

In Search of the Roots of Khaṛī-bolīHindī¹

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1. Introduction

One of the few scholars who paid attention to the “dark” period of the evolution of modern IA languages from late MIA (i.e. Apabhramśa), that is the first period of NIA, was Luigi Pio Tessitori. The studies of this scholar resulted in his well-known *Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthānī* where, in the introduction, he advanced the hypothesis that probably in this first period of NIA there was an intermediate form of speech that surely separated Old Western Rājasthānī from what he called an Old form of Western Hindī, but in which these two linguistic varieties of Western NIA merged together. Tessitori called Old Eastern Rājasthānī this old intermediate form of speech, adding that probably it was in use in Eastern Rajputana. As stated by himself, one of Tessitori’s future objectives would be to find some proof to demonstrate or to invalidate this hypothesis. However, due to his untimely death, he was not able to do this. Due to the fact that at the present there’s lack of specific studies on this topic, the main aim of this paper is to pursue Tessitori’s hypothesis using some texts of the Indian collection in the ‘Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence’ and some medieval published texts in Braj-bhāṣā prose.

Therefore, after having stressed the problems concerned “Hindī (in a broad sense)” written edited texts (§ 2), if we want to use them for our analysis, we will give some information about the Braj language to characterize it as a Western Hindī variety (§ 3). In section 4, starting from the analysis of some previous scholars’ studies, an account on the origin of Braj is offered, whereas in section 5 the mixing features of Early Eastern Rājasthānī and Early Western Hindī will be presented. In the same section we will show that even these texts show mixing features, the latter are very similar in both texts. Section 6 will be concerned the conclusion of our study.

2. The name Hindī in a diachronic perspective: some terminological remarks

First of all, speaking on Hindī many terminological problems can arise. As is well known the term “Hindī” is subject to many interpretations also for its connection with other terms, the latter also prone to different meaning during different period. I am referring to the terms Hindustānī, Urdū, Khaṛī-bolī, and additionally to others related to literary varieties, the latter useful to a diachronic study in search of the origin of the Hindī language and/or its Western varieties. Surely the majority of Hindī grammars and linguistic studies on today Hindī concern one specific variety under the umbrella term “Hindī”, that is Modern Standard Hindī. Some introductory remarks about this language are in order. McGregor (1977: xi) in the introduction of his well-known Hindī grammar pinpointed that Modern Standard Hindī is the offspring of Khaṛī-bolīHindī. The latter, according to Chatterji (1960) and Schmidt (2003), is derived in turn from a linguistic variety that we can call Early Khaṛī-bolī, normally included, with Braj, Bundelī, Kannaujī, Haryāṇvī, under the name “Western Hindī”. However, it is important to stress that:

a) no edited full text in Khaṛī-bolīHindī written before the middle of the 18th century is available. There are some few works in Khaṛī-bolī, written before the beginning of the 19th century (cf. McGregor 1984: 213-214; Nespital 1998: 214), but they are not available and we do not know nothing about their language. These works are:

- *Jaina-Padma-Purāna* by DaulatarāmaJaina (1761);
- *Yogavāsiṣṭha* by RāmaprasādaNirañjanī (1798);
- *ViṣṇuPurāna* by MunśīSadāSukhlāl ‘Niyāz’ (c. 1800).

b) Khaṛī-bolī is not exactly the same linguistic variety as Modern Standard Hindī. Indeed, it seems that the Khaṛī-bolīHindī and Khaṛī-bolīUrdū varieties derived from an original Khaṛī-bolī, the latter understood as equivalent to Vernacular Hindustānī;

¹ This paper is a substantially revised version of my talk presented ‘In search of the roots of Western Hindi language and/or dialects’ presented at the Workshop ‘Middle and early New Indo-Aryan: a crucial period for linguistic development?’, at the 49th Annual meeting of the SocietasLinguisticaEuropeae (SLE 2016), UniversitàdegliStudi di Napoli “L’Orientale”, Naples. I am grateful to the audience for useful comment after my presentation, in particular Hans Hock and Annie Montaut. I would also like to express my gratitude to Tatiana Oranskaia and Giuliano Bernini for their precious suggestions on earlier versions of the manuscripts. All errors and inadequacies are my responsibility.

- c) the first usage of the term Khaṛī-bolī is in LallūjīLāl's *Prem Sāgar* composed between 1803/04 and 1810: according to LallūjīLāl the language of his *Prem Sāgar* is the Khaṛī-bolīHindī of Delhi and Agra;
- d) the Khaṛī-bolīHindī attested in LallūjīLāl's text is not exactly the same linguistic variety known today, and/or after the first decades of the 19th century, as Modern Standard Hindī (see Barannikov 1936; Balbir 1991);
- e) moreover, the Khaṛī-bolīHindī of the 1st edition of the *Prem sāgar* is not equivalent to the Hindī language of the subsequent and majority of modern editions of the same text, more similar if not the same of Modern Standard Hindī: perhaps this is due to a standardization process on this text started in the beginning of the 20th century (Drocco, forthcoming).

Therefore, what about Khaṛī-bolī, and thus Hindī sources, if we want to take into examination the period before the 18th century to trace the history of Khaṛī-bolīHindī? It is well known that pre-modern Hindī literary varieties (cf. also McGregor 1974: 62; Shapiro 2003: 254-255) are:

- Ḍingal;
- Braj;
- Avadhī;
- Maithilī;
- Sādhūkārī (or SādhūBhāṣā, Sant Bhāṣā);
- DakhinīHindī.

However, as highlighted clearly by Masica (1991: 54), none of these varieties are in direct relationship with Khaṛībolī:

“Academic as well as popular tradition includes under earlier Hindī the medieval literature in every language and dialect from Western Rajasthan (Ḍingal) to North Bihar (Maithilī), but none of these stands in direct linguistic antecedence to Modern Standard Hindī.”

According to the same author (1991: 53-54), this is due to the fact that:

“[...] Indo-Aryan historical linguistics is complicated, despite the documentation of various earlier stages, by the fact that the languages recorded at successive stages are often not in direct historical relationship with one another.”

Therefore, again, what about Khaṛī-bolī? Was it a defined literary and/or colloquial variety, but without any known – and/or edited - literary/documented text written before the 18th century? Moreover, if Khaṛī-bolī was a defined colloquial variety, was it arisen as *lingua franca* in a multi-linguistic context, as many linguists maintain (cf. Grierson 1916)? Surely some Khaṛī-bolī linguistic features are attested in texts dated before the 18th century: the majority of scholars mentioned the example of Gorakhnāth (c. XI/XII century) and AmūrKhusrawDehlawī (1253-1325). But on this point, it is important to emphasize that we must pay serious attention about the manuscript tradition of these authors' texts, that is about the exact spatiotemporal real coordinates of these features. For example, we do not have any proof of the reliability of the Khaṛī-bolī quotation/texts ascribed to authors like Gorakhnāth (c. 11th/12th century) and AmūrKhusrawDehlawī (1253-1325). On this topic Bangha (2010: 23-24) pointed out that:

“[...] Chatterji and Rai trace the development of early Hindī from Apabhramsha and consider Gorakhnath (eleventh century c.) and the Nathpanthis, followed by Amir Khusrau (1253-1325), to be the first Hindī authors [...]. But [...] no Gorakhnath manuscript is available prior to the late seventeenth century, and thus we are not able to say with certainty what form of language Gorakhnath used. Similarly, the earliest quote from Khusrau's Hindavi is in the *Sabras* of Vajhi of Golconda written in 1636.”

Moreover, after his statement, Bangha added that the “famous” Khusraw's quotation showing Khaṛī-bolī features is surely found in Vajhi's *Sabras* (1636), but only in one manuscript of this text, a manuscript dated at the beginning of the 18th century. As a consequence, taking the above statements into account, if we want to search the roots of Modern Hindī and Western Hindī varieties adopting, also, written texts, the most important varieties representative of Western Hindī are:

- Sādhūkārī;
- Early DakkhinīHindī;
- Braj-bhāṣā.

What we know for sure about these literary varieties? We know that they, as Khaṛībolī, basically derived from that late MIA variety known as ŚaurasenīApabhramśa and are characterised by an extreme mixing of features. In this paper I will pay attention on this last aspect, focusing my attention on Early Braj prose texts, but looking also at some Early Eastern Rājasthānī works.

3. The Braj language as a Hindī literary variety

Braj-bhāṣā is the language of Braj, a region extending from the south of Delhi to western Uttar Pradesh and eastern Rājasthān. This language is known with various names: Gvāliyarī (the language of Gwalior (Hindī:Gvāliyar)), Braj-bhāṣā, Braj-bhākhā or simply Bhāṣā/Bhākhā (McGregor 2003: 914; Bush 2010a: 85, 2010b: 268, note 1). Grierson (1916: 69) adds that Braj-bhāṣā is also known as Antarbēdī, that is the language of the Antarbēd² or the Doab between the Ganges and the Jamna.

Perhaps surprisingly, Braj seems to be a mixed language lacking in homogeneity. This is true not only for the various spoken forms (cf. Grierson 1916: 70), but also for its literary variety. In this regard Busch (2010a: 86) clearly maintains that, “[...] we find considerable internal variation within the loosely-defined larger rubric of Braj Bhasha”. Indeed, from a linguistic point of view, Braj-bhāṣā covers considerable territory. In particular it is spoken in the nebulously defined region of VrajBhūmi, which was a political state in the era of the *Mahābhārata* wars. This region, though not defined politically, is very well demarcated culturally. The area stretches from Mathura, Jalesar, Agra, Hathras and Aligarh right up to Etah, Mainpuri and Farrukhabad districts (Michelutti 2002: 49). The largest cities in which Braj-bhāṣā is spoken are Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Gokula, and Govardhan. According to tradition, these were the places in which Kṛṣṇa spent his childhood and youth (McGregor 1968: 3; Entwistle 1987: 1-21). For example, in the *BhāgavataPurāṇa* the kingdom of King Kaṃsa is described as spreading through the Vraja region (H. Braj), where the incarnation of Kṛṣṇawas born and spent his childhood days.

Before Modern Hindī became the primary literary language of North India, Braj-bhāṣā was very important (cf. Grierson 1916: 72; Chatterji 1926: 12, 1960: 191-200; McGregor 1974: 62-63; Rai 1984: 101-110) thanks to its use to write Kṛṣṇaite devotional literature (see Varmā 1935; McGregor 1968: 3; Snell 1992: ix-x, 29-36). The prestige of this language, now classified as a western dialect of Modern Hindī, was also based on its influence on the linguistic development of Khaṛī-bolīHindī, particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries, that is in the period between the 1566 and 1658. During this time Agra, the most important city of Braj, was the capital of the Muḡal Empire (Masica 1991: 28) and Akbar, Emperor of Agra, composed some of his poems in Braj-bhāṣā. It is perhaps for this reason that Chatterji (1960: 200) chose to call this language *bādsāhibolī*, “the Emperor’s language”, or *darbārīzabān* “imperial language”, “court language”. Similarly, according to Nespital (1998), it is on this language that the so-called urban *koinè* of Agra was formed, which significantly influenced the *zabān-e-urdū-e-mu’alla* of the new capital Delhi. More recently, in three excellent and informative studies Bush (2010a, 2010b, 2011) illustrated masterfully the rise of Braj-bhāṣā in the Early Muḡal period.

Moreover, it is important to highlight that what is called “Hindī”, “Hindūī” (Garcin de Tassy 1847) and “Hindavī” by some authors to designate the language of their works is, in the majority of cases, Braj-bhāṣā (cf. Bangha 2010: 35-36). Perhaps this is due to the fact that Braj-bhāṣā, as already said above, was the most important literary medium of northern India until the beginning of 19th century, especially for prose texts. Its prestige was so strong that it influenced both the linguistic and literary aspects of Khaṛī-bolī during most of 19th century (McGregor 1974: 67-68; Nespital 1998: 214-215).

4. Gujarātī, Rājasthānī and Braj-bhāṣā as offsprings of ŚaurasenīApabhraṃśa

Thanks to the works of Grierson (1908: 323ff.), Tessitori (1914-16) and Smith (1975) we know that both Modern Gujarātī and Modern Rājasthānī can be considered as two different, but similar, offsprings of a single previous language, called Old Western Rājasthānī by Tessitori, but Old Gujarātī by Grierson and Smith. Anyway, these scholars agree on that Old Western Rājasthānī/Old Gujarātī derives from ŚaurasenīApabhraṃśa. But what about Western Hindī varieties as, for example, Braj.

Śiva Prasāda Siṃha (1958) carefully analysed the historical phase leading to the development of Braj-bhāṣā by attempting to draw a strict derivation of that language from its previous diachronic phase, i.e. ŚaurasenīApabhraṃśa. This thesis is possibly based on the fact that both languages developed during different ages, but in the same geographical area, the Madhyadeśa, in particular, as said above, in the *doāb* Gaṅgā-Yamunā. Moreover, according to the majority of scholars (Tessitori 1913: 64, 1914: 22-23; Chatterji 1926: 11, 113-114; Siṃha 1958: 8; Rai 1984: 106, 110), Avahaṭṭha³ and Piṅgala⁴ are to be considered younger than ŚaurasenīApabhraṃśa but spoken in its same area:

² The Braj word *Antarbēd* derives from Sanskrit *Antarvēd* literally meaning ‘the country within the sacrificial ground, i.e. the holy land, par excellence, of India’ (Grierson 1916: 69).

³ For more on Avahaṭṭha or Abhibhraṭṣa see Sen (1973) and Nara (1979), who advance the hypothesis that Avahaṭṭha was, especially in the beginning, a popular form (*laukika*) of Apabhraṃśa.

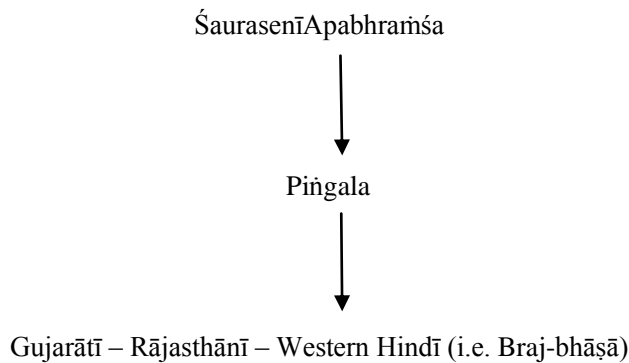
⁴ Piṅgala was the main literary language of poetry in the first period of evolution of Western New Indo-Aryan. Indeed, the bardic literature of Rājasthān, especially eastern Rājasthān, of this period, was composed in Piṅgala (cf. Tessitori 1914: 23;

both these literary languages of early New Indo-Aryan show strong affinities to Braj-bhāṣā. In this respect Chatterji (1949: 65, taken from Rai 1984: 110) maintains that:

“[...] a newer, later form of SaurasenīApabhramśa was taken up by the poets in Rajasthan and Malw, it was called Piṅgala. Piṅgala may be described as the intermediate language between the literary SaurasenīApabhramśa and the medieval Brajbhāṣā”.

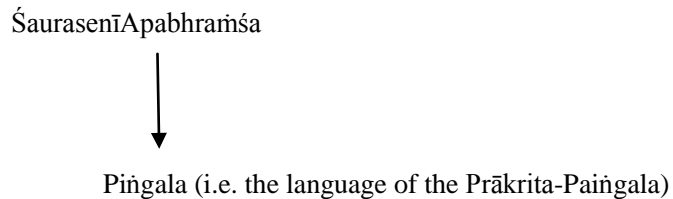
The development of Braj-bhāṣā from ŚaurasenīApabhramśa probably occurred at the beginning of Hemacandra’s life (1087-1171 AD).⁵ Indeed, the ŚaurasenīApabhramśa in the examples offered in the grammar of this important Jaina scholar shows strong linguistic affinities with the literary languages known as Avahaṭṭha and Piṅgala. As already noted, the latter became Braja-bhāṣā at the end of 14th century (Chatterji 1926: 12; Siṁha 1958: 49; Snell 1992: 3). RāmacandraŚukla was probably the first person to note that “Sūrasāgar appears to be the final, developed form of some continuing tradition, even though only oral, rather than the beginning of a later tradition [...]”.⁶ Siṁha considers Sūradāsa’s text (XV-XVI century)⁷ the literary peak of this important early New Indo-Aryan language that was subsequently held in great esteem for many centuries (Siṁha 1958: 8; cf. also Grierson 1916: 74-75).

Therefore, if Braj-bhāṣā, as one of the most representative of Western Hindī dialects, is derived, as Gujarātī and Rājasthānī, from ŚaurasenīApabhramśa, we can suppose that:



As regards especially Gujarātī and Rājasthānī, the following is Tessitori’s opinion (1914-16: 23):

“[...] the language, which I call Old Western Rājasthānī, contains all the elements which account for the origin of Gujarati as well as Marwari, and is therefore evidently the common parent of both. That Gujarati and Marwari are derived from a single stock, the ÇaurasenaApabhramṣa, has long been recognized [...] For the subsequent period in the history of Apabhramṣa we may expect ample information from the Prākṛita-Paiṅgala [...] Next in the development comes the stage of the language, which I have called Old Western Rājasthānī.”



Chatterji 1960: 196). The most important bardic text available is *Prṥhvīrājarāṣau* (circa 12th century) (but about its authenticity cf. McGregor 1984: 19). Tessitori (1914: 23) maintains that the language of the *Prṥhvīrājarāṣau* is a “[...] distinct form of language [...] and which might well be called Old Western Hindī”. Regarding Diṅgala, the other literary language of poetry in the same period, but in Western Rājasthān, see Smith (1975: 433-464).

⁵Pischel (1965: 47) considers Hemacandra the most important of all the Prakrit grammarians. Hemacandra’s Prakrit grammar is the eighth chapter (*adhyāya*) of his *Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana*, of which the first seven chapters are devoted to Sanskrit; cf. Pischel (1965: 47-50) and Nitti-Dolci (1972: chapter 5).

⁶For this English translation, see Rai (1984: 101-102). The original Hindī version is taken from Śukla (1973: 168).

⁷Sūrdās is reputed as the most important author of Braj literature. He is known as an author of the *Aṣṭachāpa*, the eight kṛṣṇaite poets of Vallabhācārya’s *spuṣṭi-mārga*. Sūrdās’s work is called *Sūrasāgara*, a well-known poem in the Braj language which describes Kṛṣṇa’s childhood.

Old Western Rājasthānī

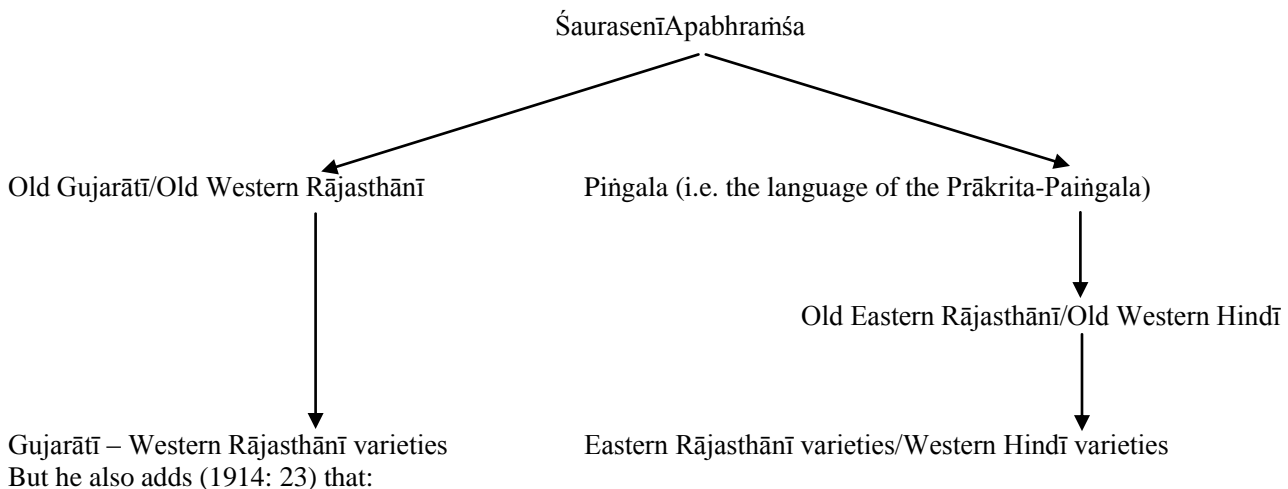
Gujarātī – Rājasthānī – Western Hindī (i.e. Braj-bhāṣā)

If we take into account only the aforementioned Tessitori's statement, it seems that not so many information are available as regards Hindī (i.e. Western Hindī). However, we need to be careful to take into consideration also the subsequent conclusion of the Italian scholar (1914: 23):

“[...] It is, however, to be observed that the Piṅgala-Apabhraṃṣa is not a pure representative of the stock from which the latter (i.e. Old Western Rājasthānī, AD) originated, but contains in itself many elements, which point towards Eastern Rajputana as to their home, and are now found to have developed into the dialects of Eastern Rājasthānī [...] and of Western Hindī.”

Therefore, if we accept this scenario, it is important to point out that now, but especially before the growth and expansion – literary and geographic – of Modern Standard Hindī, what is normally known as “Rājasthānī” consists of 2 main varieties (cf. Grierson 1908; Tessitori 1914): i) Western Rājasthānī and ii) Eastern Rājasthānī. According to Tessitori (1914), Western Hindī can be reputed as an offspring of a variety called by the Italian scholar Old Eastern Rājasthānī.⁸ Indeed, he says (1914: 23):

“We may, however, take it for granted that the old vernacular of Eastern Rajputana – be it Old Eastern Rājasthānī or Old Western Hindī – was in origin more closely allied to the language of the Gangetic Doab than to that of Western Rajputana and Guajarat [...]”



But he also adds (1914: 23) that:

“[...] the old vernacular of Eastern Rajputana [...] was only afterwards differentiated from the former (i.e. the language of the Gangetic Doab, AD) under the influence of the latter (i.e. the language of Western Rajputana and Guajarat).”

5. Common features of Western Hindī and Old Eastern Rājasthānī varieties

The most important common feature observed in Western Hindī dialects and Eastern Rājasthānī, and not in Western Rājasthānī, is the use of the genitive postposition *k-* (Grierson 1908, 1916; Tessitori 1914).

Modern Ḍhūṃḍhārī

(1) *eka rājā ch-o. ara ūm-kai do beṭā ch-ā.*

⁸ Following Grierson (1908: 43), the latter can be divided in modern times in Central-eastern Rājasthānī: Jaipurī e Hāraūṭī and North-eastern Rājasthānī: Mewatī e Ahirwatī.

One king be.IMPERF-M.SG and 3SG.OBL-GEN two son be.IMPERF-M.PL
(Once upon a time) There was a king. And he had two sons.

(adapted from Grierson 1908: 169)

This is true also for the Early Eastern Rājasthānī text here taken into examination:⁹

Old Ḍhūṃḍhārī

(2) *bālaka* *k-ī* *mātā* *padamāvati* *th-ī* [...] *be*.IMPERF-F
boy(M) GEN-F mother(M) Padamāvati(F) be.IMPERF-F
The boy's mother was Padamāvati [...]

(Tessitori (ed.) 1913, *Karakuṇḍakīkathā*, p. 80)

Not so many other features can be found both in Modern Hindī and in the Ḍhūṃḍhārī of the beginning of the 20th century, perhaps for the strong influence, on the latter, of Mārvārī (Tessitori 1914). Therefore, nowadays if we want to find some mixed varieties, we have to look at what Grierson explains and describes as:

-) Eastern Rājasthānī varieties merging into Braj-bhāṣā (Grierson 1908);
-) Braj-bhāṣā varieties merging into Eastern Rājasthānī varieties (Grierson 1916).

But taking into account a diachronic perspective, it is important to point out that the few prose texts anterior to the beginning of the 18th century show features typical of these mixed varieties. For example, as regards typical Western Hindī features (some of them certainly random) in Early Eastern Rājasthānī (17th/18th centuries), used in both Ḍhūṃḍhārī (cf. example 3) and Braj texts (cf. example 4), we can mention:

-) the locative postposition *pai* (cf. Braj*pai*; see Snell 1992: 17):

Ḍhūṃḍhārī

(3) [...] *padamāvati* [...] *samādhigupti* *muni* *pai* *jā-ya* [...] *be*.IMPERF-F
Padmāvati(F) Samādhigupti sage to/near go-CP
[...] Padmāvati [...] gone to the sage Samādhigupti [...]

(Tessitori (ed.) 1913, *Karakuṇḍakīkathā*, p. 80)

Braj

(4) [...] *maiṃ* [...] *Brahmā paiṃ* *ga-y-au* *h-auṃ* [...] *be*.AUX-PRES.1SG
1SG.INSTR/DIR Brahmā LOC go-PERF-M.SG
[...] I went [...] to Brahmā [...]

(Mīśra(ed.) 1972, *Prabodha nāṭaka*, in *JasvantaSiṃhaGranthāvalī*, p. 80)

-) the locative postposition *bikhai* (cf. also the form *biṣai*; cf. Snell 1992: 17, as regards Braj):

Ḍhūṃḍhārī

(5) *īhi* [...] *āryakhaṇḍa* *bikhai* *kuntaladeśa* *terapura* *nağara*.
3SG.OBL Ārya continent LOC Kuntala region Terapura city
In this [...] Ārya continent (there is) the Kuntala region (and) the Terapura city.

(Tessitori (ed.) 1913, *Karakuṇḍakīkathā*, p. 66)

-) the presence of auxiliary in *th-* vs. *ch-*: the latter is the only one attested in Modern Eastern Rājasthānī dialects, as in modern Ḍhūṃḍhārī (i.e. Jaypurī) (cf. 3 and 4), whereas the first occurred in Old Ḍhūṃḍhārī texts, as we can see from (5) and (6):

⁹ The following abbreviations are used in this article: ABL: ablative; ACC: accusative; AOR: aorist; AUX: auxiliary; CAUS: causative; CP: conjunctive participle; DAT: dative; DIR: direct; EMPH: emphatic; ERG: ergative; F: feminine; IA: Indo-Aryan; IMPF: imperfective; INSTR: instrumental; LOC: locative; M: masculine; MIA: Middle Indo-Aryan; NIA: New Indo-Aryan; NOM: nominative; NT: neuter; OBL: oblique; OIA: Old Indo-Aryan; PART: participle; PAST: past; PAST.PART: past participle; PERF: perfective; PRES: present; SG: singular; VOC: vocative.

Modern Dhūṃḍhārī

- (6) *ūm-ko* *baṛo* *beṭo* *khet* *mem* *ch-o.*
 3.SG.OBL-GEN elder son field LOC be.IMPERF-M.SG
 His elder son was in a field.

(adapted from Grierson 1908: 167)

- (7) *eka* *rājā* *ch-o.* *ara* *ūm-kai* *do* *beṭā* *ch-ā.*
 One king be.IMPERF-M.SG and 3SG.OBL-GEN two son be.IMPERF-M.PL
 (Once upon a time) There was a king. And he had two sons.

(adapted from Grierson 1908: 169)

Old Dhūṃḍhārī

- (8) *padamāvatī* *rāṇī* [...] *bharatāra* *sahita* *sū-t-ī* *th-ī.*
 Padmāvatī(F) queen(F) king with sleep-IMPF-F be.AUX.IMPF-F
 Queen Padmāvatī [...] slept with the king.

(Tessitori (ed.) 1913, *Karakuṇḍakīkathā*, p. 74)

- (9) *bālaka* *k-ī* *mātā* *padamāvatī* *th-ī* [...] *[...]*
 boy(M) GEN-F mother(M) Padamāvatī(F) be.IMPERF-F
 The boy's mother was Padamāvatī [...]

(Tessitori (ed.) 1913, *Karakuṇḍakīkathā*, p. 80)

A very important common feature typical of Western Hindī varieties as Braj-bhāṣā and Early Eastern Rājasthānī as Old Dhūṃḍhārī is the modalities of expression of the conjunctive participle that in both languages can be expressed through:

- i) the suffix *-kari*;
- ii) the suffix *-i*;
- iii) simply the verb-root.

See the following examples.

i) suffix *-kari*:

Dhūṃḍhārī

- (10) *yākathā* *amitavega* *sun-i* *kari* [...] *[...]*
 3SG.F story(F) Amitavega hear-CP CP
 Having heard this story Amitavega [...]

(Tessitori (ed.) 1913, *Karakuṇḍakīkathā*, p. 92)

ii) suffix *-i*:

Dhūṃḍhārī

- (11) *yā* *kah-i* *devī* [...] *ga-ī.*
 3SG.F say-CP Goddess(F) go-PERF.F
 Having said this the Goddess went.

(Tessitori (ed.) 1913, *Karakuṇḍakīkathā*, p. 66)

- (12) *tabapadamāvatī* *naiṃ* *saūmp-i* *baitāḍ-i* *ga-y-au.*
 then Padamāvatī(F) DAT/ACC entrust-CP Vaitāḍhya-LOC go-PERF-M.SG
 Then having entrusted Padamāvatī (he) went to the (Mount) Vaitāḍhya.

(Tessitori (ed.) 1913, *Karakuṇḍakīkathā*, p. 82)

Braj

- (13) *so* [...] *vaha hākima* [...] *Kṛṣṇadasa* *koṃ pūch-i* [...]
 thus 3SG.DIR governor(M) Kṛṣṇadāsa DAT ask-CP
 Thus [...] that governor having asked Kṛṣṇadāsa [...]

(Parīkh (ed.) 1970, *Caurāsīvaiṣṇavanakīvārtā*, p. 536)

iii) verb-root:

Dhūṃḍhārī

- (14) *pāchai gvāla* *kamala* *naiṃ* *le* [...] *ghar-i* *ga-y-au*.
 then cowherd(M) lotus DAT/ACC take(CP) home-LOC go-PERF-M.SG
 Then the cowherd (having) taken the lotus went home.

(Tessitori (ed.) 1913, *Karakuṇḍakīkathā*, p. 66)

Braj

- (15) *taba rājā* *ṭoḍaramala* *aura bīrabala* [...] *desādhipati* *kepāsa* *ā* [...]
 so king Ṭoḍaramala and BīrabalaEmperor near come(CP)
 So King Ṭoḍaramala and Bīrabala having come to the Emperor [...]

(Parīkh (ed.) 1970, *Caurāsīvaiṣṇavanakīvārtā*, pp. 537-538)

6. Conclusion

There are many other examples showing that the very few prose texts we possess are written in linguistic varieties surely not in an exact direct linguistic relationship with Khaṛī-bolī. However, in these languages there are the features of the future Khaṛī-bolī, because characterised by an extreme mixing of features.¹⁰ Surely, starting in the period when Agra was the capital of the Mughal Empire the process of mixing continued when the capital moved to Delhi in 1648, as well as after Aurangzeb's return in Delhi from Deccan in the last part of 17th century bringing with him the main exponents of Dakkhini literature, first of all the well known Dakkhini poet Vali, reputed as the father of *Rekhta*. However, as Nespital (1998, 2000) has showed, during the 18th century this process of mixing was combined, perhaps, with a process of simplification, the latter typical, I would like to add, of the majority of koineization process. It was not the main aim of this paper, but here in the conclusion it is important to stress that at the juncture of the 18th and 19th centuries this koineization process increased thanks to the beginning of a standardization process put in place, for example, by works like Insha Allah's *Darya-e-Latafat*, LallūLāl's *Prem Sāgar* and perhaps, also, by Hindustānī grammars written by Western scholars.

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¹⁰For example we can mention in Dhūṃḍhārī and in Braj, as well as in other Rājasthānī varieties, i) the variable agreement of the saying verbs in the perfective in feminine or masculine singular (McGregor 1968; Smith 1975; Snell 1992; Drocco 2017; as Hāṛauṭī, a Rājasthānī dialect cf. Allen 1960, 10), ii) in early Eastern Rājasthānī texts the addressee of say-verbs followed by the postposition *soṃ, se* – typical of Western Hindī varieties – instead of the more common DAT postposition and, similarly, in Western Hindī varieties the same argument followed by the DAT postposition typical of Eastern Rājasthānī varieties – instead of the more common *soṃ, se* postposition, iii) the Dhūṃḍhārī oblique forms *mo* and *tau* of 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns similar to the Braj forms *mo, to* (cf. Tessitori 1913), iv) the variable and mixing pattern in perfective clauses, ergative and nominative-accusative, especially of 1st and 2nd person pronouns (cf. Drocco 2008).

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