

Towards a syntactic characterization of final *pero*: data from Bahiense Spanish

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Abstract

While the Spanish contrastive connector *pero* ‘but’ is rigidly sentence-initial, some Spanish varieties allow to locate this element at the very end of a sentence. This paper discusses a number of properties of the instance of final *pero* attested in the Spanish dialect spoken in the Argentinian city of Bahia Blanca, i.e., the so-called *pero Bahiense*. It is shown that *pero Bahiense* shares a number of non-trivial characteristics with standard *initial pero*, but they crucially differ in their distributional restrictions. These differences are exploited to advance an analysis of the phenomenon in terms of Haegeman’s (2014) articulation of the speech act layer. Since the Bahiense Spanish data does not fit perfectly in Haegeman’s scheme, some extensions to her system are introduced. In particular, specific features in the heads of the speech act layer are proposed to be in parametric variation. This allows to capture the behaviour of both *pero bahiense*, while maintaining coverage of Haegeman’s original empirical domain.

1 Introduction: the landscape of final *pero*

The Spanish conjunction *pero* ‘but’ may function as an intersentential connector. When used this way, *pero* heads a sentence introducing a contrast with respect to a prior proposition. Canonical examples of the functioning of *pero* are offered in (1) and (2).

- (1) El intendente es un nabo. ***Pero*** ganó las elecciones.
the major is a turnip but won the elections
‘The major is an idiot. But he won the elections.’

- (2) A: Cosmo es buen tipo.
Cosmo is good dude
‘Cosmo is a good guy.’
B: ***Pero*** es un poco amarrete.
but is a little stingy
‘But he is a little stingy.’

The position of *pero* in these examples is crosslinguistically the most common for this type of connector. Its distribution can be roughly schematized as in (3), where it occupies a medial position between two propositions *p* and *q* which it connects. Since this type of *pero* forms a constituent with the second proposition *q* and appears “to its left”, it will be called from now on *initial pero*.

- (3) *p pero q*

Some Spanish dialects allow for a syntactically distinct use of *pero*. In these varieties, *pero* can appear “to the right” of the second proposition *q*, as sketched in (4). Despite of this positional change, the element maintains its connective role. For simplicity, I will refer to this phenomenon as *final pero*.

- (4) *p q pero*

The pattern in (4) is attested in a group of dialects along Central (Laprade 1981, Lipski 1994) and Northern Andes (Toscano Mateus 1953, Estrella-Santos 2018). These include, at least, La Paz Spanish, Peruvian Sierra Spanish, and Quito Spanish; in this paper, I employ the shorthand *Andean Spanish* to refer to all of them. As the example in (5) shows, *pero* appears at the very end of the contrastive proposition.¹

- (5) Me encanta el fútbol. No me gusta el tenis, **pero**.
 1SG.DAT love the soccer not 1SG.DAT like the tennis but
 ‘I love soccer, but I don’t like tennis.’ Andean Spanish

Kany (1947: 203) introduces the idea that *final pero* in these varieties is a product of language contact, as he states that the pattern is “probably due to the postposition of particles, prepositions and other parts of speech in Aymara and Quechua”. This has become the default hypothesis to account for many right-peripheral elements in the Andean dialects, including *pero*. In this way, the *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* (RAE 2009: 2458) attributes the emergence of *final pero* in Andean Spanish to the influence of Quechua. As Calvo Pérez (2000) discusses, the Quechua language does exhibit a number of characteristics that would allow an account of *final pero* in terms of syntactic transfer. To begin with, Quechua has at least two suffixes that may be interpreted as contrastive connectors, *-taq* in (6) and *-ri* in (7); furthermore, the adversative conjunction *ichaq* ‘but’ does not require to appear to the left of its clause, e.g., (6), and may also occupy a final position, e.g., (8).

- (6) Kunan-qa eskuyla-ta-n ripu-saq; paqarin-**taq** **ichaq** tayta-y-**taq**
 today-TOP school-DIR-FOC go-FUT tomorrow-CONT but dad-1SG-CONT
 yanapa-saq.
 help-FUT
 ‘Today I have to go to school. But tomorrow I have to help my dad.’
 Quechua (Cusihuamán 2001: 240)

- (7) Pi-taq-**ri**
 who-SEQ-but

¹Source: <https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/pero-al-final-de-una-frase.283937/>

‘But who is it?’

Quechua (Calvo Pérez 2000); my gloss

- (8) Ama qunqa-nki-chu **ichaqa**.
not forget-2-NEG but
‘But do not forget.’

Quechua (Calvo Pérez 2000); my gloss

Laprade (1981) posits that *final pero* in La Paz Spanish is a product of the Aymara substratum. In his account, *final pero* corresponds to the Aymara objector suffix *-raki*.

- (9) Aymar parl-xa-**rak**-ta-sä.
Aymara speak-COMPL-OBJ-2-CONT
‘But you already speak Aymara!’

Aymara (Stratford 1989: 205)

Laprade concedes that the *raki-pero* correspondence is rather tenuous, as the suffix *-raki* manifests a wide range of meanings, e.g., Hardman et al. (1988) basically analyse it as English ‘too’. However, the same can be said for *-taq*, *-ri* and *ichaqa* in Quechua, which can be used in contexts that do not resemble *final pero*. This is the reason why authors like Calvo Pérez (2000) conclude that *final pero* and similar right-peripheral elements in Andean Spanish are not the product of the influence of a single language, but must be taken to be the synergic outcome of typological properties shared by Quechua and Aymara.

Final pero is not restricted to Andean dialects. Its use is also attested in certain Iberic varieties spoken in areas of Catalan-Spanish contact. The following example corresponds to the variety from Palma de Mallorca.

- (10) Siempre recibieron otros. No recibí yo, **pero**.
always received other not received I but
‘Others always received (stuff). But I never received (anything).’

Mallorcan Spanish (Levas 2018)

Vann (2001) reports analogous data from the Spanish dialect spoken in the city of Barcelona.

- (11) Porque estamos en España, aunque no lo quiero aceptar, **pero**.
because are in Spain although not it want accept but
‘Because we are in Spain, although I don’t want to accept it.’

Barcelona Spanish (Vann 2001: 121)

Levas (2018) suggests that the phenomenon in the Mallorcan variety is due to the influence of Catalan. The Catalan dialect spoken in the Balearic Islands makes extensive use of the conjunction *però* ‘but’ at the end of a sentence; this construction seems to be much less exploited in continental Catalan (Coromines 1995).

- (12) ... jo no us hi podria acompanyar, **però**.
I not you there could accompany but
‘... but I couldn’t accompany you there.’

Catalan (Levas 2018)

The *final pero* construction is also attested in the Spanish variety spoken in the Argentinian city of Bahía Blanca and surroundings. The phenomenon is popularly known as *pero bahiense* ‘Bahian but’. As shown in the examples in (13) and (14), *pero bahiense* signals a contrast between two propositions, just as initial *pero* does.²

- (13) El intendente es un nabo. Ganó las elecciones, **pero**.
 the major is a turnip won the elections but
 ‘The major is an idiot. But he won the elections.’

- (14) A: Cosmo es buen tipo.
 Cosmo is good dude
 ‘Cosmo is a good guy.’
 B: Es un poco amarrete, **pero**.
 is a little stingy but
 ‘But he is a little stingy.’

The *pero bahiense* phenomenon has not been object of a systematic grammatical study, so there are no theories explaining its origin and functioning. There is, however, a “folk” account of its genesis. According to many informants, the *final pero* construction appears in the Bahiense dialect due to contact with Italian immigrants during the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, Bahía Blanca received a great number of immigrants from Italy in those years,³ and Italian is precisely a language that exhibits a type of *final pero* construction.⁴

- (15) ... era la settimana scorsa, **però**.
 was the week last but
 ‘... but it was last week.’ Italian (Maiden & Robustelli 2013: 417)

The *final pero* phenomenon introduces a number of interesting questions from a grammatical point of view. First, how does this element function at all? What are its phonological, syntactic and semantic properties? A second issue is its relation with standard *initial pero* in General Spanish: are they syntactic variants of a single lexical item, or should they be considered distinct units in the speaker’s lexicon? Third, assuming the conjecture that all three instances of *final pero* discussed so far involve language contact, how is that the influence of three distinct languages led to the emergence of a single form in three different Spanish dialects? And moreover, is it really the same construction in all these three dialects? Or are we dealing with three homophonous but distinct phenomena?

²All data points from the Bahiense dialect discussed in this paper were obtained through electronic surveys. These consisted of a number of *forced-choice tasks* and *yes-no tasks* (Schutze 2014). The results were further verified by a selected group of informants.

³While there is no record of the immigrants arrived in the port of Bahía Blanca, it is well documented that half of the population of Bahía Blanca by 1914 were immigrants; the most numerous group was the Italian contingent. The sociolinguistic impact of the Italian community in Bahía Blanca has been extensively studied, e.g., Fontanella de Weinberg (1979), Blanco et al. (1982), Rigatuso & Hipperdinger (1998), but its consequences for the morphosyntax of the local Spanish variety have not been analysed.

⁴In particular, the “folk hypothesis” relates *pero bahiense* to the speech of the Italian immigrants from the region of Marche. Presumably, the reason that Marchegians are made responsible for the phenomenon is that they represented the biggest group of Italians arrived in Bahía Blanca. For instance, around 40% of the people registered at the *Asociación Italiana de Socorros Mutuos* by 1920 proceeded from Marche; I am thankful to Ana Miravalles (p.c.) for this information.

Answering these issues requires a detailed comparative study of *final pero*. However, the current literature on the construction is, at best, scarce and fragmentary. In this context, this paper aims to describe some salient properties of *pero bahiense*, the instance of *final pero* attested in the dialect of Bahía Blanca. While the main objective of the study is to offer a characterization of the phenomenon that might serve as a starting point for a latter comparative analysis, the discussion also attempts to evaluate a potential framework for the syntactic treatment of *final pero*, i.e., Haegeman’s (2014) articulation of the *speech act layer* (Speas & Tenny 2003).

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 discusses two grammatical phenomena that could be erroneously assimilated to *pero bahiense*. Section 3 offers a comparison between standard *initial pero* and *pero bahiense*; it is observed that while both types of *pero* have properties in common, there are also a number of formal and interpretative aspects that distinguish them. In section 4, an analysis of *pero bahiense* is offered in terms of Haegeman’s (2014) speech act layer; while the analysis is able to account for the behaviour of *pero bahiense*, this is done at the expense of altering some core assumptions of Haegeman’s original proposal. Finally, Section 5 contains some concluding remarks.

2 What *pero bahiense* is not

Before discussing the properties of *pero bahiense*, it is necessary to distinguish the phenomenon from, at least, two other similar constructions involving non-initial uses of *pero*. The first one will be called here *suspended pero*. This is a case in which the conjunction *pero* appears at the very end of an utterance and is realized with a raising intonation. When this construction is employed, it is taken for granted that the hearer knows or is able to guess the content of a contrastive proposition complementing the conjunction.

- (16) Iba a comprarte un regalo, pero...
 was to buy.you a gift but
 ‘I was going to buy you a gift, but...’

A rather intuitive analysis for this construction involves proposing that *pero* does not truly occupy a final position in (16), but it introduces a null proposition *q*. This is roughly schematized in (17), where it is shown that *suspended pero* is just an instance of *initial pero* in which the second proposition is implicit.

- (17) *p* pero (*q*)

Evidence for this sketchy analysis is the fact that the hearer can ask about the content of the implicit proposition *q* in case it is not salient enough or is not entirely obvious.

- (18) A: Iba a comprarte un regalo, pero...
 was to buy.you a gift but
 ‘I was going to buy you a gift, but...’
 B: ¿Pero qué?
 but what
 ‘But what?’

In fact, situations like (18) are the source of multiple anecdotes among speakers of the Bahiense dialect, as it is common for speakers of other varieties to confuse *pero bahiense* with *pero suspendido*. The following dialogue illustrates a too familiar interchange for people from Bahía Blanca; A is a speaker of the Bahiense dialect, while B is not.

- (19) A: El intendente es un nabo. Ganó las elecciones, **pero**.
the major is a turnip won the elections but
‘The major is an idiot. But he won the elections.’
B: ¿Pero qué?
but what
‘But what?’
A: Pero nada. Eso es todo.
but nothing that is all
‘But nothing. That’s it.’

The question in (19B) is unfelicitous for the Bahiense speaker A, as she considers that *pero* connects both propositions $p = \textit{el intendente es un nabo}$ ‘the major is an idiot’ and $q = \textit{ganó las elecciones}$ ‘he won the elections’. Speaker B, on the other hand, supposes that an occurrence of *pero* in final position introduces an implicit proposition and that, for some reason, she is not able to recover its content from the context. The reason this situation happens so often is because the *pero suspendido* construction in (16) is far more extended in Spanish than the type of *final pero* being discussed in this paper. Notice that the mere fact that these confusions exist shows that *final pero* and *pero suspendido* are distinct grammatical phenomena from different Spanish dialects.⁵

A second construction that should be distinguished from *pero bahiense* is what is usually called *adverbial pero*. This is a case in which *pero* appears in the middle of a sentence as a sort of parenthetic element; other connective elements in Spanish allow to be used in the same way, e.g., *sin embargo* ‘although’, *no obstante* ‘however’. The use of adverbial *pero* is strongly restricted to the elevated written register.

- (20) a. Esto requiere, pero, un tratamiento cuidadoso.
This requires but a treatment careful
‘This requires, however, a careful treatment.’
b. Estas afirmaciones, pero, fueron criticadas por parte del ministro.
These affirmations but were criticised by part of the minister
‘These assertions, however, were criticised by the minister.’

⁵In fact the distinction between *pero suspendido* and *final pero* can be illustrated with dialectal phenomena from English. Using the conjunction *but* at the end of an utterance to introduce an implicit proposition is fairly common in colloquial English.

- i. My cat is officially a jerk, she keeps knocking over my stuff for cat reasons. And here I thought I was going to finally clean my room, but...

While as reported by Mulder & Thompson (2008), Australian English exhibits a *final but* construction that contrasts two overt propositions.

- ii. Got a few mates who play jazz. Not my kind of music, **but**.

Thus, the difference between *pero suspendido* and *final pero* in Spanish is parallel to that between (i) and (ii) in English.

The *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* (RAE 2009: 2458) explicitly subsumes the type of *final pero* attested in Andean varieties to *adverbial pero*; such an equiparation seems to be motivated only by the superficial resemblance between both phenomena, as there is no supporting evidence for a unifying analysis. Moreover, such an account does not explain the scarce distribution of *final pero* in Spanish, as it actually predicts that the construction should be available for any literate speaker able to employ *adverbial pero*.

The functioning of *pero bahiense* offers additional reasons to distinguish between *adverbial pero* and *final pero*. To begin with, most of my Bahiense informants judged as unacceptable sentences like those in (20); this shows that *pero bahiense* cannot be considered a mere positional variant of *adverbial pero*. Interestingly enough, the few speakers who accepted these sentences recognized them as part of the written register and observed that such an use of *pero* “does not sound Bahian at all”. Indeed, the *pero bahiense* phenomenon belongs to the informal register, and its users show clear intuitions about its colloquial nature. Such a clear-cut distinction is difficult to explain under the assumption that *pero bahiense* is a manifestation of *adverbial pero*; in fact, this strong contrast suggests that both forms of *pero* are separate grammatical phenomena that are employed in specific contexts.

Distinguishing between *pero bahiense* and seemingly similar phenomena is relevant for a number of reasons. At an analytical level, it is necessary to demonstrate that *pero bahiense* cannot be reduced to other non-canonical uses of *pero*, and that it certainly is a grammatical form that deserves a specific account. However, the main objective of differentiating the construction even before discussing its defining properties is to delineate in a concise way the phenomenon referred to as *pero bahiense*. As mentioned before, this term is merely a “folk” denomination; there is no a priori reason to assume that it actually refers to a concrete grammatical phenomenon. In fact, a (reduced) subset of my initial informants would take the term *pero bahiense* as standing for any form of non-initial *pero*.

The problems introduced by the lack of proper terminology are potentiated by sociolinguistic variables. Employing *final pero* is perceived as a trait of identity and belonging for the speakers of the Bahiense dialect.⁶ While this makes it easier to find informants willing to provide acceptability judgements on *pero bahiense* (in contrast to what normally happens with normatively marked dialectal forms), it also leads to many non-users of *final pero* to want to report data based on their intuitions on, for instance, the *suspended pero* construction in (16). Thus, in what follows, the term *pero bahiense* will be taken to refer exclusively to the type of construction exemplified in (13) and (14), excluding the two non-initial *pero* phenomena sketched throughout this section.

3 Comparing *initial pero* and *pero bahiense*

The standard *initial pero* phenomenon attested in all Spanish varieties has some non-trivial properties in common with *pero bahiense*. Maybe the most salient of these characteristics is that both elements must appear in the periphery of the sentence. As its name

⁶While this observation is not based on rigorous criteria, it is not difficult to prove its veracity. For instance, there is a *Facebook* group called *Yo uso el pero bahiense* ‘I do use Bahian but’ that has almost six thousand members. The existence of such a community can only be explained by assuming that the *pero bahiense* construction is positively perceived by, at least, part of its users.

indicates, *initial pero* must appear at the very left of the sentence it introduces; in general, other elements cannot precede it.

- (21) *Jorge is a good guy...*
- a. **pero** también es un poco amarrete.
but too is a little stingy
'but he is also a little stingy.'
 - b. *también **pero** es un poco amarrete.
too but is a little stingy

Similarly, *pero bahiense* is required to appear at the very end of its sentence; no other element can follow it.

- (22) *Jorge is a good guy...*
- a. es un poco amarrete también, **pero**.
is a little stingy too but
'but he is also a little stingy.'
 - b. *es un poco amarrete, **pero**, también .
is a little stingy but too

Additionally, some speakers report as anomalous cases in which *pero bahiense* is not the last element in its utterance, despite of occupying the final position in its own sentence, e.g., (23). This suggests that the position of *pero bahiense* is related to a certain discourse function, and it is not just a formal property of a constituent within a sentential domain.

- (23) %El intendente es un nabo. Ganó las elecciones, **pero**. El otro candidato
the major is a turnip won the elections but the other candidate
era peor.
was worse
'The major is an idiot. But he won the election. The other candidate was even worse.'

Both *initial pero* and *pero bahiense* are restricted to matrix clauses only; none of them can introduce a contrastive interpretation over an embedded sentence. To discuss this restriction, take the examples in (24). In both cases, *pero* contrasts the propositions $p = \textit{está lloviendo mucho}$ 'it is raining a lot' and $q = \textit{el partido se juega}$ 'the match will be played'.

- (24) a. Está lloviendo mucho. **Pero** el partido se juega.
is raining much but the match SE plays
'It is raining a lot. But the match will be played.'
- b. Está lloviendo mucho. El partido se juega, **pero**.
is raining much the match SE plays but

Employing *pero* to connect these propositions becomes impossible if q is not expressed as a matrix clause. For instance, if q functions as the *protasis* of a conditional sentence, it

cannot be accompanied by neither *initial pero*, e.g., (25a), nor *pero bahiense*, e.g., (25b).⁷

(25) *It is raining a lot...*

- a. *_[PROTASIS] **pero** si el partido se juega], me voy a mojar.
but if the match SE plays 1SG.ACC go to wet
Intended: ‘if the match, however, is played, I’m going to get wet.’
- b. *_[PROTASIS] si el partido se juega, **pero**], me voy a mojar.
if the match SE plays but 1SG.ACC go to wet

This behaviour contrasts sharply with the one exhibited by connectors like *sin embargo* ‘although’. As shown in (26), this element does allow contrasting the propositions *p* and *q* if the latter is in an embedded domain.

- (26) Está lloviendo mucho. _[PROTASIS] Si el partido, sin embargo, se juega],
is raining much if the match without impediment SE plays
me voy a mojar.
1SG.ACC go to wet
‘It is raining. If the match, however, is played, I’m going to get wet.’

One may object that the unacceptability of *pero bahiense* in (25b) could be due to *pero* not appearing at the very end of the sentence. However, the acceptability of neither of the examples in (25) improves if the protasis is postposed, e.g., (27).

(27) *It is raining a lot...*

- a. * me voy a mojar _[PROTASIS] **pero** si el partido se juega].
1SG.ACC go to wet but if the match SE plays
Intended: ‘I’m going to get wet if the match, however, is played.’
- b. * me voy a mojar _[PROTASIS] si el partido se juega, **pero**].
1SG.ACC go to wet if the match SE plays but

The only way in which *pero* can be used in configurations seemingly resembling those in (25) and (27) is by (i) respecting the positional restrictions of each type of *pero* (i.e., *initial pero* must appear at the beginning of the sentence, *pero bahiense* at the very end), and (ii) interpreting *pero* as introducing a contrast with respect to the whole conditional sentence (not only its protasis). The relevant examples are those in (28); notice that the content of the apodoses in (28a) and (28b) is modified to allow a contrastive interpretation regarding the preceding proposition *it is raining a lot*.

(28) *It is raining a lot...*

- a. **pero**, si el partido se juega, la gente va a venir.
but if the match SE plays the people go to come
‘but, if the match is played, people will come.’
- b. si el partido se juega, la gente va a venir, **pero**.
if the match SE plays the people go to come but

⁷Due to the content of the apodosis, the examples in (25) can only have a contrastive interpretation with respect to the protasis of the conditional sentence. Thus, *pero* cannot be taken to have scope over the matrix clause in (25a), which would turn the sentence acceptable. See (28a) below.

As further evidence that *pero bahiense* is restricted to matrix clauses, take the example in (29).

- (29) Afuera está re nublado. El pronóstico dice que el día está lindo, **pero**.
 outside is very cloudy the forecast says that the day is nice but
 ‘It is very cloudy outside. But the forecast says that it is a nice day.’

If *pero bahiense* was able to take narrow scope over an embedded clause, the utterance in (29) should be ambiguous. That is, *pero* occupies a position that should allow it to introduce a contrast with respect to both the matrix clause, as sketched in (30a), or the embedded clause, as shown in (30b). As the English paraphrases show, both interpretations are, in principle, equally plausible.

- (30) *It is very cloudy outside...*
 a. El pronóstico dice [CP que el día está lindo], **pero**.
 ≈ *The forecast, however, says that it is a nice day.* wide scope
 b. El pronóstico dice [CP que el día está lindo, **pero**].
 ≈ *The forecast says that it is, however, a nice day.* narrow scope

While the semantic judgement is rather subtle, Bahiense speakers seem to interpret utterances like (29) unambiguously as sketched in (30a), with *pero* taking wide scope over the whole sentence. Their paraphrases for these examples focus on the contrast introduced by the matrix predicate, e.g., they report regarding (29) that the forecast is mistaken, an inference that requires *pero* to mark a contrast with respect to the constituent containing the segment *el pronóstico dice* ‘the forecast says’ (e.g., as in *it is cloudy, but the forecast says the opposite*). Crucially, they seem to lack the interpretation that the day is considered nice despite of being cloudy, a reading that would emerge from *pero* marking a contrast with respect to the proposition in the embedded clause (e.g., as in *it is cloudy, but it is a nice day anyway*).

Another similarity between *initial pero* and *pero bahiense* is that both elements are insensitive to sentential mood. While all the previous examples involved declarative sentences, standard *initial pero* may also appear in interrogative (31) and imperative sentences (32).

- (31) A: No tengo ganas de salir.
 not have desire of go.out
 ‘I’m not in the mood to go out.’
 B: ¡**Pero** vas a ir a la fiesta?
 but go to go to the party
 ‘But are you going to the party?’
- (32) Ya se fueron todos. ¡**Pero** vos no te vayas!
 already SE left all but you not SE go
 Everyone left already. But don’t you leave!

In the same way, *pero bahiense* can also be used in these contexts.

- (33) A: No tengo ganas de salir.
 not have desire of go.out
 ‘I’m not in the mood to go out.’

- B: ¿Vas a ir a la fiesta, **pero**?
 go to go to the party but
 ‘But are you going to the party?’

- (34) Ya se fueron todos. ¡Vos no te vayas, **pero**!
 already SE left all you not SE go but
 Everyone left already. But don’t you leave!

Besides of ignoring mood, neither *initial pero* nor *pero bahiense* are able to alter the truth conditions of the proposition they introduce. Thus, the following three utterances are completely equivalent in terms of their truth values.

- (35) a. El intendente es un nabo y ganó las elecciones.
 the mayor is a turnip and won the elections
 ‘The mayor is an idiot and won the elections’.
- b. El intendente es un nabo. **Pero** ganó las elecciones.
 the mayor is a turnip but won the elections
 ‘The mayor is an idiot. But he won the elections’.
- c. El intendente es un nabo. Ganó las elecciones, **pero**.
 the mayor is a turnip won the elections but
 ‘The mayor is an idiot. But he won the elections’.

This does not entail that employing *pero* has no effect at all in the interpretation of an utterance. Take the following pair of examples, adapted from Portolés (2001: 7). As observed by this author, the order of the propositions connected by *pero* may lead to different inferences during the discourse; this contrast is not obtained by employing the conjunction *y* ‘and’.

- (36) CONTEXT: someone is asked whether she is happy with her new job.
- a. El sueldo es muy bueno. **Pero** siempre tardan en pagarme.
 the salary is very good but always delay in pay.me
 ‘The salary is very good. But there is always a delay with my payment.
 INFERENCE: *she is not happy with the job.*
- b. Siempre tardan en pagarme. **Pero** el sueldo es muy bueno.
 always delay in pay.me but the salary is very good
 ‘There is always a delay with my payment. But the salary is very good.’
 INFERENCE: *she is happy with the job.*

As the examples in (37) show, the same effect is obtained by employing *pero bahiense*.

- (37) CONTEXT: someone is asked whether she is happy with her new job.
- a. El sueldo es muy bueno. Siempre tardan en pagarme, **pero**.
 the salary is very good always delay in pay.me but
 ‘The salary is very good. But there is always a delay with my payment.’
 INFERENCE: *she is not happy with the job.*
- b. Siempre tardan en pagarme. El sueldo es muy bueno, **pero**.
 always delay in pay.me the salary is very good but
 ‘There is always a delay with my payment. But the salary is very good.’
 INFERENCE: *she is happy with the job.*

All these shared characteristics suggest that *initial pero* and *pero bahiense* are forms that pertain to a single class. Since the functioning of what has been called here *initial pero* has led to analyse it as a discourse particle (e.g., Portolés 2001), it follows that the same classification can be applied to *pero bahiense*. That is, both types of *pero* are taken to be marginal elements in the structure of the sentence, that lack a syntactic function with respect to the predicate, and have the role of guiding the inferential processes taking place during the communicative act (Martín Zorraquino & Portolés 1999).

However, while *initial pero* and *pero bahiense* can be classified as discourse particles, the issue remains whether they should be analysed as separate grammatical objects or as syntactic variants of a single lexical item. The data to be discussed from now on show that *initial pero* and *pero bahiense* behave differently in a number of respects. Thus, an unifying analysis of both types of *pero* must be able to account for these differences.

Authors like Hill (2007) and Haegeman (2014) notice that certain discourse particles interact with vocative elements, e.g., in some cases they are in complementary distribution. This observation allows to posit a first asymmetry between *initial pero* and *pero bahiense*. As the following dialogue shows, *initial pero* can co-appear with vocatives in any position.

- (38) TEACHER: ¡Juancito, estás castigado sin recreo!
 Juancito are grounded without break
 ‘Juancito, you are grounded!’
 JUANCITO: **Pero** yo no hice nada, Señor.
 but I not did nothing Miss
 ‘But I didn’t do anything, Miss.’
 JUANCITO’: **Pero** Señor, yo no hice nada.
 but Miss I not did nothing
 JUANCITO’’: Señor, **pero** yo no hice nada.
 Miss but I not did nothing

On the contrary, *pero bahiense* rejects the presence of vocatives in the same sentence, no matter their position.⁸

- (39) TEACHER: ¡Juancito, estás castigado sin recreo!
 Juancito are grounded without break
 ‘Juancito, you are grounded!’
 JUANCITO: *Yo no hice nada, **pero**, Señor.
 I not did nothing but Miss
 ‘But I didn’t do anything, Miss.’
 JUANCITO’: *Yo no hice nada, Señor, **pero**.
 I not did nothing Miss but
 JUANCITO’’: ?? Señor, yo no hice nada, **pero**.
 Miss I not did nothing but

⁸My informants consider the answer by JUANCITO’’ in (39) to be slightly better than the other two alternatives; the example is taken as anomalous, however, as Bahiense speakers reported very consistently that the sentence would be totally acceptable without the vocative. This intuition was never reported regarding the sentences in (38), which were unanimously accepted. The slim contrast between the answers in (39) could be due to an additional restriction on the number of extraposed constituents to the right.

The distribution of *initial pero* and *pero bahiense* differs with respect to other elements as well. As Portolés (2001: 51) points out, *initial pero* cannot form sequences like *pero y* ‘but and’, e.g., (40), or *pero aunque* ‘but although’, e.g., (41). According to him, this restriction can be accounted for in terms of redundancy avoidance, i.e., it would be redundant to have two separate conjunctions connecting the same two units at one time.

(40) *It rained the whole holidays week...*

- a. * **pero** y lo pasamos lindo.
but and it spent nice
Intended: ‘but we had fun.’
- b. * y **pero** lo pasamos lindo.
but and it spent nice

(41) *I don’t like it when you correct me...*

- a. * **pero** aunque en este caso tenés razón.
but although in this case have reason
Intended: ‘but in this case you are right.’
- b. * aunque **pero** en este caso tenés razón.
although but in this case have reason

While *pero bahiense* behaves in the same way regarding *y* ‘and’, e.g., (42), it can be combined with the conjunction *aunque* ‘although’, e.g., (43).

(42) *It rained the whole holidays week...*

- * y lo pasamos lindo, **pero**.
and it spent nice but
Intended: ‘but we had fun.’

(43) *I don’t like it when you correct me...*

- aunque en este caso tenés razón, **pero**.
although in this case have reason, **pero**
‘but in this case you are right.’

The same type of distributional asymmetry can be attested regarding other discourse particles. The marker *bueno* ‘well’ expresses that the speaker admits what her interlocutor said (Martín Zorraquino & Portolés 1999: 4162). This element can co-appear with *initial pero*, e.g., (44), but its presence together with *pero bahiense* is unacceptable, e.g., (45).

(44) A: El intendente es un nabo.
the mayor is a turnip
‘The mayor is an idiot.’

B: Bueno, **pero** ganó las elecciones.
well but won the elections
‘Well, but he won the elections.’

(45) A: El intendente es un nabo.
the mayor is a turnip
‘The mayor is an idiot.’

- b. Petja starateljnyj, *a* Vanja lenivyk.
 Petja diligent CONJ Vanja lazy
 ‘Petja is diligent, but Vanja is lazy.’ *semantic opposition*

Similarly to English *but*, standard *initial pero* allows to express both types of meaning (Rivarola 1976).

- (49) a. El intendente es un nabo. **Pero** ganó las elecciones.
 the mayor is a turnip but won the elections
 ‘The mayor is an idiot. But he won the elections.’ *concessivity*
- b. Gerardo es alto, **pero** Jorge es petiso.
 Gerardo is tall but Jorge is short
 ‘Gerardo is tall, but Jorge is short.’ *semantic opposition*

However, *pero bahiense* seems to express concessivity only, as it is not able to function in prototypical contexts of semantic opposition.

- (50) a. El intendente es un nabo. Ganó las elecciones, **pero**.
 the mayor is a turnip won the elections but
 ‘The mayor is an idiot. But he won the elections.’ *concessivity*
- b. *Gerardo es alto, Jorge es petiso, **pero**.
 Gerardo is tall Jorge is short but
 ‘Gerardo is tall, but Jorge is short.’ *semantic opposition*

This contrast is also attested in cases in which a second clause cancels or literally contradicts what has been expressed in the prior clause. Take the sentences in (51), in which the second proposition $q = no\ lo\ vendí$ must be interpreted as cancelling the first proposition $p = iba\ a\ vender\ el\ auto$. Most Bahiense speakers only accept this type of utterances if connected through *initial pero*.

- (51) a. Iba a vender el auto. **Pero** no lo vendí (al final).
 was to sell the car but not it sell to.the end
 ‘I was going to sell the car. But I didn’t sell it (in the end).’
- b. *Iba a vender el auto. No lo vendí (al final), **pero**.
 was to sell the car not it sell to.the end but

For *pero bahiense* to be acceptable, the content of the clause modified by *pero* must not directly contradict the previous proposition; what must be contradicted is the expectation arising from it, just as predicted from the very definition of concessivity. If this condition is respected, as in (52), *pero bahiense* may be employed.

- (52) a. La semana pasada puse un clasificado por el auto. **Pero** no lo vendí.
 the week past put a add for the car but not it sell
 ‘Last week I published an add for the car. But I didn’t sell it.’
- b. La semana pasada puse un clasificado por el auto. No lo vendí, **pero**.
 the week past put a add for the car not it sell but

The hypothesis that *pero bahiense* is restricted to concessive uses is further supported by speakers' paraphrases of unambiguously concessive or oppositive utterances. Consider the fragment in (53), which contains a concessive clause headed by the expression *a pesar de* 'despite of'.

- (53) Le comentás a un amigo que cuando salías de tu casa a la mañana pensaste en agarrar la campera, y que la tomaste incluso [*a pesar de* creer que no ibas a necesitarla].
 'You tell a friend that when you left your place in the morning you thought about grabbing your coat, and that you took it with you [*despite of* believing you would not actually need it].'

When asked to pick a paraphrase for this fragment involving either *initial pero* or *pero bahiense*, Bahiense speakers do not seem to show a strong preference for any of these forms. That is, (53) can be equally paraphrased as in (54a) or (54b). In both cases, the clause modified by *pero* matches the concessive clause in (53), and has the function of contradicting an expectation arising from the first proposition (i.e., typically, if one chooses to carry a coat, it is because one assumes it is going to be needed).

- (54) a. A la mañana me acordé de traer la campera. **Pero** no creí que hiciera falta.
 to the morning SE remembered of bring the coat but not believed that does need
 'In the morning I remembered bringing my coat. But I didn't believe it would be necessary.
 b. A la mañana me acordé de traer la campera. No creí que hiciera falta, **pero**.
 to the morning SE remembered of bring the coat not believed that does need but

However, a different result emerges if the fragment encodes an oppositive type of meaning, as in (55). In this case, the speaker thinks about doing α , i.e., bringing the coat, but then decided to do $\neg\alpha$, i.e., not bringing the coat.

- (55) Le comentás a un amigo que cuando salías de tu casa a la mañana pensaste en [α agarrar la campera]. Sin embargo, al final decidiste [$\neg\alpha$ no llevarla con vos].
 'You tell a friend that when you left your place in the morning you thought about grabbing your coat. However, in the end you decided not to take it with you.'

Bahiense speakers strongly prefer the option with *initial pero* in (54a) as a paraphrase for (55). Notice that in this case the clause modified by *pero* is also supposed to mean that the speaker did not grab the coat, which contradicts or cancels part of the first proposition. The fact that speakers prefer to encode this meaning with *initial pero* is further evidence that *pero bahiense* conveys concessivity only.

As a rule of thumb, acceptable uses of *pero bahiense* can be paraphrased with the concessive conjunction *aunque* 'although'. Thus, for instance, the concessive interpretation in (50a) is roughly equivalent to the one in (56).

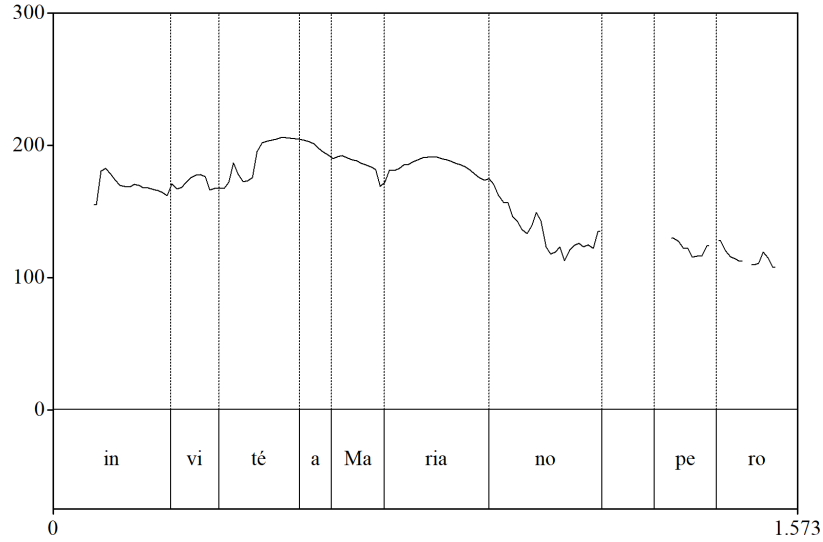


Figure 1: The sentence *invité a Mariano, pero* ‘but I invited Mariano’.

- (56) a. Aunque el intendente es un nabo, ganó las elecciones.
 although the mayor is a turnip won the elections
 ‘Although the mayor is an idiot, he won the elections.’ \approx (50a)

A final noticeable characteristic of *pero bahiense* involves its prosodic contour. It resembles the intonation with which right dislocation phenomena are usually realized in Romance languages; Bahiense speakers typically translate this trait as a comma in writing, a convention that I have followed here. As figure 1 shows, the pitch accent in a *pero bahiense* sentence falls on the same constituent that would carry it if *pero* was not present, i.e., the direct object in an (S)VO structure; in particular, *pero* lacks any relevant degree of intonational prominence, and is separated from the rest of the clause by a small pause and what seems to be a boundary tone L%.

As mentioned, this contour is analogous to the one exhibited by right dislocated elements, for which it has been extensively proposed that conform independent intonational phrases (Zubizarreta 1998, Frascarelli 2000). Exploiting this similarity, it may be conjectured that *pero bahiense* also forms a separate prosodic domain. Thus, *initial pero* and *pero bahiense* would differ in the fact that only the former is integrated in a prosodic constituent together with the clause, as schematically illustrated in (57).

- (57) a. (**Pero** ganó las elecciones) _{φ}
 b. (Ganó las elecciones) _{φ} (**pero**) _{φ}

This analysis is not devoid of problems neither for *pero bahiense* or right dislocation. As Astruc (2004) discusses, there is a flagrant contradiction in analysing these elements as (i) independent prosodic units that, at the same time, (ii) do not receive accentuation. In fact, part of the literature on final particles (e.g., Haselow 2013) take elements like *pero bahiense* to be prosodically integrated to the rest of the sentence, arguably because they are systematically deaccented; notice that this possibility is still at odds with some characteristics attested in figure 1, e.g., the pause before *pero*. Thus, while the prosodic contour of *pero bahiense* exhibits well-defined characteristics, a fine-grained account of these properties remains to be proposed.

4 *Pero bahiense* and the syntax of the speech act layer

As mentioned, an analysis of the *pero bahiense* phenomenon should aim to account for the similarities and differences it manifests with respect to standard *initial pero*. As for the similarities, both elements seem to function as discourse particles (i.e., they are insensitive to sentence mood and are not able to alter the truth-values of their propositions), both occupy peripheral positions, and both are restricted to matrix clauses only. The differences are mostly distributional, and concerned with the possibility of using *pero* together with elements such as vocatives, e.g., (38) vs. (39), the concessive conjunction *aunque* ‘although’, e.g., (41) vs. (43), and the discourse particle *bueno* ‘well’, e.g., (44) vs. (45). Moreover, the analysis should capture the fact that *pero bahiense* can only be employed in concessive contexts, while *initial pero* can also express semantic opposition.

The proposal I advance here attempts to offer a unified treatment of those instances of *pero* that convey concessivity in the Bahiense dialect. In particular, it aims to derive both the position and the distributional restrictions of *pero* from a single set of grammatical operations. The crucial assumption for the analysis is that there are two types of *pero* in Spanish: (i) *pero_{conc}*, which expresses concessivity; and (ii) *pero_{op}*, which expresses semantic opposition. While both elements are sentence-initial in General Spanish, *pero_{conc}* admits a syntactic variant in the Bahiense dialect: it optionally triggers movement of the whole clause to the left, generating this way the order SENTENCE-*pero_{conc}*.

I take that the particle *pero_{conc}* has three defining properties. First, at the assertion level, *pero_{conc}* works as an identity function selecting an argument of type $\langle t \rangle$; this derives its incapability to alter the truth values of a proposition. Second, at the presuppositional level, an expression of the form *pero_{conc}*(*q*) in the context of a preceding proposition *p* triggers the presupposition that *if p, then normally* $\neg q$; this concedes *pero_{conc}* the type of meaning typically associated with concessivity (König 1988, 1994). Finally, *pero_{conc}* functions as a head of the *speech act layer*, i.e., the topmost portion of the sentential structure, which is assumed to serve as an interface between syntax and discourse (Speas & Tenny 2003, Hill 2007, Haegeman 2014); this explains why *pero_{conc}* occupies a peripheral position in the sentence, is restricted to matrix contexts, and is insensitive to sentence mood (under the hypothesis that mood is calculated within the clause, more or less around the TP level, as proposed by Cinque 1999).

In what follows, I introduce Haegeman’s (2014) syntactic scheme for the speech act layer. Its main advantage over other alternatives is that it makes very explicit predictions about the distribution of initial and final discourse particles with respect to vocatives and other particles. However, as will be discussed, the proposal requires certain extensions in order to accommodate the behaviour of *pero_{conc}*.

4.1 The speech act layer in Haegeman (2014)

Following previous work by Munaro & Poletto (2003, 2009) and Hill (2007), Haegeman (2014) advances a cartography for the structure of the speech act layer that accounts for the distribution of the discourse particles *né* ‘look’ and *wè* ‘you know’ in West Flemish.

As shown in (58) and (59), *né* can appear in both initial and final positions, while *wè* can only function as a final particle.

- (58) a. **Né** m' een al een medalie.
 NÉ we have already a medal
 'Look, we already have a medal.'
 b. M' een al een medalie **né**.

West Flemish (Haegeman 2014: 118)

- (59) M' een al een medalie **wè**
 we have already a medal WÈ
 'We already have a medal, you know.'

West Flemish (Haegeman 2014: 118)

When these particles co-occur, their distribution is as in (60): they can be separated as long as *wè* occupies the final position (60a-b); when both particles appear at the end of the sentence, *né* must precede *wè* (60c-d); all alternatives with *wè* at the left of the sentence are excluded (60e-f).

- (60) a. **Né** men artikel is gedoan **wè**.
 NÉ my paper is done WÈ
 Look, my paper is finished, you know.
 b. * **Wè** men artikel is gedoan **né**.
 c. Men artikel is gedoan **wè né**.
 d. * Men artikel is gedoan **né wè**.
 e. * **Né wè** men artikel is gedoan.
 f. * **Wè né** men artikel is gedoan.

West Flemish (Haegeman 2014: 125)

Both particles may co-appear with vocatives, but the distributional restrictions they impose are different. The particle *né* can be separated from the sentence by a vocative both in initial (61a) or final position (61b); additionally, a vocative can appear after *né* in final position (61c).

- (61) a. **Né** Valère, men artikel is gereed.
 NÉ Valère my paper is ready
 'Look, Valère, my paper is ready!'
 b. Men artikel is gereed, **né** Valère.
 c. Men artikel is gereed, Valère, **né**

West Flemish (Haegeman 2014: 128)

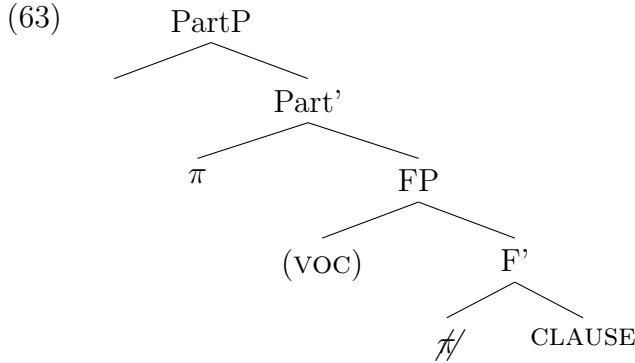
However, a vocative cannot interfere between final *wè* and the rest of the sentence.

- (62) a. Men artikel is gereed **wè**, Valère.
 my paper is ready WÈ Valère
 'My paper is ready, Valère, you know.'
 b. * Men artikel is gereed Valère, **wè**.

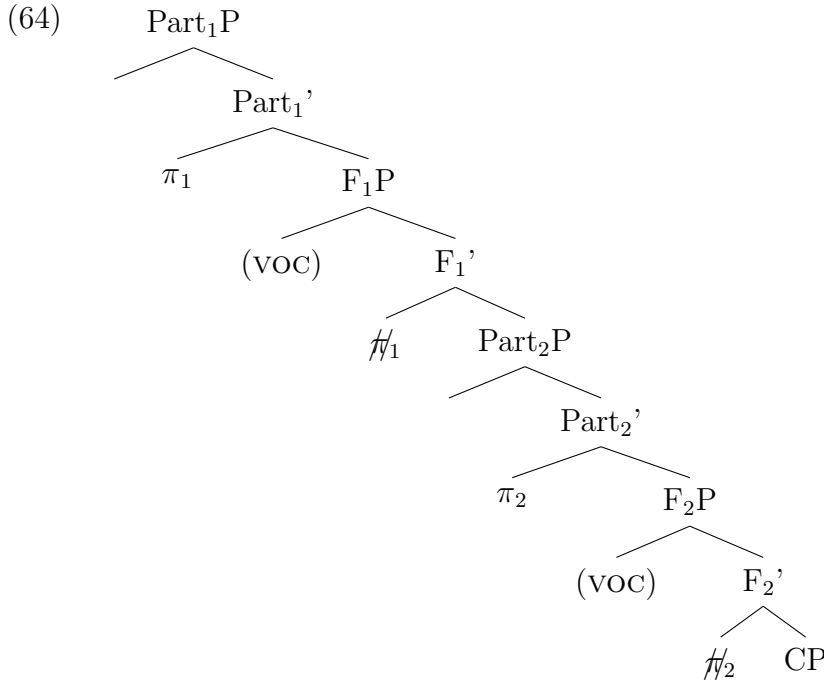
c. Valère, men artikel is gereed **wè**.

West Flemish (Haegeman 2014: 128)

To account for these properties, Haegeman proposes that each discourse particle is part of a double layered structure that is analogous to a traditional VP-shell. Thus, just as a lexical verb *V* projects a VP and then head-moves to little *v*, a discourse particle π projects an FP and then moves to the head position of the projection PartP that immediately dominates FP. This “particle shell” has slots for three types of constituents: the complement of FP is occupied by (a constituent containing) the clause, the specifier of FP is reserved for vocatives, and the specifier of PartP is the position to where the clause moves if π happens to be a sentence-final particle.

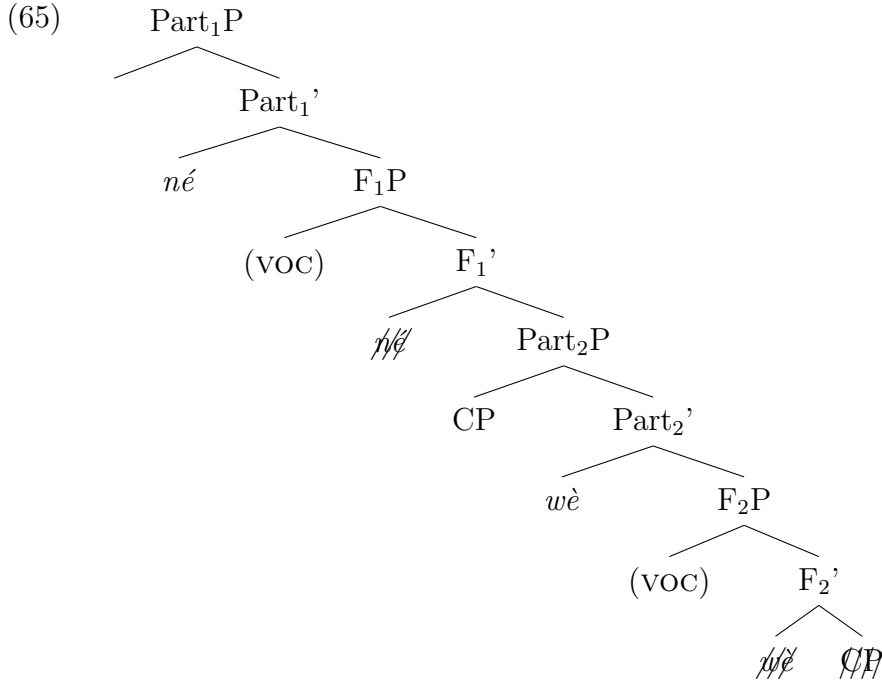


According to Haegeman, the speech act layer consists of two (and only two) complete particle shells Part₁P and Part₂P, where Part₁P dominates Part₂P. Both shells are always present in the syntactic representation, meaning that the particles heading them may be silent dummy elements.

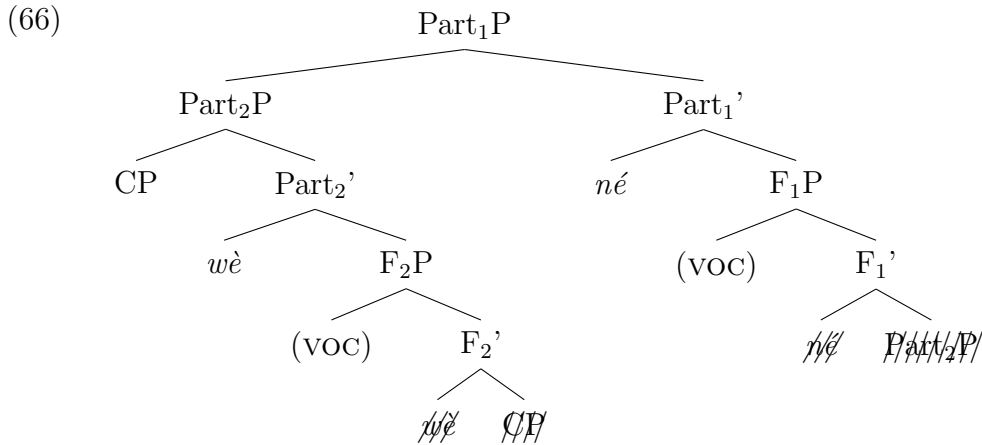


The West Flemish patterns in (58) to (62) can be accounted for by this general scheme if *né* is taken to function as the head of the higher shell and *wè* as the head of the lower one,

as sketched in (65). Since *wè* is a final particle, the CP complement of F_2P must move to the specifier position of $Part_2P$. These assumptions derive the pattern attested in (60a).



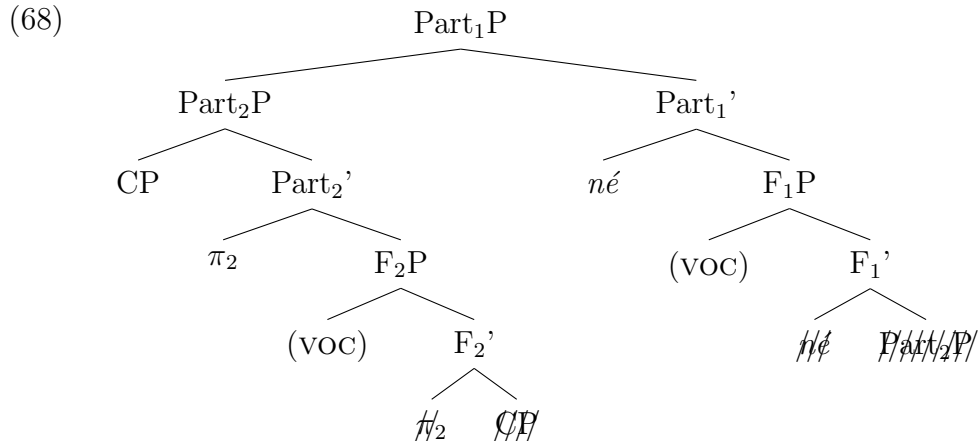
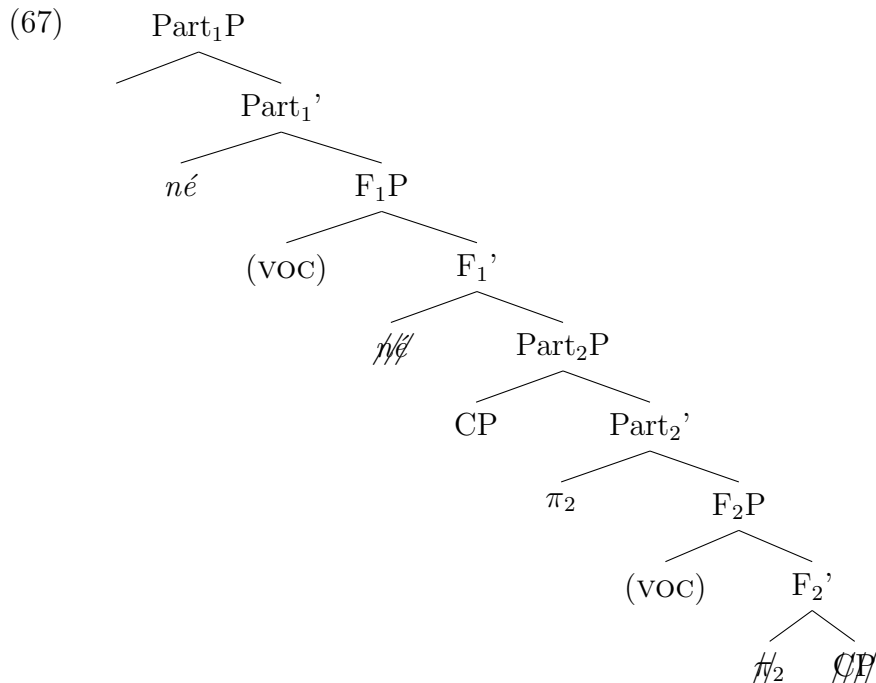
As seen in (60b), *né* can also appear in final position. Haegeman accounts for this order by assuming that $Part_2P$, i.e., the lower particle shell immediately dominating the CP, moves to the specifier position of $Part_1P$, as shown in (66).



The proposal successfully accounts for the unacceptability of the remaining orders in (60). That is, the patterns in (60b), (60e) and (60f) do not involve movement of the CP to Spec, $Part_2P$ as required by the sentence-final particle *wè*, and the ordering of the particles in (60d), i.e., *né* < *wè*, is the opposite to what the derivation in (66) actually predicts.

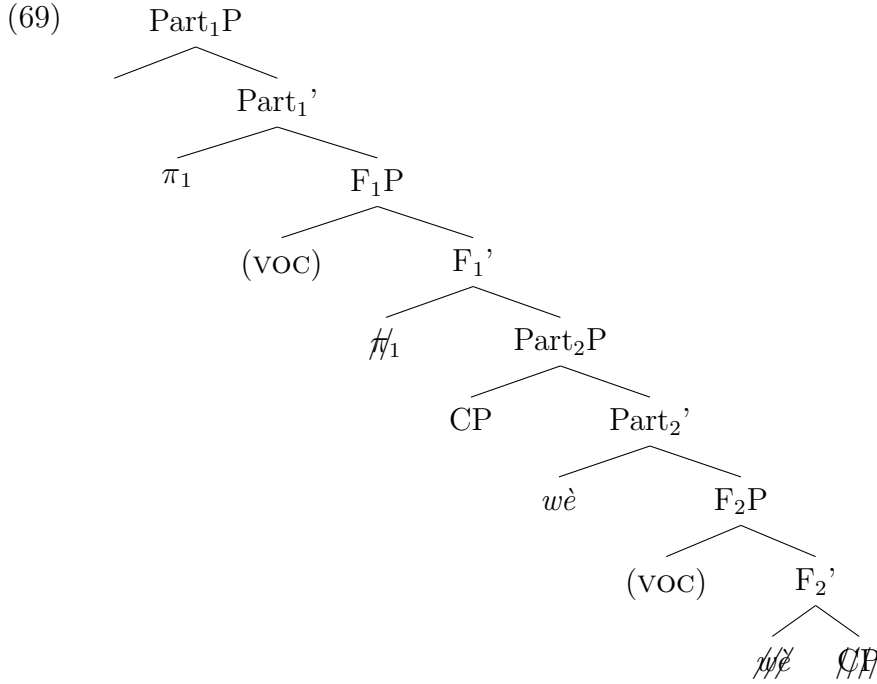
As mentioned, both $Part_1P$ and $Part_2P$ are projected in every sentence, even if no discourse particle is attested in those positions. Thus, sentences in which only one particle appears, or even cases in which there is no overt particle at all, involve null π heads. For instance, sentences in which only the particle surfaces, e.g., (58a) and (58b), are taken

to incorporate a silent particle π_2 heading the Part₂P shell, as shown respectively in (67) and (68). Notice that the syntax of these structures does not differ significantly from that of sentences in which *wè* appears, i.e., (65) and (66); in Haegeman’s system, the syntax of each PartP is independent from the other.⁹



Conversely, the sentence in (59) is taken to have a dummy particle π_1 heading the higher particle shell; once again the presence or absence of an overt particle in Part₁P does not affect the internal syntax of Part₂P.

⁹In particular, Haegeman (2014) assumes that the lower particle shell is systematically final, i.e., it always attracts the CP to the specifier position of Part₂P. This assumption is abandoned here in order to offer a proper analysis of *pero bahiense*; see discussion below.

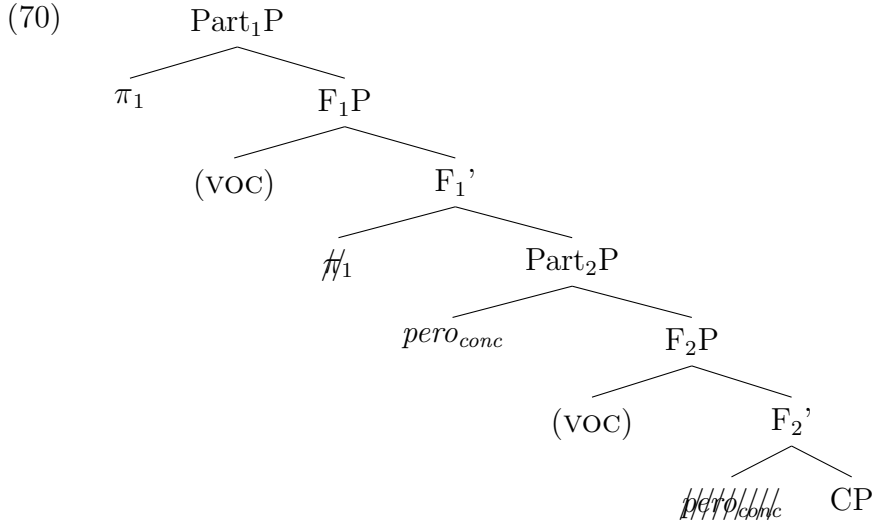


These structures successfully account for the distribution of *né* and *wè* with respect to vocatives. As the representations in (67) and (68) predict, vocatives can linearly intervene between *né* and the CP, as previously attested in (62). On the contrary, there is no VOC position between the CP and *wè* in (65), so the unacceptability of the pattern CP–VOC–*wè* in (62b) is correctly borne out.

As Haegeman (2014: 124) observes, it is necessary to examine to what extent this framework can be extended to discourse particles in languages other than West Flemish. Thus, my intention in the next section is to apply her proposal to the analysis of *pero bahiense* in order to evaluate which aspects of the abstract structure in (64) need to be subject to parametric variation.

4.2 Back to the Bahiense dialect

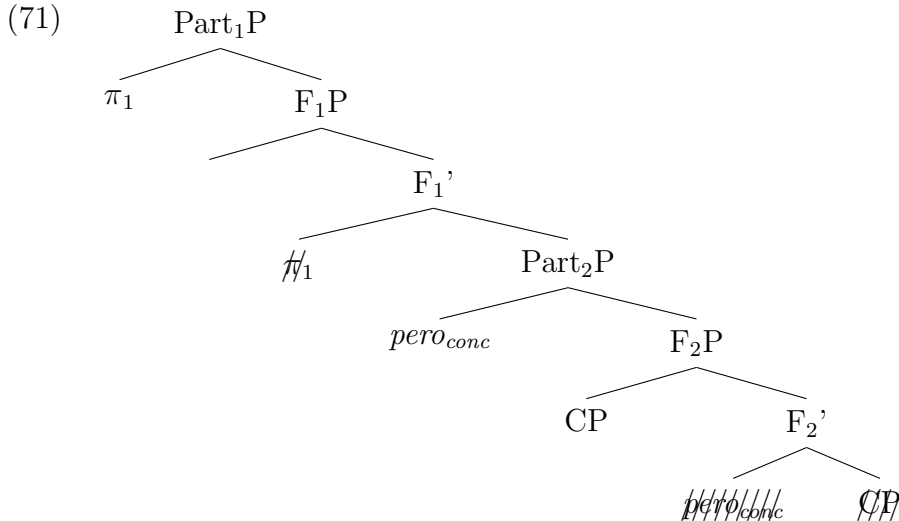
There is no totally fitting analysis of *pero bahiense* under Haegeman’s assumptions. The most promising account of the phenomenon seems to consist on assuming that *pero_{conc}* is introduced as the head of the lower particle shell. Consider first *initial pero*, as represented in (70); to obtain the sentence-initial position of *pero_{conc}*, the CP remains in the complement position of F₂P.



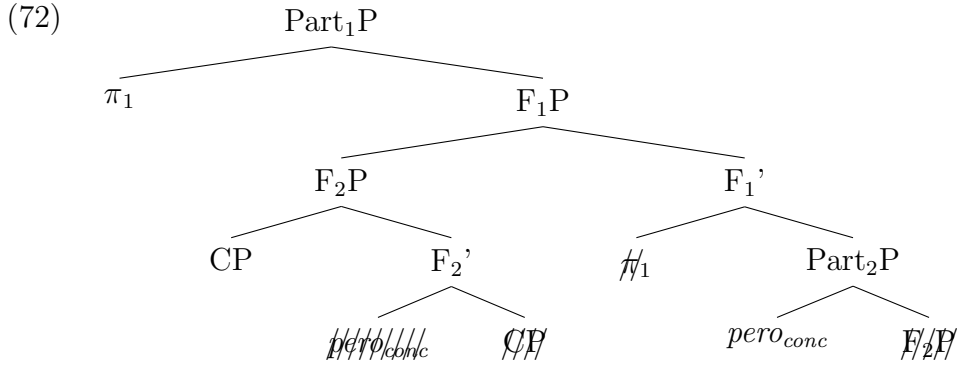
This straightforward analysis allows to account for the relatively free distribution of vocatives and *initial pero* shown in (38): vocatives can appear both before *perconc*, and between *perconc* and the CP.¹⁰

On the contrary, *pero bahiense* cannot co-occur with vocatives no matter their position, e.g., (39). This strongly suggests that the mechanism in charge of generating the order CP-*perconc* in the Bahiense dialect has the side effect of making unavailable the positions in which vocatives are supposed to be merged.

I propose that the Bahiense dialect derives the order CP-*perconc* through successive movements involving the FP projection instead of PartP. That is, while in West Flemish there is a derivation in which the CP moves to the specifier of Part₂P (65) and then Part₂P moves to the specifier of Part₁P (66), in Bahiense Spanish the CP moves to the specifier position of F₂P (71) and then F₂P moves to the specifier of F₁P (72).

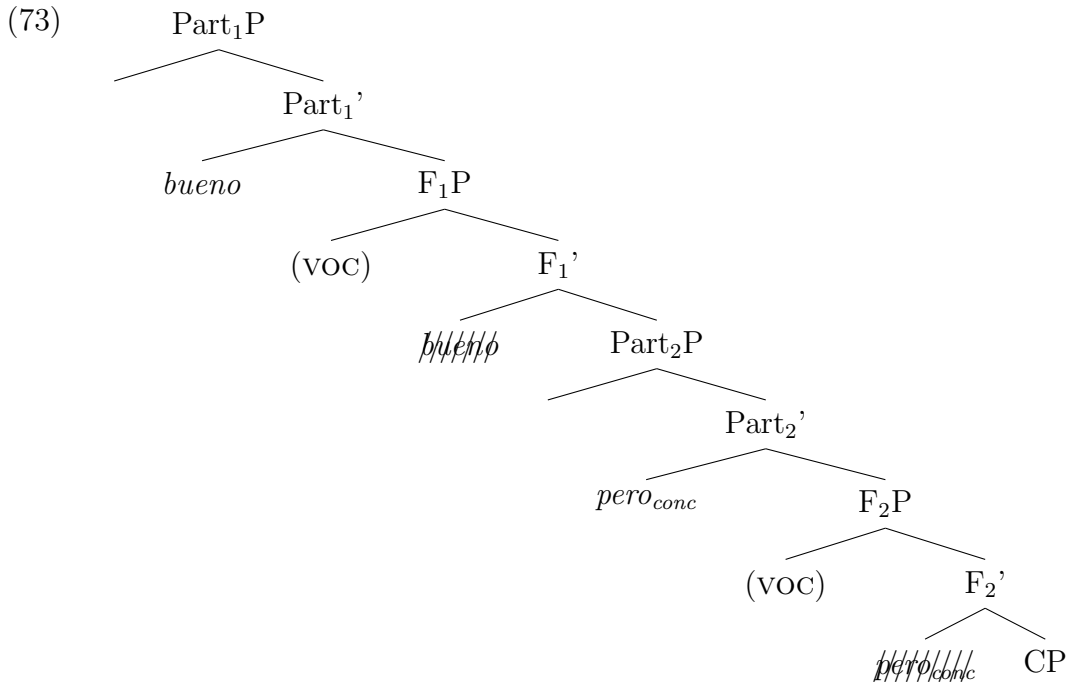


¹⁰The fact that *initial pero* can co-occur with a vocative in final position is problematic for the analysis in (70), as there is no VOC position after the CP. See discussion below.



The immediate consequence of this derivation is that there are no slots available to host vocatives when *pero_{conc}* is in final position. Therefore, no vocative is predicted to appear together with *pero bahiense*.

As seen in (44), *initial pero* may co-appear with other sentence-initial particles such as *bueno* ‘well’; I take that this element is merged as the head of the higher particle projection Part₁P.

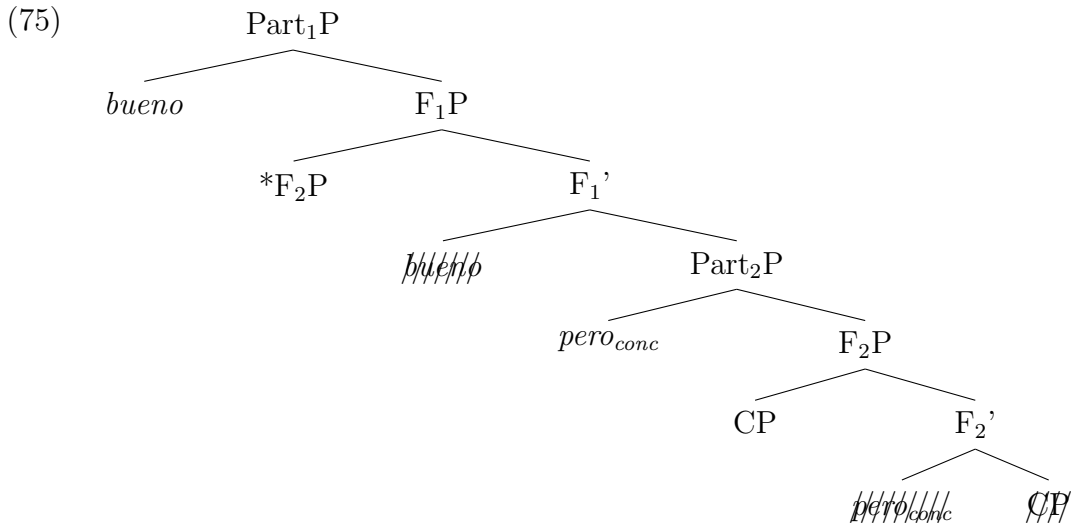


This analysis correctly predicts that vocatives can appear both between *bueno* and *initial pero*, as in (74a), or between *initial pero* and the CP, as shown in (74b). Moreover, it also accounts for the unacceptability of a vocative preceding *bueno* no matter *pero* appears in the sentence or not, e.g., (74c).

- (74)
- a. Bueno, Juan, **pero** el intendente ganó las elecciones.
 well Juan but the major won the elections
 ‘Well, Juan, but the major won the elections.’
 - b. Bueno, **pero** Juan, el intendente ganó las elecciones.
 well but Juan the major won the elections
 ‘Well, but Juan, the major won the elections.’

- c. * Juan, bueno, (**pero**) el intendente ganó las elecciones.
 Juan well but the major won the elections
 ‘Juan, well, (but) the major won the elections.’

On the other hand, *pero bahiense* cannot co-appear with *bueno*, as already shown in (45). This restriction can also be explained by appealing to the derivation in (71) and (72). Notice that in this proposal the order CP-*pero_{conc}* is not derived within the domain of Part₂P, but requires exploiting the specifier position of F₁P in the higher particle shell. Crucially, if the particle heading the higher shell does not attract the F₂P constituent, the *final pero* pattern cannot be obtained. Presumably, this is what prevents *bueno* from co-appearing with *final pero*: *bueno* is a particle that does not seem to attract a clausal constituent to its domain, therefore it disallows the second step in the derivation of *final pero*, i.e., movement of F₂P to the specifier position of F₁P.



It remains to explain the asymmetry with respect to the conjunction *aunque* ‘although’. As discussed, *initial pero* cannot co-occur with *aunque* (41), but *final pero* can (43). To account for this, I follow Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach (2009), among others, in assuming that *aunque* is formed by two contiguous elements: the concessive adverbial *aun* ‘even’ and the declarative complementizer *que*.

- (76) *aunque* = [AdvP *aun* [CP *que* ...]]

Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach (2009: 734)

Matrix declarative sentences in Spanish do not exhibit overt complementizers. Thus, the analysis in (76) seems to be based on the assumption that the phonological realization of *que* is motivated and required by *aun*. A straightforward way of capturing this is by taking the occurrence of *aun* that allows forming *aunque* to be an affix-like element that requires attaching itself to an overt complementizer.

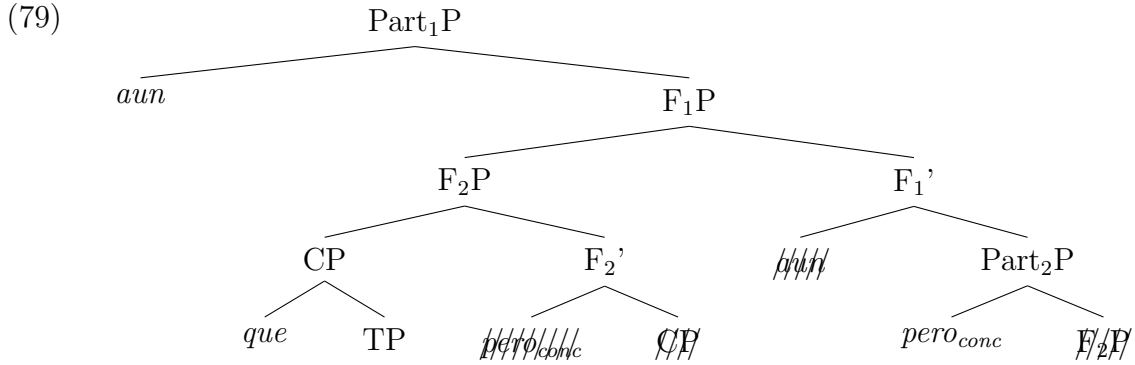
Adapting Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach’s scheme to the speech act layer framework, I take that *aun* in (76) functions as the head of the higher particle shell. I further assume that, in order to form *aunque*, *aun* and *que* must be linearly adjacent in the surface representation, e.g., (77a); if an overt constituent intervenes between them, *aunque* cannot be formed, and the sentence ends up being ungrammatical due to a violation of the *stranded affix filter* (Lasnik 1981), e.g., (77b).

- (77) a. $[_{\text{Part}_1\text{P}} \text{aun} \dots [_{\text{CP}} \text{que} \dots]]$ $\text{aun} \curvearrowright \text{que} = \text{aunque}$
 b. $[_{\text{Part}_1\text{P}} \text{aun} \dots \text{DP}_{\text{vocative}} \dots [_{\text{CP}} \text{que} \dots]]$ $\text{aun} \curvearrowright \text{DP} \curvearrowright \text{que} = * \text{aun-DP-que}$

This allows to account for the unacceptability of combining *initial pero* and *aunque* in (41). Just as sketched in (77b), the occurrence of *pero_{conc}* in Part₂P linearly intervenes between *aun* and *que*, yielding the structure ungrammatical.

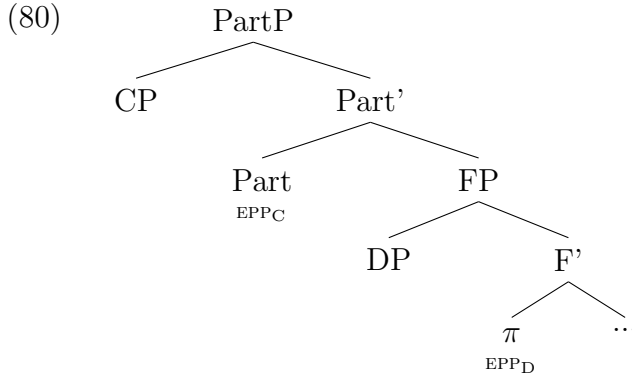
- (78) $[_{\text{Part}_1\text{P}} \text{aun} \dots [_{\text{Part}_2\text{P}} \text{pero}_{\text{conc}} \dots [_{\text{CP}} \text{que} \dots]]]$ $\text{aun} \curvearrowright \text{pero} \curvearrowright \text{que} = * \text{aun-pero-que}$

On the other hand, the derivation proposed for *pero bahiense* in (71) and (72) predicts that it should be able to co-appear with *aunque*. That is, while at first *pero_{conc}* occupies a position that would prevent the formation of *aunque*, ulterior movement of F₂P to the specifier of F₁P creates a context in which *aun* and *que* end up being adjacent (79). Thus, under the present analysis, syntactic movement related to the positioning of a discourse particle is able to feed morphological processes.



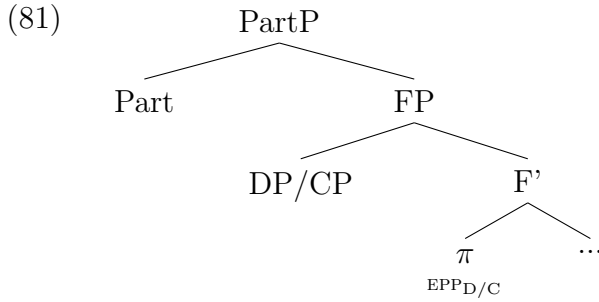
As seen, the proposed analysis allows to account for the distribution of *initial pero* and *pero bahiense* with respect to several sentence-peripheral elements. However, this has been achieved by altering a number of assumptions in Haegeman's (2014) system that were key to capture the behaviour of *né* and *wè* in West Flemish. I consider these deviations from Haegeman's original proposal to constitute parameters of variation between West Flemish and Bahiense Spanish. Furthermore, I follow the Borer-Chomsky conjecture (Baker 2008) in maintaining that the syntactic variation space of the speech act layer is determined by the features of its functional elements. The question now is how to capture the asymmetries between discourse particles in West Flemish and Bahiense Spanish in these terms.

Maybe the main difference between both analyses refers to the phrasal categories that intervene in the movement operations deriving the final position of particles: *né* and *wè* in West Flemish make use of the PartP projection, while *pero bahiense* seems to exploit the FP projection; as discussed, the latter alternative offers a straightforward account of the correlation between the sentence-final position of *pero_{conc}* and its incapability of hosting vocatives. I argue that both parametric choices can be captured in terms of the featural content of the two heads composing the particle shell. The general intuition is that a particle may carry EPP-features attracting a CP or a vocative DP. In certain cases, each of the heads in the particle shell has a specific type of EPP-feature: the head of PartP has an EPP_C that requires moving a CP to its specifier position, while the head of FP has an EPP_D that requires introducing a vocative DP.



I propose that the features of West Flemish *né* and *wé* are distributed as in (80). This explains why both of them can host particles and appear in final position.

In other languages, only one of the heads in the particle shell carries EPP-features. Particularly, the head of FP has a sort of EPP-feature that can be satisfied through both (i) attracting the CP to its specifier position, or (ii) merging a vocative DP. As shown in (81), these particles lack a specifier position for PartP.



I maintain that the distribution of features in (81) corresponds to *pero bahiense*, as it successfully predicts that vocatives and final *pero_{conc}* are in a complementary distribution.

Notice that the distribution of EPP-features along the particle shell actually establishes a typology of four types of particles, two more besides the ones already sketched in (80) and (81). These additional two are illustrated in (82a) and (82b). The former requires a vocative DP as the specifier of PartP, and a CP as specifier of FP. In the latter, the specifier of PartP may host either a vocative or a CP; this configuration corresponds to a discourse particle that does not seem to exhibit internal structure. Further research must show whether this typology is on the right track, or if it must be restricted to the original two types.

- (82)
- a. $[_{\text{PartP}} \text{DP} [_{\text{Part}'} \text{Part}_{\text{EPP}_D} [_{\text{FP}} \text{CP} [_{\text{F}'} \pi_{\text{EPP}_C} \dots]]]]$
 - b. $[_{\text{PartP}} \text{DP/CP} [_{\text{Part}'} \text{Part}_{\text{EPP}_{D/C}} [_{\text{FP}} \pi \dots]]]]$

The parametric choices in (80) and (81) require distinct derivations to generate a final particle. The representation in (80) allows to derive the final position of a particle within its own shell by locating the CP in the specifier of PartP; this fits the behaviour of *né* and *wè*, as the presence of one does not affect the possibility of the other of appearing in final position. As discussed, this does not hold for *pero bahiense*, and the representation in (81) reflects it: in this scheme, after π head-moves to Part, the only possible order

within a single shell is with the particle in initial position. Thus, final particles must be derived through movement of the clause to a position within a higher particle shell. This is the type of derivation proposed for *pero bahiense* in (71) and (72). The fact that *pero bahiense* recruits slots corresponding to a higher particle to derive its position predicts its interaction with elements such as *bueno* ‘well’, whose presence seems to cancel the ability of *pero_{conc}* of appearing in final position.

A further difference with respect to Haegeman’s original proposal involves the obligatoriness of movement operations in each particle shell. In her system, the particle projecting the lower shell is always final, i.e., the clause always moves to the specifier of Part₂P; whereas the particle in the higher shell can be either initial or final, i.e., movement of the clause to Part₁P is optional.

$$(83) \quad [\text{Part}_1\text{P} (\text{Part}_2\text{P}) [\text{Part}_1', \pi_1 \dots [\text{Part}_2\text{P} \text{CP} [\text{Part}_2', \pi_2 \dots \text{CP}]]]]$$

On the contrary, the analysis advanced in (80) and (81) does not make this positional distinction. Here, movement is assumed to be triggered by EPP-features that are assigned in a similar fashion as to how T has been observed to vary inter-linguistically. That is, some particles, e.g., West Flemish *wè*, are always assigned EPP-features just as the T heads in English always carry EPP-features; other particles, e.g., *pero_{conc}* in Bahiense Spanish, may optionally receive EPP-features, just as T heads in pro-drop languages do (e.g., Biberauer 2010); finally, there are particles that never receive EPP-features, e.g., Spanish *bueno* ‘well’, just as T heads in Irish do not carry EPP-features (McCloskey 1996).

There are empirical reasons to prefer the latter more flexible approach to movement operations in the speech act layer over Haegeman’s (2014) positional account. For the sake of the argument, assume together with Haegeman that the lower particle shell is always final. This implies that a particle that can be either initial or final like *pero_{conc}* must be necessarily analysed as the head of the higher shell, as sketched in (84a) and (84b) for *initial pero* and *pero bahiense*, respectively.

$$(84) \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{a.} & [\text{Part}_1\text{P} \text{pero}_{conc} [\text{F}_1\text{P} \text{VOC} [\text{F}_1', \text{CP} \dots [\text{Part}_2\text{P} \text{CP} \dots]]]] \\ \text{b.} & [\text{Part}_1\text{P} [\text{Part}_2\text{P} \text{CP} \dots] [\text{Part}_1', \text{pero}_{conc} [\text{F}_1\text{P} \text{VOC} [\text{F}_1', \text{CP} \dots [\text{Part}_2\text{P} \text{CP} \dots]]]]] \end{array}$$

A main issue with the analyses in (84) is that there are no available positions within the speech act layer to host particles above *pero_{conc}*. This precludes any principled account for the interaction of *pero_{conc}* with discourse particles preceding it. For instance, if *pero_{conc}* heads the higher particle shell, elements like *bueno* ‘well’ would need to be analysed as a sort of adjunct to the speech act layer, as schematically illustrated in (85).

$$(85) \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{a.} & [\text{Part}_1\text{P} \text{bueno} [\text{Part}_1\text{P} \text{pero}_{conc} [\text{F}_1\text{P} \text{VOC} [\text{F}_1', \text{CP} \dots [\text{Part}_2\text{P} \text{CP} \dots]]]]] \\ \text{b.} & [\text{Part}_1\text{P} \text{bueno} [\text{Part}_1\text{P} [\text{Part}_2\text{P} \text{CP} \dots] [\text{Part}_1', \text{pero}_{conc} [\text{F}_1\text{P} \text{VOC} [\text{F}_1', \text{CP} \dots [\text{Part}_2\text{P} \text{CP} \dots]]]]]] \end{array}$$

These structures do not explain why the sentences resulting from (85a) are acceptable, e.g., (44), while the ones deriving from (85b) are not, e.g., (45): why would the presence of a specifier in Part₁P affect the possibility of attaching *bueno* as an adjunct? Furthermore, an analysis in the line of (84) still needs to account for the ban on vocative phrases attested when *pero_{conc}* appears in final position. Thus, it should be concluded that Haegeman’s (2014) original assumptions are not able to account for the behaviour of *pero_{conc}*

in Bahiense Spanish, and that an extension similar to the one proposed in this article is empirically motivated.

5 Concluding remarks

At least three Spanish varieties make use of the sentential connector *pero* ‘but’ at the end of the sentence. To fully understand the phenomenon, it is necessary to describe the functioning of this element in each of the dialects that manifest it. This paper is a contribution in precisely this sense: it described some basic characteristics of *final pero* in the Bahiense dialect, i.e., the so called *pero bahiense*.

After arguing that *pero bahiense* must be distinguished from other non-initial uses of *pero*, the article contrasted standard *initial pero* and *pero bahiense*, showing that both elements share a number of non-trivial properties: both are sentence-peripheral, restricted to matrix contexts, and have the basic characteristics of discourse particles. As for the differences, both types of *pero* establish distinct distributional restrictions regarding vocatives and other discourse particles. Moreover, they also differ in their meaning: while *pero bahiense* encodes concessivity, *initial pero* codifies both concessivity and semantic opposition. Lastly, both types of *pero* also differ at the prosodic level: while *initial pero* is fully integrated to the main prosodic unit, *pero bahiense* seems to form a separate phonological phrase, just as right dislocated constituents.

Finally, an analysis in terms of Haegeman’s (2014) articulation of the speech act layer has been advanced. Important aspects of Haegeman’s original proposal were modified in order to fit the patterns attested in the Bahiense dialect. These differences have been argued to be parametrical: the distribution of movement-inducing features in the speech act layer is proposed to be subject to variation.

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