A generative syntactic account of Tocharian wh-questions and its implications for PIE reconstruction
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The ancient Indo-European languages have long been considered strong wh-movement languages (Fortson 2004), in which wh-elements obligatorily raise to the highest specifier position in the clause. Recently, however, it has become evident that at least Anatolian, and (I will argue) Tocharian as well, display syntactic behavior that appears to be wh-*in-situ* (Pinault 1997; Adams 2015; Hoffner Jr 1995). The goal of this project is to present a cohesive generative syntactic analysis of the *in-situ* behavior of wh-question words in Tocharian, based on recent similar analyses for Hittite, as a first step toward reconstructing the state of wh-question syntax in PIE.

Tocharian and Hittite show remarkable similarity in wh-question syntax, with wh-elements in both appearing pre-verbally when *in-situ*. Compare (1) and (2) below, from Tocharian B and Hittite, respectively.

(1) *somo-añyai   somo ytārye* **kā**   *westär*
     single-traversible single road   **why** called

   "**Why** is the single road called the only-traversible?" (29b1[C]) Adams (2015)

(2) *šummeš=kan*   ***kui-t***   *ney-ari*
     you.DAT.PL=LOC what-NOM.SG.N happen-3SG.PRS.MED

   "**What** will happen to you?" (NH/NS (CTH 89.A) KUB 21.29(+) rev. iv 13-14) (Sideltsev 2014)

In his account of Hittite wh-*in-situ* phenomena, Sideltsev (2014) begins by arguing for right-headedness in the TP domain in Hittite, based on the observation that auxiliaries regularly follow main verbs clause-finally. I argue that this is also the case in Tocharian, based on the similar periphrastic perfect, future, and potential constructions. This conclusion is bolstered by negation data in which *mā* 'not' occurs between the main verb and the inflected clause-final auxiliary. This structure gives us the machinery we need to generate Tocharian's *in-situ* word order, while also leaving the specifier of CP available for topicalized/fronted elements.
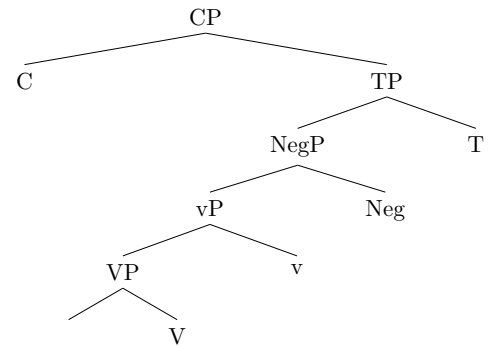
Often, however, the wh-element does occur clause-initially in both Hittite and Tocharian. For Hittite, Goedege-buure (2009) argues that the nature of the focus placed on the wh-element in each occurrence determines its location in the sentence. I argue that the same is true of Tocharian: according to the discourse context, the wh-element may be fronted to the highest specifier of C in a topicalization process which superficially resembles, but is entirely separate from, wh-movement.

Interestingly, however, according to Adams (2015), embedded questions in Tocharian do show wh-movement without exception, while relative clauses, especially in poetry, are often *in-situ*. To account for this behavior, I turn to Cheng & Rooryck (2000)'s analysis of modern French, in which intonation alone can indicate a wh-question in matrix clauses, but not embedded clauses. This idea is expressed syntactically through an underspecified root intonation morpheme, which can check the [WH] question feature of C in matrix clauses, but not in embedded clauses, necessitating movement of the wh-element to express the interrogative. Though to my knowledge we have no evidence of the intonation of Tocharian wh-questions, I find this (or a very similar mechanism) to be the most likely explanation for the matrix/embedded wh-question differences we find in the data.

The surprisingly similar *in-situ* behavior shown in Tocharian and Hittite wh-question syntax further supports the mutual archaism of these two branches, in contrast to the shared innovation of obligatory wh-movement elsewhere in Indo-European. Furthermore, the obligatory wh-movement seen in embedded questions in Tocharian may itself represent the midpoint between the fully *in-situ* behavior of older Indo-European and the development of across-the-board wh-movement in the younger daughter languages, occurring through reanalysis of the embedded clause syntax as that of the matrix clause.

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