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related words**

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On a festive occasion: The inflection of Tocharian B *ekṣalye* and morphologically related words

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Georges-Jean Pinault is the author of an impressive oeuvre on Indo-European linguistics, and on Tocharian language and literature in particular. He has made several contributions on the important Tocharian A word *opṣäly* ‘festival’, a key concept in the *Maitreyasamitinātaka*, one of his many favorite fields of research (cf. Pinault 2015). In the Old Uyghur *Maitrisimit Nom Bitig*, Tocharian A *opṣäly* is rendered with *yayı kün*, literally ‘new day’, but effectively meaning ‘festive day; celebration, ceremony’ (Wilkens 2013).

In this paper, I investigate the inflection of *ekṣalye* ‘festival, festive occasion’, the Tocharian B equivalent of Tocharian A *opṣäly*. I agree with Pinault (2015:396) that *ekṣalye* originally inflected according to the pattern of *kektseñe* ‘body’: nom.sg. *kektseñe*, obl.sg. *kektseñ*, nom.pl. *kektseñi*, obl.pl. *kektseñäm*. However, the paradigm of *ekṣalye* is complicated because of later variants with *-lyi* for morphologically expected *-ly*. I will argue that the rise of forms with *-lyi* is due to two developments. On the one hand, when *ly* was followed by a consonant, shwa epenthesis took place with subsequent coloring to *i*. On the other hand, final *-ly* was not tolerated in the oblique singular, while regular depalatalization took place in the perlative singular. Both problems could be solved by the generalization of *-lyi* for morphologically expected *-ly*.

The matter is further complicated by the existence of a very similar inflectional type represented by *lalyiye*, obl.sg. *lālyi*, which never had forms ending in morphological *-ly*. In the following, I will first try to clarify the inflection of the *ekṣalye* type and the historical developments it has undergone, and then I will turn to the *lalyiye* type and make an attempt to classify the attested forms according to these classes.

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1 The *ekṣalye* type

If the word *ekṣalye* inflected exactly according to the pattern of *kektseñe*, we expect the following paradigm:

nom.sg.	<i>kektseñe</i>	<i>ekṣalye</i>
obl.sg.	<i>kektseñ</i>	<i>ekṣaly</i>
nom.pl.	<i>kektseñi</i>	<i>ekṣalyi</i>
obl.pl.	<i>kektseñäm</i>	<i>ekṣalyäm</i>

Although it is difficult to find unambiguous attestations of the expected oblique singular, other forms from the singular paradigm, such as the comitative *ekṣalyimpa*, confirm that a paradigm of this kind existed (on the oblique singular itself, see below). Next to this regular paradigm, forms with an extra element *-i-* are found, for instance com.sg. *ekṣalyimpa*. Since the forms with *-i-* seem to belong to a later stage of the language, I have arranged the attestations that I have found according to the linguistic stage of the manuscript and the presence or absence of this element *-i-*. The word *ekṣalye* is the most frequent member of this inflectional subtype, but since *ysalye* ‘discord’ is also well attested, I have included forms of this word as well.¹

	WITHOUT <i>-i-</i>	WITH <i>-i-</i>
arch.	PK AS 12J a5 <i>ekṣäly</i> ; THT 135 a1 <i>ysälts(a)</i> ; THT 255 b3 <i>isälyäntse</i> ; THT 275 a2 <i>ekṣälyṣāna</i> ; THT 275 b5 <i>ysältsa</i> ; THT 1538c b1 <i>ysälyṣe</i>	
class.	IOL Toch 2 a2 <i>ekṣalyimpa</i> ; IOL Toch 19 a2 <i>ysalyantse</i> ; IOL Toch 23 b5 <i>ysaly(=)</i> ; IOL Toch 24 b2 <i>isaltsa</i> ; IOL Toch 271 b2 <i>ekṣalyänmem</i> ; IOL Toch 281 b6 (<i>ekṣalyän</i>); PK AS 4B b4 <i>ekṣalymem</i> ; PK AS 6D a3 <i>ekṣalyäntsä</i> ; PK AS 7O a6 <i>ysaltse</i> ; PK AS 17C b2 <i>ekṣal(y)=</i> ; THT 31 b7 <i>ysaly</i> ; THT 33 b5 <i>ysalyṣe</i> ; THT 544 a2 <i>ekṣalyä ///</i> ; ² THT 1131n a3 <i>ysaly</i>	PK NS 23.2+27 b2 <i>ekṣalyim</i> = PS Uv 67 a4 <i>ekṣal(y)im</i> ; PK NS 79.1 b1 <i>ekṣ(a)lyiṣṣe</i> ; THT 592 b3 <i>ekṣalyimpa</i>

¹For the data presented in this article, I have made extensive use of the CEToM database. I note here briefly that in CEToM (13 April 2019) several forms of *ysalye* are analyzed, with a question mark, as having an obl.sg. in *-ai*: THT 31 b7, THT 496 a5, THT 1105 a4. This is not possible, and *ysalye* is clearly parallel to *ekṣalye*. The following attestations of the nom.sg. are not included in the table because this form does not show the relevant variation: IOL Toch 19 a4 *ekṣlye*; THT 255 b6 *isälye*; THT 600 a5 *ekṣalyi* (mistake for *ekṣalye*); THT 600 b3 *ekṣalye*; THT 1283 b6 *ekṣälye*; THT 1532c a2 *ysälye*. Not included is further fragmentary THT 584 b3 *ekṣa ///*.

²This translates Skt. */// sukhāyām*, possibly (*ṛtu*)*sukhāyām* (Sieg and Siegling 1953:341). Accordingly, it is

late	THT 496 a5 <i>ysaly(=)</i>	THT 591 b3 <i>ekṣalyīsa</i> ; THT 1468 b5 <i>ysalyi(sa)</i> ³
unclear	PK NS 117 b1 <i>ekṣalympa</i> ; THT 3280 a2 <i>ysalytse</i>	THT 1398c a1 <i>ekṣal(y)i</i> ///

Although, as usual, most forms are from the large group of classical manuscripts, it is striking that all archaic forms are without *-i-* while in late manuscripts the forms with *-i-* are more frequent. The only late form THT 496 a5 *ysaly(=)* is found in verse before a following vowel, i.e. *ysaly(=)* *ersate* ‘evoked discord’, and may perhaps stand for *ysalyi*. On the basis of this distribution, we can set up the following paradigms:

	ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL		CLASSICAL AND LATE	
	sing.	pl.	sing.	pl.
nom.	<i>ekṣālye, isālye</i>			
obl. ⁴	<i>ekṣal(y)=, ysaly</i>	<i>(ekṣalyān)</i>		<i>ekṣalyim</i>
gen.	<i>isālyāntse, ysaltse</i>			
perl.	<i>ysāltsa</i>	<i>ekṣalyāntsa</i>	<i>ekṣalyīsa, ysalyi(sa)</i>	
com.	<i>ekṣalympa</i>		<i>ekṣalyimpa</i>	
abl.	<i>ekṣalymem</i>	<i>ekṣalyānmem</i>		
adj.	<i>ekṣālyāna, ysālyṣe</i>		<i>ekṣ(a)lyiṣṣe</i>	

The form (*ekṣalyān*) deserves a longer comment, since it is completely restored. It can be restored for IOL Toch 281 b6 in pāda 24a of the shorter version of the Udānastotra, and has parallels in PK NS 27 b2 *paikalīṇesa* „*dakavārg po ekṣalyim po(yśṇana)* /// *and PS Uv 67 a4* /// *udakavārg po ekṣal(y)im po(yśṇana)* ///*.⁵ The rele-*

perhaps a loc.sg. *ekṣalyū(ne)*. This restoration is compatible with the minimal trace of the following akṣara that is preserved.

³I tentatively read *tīrthy aknāsaṃ nāksant(e)-ś ysalyi(sa)* ‘the foolish heretics reproached you out of discord’.

⁴Possibly THT 1105 a4 *is(aly=)* is to be added. It is remarkable that this form shows *i-* for *y-*, a phenomenon that is characteristic of older texts, but Schmidt identifies two other such forms in the same fragment: a2 *iśā(mna)* ‘among men’ and a3 *īna(k)t(em)* ‘among gods’ (2018:18).

⁵On CEToM (November 2013), I have been cautious with the exact identification of IOL Toch 281 b5 and b6. I now think that the match between the three fragments for the relevant passage is exact. Between IOL Toch 281 a1 and a2 the number of missing syllables is 32; between a2 and a3 it is 28 + the string hole space; between a3 and a4 it is 30 + the string hole space; between a4 and a5 it is 36; between b2 and b3 it is 28 + the string hole space; and between b3 and b4 it is 34 + the string hole space. If the number of missing syllables is about 32 both between b4 and b5 and between b5 and b6, the traces in b6 would have to be placed right after the 12th syllable in pāda 24a. In this pāda, the 12th syllable is *po* ///*, probably po(yśṇana)*, on the evidence of both PK NS 27 b2 and PS Uv 67 a4. Although the number of syllables per manuscript line usually varies a little, it is extremely likely that IOL Toch 281 b6 begins where PK NS 27 b2 and PS Uv 67 a4 end. On the other hand, I think that this exact identification is a further indication that PK NS 27 b1 /// *‘ñṛ ṣṣa[r]ma –* /// *is not parallel to IOL Toch 281 b5 /// *–* /// *ṇeṣṣe ṣar –* ///*. Apart from the fact that the readings are not compatible without the assumption of a serious mistake in one of the fragments, the beginning of the former is to be placed approximately 6 syllables after the beginning of pāda 23c, while the latter seems to preserve roughly**

vant traces in IOL Toch 281 b6 read: */// ·ä poyś(ñ)ana ///*, most probably to be read as */// ·ä () poyś(ñ)ana ///*. Although the fragmentary trace */// ·ä ()* corresponds textually to the parallels *ekṣalyim* and *ekṣal(y)im*, it cannot be reconciled with them: a restoration *ekṣalyim* is excluded. Pinault (2015:389) proposes the restoration (*ekṣalyiñ*)^ä (). This would have to be a secondary variant of the nom.pl., which is not so far attested, but may be set up as *ekṣalyi** on the basis of the parallelism with the *kektseñe* type. The form *ekṣalyim* of the parallels would in turn be a variant of the secondary *ekṣalyiñ*.

Since the last part of the strophe is not preserved, both a nominative and an oblique are syntactically possible at this point: *paikalñesa „dakavārg po ekṣalyim po(yśñana) ///* ‘(May) through the writing of the *udakavarga* all festivals (nom.) of the omniscient (be successful?)!’ or ‘(May I) through the writing of the *udakavarga* (attend?) all festivals of the omniscient!’ Rather than assuming a secondary nom.pl. *ekṣalyiñ*, which is not supported by any other evidence, I think that we have to restore an obl.pl. *ekṣalyän* for IOL Toch 281 b6. This would be the expected original obl.pl., while the *ekṣalyim* of the parallels is the regular later variant of it.

The restoration *ekṣalyän* requires, however, the assumption of the remarkable spelling *ekṣalyän^ä* (). I think that this strange spelling is due to the tendency to avoid a combination of the vowel *ä* and the virāma dot that I have observed previously (Peyrot 2008b:40). The obl.pl. of *ekṣalye* is a case in point, since the consonantal element of the akṣara preceding the vowel *ä* is *y*, which has no Fremdzeichen counterpart, so that there is no alternative to using the double dot diacritic. This problematic ending can be spelled in several ways:⁶

1. <ām>, i.e. the three dots are used: PK AS 18B b5 *āsām*; PK AS 19.8 a4 *l(a)renäm*; THT 113 a1 *miväm*; THT 582 a1 *aittäm*;⁷
2. <än^ä>: PK AS 15B b2 *salp(e)ñcän^ä*; PK NS 95 a4, a5 *plyañcän^ä*; ⁸ THT 10 a3 *(k)e(kt)señän^ä*; THT 29 b8 *kwän^ä*; THT 564 b5 b6 *śatenän^ä*;
3. <än.>: IOL Toch 27 a4 *cenän*; IOL Toch 158 a4 *cenän* *kaunän*; IOL Toch 164 b3 *yän*; M 500.1 b4 *kektseñän*; PK AS 7M b2 *kektseñän*; THT 24 a2 *kāccän*; THT 45 a6 *śarweccän*; THT 45 b6 *kektseñän*; THT 46 b6 *śarweccän*; THT 338 b4 *(mi)wän*; b5 *mivän*;
4. <än>: IOL Toch 181 b2 */// ñcän*; SI B 119(2) a3, a4 *kāccän*;

the 14th to the 16th syllable of the same pāda, i.e. 8 syllables further. A calculation difference of 8 syllables is improbably large.

⁶This is an attempt at an exhaustive listing for TB literary texts. The documents show quite different statistics that are not relevant here. In Tocharian A the statistics are also quite different. In both groups of texts, the three dots are much more widely used than in Tocharian B literary texts.

⁷This is of course not a regular example of the phenomenon: the dots on <t> are superfluous.

⁸Curiously, the final <n> in a4 is marked with three dots, perhaps a contamination of <plyañcām> and <plyañcän^ä>.

5. <än>, i.e. the *n* is in ligature with the following word: THT 284 a5 *postän*;⁹ THT 342 a1 *yän*; THT 1859 b6 *kwäntsän*; THT 2381h b3 *amäcän*;
6. <am>: THT 127 a5, a6, a7 *kāccam*; THT 229 a2–3 *sarwecam*.

Since the most frequent spelling strategies are <än^ä> and <än>, and the two dots are preserved in our passage, I suppose that *ekšalyän* was spelled <ekšalyän^ä>.

A further member of the small *ekšalye* type seems to be *wäntalye* ‘bow’. Of this word, the obl.sg. is attested as arch. *wäntälyä* in IOL Toch 163 a6 and as late *wäntalyi* in THT 109 b6. An abl.sg. *wäntalymem* is found in IOL Toch 766 b2 (Peyrot 2008a:123). Although this word is not nearly as frequent as *ekšalye* and *ysalye*, it offers an archaic obl.sg. in *-lyä* as well as a late obl.sg. in *-lyi*. Let us take a closer look at the difficult oblique singular with this interesting pair in mind.

The only certain attestations of the obl.sg. of *ekšalye* are PK AS 17C b2 *ekšalyainmoš* ‘having reached the festive occasion’, where we can read *ekšal= yainmoš* as well as *ekšal(y)= yainmoš*, and PK AS 12J a5 *ekšäly enkoš* (Pinault 2015:395). The only certain attestations of the obl.sg. of *ysalye* are THT 31 b7 *ysaly eryentär* ‘they evoked discord’¹⁰ and THT 1131n a3 *ysaly amäntsa* ‘with discord [and] arrogance’. Another possible instance is IOL Toch 23 b4, where the editors read *ysaly amäm* ‘discord [and] arrogance’ (Pinault, Peyrot, and Wilkens 2017:311–2), which would be the obl.sg., but since there is no context, it could theoretically also be *ysaly= amäm* with sandhi of the nom.sg. *ysalye* in verse.

Previously, I suggested that an *-i* arose in the obl.sg. because the morphologically regular final *-ly* was not tolerated (Peyrot 2008a:123). Below, I propose a complementary mechanism, but I think that we still need the development *-ly* > *-lyi*. There is, however, no direct evidence for the required sound law: *ysaly* is attested only before vowels and *ekšaly* is once attested before a vowel and once in sandhi. I therefore have to rely on indirect argumentation. First of all, the late *ekšalye* type with *-i-* is marginal and attested with only three words in *-lye* that originally belonged to the *kektseñe* type. This suggests that the introduction of the *-i-* is due to the element *-ly-*. Second, apart from the oblique singulars *ekšaly*, *ysaly*, and *wäntaly*, there is not a single Tocharian B word or word form ending in *-ly*. Third, originally these oblique singulars did *not* end in *-ly*, but in *-lyä*, as illustrated by arch. *wäntälyä*.¹¹ Only when the final shwa was lost did *-ly* become final. Fourth, the peculiar situation that possible instances of the oblique singular in *-ly* are only found before a following vowel may not be purely coincidental. This context may have been preferred to avoid the problems caused by final *-ly*. Taken together, these observations suggest that an impossible final *-ly* became *-lyi*.¹²

⁹This is of course not a regular example of the phenomenon: the dots on <ṭ> are superfluous.

¹⁰The editors read *ysaly-eryentär* (Sieg and Siegling 1949:1.53), but *ysaly* here is exactly the expected form: no sandhi effect needs to be assumed.

¹¹This is parallel to the *kektseñe* type in general, whose obl.sg. can take mobile *o* (Malzahn 2012:60–1).

¹²It is hard to prove what the exact mechanism of change was, but it is conceivable that final *-ly* was depalatalized to *-l* by sound law, after which the *ly* was restored with a concomitant following *-i*.

A similar development is the depalatalization of final *-ñ* to *-m* (Peyrot 2008b:78–84). However, this sound law could be reversed under analogical pressure, and final *-ñ* is not at all rare at any stage of the language.

For the suffixed forms and the plural, a fairly simple complementary mechanism can be proposed: shwa epenthesis in *ly*-clusters (if there was no shwa already) and subsequent palatal coloring of shwa (Peyrot 2008b:55–8). An illustrative example is THT 581 b2 *lyikaške* for class. *lyikaške* ‘fine’. In the same way, *ekšalympa* could become *ekšalyimpa*, possible through an intermediary *ekšalyämpa**. A form like the obl.pl. *ekšalyän* could have become *ekšalyim* directly, without the intermediary epenthesis.

The spread of *-lyi-* could at the same time repair the inconvenient perl.sg. *ekšaltsa** (cf. THT 275 b5 *ysältsa*, cited above) with regular depalatalization before *-s-* (or, with *t*-epenthesis, before *-ts-*). I think that this phenomenon can be compared to 3sg.prs.-sbj.mid. THT 135 a5 *melyätträ* ‘grinds’ and 3sg.prs.mid. THT 558.3–4 *peññatträ* ‘stretches’, probably with *ə*-epenthesis for phonologically regular **melträ* and **pentträ* (Peyrot 2013:564).¹³

The reason why the rise of and spread of *-lyi-* is probably due to a combination of shwa epenthesis and shwa coloring on the one hand and the development of final *-ly* to *-lyi* on the other is that no other member of the *kektseñe* type shows the same shift to a paradigm with *-i-*. After *ñ*, shwa epenthesis and shwa coloring occurred as well, cf. e.g. THT 332.1 b3 *kektseñisse*, but the paradigm of *kektseñe* was regularized with *-ñ-* throughout, as illustrated with the replacement of older *kektseñsa* by *kektseñtsa*, not ***kektseñisa* (Peyrot 2008b:82–3).

2 The *lalyiye* type

There is another set of words with a large number of forms that are similar to the *ekšalye* type: words in *-lyiye* belonging to the *kälymiye* type, like *lalyiye* ‘effort’. Words like *lalyiye* are different from the *ekšalye* type in that they never show forms without *i*, except for the nom.sg., in which the element *-i-* may be syncopated, i.e. *lalyye** (although I have not found an instance of this syncope with the word *lalyiye* itself).

The inflection of the *kälymiye* type is secured by a relatively large number of words among which some are fairly frequent. Nevertheless, the only frequent word of the subtype with *-ly-* is *lalyiye* ‘effort’ itself, of which only very few different forms are attested (see below). Several words are probably parallel to *lalyiye* even though they are not well attested. The following criteria can be used to distinguish the two types:

¹³I am now of the opinion that PK NS 406 a5 *melyatsi*, the alleged infinitive of *mel-* ‘grind’, does not belong here. The form reads *me lyutsi* instead, perhaps (*yā*)[*tk*](*a*)-*me lyutsi* ‘he ordered them to be expelled’ or ‘he ordered to expel them’.

ekṣalye

- The nom.sg. is *-lye* /-lé/ and never *-lyye* /-lye/ or *-lyiye* /-løyé/.
- The obl.sg. has the same accent as the other forms, e.g. nom.sg. *ekṣalye*, obl.sg. *ekṣály(i)*.
- Forms with *-i-* are rare and confined to late texts.
- No forms with *-li-*.

lalyiye

- The nom.sg. is *-lyye* /-lye/ or *-lyiye* /-løyé/ and never *-lye* /-lé/.
- The obl.sg. has retracted accent, e.g. nom.sg. *lalyiye*, obl.sg. *lályi*.
- No forms without *-i-* are found; forms with *-i-* are found in all types of texts.
- Occasional forms with *-li-* instead of *-lyi-* (see below on this point).

akalye ‘doctrine, teaching’: This word is frequent, but I have found only nom.sg., obl.sg., and perl.sg. forms. The indications are contradictory: the nom.sg. *akalye* suggests membership in the *ekṣalye* type because of its *-lye* (never *-lyye* or *-lyiye*), but the invariable obl.sg. *āklyi* with *-lyi* and retracted accent is parallel to *lalyiye*, *lályi*. The only form with *-li-* that I could find is THT 23 a4 *ākli*; otherwise *-lyi-* is regular. The obl.sg. has *-i* also in archaic texts, cf. THT 227b a3 *aklyi*.

*alyiye** ‘palm of the hand’: Well attested; all attested forms have *-lyi-* or *-li-*. Forms: perl.sg. IOL Toch 90 b4, THT 42 b5 *āliṣa*, PK NS 39 b3 *ālīsa*; loc.sg. IOL Toch 803 b2, PK AS 19.6 b4 *āline*, PK AS 16.2 b4, THT 567 a1, a2 *ālyine*, THT 1107 b4 *ālīne*; nom.du. IOL Toch 89 a2 *aline* = THT 73 b1 *ālīn(e)*; obl.du. THT 84 b5 *ālīn(e)*; perl.du. THT 84 b4 (*ali*)*nesa*, THT 1267 b3 *alinesa*; adj. THT 567 b1 *alyiṣṣama*.¹⁴ It seems that there is a difference in accent between the loc.sg. *āline* /ályne/ and the nom.obl.du. *aline*, *ālīne* /alóyne/. It is further striking that forms with *-lyi-* are rare compared to those with *-li-*.

*olyiye** ‘boat’: only singular forms in *-i* are attested. There is no evidence for forms without *-i-*. Forms: loc.sg. PK AS 18B b5 (*o*)*lyine*; PK AS 13I b3 *oline*; perl.sg. SI B 119(2) b6, THT 296 b4 *olyisa*; fragm. THT 401 b5 *olyi* ///. Possibly the nom.sg. is attested as *olyye*, but in both cases the passage is fragmentary and the word division uncertain: NS 49 A a2 *sā mant olyye śāsamṣṣa ś*’ /// ‘So this boat of teaching . . . (?)’ and THT 3288 a1 /// *ñā mant olyy[e]* – /// ‘ . . . so a boat . . . (?)’.

kolye ‘hoof’: Two attestations of this word are known: PK AS 8A b4 and PK AS 8C b1. Both were read *kolyi* by Filliozat (1948:90, 94), and the same reading is found on CEToM (Pinault and Malzahn, February 2014). The first attestation must be nom.sg., since it is modified by nom.sg.f. *yākweñña* ‘of a horse’ and agrees with nom.sg.f. *wawāltsausa* ‘is to be ground’, while the second, found

¹⁴As Sieg and Siegling note (1949:1.34), THT 19 b5 *ālyi* must be a mistake for *āklyi*.

before *ñor* ‘under, below’ is obl.sg. However, there is no such class. I think that the nom.sg. in PK AS 8A b4 has to be read *kolye*; what could perhaps be understood as the length stroke of ⟨ī⟩ is in fact no more than the knob on top of the ⟨l⟩. We thus arrive at a paradigm nom.sg. *kolye*, obl.sg. *kolyi*. It is difficult to decide to which type the word belongs: for the *lalyiye* type, we would have expected a nom.sg. *kolyiye* or *kohyye*, and since the manuscript contains late features, it cannot be excluded that *kolyi* stands for **koly* < **kolyä*. However, if it belongs to the *ekšalye* type, the word would be much shorter than the other members of this group. More specifically, if *-lye* is a suffix, the root would have to be *ko-*. In my view, this is an argument for membership in the *lalyiye* type, but obviously the classification of this word remains problematic.

*kwalyiye**: A hapax with loc.pl. PK AS 16.1 a5 *kwalyimne* (Pinault and Malzahn on CEToM, August 2012). The editors suggest an etymological relationship with *k^wala-* ‘fail’ and hesitantly translate ‘in the strainers’. Alternatively, a morphological connection with *kəm-* ‘pour’ is also conceivable; the formation would be like *parskalyiye** and *wiḱsalyiye** below.

†*colye*: A word *colye* has been read in PK AS 7L b3 (Pinault, Malzahn, and Peyrot on CEToM, February 2012), against the earlier reading *aiwoyce* for *aiwolce* as read by Schmidt (1994:222). In my opinion, Schmidt’s reading is correct, so that no word *colye* can be set up.

*molyiye** ‘battle’: The nom.sg. of the hapax perl.pl. THT 27 a4 *molints=* is probably to be set up as *molyiye* in view of *-i-* in a classical text and the fact that we find *-li-*, not *-lyi-*.

*parskalyiye**: only the perl.sg. is attested. One might be tempted to correct it to a form of *parskalñe* ‘fearing’, but the same form is attested three times (cf. also the comments by Pinault and Malzahn on CEToM, August 2012, and *wiḱsalyiye** below). No forms without *-i-* are found, while THT 2380d is archaic. Forms: perl.sg. PK AS 13I a2, PK AS 16.1 b3 *parskalyisa*; THT 2380.d b2 *pärskalyisa*.

palyiye: This word is attested as nom.sg. PK AS 8C b5 *palyiye* and loc.sg. PK AS 8C a4 *pāline*. Pinault, Malzahn, and Peyrot (CEToM, February 2014) take it as a borrowing from Skt. *pāli-* ‘boiler’. If so, it would be the only borrowing (in any case, the only recent borrowing) in this inflectional class. A derived adjective could be attested in Or 6402A 2.14 a2 *pāliñ* (it seems impossible to read it as a nom.pl. *pāliñ* because there is no *virāma*).

lalyiye ‘effort’: No nom.sg. *-lye* or forms without *-i-* are attested; at the same time, no forms with *-li-* are found. Forms: obl.sg. M 500.1 b2, THT 104 a2, THT 184 a4, THT 574 a5, THT 1345b b4, THT 1379a b2 *lālyi*; gen.sg. THT 600 a1 *lalyintse*; perl.sg. THT 591 b6 *lālyis=*.

*wiksalyiye** ‘avoidance’: Only the perl.sg. is attested, PK AS 7O b4 *wiksalyisa* (cf. Pinault, Malzahn, and Peyrot on CEToM, and the parallel *parskalyiye** above).

*šolyiye** ‘hearth’: Only the loc.sg. and an adj. are attested. No forms without *-i-* are found and variants with *-li-* are attested. Forms: loc.sg. IOL Toch 4 b3 *šolyiye*; IOL Toch 4 b4, THT 153 a2 (= IOL Toch 4 b4), PK AS 19.3 b3 *šoline*; adj. IOL Toch 179 a4 *šolišša*.

salyiye ‘salt’: No forms without *-i-* are attested; no *-li-* for *-lyi-* is found. Forms: nom.sg. PK AS 2A b4 *salyiye*; obl.sg. PK AS 2B b4 *sālyi*; obl.pl. IOL Toch 305 a6 *salyim*; adj. PK Bois A a11 etc. *salyitsai*, PK AS 2C b6 *salyitsana*.

The relatively frequent occurrence in the *lalyiye* type of forms with *-li-* for expected *-lyi-* is puzzling. Superficially, the phenomenon is reminiscent of the lack of *-y-* in nom.pl.m. *epasti* of *epastye* ‘skilled’. However, this lack of *-y-* must be due to the minor sound law *iyi* > *i*, which is responsible for the nom.pl.m. *kārpi* to *kārpiye* ‘rough, ordinary’ and the nom.pl. *kercci* ‘palace’ (plurale tantum), which has an obl.pl. *kercciyem*. Accordingly, the nom.sg.m. *epastye* probably derives from earlier **epastye*, which breaks down the parallelism to the variant *-li-* for *-lyi-*. Rather, we should probably attribute it to the merger of *-li-* and *-lyi-*, as shown by the apparently secondary forms in *lyi-* for *li-* of *lāyk*^{s-tr.} ‘wash’ and *lāypa-* ‘be left over’ (Peyrot 2013:807, 810).¹⁵

However, it is also possible that the matter is more complicated. In particular, the difference in statistics between on the one hand *alyiye** ‘palm of the hand’ with frequent forms with *-li-* and on the other hand *akalye* ‘teaching’ and *lalyiye* ‘effort’ without forms with *-li-* is remarkable. Finally, *āle*, the Tocharian A match of *alyiye**, suggests that the forms with *-li-* are old (see also below).

3 Derivational patterns and historical notes

The derivational patterns of Tocharian B nouns in *-lye* and *-lyiye* are diverse, and only in a small number of cases are they reasonably clear.

wāntalye ‘bow’ may be derived from *wānta-* ‘cover’ (Adams 2013:644). Although the semantic connection is not obvious, and the lack of root-final *-a* in the noun, which is to be analyzed phonologically as /wəntále/, is in need of an explanation, evidently the element *wānt-* is the root and *-lye* a suffix. A similar analysis appears to be possible for *ysalye* ‘discord’, which could be derived from *yās-* ‘touch (sexually); be excited’, especially if TA *yās-* ‘boil’ preserves the original meaning. For *eksalye* itself, such an analysis does not work, since no suitable verbal root is known. The correspondences in Tocharian A do not give a clear picture. *ysalye* is matched by TA

¹⁵The variant *-li-* for *-lyi-* is probably only found with single palatal /l/, since, to my knowledge, no variant in *-lli* is found for the nom.pl.m. in *-lyi* of the gerunds. Apart from the fact that the nom.sg.m. of the gerunds ends in *-lle*, a geminate palatal /ll/ for the gerund ending *-lyi* is indicated by e.g. variant *-llya* of the nom.sg.f. *-lyā*, as was pointed out to me by Alessandro del Tomba (p.c.; this evidence is not taken into account by Fellner 2017:154).

nom.-obl.sg. *yäslyi*, and *eksalye* by TA nom.-obl.sg. *opsäly*,¹⁶ and it is difficult to see a reason for the difference between the finals *-lyi* and *-ly*. In the Maitreyāvadānavyākaraṇa there is a difference between nom.sg. *kaṣṣāni* ‘body’ and obl.sg. *kaṣṣam* (Itkin 2002:14), which correspond to TB nom.sg. *kektseñe* and obl.sg. *kektseñ*, respectively. If the paradigms were parallel, this could mean that *yäslyi* goes back to the original nom.sg. **yśāle* while *opsäly* reflects the obl.sg. **eksāla* (on the details of the reconstruction, see Pinault 2015:396), possibly with restoration of *-ly* for intermediate **-l* with depalatalization as in *kaṣṣam*.

Of the nouns in *-lyiye*, *lalyiye* ‘effort’ is obviously derived from *lal-* ‘make effort’, and the extension *-i-* of the noun seems to be mirrored by $||\text{lal-}^{\text{2}}\text{äy}^{\text{3}}/\text{c-}|$, the subjunctive stem of class 4 of the verb. Likewise, *akalye* ‘teaching’ must be derived from *akl-* ‘teach’, which also forms a subjunctive 4 $||\text{akl-}^{\text{2}}\text{äy}^{\text{3}}/\text{c-}|$. The derivational pattern of both nouns is fully parallel to that of *wəs-* ‘to stay’, subj. 4 $||\text{wəs-}^{\text{2}}\text{äy}^{\text{3}}/\text{c-}|$, and *yśiye* ‘night’, obl.sg. *yāši*. Synchronically, the morphological classification of *akalye* is difficult (see above), but the neat parallelism in derivation to *lalyiye* and *yśiye* confirms its membership in this class. Also its Tocharian A cognate *āklye* suggests this analysis, since the *eksalye* type corresponds to TA *-lyi* or *-ly* but not *-lye*; for the latter correspondence, compare TB *kälymiye* ~ TA *kälyme* or TB *yśiye* ~ TA *wśe*. The Tocharian A nom.-obl.sg. final *-e* is probably to be compared with the Tocharian B nom.sg. ending *-iye*, not with the obl.sg. *-i*, and reflects a sound change **iye > e* as in TB *keriyemane* ‘laughing’ ~ TA *karemām* (Peyrot 2012:210).

*parskalyiye** ‘fearing’ and *wiḱsalyiye** ‘avoidance’ are parallel formations from the verbs *praska-* ‘fear’ and *wäyk-*^{s-tr.} ‘avoid’. Since apparently all other members of the *lalyiye* type are derivatives in *-iye* to a base ending in *-l*, it is tempting to think that *parskalyiye** ‘fearing’ and *wiḱsalyiye**, too, are derivatives in *-iye* from the present gerunds *parskalle* and *wiḱsalle*, respectively, but this must remain just a suggestion for now.

*alyiye** ‘palm of the hand’ and *salyiye* ‘salt’ have fully parallel cognates in Tocharian A: *āle* and *sāle*, respectively. As in the case of *āklye*, *kälyme*, and *wśe* (see above), I assume that the Tocharian A final *-e* corresponds phonologically to the Tocharian B nom.sg. in *-iye*. In the word for ‘salt’, this *-iye* is obviously an extra suffix in view of the Proto-Indo-European *l*-stem reflected in Lat. *sāl*, Latv. *sāls*, etc., and the formation can be compared to extended TB *ytārye* ‘road’ vs. unextended TA *ytār*. Yet it is difficult to understand why this suffix did not palatalize the preceding *-l* in Tocharian A.¹⁷

Two words with cognates in Tocharian A are left: *kolye* ‘hoof’ ~ TA *kolye* ‘paw’ and *olyiye** ‘boat’ ~ *olyi*. The correspondence TB *kolye* ~ TA *kolye* is parallel to TB *akalye* ~

¹⁶Carling (2009:89b) lists a variant THT 1883 b2 *opsälī*, but in my opinion we should rather read $|||[\text{o}]\text{p}̄\text{s}̄\text{al}(\text{y})\cdot\text{i}[\text{k}]\cdot|||$, possibly a *ṣ*-adjective *opsäl(y)ṣ*.

¹⁷Alessandro del Tomba convincingly suggests to me (p.c.) that TB *alīne* and TA *āle* may show *-i* ~ *-e*, reflecting **-ey* from the dual ending **-oih₁*, which would not be expected to palatalize. He also notes that the absence of palatalization in TA *sāle* would then have to be secondary.

TB *āklye*, and again I assume that TA *-e* goes back to **-iye*. This would further confirm that TB *kolye* belongs to the *lalyiye* type, not to the *ekṣalye* type. The correspondence TB *olyiye** ~ TA *olyi* is obviously different, and here I have to assume that the TA final reflects the original obl.sg. stem in *-i*.

4 Conclusion

The inflectional and derivational patterns of Tocharian B nouns in *-lye*, *-lyye*, and *-lyiye* are not always easy to establish: for almost each word one would wish to have more forms. Nevertheless, it seems that nouns of the *ekṣalye* type in *-lye* are derived with a suffix *-lye* /-lé/, while nouns of the *lalyiye* type in *-lyye* and *-lyiye* are rather derivatives in *-iye* to a base ending in *-l*. The two types are difficult to keep apart, especially in later texts, where the *ekṣalye* type shows a secondary obl.sg. stem in *-i*, e.g. *ekṣalyi*. As far as patterns can be established, the *ekṣalye* type corresponds to Tocharian A nouns in *-ly* (possibly from the original obl.sg. stem) and *-lyi* (possibly from the original nom.sg.), and the *lalyiye* type corresponds to Tocharian A *-lye*, probably from the nom.sg. **-liye*, and to *-lyi*, probably from the obl.sg. stem in **-li*. There may have been a difference between nouns in **-liye* as reflected by TA *āklye*, *kolye* and nouns in **-liye*,¹⁸ reflected by TA *āle*, *sāle*.

Abbreviations

CEToM = *A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts*. www.univie.ac.at/tocharian.

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¹⁸Or **-ley*, see preceding footnote.

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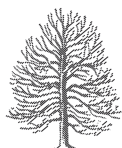
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