

FOCUSED SUBJECT SLUICING IN HINDI-URDU*

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Contra Merchant (2001) which predicts that sluicing availability can be predicted in a language based on its available wh-constructions; it seems that though Hindi-Urdu is wh in-situ language it offers genuine instances of sluicing. In this paper, I show that not only does Hindi-Urdu allow elision of the TP following Manetta (2011); wh-phrases are not extracted to focus as per previous analyses, which propose an exceptional fronting of wh-phrases to the left periphery in order to facilitate recoverability of the wh-phrase at LF.

The implications of this proposal follow from Manetta (2013), which proposes an analysis of a preference for the pronunciation of the lowest copy of wh-phrases in Hindi-Urdu, and provide an account of the possibility of genuine sluicing in wh-in-situ languages in light of novel data. In §3 I show that there is evidence that sluicing can still take place even if a focused subject is fronted to the SPEC of focus in the CP, and that this does not impact the recoverability of the wh-phrase if we consider evidence from prosody in conjunction with Manetta's (2013) analysis of wh-chains being subject to preference for the pronunciation of the lowest copy. I show that when this recoverability is not an issue, then the highest copy of the wh-chain remains unpronounced in sluices in accordance with Manetta's analysis.

1. Sluicing in Hindi-Urdu

In (1) we see that Hindi-Urdu has what seems to be sluicing. Earlier accounts of these constructions (Manetta. 2006) hold that this is the elision of a smaller clause such as the sister of the specifier of vP and suggests that the wh-phrase moves to the specifier of vP after which the sister of this node is elided; but as presented by Manetta (2013), there is evidence to suggesting a larger elision site than vP is being elided.

The elision site in (a) contains the auxiliary, which is widely thought to be the overt realization of finite T in Hindi-Urdu (Bhatt. 2005; Kumar. 2006)². If the elided constituent was smaller than TP we would expect the auxiliary to appear in (a), since it would not be within the elided material. In (b) we can see that the elision of the vP results in ungrammaticality. From this we can conclude that the elision site must include the auxiliary; and therefore, must be large enough to include TP.

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² This is based on evidence presented in Mahajan (1999); which states, that the auxiliary *hai* is generated in I⁰, and not moved.

- (1) a. Ali koi kitaab caah-taa hai. Hum-eN nahiiN
 Ali some book want.HAB AUX. We.DAT NEG
- pa-taa kaunsii (~~kitaab—caah-taa—hai.~~)
 know.HAB which.F book want.HAB AUX
 ‘Ali wants to buy a book. We don’t know which one.’ (Bhatt, 2005)
- b. *Ali koi kitaab caah-taa hai. Hum-eN nahiiN
 Ali some book want.HAB AUX. We.DAT NEG
- pa-taa kaunsii (~~kitaab—caah-taa~~) hai.
 know.HAB which.F book want.HAB AUX.
 ‘Ali wants to buy a book. We don’t know which one (it) is.’

1.1 Arguments for Focus Raising

In analyses, such as Wang and Wu (2006), for Mandarin Chinese, and Toosarvandani (2008), for Farsi; sluicing is resolved as a focus fronting of the wh-phrase. In these, and other similar analyses, the wh-phrase is moved to a focus projection above TP; thus, escaping the ellipsis site in wh-in-situ languages. Wang and Wu (2006) argue for the use of focus fronting of the wh-phrase as a recovery repair for reasons of recoverability. They conclude that, at least in Mandarin Chinese, there must be some overt movement of the wh-phrase due to the obligatory pied piping of prepositions and island repair. Kidwai (1999) concludes much the same for Hindi-Urdu³.

Along the same lines, Toosarvandani proposes that focus fronting in wh-interrogatives in Farsi consists of highlighting the contrastive material in a second phrase of the same type for reasons of recoverability leading to the focus fronting of the wh-phrase. Toosarvandani draws the conclusion that focus fronting must rely on contrastive materials as it is ungrammatical when there is no antecedent; and thus, no contrast, as we can see in (2).

- (2) a. #CHI Sohrab nchim avord?
 what Sohrab brought.3SG
 ‘What did Sohrab bring?’
- b. Sohrab chi avord?.
 Sohrab what brought.3SG
 ‘What did Sohrab bring?’

³ Kidwai (1999) puts the high focus position in Hindi-Urdu above scrambling, which is IP adjunction and below wh-features in the CP.

2. Copy Theory

Following work that suggests the possibility that wh-in-situ languages have a preference for phonological realization of the lowest copy in a wh-chain, Manetta (2013) provides evidence that this is the case for wh-phrases in Hindi-Urdu. She then goes on to suggest that sluicing in Hindi-Urdu is merely the exceptional pronunciation of the highest copy of a wh-chain for reasons of recoverability following the elision of the TP.

Manetta (2013) notes that Hindi-Urdu does not have any overt morphological wh-agreement, which if present could indicate that wh-movement has taken place, and that WCO effects while suggestive are not conclusive in Hindi-Urdu due to linear precedence. Instead she gives evidence from island effects, which prove to be a better diagnostic. Drawing data from Malhotra (2011), and Bhattacharya and Simpson (2012) she shows that Hindi-Urdu has a full range of island sensitivities, as in languages with overt movement. A full summary of these is given below:

Complex NP Island

- (3) **[kyai ravii-ko [dp yeh baat [cp ki miraa t_i khaa-yegii]]*
 what Ravi.m-DAT this fact that Mira.F eat-fut.F.3SG

pataa hai?
 know be.PRS.3SG

‘What does Ravi know the fact that Mira will eat?’
 (Malhotra 2009:35) wh-extraction

- (4) **[raam-ne kyaa kah-aa [ki ravii-ko [yeh baat [ki*
 Ram.M-ERG EXPLsay-PFV.M.SG that Ravi.M-DAT this fact that

miiraa kyaa khaa-yegii] pataa hai]]]?]
 Mira.F what eat-FUT.F.3SG know be.PRS.3SG

‘What did Ram say that Ravi knows the fact that Mira will eat?’
 (Malhotra 2009:32–33) wh-expletive construction

- (5) **raam-ko ye baat [ki siitaa kis-se mil-ii]*
 Ram.M-DAT this fact that Sita.F who.OBL-with meet-PFV.F.SG

pataa hai?
 know be.PRS.3SG

‘Who does Ram know the claim that Sita met?’
 wh-in-situ (Manetta, 2011)

Adjunct Island

- (6) *raam-ne kyaaı kah-aa [ki siıtaa bazaar jaa-yegii
 Ram.M-ERG what say-PFV.M.SG that Sita.F market go-FUT.F.3SG

[kyunki mohan t_i nahıı laa-yaa]]?
 because Mohan.M not bring-PFV.M.SG

‘What did Ram say that Sita will go to the market because Mohan didn’t bring?’
 wh-extraction (Manetta, 2011)

- (7) *raam-ne kyaa kah-aa [ki siıtaaa bazaar jaa-yegii
 Ram.M-ERG EXPL say-PFV.M.SG ki Sita.F market go-FUT.F.3SG

[kyunki mohan kyaa nahıı laa-yaa]]
 Because Mohan.M what not bring-PFV.M.SG

‘What did Ram say that Sita will go to the market because Mohan didn’t bring?’
 wh-expletive construction (Malhotra 2009:32–33)

Relative Clause Island

- (8) *raam-ko kyaaı [dp vo lar.kaa [cp jo t_i laa-yaa]]
 Ram.M-DAT what DEM.3SG boy.M.SG REL buy-PFV.M.SG

pasand hai
 liking be.PRS.3SG

‘What does Ram like the boy that bought?’ (Malhotra 2009:58)

Wh-island

- (9) *raam kaunsaa kamraai pataa kar rahaa hai
 Ram.M which room.M.SG knowdo PROG.M.SG be.PRS.3SG

ki kaunsii lar.kii t_i kiraaye-par le-gii?
 that which girl.F.SG rent.OBL-LOC take-FUT.F.3SG

‘Which room will Ram find out which girl will rent?’ (Manetta, 2011)

- (10) *raam-ne kis-ko puch-aa ki kyaa miraa-ne
 Ram.M-ERG who.OBL-ACC ask-PFV.M.SG that what Mira.F-ERG

t_i dekh-aa?
 see-PFV.M.SG

‘Who did Ram ask whether Mira saw?’ (Malhotra 2009:78)

- (11) *raam jaan-naa caah-taa hai agar
 Ram know-INF.M.SG want-HAB.M.SG be.PRS.3SG if
- miraa-ne kyaa kharid-aa?
 Mira.F-ERG what buy-PFV.M.SG
 ‘What does Ram want to know whether Mira bought?’
 wh-in-situ (Manetta, 2011)

Manetta also argues that parasitic gaps are available in Hindi-Urdu and must be licenced by a high copy of the wh-phrase by showing that the type of parasitic gap in (12) cannot be reconstructed a pro as the reflexive cannot be bound by ‘Miriam’ so the reflexive must be interpreted as preceding the verb ‘seeing’ and not the verb ‘like’.

- (12) [kaunsi apn-ii_i tasveer-ko]_j har lar.ke-ne [binaa
 which self.F.SG picture.F.SG-ACC each boy.M.OBL-ERG without
- e_i dekhe] kah-aa ki Miriam-ne t_j pasand ki-yaa
 seeing say-PFV that Miriam.F-ERG liking do-PFV.M.SG
 ‘Which picture of himself did each boy, without seeing, say that Miriam liked?’

This allows us to see that wh-movement has indeed taken place, but does not conclusively place it as movement into the SPEC of CP. For this distinction, Manetta (2013) provides evidence from long-distance wh-agreement in Hindi-Urdu, in which case the intermediate copy of the wh-phrase, in SPEC vP is pronounced; and finally, she extends this to sluicing, in which case the top copy in SPEC CP is pronounced. Based on the fact that scope in Hindi-Urdu is clause bound, Manetta (2013) concludes that in order to take the matrix scope out of the embedded clause wh-phrases must appear displaced into the clause over which they take scope, or the wh-expletive ‘kyaa’ must take scope over the clause. We can see this outlined in (13); where in (a), we can see that the wh-phrase is realised as SPEC vP, and in (b) where the wh-expletive occupies that position.

- (13) a. sita-ne kis-ko soc-aa ki ravii-ne
 Sita.F-ERG who.OBL-ACC think-PFV.M.SG that Ravi.M-ERG
- dekh-aa?
 see-PFV.M.SG
 ‘Who did Sita think that Ravi saw?’
- b. sita-ne kyaa soc-aa ki ravii-ne kis-ko
 Sita.F-ERG EXPLthink-PFV.M.SG that Ravi-ERG who.OBL-ACC
- dekh-aa?
 see-PFV.M.SG
 ‘Who did Sita think that Ravi saw?’

Manetta (2013), concludes that the intermediate copy of the chain is realised here as the interrogative feature that is expressed by the wh-expletive ‘kyaa’ in (b) is not recoverable in (a); thus, necessitating the pronunciation of the intermediate copy of the wh-phrase for recoverability of the interrogative.

Citing Franks (1998), Bošković and Nunes 2007, Reintges 2007, and Bošković 2011), Manetta (2013) claims that the standard assumption of top-copy sluicing applies here: that if the result would lead to a PF violation, the preference for the pronunciation of a particular copy of a wh-chain can be overridden. Under this analysis, if the top copy of the wh-chain is not pronounced in a sluicing construction it would violate the some constraint of recoverability, as laid out in (14). Manetta (2013) further develops this using the principle of P-RECOVERABILITY following Landau (2006).

(14) Recoverability (Pesetsky, 1998)

A syntactic unit with semantic content must be pronounced unless it has a sufficiently local antecedent.

(15) P-RECOVERABILITY

In a chain $\langle X_1, \dots X_i \dots X_n \rangle$, where some X_i is associated with phonetic content, X_i must be pronounced.

Working in conjunction with economy, Manetta claims that the preferred copy of the wh-chain in Hindi-Urdu is the lowest, or in-situ copy; however, when not all of the features of semantic interpretation or phonological interpretation are available, this preference is overridden in favour of the copy where all of the relevant features are realised.

3. Focused Subject Sluicing

In addition to sluicing ellipsis which has a high wh-phrase, I posit that there is another type of TP ellipsis available to us in Hindi-Urdu. In these constructions, the subject is raised to a focus position in the CP, and the rest of the TP is elided as it is in sluicing. As previously discussed, we know that the elided constituent in these structures is the TP, much like the sluicing proposed by Manetta, because of the obligatory elision of the auxiliary, such as in (16) below.

(16) is-ka nam Ali hai, aur us-ka nam (~~kyaa~~—~~hai~~)?
 this-GEN name Ali be.M.PRES and that-GEN name(what be.M.prs)
 ‘this one’s name is Ali, and that one’s?’

3.1 Not Stripping

This sort of construction can easily be misconstrued as stripping; Manetta (2013) provides evidence that sluicing with an overt high copy of the wh-phrase is not stripping.

Following her examples, and using tests noted in (Hankamer, 2011; Wurmbrand, 2016) I show that this is not the case.

First let us consider the data from Manetta (2013). Manetta (2013) employs tests based on Hankamer (2011) to show that sluicing in Hindi-Urdu Urdu is not stripping as was proposed for Turkish by Hankamer (2011). In (17) she provides an example of sluicing under embedding which is said not to be possible for stripping (Hankamer, 2011; Wurmbrand, 2016), and in (18) she provides an example of sluicing in Hindi-Urdu preceding its antecedent, something said not to be possible for stripping (Hankamer, 2011; Wurmbrand, 2016).

Embedding:

- (17) amit kahıı ga-yaa, aur mujhe lag-taa
 Amit somewhere go-PFV.M.SG and 1SG.OBL strike-HAB.M.SG
- hai ki maı jaan-tii hu kahaa.
 be.PRS.3SG that 1SG.NOM know-HAB.F.SG be.PRS.1SG where
- ‘Amit went somewhere, and it seems to me that I know where.’

Backwards anaphora:

- (18) Mujhe nahıı pat-aa kahaa, lekin maı jaan-tii
 1SG.OBL NEG know-PFV.M.SG where but 1SG.NOM know-PFV.F.SG
- hu ki amit kahıı ga-yaa hai.
 be.PRS.1SG that Amit.M somewhere go-PFV.M.SG be.PRS.3SG
- ‘I don’t know where, but I know Amit went somewhere’

In much the same way, we can see that the instances of elision of TP with a focused NP in the left periphery are not stripping because they too exhibit these properties. In (19) below we can see that these types of ellipsis can be embedded; and in (20) we can see that they can appear before the antecedent.

Embedding:

- (19) is-ka nam Ali hai, aur mujhe lag-taa
 this-GEN name Ali be.M.PRES and 1SG.OBL strike-HAB.M.SG
- hai ke maı jaan-tii hun us-ka
 be.3.SG.PRES that 1SG.NOM know-HAB.F.SG be.1SG.PRES that-GEN
- nam (~~kyaa~~ — ~~hai~~)
 name(~~what~~ — ~~be.M.PRES~~)
- ‘This one’s name is Ali, and it seems to me I know that one’s’

Backwards anaphora:

(20) mujhe nahii pat-taa us-ka nam (~~kyaa hai~~),
 1SG.OBL NEG know-PST.M.SG that-GEN name (~~what be.M.PRES~~)

lekin mai jaan-tii hun ke is-ka nam Ali
 but 1SG.NOM know-PST.F.SG be.1SG.PRES that this-GEN name Ali

hai

be.M.PRES

‘I don’t know that one’s name, but this one’s name is Ali’

3.2 Focus Fronting Subjects Over Objects

In (16) we can see that much like the data from Wang and Wu (2006) and Toosardanvani (2008) the material being contrasted/asked for is the object, and the wh. If we posit an EPP feature on the SPEC of focus that attracts the wh as a measure of recoverability structures such as the type in (16) should crash, as this feature would not be checked. However, this is clearly not the case. If we contrast constructions such as the one in (16) with (21) below we can see that it is much the opposite. In (a) we can see that focusing the wh instead of the subject is ungrammatical, and in (b) we can see that overt realizations of both the wh and the focused subject is also ungrammatical.

(21) a. *is-ka nam Ali hai aur kyaa (~~us-ka nam t hai~~)
 this-GEN name Ali be.M.PRES and what
 ‘this one’s name is Ali, and that one’s?’

b. *is-ka nam Ali hai aur kyaa us-ka nam (~~hai~~)
 this-GEN name Ali be.M.PRES and what that-GEN name
 ‘this one’s name is Ali, and that one’s?’

There is one crucial difference between sluicing, and the focused-subject sluice. In the former the only contrasting material in the elision site is the object contrast with the wh; in the later, both the subject and object contrast. It is possible that whatever feature on focus that attracts contrasting material does not select for a wh phrase, but rather for any contrasting material. In this case, we would expect it to select the subject, as this is the most local relationship that can check this feature. This can easily be summed up in the domain theory of primacy (Büring, 2006) given in (22).

(22) Domain theory of primacy

Among two foci in a sentence, the primary focus is the focus whose domain contains the domain of the other.

By this logic, it is tempting to say that this data leads us to the conclusion that this clearly leads to the conclusion that wh-phrases alternate with focused subjects as they share the same position. This is especially true if we hold that sluicing triggers a high copy pronunciation of the wh-phase copy regardless of focus, then we might expect that (7b) would be grammatical. However, I posit that this is not the case because the overt realisation of the wh-phrase is not needed here for recoverability. Another crucial difference between sluicing and focused-subject sluicing is that in the first prosody does not play a role in grammaticality; however, in the second type a rising contour is necessary for grammaticality. Following Déprez and Kawahara (2013), I posit that while there is no overt realization of a wh-phrase, there is a high copy of the wh-feature that is realized as prosody in sluices such as the one seen in (2). With the realization of the wh-feature as prosody, and the focus fronting of the contrasting subject, all of the material that contrasts the antecedent and the sluice is recoverable and the derivation is grammatical.

3.3 Prosodic Recovery of wh-features

Déprez and Kawahara (2013) look at obligatory rising contour prosody in French questions. French has both wh-in-situ questions as well as overt wh-movement questions as seen below in (23); whereas, in (a) the wh-phrase remains in-situ, this is contrasted with (b) where it is raised to the SPEC of CP.

- (23) a. Elle est allée où en Allemagne?
 she is.3SG go-PST-F where in Germany
 ‘Where did she go in Germany?’
- b. Où est-ce-qu’ elle est allée en Allemagne?
 where QUES she is.3SG go-PST-F in Germany
 ‘Where did she go in Germany?’

They compare the intonation of the wh-in-situ questions to the type-of yes-no question in (24), for which a rising contour is obligatory.

- (24) Elle est allée en Allemagne?
 she is.3SG go-PST-F in Germany
 ‘Did she go to Germany?’

Déprez and Kawahara (2013) follow claims by Cheng and Rooryk (2000) in supporting that wh-questions are licenced by a intonational feature merged at C⁰ that induces a rising contour obligatorily for these questions. Where Cheng and Rooryk (2000) claim that these intonation patterns are identical to yes-no questions Déprez, Syrett and Kawahara (2012) show experimentally using a categorical perception task and a quantitative measure of formant frequencies that wh-questions do not exhibit as much

of a rising contour as yes-no questions, but also pattern differently than declaratives. They conclude that the rising intonation highlights focused question material in French. Following Uribe-Etxebarria (2003), where she argues for the movement of wh-phrases in Spanish to SPEC CP for Spanish in-situ questions as a information driven movement; Déprez and Kawahara (2013) argue for the covert movement of the wh-phrase to SPEC CP in order to produce this intonation pattern.

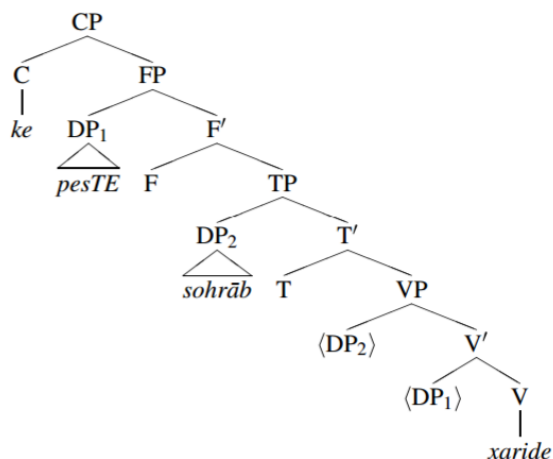
Applying these claims to Hindi-Urdu, where rising intonation is obligatory for the subject-focused sluicing cases we can see that even though there is no pronunciation of the high copy of the wh-phrase as there is in Manetta's (2013) analysis of sluicing in Hindi-Urdu, there is still prosodic evidence of a high copy in the structure that escapes elision, even if it is just realised as a feature without a full phonological form. As the high copy of the phonological form is dispreferred for pronunciation, and can be recovered through a wh-feature expressed as prosody it remains unpronounced as dictated by Manetta's (2013) preference for low copy pronunciation of wh-phrases in Hindi-Urdu.

4. Problems of Phasehood

This analysis poses interesting questions about the location of the phase edge in Hind-Urdu. If we consider analyses of phases edges that strictly follow Chomsky (2001; 2004) it is clear where the problem lies. As previous works explain (Chomsky 2003; Boskovic 2014), ellipsis targets either the maximal projection of a phase, or the complement of a phase head.

- (25) Giti midune ke pesTE Sohrab npestem xaride.
 Giti know.3SG that pistachio Sohrab bought.3SG
 'Giti knows that Sohrab bought pistachios.' (Toosarvandani, 2008)

(26)



In the case of the data presented in previous sections we would regularly assume that CP is the maximal projection of the phase, and as the complement to the C⁰, TP is being elided. In keeping with data from Toosarvandani (2008) for Farsi, and Kidwai (2000) for Hindi, the high focus position is between CP and TP. If we consider the data in (25), and the resulting tree in (26) from Toosarvandani (2008) we can see the relevant structures laid out. Thus, when we consider the data presented in §3, we can see that there is a FocP projection intervening between the C⁰ and TP.⁴

5. Conclusion

The primary goal of the analysis here is to present some novel data in regard to focus and sluicing in Hindi-Urdu in support of the copy theory account provided by Manetta (2013). Following from Manetta's claims that normal wh-questions in Hindi-Urdu are instances of lower copy pronunciation, and sluices are exceptional instances of top-copy pronunciation. We can make the additional supporting claim that top copy pronunciation is linked heavily to recoverability of the wh-feature. As previously stated, where the overt realisation of the wh-phrase is not needed here for recoverability in accordance with a preference against pronouncing the highest wh-phrase copy, it can be deleted without having the derivation crash. There are of course, ancillary issues that remain to be discussed, such as the question of derivation by phases and the possibility of TP elision when it is not the complement of the C⁰, and these will prove to be interesting avenues for expansion of this topic

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⁴ Additional concerns about look-ahead issues were raised at the CLA Annual Meeting, but are presently beyond the scope of this paper.

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