SYNTAGMS CONSTRUCTED WITH COORDINATIVE PARTICLES IN RGVEDA 1.1 –1.50

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Abstract
In the Rgveda, several types of syntactic construction expressing a coordinative or copulative relationship occur: dvandva compounds, copulative asyndeta, elliptic duals, and syntagms constructed with coordinative particles. This article investigates the role of coordinative particles in the first fifty hymns of the Rgveda, focusing in particular on the most frequently used particle ca and comparing its use to other copulative conjunctions attested in the text, especially where ca is used twice (i.e. ca … ca) and the particle utá. The article investigates how coordination is expressed between two words and aims to identify differences in the usage of coordinative particles if the words coordinated are theonyms or non-theonyms. By examining how two words coordinated with particles occur elsewhere in other coordinative constructions, the article demonstrates that research into coordinative constructions in Vedic ought to pay special attention to the specific grammatical and linguistic features of theonyms.

Keywords
Vedic Linguistics; Rgvedic Exegesis; Coordinative Particles in the Rgveda; Particle ca in Vedic

Izvleček
V Rgvedi je zabeleženih več tipov koordinativnih nominalnih zvez kot so dvandva zloženke, asindetične povezave, eliptične dvojine in sintagme, v katerih so besede povezane z vezalnimi členicami. Prispevek raziskuje sintagme s členicami v rgedskih himnah 1.1–1.50 in se pri tem osredotoča zlasti na najbolj pogosto rabljeno vezalno členico ca (»in«) ter primerja njeno rabo z drugimi členicami, ki izražajo koordinacijo, zlasti z rabo dveh členic ca (i.e. ca … ca) in členico utá. Pregled različnih načinov izražanja koordinativnosti med dvema besedama kaže na razlike v rabi členic, ki povezujejo dve (ali več) imen bogov in besedami, ki se ne nanašajo na bogove. Prispevek analizira vse besede iz Rgvede 1.1–1.50, ki so povezane z vezalnimi členicami in jih primerja z alternativno izraženimi koordinativnimi zvezami (na primer dvandva) in ugotavlja, da mora raziskovanje koordinativnih povezav v vedskem jeziku nameniti pozornost specifičnim lingvističnim značilnostim imen bogov v Rgvedi, ki kažejo drugačno rabo členic kot besede, ki se ne nanašajo na bogove.

Ključne besede
vedska lingvistika; eksegeza Rgveda; členice v Rgvedi; vezalna členica ca v vedskem jeziku
1. Introduction

This article investigates the role of coordinative particles in the \textit{Rgveda}, focusing especially on the particle \textit{ca}, and compares its usage with other copulative conjunctions such as the particle \textit{utá} and the usage of two of the particles \textit{ca} (i.e. \textit{ca} \ldots \textit{ca}).\footnote{The research leading to the results in this paper has received funding from the Seventh Framework Programme [FP7/2007-2013] under PIRG02-GA-2007-224432.} The research is based on the first fifty hymns of the \textit{Rgveda} from which all the syntagms constructed with copulative conjunctions were identified, analysed and compared with other coordinative nominal constructions attested in the entire text of the \textit{Rgveda}. The first fifty hymns of the \textit{Rgveda}, addressing a variety of deities, provide a substantial amount of materials for investigation of coordinative conjunctions. The main focus of this article is the investigation of different functions of the particle \textit{ca} when situated as a conjunction coordinating two theonyms and two non-theonyms.

In the analysis of the first fifty hymns of the \textit{Rgveda}, several types of syntactic constructions expressing a coordinative or copulative relationship occur such as \textit{dvandva} compounds, asyndeta, elliptic duals, and syntagms constructed with copulative conjunctions. It has been shown elsewhere (Ditrich, 2010, pp. 35–44) that examination of such coordinative constructions ought to incorporate a stylistic analysis of the text, paying special attention to the specific grammatical and linguistic features of theonyms. The preferred coordinative construction for two theonyms is \textit{dvandva} compound, followed by asyndeton, whereas syntagms constructed with copulative conjunctions are less common expression and elliptic duals are the most marginal option. In contrast, coordinative relationship between two non-theonyms is most commonly expressed by asyndeton, followed by coordinative conjunctions, whereas \textit{dvandva} compounds are extremely rare (Ditrich, 2007).

2. Coordinative Particles in the \textit{Rgveda}

Among coordinative particles used in the \textit{Rgveda}, the most common is the particle \textit{ca} (1094 attestations), followed by the particle \textit{utá} (752 attestations), both usually used in the copulative sense “and” (Lubotsky, 1997, p. 344, p. 510). Coordinative particles are rather seldom used to express coordination between nouns in the \textit{Rgveda}—they are outnumbered by the usage of asyndeta. In this article only particles used in a coordinative sense are examined, i.e. particles \textit{ca}, \textit{utá} and the rarely attested particles \textit{u}, \textit{na} and \textit{ā}. It has been shown that coordinative nominal constructions with the particle \textit{ca} (and less frequently \textit{utá}), comprised of theonyms, seem to be one of the stylistic variants in hymns that address dual deities, alternating with \textit{dvandva} compounds, asyndeta and, rarely, with elliptic duals (Ditrich, 2007).

Delbrück (1900, pp. 190–192) was the first to comment on the variety of coordinative constructions for two nouns, i.e. asyndeta, \textit{dvandva} compounds and
syntagms constructed with copulative conjunctions. He thinks that these constructions express the same meaning: asyndeta are, in his opinion, the oldest Indo-European construction whereas the usage of conjunctions is a later development. His hypothesis is based on the development of Sanskrit: in older stages asyndeta are far more frequently used than syntagms with conjunctions whereas in the later language the usage of conjunctions increases. Renou (1955, p. 65) believes that particles may have a special emphatic function—to emphasize the link between the coordinated nouns; however, he provides no evidence to support his claim and, as Gonda (1971, p. 142) later comments, all attempts at reaching a clear understanding of the functions of \textit{ca} and other particles have so far been unsuccessful.

There is a close relationship between syntactic constructions with the particle \textit{ca}, and \textit{dvandva} compounds. As already pointed out by Delbrück (1893, pp. 396–397), Rgvedic \textit{ca} is a subclausal coordinative conjunction, very often coordinating pairs in the same case except for two vocatives. Most scholars explain that two vocatives cannot be connected with the subclausal conjunction \textit{ca} because the constituents in vocatives are absolutives, bearing no integral constituent relationship to the rest of the sentence (Klein, 1981, pp. 73–91; Whitney, 1964, p. 90; Delbrück, 1900, p. 396). The syntactic construction of two theonyms in vocatives conjoined by \textit{ca} does not occur in the \textit{Rgveda}; on the other hand syntagms comprising a vocative and a nominative conjoined by \textit{ca} are very common (V.+N.+ca), e.g. \textit{váyav} [V.] \textit{índraś} [N.] \textit{ca} or inverted \textit{índraś} [N.] \textit{ca} \textit{váyav} [V.]. These constructions, identified also in Old Greek and Avestan and seemingly of Indo-European origin, have been studied by many scholars (Humbach, 1982, pp. 95–102; Klein, 1981, pp. 73–91).

Klein (1981, pp. 85–87) comments that dual theonyms in syntagms V.+N.+ca usually occur elsewhere in the \textit{Rgveda} alternatively as \textit{dvandvas}. Jamison (1988, pp. 16–20) further develops this observation and demonstrates that syntagms V.+N.+ca can only be used in the \textit{Rgveda} when the two nouns that are involved elsewhere, usually in the same hymn, also form a \textit{dvandva} compound. The two constructions are always linked in discourse; there is a predictable relationship between the order of constituents in the \textit{dvandva} compound and the case role that each element plays in the sytagm.

As pointed out by Jamison (1988, pp. 16–20), the pair Indra and Vāyu is disproportionately represented in syntagms V.+N.+ca and it is also the only pair that appears in both regular and inverted order (vāyav \textit{índraś ca} or \textit{índraś ca} vāyav). The reason for this, she argues, lies in grammar: the \textit{dvandva} compound \textit{indravāyū} is the only example among devatādvandvas of the \textit{Rgveda} that has only one accent and the first constituent in stem form. With \textit{indravāyū} operating more like a true morphological compound rather than like the almost chance asyndetic association seen in conventional \textit{dvandvas}, the transformation into the \textit{vāyav \textit{índraś ca} construction may have seemed especially appropriate (Jamison, 1988, p. 20). She claims that all syntagms V.+N.+ca are based on related \textit{dvandvas}. When one of the two theonyms, coordinated with \textit{ca}, is in the plural no variant expression in a \textit{dvandva} compound
occurs; e.g. agniṣca ... marutaḥ (RV 5.60.7), Agni and Marutas are never attested in a dvandva compound in the Rgveda.² However, Jamison (1988, pp. 22–30) argues that although this is true on the surface there is an underlying dvandva involving the plural member; she gives for evidence the post-Rgvedic vrddhi derivations āgnimārutā- and ainḍrārbhava- that seem to be built to the underlying dvandva compounds. She thinks that there is no difference between coordinative constructions addressing theonyms and non-theonyms: gods are addressed in the same fashion as mortals in the Rgveda as well as in the proto-language (Jamison, 1988, p. 17). This statement seems to be too general, based only on examinations of syntagms V.+N.+ca.

The particle utā is the second most frequently used coordinative conjunction in the Rgveda. Klein (1978, pp. 1–23) gives an excellent survey of coordinative conjunctions in the Rgveda and identifies the main differences between the functions of utā and ca. He demonstrates that ca is mainly used as a subclausal conjunction whereas utā has much wider functions: it conjoins subclausal constituents as well as clauses and stanzas. This broader and more general function of the particle utā is the reason, as Klein (1978, pp. 1–23; 1981, pp. 77–78) argues, that utā can—unlike ca—coordinate two vocatives in the Rgveda.

Other particles have a wider spectrum of functions and are less frequently used in coordinative sense. It is often difficult to determine their function; it depends on the specific textual circumstances. The particle u is frequently used in the Rgveda (608 attestations) and has several functions, including a coordinative one. Klein (1978, pp. 9–23) convincingly demonstrates that the particle u, when not employed deictically or anaphorically, occupies virtually the same sphere of usage as utā and that the relationship between u and ca parallels that between utā and ca. Both u and utā have numerous attestations in the Rgveda but because of their wider functions they are far less used in coordinative nominal constructions than the particle ca.

3. Syntagms Constructed with Coordinative Particles in Rgveda 1.1–1.50

Several coordinative particles are used in the first fifty hymns of the Rgveda: the most common is the particle ca, followed by the particle utā and the rarely attested particles u, na and ā. Here the attestations of all particles used in a coordinative sense that occur in Rgveda 1.1–1.50 are examined in two groups, those coordinating theonyms and those with non-theonyms.

² The only possible exception to this is indrāmarutas (RV 2.29.4.3) which is, as argued by Klein, “an isolated solecism” (Jamison, 1988, p. 22).
3.1 Theonyms

In the first fifty hymns of the Rgveda examined, six pairs of deities occur: Indra and Vāyu, Mitra and Varuṇa, Uṣas and Nakta, Indra and Varuṇa, Indra and Agni, and Dyaus and Pṛthivī. They are attested in a variety of coordinative constructions, the most common being dvandva compounds and asyndeta. The six pairs of deities that occur in Rgveda 1.1 –1.50 have their attestations in sytagms with coordinative particles distributed among the ten maṇḍalas as follows:

3.1.1 Indra and Vāyu

Table 1: Coordinative particles used in sytagms with Indra and Vāyu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maṇḍala</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utá</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five constructions with the particle ca are in V. Sg. and N. Sg.: vāyavindraśca (1.2.5, 1.2.6, 4.47.3), vāyo … indraśca (1.135.4), īndraśca vāyo (4.47.2). All these constructions also occur in the same hymn in dvandva compound, confirming the observations made by Jamison (1988, 16–20) that the two constructions (i.e. dvandva and sytagms with ca) are always linked in discourse. In two constructions the pair occurs in N. Sg. together with other deities (7.40.2 and 10.90.13) and once in I. Sg. in a sytagm constructed with utá (9.61.8 īndreṇa utā vāyūnā). Indra and Vāyu are disproportionally represented in sytagms V.+N.+ca; they are also the only pair of deities that appears in both regular and inverted order (vāyav īndraś ca or īndraś ca vāyō).

3.1.2 Mitra and Varuṇa

Table 2: Coordinative particles used in sytagms with Mitra and Varuṇa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maṇḍala</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca … ca</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utá</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One construction with the particle ca occurs in V. Sg. and N. Sg.: mitra … vāruṇaśca (5.64.5). Five sytagms have both constituents in N. Sg. (5.40.7, 5.68.2, 6.24.5, 7.66.18), one in A. Sg. (1.2.7), two in D. Sg. (9.100.5, 10.85.17), one in G. Sg. (1.136.2) and one in L. Sg. (9.61.9). Three sytagms (5.64.5, 7.66.18, 1.2.7) occur in
the same hymn also in *dvandva* compound. In one attestation the syntagm constructed with *ca* has one constituent in the dual and the other in the singular (RV 8.25.2 *mitrā ... váruna ... ca*), which is considered by some scholars the most archaic stage of development of *dvandvas*, i.e. an intermediate stage between elliptic duals and *dvandvas*. The order of constituents varies: the order Mitra and Varuṇa is more common (10 attestations) than Varuṇa and Mitra (3 attestations).

### 3.1.3 Uśas and Nakta

**Table 3:** Coordinative particles used in syntagms with Uśas and Nakta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maṇḍala</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ca</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only one construction with the particle *ca* occurs in N. A. Du. (1.73.7 *náktā ca ... uśāsā*). It is attested in a hymn devoted to Agni which addresses several deities; the two theonyms do not occur in the same hymn in *dvandva* compound.

### 3.1.4 Indra and Varuṇa

**Table 4:** Coordinative particles used in syntagms with Indra and Varuṇa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maṇḍala</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ca ... ca</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only one syntagm constructed with two particles *ca* is attested in the Ṛgveda, in A. Sg. (7.83.6 *indraṃ ca ... várunaṃ ca*), in a hymn which addresses the pair; the theonyms Indra and Varuṇa occur in the same hymn also in *dvandva* compound.

### 3.1.5 Indra and Agni

**Table 5:** Coordinative particles used in syntagms with Indra and Agni

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maṇḍala</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ca</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ca ... ca</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One construction with the particle *ca* is attested in V. Sg. and N. Sg. (3.25.4 ágna *indraśca*) in a hymn devoted to Agni; the theonyms Indra and Agni do not occur in the same hymn in *dvandva* compound. One construction with the particle *ca* occurs in A.
Sg. (6.60.12 "indramagnîmca") in a hymn addressing the pair; in this hymn Indra and Agni also occur alternatively in dvandva compound. All syntagms constructed with two particles ca are in N. Sg. (5.51.4, 10.90.13, 10.173.5 "indraścagnîšca"); they are attested in hymns that do not address the pair and in which the pair does not occur alternatively in dvandva compound. The order of constituents is, with one exception (3.25.4), Indra and Agni.

3.1.6 Dyaus and Pṛthivī

Table 6: Coordiinative particles used in syntagms with Dyaus and Pṛthivī

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maṇḍala</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca ... ca</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utá</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most frequently used particle in coordinative constructions of Dyaus and Pṛthivī is utá. It is not evenly distributed among the ten maṇḍalas: 21.6\% of all attestations of utá are in the family books which comprise 41.7\% of all hymns in the Rgveda. It occurs most frequently (56.8\% of all attestations) in maṇḍala 1, which comprises 18.6\% of the total number of hymns. 21 attestations are in N. Sg. (always in the order: prthivī utá dyauḥ), followed by 14 attestations in A. Sg. (always in the order prthivīm utá dyām with one exception, i.e. 3.32.8 prthivīm dyām utá) and 1 attestation in Ab. G. Sg. (divās prthivyā utā). Syntagms constructed with utá occur only in hymns addressing another deity / deities: in 9 hymns Dyaus and Pṛthivī occur in the same hymn also in dvandva compound, whereas in 28 hymns they do not.

Constructions with the particle ca are attested most frequently in maṇḍala 1; they occur with the constituents in N. Sg. (5 times), in A. Sg. (once) and Ab. G. Sg. (2 times). The order of the constituents does not vary: Dyaus always precedes Pṛthivī, while the particle ca either is placed between the theonyms (4 times) or follows them (4 times). Syntagms constructed with ca occur only in hymns addressing another deity / deities; the pair does not occur in the same hymn in dvandva compound.

Syntagms constructed with two of the particle ca have constituents in N. Sg. (3 times) and in A. Sg. (4 times). The order of constituents is always dyauśca prthivī ca. Most syntagms are in hymns addressing another deity / deities; the pair does not occur in the same hymn in dvandva compound. However, Dyaus and Pṛthivī coordinated with two of the particle ca are attested once in a hymn addressing another deity and in the same hymn the pair also occurs in dvandva compound; and once the syntagm
constructed with two of the particle *ca* occurs in a hymn that addresses Dyaus and Pṛ̥̈̄thivī in which the pair is also expressed in *dvandva* compound.

Syntagms constructed with the particles *nā* and *ā* are rare: both particles coordinate the theonyms Dyaus and Pṛ̥̈̄thivī in Ab. G. Sg. only (*dvā nā pṛ̥̈̄thivyāḥ, divā ā pṛ̥̈̄thivyāḥ*). Mostly the particle *ā* occurs in the family books and *nā* in the younger *maṇḍalas* 1 and 10; however, the number of attestations is too small to draw any general conclusions about their distribution. All syntagms constructed with these two particles are attested in hymns addressing another deity / deities; the pair Dyaus and Pṛ̥̈̄thivī does not occur in these hymns in *dvandva* compound.

Other theonyms occasionally—though rarely—occur in syntagms connected with coordinative particles. In the first fifty hymns examined there are only four attestations of such syntagms:

1. Ādityas and Indra: once in a syntagm constructed with two of the particle *ca*: in I. Sg. / Pl. (1.20.5 *インドर ना ca … adithēbiśca*). These deities also have 7 attestations in asyndetic constructions but none in *dvandva*.

2. Ahi and Indra: once in a syntagm constructed with two of the particle *ca*: in A. Sg. (1.32.13 *インド्रश्च ना ca … अहिश्च*); one other alternative construction is attested.

3. Agni and Mitra (and Varuṇa): once in a syntagm constructed with the particle *utā*: in N. Sg. / Du. (1.36.17 *agniḥ … mitrā utā*). These deities have one attestation in asyndeton but none in *dvandva*.

4. The Vasus, the Rudras and the Adityas: twice in a syntagm constructed with the particle *utā*: in A. Pl. (1.45.1) and in I. Pl. (10.125.1). These deities have also 10 attestations in asyndeton but none in *dvandva*.

From the survey of the syntagms constructed with coordinative particles for the six pairs of deities examined in the *Ṛgveda*, the following observations can be made:

The most frequently used particle for coordination of theonyms is *ca*: it is used exclusively to express coordination between Uṇas and Nakta, Indra and Varuṇa, Indra and Agni, and also, except for one attestation with *utā*, to coordinate the pair Indra and Vāyu, and the pair Mitra and Varuṇa. The distribution of the syntagms with coordinative particles for the six pairs of deities among the ten *maṇḍalas* seems generally very similar to the distribution of *dvandva* compounds formed from these theonyms (Ditrich, 2006); however, the number of attestations is too small to draw any general conclusion.

- The construction with *ca* usually occurs in the same hymn as the alternative construction in *dvandva* compound;3 it indicates that the two

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3 All constructions with the particle *ca* of Indra and Vāyu, Indra and Varuṇa, Indra and Agni, and three of the total six of Mitra and Varuṇa occur in the same hymns also in *dvandva* compound.
coordinative constructions are stylistic variants, especially since they occur in the hymns that address the pair which follow specific stylistic patterns which include variations of different coordinative constructions for dual theonyms (i.e. several types of dvandva compounds, the elliptic dual, syntagms constructed with copulative conjunctions, and asyndeta) (Ditrich, 2007).

- The only pair of theonyms that shows a different pattern in the usage and distribution of coordinative particles is Dyaus and Prthivī. This pair occurs in the largest number of syntagms constructed with coordinative particles, most frequently with the particle utá. Constructions with utá are mostly in N. and A. Sg. with the highest frequency in maṇḍala 1; these syntagms usually do not occur in the same hymn as dvandva compounds or elliptic duals. Dyaus and Prthivī—unlike other dual theonyms—are coordinated by a variety of particles: one ca, two ca, utá, ná and á. Other dual theonyms only occasionally occur in syntagms constructed with utá or with two of the particle ca.

- Generally, it remains uncertain what the function of the various particles coordinating theonyms is, but it seems that one function of syntagms comprising dual theonyms is stylistic variation, especially since these variants often occur in the same hymn, usually addressing the very same pair of deities.

3.2 Non-theonyms

Coordinative particles are used in the Rgveda also to express coordination between nouns which are not theonyms, as well as — though more rarely — between adjectives, adverbs, verbs and sentences. All the particles coordinating non-theonyms that are attested in Rgveda 1.1–1.50 are identified below and all other coordinative constructions between the two examined non-theonyms are drawn from the entire text of the Rgveda.

3.2.1 Particle ca

1. Coordination of nouns (non-theonyms):
   1. sahásrapradhaneṣu- and vája-: 1 attestation in I. Pl. (1.7.4 vájeṣu ... saháṣrapradhaneṣu ca); no alternative coordinative construction is attested in the entire text of the Rgveda.

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4 The particle utá coordinates Dyaus and Prthivī 37 times but other dual deities only twice.
2. *ukthá-* and *stóma-*: 2 attestations: in N. Sg. (1.8.10 *stómah uktháṃ ca*) and in I. Pl (6.24.7); 4 attestations in asyndeton in the entire *Rgveda* (1.5.8, 3.5.2, 3.41.4, 6.23.1).

3. *sutá-* and *sakhyá-*: 1 attestation in I. Pl. (1.10.5 *sutéṣu ... sakhyéṣu ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

4. *yajñá-* and *havís-*: 1 attestations: in N. Sg. (1.12.10 *yajñáṃ havísca*); 4 attestations in asyndeton in the *Rgveda* (1.24.14, 2.35.12, 4.50.6, 10.20.6).

5. *bheṣajá-* and *agní-*: 1 attestation in N. Pl. (1.23.20 *bheṣajá agní ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

6. *apacyavá-* and *upacyavá-*: 1 attestation in A. Sg. (1.28.3 *apacyavám upacyaváṃ ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

7. *práyas-* and *máyas-*: 1 attestation in N. A. Sg. (1.31.7 *máyah ... práyah ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

8. *tanükfi-* and *prámati-*: 1 attestation in N. Sg. (1.31.9 *tanükfi ... prámatiśca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

9. *maghávan-* and *tanú-*: 1 attestation in A. Pl. (1.31.12 *maghónaḥ ... tanvāśca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

10. *míh-* and *hrádúni-*: 1 attestation in A. Sg. (1.32.13 *míham ... hrádúniṃ ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

11. *amṛta-* and *mártya-*: 1 attestation in A. Sg. (1.35.2 *amṛtaṃ mártyaṃ ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

12. *arká-* and *ukthá-*: 1 attestation: in I. Pl. (1.47.10 *ukthébhīḥ ... arkaiśca*); 1 attestation in asyndeton in the entire *Rgveda* (6.5.5).

13. *hr̥d rogá-* and *harimán-*: 1 attestation in A. Sg. (1.50.11 *hr̥drogám ... harimánāṃ ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

2. Coordination of adjectives:

1. *sáma-* and *śr̥gín-*: 1 attestation in G. Sg. (1.32.15 *sámasya ca śr̥gínah*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

2. *rudát-* and *jákṣat-*: 1 attestation in A. Pl. (1.33.7 *rudatō jákṣataśca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

3. Coordination of adverbs:

1. *adyá* and *nünám*: 1 attestation (1.13.6 *adyá nünāṃ ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

2. *doṣá* and *uṣás-*: 1 attestation in A. Pl. / G. Sg. (adverbial use: 1.34.3 *doṣāḥ ... uṣásāśca*); 5 attestations in adverbial function in asyndeton in the entire *Rgveda* (1.179.1, 2.8.3, 4.2.98, 7.3.5, 8.22.14).
4. Coordination of verbs:

4 attestations of two verbs (X+Y+ca): 1.14.1c, 1.31.17cd, 1.42.9ab, 1.48.3ab;
2 attestations of two verbs (X+ca+Y): 1.15.9b, 1.17.6ab.

5. Coordination of sentences:

6 attestations of X+ca+Y: 1.8.5ab, 1.23.21abc, 1.25.11c, 1.25.19ab, 1.26.8abc, 1.34.12cd;
2 attestations of X+Y+ca: 1.13.1abc, 1.23.20abc.

3.2.2 Two of the particle ca

1. Coordination of nouns (non-theonyms):

1. brahmán- and yajñá-: 1 attestation in A. Sg. (1.10.4 bráhma ca … yajñáṣṭ ca); 1 attestation with one ca in the entire Ṛgveda (6.38.40).

2. pitá- and mātrá-: 3 attestations in A. Sg. (1.24.1 1.24.2, 10.54.3 pitáraṃ ca … mātrāmaṃ ca); 5 attestations with one ca, 1 with utá, 15 in asyndeton, 83 in the elliptic dual, 1 in dvandva in the entire Ṛgveda.

3. dyú- and kṣam-: 5 attestations in Ab. G. Sg. (1.25.20, 1.37.6, 1.100.15, 5.38.3, 10.49.2, 10.22.6 divásca gmáṣca); 1 attestation with one ca, 3 in asyndeton in the entire Ṛgveda.

4. náva- and navatí-: 1 attestation in N. Sg. (1.32.14 náva ca navatíṃ ca); 9 attestations with one ca, 9 in asyndeton in the entire Ṛgveda.

2. Coordination of adverbs:

1. dūrāt and āsáṭ: 1 attestation (1.27.3 dūrāccāsācā); 1 attestation with ā (4.20.1).

3. Coordination of sentences:

1 attestation of X+ca … ca+Y: 1.35.11cd.

3.2.3 Particle utá

1. Coordination of nouns (non-theonyms)

1. yáma- and rātí-: 1 attestation in N. Sg. (1.34.1 yáma utá rātíḥ); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

2. toká- and váṣu-: 1 attestation in A. Sg. (1.41.6 váṣu ... tokámutá); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

2. Coordination of adjectives
3. Coordination of adverbs:

1. adyā and aparām: 1 attestation (1.36.6 adyā ... utā aparām); 2 attestations in asyndeton in the entire Rgveda (1.184.1, 8.27.14).

4. Coordination of sentences:

6 attestations X+utā+Y: 1.10.6cd, 1.11.8cd, 1.23.19ab, 1.32.13cd, 1.34.5b, 1.34.5c; 3 attestations of X+Y+utā: 1.17.6ab, 1.32.4ab, 1.39.2ab.

5. Coordinations of stanzas:

at the beginning of the stanza: 1.4.5ab, 1.4.6ab, 1.20.6ab, 1.25.15ab, 1.28.6ab, 1.31.18cd.

3.2.4 Particle u

1. Coordination of sentences:

2 attestations of X+u+Y: 1.34.2d, 1.34.6ab.

3.2.5 Particle ā

1. Coordination on nouns:

ánta- and parākā:- 1 attestation in Ab. Sg. (1.30.21 ántādā parākāt); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

From the survey of the particles coordinating non-theonyms that are attested in Rgveda 1.1–1.50, the following observations are made:

• The particle ca is the most frequently used particle for coordination of non-theonyms in Rgveda 1.1–1.50: it has 45 attestations and most frequently coordinates nouns (13 attestations). Syntagms comprising two nouns coordinated with the particle ca seem to express a casual relation between the nouns; usually they have only one attestation in the whole Rgveda and do not occur in any other coordinative construction (e.g. asyndeton or dvandva).

• Only 3 out of a total of 13 pairs of nouns coordinated with ca occur also in asyndeton: these nouns have a larger number of attestations in
asyndeton than in constructions with ca.\(^5\) In these syntagms nouns occur most frequently in N. and A. Sg. and I. Pl.

- The particle ca is also used to coordinate adjectives (2 times) and adverbs (2 times); these syntagms have only one attestation in the whole Rgveda and do not occur, with one exception, in any other coordinative construction.

- The particle ca also coordinates verbs (6 times) and sentences (8 times); the frequent use of ca here does not support the claim developed by Klein (1978, pp. 1–23) that ca is mainly used as a subclausal conjunction whereas utá has much wider functions, i.e. it conjoins subclausal constituents as well as clauses and stanzas. In Rgveda 1.1–1.50 the particle ca is used for coordination of sentences as frequently as the particle utá.

- The particle utá is less frequently used for coordination of nouns (2 attestations), adjectives (1 attestation) and adverbs (1 attestation) than for coordination of sentences. It also occurs in its special function as a coordinative particle situated at the beginning of a stanza (6 attestations). Syntagms comprising two nouns coordinated with the particle utá seem to express a casual relation between the nouns; usually these nouns occur only once in the coordinative relation and do not have attestations in any other coordinative construction (e.g. asyndeton or dvandva). The cases most frequently used in these syntagms—as in those constructed with ca—are N. and A. Sg. and I. Pl.\(^6\)

- Two of the particle ca, attested in Rgveda 1.1–1.50, are mainly used for coordination of nouns (4 attestations) and, less frequently, coordination of adverbs (1 attestation) and sentences (1 attestation). These syntagms—unlike those constructed with one ca—have several attestations in the Rgveda and do occur in other coordinative constructions as well: all of them have at least one attestation with one ca, often they occur in asyndeton and, in the case of pitṛ- and mātr-, also in the elliptic dual and dvandva. It seems that syntagms constructed with two ca do not coordinate nouns casually, as do those with one ca or with utá, but are one of the stylistic variants expressing coordination between nouns and are especially often attested in maṇḍalas 1 and 10. Examination of all syntagms constructed by using two ca from Rgveda

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\(^5\) E.g. ukthā- and stōma- (2 attestations with ca, 4 attestations in asyndeton), yajñā- and havīs- (1 attestation with ca, 4 attestations in asyndeton), arkā- and ukthā- (1 attestation with ca, 1 attestation in asyndeton).

\(^6\) The usage of cases in syntagms constructed with coordinative particles and in asyndeta has not been, to my knowledge, investigated; this is an area which requires future research that would contribute to a better understanding of the style of the Rgvedic poetic language.
1.1–1.50 indicates that these constructions are different from the syntagms constructed with other coordinative particles and have a special function which may be the stylistic variation.

4. Conclusion

Several coordinative particles are used in the hymns examined: the most common is the particle ca, followed by the particle utá. When dual theonyms occur in constructions with the coordinative particle ca, they are usually attested in the same hymns in dvandva compound as well, thus indicating that the two coordinative constructions are stylistic variants, especially in the hymns that address the pair in question. Dyaus and Pṛthivī is the only pair of deities that is coordinated by a variety of conjunctive particles (one particle ca, two particles ca, particles utá, ná and á), displaying the widest variety of stylistic expressions. It remains uncertain what the function of the various particles coordinating theonyms is; however, it seems that one function of syntagms comprising dual theonyms is stylistic variation, especially since these syntagms usually occur together with other coordinative constructions (dvandvas, elliptic duals, asyndeta) in the same hymn.

Syntagms comprising two non-theonyms coordinated with the particle ca or utá seem to express a casual relation between the nouns; they have usually only one attestation in the entire Rgveda and do not occur in any other coordinative construction. Unlike syntagms constructed with one particle ca, those constructed with two particles ca usually have several attestations in the Rgveda and also occur in other coordinative constructions (i.e. in syntagms constructed with one particle ca, in asyndeton and sometimes also in the elliptic dual and dvandva compound). It seems that the syntagms constructed with two particles ca do not coordinate nouns casually, but represent one of the stylistic variants expressing coordination between the nouns.

There is a considerable difference in style between coordinative constructions comprising two theonyms, and those consisting of non-theonyms, as demonstrated by the distribution and usage of coordinative particles in the first fifty hymns of the Rgveda. By examining how two words coordinated with particles alternatively occur in other coordinative constructions, the article demonstrates that research into coordinative constructions in Vedic ought to pay special attention to the specific grammatical and linguistic features of theonyms that distinguish them from non-theonyms.

Abbreviations

A. accusative
Ab. Ablative
D. Dative
Du. Dual
G. genitive
I. instrumental
L. Locative
N. Nominative
Pl. Plural
RV Ṛgveda
Sg. Singular
V. vocative

References


