

On Agreement and its Interactions with Case: A Lexical Functional Grammar Perspective

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ABSTRACT

The study examines the mechanism of verbal agreement, case and their interactions in Pashto language. The finite verb in Pashto always agrees with the nominative SUBJECT, if there is one, otherwise, it agrees with nominative OBJECT. It confirms default agreement if the nominative case is not available in the clause and the case values are ERGative and DATive respectively having past tense or non-past with perfective and imperfective aspects. Pashto language prefers agreement with that of a SUBJECT, if two available nominal expressions in the clause, are in the nominative case.

Keywords: Case, Grammatical Functions, Verbal agreement, Default agreement, Pashto. Subject

1. Introduction

Agreement and case have been one area of interest in descriptive linguistics likewise, their relationships have also received considerable attention and remained one of the highly researchable areas in typological studies of languages. All major enterprises in linguistics like Government and Binding Theory, the Minimalistic Program (Chomsky, 1965,2000, 2001; 1982), LFG (Alsina & Vigo, 2017a; Butt, 2001; Haug & Nikitina, 2016) and HPSG (Kathol, 1999; Pollard & Sag, 1994) have focused a great deal on the agreement, case and their interactions.

1.1. The domain of agreement and case

The focus of this study is the connection between agreement and case in Pashto. “Agreement, according to Baker (2013: 15) is a morphological marking on one word in a clause or syntactic unit that reflects the features of another expression within that unit”. A simple illustration is: a NP as its subject agrees with a finite verb agrees in a clause like (1) from English language while (2) from Pashto language.

1. a) The **woman buys** fruits each day in the market.

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- b) The **women buy** fruits each day in the market. (Baker, 2013:15)
2. a) **Ze** kitab **akhlum**
I SG.1st NOM book. SG.ACC buy. M.PRS.
I buy the book.
- b) **Mong** kitab **akhluo**.
We. PL.1st.NOM. book. SG.ACC buy.M.PRS
We buy a book.

Black (2001:1) believes that “case is the system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads”. While Fillmore (1968:2) has considered the case in “a variety of semantic relationships which are held between nouns and other portions of sentences”. Butt (2006:4) argues that “one good hypothesis is, that explicit case marking is useful for the establishment of the semantic roles of nouns (and pronouns) and their syntactic relationship to the verb”. She further describes that “case is a handy tool for marking semantic relationships between nouns and verbs, or more generally between dependents and a head”. Baker (2013) characterizes the case as “a morphological marking on a noun phrase (NP) or similar that reflects its grammatical relationship to the central verb of the clause” as in (3) and (4).

3. a) I love **her**.
b) **She** loves me.
4. a) de Ali khorr marra-shwa
GEN.Ali.Sister.NOM died.PST/PERF.
Ali’s sister has died.
- b) Ali maa-ta kitab rawro.
Ali.SG.NOM I-SG.DAT Book.SG.ACC bring.PRS/PERF
Ali has brought a book for me.

Baker (2008; 2013: 15) suggests that “both the case and agreement are opposites if taken narrowly because agreement is a morphological marking on verbs that is assigned by the features of a nearby NP and case is a morphological marking on NPs which is determined by the adjacent verb”. Broadly speaking, both behave similarly due to the involvement of morphology of one linguistics expression that is responsible for a link to another within the same syntactic structure. O Grady (1997:62) considers “agreement is the system of inflections that regards nominal inherent features (usually, person, number, gender, and case) on another category like a verb, adjective, or a determiner”.

Nichols (1986) explains succinctly the interplay of case and agreement in languages.

“Case and agreement are alternative ways of marking the same sorts of head dependent relations. The difference between Case and agreement is that the

former is marked on the dependent element in the relation, while the latter is marked on the head. Without losing sight of the differences between Case (dependent-marking) and agreement (head-marking), the two should be analyzed as elements of a single dimension of language” (p. 57).

Verb agreement in many languages can be described as a relationship between the verb and SUBJ¹ while this not the case with Pashto like Icelandic language (Alsina & Vigo, 2017a) where the trigger of the verb agreement cannot be described SUBJ only or any other grammatical function (GF: onward). The agreement varies in Pashto from one GF to another, if any, depending on the diverse properties of the clause as in (5) (The agreement triggers are given in **boldface**).

5. a) **Ze** chae **skum**
 I. SG.NOM tea. SG .ACC take.PRS.IST.
 I take tea.
- b) Tha **Ze** wahalum
 You. SG.ERG he. SG.NOM beat. PST.PRF 1st
 You have beaten me.
- c) Maa tha-ta katal
 I.SG.ERG you.SG.DAT see.PST.
 I was seeing you. (R. W. Khan, 2020)

In (5a) the verb agrees with that of the SUBJ, which bears a nominative GF in the clause; in (5b) the verbs can't find a nominative GF at SUBJ position as it is in ergative case, but the verb triggers the agreement with that of OBJ GF due to its nominative case in Pashto (G Rahman, Anees, & Khan, 2020). There is a default agreement in (5c) because the verb can't find nominative GF in the clause. These results confirm the following generalization in terms of the agreement in Pashto. The generalization of agreement facts illustrated is as follows (see Alsina & Vigo, 2017a; Baker, 2013; Croft, 2002; Sigurðsson, 1996; Zaenen, Maling, & Thráinsson, 1990)

6. The Pashto agreement facts:

In Pashto, the highest nominative GF agrees with a finite verbs according to the subject > non-subject hierarchy; if there is no nominative GF, the verb is in past tense or non-past with perfective /imperfective aspect having default agreement in nature.

¹ Abbreviation used in this research include:

SUBJ=Subject, OBJ= Object, GFs=Grammatical functions, NOM=Nominative, ACC=Accusative,

ERG=Ergative, DAT=Dative, , PRS=Present tense, , PL=Plural, PRF=Perfect, GEN=Gender, NUM=Number,

SG=Singular, PERS=Person, PST=Past Tense, ABS=absolutive, IMPRF=imperfective, GEN=genitive.

The basic purpose of this paper is to analyze finite verb agreement in Pashto. The focus is on the features involved in agreement i.e: number, person and gender which are gathered in a feature structure, referred to as AGR (agreement features, see Haug & Nikitina, 2016). AGR is not only available at the f-structure representation of nominal, but also in that of the clause (Alsina & Vigo, 2017b). The f-structure features on the clause are overtly expressed by the verb and as well as on the agreement trigger if there is one.

The paper is organized as follows. Section (2) explores theoretical framework that is used to account for Pashto agreement. In section (3) relevant literature is explored and has shown the suitability of this theory for the analysis of agreement phenomenon in Pashto with certain modifications. Section (4) deals with the research methodology which is used in this study. Section (5) presents Pashto agreement facts in terms of the subject theoretical framework. The conclusion of the study is drawn at sections(6).

2. Theoretical framework.

The researchers have applied an AGR-based theory of agreement (Alsina & Vigo, 2017a) on Pashto language because the agreement patterns in Pashto varies like Icelandic in terms of its GFs. It is also ill-understood by previous researchers while studying Pashto agreement. (Hamid & Bukhari, 2017:251). There are two basic components of this theory. 1) AGR feature structures, 2) A set of OT constraints which are applied to the candidates for syntactic and semantic accuracy of the clauses.

2.1. An AGR-based theory of agreement -

According to Alsina and Vigo (2017b), AGR is based on a features bundle (see: Haug & Nikitina, 2016). Features bundle performs two elementary functions. Firstly, it brings together the features involved in agreement that are similar to INDEX features in HPSG (Pollard & Sag, 1994 ;among others). Secondly, it connects agreement targets (e.g. verbs and adjectives) with their own agreement features, unlike agreement triggers (typically noun and noun phrases). Secondly, AGR provides a separate set of agreement features for verb and the clause which are different from that of agreement trigger as proposed by Kathol (1999) in HPSG and is used by Haug and Nikitina (2016) in LFG for the analysis of Latin participial clauses (Alsina & Vigo, 2017a). According to Alsina and Vigo (2017a), the f-structure of the verb and clause includes an AGR features structure that is shared with one of the GFs of that verb or clause. Lefebvre (1992) has also supported AGR base theory with provision of *Haitian* and *Fon* language data. Alsina and Vigo assume no direct link between AGR and GFs at lexical level but they may be linked at the f-structure level by means of OT constraints.

2.2. OT Constraints on AGR

Alsina and Vigo (2017a) point out that the input of similar candidates are synonymous semantically but differ only in terms of the agreement. The researchers assume that all the candidates (structures used in this study) comply with consistency, completeness, and coherence (Alsina & Vigo, 2017a; Bresnan, 2000; Prince & Smolensky, 2004). Alsina and Vigo (2017) have proposed the following constraints which are applicable to the candidates for the purpose of agreement phenomena according to AGR.

$$7. \text{ AGRSHARE: } \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{AGR} \\ \text{GF} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \boxed{1} \\ \text{AGR} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \right] \right] f$$

For f-structure f that maps to a constituent of category V

(7) requires that all the verb forms in the clauses that agrees with some of the GFs must satisfy the conditions of AGRSHARE. This unifies the AGR features of the clause with that of the dependent GF.

$$8. \text{ AGRCASE: } \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{AGR} \\ \text{GF} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \boxed{1} \\ \text{AGR} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \boxed{1} \\ \text{CASE} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \boxed{1} \\ \text{NOM} \end{array} \right] \right] \right] \right] f$$

For f-structure f that maps to a constituent of category V

In (8) AGRCASE allows agreement of the verb only with GF that is nominative in nature.

The other constraint is that of AGRDEF which is used for those clauses where the verb does not agree with any of the GF. Alsina and Vigo (2017) confirm that when in Icelandic this type of scenario comes the verb will have 3rd person neutral form but this not applicable in Pashto.

$$9. \text{ AGRDEF: } \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{AGR} \\ \text{defgen} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{PERS} \\ \text{NUM} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \right] \right] f$$

For f-structure f that maps to a constituent of category V

According to authors, AGRDEF constrains the features of the verb's AGR to be 3rd person in the default gender (defgen) of the languages. It is not universal in nature because languages differ in different attributes value in this regard. It is a placeholder and can be replaced by specific requirements of other languages as GEND=NUET in Icelandic, GEN=MASC in Hindi, and GEN=Default. but TENSE=PAST/Non-PAST [PERF/IMPERF] in Pashto.

The following (10) is the ranking of constraints

$$10. * \text{AGRCASE} \gg \text{AGRSHARE} \gg \text{AGRDEF}$$

2.3. Why this framework?

LFG, as a theory, carries a powerful flexible, and mathematically well-defined formalism that can be applied to language with diverse typologies. It is designed to apply for a wide range of both configurational and non-configurational languages of the world (Bresnan, Asudeh, Toivonen, & Wechsler, 2015). AGR is an -alternative way to analyze Pashto verbal agreement and its interactions with

the case in a more descriptive way. Also, it provides succinct details about every aspect of the language in terms of agreement and case.

As far as Pashto language is concerned, for the first time, the researchers have implied LFG for analysis which seems more fruitful and result-oriented. To a greater extent, the applications and analyses endorse that descriptively LFG has advantages over other formalism like TG (Transformational Grammar), particularly for Pashto language.

3. Literature Review

Pashto, an Indo-Iranian language has spread from Afghanistan, Pakistan to gulf countries, having almost about 1.5 million speakers (A. A. Khan & Khalid, 2018; R. W. Khan, Iqbal, & Anwar, 2020; Ghani Rahman & Bukhari, 2014). Pashto language has remained the topic of inquiries for many scholars like Tegey and Robson (1996) who have presented the basic grammatical characteristics. Shafeeve (1964) and Penzl (1954) provide information on syntactical and phonological aspects of Pashto language. Roberts (2000) on Pashto clitics and Babrakzai (1999) with topics in Pashto syntax have been stepped into more specialized syntactical analysis in Pashto language. Roberts (2000) provides a detailed description of clitics and agreement in Pashto. Roberts (2000:18) indicates that the correspondence of the direct form to the nominative, oblique form for the ergative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, and instrumental cases. Babrakzai (1999) also maintained that inflections that are the nominal's inherent features usually person and numbers are responsible for agreement in Pashto. Babrakzai (1999) further elaborates "agreement in Pashto in terms of form and function explaining different forms of agreement and their syntactic functions in a clause". Khattak (1988) considers that agreement in Pashto is formal rather than a functional one. He further adds that the verb in Pashto requires features like person, number, and gender for its agreement. Similarly, David (2013) has pinpointed that agreement in Pashto is associated with double strategies of case alignment but has not thoroughly examined the agreement in detail. Masood and Rahman (2013) have worked on structural case assignment in Pashto in terms of Minimalist perspective. Masood (2014) and Masood and Rahman (2015, p. 105) have confirmed that " ϕ -features agreement between the functional head T and a nominal results in assigning nominative case to that nominal while the ϕ -features agreement between the functional head small *v* or Voice (depending on tense) and nominal results in assigning accusative case to that nominal". Masood (2014) and Masood and Rahman (2015) have not explored agreement and its interactions with case semantically and syntactically in a unified manner. Similarly, Rahman and Bukhari (2014) have studied case system and case allocations of Pashto in detail particularly, ergativity in Pashto language.

Similarly, Hamid and Bukhari (2017) have discuss agreement in Pashto according to Minimalism. They ill understood the default agreement phenomenon in Pashto while negated its availability in Pashto. They were unable to describe the case and agreement interactions. According to Mirdehghan (2013) Pashto language shows features of gender (masculine and feminine), case (direct and oblique), and number (singular and plural), for nouns. ‘The gender of nouns is also shown by the varying forms of the verbs and adjectives that agree with them’. Ghani Rahman, Akber, Rustum, and Ali (forth-coming) have described agreement in Pashto with the help of Minimalism. They have focused on various types of constructions and their roles in terms of agreements. They analyzed the phenomenon according to EPP and Phi feature. Though they have described agreement in Pashto well but haven’t paid attention to the case and agreement interactions and particularly to the Default agreement in Pashto language.

The previous studies have not addressed the interaction of case and agreement in Pashto language in terms of LFG perspectives, which has been the main reason for selecting this topic for the present study.

4. Methodology:

The researchers have used the descriptive method of inquiry. The researchers are the native speaker of the language, who have used their intuitions to differentiate the grammatical structures. The researchers have also conducted a focus group of five people to verify the grammaticality of constructions used in this study. All five members were native speakers of Pashto and were university graduates. All the data used in this study were verified by the group. Then the data were analyzed according to LFG perspectives.

5. Agreement in Pashto

5.1. Subject agreement in Pashto

The finite verbs agree with the nominative GF that is highest in the rank i.e. subject > non-subject hierarchy; if there is no nominative GF, the agreement will be default in nature in Pashto (see Hamid & Bukhari, 2017; R. W. Khan, 2020; Ghani Rahman et al., forth-coming; Ghani Rahman & Bukhari, 2014). Similar facts were reported by Croft (1991, 2002) and supported by Baker (2013) while considering it as robust if not absolute universal in nature. We shall see now that how the above-mentioned OT-constraints and agreement phenomenon in Pashto interact with each other. The researchers will also see how these constraints select the grammatical sentences and do not accept ungrammatical structures in Pashto. For each example, the researchers consider the various competing candidates at f-structure. The researchers will only take the most harmonic candidates which will clarify the grammaticality of sentences. The analyses will follow according to the given hierarchy in (5). The following three sentences

correspond to the three competing f-structures in (11).

- (11). a) **Ze** thə katum.
 I.SG.NOM. you.SG.ACC see. PRS. IMP.
 You see me (Literally, you try to see me)
- b). maa tha-ta katel.
 I.SG.ERG you.SG.DAT see. PRS-IMP.
 I see to you--
- c) *maa thə kathi
 I.SG. ERG. You.SG.ACC see. PRS.-IMP.
 I see you.

Example (11) shows three competing structures. In (11a) the subject having a NOM case agrees with the verb, in (11b) the agreement of the verb opts for default agreement whereas (11c) bears ungrammatical senetnece. The optimization is given in Table 1.

Sentence	AGRCASE	AGRSHARE	AGRDEF
➤ 11a			*!
11b			
11c		*!	

Table 1: Optimization for (11)

Table (1) an optimization of (11) approves that (11a) is the only structure that is grammatical in nature. Any of the higher-ranking constraints like AGRCASE and AGRSHARE is not violated by sentence (11a) as compare to (11b) and (11c). The candidate (11b) does not violate AGRCASE or AGRSHARE due to default agreement where agreement is not available with any GFs. Senetence (11c) violates both AGRCASE and AGRSHARE which is not a grammatical structure in all respects. The F-structure of (11a) is shown in Figure-1.

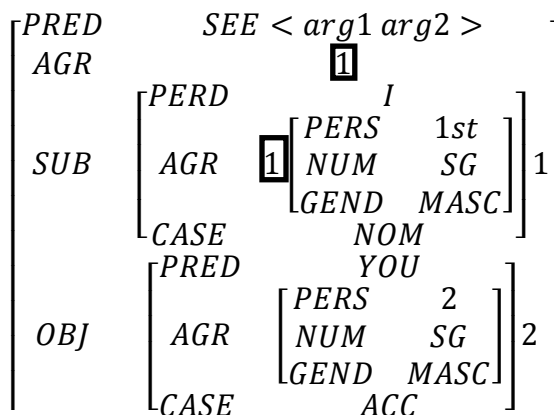


Figure 1: f-structure of (11a)

5.2. Object agreement in Pashto:

Let’s see now, the structure in Pashto, where the verb agrees with a

nominative object. The three competing candidates are: agreement with nominative object, as in (12a) and no agreement at all as in (12b) and ungrammatical sentence due to wrong pronouns and case in the sentence (12c).

- (12). a) ma **thə** kately wy
 I.SG.ERG You.SG.NOM see PST.be.PST
 I have seen you.
- b) ma thə-ta kately wo.
 I.SG.ERG you.SG.DAT see. PST.PER.bo.PST
 I have seen you.
- c. *ze thə kately we.
 I.SG.ERG you.SG.NOM. see PST.PER.bo.PST
 I have seen you.

sentence	AGRCASE	AGRSHARE
➤ 12a		*!
12b	*!	
12c	*!	*!

Table 2: optimization for (12)

The table (2) shows that AGRSHARE and AGRCASE is violated by sentences (12b) and (12c) respectively, which confirms that (12a) is a well-formed sentence, in which both of these constraints are not violated. The f-structure is available in Figure 2.

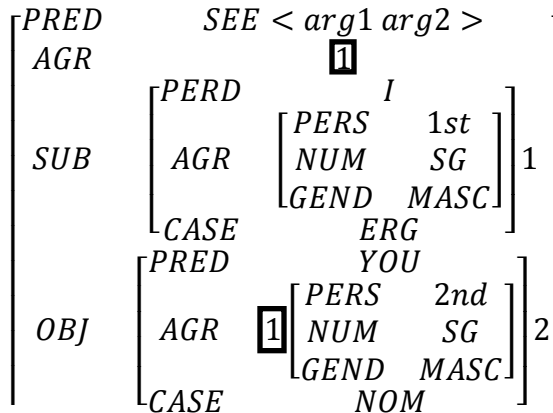


Figure 2: f-structure of (12a)

5.3. Default agreement in Pashto

Finally, The researchers are going to see the type of sentences where there is no trigger of agreement for the verb, i.e. no nominative GF is available to agree with the verb in Pashto. According to Falk (2006)“default agreement is not the absence of agreement, as one might expect; rather, it is agreement with a specific set of features which the grammar of the language specifies as the default”. A few researchers like Hamid and Bukhari (2017) have ill understood

this concept. They have negated the availability of default agreement in Pashto. According to Ghani Rahman et al. (forth-coming) the sentence where dative and ergative types of structure are available in Pashto, no agreement is found because Pashto language does not allow agreement with the ergative case as well as with that of the dative case. “Pashto allows Ergative and Dative constructions in the unaccusative construction where the verb accepts the default agreement markers like ‘۱’ (۱) in past (imperfective) and ‘۱’ (۲) in past (perfective) (R. W. Khan, 2020, p. 145; Ghani Rahman et al., forth-coming)”.

The following examples (13) will explain this phenomenon in Pashto language.

13. a) Maa haghata katal.
 I.SG.ERG him.SG.DAT see.PST-IMP
 I was watching him.
- b) *maa taa katili.
 I. SG.ERG you.SG.ACC see.PST.IM
 I was watching you

Sentence	AGRCASE	AGRSHARE	AGRDEF
➤ 13a		*	
13b	*!		*!

Table 3: Optimization of (13a)

Table no (3) confirms that (13a) is the only optimal sentence according to OT-Constraints despite the fact that there is no agreeing GF in the structure. This also clarifies that in Pashto a grammatical structure can violate AGRSHARE. In such a the AGR DEF as an OT-constraint is revealed which requires that the verb must be in past (-perfective and imperfective)(Ghani Rahman et al., forth-coming). The f-structure of the grammatical structure of (13a) is given in figure 3.

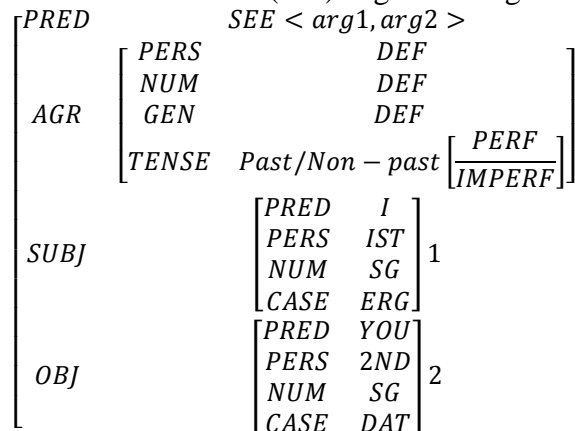


Figure 3: f-structure of (13a)

Pashto language in the default agreement does not require any specific gender.

Any gender and verb form is acceptable but the interaction of case and tense is very much crucial for this default agreement. Unlike Icelandic language (Alsina & Vigo, 2017a), Pashto language requires past tense [PST(perf/imperf)] with ergative and dative case combination for default agreement(see figure 3 above).

The OT-constraint for the Default Agreement in Pashto is as follows:

$$14. \text{ AGRDEF in Pashto : } \left[\text{AGR} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PERS} \text{ def}^1 \\ \text{NUM} \text{ def} \\ \text{GEN} \text{ def} \\ \text{TENSE} \frac{\text{PAST}}{\text{NONPAST}} \left(\frac{\text{PERF}}{\text{IMPERF}} \right) \\ \text{CASE} \text{ ERG/DAT} \end{array} \right] \right] f$$

5.4. The preference of verbal agreement

In the above discussions and descriptions, The researchers have not presented the principle that deals with the verb agreement where it prefers the subject GF. In the previous analysis, The researchers have talked about that the nominative case is the preferable option for the verbs in Pashto in terms of agreement because the researchers have excluded non-nominative GFs from agreement phenomenon and haven't discussed the structure where two nominative GFs are available for agreement purpose. The researchers observed that Pashto language allows two nominative GFs in the clause. In such a situation the Pashto verb always prefers the highest nominative GF for agreement requirement (R. W. Khan, 2020; Ghani Rahman et al., forth-coming; Ghani Rahman & Bukhari, 2014). According to Alsina (1996), Alsina and Vigo (2017a) and Andrews and Manning (1999:45) the highest term is equated to the SUBJ grammatical function. Similar facts are presented by Mohanan (1994) through Hindi language where the verbs agree with the subject when it is in nominative despite the presence of the nominative object. Pashto behaves alike other regional languages: Hindi, Urdu, Gojri in terms of NOM-NOM constructions. According to Ghani Rahman and Bukhari (2014) "NOM is known as unmarked or bare case and a direct case as well in Pashto".

15. a) **thə** rotai pakhay.
 You.SG.NOM bread.SG.NOM cook.PRS.IMP.2ND
 You cook the bread.
- b) **Ze** gady chalum.
 I.SG.NOM car.SG.NOM. drive. PRS.IMP.1ST
 I drive a car.
- c) **Hagha** gady chalawi.
 He.SG.NOM car.SG.NOM drive. PRS.IMP.3 (R. W. Khan, 2020, p. 146)
 He drives a car.

¹ Def means default, where any sort of pronoun can be used but the result will be the same

The examples in (15) affirm that Pashto verbs always agree with that of nominative GF and prefers the highest term (in Andrews & Manning, 1999 words) which is the SUBJ GF in Pashto. The behavior of NOM-NOM constructions in (16) in terms of OT-constraint are given below.

16.	a)	Ze	gady	chalum.	
		I SG.NOM	car.SG.NOM	drive. PRS.IMP.1 st	
		I drive the car.			
	b)	*haghe	gady	chalum	
		he. SG.ERG	car.SG.NOM	drive. PRS.IMP.1 st	
		*He drives the car			
	c)	Tha-ta	gady	chaloul-wo.	
		You SG.DAT	car.SG.ERG	drive.PST.IMP.	
		You drive car			
		Senetnce	AGRCASE	AGRESHARE	AGRDEF
	➤	16 a			*
		16 b	*!	*!	
		16 c	*!	*!	

Table 4: Optimization of (16)

As shown in table (4), AGRSHARE and *AGRCASE violations occur in (16b) and (16c), respectively, which only allows (16a) as the grammatically correct structure, in which no violation are found. In present tense, the ergative case is not acceptable which is considered as an ungrammatical structure in Pashto as in (16b). In (16c) verb does not opt for agreement with any GFs inside the structure due default agreement. The f-structure is given in Figure (4).

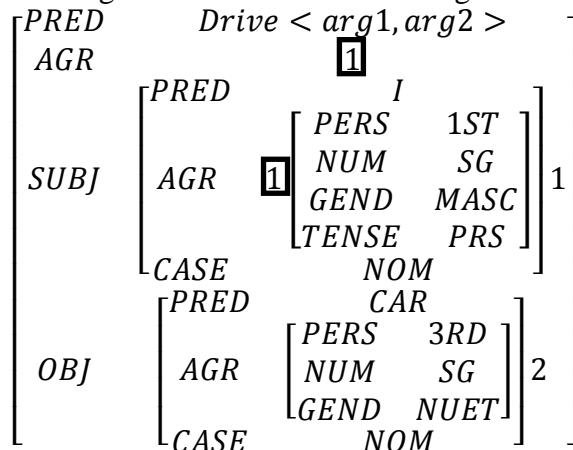


Figure 4: f-structure of (15a).

So we need to take another OT-constraint where the subject is preferred for agreement.

$$11. \text{AGRSUBJ} : \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{AGR} \\
 \text{SUBJ} \left[\text{AGR} \quad \boxed{1} \right]
 \end{array} \right] f$$

For f-structure f that maps to a constituent of category V
 In the sentence with two nominative expressions, the verb agreement favors the Subject instead of the object grammatical function. The ranking of constraints with the introduction of subject preference according to Pashto language verbal agreement and its interaction with the case is modified as follows:

11. AGRCASE>> AGRSUBJ>> AGRSHARE>>AGRDEF.

6. Conclusion

The study supports the agreement base theory with two basic assumptions. Firstly, the f-structure of both the nominal and clauses include feature matrix AGR, having features (PERS, NUM, GEN, and TENSE) in Pashto. Secondly, verbal agreement in Pashto is determined by OT-constraints which allows only to select the right GF to share with its AGR with that of the clause it agrees with. Some of the outcomes of AGR based theory in Pashto are as follows.

- a) *AGRCASE is the highest-ranking constraint in Pashto which disallows any expression with the non-nominative case for AGR sharing.
- b) AGRSUBJ favors the subject agreement when two nominative expressions are available in the clause for AGR sharing in terms of agreement in Pashto.
- c) Default agreement in Pashto (see:14) is conditioned by the *Tense [Past/Non-past: perf/imperf]* having case values of ERG and DAT, not by GEND as in Icelandic (Alsina & Vigo, 2017a) and Hindi (Mohan, 1994) because agreement fails when AGRSHARE is not satisfied and we have Default agreement.

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