A Minimalist Account of Structural Case Assignment in Pashto Dative Constructions

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Abstract

In Pashto, typical double object constructions cannot be found; ditransitive verbs, in Pashto, form constructions that are commonly referred to as dative constructions. Similarly, in Pashto, it is always the postpositions that are attached to the indirect object to form dative constructions while cross-linguistically it is not the case. These, coupled with the fact that Pashto is a tense based split-ergative language, necessitate that the phenomenon of case assignment in Pashto dative constructions be thoroughly explored. It is proposed that in Pashto dative constructions an Appl functional head 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. For structural Case[3] *assignment, this paper adopts the minimalist idea that ϕ-features agreement between a functional head and a nominal results in assigning structural Case to that nominal. Thus, ϕ-features agreement with T results in nominative Case, with v or Voice (depending on tense) results in accusative Case, and with the Appl results in assigning dative Case to the relevant nominal.*

Keywords: Structural Case assignment; dative Case; nominative Case; accusative Case; functional category; agreement

1. Introduction

Whereas ditransitive constructions in some well-studied languages (as for instance English) can be found either as double object constructions or as dative constructions, or in some other languages as "secondary object

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[3]Generally, 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.

alignment" (Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie, 2010), they are unique in Pashto: double object constructions do not exist and ditransitive constructions mostly consist of dative constructions. These dative constructions are characterized by indirect objects followed by postpositions. Never, we come across dative constructions where prepositions or transpositions precede the indirect object. Added to this has been the split-ergative nature of Pashto: in the present and future tenses, the familiar pattern of nominative-accusative Case alignment exists for the subject and direct object; in the past tense, the opposite of it is observable. To deal with this and to explain structural Case assignment in such constructions, an argument structure for Pashto dative constructions is proposed. An important proposal for this argument structure, following Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), though with much modification, is that in Pashto dative constructions, the Appl(icative) functional category takes a postpositional phrase as its complement and the other object as its specifier. In case the nominal in the adpositional phrase is followed by a postposition, 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.

In the minimalist literature, a number of ideas have so far been presented vis-à-vis structural Case assignment. The standard theory is that structural case is the result of features agree/ checking between a functional head (T, ʋ, *n*, and D) and the relevant nominal (Schütze, 1997; Chomsky, 2000, 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). Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) posit that structural Case is an uninterpretable tense feature on the relevant DP. Aygen (2002) considers mood and modality as responsible for the assignment of Case. That, in one way or another, aspect assigns Case (Itkonen, 1976; Ramchand, 1997; Arad, 1998; Kiparsky, 1998; Torrego, 1998; Svenonius, 2001, 2002; Kratzer, 2004). While Ritter & Wiltschko (2009) believe that Case is licensed by location and person. Our hypotheses for the assignment of structural Case in Pashto dative constructions are that nominative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between the functional head T and the relevant nominal, accusative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between the functional head ʋ or Voice and the relevant nominal, while dative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between the functional head Appl and the relevant nominal. Thus, our hypotheses are a version of the 'functional categories and agreement in terms of features' mechanism.

The paper is laid out as follows: Section 1 introduces the topic. Section 2 dilates in detail on the nature of double object constructions in Pashto. Section 3 presents a thumbnail sketch of the generative efforts that were made to deal with the structure of dative constructions on cross-linguistic basis. Sections 4, 5, and 6 deal with the analysis of structural Case assignment in Pashto dative constructions in the present, past, and future tenses, respectively. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. Nature of Dative Constructions in Pashto

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 referred to as 'indirect object constructions' and 'dative constructions'. Again, whereas in English, for instance, it is observed that prepositions attach to the indirect objects to form prepositional phrases, in Pashto, on the contrary, postpositions are attached to the indirect objects to form adpositional phrases.

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. Therefore, in example no. 2 below, the direct object *rotai* is placed 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.'[1]
2. *Zə* *rotai* *haghə* *tha* *wərkawum.*
   I.NOM bread.ACC he.DAT to give.PRS.1SG
   'I give/ am giving bread to him.'

[1]As far as we have understood, the same form of the verb is used, in most cases, for the continuous and the simple aspects in the present/ future tenses in Pashto. The listener/ reader has to infer from the context whether the verb refers to a continuous action at the moment or a regular/ habitual action.

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, some examples are given:

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 bringing me a bat.'
7. *Haghə ma tha bat rawɻə.* Past Tense
   he.ACC I.DAT to bat.NOM bring.PST
   'He brought/ was bringing mea 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 mea 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. First, dative Case in Pashto has the same morphological form as the accusative Case. Second, 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 for the above two points, additional examples are given, which make extensive use of pronouns, very rare in use in the day-to-day life:

9. *Hagha ma tha tha*[1] *rakawi.*
   he.NOM I.DAT to you.ACC give.PRS
   'He gives you to me.'
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, 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).

3. Generative Enterprise and Dative Constructions

In the generative enterprise, many efforts have been made to deal with the ditransitive 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 ditransitive constructions have been suggested, which are considered equally influential. In this respect, the first important analysis of ditransitive constructions has been Kayne's (1984) treatment of double object constructions in terms of small clause:

$[_{VP}\ldots[_{V'}\ V[_{XP}\ IO[_{X'}\ XDO]]]]$

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:

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

$[_{VP}\ldots[_{V'}\ V[_{PP}\ IO[_{P}\cdot G\ DP]]]]$

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

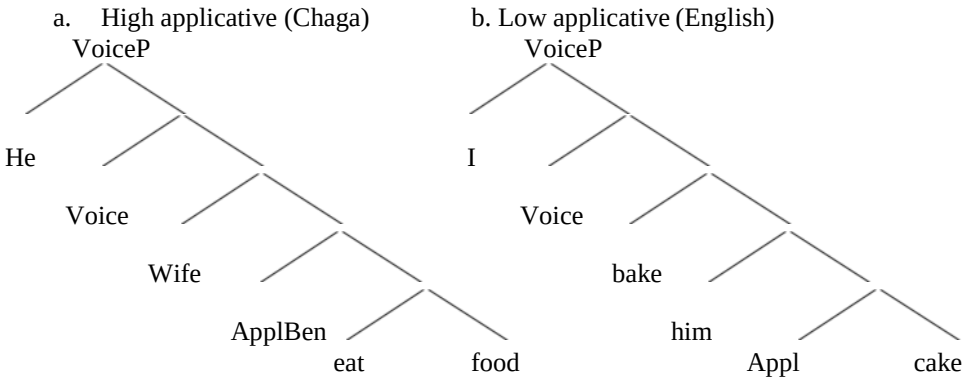

*Figure 1:*Pylkkänen's treatment/ structures for high and low applicatives (Adopted from Introducing arguments by Liina Pylkkänen, 2002, p.19. www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~ctjhuang/NTNU/Pylkkanen_2002.pdf , Accessed 1A.November 2013.)

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

a. Syntactic structure for high applicatives:

$[_{VoiceP}\ DP\ _{AGENT}[_{Voice'}\ VOICE[_{ApplP}\ DP\ _{BNF/LOC/INSTR}\ldots[_{Appl'}\ Appl[_{VP}\ V\ DP]]]]]$ (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. Alongside these efforts, some other efforts were made to explain case marking of the two objects (Ackerman et al. 2015; Hallman 2015; Harely & Jung 2015; Bárány 2017; Starke 2017; Harley & Miyagawa 2018; López 2018; Van der Wal 2018)

If the small clause approach is adopted - in addition to the small ʋ functional layer - then the 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, 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.

As such, Pylkkänen's (2002, 2008) Appl functional category is made use of for assignment of dative Case in Pashto dative constructions. In addition, some modifications are made to cater for some of the specific needs of Pashto dative constructions: indirect objects are followed by postpositions and the nominal with postposition comes after the direct object. Therefore, based on Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), a modified approach is adopted: *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.*

4. Case Assignment in the Present Tense Dative Constructions

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 phrase1st 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 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 υ having [uInfl, uϕ] features merges with VP to form υ'. An agree relation establishes between the DP *kitab*, acting as a goal, and υ, acting as a probe, in terms of ϕ-features of person, number, and gender. As a result of this agree the [uϕ] of υ 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:

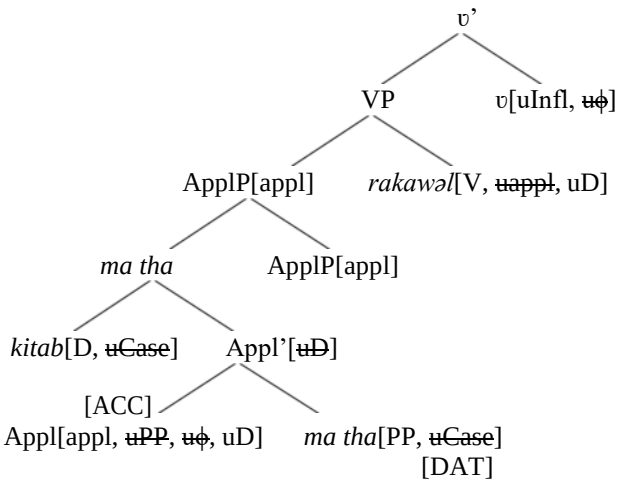

Figure 2: Initial stages of the derivation for the example making use of the applicative functional category.

At this stage the external argument DP 3rd person singular male pronoun, having [D, uCase] features, merges with 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. First, 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 as *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 T'. This merge results in valuation of [uclause type] as declarative. Figure 3 below shows in detail this whole derivation:

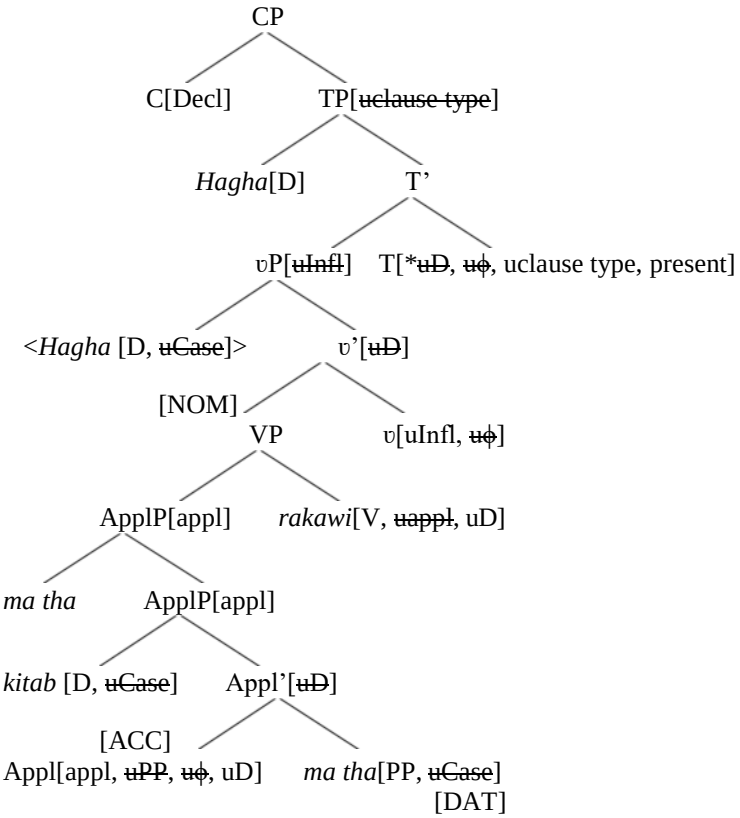

*Figure 3:*Complete derivation for the Pashto example *hagha ma tha kitab rakawi.*

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 derivation above we are able to see how Case is assigned in the present tense dative constructions. Now, some other examples are given, 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*[1] *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 bringingyou(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.'
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, the following paradigm can be drawn for different Cases assigned to the nominals in the present tense:

[1]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. The word 'he' is used for ease and generality.

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 the tentative claims that were made in the beginning: 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.

5. 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 tenses 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. 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 specifier ApplP through scrambling.

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

21. *Haghə ma tha kitab rakɻə.*
    he.ACC I.DAT to book.NOM give.PST
    'He gave me a book.'

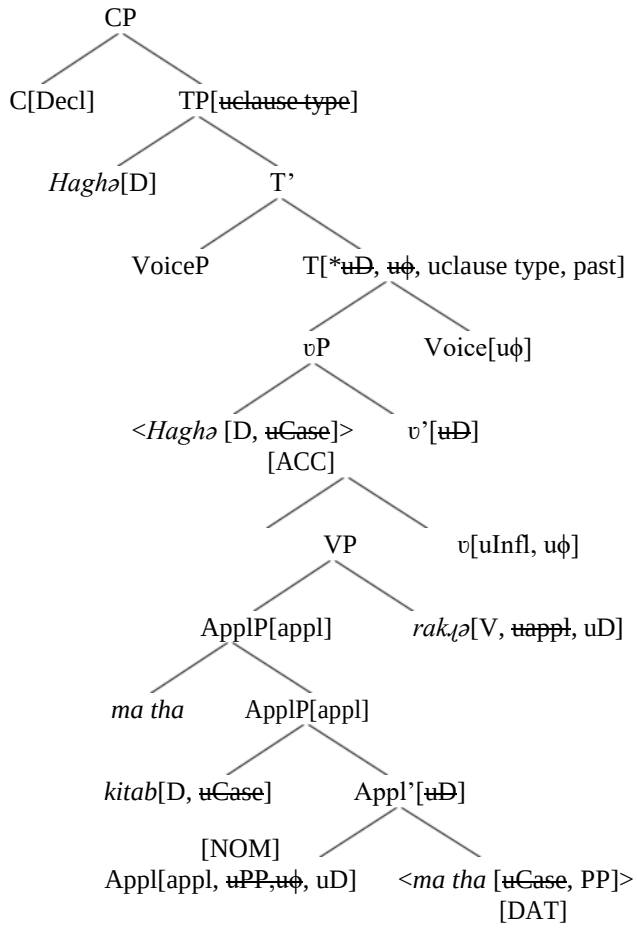

Figure 4: Derivation for the past tense Pashto double object construction *haghə ma tha kitab rakɻə.*

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 1stperson 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 ʋ having [uInfl] feature but no [uϕ] features merges with the VP to form ʋ'. As the [uD] of the verb is still not satisfied, therefore, it gets projection on ʋ'. To satisfy this [uD], a DP 3rd person singular male pronoun merges with ʋ', resulting in a ʋP. As the ʋ here is unable to assign Case to the DP in spec ApplP, therefore, another functional category Voice having [uϕ] features merges with the ʋP, through Hierarchy of Projection Principle, to from VoiceP (see Masood and Rahman (2013) and Masood (2014) 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 ʋP, 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 ʋ 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 ʋ 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, this agreement and tense get visible on the verb. Verb in Pashto, unlike English, remains in V and does not move to ʋ. To satisfy/ check/ delete the strong [*uD] feature or EPP, the pronoun in the spec ʋP 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 derivation above, 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, for the past tense:

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 dative 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

The examples and the paradigm above substantiate the claim that in Pashto past tense 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.

6. 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 past tenses with the only change that its tense is future. This will be followed by 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.)

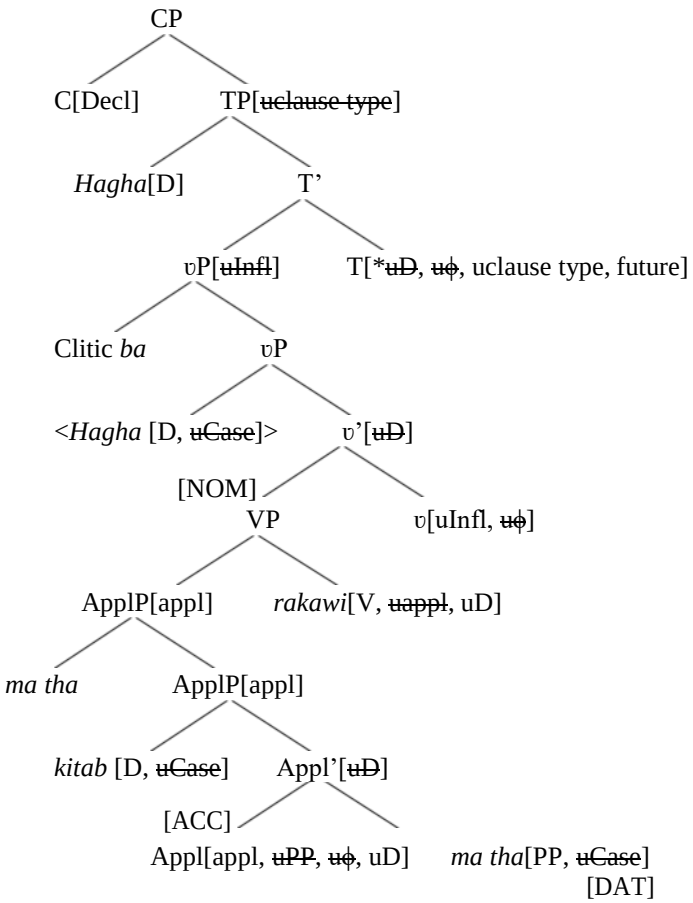

Figure 5: Derivation for the future tense Pashto dative construction *hagha ba ma tha kitab rakawi.*

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 3rdperson 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 the 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 raw.ɻi.*
    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 raw.ɻi.*
    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 raw.ɻi.*
    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 raw.ɻi.*
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 raw.ɻi.*
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 raw.ɻi.*
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 raw.ɻi.*
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 raw.ɻi.*
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.ɻi.*
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.ɻi.*
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 object with the postposition shows dative Case.

7. Conclusion

For Pashto dative constructions, we found the generative hypotheses - nominative Case to a nominal is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between the functional category T and the relevant nominal,

accusative Case is assigned to a nominal as a result of ϕ-features agreement between the nominal and the functional category ʋ or Voice (depending on the tense of a sentence) and dative Case is assigned to a nominal as a result of ϕ-features agreement between the functional head Appl and the relevant nominal - equally good. The idea of Appl functional category, though with some modifications, helped to explain the assignment of dative Case in Pashto dative constructions. The introduction of Voice functional category in the past tense helped to explain the split-ergative nature of Pashto. Thus, all these substantiated 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.

In addition, this paper tried to deal with the structure/ derivation of Pashto dative constructions.This was done partly due to the fact that structural Case assignment cannot be dealt with extensively unless the structure/ derivation of a construction is known and partly due to the fact that so far no effort has ever been made to explain Pashto dative constructions either from the traditional or the generative perspective. For this purpose, we adopted a modified version of Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), due to the peculiar nature of Pashto dative constructions, and this arrangement was able to adequately deal with different dative constructions.

A couple of points needed detailed treatment but were avoided due to space limitations of the paper. One such important issue related to the nature of ditransitive constructions in Pashto. We proposed that Pashto ditransitive constructions consist of dative constructions as the so-called double object constructions do not exist in Pashto. However, we did not try to find out why it is so. Similarly, we have proposed that change in order of the two objects does not make any substantial change in terms of meaning; it only serves as 'singling out' the first of the two objects. We did not venture to claim whether focus is involved in such a change of order or not. As such, detailed treatment is needed to establish the presence or absence of focus as well as its effects in such constructions.

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