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## **Six Vedic Etymologies**

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## Six Vedic Etymologies

### 1. Vedic *ánutta-*

The adjective is attested as such five times in the RV, plus thrice in composition in *ánutta-manyu-*, as an epithet of Indra (7,31,12a; 8,6,35c; 8,96,19b). None of the contexts throws much light on the precise meaning of the word:

- 1,80,7ab      *índra túbhyam íd adrivó 'nuttam̐ (= adrivaḥ ánuttam̐) vajrin vīryam̐ |*  
 "For you. o Indra, stone-possessor, vajra-bearer, is the heroic force *ánutta-*."
- 1,165,9a      *ánuttam̐ á te maghavan nákir nú*  
 "O Maghavan (= Indra), to your *ánutta-* nobody now ..."<sup>1</sup>
- 3,31,13d      *víśvā índrāya táviṣīr ánuttāḥ ||*  
 "All powers are *ánutta-* for Indra (= all of Indra's powers are ...)."
- 7,34,11b      *ánuttam̐ asmai kṣatrām̐ víśváyu ||*  
 "For him (Indra), the rule is *ánutta-* for all time"
- 8,90,5cd      *tvam̐ vṛttrāṇi haṅsy apratīny éka íd ánuttā carṣaṇīdhītā ||*  
 "You slay alone the obstacles who are without counterpart, with (your weapon which is) *ánutta-* (and) upholding the people (?)"<sup>2</sup>.

Clearly, *ánutta-* is an epithet of Indra's power and rule (perhaps also of his weapon). This leaves a wide choice for details of meaning and word-formation. Grassmann (and others) analysed it as *a-nut-ta-* from the root *nud-* "to throw, push, kick", and translated as "unüberwindlich, insuperable" i.e. "what cannot be pushed away." Oldenberg and Aufrecht took the word as *anu-t-tá-* from the root *dā-* "to give",<sup>3</sup> *anu-dā-* "to give away, to concede", which results in the idea that the item's mentioned above are "conceded" to Indra – rather strange for the Aryan god of war and victory, I feel.

There is a third formal possibility for *ánutta-* which may render a better result in the attempt of understanding the Vedic mind. As far as I can see, it has never been proposed before. Analyzed *an-ut-ta-*, the *-ut-* may be the zero grade of *vat-* "to blow". Thieme (1954a: 656-666 = 1984: 139-149) has convincingly shown that this is indeed the most likely basic meaning of the rare root.<sup>4</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> Dark verse; there is no finite verb expressing what nobody could do in respect to Indra's *ánutta-*.

<sup>2</sup> Difficult word which I refrain to discuss here. The two adjectives in instrumental case refer perhaps to Indra's typical weapon, the *vajra-* (cf. the vocative in verse 4: *vajra-hasta* "o you with the club in hand").

<sup>3</sup> In fact, *-tta-* is the regular Skt outcome of PIE *\*dh<sub>3</sub>-tó-* in compounds, see Wack (II/2 § 426dβ) for examples.

<sup>4</sup> For alternative views, see *EWAia* s.v. and references given by Gotō (1987: 281).

RV, it only appears with the preverb *api-* (twice the basic verb, four times the causative). For a full discussion, see lastly Gotō (1987: 280-281), with references. The zero grade *-ut-* might be found in Indic, if only Thieme's ingenious etymology were correct, in the name of the Maruts (*mar-ut-* "vom Meer her blasend", with reference to RV 5.55.5b). The *vṛddhi* grade may be found in the difficult word *svapivāta* (vocative, of Rudra) RV 7.46.3c which Thieme (1954a: 659 = 1984: 142) translated as "von guter Einblasung Begleiteter!"<sup>5</sup>

A *-tó-*adjective (usually labelled 'past participle') to *vat-* is not attested at all, according to the handbooks: it may be found here! Negated *-tó-*adjectives usually denote a quality of 'not being able to be X-ed' (cf. Wack II/2 § 432d, with examples). So, the basic meaning of *an-ut-ta-* is "not being able to be blown (away)", from which usages as "firm, unshakeable, standfast", etc. are easily understandable. This meaning fits well without any problem in all the attestations, see above.

## 2. Vedic *ávāta-*

Geldner translates the adjective by "unangefochten, sicher", and understands it as a derivative of the root *van-* "besiegen". This may be formally correct, under the assumption that *-vā-* has an analogical *-ā-* (instead of the expected *\*va-ta- < \*uṇ-tó-*), perhaps after *sātá-* from the root *san<sup>i</sup>-* with similar meaning, as considered by Gotō (1987: 284 A. 656).

Another possibility seems to be more attractive to me, viz. linking *ávāta-* to the root <sup>2</sup>*vā-* "ermatten, dahinschwinden" < PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ueh<sub>2</sub>-* (LIV 254), present *va-nó-ti*, *va-nv-é*. The word *ávāta-* is attested six times in the RV with the accent on the word-initial *á-*. This, together with the full grade of the root (probably from PIE *\*-o-* in an open syllable) points to substantival usage (Wack II/2 § 436a), which may well be assumed at all places:

- 6,16,20c      *vanvánn ávāto ástrtaḥ* || (of Agni)  
 6,18,1b      *vanvánn ávātaḥ puruhūtá índraḥ* |  
 6,64,5a      *sá (= sá á) vaha yókṣábhír (= yá u-) ávātā* | (of Uṣas)  
 6,67,7c      *ná mṛṣyante yuvatáyo (a)vātā(h)*  
 9, 89,7a      *vanvánn ávāto* ... (of Soma, invoked in b)  
 9, 96, 11      *vanvánn ávātaḥ* ... (of Indra, subject in b).

For the poets of books 6 and 9. *vanvánn ávāta-* obviously is a poetic formula which they might have regarded as a *figura etymologica*, holding *á-vāta-* for a derivative of *van-*: "vanquishing, (but

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<sup>5</sup> This is ingenious but hard to prove. For me, *vat-* "to blow" is best regarded as an Indo-Iranian neo-root abstracted from various derivatives of the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-* "to blow" (basically of the wind, lit. the "blowing" in PIE, *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-nt-ó-*, a thematized regular present participle), skt. *vā-*. Cf. my study of the root as found in the name *Wotan/Oðinn* (Zimmer 2015). The Vedic hapax *su--api-vā-ta-* may be understood then as "well equipped with inspiration", a *bahuvrīhi* with first member *su-* "well" (adverb, not adjective, as shown in Zimmer 1995); the second member may be an adaption of unattested nomen actionis *\*api-vā-tā* (f) "inspiration", or of the abstracts *\*api-vā-ti-* or *\*api-vā-tu-*. Note that both *\*uāti-* and *\*uāti-* are well attested in Celtic (for details, see Zimmer 2015).

himself) the unvanquished one". The two attestations in 6,64 and 6,67 are less formulaic and therefore better suited to show the original meaning and usage of the word:

- 6,64,5a "You, bring here (the wealth, mentioned in verse 4) with (your) oxen, you who (are an) undefatigable one (= never tired, vel sim.)"
- 6,67,7c "the (female) young ones do not forget, the undefatigables ones (= fingers of the priest(s) preparing (pressing, filtering, mixing) Soma for Mitra and Varuṇa, (mentioned in verse 9)."

It is easily understandable how the word could have been thought of as belonging to another root: who is never tired, etc., is also likely to never lose a dispute or combat.

The three<sup>6</sup> regular oxytone attestations probably show the corresponding adjectival usage:

- 1,38,7c *míhaṃ kṛṇvanti avātám* || "They (the Maruts) make indestructable mist (or: drizzle)"<sup>7</sup>
- 1,62,10a *sanát sánīlā avānīr avātá* "From time immemorial the rivers who come from the same nest (and are) imperishable ..."
- 8,79,7b *ádṛptakratur avātáḥ* | (of Soma, invoked in c) "With concentrated mind, (you are) never tired (o Soma)."

For various other problems and questions around the roots <sup>2</sup>vā-, van-, and van<sup>i</sup>-, see Gotō (1987), Mayrhofer (*EWAia*), Werba (1997), and the literature referred to by them.

### 3. Vedic *ùgrás*

This strange form, attested only in RV 1,165,6 and 10 in the phrase *ahám hy ùgrás* has been explained by Schnaus (2008: 19 A 35) "durch übertriebene Betonung", similar to G "staaark" "in der Comic-Sprache". This is, I am afraid, too modern,<sup>8</sup> and cannot be brought together with the old accentuation as handed down faithfully with the text of the RV. The svarita on the first syllable and the udatta on the second do not force us to read *hí ùgrás*, even if that would give a proper eleven-syllable line. One may, of course, try to find, with Schnaus, a suprasegmental motivation for the long *ù*-. More attractive, I think, is to stay nearer to the traditional text, and to understand the akṣaras *hyùgrás* as *hy ùgrás*, with *hí + ú > hyù*. In Sandhi with the *u*- of *ugrás*, this cannot be written otherwise than *hyùgrás*. The (wrong) spelling with a word boundary between *hy* and *ùgrás* is but a modern editorial feature. The Padapātha gives simple *hí ugrás*, which is not correct either, as the Saṃhitāpātha does not contain *hyùgrás* with a short *-ù-*, the normal sandhi for *hí + ugrás*.

<sup>6</sup> RV 1,52,4d *śúsmā índram avātá* which Gelder gives under <sup>1</sup>*a-vātá-*, in fact belongs to <sup>2</sup>*a-vātá-* "without wind", cf. the immediately following *áhruta-psavaḥ* "with unstopping breath".

<sup>7</sup> On the problematic relation of *míh-* to *meghá-*, etc., see *EWAia* II 374-375, 381.

<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, emphatic lengthening is unknown in Sanskrit, other than in Pluti which is noted in the text by the cipher 3 (= three mores).

The proposed interpretation *hí + ú + ugrás* fits quite well, I suppose, in the two attestations in 1,165. The subject of the hymn is a kind of dispute between the Maruts and Indra. The latter repeatedly boasts about his might and superiority over the Maruts. So in verse 6c, after having asked tauntingly in 6ab where the Marut were when he, in single combat (cf. *ékam*) slew the dragon, he says:

*ahám hy ùgrás taviśás túviśmān* "I (*hí* ≈ as you know) [am] (*ú* ≈ in marked contrast to you)<sup>9</sup> strong, powerful, vigorous." Similarly in Verse 10c:

*ahám hy ùgró maruto vídāno* "For (*hí* ≈ as you know) I (*u* ≈ and not you!) have been found as strong (≈ the only strong one, the really strong one, the very strongest, vel sim.)."

#### 4. Vedic *pr̥tsúṣu* and similar formations

This unique locative is attested only once, in RV 1,120,4e, in an invocation to Indra: (*á*)*vā pr̥tsúṣu káṣu cit*. Usually, the *-súṣu* is understood as a double ending, with the ordinary *-su* repeated for unknown (or at least unobvious) reasons.<sup>10</sup> Knobl (2009: 40-43 = 2004: 280-83) ingeniously pleaded for a rhetorical motive, viz. to highlight the point of "in whatever battles", because the 'normal' *pr̥tsú káṣu cit* (attested in RV 8,31,15b) may have been misunderstandable in the verse 1,120,4 as "in some, in certain battles".

This, of course, is highly attractive, and renders the correct interpretation of the verse. But the form *pr̥tsúṣu* invites to further deliberations. In light of *pr̥tsu-tí-* (1,110,7; 1,169,2; 5,4,1; 10,38,1) and *pr̥tsu-túr-* (3,37,7), it is not unreasonable to assume<sup>11</sup> the existence of an adjective *\*pr̥t-s-ú-* "eager for battle", vel sim., a derivative of *pr̥t-* "combat, battle",<sup>12</sup> with desiderative *-s-* and the current adjectival suffix *-ú-*.<sup>13</sup> The abstract *pr̥tsu-tí-* then expresses "eagerness for battle, pugnacity, bellicosity", the governing compound *pr̥tsu-túr-* "overcoming (lit. breaking though) those who are 'eager for battle' (i.e. the pugnacious = the enemies)". As all attestations in the RV show, these meanings perfectly fit the context:

1,110,7cd     *yuṣmákam devā ávasáhani* (= *ávasā áhani*) *priyē 'bhí tiṣṭhema pr̥tsutír ásunvatām* ||  
"With your help, o gods (= the Ṛ̥bhu's) we want to withstand the pugnacities<sup>14</sup> of those who do not press (Soma) on the very day (lit. the own day = the day of sacrifice)."

1,169,2c     / *marútām pr̥tsutír* ... "Pugnacity<sup>15</sup> is the Marut's (= is typical for the Marut's)" ...

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Knobl (2009: 73 = 2007: 133) "marks opposition", and Dunkel (LIPP s.v.) "dort, ferndeiktisch, antithetisch".

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Wack (III § 29b): "wahrscheinlich ... freie, durch metrische Bequemlichkeit veranlaßte, Variation".

<sup>11</sup> A "new stem" *pr̥tsú-* was already considered by (Kuhn 1866: 397) and Fraenkel (1909: 235), as duly noted by Knobl.

<sup>12</sup> In Vedic, this is a defective noun: only the loc.pl. *pr̥tsú* being attested (besides the unique *pr̥tsúṣu* discussed here). But in Iranian, Avestan *pərət-* "id." is found in Yt 11,15, and the verb *part-* "to fight", continued in Middle and Modern Iranian (see *EWAia* II 160 for references), is well attested.

<sup>13</sup> The Naighantu has a word *pr̥tsu-dha-* "samgrāma-" i.e. "host, troop" (AV), later also "fight, battle"; even if it is not found in a real text, it could support the hypothesis presented above.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Geldner's "Anfeindungen", but "Kampfactionen" (Witzel-Gotō) and "battle-thrusts" (Jamison-Brereton).

- 3,37,7      *dyumnéṣu pṛtanā́jye pṛtsutúrṣu śravassu ca | índra sákṣvābhímātiṣu ||*  
 "In the brilliancies (= brilliant deeds) at the front of the battle and in the fames (= famous deeds) which break through the pugnacious (enemies),<sup>16</sup> o Indra, prevail (*sák-ṣva* from the root *sah-* "to overpower, win") in the attacks (or: among the attackers)."
- 5,4,1d      *abhí syāma pṛtsutír mártýānām ||*  
 "We want to be above (= victors over) the pugnacities<sup>17</sup> of the (other) humans."
- 10,38,1 ab      *asmín na índra pṛtsutaú yásasvati śímīvati krándasi práva (= prá ava) sātáye |*  
 "Support us, o Indra, amid the dazzling pugnacity<sup>18</sup> (and) the powerful roaring, for winning."

### Excursus: Other Vedic formations in *-su-*

- 4.a      The element *apsú-* in *apsu- kṣit-*, *-cara-*, *-já<sup>19</sup>*, *-jít-*, *-dīkṣā*, *-mánt-*, *-yogá-*, *-yoni-*, *-váh-*, *-ṣad(as)-*, *-ṣomá-*, *-saṃśita-*, *-homya-* is to be understood as the regular locative plural, cf. e.g. the translations given by Monier-Williams (1899: 59c).
- 4.b      The adjectives *d(h)ákṣu-* and *d(h)ákṣús-* "burning" are traditionally understood as derived from a secondary root *d(h)akṣ-* (Renou 1936: 1,29; Wack II/2 § 70aδ) also found in the present participle *d(h)akṣat-*. The formans *-s-* might express a kind of eagerness: what is burning and flaming is obviously "eager to burn (more / other things)" – but this would be hard to prove, and is therefore a speculation only.
- 4.c      The precise meaning of *rámṣu-*, usually understood as "delightful, cheerful", is far from clear. It is only found twice (RV 2,4,5c as adverb in a phrase concerning Agni, and RV 4,1,8b as first member of a compound, an epithet of Agni). Formally, it is hardly anything else than a derivative of the root *ram-* "to stop, to be quiet", and later also "to enjoy, to delight". If the *-s-* is the desiderative marker already mentioned,<sup>20</sup> its basic meaning may be "eager to (come to) rest, eager to enjoy, to please" or even "calm, friendly, peaceful, pleasant", to come nearer to the traditional understanding. In both attestations, such an interpretation seems possible:

<sup>15</sup> Geldner's "Schlachtreihe" is an unhappy guess; cf. "Kampfaktion" (Witzel-Gotō) and "battle-thrust" (Jamison-Brereton).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. "Bei den in den Schlachten siegreichen Ruhmes(taten)" (Geldner), "in den Schlachten siegreichen (Taten)" (Witzel-Gotō), "(claims) that bring success in battle" (Jamison-Brereton).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. "Angriffe" (Geldner), "Kämpfe" (Witzel-Gotō), "battle charges" (Jamison-Brereton).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. "Kampf" (Geldner), "battle charge" (Jamison-Brereton).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the parallel *divi-já-* "born in heaven".

<sup>20</sup> Oxytone *-ú-* would, however, have been expected.

2,4,5c *sá citréṇa cikite ráṃsu bhāsá* "He (Agni) became visible in a friendly way with (his) shining light."<sup>21</sup>

4,1,8c Agni is characterized as *rám̐su-jihvaḥ* "whose tongue is eager to please".<sup>22</sup>

## 5. Vedic *śālā-vṛka-*

The compound is first attested in the often-cited verse from the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī:

RV 10,95,15cd *ná vai straiṇāni sakhyāni santi śālā-vṛkāṇāṃ hṛdayāni etá //*

"Really, female friendships do not exist; these (= their) hearts are of hyenas."

This is often felt as strongly misogynic (e.g. by Jamison 1996:12). But ironically, it is the nymph Urvaśī who utters the phrase in her attempt to make Purūravas understand her unexpected behaviour.<sup>23</sup>

Remarkable is the syntax of part d: *śālā-vṛkāṇāṃ hṛdayāni* stands for an (unattested) bahuvrīhi compound *śālā-vṛka--hṛdayāni*, looking like its paraphrase in traditional Indian grammar. As an epithet of "friendship", *śālā-vṛka--hṛdaya-* means "characterized by the heart of a hyena", here obviously meaning "ruthless", vel sim.<sup>24</sup>

Scholarship has seen since long that *śālā-vṛka-* owes its spelling with *ś-* to a popular etymology linking of the tatpuruṣa compound to *śālā-* "hall, house", etc. Parallel spellings with *s-*, however, represent the *lectio difficilior* i.e. most probably the original form.

The precise meaning of *śālā-vṛka-* was open to discussion for a long time (see the older dictionaries). Whether it is "hyena" (so e.g. Jamison-Brereton with the tradition) or "jackal",<sup>25</sup> the term designates a kind of wolf-like animal (*vṛka-* is the traditional term for "wolf", inherited from

<sup>21</sup> Cf. two modern translations: "Er (= Agni) wurde herrlich sichtbar mit auffallendem Licht" (Witzel-Gotō) and "He is (now) perceived in delight with his bright light" (Jamison-Brereton). Both are rather weak, I am afraid.

<sup>22</sup> Witzel-Gotō translate "mit gefälliger Zunge" which comes quite near to the proposal above, but Jamison-Brereton offer quite another perspective by translating "whose tongue is amid the pleasures", obviously understanding *rám̐su* as loc.pl. like *apsú* above. This is a clever idea but, unfortunately, no root noun *rām-* ("quietness" or "pleasure"?) is attested; furthermore, one would expect the accent on the final *-u*.

<sup>23</sup> Michael Witzel (by letter) kindly reminds me that hyenas live as amorphe bands, like Apsarases. Apsarases don't marry, and do not form a body of retainers (*vṛātya*) contrary to young men.

<sup>24</sup> For hyenas in Vedic literature, see Jamison (1991).

<sup>25</sup> Mayrhofer (EWAia II: 726) opts for the latter, with reference to "Thi[eme] bei T. Oberlies". But the two reviews indicated are not very helpful. In the first (Oberlies 1994a: 585 n.3), the author refers to the second where "habe ich die Auffassung meines Lehrers P. Thieme mitgeteilt, der zufolge *śālāvṛkā-* nicht Hyäne, sondern Schakal bedeute." But in this note (Oberlies 1994b: 349 n.14), the name of Thieme is not even mentioned. Oberlies cites and translates RV 10,96,15cd, adding "Frauen sind wie Schakale nur anscheinend treu: die Schakale laufen treu den Löwen (u.a.) nach, in Wahrheit jedoch nur deren Beute wegen." (O's underlining and punctuation). This is hardly a serious argument for "jackal" against "hyena", and furthermore, a rather unsuitable interpretation of the half-verse in view of the context: Urvaśī does not reveal to her former lover Purūravas a parasitic aspect of her *apsaras* nature, but her heart's inconstancy. – On the uncertain meaning of *śālāvṛkī* (sic) see Kiehnle (1980: 127).

PIE).<sup>26</sup> The first member of the compound has been interpreted in two ways: Mayrhofer (*KEWA* III 462) cites a proposal by Karl Hoffmann who understood it as a derivative of the root *sar-* "to flow, to run", so that the term expressed the notion of "running dog" in the sense of "blood hound"; Thieme (1954: 20n.3 and 28n.2), pointing to the adjective *sāra-* / *śāra-* "variegated, spotted" of Classical Sanskrit (hyenas are spotted, but not jackals), interpreted this as a north-western (-r-) popular (because of ś-) variant of \**sāla-* "salt-looking, grey, of mixed colour". The long -ā- of the first syllable is probably secondary (there are some attestation with *sa-*, e.g. in TS 6,2,4,4; MS 3,8,3) and may be taken over from derivatives with *vr̥ddhi* (*sālā-vr̥keyá-* is well attested), according to Mayrhofer (or Hoffmann?) (*KEWA* III 462). As we hardly are able to understand all connotations of the animal name for the speakers of Vedic, the discussion of semantic details has to remain open.

## 6. Vedic *su-devá-*

In an earlier publication (Zimmer 1995), I had argued for adverbial nature of the prefix *su-* in Vedic (and in IE in general). As a rule, all formations with *su-* belong to the poetical lexicon and are bahuvr̥hi adjectives. Nevertheless, most compounds with *su-* are usually translated by most authors as if *su-* were an adjective meaning "good", etc., and treated as bahuvr̥hi or karmadhāraya. In most cases, this may simply be due to an understandable attempt to render the Vedic text in smoother style. At other occasions, one might have doubts about the correct understanding of the term. The following discussion may be misunderstood as pedantic by some; but philology is obliged, I believe, to find out minute details of word-formation and also semantics whenever possible. One such example shall be studied here, Vedic *su-devá-*.

According to Grassmann, we find one substantival and six adjectival usages of the word in the RV, denoting a certain quality either of a god or of a human being.<sup>27</sup> The basic meaning of the adjective *devá-* is "celestial, heavenly (< pertaining to the clear day)", probably coined in distinction to nightly beings (powers of the underworld, dark ghosts and spirits, vel sim.). This is why Paul Thieme consistently translated *devá-* in the RV as "himmlisch, Himmlische(r)" (cf. e.g. Thieme 1964). We should therefore understand the eulogic compound as "characterized as heavenly / celestial in a good way or manner". That this must be interpreted differently for deities and humans is clear enough. A godhead might be called *su-devá-* in order to stress that (s)he shows divine qualities more clearly than other deities, at least in the very situation of being invoked; a human (usually the sacrificer / Opferherr) may win a part in celestial qualities, and therefore become able to be called 'characterized with' them by certain acts of venerations or by special grace of the deity. The

<sup>26</sup> Perhaps first an epithet of the dangerous animal, cf. Hitt. *walkuwa-* (n) "something negative" (Kloekhorst 2008: 950-951). Note also the inherited fem. *vr̥kí-* (= Old Norse *ylgr*). Whether the semantics of the derivatives *vr̥kátāt-* "danger", *vr̥kāti-* "rapacious, robber", *vr̥kāyú-* "rapacious, murderous" are based on the primary meaning or are developed from "wolfish" cannot be decided (see Mayrhofer EWAia for references). The hapax *vr̥kadvaras-* (RV 2,30,4) is probably a personal name "having the run of / running like a wolf"; a close parallel is the TochB proper name *kwem̐-toko* "running like a dog" (Pinault 1987: 85-92).

<sup>27</sup> This explains the later usage as a proper noun.



derivative *su-deváyá-* should, consequently, be understood as "the quality of being *su-devá-*". Grassmann's "Schar der guten Götter" is out of the question, I think; but Geldner's (rather free) "Göttergunst" comes quite near to the result of the argumentation here. At practically all places, the poet ostensibly likes to play with this *su-*: many other compounds with that syllable are found in the same verse, in adjacent verses, or the entire hymn.

Here are the textual attestations (from the RV only):

- 1,74,5            *tám ít suhavyám aṅgiraḥ sudevám sahaso yaho / jánā āhuḥ subarhīsam //*  
 "O Aṅgiras (= Agni), (you) youthful (son) of power, people call him 'well characterized by sacrificial gifts' (≈ sacrificing amply), 'well related to the heavenly ones',<sup>28</sup> 'well equipped with / well handling the *barhiṣ* [= the special grass spread as seat for the gods when invited for the sacrifice]' (≈ good host who has well strewn / prepared the *barhiṣ* for the gods)."
- 1,84,18d        *kó maṅsate ... sudevāḥ //*  
 "Who may think of himself as ... (and as) 'well related to the heavenly ones' ?"<sup>29</sup>
- 1,112,19c      *yábhiḥ sudása ūhātuḥ sudevyaṃ*  
 "By which [instr.pl., viz. the *ūtī*'s "acts of support", vel sim., constantly referred to in every verse of the hymn] you have brought to / conferred on (King) Sudása the 'quality of being *su-devá-*'.<sup>30</sup>
- 5,53,15        *sudevāḥ samahāsati suvīro naro marutaḥ sá mártyaḥ / yám tráyadhve ...*  
 "Indeed,<sup>31</sup> o lords Marut's, that mortal will be<sup>32</sup> 'well related to the heavenly ones' and 'well equipped with strong men' whom you protect."<sup>33</sup>
- 8,5,6ab        *tá sudevāya dāsuse sumedhām ávitāriṇīm*  
 "To (the man) who is 'well related the heavenly ones' (and) a sacrificer [or simply: pious] (confer, vel sim.)<sup>34</sup> 'the state of being well equipped with wisdom'<sup>35</sup> which is not passing away."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Jamison-Brereton's "has the gods with him" is much better than Witzel-Gotō's "der gute Götter hat".

<sup>29</sup> Again, Jamison-Brereton's "who has gods well on his side" is better than Witzel-Gotō's "für einen von den guten Göttern Begleiteten".

<sup>30</sup> This may be expressed freely by "well seen by the gods", vel sim. Geldner has "mit denen ihr dem Sudās die Göttergunst brachtet" – and an interesting alternative in the footnote: "Oder: die Sudevī heimführtet". But the RV knows nothing of such a person. (According to Monier-Williams, *Sudevī* is found once as a woman's name in the late BhPur.) Witzel-Gotō repeats Geldner without mentioning the alternative; Jamison-Brereton seem to give preference to the latter: "with which you brought Sudevī (as wife) [/divine favour] for Sudās".

<sup>31</sup> The adverb *samaha* occurs four times in the RV. All earlier attempts to define its meaning are now superseded by Dunkel (*LIPP* II 708 with n. 4).

<sup>32</sup> The verb *asati* is a prospective conjunctive.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Lommel's (1955: 88) elegant poetical translation: "Von Göttern begünstigt, von Mannen umgeben ist gewißlich, ihr Marut-Helden, der Sterbliche, den ihr behütet." Quite different (without rendering the *su-* of *suvīra-*, and hardly correct) Witzel-Gotō: "Mit einem guten Gott (befreundet) wird, wie auch immer, zu einem Helden, mannhafte Maruts, dieser Sterbliche hier. Wen ihr /als den eurigen) beschützt... " Jamison-Brereton come nearer I think to the sense intended: "Well provided with gods and with heroes in every way will that mortal be whom you protect, o men, o Maruts."

- 8,55,4a<sup>37</sup> *sudevá stha kāṇvāyanā*  
 "You, o Kaṇva-descendants,<sup>38</sup> are 'well related to the heavenly ones'."
- 8,69,12a *sudevó asi varuṇa* "You, o Varuṇa, are 'well heavenly'."<sup>39</sup>
- 10,35,4ab *iyám na usrá prathamá sudevyaṃ revát saníbhyo revátī vy ùchatu /*  
 "This reddish one (= Uṣas, the goddess Dawn) the first (of all deities appearing in the morning), the rich one, shall flash up widely (*ví*) for us for procuring (*saníbhyo*, formulaic usage)<sup>40</sup> a rich 'quality of being *su-devá-*' (≈ abundant good relations to the gods)."<sup>41</sup>
- 10,95,14a *sudevó adyá prapáted ánāvṛt*  
 "(If) he (who is) 'well characterized with celestian qualities' should fly way today, not turning back...."<sup>42</sup>

<sup>34</sup> The sentence, from a prayer to the Aśvins, does not contain the expected *verbum donandi*.

<sup>35</sup> Simple "good wisdom" (Jamison-Brereton) may be meant in general, but seems not precise enough.

<sup>36</sup> The semantics of *á-vi-tār-in-* may be understood in spatial, temporal or military sense (cf. *EWAIa* I 629-632).

<sup>37</sup> = *Vākhilya* 7,4.

<sup>38</sup> Not accentuated, therefore vocative.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Lüders (1951: I 53): "Du bist ein rechter Gott." Jamison-Brereton try a semantically difficult "You are well-provided with gods." What could that mean for Varuṇa?

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Grassmann (1873: 1469) "der Dativ wie ein Infinitiv konstruiert *um zu erlangen* mit Acc. ... des Objekts" and further similarly "Dat.pl. *um Gaben zu schenken*." It would indeed be very hard, even in German Indological scholarly jargon, to construct *sudevyaṃ revát* as object of *vy ùchatu*, cf. Geldner's attempt: "... soll uns als erste reichlich Glück für die Gewinnte erstrahlen"; he himself considered (see fn.) "Der Satz könnte auch elliptisch sein, sc. *vahatu*."

<sup>41</sup> The verse is difficult indeed; but Jamison-Brereton's rendering - note the conjecture indicated by an asterisk but not further explained - is too free, I am afraid: "The foremost ruddy one here, \*this lovely goddess – let her, the rich lady, dawn richly for our gain." Do they read *sudeví*? This would hardly be a simple word for "lovely goddess".

<sup>42</sup> This part of Purūravas' lamentation before Urvaśī is a weakly concealed threat to commit suicide if she does not come back to him. He calls himself *sudevá-*, certainly not as a mockery. Geldner's "dein Abgott" is as wrong as Sāyaṇa's *tvayā saha sukrīḍaḥ, patih* (which Geldner renders as "dein Gespiel"). This latter may have influenced Jamison-Brereton's wording (of opposite sense, however) "the gods' pet". My proposal would be that Purūravas by calling himself *sudevá-* wants to remember his ex-partner that he really would merit her return, being not an ordinary mortal but a man well connected to (or even quite familiar with) heavenly beings (such as the Apsarases).

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