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THE PARTICLE GHA IN THE RGVEDA

The particle *gha* in the Rgveda is unanimously declared as meaningless by both Indian and Western scholars. Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta*, does not include *gha* in his threefold classification of particles. Durga notices that Yāska left out *gha* and calls forth our attention to *gha* in Rgveda X.10.10 in which he finds it to be meaningless. Bertold Delbrück admits his inability to ascertain any meaning for *gha* and contends that all that Hermann Grassmann has said about *gha* should suffice the treatment of *gha*. To Grassmann, *gha* appears to be a kind of post-positive that emphasizes the preceding word, which can be a noun, pronoun, particle or combination of particles. He observes tat *gha* with pronouns is often followed by a relative clause that qualifies the pronoun emphasized by *gha*.

At this point I wish to bring to your attention my general thesis regarding the three particles, áha, gha, and ha that I have studied for my Ph.D. dissertation. I discovered that the assignment of either emphasis or verse-filling function as the purpose of a great number of Rgvedic particles seems to be but a euphemistic way of admitting our failure to cognize their syntactic function.

Let us now first turn to the example of Rgveda X.10.10 in which Durga declares forthright that *gha* is superflous.

X.10.10

å ghā tā gacchān úttarā yugáni
yátra jāmáyaḥ kṛṇávann ájāmi
úpa barbṛhi vṛṣabhāya bāhúm
anyám icchasva subhage pátim mát.
(Yama expresses his point of view)
Let such couples come to pass later in the future
when the brother and sister would do what is [considered]
unbecoming them. You lay your arm under a bull [like man].
Seek someone else than me as your husband, O charming
woman!

In the previous verse Yamī puts forth her request of choosing Yama her brother, as her husband. The sentence in that verse is yamīḥ... bibhṛyāt, to wich Yama's speech á ghā tā gacchān úttarā yugāni serves as a strong dismissal of Yamī's point. Yama discontinues Yamī's line of thinking by uttering the sentence which is grammatically discontinuous with the subject of Yamī's sentence. Gha indicates the abruptness of the change of subject and the discontinuity of theme. With the anticipatory prefix ā the verb attracts attention of the hearer and the plural of gacchān strikes as opposite of the singular of bibhṛyāt in the previous verse.

I will explain now my conclusive understanding of the syntactic function of gha and then I will cite for evidence a few examples from the Rgveda. Gha is indeed a particle of attention and concentration. It demands at its utterance attention to the central theme of the verse which is mostly indicated by a pronoun or a preverb that precedes gha. In the Rgvedic syntax the words of especial significance within a verse tend to seize the position of emphasis which is at the opening of the verse. Whether they be noun, pronoun, verb, adverb or preverb, they mark the syntactically important verse-initial position. If it is a noun, gha points to it as the subject, and thereby to the main idea of the verse without any additional indicative device. The pronouns by nature are anaphoric since they substitute for the noun mentioned earlier. When there is thematic continuity, the anaphoric pronoun acts as a mild reminder of the main idea of the verse. Rgvedic syá and tyá, which are used for persons too well known to need introduction by name are used non-anaphorically with gha. Other pronouns are found right at the beginning of the hymn with the following gha. In one instance, gha follows a finite verb. In spite of such a variety of the elements preceding gha, we witness uniformity of function in all these verses, and that is, firstly, the verse with gha is syntactically and thematically intertwined with the previous verse, though in a very few cases with the following one, and secondly the particle gha indicates the breach of syntax as regards the subjects of the two verses that are interrelated. The audial effect of gha forewarns the hearer that what follows gha is going to be an abrupt change of the subject or the main theme with the effect of discontinuity of the context.

For example:

1.18.4

sá ghā vīró ná riṣyati yám índro bráhmaṇaspátiḥ sómo hinóti mártyam. (And) he, the hero, is never harmed; The mortal to whom Indra, Brahmaṇaspati or Soma renders his support.

The verse-initial pronoun $s\acute{a}h$ anaphorically indicates that its referent would be in the previous verse. But that verse contains no referent of $s\acute{a}h$ in its principal clause, which is « $m\ddot{a}$ nah $s\acute{a}m$ -sah... $r\acute{a}ks\ddot{a}$ no brahmaṇaspate» (Do not injure us, protect us, o Brahmaṇaspati). Naturally, after this sentence, the abrupt mention of $s\acute{a}h$ arrests our attention with the ambiguity and curiosity about its referent. The curiosity is fulfilled with the forthcoming relative pronoun $y\acute{a}m$ that correlates with $s\acute{a}h$. We then know that for sure the theme is now not Brahmaṇaspati but some one else. But once again there is suspension regarding the true subject which is referred to by the diptych $s\acute{a}h$... $y\acute{a}m$. The $p\ddot{a}das$ b and c together with the last word $m\acute{a}rtyam$ provide us with the full epexegesis of the pronoun $s\acute{a}h$ that is proleptically emphasized by gha.

1.27.2

sá ghā naḥ sūnúḥ śávasā

pṛthúpragāmā susévaḥ mīḍhvām asmākam babhūyāt May he [Agni] who is our son [born] by strength, be kind and compassionate to us.

The previous verse I.27.1 has « ... tvā vandádhyā agním... » « sá naḥ sūnúḥ » of this verse refers to the Agni of verse 1. The change from tvā agním in accusative to sá agníḥ is marked by gha whereby the change of subject is indicated, « asmākaṁ babhūyāt » is the delayed predicate that serves as an epexegesis of sáḥ.

1.30.8 $\dot{a} + gha$

ä ghā gamad yádi śrávat sahasriṇībhir ūtíbhiḥ vājebhir úpa no hávam
To [us] he will surely come, if he hears it, with his thousand-fold aids; with his rewards, to our call.

The preceding verse has « havāmahe... indram $\bar{u}t\dot{a}ye$ ». In this verse the unexpressed subject is indrah, the subject of \dot{a} gamat; thus there is a syntactic shift from the subject vayám (we) to Indra. This shift is marked by gha. The « hitherward action » of coming implicit in the prefix \dot{a} finds its accusative object of destination at the very end of the verse, thus hávam becomes the delayed predicate.

The next example is of gha with the particle $ut\acute{a}$ indicating antithesis.

V.61.6 and V.61.8

utá tvā strī śāśīyasī pumsó bhavati vásyasī ádevatrād arādhásah 6. utá ghā némo astutah púmām iti bruve panih sá vaíradeya' it samáh 8.

On the one hand many a woman is better than a man (who is)

godless and ungiving 6.

And on other hand such and such a one, unpraised, miserly is called a man, but is of no more worth than his price in wergild 8.

The collocation $ut\acute{a}...$ $ut\acute{a}$ normally indicates « collection » in the sense of « both... and ». However, $ut\acute{a}...$ $ut\acute{a}$ gha indicates that the emphasized correlate is not only « not on par » but is antithetical to what it is alligned with. $Ut\acute{a}...$ $Ut\acute{a}$ construction makes us expect the equal or comparable phenomena but gha upsets this balance and emphasizes one of the two comparable units with antithetical indication.

When gha accompanies $ut\acute{a}$ $v\ddot{a}$, the situation becomes more interesting. Here the two comparable ones stand as options on par when there is no gha, but when emphasized by gha, that option becomes amplified by a sense of preference or intensity of comparative degree. This can be illustrated by —

1.109.2

áśravam hí bhūridåvattarā vām víjāmātur utá vā ghā śyālát , áthā sómasya práyatī yuvábhyām índrāgnī stómam janayāmi návyam.

For I have heard that you are more generous than a vijāmātr (son-in-law),

or, better still, than a wife's brother,

so, at the offering of the soma

I have produced a new song of praise for you.

Here the $vij\bar{a}m\bar{a}tr$, the son-in-law, is compared with the $sy\bar{a}la$, wife's brother. The latter is more generous than the former. To indicate the better one of the two comparable ones, gha is used; consequently the inclusive force of $ut\acute{a}$ is abated and the option indicated by $v\bar{a}$ is turned into a preference.

With the negative $n\acute{a}$, the particle $g\acute{h}a$ does not emphasize the idea of negation as is suggested by Grassmann. See that Grassmann is wrong in the following example:

VIII.2.22

å tå siñca kánvamantam

ná ghā vidma śāvasānāt yaśástaram śatámūteḥ Pour forth that (soma) which has a Kaṇva (for its offerer).

Than the strong Indra of a hundred aids we know no one more glorious.

Here the $p\bar{a}da$ a has $tv\acute{a}m$ as the unexpressed subject of \dot{a} $si\tilde{n}ca$. $P\bar{a}da$ b has $vay\acute{a}m$ as the unexpressed subject of vidma. The negative $n\acute{a}$ does not negate the preceding idea but the verb following gha. Gha simply separates the imperative sentence and the following present indicative statement with a clear indication of the change of subject and theme.

The combination *cid gha* appears to create an interesting nuance of comparison. I am taking *cid* to mean « even » which implies poetically the sense of *vyatireka*. *Cid gha* together tone down the sense of *vyatireka* to that of *ananvaya*. To give an example, here is the verse:

VIII.33.17

índraś cid ghā tád abravīt striyā aśāsyáṁ mánaḥ utó áha krátuṁ raghúm

No less than Indra said this: On the one hand, woman's mind cannot be controlled (by others).

And on the other hand, her will-power is weak (at the same time, so she cannot control herself).

Instead of saying « even Indra said this » which would be indras cid abravīt, the verse has gha that modifies the sense of « even ». Gha thus indicates that Indra as the standard of comparison is not really a standard in this case, but being the one who he is, he had said this, though in his own right, he may be great.

Thus, gha in the Rgveda as illustrated by the above representative examples is a particle of syntactic logic.

It is concerned with the syntactic continuity between two verses. Where the subject is abruptly changed in person, gender, number or referent with or without simultaneous change of tense or mood, *gha* intercedes to mark the jarring syntax of the two verses.

By indicating such abruptness or grammatical discontinuity, it functions as a kind of adversative particle. Being concerned with the two verses, *gha* generates hypotaxis or relational syntax. Through its insertion, the two verse-contexts are clearly separated, though with the epexegetical indication and the underlying thematic unity the synthesis of the contexts is also indicated. A particle that divides the syntax while unifies the semantics of the two clauses is indeed the same as what Yāska calls a *karmopasaṃgraha*. I therefore call *gha* as a *karmopasaṃgrahanipāta* or a synthesizing particle.

The Greek particle γε is comparable with the Rgvedic gha. Greek ἐγώ-γε, σύ-γε, σέ-γε, αρρear parallel with the vedic vayám gha, tvám gha, yó ha, sá gha, etc. å gha vīro (1.18.4) is comparable with ὁι γ'ἄνθρωποι. Trtīye ghā savane is comparable to Greek γε after adjectives. VIII.44.23: yád agne syám ahám tvám/tvám vā gha syá ahám is comparable to παπήρ δ'ἐμός ... ζώει ὅ γ'ἤ τέθνηκε: (« When, O Agni, I should become you, or even you should become I... » and « my father whether he is living or in fact whether he is dead... »).

Both gha and γε are adversative, e.g. Greek γε in σύ δ'οὐ λέγεις γε (αἰσχρά), δράς δέ με, that is, You do not indeed say, but do shame ful things to me (Europides Andromache 129). Vedic gha does not occur with the relative yád whereas Greek γε does.

Vedic ha and gha together account for the function of Greek $\gamma \epsilon$. Therefore these three particles are comparable.