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## New words and word forms in the Atharva-Veda Paippalada (Kanda 5)

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# New Words and Word Forms in the Atharva-Veda Paippalāda (Kāṇḍa 5)

Alexander Lubotsky

For almost 100 years after the Kashmir ms. of the Atharva-Veda Paippalāda (AVP) was discovered in 1873, it was considered the only remnant of this tradition.<sup>1</sup> Leroy Carr Barret's unsuccessful 35-year effort to edit the Kashmir ms<sup>2</sup> left the text still largely incomprehensible, with no hope that the situation ever would change. Around 1950, however, Durgamohan Bhattacharyya found a living Paippalāda tradition in Orissa. He acquired a number of manuscripts with a much better preserved text and published an edition of the first four kāṇḍas (1964, 1970). After his death, the project was taken over by his son Dipak Bhattacharya, who published an edition of the first 15 kāṇḍas in 1997.

In the course of creating a detailed edition of kāṇḍa 5 of the AVP, with an improved text, translation and commentary (Lubotsky 2002), I prepared for Shaul Migron the collection of new words and word forms from this kāṇḍa presented in the following pages. My principal source of information was Dipak Bhattacharya's edition, whose critical apparatus is generally reliable.<sup>3</sup> One of its special features is the underlining of (parts of) words in cases where he had "doubt of some kind, i.e. regarding authenticity, correctness etc." (Introduction, p. xxxii). Usually, these occur in passages he does not understand or dares not emend on the basis of the available ms. readings (though he sometimes proposes emendations in the critical apparatus).

- 1 For a detailed account of the history of the Atharva-Veda Paippalāda texts I refer the reader to Bhattacharyya 1964:ixff, Bhattacharya 1997:ixff, Witzel 1985a and 1985b and Zehnder 1999. I would like to express my gratitude to Arlo Griffiths, Jan Houben, Leonid Kulikov and Marianne Oort for their many valuable suggestions.
- 2 Barret 1935–1940; Book 6 was edited by Edgerton (1914).
- 3 As demonstrated by several random checks. For an overview of the available Orissa mss of the AVP see Griffiths 2003.

In the following pages, Ed. refers to the editions of Durgamohan and Dipak Battacharya, Or. to Orissa ms readings and K to the Kashmir ms, for which I consulted Barret and the facsimile edition of Bloomfield and Garbe (1901). In accordance with the practice introduced by Zehnder (1999), a superscripted “+” indicates a form that can be reconstructed on the basis of the Orissa and Kashmir ms readings but is to be found in no single ms. Emendations are marked with an asterisk. Some alterations of the text, made for the sake of transparency, are not marked as emendations: *-c ch-* for *-ch-* in the ms, change of a final nasal (*-n* and *-ṇ* are often confused in the mss) and the addition of an avagraha.

*anujāmika-*, “following its kin (?)” The parallel passage AVŚ 4.19.1b reads *nú jāmikṛt*. For the formation cf. *anunāsika-*, “nasal.”

• 5.25.1ab *utevās<sub>y</sub> abandhukṛd* ‘*utās<sub>y</sub> anujāmikaḥ*, “On the one hand, you do not make relatives; on the other hand, you stay with your kin (?)”

*abhimanyu-* m., “evil plot” (?). The precise meaning is hard to determine. *abhi-man-* often refers to inimical thoughts: “to plot, to be insidious.” The only other occurrence of the appellative *abhimanyu-* is AVP 16.70.6(K): *yan mabhirābṇān yan mabhikatvarāṇām yan ābhimanyūnām*, reconstructed by Barret as *yan mābhirāvṇām yan mābhikṛtvarāṇām yan mābhimanyūnām*. The stanza has no connection with the surrounding text and is incomprehensible to me.

• 5.4.13 *yo naḥ śakrābhimanyunā-* ‘*-indrāmitro jighāṃsati* / *t<sub>u</sub>vaṃ taṃ vṛtrahañ jahi* ‘*\*vas<sub>u</sub>v<sup>4</sup> asma<sub>by</sub>am ā bhara*, “Kill, O powerful Indra, our enemy with evil intentions, who is trying to kill us, O killer of Vṛtra. Bring us riches.”

*√ami-* (+ *niḥ*), “acquire by perjury”: 2sg. pf. med. *niremiṣe*. For this analogically formed perfect (instead of *nirāmiṣe*) see Hoffmann (1969:208f = 1975:303f), who also pointed to a parallel passage, AVP 9.23.4ab: *yat kṣetram \*abhitaṣṭhātha*<sup>5</sup> ‘*-aśvaṃ vā yaṃ niremiṣe*, “if you have stepped on a field, or have falsely acquired a horse ....”

4 Ed. <sup>+</sup>*vasv* (*Vā masmasmabhyam*, Ma *ma* [→*da*] *smasvabhyam*, Ja *vasmasvabhyam*, K *vassasmabhyam*).

5 Or. *abhitiṣṭhātha-*, K *abhitiṣṭhāta-*. For this form see below, s.v. *√sthā-*.

- 5.36.7cd *yad vā dhanam dhanakāmo niremiṣe ' kṣetram gām aśvam puruṣam \*vobhayādat*,<sup>6</sup> "... or whichever property you have (falsely) acquired, being desirous of property – field, cow, horse, man or [an animal] with incisors in both jaws (donkey?) ..."

*aviduṣṭa*- adj., "unspoilt," a negated *ta*-participle of *vi-duṣ-*, "to defile, spoil." The reading of a parallel passage in VaitS 10.17, *abhijūṣṭaḥ*, is a *lectio faciliior*.

- 5.28.3ab *\*ahraṣtas tvam aviduṣṭaḥ parehi-* ' *-indrasya goṣṭham api dhāva vidvān*, "You, who are undiminished (?), unspoilt, depart, run to the cow-pen of Indra, knowing [the way]." (For *ahraṣta*- see s.v.).

*aviyūtha*- n., "herd of sheep." Ed. reads *abhiyūthaṁ*, which is not otherwise attested, and it is unclear what kind of meaning *abhi*<sup>o</sup> would convey here. Since the herd is accompanied by a ram, and considering the frequency of the mistake *-bhi-* < *-vi-* in the Or. mss, I confidently emend the text to *aviyūtha*-, "herd of sheep" (cf. K <sup>o</sup>*āvyetaṁ*).

- 5.28.8 *yan no dadur varāham akṣitaṁ vasu' yad vā talpam upadhānena naḥ saha / yad +vāviyūthaṁ saha +vr̥ṣṇiyā<sup>7</sup> no ' agniṣ ṭad dhotā suhutaṁ kṛṇotu*, "When [the gods] have given us a boar [or] imperishable riches, when [they have given] us a couch with a covering, or when [they have given] us a herd of sheep together with a ram, let Agni as *hotar* make it well-offered."

*aśam-√vad-*, "to speak harm, to curse"; *aśantaram* comp.

- 5.34.1ab *aśam te śvaśrūr vadatu ' śvaśuras te aśantaram*, "Let your mother-in-law curse you, your father-in-law even more."

*asunvaka*- m., "non-presser (of Soma)." *asunvaka*- is clearly built to the participle *asunvant*-, attested in the previous stanza (in the RV we find *asunvā*-, "society of people not pressing Soma," with a similar insertion of the present tense marker into a noun).

- 5.27.7a *\*asunvakān<sup>8</sup> nirṛtiḥ saṁjighatsur*, "Nirṛti is eager to devour the people who do not press [Soma]."

6 Thus Ed. (Or., K <sup>o</sup>*bhayāda*).

7 Thus Ed. (Vā *vr̥ṣṇiyā*, Ma Ja *vr̥ṣṇi*, K *vr̥ṣṭa*).

8 Ed. *asunvakā*, but the *u*-derivatives from future and desiderative stems govern

*asvaka-* adj., “without property, dispossessed.”

- 5.32.9cd *uto tvad asvakam kṛtvā ’ rājā varuṇa īyate*, “... and now king Varuṇa hurries on, having made [somebody] without property.”

*ahraṣta-* adj., “undiminished (?)” Ed. *agnistas* (Vā *agnistakmā*, Ja *agnista[-stva]*, K *aklistvas*). In a parallel passage, VaitS 10.17 (both ed. Garbe and ed. Vishva Bandhu) has *ahraṣtas*, but Garbe’s mss read *ahnasta*. The word must mean something like “undefiled, undiminished,” and I tentatively follow Garbe’s emendation, although the ms readings rather seem to point to *-n-*.

- 5.28.3ab *\*ahraṣtas tvam aviduṣṭaḥ parehi- ’ -indrasya goṣṭham api dhāva vidvān*, “You, who are undiminished (?), unspoilt, depart, run to the cow-pen of Indra, knowing [the way].”

*ājaddviṣ-* adj., “driving the enemies” (Ed. *ājadvīṣaḥ*, but the spelling *-dv-* for *-ddv-* is regular in the mss). The verb *ā-√aj-* refers in Vedic to driving or goading cattle or enemies; cf. RV 5.37.4c: *ā satvanaīr ājati hānti vṛtrām*, “he (the king) with his warriors drives, kills the enemy”; 8.45.3ab: *āyuddha īd yudhā vṛtam śūra ājati sātvaḥ*, etc.

- 5.13.8 *ājaddviṣaḥ sukr̥tasya loke ’ tṛtīye nāke adhi rocane divaḥ / mṛtyoḥ padaṁ yopayanto \*n<sub>uv</sub> \*eta<sup>9</sup> ’ paścā nikṛtya mṛtyuṁ padayopanena*, “Driving the enemies in the world of good action, on the third firmament, on the light of heaven, come (pl.) now [back] wiping away the track of death, after subduing death with the track-remover.”

*ātaptar-* m., “warming” (cf. RV 2.23.11b *nīṣṭaptā sātṛum*).

- 5.6.3ab *ātaptā pitṛn vidma ’ dasyūn nīṣṭaptā vayam*, “Warming the fathers, scorching the Dasyus: we know.”<sup>10</sup>

*āyatpatra-* m., “fledgling; lit.: with coming feathers.” For the first element cf. AVŚ 13.4.54: *āyād-vasu-* “of coming goods.”

- 5.6.2cd *adhāyatpatraḥ sūrya ’ ud eti bṛhatīr anu*, “And then, the fledgling Sūrya rises after his lofty [mares].”

the accusative (Delbrück 1888:181), so that *saṁjighatsu-* demands an accusative. Moreover, since *asunvaka-* must have an active meaning – “non-presser of Soma” – it can hardly refer to Nirṛti, who is not supposed to press Soma.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. *\*nyetu* (K *anyetva*).

<sup>10</sup> The syntax, with separated *vidma* ... *vayam*, is rather peculiar.



√i- (+ ā): -tar-future *aitā*. It used to be held (see Delbrück 1888: 295f.) that this tense does not appear in the texts before the Brāhmaṇas. See also s.v. √vrt- (*paryāvarttā*). Both instances accord with the definition of the -tar-future given by grammarians, namely, that it expresses an action at a definite time to come.

• 5.31.5cd *pūrvā hi tatra sukṛtaḥ pareh<sub>i</sub>y' athaiṣa aitā jarasaḥ parastāt*, “Go then as first to the meritorious ones there. And then this man will come [there], beyond old age.”

√i- (+ parā): 2sg. impv. med. *palāyasva* is the oldest attestation of the *l*-variant of *parā-ayate*. The hymn is recited by a woman and therefore has colloquial features.

• 5.34.6ab *ut tiṣṭhāre palāyasva' marīcīnām padaṃ bhava*, “Stand up, flee far away; become a track of light beams.”

*uccaiḥśloka*- adj., “of loud fame.” Attested only in the AVP.

• 5.14.1ab *bhūtyā mukham asi satyasya raśmir' uccaiḥśloko divaṃ gacha*, “You are the mouth of prosperity, the reins of truth. Being of loud fame, go to heaven.”

• 20.38.7 (Or.) = 20.37.7 (K) *agne rudrasya jāyāsi' duhitāsi \*prajāpateḥ / \*uccaiḥśloke dānapatni \*haviḥśrava' upa tvā hvaya upa mā hvayasva' nariṣṭhā nāma vā asi //*,<sup>11</sup> “You are the wife of Agni, of Rudra, you are the daughter of Prajāpati. O you of loud fame, O mistress of gifts, whose glory is the oblation, I invite you: invite you me. Verily, you are Nariṣṭhā by name.”

*utkhātamanyu*- m., “wrath of the dug-up one.” Presumably, *utkhāta*<sup>o</sup> refers to earth (see s.v. *varāhamanyu*-).

• 5.10.5cd *utkhātamanyur ajani' yat paścāt tat puras kṛdhi*, “The wrath of the dug-up one has arisen: what is behind, make in front.”

11 The most important ms readings, kindly reported to me by Arlo Griffiths, are: *\*prajāpateḥ*: V/122, Pa., K *prajāpate*, JM *prajāyante*; *\*uccaiḥśloke*: V/122., Pa. *uccaiḥśloko*, JM *uccaiḥśloke* (secondary omission of ā-mātra, -o underlies this reading), K *uścaiśślokaṃ*; *dānapatni*: thus V/122, Pa., JM *dānapatnī*, K *dārupatnā*; *\*haviḥśrava upa*: V/122, Pa. *haviśrava upa*, JM *hariśrava upa*, K *hvayasūpa*; *tvā hvaya upa mā* K vacat. The last two pādas are also found in AVP(O) 20.52.8cd = (K) 20.48.8cd.

*udardana-* adj., “shaking (trans.)” (Ed. <sup>+</sup>*udardanī*, Or. *utardanī*, K *udadanī*). Most probably derived from *ud-ardayati* which is found in AVP 1.43.1: *ā krandaya dhanapata ud enaṃ ardayāmutaḥ*, “Shout out, O lord of the riches, shake him up over there”; AVP(Or.) 20.40.8cd: *evā tvam aghnīye padaḥ sarvān sākam ud ardaya*, “so shake up all [your] legs at once, O milch-cow.”

- 5.10.5ab <sup>+</sup>*udardanī pracyavanī* ‘*pāṃsupiṅgā vighasvarī*, “[Surā] is shaking, agitating, dust-yellowish, nutritious (?)” For *vighasvarī* see s.v. *vighasvan-*.

*udābhiṣikta-* adj., “water-anointed, consecrated.” Also attested in AVP 4.3.5 (= KS 37.9: 90.10, TB 2.7.8.2): *sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktāḥ*, “seven water-anointed kings.” Simon (1912:212f) presumably analyses this word as *ud-ā-abhi-ṣikta-*.

- 5.29.3 *yajñe varco yajamāne ca varca* ‘*udābhiṣikte rājani yac ca varcaḥ* / *dakṣiṇāyām varco adhi yan* ‘ [mayi devā rāṣṭrabhṛtas tad akran], “The splendor in the sacrifice and the splendor in the patron, the splendor which is in the water-anointed king, the splendor which is in the priestly fee, have the gods supporting the kingdom put into me.”

*udraja-* m./n., name of a disease (K *anvrjam*). AVŚ in the parallel passage 5.22.11b reads *udyugām*. Could it refer to red rash (*ud-raja-*)? Cf. AVŚ 5.22.12a–c (≈ AVP 12.2.1a–c): *tákman bhrātrā balāśena svāsrā kāsikayā sahā* / *pāmnā bhrātrvyēṇa sahā*, “O fever, together with your brother *balāsa* (swelling), with your sister the cough, together with your cousin the rash ....” The combination *ud-raj-* is found in AVP 1.81.3b = 2.28.4b: *yasmād annān manasodrārajīmi*, “the food, from which I become red[-hot] in my mind” (a variant of this pāda is AVŚ 6.71.2c: *yāsmān me māna úd iva rārajīti-*).

- 5.21.6 *yaḥ sākam utpātayasi* ‘*balāsaṃ kāsam udrajam* / *bhīmās te takman hetayas* ‘ *tābhi śma pari vrīdhi naḥ*, “You, who discharge the *balāsa*, cough, *udraja* at the same time, terrible are your missiles, O fever; avoid us with them.”

*unmādana-* n. (?), “maddening (formula).” An *-ana-*derivative from the causative *unmādayati*; cf. AVP 12.8.5a: *unmādayantīr*<sup>12</sup> *abhiśocayantīr*, “maddening, tormenting (Apsarases).”

12 Ed. *unmādyantīr*, but K *unmādayantīr*.

- 5.34.4ab *apa trasa* <sup>+</sup>*paridhānād*<sup>13</sup> <sup>′</sup> *unmādanaṃ kṛṇomi te*, “Flee in terror from [your husband’s] upper garment: I make a maddening [formula] for you.”

*ululā-kr-*, “to wail, howl.” Cf. further AVP 2.55.5 (Hoffmann 1952:258 = 1975:39).

- 5.17.2 *muniṃ bhavantaṃ pari yāni* <sup>+</sup>*vāvṛtū*<sup>14</sup> <sup>′</sup> *rakṣāṃsya aṅna ululā karikratu*, “O Agni, let the Rakṣases wail all the time, who have rolled around the man, turning him into a muni.”
- 5.34.2ab *ā krandaḥ ululā kuru*<sup>15</sup> <sup>′</sup> *vācam ā dhehiḥ apriyām*, “Shout out, wail, raise your unpleasant voice.”

*ṛśyapucha-* adj., “antelope-tailed” (Ed., following Or., reads *riśyapuchaṃ*; but K has *hṛṣvapūśchaṃ*, with *ṛ*). The mss of both AVP and AVŚ vacillate between *ṛś-* and *riś-* in the word for “antelope,” but *ṛśya-* is the original spelling (cf. Whitney’s comments to AVŚ 5.14.3).

- 5.34.9a–c <sup>+</sup>*ṛśyapuchaṃ śunaḥpuchaṃ* <sup>′</sup> *vātaramhaṃ manojavam / taṃ te rathaṃ saṃ bharantu devās*, “Let the gods prepare this chariot for you: antelope-tailed, dog-tailed, swift as the wind, quick as a thought.”

*odanapāka-* m., “cooker of the rice-gruel.”

- 5.13.3 *ye samudram airayan ye ca sindhum* <sup>′</sup> *ye* <sup>′</sup> *antarikṣaṃ pṛthivīm uta dyām / ye vātena sarathaṃ yānti devās* <sup>′</sup> *tān āpnoty odanapāko atra //*, “Those [gods] who led [the waters] to the ocean, and those who [led them] to the Indus, those who [led them] to the atmosphere, to the earth and to heaven, those gods who drive on the same chariot with the wind – the cooker of a rice-gruel here reaches them [all].”

*kaṅkatadant-* adj., “comb-toothed,” probably referring in the text to a fem. implement.

- 5.9.1 *khādireṇa śalalena-* <sup>′</sup> *-atho kaṅkatadantīyā / atho viśasya yad viṣaṃ* <sup>′</sup> *tena pāpīr anīnaśam*, “With a quill of the Khadira-tree, and also

13 Ed. *paridhānā* (Ja *paridhānām*, K *mṛdhānād*). The emendation is suggested by Bhattacharya.

14 <sup>+</sup>*vāvṛtū*: thus Ed. (Or. *māvṛtu*, K *vāvṛto*).

15 It is noteworthy that three of the four occurrences of the present stem *kuru-* in Book 5 are found in this hymn (the only other place is 5.33.7a). This seems to corroborate Hoffmann’s thesis (1976:581) that this present stem was colloquial and particularly typical of the speech of women. *kuru* also occurs three times in the hymn AVP 6.23, which has similar content and is pronounced by a woman.

with a comb-toothed one, and also [with that] which is the poison of poisons, I have destroyed the wicked ones.”

*kālmāṣeya-* m., “descendant of the spotted cow.” A *vṛddhi*-derivative of *kalmāṣī-*, which is mentioned by the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇ. 4.1.40 as an epithet of a cow. In Epic Sanskrit, *kalmāṣī-* is the name of Jamadagni’s cow, which grants all desires.

• 5.34.8 *abhi gāya śābaleyam’ śauṇeyam sādhu vāhinam / kālmāṣeyasya +carkṛdh.*<sup>16</sup> *āyataḥ prati cālaya*, “Glorify a descendant of the piebald cow, a descendant of the red cow, driving straight [to you (?)]. Praise a descendant of the spotted cow. Let those who are coming approach.”

*kikṛśa-* m., a name of some type of insect or worm. Presumably, this is the same word as *kikkiśa-* or *kikkisa-*, attested in the *Suśruta*, which refers to a kind of worm, pernicious to the hair, nails and teeth. The *-i-* of K *kikṛśās* is most probably the original vocalism (Ed. *-a-*).

• 5.15.9ab *ye ca dr̥ṣṭā ye cādṛṣṭāḥ’ krimayaḥ +kikṛśās ca ye*, “Those who are seen and those who are unseen, the worms and the *kikṛśas* ....”

*kiti-* f., name of a weapon (?). The text may be emended to *\*kṛtyā*; cf. the RV hapax (1.168.3) *kṛtī-*, a kind of weapon (dagger, knife, sword?). The epithet *śataparvan-* refers to a *vajra* in AVP 16.28.5 and to some other weapon in AVP 19.23.2. This was probably an epithet that could be used for any weapon.

• 5.9.2 *kiti yā śataparvaṇā’ sahasrākṣeṇa carmaṇā / tikṣṇābhir abhribhir vayaṁ’ nir ajāmaḥ sadānuvāḥ*, “With a *kiti* of a hundred knots, with a hide of a thousand eyes [= a net], with sharp spades, we shall expel the *Sadānuvās*.”

*√kṛ-*, “make”: 3pl. impv. int. *karikratu*. For *ululā-√kṛ-* see s.v.

• 5.17.2ab *muniṁ bhavantam pari yāni +vāvṛtū’ rakṣāmsy agna ululā karikratu*, “O Agni, let the *Rakṣases* wail all the time, who have rolled around the man, turning him into a *muni*.”

• 5.24.3cd *aśmānas tasyām dagdhāyām’ bahulāḥ phaṭ karikratu*,<sup>17</sup> “Let numerous rocks make a loud crash when it is burned.”

16 Ed. *kālmāṣe yasya cakarudhy* (K *carakṛddhy*, Vā *cakṛddhy*). Note that *√kṛ-*, “to praise,” governs the genitive.

17 The parallel passage AVŚ 4.18.3cd reads *karikrati*.

*klomaśvaya-* m., “lung-inflator (?)” i.e., emphysema. This disease is often encountered in young animals as a result of tuberculosis or an inflammatory disease. Ed. *klomaśca yo* (K *kromaśrayo*).

- 5.15.3 *meṃā bhavo mā śarvo vadhūd gā ’ mā vatsān \*klomaśvayo vidan naḥ / ye jātā ye ca garbheṣu antar ’ ariṣṭā \*agne<sup>18</sup> stanam ā rabhantām*, “May neither Bhava nor Śarva kill these cows; may emphysema (?) not affect our calves. O Agni, let those who are born and those who are in the wombs reach the [mother’s] breast unharmed.”

√*kṣi-*, “to dwell”: 3sg. pres. *kṣayati*, substituting for *kṣeti* in a parallel RV passage (RV 10.136.5cd): *ubhaú samudrāv ā kṣeti yás ca pūrvā utāparaḥ*. The history of this present formation in post-RV language remains to be written.

- 5.38.5cd *ubhā samudrāv ā kṣayati ’ sadyaḥ pūrvam utāparam*, “He dwells in two oceans at the same time: the eastern and the western.”

√*kṣvid-* (+ *upa*), “to squeak.” The root *kṣved-* is otherwise attested only in the texts of the Maitrāyaṇīya school and is specifically used to describe the sound of squeaking wagon axles (Gotō 1987: 125f).

- 5.34.7ab *upa kṣvedābhi cālaya ’ vātas tūlam ivaijaya*, “Squeak, bewitch; shake [it] like the wind [shakes] a tuft of grass.”

*gaṅgaṇa-* m., “howling.” The meaning follows from AVP 17.15.5 (Or. ms Pa.): *yāsām ghoṣaḥ saṃgatānām ’ vṛkāṇām iva gaṅgaṇaḥ*,<sup>19</sup> “(Sadānūvās), the sound of whom, having come together, is like the howling of wolves.” Further attestations are AVP 6.14.9e, 7.2.9b (*gaṅgaṇivant-*, “howler”) and 16.145.12b, JB 3.185 (*gaṅgani-*). Cf. Hoffmann 1952:255f. = 1975:36f.

- 5.34.5cd *atho śvabhyo \*rāyadbhyāḥ<sup>20</sup> ’ prati sma gaṅgaṇam kuru*, “And then howl back to the barking dogs.”

*godohanī-* f., “milk-pail.” BaudhŚS attests *godohanī-*, “milk-pail” (cf. KauśS *dohanī-*, with the same meaning), which is likely to be the same as *gadohanī* (dissimilation *o...o* > *a...o*?).

18 Ed. *ariṣṭāgnestanum*, although the Or. mss read °*stanam* (K °*stanum*). Double *sandhi* is a common phenomenon in the AVP ms tradition.

19 K (in which this is stanza 7) reads *yāsām ghoṣa saṃgatā vṛkāṇāpiva gaṅgaṇa*.

20 \**rāyadbhyāḥ*: thus Ed.; mss *rāyabhyāḥ*.

- 5.9.5ab *vi te nu manthāḥ \*śāsrire*<sup>21</sup> ' *bibhide te gadohanī*, "Your stirring-spoons have now broken, your milk-pail (?) has burst."
- 20.38.10ab (O) = 20.37.10ab (K) *pāṭā bhinattu kumbhaṃ* ' *pāṭā kumbhīṃ gadohanīm*,<sup>22</sup> "let the Pāṭā-plant split the jar, [let] the Pāṭā-plant [split] the *kumbhī*-pot, the milk-pail."

*gira-* m., "swallower." A Vedic hapax and no doubt a nonce form, paralleling *piba-* (q.v.).

- 5.33.9cd *prāṇān amuṣya saṃgiran* ' *saṃ girāmīy ahaṃ giram*, "Swallowing up the breaths of NN, I swallow up the swallower."

√*cal-* (+ *abhi*): 2sg. impv. *abhi cālaya*. *abhi cālayati* is not attested elsewhere. The only other causative formation from the root *car-* / *cal-* in older Vedic is *pāri cārayamāṇam* in ŚB (BĀU) 14.9.1.1. One interpretive option is to take *cal-* as a dialectal or sociolectal variant of *car-*, *abhi-cal-* would thus mean the same as *abhi-car-*, i.e., "to perform black magic, to bewitch"; and although *abhi-cārayati* is unattested, we may assume this formation to be a quasi-denominative to *abhi-cāra-*. A second option is to take *cal-* as a synchronically different root; *cālayati*, attested since Epic Skt., means "to cause to move, shake, drive (away)" and can freely be used with various preverbs. Since this hymn clearly contains features of colloquial speech (*kuru*, *I*) typical of women, I prefer the first option.

- 5.34.7ab *upa kṣvedābhi cālaya* ' *vātas tūlam ivaijaya*, "Squeak, bewitch; shake [it] like the wind [shakes] a tuft of grass."

√*cal-* (+ *prati*): 2sg. impv. *prati cālaya*. *prati cālayati* is a hapax, and *prati cārayati* is also not attested. The latter must mean something like "to cause to approach." For the *-l-* see the comments on the previous lemma.

- 5.34.8 *abhi gāya śābaleyaṃ* ' *śauṇeyaṃ sādhu vāhinam* / *kālmāṣeṣya* ' *carkṛdhīy* ' *āyataḥ prati cālaya*, "Glorify a descendant of the motley cow, a descendant of the red cow, driving straight [to you (?)]. Praise a descendant of the spotted cow. Let those who are coming approach."

21 Ed. *viterupanthā śvaśre* (K *vitenmanthāścaśire*).

22 Thus Or. (JM, V/122, Pa.); K *khadohinīm*. This parallel was discovered by Arlo Griffiths (personal communication).

*cukākaṇī*- f., name of a plant. Attested only in the AVP (voc.sg. *cukākaṇī* 5.3.4c, 6c, 7a, 8.16.5–6d).

- 5.3.4 *adṛṣṭahananī vīrud' amītauṇā viṣāsahi / cukākaṇī tvaṇ jajñīṣe' sādṛṣṭāñ jātaśo jahi //*, “O overpowering Cukākaṇī, you have been born as a plant slaying the unseen, of immense power, so slay the unseen kind for kind.”

*√chand-*, “to seem, appear”: red. aor. *acachadat*. This is the first textual attestation of this form. Yāska (Nir. IX.8) glossed *māhyam achān* in RV 10.34.1 with the words *māhyam acacchadat* (cf. Hoffmann 1965:175 = 1975:166).

- 5.27.1 *tad in nu me acachadan' mahad yakṣaṃ bṛhad vapuḥ / viśvair yad devair nirṛtis tanā yujā' \*saṃ<sup>23</sup> mṛtyor iha jāyate*, “It really seemed to me a great wonder, an august miracle that Nirṛti in a strong bond with all the gods is born here from death.”

*chinnahasta-* adj., “whose hand is cut off.”

- 5.10.9cd *chinnahastaś carati grāme antar' vairahatyāni bahudhā paṇāyan*, “He who has his hand cut off walks through the village, praising all kinds of men-killings.”

*jaivāṭṛka-* m., “a long-liver.” The only attestation of this word in Vedic. Wackernagel (1954:664, 673 with ref.) explained the word as a hypersanskritism for *\*jaivātuka-*, but the attestation of it in early Vedic now places the whole problem in a new perspective.

- 5.11.7 *yeṣāṃ ca nāma jagrabha' yeṣāṃ ca nopasasmara / devās te sarve saṃgatya' putraṃ jaivāṭṛkaṃ dadan*, “[The gods] whose name I have grasped, and [those] whose [names] I have not remembered, all those gods together will give you a long-living son.”

*takmakāmyā* adv., “out of desire of fever.” *°kāmyā* always occurs at the end of a compound. Cf. AVP 9.23.8ab: *yat kusīdam vibhejima' dvimeyaṃ dhanakāmīyā*, “if, out of desire of wealth, we have given a loan with a hundred per cent interest ...”; AVP 9.24.1ab: *yad annam āśimā vayam' anannam annakāmīyā*, “if, out of desire of food, we

23 Ed. *maṃ* (K *maraṃ*). The emendation, which was suggested to me by Leonid Kulikov, also accounts for the instr. in pāda c, since *saṃ-janī-* is construed with an instr.



have eaten food which is not suitable for eating ...”; ŚB *kiṃkāmyā*, “out of desire of what”; *yatkāmyā*, “with which desire.” I therefore read, with K, *takmakāmyā*, “out of desire of fever,” instead of Ed. *takman kāmyā*.

- 5.21.4 *na tvā striyaḥ kāmayante ’ na pumāṃsaḥ katame cana / na eha takmakāmyā*<sup>24</sup> ‘-alpo roditi no mahān, “Neither the women desire you, nor the men whosoever. Neither a small one, nor a grown-up weeps here out of desire of fever.”

*tarka-* m.n., “twisted grass” (?). Ed. *tenke*<sup>+</sup> (Ja, Vā *yāstarke*, Ma *yāstarkes*, K *yāstenke*). Neither *tenka-*, nor *tarka-* are attested in Vedic, but the most probable original reading is *tarke* (Śāradā -n- is close to -r-). *tarka-* may be a derivative of the root *tark-* “to twist” and refer to twisted grass.

- 5.9.6 *yās tarke tiṣṭhanti yā valike ’ yāḥ preṅkhe +preṅkhayanta uta yā nu ghorāḥ / yā garbhān pramṛśanti ’ sarvāḥ pāpīr anīnaśam*, “Those who stay in the twisted grass (?), who [stay] on the thatched roof, who swing on a swing, and those who are terrible, who lay hold of the embryos, all the bad ones have I destroyed.”

√*tṛd-*, “to bore, split”: 2sg. impv. root-aor. *tarddhi*, with full-grade vocalism taken from the subj., attested in the RV (2sg. *tārdas*). An emendation to \**tṛddhi* or \**tṛnddhi* is less probable.

- 5.20.3cd *sa tvam tārda paraś cara-* ‘\*-*anyat*<sup>25</sup> *tarddhi tṛṇam yavāt*, “So move far away, O borer, bore another grass than barley.”

√*tṛṣ-*, “to be thirsty”: 3sg. root-aor. med. *atrṣṭa* (Ed. *aturṣṭadattā*, K *atovṛṣṭidattā*). The spelling *ur/ru* for *r* is rather frequent in the Or. mss. The reading *atrṣṭa* is also suggested by *akṛṣṭa* in ms Bi at KauśS 6.21 (the edition there reads *atūrṇadattā*). The root aor. med. of the root *tṛṣ-* is otherwise only attested in the ptc. *tṛṣāṇā-* (RV+).

- 5.31.3cd *atrṣṭa dattā prathamadam āgan ’ vatsena gām saṃ sṛja viśvarūpām*, “[The calf] has become thirsty, the first given one (i.e., the cow) has come here. Unite the Viśvarūpā cow with her calf.”

24 Ed. *takman kāmyā alpo*, but K *takmakāmyālo*.

25 Ed. °*ānyatarddhi* (Ma °*ānyatarddhi ddhi*, Ja °*ānyataddhi*, K °*ānyatadhy*).



√dā- (+ pari), “to entrust, deliver (+ dat.)”: inf. *paride* (Ed. *paridhe*, but K *paride*). The mss of the parallel passage VaitS 14.1 read: A *paride*, B *paridaṃ*, C *parīdraṃ*, which Garbe emends to *paridāṃ* (Vishva Bandhu follows Garbe, but his mss Vā and Pū read *parīdaṃ*). For the formation cf. inf. *pra-mé* (RV 9.70.4) vs. *parā-dāi*, *ava-sāi*, *prati-māi*.

- 5.16.2ab *gharmaṃ tapāmy amṛtasya dhārayā* ‘*devebhyo havyaṃ paride savitre*, “I heat the gharma-pot with a stream of *amṛta*, in order to deliver the oblation to the gods, to Savitar.”

√dās- (+ abhi), “be inimical”: Pres. impv. *abhi dāsatu*. As indicated by Narten (1963:59<sup>1</sup> = 1995:29<sup>1</sup>), this is the only imperative form of *abhi-√dās-*.

- 5.26.4cd *arātiṃ hatvā santokām* ‘*ugro devo ’bhi dāsatu*, “Let the powerful god be inimical to Arāti by slaying her with [her] progeny.”

*dāsavyādhin-* adj., “Dāsa-piercing.” *vyādhīn-* is attested in VSM 16.18, VSK 27.2, MS 2.9.3:122.13 and KS 17.12:255.11; with preverbs: e.g., in VS 11.77 (*āvyādhīn-*) and TS 4.5.2.1 (*vivyādhīn-*); but the compound *dāsavyādhin-* is a hapax.

- 5.6.2ab *ātapan kṣayati* \**nīcā* ‘*\*dāsavyādhī*<sup>26</sup> *niṣṭapan*, “He rules, radiating warmth downwards, Dāsa-piercing, scorching.”

√duh-: fut. med. ptc. \**dhokṣyamāṇa-*, “to give milk.” Ed. *dhokṣamāṇā* (thus all the mss. and the majority of the KauśS mss. in the parallel passage KauśS 62.21), but the full-grade vocalism is incompatible with middle *sa-aor*. *dhukṣa-*.

- 5.31.1ab *atyāśarat prathamā* \**dhokṣyamāṇā* ‘*sarvān yajñān bibhratī vaiśvadevī*, “The [cow] which will give milk has run over here as the first, supporting all sacrifices, sacred to the All-Gods.”

*dr̥ṣatpiṣṭa-*, adj. “ground with a grindstone.”

- 5.10.1ab *iyaṃ yā* \**musalāhatā* ‘*dr̥ṣatpiṣṭā viṣāsutā*, “This [Surā], which is crushed with a pestle, ground with a grindstone, is a poison-brew.”

- 5.36.5ab *yat pratīcyāṃ* \**dr̥ṣatpiṣṭāṃ*<sup>27</sup> ‘*\*āmapeṣāṃ āmapātre*

26 Ed. *nīcyādā sayyā adhi* (K *nīyācasavyādhī*), which makes no sense.

27 Ed. *dr̥ṣadapiṣṭāṃ* (Or. *dr̥ṣadapiṣṭān*, K *dviṣataḥ pr̥ṣṭāṃ*).

*papātha*, “When you have drunk from an unbaked vessel [drinks prepared from the grains] ground with a grindstone, the raw pounded grains, [turning] to the western direction ....”

*dhītisādhana-* adj., “furthering inspiration.” Cf. VS 26.1e: *saptā saṃsādo aṣṭamī bhūtasāadhanī*.

- 5.35.12ab *sapta saṃnamo* ‘*aṣṭamī dhītisāadhanī* /, “Seven are the reverencers, the eighth is the inspiration-enhancer.”

√*dhūmay-*: ptc. <sup>+</sup>*vi-dhūmayat* (Or. *vidhūmaya*, K *vyadhūmayat*), “to spread smoke.” This denominative verb is a hapax (the parallel passage AVŚ 4.19.6c reads *vidhūpāyāt*).

- 5.25.6cd *tad it \*tato* <sup>+</sup>*vidhūmayat* ‘*pratyak kartāram ṛchatu*, “Let that, indeed, hit back the performer [of witchcraft] from there, spreading smoke.”

*neṣin-* adj., “leading.” Probably a nonce formation.<sup>28</sup>

- 5.39.3cde *nayīṣṭhā no neṣiṇa stha* ‘*parṣiṣṭhāḥ parṣiṇo* ‘*ati dviṣaḥ* “You are our best leaders as leaders, the best conveyors as conveyors – beyond the enemies.”

√*pad-*, “to fall”: 3sg. impv. med. of the root-aor. *padām*. This archaic form well suits the other forms of the intransitive middle root *pad-* (for subj. *padāti* see Insler 1968:317, fn. 7). *ni-√pad-*, “to lie down,” often has sexual connotations, but here the intention seems to be that the Earth submit to the will of the addressee. Cf. also AVŚ 3.19.3ab: *nīcāḥ padyantām ādhare bhavantu yé naḥ sūrīṇi maghāvānaṃ pṛtanyān*, “Let them fall downwards, let them become inferior, who will fight against our bounteous patron.”

- 5.15.7ab *nī te padām pṛthivī yantu \*sindhava*<sup>29</sup> ‘*ud oṣadhayo jihatām preratām irāḥ*, “Let the Earth lie down for you, let the rivers go [their course], let the plants rise up, let the food appear.”

*paryodana-* n., “(additional) gruel.” May refer to the *māsara*, a mixture

28 Cf. the parallel passage RV 10.126.3cde: *nāyīṣṭhā u no neṣāṇi pārṣiṣṭhā u naḥ parṣāṇy āti dviṣaḥ*.

29 Ed. gives *sindhavo ud* (K *sindhavo yad*), which is an impossible *sandhi*.

serving both as malt and as a flavoring for alcohol (cf. Eggeling's footnote to his translation of ŚB 12.7.3.5).

- 5.10.3ab *simhas te astu taṇḍulo* ' *v<sub>i</sub>yāghraḥ par<sub>i</sub>yodanam*, "Let your rice grain be a lion, [your] gruel a tiger."

*parṣin-* adj., "conveying." Probably a nonce formation.<sup>30</sup>

- 5.39.3cde *nayīṣṭhā no neṣiṇa stha* ' *parṣiṣṭhāḥ parṣiṇo* ' *ati dviṣaḥ*, "You are our best leaders as leaders, the best conveyors as conveyors – beyond the enemies."

*pāṃsupiṅga-* adj., "dust-yellowish."

- 5.10.5ab *\*udardanī pracyavanī* ' *pāṃsupiṅgā vighasvarī*, "[The Surā] is agitating, shaking, dust-yellowish, nutritious (?)." For *vighasvarī* see s.v. *vighasvan-*.

*piba-* m., "drinker" (cf. Pāṇ. 3.1.137).

- 5.33.8cd *prāṇān amuṣya saṃpiban* ' *saṃ pibāmy ahaṃ pibam*, "Drinking up the breaths of NN, I drink up the drinker."

*putravedana-* adj., "son-acquiring." During the *pumṣavana*-ritual, an ointment made of a ground Nyagrodha-twigg and water is put into the woman's right nostril (for this ritual cf. Zinko 1998).

- 5.11.2cd *āñjanam putravedanam* ' *\*kṛṇmaḥ*<sup>31</sup> *pumṣavanam vayam*, "We make a son-acquiring, a son-producing ointment."

*prapautra-* m., "great-grandson." A Vedic hapax.

- 5.40.5cd *putraḥ pautra uta yaḥ prapautras* ' *teṣāṃ astu nihito bhāga eṣaḥ*, "The son, the grandson, the great-grandson – let this portion of theirs be fixed."

*praśna-* m., "turban." Also attested in KauśS 26.2, 3ff.

- 5.26.2cd *arātyāḥ sarvam ic chirah* ' *praśnam vṛhataṃ aśvinā*, "O Aśvins, tear off really the whole head of Arāti, [even] the turban."

30 Cf. the parallel passage RV 10.126.3cde: *nāyīṣṭhā u no neṣāni pārṣiṣṭhā u naḥ parṣāny āti dviṣaḥ*.

31 Ed. *kṛṇvaḥ* (thus all the mss.), but the dual is impossible (*vayam*!), while *m/v* vacillation is very common.

√*bhid-*, “to break”: pf. med. *bibhide* (in an intransitive construction).

- 5.9.5ab *vi te nu manthāḥ \*śaśrire*<sup>32</sup> / *bibhide te gadohanī*, “Your stirring-spoons have now broken, your milk-pail has burst.”

*bhinnaśīrṣan-* m., “with a broken head.”

*bhinnāratni-* m., “with a broken elbow.”

- 5.10.8c *bhinnāratnir bhinnaśīrṣṇā sam ṛchatām*, “Let the one with a broken elbow fight the one with a broken head.”

√*bhuj-* (+*parā*), “to bend apart”: pres. inj. *parā bhujaḥ*. The combination is otherwise unattested.

- 5.27.4cd *namo 'stu te nirṛte mā t<sub>u</sub>v asmān ' parā bhujo nāparam †hātayāsi†*,<sup>33</sup> “Homage be to you, O Nirṛti. Stop bending us apart. You will not ... us in the future.”

√*bhr-*, “to bear”: int. ptc. med. *barbhriyamāṇa-*. Ed. *bharbharyamāṇā* (K *babhrīyamāṇā*). The same intensive participle must be emended for JB 3.264 *tasmād sa \*barbhriyamāṇo jīvati*, “therefore he (the donkey) lives carrying [the burden]” (ed. Raghu Vira – Lokesh Chandra *babriyamāṇo*, Caland 1919:§ 207 *briyamāṇo*).

- 5.22.6a *yasmād oṣadhayo \*barbhriyamāṇā yanti*, “(We would like to bring worship to Rudra,) from whom the nurturing plants originate.”

*madhavāna-* m., name of a plant, used in a ritual for successful conception.

- 5.12.2 *yonim gacha madhavāna' yonīyām puruṣo bhava / tataḥ punar nir āyasi ' śīrṣṇā śronī vinonudat*, “Go to the womb, O Madhavāna, become a man in the womb. You will come out from there again, pushing aside the loins with the head.”

- 5.12.7 *yathā rājan madhavāna' t<sub>u</sub>vam bījaṁ virohasi / evā tvam asyā nir bhindhi' kumāraṁ yonīyā adhi*, “Just as you sprout being a seed, O king Madhavāna, so split the boy from her womb.”

*madhuhāra-* m., “honey-getter.” Since it occurs in a list with lion, tiger

32 Ed. *viterupanthā śvaśre* (K *vitenmanthāścaśire*).

33 The form *hātayāsi* is unclear to me. There are of course many possible emendations (*\*ghātayāsi*, *\*yātayāsi*, *\*cātayāsi*, *\*śātayāsi*, *\*pātayāsi*, *\*hāpayāsi*), but none of them is certain enough.

and wolf, we may be tempted to consider *madhuhāra*- a euphemism for “bear” (cf. Russian *medved*’, “bear,” lit. “honey-eater”), but AVP 5.1.8 suggests that a bee may be intended: *t<sub>u</sub>vaṃ v<sub>ṛ</sub>yāghrān sahasē, tvaṃ + siṃhāñ ubhayādataḥ / makṣās cit kṛṇvānā madhu, t<sub>u</sub>vaṃ sahasa oṣadhe*, “You overpower the tigers, you [overpower] the lions, [the animals] with incisors in both jaws. You overpower even the bees making honey, O plant.”

• 5.29.6ab *siṃhe varca uta varco v<sub>ṛ</sub>yāghre ’ vṛke varco madhuhāre ca varcaḥ*, “The splendor in the lion and the splendor in the tiger, the splendor in the wolf and the splendor in the honey-getter ...”

*mayāra*- m./n., “grain-basket.” Attested only in the AVP. The meaning “grain-basket” is based on adjacent *khala*-, “threshing-floor,” in the first two examples, and on AVP 19.38.13, in which one of the Pleiades (*kṛttikās*, derived from *kṛt*-, “to weave”), appearing next to *ūrṇavābhi*-, “spider,” and the Śakā-bird (“weaver-bird”?), is called *mayārakārī*-, “*mayāra*-maker.” A *mayāra*- thus must be a “woven,” intertwined object, like a wicker-basket. It seems probable that *marāra*-, “corn-loft, granary” (mentioned by the lexicographers), and Ved. *marāyīn*-, *marāya*-<sup>34</sup> represent the same word.<sup>35</sup> For the latter, Ingrid Eichner-Kühn has assumed the meaning “Mahlgut, Getreide(haufen),” but cf. the parallel passages RVKh 5.10.2cd: *marāyāṃ<sup>36</sup> kūrvaṇ kauravyaḥ pātir vadati jāyāyā*, and AVŚ 20.127.8cd: *kulāyaṃ kṛṇvān kauravyaḥ pātir vādati jāyāyā*. From these, it follows that the meaning of *marāya*- must be close to *kulāya*-, “web, nest, woven texture.”<sup>37</sup> The word *mayāra*-/*marāya*-/*marāra*- is most probably borrowed from an indigenous Indian language rather than being derived, as suggested by Eichner-Kühn, from the verb for “to grind.”

• 5.30.3 *yathā dyauś ca prthivī ca ’ tasthatur dharuṇāya kam / evā sphātiṃ ni tanomi ’ mayāreṣu khaleṣu ca*, “Just like Heaven and Earth stand still for firmness, so I spread abundance in the grain-baskets and on the threshing-floors.”

34 On this word see Eichner-Kühn 1976:21f.

35 My thanks to Werner Knobl (Kyōtō) for this suggestion.

36 As advocated by Eichner-Kühn (1976:23), the ms reading *marāyaṃ* is preferable to *arāyaṃ* of Scheftelowitz’s edition.

37 The passage can be rendered as follows: “The husband, a descendant of Kuru, making a basket/nest, speaks with his wife.” The accents in this Kuntāpa-hymn are unreliable both in the AVŚ and in the RVKh.

- 6.15.4 *yat khale yan mayāre* ' *yad goṣṭhe yac ca śevadhau / atho yat kumbhāyām śaye* ' *tasya te rasam ā dade*, "What [lies] on the threshing-floor, what in the grain-basket, what in the cow-shed and what in the treasury, and also what lies in the cooking vessel – of you do I take the strength."
- 8.18.11 *śarkāriṇaṁ \*mayāravac*<sup>38</sup> ' *cakrīvāt kiṁ ca yad vṛṣe / tad vai sphātir upāyati* ' *sarvam evāti* ' *ricyate*,<sup>39</sup> "In whatever [receptacle] I pour – of gravel (?), grain-baskets, wheels – the upcoming abundance exceeds all that."
- 11.11.6 *siṁho bhūtvā gā mṛṇāty* ' *agnir bhūtvā dhānyam / indrarāśir anirmīto* ' *mayāraṁ cāva gachati*, "Becoming a lion, he smashes the cows; becoming Agni, [he smashes] the grain. Indra's heap is immeasurable and goes down to the grain-basket."
- 19.38.13 *mayārakārī prathamā-* ' *-ūrṇavābhīr atho śakā / devānām patnīḥ kṛttikā* ' *imaṁ tantum \*amūmuhan*<sup>40</sup> //, "First the basket-maker (f.), [then] the spider, and then the weaver bird (?) – the Pleiades, wives of gods, have confused this thread."

*marāṭa-* m., name of a people.

- 5.21.3 *takman parvatā ime* ' *himavantaḥ somapṛṣṭhāḥ / vātaṁ dūtaṁ bhiṣajam no akran* ' *naśyeto marāṭāṁ abhi*, "O fever, these Himalaya mountains with Soma on their back made the wind, the messenger, the healer for us. Disappear from here to the Marāṭas."

*mahānasa-* m., "kitchen-cart." The word refers to a cart in which the kitchen and fire are transported, cf. Rau 1983:26. This is the first attestation of the word in older Vedic.

- 5.1.2cd *ātmanam atra rotsyas* ' *ava roha mahānasāt*, "You will lose yourself here. Descend from the kitchen-cart."

√*mī-*, "to violate": des. *pra mimīṣati*.

- 5.32.10 *ainaṁ chinatti varuṇo* ' *naḥaṁ kaśipune yathā / mūlaṁ tasya vṛścati* ' *ya enaṁ pramimīṣati*, "Varuṇa cuts him off, like a reed for a sitting-mat, he tears off the root of the man who tries to violate this [vow]."

38 Ed. *mayārava*.

39 Ed. *rucyate*, but K *ricyasi*.

40 Or. *amumuhan*, K *amomuhan*. This difficult passage was interpreted by the joint efforts of Arlo Griffiths, Werner Knobl and myself.

*municakṣu-* m. (or *municakṣus-* n.), “*muni*-eye.” K has *municakṣuh*, which may be a better reading.

- 5.34.5ab *arkam addhi pra patāto* ‘*municakṣum kṛṇomi te*, “Eat the Arka plant, fly away from here. I make a *muni*-eye for you.”

*musalāhata-* adj., “crushed with a pestle.” Ed. *muśalāhatā* in all the mss, but *musala-* elsewhere in the AVP (K almost always reads *musula-*). The dental seems to be the norm in other Vedic texts too.

- 5.10.1ab *iyam yā* ‘*musalāhatā*’ *dr̥ṣatpiṣṭā viśāsutā*, “This [Surā], which is crushed with a pestle, ground with a grindstone, is a poison-brew.”

√*mruc-* (+ *ni*) m., “to go down” (the Sun): them. aor. *ny amrucad*. This thematic aorist is otherwise found only in the JB.

- 5.3.2ab *n̄y amrucad asau sūryo* ‘*viśvadr̥ṣto adr̥ṣṭahā*, “The Sun there has gone down, seen by everybody, slaying the unseen.”

*moghacārin-* adj., “going around in vain.”

- 5.3.5ab *jahi jyeṣṭham adr̥ṣṭānām* ‘*sarpāṇām moghacāriṇām*, “Slay the foremost of the unseen, of the snakes, going around in vain.”

*yodhanāyai*, “to set to fighting.” Taken as a quasi-infinitive to *yodhayati*; cf. Pāṇ. 3.3.107, where it is indicated that *-anā-* forms verbal abstracts to verbs in *-ayati* (Wackernagel 1954:191).

- 5.10.8b *ut pātaya mādaya yodhanāyai*, “Make [them] fly up, make [them] drunk so that they set each other to fighting.”

*vatsatantī-* f., “calf’s rope.” A Vedic hapax.

- 5.1.2ab *apehi no gṛhebh̄yo* ‘*apehi vatsatantīyāḥ*, “Go away from our homes, go away from the calf’s rope.”

*varmin-* adj., “armored = lucky (?)” Possibly, *varmin-* may refer to the favorable omen of a child being born with part of the membrane on him; cf. English “born with a caul”; Russ. *rodit’sja v rubaške/soročke*, “born in a shirt”; Dutch *met de helm geboren*, “born with a helmet on”; etc. Cf. also RV 6.75.1b: *yád varmī yāti samádām upásthe*, “when the armored one drives in the lap of the battles,” which may contain a word play on the same idea.

- 5.11.1cd *tatas te putro jāyatām ' sa varmī goṣu yudhyatām*, “From that (embryo) may a son be born for you, may he, the armored one, fight for cows.”

*valīka-* n., “thatched roof.” Otherwise attested only in the KauśS. In the AVP, it is also found in 11.15.3ef: *valīke satvatām iva ' tivrā varṣantu vṛṣṭayaḥ*, “let the heavy rains rain, as on the thatched roof of the Satvant-people.”

- 5.9.6 *yās tarke tiṣṭhanti yā valīke ' yāḥ preṅkhe +preṅkhayanta uta yā nu ghorāḥ / yā garbhān pramṛśanti ' sarvāḥ pāpīr anīnaśam*, “Those who stay in the twisted grass (?), who [stay] on the thatched roof, who swing on a swing, and those who are terrible, who lay hold of the embryos, all the bad ones have I destroyed.”

*varāhamanyu-* m., “boar’s wrath.” The text probably refers to the myth of the boar, who dove into the ocean, picked up the earth and lifted her up (cf. e.g. ŚB 14.1.2.11, AVP 6.7.2cd: *tām sūkara tvaṃ māyayā triḥ samudrād \*udābharaḥ*,<sup>41</sup> “O boar, you brought her [the earth] up from the ocean three times through your magic power”; AVP 3.15.2ab: *yām tvā varāho akhanad ekasmīnn adhi puṣkare*, “you (earth) on a single lotus-flower, whom the boar dug”). Also instructive is TB 1.7.9.4: *paśūnām manyūr asi táveva me manyūr bhūyād iti vārāhī upānāhāv ūpa muñcate. paśūnām vā eṣā manyūḥ, yād varāhāḥ. ténaivā paśūnām manyúm ātmán dhatte*, “‘You are the wrath of the animals; may my wrath be like yours’ – saying thus he puts on shoes made of boar[’s leather], because the boar is the wrath of the animals. Herewith he invests himself with the wrath of the animals.”

- 5.10.4cd *varāhamanyur ajanīy ' uttānapādam ardaya*, “Boar’s wrath has arisen: shake the one with stretched legs (= earth).”

*vighasvan-*, f. *vighasvarī-* adj., “nutritious (?)” The contexts do not allow determination of the exact meaning of this word. My guess is based on *vighasā-*, “food, especially the remnants of an oblation” (in Vedic, attested only in AVŚ 11.2.2). *vi-√ghas-* is otherwise unknown.

41 This emendation was proposed by Arlo Griffiths.



- 5.10.4ab *iyam yā pātra āsutā* ' <sup>+</sup>*śaṣpasrakvā* <sup>\*</sup>*vighasvarī*,<sup>42</sup> "This [Surā], which is brewed in a cup, is with [the taste of] malted rice in the mouth, nutritious (?)."
- 5.10.5ab <sup>+</sup>*udardanī pracyavanī* ' *pāṃsupiṅgā vighasvarī*, "[Surā] is agitating, shaking, dust-yellowish, nutritious (?)."

*viṣapāvan-* m., "poison-drinker, liquor-drinker."

- 5.10.7ab *viṣapāvāno rudhirāś caranti* ' *pātāro martās tavase sura ime*, "The red poison-drinkers walk around, these mortals drinking for strength, O Surā."

*viṣāsutā-* f., "poison-brew, liquor."

- 5.10.1ab *iyam yā* <sup>+</sup>*musalāhatā* ' *dṛṣatpiṣṭā viṣāsutā*, "This [Surā], which is crushed with a pestle, ground with a grindstone, is a poison-brew."
- 5.10.9a *viṣāsutām pibata* <sup>+</sup>*jarhṛṣāṇāḥ*,<sup>43</sup> "Drink you, who are excited, the poison-brew."

$\sqrt{vrt}$ - (+ *prati*): -*tar*-future *pratyāvarttā*. See s.v.  $\sqrt{i}$ - (+ *ā*).

- 5.12.4ab *sa pratyāṇ pratyāvarttā-* ' <sup>\*</sup>*-ite*<sup>44</sup> *saṃvatsare punaḥ*, "He, going in the opposite direction, will turn back again, when the year has passed."

*vṛṣṇi-* m., "ram": instr. sg. *vṛṣṇyā*.

- 5.28.8 *yan no dadur varāham akṣitam vasu* ' *yad vā talpam upadhānena naḥ saha* / *yad* <sup>+</sup>*vāviyūtham saha* <sup>+</sup>*vṛṣṇyā*<sup>45</sup> *no* ' *agniṣ tad dhotā suhutam kṛṇotu*, "When [the gods] have given us a boar [or] imperishable riches, when [they have given] us a couch with a covering, or when [they have given] us a herd of sheep together with a ram, let Agni as *hotar* make it well-offered."

42 Ed. *vighasvatī*, but K *viṣaṣparī*. In K, the last word is the same as in 5b, and I assume that this was also the case in the original text.

43 Ed. *jahṛṣāṇā* (K *carṛṣāṇom*).

44 Ed. *pratyāvartye sā ete* (Vā *pratyāvarttesā ete*, K *pratyāvantā ete*). *nC* for *rC* is a frequent mistake in K. The reason for the attested spellings (Or. <sup>o</sup>*tyesāete* / <sup>o</sup>*ttesāete*, K <sup>o</sup>*tāete* instead of the expected <sup>o</sup>*tete*) is unclear to me.

45 Thus Ed. (Vā *vṛṣṇiyā*, Ma, Ja *vṛṣṇi*, K *vṛṣṭa*).

*śaṣpasrakva-* adj., “having (the taste of) malted rice in the mouth.” Ed. *śasyaḥ srakvā*, but K *śaṣpassakvā*.

- 5.10.4ab *iyaṃ yā pātra āsutā* ’ <sup>+</sup>*śaṣpasrakvā* \**viḡhasvarī*, “This [Surā], which is brewed in a cup, is with [the taste of] malted rice in the mouth, nutritious (?).”

*śābaleya-* m., “descendant of the motley cow.” A vṛddhi-derivative of *śabalī-* f., “piebald, motley (cow).” The latter appears as an epithet of the dawn in TS 4.3.11.5: *śukrārṣabhā nābhasā jyōtiṣāgād viśvārūpā śabalīr agnīketuḥ*, “She of bright bulls hath come with the cloud, the light, she of all forms, the motley, whose banner is fire” (Keith). It is clear from the context (*śukrārṣabhā*!) that *śabalī-* refers to a cow.

- 5.34.8 *abhi gāya śābaleyaṃ* ’ *śauṇeyaṃ sādhuṇvāhinam* / *kālmāṣeyasya* <sup>+</sup>*carkṛdhī* ’ *āyataḥ prati cālaya*, “Glorify a descendant of the motley cow, a descendant of the red cow, driving straight [to you (?)]. Praise a descendant of the spotted cow. Let those who are coming approach.”
- 19.38.1ab<sup>46</sup> *mābhi gāyaḥ śābaleyaṃ* ’ *śauṇeyaṃ sādhuṇvāhinam*, “Stop glorifying a descendant of the motley cow, a descendant of the red cow, driving straight.”

*śivatāti-* f., “happiness.” Otherwise unattested in Vedic (cf. Pāṇ. 4.4.143, 144).

- 5.36.1-8 (refrain) *śivatātīr astu te*, “Let happiness be for you.”

*śṛṅgavant-* adj., “horned.” The analysis of the passages, however, is problematic.

- 5.9.4ab *na tā itthā na tā ihāva* \**māsātā* ’ \**ukheva*<sup>47</sup> *śṛṅgavac chiraḥ*, “Not in this way, not here will the horned head give them space like an *ukhā*-pot.”
- 6.8.4cd [to a Sadānuvā] *na tvām* \**avivyacad*<sup>48</sup> *iha-* ’ *-ukheva śṛṅgavac chiraḥ*, “The horned head here has not given you room like an *ukhā*-pot.”

46 This is the reading of the Orissa mss, as kindly reported to me by Arlo Griffiths. K *mābhi gāya śābaleyaṃ śauṇeyaṃ sādhuṇvāhanam*.

47 Ed. *māsatokheva* (K *māsato akṣeva*). I assume 3sg. *s*-aor. subj. med. of *ava-* *mā-*.

48 Ed. *avavyacad*. Emendation proposed by Bhattacharya.

*śauṇeya-* m., “descendant of the red cow.” A *vr̥ddhi*-derivative of *śonī-* (Pāṇ. 4.1.43), fem. to *śoṇa-*, “red, crimson.” On the passage in 19.38.1 see s.v. *śābaleya-*.

- 5.34.8 *abhi gāya śābaleyaṃ śauṇeyaṃ sādhu vāhinam / kāl māṣeyasya + carḥdhīy āyataḥ prati cālaya*, “Glorify a descendant of the motley cow, a descendant of the red cow, driving straight [to you (?)]. Praise a descendant of the spotted cow. Let those who are coming approach.”
- 19.38.1ab *mābhi gāyaḥ śābaleyaṃ śauṇeyaṃ sādhu vāhinam*, “Stop glorifying a descendant of the motley cow, a descendant of the red cow, driving straight.”

*saṃhṛd-* adj., “like-hearted.” Probably a nonce formation, built in parallel to *saṃmanas-*.

- 5.19.8ab *sadhr̥cīnān vaḥ saṃmanasaḥ kṛṇomīy + ekaśnuṣṭīn saṃvananena saṃhṛdah*, “I make you by my conciliation united, like-minded, of one bunch, like-hearted.”<sup>49</sup>

*saṃjighatsu-* adj., “eager to devour.” A hapax, but *jighatsu-*, “hungry,” is common. The preverb *saṃ* here probably conveys the meaning “totally, completely.”

- 5.27.7a *\*asunvakān nirṛtiḥ saṃjighatsur*, “Nirṛti is eager to devour the people who do not press [Soma]” (cf. s.v. *asunvaka-*).

*sāmanantama-* adj. (superl.), “most docile.” *sāmana-* is an adj. of uncertain meaning. Cf. RV 10.85.11ab (with parallels in AVŚ 14.1.11, AVP 18.1.11): *ṛksāmābhyām abhīhitau gāvau te sāmanān itaḥ*, “your two docile (?) cows go, yoked to Ṛk and Sāman”; RV 3.30.9ab *nū sāmanām iṣirām indra bhūmim mahīm apārām sādane sasattha*, “You, O Indra, have put the docile (?), vigorous, big, unlimited earth into place.” The meaning “docile, friendly” seems to be suggested by the parallel *suhūtalā-* and its possible derivation from *sa-āmana-*, “with a friendly disposition” (type *sā-hṛdaya-*, “with a (good) heart”; the accentuation varies). For secondary *-m-/n-* in the hapax *sāmanantama-* see Wackernagel 1954:606.

49 Cf. AVŚ 3.30.7 *sadhr̥cīnān vaḥ saṃmanasas kṛṇomy ekaśnuṣṭīnt saṃvananena sārvaṇ*.

- 5.1.3ab *hā amba suhūtale ' atho hai +sāmanantame*,<sup>50</sup> “Hey, mother Suhūtalā (= easy to invoke), and hey, Sāmanantamā (most docile).”

*sudih-* adj., “well-smeared.” Notwithstanding Garbe’s (1878b) translation of *yau te daṃṣṭrau sudihau ropayiṣṇū* in VaitS 10.17 (paralleling AVP 5.28.2) as “Deine beiden Fangzähne, welche scharf und zerfleischend sind.”

- 5.28.2a *yau te daṃṣṭrau sudihau ropayiṣṇū ' nir \*hvayete dakṣiṇāḥ saṃ ca paśyataḥ*, “Your (Agni) two well-smeared lacerating tusks call out the dakṣiṇās and survey [everything].”
- 5.36.6a *yaṃ bāṇavantam sudiham saṃbharanti*, “Whatever well-smeared (with poison) arrow they prepare ...”
- 9.16.5cd *yo brahmajāyāṃ na punar dadāti ' tasmai devāḥ sudiham digdham asyān*, “Who does not give back the wife of a Brahman, the gods will send him a well-smeared poisoned [arrow].”

*suhūta-* adj., “easy to invoke.” Here it is presumably the name of a Sadānuvā.

- 5.1.3ab *hā amba suhūtale ' atho hai +sāmanantame*, “Hey, mother Suhūtalā (= easy to invoke), and hey, Sāmanantamā (most docile).”

*sūta-* adj., “born”; m., “child, son.” A Vedic hapax.

- 5.37.4cd *pitṛbhir vā te yadi sūtaḥ pariṣṭhita ' idaṃ taṃ niṣ kṛṇmo janayāsi putram*, “... or if your child is obstructed by the Fathers, we absolve this; you shall give birth to a son.”

√*stambh-* (+ *pari*), “to fasten on all sides, fix”: ta-ptc. *pariṣṭabhita-*. This is the only textual attestation of the root *stambh-* being combined with the preverb *pari*, as mentioned in the Kāśikā to Pāṇ. 8.3.67, 116.

- 5.11.3 *yenaitat pariṣṭabhitaṃ ' yasmāt putram na vindase / indrāgnī tasmāt tvainasaḥ ' pari pātām ahardivi*, “Let Indra and Agni protect you day by day from that fault, by which this is fixed, because of which you do not get a son.”

50 Ed. <sup>+</sup>*śāmanantame* (Or. *śāmanantave*, K *sāmaśaṃtama*), but there is no close contact between *hai* and the following word, so that the “*ruki*”-form is unexpected here. I therefore adopt the initial *s-* of K.

√sthā- (+ abhi) “to step into”: 2sg. pf. \*abhitaṣṭhātha (Ed. abhitiṣṭhātha, K dhipatiṣṭhāmi), attesting the typical insertion of the -ṣṭ- of abhi-ṣṭhā- into the perfect. The same form with the same ms readings is found in AVP 9.23.4ab, where we must also read \*abhitaṣṭhātha: yat kṣetram abhitiṣṭhātha- ‘-aśvaṃ vā yaṃ niremiṣe, “if you have stepped on a field, or have falsely acquired a horse ...” Cf. also s.v. √stabh-.

• 5.37.1cd āsnānaṃ vā yad \*abhitaṣṭhātha ghoram ‘sarvaṃ tat te brahmaṇā sūdayāmi, “... or if you have stepped into a terrible bathing-place: all that I put aright with a formula for you.”

√smṛ- “to remember”: pf. upa-sasmara. This seems to be the first attestation of the pf. of smṛ- in Vedic.

• 5.11.7 yeṣāṃ ca nāma jagrabha ‘yeṣāṃ ca nopasasmara / devās te sarve saṃgatya ‘putraṃ jaivātṛkaṃ dadan, “Those [gods] whose name I have grasped, and [those gods] whose [names] I have not remembered, all those gods, having come together, will give you a long-living son.”

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