

Emotional expression through linguistic & literary devices in Ṭhumrī

Dr. Ruchira Kedar Bartake
Assistant Professor, Department of Music,
Vishwakarma University,
Pune, Maharashtra
Email: ruchira.bartake@vupune.ac.in

Abstract

It is very important to consider the role of literary devices used in the context of ṭhumrī as ṭhumrī being a śabda-pradhāna or lyric-oriented style is naturally focused on the content, mood, rasa of the lyrics of the composition. Ṭhumrī uses poetic lyrics in an interesting way which is unique to it, and is quite unlike the way poetry is treated in other forms. To understand the role of literary devices in ṭhumrī, it is important to understand the roots of poetry, literature and language which have contributed to the development of the form of ṭhumrī. The unique way, in which poetic texts are created, re-imagined, interpreted and transformed in performance has to be considered and studied in order to understand the scope and contribution of the literary elements in ṭhumrī for its emotional expression.

Key words: Ṭhumrī, Braj dialect, literary devices, vocal expression

Introduction - Ṭhumrī as a classical vocal musical form of north India lays special emphasis on the poetic text. The distinguishing factor of ṭhumrī is that the performance of a ṭhumrī involves the elaboration of the poetic text and the underlying currents of meaning that can be drawn out of each line and phrase of the lyrics, as it does the elaboration of the rāga. The method of developing a ṭhumrī in performance involves literary techniques as much as it does musical structure and it is these factors that make ṭhumrī a literary form as well as a musical one. This paper investigates the various linguistic and literary devices used in Ṭhumrī which make it a unique poetic-musical genre with its specific emotional expression of the text.

1.1. The dominance of Braj dialect in music literature

Braj dialect has dominated the linguistic scope of North Indian music compositions since the medieval period till the modern era. The dominance of Braj in music literature of ṭhumrī could be attributed to a variety of reasons. Braj became the main literary as well as spoken dialect of the area where ṭhumrī originated in its present form. The rural populace of the area also sang their songs like the horī, rās, carcarī etc primarily in Braj and it is well documented

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that *ṭhumrī* has roots in this folk culture and hence, it retained the language of the folk people¹.

It can be asserted that Braj is used as the dominant literary language of Indian classical and semi-classical compositions because of the fluidity it provides while singing. Any poetic text in order to become musically employable needs a certain softness & roundedness in its sound; the vowels and consonants have to be placed in the language in a way so that they don't sound harsh while being rendered musically. Braj, with its open, sweet and soft sound as well as the ability to add or manipulate words according to the music without harming the basic grammar provides an appropriate platform for a Hindustani singer to employ the text conveniently to his musical inclination. Contrary to this, *Khaḍī bolī* or Hindi as we know it today, is influenced heavily from Sanskrit and hence contains a majority of harsh and un-malleable consonant sounds which are very difficult to employ musically.

Even though *ṭhumrī* compositions are found in many other dialects & languages, it can be said that Braj has turned out to be the more popular literary language for *ṭhumrī* due to its closeness to Hindi, as its grammar and terminology are very similar to Hindi which is the language of the common people of India in modern times. Let's look at an example of a *ṭhumrī* composition in Braj with its corresponding words and meanings in Hindi; so the linguistic characteristics of Braj in reference to its melodic potential can be examined when contrasted with Hindi.

Ṭhumrī in rāga Pīlū-tāla Kehervā²

Sthāī - kā karūṁ sajanī āye nā bālama tarapata bītī morī una bina ratiyāṁ ||

Antarā – rovata rovata kala nahīm āye nisadina mohe birahā satāe yāda āvata jaba unakī batiyāṁ ||

Translation- What am I to do, my friend, my beloved has not come. My whole night has passed in suffering without him. I keep sobbing and suffering, and whenever I remember him every day, I suffer with the pangs of separation.

Braj	Hindi (Khaḍī bolī)
<i>kā</i>	<i>kyā</i>
<i>tarapata</i>	<i>taḍapata</i>
<i>morī</i>	<i>merī</i>
<i>ratiyāṁ</i>	<i>rāteṁ</i>
<i>rovata</i>	<i>rote hue</i>
<i>kala</i>	<i>caina</i>
<i>nisadina</i>	<i>niśi = rāta, dina</i>
<i>mohe</i>	<i>mujhe</i>
<i>birahā</i>	<i>viraha</i>
<i>batiyāṁ</i>	<i>bāteṁ</i>

¹ Goswami, Aastha. 2021.5th August. Personal interview. Aastha Goswami is a well-known thumri performer & senior disciple of Vidushi Girija Devi. Being from Lucknow originally, she was able to provide valuable insights on Awadhi, Braj and other North Indian dialects

² Thumri made popular by Ustad Bade Ghulam Ali Khan

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In the above example, it can be seen that Hindi words become more pointed when translated from Braj and lose the roundedness and musical resonance of the Braj words. The usage of vowels in Braj is more while being unchanging to the meaning, which also gives it a musical quality.

1.2. Other dialects in ṭhumrī compositions

Though Braj can be considered as the main literary dialect of song-texts in ṭhumrī, many compositions can be found in other dialects & languages like Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Punjabi, Marwari, Urdu etc. Let us see some examples of compositions in these dialects with their corresponding words and meanings in Hindi, so it can be observed how these dialects also provide more linguistic fluidity for ṭhumrī exposition than Hindi:

1. Ṭhumrī in Awadhi with shades of Bhojpuri³

Rāga Yamanī-Jhinjhotī-tāla-Tintāla

Sthāī – e rī daiyyā morī jhulanī herānī //

*Antarā - mūṁda kivaravā maiṁ jo soī , bhītara soye devarā
bhinasaravā kī nīṁda morī jhulanī herānī //*

Translation -O dear, my earring is lost. My brother in law was sleeping inside when I shut the door. I slept so soundly at dawn and now my earring is lost

Awadhi + Bhojpuri	Hindi (khaḍī bolī)
<i>morī</i>	<i>merī</i>
<i>herānī</i>	<i>kho gaī</i>
<i>kivaravā (Bhojpuri)</i>	<i>kivāḍa</i>
<i>devarā</i>	<i>devar</i>
<i>bhinasaravā (Bhojpuri)</i>	<i>prātaḥkāla</i>

2. Ṭhumrī in Panjabi with shades of Urdu⁴

Rāga Kāfi-tāla Tintāla

Sthāī – dekho soṅā mainū chala bala apanī dikhāndā //

*Antarā 1 - nāz-o-adā karave cancala kāmini ve
nainoṁ dī saina calāndā vārī ve calāndā //*

*Antarā 2 – lagā līno ve iskadā tana mana ve
isḱa dī āg lagāndā vārī ve lagāndā //*

Translation- See, my beloved is up to his tricks. He is flirtatious, and hits me with the arrows of his eyes. He warms me up to him and rouses the fire of love in my heart

Panjabi + Urdu	Hindi (khaḍī bolī)
<i>soṅā</i>	<i>pyārā</i>
<i>mainū</i>	<i>mujhe</i>

³ Ali, Sheikh Rahat. 1943, Thumri Sangraha-Volume 3 (First edition), N.S. Bhave, Vadodara. p.88

⁴ Shukla, Shatrughna. 1983, Thumri ki Utpatti, Vikas aur Shailiyan, Delhi University, Delhi. p. 209

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<i>dikhāndā</i>	<i>dikhātā hai</i>
<i>nāz-o-adā (Urdu)</i>	<i>nakhare, adāem̃</i>
<i>karave</i>	<i>karatā hai</i>
<i>nainoṃ dī saina</i>	<i>nainoṃ ke bāṇa</i>
<i>calāndā</i>	<i>calātā hai</i>
<i>iškādā (Urdu)</i>	<i>prema kā</i>
<i>iška dī āg (Panjabi +Urdu)</i>	<i>prema kī āga</i>
<i>lagāndā</i>	<i>lagātā hai</i>

3. Ṭhumrī in Marwari ⁵**Rāga Mīśra- tāla Tintāla**

Sthāī – *kalālāṇa bhara de rī pyālā*
seja para ghūme matavālā ||

Antarā – *sājana āye pāhuṇe re kātī bheṭa karā*
cita thālī mana vāṭako kātī ūpara naiṇa dharā ||

Translation- O Barmaid, please fill my cup full so my beloved can get intoxicated on my bed. What can I offer my beloved who has come home as a guest? My mind and soul are like a plate and bowl over which I present my vision to him

Marwari	Hindi (Khaḍī bolī)
<i>kalālāṇa</i>	<i>madhubālā</i>
<i>pāhuṇe</i>	<i>atithi</i>
<i>kātī</i>	<i>kucha</i>
<i>karā</i>	<i>karo</i>
<i>cita</i>	<i>citta</i>
<i>vāṭako</i>	<i>kaṭorī</i>
<i>naiṇa</i>	<i>āṃkhem</i>
<i>dharā</i>	<i>dharo</i>

4. Ṭhumrī with shades of Awadhi, Khaḍī bolī & Panjabi ⁶**Rāga Bihārī-tāla Rūpak**

Sthāī – *morī pātī letā jāiyō suna re patangavā*
bīra morā re torī coṃca madhāūṃgī sone se ||

Antarā – *śokharamṅa pūche kahāṃ bhejī pātī,*
unase tu kahiyo maim nahīm ātī
hāla dilom de baiṭhī likhavātī,
are merī pātī bhīmja gāī mere rone se ||

Translation- O little bird, my brother, please take my message to my beloved and I will gild your beak in gold. Shokhrang asks me where I am sending the letter; please tell him I can't come as I getting my letter written, which describes the state of my heart. Alas, my letter got wet with my tears!

Awadhi	Hindi(khaḍī bolī)
<i>morī pātī</i>	<i>merī ciṭṭhī/merā patra</i>

⁵ Ali, Sheikh Rahat. 1943, Thumri Sangraha-Volume 3 (First edition), N.S. Bhave, Vadodara. p.88

⁶ Ibid. p.15

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<i>letā jāiyo</i>	<i>lete jānā</i>
<i>patangavā</i>	<i>pakṣī/patanga</i>
<i>bīra morā</i>	<i>bhāī mere</i>
<i>torī</i>	<i>terī</i>
<i>kahiyo</i>	<i>kahanā</i>
<i>hāla dilom de (Punjabi)</i>	<i>hāla dila kā</i>
<i>bhīmja</i>	<i>bhīga</i>

All these examples illustrate the variety of language and dialects used in ṭhumrī compositions and the linguistic qualities that make them suitable for the same. Even though the majority of compositions that we hear today are in the Braj dialect, compositions in other dialects are also heard from time to time.

2.1. Vocalization of sounds in ṭhumrī

As has been illustrated in the above ṭhumrī compositions, the dialects which inherently have softer sounding words are chosen for thumri lyrics predominantly. Let's examine the inherent vocalization processes in these dialects used in thumri which create softer, elongated and resonant sounds within the thumri text when contrasted with the Hindi words, in some of the compositions illustrated above as well as in words appearing frequently in thumri anthologies considered for this study:-

Transformation of sounds

It has been found that consonants which are harsher to utter while singing are transformed into softer consonants, without harming the meaning of the word. For example, let's see some samples:

1. 'ra' instead of 'ḍa'		2. 'ra' instead of 'la'	
Word in Hindi	Transformed word	Word in Hindi	Transformed word
<i>taḍapata</i>	<i>tarapata</i>	<i>holī</i>	<i>horī</i>
<i>kivāḍa</i>	<i>kivaravā</i>	<i>kālī</i>	<i>kārī</i>
<i>pakaḍa</i>	<i>pakara</i>	<i>bijaḷī</i>	<i>bijarī/bijurī</i>
<i>maroḍī</i>	<i>marorī</i>	<i>matavālī</i>	<i>matavārī</i>
<i>phoḍī</i>	<i>phorī</i>	<i>celī</i>	<i>cerī</i>
<i>anāḍī</i>	<i>anārī</i>	<i>sām̃valī</i>	<i>sām̃varī</i>
<i>laḍāī</i>	<i>larāī</i>		
<i>ghaḍī</i>	<i>gharī</i>		
3. 'na' instead of 'ṇa'		4. 'sa' instead of 'śa' and 'ṣa'	
Word in Hindi	Transformed word	Word in Hindi	Transformed word
<i>bāṇa</i>	<i>bāna</i>	<i>deśa</i>	<i>desa</i>
<i>prāṇa</i>	<i>prāna</i>	<i>darśana</i>	<i>darsana/darasa</i>
<i>veṇu</i>	<i>venu/benu</i>	<i>varṣa</i>	<i>barasa</i>

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<i>lakṣmaṇa</i>	<i>lachmana/lakhana</i>	<i>sandeśa</i>	<i>sandesa</i>
5. 'ja' instead of 'ya'		6. 'ba' instead of 'va'	
Word in Hindi	Transformed word	Word in Hindi	Transformed word
<i>yatna</i>	<i>jatan</i>	<i>varṣā</i>	<i>barakhā</i>
<i>yauvana</i>	<i>jobana</i>	<i>vaśa</i>	<i>basa</i>
<i>yuga</i>	<i>juga</i>	<i>vinatī</i>	<i>binatī</i>
<i>yamunā</i>	<i>jamunā</i>	<i>varṣa</i>	<i>barasa</i>
<i>yaśodā</i>	<i>jaśodā</i>	<i>vana</i>	<i>bana</i>
<i>yoginī</i>	<i>jogana</i>	<i>viraha</i>	<i>birahā</i>
		<i>chavi</i>	<i>chabi</i>
		<i>virāje</i>	<i>birāje</i>
		<i>vanśī</i>	<i>bansī</i>
		<i>vāmā</i>	<i>bām</i>
		<i>varṇa</i>	<i>baran</i>
<i>kāraṇa</i>	<i>kārana</i>	<i>vaśa</i>	<i>basa</i>

Let's examine some more literary techniques in this reference:

2.2. Vowel elongation

It has been found that the vowel 'a' with the sound of 'ā' is elongated at the end of many words in various dialects which facilitates vocalization, which relies on longer vowel sounds for creating melodic phrases. Many times a word is elongated with adding 'ā', 'rā', 'vā', 'yā' like sounds at the end to elongate the sound of the word.

For example-

Word in Hindi	Transformed word
<i>nīṃd</i>	<i>niṃdiyā</i>
<i>patanṅga</i>	<i>patanṅgavā</i>
<i>kivāḍa</i>	<i>kivaravā</i>
<i>devara</i>	<i>devarā</i>
<i>nanada</i>	<i>nanadiyā</i>
<i>jiyā</i>	<i>jiyarā</i>
<i>bansī</i>	<i>bansiyā</i>
<i>viraha</i>	<i>birahā</i>
<i>cunara</i>	<i>cunariyā</i>
<i>pānī</i>	<i>paniyā</i>
<i>nagara</i>	<i>nagariyā</i>

2.3. Division of joint consonants

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A lot of words which are made up of joint consonants made up of vowel signs as well as consonants in Hindi are simplified for vocalization, so that their structure contains only vowel signs after the word transformation.

For example-

Word in Hindi	Transformed word
<i>candra</i>	<i>canda/ candā</i>
<i>vyathā</i>	<i>bithā</i>
<i>dhanya</i>	<i>dhana</i>
<i>lajjā</i>	<i>lāja</i>
<i>vyākula</i>	<i>bikala</i>
<i>nirlajja</i>	<i>nilaja</i>

2.4. Usage of ‘na’ for creating plural words & resonance

It has been found that singular words are transformed into plural words by adding the consonant ‘na’ at the end. This also results in enhancing the resonance of the word which in turn helps vocalization.

For example, let’s see the singular and plural forms of Hindi words and contrast them with the transformed plural words-

Words in Hindi	Transformed word
<i>lākha/lākhom</i>	<i>lākhana</i>
<i>dina/dinom</i>	<i>dinana</i>
<i>palaka/palakom</i>	<i>palakana</i>
<i>sakhī/sakhiyām</i>	<i>sakhiyana</i>
<i>motī/motiyom</i>	<i>motiyana</i>
<i>galī/galiyom</i>	<i>galiyana</i>

The vocalization processes described above simplify the pronunciation of the lyrics for a singer, and in turn enhance the potential of thumri lyrics for melodic as well as rhythmic exposition. These could be some of the main factors for thumri compositions being found more in dialects like Braj, Awadhi, Bhojpuri etc due to the inherent simplicity of pronunciation which is found in these dialects, which is required most for vocalization in thumrī.

3.1. Literary devices in thumrī

(A) The emotional expression of the song-text in thumrī

The foundation of thumrī lyrics is the emotive text inherent in the verse and the skill of the singer/dancer lies in expressing it further. The method of developing a thumrī involves literary techniques as well as musical structure. The style of musical expression in thumrī singing is called “bol-banāo”. This is the technique used by singers to musically expand a

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ṭhumrī which helps to unearth a variety of nuances from its typically standard themes of poetry.

To achieve this, the singer employs literary as well as musical techniques like apt musical phrasing, texturing of the voice as per the requirement of the text and musical as well as vocal modulations and dramatic devices. Some of the typical vocal techniques in ṭhumrī singing are mīṅḍ, khaṭkā, pukār, murkī etc and some vocatives used in the ṭhumrī style to enhance the text are— *hāya rāma*, *ho jī*, *hām̃ jī*, *are hām̃* and so on.

The vocatives mentioned above have a conversational effect on the song-text as they fill up the musical pauses and serve as an address to the audience, whatever their size may be. Ṭhumrī also serves as a conversational musical piece to elucidate the nāyikā's mood to her lover or her friend, whoever her confidante at the moment is.

The vocatives serve as fillers to the song-text as well as highlight the mood of the song. It is important to understand which nāyikā is being portrayed through the verse and the musical elaboration can take that course accordingly. For example, we shall examine the texts of some popular bol-banāo ṭhumrī s which the researcher has learnt while learning ṭhumrī from Dr. Alka Deo Marulkar and Vidushi Girija Devi. All these ṭhumrīs deal with the theme of separation and the lament of the nāyikā in this situation:

Example 1-rāga Bhinna ṣaḍja- tāla Kehervā

Sthāī - *yāda piyā kī āye*
ye dukha sahā nā jāe ||

Antarā 1 - *bālī umariyā sūnī re sejarīyā*
jobana b̄to jāe ||1||

Antarā 2 - *bairī koyaliyā kūka sunāye*
mujha birahana kā jiyarā jalāe ,pī bina rahā nā jāe ||2||

Translation-I am pained by the memories of my beloved. My youth and my bed chambers, both are lonely and going to waste. The nightingale is singing with such sorrow and rending my heart with her call, I just can't live without my beloved.

Example 2-rāga mīśra Pīlū- tāla Cāncar (Jat)

Sthāī - *papīharā pī kī bolī nā bola ||*

Antarā - *suna pāve koī birahā kī mātī ,dai haiṃ paṃkha marora ||*

Translation -O cuckoo bird, please don't sing of the beloved. If any lady in grief of separation for her beloved hears you, she will break off your wings

Example 3- rāga Tilang- tāla Cāncar (Jat)

Sthāī - *sajana tuma kāhe ko nehā lagāe ||*

Antarā - *jaba se gae tuma sudha hūṃ na līnī*
bina dekhe jiyā ghabarāe ||

Translation -Why did you even show love for me, my dear? You haven't enquired about me since you have left, I am feeling scared at not having seen you for so long

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From the above examples, it can be said that a majority of bol-banāo ṭhumrīs are an expression of the viyoga śringāra and hence offer more space for vocatives as well as an emotional crying out or pukār in musical terms. The reason for this could be that physical/emotional parting from one's beloved creates emotional pangs of separation and turmoil in the nāyikā's heart and mind which result in a sorrowful conversation or address to her beloved or confidante. This could be limited in a happy or sprightlier song-text as it is difficult to build up on an already ecstatic mood while a conversation in grief or distress could be elaborated much more.

(B) The usage of rhyme and meter in ṭhumrī

Ṭhumrī composers like Lalan Piya, Sanad Piya etc used figures of speech like alliteration, rhythmic play and also assonance to create an internal rhyme scheme irrespective of the meter of the entire text. We shall see some examples of compositions which employ such literary devices to illustrate this further.

Example 1 ⁷**Rāga Des- tāla Ektāla**

Sthāī - piyā kara dhara dekho dhaḍkata hai morī chatiyāṁ
aisī ratiyāṁ kārī bhārī ati hī ḍarāvata
acānaka āna gahe līnhīṁ baiyāṁ ||

Antarā - tuma to aise rasiyā apane hī rasa ke gāhaka
kāhū kī bāta na mānata aba hūṁ nikasata
more mukha so batiyāṁ ||

In the above example, we can observe the literary elements clearly. The internal rhyme scheme of the composition is achieved by the close placement of words like *kara - dhara*, *kārī - bhārī*, *chatiyāṁ - ratiyāṁ*, *gāhaka - mānata* etc. The last line of the antarā ends with the word *batiyāṁ*, which again rhymes with the last word of the mukhaḍā – *chatiyāṁ* in the sthāī, thus achieving poetic meter when sung together.

We shall see another example of such poetic figures of speech used in a ṭhumrī in the following example:

Example 2 ⁸**Rāga Basant- tāla Tintāla**

Sthāī - ye druma druma latā latā patā patā
belī belī navelī alabelī chavi kī chaṭā chaṭā,
ghaṭā ghaṭā suhāyī suhāyī, raṅga raṅga soṁ dhaṅga dhaṅga soṁ ||

Antarā - śveta śveta piyara piyara keta keta raṅga aneka

⁷ Karwal, Lila. 1995, Thumri Parichay, Sangeet Sadan Prakashan, Allahabad. P.158

⁸ Bajpayee, Bhartendu. 1977, Lalan Piya Ki Thumriyan, U.P. Sangeet Natak Akademi, Lucknow. 214

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*sumana suraṅga phūli rahe ali mataṅga gūṁjata ,rasa leta
prema ṛtu basaṁta chāi lalana piyā anaṁda lahata, nita prati naye naye dhamga soṁ ||*

In the above example, substantial amount of alliteration is used to create the internal rhyme scheme and multiple words are repeated to render the literary content unique. Alliteration occurs with “*druma -druma*”, “*latā-latā*”, “*patā-patā*”, “*belī –belī*”, “*chaṭā-chaṭā*”, “*ghaṭā-ghaṭā*”, “*suhāyī-suhāyī*”, “*śveta śveta*”, “*piyara-piyara*” and so on. Assonance is achieved by “*raṅga raṅga soṁ-dhamga dhamga soṁ*”, “*surāṅga- mataṅga- basaṁta- anaṁda*” etc. Even though the rhyme scheme cannot be quantified in an ‘aba’ or ‘abcb’ kind of scheme, a certain poetic meter is definitely achieved.

(C) The addition of Urdu & Braj couplets

Another aspect of ṭhumrī literature and its performance is the random addition of couplets in Urdu- ‘*śer*’ or ‘*dohā*’ in Braj to the existing song text.

An additional textual flavour is introduced to the ṭhumrī by weaving in a couplet of text placed as a quote in the middle or the end of the song which might or might not be an extension of the original text with regard to meaning or mood. This is not a random addition of some more lines to the original song, but is appended in order to bring about a very contrasting sound and mood to the original text. If the chosen couplet is in Urdu, a unique combination of the very different sounds of ornate Urdu and earthy Braj ensues and vice versa. The couplet enables the singer to add on a different kind of textual meaning to the original lyrics or even extend the original meaning. We shall see some examples of the usage of such couplets in ṭhumrī now with their meanings explained to get a better idea of this:

Example 1⁹**Rāga Pahāḍī- tāla Kehervā**

*Sthāi - nā āyo rī paradesī sajanavā
sagarī raina tarapata bītī rovata hūṁ dina raina ||*

Antarā - āvo prītama darasa dikhāvo nāhī parata moko caina ||

*Dohā - sundara sūrata caṁdra badana tore nainā tīra kamāna
maiṁ jogana bhāi tumare kārana choḍ cukī saba dhāma ||*

Translation- My beloved hasn't come back from far off lands yet and my night and days are spent waiting for him. O dear, please come back so my heart can get some solace.

Dohā- My beloved has a beautiful face and moon-like skin; his eyes are like bows & arrows. I have become like a hermit for him and have left all worldly things for him.

Example 3¹⁰**Rāga Bhinna ṣaḍja- tāla Kehervā**

*Sthāi - yāda piyā kī āye
ye dukha sahā nā jāe ||*

Translation- I cannot tolerate the sorrow of my beloved's parting and I keep thinking of him. My youth is getting wasted in his absence.

Śer- What kind of nuisance is this? They give me poison to drink. They don't even let me die as they keep giving me the drink.

⁹ Thumri learned from Dr. Alaka Deo Marulkar

¹⁰ Prasad, Jagdish. Live concert recording, Youtube

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*Antarā 1 - bālī umariyā sūnī re sejarīyā
jobana bīto jāe ||*

*Śer- baḍī muśkil hai pīne ko zeher dete haiṃ
pilā pilā ke marane bhī nahīṃ dete haiṃ ||*

Conclusion:

It can be inferred that linguistic and literary devices play a very important part in the emotional expression of ṭhumrī and in establishing the genre at the middle of the poetry-music median. The method of developing a ṭhumrī in performance involves literary techniques as much as it does musical structure and it is these factors that make ṭhumrī a literary form as well as a musical one.

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