

# SYNTAGMS CONSTRUCTED WITH COORDINATIVE PARTICLES IN *ṚGVEDA* 1.1–1.50

**Tamara DITRICH**

University of Ljubljana, University of Sydney  
t.ditrich@gmail.com

## Abstract

In the *Ṛgveda*, 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 *Ṛgveda*, 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; *Ṛgvedic* Exegesis; Coordinative Particles in the *Ṛgveda*; Particle *ca* in Vedic

## Izvleček

V *Ṛgvedi* 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 *ṛgvedskih* 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 *Ṛgvede* 1.1–1.50, ki so povezane z vezalnimi členicami in jih primerja z alternativno izraženimi koordinativnimi zvezami (na primer *dvandva*) in ugotovlja, da mora raziskovanje koordinativnih povezav v vedskem jeziku nameniti pozornost specifičnim lingvističnim značilnostim imen bogov v *Ṛgvedi*, ki kažejo drugačno rabo členic kot besede, ki se ne nanašajo na bogove.

## Ključne besede

vedska lingvistika; eksegeza *Ṛgvede*; členice v *Ṛgvedi*; vezalna členica *ca* v vedskem jeziku

## 1. Introduction

This article investigates the role of coordinative particles in the *Ṛgveda*, focusing especially on the particle *ca*, and compares its usage with other copulative conjunctions such as the particle *utá* and the usage of two of the particles *ca* (i.e. *ca ... ca*).<sup>1</sup> The research is based on the first fifty hymns of the *Ṛgveda* 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 *Ṛgveda*. The first fifty hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, 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 *ca* when situated as a conjunction coordinating two theonyms and two non-theonyms.

In the analysis of the first fifty hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, several types of syntactic constructions expressing a coordinative or copulative relationship occur such as *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 *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 *dvandva* compounds are extremely rare (Ditrich, 2007).

## 2. Coordinative Particles in the *Ṛgveda*

Among coordinative particles used in the *Ṛgveda*, the most common is the particle *ca* (1094 attestations), followed by the particle *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 *Ṛgveda*—they are outnumbered by the usage of asyndeta. In this article only particles used in a coordinative sense are examined, i.e. particles *ca*, *utá* and the rarely attested particles *u*, *na* and *ā*. It has been shown that coordinative nominal constructions with the particle *ca* (and less frequently *utá*), comprised of theonyms, seem to be one of the stylistic variants in hymns that address dual deities, alternating with *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, *dvandva* compounds and

---

<sup>1</sup> 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.

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 *ca* and other particles have so far been unsuccessful.

There is a close relationship between syntactic constructions with the particle *ca*, and *dvandva* compounds. As already pointed out by Delbrück (1893, pp. 396–397), Ṛgvedic *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 *ca* because the constituents in vocatives are absolutes, 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 *ca* does not occur in the *Ṛgveda*; on the other hand syntagms comprising a vocative and a nominative conjoined by *ca* are very common (V.+N.+*ca*), e.g. *vāyav* [V.] *indraś* [N.] *ca* or inverted *indraś* [N.] *ca* *vāyav* [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 *Ṛgveda* alternatively as *dvandvas*. Jamison (1988, pp. 16–20) further develops this observation and demonstrates that syntagms V.+N.+*ca* can only be used in the *Ṛgveda* when the two nouns that are involved elsewhere, usually in the same hymn, also form a *dvandva* compound. The two constructions are always linked in discourse; there is a predictable relationship between the order of constituents in the *dvandva* compound and the case role that each element plays in the syntagm.

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 indraś ca* or *indraś ca vāyav*). The reason for this, she argues, lies in grammar: the *dvandva* compound *indravāyú* is the only example among *devatādvandvas* of the *Ṛgveda* that has only one accent and the first constituent in stem form. With *indravāyú* operating more like a true morphological compound rather than like the almost chance asyndetic association seen in conventional *dvandvas*, the transformation into the *vāyav indraś ca* construction may have seemed especially appropriate (Jamison, 1988, p. 20). She claims that all syntagms V.+N.+*ca* are based on related *dvandvas*. When one of the two theonyms, coordinated with *ca*, is in the plural no variant expression in a *dvandva* compound

occurs; e.g. *agniśca ... marutaḥ* (RV 5.60.7), Agni and Marutas are never attested in a *dvandva* compound in the *Ṛgveda*.<sup>2</sup> 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-*Ṛgvedic* *vṛddhi* derivations *āgnimārutá-* and *aindrārbhava-* 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 *Ṛgveda* 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 *utá* is the second most frequently used coordinative conjunction in the *Ṛgveda*. Klein (1978, pp. 1–23) gives an excellent survey of coordinative conjunctions in the *Ṛgveda* and identifies the main differences between the functions of *utá* and *ca*. He demonstrates that *ca* is mainly used as a subclausal conjunction whereas *utá* has much wider functions: it conjoins subclausal constituents as well as clauses and stanzas. This broader and more general function of the particle *utá* is the reason, as Klein (1978, pp. 1–23; 1981, pp. 77–78) argues, that *utá* can—unlike *ca*—coordinate two vocatives in the *Ṛgveda*.

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 *Ṛgveda* (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 *utá* and that the relationship between *u* and *ca* parallels that between *utá* and *ca*. Both *u* and *utá* have numerous attestations in the *Ṛgveda* 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 *Ṛgveda* 1.1–1.50

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

---

<sup>2</sup> 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 *Ṛgveda* 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 *Ṛgveda* 1.1 –1.50 have their attestations in syntagms with coordinative particles distributed among the ten *maṇḍalas* as follows:

#### 3.1.1 Indra and Vāyu

**Table 1:** Coordinative particles used in syntagms with Indra and Vāyu

<i>maṇḍala</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	total
<i>ca</i>	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	7
<i>utá</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

Five constructions with the particle *ca* are in V. Sg. and N. Sg.: *vāyavíndraśca* (1.2.5, 1.2.6, 4.47.3), *vāyo ... índraśca* (1.135.4), *índraśca 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 syntagms 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 syntagm constructed with *utá* (9.61.8 *índreṇa utá vāyúnā*). Indra and Vāyu are disproportionately represented in syntagms V.+N.+*ca*; they are also the only pair of deities that appears in both regular and inverted order (*vāyav índraś ca* or *índraś ca vāyo*).

#### 3.1.2 Mitra and Varuṇa

**Table 2:** Coordinative particles used in syntagms with Mitra and Varuṇa

<i>maṇḍala</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	total
<i>ca</i>	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	1	2	1	11
<i>ca ... ca</i>	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
<i>utá</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

One construction with the particle *ca* occurs in V. Sg. and N. Sg.: *mitra ... váruṇaśca* (5.64.5). Five syntagms 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 syntagms (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 *mitrá ... váruṇa ... 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 Uṣas and Nakta

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

<i>maṇḍala</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	total
<i>ca</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Only one construction with the particle *ca* occurs in N. A. Du. (1.73.7 *náktā ca ... uṣásā*). 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

<i>maṇḍala</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	total
<i>ca ... ca</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

Only one syntagm constructed with two particles *ca* is attested in the *R̥gveda*, in A. Sg. (7.83.6 *índraṃ ca ... váruṇaṃ 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

<i>maṇḍala</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	total
<i>ca</i>	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
<i>ca ... ca</i>	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3

One construction with the particle *ca* is attested in V. Sg. and N. Sg. (3.25.4 *áḡna índraśca*) 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 *índram agníṃ ca*) 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 *índraścāgnísca*); 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:** Coordinative particles used in syntagms with Dyaus and Pṛthivī

<i>maṇḍala</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	total
<i>ca</i>	3	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	8
<i>ca ... ca</i>	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	3	2	7
<i>utá</i>	21	0	3	1	2	2	0	0	2	6	37
<i>ná</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
<i>á</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	5

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 *R̥gveda*. 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: *pṛthivī utá dyaúh*), followed by 14 attestations in A. Sg. (always in the order *pṛthivīm utá dyām* with one exception, i.e. 3.32.8 *pṛthivīm dyām utá*) and 1 attestation in Ab. G. Sg. (*divás pṛthivyá utá*). 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 *dyaúsca pṛthivī 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 Pṛthivī in which the pair is also expressed in *dvandva* compound.

Syntagms constructed with the particles *ná* and *á* are rare: both particles coordinate the theonyms Dyaus and Pṛthivī in Ab. G. Sg. only (*divó ná pṛthivyáḥ*, *divá á pṛthivyáḥ*). Mostly the particle *á* occurs in the family books and *ná* 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 Pṛthivī 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 *índreṇa ca ... ādithébhīśca*). 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 *índraśca ... áhīśca*); one other alternative construction is attested.

**3. Agni and Mitra (and Varuṇa):** once in a syntagm constructed with the particle *utá*: in N. Sg. / Du. (1.36.17 *agníḥ ... mitrá utá*). 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 *utá*: 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 Uṣas and Nakta, Indra and Varuṇa, Indra and Agni, and also, except for one attestation with *utá*, 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;<sup>3</sup> it indicates that the two

<sup>3</sup> 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 Pṛthivī. This pair occurs in the largest number of syntagms constructed with coordinative particles, most frequently with the particle *utá*.<sup>4</sup> 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 Pṛthivī—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 *Ṛgveda* 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 *Ṛgveda* 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 *Ṛgveda*.

#### 3.2.1 Particle *ca*

##### 1. Coordination of nouns (non-theonyms):

1. *sahásrapradhana-* and *vā́ja-*: 1 attestation in I. Pl. (1.7.4 *vā́jeṣu ... sahásrápradhaneṣu ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested in the entire text of the *Ṛgveda*.

---

<sup>4</sup> The particle *utá* coordinates Dyaus and Pṛthivī 37 times but other dual deities only twice.

2. *ukthá-* and *stóma-*: 2 attestations: in N. Sg. (1.8.10 *stómaḥ ukthám ca*) and in I. Pl. (6.24.7); 4 attestations in asyndeton in the entire *Ṛgveda* (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 *yajñám havísca*); 4 attestations in asyndeton in the *Ṛgveda* (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 agníṃ ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.
6. *apacyavá-* and *upacyavá-*: 1 attestation in A. Sg. (1.28.3 *apacyavám upacyavám ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.
7. *práyas-* and *máyas-*: 1 attestation in N. A. Sg. (1.31.7 *máyaḥ ... práyaḥ ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.
8. *tanūkṛt-* and *prámati-*: 1 attestation in N. Sg. (1.31.9 *tanūkṛt ... prámatiśca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.
9. *maghávan-* and *tanú-*: 1 attestation in A. Pl. (1.31.12 *maghónaḥ ... tanváśca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.
10. *míh-* and *hrādúni-*: 1 attestation in A. Sg. (1.32.13 *míham ... hrādúniṃ 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 *ukthébhiḥ ... arkaśca*); 1 attestation in asyndeton in the entire *Ṛgveda* (6.5.5).
13. *hṛdrogá-* and *harimán-*: 1 attestation in A. Sg. (1.50.11 *hṛdrogám ... harimánam ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.
2. Coordination of adjectives:
1. *sáma-* and *śṛṅgín-*: 1 attestation in G. Sg. (1.32.15 *sámasya ca śṛṅgíṇaḥ*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.
2. *rudát-* and *jákṣat-*: 1 attestation in A. Pl. (1.33.7 *rudató jákṣataśca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.
3. Coordination of adverbs:
1. *adyá* and *nūnám*: 1 attestation (1.13.6 *adyá nūnám ca*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.
2. *doṣá* and *uṣás-*: 1 attestation in A. Pl. / G. Sg. (adverbial use: 1.34.3 *doṣáḥ ... uṣásaśca*); 5 attestations in adverbial function in asyndeton in the entire *Ṛgveda* (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 ... yajñám ca*); 1 attestation with one *ca* in the entire *Ṛgveda* (6.38.40).

2. *pitṛ-* and *mātṛ-*: 3 attestations in A. Sg. (1.24.1 1.24.2, 10.54.3 *pitáram ca ... mātáram 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 gmásca*); 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 navatím ca*); 9 attestations with one *ca*, 9 in asyndeton in the entire *Ṛgveda*.

## 2. Coordination of adverbs:

1. *dūrát* and *āsát*: 1 attestation (1.27.3 *dūráccāsácca*); 1 attestation with *á* (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 rātih*); no alternative coordinative construction is attested.

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

## 2. Coordination of adjectives

*pūrva-* and *nūtana-*: 1 attestation in I. Pl. (1.1.2 *pūrvebhiḥ ... nūtanaih utá*); 2 attestations in asyndeton in the entire *Ṛgveda*.

### 3. Coordination of adverbs:

1. *adyá* and *aparám*: 1 attestation (1.36.6 *adyá ... utá aparám*); 2 attestations in asyndeton in the entire *Ṛgveda* (1.184.1, 8.27.14).

### 4. Coordination of sentences:

6 attestations  $X+utá+Y$ : 1.10.6cd, 1.11.8cd, 1.23.19ab, 1.32.13cd, 1.34.5b, 1.34.5c; 3 attestations of  $X+Y+utá$ : 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 *á*

### 1. Coordination on nouns:

*ánta-* and *parāká-*: 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 *Ṛgveda* 1.1–1.50, the following observations are made:

- The particle *ca* is the most frequently used particle for coordination of non-theonyms in *Ṛgveda* 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 *Ṛgveda* 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*.<sup>5</sup> 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 *Ṛgveda* 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 *Ṛgveda* 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.<sup>6</sup>
- Two of the particle *ca*, attested in *Ṛgveda* 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 *Ṛgveda* 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 *mātṛ-*, 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 *Ṛgveda*

---

<sup>5</sup> E.g. *ukthá-* and *stóma-* (2 attestations with *ca*, 4 attestations in asyndeton), *yajñá-* and *havis-* (1 attestation with *ca*, 4 attestations in asyndeton), *arká-* and *ukthá-* (1 attestation with *ca*, 1 attestation in asyndeton).

<sup>6</sup> 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 *Ṛgvedic* 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 *Ṛgveda* 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 *Ṛgveda* 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 *Ṛgveda*. 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	<i>Ṛgveda</i>
Sg.	Singular
V.	vocative

## References

- Delbrück, B. (1893). *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Theil 1. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.
- Delbrück, B. (1900). *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Theil 3. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.
- Ditrich, T. (2006). *Dvandva* Compounds and the Chronology of the *Ṛgveda*. *Crossroads*, 1 (Autumn 2006), 26–35.
- Ditrich, T. (2007). Stylistic Analysis of Coordinative Nominal Constructions for Dual Deities in the *Ṛgveda*. In *Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> World Sanskrit Conference*, Edinburgh, July 2006. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. [forthcoming]
- Ditrich, T. (2010). The Variety of Expression for Heaven and Earth in the *Ṛgveda*. *Crossroads*, 5(1), 35–44.
- Gonda, J. (1971). *Old Indian*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, zweite Abteilung, 1. Band, 1. Abschnitt. Leiden-Köln: E. J. Brill.
- Humbach, H. (1982). Vedic *índraśca vāyo* ~ Old Avestan *mazdāscā ahurāñhō*. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 41, 95–102.
- Jamison, S. W. (1988). *Vāyav Indraś ca Revisited*. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 49, 13–59.
- Klein, J. S. (1978). The System of Coordinative Conjunctions in the Rigveda. *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 20, 1–23.
- Klein, J. S. (1981). The Origin of the Rigvedic *vāyav indraś ca* Construction. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 40, 73–91.
- Lubotsky, A. (1997). *A Ṛgvedic Word Concordance* (Vol. 1). American Oriental Series 82. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society.
- Renou, L. (1955). *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes* (Vol. 1). Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, série in-8, fasc. 1. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard.
- Whitney, W. D. (1964). *Sanskrit Grammar*, 2nd ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.