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Agreement in Pashto

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The present study investigates the agreement in the Pashto clause. For agreement purposes, different syntactic/morphological constructions in the language are discussed. Split ergativity in the language is explained by identifying only tense-driven ergativity and not aspect driven ergativity. The analysis here differs from the analysis proposed by Roberts (2000) where he assumed aspect driven ergativity in Pashto. The study also replicates Rahman (2014) findings and listed ergative, nominative, accusative and dative cases in Pashto. The nominative is the direct case and all other cases are oblique cases in Pashto. The constructions identified in the study were nominative-accusative construction (in non-past), ergative-absolutive/nominative (in the past), nominative-nominative (in non-past), nominative-dative (in non-past) and ergative-dative (in the past) constructions. The verb always agrees with nominative (in the non-past) or absolutive (in the past) case. If there is no nominative case available, the verb takes the default agreement markers but does not agree with the ergative case. Agreement in Pashto always goes with the direct case and not with the oblique ones. The accusative, ergative and dative cases are oblique cases and so, the verb agrees with either nominative (direct case in the non-past) or with absolutive (another name for direct/nominative case in the past). A similar nature of compound verbs in Pashto is also investigated in the study. As for the agreement of the object with the non-verbal element of the compound verb is concerned, that too is tense driven, as the verb does not agree with the object in the non-past but with the subject and it agrees with the object not with the subject in the past.

Key words: *Agreement, Pashto, Nominative, ergative, absolutive, past tense ergativity*

1 Introduction

Pashto is an Indo-Iranian language. It is spoken in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran as the mother tongue by a large number of speakers. In Pakistan, it is spoken as the mother tongue in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, Balochistan, in the whole of the tribal areas between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and in the Punjab the border areas of Mian Wali and Attock. Along with these geographical areas, it is spoken in all of Pakistan by the migrated people to different cities (Rahman, 2014). Pashto has the highest number of native speakers after Punjabi in Pakistan. A total population of 15.42 per cent in Pakistan are Pashto speakers (Rahman, 2003). About 90 per cent of the people in Khyber Punkhtunkhwa speak Pashto.

1.1 Dialects of Pashto

A language has different varieties spoken by a community of speakers from different geographical areas and social and cultural set ups. These varieties of the same language are called dialects of that particular language. These varieties differ from each other in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and usage (Sethi & Dhamaja, 1999). Different authors have identified a different number of dialects in Pashto. Some authors like Hallberg (1992) and Grierson (1921) have identified two dialects of Pashto. While Habibullah and Barbara (1996) have identified three dialects in Pashto, MacKenzie (1987) identifies four dialectal areas. This four dialects division is also confirmed by Skjaervo (1989) and Henderson (1983). If we summarise the above-mentioned dialects division of Pashto, we get the following five dialects division. (Rahman, 2014).

(1) North-Eastern (Yusafzai) Dialect
(2) North-Western (Central) Dialect
(3) South-Eastern (Quetta) Dialect
(4) South-Western (Kandahar) Dialect
(5) Middle Tribal Dialect

The present study is concerned with the Yusafzai dialect spoken in most parts of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa around Peshawar (Rahman, 2014).

2 Nouns Inflections in Pashto

Pashto nouns have number, gender and case features. These features on the nouns determine the agreement within NPs, clauses and sentences. The gender of the noun head for example determines the respective gender of the adjective as a modifier preceding the noun in the NP; the gender of the subject (in non-past) and the object (in past) determines the agreement markers realised on the verb in the clause (Tegey and Robson 1996; Roberts 2000; Rahman,

2014). Tegey and Robson (1996) have listed the following morphological properties applied to nouns in Pashto[1].

Table 1: Inflection of nouns in Pashto

Number		**Gender**		**Case[2]**	
Singular	Plural	Masculine	Feminine	Direct	Oblique
malgaray (friend)	malgari (friends)	malgaray (friend M)	malgari (friend F)	malgary (friend)	Malgari (friend)

The suffixes showing number and gender and case markers sometimes coincide, as in the above table. The following examples show it further.

1) Ahmad zama margaray day
Ahmad my friend.M be.PRES.M
Ahmad is my friend.

2) Ayessha zama margari da
Ayesha my friend.F be.PRES.F
Ayesha is my friend.

3) Agha zama magaray day
He my friend.SG.M be.PRES.SG.M
He is my friend.

4) Agho zama malgari di
They my friends.PL be.PRES.PL
They are my friends.

Nouns in Pashto can function as subject, object, object of preposition and vocatives (Tegey and Robson 1996). Khattak (1988) identifies a third case vocative in Pashto. Pashto like other Pakistani languages has the unmarked SOV order. The following examples show the unmarked SOV order of the language.

[1] Based on the morphological derivation of different forms of nouns, we have four classes of masculine nouns and three classes of feminine nouns along with some irregular nouns idiosyncratically derived. There is no unified treatment of noun classes and different authors have identified different classes of nouns (Tegey and Robson, 1996).
[2] There are other forms of direct and indirect cases in terms of the respective gender and number, but these are the simplest forms for explanation.

5) Maa kitab lwasto
1.SG.ERG book.SG.NOM read.PST.IMP.NOM
I was reading a book

6) Mahmud kar karay day
Mahmud.ERG work.SG.M.NOM do.PAST.PF.NOM be.PRES
Mahmud has done the work

Pashto has OSV order if the object is scrambled for topicalisation etc. The following examples show the OSV order derived from the unmarked SOV order.

7) Kitab maa lwastalay day
Book.SG.M.NOM 1.SG.ERG read.PST.PF.NOM be.PRES
I have read the book

8) Ta sari wahaley ye
2.SG.NOM man.SG.ERG beat.PST.PF.NOM be.PRES
The man has beaten you.

The above examples show the OSV order, which is clear for the agreement of the verbs with the nominative object as the subject is in the ergative form and the verb does not agree with it. The above examples show that the object is preceding the subject and verb agrees with the nominative object not with the ergative subject. This marked order in past is because of the disambiguation in the sentence (Tegey 1977, Babrakzai 1999, Roberts 2000). The ergative subject in the past does not agree with the verb, and so if it precedes or follows the object, it does not create ambiguity in terms of agreement, and so the intended interpretation is easy without any ambiguity to identify the subject and object through the resultant agreement markers on the verb. The subjects and objects are determined on the bases of the agreement markers on the verb in past (with object) and non-past (with the subject).

3 Syntactic Constructions in Pashto for Agreement

Pashto has different types of syntactic constructions (different morphological forms of nouns) for agreement purposes. Pashto has ergative, nominative, accusative and dative cases (Rahman, 2014). Pashto like other languages of the region has a greater role for nominative case for agreement. Pashto has nominative-accusative construction in the non-past and ergative-absolutive construction in the past. The verb in Pashto always agrees with nominative (either subject or object). According to Chomsky (1995), the T assigns the nominative case to the closest NP which the T C-commands, if it does not have a case value. In the non-past, Pashto has the structure nominative-accusative where the subject is nominative. So, T assigns the nominative case to its subject in the non-past which is the unmarked direct case in Pashto. The

case marking and agreement are correlated in the clause and because of this case marking and agreement, we have nominative-nominative, ergative-nominative, nominative-accusative and dative-nominative constructions in Pashto. But the verb agrees with nominative only, either as subject or object and does not agree with either ergative, accusative or dative cases (Rahman, 2014).

3.1 Nominative-accusative construction

The nominative accusative construction is formed in the non-past in Pashto. The accusative can only combine with nominative if the object is [+HUM+DEF]. Further, if the tense is [+Past], the accusative turns into nominative because the subject in the past is always ergative and ergative is not compatible with accusative but with nominative only for agreement purposes later on. So, accusative in Pashto is not only [+HUM, +DEF] but [+non-past] too.

9)	za	taa	waham
	1.SG.NOM	2.SG.ACC	beat PRES. IMPF.NOM
	I am beating you.		

10)	*za	ta	waham
	1.SG.NOM	2.SG.NOM	beat.PRES.IMP.NOM
	I am beating you.		

11)	Ta	hagha	raanese
	2.SG.NOM	3.SG.ACC	catch.PRES.IMP.NOM
	You are catching him.		

The above examples shows that the [+HUM,+DEF] object does not appear in the nominative but in the accusative. But if the tense is [+past] or if the object in [-HUM, -DEF] the object appears in the nominative and not in the accusative.

12)	maa	ta	wahale
	1.SG.ERG	2.SG.NOM	beat.PST.IMP.NOM
	I was beating you.		

13)	za	taa	wahalam
	1.SG.NOM	2.SG.ERG	beat.PST.IMP
	You were beating me.		

13)	Kamra	Sari	Safaa	Kawala
	Room SG.F.NOM	man.SG.ERG	clean.F.NOM	do.F.NOM
	The man was cleaning the room.			

14)	maa	mahay	pokh	kro
	1.SG.ERG	fish.SG.NOM	cook	do.PST.SG.NOM
	I fried the fish.			

The above examples show that the verb agrees with the nominative case and not with the accusative case. The second last example (example 13) shows that when the tense is past (either perfective or imperfective), the subject, although human and definite cannot be accusative and the construction, is not nominative-accusative but ergative-nominative, but the object there, is preceding the subject and we have the nominative-ergative pattern derived from ergative nominative through topicalisation. The nominative NP is valuing the phi-features on the T head as the non-nominative NP cannot agree with the verb in Pashto. There is no ergative-accusative combination in Pashto because the ergative subject is followed either by nominative object or dative (example 14).

The T has the unvalued nominative case feature and EPP feature. The T head now probes for an NP goal to value its phi-futures and may get a nominative case because the tense is non-past and the subject cannot be ergative. So, the subject values the T'S phi-futures and receives the nominative case. As the ergative-accusative combination is not possible, it means that the accusative case is assigned to object only in the non-past, because the object in the past is assigned absolutive (direct) case in the past. As the tense is non-past, the subject cannot be ergative. So, the subject values the T's phi-features and receives the nominative case. As the ergative-nominative combination is not possible in the non-past, it means that accusative case is assigned to object only in the non-past, because the object in the past is assigned the absolutive (direct) case. As the object is [+HUM,+DEF] and the tense is non-past, so it gets the accusative case from T where it moves and tucks in under T by merging with T to check the EPP features on the T; the subject moves from the spec vP and tucks in under C by merging with TP because of the EPP feature on the C. The subject NP values the phi-features on the T head and gets its [case] feature as nominative. According to Roberts (2000), the EPP is a strong feature; it compels either the subject or the object to move overtly.

3.2 Nominative-Nominative Construction

In Pashto nominative-nominative construction is possible. The Pashto nominative case is the unmarked direct case that is why it may be called bare case like Gojri (Bukhari, 2008). The following examples show the nominative-nominative construction.

15)	Za	mahay	pakhom
	1.SG.NOM	fish.SG.NOM	cook.PRES.IMP.NOM

I am cooking(frying) the fish.

16) Mahmud gaday chalay
Mahmud.NOM.M vehicle.SG.NOM drive.PRES.IMP.NOM
Mahmud is driving the car.

The above examples show that both subject and object are in the nominative form. In this regard, Pashto is like other languages of the region where this type of construction is available. The verb has two nominative NPs to agree with, but the verb agrees with the subject in the above examples. It means that the verb agrees with the highest nominative following the general locality condition on the Agree relation. The subject is the closest NP to T with interpretable phi-features of the T. The subject gets the nominative case because the tense is non-past and so cannot be assigned the ergative case. The subject moves out of vP not for EPP of the T but for the C and tucks in under C for agreement purposes. The T agrees with the closest NP which is the subject with the nominative case not with the object that satisfies the EPP of the T.

3.3. Ergative-Nominative Construction

Pashto has the structure where the subject NP bears the ergative case irrespective of the position of this NP. The so-called free word order in Pashto (see Rahman, 2017) allows the ergative subject NP to follow the subject, if the object is moved in the front for topicalisation etc. The object in such construction always bears the nominative case (the unmarked direct case) because the ergative-accusative construction is not allowed in Pashto. The following examples show the ergative-nominative construction.

17) Maa am oxwaɽo
1.SG.ERG mango.NOM eat. PST.PF.NOM
I ate the mango.

18) am Maa oxwaɽo
mango.SG. NOM 1.SG.ERG eat. PST.PF.NOM
I ate the mango.

19) saɽi xat likalay day
man.SG.ERG letter.SG.NOM write.PST.PF.NOM do.PRES
The man has written a/the letter.

The above examples show the verb does not agree with the ergative (non-nominative) subject but with the nominative object. The accusative case is not compatible with the ergative because the verb in Pashto does not agree with both (ergative and accusative) and neither bears the default agreement in such cases. Though, Pashto allows ergative and dative combination in the

unaccusative construction where the verb takes the default agreement marker 'l' (ل) in the past (imperfective) and the 'i' (ی) in the past (perfective).

20)	maa	tasu ta	katal
	1.SG.ERG	you.PL.DAT	see.PST.IMP
	I was watching you.		

21)	maa	taa ta	katali
	.SG.ERG	you.SG.DAT	see.PST. PRF
	I have watched you.		

The T has the unvalued phi-feature, the nominative case feature and an EPP feature which form the TP. The T probes for an NP goal which may value its phi-features and may receive the nominative case. The nearest NP is the subject but it bears the ergative case because of the pastness in the sentence and its agent role. The object is the next choice and as the object is not accusative; it can value the phi-feature and so receives the nominative case. It means that the EPP feature of the T triggers movement of the object and tucks in under the T because EPP is a stronger feature in Pashto than the agreement feature. The TP now merges with C which too has EPP features and attracts the subject which tucks in under C by merging with TP. The T cannot agree with the subject as it bears the ergative case assigned to it before and so, agrees with the nominative object. The movement of the subject is for EPP purpose only and not for agreement purpose.

This analysis resembles the analysis given by Babaljik and Branigan (2003) for Chukchi. Under this analysis Pashto like Chukchi is ergative-absolutive type language unlike the ergative-accusative type language. So, the accusative case is not assigned to the object by the little v. The object is raised to TP because T is the only other functional category which can assign case to the NPs in the structure. It shows the T checks multiple case features in the Pashto ergative case system.

4 Agreement in Pashto Complex Predicates

The Pashto complex predicate is the representation of an action through a compound verb (CV) unlike the previously mentioned simple verbs which only contained lexical verb plus agreement marking suffixes or prefixes. The compound verb in Pashto is the combination of non-verbal and verbal elements (khayal 1984, Roberts 2000, Abid 2005, Tegey and Robson 1996). Roberts (2000) calls the verbal element a light verb. But the second element in the Pashto compound verb is always an auxiliary (perfective or imperfective) which may be followed by the copula verb. Roberts (2000) considers the perfective aspect as a strong feature that compels movement to the Asp to erase the strong perfective feature in the overt syntax before spell out. He assumes that aspect in CV plays a role to determine the morphological and syntactic constituency in Pashto; where the perfective aspect behaves as two units, forming two

prosodic words, unlike the imperfective aspect that behaves as one unit, forming a single prosodic word. The following examples show the strong perfective feature[3].

22) Taa qalin prekhawdo
2.SG.ERG carpet.SG.NOM.M leave.PST.PF.NOM.M
You left the carpet

The above sentence has a strong pronoun *taa*, and if the strong pronoun is replaced by a clitic, the sentence has the following form.

9) Pre de kawdo
Prefix.PF Cli.2.SG.ERG leave.PST.PF.NOM
You left the carpet

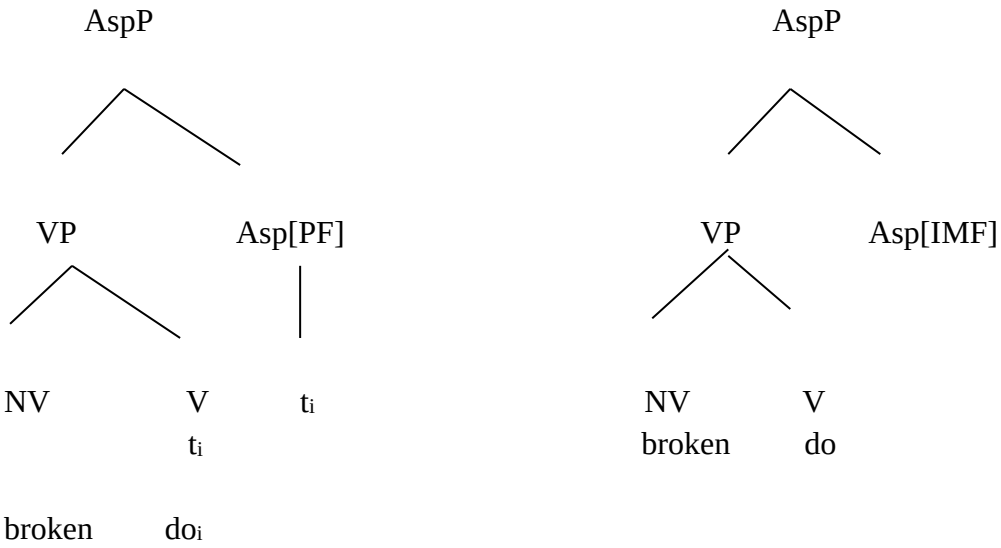
According to Roberts (2000), the perfective prefix (*pre*) moves to Asp to erase the strong perfective features. The last example has the clitic (*de*) instead of the strong pronoun (*Taa*) and the object (*qalin*) has scrambled outside VP. AspP is considered to be head final, as the verb remains head final after the spell out. The imperfective on the other hand, is considered a weak feature, and so, moves covertly in the logical form after spell out. The AspP (perfective and imperfective) in the following examples are shown to have the following structures shown in the following diagrams. The perfective and imperfective asymmetry at the spell out proposed by him is shown below.

23) Sangin kirkay matai
Sangin.NOM window.NOM break.PRES.IMP
Sangin is breaking the window.

24) Sangin kirkay mata kra
Sangin.ERG window.F.NOM break.F.NOM do.F.NOM.PST.PF
Sangin broke the window.

[3] The examples are from Roberts (2000) originally taken from Tegey (1975), but the NPs are adapted according to the dialect under study.

Perfective **Imperfective**



After the perfective moves to Asp, we have the following prosodic structures of the perfective and imperfective, where CV for perfective has two prosodic words divided by the maximal projection VP, and the imperfective a single prosodic word.

[ω broken] [ω do] **[ω broken]**

But according to Roberts (2000) agreement and case marking in Pashto does not exhibit a single pattern of ergativity. He claims that in CV the agreement of the adjectival object is perfective aspect driven rather than tense driven. But the auxiliary component of the CV exhibits ergativity in past tense. As he considers the perfective aspect a strong feature, it triggers overt movement of the verb to Asp, where perfective features are erased. But in case of CV, only the second element, the auxiliary moves to Asp. The imperfective (being a weak feature) movement is differed until after spell out.

The direct object always moves at the spell out to precede the aspect and negation projection and erase person number features in AgrO. The split agreement with CV is not correlated with the movement of the object but with the movement of the perfective auxiliary to Asp. So, the object agreement features are erased within VP. In imperfective aspect, the direct object erases its agreement features with the auxiliary under V and the ADJ remains bare. But in perfective aspect, the light verb raises to Asp to erase strong perfective features and so does not erase agreement with the direct object. So the direct object is now the only element in local relation with the non-verbal element of the CV, so the non-verbal element must bear the agreement features morphologically realised on the light verb. But the auxiliary behaves independently showing overt agreement with the object in past tense and with the subject in the non-past.

Under this analysis by Roberts (2000), the object checks the perfective and imperfective features of the CV differently. The imperfective features are erased under V and that of the perfective are not; as a result, we do not see any morphological agreement of non-verbal element with the object, but in case of perfective we do see it morphologically on the non-verbal element checked with the object. He claims that the T does not move overtly but the perfective aspect moves overtly and so considers Asp a kind of lexical category. The AspP precedes the NegP, but their respective heads may invert minimally but not the category. So, negation seems to precede Asp, but the negative marker (*na*) a proclitic may find a stress host to its left and so invert with it minimally.

25) Maa rotay na we khwarali
1.SG.ERG bread.NOM Neg PER eat.PST.PF.NOM
I had not eaten the meal.

26) Hagha gaday na day chalawalay
3.SG.NOM vehicle.SG.NOM Neg PER drive.PST.PF.NOM
He has not driven the car.

Tegey (1977) considers the clitic placement because of the stress in the sentence. We assume the same treatment for Asp unlike that assumed by Roberts (2000) because Asp (perfective or imperfective) does not trigger ergativity in Pashto and it allows the same agreement pattern in compound verbs as in simple sentences which will be discussed in detail below. The following examples show that in simple as well as in compound verbs the imperfective aspect is realised by stressing the last part of the verb and the perfective by stressing the first part. The stressed morphemes are in bold underlined in the examples below.

shagardaan kenas′**tal** de
Your students were sitting.

Shagardaan ke′**ni** de
Your students are sitting.

khayesta ′**kawalam** de
You were making me beautiful.

Khayesta ′**kom** de
I am making you beautiful.

IMPF

shagardaan ′**ke**nastal de

Your students sat down.

′khayesta kram de
You made me beautiful.

′Wa katal de
You looked at (me, someone).

PERF

The above examples show that the stress in the imperfective falls on the last syllable or on the first part of the compound verb; while in the perfective on the first syllable in simple verbs and the first part in compound verbs. The clitic placement in Pashto tries to find out a phonological host as is clear from the above examples with clitics placed below.

*shagardaan ke de ′**nastal**
Your students were sitting.

*Shagardaan ke de ′**ni**
Your students should sit.

*khayesta de ′**kawalam**
You were making me beautiful.

*Khayesta de ′**kom**
I am making you beautiful.

IMPF

The above examples are ungrammatical because the clitic in Pashto tries to find out a stressed host to follow. But the following are grammatical because in the perfective the first syllable or the first part of the compound verb is stressed and so the clitic is placed after it.

shagardaan **ˈke** de nastal
Your students sat down.

Shagardaan **ˈke** de ni
Your students should sit.

ˈkhayesta de kram
You made me beautiful.

ˈWa de katal
You looked at (me, someone).

PERF

The above examples show that clitic placement in Pashto takes place after the stressed element. The clitic needs a phonological host to attach to and the stressed phonological host is more desirable than the unstressed one, not the host having a perfective aspect at the cost of the imperfective. It is even clear from the examples where the above pattern is not followed, i.e. the imperfective may have stress at the first element and the perfective has stress on the last element. Consider the following examples.

27) Taa khayesta **ˈkaray** yam
2.SG beauty do.PST.PF be.PRES
You have made me beautiful.

28) Khayesta **ˈkaray** de yam
Beauty do.PST.PF 2.SG.CL be.PRES
You have made me beautiful.

29) * khayesta de **ˈkaray** yam
Beauty 2.SG.CL do.PST.PF be.PRES
You have made me beautiful.

30) Taa khayesta **ˈkaray** wum
2.SG beauty do.PST.PF be.PST
You had made me beautiful.

31) Khayesta **'karay** de wum
Beauty do.PST.PF 2.SG.CL be.PST
You had made me beautiful.

32) *khayesta de **'karay** wum
Beauty 2.SG.CL do.PST.PF be.PST
You had made me beautiful.

The above examples show although they have a perfective aspect to their meaning, the last element has stress instead of the first element like the previous examples. But in the last example the last element bears stress and the clitic comes after it and cannot precede it as shown from the ungrammaticality of the last example. If the auxiliary is omitted as in the following example, the sentence has the form where the stress shifts to the first element in the CV.

33) **'Khyesta** de kram
Beauty 2.SG.CL do.PST
You made me beautiful.

The clitic in the above examples too follows the stressed element of the CV. But in imperfective, if the clitic is used instead of the full NP, the clitic again follows the last element of CV that is stressed.

34) Ahmad khayesta **'kawalam**
Ahmad beauty do.PST.IMP
Ahmad was making me beautiful.

35) Taa khayesta **'kawalam**
2.SG beauty do.PST.IMP
You were making me beautiful.

36) Khayesta **'kawalam** de
Beauty do.PST.IMP 2.SG.CL
You were making me beautiful.

37) *khayesta de **'kawalam**
Beauty 2.SG.CL do.PST.IMP
You were making me beautiful.

Another phonological process can be noticed in combining two elements of the compound verbs to make a single phonological word. If the nonverbal element of the compound verb ends in a consonant sound, the initial consonant (k) of the imperfective auxiliary is omitted and both

make a single phonological word. For example, the imperfective (maat kom) becomes matom but the perfective (mat karay) does not become *mataray. The following examples are from Roberts (2000)

38) za war matom
1.SG.NOM door.SG.NOM braek.PRES.IMP.NOM
I am breaking the door.

39) Maa war mat karay
1.SG.ERG door.SG.NOM.M break.NOM.M do.PST.PF.M
I have broken the door.

The first example shows imperfective aspect and the last example shows the perfective aspect. According to Roberts (2000), in first example, showing the imperfective, the CV makes a single phonological word that agrees with the subject, while in the last example showing the perfective aspect, the CV has two distinct phonological words; the non-verbal element is a distinct phonological word and the auxiliary is another word and both agree with the object. But if this phonological division is really based on the perfective and imperfective aspect, to make the imperfective a single phonological word and the perfective two distinct phonological words, then the same would be true for non-verbal element in imperfective that ends with a vowel sound. There too, the CV showing the imperfective would be a single phonological word. But we do find them as two distinct phonological words e.g.

40) Za khabara kom
1.SG.NOM talk.SG.NOM do.PRES.IMP.NOM
I am talking

41) Maa khabara kawala
1.SG.ERG talk.SG.NOM do.PST.IMP.NOM
I was talking

If we apply the same phonological process here to make a single phonological word from the imperfective and two distinct phonological words from the perfective, then the above sentences become

42) *Za khabrom
I am talking

43) *maa khabrawala
I was talking.

The above two examples are ungrammatical in the sense to give the same meaning as the above two sentences. Otherwise, they are grammatical if they convey the meaning given below.

44) Za khabrom
1.SG.NOM inform.SG.NOM
I am informing him/her/them

45) maa khabrawala
1.SG.ERG inform.SG.NOM
I was informing her.

When we apply the same phonological process to the above verbs, the same sentences have a totally different meaning from the sentences without applying this process. Consider another example

46) Maa war pore kawo
1.SG.ERG door.SG.NOM.M shut do.PST.IMP
I was shutting the door

47) *maa war porawo
I was shutting the door.

The above examples show that the phonological process of the omission of the initial (k) from the auxiliary is only possible when the non-verbal element before it retains its root form and the agreement marking suffixes of the auxiliary. But in the case of the perfective if the initial consonant (k) of the verbal element is omitted, then it no more shows the perfective aspect in the CV. This contradiction does not arise in simple verbs where perfective and imperfective are realised by suffixes on the verb. For example

48) za taram
1.SG.NOM bind.PRES.IMP.NOM
I am fastening.

49) maa taralay day
1.SG.ERG bind.PST.PF.NOM be.PST
I have fastened

The above examples show that perfective aspect in the CV is realised by the initial consonant sound (k) with the suffixes on the auxiliary by agreeing with the preceding object. The imperfective on the other hand omits this initial consonant (k) of the auxiliary or may retain it because it is formed from the transitive auxiliary '*kawal*'. So, Roberts' (2000) analysis of the

perfective aspect as a strong feature is based on the assumption that the two elements of the CV make a single phonological word if the non-verbal element ends on a consonant sound, while the perfective does not allow this unification of the two elements. But this analysis cannot be generalised too far because there are non-verbal elements that end on a consonant sound but the initial consonant sound of the imperfective auxiliary is not omitted.

50) Za dane dal kom
1.SG.NOM grains.NOM grind do.PRES.IMP
I am grinding the grains.

51) *za dane dalom
I am grinding the grains

52) Ta borai tal kay
2.SG.NOM saks.NOM heap.PRES.IMP do.PRES.IMP
You are heaping the sacks.

53) *ta borai talay
You are applying the force.

The imperfective in the above examples behave like perfective and the two elements of the imperfective CV have two distinct phonological words unlike the single phonological words of the imperfective in the previous examples. As far as the agreement of the object with the non-verbal element of the CV is concerned, that too is tense driven, as the verb does not agree with the object in the non-past but with the subject and it agrees with the object in the past. If the past is imperfective the verbs agrees with the object not with the subject. So, it is not very clear whether the two distinct phonological words of the CV are because of the lack of the application of the phonological process or because of the perfective movement assumed by Roberts (2000).

5 Conclusion

This present study explored the agreement phenomenon in Pashto. For agreement purposes, different syntactic/morphological constructions in the language were discussed. Pashto has both nominative accusative and ergative-absolutive constructions broadly. The unmarked word order in the language is SOV word order and other orders are derived from this unmarked order for topicalisation etc. Split ergativity in the language was explained identifying only tense-driven ergativity and not aspect driven ergativity. The analysis here differed from the analysis proposed by Roberts (2000) where he assumed aspect driven ergativity in Pashto. The study also replicated Rahman's (2014) findings and listed ergative, nominative, accusative and dative cases in Pashto. The nominative is the direct case and all other cases are oblique cases in Pashto.

The constructions identified in the study were nominative-accusative construction (in non-past), ergative-absolutive/nominative (in the past), nominative-nominative (in non-past), nominative-dative (in non-past) and ergative-dative (in the past) constructions. The verb always agrees with the nominative (in the non-past) or absolutive (in the past) case. If there is no nominative case available, the verb takes the default agreement markers but does not agree with the ergative case. Agreement in Pashto always goes with the direct case and not with the oblique ones. The accusative, ergative and dative cases are oblique cases and so, the verb agrees with either nominative (direct case in the non-past) or with absolutive (another name for direct/nominative case in the past). A similar nature of compound verbs in Pashto was found. As far as the agreement of the object with the non-verbal element of the compound verb was concerned, that too was tense driven, as the verb did not agree with the object in the non-past but with the subject and it agreed with the object not with the subject in the past.

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