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Birds of a feather?

Latin *columba* 'pigeon, dove' and Greek κόλυμβος 'grebe'

Abstract: The Latin bird-name *columba* 'pigeon, dove' has often invited comparison with Proto-Slavic **gȍlǫbь* 'id.', as well as with Greek κόλυμβος 'grebe, diving bird'. However, the first comparison is formally problematic, while the second one is semantically difficult. The first section of the present paper discusses the etymology and derivational history of Lat. *columba*, concluding in favor of an IE formation probably parallel to, but not cognate with, the one reflected by Slavic. In the second section, Gk. κόλυμβος is discussed together with the verb κολυμβάω 'to dive', showing that the commonly assumed derivation of the latter from the former is unlikely. A new etymology is then proposed for this word-family, arguing that both κόλυμβος < **ḱolum-gʷ(h₂)-o-* and the unattested **κολυμβᾱ-* < **ḱolum-gʷ(h₂)-eh₂-* inferrable from κολυμβάω arose from the univerbation of a syntagm **ḱolum gʷeh₂-* 'to go covered, to submerge oneself'. These forms would then be coradical of Gk. καλύπτω 'to cover, hide', ultimately reflecting the univerbation of a different periphrasis with the same noun **ḱol-u-/*ḱel-u-* 'cover'. The proposed derivation is supported by morphosyntactic parallels across IE and by phraseological collocations of κολυμβάω and καλύπτω in Greek itself.

Keywords: Latin *columba* 'pigeon, dove', Proto-Slavic **gȍlǫbь* 'pigeon, dove', Greek κόλυμβος 'grebe, diving bird', PIE **ḱel-* 'cover, hide', light verb constructions, nominal derivation, univerbation

1 The problem

The comparison of the bird-names Lat. *columba* ~ *columbus* 'pigeon, dove' and Gk. κόλυμβος ~ κολυμβίς ~ κολυμβάς 'grebe, diving bird' is as irresistible as it is problematic. The nouns look strikingly alike at first sight, but refer to very different species, which cross-linguistically tend to follow very different naming patterns (see sections 3.1 and 3.3.1). Formally, on the other hand, the Greek and the Latin words agree almost *too well* to be of common Indo-European origin; their immediate comparison would point to a preform containing PIE *b, a notoriously rare phoneme that some could find problematic, even though – as will be shown – the most likely etymologies have *bʰ (for Latin) and either *gʷ or *bʰ (for Greek).

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The apparently straightforward correspondence Gk. υ : Lat. *u* also becomes more problematic if the latter goes back to PIE **o* (see sec. 2.1 and 3.1).

The aim of this paper is to elucidate the relationship between these nouns, starting with an evaluation of the derivational history of *columba*, and moving on to propose a novel etymological analysis of Gk. κόλυμβος.

2 Lat. *columba* 'dove, pigeon' and *palumbēs* 'wild pigeon'

Competing etymological proposals for Lat. *columba* (Plaut.+)[1] involve comparison not only with the Greek forms already mentioned, but also with potential Slavic and Armenian comparanda inside Indo-European, and even with an intriguingly similar-sounding noun in Coptic. These suggestions will be reviewed in the following paragraphs.

2.1 Slavic connections

Proto-Slav. **gȍlǫbъ* 'dove, pigeon'[2] (> OCS *golǫbъ*, Russ. *gólub'*, SCr. *gȍlūb*, etc.) seems a perfect match for the Latin, except for the unexpected initial voicing. Three basic possibilities present themselves: 1) the words are indeed cognates, with an irregular development perhaps motivated by taboo (e.g. Lockwood 1990); 2) the word was borrowed from Latin into Slavic (e.g. Szemerényi 1967: 289f.); 3) the words are two independent reflexes of a *Wanderwort* (e.g. EDSIL: 175; Kleyner 2015). In fact, as will be shown below, while both nouns may receive a satisfying analysis in terms of IE word formation, it is also possible that they represent parallel creations from different roots.

As is often observed, both the Latin and the Slavic word could contain the suffix(oid) **-bʰo-*, which is often found in names of (young) animals as well as in color adjectives (cf. Grdr.²: 2.1.386.). *Pace* de Vaan (EDL: 127), who objects that "the pre-

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1 The *o*-stem variant *columbus*, properly referring to the male animal, is also attested since Plautus.
2 See ÈSSJa: 216f. The adj. **golǫbъ* 'blue' (: Russ. *golubój*, etc.) is a derivative of the bird-name (ÈSSJa: 217; EDSIL: 175). For color terms derived from 'dove' or 'pigeon', cf. Ved. *kapóta-* 'dove' and OP *kapautaka-* 'blue', or even, in fact, Lat. *columbīnus* 'dove-colored' (Plin.). This lexeme is sometimes projected to the Balto-Slavic stage under comparison with Lith. *gelumbė* '(blue) cloth' and OPr. *golimban* 'blue'. However, it has been shown that the former just means 'cloth', and the latter might be a borrowing from Polish (cf. Lockwood 1990: 262; EDBIL: 170).

ceding syllable with a nasal consonant does not make a very IE impression," *-$b^h o$-
is not infrequently preceded by a nasal formant that can appear in different ablaut
grades. Phonologically, both Lat. -*umb*- and Proto-Slav. -*ǫb*- point to full-grade
*-*on*-b^h-.[3] The *o*-grade of the nasal formant is found before *-$b^h o$- in *$h_1 l$-*on*-$b^h o$-
(→ *$h_1 l$-*on*-$b^h es$- > PGmc. *$lambiz$- 'lamb'), an ablaut variant of *$h_1 el$-*ṇ*-$b^h o$- > Gk.
ἔλαφος 'deer', whose *n*-stem basis *$h_1 el$-*ṇ*- 'deer' survives in Gk. ἐλλός, Arm. *ełn*,
Lith. *élnis*, OCS *jelenь*, MW *elain*, Toch. A *yäl*, B *yal* 'gazelle'. As often suggested,
the root of *columba* may well be that of *color* '(dark) color, hue':[4] either *$\acute{k}el$- 'cover,
hide' (IEW: 553f.; LIV²: 322f.; Matasović 2013: 42f.), as traditionally believed (cf.
Ved. *várṇa*- 'color' ← *var*- 'to cover'), or *$\acute{k}u̯el$- 'dark, black' as proposed by Höfler
(2015). The former has the advantage of probably possessing an independently
attested *n*-stem derivative in Gk. κελαινός 'black, dark' < *$\acute{k}el$-*ṇ*-*i̯ó*-. One could
thus reconstruct for Latin a preform *$\acute{k}(u̯)ol$-*on*-$b^h o$- 'dark/grey (bird)', or even
*$\acute{k}(u̯)el$-*on*-$b^h o$- with *e* > *o* before *l pinguis*. Since both *$\acute{k}el$- and *$\acute{k}u̯el$- are impossible
to reconcile with the anlaut of *$g\grave{o}lǫbъ$, it is probably better to take the Slavic form
as a parallel construction based on a different root, for instance *$g^h leh_1$- 'glow, be
bright' (Neri 2016: 14).

That at some point in the history of Latin *columba* was analyzed as containing
the root of *color* is suggested by its almost-synonym *palumbēs/-is* (Plaut.+) 'wild
pigeon',[5] which seems to contain the root of *palleō* 'be pale', *pallidus* 'pale', *pallor*
'paleness'. This root is usually identified with PIE *pel*- 'grey' (IEW: 804f.), which
provides many nominal forms in IE languages,[6] including other names of the
pigeon: OPrus. *poalis* 'pigeon' < *$p\bar{o}li$-, Gk. πέλεια 'wild pigeon' (with the derivative
πελειάς -άδος) < *$pelei̯$-ih_2 or *$peleu̯$-ih_2, and περιστερά 'pigeon', dissimilated from
*πελιστερά < *$pelit$-*terā* (cf. πελιτ-νός 'livid', Rémy Viredaz, p.c.) under the influence
of compounds in περι-. Lat. *palleō* 'be pale', however, implies a nominal basis
*pal-u̯o- 'pale, grey', comparable to PGerm. *$falwa$- 'pale', Lith. *paĩvas* 'dun, pale

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3 Cf. e.g. Lat. *umbilīcus* 'navel' < *$ombVl$- < *$h_3 ṇbh$-Vl- (: Gk. ὀμφαλός); Proto-Sl. *$z\^{ǫ}bъ$ 'tooth' <
*$\acute{g}ombho$- (: Ved. *jámbha*-).
4 Schrijver (1991: 42) hesitantly suggested *(s)kel- 'white' of Lat. *călidus* 'with a white mark on
the forehead'. Mata Oroval's (2017: 59–63) derivation of *columba* from the root of Lat. *collus* 'neck'
(PIE *kwel(H)- 'to turn'?), after the distinctive neck rings of most columbids, is interesting and
phonologically possible; however, the root etymology of *collus* is not completely certain, and a
preform *kwe/ol(H)-on-bho- would have meant *per se* something like 'turning (animal)' (!).
5 With the later byforms *palumbus* (Cato+), *palumba* (Iuvenc.+).
6 Cf. Lat. *pullus* 'drab-colored, sombre' < *$p(o)lu̯o$-, Gk. πελλός 'dark, black' < *pel-$i̯ó$-, πελιός
'livid, dark, dull' < *pel-i-$u̯ó$-, πολιός, Myc. *po-ri-wa* 'grey, white' < *pol-i-$u̯ó$-, Skt. *pali-tá*- 'grey',
páliknī < *$pál$-it-$nī$ 'id.' = Gk. πελιτνός (-δν-) 'livid', Skt. *paruṣá*-, YAv. *pouruša*- < *pel-u-$só$-, Arm.
alik' 'waves; grey hair' < *$pḷli$-o- (or *$pól$-ih_2-/*$pḷ$-$i̯éh_2$-?), OIr. *líath* 'grey' < *$plei̯$-to-. Many of these
forms are derived from the abstract *i*- and *u*-stem nouns *pe/ol-i/u- 'grey color, paleness'.

yellow', OCS *plavъ* 'whitish'. Nussbaum (1997: 190f.) prefers to keep this formation apart from the other derivatives of **pel-* on both formal and semantic grounds, and is in the end agnostic as to whether they are ultimately from 'the same' root. Formally, the problem is that while Germanic and Balto-Slavic forms could go back to either **poluo-* or **paluo-*, Latin can only reflect the latter.

Lockwood (1990), tentatively followed by de Vaan (EDL: 442), suggested that *palumbēs* is an alteration of an older **palēs* (-*is*) after *columbus*. This **palēs*,[7] if derived from **pel-* 'grey', might reflect a Lindeman variant of a hysterokinetic *i*-stem noun **pl̥l-éi̯-*, or even a non-Lindeman form **pl̥H-ēi̯-* or **pal-ēi̯-* if from a separate root **pelH-* or **pal-*, respectively.[8] However, while Latin *i*-stem nouns with nom. sg. in *-ēs* do include a small group of animal names, their origins are quite mixed: *uolpēs* 'fox' does probably reflect an *i*-stem **(H)u̯l̥p-i-*,[9] but *uerrēs* 'boar' was originally an *n*-stem **u̯(e)rs-en-* (: Skt. *vŕ̥ṣan-* 'manly; male animal', Gk. ἄρσην, ἔρσην 'male'), possibly the recharacterization of a nom. sg. **u̯(e)rsēn > *u̯errē*.[10] So, an ancient **palēs*, while possible, does not *per se* imply derivation from an *i*-stem. It is also conceivable that **palēs*, like *uerrēs*, reflected an old *n*-stem **pl̥(H)-en-*, to which **pl̥(H)-on-bʰo- > palumbus* stood in the same derivational relationship as **u̯(e)rs-n̥-bʰo-* (: Skt. *(v)r̥ṣabhá-* 'bull', Gk. **εἰραφο-* 'bull' → Εἰραφιώτης/Ἐρρ-, epithet of Dionysus) to **u̯(e)rs-en-*.[11]

2.2 Armenian connections

Arm. *aławni* (*ea*-stem) 'pigeon, dove' and *salam(b)* (*a*-stem) 'partridge, francolin' have both been connected to the Latin words under discussion. De Lamberterie (1979) rightly rejected the derivation of *aławni* from **albʰ-* 'white',[12] tracing it back to the 'grey' root **pel-*, and reconstructing the ending *-wni* as **-tn-ih₂* after Ved. *páliknī* (< **-itnī*), Gk. πελιτνός. This account left the medial *-a-* unexplained. Klingenschmitt (1982: 68 n. 11) accepted de Lamberterie's root etymology but reconstructed **pl̥H-bʰ-n-ih₂*. This accounts for the medial *-a-*, assuming that PIE **CRHC*

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7 Arguably distinct from the etymologically obscure *Pălēs -is* (Varro+), a goddess of shepherds and pastures.

8 But see below against a *seṭ*-root **pelH-*.

9 Cf. IIr. **lup-i-* (> Av. *urupi-* 'marten'), **lau̯p-i-* (> Av. *raopi-* 'fox'); see de Vaan 2000.

10 Two other animal names, *fēlēs* 'wild cat' and *mēlēs* 'badger', have no etymology.

11 Under this scenario, *palumbēs* could have arisen from contamination of **palēs* not with *columba/-us*, but with *palumbus* itself. But the later attestation of *palumbus* is an obstacle to this reconstruction.

12 For older hypotheses see Ačaṙean, HAB: 1, 123a.

produced Arm. *CaRaC*, as is likely at least for some contexts.[13] Martirosyan (EDAIL: 29–31) slightly modifies Klingenschmitt's reconstruction, proposing that *aławni* and *palumbus* go back to a 'Mediterranean' *n*-stem nom. *$pl̥h_2$-b^h-ōn-* (> PArm. *aławun*), gen. *$pl̥h_2$-b^h-n-os* (> Lat. *palumbus*). As a parallel case, Martirosyan suggests that *salam(b)* and *columba*, possibly also κόλυμβος, reflect a 'Mediterranean' *ḱol(o)m-b^h (e)h_2*.

It seems more prudent to leave the latter comparison aside, if nothing else because of the difference in meaning between all three terms.[14] As regards the alleged common preform of *aławni* and *palumbes*, it depends on the possibility of reconstructing a root-final laryngeal: *aławni* seems to require it, while *palumbēs* would favor *$pl̥H$-*, but a Lindeman variant *$pl̥l$-V-* is also possible, as discussed above.[15] Even more troubling is the fact that Lat. *palleō* rules out a laryngeal, since *$pl̥H$-u̯o-* would have vocalized to *palau̯o- > *palu̯o-* after the assimilation of inherited *-lu̯- > -ll-* (Nussbaum 1997: 197f. n. 62). The evidence from other branches is inconclusive. A laryngeal is required by Alb. *plak* 'old' < *$pl̥H$-ko-* '(the) grey (one)', possibly cognate with Lith. *pìlkas* 'grey' (Sergio Neri, p.c.); on the other hand, PCelt. *$\varphi l\bar{e}to$-* (: OIr. *líath* 'grey') rules out *$pl̥H$-ei̯-*, unless one assumes Schwebeablaut *plei̯H-* (EDPC: 133f.). The Baltic evidence is ambiguous: Lithuanian has an acute in *pálšas* 'light grey' but not in *pal̃vas* 'pale' (a variant *pálvas* is of doubtful attestation); Derksen (EDBIL: 348) proposes a separate *seṭ* root *$pelh_1$-* 'to burn' for *pálšas*, *pìlkas* and *pelenaĩ* 'ashes'.

There is another possible argument against a common preform for *aławni* and *palumbes*. Hyllested (2009: 206) observed that the suffix(oid) *-b^h-(o)-* never occurs after roots beginning with a labial stop. If this dissimilatory constraint was valid for the proto-language, then *$pl̥H$-b^h-n-* or *$pl̥H$-n-b^h-* is impossible at the PIE stage, and one would be forced to look for separate explanations for the Latin and Armenian forms.[16] After all, a close match is not especially to be expected here to begin with: word-equations in bird names are rare across IE, and no two branches have the same word for 'dove, pigeon' apart from this alleged case.[17] For *aławni*, at any rate, alternative etymologies are available; see now Gippert (2017), who defends

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[13] The matter is far from settled; see most recently Kocharov 2018.

[14] Additionally, *salam(b)* must be separated from *columba* if the latter is from *ḱu̯el-*, as Neri (2016) remarks.

[15] The same goes for *palūs -ūdis* 'marsh, swamp', sometimes connected to this group.

[16] The Latin form would not be problematic if it secondarily copied the suffix of *columba*.

[17] See Greppin in EIEC *s.vv.* *Birds* and *Dove*.

with new arguments Olsen's (1999: 776) reconstruction *$h_2lh_3b^h(-ih_1-nio)$-,[18] and perhaps more convincingly Ronzitti (2015: 135f.), who defends the root etymology from *pel(H)- 'grey' but reconstructs *$pl̥h_2$-e-u̯ēn-ii̯eh₂ comparing Skt. párāvata- 'pigeon' < *pḗ/ólh₂-o-u̯ont-o-.

2.3 The Egyptian connection

Experts in the Coptic language have repeatedly observed the similarity between *columba*, *gòl̥ǫbъ* and Sahidic ϭⲣⲟⲟⲙⲡⲉ *kʸroompe*, Bohairic ϭⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ *kʸrompi* 'pigeon, dove' < Demotic *grmp* < Old Egyptian *gr-n-p.t*, lit. 'bird of the heaven' (a folk-etymology? Crum 1939: 828b; Černý 1976: 335; Vycichl 1983: 346). It has been suggested that the 'European' words are a loan from the Middle Egyptian word ancestral to the Coptic forms (Lefort 1931; Peust 1999: 280 n. 356), or that they are all (nativized) loans from an unknown donor language (Worrell 1934: 67; but see *contra* Cohen 1938: 181f.). Such a scenario would somehow resemble, for instance, that of Old Egyptian *ḥrr* 'lily' > Copt. F. ⲉⲗⲏⲗⲓ *hlēli*, S. ϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ *hrēre*, B. ϩⲣⲏⲣⲓ *hrēri*, independently borrowed as Gk. λείριον and Lat. *līlium*.

A joint diffusion of both name and animal from Egypt would not be implausible historically, since the domesticated dove was not native to Europe and seems to have come from North Africa and the Near East. There is ancient evidence for tame pigeons in Egypt, and they may well have reached southern Europe from there. One is reminded of the myth about the Πέλειαι 'Doves' (= priestesses) of Dodona having flown there from Egyptian Thebes (Hdt. 2.55–57, etc.), though this is usually explained after the grey color of their hair, or possibly because of "the oracle's site in a mountainous area with cliffs to attract the Rock Dove and trees to attract the Stock Dove" (Arnott 2007: 170).[19] Moreover, the very case of Gk. κόλυμβος, to be discussed in the remainder of this paper, warns us that a chance resemblance cannot be ruled out.

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18 Gippert discards the traditional comparison with Hesych. α 3382 C. ἀλωφούς· λευκούς (probably a ghost form), and compares instead Caucasian Albanian *luf* 'dove' < Proto-Lezgic *laf* < Proto-Arm. *(ə)ləv-.

19 On the epithet πέλειαι see also Robert 1911: 48–51; Thompson 1936: 229f.; Mynott 2018: 326f.

3 Gk. κόλυμβος 'diver' and κολυμβάω 'to dive, swim'

The Greek bird-names κόλυμβος, κολυμβίς and κολυμβάς designated one or more birds characterized by their habit of diving under water, most likely the little grebe or dabchick (*Tachybaptus ruficollis*) and similar species such as the black-necked grebe (*Podiceps nigricollis*), the great crested grebe (*P. cristatus*) and the red-necked grebe (*P. grisegena*, Thompson 1936: 158; Pollard 1977: 70; Arnott 2007: 106). It is generally agreed that these nouns are derivationally connected to the verb κολυμβάω 'to dive, swim' (?Alcm., Anacr.+),[20] with its compounds and derivatives (e.g. κολυμβήθρα 'pool, cistern', κολύμβησις 'diving', κολυμβητήρ/-τής 'diver'); the nature and direction of the derivation will be discussed in sec. 3.2. For the verbal stem, a dialectal variant κολυμφᾶν is attributed to Doric by ancient grammatical sources.[21] That the stem κολυμφᾱ- was linguistically real in at least some Doric-speaking areas is suggested by the following evidence:

- Sophr. *fr.* 4d K.-A. σπατιλοκολύμφευ | μ.ς (: -εῦμες Gallavotti) 'we're swimming in the shit', a "comically grandiose compound" (Hordern 2004: 140) arguably reflecting a local Syracusan Doric variant *κολυμφέω.[22]
- An inscription from the gymnasium of Delphi (*BCH* 23: 564–566 = *SEG* 27: 119 = *CID* 4 n° 57, mid 3rd c. BC) τοῦ [κο]λυμφ[αίου "of the swimming-pool" (l. 44).[23]

On the other hand, the variant κολύμφατος for κολύμβατος 'a kind of shrub' sometimes adduced as proof of 'substrate variation' is a ghost form. The lemma at Hesych. κ 3402 C. κολύμφατος· φλοιός. λεπίδιον is a corrupt variant (possibly under the influence of the three consecutive lemmata in κολυμβ- at 3398–3400) of the lemma κ 3405 κολύφανον· φλοιός. λεπύριον 'bark, capsule', itself a (merely textual?) variant of κελύφανον ← κέλῡφος 'sheath'.

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20 A lost work entitled *Κολυμβῶσαι* 'The Divers' (or 'Swimmers'?) is ascribed to Alcman by Ptolemaeus Chennus *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 190 p. 151a 4–20 and by *Sud.* α 1289 A. If the title does go back to Alcman, the first attestation of the verb would be backdated from the 6th to the 7th century BC. On the attribution, date and meaning of this work see now Ornaghi 2019.

21 Cf. *EM* 526.2, going back, by way of Orion 83.30, to the grammarian Heraclides (1st century AD).

22 With the West Greek passage of verbs in -άω to the conjugation in -έω; cf. Latte 1949: 227; Buck 1955: 125; Willi 2008: 128.

23 The restitution, virtually certain, is due to Homolle (1899). Note that no Attic or Koiné equivalent *κολυμβαιον is attested: the word for 'swimming pool' was κολυμβήθρα (Pl.+).

This word-family has remained hitherto etymologically obscure. Notwithstanding the surface similarity of κόλυμβος to Lat. *columba*,[24] most authorities are rightly skeptical of a direct relationship, in view of both formal and semantic problems (see IEW: 2, 547; Walde & Hofmann 1938–1956: 249; DELL: 134; GEW: 1, 905f.; DELG: 559). Most recently, Beekes (EDG: 1, 741) considers the Greek word to be Pre-Greek on account of the (real or alleged) variant forms with -μφ- and -βδ-.[25]

3.1 Comparison with Lat. *columba*

Formally, the sequence -υμβ- poses some serious phonological obstacles. Since -υN- can hardly reflect $*$-$\underset{\circ}{N}$- in a native Greek word, it must go back to a full-grade $*$-oN-, which would agree with the Latin. However, while it is now generally accepted that Gk. *u* can reflect PIE $*o$ in 'Cowgill's Law' environments, it is doubtful that these included /l_N/.[26] The voiced stop, on the other hand, might be accounted for by the rule of postnasal deaspiration formulated by Miller (1977),[27] whereby (Pre-)PGk. $*$-ND^h- > -ND- after an accented vowel (cf. ὄμβρος 'rain' < $*ó$-nb^h-ro- :: ἀφρός 'foam' < $*\underset{\circ}{n}b^h$-$ró$-, θρόμβος 'clot' < $*d^hró$-n-b^h-o- :: τρέφω 'thicken' < $*dreb^h$-e/o-). In fact, this rule would have the advantage of offering a principled explanation for the variant κολυμφᾱ-. Rather than admitting unconstrained oscillation between $*kolump^ho$ and $*kolumb^o$,[28] one could assume that at the predialectal stage Miller's rule regularly produced deaspiration in recessively-accented $*kólumb^ho$- > $*kólumbo$-, but not in hypothetical cognate forms that were oxytone, like e.g. $*kolumb^hó$- or $*kolumb^h\acute{a}$-. Some dialects would then have generalized the unaspirated variant, others the aspirated one. However, it is questionable that Pre-PGk. $*kólumb^ho$- would have been affected by deaspiration; the precise conditioning of the rule is

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24 Incidentally, Alessio (1936: 196) proposed that It. *palombaro* 'deep-sea diver' is a calque of Gk. κολυμβητής 'diver', influenced by the 'popular' equivalence κόλυμβος = *columbus* (= *palumbes*) in areas of Greek-Latin bilingualism. This is quite uncertain (see DELI: 1118f. with references, preferring the origin from Lat. *palumbarius* 'hawk who attacks doves'), but it would show that the similarity was perceived by speakers; see further n. 43 for a possible instance of trans-linguistic wordplay.

25 But the *hapax legomenon* κολύβδαινα 'a kind of crustacean' (Epich. *fr.* 49.1; *vv.ll.* κολύγδαινα, μολύβδαινα) is probably a corrupt reading for κολύμβαινα (Archig. *ap.* Gal. 13.174), which can be a derivative of κολυμβάω with the suffix -αινα of lowly animals.

26 On the environments of Cowgill's Law see Vine 1999.

27 See Kümmel 2013: 168–170 for a recent defense.

28 The parallel of κορυφή 'top' :: κόρυμβος 'id.', adduced by Hajnal (2005: 198) is not precise, since these had different suffixes from the start; see sec. 3.3.

still *sub iudice*, but the strongest evidence comes from cases where the accent was on an *immediately* preceding vowel.[29]

On the semantic side, it is hard to imagine that a word for 'dove, pigeon' would have shifted its meaning to 'grebe', or *vice versa*, *pace* Scheller (1961: 149). For the same reason, the hypothesis of an old borrowing in either direction is also not very likely. At most, it could be conceived that PIE had a formation $*\acute{k}e/ol\text{-}e/on\text{-}b^ho\text{-}$ with a generic meaning 'dark-/grey-colored (animal)', which was independently applied to different species in different daughter languages.[30] However, while color might be a typical naming motif for columbids, it is not so for grebes.

3.2 A closer look at the Greek words

Cross-linguistically, in fact, the names of the grebe and similar birds usually allude to their habit of diving under water, not to their color (Lockwood 1990). A case in point is the Latin word for 'grebe', *mergus*, an agent noun to *mergō* 'dip, plunge (in water); cover, bury, immerse, drown' (PIE $*mesg\text{-}$).[31] From modern European languages, one may cite e.g. Germ. *(Lappen)taucher* (← *tauchen*), It. *tuffetto* (← *tuffarsi*), Port. *mergulhão* (← *mergulhar*), all transparent derivatives of verbs meaning 'to dive'.[32] Other kinds of waterfowl show similar naming motifs. So, Eng. *duck* (< OE *dŭce*) is ultimately derived from *to duck* (< OE $*d\bar{u}can$), whose primary and oldest sense is "to plunge or dive, or suddenly go down under water, and emerge again; to dip the head rapidly under water" (OED: s.v.). The Greek name of the duck, Ion. νῆσσα, Att. νῆττα, Dor. νᾶσσα, is probably connected to νήχω 'swim'.[33] Interestingly, while properly referring to the mallard, νῆσσα was also occasionally used for other swimming birds, including the grebe. To these may be added two

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29 As I hope to show on another occasion, the deaspiration rule applied to $*\text{-}\acute{V}ND^h\text{-}$, but probably not to $*\text{-}\acute{V}CVND^h\text{-}$.

30 See most recently Neri (2016: 14), who reconstructs a proto-meaning "dunkelgestreiftes Tier" for the ancestor of Lat. *columba*, Arm. *salamb*, Gk. κόλυμβος and even κόλαβρος 'piglet'.

31 The name was used for a number of species characterized by diving, including mews, gulls and cormorants; see Arnott 1964: 257–260. The etymology was clear to the Romans: cf. Varro *LL* 5.78 **mergus** quod **mergendo** in aquam captat escam, Ov. *Met.* 11.795 aequor amat, nomenque tenet quia **mergitur** illo.

32 While the etymology of French *grèbe* (> Eng. *grebe*) is unknown, Eng. *dabchick* (*dap-*, *dop-*, *dip-*) and *dopper* are apparently connected with the ablauting root of *dip*, *deep* (see OED: s.vv.).

33 See Rix 1991 (PIE $*h_2\acute{e}nh_2\text{-}t\text{-}$ 'duck' » Pre-PGk. $*sn\acute{e}h_2\text{-}t\text{-}$ after $*sneh_2\text{-}$ 'swim'); similarly Katz 2004, connecting also Hitt. *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)-*. Stiles (2016: 444) concedes that 'swimmer' and 'diver' are the usual naming motifs for ducks, but proposes to derive $*h_2\acute{e}nh_2\text{-}t\text{-}$ from $*h_2enh_2\text{-}$ 'breathe' since ducks may be viewed as 'breathing' underwater.

unidentified but transparent Greek bird-names, δυτῖνος (Dion. *de av.* 2.13, 3.24) ←
δύ(ν)ω 'to dive; to plunge, sink' and δύπτης (Call.+) ← δύπτω 'to dive in'.

The ubiquity of this naming pattern invites us to reconsider the direction of
the derivational relationship to κολυμβάω 'dive'. The common assumption in the
etymological dictionaries, which in fact goes back to antiquity,[34] is that the verb is
denominal to κόλυμβος 'grebe'.[35] There is, admittedly, at least one parallel case,
although surprisingly unmentioned by proponents of this derivation. The Ibero-
Romance verbs for 'submerging', Port. *mergulhar*, Gal. *mergullar*, Sp. *somorgujar*,
reflect a Vulg. Lat. *(sub-)merguliare* ← *mergulio, -ōnis* ← Lat. *mergulus* (Vulg.), a
diminutive of *mergus* 'grebe', itself of course deverbal to *mergō* 'to plunge, dive'.[36]
However, in light of the strong cross-linguistic tendency outlined above, this deriva-
tional trajectory is *a priori* less likely than the opposite one. Suspicions are also
raised by an overlooked morphological point: were a denominal verb derived
from the attested name(s) of the grebe, one would rather expect *κολυμβίζω (←
κολυμβιδ-), *κολυμβάζω (← κολυμβαδ-), or *κολυμβέω, *-εύω (← κολυμβο-).[37] Of
course, κολυμβάω *does* look denominal, but the null hypothesis is that its basis
was an (unattested) *ā*-stem *κολυμβᾱ-, although derivation from an *o*-stem may

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34 Cf. Alex. Mynd. *fr.* 20 W. (= Ath. 9.395de) τῆς δὲ νήττης καὶ κολυμβάδος, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ νήχεσθαι
καὶ κολυμβᾶν εἴρηται '…the duck (*nētta*) and the grebe (*kolymbas*), from which the verbs *nēkhesthai*
and *kolymban* are derived'. The former derivation is of course linguistically untenable (at most, it
is νῆττα that derives from, or was influenced by, the root of νήχω), and there is no reason to be
any more confident about the latter. For a similarly motivated folk-etymology, cf. Varro *LL* 5.78
dicta … anas a nando.
35 So, explicitly, Pokorny (IEW: 547) and Chantraine (DELG: 559) ("Toute l'histoire de ces mots est
issue de κόλυμβος nom d'oiseau"); implicitly also Frisk and Beekes, by lemmatizing κόλυμβος and
treating 'denominal' κολυμβάω under its derivatives. This view is shared, among others, by Kajava
(1999: 36), who includes κολυμβάω among "denominatives deriving from the names of animals."
36 See Malkiel 1946. Even this story may not be so simple, though. Lat. *mergulus* is also attested
with the meaning 'wick of a lamp', which would be hard to take as derived from the bird-name.
What the two have in common is the "idea […] of placing something beneath the surface (either of
the sea, or of the oil in the lamp […])" (Malkiel 1946: 151). This rather suggests an agentive reading
for the suffix *-lo-*, which in Latin deverbal derivatives is often found in instrument names as well
as in names of animals, especially birds (Zucchelli 1970: 40f.). Taking *mergulus* as a *nomen agentis*
to *mergō*, rather than a diminutive of *mergus*, makes the case of *(sub)merguliare* less relevant
to the alleged derivation of κολυμβάω from the 'grebe' word, and if anything more similar to the
different derivation that will be proposed below.
37 Cf. Kajava 1999: esp. 52f.: agentive verbs derived from animal names in Greek usually have the
suffixes -άζω, -ίζω, sometimes -εύω, seldom -άω or -έω. Some verbs in -άω go back, as expected, to
a-stems (e.g. ἀραχνάομαι 'to weave the spider's web' ← ἀράχνη 'spider'), a few to *o*-stems: κολῳάω
(*Il.* 2.212) 'to cry' ← perh. κολοιός 'jackdaw' (but the long diphthong is problematic), οἰστράω
(trag., Pl., Arist.) 'to sting' ← οἶστρος 'horsefly'.

not be definitely excluded.[38] Nonetheless, one could surmise that this *κολυμβᾱ-
was just another, accidentally unattested variant of the 'grebe' word (cf. *columba* ~
-us). But a closer look at the attested variants shows that 'grebe' was not even the
likely original meaning of κόλυμβος itself.

a) **κόλυμβος**, in fact, is classically attested in the sense 'grebe' only by Ar. *Ach.*
876 κολύμβως (Bentley : -ους codd.) as an item in the extravagant list of wares
brought to Athens by the Theban merchant.[39] This is a passage in Boeotian
dialect which could reflect a regionalism corresponding to Att. κολυμβίς (used
by Aristophanes himself at *Av.* 304) and "less Att." (in the words of LSJ⁹: 974)
κολυμβάς. Much more frequent, even though attested later, is the abstract/ac-
tion meaning 'act of diving or swimming' (Strab.+). In this sense the noun is
usually taken as an inverse derivative of κολυμβάω. The noun came to mean
also a place for diving or swimming, i.e. a vat or swimming-pool (Theodorid. *ap.*
Ath. 6.229a,[40] Heron. *de mens.* 19, *Sud.* π 1669 A., Pelag. Alch. 255).[41] This is a
natural semantic development from the action/abstract sense, very closely par-
alleled by English *bath* 'I. The action of bathing; the state of being bathed [...]
II. The liquid or element in which one bathes [...] III. A receptacle, apartment,
or place for bathing' (OED: s.v.).
On the other hand, an agentive meaning 'diver, swimmer' is almost never
unambiguously attested: *Or. Sib.* 5.335 ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντι κολύμβῳ is ambiguous
between 'swimmer' and 'diving bird';[42] Plut. *septem* 163a χαίρει δὲ καὶ νήξεσι
παίδων καὶ **κολύμβοις** ἁμιλλᾶται most likely means '(dolphins) also take de-
light in children's swimming, and vie with them **in diving**', not '...they compete
with swimmers and **divers**' (*pace* TGL: s.v.); cf. Paus. 2.35.1 ἁμίλλης κολύμβου
'swimming competition'. The glosses in Hesych. κ 3400 C. κόλυμβοι· ... ζωΰφια
ἐν κολυμβήθραις 'little animals in water-tanks' and *Sud.* κ 1975 A. κόλυμβος· ὁ
τοῦ λουτροῦ "that of the bath" are unclear, though they could refer to animal
and human 'swimmers/divers' respectively.

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38 Most apparent cases of verbs in -άω derived from *o*-stems, however, are best explained as
based on parallel stems in -ᾱ, or from confusion with denominatives in -έω; see Tucker 1990:
245–250.

39 The *o*-stem is much later taken up by Dion. *de av.* 2.13.

40 This one-verse fragment is of difficult interpretation, but dat. sg. κολύμβῳ here probably refers
to a boiling vat; see Seelbach 1964: 131f.

41 This sense is well-attested also for the Late Latin loan *colymbus*; see TLL: s.v. and Gnilka 2005:
72f.

42 Geffcken (1902: 210) conjectured ἰχθυόωντι and translated "zum fischenden Tauchervogel".

b) **κολυμβίς** (Ar., Arist.+) was, as already stated, the usual name of the grebe in Attic and the Koiné. It apparently functions as an adjective with agentive meaning in Arat. 296 ἴκελοι δὲ **κολυμβίσιν** αἰθυίῃσιν 'like **diving** shearwaters'.[43]

c) **κολυμβάς** is usually found in the substantivized fem. pl. κολυμβάδες (*scil.* ἐλαῖαι) referring to pickled olives, 'swimming' or 'submerged' in brine (Diph. *ap.* Ath. 2.546b+). It appears as a synonym of κολυμβίς only in Ath. 9.395e, while Galen (14.18) mentions κολυμβάς as another name of the plant more commonly known as στοιβή 'thorny burnet' (*Sarcopoterium spinosum*).[44]

In an acute excursus on the history of these nouns, Scheller (1961: 148f.) remarked that, even though the two eventually became synonymous, κολυμβάς is deverbal, a "Quasipartizip" to κολυμβάω (cf. φοιτάς 'roaming about' ← φοιτάω 'go to and fro'), whereas κολυμβίς must have been originally a derivative of κόλυμβος, with a diminutive force (cf. μαχαιρίς 'knife' ← μάχαιρα 'large knife, dagger') or indicating something similar to the base word (cf. ἀλωπεκίς 'fox-dog hybrid' ← ἀλώπηξ 'fox'), or even without a tangible semantic difference (cf. πλημ(μ)υρίς 'flood-tide' ← πλήμυρα 'id.'). According to Scheller, this implies that a κόλυμβος with the meaning 'grebe' must once have existed also in Attic to provide the derivational basis for κολυμβίς. On the other hand, one may add that nouns in -ιδ- were also sometimes derived from verbal roots or their action nouns (λοπίς 'scale, bark', λεπίς 'id.' ← λοπός 'peel(ing)', λέπω 'to peel', see Chantraine 1933: 338), so it cannot be ruled out that the Attic bird-name was extracted directly from κολυμβάω or from κόλυμβος 'act of diving'.

Now, for the reasons already stated above it would be semantically more desirable to derive Boeotian (and Old Attic?) κόλυμβος 'grebe', through a sense 'diver', from (the root of) κολυμβάω rather than *vice versa*. This view, though opposite to the one of etymological dictionaries, is endorsed by some scholars (Colvin 1999: 243 *ad* Ar. *Ach.* 876; Olson 2008: 338 n. 173 *ad* Ath. 9.395e.), and most significantly by those with a competence in both Classics and ornithology, such as

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43 Interestingly, if Verg. *Aen.* 2.516 ***praecipites** atra ceu tempestate **columbae*** is an allusion to this passage, Vergil seems to have split the word κολυμβίσιν into *praecipites* – the proper translation – and *columbae* – a paronomasia – as suggested by Kayachev (2017).

44 Cf. κολύμβατος (*Geop.* 2.4.1), mentioned as one of several plants that grow in wet places and were thought to signal the presence of underground water (Lelli 2010: 1, 427) – thus a plant that grew partially *submerged* (Strömberg 1940: 113, with several parallels). Dalby (2010: 71 n. 1) proposes to identify it with the great burnet (*Sanguisorba officinalis*). On the other hand, the thorny burnet does not seem to be especially associated with wet habitats (*pace* Lelli, *l.c.*, who speaks of "giunco lacustre"). Maybe Galen, or his source, confused it with the great burnet?

Thompson (1936: 158) and Arnott (2007: 106). This leaves us with the problem of explaining κολυμβάω. In fact, Scheller admitted that κόλυμβος, instead of being related to *columba*, might be derived from a verbal root meaning 'to dive', possibly of substrate origin on account of the variation -μβ- ~ -μφ- ~ -βδ-. Scheller ultimately rejected this idea because he found the clear denominative character of κολυμβάω hard to reconcile with the borrowing hypothesis. But while animal names are very often borrowed from substrate languages, a verbal root meaning 'to plunge, dive' is a less likely candidate for borrowing (even though It. *tuffare* 'to dip, plunge', *tuffarsi* 'to dive' is admittedly a loan from Langobardic **taufan*). It is therefore legitimate to look for a possible IE etymology of this word-family.

3.3 Morphological analysis

An analysis of the putative derivational basis of κολυμβάω may start from looking at nouns of a similar structure. Even though suffixes of the shape -VμβV- are often typical of the 'Pre-Greek' lexicon, a native etymology is still possible in some cases. Especially interesting due to their close formal similarity to κόλυμβος and the putative **κολυμβ$\bar{\alpha}$-* are the nouns κόρυμβος 'uppermost point, top (of a hill, etc.)', n. pl. κόρυμβα 'terminal ornaments of a ship', and κορύμβη* 'top-knot'.[45] These were analysed by Janda (2005: 265f.) as compounds arising from univerbation of the PIE phrase **ḱórum gʷeh₂-* 'to get to the top' → **ḱorum-gʷh₂-o-* 'where one gets to the top' > 'topmost (point)'. The *u*-stem noun **ḱór-u-* 'top', in composition with different verbal roots, also gives rise to Gk. κόρυς, -υθος, 'helmet' < **ḱoru-dʰ(h₁)-o-* 'placed on the top' and κορυφή, κόρυφος 'head, top' < **ḱoru-bʰ(h₂)-éh₂-/-o-* 'appearing on/as the top'.[46] Modifying slightly this reconstruction, Balles (2009) posits a compound **ḱrum-gʷh₂-o-* (> PCelt. **krumbo-* > OIr. *cruind*, MW *crwm* 'bent') ~ **ḱorum-gʷh₂-o-/-éh₂* (> κόρυμβος/-η) 'going bent, making a curve' > 'crooked, arched', univerbated from the syntagm **ḱór(h₂)um gʷeh₂-* lit. 'to go bent', with a 'content' or adverbial accusative of **ḱór(h₂)-u-* 'horn, bend'. These cases attest to the possibility that Greek preserves old compounds going back to univerbated "light verb constructions" with the root **gʷeh₂-* 'to go' and an accusative argument.[47]

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45 Nom. pl. κόρυμβαι is actually a *hapax* used by the 6th-century poet Asius (*fr.* 13.4 *ap.* Ath. 12.525e).

46 On this cluster of Greek forms built on PIE **ḱóru-/*ḱeru-* 'horn' see Nussbaum 1986: 9–15; on the pair κορυφή :: κόρυθ-, see Vegas Sansalvador 1999: 289; Hyllested 2009: 205.

47 On "light verb constructions" in IE see Hackstein 2002; 2012; Schutzeichel 2014; Sadovski 2018: 173–183, all with further references. For other constructions with a fossilized accusative as first member, cf. Gk. κυλίνδω, -ομαι (Att. κυλινδέω, -έομαι) 'roll' ← **kwolh₁im dʰeh₁-* (or **deh₃-?*)

This suggests that κόλυμβος (and the *κολυμβᾱ- ideally needed as starting point for κολυμβάω) might be analyzed along similar lines, as compounds of an accusative first member *$kolu$-m and the root *$g^w eh_2$-. Luckily, the first member is not purely hypothetical, since it is possible to reconstruct a u-stem abstract noun *$ḱól$-u-/*$ḱél$-u- 'covering' (← *$ḱel$- 'to cover, hide') which has left several derivatives in Greek,[48] including some univerbated compounds whose derivational history is now convincingly explained by Merritt (2021). He shows that a periphrasis *$ḱéluh_1$-$b^h uH$- 'be(come) with cover' is ultimately reflected both by the s-stem noun κέλῡφος 'sheath, case, husk, pod' < *$ḱeluh_1$-$b^h(uH)$-e/os- 'covering', a nominalization of the compound adjective *$ḱeluh_1$-$b^h(uH)$-$ó$- 'covered', and by the verb καλύπτω 'to cover, conceal' < *$ḱḷlub^h$-$ịe/o$-, denominative to a compound *$ḱḷlu$-b^h-o- 'covered'.[49]

Therefore, it is thinkable that the ancestor of Greek possessed a periphrasis *$ḱólum\ g^w eh_2$-, which would have meant 'to go covered' (with adverbial accusative) or 'go to covering' (with directional accusative), i.e. to cover oneself with the surface of water, whence 'to plunge, dive'. Univerbation of this syntagm would produce a compound adjective *$ḱolum$-$g^w(h_2)$-o- 'going covered/to covering' > 'submerging itself' > 'diving, swimming'. Substantivization of this adjective would have produced a noun κόλυμβος 'diver' with a specialized sense of 'diving bird', preserved as such in some dialects (Boeotian) but mostly replaced by its (diminutive?) byform κολυμβίς in Attic and the Koiné.[50]

As for *κολυμβᾱ-, in principle it could represent a root compound *$ḱolum$-$g^w eh_2$- with an action ('submerging, diving') or even an agent sense ('diver'). Against this hypothesis one may point to the scarcity of root compounds in Greek, especially to roots ending in -$\bar{V}$- < *-eH-; in particular, few to no root compounds to *$g^w eh_2$- have yet been identified with certainty.[51] For a formal parallel, however, one may look

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'make a turn' and ἀλινδέομαι 'roll, roam about' ← *$uḷh_1 im\ d^h eh_1$- (*deh_3-?) 'make a turn' (Balles 2009).

48 Cf. κολεόν 'sheath' < *$ḱol$-eu-$ó$- 'covering thing' and κόλυθροι/-α 'testicles' < *$ḱolu$-$d^h ro$- 'cover(er), container'.

49 With the new weak stem *$ḱḷlu$- substituted for the fossilized instrumental *$ḱeluh_1$-.

50 The better-attested abstract/action noun κόλυμβος '(act of) diving/swimming' can indeed be a back-formation from κολυμβάω, as is commonly supposed, but it also could go back to the prehistoric compound *$ḱolum$-$g^w(h_2)$-o-, this time with an abstract meaning.

51 The most likely example is βᾱρίβᾱς (Soph. *fr.* 517 R.) 'one who goes on a βᾶρις (an Egyptian boat)'. An etymology of ἀκρῑβής 'exact, precise' from *$h_2 eḱrī$-$g^w éh$- 'going to the top' (remade as s-stem adjective) was proposed by Tichy (1977) and defended by Janda (2005: 263f.), but see Balles (1999: 10f.) for a different etymology. Stefanelli (2014) analyzes ἑκατόμβη 'large official sacrifice' as a determinative compound *$dḱṃtóm$-$g^w eh_2$- *'going by a hundred' > 'pomp, procession', from a radical action noun *$g^w eh_2$- 'act of going', against the usual analysis as a bahuvrīhi *$dḱṃtóm$-$g^w u$-eh_2 '(sacrifice) of a hundred cows', cf. Skt. śata-gu- 'possessing a hundred cows'.

at Pinault's (1991) explanation of ἀγαπάω 'to show affection, love' as denominal *agapā-i̯e/o-* from an agentive root compound *aga-pā-* < *$m̥ǵh_2$-peh$_2$- 'giving great protection'. Nevertheless, it is perhaps safer to posit that from the compound adjective *ḱolum-g^w(h$_2$)-o-* was derived a feminine abstract noun *ḱolum-g^w(h$_2$)-éh$_2$-* '(act of) diving'.[52] Such a derivational chain is not without parallels in the older IE languages:

– *su̯e(h$_1$) d^{h}eh$_1$-* 'to make one's own' > 'get accustomed' (univerbated in Lat. *suē-scō*, etc.) → adj. *su̯e-d^h(h$_1$)-o-* 'made one's own' → abstr. *su̯e-d^h(h$_1$)-éh$_2$-* 'that which is made one's own; property' > Ved. *svadhā́-* 'custom, habit'.
– *ḱred d^{h}eh$_1$-* 'to put (in?) one's heart' > 'believe' (Ved. *śrad … dhatta*, Av. *zras-ca dāṯ*; univerbated in Lat. *crēdō*, OIr. *creitim*) → adj. *ḱred-d^h(h$_1$)-o-* 'giving faith' → abstr. *ḱred-d^h(h$_1$)-éh$_2$-* 'act of giving faith' > Ved. *śraddhā́-* 'confidence, devotion'.

3.3.1 Motivating κολυμφᾱ-

On the phonological side, an evident weak point of the derivation just proposed is its inability to account for Dor. κολυμφᾱ-. Two different lines of explanation are available.

One could maintain the ultimate etymological connection to *ḱolu-* 'covering' and the semantic motivation proposed above, but operating with a different derivational chain. Under an alternative analysis, suggested to me by A. Merritt (*per litteras electronicas*), the κολυμβ°-family could reflect a factitive nasal infix present *ḱl̥lu-n-b^h-* 'to make covered' > 'to cover, submerge' derived from the very same stem *ḱl̥lub^h(-o)-* which, with a different present-forming suffix, produced *ḱl̥lub^h-i̯e/o-* > καλύπτω. An explanation along these lines could account in a regular manner for the traces of φ :: β variation, provided, however, that Miller's rule did operate two syllables away from the accent, which is anything but certain.[53]

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52 Cf. ὁμοκλή 'threat, reproof' (→ denom. ὁμοκλάω/-έω 'shout, call, urge'), which can represent either a determinative root compound *h$_3$emh$_3$-kleh$_1$-* > *omo-klē-* 'attacking cry', or an *ā*-stem abstract *omo-kl-ā-* from a thematic compound *h$_3$emh$_3$-kl(h$_1$)-o-* (cf. EDG: 1079).

53 This is indeed the most likely explanation for θρόμβος 'lump, clot' and στρόμβος 'top, spindle', derived from nasal infix presents *d^{h}r̥-né/n-b^h-* 'thicken, cause to grow' and *str̥-né/n-g^{wh}-* 'turn, spin', which were later replaced by the simple thematic presents τρέφω and στρέφω respectively (cf. Kümmel, LIVAdd: s.vv.). In the respective preforms *d^{h}ró-n-b^h-o-* and *stró-n-g^{wh}-o-*, however, the operation of post-nasal deaspiration is less problematic to assume.

A derivation from a form with *-b^h- theoretically opens up the possibility that Lat. *columba* is, after all, a cognate the Greek word, assuming that the dove was named not after its color (as upheld above) but after its 'diving' behavior, perhaps with reference to its flight.[54] An instructive comparison in this regard is found precisely in Eng. *dove*, Germ. *Taube*, and other reflexes of PGmc. *$d\bar{u}b\bar{o}n$-. This noun has been explained as a derivative either of PGmc. *$d\bar{u}ban$- 'to duck, dive, sink' (: OE *$d\bar{u}fan$* > Eng. *to dive*, crossed with OE *$d\bar{y}fan$* 'to dip, submerge'), from a PIE root *$d^heub^{(h)}$- 'sink, submerge' (IEW: 267f. Go. *diups* 'deep', etc.) (EDPG: 106; OED s.v. *dove*), or of *d^heub^h- 'to whisk, smoke; be obscure' (: Gk. τύφω 'smoke', τυφλός 'blind', OIr. *dub* 'black' etc.).[55] It remains the case that 'color' designations are much more strongly attested for columbids than for grebes. At any rate, the semantic criticisms already leveled at a common preform would still apply. If the formation was of PIE date, either the word generically meant 'diver', and was independently applied by speakers of Proto-Greek and Proto-Italic to two quite different avian species both characterized by 'diving' behavior (albeit in two quite different senses); or it was already applied to one such species in PIE, and one of the two daughter languages repurposed it for a different animal.

If one wishes instead to maintain the suggested derivation from *$\acute{k}olum\ g^weh_2$-, a purely phonological solution is excluded. One could invoke the influence of the coradical forms containing a -φ-, which were derived from the stem *$\acute{k}(e/o)lub^h$- ← *$\acute{k}\acute{e}luh_1\ b^hu(H)$- historically preserved in κέλῦφος and in καλύπτω.[56] As will be shown in sec. 3.4.2, in fact, these formations partly came to have similar meanings and usages, so that some degree of mutual interference would not be unthinkable.

3.4 Supporting evidence

Although the collocation *$\acute{k}ólum\ g^weh_2$- is not attested as such in any IE language, several parallels may be adduced to show that it would be a morphosyntactically unremarkable construction, and that a connection between *$\acute{k}el$- 'cover, hide' and diving or submerging is phraseologically well-established.

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54 Of course, if *columba* was related to *color*, and the latter belonged to the root *$\acute{k}el$- (see sec. 2.1), they would still be related to the Greek forms, but in a much more distant way.

55 Kluge & Seebold 2011: 908f.; GothED: 91. These roots may ultimately be the same, with a semantic development 'deep' > 'dark', or two (almost?) homonymous ones (cf. Kümmel, LIVAdd: s.v. ?*d^heub^h-).

56 Cf. already Scheller 1961: 149, admitting the "Möglichkeit von 'Interferenzen' anklingender Wörter". The opposite variation is seen in deverbal καλύβη 'hut' ← καλύπτω (cf. περι-καλυφή 'wrapping' Plat. *Leg.* 942d).

3.4.1 Morphosyntactic parallels

A collocation of a nominal derivative of *$\hat{k}el$- with a verb of going is notably attested in the Old Irish idioms ***téit for cel*** 'dies', pret. ***luid ar cel*** 'died', lit. 'goes/went to concealment'. Combinations of this root with other typical 'light verbs' are preserved in nominal compounds elsewhere; to the already-mentioned Greek forms reflecting *$\hat{k}el$- + *b^huH- 'be(come) hidden', one may add Lat. *clandestīnus* 'secret, hidden' ← *clandere* 'keep hidden', reflecting a phrase *clam dare < *$\hat{k}l$-$éh_2$-$m\ d^heh_1$- 'put to hiding' that alternates with *clam esse* (Plaut. *Truc.* 795) 'remain hidden' < *$\hat{k}l$-$éh_2$-$m\ h_1es$- (Garnier 2010: 283).

In turn, there is some evidence that the root *g^weh_2- 'to go' formed expressions of 'submerging' in PIE, if Garnier, Hattat & Sagot (2019) are right in proposing that the (neo-)root *$ne\underset{\circ}{i}g^{w}$- 'to wash' (: Gk. νίζω, νίπτω, Ved. *né-nek-ti*) < *'to plunge repeatedly' arose from univerbation of a compound adjective *$ni=g^wh_2$-$ú$- 'going down' (: Ved. *nigút*- 'foe' < *ni-g-$ú$- 'lurking', according to Kölligan 2007: 139).

3.4.2 Phraseological evidence

A connection between 'diving, submerging oneself' and the word-family of *$\hat{k}olu$- 'covering' may be also suggested by some phraseological collocations of καλύπτω in early Greek poetry. The Homeric clausula κῦμα κάλυψεν thrice refers to creatures disappearing beneath the sea.[57] In the simile of *Il.* 23.692f. Euryalus, knocked down by Epeios in a boxing match, is compared to a fish thrown out of water by the wind and landing on the shore:

(1) ὡς δ' ὅθ' ὑπὸ φρικὸς Βορέω ἀναπάλλεται ἰχθὺς/θίν' ἐν φυκιόεντι, μέλαν δέ ἑ **κῦμα κάλυψεν**
'And as beneath the ripple of the North Wind a fish leaps up on the seaweed-strewn sand of a shallow, and the black **wave hides** it'

At *Od.* 5.353, the 'White Goddess' Ino-Leucothea, diving back into the sea after giving the shipwrecked Odysseus her life-saving veil, is expressly compared to a diving bird (!):

(2) αὐτὴ δ' ἂψ ἐς πόντον ἐδύσετο κυμαίνοντα/αἰθυίη ἐικυῖα· μέλαν δέ ἑ **κῦμα κάλυψεν**
'and herself plunged again into the surging sea, like a sea mew; and the dark **wave hid** her'

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57 Translations of Homeric passages are taken from the Loeb series (Harvard University Press).

Later (*Od.* 5.435), after his raft is destroyed, Odysseus desperately clings to a rock, but is eventually submerged and driven back to sea when the wave rolls back:

(3) ὣς τοῦ πρὸς πέτρῃσι θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν/ῥινοὶ ἀπέδρυφθεν· τὸν δὲ μέγα **κῦμα κάλυψεν**

'so from his valiant hands were bits of skin stripped off against the rocks; and the great **wave covered** him'

A similar expression is encountered at *Od.* 4.402, where Proteus, the old man of the sea, comes ashore μελαίνῃ φρικὶ **καλυφθείς** "**hidden** by the dark ripple". Although Greek possessed or developed other expressions for 'to dip or plunge in water or a liquid' (like βάπτω) and 'to submerge' (like (κατα)κλύζω, καταποντίζω), the notion of 'submerging' remained associated with καλύπτω throughout the history of the language, as shown by the Egyptian Greek terms καλυφή 'submerged land' and ἀποκάλυφος αἰγιαλός ~ ἄρουρα 'uncovered land' (pap., 3ʳᵈ c. AD), i.e. land that could be cultivated when the water receded after the inundation of the Nile.

Going back to archaic poetry and myth, the Oceanine **Καλυψώ** mentioned by Hes. *Th.* 359 and *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 2.422 among the daughters of Ocean and Tethys (not necessarily identical to the Odyssiac Calypso, who was a daughter of Atlas)[58] has a name transparently derived from καλύπτειν or καλύπτεσθαι. This speaking name is usually interpreted in the context of the *Odyssey* as 'the Concealer' of Odysseus, and some scholars, most notably Güntert (1919) have even seen in her an ancient death goddess – an interpretation that can be supported by the frequent Homeric and post-Homeric collocations of (ἀμφι)καλύπτω and its near-synonym κρύπτω referring to the idea of death as 'hiding/covering' or removal of the light.[59] This association goes back to IE culture; to restrict ourselves to derivatives of **ḱel-*, cf. the already-mentioned OIr. *cel* 'concealment' > 'death', as well as PGmc. **haljō-* 'hell, underworld' (> Go. *halja*, OE *helle* 'id.', ON *Hel* 'goddess of death'). On the other hand, in the name of a water nymph the simple notion of '(self-)submerging' might originally have been involved.[60]

It is worth noting, however, that κολυμβάω itself, together with other terms meaning 'dive' (e.g. δύ(ν)ω), is connected in Greek culture with the idea of death as transition between two states – being and non-being, or life and the afterlife.[61] Sub-

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58 See West 1966: 267 ("here she may be no more than an ordinary nymph"); Caldwell 1987: 450 n. 359 ("probably not the famous Kalypso of *Odyssey* 5").

59 See now Giannakis 2019: 249–252.

60 Several of the other Oceanines have speaking names alluding to water, e.g. Ὠκυρόη and Καλλιρόη from the root of ῥέω 'to flow'; see West 1966: 265–268.

61 See Ornaghi 2019: 160–168, who evaluates the possible metaphorical meanings of the Alcmanic Κολυμβῶσαι. It is suggestive that the first attestations of the word after Alcman appear in connection

mersion is associated not only with death, but also with rebirth. Levaniouk (2020) has recently stressed the nature of *Odyssey* 5 as a story of the death-and-rebirth of Odysseus, prefigured by that of Ino herself, who was reborn and transformed into a marine goddess after she *leapt into the sea* while running away from Athamas. Ino's story in turn recalls the variants of another apparently very old myth, with Anatolian comparanda, recently investigated by Massetti (forthc.). In this myth, a sea-goddess (the Nereid Thetis and/or the Oceanine Eurynome) helps protecting a god (Dionysus or Hephaestus) from an aggressor by **hiding** him **in the water**. While the verbs καλύπτω and κολυμβάω are not used by the sources to describe this action, synonymous expressions like (κατα)δύνω and κρύπτω are found.[62]

In conclusion, both κολυμβάω and καλύπτω seem to share similar associations with 'submersion' as death and/or rebirth in early Greek poetry and myth. Our hypothesis would make this even more easily explainable in terms of inherited PIE phraseology, since these two verbs would in fact be coradical, both etymologically linked to the notion of 'submerging/going under' and, ultimately, to the root *$\acute{k}el$- that was associated with death as 'hiding/covering' across the IE world.

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with (violent) death and descent into the underworld. Anacreon (*fr.* 376 *PMG* = 94 G.) describes a suicidal plunge from a cliff: ἀρθεὶς δηὖτ' ἀπὸ Λευκάδος/πέτρης **ἐς** πολιὸν **κῦμα κολυμβῶ** μεθύων ἔρωτι "see, once again I climb up and **dive** from the Leucadian/cliff **into the** grey **waves**, drunk with love", with an alliterating syntagm reminiscent of Homeric κῦμα κάλυψεν. In a fragment of the comic poet Pherecrates (*fr.* 113 K.-A. *ap.* Ath. 6.96, 268e-269c), probably parodying some views of the afterlife in mysteric cults, Hades itself is a place one can 'dive' into (v. 21 παρὸν **κολυμβᾶν** ... **ἐς Τάρταρον** "you can **dive into the Underworld**").

62 *Il.* 6.435f. Διώνυσος δὲ φοβηθεὶς **δύσεθ' ἀλὸς κατὰ κῦμα**, Θέτις δ' ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ "Dionysus fled, and **plunged beneath the wave of the sea**, and Thetis received him in her bosom". *Il.* 18.397f. **κρύψαι** χωλὸν ἐόντα· τότ' ἂν πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῷ, εἰ μή μ' Εὐρυνόμη τε Θέτις θ' ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ "(my mother wanted) to **hide me away** because of my lameness. Then I would have suffered woes at heart, if Eurynome and Thetis had not received me into their bosom". *Schol. in Il.* 6 (from Eumelos' *Europia*?) Ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ δέους **εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καταδύνει**, καὶ ὑπὸ Θέτιδος καὶ Εὐρυνόμης ὑπολαμβάνεται "He (= Dionysus) then **plunges beneath the sea** out of fear, and is received by Thetis and Eurynome".

Abbreviations

DELG   Pierre Chantraine (1968–1980). *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*. 4 vols. Paris: Klincksieck.

DELI   Manlio Cortelazzo & Paolo Zolli (1979). *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*. Vol. 1. Bologna: Zanichelli.

DELL   Alfred Ernout & Antoine Meillet (1960). *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*. 4th ed. Paris: Klincksieck.

EDAIL   Hrach K. Martirosyan (2010). *Etymological Dictionary of the Armenian Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

EDBIL   Rick H. Derksen (2015). *Etymological Dictionary of the Baltic Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

EDG   Robert S. P. Beekes (2010). *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. With the assistance of Lucien van Beek. 2 vols. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

EDL   Michiel A. C. de Vaan (2008). *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

EDPC   Ranko Matasović (2009). *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

EDPG   Guus Kroonen (2013). *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

EDSIL   Rick H. Derksen (2008). *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

EIEC   James P. Mallory & Douglas Q. Adams (1997). *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*. London & Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn.

ÈSSJa   Oleg N. Trubačëv, Anatolij F. Žuravlëv, et al., eds. (1974–). *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' slavjanskix jazykov. Praslavjanskij leksičeskij fond*. Moskva: Nauka.

GEW   Hjalmar Frisk (1960–1972). *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Winter.

GothED   Winfred P. Lehmann (1986). *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden: Brill.

Grdr.²   Karl Brugmann (1897–1913). *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indoger-manischen Sprachen*. 2nd ed. Strassburg: Trübner.

HAB   Hračya Ačaṙyan (1971–1979). *Hayerēn armatakan baṙaran*. 4 vols. Erevan: Erevani Hamalsarani Hratarakč'ut'iun.

IEW   Julius Pokorny (1959–1969). *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. Bern: Francke.

LIV²   Helmut Rix & Martin J. Kümmel (2001). *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

LIVAdd   Martin J. Kümmel (2015). *Addenda und Corrigenda zu LIV²*. URL: http://www.martinkuemmel.de/liv2add.html.

LSJ⁹   Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry S. Jones & Roderick McKenzie (1996). *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. Oxford: Clarendon.

OED   *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2017). URL: http://www.oed.com (visited on 01/27/2017).

TGL   Charles B. Hase, Wilhelm Dindorf & Ludwig A. Dindorf, eds. (1831–1835). *Thesaurus graecae linguae*. Ab Henrico Stephano constructus. 8 vols. Paris: Didot.

TLL   *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (1900–). Ed. by der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Stuttgart, Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner & de Gruyter.

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