Vayúna- and its Indo-European background[1]
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1. The Problem of *vayúnam*

The meaning of the Vedic word *vayúna-* n. has been notoriously hard to pin down. Though it is not rare in the Rig Veda, occurring 30x[2] plus the derivatives *vayúnavat-* (6.21.3a), *vayúnāvat-* (4.51.1b), *avayuná-* (6.21.3a), *vayunaśás* (6.52.12b), and *vayunādhā́-* (MS), its actual uses are maddingly elusive. It doesn't really survive the Vedic period[3] and has few independent post-RV Vedic uses.

2. The Indian Tradition

The native interpretive tradition is not much help. In Yāska's *Nirukta* (± 6th BCE ?) 5.15 *vayúnam* is explained as *kāntirvā prajñā-vā* 'desire (or light?) or knowledge' and is derived from the root *vī-*. Interestingly, the word is revived in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (± 10th CE?) with the meaning 'knowledge' e.g. BhP. 3.4.32 /*ato mad-vayunaṃ lokaṃ grāhayann iha tiṣṭhatu* "let him (Uddhaba) remain here instructing people in my knowledge." [Translation M. N. Dutt 1896].[4] The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* is known for its quite unusual Vedicizing archaism[5] and the use of *vayúnam* is another instance on the lexical level of the same phenomenon. Sāyaṇa (14th CE) typically gives similar 'knowledge' glosses, e.g. ad RV 1.92.2 *sarveṣāṃ prāṇināṃ jñānāni*, ad 1.182.1 *prajñānam*. The meaning 'knowledge' was probably extracted from the frequent and salient RV formula *víśvā vayúnāni vidvā́n*. If you don't know what the object of a verb of knowing means you can't go wrong by inferring its some kind of knowledge. But at other places the commentators suggest quite different glosses. At 2.19.3d Sāyaṇa offers *prakāśān* 'visible' as a gloss but later in the same hymn at 2.19.8 he explains *vayúnāni* as *mārgān* 'paths'.[6]

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[2] 1.72.7a; 1.92.2c, 1.92.6b, 1.144.5d, 1.145.5a, 1.152.6c, 1.162.18c, 1.182.1a, 1.189.1b, 2.19.3d 2.19.8b, 2.24.5d, 2.34.4d, 3.3.4b, 3.5.6b, 3.29.3d, 4.5.13a, 4.16.3d, 5.48.2a, 6.7.5d, 6.15.10c, 6.75.14c, 7.75.4c, 7.100.5b, 8.66.8b, 10.44.7d, 10.46.8b, 10.49.5b, 10.114.3b, 10.122.2b. *vayúna-* is absent from 9 and rare in 5 and 8. Ujjvaladatta's (ca. 1300 CE) commentary on the *Uṇādisūtra* 3.61 gives the gloss *devamandiram* 'abode of the gods'.

[3] See immediately below on its revival in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.*

[4] Similarly, 4.9.8; 4.23.12, 5.11.15; 6.6.20; 10.13.38. At 4.1.64 *Vayunā* is the name of a woman.

[5] See the extensive treatment of Meier 1931 which focuses on verbal morphology.

[6] See Venkatasubbiah n.d. [1967]:192-3 for more details.

3. The European Tradition: Pischel and Thieme

The modern scholarly tradition has not been much more successful. Grassmann offers (1) 'woven fabric' then (2) any artistic work especially one for which knowledge and skill are required, namely (3) the work of divine service, sacrifice (4) light originally understood as spread out fabric (5) with *kṛ-* to make a work, a fabric mostly metaphorically of light (6) with *vid-* artful work, sacrifice (7) knowledge of sacrificial work, rule. The two best-known extensive treatments by Pischel 1889 and Thieme 1949 offer 'way' (1889:296: *vayúna* ist ein Synonymum von *mārga*, das Wort, das der vedische Dialekt für *mārga* der klassischen Sprache gebraucht) and 'covering' (Umhüllung) respectively. Pischel begins his argument from 1.189.1b[7]

(1) *ágne náya supáthā rāyé asmā́n*
  víśvāni deva vayúnāni vidvā́n
  yuyodhí asmáj juhurāṇám éno
  bhū́yiṣṭhāṃ te námaüktiṃ vidhema
  O Agni, lead us to wealth by an easy path,
  since you know all *vayúnāni*, o god.
  Keep from us transgression, going its crooked way.
  Might we offer you the greatest expression of reverence.

where he assumes the near synonymy of *supáth-* 'a fine road' and *vayúna-*, but not much can be extracted from this passage. *víśvāni deva vayúnāni vidvā́n* is a relatively rare instance of an almost repeated pada (modulo the vocative vs. nominative) which reoccurs at 3.5.6:

(2) *ṛbhúś cakra íḍiyaṃ cā́ru nā́ma*
  víśvāni devó vayúnāni vidvā́n
  sasásya cárma ghṛtávat padáṃ vés
  tád íd agnī́ rakṣati áprayuchan
  The Ṛbhu [=Agni] created for himself the beloved name (of Ṛbhu) to be invoked,
  since he is the god who knows all the *vayúnāni.*
  The hide of the grain and the track of the bird, (each) covered in ghee
  —just that does Agni guard, never lapsing.

By Pischel's argument we could equally well infer that *vayúnāni vidvā́n* means 'knowing all names'. In fact, *vayúnāni vidvā́n* is about as close to a Homeric-type formula as we come in the RV corpus. We find this juncture 8x in the RV (1.72.7a, 1.152.6c, 1.1891b, 3.56.b, 6.15.10c, 6.75.14c, 7.100.5b, 10.122.2b). The subject is normally Agni, but once the poet (7.100.5b) and once the arm protector (6.75.14c). The favored *sedes* is the end of a hendecasyllabic line. The formula is *vayúnāni vidvā́n* sometimes expanded with *víśvā(ni)* (1.189.1b; 3.5.6b, 6.15.10c, 6.75.14c,) with one exception in book 10 (10. 122.2b) at the beginning of a dodecasyllable in the order *víśvāni vidvā́n vayúnāni.* A cheville-like formula is not a very plausible starting point for working out the specific meaning of *vayúna-.*

Thieme starts from an etymological hypothesis that *vayúna-* is derived from the root of *vyáyati* 'envelop'—which by the way I believe is essentially correct—and therefore should mean 'covering' (*Umhüllung*). He then searches for passages where this might make sense beginning with what must be one of the latest Vedic passages, ŚB 8.2.2.8:

(3)   *prāṇā́ vaí devā́ vayonādhā́ḥ. prānaír hídáṃ sarvaṁ vayúnaṃ naddhám*
      The divine strength-binders are the breaths since this entire *vayúnam* is bound with breaths.

Thieme argues that *vayúna* means 'Umhüllung' here since "Umhüllung ist der Körper in dem das Leben wohnt und der zerfällt wenn beim Tode der Odem entweicht." But the very next line, which Thieme doesn't quote, shows that the ŚB cannot have had anything that specific in mind.

(4)   *átho chándāṃsi vaí devā́ vayonādhāś chándhobhir hì̀daṃ sárvaṃ vayúnaṃ naddhám*
      or the divine strength-binders are the meters because this entire *vayúnam* is bound by meter.

How would we explain that the whole body is bound by meters? What is bound by meters is a metrical text. If we are looking for a common denominator for the physical body, which is bound by breath, and the metrical text, which is bound by meters, it would be something like form or structure. Of course we have a word play between *vayonādhá-* and *vayúna-* and perhaps nothing specific can be extracted from this passage.

4. The RV *vayúna* passages

Rather than inferring a meaning from a particular passage and then seeking to fit that meaning to all passages as both Pischel and Thieme do, it makes more sense to create an overall profile of the contexts and uses of *vayúna-* and see if any meaning or set of related meanings can be made plausible for all passages.

4.1. *vayúna* plus genitive
Let's begin our consideration from two passages where *vayúnāni* is modified by a genitive 1.72.7 and 7.75.4. In 1.72.7

(5)   *vidvā́m̐ agne vayúnāni kṣitīnā́ṃ*
        ví ānuṣák churúdho jīváse dhāḥ
        antarvidvā́m̐ ádhvano devayā́nān
        átandro dūtó abhavo havirvā́ṭ
        Knowing the *vayúnāni* of the settled peoples, o Agni, distribute proliferating
        riches in proper order (for them) to live.
        Inwardly knowing the roads leading to the gods, you have become the tireless
        messenger carrying the oblations.

the *vayúnāni* that Agni knows belong to *kṣitáyaḥ* 'settled peoples' and in 7.75.4

(6)   *eṣā́ siyā́ yujānā́ parāká̄t*
        páñca kṣitī́ḥ pári sadyó jigāti
        abhipáśyantī vayúnā jánānāṃ
        divó duhitā́ bhúvanasya pátnī;
        This is the very one who, hitching herself up out of the distance,
        circles around the five settlements in a single day,
        looking upon the *vayúnā* of the peoples -- the Daughter of Heaven, mistress
        of the world.

Dawn looks upon the *vayúnā* of *jánānāṃ* 'peoples'. These passages suggest that *vayúnam* of multiple peoples are different. The later passage seems to exclude an otherwise reasonable gloss 'settlement' because settlements are immediately referenced before in *páñca kṣitī́ḥ,* the stereotypical way of describing the totality of the Vedic world. In the former passage 'ways' in the literal sense might be plausible (Agni knows all the ways to the settlements) but note that the second two padas of the stanza specifically describe Agni's knowledge of paths to the gods in different terms: *antarvidvā́m̐ ádhvano devayā́nān.* In 7.75 'ways' seems less likely since

why should Dawn be the road inspector? But 'ways' in the sense of 'customs' is plausible in both contexts.

4.2 The formula *vayúnāni vidvā́n* again

The formula *vayúnāni vidvā́n* with its variants is, as I have suggested, not very informative in itself, but it is interesting that, though the subject is normally Agni, on one occasion it is the poet himself (7.100.5.b) who knows the *vayúnāni* in the context of performing the hymn to Viṣṇu.

(7)   *prá tát te adyá śipiviṣṭa nā́ma*
        *aryáḥ śaṃsāmi **vayúnāni vidvā́n***
        tám tvā gr̥ṇā́mi tavásam átavyān
        kṣáyantam asyá rájasaḥ parāké
        This name of yours, o Śipiviṣṭa, of you the stranger
        do I proclaim today, I who know the **vayúnāni**.
        I hymn you, the strong -- I, less strong -- you who rule over this dusky realm
        in the distance.

The passages where *vayúnāni vidvā́n* is predicated of Agni are typically in a ritual context, which, of course, is not unusual for the RV. In 1.152.6 the referent, the one who takes pleasure in formulations, probably Agni, is encouraged to take a share of the food, presumably the sacrifice.

(8)   *ā́ dhenávo māmateyám ávantīr*
        brahmapríyam pīpayan sásmin ū́dhan
        pitvó bhikṣeta vayúnāni vidvā́n
        āsā́vívāsann áditim uruṣyet
        Aiding the son of Mamatā, the milch-cows
        will swell the one who gives
        pleasure with formulations [=Agni?] in the same udder.
        Knowing *vayúnāni* he should seek a share of the food. Seeking to win
        her with his mouth, he should make broad space for Aditi

At 6.15.10 the sacrificial context could not be clearer.

(9)   *táṃ suprátīkaṃ sudŕ̥śaṃ suáñcam*
        áṃso vidúṣṭaraṃ sapema
        sá yakṣad víśvā vayúnāni vidvā́n
        prá havyám agnír amŕ̥teṣu vocat
        Him, of lovely countenance, of lovely appearance, of lovely outlook, might
        we, who do not know, serve as the one who knows better.
        He will perform sacrifice, knowing all *vayúnāni*;
        Agni will proclaim our oblation among the immortals.

Similarly, 3.5.6 where the following padas refer to the hide of the grain and the track of the bird covered in ghee (*sasásya cárma ghr̥távat padáṃ vés tád íd agnī́ rakṣati áprayuchan)* and 10. 122.2 where the following pada again refers to ghee. (You with your cloak of ghee, set the course for the sacred formulation. (*ghŕ̥tanirṇig bráhmaṇe gātúm éraya)*. In fact there are only one or two outliers: (1) 1.189.1b from which Pischel began his argument where the sacrificial context is less prominent, though still in the background ("lead us to wealth" *náya supáthā rāyé asmā́n;* "Might we offer (*vidh-*) expression of reverence (*námas-*)") and (2) 6.75.14c where the subject is the handguard which wards off the recoils of the bowstring.

(10)   *áhir 'va bhogaíḥ pári eti bāhúṃ*
        jiyā́yā hetím paribā́dhamānaḥ
        hastaghnó víśvā vayúnāni vidvā́n
        púmān púmāṃsam pári pātu viśvátaḥ
        Like a snake with its coils, it encircles the arm,
        parrying the blow of the bowstring --
        the handguard, knowing all the *vayúnāni*:
        as a male let it protect the male all around.

Thieme 1949:15 chose this example as his second to demonstrate the supposed meaning 'Umhüllung' and translated the passage: "Wie eine Schlange umschließt er den Arm mit seinen Windungen, den Schlag der Sehne rings abdrängend, der Handschutz, der alle Umhüllungen kennt, er, der Mann, schütze den Mann von allen Seiten." But given what we have seen about the predominantly formulaic and ritual contexts of the phrase it seems unlikely that the original meaning has been preserved just here. And does the hand protector know all envelopments? What the hand protector knows is all the things it needs to know to protect the arm from the bowstring. It knows all the ins and outs of arm-protecting.

Interim summary: *vayúnam* refers to something that is different among different people. It is something that can be known. Typically it is known by Agni and the context of knowing is typically ritual.

4.3 Non formulaic *vayúna*

Let's now turn to the non-formulaic passages, first examining the other instances where *vayúnā* is the object of a verb. At 1.144.5 Agni established (*adhita*) new *vayúnā* with his advancing (flames). The contexts suggests that the new *vayúnā* have been established immediately after the kindling (referred to obliquely in this stanza by the ten fingers (*dáśa vṛíśo*) that urge him on:

(11) *tám īṃ hinvanti dhītáyo dáśa vṛíśo*
      devám mártāsa ūtáye havāmahe
      dhánor ádhi praváta ā́ sá ṛṇvati
      abhivrájadbhir vayúnā návādhita
      Our insights and our ten fingers urge him on.
      We mortals invoke the god for help.
      From the high plain he sets the slopes in motion.
      With his advancing (flames?) he has established the new *vayúnā*.

In 2.19.3, from a hymn structured by the parallelism of divine and human action, Indra perfected (*sādhat*) the *vayúnā* of the days through the night (or "in the night"?), but in 2.19.8 it's the poets who fashioned them (*takṣuḥ*).

(12) *sá mā́hina índro árṇo apā́m*
      prá airayad ahihā́chā samudrám
      ájanayat sū́riyaṃ vidád gā́
      aktúnā áhnāṃ vayúnāni sādhat
      That great Indra, smasher of the serpent,
      roused the flood of waters forth toward the sea.
      He gave birth to the sun and found the cattle.
      He perfected the *vayúnāni* of the days through the night.

(13) *evā́ te gṛtsamadā́ḥ śūra mánma*
      avasyávo ná vayúnāni takṣuḥ

brahmaṇyánta indra te návīya
íṣam ūrjaṃ sukṣitíṃ sumnám aśyuḥ
 So the Gr̥tsamadas have fashioned their thought for you, o champion,
and the *vayúnāni*, like those seeking help.
Those creating the formulations, Indra, would obtain anew refreshment and
nourishment, a good dwelling place, and your good favor.

vayúnāni are a mutual creation of gods and men and what is the creation of the day is
brought to fulfillment at night.

Two passages (1.182.1a and 8.66.8) connect *vayúna* with the verb *ā́ bhūṣ-* which Jamison
translates as 'attend to' or 'attend upon' and others take as 'strengthen' which works less
well in the passage at

(14)   *ábhūd idáṃ vayúnam ó ṣú bhūṣatā*
       rátho vŕ̥ṣaṇvān mádatā manīṣiṇaḥ
       dhiyaṃjinvā́ dhíṣṇiyā viśpálāvasū
       divó nápātā sukŕ̥te śúcivratā
       This *vayúnam* has now been set: (all of you,) attend upon it!
       The chariot has its bulls: become exhilarated, (all) you of inspired thought!
       (Here are) the two holy ones who quicken thought, who provided the goods to
       (the mare) Viśpalā,
       the sons of heaven whose commandments are bright for the good performer (of
       ritual)

(15)   *vŕ̥kaś cid asya vāraṇá urāmáthir*
       ā́ vayúneṣu bhūṣati
       sémáṃ na stómaṃ jujuṣāṇá ā́ gahi
       índra prá citráyā dhiyā
       Even a wolf -- wild and sheep-stealing –
       attends to its own *vayúneṣu*.
       Come here, having found pleasure in this praise song of ours
       with its shimmering insight, Indra.

If this translation of *ā́ bhūṣ-* at 8.66.8[8] is correct, it suggests that there is something normative about *vayúna-*. To quote Jamison's commentary ad loc. "wolves follow their own patterns, however much they appear to be acting randomly. Indra, though he is apparently uncontrollable, attends to our ritual patterns and will come when called."

Another feature of *vayúna-* is that it may have a regular order (10.49.5b)

(16)   *aháṃ randhayam mŕ̥gayaṃ śrutárvaṇe*
         yán mā́jihīta vayúnā canā́nuṣák
         I made Mŕ̥gaya subject to Śrutarvan.
         When he yielded to me his *vayúnā* were in due order (Jamison commentary ad loc., option 1)

The same connection with regularity is found in the derived distributive adverb *vayuna-śás* 6.52.12b:

(17)   *imáṃ no agne adhvaráṃ*
         hótar vayunaśó yaja
         cikitvā́n daíviyaṃ jánam
         O Agni, Hotar, perform this ceremony as sacrifice for us according to its *vayúna*, as one who attends to the divine folk.

The idea of regularity also seems to be highlighted at 3.3.4:

(18)   *pitā́ yajñā́nām ásuro vipaścítām*
         vimā́nam agnír vayúnaṃ ca vāghátām
         The father of sacrifices and the lord of those perceiving the inspired words,
         Agni is the measure and *vayúnam* for the chanters.

where we find the conjunction of *vimā́nam* 'measure' and *vayúnam* as the definition of the *vayúnam* of the chanters.

1.162.18 cd is particularly interesting:

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[8] A combination absent from books 2-7.

(19)   *áchidrā gā́trā vayúnā kṛṇota*
       páruṣ-parur anughúṣyā ví śasta
       Make the *aśvamedha* horse's uncut limbs into *vayúnā* (or by *vayúnā* if the form is taken as an instrumental).
       and carve them up joint by joint, having called them out in order.

Some light is thrown on the meaning of this passage by stanza 20 which contrasts the defective butchering of the horse performed by the greedy man

(20)   *mā́ te gṛdhnúr aviśastā́tihā́ya*
       chidrā́ gā́trāṇi asínā míthū kaḥ
       Let a greedy man who is no carver, skipping steps,
       not make your legs damaged with a knife gone awry.

In the correct procedure the limbs are unbroken; in the incorrect procedure the limbs are broken; in the correct procedure the limbs are called out one by one; in the incorrect procedure steps are skipped. In the correct procedure the ministrant does what he does to the limbs *vayúnā*; in the incorrect procedure he does it *míthū* 'falsely'. This suggests that means *vayúnā* 'in the correct fashion' vel sim.

Let us now turn to passages where the meaning seems more concrete than 'ritual order'. At 10.114.3 the ghee-faced young woman, presumably some personification of a ritual item wears (*vaste*) *vayúnāni*. We can't infer from this that *vayúnāni* is necessarily a piece of clothing since *vas-* often takes something like 'light' or 'dawn' as its object, but it does restrict the meanings to things that can be considered metaphorically as a garment.

(21)   *cátuṣkapardā yuvatíḥ supéśā*
       ghṛtápratīkā vayúnāni vaste
       tásyāṃ suparṇā́ vŕ̥ṣaṇā ní ṣedatur
       yátra devā́ dadhiré bhāgadhéyam
       The well-ornamented, ghee-faced young woman with four braids [= vedi/night sky?] wears *vayúnāni*.
       Two bullish eagles have settled down on her, where the gods have acquired their share.

Consistent with this theme is 5.48.2a where the Dawns stretch out *vayúnam*

(22)　　*tā́ atnata vayúnaṃ vīrávakṣaṇaṃ*
　　　　samāniyā́ vṛtáyā víśvam ā́ rájaḥ
　　　　They [=Dawns] have spread their hero-strengthening *vayúnam*
　　　　along the same course through the whole dusky realm.

where *vayúnam* again seems to be likened to a fabric that is stretched out through the darkness.[9] The metaphor of dawn and night wearing or employing different garments is a familiar universal metaphor.[10] In particular 1.115.4, as Jamison explains in her commentary ad loc., depicts night gathering up the fabric of night at the arrival of the sun *madhyā́ kártor vítataṃ sáṃ jabhāra* where the metaphor of the stretched out fabric is made certain by the parallel 2.38.4 *púnaḥ sám avyad vítataṃ váyantī* "Once again the weaver has wrapped up what was stretched out".[11]

Other passages closely associate *vayúnam* with the dawns (1.92.2c):

(23)　　*úd apaptann aruṇā́ bhānávo vṛ́thā*
　　　　suāyújo áruṣīr gā́ ayukṣata
　　　　ákrann uṣā́so vayúnāni pūrváthā
　　　　rúśantam bhānúm áruṣīr aśiśrayuḥ
　　　　Their ruddy beams have flown up at will.
　　　　They have yoked their reddish cows, easy to yoke.
　　　　The Dawns have made their *vayúnāni* as of old. A gleaming beam have the
　　　　reddish ones propped up.

and 1.92.6b

(24)　　*átāriṣma támasas pārám asyá*
　　　　uṣā́ uchántī vayúnā kṛṇoti

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[9] Cf. *yadéd áyukta harítaḥ sadhásthād/ ā́d rā́trī vā́sas tanute simásmai* "When he has yoked his tawny horses from their seat, just after that Night stretches her garment for him."

[10] As detailed in Katz 2000.

[11] Jamison ad loc.: In my view Night's stretching her garment for him is in part a gesture of submission: she recognizes the sun's ascendancy (both literally and conceptually) and removes her black garment and spreads it out for him to pass over, to indicate that she yields to his superior power.

śriyé chándo ná smayate vibhātī́

suprátīkā saumanasā́yājīgaḥ

We have crossed to the further shore of this darkness.

Dawn, dawning, is making her *vayúnā.*

Like one aiming to please, she, shining forth, smiles for splendor.

She of the lovely face has awakened (us?) to benevolence.

The connection with light is also found at RV 6.21.3 in the derivatives *vayúna-vat* and *avayuná-* a and b

(25)   *sá ít támo **avayunáṃ** tatanvát*

          *sūriyeṇa **vayúnavac** cakāra*

          Just he (Indra) made the darkness without *vayúna* in its extension

           vayúna-ful by the sun.

But at 4.51.1 the *vayúna-* is a characteristic that the dawn light possesses, and not the light itself.

(26)   *idám u tyát purutámam purástāj*

          jyótis támaso vayúnāvad asthāt

          nūnáṃ divó duhitáro vibhātī́r

          gātúṃ kṛṇavann uṣáso jánāya

          Here has this light, the latest of many, stood (up) out of the east

          from the darkness, having *vayúnā*

          Now the Daughters of Heaven radiating widely, the Dawns,

          will make a way for the people.

In these passages we observe a more concrete sense. *Vayúna-* is something associated with light, it is metaphorically stretched out like a garment, but it is not light itself. Two other passages probably make a connection between *vayúnam* and the alternations of day and night though they are admittedly obscure. 2.24.5d

(26)   *áyatantā carato anyád-anyad íd*

          yā́ cakā́ra vayúnā bráhmaṇas pátiḥ

          (Sun and moon), without aligning themselves, proceed (as the day-halves)

one after the other, which (two day-halves) Brahmaṇaspati has made into *vayúnā*.
(Jamison commentary ad loc.)

and 4.16.3d

(27)   *divá itthā́ jījanat saptá kārū́n*
        áhnā cic cakrur vayúnā gṛṇántaḥ
        In just that way he [=Indra?] begot the seven bards of heaven;
        just with the day they created *vayúnā* as they were singing.

Finally, omitting a discussion of some instances of the word which seem not informative to me,[12] we come to one passage (2.34.4) in a hymn dedicated to the Maruts where *vayúna-* has been thought have a different and concrete meaning.

(28)   *pṛkṣé tā́ víśvā bhúvanā vavakṣire*
        mitrýa vā sádam ā́ jīrádānavaḥ
        pṛ́ṣadaśvāso anavabhrárādhasa
        ṛjipyā́so ná vayúneṣu dhūrṣádaḥ
        The ones with lively drops have waxed strong, to fortify all the creatures or
        for alliance (with them) always.
        With their dappled horses, with their unreceding generosity,
        they sit at the chariot pole like the straight-flying (birds) on the *vayúneṣu* (of the branches?).

A key question here is whether *vayúneṣu* is to be bracketed with *ṛjipyā́saḥ* 'eagles' as most translators agree[13] and so a part of the simile or is instead to be bracketed with *dhūrṣádaḥ* 'sitting at the yoke pole'.[14] A very similar line end also from Book 2 is 2.2.1d *dyukṣáṃ hótāraṃ vṛjáneṣu dhūrṣádam*. Here it seems probable *vṛjáneṣu* is modifying *dhūrṣádam* rather than

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[12] See the complete listing of passages in Appendix 1.
[13] Jamison: they sit at the chariot pole [like the straight-flying (birds) on the traceries (of the branches?)]; Geldner: sie sind gleich [Adlern zu bestimmter Zeit (ausfliegend)], wenn sie auf der Deichsel sitzen; Grassmann: wie an der Deichsel [eilend zu dem Opferwerk].
[14] Elizarenkova: Словно соколы, сидят они на дышле (колесницы) на огороженных местах (жертвоприношений). "Like falcons, they sit on the pole (of the chariot) in the fenced places (of sacrifice)", a possibility also allowed for though disfavored by Jamison. Thieme apparently thought the locative should be understood with both the simile and the frame.
Thieme: wie Falken, die auf den Umhegungen (Hecken, Zäunen) auf den Spitzen sitzen [an der Spitze sitzend (voranstehend) in den Umhegungen (auf den Opferplätzen)]

hótāraṃ since the latter word is separated from *vṛjáneṣu* by a caesura and already has a modifier *dyukṣáṃ.* This parallel suggests to me that we should take *vayúneṣu* with *dhūrṣádaḥ* and translate as "like eagles taking the pole position at the correct/regularly alternating events", i.e. the ritual sessions."

It's time to sum up. *vayúna-* is still a slippery word. In its most concrete sense, it is a metaphorical garment of dawn and is stretched out like fabric. But more commonly it refers to something that happens in an alternating, regular fashion, like the exchange of day for night or ultimately the ritual itself. It is something that can be the subject of knowledge and is potentially distinct for different peoples.

In fact, I suggest that the ŚB passage that Thieme began his argument from is quite consistent with this picture.

(29) *prāṇā́ vaí devā́ vayonādhā́ḥ. prānaír hídáṃ sarvaṁ vayúnaṃ naddhám*
    átho chándāṃsi vaí devā́ vayonādhāś chándhobhir hìdaṃ sárvaṃ vayúnaṃ naddhám
    The divine strength binders are the breaths since this entire *vayúnam* is bound with breaths or the divine binders are the meters because this entire *vayúnam* is bound by meter.

What breath and meters have in common is rhythmical alternation. The metrical text is bound by the alternation of heavy and light syllables and the form of the body is regulated by the in and out of breathing. Of all the proposed translations I believe it is Jamison and Brereton's 'pattern' which comes closest to the meaning of *vayúnam.*

5. The root of *vayúnam*
To pursue the etymology further we must ask what root of the appropriate sense would be most likely to lead to such a sense. In Vedic the verb meaning 'to weave' has a present *váyati* but a perfect 3p *ūvuḥ*, ppp. *utá-*, an infinitive *ótum, ótave.* According to LIV[2] the root in question is **Heu̯-*, and the present is formed by adding the suffix *-éi̯e-* to the zero-grade root, **Hu̯-éi̯e-* (> *váyati*), but this is difficult. The usual parallels for derivation of a transitive present from a zero-grade root are the so-called *dháyati* class, but Jasanoff 2021 has convincingly explained these as full-grade formations from roots in a final laryngeal in state 2. Thus **ĝʰu̯eh_x-i̯e-* > *hváya-* 'call' beside *hava-*, **u̯i̯eh₁-i̯e-* 'envelop' (*vyáyati*) vs. **u̯ei̯h₁-e-* in Lith. *vejù* 'wind' where the absence of a syllabic realization of the post-initial glide is firm evidence that the glide and the laryngeal were not adjacent. Jasanoff 2021:172 suggests a number of

alternative explanations for *váyati*: "**Hu̯ei-* (thematic present **Hu̯éi̯-e/o-*) or **Hu̯eh₁-* (*i*-present **Hu̯(é)h₁-i-*); or *váya-* could actually be the etymological thematic present of **u̯eih₁- ~ *u̯i̯eh₁-* 'wind', standing in the same formal relationship to *vyáya-* as *háva-* 'call' to *hváya-*." Of these explanations the third one seems best to me since there is just no evidence for an *i* or an **h₁* extension of the root **Heu̯-*. The only known extensions are the *-d-* present continued by Baltic (Lith. *áudžia, áudė* 'weave'), according to some **Hu̯ebʰ-* (Gk. ὑφαίνω etc. but this is difficult).

6. The semantic issue: can 'plait' and 'envelop' be unified?

Doubts have occasionally been expressed about the connection of *vyáyati* 'covers' with the family of **u̯ei̯h₁-* which we will provisionally gloss as 'plait, twine'. Cheung 2007:435 in discussing the Iranian cognates of *vyáyati* (in his view including MParth. *prwy-* 'encompass', Sog. *ptw'y-* 'wind', 'roll', *prwy-* 'wrap up' and a host of modern forms) writes: "It remains doubtful whether the Iranian and Skt. forms above are connected to IE **u̯i̯eh₁-* 'to braid, wind' (Lat. *viēre* 'to bind', 'to plait'; Lith. *výti* 'to twist'; OCS *po-viti* 'to wrap, to bind'), on account of the meaning. Cf. EWAia, l.c.: 'Die Verknüpfung ist semantisch nicht ganz befriedigend.'"[15]

It is true that the meanings of *uieō,* Russ. *vit',* Lith. *výti* and the supposed Indo-Iranian cognate (*vyáyati*) are different. The non-Indo-Iranian forms are quite specific and mean 'to manipulate long thin strands'. This can mean more specifically either 'to plait or twine' or 'to roll up'. In Latin, the verb is very rare and evidently archaic and is specifically used of plaiting rushes or branches to form a wreath, a chariot basket, a wall, or a basket. Aside from one instance in Ennius it is only used in a *figura etymologica* with *uīmen* or in etymological explanations.[16] There is no perfect stem attested[17] but the ppp. was probably **u̯ītos* (either from **u̯ih₁-tó-* or from an analogically created **uii̯etós*) to judge from the archaic agent noun *uītor* 'basket maker' (Plaut. *Rud.* 990), *uitta* 'fillet' (with the *Iuppiter* rule) and the adj. *uītilis* 'plaited' (Cat. +).

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[15] Cheung 2007:435 segregates Oss. *byjyn/bijun* 'to wind/braid (hair)' which does match the extra-Iranian meanings closely because *b* is not the expected reflex of PIr. **u̯-*. He prefers to explain *byjyn* as a loanword from Slavic. Lurje 2012:111-2 defends the Iranicity of *byjyn*.

[16] Enn. *var.* 25 *ibant malaci uiere Veneriam corollam*; Var. *L.* 5.140 *uehiculum in quo faba aliudue uehitur quod e uiminibus uietur; aut eo uehitur*; L. 7.3.36 *antiquos poetas uates appellabant a uersibus uiendis*; Var. *R.* 1.23.5 *ut habeas uimina, unde uiendo quid facias ut sirpeas uallos crates*; Aul. Gel. 12.3.4 *nam sicut a ligando lictor ....et a uiendo uitor... productis quae corripiebantur uocalibus dicta sunt.*

[17] *uiētus* 'shriveled' and *uiēscere* 'to shrivel' (of old age or dried fruit) are usually taken as related but the semantic connection is unclear. Is the appearance of something plaited from twigs likened to the wrinkled appearance of a dried fig or an old man? Donatus ad Eun. 688 attempted an explanation in the opposite direction: *Et **uiere** ligare dicitur, quia uietis uirgis ligare possumus quidlibet.*

Lith. *vejù výti, vijau* is a very close semantic match for Latin *uieō*. It is used of twisting fibers to make especially rope and other braided things and of birds for making a nest. But it also means 'to roll, wind threads into a ball, or onto a spool' and from here develop the meanings 'wrap' and 'cover'. In OCS *poviti* means 'wrap' in swaddling clothes *i povitŭ ji* "ἐσπαργάνωσεν αὐτόν" (*L* 2.7) but the simplex, not attested in OCS, means 'plait' or 'twist', e.g. Bulg. *Жътварите виеха въжета и връзваха сноповете* "The reapers plaited ropes and tied the sheaves" *Стоян си вино пиеше / у тая ледна механа, / руси мустаци виеше / и се на Бога молеше.* Stoyan drank wine / in that icy tavern, / he twisted his blond mustache / and prayed to God. (Речник на Българския Език s.v.). You can twist a fiber together with another fiber (plait) or twist it around itself (wrap). Mayrhofer and Cheung's scruples therefore seem unjustified.

In Celtic the meaning of 'plaiting' is well preserved in OIr. *fenamain i*, fem. 'wattles plashing wickerwork, hamper', *airbe* < **are-u̯iiā* 'hedge, fence, paling' and *fíthe* 'woven, plaited' but the verb itself only survives in compounds like *ar-fen* 'erect a fence before", 'exclude', *imm-fen* 'hedge round', enclose', *ad-fen* 'repay', and *for-fen* 'finish' where the meaning has developed from 'plait' to 'make a wattle' (in front of, around) to just 'make'.

7. Nominal derivatives
The nominal derivatives which have some claim to antiquity are the following

- A root noun **u̯ih₁-s* is directly attested in the Hesychian gloss γίς [i.e. ϝίς] ἱμάς καὶ γῆ καὶ ἰσχύς 'thong, earth, strength' in the first meaning with generalized zero-grade as one expects in root nouns from roots of the shape CEI̯H-.

- A **-tis* derivative **u̯ih₁-ti- ~ *u̯ei̯h₁ti-* with mainly concrete meanings (vine, clematis, sinew, willow) and with a surprising full-grade match between Iranian and Celtic.
    - **u̯ei̯h₁ti-*: YAv. *vaēiti-* 'willow twigs' (hap. *vaētaiiō Vid.* 22.20) MP *wēd*, ModP *bēd*, OIr. *féith* fiber, 'twining plant'
    - **u̯ih₁-ti-*: Lith. *vytìs* 'willow twig'
    - ambiguous: Lat. *uītis* 'vine', PSl. **vitĭ* f. (SC *păvît* 'clematis', Slovin. *vjic* 'willow pole for tying a thatched roof', Upper Sorbian *wić* 1'gout', 2 'marsh grass', Lower Sorbian *wiś* 'marsh grass').
    - **wiþi-* > OHG *wid* f. 'thin branch, fetter', OHG *kunawid*, acc. pl. *cuoniowidi* 'fetter'[18]
        *wiþjō > ON *vid,* gen. sg. *viðjar* 'withy'

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[18] Perhaps the first member of ON *viðbeina* 'collarbone', OE *wiðobán*, OFr. *widubēn*, MLG *wedebēn*.

wiþjōn- > OE *wiþþe* f. 'cord', OFr. *withthe* 'collar', MDu. *wisse* 'instrument for measuring a pile of wood' (→ OF *guige* 'strap'), MLG *wedde*, ON *viðja,* OHG *witta* 'band'[19]

- A *-men-*stem *$\mathring{u}(e)\mathring{i}h_1m\mathring{n}$
  Lat. *uīmen* (Cat. +) 'pliant twig', MLG *wīm(e)* m. MDu. *wīme* f. 'osier', MIr. *fíam* 'chain'[20]

- an *n*-stem (perhaps a delocative to the root noun (Neri 2017:324) or derived from the *-men* stem (Alan Nussbaum p.c.) *$\mathring{u}ih_1en$-: Hitt. *wiyan-* 'wine' (Gk. ὑιήν[21]?) with further derivatives *$\mathring{u}o\mathring{i}h_1no$- Gk. οἶνος (whence Etruscan *vinum* whence Italic *uīnom*; I'm inclined to doubt that Latin and Sabellic forms are inherited)[22] and Alb. *verë/venë* 'wine' < *$\mathring{u}o\mathring{i}h_1neh_2$.[23]

- *$\mathring{u}ih_1tó$- Ved. *vītá-* 'enveloped' (RV 4.7.6), Lith. *výtas* 'twisted', perhaps Lat. *uitta* 'fillet'

- *$\mathring{u}(e)\mathring{i}h_1to$- → PIr. *$\mathring{u}a\mathring{i}tākā$- > Oss. Ir. *wīdag/* Di. *yedagæ* 'root', Sog. *wyt'k* 'string';

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[19] Other Germanic forms are only attested in one branch: *wiðō* > Go. *-wida* in *kunawida* f. 'fetter' but possibly to *gawidan* 'to bind'; *wīþjaz* 'willow' > ON *víðir* m. 'willow' *wīþō* > OHG *wīda* f. (*-n/-ō*), MLG *wīde* f., 'willow'; *wīþiga-* > OE *wíþig.*

[20] Post-RV *véman-* n. 'loom' (VS) is probably independent formations. On TB *waimene* 'difficult' see Imberciadori 2023:666–7.

[21] The Hesychian gloss ὑιήν · τήν ἅμπελον. ἢ υἱόν is often compared to the Hittite *n*-stem, but there are good reasons to be cautious. First, the form is given a gloss in the accusative. Second a few lines below we have the gloss υἱόν· ἀναδενδράδα 'vine that grows up a tree'. If these two glosses are to be connected they would point to a thematic adjective and an Arcadian-style accusative of an *-ēu̯*-stem (a thematic feminine accusative is ruled out since no dialect could combine preservation of *u̯* and the fronting of PGk. *ā). In Hesychius υ spells pre-vocalic digamma in a number of examples (ὕεσι · στολή. Πάφιοι; ὑεστάκα · ἱματισμός (both from *u̯es-), ὑίλη · ὅμιλος (cf. Boeot. ϝιλ- in ϝιλιαρχιοντος 'leading the cavalry' IG 7.3087, Lebadeia). If we can rely on the accentuation and breathing of Hesychius—a big if—ὑιήν and ὑίλη must not contain the diphthong /yj/ which would be written †υἱήν and †υἵλη but instead be trisyllabic, i.e. /hy.i.ˈɛːn/ and /hy.ˈi.lɛː/. Since we know that the word for 'troop' was a disyllable /ˈwila:/, we can interpret these spellings as an attempt to render /w/ with /y/. It is attractive to compare ὑιήν with Myc. *we-je-we* 'vine shoots', but this is not without difficulties. In Mycenaean the spelling *we* is occasionally found for *u,* but we have no instances where it stands for *w-*. The Mycenaean form most likely represents either /wejĕwes/ or /(h)ujĕwes/, neither of which matches the most straightforward phonologization of ὑιήν as /wiˈyɛːn/. If one wanted to pursue the Hesychian-Mycenaean comparison, one could either suppose (1) that the accentuation and breathing in Hesychius is wrong and that both forms ultimately represent /uj-/ or (2) that the Mycenaean form /uj-/ shows a syncopated variant of the stem /wij-/ transmitted in Hesychius. On the first hypothesis Melena's (2014:146) connection of these words with 'son' would be attractive. On the second hypothesis a connection with the family of *u̯e\mathring{i}h_1-* is more attractive, though we need not connect these forms directly to the *n*-stem seen in Hittite. These forms could instead reflect the *o*-stem *u̯ih_1ó-* either directly (Hesychius υἱόν) or indirectly in the form of an *-ēu̯*- derivative (Mycenaean *we-je-we* and Hesych. ὑιήν).

[22] The meaning of *u̯o\mathring{i}h_1ni-* Skt. *veṇi-* 'plait' 'braid of hair', Lith. *vainìkas* 'garland', OCS *věnici* is so divergent from 'wine' that it is preferable not to connect these forms with the *n*-stem.

[23] See DPEWA https://www.dpwa.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary/?lemmaid=21817.

- o *u̯(e)i̯h₁te-k- > uĭtex 'chaste tree'[24]
- o Arm. *gi, gi-oy* 'juniper'

- *u̯(e)i̯h₁tes-: PIIr. *u̯aitas- *u̯ītas-: Ved. *vetasá-* 'ratan', *vetasvant-* PB (placename)[25] (derived from the *-to*-stem, cf. *srutá-** 'flowing'[26] ~ *srótas-* 'stream'

- *u̯oi̯h₁tu- ~ *u̯ih₁tu-* and derivatives (Peters 1980:100)
  ἴτυς 'fellow' of wheel 'rim' of shield[27] short *i* by *weather* rule or generalized from o-grade
  - o *u̯ei̯teu̯eh₂ > ἰτέα [ῑ] 'willow', γιτέα (= ϝιτέα) ἰτέα (Hesych); Εἰτέα Attic deme (very consistent and early)
  - o *u̯oi̯tu̯o- > οἶσος 'kind of willow' *u̯oi̯tuu̯eh₂ > οἰσύα 'osier' with analogical *s*
  - o *u̯oi̯tu̯i- > OCS *větvĭ* 'branch'
  - o *u̯(e)i̯(h₁)tu̯o-/-eh₂ > Pol. *witwa* 'Salix viminalis', OPrus. *witwan* 'willow', *ape-witwo*[28]

- *u̯ei̯h₁-ro- (> OIr. *fíar* 'bent, winding', MW *gwyr* 'askew', OE *wīr* 'wire', OHG *wiara* 'ornament of precious metal') → *u̯(e)i̯h₁ri- > Εἶρις (IG 2.2.793) ~ ἶρις 'rainbow' [29]

- *u̯(e)i̯h₁-tro-/-eh₂ > Russ. dial. *viter* 'fishing net', Cz. dial. *vitra*, Slov. *vîtra* 'willow twig', Latv. *vītra* 'creeper'; Skt. *vetra-* 'Calamus rotang' (Kauś. +)

- *u̯ih₁eh₂ 'fence'
  OIr. *fé, airbe, imbe,* Latv. *vija* 'fence' (in older language), OAv. *viiąm* (see below)?

- *u̯o/ei̯h₁éh₂ > Ved. *vayā́* 'branch'

- *u̯ēi̯h₁éh₂ vṛddhi and substantivization of *u̯ei̯h₁ó- 'twisting' > OCS *věja* 'branch'

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[24] Pol. *wita* 'eine grosse plumpe Weidenruthe' (Linde who quotes J. Bandtkie 1806:1626 where the definition is just 'eine grosse plumpe Weide') is an augmentative backformation from *witka*.

[25] YAv. *vītaŋᵛhaitī-* (river name) has been compared, but Hoffmann's comparison (1992:799) with the Vedic river name *Vitástā* from the root *tams- 'extend' is better. I owe this reference to Alexander Nikolaev.

[26] Cf. *srutám* 'a flowing' (AV).

[27] Early borrowing into Latin as *uitus* 'felloe' (Probus *inst.* Keil 4:116 and *app.* 4.193) fem. *u*-stem and back into Greek in *EdD.* 15.31a βίτος and *uitōtus* (βιτωτός *EdD.* 15.34).

[28] Probably not directly connected is Lith. *vytùvai* pl. 'niddy noddy' which Smoczyński LED (2018:1686) takes as an inner-Lithuanian formation.

[29] Lat. *uiriae* 'bracelet' and *uiriolae*, said to be Celtic and Celtiberians words respectively by Pliny, *Nat.* 33.40, have a short *i* (OIt. *viera*, etc.). They could come from a "Dybo's Law" shortened derivative of *u̯ih₁ro- or perhaps the vowel quantity has been adjusted due to folk etymological connection with *uir* 'man'.

- *(-)u̯oi̯h₁o- > Ved. -vāyá- with analogical Brugmann's in vāsovāyá- 'weaving a garment' (RV 10.26.6) tiraścīnavāya- (AB 18.12.17), PSl. *vojĭ > SC vôj 'woven wicker', Bulg. voj 'turn', SCr. povoj 'swaddling bands', Slov. 'bandage' etc., Lith. i̯vajus 'winding, twisting, crooked' with u-stem replacing o-stem adjective? (but these are all productive formations in their respective families).

- *u̯oi̯h₁u- > PGmc. *wajjus 'wall' > Go. baurgs-waddjus 'city-wall', grundu-waddjus 'foundation wall', midgardi-waddjus 'fence', ON veggr (synchronically an i-stem but transfer is expected because of gen. veggj-ar)[30] Connection with *u̯ei̯h₁- already in Fick 1871:868 but not in Fick 1868.

8. Morphophonological observations

LIV² gives the full-grade as *u̯i̯eh₁- on the basis of the thematic aorist ávyat which is explained as a thematization of an original root aorist *u̯i̯eh₁-t ~ *u̯ih₁-ent with generalization of the zero-grade of the root combined with the non-syllabicity of the yod in the hypothesized full-grade forms. But as LIV² notes unambiguous forms in vyā- are post-RV and could be analogical. Further, old nominal forms, some of which must be quite archaic show the full-grade *u̯ei̯h₁- (e.g. OIr. féith = YAv. vaēiti- etc.). It seems preferable therefore to reconstruct a full-grade *u̯ei̯h₁- and explain the Schwebeablaut as triggered by the i-present. The thematic aorist can be explained as secondarily created from the present by subtraction of the suffix *-i̯e- which led to a non-present stem vya- on the model Pres. *mṇ-ya- : Aor. *mṇ-, etc. cf. hváyati áhvat (the more frequently attested aorist beside áhuvat).

There are many forms where a laryngeal reflex is absent. In full grade forms of the type *u̯ei̯h₁C most Indo-European languages would probably have no reflex, cf. Ved. netár- 'leader' < *nei̯hₓter-, though in Greek we might have expected a reflex if we can trust the evidence of δέατο 'appeared' < *dei̯h₂to.[31] A form like Εἰτέα instead of *u̯ei̯eteu̯ā- could have lost the laryngeal in the o-grade form of an acrostatic u-stem base or by the weather rule in the weak͜cases.[32]

9. Vayúna- and forms in -una-[33]

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[30] The oft-cited OE wǣg 'wall' is of dubious attestation. The normal spelling in OE is wág 'wall' and this belongs with OFris. wach, and could go back to *u̯oi̯h₁-kó- or *u̯oi̯h₁gʰo-.

[31] As pointed out to me by Alan Nussbaum, δέατο is not trustworthy since the a might originate in the 3rd pl. *dei̯h₂ṇto. δῆλος 'clear, visible'< *dei̯alos is also not conclusive since -alos is productive.

[32] See Neri 2017:324.

[33] See Debrunner 1954:484–6.

The suffix *-una-* is not productive in Vedic. There are by my count 19 forms with this suffix in Vedic and a few more mainly unetymologized forms from the later period.[34] There are a three oxytones (adjectives: *aruṇá-* 'red', *mithuná-* 'paired', noun: *śakuná-* (kind of bird)), six proparoxytones (adjectives: *árjuna-* 'white', *táruṇa-* 'young', *phálguna-* 'reddish' (VS, TS) (*phalgú-*), *víṣuna-* 'manifold'; nouns: *píśuna-* 'slanderer', *váruṇa-* (god name) and 10 paroxytones (adjectives: *dārúṇa-* (also *dāruṇá-*) 'hard' (ŚB), *pracetúna-* 'affording a wide view' *sucetúna-* 'very notable'; nouns: *karúṇa-* 'work'?, *dharúṇa-* (*dharuṇī̂*) 'foundation', *yatúna-* 'arrangement', *vayúna-*, *śalúna-* 'insect' (AV), *narúṇa-* (epithet of Pushan, 'leader'?) (TA), *yamúnā* (river name)). The paroxytones are, with a few explicable exceptions, nouns.

In Avestan we find YAv. *aθauruna-* 'priestly function', YAv. *ahuna-* 'containing the word *ahū*', OAv. YAv. *auruna-* 'wild', YAv. *kahrpuna-* 'lizard' (= Khwar. *krbwn*), YAv. *tauruna-* 'young', YAv. *hamaṇkuna-* 'hooked together'. In one or two cases, the suffix *-una* is analyzable as a thematic derivative of a *-u̯en*-stem (YAv. *aθauruna-* ~ *aθauruan-*, and a few animal names might have a not further analyzable formant (*śakuná-*, *śalúna-*,[35] YAv. *kahrpuna-*[36]) but most forms are best analyzed as secondary derivatives of *u*-stem bases. This is synchronically observable for YAv. *ahuna-* 'containing the word *ahū*' ← *ahu-* and certain or highly likely for other forms:

With inner Indo-Iranian comparanda
aru-ṣá- 'red' OHG *elo* 'brown' < **elw-az* ~ *aru-ṇá-* 'red', Av. *auruna-* 'wild' (unless this is from **h₁al-*, cf. Ved. *áraṇa-* 'foreign')[37]
cetú- 'heedfulness' ~ *°cetúna-* 'visible'
dā́ru 'wood' ~ *dāruṇá-* cf. OIr. *dron* 'solid' < **dru-no-*
dhruv-á- 'firm', Av. *druua-* ~ *dharúṇa-* 'foundation'
phalgú- 'reddish' ~ *phálguna-* 'reddish'
míthu/ū 'wrongly' (original meaning 'in opposition') ~ *mithuná-* 'paired'
víṣu- 'in various directions' ~ *víṣuna-* 'manifold'
YAv. *aṇku.pəsəmna-* 'decorated with hooks', Ved. *aṅku-śá-* 'hook' ~ *ham-aṇkuna-* 'hooked together'[38]

With comparanda elsewhere

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[34] *karuṇa-* 'mournful', *karuṇā* 'compassion', *laś/suna-* 'leek', *kṣúdhuna-* (name of a people) Uṇ, *śayuna-* 'boa' Lex., *veṇuna* 'black pepper' Lex., *śākuna-* 'repentant' Lex.

[35] Perhaps with *śalá-* 'dart'. See de Vaan 2000:284.

[36] But see Bernard 2020:35 for some evidence that the suffix *-na* is appended to a base in *-u* in *kahrpuna-*.

[37] On *Váruṇa-* see Pinault 2016 with an insightful discussion of the suffix *-una-*.

[38] See Hintze 1994:78. I owe my knowledge of this form to Alexander Nikolaev.

Gk. τέρυ 'weak' < *"weakness" (Hesych.) ~ *táruṇa-* 'young', YAv. *tauruna-* 'young'. Cf. Gr. τερύνης 'a worn out donkey and an old man' (Hesych.)[39]

Gk. ἄργυ-φος 'white', ἄργυ-ρος 'silver', TB *ārkwi* 'white' ~ *árjuna-* 'white'

Lith. *pikù-las*, OPrus. *pickūls* 'devil' ~ *píśuna-* 'hostile'

10. The derivational history of *vayúna-*

Thus from *vayúna-* we can infer with some plausibility a base **vayu-* and that base matches PGmc. **wajju-* exactly. We can sketch out the derivational chain as follows:

*u̯ei̯h₁- 'plait, bind' → **u̯ói̯h₁-o-* 'plaiting' (abstract) → **u̯ei̯h₁-ó-* 'plaiting' (*temós adj.)[40] →
*u̯oi̯h₁u- 'instance of plaiting' (e.g. a wattle and daub wall PGmc. **wajjuz*) or 'plaiting' (abstract) → **u̯o/ei̯h₁u-no-* 'what has plaiting' (e.g. a patterned alternation, 'a pattern' Ved. *vayúnam*). Cf. PDE *toile* OED 3 "A pattern for a garment made up in muslin, cotton, or the like, for fitting or for use in making copies."

12. Some Old Avestan comparanda
Y. 34.10
ahiiā vaŋhəuš manaŋhō šiiaoϑanā vaocaṯ gərəbąm huxratuš
spəṇtąmcā ārmaitīm dąmīm vīduuå hiϑąm ašahiiā
tācā vīspā ahurā ϑβahmī mazdā xšaϑrōi ā vōiiaϑrā

ahya wahawš manahəh / šyawϑnā wawcat gərbām huxratuš 7/9
˅ ˅ ˅ – ˅ ˅ x | – – – – ˅ – ˅ ˅ x   [Scansion after Kümmel 2013's Onset Max]
˅ – ˅ – ˅ ˅ x | (˅) – ˅ – ˅ – ˅ ˅ x   [Ideal]
spantāmca aramatim /dāmim widwāh hiϑām ašahya 7/9
– – ˅ ˅ ˅ ˅ x | – – ˅ – ˅ – ˅ ˅ x
˅ – ˅ – ˅ ˅ x | (˅) – ˅ – ˅ – ˅ ˅ x
tāca vispā ahura / ϑwahmi mazdā xšaϑrāiā viiaϑrā[41] 7/10
– ˅ ˅ – ˅ ˅ x | ˅ ˅ ˅ – ˅ – – ˅ ˅ x
˅ – ˅ – ˅ ˅ x | (˅) – ˅ – ˅ – ˅ ˅ x

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[39] Nussbaum 1997:117.

[40] Nussbaum 2018.

[41] I interpret the *ō* as an anaptyctic vowel between *u̯* and *i̯*. See de Vaan 2003:540.

By means of the action of this Good Thought, the well-minded proclaims his understanding, he who knows the Beneficent Ārmaiti, the creator, the thread of Truth, and all the tools of the loom in Thy power, o Ahura Mazdā. (Andrés-Toledo 2013:436)

Via his action of Good Mind, the person of good intellect
voices his grasp of Beneficent Propermindedness,
knowing her to be the ally of Rightness,
and all those *vōiiaϑrā* (which are) in Thy Dominion, [M. Schwartz per litteras electronicas]

The final *ā* of *xšaϑrāiā* could be excised (cf. 32.6 *ϑβahmī vā mazdā. xšaϑrōi*) giving

tāca vispā ahura / ϑwahmi mazdā xšaϑrāi viiaϑrā

– ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ x | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ x
˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ x | (˘) – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ x

If we scan *ϑwahmi* – ˘ then we have anaclasis at the beginning of each colon. But if we eliminate the other objects of *vīduuå* we have:

*widwāh wispā wiiaθrā

which I suggest is a striking match for the Vedic formula

víśvāni vayúnāni vidvā́n

Assuming a PIIr. formula "knowing [*ṷiduas-*] all [*ṷićuā*] twists [*ṷ(a)iH-*]" we can observe how the Gathic penchant for *trobar clus* and theological speculation has expanded the basic core. The responding passage (according to the system of Martin Schwartz), 48.7, has another apparent form of the root **ṷei̯h₁-* in line c

ni aēšəmō diiātąm | paitī rəməm siiōdūm 5 |6
yōi ā vaŋhəuš | manaŋhō dīdraγžō.duiiē 4/7
aṣ̌ā viiąm, | yehiiā hiθāuš nā spəṇtō 4/7
aṯ hōi dāmąm | ϑβahmī ā dąm ahurā 4/7
Let wrath be tied down, slash away fury,
you who wish to draw close to Good Mind's *viiąm* with Rightness,

whose ally (*alligatus) is the numinously-beneficial man,
and his ties/bonds are in Thy house, O Lord'. [Translation after M. Schwartz *per litteras electronicas*]

The most straightforward interpretation of *viiąm* in line c is as the reflex of acc. sg. f. of an -*eh₂*-stem which has an exact match in OIr. *fé, airbe, imbe* 'fence' enclosure' and Latv. *vija* 'fence' which produces an irreproachable scansion ⏑ – ⏑ - | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - - - x.[42]
The stanza is replete with imagery of tying and binding (*diiatąm, hiθāuš, dāmąm)* and the responsion strengthens the case that *v(ō)iiaθrā* is also connected with **u̯eih₁-* and the formulaic partial match in turn strengthens the case for the ultimate connection of Ved. *vayúna-* with the same root. In fact, you could say that it ties up everything nicely.

Appendix 1: Passages with *vayúna-* in the RV

	Locus	R̥si	devatā	chandas	verb	subject of verb	modifiers
1.	1.72.7a	Parāśara Śāktya	Agni	Tri.	vidvā́m̐	Agni	kṣitīnā́m
2.	1.92.2c	Gotama Rāhūgaṇa	Uṣas	Jag.	akrann	Uṣásaḥ	
3.	1.92.6b	Gotama Rāhūgaṇa	Uṣas	Tri	kr̥ṇoti	Uṣā́ḥ	
4.	1.144.5d	Dīrghatamas Aucathya	Agni	Jag.	adhita	Agni	návā
5.	1.145.5c	Dīrghatamas Aucathya	Agni	Tri.	ví abravīd	Agni	mártyebhyah
6.	1.152.6c	Dīrghatamas Aucathya	Mitra Varuṇa	Tri.	vidvā́n	Agni?	
7.	1.162.18c	Dīrghatamas Aucathya	Aśvastuti	Tri.	kr̥ṇota	Sacrificers	áchidrā gā́trā
8.	1.182.1a	Agastya	Aśvins	Jag.	ábhūd	_	
9.	1.189.1b	Agastya	Agni	Tri.	vidvā́n	Agni	víśvāni
10.	2.19.3d	Gr̥tsamada	Indra	Tri.	sādhat	Indra	aktúnā áhnām
11.	2.19.8b	Gr̥tsamada	Indra	Tri.	takṣuḥ	Gr̥tsamadā́ḥ	
12.	2.24.5d	Gr̥tsamada	Brahmanaspati	Jag.	cakára	bráhmaṇas pátiḥ	
13.	2.34.4d	Gr̥tsamada	Maruts	Jag.	[sit]	r̥jipyā́saḥ	
14.	3.3.4b	Viśvāmitra Gāthina	Agni Vaiśvānara	Jag.	[is]	agníḥ	vāghátām
15.	3.5.6b	Viśvāmitra Gāthina	Agni	Tri.	vidvā́n	agníḥ	víśvāni

[42] Humbach 1991:2:201 compares YAv. *uiiāhuua* 'wombs' (Yt. 13.11) loc. pl. < 'enclosures'. LIV²:695 prefers Schindler's (1972:70) explanation of *viiąm* as a *t*-less 3s mid. ipv. "let (him) whose partner is the prosperous man be protected by truth" vel sim.

16.	3.29.3d	Viśvāmitra	Agni	Tri.	ajaniṣṭa	íḷāyās putráḥ = Agni	
17.	4.5.13a	Vāmadeva Gautama	Agni Vaiśvānara	Tri.	[is]	—	
18.	4.16.3d	Vāmadeva Gautama	Indra	Tri.	cakrur	bards	áhnā cid... gṛṇantaḥ
19.	5.48.2a	Pratibhānu Ātreya	All Gods	Jag.	atnata	Dawns	vīrávakṣaṇam
20.	6.7.5d	Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya	Agni Vaiśvānara	Tri.	avindaḥ	Agni	ketúṃ vayúneṣu áhnām
21.	6.15.10c	Vītahavya Āṅgirasa or Bharadvāja	Agni	Tri.	vidvā́n	Agni	víśvā
22.	6.75.14c	Pāyu Bhāradvāja	Weapons	Tri.	vidvā́n	hastaghná	víśvā
23.	7.75.4c	Vasiṣṭha	Dawn	Tri.	abhipáśyantī	Uṣas	jánānāṃ
24.	7.100.5b	Vasiṣṭha	Viṣṇu	Tri.	vidvā́n	poet	
25.	8.66.8b	Kali Prāgātha	Indra	Satobr.	á bhūṣati	vṛ́kaḥ	
26.	10.44.7d	Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa	Indra	Jag.	[be in place]	—	purū́ṇi yátra vayúnāni bhójanā
27.	10.46.8b	Vatsaprī Bhālandana	Agni	Tri.	prá [bharate]	Agni	cétasā pṛthivyā́ḥ
28.	10.49.5b	Indra Vaikuṇṭha	Indra	Jag.	[be]	—	canā́nuṣák
29.	10.114.3b	Sadhri Vairūpa or Gharma Tāpasa	All Gods	Tri.	vaste	cátuṣkapardā yuvatíḥ supéśā ghṛtápratīkā	
30.	10.122.2b	Citramahas Vāsiṣṭha	Agni	Tri.	vidvā́n	Agni	víśvāni

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