

Ekaterina Kostina 

To Link or Not to Link? Variation in Using Discourse Markers in Hindi

एकातेरीना कोस्तिना

लिंक किया जाए या नहीं? प्रोक्ति चिह्नों के प्रयोग में परिवर्तनशीलता

Abstract The paper attempts to understand some specific features and variability of discourse markers in Hindi through a linguistic experiment. Adopting the approach suggested by Vadim Kasevič (2014) to Hindi data, I will distinguish the following discourse markers (DMs): *bhī* ‘also’, ‘even’ and *lekin/par* ‘but’ as connectives, *hī* ‘only’, ‘particularly’, ‘just’, ‘exactly’ and *to* ‘indeed’, ‘sure’ as emphatic particles, and *to* ‘but’, ‘as for’ as the contrastive topic marker. Interjections, modal and parenthetical words, often treated in the literature as DMs, will not be discussed here.

In the experiment, the respondents received a fragment of a short story in Hindi with the DMs extracted.¹ The hypothesis was that the absence of DMs might stimulate the native speakers to reconstruct them. At the same time, substantial variability in reconstruction was also expected.

The results demonstrated that Hindi DMs were highly variable in terms of their frequency, location, and selection from the set of lexical items, which occasionally resulted in a change to the initial message or text structuring.

We may conclude that although the DMs are not autosemantic words, their role is not that of mere fillers, and they truly provide text integrity and coherence.

Keywords discourse markers, text coherence, Hindi, linguistic experiment, variability.

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सारांश प्रयुक्त शोध के द्वारा एक भाषाई प्रयोग के माध्यम से हिंदी में प्रोक्ति चिह्नों (डिस्कोर्स मार्कर या डी.एम.) की विशेषताओं और उनके कार्यों की परिवर्तनशीलता का विश्लेषण करने का प्रयास किया गया है। व. ब. कसेविच (Kasevič et al. 2014) के द्वारा सुझाए गए सिद्धांतों को हिंदी भाषा के लिए अपनाकर, कुछ प्रयुक्त प्रोक्ति चिह्नों/डी.एम. की चर्चा की जाएगी, उदाहरणस्वरूप – “भी” एवं “लेकिन” (पर) संयोजकों के रूप में, “ही” (बलाघात या बलसूचक (emphatic)) चिह्न के रूप में, “तो” व्यतिरेकी टॉपिक के मार्कर के रूप में। यहाँ विस्मयादिबोधक, मोडल और अभिभावक चिह्न की चर्चा अनपेक्षित है।

प्रयोग के दौरान कुछ उत्तरदाताओं द्वारा हिंदी की एक कहानी के अंश में से निकाले गए प्रोक्ति चिह्नों/डी.एम. को फिर जोड़ा जाना था। यह अनुमान लगाया गया कि मार्कर की अनुपस्थिति में पाठ अस्वभाविक लगता एवं हिंदी भाषी को इस कहानी में डी.एम. जोड़ने की अति उत्सुकता होती। साथ ही, चूँकि डी.एम. के उपयोग के कोई सुनिश्चित नियम नहीं हैं, इसलिए पुनर्निर्माण में परिवर्तनशीलता भी अपेक्षित थी।

प्रयोग के उपरांत परिणामों ने प्रदर्शित किया कि हिंदी के प्रोक्ति चिह्न बहुत ही परिवर्तनशील हैं। परिणामोपरांत यह पाया गया कि कुछ प्रतिभागियों (उत्तरदाताओं) ने कहानी के अंश में एक भी डी.एम. का उपयोग नहीं किया, अन्य प्रतिभागियों ने मूल पाठ की तुलना में तीन गुना अधिक डी.एम. का प्रयोग किया। तथापि, कुछ प्रतिभागियों ने एक ही स्थान के लिये अलग-अलग डी.एम. को जोड़ा, या डी.एम. को स्थानांतरित किया। जिसके परिणामस्वरूप कभी प्रारंभिक संदेश बदल जाता था तो कभी प्रारंभिक पाठ की संरचना प्रभावित हो जाती थी।

इस प्रयोग के आधार पर निष्कर्ष यह निकलता है कि यद्यपि प्रोक्ति चिह्न स्वतः शक्त शब्द नहीं है, उनकी भूमिका सामान्य पूरक की भूमिका से कहीं बढ़कर है और वास्तव में वे पाठ अखंडता और सुसंगतता का प्रावधान करते हैं।

मुख्य शब्द – प्रोक्ति चिह्न/डिस्कोर्स मार्कर (या डी.एम.), पाठ सुसंगतता, हिंदी, भाषाई प्रयोग, परिवर्तनशीलता।

1 Introduction

The concept of *discourse markers* (DMs) was introduced by D. Schiffrin in her dissertation *Discourse Markers: Semantic Resource for the Construction of Conversation* (Schiffrin 1982) and later developed in the book *Discourse Markers* (Schiffrin 1987) to describe peculiarities of a set of linguistic items that function in cognitive, expressive, social, and textual domains. Although the term has acquired significant popularity in studies on pragmatics (see Lenk 1998; Siepmann 2005; Ranger 2018), there is still no common definition of DMs or criteria to distinguish them from conjunctions, particles, modals or parenthetical words and expressions (see Fedriani and Sansó, 2017).

The concept of DMs has also been developed in a number of works on Hindi. Here again one may notice significant conceptual differences and mismatches in the lists of DMs. Thus, M. Shapiro (2003) defines them as “[l]inguistic devices by which sentences [...] are woven together in the formation of large chunks of discourse” and explains the discursive meaning of particles *to*, *hī* and *bhī*. He

also mentions *zarā*, *na*, *kyō*, *kyā* and *vaise to* without a detailed description of their semantics (ibid.: 275–276). A similar concept is represented in the works by A. Montaut (2004: 265, 278, 283 ff.; 2016). D. Sharma (1999: 5), focusing primarily on the issues of nominal clitics, discusses *hī*, *bhī*, *to*, *tak* and *bhar*. The collective paper “Towards an Annotated Corpus of Discourse Relations in Hindi” (Prasad et al. 2008: 75) focuses on discourse connectives, which, according to its authors, can be divided into five types: subordinating conjunctions, sentential relative pronouns, subordinators, coordinating conjunctions and discourse adverbials. Ya. Kachru (2006: 269) significantly widens the scope of the concept and defines it as “[a] number of linguistic items in Hindi which have no specific grammatical function, [such as] attitude markers, boundary-markers, confirmation-seekers, discourse connectives, pause fillers, hedging devices, hesitation markers, intimacy signals, prompters, repair markers, turn-taking signals, and topic-switch markers”.

This paper is based upon the concept of DMs worked out on the basis of evidence from various Asian and African languages within the framework of the project *Linear and Nonlinear Means of Ensuring the Coherence of the Eastern Text*² headed by V.B. Kasevič (Kasevič et al. 2014; 2018). In brief, distinctive characteristics of DMs in accordance with this concept are formulated as follows:

- DMs establish the coherence of discourse.
- DMs do not influence the meaning of an isolated phrase; if we extract a DM, the general idea of the sentence will remain the same.
- DMs do not deliver any grammatical meaning.
- DMs do not express the speaker’s emotions or attitude to what is being said.³

DMs can be classified into three major categories: connectives, emphatic markers and contrastive topic markers. Emphatic markers, in their turn, can express either strong or weak emphasis. If a word can act as both a DM and an auxiliary of another type, such usage shall be treated as manifestations of homonymy rather than polysemy.

2 Saint Petersburg University grant No 2.38.295.2014, 2014–2016.

3 It should be noted that DMs are very close to attitudinal and modal words and expressions, which are often viewed as one of the means of providing coherence of discourse (Kachru 2006: 269). For example, the Chinese language is reported to be rich in lexemes with modal semantics functioning as DMs (Kolpačková 2014: 91). According to Kasevič (2014: 87), allocation of DMs should not intervene in any generally recognized system in grammatical description, and modal words are integral to the complicated system of modality with its internal connections and contrapositions.

Applied to the Hindi data, these characteristics allow us to distinguish four groups of DMs:

Connectives: *lekin*, *par* and other lexemes with the basic meanings of ‘but’, ‘however’, *bhī* ‘also’, *aur* ‘and’, *phir* ‘then’.

Strong emphasis markers (emphasising the whole sentence): *kyā* ‘what’, *na* ‘is it not so’, ‘why not’.

Weak emphasis markers (emphasising words or phrases in a sentence): *hī* ‘particularly’, ‘just’, *bhī* ‘even’, *tak* ‘even’, *to* ‘certainly’, *na* ‘indeed’⁴.

Contrastive topic marker: *to* ‘as for...’, ‘indeed’.⁵

On the basis of ‘simple’ DMs, a great number of complex DMs can be formed, such as *phir bhī* ‘nevertheless’, *nahī to* ‘otherwise’, etc. So, the class of DMs can be perceived as an open one. Classification of DMs is for a great part contextual, as most of them can deliver a wide range of senses, sometimes spreading beyond the limits of pure connectivity or emphasis.

Emphatic pronouns in Hindi are the product of merging of a pronoun with the emphatic *hī*, e. g. *vahī* DIR, *usī* OBL ‘that very’. Such forms cannot be treated as DMs as they are pronouns, but since the emphatic part is inseparable from the pronominal one, it is necessary to consider them in a discussion on *hī*. Used after determiners, *hī* marks re-identification (‘the same’), while in combination with lexemes of other classes, including personal pronouns, it can be restrictive, centring the notion, denoting a high degree of feature manifestation or emphasising the predicate (Montaut 2004: 290). Following this observation, I distinguish the emphatic determiners as a special set.

Hindi DMs are usually discussed in the literature ‘in general’, with examples produced by the authors themselves or bearing no reference to the source. This paper demonstrates some specific features of these auxiliary lexemes, especially their variability, on the basis of a particular literary text and its reconstructions in the course of a linguistic experiment. The task of thirty-nine respondents was to reconstruct DMs in a written fragment of a short story in Hindi, from which the conductors of the experiment had extracted almost all DMs. The experiment will be described in detail in Section 2; the results and their interpretation will be presented in Sections 3 and 4.

Such an approach imposes considerable limitations on the scope of materials. I do not discuss DMs and contexts not available in the selected text or its reconstructions. This is at least partially compensated for by a strong focus on DM variations within a complete story, short though it might be. By virtue of the experiment, it becomes possible to see to what extent the discourse itself prompts the

4 *Na* expressing the weak emphasis usually follows the subject of the sentence.

5 The difference in semantics and usages of the coordinative, argumentative and topic-marking *to* has been thoroughly described by Annie Montaut (2016).

appearance of one or the other DM and what circumstances, including individual preference, are responsible for variation in DM usage. As far as I am aware, this is the first experiment aimed at DM reconstruction basing on Hindi material. Its results should be treated as preliminary, requiring further analysis on the basis of a wider corpus of texts and a larger number of respondents.

2 Description of the experiment

There are no fixed language rules determining DM usage, and they are subject to strong variation (Varma 2004: 70–74). It is only possible to determine the extent to which the variation is admissible by a set of experiments. A similar experiment was first conducted by a Sinologist, E. N. Kolpačkova. In the course of that experiment, native speakers of Chinese were asked to fill in gaps in the text (a cloze test) choosing from a list of DMs, so that grammatical correctness, as well as semantic and logical naturalness of the text, could be preserved (Kolpačkova 2015: 368). Representing the material in the form of a cloze test was, however, criticised by peers, for the conditions of the task seemed to prompt the decision to some extent. After an attempt to repeat the experiment with a cloze test using a Hindi text, it was decided that providing the respondents with a text without any gaps would deliver more interesting results.

The experiment was intended to provide the empirical data for answers to the following questions:

1. Is it possible for a native Hindi speaker to understand a text totally devoid of DMs?
2. Will the participants be able to put the extracted DMs back into their places?
3. Can the influence of social, gender or age factors be traced in DM usage pattern?
4. Is it possible to predict variation in DM usage from the phrase structure or context?
5. Can DMs alter and to what extent?
6. How does the usage of an alternative DM influence the coherence of the text?

The experiment was conducted in the following manner. An extract from the short story *Aṃtarāl* by Kamlā Kānt Tripāṭhī (2001), from which almost⁶ all the DMs had

6 Since there was only one *tak* meaning ‘even’ in the chosen part of the story, it was not extracted from the text and not included into the list of the words to be inserted, in order to avoid the possibility of reconstructions of the homophonous case marker *tak*. This proved to be the right decision, as even under the stated conditions there were cases of

been removed and in which the emphatic forms had been replaced by neutral ones, was offered to Hindi native speakers and Hindi experts who are not native speakers. This passage of text was selected for the experiment because it was a story within a story and seemed not to require acquaintance with the rest of the text to be understood properly. At the same time, it appeared quite rich in DMs of various types. The text deals with a hereditary tailor called Altaf, a Muslim friend of the narrator, who moved to Mumbai from their village in search of a better life. At first, he manages to find work and a place to live, but his life becomes endangered as the Hindu-Muslim riots begin, forcing Altaf to escape back home only to find their family nest and the traditional lifestyle pattern falling to decay. The genre of the text can be defined as the event-type narrative. The total number of words is 435, of which 16 are discourse markers: *hī* (4), *bhī* (5), *par* (1), *lekin* (2), and *to* (4); the text also contains four emphatic pronominal forms: *vahī* (1), *usī* (1), and *unhī* (2). The original text (transliterated) and its English translation are provided in the Appendix. All sentences are numbered with a combination of the letter T (for ‘text’) and their sequence numbers in the text, e. g. (T1). In this way, they are distinguished from the example numbers, which have no letter.

The participants received the “bare” text, a list of extracted words, and the following instructions (in Hindi): “In front of you is an extract from a short story in Hindi. Please read it carefully. For the purpose of the experiment, we have extracted the words *hī*, *bhī*, *lekin*, *par* (= *lekin*), and *to* and replaced *vahī* with *vah*, *usī* with *us* etc. If you feel something is missing, please insert it. If you feel something is incorrect, please correct it.” To ensure that respondents understood the task properly, they were provided with an explanation either in Hindi or in English. The pool of respondents included 39 native speakers of Hindi, the majority of whom are based in Delhi, Varanasi and Chandigarh. All of them are university graduates (philologists, whose speciality is Hindi or Russian language and literature, journalists, software developers, economists and engineers). In addition, four Russian and one Singhalese (from Sri Lanka) native speakers participated in the experiment. They are all Hindi teachers at different institutions. Information about the latter group is provided in Table 1a; in Tables 2 to 8 their results are marked with NH (non-Hindi). However, it was only the output from the data returned by the native speakers that was considered in the conclusions drawn.

Ideally, the experiment should have been conducted as one event, with respondents assembled on one day in one place and the experiment controlled

misinterpreted homophones: instead of the intended reconstruction of *par* ‘but’ the case marker *par* ‘on’ was reconstructed. Similarly, *aur* ‘and’ and *phir* ‘then’ (conjunctions homophonous with adverbs) were not extracted not to confuse the respondents.

while it was running. However, this kind of arrangement proved to be impossible, and the experiment was conducted distantly, in the form most comfortable for the participants. Most of them received the task as an email attachment after having agreed to participate. The others were provided with the printed version of the task text in one-off meetings in August and September 2019. In general, it took the participants of the experiment from half an hour to a couple of days to complete the task. The respondents returned the tasks by 30 December 2019. So, there was as good as no time limitation for the test nor control. It is almost certain that with an instant reaction, the individual results would have been somewhat different, but the overall difference would, most likely, have been negligible.

Since it may be presupposed that using the DMs lies beyond the sphere of pure logic and grammatical competence, this experiment can be treated as measuring the participants' unconscious behaviour and thus a departure from the principle of full disclosure⁷ (see, e.g. Blom & Unsworth 2010: 6) is possible. In most cases, providing little information on the actual purpose of the experiment proved its value. However, as nothing had been said about the origin of the text and also due to some specific features of the author's style, a number of participants decided they had to edit the story as if written by a foreigner, and instead of fulfilling the task offered their help as proofreaders. Two of the respondents obviously assumed that we were checking their knowledge of Hindi and, wishing to show better results, apparently found the original story on the internet and used it while working on the text.

Table 1 lists all the participants sorted by the number of successfully reconstructed DMs and includes information on their gender, age and occupation ("Hindi", "Russian" or "English" stand for professional occupation with the language). Non-native Hindi speaker respondents are additionally marked NH (non-Hindi), the participant who received the text with gaps in the places of DMs is marked with G (gaps), and those presumed to have used the original text while fulfilling the reconstruction task are marked D (doubtful respondents).

7 Following the principle of full disclosure is usually recommended for any research implicating quantitative data analysis. According to this principle, the participants "[s]hould be told what the purpose of the research is, what procedures will be followed, how data will be used, how it will be managed and stored, how their anonymity will be preserved, what benefits may be reasonably expected, as well as being informed of any risks or discomfort participation may involve" (Blom and Unsworth 2010: 6). However, as Blom and Unsworth further state, in some cases (including measuring the unconscious behavior) only partial disclosure or even opacity of the purpose of the experiment for the respondents is admissible (*ibid.*: 6).

Table 1 Participants sorted by their results

	Gender and age	Occupation's language	hī, 4 ⁸		vahī, usī, unhī, 4		bhī, 5		par + lekin, 3		to, 4		total, 20	
			ins	match	ins	match	ins	match	ins	match	ins	match	ins	match
1	F 34	Hindi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	M 23	Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	M 24	Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	M 27	Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	M 39	Journalist, Hindi and English	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	M 40	Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	M 45	Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	M 49	Hindi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	M 32	Other	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0
10	M 63	Other	0		1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
11	F 34	Other	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
12	M 65	Other	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
13	F 60	Hindi	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	4	1
14	M 39	Other	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	5	1
15	F 30	Other	0	0	1	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	6	1
16	F 32	Other	2	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	6	1
17	M 35	Russian	3	0	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	9	1
18	M 49	Other	5	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	10	1
19	M 26	Other	0	0	1	0	1	0	1 ⁹	1	0	0	3	2
20	M 46	Journalist, Hindi and English	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	2
21	F 67	Hindi	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	0	0	6	2
22	M 48	Other	2	0	1	1	6	2	1	0	1	0	11	3

8 The digit after the comma indicates the number of DM occurrences in the original text. The column “ins” (inserted) contains the number of DMs inserted by a respondent, and the column “match” contains the number of exact matches with the original DMs.

9 The respondent used *paramtu* instead of *lekin* or *par* that were listed for insertion.

	Gender and age	Occupation's language	hī, 4 ⁸		vahī, usī, unhī, 4		bhī, 5		par + lekin, 3		to, 4		total, 20	
			ins	match	ins	match	ins	match	ins	match	ins	match	ins	match
23	M 42	Other	4	0	1	1	6	2	2	0	0	0	13	3
24	M 40	Hindi	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	7	4
25	M 32	Other	1	1	2	1	5	1	3	1	0	0	11	4
26	M 24	Russian	2	1	0	0	4	0	9	3	3	0	18	4
27	F 32	Other	7	0	3	1	9	2	4	1	0	0	23	4
28	F 57	Journalist, Russian, Hindi, English	7	1	2	2	10	2	0	0	0	0	19	5
29	M 28	Other	7	0	3	2	9	0	5	2	2	1	26	5
30	M 55	Other	4	2	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	0	10	6
31	M 77	Russian, Hindi	5	0	1	1	2	1	3	3	4	1	15	6
32	F 28	Other	3	1	0	0	10	3	5	1	4	1	22	6
33	M 40 (second attempt)	Other	4	0	0	0	10	2	7	3	6	1	27	6
34	M 50	Hindi	3	1	1	1	9	2	3	1	4	2	20	7
35	F 64	Hindi	4	1	2	2	9	2	2	2	3	1	20	8
36	M 28	Russian	3	2	2	2	4	3	2	2	3	2	14	11
37	M 70 G	Russian	3	2	1	1	6	4	3	3	3	3	16	14
38	M 35 D	Other	2	2	3	3	5	5	3	3	3	2	16	15
39	M 40 D	Other	4	4	4	4	6	5	3	3	4	4	21	20

Table 1a Non-Hindi native participants sorted by their results

1	F 25NH	Hindi	1	0	2	2	1	0	3	0	1	0	8	2
2	F 39NH	Hindi, English	1	0	3	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	8	3
3	F 45NH	Hindi	1	0	1	1	4	0	2	1	2	1	10	3
4	F 40NH	Hindi	5	0	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	13	4
5	F 41NH	Hindi	1	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	2	1	10	5

3 Discussion of the results of the experiment

Eight participants obviously misunderstood the instructions and did not insert any DMs. This does not mean that they were unscrupulous while doing the task: none of them returned blank pages. They corrected (or miscorrected) everything they considered a grammatical or orthographic mistake or stylistic failure. Their corrections and suggestions included, among others:

- spelling mistakes (*puštainī* ‘hereditary’ for *puštaunī*, *khetihar* ‘farmer’ for *khetihār*) or variants (*uskā* for *us kā* ‘his’, *vo* for *vah* ‘this, he’);
- grammar mistakes (*damge kī capeṭ mē* ‘in the blow.f of the riot’ for *damge ke capeṭ mē* ‘in the blow.m of the riot’);
- Indo-Aryan words instead of Arabic-Persian loanwords;
- simple past forms instead of the past perfect forms;
- changes in the degree of politeness/subordination.

At least two participants stated overtly that the text did not need any changes except for some spelling corrections: “I realise that the story has been written by one of the old-time authors. The expression is like that. Hence the grammar is correct in accordance with the time frame of the story. Although I found a couple of spelling mistakes, I would not exactly call them mistakes because each author has a different style of writing”¹⁰ (M 39). One of the participants (M40) did not insert any DMs at first, but then he re-read the text keeping in mind the necessity to use DMs and literally “tried to use as many of them as possible”. These facts prove that the chosen words truly fulfil the requirements for DMs, as they do not influence the comprehensibility of the text although their absence may make it look a bit awkward from the stylistic point of view.

The preliminary observations from the experiment are summarised as follows:

1. Usage of DMs appears to be highly dependent on the personal preferences of the speaker. Most full matches were demonstrated by those participants who, irrespective of their gender, age or occupation, managed to “catch the tune” of the author. None of the participants (including those who presumably broke the experiment guidelines by using the original text) reconstructed all the DMs. Even the person who was given the paper with gaps in place of extracted DMs interchanged *hī* and *bhī* in some cases (this observation is developed further in 4). Since the number of male participants considerably exceeds that of females, it is difficult to trace gender-specific trends in DM reconstruction except for the fact that in general women tried harder to follow the requirements of the task and use all extracted words in the list and did not

10 In the quotations from the participants’ remarks to the text their spelling is retained.

attempt to copy the original text. Although some of the participants noticed that the style of the text appeared to be quite old-fashioned, age does not seem to be an influencing factor: it cannot be stated that older participants were more successful, and respondents of the same age group demonstrated totally different results. Participants with a background in linguistics (especially non-native Hindi speakers) tended to use more DMs of all types, as they obviously looked at the text from the point of view of a researcher. However, such a thoughtful attitude did not make their reconstructions any closer to the original text.

2. Despite being provided with the list of extracted words, 21 of the respondents did not use one or more of the DMs on the list. 18 respondents missed *to*, 8 did not use any *hī*, 7 papers lack emphatic pronouns and only 3 papers demonstrate a total absence of *bhī*. This leads us to the tentative conclusion that DMs with connective meaning are the easiest to reconstruct and their absence is the most discernible, while the necessity to mark the contrastive topic is the weakest.
3. In most cases variation in DM usage observed in the experiment papers does not lead to the emergence of incorrect structures. In this context, the postposition *ke bāvajūd* ‘in spite of’, followed by *bhī* ‘even’, deserves a special mention. Strict stylistic rules of Standard Hindi do not allow this sequence (Maharotā 2004: 62). The original phrase contains no DM: *tamām dar aur dahśat ke bāvajūd ve apne gāv-deś kā nātā nahī bhūle the* ‘**In spite of** all fear and anxiety, they did not forget the ties with their native village.’ Seven respondents put *bhī* after the postposition (*ke bāvajūd bhī*), thus doubling the concessive meaning of the phrase and in this way producing a stylistically disputable structure. However, this frequently occurs not only in the spoken language but also in literary and scholarly works (see, e. g. Simh 2007: 206). Other cases of variable DM usage by the participants of the experiment are not questionable from either a grammatical or stylistic point of view, although they often result in a shift of semantic accents or change in text structuring.

4 Variations in DM reconstruction

All variations studied fall into the following types:

1. DM vs. \emptyset — a DM of the original text is not reconstructed in any form.
2. \emptyset vs. DM' — a DM of any type is inserted at a place containing no DM in the original.
3. DM vs. DM' — a DM of another type is reconstructed either exactly at the original DM location or in the same phrase.

A shift in DM positioning, when a DM is reconstructed at a place very close to, yet different from the initial one, although technically a combination of variation types DM vs. Ø and Ø vs. DM', in some cases deserves special attention from the point of view of text coherence.

Variation of the first type is overwhelming: not a single DM of the original text was reconstructed by at least half of the participants. It may be interesting to observe the “reconstruction rate” of each of the DMs and attempt to determine the reasons behind it. At the same time, a number of structures, by contrast, appear to be very “attractive” for DM insertion, although they lack a DM in the original text. These cases also deserve special attention.

Tables 2, 4 and 6 show the phrases with DMs from the returned documents with their English translations and glossing lines. As the agreement is of no importance for the current study, gender, number and case, except for the ergative, are not glossed unless it is needed to avoid ambiguity. The number of papers in which the DMs reconstructions exactly match the original phrases is presented in the rightmost column. Table 3 illustrates the cases of excessive – as compared to the original text – usage of connectors. Table 5 demonstrates different ways of structuring the text resulting from variations in DM usage. Table 7 deals with one particular phrase which appeared to demonstrate the largest number of DM variations, while Table 8 demonstrates multiple DM variants suggested by the respondents in the phrases initially containing no DMs. Within the tables (except for Table 7), phrases are listed in the order of their appearance in the text¹¹ and are sometimes abridged. The numbers after the original sentences refer to the complete text represented in the Appendix. The results of the two participants defined as “doubtful” are provided in the form “+2D” or “+1D”, while “+1G” stands for the responses from the paper with gaps (M70G). Below the sentences exactly reproducing the original, the same phrases containing alternative DMs suggested by the participants are provided (if any). Such phrases are marked with (A) for “alternative”. If the original sentence contains two or more DMs of different types, figures in the column “Number of respondents” are provided only for the DM in question in the corresponding paragraph, irrespective of whether the respondents reconstructed the other DMs.

11 For more clarity and description convenience, in Table 2 phrases with *lekin* or *par* are grouped together in the top and are followed by phrases with *bhī*, and in Table 4 emphatic pronouns are separated from ptcls. In Table 8 sentences with similar DM variations are grouped.

4.1 Variation in expressing connectivity

Table 2 Reconstruction of connectives

Phrase, glossing line and translation	DM	Number of respondents
(1) <i>use</i> [...] <i>faikṭarī mē</i> [...] <i>kām mil gayā thā</i> . to.him [...] factory in [...] work become.available go.PFV was. par <i>unhī</i> <i>dinō vahāḍ damge</i> <i>bharaḥ uṭhe</i> <i>the</i> (T5, T6) but those.EMPH days there riots erupt rise.PFV were 'He had got a job at the factory. But riots had erupted there on the very same days.'	<i>par</i> ¹² / <i>lekin</i>	7+1NH+ 2D+1G
(A) <i>un</i> <i>dinō vahāḍ damge</i> <i>bhī</i> <i>bharaḥ uṭhe</i> <i>the</i> those days there riots also erupt rise.PFV were 'Riots also had erupted there those days.'	<i>bhī</i>	1
(2) <i>do-ek bār kasbe mē jākar sūī lagvāī thī</i> . two-one time town in having.gone needle cause.to.be.applied.PFV was. lekin <i>koī fāyadā nahī huā</i> (T34, T35) but any result not was '[Father] had gone to the town a couple of times to be given injections. But to no avail.'	<i>lekin</i> / <i>par</i> / <i>parantu</i>	15+1NH+ 2D+1G
(3) <i>usne</i> [...] <i>ādmī se bāt kī hai jo saūdī mē rahtā hai</i> . he.ERG [...] man with talk do.PFV is who Saudi in live.IPFV is. lekin <i>vīsā vagairah me baṛā kharc hai</i> (T39, T40) but visa etc. in big cost is 'He has had a talk with a man who lives in Saudi [Arabia]. But the visa etc. cost much.'	<i>lekin</i> / <i>par</i> / <i>magar</i>	6+1NH+ 2D
(4) <i>kuch log use ṣeṣan tak choṛne bhī āe the</i> (T18) some people him station up.to to.see.off also come.PFV were 'Some people also had come to the station to see him off.'	<i>bhī</i>	5+1NH+ 2D+1G
(A) <i>ṣeṣan tak bhī choṛne āe the</i> station up.to even to.see.off come.PFV were 'Some people even had come to the station to see him off.'	<i>bhī</i>	2
(5) <i>ab to abbā ko bhī kām nahī miltā</i> ¹³ (T25) now but father to also work not become.available.PRS 'But now father also does not get work.'	<i>bhī</i>	3+2D+1G

12 The slash here indicates that any of the DMs listed in the table cell can be found in the respondents' papers, but all of them have been calculated together: in this experiment they proved to be interchangeable. Some participants even used the combination "*par/lekin*" themselves instead of choosing one word.

13 The experiment papers contained so many variants of DM usages for this phrase, that I found it reasonable to discuss all of them in a separate section, see Table 7.

Phrase, glossing line and translation	DM	Number of respondents
(6) <i>jise silānā bhī hotā hai vah</i> [...] (T27) to.whom sewing even be.IPFV is he [...] ‘[Even if] someone needs [clothes] to be sewn [...]	<i>bhī</i>	0+2D
(A) <i>jise silānā hī hotā hai vah</i> [...] (A) to.whom sewing EMPH be.IPFV is he [...] ‘The one who does need [his/her clothes] be sewn [...]	<i>hī</i>	1NH+1G
(7) <i>dhīmā-dhīmā bukhār bhī rahtā hai</i> (T32) slow-slow fever also stay.IPFV is ‘[He] also [has] a slight fever.’	<i>bhī</i>	11+2D+1G
(8) <i>umar bhī to ho gā hai</i> (T36) age also after.all be go.PFV is ‘After all, [his] age is also high.’	<i>bhī</i>	5+1NH+ 2D+1G

DMs with the adversative connective meaning are the easiest to reconstruct, the most variable in terms of mutual interchangeability and the least variable in terms of interchangeability with other markers. Despite the fact that the list of extracted words was provided, some of the respondents preferred other adversatives, such as *magar*, and the conjunction *paramtu* (without taking into consideration the Urdu-oriented style of the text). The high reconstruction rate for *lekin* in (2) is caused by the prototypical character of the situation of “failed expectations”, a basic meaning of adversative connectors.

The contraposition in (1) and (3) is indirect, and the intermediated character of contraposition makes the relation between the clauses less clear. In (1) it is not the events described in the phrases connected with *par* (Altaf’s finding a job and the beginning of riots) but the consequences of these events (i. e., ‘peaceful life’ and ‘troubles’) that are juxtaposed. Example (3) contraposes the first step in Altaf’s plan to move abroad (talk with a man living in Saudi Arabia) to his realisation of his inability to do so. In these cases, the grounds for reconstructing an adversative connector are still less obvious.

As for *bhī*, the most easily reconstructed are the cases with purely connective meaning, such as (4), (7) or (8), presenting “complex situations”. In the phrase (4), however, *bhī* can also be interpreted as an emphatic marker. As a Hindi native speaker explained, “under the circumstances described (riots), the final event [i. e., going to see Altaf off — *E. K.*] is the least likely one as measured by the scale of common suppositions, therefore, [it means] ‘even’”. Such interpretation is supported by the even more “emphatic” variation (4A) suggested by two respondents, who shifted *bhī* to the place after *steśan tak* ‘up to the station’. In this position, *bhī* cannot be interpreted as marking the complex situation (there is no listing of

other places besides the station to which Altaf could have been taken), and the DM clearly bears the emphatic meaning ‘even’.

The least evident is the usage of *bhī* ‘also’ in the connective-emphatic sense (6). Although some participants felt the necessity to place a DM in this sentence, *bhī* was reconstructed only by the two doubtful respondents. Even the participant provided with the paper with gaps preferred to insert *hī* ‘exactly’. Two native speakers (philologists) were asked to explain the difference between the phrases (6) and (6A), and both agreed that the general meaning was the same, although they confirmed that there was a subtle difference between the original sentence and the reconstructed one. This makes it clear that complex semantic issues deserve further study and cannot be discussed in detail at this stage of research.

The number of connectors suggested by the respondents but absent in the original text is high; see Table 3. It may be noted that some descriptions of complex situations have no connectors in *Amtarāl*, while in other cases, the connector *bhī* marks the last link in a chain of events or a list of attributes. Similarly, the author does not use *bhī* in the description of a complex situation if it contains conjunction. In such cases, quite a number of respondents suggested using a connector, as in (9) and (10) in Table 3 or shifted *bhī* to the space after the second component of the complex description, as in (11) and (12)¹⁴ in Table 3. The doubtful respondent M40 even provided an extra connector *bhī*, although he presumably was aware of its absence in the original text (12).

The absence of *bhī* at the places where it is most expected to appear may be explained as a feature of the style, which is quite different in the selected extract compared to the rest of the story. Although it is not a first-person narrative, the author attempts to imitate spontaneous narration by a village tailor of his misfortunes rather than relate the story artistically from the distant point of view of a writer. This results in short sentences, sometimes incomplete or lacking the subject (this has been noticed by some participants of the experiment who suggested subject reconstruction), devoid of connectors (including the adversative ones, see (13), (14) in Table 3) or connective-emphatic markers.

14 The complex situation in the first case includes not only feeding Altaf and booking him the ticket but also going to the station to see him off, and the sentence (4) (T18), which follows (10) (T17) in the text, contains *bhī* in the original. In the second case, the situation also includes the cough that won’t stop and, finally, a slight fever (the last component of the description is marked with *bhī* in the original text (T32), as we have seen in the example (7) above.

Table 3 Connectors reconstructed at “wrong” places

Phrase, glossing line and translation	DM	Number of respondents
(9) <i>Altāf ke [...] bāl khicī ho gae the.</i> Altāf GEN [...] hair salt-and-pepper be go.PFV were. <i>gāl bhī picak gae the (cf. T1, T2)</i> cheeks also shrivel go.PFV were 'Altāf's [...] hair had begun to turn gray. His cheeks had also shriveled.'	<i>bhī</i>	15+1NH
(10) [...] <i>uske dost ko cākū ghōp diyā gayā thā.</i> [...] his friend DAT knife pierce give.PFV AUX.PASS.PFV was. <i>ṭāksī bhī jalā dī gāī thī (cf. T8, T9)</i> taxi also burn give.PFV AUX.PASS.PFV was '[...] his friend had been pierced by a knife. Also the taxi had been burnt down.'	<i>bhī</i>	7+3NH
(11) [...] <i>ṭāksī jalā dī gāī thī.</i> [...] taxi burn give.PFV AUX.PASS.PFV was. <i>par vah kisī tarah bhāg niklā thā [...]</i> (cf. T9, T10) but he some way run come.out was [...] '[...] the taxi had been burnt down. But he had run away somehow [...]	<i>par</i>	3
(12) <i>unhōne [...] use khilāyā-pilāyā thā aur [...]</i> they.ERG [...] him feed.PFV-give.drink.PFV was and [...] <i>ṭikaṭ bhī nikalvākar diyā thā (cf. T17)</i> ticket also having.caused.to.be.taken.out give.PFV was 'They were the ones who had fed him [...] and booked him a ticket [...]	<i>bhī</i>	7+1NH
(13) [...] <i>bīmār hī cal rahe hai.</i> [...] ill EMPH go PROG AUX.PRS.3HON. <i>khāṭ bhī pakāṭ lī hai (cf. T29, T30)</i> bed also catch take.PFV is '[...] [father] has been running constantly ill. [He] is also bedridden.'	<i>bhī</i>	7+1D
(14) <i>dhīmā-dhīmā bukhār bhī rahtā hai.</i> slow-slow fever also stay.IPFV is. <i>par ab kisko dikhāē?</i> (cf. T32, T33) but now to.whom should.show '[Father] also [has] a slight fever. But to whom should [we] show [him] now?'	<i>par, lekin</i>	2+1NH

4.2 Variation in expressing emphasis

Table 4. Reconstruction of emphatic pronominal forms and emphatic DMs

Phrase, glossing line and translation	DM, pronominal form	Number of responders
(15) <i>par unhī dīnō vahāṅ dāṃge bhāṛak uṭhe the (T6)</i> but those.OBL.EMPH days there riots erupt rise.PFV were 'But riots had erupted there on the very same days.'	<i>unhī</i>	2+1D+2NH
(A) <i>par un dīnō hī vahāṅ dāṃge bhāṛak uṭhe the</i> but those days EMPH there riots erupt rise.PFV were 'But riots had erupted there on the very same days.'	<i>hī</i>	1

Phrase, glossing line and translation	DM, pronoun form	Number of responders
(16) <i>usī kī ākhō ke sāmne uske dost ko</i> he.OBL.EMPH GEN eyes GEN before his friend DAT <i>cākū ghōp diyā gayā thā</i> (T8) knife pierce give.PFV AUX.PASS.PFV was 'His friend had been pierced by a knife before his own eyes.'	<i>usī</i>	3+1NH+2D
(A) <i>us kī ākhō ke sāmne hī</i> [...] he.OBL GEN eyes GEN before EMPH [...] '[...] right before his eyes.'	<i>hī</i>	4+1NH
(17) <i>unhī ke yahā [...] vah [...] ek-ek</i> they.OBL.EMPH GEN here [...] he [...] one-one <i>rāt kāt rahā thā</i> (T15) night spend PROG was 'At their places he was spending night by night.'	<i>unhī</i>	1+1NH+2D
(A) <i>un ke yahā bhī</i> [...] they.OBL GEN here also [...] 'also in their location [...]	<i>bhī</i>	1
(18) <i>lauṭkar phir vahī dhāk ke tīn pāt</i> (T23) having.returned again that.EMPH butea GEN three leaves 'On coming back, it was all the same again.'	<i>vahī</i>	16+3NH+1G+2D
(19) <i>ilāke ke himdū mazdūro aur ṭaiksīvālō</i> region GEN Hindu laborers and taximen <i>kā hī use sahārā milā thā</i> (T14) GEN EMPH him help become.available.PFV was 'He had been supported by none other than Hindu laborers and taximen from [his home] region.'	<i>hī</i>	4+2D
(A1) <i>ilāke ke himdū mazdūrō aur ṭaiksīvālō kā</i> region GEN Hindu laborers and taximen GEN <i>bhī use sahārā milā thā</i> also him help become.available.PFV was 'He had been also supported by Hindu laborers and taximen from [his home] region.'	<i>bhī</i>	1+1G
(A2) <i>lekin/par/paraṅtu</i> [...] <i>mazdūrō aur ṭaiksīvālō</i> but [...] workers and taximen <i>kā use sahārā milā thā</i> GEN him help become.available.PFV was ' But he had been supported by [...] laborers and taximen.'	<i>lekin/ par/ paraṅtu</i>	6+2NH
(20) <i>unhōne hī karakī me use khilāyā-pilāyā thā</i> (T17) they.ERG EMPH distress in him feed.PFV-give.drink.PFV was 'They were the ones who had fed him in times of distress.'	<i>hī</i>	3+1NH+1G+1D
(A) <i>unhōne karakī me bhī use khilāyā-pilāyā thā</i> they.ERG distress in also him feed.PFV-give.drink.PFV was 'They had fed him even in times of distress.'	<i>bhī</i>	6+1NH

Phrase, glossing line and translation	DM, pronoun form	Number of responders
(21) [...] <i>bahut dinō se bīmār hī cal rahe hāi</i> (T29) [...] many days since ill EMPH go PROG AUX.PRS.3HON '[...] [Father] has been running constantly ill for a long time.'	<i>hī</i>	1+1D
(A) [...] <i>bahut dinō se bīmār bhī cal rahe hāi</i> [...] many days since ill also go PROG AUX.PRS.3HON '[...] has also been running ill for a long time'	<i>bhī</i>	5+1NH+1G
(22) <i>ek hī bār mē itnā karzā-kuām ho gayā</i> (T37) one EMPH time in so.much debt be go.AOR '[I] got into so much debt in one single go.'	<i>hī</i>	1+2D
<i>ek bār mē hī itnā karzā-kuām ho gayā</i> one time in EMPH so.much debt be go.AOR '[I] got into so much debt in one single go.'	<i>hī</i>	3
(23) <i>umar bhī to ho gāi hai</i> (T36) age also after.all be go.PFV is 'After all, [his] age is also high.'	<i>to</i>	1NH+1G+2D
<i>umar jo ho gāi hai</i> age as be go.PFV is 'As [his] age is high.'	<i>jo</i> ¹⁵	1

It may be noticed that a great number of respondents reconstructed the emphatic determiner *vahī* (18) in the idiom *vahī dhāk ke tīn pāt* (lit. 'the same three leaves of *dhāk*,' which is the *Butea monosperma* tree famous for its trifoliolate leaves), meaning "all the same". The emphatic form here conveys the idea of equity through the similarity of attributes.

Usually, this saying comes with *vahī* 'that very' and if it is preceded by the non-emphatic *vah*, the word is used as a personal pronoun 'he/she/it' rather than a determiner 'that'. It acts then as the sentence subject and requires a verbal form to complete the sentence as in *partāl karne par jo tasvīr milī, vah dhāk ke tīn pāt jaisī hai* (Jāgaraṅ 2013) 'The picture that was found on conducting the search is like the three leaves of *dhāk*' (i. e. absolutely the same). Some of the participants who did not know the idiom and understood the *vahī* as a personal pronoun, stated that the sentence made no sense and was incomplete. This could potentially be interpreted in such a way as to say that the means of emphasis (including the emphatic pronouns, see Introduction) in proverbs and sayings should not be treated as DMs at all as they are integral to fixed expressions and their extraction prevents one from understanding the text correctly.

Contrary to the case with *vahī*, the reconstruction rate for other emphatic pronouns is average. In (15), *unhī dinō*—the emphatic pronoun conveys the idea of

15 The respondent used *jo* despite the fact it was not listed in the task, thus emphasising the causative interpretation of *to*.

re-identification. In other cases—(16) and (17)—the restrictive-emphatic meaning is implied. The same restrictive-emphatic meaning is typical of combinations of *hī* with substantival parts of speech (19), including those pronominal forms which do not take the emphatic marker (20). In combination with the numeral *ek* ‘one’ *hī* emphasises the idea of uniqueness (22) and in (21) *hī* emphasises the high degree of feature manifestation (‘really’, ‘totally’)—as Montaut (2004: 290) describes the meaning of the particle.

In (23) we can see *to* in the emphatic meaning. Here it makes “the clause a crucial discursive argument” (Montaut 2016: 276) and adds value to what is being said rather than changing the topic, which appeared quite difficult to reconstruct.

The analysis of connectors demonstrated a discrepancy between the author’s preference of not using DMs at certain places and the intuition of most respondents who inserted DMs at these places. The same kind of divergence is also evident in the case of emphatic DMs. For example, 14+1NH respondents inserted *hī* to make the phrase *khāṣī baṃd hone kā nām (hī) nahī leī* (T31) ‘The cough won’t stop’ more expressive. Against the background of the average reconstruction rate for this text, the number appears quite high and needs to be explained. According to several native Hindi speakers, the phrase with *hī* sounds more natural, and when the expression *nām na(hī) lenā*, literally meaning ‘not to take [one’s] name’, i. e., ‘not to mention’ is used metaphorically (‘to refrain entirely’), the word *nām* ‘name’ should be accompanied with *hī* or *tak* ‘even’. However, literary sources do not confirm this observation unambiguously. For example, numbers of exact matches in Google Book search for the phrases *baṃd hone kā nām nahī leī* and *baṃd hone kā nām hī nahī leī* in similar contexts are almost the same.¹⁶

Compared to the connectives, the emphatic DMs demonstrate quite naturally a clearer trend to shift within a phrase. In (15) and (16) the participants of the experiment preferred to insert the particle *hī* after the noun rather than change the form of its pronominal attribute. In (22) three respondents decided to emphasise the whole syntagma rather than the single numeral *ek*, which, however, did not lead to any considerable change in text coherence.

In (19) we can see restrictive usage of *hī*. Replacing it with *bhī* ‘also’ leads to the crucial change in the phrase semantics: instead of emphasising the fact that Altaf’s Hindu fellow-countrymen were the ones who helped him (despite the anti-Muslim riots), the reconstructed phrase implies that a number of people helped

16 Ten matches for the non-emphatic phrase (including the one from *Aṃtarāl*) and eight matches for the emphatic one. Changing the spelling (*band* instead of *baṃd*) or the morphological features of the verb does not influence the ratio. Both the non-emphatic and the emphatic variations appear in similar contexts, such as continuous laughing, crying, or raining.

him, including Hindu labourers and taxi drivers. This implication contradicts the context and the reasons behind the two respondents' choice of *bhī* in this sentence remain unclear.

By contrast, usage of a connector of the *lekin* 'but' type is predictable in this sentence due to the contraposition of the behaviour of local labourers and taxi drivers (who ran away from Mumbai) and that of the Hindu labourers from Altaf's region. However, earlier in the text we saw a notice that Altaf had found shelter at the place of his Hindu fellow villagers: *vah [...] apne ilāke ke hinduō kī jhuggī mē pahūc gayā thā* 'He [...] had reached the slum where his Hindu fellow-countrymen lived' (T10), and this fact forms the background to further events. Unlike *lekin*, which usually introduces the new alternative information, the restrictive ('none other than X') emphasiser *hī* refers to already known facts: its usage presupposes that we already know that someone does (or did) something and now we learn that nobody else does this. Therefore, its usage here seems absolutely reasonable and preferable.

In (21) most respondents used *bhī*, whereas the original has *hī*. Here — as in (6) — the difference in semantics between the original and the reconstructed phrases is very subtle. Some native speakers formulated it in this way: the emphatic *hī* in the original indicates the gravity of the father's condition (he is seriously ill) and the connective DM in the reconstruction marks the complex situation (not only is the father unable to get a job, but also, he is ill). Due to the presence of one more DM at the beginning of this sentence (abridged here), we will return to DM variations within it in the next section (example 26).

Table 5 Original and reconstructed semantic blocks

Original text, (T5) – (T7)	Semantic blocks	Reconstruction, 5+2NH respondents	Semantic blocks
[...] <i>use</i> [...] <i>faiktārī mē</i> [...] <i>kām mil gayā thā</i> 'He had got a [...] job at the [...] factory.'	1. The background for further events.	<i>use</i> [...] <i>faiktārī mē</i> [...] <i>kām mil gayā thā</i> 'He had got a job at the factory.'	1. Altaf's first days in Mumbai.
<i>par unhī</i> <i>dinō vahā</i> but those.OBL.EMPH days there <i>damge bharak uṭhe the</i> riots erupt rise.PFV were 'But riots had erupted there on the very same days.'		<i>Ø unØ dinō vahā damge bharak uṭhe the</i> 'Riots had erupted there those days.'	2. Riots begin and Altaf suffers an attack.
<i>us din vah</i> [...] <i>kahī jā rahā thā</i> 'On that day he was going somewhere [...].'	2. Altaf suffers an attack.	<i>usī</i> <i>din vah</i> [...] that.OBL.EMPH day he [...] <i>kahī jā rahā thā</i> somewhere go PROG was 'On that very day he was going somewhere [...].'	

The experiment demonstrated that DMs help divide the text into semantic blocks, and due to the absence of DMs in the task the respondents were not always able to define the borders between these blocks and presumably divided the text differently from the author, see Table 5.

In the original text the emphatic *unhī* ‘those very’ inextricably links the phrase ‘The riots had erupted in those days’ with the previous sentence and affiliates it with Block 1. The next sentence, beginning with the neutral *us* ‘that’, introduces Block 2. In the bare text the absence of the connective *par* ‘but’ results in the fading of the sense of contraposition, and substitution of the emphatic pronoun with the neutral one leads to a loosening in the time relation. As a result, 5 + 2 NH respondents moved the border between the semantic blocks. Having retained the unemphatic *un* ‘those’, they failed to reconstruct the time identity between the first two sentences and having introduced the emphatic *usī* ‘that very’, they established this identity between the second and the third phrases.

4.3 Variation in contrastive topic marking

Table 6 Reconstruction of the contrastive topic marker

Phrase, glossing line and translation	DM	Number of respondents
(24) <i>ab to abbā ko bhī kām nahī milā</i> ¹⁷ (T25) now but father to also work not become.available.PRS ‘But now father also does not get work.’	<i>to</i>	5+1NH+ 1G+1D
(25) <i>yah to reḍīmed kā zamānā hai</i> (T26) this indeed readymade GEN epoch is ‘This indeed is the epoch of readymade [clothes].’	<i>to</i>	3+1G+2D
(26) <i>idhar to bahut dinō se bīmār hī cal rahe hāī</i> (T29) here indeed many days since ill EMPH go PROG are ‘Moreover, [he] has been running constantly ill for a long time.’	<i>to</i>	0+1G+2D
(A) <i>idhar vah bhī bahut dinō se bīmār cal rahe hāī</i> Here he also many days since ill go PROG AUX.3PRS.HON ‘Recently he also has been running ill for a long time.’	<i>bhī</i>	1

It has already been noted that many respondents did not use *to* in their papers. Correct reconstructions of *to* are quite rare, and cases of its placement in positions other than in the original are, for the most part, individual.

In (26) *to* was not reconstructed by anyone apart from the two respondents presumed to have cheated and the one who had a paper with gaps and therefore knew something had to be inserted in that place. This may result from

17 This sentence will be discussed in detail in Table 7.

understanding *idhar* as ‘recently’, while in combination with *to* it can be translated as ‘moreover’. If *idhar* is translated as ‘recently’, usage of the contrastive topic marker *to* after it requires that the current state of the father’s health be contraposed to his condition previously. The selected extract does not contain enough information on earlier days, and so the respondents did not feel the necessity to put the contrastive topic mark after the time reference. Here we can see that usage of a DM can sometimes be determined by rather distant parts of discourse. For some of the respondents the phrase seemed unnatural and they suggested saying simply *in dinō vah bahut bīmār hai* ‘These days he is very ill’ or corrected it by adding the missing subject *vah* ‘he’ or replacing the discomfoting *idhar* with the honorific form *ve* ‘they’ making it agree in number with the predicate.

Table 7 Variations in DM usages in the phrase “Now father does not get work”

Characteristics of the text	Phrase, glossing line and translation	Number of respondents
Bare phrase	<i>ab abbā ko kām nahī miltā</i> ‘Now father does not get work.’	25
Original text	<i>ab to abbā ko bhī kām nahī miltā</i> now but father to also work not become.available.PRS ‘But now father also does not get work.’	3+1D+1G
Reconstructions by participants of the experiment	<i>ab to abbā ko kām nahī miltā</i> now but father to work not become.available.PRS ‘But now father does not get work.’	1NH
	<i>ab to abbā ko kām bhī nahī miltā</i> now but father to work even not become.available.PRS ‘But now father does not get even work.’	1+1NH
	<i>ab bhī abbā ko kām nahī miltā</i> now also father to work not become.available.PRS ‘Also now father does not get work.’	1
	<i>ab abbā ko bhī kām nahī miltā</i> now father to also work not become.available.PRS ‘Now father also does not get work.’	+1D
	<i>par ab abbā ko kām nahī miltā</i> but now father to work not become.available.PRS ‘But now father does not get work.’	1
	<i>ab abbā ko kām bhī nahī miltā</i> now father to work also not become.available.PRS ‘Now father does not get work too.’	5
	<i>ab abbā ko kām hī nahī miltā</i> now father to work EMPH not become.available.PRS ‘Now father absolutely does not get work’	1+1NH
	<i>ab abbā ko to kām nahī miltā</i> now father to but work not become.available.PRS ‘Now as for father, he does not get work.’	1

One structure (T25) deserves special attention, as its interpretation demonstrates the full variety of DM usages, see Table 7. In order to explain such variability, it seems necessary to provide the context in which the phrase under discussion (put in bold) appears (T23–T26). The places in which DMs were used either by the author or by the respondents are left blank and underlined.

Lauṅkar phir vahī dhāk ke tīn pāt. gāv ke puṣṭainī peṣe mẽ ab kyā rakhā hai? _____ ab _____ abbā ko _____ kām _____ nahī miltā. yah to reḍīmeḍ kā zamānā hai. ‘On returning, everything was the same. Now what has remained of the traditional occupation of the village? **Now father does not get work.** This indeed is the epoch of readymade [clothes].’

Although the absence of DMs or their occurrence in other places than those of the original did not prevent the respondents from understanding the text, it is clear that without the missing part of the short story it is difficult (if not impossible) to reconstruct the author’s idea. In the original text the combination of *to* and *bhī* marks the juxtaposition of the new situation with the previous one: the father used to be the only tailor in the neighbourhood who had a sewing machine and to whom people from all the surrounding villages (including the narrator and his family) used to come to have their clothes sewn.¹⁸ Otherwise, it can mark the complex situation (both the whole village and now also the father cannot get work).

Two respondents emphasised the sense of difficulty in finding work in general by adding the emphatic *hī* after *kām* ‘work’, and seven respondents placed *bhī* ‘also’ not after *abbā ko* ‘to father’ but after *kām* ‘work’. With this DM the phrase became connected directly with the neighbouring sentences adding yet another feature to the description of a complex situation (the father and son’s and also the whole village’s misfortune).

The majority of respondents did not topicalise *ab* ‘now’. This word is included in the rheme of the previous sentence and its functioning as the topic of this phrase appears natural even without *to*. One of them decided (supposedly based on the phrase *vahī dhāk ke tīn pāt* ‘everything was the same’ and having no idea of the family’s relatively prosperous life when Altaf was a child) that the sentence was to illustrate the fact that at present nothing was changing for the better and so provided *ab* ‘now’ with *bhī* ‘also’. At the same time, eight respondents worked out that the miserable situation of the present day was being contraposed to the good old times and expressed this idea with the help of the contrastive topic marker.

One of the respondents preferred to topicalise with *to* not the present time (*ab*), but the father himself (apparently basing this on the presence of *ab* ‘now’ in the previous sentence and the implication that the father belonged to the traditional

18 This information is provided in the passage preceding the selected episode.

occupation mentioned in it). This example demonstrates that the connective power of a DM can sometimes stretch far beyond the immediate surroundings.

Finally, in a number of structures participants suggested different means of providing discourse coherence, none of which had been used by the author.

Table 8 Variation of Ø vs. DM'

Characteristics of the text	Phrase, glossing line and translation	Number of respondents
(27) Original (bare) phrase	<i>uske pās kirāe kī kaun kahe, khāne tak¹⁹ ko paise nahī the</i> (T13) 'As for the money to pay for rent, what to say about it, he had no money even to buy food.'	
Reconstruction	<i>uske pās kirāe kī to kaun kahe</i> [...] he.OBL.GEN at rent GEN even who will.say [...] 'As for the money to pay for rent, what to say about it [...]'	2
	<i>lekin uske pās kirāe kī kaun kahe</i> [...] but he.OBL.GEN at rent GEN who will.say [...] 'But what to say about the money to pay for rent [...]'	2+1NH
	[...] <i>khāne tak ko bhī paise nahī the</i> [...] food even for also money not were ' [...] [he] had also no money even for food.'	5
	[...] <i>khāne tak ko paise bhī nahī the</i> [...] food even for money also not were ' [...] [he] had no even money even to buy food.'	2+2NH
(28) Original (bare) phrase	<i>do-ek bār kasbe mē jākar sūī lagvāī thī</i> (T34) '[Father] had gone to the town a couple of times to be given injections.'	
Reconstruction	<i>do-ek bār kasbe mē jākar sūī</i> two-one times town in having.gone needle <i>to lagvāī thī</i> but cause.to.be.applied.PFV was 'As for injections, [father] had gone to the town a couple of times to be given them.'	5
	<i>do-ek bār kasbe mē jākar sūī</i> two-one times town in having.gone needle <i>bhī lagvāī thī</i> also cause.to.be.applied.PFV was '[Father] also had gone to the town a couple of times to be given injections.'	2

19 The DM *tak* was not extracted from the text, see Note 6.

Characteristics of the text	Phrase, glossing line and translation	Number of respondents
(29) Original (bare) phrase	<i>usne paṛos ke gāṁv ke ek ādmī se bāt kī hai</i> [...] (T39) 'He has had a talk with a man from the near village [...].'	
Reconstruction	lekin <i>usne paṛos ke gāṁv ke ek ādmī</i> but he.ERG nearby GEN village GEN one man <i>se bāt kī hai</i> with talk do.PFV is 'But he has had a talk with a man from the near village.'	2
	<i>usne paṛos ke gāṁv ke ek ādmī se</i> he.ERG nearby GEN village GEN one man with bhī <i>bāt kī hai</i> also talk do.PFV is 'He has had a talk with a man from the near village too.'	2
	<i>usne paṛos ke gāṁv ke ek ādmī se bāt</i> he.ERG nearby GEN village GEN one man with talk bhī <i>kī hai</i> also do.PFV is 'He has also had a talk with a man from the near village.'	1
	<i>usne paṛos ke gāṁv ke ek ādmī se bāt</i> he.ERG nearby GEN village GEN one man with talk to <i>kī hai</i> indeed do.PFV is 'He has indeed had a talk with a man from the near village.'	1
(30) Original (bare) phrase	[...] <i>apne bac nikalne kā bharosā nahī huā thā</i> (T22) '[he] had had no belief in escaping.'	
Reconstruction	[...] <i>apne bac nikalne kā bharosā</i> [...] own escape get.away GEN belief hī <i>nahī huā thā</i> (T22) EMPH not be.PFV was '[he] had had absolutely no belief in escaping.'	5
	[...] <i>apne bac nikalne kā bharosā</i> [...] own escape get.away GEN belief bhī <i>nahī huā thā</i> (T22) even not be.PFV was '[he] had had not even belief in escaping.'	1+1NH
(31) Original (bare) phrase	[...] <i>mumbaī jāne kī himmat nahī hotī</i> (T37) '[...] there's no courage left to go to Mumbai.'	
Reconstruction	[...] <i>mumbaī jāne kī himmat hī nahī hotī</i> (T37) [...] Mumbai going GEN bravery EMPH not be.PRS '[...] there's absolutely no courage left to go to Mumbai.'	9+2NH
	[...] <i>mumbaī jāne kī himmat bhī nahī hotī</i> (T37) [...] Mumbai going GEN bravery even not be.PRS '[...] there's not even courage left to go to Mumbai.'	1

In (27) usage of the structure [...] *kī kaun kahe* with the emphatic DM *tak* was emphatic enough for the author, while the respondents suggested adding contrastive and emphatic-connective DMs to the phrase. The contrastive topic marker can deliver a meaning very close to that of a connector, and both DMs were added by some respondents to emphasise the contraposition expressed by the adversative connector in (28) and (29).

Sentences (30) and (31) demonstrate variation in *hī/bhī* usage. Although both DMs deliver the emphatic meaning, there is a significant difference between them here. In negative sentences *bhī* marks the expected event that does not occur and its usage denotes failed expectations (previously had bravery/belief but no longer has). On the other hand, *hī* in such cases denotes maximal realisation. Since bravery or belief are not the expected feelings here, usage of *bhī* seems less relevant, and this observation is supported by the notable prevalence of reconstructions of *hī*.

5 Conclusions

Despite the limited volume of primary data and limited range of examined DMs the experiment has enabled some conclusions to be made about the scope and types of DM variation in Hindi, which can lay a foundation for further analyses of the phenomenon.

1. Variability is a typical characteristic of DMs. Lack of variation in the usage of a subsidiary lexical unit points with high probability to the fact that it is not a DM in the proper sense of the term or that it is being used in a proverb or fixed expression.
2. Usage of DMs strongly depends on personal preference and sense of style. While some of the participants did not insert a single DM, others used up to three times more DMs than there were in the original text.
3. Age, gender or the level or type of education of the respondent do not appear significantly to influence his /her use of DMs. Data for further socio-cultural groups have to be investigated.
4. The use of DMs also obviously depends on the sentence syntax and lexis. Some sentences in the text are neutral to DMs: a DM can be inserted or not, while other sentences appear to provoke a strong inclination to use a DM of one or another type.

5. DMs of all types not only help to bind the text together and highlight the key points, but also mark borders between semantic blocks of which the discourse is built, and which shift with the changing of a DM.
6. The linking power of a DM can stretch beyond the limits of adjoining sentences or paragraphs: sometimes just knowing the wider context can ensure the usage of the authentic DM. Otherwise, people may (as is mostly the case) insert a range of DMs at one and the same place, which results in a shift of emphasis. For the most part, the preferability of the author's choice of a DM can be explained, but only as a posteriori truth.
7. Not unexpectedly, DMs conveying prototypical and simple meanings are the easiest to reconstruct, while DMs with complex meanings are subject to greater variation.

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ORCID®

Ekaterina Kostina  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5742-9516>

Appendix

The analysed extract from the short story *Aṃṭarāl* by Kamlā Kānt Tripāṭhī

Transliteration

altāf ke sar aur dārḥī ke bāl khicṛī ho gae the. (T1) gāl picak gae the. (T2) ākhō mē barbād zimdagī aur tūṭe bhaviṣya kī nīrāśā thī. (T3) kuch sālō pahle māmā ke choṭe larke ke sāth vah mumbāī bhāg gayā thā. (T4) kuch din idhar-udhar bhāṭakne ke bād use ek gārment faiktarī mē silāī kā kām mil gayā thā. (T5) par unḥī dinō vahḥ damge bharak uṭhe the. (T6) us din vah apne ek musalmān dost kī ṭaiksī mē uske sāth kahī jā rahā thā ki acānak damge ke capeṭ mē ā gayā thā. (T7) usī kī ākhō ke sāmne uske dost ko cākū ghōp diyā gayā thā. (T8) ṭaiksī jalā dī gaī thī. (T9) vah kisī tarah bhāg niklā thā aur chipte-chipāte apne ilāke ke himḍuō kī jhuggī mē pahūc gayā thā. (T10) ek hafte vahī chipā rahā thā. (T11) idhar ke sāre mazdūr, kārīgar aur ṭaiksīvāle ṭaigar ke ḍar se sāse hue the aur ek-ek kar mumbāī choṛ rahe the. (T12) uske pās kirāe kī kaun kahe, khāne tak ko paise nahī the. (T13) ilāke ke himḍū mazdūrō aur ṭaiksīvālō kā hī use saharā milā thā. (T14) unḥī ke yahḥ jagah badal-badalkar vah kisī tarah ek-ek rāt kāṭ rahā thā. (T15) tamām ḍar aur dahaśat ke bāvajūd ve apne gāv-deś kā nātā nahī bhūle the. (T16) unḥōne hī karakī mē use khilāya-pilāyā thā aur uske lie muluk kā ṭikaṭ nikalvākar diyā thā. (T17) kuch log use sṭeśan tak choṛne bhī āe the. (T18) kaisī kālī-ḍarāvānī rāt thī vah! (T19) har pal maut sāmne nāc rahī thī. (T20) har ādmī dūsre par śak kar rahā thā. (T21) jab tak gārī sahar se bāhar nahī ā gaī, apne bac nikalne kā bharosā nahī huā thā. (T22)

lauṭkar phir vahī dhāk ke tīn pāt. (T23) gāv ke puṣtainī peśe mē ab kyā rakhā hai? (T24) ab to abbā ko bhī kām nahī miltā. (T25) yah to reḍīmeḍ kā zamānā hai. (T26) jise silānā bhī hotā hai vah kasbe mē jākar silvātā hai. (T27) abbā ko nae faiśan kī cīzē silnī kahā ātī hāī! (T28) idhar to bahut dinō se bīmār hī cal rahe hāī. (T29) khāṭ pakaṛ lī hai. (T30) khāśī baṃd hone kā nām nahī letī. (T31) dhīmā-dhīmā bukhār bhī rahtā hai. (T32) ab kisko dikhaē? (T33) do-ek bār kasbe mē jākar suī lagvaī thī. (T34) lekin koī fāyadā nahī huā... (T35) umar bhī to ho gaī hai... (T36) ek hī bār mē itnā karzā-kuām ho gayā aur jān ke aise lāle pāe ki ab dubārā mumbāī jāne kī himmat nahī hotī. (T37) ab vah kārīgar se khetihār mazdūr ban gayā hai aur apanī aur apāne kunbe kī gārī jaise-taise khīc rahā hai. (T38) usne paṛos ke gāv ke ek ādmī se bāt kī hai jo saūdī mē rahtā hai. (T39) lekin vīsā vagairah mē baṛā kharc hai. (T40) allāh ko jaisā manzūr hoga. (T41)

In most cases the translation provided here is almost entirely congruent with the translations of individual sentences in the paper. However, the Past Perfect used in the examples to reflect the original structure of a Hindi sentence is replaced by the Past Simple. The translation of (T6) in the examples and Table 5 also aims at reflecting the original structure and illustrating the usage of the emphatic pronoun. The structure of this sentence has been changed to make it sound more natural.

Translation

Altaf's hair and beard had begun to grow gray. (T1) His cheeks were shrivelled. (T2) There was disappointment in his eyes: his life was ruined, and his future broken. (T3) Some years ago, he ran away to Mumbai with his uncle's younger son. (T4) He wandered here and there for a while, and, in a couple of days he got a job as a tailor at a garment factory. (T5) But riots erupted there on the very same days. (T6) That day he was driving somewhere with his Muslim friend in his taxi when, all of a sudden, they got gripped by rioters. (T7) His friend was pierced by a knife before his own eyes. (T8) The taxi was burnt down. (T9) He himself somehow managed to run away and covertly reached the slum where his Hindu fellow-countrymen lived. (T10) There, he stayed hiding for a week. (T11) All local labourers, artisans and taxi drivers were leaving Mumbai one by one, scared of Tiger²⁰. (T12) As for the money to pay for rent, what to say about it, he had no money even to buy food. (T13) He was supported by none other than Hindu labourers and taximen from [his home] region. (T14) At their places he was staying, moving from one to another every night. (T15) Despite all fear and panic, they didn't break the link with their native village and land. (T16) They were the ones who fed him in times of distress and booked him a ticket to the village. (T17) Some people even came to the station to see him off. (T18) Oh, how dark and scary that night was! (T19) Death was dancing in front of him every moment. (T20) All people were suspicious of one another. (T21) Before the train came out of the city, [he] had no belief in escaping. (T22)

On coming back, it was all the same. (T23) What has remained of the hereditary occupation of the village these days? (T24) Now even father doesn't get work. (T25) This indeed is the epoch of readymade clothes. (T26) Even if someone needs clothes to be sewn, he goes to the town and orders them there. (T27) Little father knows about sewing new fashion clothes! (T28) Moreover, he has been constantly ill for a long time. (T29) [He] is bedridden. (T30) The cough won't stop. (T31) [He] also [has] a slight fever. (T32) To whom should we show him now? (T33) [Father] went to the town a couple of times to be given injections. (T34) But to no avail... (T35) After all, his age is also high... (T36) [I] got into so much debt in one single go, and so many times life was in danger that now there's no courage left to go to Mumbai once again. (T37) From an artisan, he turned into a field worker, and now somehow manages to carry the van of his and his family's life. (T38) He had a talk with a neighbour who lives in Saudi Arabia. (T39) But visa and all other staff cost so much. (T40) If Allah wills. (T41)

20 Supposedly the author refers to Tiger Memon (nickname of Ibrahim Mushtaq Abdul Razzaq Memon), a Muslim mafia don and terrorist who was standing behind the Mumbai bomb blasts of 1993.

