CHAPTER IV

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

BETWEEN ENGLISH AND BANGLA

RELATIVIZATION
4.1. At the beginning of Chapter-III it has been stated that relativization in Bangla is a recursive process as it is in English. A node can be extended to a string containing the same node, as in:

\[ \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{NP} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{(English)} \]
\[ \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{S} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{(Bangla)} \]

The same syntactic process of embedding is involved in Bangla and English and the basic phrase structure rule in most cases (except those with relative adverbs) is one to capture how the relative clause modifies the NP within a higher NP. The Bangla relative clause in ‘cheleTi jake tumi dekhle’ and its English equivalent ‘the boy [whom you saw]’ are understood the same way in their deep structure configuration, their only difference being in their word order. In both cases the T-rules applied on their phrase marker are relative pronoun substitution and relative pronoun fronting. And again, semantically also they are understood the same way in Bangla and English.

In spite of such semantic and syntactic similarities there are differences of a wide range and an attempt has been made here to capture them.

4.2. Relative words vs. interrogative words:

One major difference between English and Bangla relativization is that in English, in most cases, the relative pronoun, the relative determiner,
or the relative adverb as well as the interrogative word are the same, whereas in Bangla they are different. Relative clauses in English contain relativizers which are 'wh' words – 'who', 'which', 'whom', 'whose', 'when', 'where', 'why' and 'how' [discussed in detail in Chapter-II]. Even the non-'wh' word 'that' is only a variant of 'which' (or 'who' in certain cases). These 'wh' words function either as relative pronouns, or as relative pronominal modifiers, or as relative adverbs. Again, these very relative clause markers – the 'wh'-words – are used also as interrogative pronouns, pronominal modifiers, or adverbs in non-polarity type interrogative sentences. Same lexical items are used in relative clauses and interrogative sentences whatever be the structure of the latter -simple, complex, or compound. The following pairs of sentences may be examined:

1a. I personally know the man who was honoured with Ananda Puroskar this year.
   ['who'—relative pronoun]
   b) Who was honoured with Ananda Puroskar this year?
   ['who'—interrogative pronoun]

2a. The girl whose father is a Nobel Laureate is very simple.
   ['whose'—relative determiner or pronominal modifier]
   b) Whose book have you stolen?
   ['whose'—interrogative pronominal modifier, modifying the noun, 'book']

3a. The place where you were born is a fast developing centre of trade and commerce.
   ['where'—relative adverb, having a reference to 'the place']
   b) Where did you go? ['where'—interrogative adverb]
Thus, in English similar words are used as relative clause markers and interrogative words. But in Bangla 'j' words are used as relative clause markers, whereas 'k' words are used as interrogative words. We have seen in Chapter-III that 'je', 'jara', 'jeTa', 'ja', 'jOto', 'jOtoTa', 'jake', 'jader', 'jaderke' function either as relative pronouns or as relative pronominal modifiers, and 'jOkhon', 'jekhane', 'jebhabe', 'jEmon' function as relative adverbs. But in interrogative sentences 'ke', 'kara', 'konTa', 'ki', 'kOto', 'kOtoTa', 'kake', 'kader', 'kaderke' function as interrogative pronouns or determiners, and 'kiSe', 'kOkhon', 'konkhane'/'kothaY', and 'kibhabe' function as interrogative adverbs. The sentences in the following pairs show the varieties:

4a. je gan korlo Se classer SObcee bhalo chele.  
Who sang a song he of the class best boy  
(He who sang is the best boy of the class.)  
[Here 'je' is a relative pronoun]

b. ke gan korlo?  
who sang a song?  
['ke' is an interrogative pronoun here.]

5a. jOtoTa khabar caw tOtoTai debo  
As much food want that much shall give  
(I shall give you as much food as you want.)  
[Here 'jOtoTa' is a relative determiner.]

b. kOtoTa khabar lagbe?  
How much food require  
(How much food do you require?)  
['kOtoTa'- interrogative pronominal modifier, modifying the noun, 'khabar'.]
6a. ami jOkhon Sekhane jabo tumi tOkhon berie jabe
I when there go you then will have gone out
(You will have gone out when I reach there.)
[j'Okhon'—relative adverb]

b. tumi kOkhon ekhane aSbe ?
you when here will come
(When will you come here?)
[k'Okhon'—interrogative adverb]

It is thus a completely different set of words in Bangla that are used as interrogative words. Here all major Indian languages are different from English.

4.3. Relative pronoun vs. relative determiner:

In English relativization, no relative clause marker, except 'whose', functions as a pronominal modifier, i.e., relative determiner. The relative pronoun is a complete substitute for the NP. In the sentence 'We saw the man who had climbed up the Mt. Everest in January', 'who' is a complete substitute for the NP, 'the man'. Similarly, in the structure 'The gift that you presented me on my birthday...', 'that' is a complete substitute for 'the gift'. Thus, both 'who' and 'that' function as relative pronouns. But in Bangla the relative pronoun is not always used as a full-fledged pronoun, but sometimes as a pronominal modifier of the head noun. 'je' in the structure 'je ekhane eSechilo Se...' is a full-fledged relative pronoun like 'who' in English [ 'He who came here...']. There is no difference here in the syntactic status of 'je' and 'who'. But in a structure like 'je lokTi ekhane eSechilo Se...', 'je', quite
unlike English 'who', functions as a pronominal modifier of the N, 'lokTi'. The noun 'lokTi' is used twice in a structure like 'Se lokTi je lokTi ekhane eSechilo' ('the man which man came here'). In English we cannot think of a structure like '*the girl which girl you saw' or '*the cat that cat has been mewing since evening has lost its master'. But in Bangla it is a very natural phenomenon: 'je khOborTa tumi dile Se khOborTa...', 'jOto boi caicho tOto boi...' and so on.

4.4. Relative clause vs. adverb clause and relative clause vs. complement clause:

In English there is a clear distinction between relative clause and adverb clause and again between relative clause and noun clause. Only when a subordinate clause in English modifies the antecedent NP it is treated as a relative clause. If the subordinate clause starts with 'when' (with a time reference), 'where' (with a place reference), 'how' (with a reference to manner or mode of action), or 'why' (with a reference to reason or purpose), and if the clause is immediately preceded by a correlative NP with the same reference, the subordinate clause is considered to be a relative clause. The following sentences may be referred to in this context:

7. Do you know the time when he will come here?
8. I visited the place where Vivekananda was born.
9. This is the way how she reacted to the indecent proposal.
10. We must find out the reason why he absented himself from the meeting.
But when the correlative NP ['the time', 'the place', 'the way', or 'the reason'] is absent, the subordinate clause functions either as adverb clause or as complement clause, as is evident in the following sentences:

11. *When the teacher came into the classroom* the students complained against the intruders.

['When... classroom' is an adverb clause, having a reference to time, and not modifying any NP.]

12. I know *where you lost all your belongings*.

['Where... belongings' is a complement clause, functioning as object of the verb, 'know'.]

13. *How they passed the hurdle* is still a mystery.

['How... hurdle' is a complement clause, the subject of the verb 'is'.]

In Bangla, on the other hand, a subordinate clause with 'jOkhon' (when), 'jekhane' (where), 'jebhabe'/ 'jerOkombhabe' (how), or 'je jonno'/ 'je karone' (why) always functions as a relative clause since there is always a correlative adverb like 'tOkhon', 'Sekhane', 'Sebhabe'/ 'SerOkombhabe', 'Se jonno'/ 'Se karone', and so on.

14. Sikkho[tk]mOSaY jOkhon classe elen tOkhon chelera

Teacher when to class came then boys

obhijog janalo

complained

(When the teacher came to the class the boys complained.)
15. *tumi jebhabe kaj korte caw Sebhabe SOphol hObe na*
   You how to work want in that way successful will be not
   (You will not be successful in the way you want to work.)

Even when the correlative adverb is deleted from the surface structure, the subordinate clause remains a relative clause since the correlative adverb remains implied and can be retrieved in the deep structure configuration.

16. *ami jekhane jai SOphol hoi*
   I where go successful become
   (Wherever I go I become successful.)

The correlative adverb 'Sekhane' is absent in the surface sentence but present in the underlying structure:
Thus, what the traditional grammarians of Bangla refer to as adverbial clauses of time, place and manner may be explained in terms of relative clause structures along with their respective correlative adverbs of time, place and manner. The only adverbial clause in Bangla is the conditional clause comparable to the 'if'-clause in English. Again, a subordinate clause with a ‘j’ word, having a reference to time, place, condition, manner, reason, or contrast can never be a complement clause, since there is always a correlative adverb, present or understood. However, English complement clauses with time reference, place reference, etc. have their counterparts in Bangla provided the subordinate clause in Bangla is headed not by a ‘j’ word but by a ‘k’ word, like ‘kOkhon’ (when), ‘kothaY’ (where), ‘kEno’ (why), ‘kibhabe’ (how), etc.

17. ami jani tumi kOkhon rOwna debe.
(I know you when will start)

(I know when you will start.)
18. Piya jane kothaY boigulo ache.
   Piya knows where the books are
   (Piya knows where the books are.)

19. kEno okhane gelam bolte parbo na1.
   why there went can't say
   (I can't say why I went there.)

'kOkhon rOwna debe', 'kothaY boigulo ache', 'kEno okhane gelam'—
all these are complement clauses here, functioning as objects of the
respective verbs, but all of them are headed by a 'k' word, not a 'j' word.
Hence the claim that a 'j' word clause with reference to time, place, etc.
cannot be a complement clause remains valid.

It may be mentioned here that in English a subordinate clause with a
'wh'-word which does not function as a relativizer in the surface structure is a
complement clause, whereas in Bangla a subordinate clause with a 'j'-word
(but not the 'j'-word 'je' which is a complementizer) functions as a relative
clause. This difference between the two languages is shown in the following
sentences and their derivations.

20a. What you told me yesterday is true.

Now, its Bangla counterpart is:

b. tumi amake gOtokal ja bolle ta Sotti
   you me yesterday what said that true
In English the subordinate clause 'what...yesterday' is a complement clause. This complement clause functions as the subject element in the higher sentence.

Here, the subordinate clause 'tumi amake gOtokal ja bolle' is a relative clause because it has its relation with the correlative matrix clause pronoun 'ta'.

The English meaning is captured as:

```
S1
/|\
NP VP
/   |
S2 VP
/   |   
NP NP
|   |
N N
    |   |
Aux V N
    |   |
T
```

The Bangla meaning is captured in the tree-diagram as:

```
N
    |   |
Aux V N
    |   |
T
```

```
ta tumi amake gOtokal ta past bOla Sotti Pres hOwa
```

147
By the application of relative pronoun substitution transformation 'ta' in \( S_2 \) changes into 'ja' which is a relative pronoun.

4.5. Position of the relative clause:

Relativization in Bangla again differs from that in English in regard to the position of the relative clause. In English the relative clause immediately follows the antecedent NP, as in 'The man who won the prize...', or 'The place where you were born...'. This order is rigorously followed in English. But in Bangla, since it has a very flexible word-order, the position of the relative clause is quite flexible. The relative clause sometimes follows the NP and sometimes precedes it. Even within the relative clause itself, there may
be a change in the word-order. The following structures show that flexibility:

21a. Se lokTi je lokTi ekhane eSechilo...
   That man which man here came

b. je lokTi ekhane eSechilo Se lokTi...
   Which man here came that man

c. ekhane eSechilo je lokTi Se lokTi...
   here came which man that man

Whatever be the word-order in the surface structure, the same phrase structure rule is applied: NP → NP S (English) or NP → S NP (Bangla). There is no difference between Bangla and English here except in their word order. Whatever difference we find between the two occurs at the surface level. The change in the word order in Bangla is effected at the level of transformation. By applying the T-rule for topicalization this flexibility can be explained.

And because of this flexibility in word order, not only the relative clause but also the interrogative particle ‘ki’² in Yes/No questions moves freely in a sentence. In Sentence 33 in Chapter-III we have already noticed that.

(i) je puroSkar pelo Se ekhane eSechilo ki?
(ii) je puroSkar pelo Se ekhane ki eSechilo?
(iii) Se ekhane eSechilo ki je puroSkar pelo?
(iv) Se ki ekhane eSechilo je puroSkar pelo?
(v) Se ekhane ki eSechilo je puroSkar pelo?
Here Bangla is in sharp contrast with English. Yes/No questions in English (and also most 'wh'-questions) undergo an obligatory inversion of the tense-carrying element in the VG across the subject NP. This inversion rule, particularly along with the do-support rule is always a problem for the Bengali learners of English.

4.6. Position of the noun modified by the relative clause:

In English, the NP to be relativized always occurs in the matrix clause and the relative pronoun in the subordinate clause, because the entire NP is relativized by a relative pronoun and the NP is modified by the relative clause. In 22 ‘the man’, is relativized and it occurs in the matrix clause:

22. NP[The man Relative clause(whom you saw in the library)] is my brother.

In Bangla, as already seen, the relativization process is more complex than in English. In cases where ‘je’ is used as a relative pronoun the operation is same as in English. But where ‘je’ occurs as a relative determiner it occurs with the N of the matrix clause and they together function as the relative pronoun. Therefore, ‘je’ modifies the N within the NP.

23. [(je lokTike tumi gronthagare dekhle )s Se] NP amar bhai which man you in the library saw he my brother

The noun ‘lokTike’ occurs in the relative clause as part of the relative pronoun (je + lokTike). And then ‘se lokTi’ of the matrix clause becomes ‘se’
by the application of Equi-N deletion rule. We cannot think of a structure like
*‘He which man you saw in the library is my brother’ in English.

24. je kOiomTa tumi caicho naw pete paro
    which pen you want may not get
    (You may not get the pen which you want )

In the sentence the whole NP ‘Se kOiomTa’ is deleted from the matrix
clause by the application of Equi-NP deletion rule after the application of the
relative clause fronting rule. This Equi-NP deletion rule operates as the
deleted NP can be retrieved by the help of the person marker of the NP. In
fact, because of the person marker’s presence in the structure, both the NPs
(the matrix clause NP and the relative clause NP) can be deleted: ‘je kOiomTa caicho naw pete paro’. Whatever reference to the NP is there in
the sentence occurs in the relative clause. The equivalent English structure
*‘which pen you want may not get’ is unacceptable. The same is true of the
following sentence:

25. je SomOYTa amar dOrkar ami pabo na
    which time I require I shan’t get
    (I shan’t get the time that I require.)

As relative clause fronting is more natural in Bangla, ‘Se’ or ‘Se lokTi’
in Sentence 21 does not obtain as much importance as ‘je lokTi’. However,
at the deep structure level there is not much difference between English and
Bangla except in the order of occurrence. The differences take place at the
level of their derivation from the deep to the surface structure.
In Bangla (for sentence 21):
TR I Relative pronoun substitution ==> Se lokTi [je lokTi ...]
TR II Relative clause fronting ==> [je lokTi ...] Se lokTi...
TR III Equi-N deletion ==> [je lokTi...] Se....

In English:
TR I Relative pronoun substitution ==> The man [who....]....

At the level of transformation Bangla and English relative clauses differ considerably. Relative clause fronting rule is never applied in English since the relative clause always follows the relativized NP. It can never appear in the initial position of a sentence.

It is noticeable at the level of transformation that in Bangla the deletion occurs in the matrix clause and thereafter the relative clause is topicalized by a fronting rule.

4.7. Reduction of clauses:

A great difference between English and Bangla relativization is found in respect of deletion. In English the relative clause is reduced after the application of deletion rule(s). A sentence like 'I Pres know the man [the man Pres be ing work in the factory]' is reduced thus:

TR I Relative pronoun substitution ==> I Pres know the man [who Pres be ing work in the factory]
TR II Relative pronoun + 'be' deletion ==> I Pres know the man [ing work in the factory]
TR III Affix switch ==> I know Pres the man working in the factory
In Bangla, on the other hand, the relative clause remains more or less unaffected, the matrix clause is reduced as Equi-NP deletion rule is applied or Equi-adverb deletion rule is applied. Thus, a sentence like ‘je caY aSte pare’ (‘He wants come may’) is the reduced form of ‘je caY Se aSte pare’ (‘He wants he come may’). Similarly, ‘jake bolbe paThie debo’ (‘Whom ask will send’) is the short form of ‘jake bolbe take paThie debo’ (‘Whom ask him will send), and ‘ja kheechi hOjom hoe gEche’ (‘What have eaten has been digested’) is the reduced form of ‘ja kheechi ta hOjom hoe gEche’ (‘What have eaten that has been digested’). It is to be noticed here that the subject NP of the matrix clause is dropped. The same is true of sentences containing relative adverbs:

26. tumi jOkhon khelchile ami poRchilam
   you when were playing I was reading
   (I was studying when you were playing.)
   [The time adverbial ‘tOkhon’ in the main clause is deleted.]

27. ami jOtobar icche khabo
   I as many times wish shall eat
   (I shall eat as many times as I wish.)
   [The frequency adverbial ‘tOtobar’ is deleted from the matrix clause.]

28. Jadav jOtobhabe kobitaTa bEkkha korte parbe tumi parbe na
    Jadav in as many ways the poem can explain you can’t
    (You cannot explain the poem in as many ways as Jadav can.)
    [The manner adverbial along with some other elements of the VP is deleted from the matrix clause.]
In all the three sentences certain elements are deleted from the principal clause, not from the relative clause. The only thing that can be deleted from the relative clause is the subject pronoun as it can be retrieved from the person marker of the verb. This is quite in contrast to English relative clauses where the reduction takes place in the relative clause by the application of deletion rules.

In both English and Bangla reduced relatives may appear as adjectives:

29a. We drove away the *barking* dog.

The adjective ‘barking’ is the reduced form of the relative clause, ‘that was barking’. Its Bangla equivalent is:

b. *amra ghew ghew kOra kukurTike taRalam*
   
   *we barking the dog drove away*

Here, ‘ghew ghew kOra’ is the adjective, the reduced form of ‘je kukurTi ghew ghew korchilo’. But, whereas in Bangla such reduced relatives always appear as premodifiers of the noun, in English they may appear as postmodifying phrases if the reduced relatives contain more than one lexical item. The contrast may be examined below:

30a. *maThe khelte thaka cheleTi amar bhai*

   In the ground playing the boy my brother

   ‘maThe khelte thaka’ is the reduced form of ‘je maThe khelchilo’.

Its English equivalent is:

b. The boy *playing in the ground* is my brother.
'khelte thaka' occurs as a premodifier of 'cheleTi', whereas 'playing in the ground' is a postmodifier of 'the boy'. If the reduced relative appears as a premodifier of the noun, it would be a participial adjective as in the following sentences:

31a. The *starving* man only stared at the passers by.
32a. The *frightening* voice made us dumbstruck.
33. Nobody could control the *galloping* horse.

'Starving', 'frightening', 'and galloping'— all these act as premodifiers here since they are all single-word expressions. Here there is no difference between English and Bangla. The difference comes only when the participial relative contains along with the participial verb a prepositional phrase or an adverb phrase. The Prep Phr or the Adv Phr always follows the participial verb in such structures:

31b. The man *starving for days together*...
32b. The voice *frightening everybody in the locality*...

In Bangla, on the other hand, the reduced relative always appears before the relativized noun whether it is a single-word expression or a group of words. Thus, there is no difference, in respect of the position of occurrence, between 'upoSi lokTi' (the starving man) and 'bohudiner upoSi lokTi' or 'bhOY khawano gOia' (the frightening voice) and 'SObaike bhOY khawano gOia'. Thus, in respect of reduced relatives, Bangla and English have a considerable difference so far as their structures of premodification and postmodification are concerned.
4.8. Passive structures as reduced relatives:

In respect of passivization there is a difference between English and Bangla relativization. It was stated in 3.4. that passivization in Bangla occurs mainly in ‘SadhubhaSa’, the formal variety of the language. In ‘colit bhaSa, the colloquial language, it has a very rare occurrence. A sentence like ‘Se lokTi je jOnotar hate prohrito hoechilo...’(‘The man who was beaten by the mob...’) is very formal in tone and very rarely used in day-to-day life. Such a structure is mainly used in literary texts or written documents, that too very rarely.

On the other hand, passivization is a very common phenomenon in English. ‘The man beaten by the mob...’, or ‘The boy attracted by the colourful butterfly...’—all such structures are very frequently used in everyday life. There is nothing formal or literary about them.

Nevertheless, there is a point of similarity between English and Bangla relativization in respect of passivization. Both in English and Bangla passive structures may appear as reduced relative clauses. Some elements are deleted at the level of transformation, in English as well as in Bangla, and consequently we get the reduced relatives. Some such structures are given below:

34a. jOnotar hate prohrito lokTi haSpatale mara gElo
    By the mob beaten the man in the hospital died

    English equivalent:
    The man beaten by the mob died in the hospital.
In the Bangla structure ‘jOnotar hate prohrito’ is the reduced form of the relative clause ‘je jOnotar hate prohrito hoechilo’. In the deep structure tree diagram ‘je’ is understood as ‘Se lokTi’ and then at the level of transformation NP deletion rule and passivization rule are applied to derive the reduced relative.

Similarly, in the English sentence ‘beaten by the mob’ is the reduced form of the full-fledged relative clause ‘who was beaten by the mob’. This ‘who’ is captured as ‘the man’ in deep structure configuration and that too is deleted along with the ‘be’ verb after the application of the deletion rule — relative pronoun + ‘be’ deletion rule.

The following sentence again exemplifies reduced relative in the two languages:

35. SOhokormi kortrik Opomanito manuSTi SObha tEg korlen

The colleague by insulted the man meeting walked out

[The man insulted by his colleague walked out of the meeting.]

Here, ‘SOhokormi kortrik Opomanito’ is the reduced relative, the full form being ‘jini SOhokormi kortrik Opomanito hoechilen’. In the English version ‘insulted by his colleague’ is the contracted form of ‘who was insulted by his colleague’.

However, it should be mentioned once again that even such reduced relatives in Bangla occur mainly in the formal variety of the language, whereas in English they are very frequently used in both formal and colloquial varieties.
4.9. Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses:

In respect of differences between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, Bangla presents a more simplistic and convincing explanation. ‘je’ as a relative pronoun is used in non-restrictive or non-defining relative clauses, whereas ‘je’ as a relative determiner is used in restrictive or defining relative clauses. The difference between 36 and 37 can now be discussed:

36. Rajener bhai je CanadaY thake Se gOtokal ekhane eSche⁴
Rajen’s brother who in Canada lives he yesterday here came
(Rajen’s brother, who lives in Canada, came here yesterday.)

[Rajen has only one brother and he lives in Canada.]

Thus, ‘je CanadaY thake’ is an example of non-restrictive relative clause where ‘je’ functions as a relative pronoun.

37. Rajener je bhai CanadaY thake Se gOtokal ekhane eSche
Rajen’s which brother in Canada lives he yesterday here came
(That brother of Rajen who lives in Canada came here yesterday.)

It is clear that Rajen has more than one brother and the one who lives in Canada came here yesterday. So, ‘je bhai CanadaY thake’ is a restrictive or defining relative clause and here ‘je’ is the relative determiner modifying the head noun ‘bhai’.

In contrast, in English it is a bit complicated. The subtle difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is noticeable only in the use of punctuation marks indicating a pause in the written form and a tone group boundary showing a pause and usually a falling tone in the
spoken form. The difference between ‘Rajen’s brother, who lives in Canada,...’ (with a comma in writing) and ‘Rajen’s brother who lives in Canada...’ (with a tone group boundary in speech) can thus be captured.

4.10. Position of pronominal modifier in genitive cases:

In Sentence 37 we find an important point of departure from English in Bangla relativization. Bangla ‘je’ as a pronominal modifier can be placed between possessive determiner (‘Rajener’) and head noun (‘bhai’). This is quite different from English. ‘Which’ can never be placed between ‘Rajen’s’ and ‘brother’, ‘Rajen’s which brother’ being absolutely ungrammatical.

4.11. Recurrence of the NP in the matrix clause:

Another interesting point of difference between English and Bangla relativization can be noticed in Sentence 36. In the matrix clause itself the NP to be modified has been used twice: ‘Rajener bhai’ and ‘Se’, equivalent to one another. This is a unique feature of Bangla relativization. The same phenomenon occurs even in case of other relative clause pronouns and relative adverbs provided the relative clause appears medially as in the following structures:

38. Mitake jake kal amar baRite dekhle take ei boiTa dio

Mita whom yesterday in my house met her this book give

[Through ‘Mitake’ and ‘take’ (correlative pronoun) the same reference is made twice in the matrix clause.]
39. Se SomOY jOkhon ami porbo tOkhon ....
At that time when I will study then
['Se SomOY' and 'tOkhon' (correlative adverb), with the same reference, occur in the same matrix clause.]

40. Sekhane jekhane tumi giechile okhane......
There where you went there
['Sekhane' and 'okhane' occur in the principal clause.]

In English we never find sentences like "Mita whom you met yesterday in my house give her this book" or "At that time when I study then....'. This is a major difference between English and Bangla relativization which causes great deal of problems to Bengali learners of English.

4.12. Prepositional vs. postpositional objects:

In English, relative clause markers like 'who', 'whom', 'which', 'that' can function as prepositional objects [2.2., 2.3., 2.4., 2.5.]. But in Bangla what is found is not the prepositions taking objects but postpositions taking objects. The postpositions in Bangla function like prepositions in English. The sentence below shows the difference in the two languages:

41a. The man with whom I went to the market is the Chairman of the municipality.

In the deep structure tree-diagram the sentence is understood as:
In English:

At the level of transformation the NP, 'the man', is substituted by the relative pronoun, 'whom'.

In Bangla:

b. je bektir SONge baiare gelam uni puroSObhar prodhan

which man+ with to the market went he of the municipality Chairman

Here, 'je bektir SONge' is a postpositional phrase where 'SONge' is the postposition, taking 'je bektir' as the object. The following is the deep structure representation of the sentence:
‘Se bekti SONge’ changes into ‘je bektir SONge’ at the level of phonology.

4.13. Difference at the level of number:

Relative pronouns in Bangla have two distinct forms in respect of number. ‘je’, ‘jeTa’, ‘jake’, ‘jar’ are all singular in number, their plural counterparts being ‘jara’, ‘jegulo’ / ‘je SOb’ / ‘je Somosto’, ‘jaderke’, and ‘jader’ respectively. The following pairs of sentences in Bangla may be looked into:

42a. je boiTa nie gElo Se amar chattro [Singular]
   who the book collected he my student
   (He who collected the book is my student.)
b. jara boigulo nie gElo tara amar chattro[^5] [Plural]
    Who the books collected they my students
(Those who collected the books are my students.)

43a. tomake jeTa dilam SeTa jOnne rekho [Singular]
    you what gave that take care
    (Take care of that what/ which I gave you.)

43b. tomake jegulo dilam Segulo jOnne rekho [Plural]
    you what gave those take care
    (Take care of those what/which I gave you.)

44a. ami jake Dakbo tumi take ceno na [Singular]
    I whom shall call you him don't know
    (You don't know him whom I will call.)

44b. ami jaderke Dakbo tumi taderke ceno na [Plural]
    I whom shall call you them don't know
    (You don't know them whom I will call.)

45a. Vivek jar dike takie ache tar dada D.M. [Singular]
    Vivek at whom is looking his elder brother D.M.
    [The elder brother of the person whom Vivek is looking at is the D.M. here.]

45b. Vivek jader dike takie ache tader ami cini [Plural]
    Vivek at whom is looking them I know
    [I know them whom Vivek is looking at.]

Whatever be the position and function (subject / verbal object / postpositional object) of the relative pronoun, singular and plural forms are
distinctly marked in Bangla. Not only the relative pronouns but even the correlative pronouns have two different forms for singular and plural. Thus, 'Se', 'SeTa', 'take', and 'tar' change into 'tara', 'Segulo', 'taderke', and 'tader' respectively.

From the English equivalents of the sentences given it is clear that English relative pronouns 'who', 'what' / 'which', and 'whom' are uniformly used in both singular and plural. That is why relative pronouns in English are fewer than those in Bangla.

4.14. Honorific forms in Bangla:

The presence of [+honorific] relative pronouns in Bangla contributes further to the complexity of learning the structures of relativization in Bangla. Honorific is an important syntactico-semantic feature in Bangla. When there is a reference to superior person(s) the honorific forms are used. The relative pronouns, 'je', 'jara', 'jake', 'jaderke', 'jar', 'jader' have their honorific counterparts — 'jini', 'jaNra', 'jaNke', 'jaNderke', 'jaNr', and 'jaNder'. In many cases, not only here but elsewhere also, honorific forms are marked in speech with nasalization and as nasalization is phonemic in Bangla, there is a semantic change taking place between honorific use and others. The following pairs show the difference between common forms and honorific forms:

46a. je ekTu aQe esechilo Se amar khuRtuto bhai
who a while ago came he my cousin
(He who came a while ago is my cousin.)
b. jini ekTu age eSechilen uni/tini amar kaka [Honorific]
   who a while ago came he my uncle
   (He who came a while ago is my uncle.)

47a. tumi jar kOtha bolcho take ami cini
   you of whom are speaking him I know
   (I know him about whom you are speaking.)

b. tumi jaNr kOtha bolcho taNke ami cini [Honorific]
   you of whom are speaking him I know
   (I know him about whom you are speaking.)

In 46a and 47a there are references to some senior, superior, or respected persons. Thus, 'je' changes into 'jini', 'jar' changes into 'jaNr', and so on. Along with these changes the correlative pronouns also change. Thus, 'Se', 'tara'/ 'ora', 'take', 'taderke', 'tar', 'tader' change into 'uni'/tini', 'taNra'/onara', 'taNke'/onake', 'taNderke'/onaderke', 'taNr'/onar', 'taNder'/onader' respectively.

In English no such distinction is made between general forms and honorific forms. Whether it is a general reference or reference to an elderly or honourable person, the relative pronoun is uniformly 'who' or 'whom' as applicable. Same is the case with the antecedent NPs, 'he', 'him', etc.

Thus, in Bangla relative pronouns are more elaborately distributed than in English.
4.15. Reduplication of relative pronouns and relative adverbs in Bangla:

So far the distribution of relative pronouns has been discussed, Bangla has a unique feature of reduplication by which the relative pronoun is used repetitively with specific semantic purposes. Such a reiterative use of relative pronouns is a natural phenomenon in Bangla. 'je je', 'jara jara', 'ja ja', 'jar jar', 'jake jake', 'jeTa jeTa', 'jader jader' are frequently used in Bangla structures:

48. je je eSe pouNcheche take take boSte bOlo
   who have arrived them to sit down ask
   (Ask them who have arrived to take their seats.)

49. ja ja lagbe ta nie jaw
   What/that are required those take
   (Collect those that are required.)

50. jar jar EPIC nei Se Se Election Commissionke janate pare
    who EPIC do not have they to Election Commission can report
    (Those who do not have EPIC can report to the Election Commission.)

It is not mandatory that the correlative pronouns should also be reduplicated. In 49 there is the single use of the correlative pronoun, 'ta'. In most cases the reduplicated pronouns have a reference to plurality—'je je', 'jake jake', 'ja ja', and so on. Such a reiterative use is found in case of some relative adverbs and correlative adverbs too, as in the following sentences:
51. jOkhon jOkhon ghOnTa poRbe Thik tOkhon tOkhon Sunne
   When bell is rung just then in the air
guli chuNRbe
   shoot
   (Whenever the bell is rung shoot in the air.)

52. jekhane jekhane noNgra ache poriSkar korbe
   Where dirt is clean
   (Wherever there is dirt clean it.)

The two relative adverbs 'jOkhon jOkhon' and 'jekhane jekhane' have no reference to any specific time period (or, duration of action) or any specific place, rather they refer to different times or different places, as applicable. Again, the correlative adverb may (as in 51) or may not (as in 52) be present in the surface structure.

In contrast, this very concept of distributive relative pronoun or distributive relative adverb does not exist in English. In English we cannot think of sentences with 'who who', 'which which', 'whom whom', or 'when when'. In this respect English exhibits economy. Bangla, on the other hand, has an elaborate pattern in structures. This feature of reduplication of Bangla relativizers will presumably create a lot of problems for the English learners of Bangla.

4.16. Emphasis:

In regard to the use of emphatic particles Bangla and English relative clauses again differ from each other in many ways. In 3.2. it was shown how Bangla sentences with relative clauses can have emphatic particles attached
to one and even more than one elements in the sentence. Sentence 36 from Chapter-III may be looked into once again:

54. jei ekhane aSuk Sei jaYgaTar SoundOrje akriSTo hObei
   je + EMP Se + EMP will be + EMP

Emphatic particle 'i' has been used three times in the sentence. The English equivalent of the same sentence is – 'Whoever comes here will be attracted by the beauty of the place'. Only the relative pronoun 'who' takes an emphatic particle. The same is true of the structures with 'whatever', 'whichever', 'whenever', and ' wherever'.

Thus, Bangla relativization and English relativization have some markedly different features. These differences create problems for the Bengali learners of English. And these problems are of a variegated nature and dimension. The next chapter (Chapter V) will examine ways and means for addressing such problems to whatever extent it is possible.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. It was observed in 3.2. that the postulation of the abstract morpheme NEG in the deep structure and the NEG-substitution rule can make a Bangla sentence negative, no auxiliary support rule is required here. The operation of the NEG substitution rule and the NEG movement rule in English is quite different from that in Bangla. In English the negative marker 'not' is placed within the auxiliary.

   i) I did not go there.
   ii) They have not responded.
   iii) You cannot handle them.
   iv) We are not going to Delhi.

Contrarily, in Bangla the negative element like 'na', 'ni', 'ne', or 'nai' is postfixed to the main verb as found in sentences 26 to 31 in Chapter-III.

   Again, in English the negative constituent 'not' never indicates the tense of the verb as found in the sentences above. The auxiliary elements ['did', 'have', 'can', 'are', etc.] carry the tense of the respective verbs. But in Bangla, as stated in 3.2, the negative particle 'na' is used for a verb in present tense and future tense whereas 'ni' is used in past tense. In fact, 'ni' carries the past tense and the verb is not marked with past tense inflection. Thus, the negative constituents have two-fold purposes in Bangla sentences: they negate the verb and point to its tense.

2. All Yes/No questions in Bangla must have the interrogative particle 'ki'. In English there is no such use of a particle. The following sentences in English and their equivalents in Bangla may be compared:
i) Did you go there? (English)
   tumi ki okhane giechile? (Bangla)
ii) Has he finished his food?
    o khabarTa SeS koreche ki?
iii) May I help you?
     ami ki apnake Sahajjo korte pari?
iv) Is the child still playing?
   baccaTa ki Ekhonou khelche?

'ki' is present in all questions in Bangla, but it has no fixed position. It can be present anywhere in the sentence because of the structural flexibility of Bangla.

3. Bangla is different not only from English but also from Hindi and some other Indo-Aryan languages in its use of the verb 'hOwa' ('be'). This verb is obligatorily deleted from the surface structure as in sentences 17, 18, and 21 in Chapter III section 3.2.1. The deletion of the 'hOwa' verb takes place only in the present tense. It is to be mentioned here that the same verb 'hOwa' is also used to mean 'become' in which case this verb will not be deleted. The deletion takes place only in the sense of 'be' and only in the present tense. But as opposed to it, English does not permit the deletion of this verb in its finite and present tense form. For example,

   i) They are very good in academic activities.
   ii) He is my cousin.

   However, the 'hOwa' verb in its past form is retained in Bangla in the surface structure:

   iii) Se darun buddhiman chilo.
       He very intelligent was
IV) tara amader kacher lok chilo.

They to us close men were

Nevertheless, the 'hOwa' ('be') verb, whether in the present or past, is captured in deep structure configuration. And, then, for Bangla sentences an obligatory 'hOwa' deletion rule is applied at the level of transformation.

4. It is to be noted that in Bangla the perfective ending 'ech' (in 'eSeche') is used to refer to the activity having taken place already. The following sentences will illustrate the point:

i) ami gOtokal tomar ciThi peechi
   I yesterday your letter have received
   (I received your letter yesterday)

ii) o amake gOto SOptahei boiTa dieche
    He me last week + EMP the book have received
    (He gave me the book in the last week.)

It is not the Past Simple form 'peechilam' (received) and 'diechilo' (gave), but 'peechi' (have received) and 'dieche' (has given) respectively; the verb-ending used is the perfective 'ech' but the time referred to is past. Bangla also has two tense forms for two past time categories – remote past and recent past. For remote past the tense form is 'echil', e.g. 'Se okhane giechilo' [He went there']. For recent past the form is 'I', e.g. 'Se okhane gEio', ['He went there (now)']. This might be one reason for the Bengali speakers mixing up between Past Simple and Present Perfective in English.

In Bangla there is no rigid distinction between Past Simple (recent past) and Present Perfective. The traditional grammarians of Bangla make a
semantic distinction between Past Simple and Present Perfect by saying that in Past Simple the action of the verb is over and complete but in Present Perfective the action has just taken place and its impact is not yet over. ‘Se eSechilo’ (He came), they argue, means ‘he came and had gone back’. But ‘Se eSeche’ (he has come) means ‘he has come and is still here now’. But even this distinction is not always valid with various time adverbials (or even without time adverbials). The following sentences may be examined:

iii)  a) Se gotokal elo
     b) Se gotokal eSeche
Both the sentences mean that ‘he came yesterday and is still here now’.

iv)  a) ami kal phire eSechi
     1 yesterday have come back
Its English equivalent is: ‘I came back yesterday’.
     b) ami kali phire eSechilam
     1 yesterday + EMP have come back
The English equivalent is: ‘I came back yesterday’.

v)  a) ami SOkal bElaY poRechi
     1 in the morning have studied
In English: ‘I studied in the morning’.
     b) ami SOkal bElaY poRechilam
     1 in the morning have studied
In English: ‘I studied in the morning’.

In Bangla, thus, no clear distinction is maintained between Present Perfect tense and Past tense. But their distinction is very clear in their structures. In English it is more logically perceived:
vi) a) I have come back just now. [Recent past]
b) I came back in the morning. [Past with a past time adverbial]

5. In Bangla kinship terms are clearly marked — 'khuRTuto bhai/ dada/ bon/didi' (son/daughter of father's younger brother), 'JEThtuto bhai/ dada/ bon/ didi' (son/daughter of father's elder brother), 'mamato... '(... of the maternal uncle), 'maStuto... ' (...of mother's sister), 'piStuto... ' (...of father's sister), and so on. In English, on the other hand, the word 'cousin' refers to all such relations, irrespective of father's side or mother's side and again irrespective of male or female. Bangla kinship terms represent the well-knit relations between members of a family and other relations in the social setup. The socio-linguistics of Bangla kinship terms is, therefore, different from that of English.

6. Not only relative or correlative pronouns but also verbs in Bangla have honorific forms. As already seen, [+honorific] nouns or pronouns and their corresponding verbs also have different structures. Thus, 'eSechilo' changes into 'eSechilen', 'jabe' changes into 'jaben', 'khacche' changes into 'khacchen', and so on. These varied forms of expression in Bangla lead to a certain amount of complexity and this difference between Bangla and English leads to all kinds of teaching-learning problems and challenges in a Bangla-English pedagogical context.