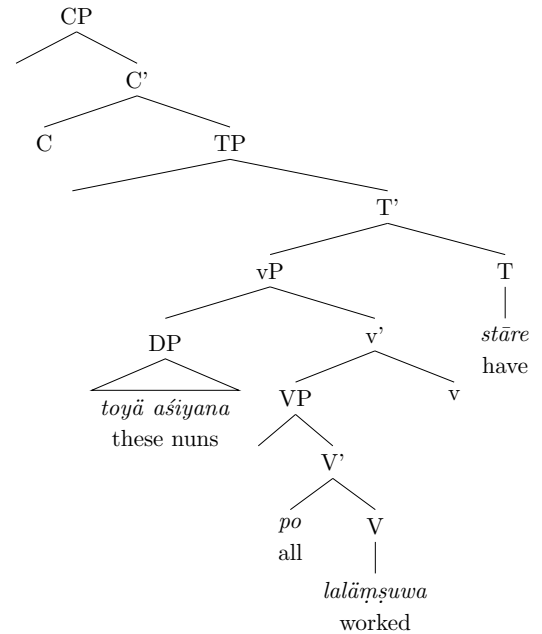


Many of the ancient Indo-European languages have been claimed to exhibit some degree of syntactic right-headedness, i.e. the heads of syntactic phrases follow their complements (Watkins (1998), Biberauer *et al.* (2014), Clackson & Horrocks (2011), among others). However, the argument has not yet been explicitly made that this head-final behavior also holds for Tocharian. The present paper will make this argument, citing the behavior of auxiliaries and negation in the Tocharian corpus.

My analysis closely mirrors that of Sideltsev (2014). He concludes (*pace* Huggard (2011)) that Hittite is left-headed within the CP domain, but right-headed within the TP domain for two reasons: (1) Hittite’s lack of postverbal subjects or objects and (2) the fact that its auxiliaries always follow the main verb clause-finally.

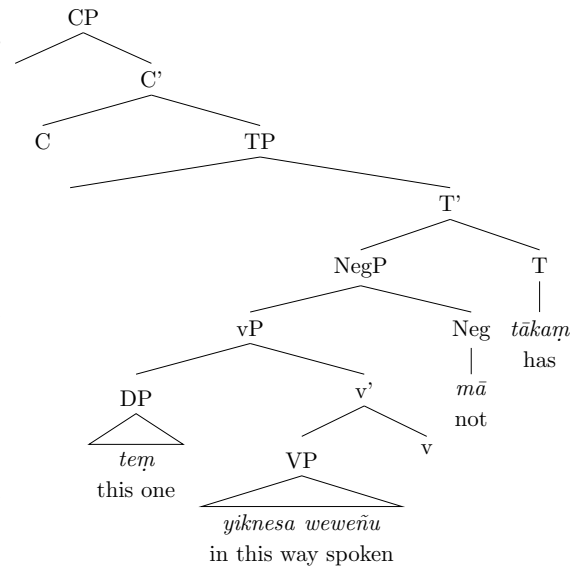
Tocharian shows a similar propensity for clause-final verbs, and possesses periphrastic perfect, future, necessitive, and potential constructions consisting of a participle/gerund and inflected copula that closely parallel the auxiliary behavior seen in Hittite. Of the many examples cited in Adams (2015), the overwhelming majority occur clause-finally, after the main verb. As a result, it seems most fitting to classify Tocharian as left-headed above the TP domain, as complementizers and topicalized elements in the sentence appear to the left of the clause proper, and right-headed within the TP domain. Here is one example of such an auxiliary construction, and how it might be derived.

- (1) *toyä ašiyana po lalämšuwä stäre*
 these nuns all worked be.3PL.PRET
 “These nuns have worked everything” (MSL.19.160) Adams (2015)



Negation constitutes further evidence of this right-headedness within the TP domain. By far the most common clausal negator is *mā*, which in Tocharian B acts both as a simple negator and prohibitive. While the other, much rarer, sentential negators appear only clause-initially, *mā* appears preverbally as well, much lower in the clause. I was able to find one instance of negation collocated with a verbal auxiliary complex in Adams (2015):

- (2) *teṃ yiknesa weweñu mā tākaṃ*
 this way spoken not be.3SG.SUBJ
 “(If) he has not spoken in this way” (331b3/4^L) Adams (2015)



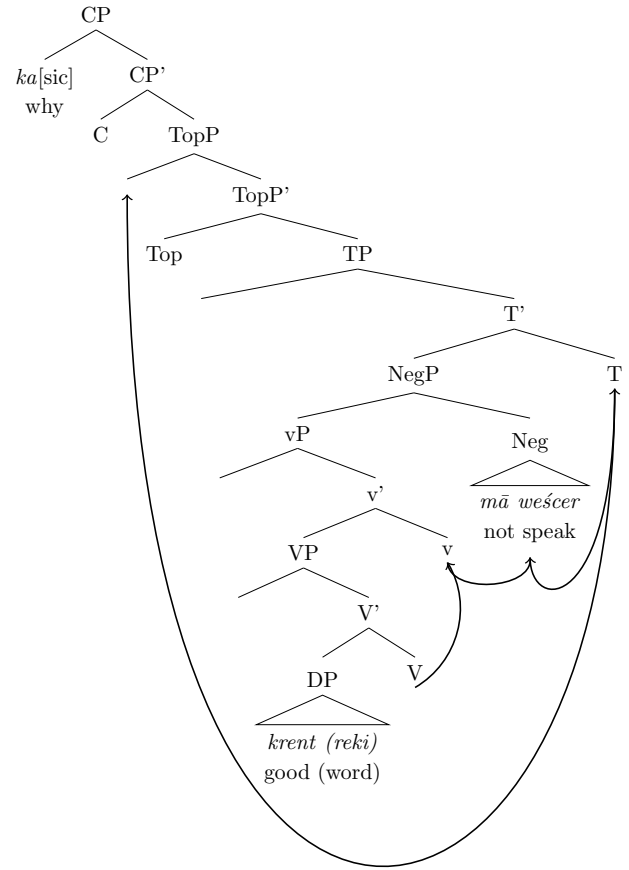
Note how the negation appears precisely between the participle and the copula. With our posited right-headed TP domain, we would expect our right-headed NegP to be located between the TP and vP layers, and that’s exactly where we find it.

Recall, however, that negation also occurs immediately in front of an inflected clause-final verb. If Neg is a head in Tocharian, wouldn’t we expect it to block head-movement to T? To account for this apparent discrepancy, I argue that inflected verbs in Tocharian move up and merge with the Neg head, and that the resulting verbal complex then itself moves up to T. And, in fact, we see evidence of negation and the inflected verb acting as a single constituent elsewhere, in sentences like (3) below.

- (3) *ka[sic] mā wešcer krent (reki)*
 why not say.you good word
 “Why do you not say the good (word)?” (20b6^C)
 Adams (2015)

Here, adopting the expanded left periphery of Rizzi (1997), the inflected verb has merged with the Neg head, moved up to T, and the entire complex has then been topicalized below the wh-question word in the highest specifier of CP. Thus, we see that a right-headedness proposal for Tocharian within the TP domain not only accounts for the auxiliary constructions we see in the language, but also gives us a straightforward explanation of the behavior of negation.

This paper contributes to our theoretical knowledge of Tocharian syntax, which will hopefully lead to a deeper syntactic understanding of the language and its relationship to its sisters.



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