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## A BALTO-SLAVIC KEY TO THE ETYMOLOGY OF TOCHARIAN B *twār*

A purpose of the present contribution is to offer a new etymology of the Tocharian B adverb *twār* “for this reason, consequently”.

1. The Tocharian B adverb *twār* is attested in two texts<sup>1</sup>:

*mā šše nta kca cmelane ñem ra klyaussi kälpäwa twār š postaññe (:)* *krent käššinta meñkitse yolaiñesa mā šše nta aškār śmāwa :*

(Hoernle’s collection 149.26/30: IOL Toch 5 | b2 | 17 – text: TEB 2, 64)

“Not a single time in births did I hear the name; and **consequently** later, lacking a good teacher, by evil, not a single time I come back.”

(Adams 1999, 323)

“Not even once in the births have I got to hear [this] name, and **therefore** afterwards, lacking a good teacher, I have not once stood back because of evil.”

(Peyrot [[http://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?IOL Toch 5](http://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?IOL%20Toch%205)])

*tumeñ Candramukhe w[alo]šecakecce asāñne šmemane twār špä Arañemiñ werpiškacce cä[rkenta]*

(THT 91 | b5 | 10)

“Thereupon ki(ng) Candramukha, sitting on the lion-throne and **for this reason** (beholding?) the gardener Arañemi (carrying) ga(rlands) ...”

(Malzahn [<http://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?THT%209>>])

2. The word *twār* has been translated as follows:

“deshalb, infolgedessen” (TEB 2, 201);

“pour cette raison, à la suite de quoi” (Van Windekens 1976, 519);

“consequently” (Adams 1999, 323);

“for this reason, consequently” (Malzahn [<http://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?tw%C4%81r>>]).

<sup>1</sup> See <http://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?tw%C4%81r>

3. Till the present time three etymologies have been offered:

3.1. Derivation from *\*duwār<sup>o</sup>*, with respect to Greek *δηρός*, Doric *δᾶρός* “(too) long, lasting long”, Armenian *erkar* “long” (Van Windekens 1976, 519). But since the Greek and Armenian initials are *\*d̥u-*, in Tocharian it would be simplified as *w-*, while the *o*-stem implies the final *-e*, as mentioned by Van Windekens himself.

3.2. Tocharian B adverb *tu* “here” + *-ār* forming distributive numerals (Klingenschmitt 1994, 325).

3.3. Tocharian B neuter *tu* “this one, it” + *-ār* forming distributive numerals, e.g. *wyār* “by twos” (Adams 1999, 323). Pinault (2008, 324–325) mentions that the adverb in *-ār* from the anaphoric demonstrative is very doubtful. He assumes the postposition *\*ār* with respect to the adverb with the distributive function in A *ārts*, B *artsa*, cf. A *ārts kom*, B *artsa kaum* “Tag für Tag/every day/quotidie”, *artsa ywarca meñ* “halbmonatlich, jeden halben Monat” (TEB 2, 82, 164; Carling 2009, 50).

4. A new solution is inspired by the following forms in Baltic and Slavic languages, all derivatives of the IE root *\*t̥uerH-* (Trautmann 1923, 333–234; Pokorny 1959, 1101; LIV, 656).

4.1.1. Lithuanian *tvėrti* : *tvėria* : *tvėriau* “to create, produce, form, compose; fence; last, continue; endure, hold out”; Latvian *tveŗt* : *tveŗu* : *tvēru* “to catch, keep, hold, be sufficient”; cf. also Lithuanian *tviróti* “to last, continue” (Fraenkel 1962–1965, 1152, 1154; Smoczyński 2007, 698; ME 4, 290–291). The deverbal derivatives are characterized by *\*ē*, *\*o* & *\*ō* root vowels respectively: Lithuanian *tvėrė* “Strick”; *patvarà* “Ausdauer, Beharrlichkeit, Standfestigkeit”, Prussian *coaris*, i.e. /*twāris*/ “banse” = “weiter Scheunenraum der Tenne”; Lithuanian *tvorà* “Zaun, Grenzmauer, Hecke”, Latvian *tvāra* “ein Zaun aus horizontal liegenden Stangen” (Fraenkel 1962–1965, 1149–1150, 1152, 1155; Smoczyński 2007, 700; ME 4, 289; Mažiulis 1993, 234–237; Toporov 1984, 101–103).

4.1.2. Lithuanian *turėti* : *turiù* : *turėjau* “to have, possess, hold; must, should, ought”, Latvian *turēt* : *turu* : *turēju* “to hold, protect”, dial. “to have, possess”, Prussian *turīt* “to have” (Fraenkel 1962–1965, 1142–1143; Smoczyński 2007, 695–696; ME 4, 268; Mažiulis 1997, 204–205).

4.2.1. Slavic *\*tvorjǵ* : *\*tvoriti* “to create, originate, form” > Old Church Slavonic *tvoriti* “to do, make, arrange, stimulate”, Bulgarian *tvorjá*, Macedonian *tvori*, Serbo-Croatian *tvòriti*, Slovenian *tvoríti*, Slovak *tvoriť*, Czech *tvořit*, Upper Sorbian *tworić*, Lower Sorbian *tworiś*, Kashubian *twořęc*, Polish *tworzyć*, Belorussian *tvarýc’*, Ukrainian *tworýty*, Russian *tvorít’*. The

form *\*tvoriti* represents the original iterative to the unattested Slavic verb <sup>+</sup>*tverti*, exactly corresponding to Lithuanian *tvėrti* and Latvian *tveft*. The deverbal derivative is the noun *\*tvorb* > Old Church Slavonic *tvorb* “act, deed”, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian *tvôr*, Pomerian Slovincian *tvôr*, Belorussian *tvor*, Ukrainian *tvir* “creation, work”, Slovak, Czech *tvor*, Polish *twór* “creature, living being”, Old Czech *tvor* “aspect, kind”, Old Russian *tvorb* “appearance, look” (Vasmer 1987, 33; Sadnik, Aitzetmüller 1955, 140, 324; ESJS 17 [ms.]).

4.2.2. Slavic *\*tvarb* > Macedonian *tvar*, Slovak *tvár*, Czech *tvář* “face”, Polish *twarz* “id.”, Belorussian *tvar* “id.”, Ukrainian *tvar* “face; animal”, besides Old Church Slavonic *tvarb* “creation, creating, making, deed, act; form, nature”, Bulgarian *tvar* “creating, creature”, Serbo-Croatian *tvâr* “id.”, Slovenian *tvâr* “mass”, Upper Sorbian *twar* “building, form”, Lower Sorbian *twar* “building”, Old Russian *tvarb* “creating; product, object” (ZVSZ 383; Vasmer 1987, 32). Slavic *\*tvarb* reflects formally the *i*-stem *\*tṷōr(H)i-*, but it may be a secondary extension of a root noun *\*tṷorHs* > *\*tṷōr* (cf. LIV, 115: *\*dómH₂s* > *\*dóm* “building, house”). This shift is typical for Balto-Slavic languages (cf. Brugmann 1906, 141). Such a solution easily explains the long root vowel which is characteristic just for root nouns, originally appearing only in the nom. sg. (Lex Szemerényi). Sometimes the length expanded into the whole paradigm, e.g. in Germanic *\*fōt-* “foot”.

5. An analogous scenario could be proposed for the Tocharian B adverb *twār*, explainable as the original loc. sg. *\*tṷōr(H)-i* (cf. Van Windekens 1976, 130; 1979, 280 on adverbs in *\*-i*). Alternatively it is possible to think about the adverbial derivation in *\*-ōr* > Tocharian AB *-ār* and following haplology.

6. The semantic motivation of the hypothetical Tocharian root noun and its grammaticalized derivative may be parallel to the following Slavic examples with their Latin semantic counterparts and their grammaticalized derivatives, chosen for their transparency:

6.4. Old Church Slavonic *tvorb* “act, deed”, *tvarb* “creation, creating, making, deed, act; form, nature”, cf. Latin *in āctu* “in reality” : *āctus* “deed, doing, act”, besides the fossilized verbal formation *igitur* “in that case, then”, “deshalb, folglich” < *\*agetor* “it is done” (de Vaan 2008, 297), all from *agō* : *agere* “to drive, lead; do, make”.

6.2. Common Slavic *\*tvarb* “face, form, shape”, cf. Latin *species* “sight, look; form, figure, shape; appearance” : *in speciem* “after the manner, in the fashion, like”.

## 7. Summary

From the point of view of word formation and semantics, it seems the Tocharian B adverb *twār* “for this reason, consequently” is etymologizable with help of the Balto-Slavic verb *\*tuerH-* “to create, produce, form, compose; hold; continue” and its Slavic nominal derivatives as Old Church Slavonic *tvorb* “act, deed”, *tvarb* “creation, creating, making, deed, act; form, nature”. The original starting point of the Tocharian word could be the loc. sg. *\*tuōrH-i* of the root noun *\*tuorHs* > *\*tuōr°*.

## BALTŲ-SLAVŲ RAKTAS Į TOCH. B *twār* ETIMOLOGIJA

### *Santrauka*

Žodžių darybos ir semantikos požiūriu toch. B adv. *twār* gali būti etimologizuojamas remiantis baltų-slavų veiksmažodžiu *\*tuerH-* ‘kurti, daryti, formuoti; laikyti; tęsti’ ir iš jo išvestais slavų vardažodžiais s. sl. *tvorb* ‘veiksmas, poelgis’, *tvarb* ‘kūrimas, darymas, poelgis, veiksmas; pavidalas, prigimtis’. Toch. žodžiui pradžių galėjo duoti šakninio vardažodžio *\*tuōr-* loc. sg. forma *\*tuōr-i*.

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