

Revisiting Conditional Typology for Bangla

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents new data on two strategies of forming Conditionals in the Eastern Indo-Aryan language Bangla: Correlative Conditionals and Participial Conditionals. It further shows that there is a subtle division of labor between the two kinds of constructions. It is proposed that the distributional difference between these two provides evidence in favor of the theories of conditionals that classify Hypothetical Conditionals and Biscuit Conditionals as having the same underlying semantics. Furthermore, it is shown that the distinction extends to the *then*-word *tahole* in the language. This leads to a pragmatic account of the conditional participle *-le* in different types of participial conditionals. The paper ends with discussing how a pragmatic account leads to an unresolved question regarding the syntactic classification of the conditionals.

1 Two kinds of conditional antecedents

In Bangla, two types of adverbial clauses can be used as the antecedent of a conditional construction: (i) the CORRELATIVE clause and (ii) the PARTICIPIAL clause². All Indo-Aryan languages productively use CORRELATIVE clauses as conditional antecedents. The Eastern Indo-Aryan sub-group is unique (see Masica 2005) in having the conditional participle *-le* that is used to form PARTICIPIAL conditional antecedents productively, along with the correlative antecedents.

- Conditional with CORRELATIVE antecedent: Features in all of Indo-Aryan

(1) [jodi briṣṭi pəɽe] (tahole) amra football khelbo
if rain fall.HAB.PRS.3 then we football play.FUT.1
'If it rains (then) we will play football.'

- Conditional with PARTICIPIAL antecedent: Features only in Eastern Indo-Aryan³

(2) [briṣṭi pəɽle] (*tahole) amra football khelbo
rain fall.LE then we football play.FUT.1
'If it rains (then) we will play football.'

1.1 Features of the two types

The two kinds of antecedents differ in terms of the shape of the verb they bear and in their ability to contain an operator like English *if*. The main verb in the CORRELATIVE antecedent bears finite tense and aspect morphology. Moreover, the CORRELATIVE antecedent contains the operator *jodi* corresponding to English *if*. The main verb in the PARTICIPIAL antecedent, on the other hand, does not bear any tense or aspect morphology. Instead, it bears the special conditional marker *-le*. The PARTICIPIAL antecedent formed with *-le* cannot contain the operator *jodi* 'if'.

1.2 Roadmap

The paper begins with the discussion of the division of labor between the two kinds of antecedents, which prompts us to recognize two kinds of Biscuit Conditionals (Section 2). The distribution provides direct evidence in favor of semantic analyses of conditionals that group Biscuits with Hypothetical conditionals (Section 3). It is also pointed out that the distribution of the Bangla *then*-word

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²Previous work on the conditional participle *-le* is Bagchi (1993).

³The conditional participle *-le* is glossed as LE.

tahole is parallel to the PARTICIPIAL conditionals, claiming that there is Biscuit *tahole* in Bangla. This is followed by a pragmatic account for the conditional participle *-le*, which is held to be ultimately responsible for the particular distribution of the PARTICIPIAL antecedent (Section 4). Next the syntactic differences between various antecedent types are laid out and a proposal to assign a distinct syntactic position for each of them (Section 5). The paper ends by discussing (in Section 6) how the different syntax with a semantic grouping of Relevance with Hypotheticals is contradictory.

2 Typology of Conditionals

The literature on the typology of conditionals recognizes three kinds of constructions: (i) Hypothetical Conditionals, (ii) Factual or Premise Conditionals and (iii) Biscuit Conditionals, otherwise called Relevance Conditionals by Iatridou (1991, 1994) and Bhatt and Pancheva (2006) or called Speech-Act Modifiers by Haegeman (2003, 2019).

The Bangla Conditionals with CORRELATIVE antecedents can be used to form all of these three kinds of constructions. The conditionals with PARTICIPIAL antecedents can be used to form all three kinds too, but with intriguing exceptions. Below I discuss the three kinds of Conditional constructions in some detail and also point out with examples if the two types of antecedents can express each kind.

The Hypothetical Conditionals are the ones where the truth of the consequent is dependent on the truth of the antecedent. These include Indicative and Subjunctive Conditionals.

We have already seen examples for Indicative Conditionals in (1) and (2). Below are examples for Subjunctive Conditionals. (3-a) is a subjunctive conditional with a CORRELATIVE antecedent and (3-b) is a subjunctive conditional with a PARTICIPIAL antecedent.

- (3) a. [jodi briṣṭi por̥to] (tahole) amra football kheltam
 if rain fall.HAB.PST.3 then we football play.HAB.PST.1
- b. [briṣṭi por̥le] (*tahole) amra football kheltam
 rain fall.LE then we football play.HAB.PST.1
 ‘If it rained (then) we would play football.’

The Factual Conditionals are the ones in which the antecedent expresses a premise, on which the consequent comments. A Factual conditional with a CORRELATIVE antecedent is presented in (4-a), while (4-b) presents one with a PARTICIPIAL antecedent.

- (4) Premise: She hates her job.
- a. or jodi kajṭa ætoi kharap lage, (tahole) or agei
 (s)he.GEN if work.CLF so.much bad feel.HAB.PRS.3 then (s)he.GEN before
 cakri cheṛe dewa ucit chilo
 job leave give.GEN should was
- b. kajṭa ætoi kharap lagle (*tahole) or agei cakri cheṛe dewa
 work.CLF so.much bad feel.LE then (s)he.GEN before job leave give.GEN
 ucit chilo
 should was
 ‘If she hated the work so much, (then) she should have left the job earlier.’

The Biscuit Conditionals are the ones where the truth of the consequent does not depend on the truth of the antecedent and the speaker is committed to the truth of the consequent (DeRose and Grandy 1999, von Stechow 2011). (5-a) is a Biscuit conditional with a correlative antecedent and (5-b) is Biscuit conditional with a PARTICIPIAL antecedent.

- (5) a. *ḥodi khide pae (tahole), amar pocket-e chocolate ache*
 if hunger get.HAB.PRS.3 then my pocket-Loc chocolate be.PRS.3
- b. *khide pele (*tahole), amar pocket-e chocolate ache*
 hunger get.LE then my pocket-Loc chocolate be.PRS.3
 ‘If you get hungry, there are chocolates in my pocket.’
- (6) a. *ḥodi tomar lage, amar kache ɔnek mask ache*
 if your need.HAB.PRS.3 I.GEN near many mask be.PRS.3
- b. *?tomar lage, amar kache ɔnek mask ache*
 your need.LE I.GEN near many mask be.PRS.3
 ‘If you need, I have a lot of masks.’

Interestingly however, not all conditionals that may be classified as Biscuit conditionals can be formed using the PARTICIPIAL antecedent. Below I present three examples of Biscuit conditionals which can be formed using a CORRELATIVE antecedent but trying to form the same conditional using a PARTICIPIAL antecedent is implausible.

- (7) a. *ḥodi amae jigeš kəro (*tahole), Rina cakri-ṭa chere debe*
 if I.DAT ask do.HAB.PRS.2, then Rina job-CLF leave give.FUT.3
- b. *#amae jigeš korle (*tahole), Rina cakri-chere debe*
 I.DAT ask do.LE then, Rina job-CLF leave give.FUT.3
 ‘If you ask me, Rina will quit the job.’
- (8) a. *ḥodi tumi bhule gie thako (*tahole), ajke amar jɔnmodin!*
 if you forget.PFV go.PFV be.HAB.PRS.2 then today my birthday!
- b. *??tumi bhule gie thakle (*tahole), ajke amar jɔnmodin!*
 you forget.PFV go.PFV be.LE then today my birthday
 ‘If you have forgotten, it’s my birthday.’
- (9) a. *ḥodi kichu mone na kəro (*tahole), Govt.er opor tomar astha nei*
 if anything mind not do.HAB.PRS.2 then, Govt.GEN on you.GEN faith not.is
 kəno?
 why
- b. *#kichu mone na korle (*tahole), Govt.er opor tomar astha nei kəno?*
 anything mind not do.LE then, Govt.GEN on you.GEN faith not.is why
 ‘If you don’t mind me asking, why do you not have faith on the Govt.?’

Thus we have seen so far that not all Biscuit conditionals can be formed by PARTICIPIAL antecedents. In the table below I have summarized this distribution.

Conditional Antecedents	Hypothetical	Factual	Biscuit
CORRELATIVE	✓	✓	✓
PARTICIPIAL	✓	✓	Limited

Figure 1: Interim Summary of Distribution

3 Two kinds of Biscuits

To clear up the confusing distribution of the PARTICIPIAL antecedents regarding the Biscuits conditionals, I will recognize two kinds of Biscuit conditionals. It must be noted that, the terminology adopted by Bhatt and Pancheva (2006) and Haegeman (2019) turns out to be quite informative in this regard. Even though neither of these works recognize subcategories under the Biscuit conditionals, it seems the terms they use to talk about Biscuits as a whole could be comfortably used to label two subkinds of Biscuit conditionals. To summarize, I propose that a PARTICIPIAL antecedent can be comfortably used to form the kind of Biscuit conditionals that can be identified as Relevance conditionals. The kind of Biscuit conditionals that can be identified as Speech-Act Modifiers cannot be formed by a PARTICIPIAL antecedent.

3.1 Previous classification of Biscuits

Csipak (2016) talks about two kinds of Biscuit conditionals and her classification seems exactly along the lines I have recognized pertaining to the distribution of the PARTICIPIAL antecedents. Moreover, the diagnostics for these two kinds of Biscuits she presents aligns perfectly with the difference between Bangla CORRELATIVE and PARTICIPIAL conditionals too! The terms she uses for this classification is however different. She continues to call one subkind of Biscuits as ‘Biscuits’, but she calls the rest of the conditionals that were erstwhile classified as Biscuits, ‘Discourse Structuring Conditionals’. To clarify, what I have identified as Relevance Conditionals, borrowing on Iatridou (1991, 1994) and Bhatt and Pancheva (2006), are Biscuit conditionals for Csipak, and those that I have called Speech-Act Modifiers, borrowing on Haegeman (2019), are Csipak’s Discourse Structuring Conditionals. I will discuss Csipak’s diagnostics to identify these two kinds of conditionals, while I will continue to call them Relevance and Speech-Act Modifiers.

Csipak pointed out that, for the Relevance conditionals, reference to a past time is acceptable. Thus the Relevance conditional in (10-a) can have a past counterpart as in (10-b).

- (10) a. If you are hungry, there are biscuits on the sideboard.
b. If you were hungry yesterday, there were biscuits on the sideboard.

However, Csipak observed, that reference to a past time is not possible for Speech-Act Modifiers. (11-b) with past reference is totally implausible, while (11-a) is a well-formed Speech-Act Modifier.

- (11) a. If you ask me, Alex is getting ready to leave.
b. #If you asked me yesterday, Alex was getting ready to leave.

The same is true of Relevance conditionals and Speech-Act Modifiers in Bangla. Here I instantiate the Relevance conditionals with a past time using a PARTICIPIAL conditional (12).

- (12) tomar tɔkxon khide pee thakle, nice canteen chilo
you.GEN then hunger get be.LE downstairs.LOC canteen was
'If you were hungry then, there were canteens downstairs.'

As for the Speech-Act Modifiers, even with the CORRELATIVE antecedent we do not get a felicitous conditional that has a past temporal reference. If (13-a) has any reading at all, it is that of a Hypothetical conditional. With a PARTICIPIAL antecedent the construction is bad with or without past temporal reference (13-b).

- (13) a. #jodi amae gɔtokal jigeš kore thako, Alok cakri-ṭa cheṛe debar
if I.DAT yesterday ask do be.HAB.PST.2, Alok job-CLF leave give.GER.GEN
cešṭa korchilo
try do.PROG.be.PST.3

‘If you asked me yesterday, Alope was trying to quit the job.’

- b. #amae (gətokal) ĵigeš korle, Alope cakri-ṭa cheṛe debar ceṣṭa
 I.DAT yesterday ask do.LE, Alok job-CLF leave give.GER.GEN try
 korchilo
 do.PROG.be.PST.3
 ‘If you asked me yesterday Alope was trying to quit the job.’

Csipak laid out three prominent characteristics of the Speech-Act Modifiers: (i) they must talk about present discourse situation, (ii) the truth of the antecedent in w_0 (the actual world) can be judged by the interlocutors directly and (iii) the antecedent is taken to be true of the discourse situation.

I will be using these three characteristics, especially the third later on to propose a pragmatic analysis of the PARTICIPIAL antecedents.

3.2 Two approaches to the Semantics of Conditionals

There are two approaches to the semantics of Conditionals: Approach 1 holds the view that Hypothetical and Biscuit Conditionals have different underlying semantics (Iatridou 1991, 1994, a.o.). Approach 2, however, proposes that Hypothetical and Biscuit Conditionals have the same underlying semantics and the difference between the two must be pragmatically derived. (Franke 2009, Francez 2015, Csipak 2016, Biezma and Goebel 2019, a.o.)

The distribution of the PARTICIPIAL conditionals prompts us to group together Relevance Conditionals and Hypothetical Conditionals, at the exclusion of Speech-Act Modifiers. This grouping is essentially in tune with Approach 2 with a slight refinement. Not all of the Biscuits and the Hypotheticals are to be unified by semantics, but only a subkind of Biscuits, namely the Relevance align with the Hypotheticals.

Conditional Antecedents	Hypothetical	Factual	Relevance	Speech-Act Modifier
CORRELATIVE	✓	✓	✓	✓
PARTICIPIAL	✓	✓	✓	✗

Figure 2: Final Distribution of the Antecedents

3.3 The distribution of *tahole* ‘then’

Proponents of Approach 1 argued that in English Hypothetical Conditionals are compatible with *then* but Biscuit Conditionals are not (Iatridou 1994, (31, p.182)); see (14). However, this claim has been contested by Csipak (2016, a.o.) by examples like (15) attested in corpora.

- (14) If you are thirsty, (#then) there is a beer in the fridge.
 (15) If you are hungry **then** there is a Sainsbury’s just behind the main complex that does a reasonably priced breakfast.

In Bangla, however, the consequents of CORRELATIVE antecedents can include a *then*-word like *tahole* or *to* etc. Moreover, aligning with what we have seen so far, *tahole* ‘then’ is compatible with Hypothetical Conditionals and Relevance Conditionals but it is not compatible with Speech-Act Modifiers. Clearly the distribution of *tahole* is parallel to that of the PARTICIPIAL antecedents. If we grant that the distribution of the PARTICIPIAL antecedents provides evidence in favor of a refined version of Approach 2, then the distribution of *tahole*, grouping Relevance with Hypotheticals, further reinforces that. See Figure 3.

Conditionals	Hypothetical	Factual	Biscuit	Discourse Structuring
Consequents with <i>tahole</i>	✓	✓	✓	✗
PARTICIPIAL antecedent	✓	✓	✓	✗

Figure 3: Distribution of the PARTICIPIAL antecedent and *tahole* ‘then’

4 Meaning Contribution of *tahole* or a participial antecedent

Proponents of Approach 2 distinguish between Hypothetical conditionals and Biscuit conditionals pragmatically, since they propose that these have the same underlying semantics. Below I will sketch a proposal to pragmatically distinguish between Hypothetical and Relevance PARTICIPIAL conditionals and at the same time propose a reason for the ill-formedness of PARTICIPIAL antecedents in Speech-Act modifiers.

The route to the pragmatics of the PARTICIPIAL antecedent is via the pragmatic import of *tahole*. Before digging into the pragmatics of *tahole*, let me briefly point out that *tahole* itself looks like a reduced PARTICIPIAL antecedent. The morphological makeup of *tahole* consists of the propositional anaphor *ta* and the *be*-verb *ho-* with the conditional marker *-le* (see (16)). We have already seen that the PARTICIPIAL antecedent and *tahole* have the same distribution (Fig 3 above). Moreover, as I will show later on, syntactically they occupy the same position in the clausal spine.

- (16) *ta ho-le*
that be-LE
‘if that is the case’

4.1 Contribution of *tahole* in Hypothetical conditionals

Iatridou (1994) observed that in English, only Hypothetical conditionals allow a *then* and Biscuit conditionals do not. In order to account for this distribution and certain other cases, she argued that English *then* in a statement of type *if p, then q* adds the presupposition that at least some of the $\neg p$ cases are $\neg q$ cases. Furthermore, a statement of type *if p, q* does not have that presupposition.

- (17) If it rains then we will play football.

According to Iatridou’s proposal, (17) has the assertion that in every case in which it rains, we will play football. Moreover, (17) has the presupposition that not in every case in which it does not rain will we play football. (i.e., it is not the case that we will play football whether or not it rains). Furthermore, it helps Iatridou explain why *then* is infelicitous in Subjunctive conditionals like (18):

- (18) Even if I were the richest linguist on earth, (#then) I still would not be able to afford this house.

The presupposition of *then* in this case according to Iatridou would be that not in all cases where I am not the richest linguist on earth will I not be able to afford this house. In other words, the presupposition would be, it is not the case that I will not be able to afford the house, whether or not I am the richest linguist on earth. However, if the condition for buying a house is having enough wealth, the richest linguist not being able to buy this house will entail that all linguists any less rich than the richest will not be able to do so as well. Hence the presupposition that would be contributed by *then* in this case is implausible. The same can be extended to Bangla *tahole* or PARTICIPIAL antecedents.

In (19-a) it is infelicitous to add *tahole* in the consequent corresponding to the CORRELATIVE antecedent. Following Iatridou I will propose that *tahole* contributes the same presupposition as English *then*. The conditional with the PARTICIPIAL antecedent in (19-b) is infelicitous in the

given context. I conclude based on this infelicity that the PARTICIPIAL antecedent has the same presupposition as *tahole*.

- (19) Context: Only an enormous sum of money can buy this house.
- a. \check{y} odi ami prithibir dhonit̃omo linguist-o hotam (#tahole) ami ei
 if I earth.GEN richest linguist-EVEN be.HAB.PST.1 then I this
 baRi-ṭa kinte partam na
 house-CLF buy.Inf can.HAB.PST.1 not
 ‘Even if I were the richest linguist on earth, (#then) I would not be able to buy this house.’
- b. #ami prithibir dhonit̃omo linguist hole ei baRi-ṭa kinte
 I earth.GEN richest linguist be.LE-EVEN this house-CLF buy.Inf
 partam na
 can.HAB.PST.1 not
 #‘If I were the richest linguist on earth, then I would not be able to buy this house.’

4.2 Contribution of *tahole* in Biscuit Conditionals

What Iatridou observed for the distribution of *then* in English Biscuit conditionals, does not hold for Bangla. As I have already pointed out, it is felicitous to have *tahole* in at least one type of Biscuits, namely the Relevance conditionals. In fact, Csipak has shown that in English too *then* is acceptable in Biscuit Conditionals ((15) above).

4.2.1 Relevance-*then* or Relevance-*tahole*

The Relevance conditionals are used to convey that the consequent is relevant if the antecedent is true. Extending Iatridou’s proposal for Hypothetical-*then* to *then* in Relevance conditionals, I propose that a Relevance-*then* has the ‘Presupposition of Relevance’.

Proposal for the presupposition of the Relevance *tahole/then*:

In a Relevance conditional, *tahole* or *then* presupposes that at least in some $\neg p$ cases, q is not relevant.

Morover, I propose that the Relevance PARTICIPIAL antecedent bears this presupposition as well.

4.2.2 Prospective Contribution of *tahole* in Speech-Act Modifiers

Speech-Act Modifiers condition the Speech-Act made by the consequent. It is important to refer to Csipak (2016)’s observation on Discourse structuring conditionals (i.e., Speech-Act Modifiers in this paper) to see why in Bangla the PARTICIPIAL antecedent or *tahole* are incompatible with this group. Csipak notes the following properties of these antecedents:

- i. the proposition expressed by Discourse Structuring antecedents is taken to be true of the discourse situation. It corresponds to an action that is taken to have been committed by the interlocutors.
- ii. ‘... by uttering a Discourse-structuring conditional, the speaker uses the antecedent to communicate under which conditions she is willing to share the contents of the consequent, and then shares the consequent. This invites the inference that the speaker takes the antecedent to be true.’

Based on the above observation from Csipak, I propose that a Speech-Act Modifier-*then* or a Speech-Act Modifier-*tahole* contributes a presupposition like the following:

Proposal for the presupposition of the Speech-Act Modifier *tahole/then*:

In a Speech-Act Modifier, *tahole* or *then* presupposes that at least in some of the $\neg p$ cases the speaker will not share the content of q .

The same presupposition is contributed by the PARTICIPIAL antecedent in a Speech-Act Modifier.

However, q has been uttered already! So the interlocutors are unavoidably committed to the truth of the antecedent!

Thus, there cannot be a felicitous discourse structuring *tahole* or a felicitous discourse structuring PARTICIPIAL antecedent.⁴

4.2.3 Contribution of *-le*

The PARTICIPIAL antecedents or *tahole* have one item in common: the conditional marker *-le*. Thus I propose that the presuppositions that are contributed by PARTICIPIAL antecedents or by *tahole* are actually contributed by *-le* in them. So in my proposal as laid out in this paper, *-le* is lexically ambiguous between various forms suited for different types of conditional antecedents, namely, *-le*_{HYPOTHETICAL}, *-le*_{RELEVANCE}, *-le*_{SPEECH-ACT MODIFIER}. They are semantically the same but differ from each other in terms of their pragmatic contribution, i.e., the presupposition that they contribute.

5 Syntactic Placement of the Conditional Antecedents

So far we have seen that the distribution of PARTICIPIAL antecedents and *tahole* prompts us to group together Relevance conditionals with Hypotheticals at the exclusion of Speech-Act Modifiers, supporting the proposals to give a unified semantics for Hypotheticals and Relevance conditionals. I have proposed, inspired by Iatridou (1994)'s account of *then*, presuppositions for Bangla *tahole* of 3 types, which originate from three different types of *-le* in them. I have also claimed that the same presuppositional difference holds for 3 different types of *then* (contra Iatridou's claim) in English.

There is however, one aspect which goes broadly against grouping of any two kinds of conditionals together, and that is their syntactic placement on the clausal spine. This difference in terms of syntax supports Approach 1 (Iatridou (1991, 1994) a.o.). In this section I discuss how by basic syntactic tests the different kinds of Bangla conditionals can be distinguished.

5.1 Syntactic difference between Participial antecedents and Correlative antecedents

In Bangla, a PARTICIPIAL antecedent cannot be conjoined with a CORRELATIVE antecedent, see (20).

- (20) *[*ḡodi briṡṡi pəre*]_{CORREL} ar [*ṡorir ṡḡik ṡḡakle*]_{PART}...
 if rain fall.HAB.PRS.3 and body right stay.LE
 'If it rains and if we feel healthy, ...'

However, a PARTICIPIAL antecedent can be conjoined with the *tahole* related to a CORRELATIVE antecedent. See (21), which differs from (20) only in having a *tahole* in the first conjunct.

⁴Note that a somewhat similar kind of explanation, (though not exactly the same) is provided for cases discussed by Iatridou (1994), where *then* cannot appear because the antecedent is a presupposition of the consequent.

- (i) If [there are clouds in the sky]_{*i*} (#then) it_{*i*} puts her in a good mood.

- (21) [jodi briṣṭi pəre]_{CORREL} **tahole** ar [ṣorir ṭhik thakle]_{PART...}
 if rain fall.HAB.PRS.3 then and body right stay.LE
 ‘If it rains then and if we feel healthy...’

This further confirms that *tahole* is indeed a kind of PARTICIPIAL antecedent, as observed in the previous section. Besides, as it has been indicated in the data so far (see (2)-(9)), a PARTICIPIAL antecedent and *tahole* are in complementary distribution.

5.2 Syntactic difference between Hypothetical, Relevance and Speech-Act Modifier

Conditional antecedents of two different kinds cannot be conjoined. For example, a Hypothetical antecedent cannot be conjoined with a Relevance antecedent. The antecedents in (22) are either to be interpreted as conjunction of Relevance antecedents or they could be interpreted as conjunction of Hypotheticals, but never as a conjunction between a Hypothetical and a Relevance. A similar observation is made in Haegeman (2003, 2019) in terms of Hypotheticals, Premises and what she called ‘Speech-Act Modifiers’.

- (22) a. [jodi briṣṭi pəre] tahole ar [Rina dokane gie thakle] baṛite chata
 if rain fall.HAB.PRS.3 then and Rina shop.LOC go stay.LE home.LOC umbrella
 ache
 is
 b. [jodi briṣṭi pəre] ar [Rina jodi dokane gie thake] baṛite
 if rain fall.HAB.PRS.3 and Rina if shop.LOC go stay.HAB.PRS.3 home.LOC
 chata ache
 umbrella is
 ‘If it rains and if Rina has been to the shop, there are umbrellas at home.’

The result of conjoining a Speech-Act Modifier and a Relevance antecedent is quite weird too (23).

- (23) ??[jodi tumi bhule gie thako] ar [jodi briṣṭi pəre], baṛite
 if you forget.PFV go.PFV be.HAB.PRS.2 and if rain fall.HAB.PRS.3 home.LOC
 chata ache
 umbrella is
 ‘If you have forgotten and if it rains, there are umbrellas at home.’

Evidence like these indicate that different types of conditionals occupy different syntactic positions. I particularly want to focus on the issue of the difference between Hypothetical and Relevance Antecedents and propose a syntax for them.

5.3 Syntactic positions

I will adapt the syntax proposed for Conditional antecedents in Krifka (2017) for Bangla Conditional antecedents. In Krifka (2017)’s proposal Conditional antecedents occur in two layers of ForceP projections, which I will rename as Force₁P and Force₂P for my purposes⁵. Hypothetical antecedents occur either at the Spec,Force₁P, in which case they can support V2 in German, or they occur at a modifier of the Force₂P. Biscuit antecedents occur at Spec,Force₂P or as a modifier of the Force₂P. The *then*-word anaphoric to a Hypothetical antecedent occurs at Spec,Force₁P, while the *then*-word anaphoric to a Biscuit antecedent occurs at Spec,Force₂P.

To accommodate the coordination facts above, I propose two separate positions be allocated above Force₂P to a Hypothetical CORRELATIVE antecedent (HC-CORREL) and a Relevance CORRELATIVE

⁵The labels of these projections are CommitP and ActP respectively in Krifka (2017).

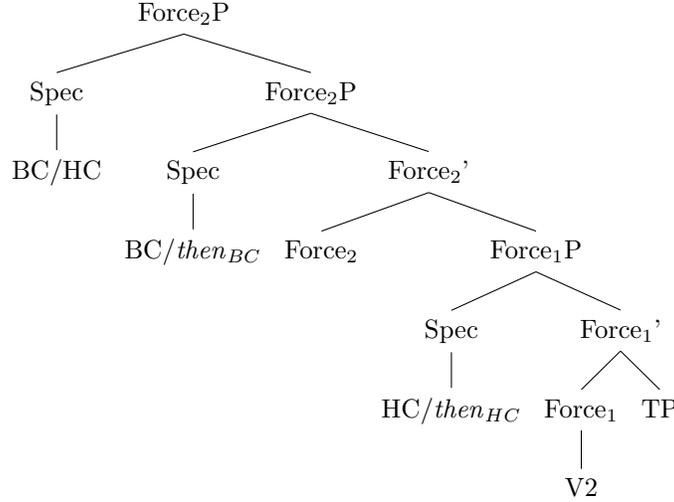


Figure 4: Syntax of Conditional antecedents in Krifka (2017)

antecedent (RC-CORREL), namely, Spec, Force-Topic₁P and Spec, Force-Topic₂P, respectively. These Force-Topic projections are there to essentially provide Hanging Topic like positions which yield V3 effects. It has been observed that when CORRELATIVE clauses occur in the first position of the clause, second position elements are pushed down to occur in the third position (Cinque 2009). The same holds for CORRELATIVE clauses in Bangla (Bayer and Dasgupta 2016, Guha 2016) and the conditional antecedents are no exceptions to this. The topic particle *ḡe* in Bangla must occur in a non-initial position and is usually good to occur in the second position.⁶ (24) shows that with a CORRELATIVE conditional antecedent at the first position, *ḡe* is unable to occupy the position immediately following the antecedent and it must occur in the third position. The syntax proposed here for Force-Topics are to accommodate such facts that I interpret as being parallel to V3 effects in German.

- (24) a. *[ḡodi briṣṭi pṛe] ḡe amra football khelbo...
 if rain fall.HAB.PRS.3 JE we football play.FUT.1...
 ‘that if it rains, we will play football, ...’
- b. [ḡodi briṣṭi pṛe] tahole ḡe amra football khelbo...
 if rain fall.HAB.PRS.3 then JE we football play.FUT.1...
 ‘that if it rains, we will play football, ...’

Contrary to the CORRELATIVE antecedents, however, the PARTICIPIAL antecedents (see (24-b)) or *tahole* can be immediately followed by *ḡe*.⁷ The syntax proposed here accommodates these facts.

- (25) [briṣṭi pṛe] ḡe amra football khelbo...
 rain fall.LE JE we football play.FUT.1...
 ‘that if it rains, we will play football, ...’

Below the Force-Topic projections, at Spec,Force₂P occurs a PARTICIPIAL Relevance antecedent (RC-PART) or *tahole* anaphoric to a Relevance CORRELATIVE antecedent (*tahole_{RC}*). At Spec,Force₁P occurs a PARTICIPIAL Hypothetical antecedent or *tahole* anaphoric to a Hypothetical CORRELATIVE

⁶The topic *ḡe* particle has been glossed as JE.

⁷What is observed here for *ḡe* also hold for Bangla enclitic *to* ‘of course’/‘as you should know’ or Focus clitics like *-i* or *-o*. The CORRELATIVE antecedent cannot support these clitics, but the PARTICIPIAL antecedents or *tahole* can.

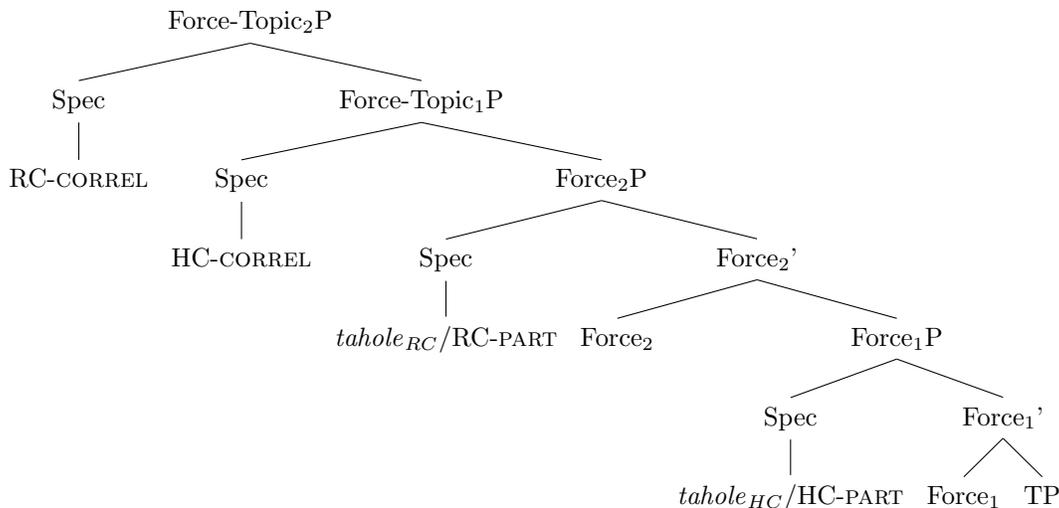


Figure 5: Syntactic placement of Bangla conditional antecedents

antecedent.

A Speech-Act Modifier antecedent occurs higher than the Hypothetical CORRELATIVE antecedents, i.e., higher than Spec, Force-Topic₁P. Whether a Speech-Act Modifier antecedent occurs at Spec, Force-Topic₂P with the Relevance antecedents or occurs even higher needs to be determined by future work.

6 Conclusion and the unresolved puzzle

I have argued in this paper that the distributional facts of the PARTICIPIAL antecedent and that of the *then*-word *tahole* in Bangla prompt us to recognize two subtypes of Biscuit conditionals: Relevance and Speech-Act Modifiers. Moreover, the distribution also leans in favor of the analyses of conditionals (Approach 2: Franke 2009, Biezma and Goebel 2019, a.o.), which treat Biscuit conditionals and Hypothetical conditionals uniformly in terms of their semantics and differentiate them only in terms of their syntax.

As a corollary to this proposal I have shown that Bangla is a language where we see instances of *then*-word *tahole* even in a sub-type of Biscuit antecedents (Relevance). This supports Csipak (2016)’s claim that English in fact has cases of Biscuit *then*, contra observations made in Iatridou (1991, 1994, a.o.). I have proposed that the PARTICIPIAL antecedents and their corresponding *tahole* come with a special presupposition contributed by the conditional participle *-le*. This presupposition is lacking in the CORRELATIVE antecedents. Thus I have attempted to bring about the difference between various kinds of conditionals in terms of their pragmatics, in line with Approach 2.

However, the syntax of the different antecedents provide a major discomfort to this proposal (Approach 2). We have seen enough evidence to distinguish between Biscuit conditionals (Relevance conditionals, in particular) and Hypothetical conditionals in terms of their syntactic placement, which in fact, forms the main tenets of the analyses of conditionals in Approach 1, which argue that Biscuits and Hypotheticals differ in terms of their semantics.

Thus the syntax put forward in Section 5 is contradictory to the claim of unified semantics preceding it. It is really contradictory to say that the two types of Biscuit conditionals and the Hypothetical conditionals occupy different positions at the clausal spine, i.e., they have different information structural import and yet claim that they have the same semantics, if we believe in

syntax-semantics mapping. The proposal I have made in this work would require the syntactic difference between the antecedents to correspond to their pragmatic difference. Much further work is needed to resolve this puzzle.⁸ I only hope to have given the issue a cross-linguistic perspective. However, I do hope the present work will provide the basis for an in-depth survey of conditional antecedents in South-Asian languages.

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⁸A very insightful discussion on this issue and a suggestion for a way ahead is to be found in Rawlins (2020).