ON DIACHRONIC ORIGINS OF
CONVERBS IN MAITHILI

Ramawatar Yadav

Introduction

The converb (also termed 'absolutive', '*pūrvakālika kriyā*', and 'conjunctive participle') is one of the characteristic devices for linking sequences of clauses to the host clause in Maithili.

The converb in Maithili is a linguistically valid category. It tends to share all the four main characteristics that are associated with converbs across the human languages of the world, i.e. nonfinite, verb form, adverbial, and subordination (Haspelmath 1995: 4). Maithili converb too does not have the degree of autonomy that is associated with the status of lexemes; clearly it is inflectional, and not derivational.

The converb in Modern Maithili is marked by the affix -*kə*/-*ke* (also by an allomorph -*kəe* depending on idiolectal stylistic predilections and written variously in Devanāgarī as <-*ka*>, <-*kae*>, <-*kaya*>, and <-*ke*>) which is attached to a tenseless verb of a nonfinite clause in a sentence.

A preliminary description of the morphology of the Modern Maithili converb <-*ka*> is reported in Yadav (2001) wherein it is described that <-*ka*> is a non-neutral affix in that it tends to trigger changes in the shape of the verbal base to which it is attached. The purpose of the present paper is to present a historical linguistic survey of the diachronic origins of Maithili converbs in Old Maithili and Middle Maithili.

The sources of material for the purpose of the present analysis are listed below:

Old Maithili (circa 9th to 16th centuries)

1. *Caryāpada* (circa 800-1100) hymns of Siddha poets
2. *Varṇa-Ratnākara* (circa 1325) of Jyotirīśvara (circa 1280-1340)
3. *Kīrttipatākā* (early 15th century) of Vidyāpati (circa 1360-1448)

4. *Kīrttilatā* (circa 1406) of Vidyāpati
5. *Gorakṣavijaya-nāṭaka* (early 15ᵗʰ century) of Vidyāpati
6. *Padāvalī* (early 15ᵗʰ century) of Vidyāpati

Middle Maithili (circa 17ᵗʰ to 18ᵗʰ centuries)
Middle Maithili Works from Mithilā
7. *Padāvalī /Bhajanāvalī* (early 17ᵗʰ century) of Govindadāsa
8. *Pārijātaharaṇa-nāṭaka* (early 17ᵗʰ century) of Umāpati
9. *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya-nāṭaka* (mid 18ᵗʰ century) of Ramāpati
10. *Haribans/Kṛṣṇajanma* (mid 18ᵗʰ century) of Manabodha
    Middle Maithili Plays by Malla Kings from Nepal
11. *Haragaürīvivāha-nāṭaka* (1629) of Jagajjyotirmalla (1614-1637)
12. *Hari ścandranṛtyam-nāṭaka* (1651) of Siddhinarasiṃhamalla
13. *Prabhāvatīharaṇa–nāṭaka* (1656) of Jagatprakāśamalla (1643-1672)
14. *Pradyumnavijaya-nāṭaka* (1666) of Jagatprakāśamalla
15. *Parśurāmopākhyāna-nāṭaka* (1713) of Bhūpatīndramalla (1696-1722)
16. *Vidyāvilāpa-nāṭaka* (1720) of Bhūpatīndramalla

It is hoped that this historical linguistic analysis will help trace the chronological growth of Maithili converbs through a time span of around 1000 years; it may also help establish linkages with the contemporary usage of converbs in Modern Maithili.

Old Maithili (circa 9ᵗʰ to 16ᵗʰ centuries)
The oldest specimens of the Maithili language are to be found in the *Caryāpada*. There is a controversy with regard to the language of *Caryāpada* being Old Bengali or Old Maithili. The controversy rages on to include Old Assamese, Old Oriya, and even Old Hindi. A number of eminent Bengali scholars and linguists (e.g. Hara Prasad Shastri 1916, Suniti Kumar Chatterji 1926, Prabodh Chandra Bagchi 1938, Md. Shahidullah 1940, Sukumar Sen 1948/65, Prabodh Chandra Bagchi & Shanti Bhikshu Shastri 1956) have edited, analyzed, and published the *Caryāpada* as a work of Bengali. A Norwegian scholar, Per Kvaerne (1977), has also treated it as a work of Bengali and published its English edition in Oslo, Norway. Scholars of Maithili, on the other hand, have put forward linguistic evidence and claimed vigorously and unreservedly that the *Caryāpada* hymns are written in some form of Old Maithili. Prominent among these are: Jayakanta Mishra (1949:

101-110), Subhadra Jha (1958:32-36) and Rajeshwar Jha (1968: 55-86). To quote Jayakanta Mishra:

> ...the language of the *Caryāpada* represents a Proto-Maithili
> dialect of the Chikā-Chikī area, midway between Standard
> Maithili and Standard Bengali, having some (esp. archaic)
> features in common with other Magadhan speeches (1949:110).

Caryāpada (circa 800-1100)

The converb in the *Caryāpada* is commonly expressed by an affixation of *-i* to the verb stem; use of allomorphically variant forms <*-ia*> and <*-iā*> is also found in the text.[1] Examples cited below are form Per Kvaerne (1977) and song numbers and page numbers are given within brackets.

-i

duli	*duhi*	piṭā dharaṇa na jāi	(2:77)
	'having milked'		
sahaje thira	*kari*	vāruṇī sāndhe	(3:82)
	'having done/made'		
jẽ ajarāmara	*hoi*	diḍha kāndhe	(3:82)
	'having become'		
sadguru bōhẽ	*bujhi*	re kāsu kāhini	(23:172)
	'having understood'		
uju re uju	*chāri*	mā lehu re bangka	(32:)
	'having abandoned		

-ia

lui bhaṇaï guru	*pucchia*	jāna	(1:67)
	'having asked'		
rāga deśa moha	*lāia*	chāra	(11:119)
	'having smeared (the ashes of ...)		
pāpa puṇya beṇi *tiria* sikala *modia* khambhāṭhānā			(16:142)
	'having broken' 'having shattered'		
chāḍia bhaya ghīṇa loācāra			(31:196)
	'having abandoned (fear, repulsion and wordly conduct)'		

-iā

daśami duārata cihna	*dekhiā*		(3:82)
	'having seen'		

āli kāli beṇi sāri	*suṇiā*		(17:146)
'having heard'			
dombi	*bibāhiā*	ahāriu jāma	(19:155)
'having married'			
dukhẽ sukhẽ eku	*kariā*	bhuñjaï indījānī	(34:208)
'making/having made'			

It is worth noting here that the Modern Maithili converb <*-ka*> and its historical antecedents are totally unavailable in the *Caryāpada*.

Varṇa-Ratnākara (circa 1325)

The *Varṇa-Ratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara-kaviśekharācārya was composed in 1325 and it is preserved in a Manuscript copied in 1507. It happens to be the oldest extant Maithili prose text and it was published by Suniti Kumar Chatterji & Babua Misra (1940), and Anand Mishra & Govinda Jha (1980). The historical continuity of the converb *-i* of the *Caryāpada* is also evidenced in the *Varṇa-Ratnākara*. The examples given below are from Chatterji & Misra (1940) and the original pagination of the Manuscript is indicated within brackets.

-i

lai/laï	(29a)	'carrying/having carried'
lipi	(52b)	'having smeared the ground (with clay, cow dung and water)'
bhai/bhaï	(47a)	'having become/becoming'
je rājadeśe *hakāri* haluaha	(44b,	'having invited'

In *Varṇa-Ratnākara*, too, the Modern Maithili conberb <*-ka*> or its historical antecedents are unavailable.

Kīrttipatākā (early 15th century)

Vidyāpati's (1350-1448) avahaṭṭha/apabhraṃsa work *Kīrttipatākā* was edited and published with a Modern Maithili translation by Umesh Mishra (1960a) and with Sanskrit and Hindi translations by Shashinatha Jha and Govind Jha (1992). In *Kīrttipatākā* , too, the converb is expressed by the affix *-i*. Examples given below are from Umesh Mishra (1960a) and the page numbers are provided within brackets.

suni vyavahāra subu(dhi)hī paṇḍia	(7) 'having heard'
sabakā ghara ūrbbāha *palaṭi* jani jambia	(7) 'having turned'
parakkhi yāta saṅginī	(9) 'having observed/noticed'
lajjālu ki *païsi* mātala	(11) 'having penetrated'
kāhu añcara *dhari* khañcae	(11) 'having held'

A couple of instances of *-e* affixation are also found in the text:

kāhu āsā *dae* baṃcae	(11) 'giving/having given/offered'
kāhu rosa *darasāe* kuṭila bhaüha bhare bhaṅgae	(11) 'having shown/exhibited'

It is worth noting that up until the *Kīrttipatākā* of Vidyāpati, the use of the Modern Maithili converb <*-ka*> or its historical antecedents <*-kahũ*> or <*-kahu*> is not available .

Kīrttilatā (circa 1406)

Another avahaṭṭha/apabhraṃśa work of Vidyāpati, *Kīrttilatā*, was edited and published by a number of scholars in Bengali (e.g. Hara Prasad Shastri 1924), Hindi (e.g. Baburam Saksena 1929, 1935; Vasudeva Sharan Agrawal 1962 and Shashinatha Jha 1997), and Maithili (e.g.Umesh Mishra 1960b; Ramanath Jha 1970b; and Govind Jha 1992).

Written in circa 1406, Vidyāpati's prose-verse work *Kīrttilatā* contains numerous examples of *-i* affixation expressing the role of the converb. Examples cited below are from Govind Jha (1992) and page numbers are provided within brackets.

sāhasa *sādhi*	(8)	'having upheld'
pātisāhi *ārādhi*	(8)	'having worshipped'
pītṛvaïra *uddhaṛi*	(8)	'having avenged'
maryādā *chāḍi*	(18)	'having abandoned'
mukhacandra kari adhogati *dekhi*	(22)	'having seen'
rāahni karo mukhāravinda *dekhi*	(36)	'having seen'
dhari caraṇatala appiā	(38)	'having held'
niña sāja *upekkhi*	(44)	'having noticed/observed'
garua garua suṇḍa *māri*	(48)	'having killed/hit'

kumbhodbhava kare niyama *peli*   (48) 'having pushed/observed'
sattu karī kittikallolinī *lãghi* bhela pāra (50) 'having crossed over'

Occasionally, the *-ia* of the *Caryāpada* is also used in the *Kīrttilatā*. Examples are from Baburam Saksena (1935/1965):

Choḍḍia 'having abandoned' (Saksena 1935/65: 70)
karia 'having done' (Saksena 1935/65: 70)

A few instances of -e affixation expressing the role of the converb are also evident in the *Kīrttilatā:*

dhāe 'having run' (Saksena 1935/65: 62)
dekhāe 'having shown' (Saksena 1935/65: 66)

What is curious is that the commonly used converb of Middle Maithili, <-*kahũ*>, is also found in the *Kīrttilatā*. The affix <-*kahũ*> may thus be termed as a precursor of the Middle Maithili converb <-*kahu*> or <-*kahũ*>, and of the Modern Maithili <-*ka*> or <-*kae*>. As in Modern Maithili, the addition of <-*kahũ*> to verb stems triggers alternation in verb stems in the avahaṭṭha/apabhraṃśa of *Kīrttilatā* as well.[2]
Examples:

suni kahũ   (Saksena 1935/65: 98)
'having heard'
dhāe kahũ   ("   : 62)
'having run'
ṭhelli kahũ   ("   : 100)
'having pushed'
palaṭi kahũ   ("   : 110)
'having turned around'

Gorakṣavijaya-nāṭaka (early 15th century)
Vidyāpati's *Gorakṣavijaya-nāṭaka* was edited and published (with the rather unclear and illegible photocopy of the original Manuscript written in the Tirhutā/Mithilākṣara script) by Umesh Mishra & Jayakanta Mishra (1961). This Sanskrit play contains songs in Maithili. The examples cited below are from these Maithili songs.

In *Gorakṣavijaya-nāṭaka*, too, the converb is expressed by the affixation of -*i*, e.g.

dharama *rākhi* dhana bharia bhaṇḍāra (9)
  'keeping/having observed'
cārihũ diśa *buli* ḍiṇḍima delā (10)
  'having walked around'
pāni *paṣāri* visuddhaka geãna (14)
  'having washed/cleaned'
bhanai Vidyāpati anubhava *jāni* (19)
  'having known/experienced'

On one occasion, -*ia* is also used:
bhanahi Vidyāpati *jolia* hātha (23)
  'having joined (the palms) together'

Padāvalī (early 15th century)

Vidyāpati's mellifluous songs, popularly known as *Padāvalī*, were edited, translated, and published by a number of scholars in: Bengali (e.g. Sharadacharan Mitra Bangabda 1285/A.D.1878, Nagendranath Gupta Bangabda 1316/A.D.1909, and Khagendranath Mitra and Biman Bihari Mazumdar1952), Hindi (e.g. Nagendranath Gupta 1910 and Shashinath Jha 1961, 1967, 1979), English (e.g. G. A. Grierson 1882a), and Maithili (e.g. Shivanandan Thakur 1941; Subhadra Jha 1954; Ramanath Jha 1970a; Umanath Jha 1972; Surendra Jha 'Suman' & Ramdeo Jha 1977; Vidyapati Thakur 1979; Govind Jha 1981; and Ramdeo Jha & Mohan Bharadwaj 1999). Of these, I have access mostly to English and Maithili editions of Vidyāpati's *Padāvalī*. The examples cited below are from Shivanandan Thakur (1941) and Vidyapati Thakur 1979, with the song number and the page number provided within brackets.

In *Padāvalī*, too, the converb is most commonly expressed by the affixation of -*i*, e.g.

Palaṭa niāsā nirasa *nihāri*, kahabahũ kaona hoiti ī gāri (21,355)
  'having seen'
cãpi cibuka he adhara madhu pibe, kañone jānala hameu dharaba jībe
  'having pressed hard' (23,356)

ghengala bã*dhi* paṭorā dhaelaha aisani tua paripāṭī (24,356)
   'having tied up/knotted'
ketaki kusuma *āni viraci* vividha bāni caüdisa sājala sālā (30,363)
   'bringing /having brought' 'having created'
tua guṇa *kahi kahi murajhi* palae mahi, rayani gamābae *jāgī* (76,403)
   'having told/described' 'having fainted' 'having awakened'

A couple of instances of *-e <-e, -ya>* affixation are also found in the text:

dūtī *bhae* janu janamae nāri, binu bhelẽ bhelihu goāri (20,354)
   'having become'
ghṛta madhu dudha *daya*, netẽ *bātī kae* caüdisā delaka dīpamālā (30,363)
   'having offered' 'having lighted a lamp'

Thakur's *Padāvalī* also contains one instance of *-kah̃u* and six instances of *-kae* (a reminiscent of Modern Maithili *-kae*):

-kahũ
sisirẽ mahipati dāpẽ *cāpikahũ* rājā bhela vasanta (17,351)
   'having pressed hard'
-kae
manamathatanta antadhari *paḍhikae* avasarẽ bheli siānī (17,351)
   'having read'
tanhikari dhasamasi virahaka sosa, tañe *diḍhakae* kaïtava posa (18,352)
   'having made firmer'
ghṛta madhu dudha *daya*, netẽ *bātī kae* caüdisā delaka dīpamālā (30,363)
   'having offered' 'having lighted a lamp'
se *jāni* daïve *ānikae* niramala kāmini anta na bhāra/ve (65,392)
   'having learnt' 'having brought'
aisani *kae paribodhi* paṭhaihaha (74,401)
   'having allured/convinced'
bhala kae hari heri na bhele ī baḍa lāgala bhora (81,409)
   'in a good manner'

To conclude thus far, in Old Maithili the converb was mainly morphological, i.e. suffixal. In other words, the suffixes *-i/-ia* and *-e* were attached to consonant-ending and vowel-ending tenseless verb stems, respectively, of a nonfinite subordinate clause of a matrix clause. Use of a

separate and distinct word-like particle or affix was virtually nonexistent in Old Maithili -- although scant uses of such word-like affixes (i.e -*kahũ* and -*kae*) accompanied with concomitant verb stem alternations are traced in Vidyāpati's *Kīrttilatā* and *Padāvalī.*

Middle Maithili (circa 17th to18th centuries)
Middle Maithili Works from Mithilā
Padāvalī/Gītāvalī/Bhajanāvalī (early 17th century)

Govindadāsa's songs, variously entitled as *Padāvalī/Gītāvalī/Bhajanāvalī*, were edited and published by a number of native scholars of Maithili: Mathura Prasad Dīxit 1932, S.K. Jha 1933, Amaranatha Jha 1942, and Govind Jha 1982. The examples cited below are from Govind jha 1982 and song numbers are provided within brackets.

In Govindadāsa's songs, too, the converb is most commonly expressed by the affixation of –*i:*

benuka phūka dhūka madanānala kula indhanahi *pajāri*	(5)
'having added fire'	
sarabasa *lae* palaṭali puna bīndhala raṃgini baṃka *nihāri*	(20)
'having taken away' 'having gazed'	
sahacara *meli* calali jaba sundari kālindi karae sanāna	(21)
'having gathered/accompanied'	
bhītaka cīta bhujaga *heri* je dhani *camaki-camaki* ghana kãpa	(41)
'having seen' 'having been astonished'	
bidagadha mādhava anubhava *jāni*...	(59)
'having learnt/experienced'	
jari jari tatahi bhasama sa(ṃ)ghāta	(98)
'having been burnt (into ashes)'	
eta *kahi* sundari dīgha nisāsahi murchiti harala geāna	(105)
'having said/uttered'	
sundari rādhā ābae *bani*	(112)
'having become/adorned as'	
se rasa *suni* nāgara vara nārī	(120)
'listening to'	

A few instances of *-e* affixation are also evident in the text:

bala kae kharatara nakhara sīkhara saño motima banahi bithāra   (13)
    'having added extra energy/force'
adhara sudhā dae punahi jiābae punu *niramada kae* teja   (13)
    'having offered the ambrosia of lips' 'having made impotent'
kara kaṃkana *pana kae* sukhabandhana sikhae bhujaga-guru pāse   (40)
    'taking an oath'
sīthi banāe bā̃dhaha punu kacarī   (65)
    'having parted the hair'
dhāe dhaela giridhāraka vasane   (74)
    'having run'

Pārijātaharaṇa-nāṭaka (early 17th century)

The *Pārijātaharaṇa-nāṭaka* of Umāpati Upādhyāya is a Sanskrit-Prakrit play but it contains a total of 20 Maithili songs. This play was edited, translated, and published by Grierson 1917, Chetanatha Jha 1959, and Mishra et al 1984. The examples cited below are from Grierson 1917 and song and page numbers are provided within brackets.

In *Pārijātaharaṇa-nāṭaka*, the converb is expressed exclusively through the affixation of *-i*

kara jori rukumini kṛṣṇa saṃga vasanta-raṃga nihārahī̃   (7,30)
    'with folded hands'
kāhi bhajaba *teji* tāhi   (10,32)
    'having abandoned'
sabha *pariteji* hari mohi phula delā   (16,37)
    'having abandoned'
jaladhara-jāla *jāni* hia hārī   (18,40)
    'having learnt about'
katana jatana *dhari* jaū paripālia sāpa na mānaya pose   (20,42)
    'having held (with utmost care)'
ṭhāmahi ṭhora *ṭhoki* binatā-suta bhāngala diggaja dantā   (37,53)
    'having hit hard'
guna *bujhi* bhūpa karia sanamāne   (42,58)
    'having realized'

Rukmiṇīpariṇaya-nāṭaka (mid 18ᵗʰ century)

The *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya-nāṭaka* of Ramāpati Upādhyāya was edited and published by Jayakanta Mishra 1961/1368 sāla. In this play, too, the converb is commonly expressed by the affixation of -*i* and -*e*. The examples cited below are from J. Mishra 1961, with page numbers provided within brackets.

-*i*

khaṇḍaparaśu tāṇḍava *dekhi* haraṣita   (2)
    'seeing/having seen'
rāja-kāja *teji*   (20)
    'having quit'
e kī sehe *suni* puna puna muruchu dusaha *gun*   (78)
    'having heard/learnt'   'having realized'
puruba kaluṣacaya *jāni*   (82)
    'having known/learnt'
kahia *vicāri* bidukhi sakhi abahu purata mora kāma   (82)
    'having considered'
sehao *kāṭi* pune *hasi* jadurāe   (95)
    'having cut' 'having smiled'
-*e*
bhūpati nikaṭa bheli *gae* ṭhāḍhi   (18)
    'having gone'
lae sakhijana tasu calae samīpe   (87)
    'having gathered/accompanied'
lae gela govinda garuḍa *caḍhāya*   (93)
    'having caused to mount'

It is worth noting that a couple of instances of Modern Maithili converb –*kae* are also evident in the text of this play:

girijā sahita sakala agha *duri kae*   (3)
    'having removed'
katae jāha mādhava *kae cori*   (94)
    'having stolen/abducted'

Haribans/Kṛṣṇajanma (mid 18ᵗʰ century)

Manabodh's *Haribans* (Skt. *haribaṃśa*) is one of the most oft-quoted works of Middle Maithili. It was first edited and translated into English by George

Abraham Grierson (1882b, 1884a,b). Later scholars of Maithili who edited and published this work christened it as *Kṛṣṇajanma*, e.g. Umesh Mishra 1934 1948; Dhareshwar Jha n.d.; Ramanath Jha 1949 and Surendra Jha 'Suman' 1970/1988. Maithili Academy, Patna also published a Maithili edition of *Kṛṣṇajanma* (1988).

In *Haribans*, too, converbs are expressed by the affixation of *–i* in consonant- ending verb stems and *–e* in vowel-ending verb stems in general. The examples cited below are from Grierson 1882b and page numbers are provided within brackets.

-i

ī *suni* sabhaka juḍāela kāna   (132)
    'having heard/learnt'

añcala *jhā̃pi* bhavana laï geli   (135)
    'having covered/covering'

ānana *cumbi* payodhara dhaïla   (135)
    'kissing /having kissed'

-e

kaṃśa *āe* tohē̃ leta uṭhāe   (132)
    'having come'

āsikha daï hari hridae lagaüla   (134)
    'having blessed'

hama bharijanma sudini *bhaï* rahaba   (143)
    'having become'

After Vidyāpati's avahaṭṭha/apabhraṃśa work, *Kīrttilatā*, Manabodha's *Haribans* is the first Middle Maithili work in which converbs of *k*-forms are attested, e.g.

-kahu

gaï kahu gāma gohāri lagāola   (137)
    'having gone'

dhaï kahu tāraka jhaṭahā kaïla   (138)
    'having held '

bicahi *jhapaṭi kahu* haladhara dhaïla   (147)
    'having suddenly attacked'

-kahũ
jiti kahũ majhilahi phani bhela ṭhaḍha (137)
   'having conquered'
caḍhi kahũ ābathi hārathi pheri (150)
   ' having climbed'
-kae/<-kaï>
sarasara kaï ghara païsali dhāya (134)
   'hurriedly'

Middle Maithili Plays by Malla Kings of Nepal
Haragaūrīvivāha-nāṭaka (1629)

Jagajjyotirmalla reigned as king of Bhaktapur from 1614 to 1637. His play *Haragaūrīvivāha-nāṭaka* was composed in N.S. 749, i.e. A.D. 1629. This play was edited and published by Ramdeo Jha 1970. The examples of converbs cited below are from Ramdeo Jha 1970/1988 and page numbers are provided within brackets.

-i
vihusi vihusi muni mukha sabe hera (45)
   'having smiled /smilingly'
manamatha *māri* nāri ālimgaa (47)
   'having killed/suppressed'
śaśi *uṭhi* calala akāśe (61)
   'having arisen'
toha *teji* gati nahi āne (63)
   'having abandoned'
he īśvara, ñehā duhu vyaktika sāmarasya *dekhi* hamarā baḍa ānanda
   'having seen/witnessed'
bhela acha (63)
-e
bhasama ãga *dae* ... (34)
   'having applied'
he pārvvatī mahādeva manoduṣkhe baïsal chathi *gae* manābaha (59)
   'having gone'
Hariścandranṛtyam-nāṭaka (1651)

Siddhinarasiṃhamalla's play *Hariścandranṛtyam-nāṭaka* was composed in N.S. 771, i.e. A.D. 1651. This play was edited and published with a German introduction by August Conrady in 1891.

Originally written as a *habilitationsschrift* submitted to Leipzig University on November 23, 1891, the work was entitled as *Das Hari Çcandranṛityam: Ein Altnepalesisches Tanzspiel.*

This play is a Bangla-Maithili (more Bangla) mixed play. Consequently, only a few uses of Maithili converbs are evidenced in this play.

-i

tuva mukha *heri*   (25)
     'having seen'
rāya rāni kare *jori*   (32)
     'having joined palms together'
rājā *kīni* harara cāṇḍāre   (34)
     'having bought off'
-kahu

nirantara duṣṭakā saṃge prīti *karikahu* ...   (16)
     'having been in association with'

rājā hariścandrakā satya *dekhikahu* paramānanda bhaï gera   (39)
     'having witnessed'
ahe pāpiṣṭha, bhara *kayakahu* baïs   (42)
     'having relied/having become certain'

Prabhāvatīharaṇa-nāṭaka (1656)

Jagatprakāśamalla reigned as king of Bhaktapur from 1643 to 1672. His play *Prabhāvatīharaṇa-nāṭaka* was composed in N.S. 776, i.e. A.D. 1656. This play was edited and published by Lekhanath Mishra in 1972. In this play, converbs are expressed most generally by an affixation of *-i* and *-kae*. One instance of *-kahu* is also evidenced in it.

The examples cited below are from Lekhanath Mishra 1972 and page numbers are provided within brackets – although we are told by Brinkhaus 1987 that Mr. Mishra has erred copiously in his transliteration from the Newari script into the Devanagari script.

-i

sehe *dekhi* mora upajala ānanda	(8)
'having seen'	
vihusi karaha hama sañe sadabhāva	(8)
'smilingly'	
sira mukuṭa *dhari* paraveśa dela	(9)
'having held/worn'	
he haṃsī ! ihāka kathā *suni* viraha jvāla bhela	(22)
'having learnt/heard'	
śatru *māri* devatā sabaka sānanda karu	(62)
'having killed'	

-e/<-ya>

he priya loke! antapura *jāya* rahu	(19)
'having gone'	
… hame vana *gaya* samidha ānaya jāichi	(34)
'having gone'	
he īśvara ! apana putra *pathāe*, vajranābha *māri* devakāja karu	(29)
'having sent' 'having killed'	

-kae/<-kaya>

he haṃsī ! bāpe hama antahpura *avaruddhi kaya* lākhala chiahu…	(22)
'having obstructed'	
….śṛṃgāra bhāve *mohi kaya* ānaba	(34)
'having charmed'	

-kahu

katāne jatane haṃsī *pathāe kahu* ekara jīva karaba dūre	(11)
'having sent'	

Pradyumnavijaya-nāṭaka (1666)

Written in N.S. 786, i.e. May-June 1666 A.D., to be performed on the occasion of his second son Ugramalla's tonsure ceremony, Jagatprakāśamalla's play *Pradyumnavijaya–nāṭaka* was edited and published in Germany by Horst Brinkhaus (1987, Appendix 1, pp. 161-345) with a Roman transliteration and an English translation.

This play may be viewed as a prototype of a Middle Maithili play in that *k*-forms of converbs abound in it. A total of 18 occurrences of *–kahu* are evidenced in the text, while *–i, -e* and *-kae* occur only four to five times. A few examples are given below.

-i

nāradaka bacana *māni* (282)
   'having acquiesced'
jathara *phāri* (314)
   'having torn'

-e

eka bhaya (172)
   'having come together/united'
galahathā dae khedu (300)
   'having pushed (the neck) by hand'

-kae

takhane ihāña pradyumnaka *rūpa kae* ... (250)
   'having looked like/acted as Pradyumna'
bāgamatī *baṃdhana kae* (260)
   'having tied/obustructed the river Bagmati'

-kahu

jāe kahu (196)
   'having gone'
dekhi kahu (198)
   'having seen'
jala *snāna kaya kahu* (242)
   'having bathed'
bhāyi *marabāe kahu* (292)
   'having got killed'
pathāe kahu (314)
   'having sent
kāṭi kahu (314)
   'having killed'

Parśurāmopākhyāna-nāṭaka (1713)

Bhūpatīndramalla was born on November 18, 1674. He was crowned as the king of Bhaktapur at the age of 22 in 1696. After a rule of 26 years, Bhūpatīndramalla died young at the age of 48 in 1722.

   Written in N.S. 833, i.e. A.D. 1713, to be performed on the occasion of the tonsure ceremony of the crown prince, Bhūpatīndramalla's play *Parśurāmopākhyāna-nāṭaka* is as yet unpublished. Research leading to publish a critical edition of the Manuscript of the play containing original Newari text, Devanagari and Roman transliterations, English translation, a

Middle Maithili skeleton-grammar, critical commentary on Medieval dramaturgy, and index is ongoing (R. Yadav, in preparation). For a preliminary enquiry into this play, the reader is referred to R. Yadav and R. Jha 1982 and R. Yadav 1990.

Copious instances of *-i, -e,* and *-kae* converbal affixations are available in the Manuscript of this play; only one instance of *-kahu* is available in it. A few examples are provided below.

-i

kanaka kamala sama kuca juga *dekhi*   (Folio 7b)
    'seeing/having seen'

vidhumukhi *vihusi* vilokaha thora   (Folio 46b)
    'smilingly'

sahasrārjjuna rājā, āsrama nikaṭa *āe*, munirājake *māri*, kāmadhenu
    'coming (near)'   'killing'

hari laya gela   (Folio 58b)
    'abducting'

-e/<-ya>

suvadani sunu *mana daya* mora bāni   (Folio 7b)
    'attentively'

tahnikā puṣpamālā *pahirāe*, praṇāma karu   (Folio 16a)
    'garlanding'

jakhane renukā devīka, vivāha bhela, indra *āe,*jaütuka,delahni (Folio 37b)
    'having come/arrived'

rājā *sakrobha bhaya*, hinkāke, khaḍga prahāre,
    angrily'

ī *avasthā daya* kāmadhenu hari laya gela   (Folio 54b-55a)
'rendering (him) to such a pitiable condition'

-kae

nagaraloka *bvatura kae*, ānu   (Folio 14b)
'gathering/collecting together'

vicitra vastrālamkāra *pahi(ri) kae*   (Folio 15a)
    'wearing'

he purohita rājakumārī *prasāhani kae* ānali   (Folio 19b)
    'having decorated/bedecked'

ihāña, *snāna kae*, citā *pradakṣiṇā kaya* agni praveśa karu   (Folio 57a)
    'having bathed' 'having circled around'

-kahu

... ī pāpiṣṭha rājā mṛgayāvyāje *ae kahu* ...   (Folio 51b)
   'having come'

Vidyāvilāpa-nāṭaka (1720)

Written in N.S. 840, i.e. A.D. 1720, Bhūpatīndramalla's play *Vidyāvilāpa-nāṭaka* was edited by Nanigopala Vandopadhyaya 1916-17 and Jayakanta Mishra 1965. Copious instances of *–i* and *–e* affixes of converbs are available in the text, while a mere three occurrences of the *k*-form converb *–kahu* are available in the text. The examples cited below are from Jayakanta Mishra 1965 and page numbers are provided within brackets.

-i

apana nagara *rahi* karaba samāja   (4)
   'staying/living '
haraṣita hoya tihi paricaya *jāni*   (18)
   'having learnt'
se *bujhi*   tinu   *mili*   karaba jatane   (27)
   'having learnt/understood'   'having united'
-e/<-ya>

parakaṭa *bhaya* hame purāoba kāme   (4)
   'having appeared (in human form)'
peṭa bharaba duhu vanacara *khāya*   (13)
   'having devoured/eaten'
-kahu

pāga *bāṃdhi kahu* dhaya taravāre   (11)
   'having tied (the turban)'
pāna (pothi) *laya kahu*
vividh racita phala *laya kahu* āja   (17)
   'having taken'

Conclusion

Based on the discussion presented above, the following conclusions may suggest themselves.

A. In Old Maithili, the converbal affix was invariably *–i* (or, its allomorphic variants *–ia/-iā*). Occasional use of the converbal affix *–e* in vowel-ending verb stems may be viewed as a linguistic innovation of this period in the historical growth of the Maihtili language.[3]

B. It is a historical coincidence that in the formation of compound verbs in Modern Maithili, the very same *–i* and *–e* affixes are used. In other words, the *–i* and *–e* affixes are isomorphic (for more information, see Yadav 1996). Examples:

1. < o   *khā-φ /khā-e*   le-l-athi >   Complex Predicate
   he-hon   eat   take-PST-3 hon
   'He ate up'

2. < o   *khā-φ-ka/ khā-e-ka* le-l-athi >   Converbal Construction
   he-hon   eat-CONV   take-PST-3 hon
   'He took (it) after having eaten'

3. < o   *cal-i*   ge-l-āha >   Complex Predicate
   he-hon   walk   go-PST-3 hon
   'He went away.'

4. < o   *cal-i -ka*   ge-l-āha   Converbal Construction
   he-hon   walk-CONV   go-PST- 3 hon
   'He went walkingly/ He went on foot.'

C. In Middle Maithili, along with *–i* and *–e* suffixes, converbs were dominantly represented by such *k*-form affixes as *–kahũ, -kahu,* and *– kae;* these were later transformed into *–ka, -kae,* and *–kᵃ* in Modern Maithili. Examples:

5   *dekh-i kahu* 'having seen'   (Brinkhaus ed. 1987: 198)
6. *mār-i kahũ* 'having killed'   (Grierson ed. 1882b: 135)
7.   *moh-i kae* ānaba 'having charmed' (L. Mishra ed. 1972: 34)
8. bāgamatī *baṃdhana kae* 'having obstructed the river Bagmati' (Brinkhaus ed. 1987: 260)
9. calū, re bhāgina, *ghur-i ke* ghara 'returning' (Grierson ed. 1885: 639)

D. In an influential article published in Germany, Grierson ed. 1885: 635 made a highly insightful observation:

Conjunctive Participle. Formed by adding के to the 1st verbal noun. Thus देखिके, देके, पायके etc… The word के commonly called the conj. part. of कर is in reality no such thing. It is derived independently from the Vaidik कर्य (Skr. कृत्वा) , hence Pr. करिअ (Hem Cha.IV, 271) and Bihari (with elision of र) के. Hence देखिके, means 'having done the action of seeing.'

It is thus clear that the Modern Maithili converb –ka/ke is not derived from the verb stem kar- (infinitive karaba) 'to do'. As a matter of fact, diachronically, the converb <-ka> and the contracted form <ka-> of the action verb <kar-> 'do' are totally unrelated.

E. The Modern Maithili converb –ka is quite akin to the Middle Maithili converb –kahũ/-kahu; in all likelihood, -kahũ/-kahu may be viewed as the logical historical antecedent of the Modern Maithili converb –ka or -ke.

F. If the date of composition of Vidyāpati's Kīrttilatā is truly A.D.1406 as claimed by Ramanath Jha 1972:26, then it can be safely asserted that the first attested use of the k-form converb, i.e. –kahũ/-kahu, in Maithili was made in 1406.

G. As the k-form of the converb is totally unavailable in Vidyāpati's Kīrttipatākā, it may be surmised that Kīrttipatākā was indeed written earlier than Kīrttilatā, and that in all probability Kīrttilatā is not the first work of Vidyāpati as is commonly believed.

H. During the diachronic development of Maithili, a curious historical fact is observed. It is noticed that the morphs used as converbal affixes in Old Maithili are used as phonological changes during stem alternations upon addition of k-forms of converbs in Middle and Modern Maithili non-finite verb stems. Needless to say that the phonological rules remain the same, i.e. –i and –e are inserted in consonant–ending and vowel-ending verb stems, respectively (for more details, see Yadav 2001). Examples:

Old Maithili (circa 9th to 16th centuries)
10. duh-i 'having milked' (Kvaerne ed. 1977: 66)
11. lãgh-i 'having crossed over' (Govind Jha ed. 1992: 50)

Middle Maithili (circa 17th to 18th centuries)
12. dekh-i kahu 'having seen' (Brinkhaus ed. 1987: 198)
13. caḍh-i kahũ 'having climbed' (Grierson ed. 1882b: 150)
14. la-ya kahu 'having taken' (J. Mishra ed. 1965: 17)
15. pathā-e kahu 'having sent' (L. Mishra ed. 1972: 11)

Modern Maithili (19th to 21st centuries)
16. pīb-i ke[4] 'having drunk' (Grierson ed. 1885: 640)
17. kṣarap-i ke 'having jumped' (Grierson ed. 1885: 651)
18. l-e ke 'having taken' (Grierson ed. 1885: 636)

19. o *hās-i-ka* bajalāha 'he spoke smilingly'
20. āi-kālhi adhikatara peṭa *cīr-i-ka* baccā païdā kaela jāita achi 'These days, most children are born by caesarian operation'
21. o dabāi *khā-(e)-ka* nīka bhelāha 'He recuperated after taking medicine'
22. kitāba *da-(e)-ka* jāeba 'Please go after having given (back) the book (to me).'

I.   The present historical linguistic analysis of Maithili converbs may offer fresh linguistic evidence for as well as incisive insights into the acts of division of the Maithili language and literature into such periods as Old, Middle, and Modern Maithili. Needless to say, the current practice of using such labels as Old Maithili, Middle Maithili, and Modern Maithili is at its best tentative and speculative.

J.   Finally, one further benefit that may accrue from the present historical linguistic analysis of Maithili converbs is that linguists of any persuasion may fruitfully utilize the Maithili data to carry out a pan-Indo-Aryan typological study of converbs in Indo-Aryan languages.

Notes

1.   It deserves to be noted that converbs in *–i* and *–iā* are not unique to Maithili. Converbs in *–i* are also a feature of regional Bengali and underlie the Sādhu Bhāṣā Bengali forms. Remnant of the older converb form *-i* is also evidenced in Nepali, e.g.
phūlcokī-bāṭa ek lākh   phūl-harū lyā-ī
phūlcokī-ABL 100,000 flower-P bring-SEQ[CONV]
jyoti-lāī   caṛh-ā-ī...
light-OBJ   proceed-CAUS-SEQ[CONV]
'Bringing 100,000 flowers from Phūlcokī and offering them up to the light...(Peterson 2002, 105-106)

Converbal forms in *–iā* are a standard feature of Sādhu Bhāṣā Bengali and also occur in written texts of most conservative and respected writers, such as Bankim Chandra Chatterji and R. Tagore, as quoted in Klaiman (1983:141):

ghare   bristi· prabes   kariyaa jal   bosiyaache
room-L rain   entrance do-CP   water has-sat

'The rain having come into the room, water accumulated' (Bankim Chandra Chatterji, *Racanābalī* v. 2, Calcutta 1954:60)

raannaagharer paase   praacir bhaangiyaa katokgulo
kitchen-G   beside wall   break-up   some
īṭ   jaro   haiyaa   aache
brick piled-up become-CP   are
'Beside the kitchen, a wall having broken, some bricks are piled up' (R. Tagore, *Galpaguccha*, Calcutta 1954:165)

2. *k*- forms of converbs are also evidenced marginally in Nepali and extensively in Hindi-Urdu, e.g.
   Nepali: ma khā-ī-kana ga-ẽ
               I   eat-CONV go-PST-1
               'I went after eating' [lit: 'I went after having eaten']
   Hindi-Urdu: usne nahaa kar khaanaa nahīĩ khaayaa (Kachru 1981:42)
               he ag bathe CP meal   not ate
               'He didn't eat his meal after bathing'

3. *-e* form converbs in consonant final verb stems (and *–ye* form converbs in vowel final verb forms) are also a dominant characteristic of Modern Bengali, e. g.
   se baaṛi giye   kaapoṛ cheṛe   caan korio
   he house go-CP   clothes leave-CP bath did
   'he went home, took off his clothes, and had a bath'
   osudh   kheye   Jodur   phal   holo
   medicine eat-CP   Jodu-G benefit became
   'Jodu was benefited by taking medicine'
   lu   lege   se   maaraa gaelo
   heatstroke affect-CP he   died
   'He got heatstroke and died' (Klaiman 1983:138)

4. Variants of *k*-forms of converbs realized as *–ke* are also evidenced in regional Hindi, e.g.
   dauṛke   jāo   varnā   nārāz hũgā
   'Go quickly [lit: 'run and go'] or I will be annoyed' (Alice Davison 1986:2, as quoted in Masica 1991:399)

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