

Chatter and Laugh: Latin *garrīō* ‘chatter’, TA *kary-*, TB *kery-* ‘laugh’, Old Irish *gáire* ‘laughter’ and PIE **ĝar-* ‘utter a loud sound’¹

Laura Massetti

Lat. *garrīō* ‘I talk rapidly, chatter, jabber’ can be understood as a denominative formation to a noun **ĝāri-*, which underlies OIr. *gáir* ‘shout’. Both forms go back to a PIE root **ĝar-* with a lengthened grade **ĝār-* (cf., *inter alia*, Gk. γῆρυς ‘voice’). Although the *Bildungsmuster* of Lat. *garrulus* ‘talkative’ may resemble TA *karel* ‘drum’ or ‘laughter’ (cf. TB *kery-* ‘laugh’, TA *kary-* ‘id.’), which, in turn, might be traced back to PIE **ĝar-*, TA *karel* and Lat. *garrulus* only constitute a *Scheingleichung*. Finally, the semantics of TB *kery-*, TA *kary-* ‘laugh’ match those of OIr. *gáire* ‘laughter’.

1 This paper concerns the etymology of Latin *garrīō* (-is, -īuī, -īre) and its possible IE congeners.² The verb is firstly attested in Plautus’s corpus with a meaning ‘say’ (trans.),³ in collocations of the type [to SAY/UTTER –

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2 On *garrīō* and Indo-European congeners cf. Ernout & Meillet (1959: 267) and Walde & Hofmann (1930–54 s.v. *garrīō*).

3 Lat. *garrītus** (gen. -ūs) ‘chattering’ is found in Paul. *Fest.* 2 M *augur ab avibus gerendoque dictus, quia per eum avium gestus edicitur; sive ab avium garritu, unde et augurium* ‘augur is said from the conducting of the birds, because the movement of the birds are learnt through him; or from the chirping of

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NONSENSE_{ACC.}], cf., Pl. *Aul.* 830 *soleo hercle ego garrire nugas* “by Hercules, I am used to talk nonsense;”⁴ hence it may have developed a meaning ‘babble, chatter,’ reflected in the intransitive uses of the verb, e.g., Cic. *De Orat.* 2.21.5 *in eis philosophi garrire coeperunt* “the philosophers began to talk nonsense therein (: the gymnasia)”. Furthermore, *garrīō* commonly came to denote inarticulate sounds of animals, e.g., Mart. 3.93.8 *meliusque ranae garrant Ravennates* “and better croak the frogs from Ravenna.” Similarly, Lat. *garrulus*, a deverbative *-(u)lo*-adjective, describes (over) talkative or babbling people, e.g., Pl. *Cur.* 477 *confidentes garrulique et malevoli supera lacum* “arrogant, overtalkative, and malevolent people (are) above the lake;” squawking animals, e.g., *Dirae* 74 *garrula rana* “the croaking frog;” resounding musical instruments, e.g., Tib. 3.4.38 *pendebat laeva garrula parte lyra* “on (his) left side hung (his) babbling lyre.”

As for its etymology, it has long been proposed that Lat. *garrīō* can be traced back to a PIE *Schallwurzel*: **ǵar-*, **ǵer-(h₁)-* or **ǵerh₂-*. The shift from a semantic basis ‘be loud / sound’ to ‘chatter / talk’ is trivial and parallels that of other roots; take, for instance, the derivatives of PIE **b^helH-* ‘tone’: OE *bellan* ‘bellow, roar,’ Lith. *bal̃sas* ‘voice,’ *pra-bilstu* ‘begin to talk’.

In this paper, I support that Lat. *garrīō* can be traced back to PIE **ǵar-* ‘sound’ (LIV²: 161). Therefore, in what follows, I will endeavor to: (1) give an etymological account for the derivation of Lat. *garrīō*, (2) explore the possible etymological relation between Lat. *garrīō* and TB *kery-* ‘laugh’, TA *kary-* ‘id.’, and Old Irish putative congeners of the same root, such as *gáir* ‘shout,’ *gáire* ‘laughter’.

To begin with, a list of the alleged derivatives of PIE **ǵar-* / **ǵer-(h₁)-* / **ǵerh₂-* is presented here:

- (i) Oss. *зæлын* ‘sound’ and OIr. *-gair*, *-gaired* ‘call’ (cf. Vendryes 1996: 116) proceed from a *ǵe/o*-present (**ǵǵ̑r-ǵe/o-*).

the birds, hence also *augurium*.” Lat. *garritus* may have been synchronically associated to a participle form of *garrīō*, in the same way as *uāgītus*, *-ūs* ‘cry of distress, wail, howl’ is related to *uāgiō* ‘utter cry of distress,’ or *mūgītus*, *-ūs* ‘bellowing’ to *mūgiō* ‘low, bellow’.

4 Cf. also Pl. *Cur.* 604 *nugas garris* “you are talking nonsense”.

- (ii) Oss. *зарын* ‘sing’ (cf. NPers. *zār-* ‘shout’),⁵ TA *kary-* ‘laugh’, B *kery-* ‘id.’ reflect a causative-iterative structure (**ĝor-éje-*).⁶
- (iii) Gk. *γῆρυς* ‘voice’ (Hom.+, cf. ^(o)*γᾶρυς* Alcμ.+) can be transposed as **ĝāru-*.

2 Before focusing on some of the alleged etymological relatives of Latin *garrīō*, I shall recall the main arguments in support of and against each possible reconstruction of the *Schallwurzel*: (a) **ĝer-* or **ĝer-(H)-*, (b) **ĝar-*.⁷

- (a) **ĝer-* or **ĝerH-* (i.e. **ĝerh₁-* or **ĝerh₂-*): a root **ĝer-* may have been the starting point for a Greek zero-grade **ĝar-* (**ĝr-*),⁸ from which PGk. **ĝār-* may have originated. A long-grade might have substituted the full-grade in the apophonic set (Hackstein 2002: 214). Accordingly, *garrīre* should proceed from **ĝer-h₁-* probably a set-variant of PIE **ĝer-* (cf. Lat. *grāculus* ‘jackdaw’, OIc. *krāka* ‘crow’, OHG *krāen* ‘crow’, Schrijver 1991: 178) with expressive gemination. The Celtic data speak against this explanation: Indeed, Celtic verbs with a root structure **CEL(H)-* and a present **CL(H)-je/o-* usually display *e*-grade in the *se/o*-subjunctive and *ē*-grade in the *t*-preterit. Celt. *ar-id-garad* (subj.), *ar-gart* (pret.) attest a constant *a*-grade, which thus contradicts a possible reconstruction **ĝer-* and **ĝerH-* (Schumacher 2004: 333). Ad-

5 According to Cheung (2007 s.v. **zarH³* ‘bewail the deceased’), “the Ir[anian] forms appear to refer to the bewailing ceremony performed in memory/honour of the deceased: this usually involves singing, comforting, calling and ritual lamentation (etc.)”; cf. Oss. I. *γ-зæлын* ‘nurse, tend’ (with *γ-* < PIr. **a₁a-*), Oss. I. *a-зæлын* ‘echo, sound’ (with *a-* < PIr. **ā-*). On the collocations of the Ossetic forms, cf. Abaev (1989: 288–289, s.v. *zaryn* “pet”; 295–296, s.v. *zalyn* “zvyčat”).

6 Abaev (1989: 295) posits PIr. **zar-ya-* for *зæлын* ‘sound’ and points out that the pair *зæлын* ‘sound’ (*je/o*-present) : *зарын* ‘sing’ (caus.) parallels Oss. *мæлын* ‘die’ : *марын* ‘kill’.

7 A common ancestor **ĝeh₂r-* (cf. de Vaan 2008: 255; Matasović 2009: 152–153) is prohibited by PIE root structure (Schindler 1972: 5–6 and Melchert forth.).

8 With secondary spelling *-ar-* from **-r-*, analogical to the full-grade **ĝer-*. For further examples of this kind of syllabification cf. García Ramón (1985).

ditionally, by accepting a reconstruction $*\hat{g}erH-$ ($*\hat{g}er-h_1-$ or $*\hat{g}er-h_2-$), TA *kary-* ‘laugh’, B *kery-* ‘id.’ should be kept apart from this dossier, as they do not show the expected reflex of a root-final laryngeal. This absence would presuppose an analogical laryngeal loss, which is dubious.⁹

- (b) $*\hat{g}ar-$: the reconstruction $*\hat{g}ar-$ is compatible with all the derivatives of the root, but is often ruled out for the presence of the $*-a-$ in the root.¹⁰ Indeed, it is $*\hat{g}\bar{a}r-$, the lengthened grade of the root, that is often considered as problematic, since examples of an apophonic alternation $*(C)aC- / *(C)\bar{a}C-$ are rare. However, in favor of a reconstruction $*\hat{g}ar-$ some instances of roots with such an alternation can be briefly put forth here, by referring to some of the examples that Melchert (forth.) and Pinault (2019, forth.) have recently presented:
- $*h_1au-$ ‘perceive’, cf. Ved. *āvīṣ*, Av. *āuuīš* ‘openly’ (from a lengthened grade $*h_1\bar{a}ui-s$), Gk. *ἀἴω*, *αἰσθάνομαι* ‘perceive’ (from a full-grade $*h_1\bar{a}ui-i-$), Lat. *audiō* ‘hear’;
 - $*math_2-$ ‘rob’, cf. Ved. *mathi-* ‘id.’ (Narten 1960: 132–135), Gk. *Προμηθεύς* (non-Ion. *Προμᾶθεύς*), which, as recently argued by Oettinger (2016), can be analyzed as a noun of the type *ἵππεύς* (Schindler 1976)¹¹ based on a thematic stem $*pro-m\bar{a}th_2-ó-$.¹²

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- 9 Obviously alternative explanations for TA *kary-* ‘laugh’, B *kery-* ‘id.’ have been put forth (Malzahn 2010: 605), namely: $*ker-$, $*g^her-$, $*ger-$, or $*\hat{g}^her-$ ‘like, enjoy’ (Jasanoff 1978: 46). For a semantic argument against $*\hat{g}^her-$, see Pinault (1990: 179; 2013: 27).
- 10 On $*a$ in PIE roots cf. Schindler (1972: 5): “Während *e* distributionell nicht eingeschränkt ist, erscheint das viel seltenere *a* in mehr als der Hälfte aller Fälle vor und nach Guttural.” Against the existence of a phoneme $*a$ in PIE, see Lubotsky (1989). Further discussion by Kümmel (2012: 313–316) and Pinault (2019: 283–284, 290).
- 11 On the possible origin of the type *ἵππεύς*, cf. de Vaan (2009) and Olsen (2019).
- 12 The outcome $-t^h-$ noted $\langle\theta\rangle$ from a sequence $*-th_2-$ is problematic in Greek. However, Prometheus’ name was connected to *μανθάνω* ‘learn’ on a synchronic level. For instance, in Hesiod’s *Theogony* 510–511, *Prometheus* ‘Forethought’ is opposed to his brother, *Ἐπιμηθεύς*, ‘Afterthought’. This

- *Hnas- ‘sniff’, cf. Ved. *nás-* ‘nose’, Gmc. **nasō*, Ru. *nos*, etc. besides reflexes of the lengthened grade **Hnās-*, in Lat. *nāres* ‘nostrils’, Ved. *nāsā* (dual), etc., see Griepentrog (1995: 346–351) and Pinault (2019: 280–285).

In conclusion, the reconstruction of PIE **ġar-* can be supported by other, though not numerous, PIE roots, which display a similar structure and an analogous apophonic alternation, namely, *(C)*aC-* / *(C)*āC-*.

3 Given the fact that PIE **ġar-* may have existed as such, I make a case for interpreting Lat. *garrīō* ‘I chatter’ as a denominative formation (type *finīre* ‘to limit’ :: *finis*, gen. *-is* ‘limit’), ultimately based on a noun **ġāri-* ‘shout/utterance’. A structure of the type *CēCi-* (or *CāCi-*) underlies some nominal forms of IE languages, mostly adjectives or substantivized adjectives such as Gk. *δῆρις* ‘battle’ (< *‘dividing/splitting (?)’),¹³ cf. Skt. *°dāri-* ‘splitting’, Ved. *ājī-* ‘contest’ (Pinault 2006: 370 fn. 9); TB *yel*, TA *wal* ‘worm’ (: **uēli-*).¹⁴

Lat. *garrīō* can have been derived from a noun **ġāri-* through the so-called ‘*narrō*-rule’ (Weiss 2010: 6–8): “a long low vowel followed by a single *r* may be reanalyzed as a short vowel followed by a geminate *r*,” e.g. (*ap*)*pāret* :: *parret* (Paul. *Fest.* 262 L).¹⁵ A stem shaped as **CāCi-* is indeed reflected by OIr. *gáir* ‘shout,’ since this form proceeds from a proto-form **ġāri-* (Weiss 2013: 342), cf. **ġāri-* ‘loud utterance’ (: OIr. *gáir* ‘shout’) > denom. *garrīre* ‘emit loud utterances → talk, chatter etc.’.

secondary connection may have played a role in reshaping **Προμᾶτεύς* (the putative outcome of **°māth₂₋*) to *Προμᾶθεύς*.

- 13 Parallels for the semantic development from ‘splitting’ to ‘strife, quarrel’ can be found in Buck (1949: 1360–1364 / 19.62).
- 14 Schindler (1975: 6), firstly hypothesized that an acrostatic type (II), *CēC-* / *CeC-* existed for *i-* and *u-* stems. For Lat. *ācer*, gen. *-is* ‘sharp’ and Lat. *sācer*, gen. *-is* ‘worthy to be sacrificed’ as “vṛddhi derivatives of thematic bases” see Weiss (2009: 321).
- 15 The forms *ālium* (CIL 4.2070) :: *allium* (CIL 4.5746) are mentioned by Weiss (2010: 6) as a further alleged example of *CāR* :: *CaRR*.

4 In connection with OIr. *gáir*, I would like to emphasize the semantic match between another putative Celtic congener of PIE **ǵar-* and a few Tocharian terms. OIr. *gáire* (: **ǵāriiā-*) means ‘laughter’ as a short example from *Rule of Ailbe of Emly* (§4) shows: *faitbiud cen gen, cen gári* ‘smiling without a grimace, without a laughter’.¹⁶ In this passage the opposition between ‘smile’ (*faitbiud*) and ‘laughter’ (*cen gári*) may speak in favor of *gáire* as ‘loud laughter’. Such a meaning semantically overlaps that of some putative Tocharian congeners of PIE **ǵar-*, i.e., TA *kary-*¹⁷ (cf. TB *kery-*) and, possibly, TA *karel*.

The Tocharian verbs reflect a causative-iterative structure of type *CoC-*éje-*¹⁸ and occur in a few text passages with the meaning ‘laugh (aloud)’ (Pinault 2013: 24–27)¹⁹ cf.

(1) A 9 (THT 642) b5–6

tām pälkoräš puk wras[añ] añumāski nām̄tsuš karyeñc

16 O Neill (1907: 92–93). For further Celtic congeners of the root, cf. Stüber (2015: 269–283).

17 As emphasized by Peyrot (2013: 740), the stems |kare-| (cf. 3sg. *kareš*, 3pl. *kareñc-m*, prs.ptc. *karemām̄*, prs ger. *karel*) and |karyā-| or |karya-| (3sg. *karyaš*, 3pl. *karyeñc*, 3sg.ipf. *karyā*) are synchronically irregular. Moreover, TA *kareš* (3sg.) and *kareñc* (3pl.) have been analyzed as subjunctives (class V) by Hilmarsson (1996:135), but as presents by Couvreur (1956:79). In the light of the Old Turkish parallel MaitrHami (XIII) 1 b 4 (Pinault 1999: 201), TA *kareš* is likely to be a present in A 265 b 1. The lack of context for TA *kareñc-m* (in A 404 b 3) does not allow us to decide between subjunctive and present.

18 Malzahn (2010: 605). According to LIV² a few other causative(-iterative) formations of type *CoC-*éje-* may belong to a root with a shape *CaC-, cf. Ved. *bhājāyati* ‘make get a share’ (caus. **bhog-éje-*) to PIE **bhag-* ‘get a share’ (LIV²: 65); Late Ved. *kvāthayati* ‘make bubble’, Goth. *lvapiþ* ‘foam’ (caus.-it. **kwoth₂-éje-*) to PIE **kwoth₂-* ‘blister, foam’ cf. (LIV²: 374). Umbr. *kanetu* ‘he must (make) sing’ (to PIE **kan-* ‘sing’) may be interpreted as reflecting a causative formation **kon-éje-* with *-a-* from the present (cf. LIV²: 343) or, as recently proposed by Leppänen (2019: 31), as reflecting **kan-ē-*.

19 Pinault (2013: 26) emphasizes that the use of TB *kery-* semantically overlaps Skt. *has-* ‘laugh’, which supports a meaning ‘laugh (loudly)’ for the Tocharian forms. A meaning ‘laugh (loudly)’ (rather than ‘be glad’) is compatible with all other examples of the verb TA *kary-*, TB *kery-*, cf. CEToM s.v.

“Ayant vu cela, tous les gens sont étonnés (et) rien aux éclats” (Pinault 2008: 262)

(2) THT 2 b2

[ke]ry[em] kãñmem̃ spãntem̃ntrã onwaññe šaul

“... sie lachen, sie spielen, sie haben das Vertrauen: ewig [ist] das Leben ...” (Sieg & Siegling 1949: 2.3)²⁰

In this context, it is crucial to emphasize that the Tocharian lexical data allow us to identify a lexical pair ‘smile’ vs. ‘laugh’.²¹ TA and TB *smi-* go back to PIE **smei-* ‘smile’, cf. Skt. *smay-*, OCS *smějъ*, Latv. *smeju*, Gmc. **smī-l* (cf. Dan. *smile*, Eng. *smile*), Lat. *mīrus* (*[s]*mei-ro-*), Gk. *μειδάω* (to the suffixed root *[s]*mei-d-*). In contrast, the identification of TA *kary-* (TB *kery-*) as ‘laugh (aloud)’ can be supported through a variety of passages. In YQ 1.28 [1.4] a 7, the Tocharian participle *karemām* ‘laughing’ is preceded by reduplicated onomatopoeic expression *ksänk ksänk*, which reproduces the loud laughter (cf. *bādhari brāmaṃ ... ksänk ksänk karemām* “Bādhari the brahmin ... laughing (making) ‘ha ha’.”) and parallels Old Turkish onomatopoeic *kirt kirt* in Maitr.Turfan, Taf. 12.15–19 (= MaitrHami I.10 b5–10).²²

As an initial unvoiced velar TA, TB *k-* may be traced back to different consonants, several etymologies for the verb have been proposed as an

20 “They laugh, they play, they trust (that) life (is) eternal” (Adams 2013 s.v. *ker[y]-*).

21 As emphasized by Buck 1949: 1106–1108 (see also Mallory & Adams 1997: 344–345, Pinault 2013: 19–21), “‘laugh’ and ‘smile’ [...] are so closely associated that they may be expressed by the same word in the same language (Lat. *ridere*) or in different languages (Dan. *le* ‘laugh’, Sw. *le* ‘smile’), or more frequently by different forms of the same root” (Buck 1949: 1106).

22 The same opposition can be observed in the use of TA *smimām akmalyo* ‘with a smiling face’ (A 16 b2, 272 a3, 274 a5, 313 a6, 323 b6, YQ 1.2 [ii.1] a7) and TA *karemām akmalyo* ‘with a laughing face’ (156 a5, 178 b4). The latter expression (*karemām akmalyo*) is attested in contexts of joy and cheerfulness, whereas *smimām akmalyo* (‘with a smiling face’) usually occurs in dialogue contexts in order to depict the facial expression of a benevolent interlocutor (Pinault 2013: 28).

alternative to **ġar-* ‘sound’, namely: **kerH-*²³ (cf. Gk. *κόραξ* ‘crow’, Skt. *kṛkara-* ‘a kind of partridge’), **ger-* ‘id.’ (cf. §2.a) or **ġ^{her}(H)-* ‘be happy, enjoy’ (Kim 2007: 57ff.).²⁴ The latter hypothesis is weakened by the fact that verbs with a meaning ‘laugh aloud’ often go back to roots with a meaning ‘(re)sound, tone’ (Buck 1949: 1106–1108), cf. Got. *hlahjan*, Germ. *lachen*, Gk. *κλαγγή* ‘sharp sound’ to **klak-* ‘resound’ (Pinault 2013: 19); Lat. *rīdeō* ‘laugh’ (to **rih₂-d^heh₁-*, cf. Kölligan 2018: 233–234), Lith. *riėju* ‘scold’ (**reh₂[i̯]-*); Boeot. *κρίδδω* (Stattis F47.7, glossed as *γελᾶν* in Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 622), Gk. *κρίζω* ‘creak’, ON *hríka* ‘creak’, Lith. *krỹkti* ‘cry, creak’.²⁵

5 Tocharian A possesses a deverbative noun *karel*, cf.

(3) YQ I.9 a2, b3

... *śla tsärk karel* [...] [*na*]mo buddha rake *karel tsärkaśśäl ywār klyośäl tāk*

“... with musical instruments [and] *laughter* [...] the words ‘Reverence to Buddha’ [*namo Buddha*] were heard among *laughter* and music.” (Ji, Winter & Pinault 1998: 61)²⁶

23 A root **ker-* is posited by IEW: 530–531, whereas IE **kerH-* underlies Ved. *cakarmi* ‘I praise’ (LIV²: 353).

24 Peyrot (2013: 740); Malzahn (2010: 604–605); Adams (2013 s.v. *ker[y]-*). Kim (2007: 57–59) posits a denominative **ġ^{hor}-o-je-* (on this type in Lycian and Lydian, see Melchert 1997), based on a noun *ġ^hór-o-* ‘pleasure, rejoicing’. Leaving aside the semantic aspect, this would be at variance with the Common Tocharian prototype **kær’äyä/æ-* < **Cor-eje/o-*, which is required for accounting for the present stems TB *keriye-* and TA *kare-*, as reconstructed by Malzahn (2010: 605).

25 For further typological parallels, cf. Pinault (2013), who mentions Skt. *kakkhati* ‘laugh’, Lat. *cachinnus* ‘loud laugh’, Gk. *καχάζω* ‘laugh aloud’.

26 Cf. “(Mit) Musik [und] *karel* (Lachen) [...] das Wort ‘namo Buddha’ (‘Verehrung dem Buddha’) war (zusammen) mit *karel* (Lachen) (und) Musik inmitten (dazwischen) zu hören” (Thomas 1991: 18, 22). Georges-Jean Pinault points out to me that TA *tsärk* (TB *śarka*) refers to a specific musical instrument, most likely a lute, but it may apply here to an orchestra, i.e., a whole set of musical instruments.

The meaning of the term is subject of discussion, since it has been interpreted as (a) ‘laughter’ or (b) ‘drum’.

- (a) The meaning ‘laughter’ (Carling 2009: 105) can be supported by the usual meaning of *-l*-deverbative abstracts in Tocharian A, e.g., *el* ‘gift’ from *e-* ‘give’, *cmol* ‘birth’ from *täm-* ‘be born’, *śol* ‘life’ from *sāw-* ‘live’, *lkāl* ‘look’ from *läk^ā-* ‘look’. Accordingly, a deverbative noun *karel*, based on the present stem *kare-* of *kary-* ‘laugh’ should mean ‘laughter’.
- (b) The meaning ‘drum’ has been supported by Pinault (1990: 174–179) through phraseological and literary arguments²⁷ and through the comparison with TB *keru* ‘drum,’ cf. B 221 a2 *pelaikneṣṣe keresa piś-cmelaṣṣem kakātai riśc nervāṇṣai* “with the drum of the Law (*dharma*), thou hast invited those of the five births to the nirvāṇa-city.”²⁸ The semantic specialization from *‘loud/explosive sound’ to ‘drum’ is perfectly possible and easily finds support in the comparative phraseological analysis. In the Latvian as well as in the Old Indic tradition, the drum and the theme of celestial triumphal music are commonly associated to the explosive, loud sound of the thunder-gods, cf. LD (B 33703) *Pērkoṇa mātei / Deviṇi dēli: / Trīs sita bungas* “Perkon’s mother has nine sons: three play the drum,”²⁹ *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.45.28ab *tato dumḍubhi-nirghoṣaḥ parjanyaḥ* “Then Parjanya (sounded like a) drum noise.”

Meanings (a) and (b) are not incompatible. On the contrary, it is possible that a deverbative noun with a basic meaning *‘laughter’ was semantically specialized as ‘drum’. The phraseological analysis might provide complementary support for a semantic shift of this description: For example,

27 The drum is one of the musical instruments which produces the ‘celestial music’. This *topos* is widely attested in Sanskrit literature, see, e.g., Jātaka 546, Buddhacarita I 45, from which it might have been passed to Tocharian.

28 A noun of the same type as *yāṣṣu* ‘alms’, *yāṣṣuca* ‘beggar’, cf. *yāsk-* ‘beg’.

29 Latvian variants of the same *Daiṇa* support the identification of drums’ sound as ‘thunder,’ cf. LD 33704-2 *Pērkoṇa tēvam / Deviṇi dēli: / Trīs grauda* “Perkon’s father has nine sons: three thunder.”

in the *Rigveda*, Agni’s ‘crackling’ is referred to as [Agni’s] laughter, cf. RV 8.89.6ab *tát te yajñó ajāyata, tād arká utá háskṛtiḥ* “then the sacrifice was born for you, then the chant and (the fire’s) “laughter”” (Jamison & Brereton 2014).

The TA deverbative suffix *-l* is clearly athematic, as shown by the plural forms and by the TB matches, e.g. TA *cmol*, plural *cmolu* vs. TB *camel*, pl. *cmela*, TA *śol*, plural *śolāntu* vs. TB *śaul*, pl. *śaulanma*, etc. This formation goes back to a PIE type of neuter abstracts in **-l-* (Pinault 2008: 93, 341; 2020: 325, 329–330). It should be kept apart from the thematic verbal adjectives as reflected by the gerundives with suffix TB *-lle* (*-lye*) and TA *-l*. In any case, TA *karel* cannot make an equation with Latin *garrulus* ‘talkative’ (Pl. +); the latter can be explained within Italic, like other Latin deverbative nouns in *-ulus*—cf. *bibulus* ‘absorbent, fond of drinking’ to *bibō* ‘I drink’, *tremulus* ‘trembling’ to *tremō* ‘I tremble’, *crēdulus* ‘believing’ to *crēdō* ‘I believe’—it is a deverbative *nomen agentis* to *garrīō* ‘I chatter’ (Leumann 1977: 311 / § 283.1). Although TA *karel* and Lat. *garrulus* are likely to reflect parallel productive formations, no common formal antecedent can be reconstructed for the two terms.³⁰

6 To sum up: Latin *garrīō*, Old Irish *gáir*, *gáire*, TB *kery-*, TA *kary-* all belong to the semantic field ‘loud sound/utterance’ and are likely to be traced back to the same PIE root, **ġar-*. This root underlies a number of Iranian congeners, Oss. *зæлын* ‘sound’ (**ġar-īe/o-*), Oss. *зарын*, NPer. *zār-* ‘cry, shout’ (**ġor-éje-*), which preserve a meaning close to the one reconstructed for the PIE verbal root. More specifically on the Latin, Tocharian and Old Irish congeners:

- (1) Latin *garrīō* ‘I chatter’ may be explained as a denominative verb built on a *i*-stem **ġāri-*, which underlies Old Irish *gáir* ‘shout, cry’. Despite the fact that no common antecedent can be reconstructed for Lat.

30 As such, TA *karel* and Latin *garrulus* are a *Scheingleichung* and cannot be added to the dossier of Tocharian and Italic lexical items which display “a partially related lexical morphology” (Weiss 2018: 378), e.g. TA *msār* ‘difficult’, Lat. *miser* ‘wretched’ (Pinault 1998: 17), TB *akwatse* ‘sharp’, Lat. *acūtus* (Pinault 1988: 146–147).

garrulus and TA *karel*, Latin *garrulus* is a deverbative adjective which pairs with *garriō* in a similar way as TA *karel* ‘drum’ or ‘(loud) laughter’ pairs with TA *kary-* ‘laugh’, from which it is derived.

- (2) Both the Latin and the Old Irish terms allow us to reconstruct a root **ġar-* (lengthened grade **ġār-*) which can be at the basis of TB *kery-* ‘laugh’, TA *kary-* ‘id.’ (caus.-iter. cf. Oss. *зарын*) on the one hand, OIr. *gáire* ‘laughter’ on the other. To be sure, OIr. *gáire* ‘laughter’, TA *kary-*, TB *kery-* ‘laugh’ constitute a remarkable semantic match. However, given the fact that the semantic shift from ‘be loud’ to ‘laugh’ is a banal one, the hypothesis of independent semantic developments within the two different languages cannot be ruled out.

In any case, the similarities identified for the *Bildungsmuster* and for the semantics of the terms are noteworthy and speak in favor of PIE **ġar-* as underlying the Italic and Celtic terms, and, possibly, the Tocharian ones. The analyzed forms can be included in the following scheme, which now comprises verbal and nominal derivatives of PIE **ġar-*:

Pres.	* <i>ġr-ġe/o-</i>	Oss. <i>зэлын</i> ‘sound’ OIr. <i>-gair, -gaired</i> ‘call’
Caus.-iter.	* <i>ġor-ġe-</i>	Oss. <i>зарын</i> , NPers. <i>zār-</i> ‘cry, shout’ TA <i>kary-</i> ‘laugh’, B <i>kery-</i> ‘id.’
Deverb. noun		→ TA <i>karel</i> ‘laughter’
Denomin.	* <i>ġār-ġe/o-</i>	Lat. <i>garriō</i> (cf. OIr. <i>gáir</i> ‘shout’, <i>gáire</i> ‘laughter’, etc.) ³¹
Deverb. noun		→ Lat. <i>garrulus</i> ‘talkative’

31 In this connection I would like to point out the parallel between the semantic developments from ‘shout’ to ‘watch/protect (by giving the alarm)’, cf. OIr. *ingaire* ‘watch’ (**ande-gar-iġ-o-*, cf. Stüber 2015: 276–277), *garriō* ‘I chatter’ to PIE **ġar-* ‘utter a loud sound’ on the one hand and Gk. *φύλαξ* ‘watcher, guard’, Lith. *pra-bilstu* ‘begin to talk’ to PIE **b^helH-* ‘tone’ (Kölligan 2016: 127–131) on the other.

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Linacre College
 St. Cross Road, Oxford
 OX13JA
 laura.massetto7@gmail.com

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École Pratique des Hautes Études, PSL
4-14, rue Ferrus
75014 Paris
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