

International Association of Sanskrit Studies

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE
FIFTH WORLD SANSKRIT CONFERENCE**

Varanasi, India : October 21-26, 1981

Edited by

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वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्

RASHTRIYA SANSKRIT SANSTHAN

New Delhi, India

1985

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I-18

A STUDY ON THE POSITIONAL VALUE OF OIA PITCH-ACCENT
IN THE FORMATION OF
A CERTAIN TYPE OF THE *TADBHAVA* WORDS

By

GIRINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAY

The *Tadbhava* (henceforth, Tdv) words of NIA languages are the result of the historical development of OIA words through MIA. Different courses followed in this development gave birth to various phonological laws in the study of Indian linguistics in its historical perspective. The aim of the present study is to draw the attention of the learned historical linguists to a certain anomalous situation which the phonological laws propounded so far seem to have failed to remove convincingly.

Let us proceed with two quotations from Dr. S. K. Chatterjee's *ODBL*.

Firstly, while discussing the source of the fractional number of 'half' he remarked: "the common Bengali word is *ādh* 'half', ... The absence of cerebralisation (we would expect *-rdh-* to change to *-ḍdh-*) shows that it is a non-Māgadhī form. The native Māgadhī equivalent seems to occur as *ār(a)* in a number of compounds." (Vol. II., p. 802)

Secondly, in search of the source of medial *-ṛ-*, *-ṛh-* in Bengali Tdv words, he observed: "*ār*, probably from *ārḥā* (*aḍḍha*, *ardha*), as in *ār-nāt(a)lā* 'half-drunk', " etc. (Vol. I., p. 500)

It is clear from the above quotations that Dr. Chatterjee took into account the Law of Divergent Phonetic Change for the formation of the two Bengali Tdv words - *ādh* and *ār* - from the same OIA source *ardha*. It is also implied in the above statements that the divergent phonetic changes taking part in transforming OIA medial conjunct consonants *-ṛ-* + 'dental' either to double cerebralised consonants or to double dentals are the characteristic features of Māgadhī and non-Māgadhī MIA dialects respectively from which various NIA languages emerged. Consequently, Dr. Chatterjee seems to imply that the reasons behind the divergent phonetic changes are dialectal peculiarities. And herein lies the problem, which becomes apparent when we find him suggesting that *ār(a)* is of *deśi* origin". (*ODBL*, Vol. I, p. 497)

Probably, Dr. Chatterjee's argument was that *ār* having different semantic applications like 'half' - a numerical category -, and 'crosswise/screen' - a

