Vayúna- and its Indo-European background[1]
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ECIEC June 19-22, 2025, LMU Munich

1. The Problem of *vayúnam*

1.1. 30x[2] plus the derivatives *vayúnavat-* (6.21.3a), *vayúnāvat-* (4.51.1b), *avayuná-* (6.21.3a), *vayunaśás* (6.52.12b), and *vayunādhā́-* (MS).

1.2. It doesn't really survive the Vedic period and has few independent post-RV Vedic uses.

2. The Indian Tradition

2.1. *Nirukta* (± 6th BCE ?) 5.15 *vayúnam : kāntirvā prajñā-vā* 'desire (or light?) or knowledge' and is derived from the root *vī-*.

2.2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (± 10th CE?) '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].

2.3. The meaning 'knowledge' was probably extracted from the frequent and salient RV formula (*víśvā*) *vayúnā(ni) vidvā́n*.

3. The European Tradition: Pischel 'way' and Thieme 'Umhüllung'

3.1. Grassmann: (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.

3.2. Pischel 1889:296: "*vayúna* ist ein Synonymum von *mārga*, das Wort, das der vedische Dialekt für *mārga* der klassischen Sprache gebraucht. "

(1)   *ágne náya supáthā rāyé asmā́n*
        víśvāni deva vayúnāni vidvā́n
        O Agni, lead us to wealth by an easy path,
        since you know all *vayúnāni*, o god.

víśvāni deva vayúnāni vidvā́n is a relatively rare instance of an almost repeated pada which reoccurs at 3.5.6:

(2)   *ṛbhúś cakra íḍiyaṃ cā́ru nā́ma*
        víśvāni devó vayúnāni vidvā́n
        The Ṛbhu [=Agni] created for himself the beloved name (of Ṛbhu) to be invoked,
        since he is the god who knows all the *vayúnāni*.

By Pischel's argument we could infer that *vayúnāni vidvā́n* means 'knowing all names'.

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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'.

3.2.1. *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).

3.2.1.1. The favored *sedes* is the end of a hendecasyllabic line.

3.2.1.2. 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.*

3.2.2. A cheville-like formula is not a very plausible starting point for working out the specific meaning of *vayúna-.*

3.3. Thieme 1949 'covering'. Thieme starts from an etymological hypothesis that *vayúna-* is derived from the root of *vyáyati* 'envelop' and therefore should mean 'covering' (*Umhüllung*). 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.

3.3.1. Thieme: "Umhüllung ist der Körper in dem das Leben wohnt und der zerfällt wenn beim Tode der Odem entweicht." But the passage continues:

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

4. The RV *vayúna* passages

4.1. *vayúna* plus genitive: 1.72.7 and 7.75.4. In 1.72.7

(5)   *vidvā́ṁ agne vayúnāni kṣitīnā́ṃ*
       ví ānuṣák churúdho jīváse dhāḥ
       antarvidvā́ṁ 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 parākā́t*
       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.

4.2 The formula *vayúnāni vidvā́n* again

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***
        táṃ tvā gṛṇāmi 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,

(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 sudṛ́śaṃ suáñcam*
        áṃso vidúṣṭaraṃ sapema
        sá yakṣad víśvā vayúnāni vidvā́n
        prá havyám agnír amṛ́teṣu 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.

Outlier: the subject is the handguard which wards off the recoils of the bowstring.

(10)   *áhir 'va bhogaíḥ pári eti bāhúṃ*
        jiyā́yā hetím paribā́dhamānaḥ

3

hastaghnó víśvā vayúnāni vidván
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 "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 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.

4.2.1. 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*

4.3.1. *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 vríśo*) that urge him on. 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*). 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

(11)   *ábhūd idáṃ vayúnam ó ṣú bhūṣatā*
         rátho vŕ̥ṣaṇvān mádatā manīṣiṇaḥ
         This *vayúnam* has now been set: (all of you,) attend upon it!
         The chariot has its bulls: become exhilarated, (all) you of inspired thought!

(12)   *vŕ̥kaś cid asya vāraṇá urāmáthir*
         ā́ vayúneṣu bhūṣati
         Even a wolf -- wild and sheep-stealing –
         attends to its own *vayúneṣu*.

If this translation of *ā́ bhūṣ-* at 8.66.8 is correct, it suggests that there is something **normative** about *vayúna-*.

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

(13)   *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:

(14)   *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:

(15)   *pitā́ yajñā́nām ásuro vipaścítāṃ*
       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:

(16)   *áchidrā gā́trā vayúnā kr̥ṇota*
       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

(17)   *mā́ te gr̥dhnúr 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.

4.3.3. *Vayúna-* more concrete than 'ritual order'.

4.3.3.1. Likened to a fabric. At 10.114.3 the ghee-faced young woman, presumably some personification of a ritual item wears (*vaste*) *vayúnāni*.

(18)   *cátuṣkapardā yuvatíḥ supéśā*
       ghr̥tápratīkā vayúnāni vaste
       The well-ornamented, ghee-faced young woman with four braids [= vedi/night sky?] wears *vayúnāni*.

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

(19)   *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.[3] The metaphor of dawn and night wearing or employing different garments is a familiar universal metaphor. 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".

4.3.3.2. Connected with Light and Dawn, e.g. 1.92.2c:

(20)
         ákrann uṣā́so vayúnāni pūrváthā
         rúśantam bhānúm áruṣīr aśiśrayuḥ
         The Dawns have made their *vayúnāni* as of old. A gleaming beam have the
         reddish ones propped up.

and 1.92.6b

(21)   *átāriṣma támasas pārám asyá*
         uṣā́ uchántī vayúnā kṛṇoti
         We have crossed to the further shore of this darkness.
         Dawn, dawning, is making her *vayúnā*.

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

(22)   *sá ít támo **avayunáṃ** tatanvát*
         *sū́riyeṇa **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.

(23)   *idám u tyát purutámam purástāj*
         jyótis támaso vayúnāvad asthāt

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[3] 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."

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

(24)   *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

(25)   *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.

4.3.3.3. Finally, omitting a discussion of some instances of the word which seem not informative to me, 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.

(26)   *pṛ́ṣadaśvāso anavabhrárādhasa*
       r̥jipyā́so ná vayúneṣu dhūrṣádaḥ
       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?).

Is *vayúneṣu* is to be bracketed with *r̥jipyā́saḥ* 'eagles' and so a part of the simile or to be bracketed with *dhūrṣádaḥ* 'sitting at the yoke pole'. Cf. 2.2.1d *dyukṣáṃ hótāraṃ vr̥jáneṣu dhūrṣádam*. Here it seems probable *vr̥jáneṣu* is modifying *dhūrṣádam* rather than *hótāraṃ* since the latter word is separated from *vr̥jáneṣu* 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 /entities/events", i.e. the ritual sessions."

4.4. Summary: *vayúna-* in its most concrete sense, 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. The ŚB passage that Thieme began his argument from is quite consistent with this picture.

(27) *prāṇā́ vaí devā́ vayonādhā́ḥ. prānaír hídáṃ sarvaṁ vayúnaṃ naddhám*
      átho chándāṃsi vaí devā́ vayonādhāś chándhobhir hì̀daṃ 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*

5.1. In Vedic the verb meaning 'to weave' has a present *váyati* but a perfect 3p *ūvuḥ*,
ppp. *utá-*, an infinitive *ótum, ótave*.

5.2. 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.

5.3. 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.

*ĝʰu̯ehₓ-i̯e- > *hváya-* 'call' beside *hava-*
*u̯i̯ehₗ-i̯e- 'envelop' (*vyáyati*) vs. **u̯ei̯hₗ-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.

5.4. Jasanoff 2021:172 on *váyati*: "**Hu̯ei-* (thematic present **Hu̯éi̯-e/o-*) or **Hu̯ehₗ-* (i-present **Hu̯(é)hₗ-i-*); or *váya-* could actually be the etymological thematic present of **u̯eihₗ- ~ *u̯i̯ehₗ-* '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 **hₗ* extension of the root **Heu̯-*.

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

Doubts expressed about the connection of *vyáyati* 'covers' with the family of **u̯ei̯hₗ-* 'plait, twine'. Cheung 2007:435 in discussing the Iranian cognates of *vyáyati* "It remains doubtful whether the Iranian and Skt. forms above are connected to IE **u̯i̯ehₗ-* '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.'." It is true that the meanings of *uieō*, Russ. *vit'*, Lith. *výti* and the supposed Indo-Iranian cognate (*vyáyati*) are different.

6.1. The non-Indo-Iranian forms 'to manipulate long thin strands', specifically either 'to plait or twine' or 'to roll up'.

6.2. Latin *uieō* is rare and archaic and is used of plaiting rushes or branches to form a wreath, a chariot basket, a wall, or a basket. There is no perfect stem attested but the ppp. was probably **uītos* (either from **uih₁-tó-* or from an analogically created **uiietós*) 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. +).

6.3. Lith. *vejù výti, vijau* is a semantic match for Lat. *uieō*. It is used of twisting fibers to make 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'.

6.4. 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.).

6.5. You can twist a fiber together with another fiber (plait) or twist it around itself (wrap). Mayrhofer and Cheung's scruples therefore seem unjustified.

6.6. OIr. *fenamain* i, fem. 'wattles plashing wickerwork, hamper', *airbe* < **are-ṵiiā* '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 **ṵih₁-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 CEṶH-.

- A **-tis* derivative **ṵih₁-ti-* ~ **ṵeih₁ti-* with mainly concrete meanings (vine, clematis, sinew, willow) and with a surprising full-grade match between Iranian and Celtic.
    - **ṵeih₁ti-*: YAv. *vaēiti-* 'willow twigs' (hap. *vaētaiiō Vid.* 22.20) MP *wēd*, ModP *bēd*, OIr. *féith* fiber, 'twining plant'
    - **ṵih₁-ti-*: Lith. *vytìs* 'willow twig'
    - ambiguous: Lat. *uītis* 'vine', PSl. **vitĭ* f. (SC *pàvȋt* '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'
        *wiþjō > ON *við,* gen. sg. *viðjar* 'withy'
        *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'[4]

- A *-men*-stem **ṵ(e)ih₁mṇ*
    Lat. *uīmen* (Cat. +) 'pliant twig', MLG *wīm(e)* m. MDu. *wīme* f. 'osier', MIr. *fíam* 'chain'[5]

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

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

- an *n*-stem (perhaps a delocative to the root noun (Neri 2017:324) or derived from the *-men* stem (Alan Nussbaum p.c.) *u̯ih₁en-: Hitt. *wiyan-* 'wine' (Gk. ὑιήν?) with further derivatives *u̯oi̯h₁no-* Gk. οἶνος (whence Etruscan *vinum* whence Italic *u̯īnom*; I'm inclined to doubt that Latin and Sabellic forms are inherited) and Alb. *verë/venë* 'wine' < *u̯oi̯h₁neh₂.

- *u̯ih₁tó-* Ved. *vītá-* 'enveloped' (RV 4.7.6), Lith. *výtas* 'twisted', perhaps Lat. *uitta* 'fillet'

- *u̯(e)i̯h₁to-* → PIr. *u̯ai̯tākā-* > Oss. Ir. *wīdag/* Di. *yedagæ* 'root', Sog. *wyt'k* 'string';
    - *u̯(e)i̯h₁te-k-* > *ui̯tex* 'chaste tree'
    - Arm. *gi, gi-oy* 'juniper'

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

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

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

- *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'

- *(-)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. *įvajus* '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*). Connection with *u̯ei̯h₁-* already in Fick 1871:868 but not in Fick 1868.

8. Morphophonological observations

8.1. LIV² *$\underline{u}ieh_1$- on the basis of the thematic aorist *ávyat* which is explained as a thematization of an original root aorist *$\underline{u}ieh_1$-t ~ *$\underline{u}ih_1$-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 forms in *vyā-* are post-RV and could be analogical.

8.1.1 Further, old nominal forms, some of which must be quite archaic show the full-grade *$\underline{u}ei̯h_1$- (e.g. OIr. *féith* = YAv. *vaēiti-* etc.).

8.1.1. Preferable to reconstruct *$\underline{u}ei̯h_1$- and explain the *Schwebeablaut* as triggered by the *i*-present.

8.1.2. The thematic aorist secondarily created from the present by subtraction of the suffix *-*i̯e*- which led to a non-present stem *vya-* on the model Pres. *$m\underline{n}$-ya- : Aor. *$m\underline{n}$-, etc. cf. *hváyati áhvat* (the more frequently attested aorist beside *áhuvat*).

8.2. Forms where a laryngeal reflex is absent. In full grade forms of the type *$\underline{u}ei̯h_1C$ most Indo-European languages would probably have no reflex, cf. Ved. *netár-* 'leader' < *$nei̯h_xter$-

8.2.1. In Greek we might have expected a reflex if we can trust the evidence of δέατο 'appeared' < *$dei̯h_2to$.[6] A form like Εἰτέα instead of *$\underline{u}ei̯etey̯ā$- could have lost the laryngeal in the *o*-grade form of an acrostatic *u*-stem base or by the weather rule in the weak͜ cases.

9. *Vayúna-* and forms in *-una-*

9.1. The suffix *-una-* is not productive in Vedic. 19 forms with this suffix in Vedic and a few more mainly unetymologized forms from the later period.[7]

3 oxytones: adjectives: *aruṇá-* 'red', *mithuná-* 'paired'; noun: *śakuná-* (kind of bird))

6 proparoxytones: adjectives: *árjuna-* 'white', *táruṇa-* 'young', *phálguna-* 'reddish' (VS, TS) (*phalgú-*), *víṣuna-* 'manifold'; nouns: *píśuna-* 'slanderer', *váruṇa-* (god name)

10 paroxytones: adjectives: *dārúṇa-* (also *dāruṇá-*) 'hard' (ŚB), *pracetúna-* 'affording a wide view' *sucetúna-* 'very notable'; nouns: *karúṇa-* 'work'?, *dharúṇa-* (*dharuṇī́*) '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.

9.2. Avestan: YAv. *tauruna-* 'young'; YAv. *ahuna-* 'containing the word *ahū*'; YAv. *aθauruna-* 'priestly function'; OAv. YAv. *auruna-* 'wild'; YAv. *kahrpuna-* 'lizard' (= Khwar. *krbwn*); YAv. *hamaṇkuna-* 'hooked together'.

9.3. 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-,* YAv. *kahrpuna-*) 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:

9.3.1. With inner Indo-Iranian comparanda

aru-ṣá- 'red' OHG *elo* 'brown' < *$elw-az$ ~ *aru-ṇá-* 'red', Av. *auruna-* 'wild' (unless this is from *h_1al-, cf. Ved. *áraṇa-* 'foreign')

cetú- 'heedfulness' ~ °*cetúna-* 'visible'

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[6] As pointed out to me by Alan Nussbaum, δέατο is not trustworthy since the a might originate in the 3rd pl. *$dei̯h_2\underline{n}to$. δῆλος 'clear, visible' < *$dei̯alos$ is also not conclusive since *-alos* is productive.

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

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'

9.3.2. With comparanda elsewhere

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

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. Nussbaum 2018) → **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."

11. Some Old Avestan comparanda

11.1. Y. 34.10

ahiiā vaŋhəuš manaŋhō šiiaoϑanā vaocaṯ gərəbąm huxratuš

spəṇtąmcā ārmaitīm dąmīm vīduuå hiϑąm ašahiiā

tācā vīspā ahurā ϑβahmī mazdā xšaϑrōi ā vōiiaϑrā

11.2. Scansion

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[8] 7/10

– ˘ ˘ – – ˘ ˘ x | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ – ˘ – – ˘ ˘ x

˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ x | (˘) – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ x

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

tāca vispā ahura / ϑwahmi mazdā xšaϑrāi viiaϑrā

– ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ x | ˘   ˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ x

˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ x | (˘) – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ x

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

If we scan *ϑwahmi* – ˘ then we have anaclasis at the beginning of the last colon of the stanza.

11.3. Translations

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*]

11.4. A Proto-Indo-Iranian formula?

If we eliminate the other objects of *vīduuā̊* we have:

*widwāh wispā wiiaθrā

which I suggest is a striking match for the Vedic formula

víśvāni vayúnāni vidvā́n

Assuming a PIIr. formula "knowing [**u̯iduas-*] all [**u̯iću̯ā*] twists [**u̯(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 **u̯ei̯h₁-* in line c

ni aēšəmō diiātąm | paitī rəməm siiōdūm 5 |6
yōi ā vaŋhəuš | manaŋhō dīdraɣžō.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.[9]

The stanza is replete with imagery of tying and binding (*diiatąm, hiθāuš, dāmąm)* and the response strengthens the case that *v(ō)iiaθrā* is also connected with **u̯ei̯h₁-* and the formulaic partial match in turn strengthens the case for the ultimate connection of Ved. *vayúna-* with the same root.

See extended version for references, footnotes and appendix of all RV *vayúna-* passages.

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[9] 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.