grammarians of Pashto, namely, Penzal (1955), Shafeev (1964), Mackenzie (1987), Rashtheen (1994), Tegey & Robson (1996), who have written grammars of Pashto but they have more or less given the same information about the genitive case.

3. Method/ Framework

This study tries to find the assignment of Case, using Chomsky's (1995, 2001) The Minimalist Program as the framework. The chief minimalist techniques/ processes that this study makes use of are Merge, Move,

Features, and Agree. The minimalist program considers human language faculty to consist of four parts: 1) the lexicon, 2) the computational system, 3) phonetic form (PF), and 4) logical form (LF). To form a phrase or a clause, the minimalist program adopts a derivational approach. The derivation starts with numeration. The numeration is a collection of an unordered mass of lexical items. These items/ elements combine with each other to form larger elements. Thus, the language resorts to a recursive system. Merge "takes two syntactic objects α and β and forms the new object $\gamma = \{\alpha, \beta\}$ " (Chomsky, 2001, p. 3). The importance of Merge is due to Bare Phrase Structure (BPS), economy considerations, and its being the least controversial primitive syntactic operation. Merge can be of two types: External Merge and Internal Merge (Chomsky, 2001). A determiner phrase (DP) merged with a verb (V) represents an External 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 is now at the edge of α and leaves a trace t_β behind" (Sultan, 2007, p. 12). The Internal Merge can also be termed as 'Move' and 'displacement'.

Features can be interpretable as well as uninterpretable. Thus, they do away with the redundancy that we, for instance, observe in agreement-features on both noun and the verb. Interpretable features contribute to the Semantics of a construction while uninterpretable features are 'ignored' by the system. In the minimalist program it is believed that lexical items enter a derivation with certain features; as for instance, a noun bears phi-features, a verb can have tense, aspect features. These features are referred to as interpretable features. However, there are some features whose values are not fixed. The values of such features are established as a result of Agree relation where matching of a Probe and a Goal occurs. One such example could be that of uninterpretable features of number, person, and gender on the verb. They need Agree with the interpretable features of the concerned noun to be valued. This study makes use of all the above mentioned techniques/mechanisms to establish how genitive Case is assigned in Pashto simple possessor DPs; as so far, the mechanisms of genitive Case assignment proposed for other languages are unable to explain structural Case assignment in Pashto simple possessor DPs.

4. Discussion/ Analysis

4.1 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. Determiners, in Pashto DPs, unlike English, can be stacked together:

4. da zma hagma har yo pen
 of my that every one pen
 ‘*my that every pen.’

(As is shown by the example, the word order is acceptable in Pashto and not acceptable in English). Adjectives, in Pashto, are non-gradable; 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 other languages. Nouns in Pashto inside a DP remain in situ, they do not move to the spec DP as is considered to be 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* (please refer to examples 1-3). The functional category D in Pashto is empty.

4.2 Three Types of Pashto DPs and Genitive Case

Three types of DPs, which bear genitive Case, can be found in Pashto – simple possession DPs, complex possession DPs (which have more than one possessions, for instance, *da Peter da khor spai* → Peter’s Sister’s dog) and arguments of a deverbal noun DPs, for instance, *da Peter pen mathavəl* → Peter’s breaking of a/the pen). 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. However, due to space limitations, this paper is restricted to the analysis of genitive Case assignment in the first type of possession DPs.

4.3 Pashto Simple Possessor DPs

These DPs are characterized by the presence of a single possession inside them. Whereas in English, possessions are realized either with a preposition or as the Saxon genitive, in Pashto it is only realized via a special genitive marker/ preposition, pronounced as *da*.

da chai rəng
of tea colour
‘the colour of the tea/ the tea’s colour’
da baz sthərgay
of hawk eyes
‘the eyes of a hawk / the hawk’s eyes’

4.3.1 The Proposed Mechanism

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 below, give a graphic representation of the proposed mechanism, followed by an explanation/ elaboration of the processes involved in assignment of genitive Case in Pashto simple possession DPs. At the outset, it needs to be made clear that the mechanism proposed has solution for two types of situations: first, when a DP has both possession and genitive Case and second, when a DP has only genitive Case but no possession. As far as Pashto is concerned, it does not have genitive DPs that only show genitive Case and no possession; rather, in Pashto all the genitive DPs have both possession and genitive Case simultaneously.

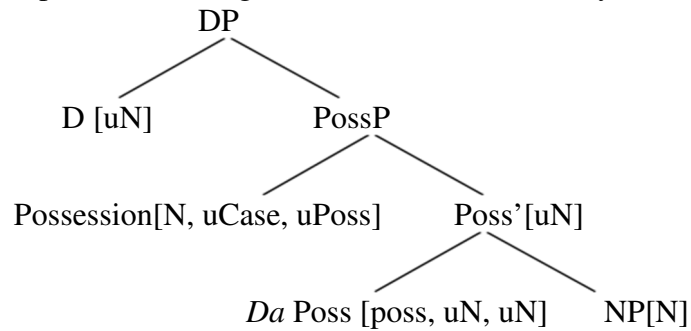


Fig. 4.1 The proposed mechanism with unvalued features

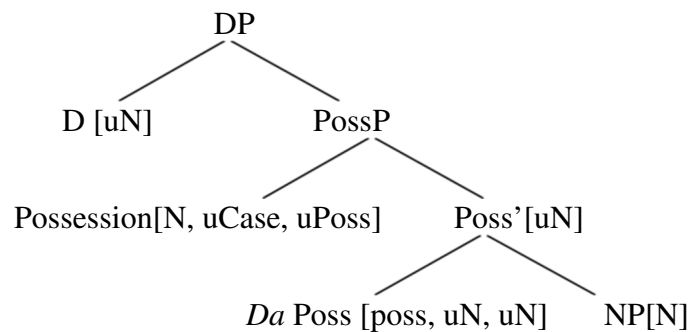


Fig. 4.2 The proposed mechanism with valued features

As per the proposed mechanism, first an NP having [N] feature merges with an optional functional head Poss, having [poss, uN, uN] features and phonetic realization as *da*, to form Poss'. In the idea of 'optional functional head' two things, namely, Poss functional head and optionality, merit attention. The former, i.e., the Poss functional head, corresponds to the fact that in most cases, cross-linguistically, a genitive Case marked DP also exhibits the feature of possession. The latter, that Poss is optional expresses the fact that a genitive DP does not necessarily denote possession. In Pashto there are no such DPs but if a language have such DPs then our mechanism can deal with such situation, namely, the addition/merge of Poss category is not required. 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 possession ((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 possession get checked/deleted. Once the PossP is formed, it is merged with the empty functional category D [uN]. In the case of Pashto, no intermediate category between PossP and DP is needed as (pro)nominals in Pashto do not move ahead of D. In some languages the possessor moves, i.e. internally merges with DP. The D' is just how the internal merge is represented. Agreement between the possessor DP and D in terms of the feature [N], the DP assigning N-value to D, has as a consequence that [uCase] of the DP gets the value GEN. Also, this mechanism has the advantage that the D c-commands the possession 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 possession 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 possession 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, the word order 'possession > da > noun' is obtained, while in real life the word order is 'da > possession > noun'. Therefore, I 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.

A word about our hypothetical genitive DPs that have genitive case but no possession: in such cases there would be no possessive head and the DP

would be a specifier of NP, and assigned genitive Case as a consequence of D-N agreement.

To explain the workings of the mechanism outlined, I will make a derivation for one of the examples above, reproduced as example no.3 below:

1. *da baz sthərgay*
of hawk eyes
'the eyes of a hawk or the hawk's eyes'

First of all, 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 is this head that has the uninterpretable features and it is this head that would project. As a result 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. As a result of this merge the other unvalued [uN] feature of the Poss and [uposs] of the possessor are checked/deleted. A question may be raised about the nominal *baz* that it does not have any markings for possessiveness; however, this issue will be solved in the derivation for the next example, which makes use of a personal pronoun¹ with visible markings for possessiveness as compared to normal personal pronouns. 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 head Poss and the functional head D for the

¹ 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	<i>zə</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>
1PL	<i>moong</i>	<i>moong</i>	<i>moong</i>
2S	<i>thə</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>tha</i>
2PL	<i>thaso</i>	<i>thaso</i>	<i>thaso</i>
3S.M (distant)	<i>hagha</i>	<i>haghə</i>	<i>haghə</i>
3S.F (distant)	<i>hagha</i>	<i>haghay</i>	<i>haghay</i>
3PL (distant)	<i>hagoi</i>	<i>hagoi</i>	<i>hagoi</i>
3S.M (near)	<i>day</i>	<i>də</i>	<i>də</i>
3S.F (near)	<i>do</i>	<i>day</i>	<i>day</i>
3PL (near)	<i>doi</i>	<i>doi</i>	<i>doi</i>

satisfaction of their [uN] features. More importantly as a result of the [N] agreement between D and the possessor, a genitive Case is assigned to the possessor. At the spell-out stage the possessive marker *da* moves to D, and the order *da baz sthərgay* is obtained.

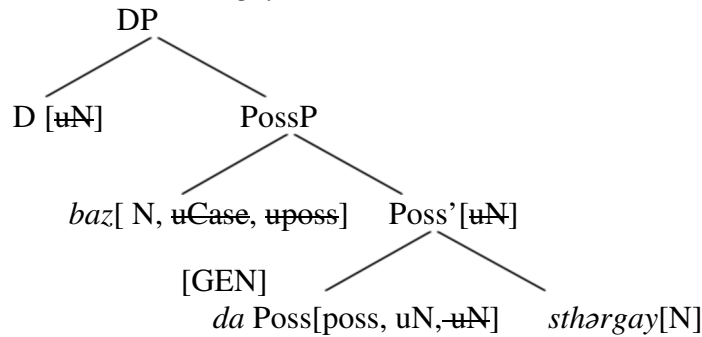


Fig. 4.3 *da baz sthərgay*

Now, I will make a derivation for a Pashto DP that has a pronoun in the genitive Case:

2. *da haghə pen*
of his pen
‘his pen’

First of all, 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 *hagha* ‘he’ having [N, uCase, uposs] features merges with Poss' to form PossP. As a result 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. As a result of the [N] feature agreement between D and the possessor, a genitive Case is assigned to the possessor. As a result of 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 possessor; 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*.

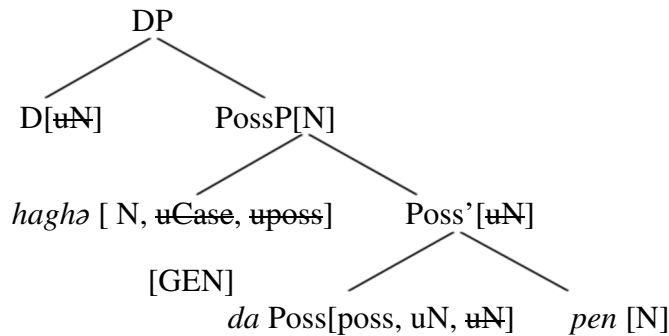


Fig. 4.4. *da haghə pen*

Moreover, some grammarians implicitly believe, as they do not state it openly, 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/ diffusion 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 may have been dropped for economy purposes, or may be the result of some other phonetic phenomenon.

The next example relates to a Pashto DP which makes use of adjectives.

3. *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 ‘adjuncts’ or ‘adjectival phrases APs’. In the analysis for this example, I

will make use of the technique called adjunction/ adjoin¹ for the addition of an adjective to a nominal. First of all, 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' as shown in figure no.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*.

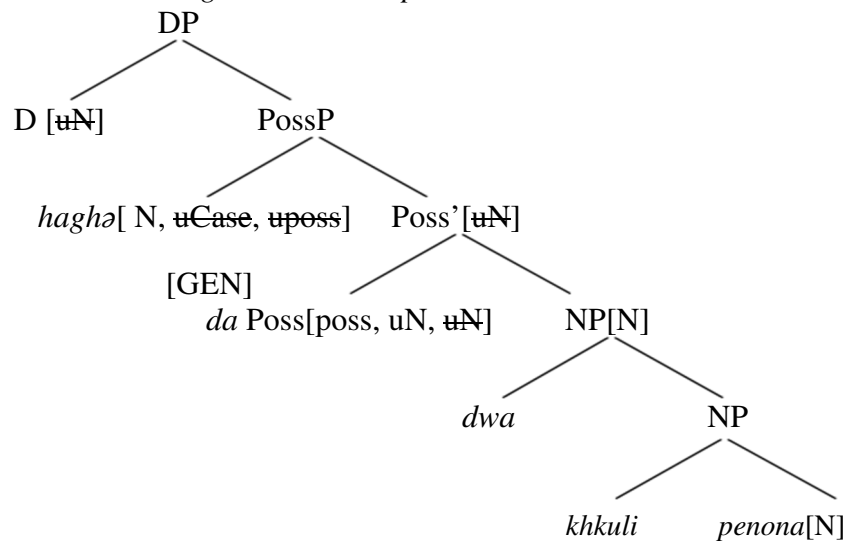


Fig. 4.5. *da haghə dwa khkuli penona*

¹ 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.

Now if a situation arises when the DP also contains a demonstrative *hagha* ‘that’ inside it:

4. *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 the demonstrative is added as a third adjunct to the NP.

5. Conclusion

Thus, in this paper, the assignment of genitive case in Pashto simple possession DPs from a minimalist perspective was explored. It tried to substantiate, through different structures and examples, the claim that [N] feature agreement between D and the relevant possession (nominal) results in assigning genitive case to that possession. Thus, in a way it was a continuation and confirmation of the minimalist idea that ϕ -features agreement between a functional head and the relevant nominal results in assigning structural case to that nominal. Also, a mechanism was proposed and the mechanism was able to adequately describe the assignment of genitive Case in Pashto simple possession DPs. The nature of Pashto DPs was also discussed to some extent but detailed treatment was avoided due to space limitation. Also, the issue of determinerless DPs in Pashto was avoided due to the same reason. In addition, I scratched the surface of some other issues and presented instant solutions, though detailed treatment was avoided due to space limitations. Some such issues included the absence of the genitive marker/ preposition *da* from 1st and 2nd person pronouns in the Northern varieties of Pashto and subsequent empirical evidence from the Southern varieties of Pashto to prove that it was still there, and the movement of the genitive marker *da* left-wards to D.

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