

THE PRIMITIVE TRACES OF THE BHOJPURI LANGUAGE

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Bhojpuri, a Neo Indo-Aryan language originated from Madhyadesha, now parts of Nepal and India, and also spread worldwide, has a long history of origin and evolution. But it has little been known about its primitive traces in contemporary writings. Siddha and Nath saints are said to have started first but little evidently. The Avahattha literature of Damodar, Jyotirishwar and Vidyapati is nearly untouched. Therefore, this paper is an effort to present its primitive traces empirically from different sources in Apabhransha and Avahattha literature from Siddhas till Vidyapati. Though it is in brief, it verifies its origin and evolution.

Keywords: Primitive, origin, evolution, Apabhransha, Avahattha.

1. Introduction

Bhojpuri linguists and litterateurs are unanimous about its name from the very capital city of Bhoj dynasty kings during Ramayan writing period. *Boj* 'king or kings of the same dynasty', *pur* 'habitat or capital city' and the suffix *-i* 'an adjectival marker to allocate the language and the people of the place' are the semantics of Bhojpuri. There is also a consensus on its origin with primitive traces from *carya gita* 'Charya songs' of Siddha saints as well as from Nath literature during Apabhransha period. Very slightly though, traces of Bhojpuri in Pandit Damodar's *koshali vyakaran* 'Koshali Grammar' have also been taken into account. But Kavi Shekharacharya Jyotirishwar Thakur and Great Poet Vidyapati Thakur have totally been overlooked from the eyesight of Bhojpuri linguists and litterateurs during Avahattha period. Consequently, literary writings of Jyotirishwar and Vidyapati are maithilized almost unanimously. In this context, these are the queries to be verified:

- a. What sorts of traces of the language are obtained in Charya songs of Siddha and Nirgun songs of Nath saints?

- b. How are the traces of Bhojpuri in the language obtained in *ukti-byakti-prakaran* of Pandit Damodar?
- c. What sorts of traces of the language are obtained in *varnaratanakar* of Kavishekhacharya Jyotirishwar Thakur as well as in creative writings including *kirtilata*, *kirtigatha*, *kirtipataka* and songs of Great Poet Vidyapati Thakur during Avahattha period of the Indo-Aryan languages?

There are three specific objectives of this study:

- a. To verify the Bhojpuri traces into Siddha and Nath literature;
- b. To confirm the Bhojpuri traces into Pandit Damodar's Koshali grammar; and
- c. To validate the Bhojpuri traces into Jyotirishwar's and Vidyapati's literary works.

2. Method of verification

The following activities are adopted within the methods of verification in this endeavour:

2.1 A brief presentation of Bhojpuri grammatical categories

The Indo-Aryan languages have higher intelligibility. So, they are difficult to be highlighted on the basis of basic glossary. In this regard, properties of nouns, pronouns, pronominal adjectives and adverbs along with some copular verbs are presented so that the traces of such word classes and grammatical categories can be verified.

2.2 Description and analysis of the data presented

This is a qualitative research study. Therefore, description and analysis of the traces of word classes and grammatical categories in the texts of the foresaid literature obtained from different sources along with the works on such texts are essential to be compared with those of Bhojpuri.

The texts are mostly available in Devanagari, both in verse and prose, but the vernacular of this paper

is English. So, the data are firstly presented in IPA, followed by morpheme break with lexical and grammatical categories in abbreviated form. At last, the free translation is presented. Besides, the assimilated free translation is also presented if the lines are part of a couplet or quadrant of a verse (See Annex for Devanagari and IPA interface).

3. Word classes and grammatical categories

Nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs are the major word classes whereas pronouns, postpositions, determiners, inter-clausal connectives, quantifiers, numerals and ordinals, auxiliary verbs, interjections, clitics, and particles are the minor word classes as Thakur (2021, pp. 70-114) describes in Bhojpuri. Pronouns, some sorts of adjectives and adverbs, postpositions, determiners, inter-clausal connectives, quantifiers, numerals and ordinals, auxiliary verbs, interjections, clitics, and particles among them play vital roles to determine specific characters of a particular language. Whatever among them found in Apabhramsha and Avahattha literary works are described accordingly.

Likewise, Singh (2009, p. 44) compared gender, number, person, case, tense and voice as prominent grammatical categories in Bhojpuri and Hindi. Upadhyay (2010/2066 B.S., pp. 72-113) has compared gender, number, person, honorificity, case, tense, aspect, mood, affirmative-negative markers as grammatical categories between Nepali and Bhojpuri. In this context, Thakur (2021, pp. 70-80, 132-154, 176-202) analyses gender, number, case, tense, aspect, modality, mood, allocutive agreement, voice and honorificity available as grammatical categories in Bhojpuri. These grammatical categories are contextually utilized in this article.

4. The primitive inheritance of Bhojpuri

The primitive inheritance of Bhojpuri can be traced out from Apabhramsha and Avahattha period of the evolution of Neo Indo-Aryan languages. The very linguistic evolution period is briefly described as follows:

4.1 Apabhramsha period

Apabhramsha is named by the contemporary Sanskrit scholars as the language with deviation in not only Sanskrit but in Prakrit also. Whatever

they called it, even sarcastically, the literary creation started in this language since seventh-eighth century A. D. According to Singh (1958, p. 3), the literary creation in this language has not only the traces of Bhojpuri but of Magahi, Bangla and Uria too. Among others, Pt. Har Prasad Shastri claimed such creation as Bangla and Rahul Sankrityayan proposed it as Magahi and Balbhadra Jha claimed it to be Maithili and Uria (Thakur and Ashk, 2023, p. 38). But it is the bare truth that all these languages have been evolved from Apabhramsha.

Among the litterateurs of this period, some Buddhist monks and Shaiva saints are prominent. They are popularly known as Siddha and Nath communities, though their creation overlaps their faiths. They are described with the traces of Bhojpuri in their creation as follows:

4.1.1 Siddha monks

According to Bharati (1955, pp. 45-60), the Siddha monks are found to have composed in Apabhramsha from seventh-eighth century till eleventh century. The literary compositions of Sarahapa, Shabarapa, Luipa, Darikapa, Dombipa, Kambalambarapa, Kukkuripa, Minapa, Jalandharapa, Kanhapa, Tantipa, Bhadrapa, Mahidharapa, Dhamapa, Gunduripa, Dhendhanapa, Tadakapa, Jayanandipa, Kankanapa, Karnaripa, Binapa, Virupa, Bhusukupa, Shantipa and Tilopa among others contain primitive traces of Bhojpuri (Thakur and Ashk, 2023, p. 38).

Due to limitations of the volume of this paper, the extracts from compositions of very few of the Siddha monks are discussed with reference to Bharati (1955), Bagchi (1956), Singh (1958) and Sen (1977) in this article.¹

(a) Sarahapa

Sarahapa is thought to be the pioneer Siddha who brought Buddhist sorcery into an organized shape.

(1) a. $\lambda\mu\epsilon\eta\lambda\text{jan}\lambda\text{fiu}$

$\lambda\mu\epsilon$	$\eta\lambda$	$\text{jan}\lambda\text{fiu}$
1PL-DAT	NEG	know-1PL.PRS

¹ Thakur and Ashk (2023, pp. 38-50) presents them in detail

acint joi

Λ-cint joi
NEG-anxious REL

'We, who are free of anxiety, don't know'

b. *jama maŋ Ɂawa kaisan*

jama maŋan Ɂawa kaisan
birth death existence how

foi

foi

be-3FUT

'how is either of the birth, death and existence.'

c. *jaiso jama maŋan wi taiso*

jaiso jama maŋan Ɂi taiso
REL birth death also COR

'As there is the birth, same is the death.'

d. *jiwante Ɂaile nahi wifeso*

jiwan-te Ɂo-il-e nahi biseso
life-LOC be-3PST-PRF NEG special

'The life is not special.'

Assimilating the quadrant:

'We, the anxiety-free saints, do not know any difference between birth, death and existence how they happen. They are equal, so, being alive is not special for us.'

In the instance (1a-d), the adverbs of manner question *kaisan* 'how' and the relative-correlative adverbs of manner *jaiso taiso* 'as so' are the typical adverbs of Bhojpuri. Besides, the verbs *foi* 'will be' and *Ɂaile* 'has become' are the typical verb *fo* 'be' with grammatical categories of future tense in third person and present perfect in third person respectively, used in Bhojpuri. Likewise, *nahi* 'no' is in practice of Bhojpuri as a negative particle.

(b) Dombipa

Dombipa (or also Dombhipa) came to be the 4th saint in the Siddha sect. His couplets are found in 'Bhikshabritti'.

(2) a. *wahatu Ɂombi wahilo Ɂombi*

wah-tu Ɂombi wahi-lo Ɂombi
steer-IMP Dombi steer-IMP Dombi

wat Ɂail uc^hara

wat-Λt Ɂo-il uc^hara

way-LOC be-3PST evening

'O Dombi, steer the boat on the way this evening.'

b. *sadguru paΛ-pae jaib punu*

sadguru paΛ-pae ja-ib punu
teacher grace-INST go-1FUT again

jiɁaura

jinΛura

Jinpur

'With grace of the teacher, we'll certainly reach Jinpur.'

Assimilating the couplet:

'O Dombi! Steer well and row the boat continuously. It has already become evening on the way itself. But with the great grace of the real teacher, we'll certainly reach *Jinpur* 'destinated habitat'.

In the instance (2a-b), *Ɂail* 'became' and *jaib* 'will go' are the typical Bhojpuri verbs *fo* 'be' and *ja* 'go' with their grammatical categories of past tense in third person and future tense in first person respectively in Bhojpuri.

(c) Kukkuripa

A Brahmin progeny Kukkuripa was the thirty-fourth Siddha saint as a disciple of Charpatipa. His sixteen books are found in Tanjoor.

(3) a. *janΛ jwanΛΛ mor*

jan-Λ joban mor
know-1PST youth 1REL

Ɂailesi pūra

Ɂo-il-e-si pūra

be-3PST-PRF-ALL full

'When I came in youth age,'

b. *mūl nik^hΛŋi bap saŋgāra*

mūl nik^hΛn-i bap saŋgar-a
root dig-SEQ father kill-3PST

'I removed the root by killing father.'

c. *ɁΛŋΛt^hi kukkuripa e Ɂaw*

ɁΛn-t^hi kukkuripa e Ɂaw
say-3PRS Kukkuripa 3PRX world

t^hira

t^hira

stable

'Kukuripa says the world is stable.'

d. *jo et^hu bujΛe so*

jo e-t^hu buj-ε so
REL 3PRX-DET know-3PRS COR

et^hu wīra

e-t^hu bira

3PRX-DET brave

'The one who understands it is brave.'

Assimilating the quadrant:

'When my youth got perfection, I removed the root by killing my father. Kukkuripa says that the world is stable and the one who understands it is the brave one.'

In the instance (3a-d), *jan* 'know', *ḥāilesi* 'became', *nikḥāni* 'by uprooting', *saḥjara* 'killed' and *bujje* 'understands' are the verbs used in Bhojpuri typically and the grammatical categories of past tense in first person and participial construction respectively are very proper in Bhojpuri. Likewise, *ḥānathi* 'says' is the verb used by all saints in Apabhraṁsha period with grammatical category of simple present tense in third person still in use while singing. Similarly, *joḥwan* or *jobān* 'youth' or 'breast' is the noun frequently used in Bhojpuri contemporarily. Besides, *mor* 'my' or 'mine' is the first person singular relative pronoun typically used in Bhojpuri, especially while composing or singing a verse to denote who composed it.

(d) Bhadepa

Bhadepa is known as a disciple of Kanhapa. Bagchi (1955, p. 115) presents his verse as 35th.

(4) a. *ḥade ḥāḥai ḥḥage*

ḥade ḥān-ai ḥḥag-e
Bhade say-3PRS ill-fate-EPH

lāila

lea-ila

bring-1PST

'Bhade says he brought ill-fate.'

b. *cīraḥ māi ḥḥar kḥila*

cīa-raḥ māi ḥḥar kḥi-ila
mind-king 1SG food do-1PST

'I have eaten up the king-mind.'

Assimilating the couplet:

'Bhade says, "by ill-fate, I have eaten up the king-mind".'

In the instance (4a-b), *ḥānāi* 'says' has already been discussed earlier. Besides, *ḥḥage* 'by the ill-fate' *cīa* or *cit* 'mind' *raḥ* 'king', *ḥḥar* 'food' are the nouns in frequent usage in Bhojpuri. Likewise, *lāila* 'I brought' and *kḥila* 'I did' are the typical Bhojpuri verbs with its grammatical category of future tense in first person used by Bhadepa.

4.1.2 Nath saints

Along with the Siddha monks, Nath saints also commenced literary compositions in Apabhraṁsha. Dwibedi (1950, p. 54) and Kashikeya and Dwibedi (VE 2035, p. 7) have critically analysed the time-period of Nath saints and have come to conclude to allocate the starting point from ninth century. Their compositions clarify a bit more the Bhojpuri characteristics in comparison to the Siddha saints. Machhandranath, Chauranginath, Gorakhnath, Nagarjun, Gopichandra and Bharthari are the prominent among these saints. A few of them are presented here very shortly. Thakur and Ashk (2023, pp. 50-56) can be consulted for detail.

(a) Machhandranath

Nath sect assumes its evolution from Adinath, i.e., Lord Shiva. But it is a mythical concept, not historically proved. Historically, Machhandranath is the prominent teacher. Dwibedi (1950, p. 38) iterates many books are still preserved in Durbar library of Nepal. Though he is presented as Brahmin but his name indicates towards fishery as his ancestral occupation.

(5) a. *jogī soi jāḥi re,*

jogi soi jan-i re
saint COR know-SEQ ADD

jāḥate rāḥe udas

jāḥat-ε rāḥi-ε udas

world-LOC live-3PRS sad

'The one who is sad is the saint in the world.'

b. *tāt niraḥḥai paia,*

tāt niraḥḥai pa-ia
COR unpassionate get-1SG.PST

yō kḥe mācḥandar

yō kḥi-ε mācḥandar
as such say-3SG.PRS Machhandar

nāḥ

nāḥth

Nath

'Machhandar Nath says he is the unpassionate one.'

Assimilating the couplet:

'You should know the one who lives sad in the world is a real saint. He has been found unpassionate as Machhandar Nath says.'

In the instance (5a-b), *jogi* 'saint' and *jagatē* 'in the world' are the nouns popularly used with the grammatical categories of subject or object and adjunct used in the verse in Bhojpuri. Likewise, *udas* 'sad' and *nirānjan* 'unpassionate' are the adjectives frequently used in Bhojpuri. Similarly, *rahiē* 'lives' and *kahe* 'says' are the verbs with grammatical category of simple present tense in third person frequently used in the verse in Bhojpuri.

(b) Chauranginath

Chauranginath is the successor of Machhandranath. He is the second one in Nath saints. In Tibetan tradition, he is thought to be classmate of Gorakhnath but elsewhere as the teacher of him. But the language used in his poetic compositions precedes Gorakhnath.

- (6) a. *paṛamēwa sanmuk^h dek^hīla*
 paṛam-ēwa sanmuk^h dek^h-īla
 supreme-EPH front see-1PRS
śrī mac^handranath guru dew
 sri mac^hindrānat^h guru dew
 H Machhindranath teacher god
namaskar karīla namaila mat^ha
 namaskar kar-īla nama-īla mat^ha
 bid do-1PRS bow-1PRS head
 'I see my supreme honourable teacher
 Machhandranath in front and bid him
 bowing on feet.'
- b. *asirbad paila amfiē mane hāila hark^hit*
 asirbab pa-īla amfiē
 blessing get-1PRS 1SG.DAT
mane hāila hark^hit
 man-e ho-īla hark^hit
 mind-LOC be-1prs glad
 'I get blessings and my mind becomes
 glad.'

In the instance (6a-b), *sanmuk^h* 'in front' and *hark^hit* 'glad' are the typical Bhojpuri adverbs of manner. Similarly, *mat^ha* 'head' and *asirbad* 'blessing' are the typical Bhojpuri nouns and *mane* 'in mind' is the noun with grammatical category of locative case in Bhojpuri. Likewise, *dek^hīla* 'I see', *karīla* 'I do', *namaila* 'I bow' and *paila* 'I get' are the typical Bhojpuri verbs with the grammatical category of simple present tense used with first person.

(c) Gorakhnath

Gorakhnath is thought to be in existence in then Madhyadesha in the tenth Vikram century. His disciples still worship him both in Nepal and India contemporarily. So, his name is familiar in all Neo Indo-Aryan languages. He is also depicted as spiritual teacher of King Prithvi Narayan, the founder of Shah Dynasty royal regime in Nepal.

But his birthplace is still unknown although Grierson assumes him as inhabitant of western Himalayas.

- (7) a. *adek^hi dek^hība dek^hi*
 a-dek^h-i dek^h-ība dek^h-i
 NEG-see-SEQ see-1FUT dek^h-SEQ
bicariba adisiṭi rak^hība
 bicar-ība a-disiṭi rak^h-ība
 think-1FUT NEG-vision keep-1FUT
cīya
 ciya
 identity
 'I will see invisible; I will think of it and I
 will keep the identity as secret.'
- b. *patal kī gaṅga braṃand*
 patal ki gaṅga braṃand
 hades REL Ganges head
caṛāiba, taḥā bimāl bimāl
 caṛā-ība taḥā bimāl bimāl
 lift-1FUT there clean clean
jal pīya
 jal pi-a
 water drink-1PST
 'I will lift the Ganges up to head from
 hades where I drank the clean water.'

In the instance (7a-b), *dek^h* 'see' has come with grammatical categories of future tense and participial. Similar is the presence of the verbs *bicar* 'think', *rak^h* 'keep', *caṛā* 'lift' and *pi* 'drink' in the verse. These are the typical verbs used in Bhojpuri. Besides, *disiṭi* 'vision', *patal* 'hades', *gaṅga* 'the Ganges', *braṃand* 'head' and *jal* 'holy water' are the tatsamas, with typical usage of nouns in Bhojpuri.

(d) Nagarjun

Nagarjun is a common name within both of the sects Mahayani Siddhas and Nath saints. According to Kashikeya and Dwibedi (VE 2035, p. 17), Al-Beruni has also iterated the fact.

- (8) a. *daru te dak^h utpani,*

daru tē dak^h utpan-i
 wine ABL grape originate-3PST.F
dak^h kaṭhi naḥī jāī
 dak^h kaṭ^h-i naḥī ja-i
 grape say-SEQ NEG go-3PRS
 'The grapes are originated from wine.
 Properties of grapes are impossible to describe.'

- b. *dak^h daru jāb parca ḥaya,*
 dak^h daru jāb parca ḥo-a
 grape wine NEG familiar be-3PST
dak^h mē daru samaī
 dak^h mē daru sama-i
 grape LOC wine enter-3PRS
 'When grapes and wine became familiar to
 each other, the wine was found entered
 into grapes.'

Going through instance (8a-b), *daru* 'wine' and *dak^h* 'grape' are found familiarly used in Bhojpuri. The verbs *utpan* 'be originated', *ja* 'go', *kaṭ^h* 'say', *ḥo* 'be', *sama* 'enter' have been used with different grammatical categories of tense and gender, found to have been used in Bhojpuri, especially while composing or singing a verse.

4.2 Avahattha period

The areal features of the Neo Indo-Aryan languages started getting more distinctive during twelfth-fifteenth centuries. This period is marked as Later Apabhraṅsh. But some of the litterateurs including Jyotirishwar and Vidyapati named it separately as Avahattha. Singh (1964a) includes Avahattha up to composition of *kirtilata* by Vidyapati, but Jha (2020b, p. 12) iterates Vidyapati's *kirtilata*, *kirtigatha* and *kirtipataka* to have been composed in a mixture of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Avahattha. Dwibedi and Tripathy (1975, p. 79) reveals Avahattha be used first in Addahman's *sandef Rasak*. Similarly, going through Singh (1964a, pp. 3-4), Avahattha is found to have been used first in Jyotirishwar's *varṇaratnakar* (1325), and then in *prakrit penglam* by Sharangdhar (first quarter of fourteenth century, Agrawal 1959, p. foreword-iv) and then it is used by Vidyapati in his *kirtilata*. But the language of Vidyapati's *padawali* 'verses' is also proved to be Avahattha, not Maithili. The composition period of these verses is first half of the fifteenth century. Although *ukti-byakti-prakarāṇ* (1125) said to have been composed in

primitive Koshali, Dwibedi and Tripathy (1975) calls it Madhyadeshi Avahattha. In this way the Avahattha period is found to be continued up to fifteenth century. Saxena (VE 2014), Singh (1955 and 1964), Agrawal (1962), Nara (1979), Singh (2015) and Jha (2020 a and b) have already shed light on this fact.

Thakur and Ashk (2023, pp. 56-90) has analyzed samples from all those compositions but this paper includes only a few samples from Pt. Damodar's *ukti-byakti-prakarāṇ*, Jyotirishwar's *Varnaratnakar* and Vidyapati's *Kirtilata*, *Kirtigatha*, *Kirtipataka* and *Padawali*.

4.2.1 Pandit Damodar

Chatterjee (1953, pp. 1-70) has called *ukti-byakti-prakarāṇ* a grammar of Koshali and its composition period to be 1125, although Pt. Damodar himself iterates it as a grammar of Apabhraṅsha written in Sanskrit. When we go through in depth, this grammar was composed in Banaras during reign of Gadhwal King of Kanauj Govindchandra (1114-1155). Certainly, Banaras, also called Kashi has the vernacular called Bhojpuri or Banarasi Bhojpuri or Kashika. Besides, Chatterjee (1953, pp. 3-70) presents its linguistic feature that brings it much nearer to Bhojpuri. Thakur and Ashk (2023, pp. 57-66) has analyzed all the grammatical categories. The clause construction of *ukti-byakti* is subject-object-verb (SOV), the unmarked pattern of the Indo-Aryan clauses. Some of the instances are presented here:

- (9) a. *āk^hi dek^h*
 āk^h-i dek^h
 eye-INS see.3PRS
 'S/he looks with eyes.' (Muni, 1953, p. 6)
- b. *āk^hi dek^hat ac^h*
 āk^h-i dek^h-at ac^h
 eye-INS see-IPF be.3PRS
 '(S/he) is looking with eyes.' (Muni, 1953, p. 6)
- c. *ḥojan kar*
 ḥojan kar
 food do.3PRS
 'S/he has meal.' (Muni, 1953, p. 8)
- d. *darśan kar*
 darśan kar
 visit do.3PRS
 'S/he visits.' (Muni, 1953, p. 8)

- e. *jēwesi*
jēw-esi
eat-3PST
'S/he had meal.' (Muni, 1953, p. 9)
- f. *jēwiḥā*
jēw-iḥā
eat-3FUT
'S/he will have meal.' (Muni, 1953, p. 9)
- g. *tājihā*
tāj-iḥā
abandon-3FUT
'S/he will abandon.' (Muni, 1953, p. 9)
- h. *ḡai deu puji*,
ḡa-i deu puj-i
bathe-SEQ god worship-SEQ
baḡḡaḡḡ danu dei, jēw
baḡḡaḡḡ danu de-i jēw
Brahmin donation give-SEQ eat.3PRS
'S/he has meal having bathed, worshiped
god and offered donation to Brahmin.'
(Muni, 1953, p. 11)
- i. *baḥutu pūt ḡae*
baḥutu put ḡo-e
many son be-3PST
'He had many sons.' (Muni, 1953, p. 15)
- j. *gaḡ ḡaē ḡarmu ḡo*,
gaḡ ḡa-ē ḡarmu ḡo
Ganges bathe-INS purity be.3PRS
papu ja
papu ja
sin go.3PRS
'Purity is earned and sins disappeared having
bathed in the Ganges.' (Muni, 1953, p. 33)

Going through the instances (9a-j) *ac^h* 'is' is a common copula in grammatical category of simple present tense in agreement with the third person subject. The verb roots are found to be used for present tense in agreement with third person subject. Likewise, *-i* comes to be as sequential participial and instrumental suffix and *-esi* comes to denote past tense in agreement with third person. The nouns, adjectives and verb roots look not different from the ones in contemporary usage of Bhojpuri.

4.2.2 Kavishekharcharya Jyotirishwar

Pt. Jyotirishwar Thakur was one of the courtiers of the Karnat dynasty king, Harisinghdev. He composed *varḡarātnakar* during his king's regime.

It was the Kingdom of Tirahut with its capital city of Simraungadh, now a municipality in the Madhesh state of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. He has, for long, been established as a litterateur of Maithili. But his *varḡarātnakar* has no reliable linguistic feature to support such hypothesis except use of *ac^h* 'is'. But the use of *acc^h*, *acc^h*, *acc^he*, *acc^hati* 'is' has already been used in the compositions of Siddha monks and Nath saints during Apabhraḡsha period. Even in Avahattha period, Pt. Damodar's *ukti-byakti-prakarāḡ* has also such usage. Let's observe some extracts from *varḡarātnakar*:

- (10) a. *jaḡḡayugālak soḡa dek^hi*
jaḡḡ-yugā-lak soḡa dek^h-i
thigh-pair-REL beauty see-SEQ
kādali viparitgati kaili
kādali biparit-gati kār-ili
Rambha reverse-speed do-3PST.F
'Having looked at the beauty of pair of
thighs, Fairy Rambha reversed her speed.'
(Chatterjee and Mishra, 1940, p. 6)
- b. *kulstri saḡaj ḡeli*
kul-stri sa-lajj ḡo-li
family-lady with-shame be-3PST.F
'The family-lady got ashamed.'
(Chatterjee and Mishra, 1940, p. 15)

In the instance (10a-b), all the words used are familiar in Bhojpuri but the point of attraction is the gender agreement between subject and verb. In both the sentences, the subject *kādali* 'Fairy Rambha' and verb *kaili* 'did' have feminine agreement in (10a) and the subject *kulstri* 'family lady' and *ḡeli* 'became' have also the feminine agreement. Such subject-verb gender agreement is the character of Bhojpuri, not of Maithili, what we have found in Avahattha.

Besides, what does Kavi Shekharacharya Pt. Jyotirishwar iterate about the contemporary languages in use of that period? An extract from Chatterjee and Mishra (1940, p. 44) is presented:

- (11) *punu kaisaḡ ḡaḡ. saḡskrit. praḡkrit.*
punu kaisaḡ ḡaḡ saḡskrit praḡkrit
again how bard Sanskrit Prakrit
avahatḡ. pefacī. sarseni.
avahatḡ^h pesaci sarseni
Avahattha Paishachi Saursemi
magadḡ c^hāḡ ḡaḡak

maḡaḍi c^hΛ-Λfi ḡasa-k
 Magadhi six-CLF language-REL
tatwagya. fakarī. ḡbiri. caṇḍali.
 tatwagya sAKagi ḡbiri caṇḍali
 philosopher Shakari Abhiri Chandali
mawālī. drawālī. ṡatakali. bijatīya
 mawāli drawāli ṡatakali bijatiya
 Mawali Drawali Autakali Vijatiya
satafi upḡaṡak kuṡalafi.
 sat-Λfi upḡasa-k kuṡalafi
 seven-CLF dialect-REL skillful
panini. candra. kalap. damodar.
 panini candra kalap damodar
 Panini Chandra Kalap Damodar
ardḡaman. mahendra. mahēf.
 arḡaman mahendra mahēf
 Ardhman Mahendra Mahesh
sarswat. praḡrit ye aṡ^hΛo
 sarswat praḡrit ye aṡ^h-o
 Sarswat charged PRX eight-EPH
byakaraṇ tak paraḡ.
 byakaraṇ ta-k paraḡ
 grammar DST-REL scholar

'Please look at the bard again how he is. He is a philosopher of the six languages, i.e., Sanskrit, Prakrit, Avahattha, Paishachi, Saur seni and Magadhi as well as skilful in the eight dialects, i.e., Shakari, Abhiri, Chandali, Mawali, Drawali, Autakali and Vijatiya. Besides, he is well-versed in grammars of the eight grammarians, i.e., Panini, Chandra, Kalap, Damodar, Ardhman, Mahendra, Mahesh and Sarswat.'

In the instance (11) the main point of attention is the names of languages and dialects used in the region those days. There are six languages and seven dialects in which the bard is said to have been philosopher and skilful but none of the names of the Neo Indo-Aryan languages or dialects are included among them. Therefore, to claim Pt. Jyotirishwar Thakur as litterateur of Maithili is totally baseless. Regarding Bhojpuri, the extract is further analysed linguistically.

There is use of the proper nouns in abundance. Only *punu* 'again', *kaisan* 'how', *ḡaṡ* 'bard', *tatwagya* 'philosopher', *c^hΛ* 'six', *ḡasa* 'language', *sat* 'seven', *upḡasa* 'dialect', *kuṡalafi* 'skilful', *praḡrit* 'charged', *ye* 'these', *aṡ^h* 'eight', *byakaraṇ* 'grammar', *tak* 'theirs' and *paraḡ* 'scholar' are the other nouns, adjectives,

numerals and other word classes, all familiar in contemporary Bhojpuri. Besides, *kaisan* 'how' is the fundamental entity of Bhojpuri.

4.2.3 Great Poet Vidyapati

Vidyapati was born in the courtier family of Karnat dynasty kings, but only after fall of their kingdom of Tirahut having capital in Simraungadh. Simraungadh named after the fort of *simal* jungle in the kingdom. Now it is a municipality in the Madhesh state of Nepal. Till date, Vidyapati has been familiar with the title of Maithil Great Poet Cuckoo. His academic career is not only familiar in Tirahut but in the whole world including Nepal and India. But his dates and places of birth and death are still in controversy. Likewise, language of his poetry is also not out of controversy. In fact, he was a famous scholar of Sanskrit and wrote only three epics *kirtilata*, *kirtigat^ha* and *kirtipataka* and some devotional and love songs in his native language though these all creations are being claimed to be in Maithili. But he has himself declared his native language Avahattha:

- (12) *desil baana sab jan*
 des-il ben-a sab jan
 country-ADJ speech-DEF all man
mitt^ha
 miṡ^h-a
 sweet-DEF
tē taisan jampajno ḡwalḡatṡ^ha
 tē taisan jamp-ṡ ḡwalḡatṡ^h-a
 so as such create-1SG.PST Avahattha-DEF
 'The native speech is sweet enough to all people. So, I composed as such in Avahattha.' (Saxena, VE 2014, p. 6; Singh, 1955, p. 3 and 1964a, p. 3; Agrawala, 1962, p. 15; Jha 2020a, p. 44)

Going through instance (12), it is crystal clear that Vidyapati's native language was Avahattha, not otherwise.

Regarding his devotional and love songs, let's examine some specimens:

- (13) *ḡana bidyapati mor*
 ḡan-Λ bidyapati mor
 say-3PRS Vidyapati 1SG.REL
ḡolanat^h gati
 ḡolanat^h gati

Lord Shiva state
dehu ʌɓay bʌr *mohi*,
 de-fiu ʌ-ɓay bʌr mo-fi
 give-IMP.H NEG-fear boon 1SG-DAT
hie ɓolanat^h
 fie ɓolanat^h
 ADD Lord Shiva
kaʌk^hʌn ɸarʌb duk^h mor
 kaʌk^hʌn ɸar-ʌb duk^h mor
 when take-2FUT.H sorrow 1SG.REL
 'Vidyapati says, "O Lord Shiva! Please avail
 me state of fearlessness. When will you
 make me free of sorrow?"'

In the instance (13), these are the last lines of very popular hymns known as *nacari* 'a prayer to Lord Shiva'. The pronouns *mor* 'my/mine' in relative case and *mohi* 'me' in dative case belong to Bhojpuri, not to Maithili. Let's see the following lines of Vidyapati's love song as petition to Lord Rama and Krishna:

(14) *kaʌh̄ā ram ke ɖʌnuʃ b̄iraje*
 kaʌh̄ā ram ke ɖʌnus biraj-e
 where Rama REL bow be-3PRS
kaʌh̄ā maʃuk s̄ir ɓari
 kaʌh̄ā maʃuk sir ɓari
 where crown head heavy
kɔn ɓag m̄e s̄ita b̄iraje
 kɔn ɓag m̄e sita biraj-e
 which part LOC Sita be-3PRS
kaʌh̄ā raɖa pyari
 kaʌh̄ā raɖa pyari
 where Radha beloved
iʃh̄ā ram ke ɖʌnuʃ b̄iraje
 iʃh̄ā ram ke ɖʌnus biraj-e
 here Rama REL bow be-3PRS
uʃh̄ā maʃuk bʌɾ ɓari
 uʃh̄ā maʃuk bʌɾ ɓari
 there crown more heavy
bama ɓag m̄e s̄ita b̄iraje
 bama ɓag m̄e sita biraj-e
 left part LOC Sita be-3PRS
daʃh̄ina raɖa pyari
 daʃh̄ina raɖa pyari
 right Radha beloved
 'Where is the bow with Lord Rama and
 where is his crown heavy on the head?
 Which side of him is Sita and where is
 Radha, the beloved? Here is the bow of Lord

Rama and there is his heavy crown. Sita is in
 the left side of Rama and beloved Radha in
 the right.'

Going through instance (14), the question adverb
 of place *kaʌh̄ā* 'where' and interrogative pronoun
kɔn 'which' along with the answer *iʃh̄ā* 'here' and
uʃh̄ā 'there' as well as *bama* 'left' and *daʃh̄ina* 'right'
 all belong to Bhojpuri, not to Maithili. Besides,
 there is gender agreement between subject and
 verb and between adjective and noun in
 Vidyapati's verses:

(15) *kunj ɓawan s̄e nikaʌali*
 kunj ɓawan s̄e nikaʌ-ʌli
 garden house ABL come out-1PST.F
re rokʌl giriɖari
 re rok-ʌl giriɖari
 ADD obstruct-3PST Krishna
sʌŋgʌk sʌk^{hi} ʌguali
 sʌŋg-ʌk sʌk^{hi} ʌgua-ili
 company-REL lady friend go ahead-3PST.F
re ɸam eksari nari
 re ɸam eksar-i nari
 ADD 1SG alone-F woman
 'When I came to garden from house, Lord
 Krishna obstructed my way. My lady friends
 went ahead and now I'm a lonely woman.'
 (Gupt, 1910, p. 64)

In the instance (15) there is agreement between
 the lady who utters the lines and the verb she uses
 for her *nikaʌali* 'I came out (F)' and also between
rokʌl 'obstructed' and *giriɖari* 'Lord Krishna'. As
 the lady, though in first person, the suffix *-i* with
nikaʌ 'come out (M)' maintains the gender
 agreement for a feminine subject. But as Krishna
 is masculine, so, the verb also is used but without
 feminine marker *-i*. The adjective-noun gender
 agreement is also seen between *eksari* 'alone' and
nari 'woman'. Hence, *eksar* takes suffix *-i* to show
 agreement with *nari* 'woman'. This fact of
 grammatical category of gender agreement is also
 presented in Shrivastava (1992, pp. 92-93). This
 is the characteristics of Bhojpuri, not of Maithili.

Let's see another instance from Vidhapati's verses:

(16) *keo de ɸias suɖa sʌm n̄ik*
 keo de ɸias suɖa sʌm
 someone give cheer nectar equal
 n̄ik

nik
 good
jaisan parhōk taisan bīk
 JAISAN parhōk TAISAN bik
 REL first sale COR day sale
 'Whoever can give me nectar like smile, as
 the day-long sale depends upon the first
 one?' (Gupt, 1910, p. 67)

In the instance (16), the relative correlative adverb of manner *jaisan taisan* 'so and so' stands as a typical Bhojpuri one. It is replaced by *jehan tehan* in Maithili.

The instances extracted from Vidyapati verses, either from the folk-tongue or from the collected works, prove linguistically that Vidyapati's all creations are composed in Avahattha, the source language of a number of Neo Indo-Aryan languages. But Vidyapati's Avahattha is the nearest to Bhojpuri. But the question may arise why it happened so. This question can also be answered academically.

(a) Date and place of birth, demise and abode

When Great Poet Vidyapati was born, it is the most ambiguous question and a mystery too. Jha (1972) fixes the birth year of Vidyapati to be 1350. But going through the analysis of the assumptions of different scholars, Jha (1954, p. 52) speculates Vidyapati's span of life between 1352 till 1448 or 1461. It is mentioned as 1352-1448 on different online websites.

There is another controversy about his name. Vidyapati Thakur is a common name of a number of personalities in Tirahut, who have also created poetry. Therefore, it might be hasty to believe whatever creations of Vidyapati have come in front, because they might be suspicious (Jha, 1972, p. 8). This suspicion paves the way for probability of different persons' creations with adding *banāhi bidyapati* 'Vidyapati says' at last. Therefore, the Maithili flavour in Vidyapati's songs might be the consequences.

The birth-place of Vidyapati is almost fixed to be Bisfi, a village in Madhubani District in the Indian State of Bihar. But there is an interesting event with his so-called descendants. They had a copper-plate of donation of the village by

Vidyapati's Patron King Shiva Singh. So, they had been free from paying land revenues. But the British magistrate and linguist, Grierson, rejected its validity because of falsification in the date mentioned in *Faşlī Era* that came in use only in Emperor Akbar regime, centuries later than the existence of Vidyapati (Grierson, 1899, p. 96).

There is another controversy about his surname. The pioneer of the Vidyapati's dynasty is Vishnu Sharma whose grandson is Karmaditya Tripathy. The two surnames, Sharma and Tripathy, do not match with any Maithil Brahmin's ones. Still, most of the scholars who wrote about Vidyapati spent much more time and space to prove him a Maithil Brahmin, which is doubtful.

If someone talks on Vidyapati and his creations, Simraungadh must not be untouched. It is so because Vidyapati's forefathers were courtiers of the Karnat dynasty kingdom of Tirahut with its capital in Simraungadh.

Vidyapati's Patron King Shiva Singh, though much virtuous, only reigned a quarter to four years. After fall of Tirahut, the Oinawar kings were nothing more than tenant kings of Delhi Sultanate. But having the throne, Shiva Singh stopped paying revenue to the Sultanate. Consequently, he faced a battle with Delhi Sultan. During the battle, it is unknown whether he was killed or he was captivated to Delhi or he escaped towards Nepal. All three possibilities are expressed by different historians. But Dr. Aravinda (1962, p. 50) quotes *kirtipataka* p. 24 by Dr. Umesh Mishra and iterates that Shiva Singh lost his way and was wandering around in jungle of Simraungadh in a very miserable condition. This event clarifies that Vidyapati had directly experienced ill-fate and that the battle also had taken place near Simraungadh. Certainly, the king commanded him to have a refuge somewhere with whoever were alive. So, Vidyapati obeyed and left the battlefield with queens and other courtiers.

But the question is here whether he went to Banauli in Saptari about more than two hundred kilometres east from Simraungadh or to Benauli just five kilometres west from there. The language of his creations does not support his last abode in Saptari Banauli but it supports to be in

Simraungadh Benauli which is now a village in Pachrauta municipality in Bara District in the Madhesh state of Nepal. This historical innovation is essential. That is why, there is much more probability to be last abode of Vidyapati in Simraungadh Benauli, so, his creations do have much more flavour of Bhojpuri.

5. Conclusion

In this study, the primitive traces of Bhojpuri have been searched out first in Siddha and Nath literature during Apabhraṅsha period and found sufficiently. Among the two sects, the Nath literature has clearer traces of the language. During Avahattha period, Bhojpuri traces have been searched out in Pt. Damodar's *ukti-byakti-prakarāṇa*, Jyotirishwar's *barnaratnakar* and Great poet Vidyapati's creations and not only lexical entities, but grammatical categories also match with Bhojpuri clearer than with Maithili. The point of departure from Apabhraṅsha starts from seventh-eighth century and Bhojpuri is nearly enriched into its modern areal shape during Avahattha literature of Vidyapati. Therefore, Vidyapati is rarely a great poet of Maithili, rather, he has empirically proved honourable great poet of Bhojpuri in its primitive era, nearly contemporary to Saint Kaveer.

Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ABL	Ablative
ADD	Addressive
ADJ	Adjectival
ALL	Allocutive
CLF	Classifier
COR	Correlative
DAT	Dative
DEF	Definitizer
DET	Determiner
DST	Distant
EPH	Emphatic
F	Feminine
FUT	Future tense
H	Honorific
IMP	Imperative
INS	Instrumental
IPF	Imperfective

LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
MH	Mid-honorific
NEG	Negative
PL	Plural
PRF	Perfect
PRS	Present tense
PRT	Particle
PRX	Proximant
PST	Past tense
REL	Relative
SEQ	Sequential participial
SG	Singular
VE	Vikram Era

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Annex: Devanagari-IPA interface

क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	
k	k ^h	g	g̃	ŋ	c	c ^h	j	j̃	
ख	ट	ठ	ड	ड	ढ	ण	त	थ	
ɳ	t̪	t̪ ^h	d̪	d̪	ɳ̌	ɳ̌	t̪	t̪ ^h	
द	ध	न	न	प	फ	ब	भ	म	म
d	d̪	n	n̄	p	p ^h	b	b̄	m	m̄
य	र	र	ल	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह
y	r	r̄	l	l̄	w	ʃ	ʃ/k ^h	s	ɦ

Vowel and their diacritic symbols

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ
	ा	ि	ी	ु	ू	ृ	े	ै	ो	ौ
ʌ	a	i	ī	u	ū	ri	e	ɛ	o	ɔ

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