

## ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

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### 1. *veḍhamikā* / *veḍhima-*

CDIAL. 12092 has given *veḍhamikā* – ‘a kind of bread or cake’ (recorded only in the lexicons) as the source word for H. *bervī*, *bervī*, *berhaī* ‘cake of flour mixed or filled with pulse or meal’.

In Gujarātī *veḍhamī* (f.) is currently quite popular as a sweet dish. The word derives from Pk. *veḍhima-* + *-iā*. *veḍhima-* ‘prepared by rolling up or enrapping’ is formed from *veḍh-* (Sk. *veṣṭ-*) + suffix *-ima-*. For the suffix *-ima-* see Pischel § 602, where about 20 instances are cited and a few more can be added to that list. The suffix has clearly distinguishable three or four semantic shades.

In Modern Gujarati we have, besides *veḍhmī*, three more similarly formed words belonging to the same semantic group. *Ormū* (n.), *cūrmū* (n.) and *khāḍmī*. The first two are sweetmeats, the third a savoury. *Ormū* primarily meant ‘that (sweet) which is prepared by pouring down (wheat groats) in boiling water’. *Or-* means ‘to pour down in a receptacle.’ *Cūrmū* means ‘that (sweet) which is prepared by pounding (baked loaf) : *Cūr-* means ‘to reduce to powder by pounding’. *Veḍhmī* means ‘that (sweet) which is prepared by enrapping’ (a flour cake around what is stuffed). *Khāḍmī* (or dialectically *khāḍvī*) means ‘that (savoury) which is prepared by pounding (with a pestle)’ (although at present the technique of preparing is different). I have discussed the etymology of *veḍhmī* etc. in my earlier writings : *Vāgvyāpāra* (Gujarati), 1954, pp. 45-46; reproduced in *Śabdakathā* (first edition, 1963, p. 35; sec. ed. 1983, pp. 88-89); ‘Three Old Marathi Suffixes’ (Vidyā, 12,2, pp. 1-10, Ahmedabad 1969).

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### 2. Pk. *veccai*

Turner posits *vetyayati* as the source for Pk. *viccai*, *veccai*, ‘spends’, H. *becnā*, G. *vecvū* etc. ‘to sell’, on the basis of Sk. *vetana-* ‘hire, wages’, etc. (CDIAL. 12100). He considers Bloch’s derivation from Sk. *vyayati* or Schwartzschild’s analogical explanation (*vecc~vikk-* after the type *muccai ~ mukka-*, *paccai~pakka-*) as much less probable.

I suggest Sk. *vyatyayati* ‘causes to pass’, hence ‘spends’ as a more probable alternative. Sk. *vyatyayati*, Pk. *viccei*, *viccai*, *veccai* and hence G. *vece* etc. This suggestion obviates hypothetical assumptions and phonological difficulties. The semantic change ‘to cause to pass’ > ‘to spend’ > ‘to sell’ is also easily accountable.

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### 3. Pk. *ucchu*, H. *būrā* etc.

(Some cases of Vocalic Assimilation in MIA and NIA)

Corresponding to Sk. *ikṣu-* 'sugarcane', we have *ucchu* in Pali and Prakrit. NIA derivatives (H. *ukh*, M. *us* etc.) have been given under CDIAL 1551. There Turner has observed that 'variation in the initial syllable of, *i*, *u*, and *ri-* suggests an original *r-* but this is without other confirmation or support'.

There is, however, some evidence to support Pischel's explanation of the change on the basis of vocalic assimilation : i.e. the initial *i-* of *icchu-* changed to *u-* under the influence of the vowel in the second syllable (PG. § 117). He has cited Sk. *iṣu-* > Pk. *usu-* and Sk. *śiṣu-* > Pk. *susu-* (in Pk. *susumāra-* > Sk. *śiṣurnāra-*) and other such instances.

We can point to a few instances of this change from NIA. H- *ūgli*, P. *uṅgulī* (CDIAL 135) corresponding to Sk. *aṅgulī*, Pk. *aṅgulī* evidences this type of change.

H- *būd*

Against *i* vowel in the first syllable of Sk. *bindu-* 'drop', its NIA. derivatives like. H- *būd* and some others in other NIA. languages has *u* in the first syllable. Turner (CDIAL 9240) has assumed *\*bundu-* as the source form for the latter words.

We suggest that Sk. *bindu*, Pk. *biṃdu* changed to *buṃdu* due to vowel assimilation. Hence it is unnecessary to assume *bundu* as the source.

H- *būrā*

H- *būrā* 'wicked, bad' and its cognates in some other NIA languages, as noted by Turner in his Dictionary of the Nepali Language, (s. v. *buro*) is I think another instance of such vowel assimilation.

It derives from Sk. *virūpa-*, Pk. *virūva(a)-* changed to *\*vurūvaa-*, which became *būrā* etc.

Further in a number of Sanskrit loan words in NIA we similarly find the *i-* of the initial syllable changed to *u-* under the influence of an *-u-* in a subsequent syllable.

Examples :

G. *śukan* 'omen', Sk. *śakuna-*

G. *rugnāth* 'a personal name', Sk. *raghunātha*

Old G. *phurasarāma* 'a personal name', Sk. *paraśurāma-*

Old G. *tura* < Sk. *taru*. occurring in *Gurjararāsāvali*

Raj. *muradhara-*, Sk. *marudhara*.

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#### 4. *saṃpheta-*

*Sampheta* is a technical term of dramaturgy. It is either a type of Ārabhaṭī Vṛtti or a Sandhyaṅga of the Vimarśa Sandhi (*Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-ratnakośa*, *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* of Hemacandra, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, etc.). As Vṛtti it is said to be marked by Vīra, Raudra and Adbhuta, associated with fights, and duels etc. (Sāgaranandin). It is an encounter of the adversaries relating to show of bravery or learning (Hemacandra). As *Sandhyaṅga* it is explained as an angry utterance (Sāgaranandin). The spelling varies as *saṃpheta*, *saṃspheta*, *saṃphoṭa*. Of these the last two are based on wrong reading or reinterpretation.

The root *smiṭ-* is recorded with the meaning 'to show disrespect' ('Dhātupāṭha', 32, 37) or 'to go'. Pk. *bhiḍ-* derived from it means 'to confront in battle, fight' etc. (CDIAL : under *bhiṭ-* 9490; *ābhiṭ-* 1230; *sambhiṭ-* 12969). *Samsmiṭ* developed on the one hand as Pk. *sambhiḍ-* and as *\*saṃpheda-* on the other. In the latter case *-m-* in the cluster *-msm-* is unvoiced and becomes *-p-* under the influence of voiceless *-s-*, which becomes *-h-* and consequently we have development *-msm-* > *-mṣh-*. We can compare here *tupha* (= *tuppha*) < *tuṣma-* of the Eastern Aśokan.

Devoicing of the nasal in contact with *s-* and the aspiration of the resulting stop occurs also in the development Sk. *-ṣṇ-* > *-tṭha-* (e.g. *trṣṇā-* > *tiṭṭhā-*, *viṣṇu-* > *viṭṭhu-*, *vṛṣṇi-* > *viṭṭhi-* etc. (*Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, ed. L. Alsdorf, Hamburg, 1936, Introduction, p. 135).

Thus *saṃpheta-* is a Samskritization of *saṃpheda-* < *\*saṃsmeta-*. Several other terms, also of dramaturgy, are similarly derived originally from Prakrit e.g. *nāṭaka*, *durmāl(l)ikā*, *śilpaka*, *śrīgadita*, *saṭṭaka*, *vidūṣaka*, *avahittha*, *bibboka*, *mottāyita*, *kilikiñcita-* etc.

#### 5. Pk. *aḍḍhaakkali*.

Hemacandra has recorded in his *Deśināmamālā* (1, 45), *aḍḍhayakkali* in the sense of '(standing) with arms akimbo.' The form is *aṭṭayakkalī* according to the *Pāṇalacchi* (728).

The verse given by Hemacandra to illustrate the use of words noted in 1, 45, which includes अङ्गुलकली is as follows :

अरविंदराजराउर-णीसासंतं कयङ्गुलकलिआ ।

अगणंतो अवरत्तय-अणरामय-दुत्थिओ हवसि तं पि ॥

'You, standing with arms akimbo, who is disregarding this girl giving out long and hot sighs, also will be miserable on account of repentance and restlessness.'

The word is derived from Sk. *ardha-* 'half' and *cakrāla-* 'circle, circular' (Pk. *cakkalaya-* = Sk. *vartula-*, DN. 3.20; compare also Pk. *cakkalia* = Sk. *vartulita-*). When one stands with arms akimbo, a half circle is formed on both the sides. *aṭṭayakkalī* is the result of the usual scribal error of confusing *-ḍḍh-* and *-tṭ-*

In the light of the etymology suggested here, Doshi's surmise ('Deśī Śabda Saṁgrah,' Notes, f. 32) of deriving the word from supposed Sk. *ardhaka-karī* is to be rejected.

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#### REFERENCES :

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