

**The interpersonal and experiential grammar
of Chilean Spanish:
Towards a principled Systemic-Functional description
based on axial argumentation**

Beatriz Enriqueta Quiroz Olivares

A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics
University of Sydney

March 2013

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person where due reference is not made in the text.

Beatriz Enriqueta Quiroz Olivares

March 2013

Abstract

This thesis provides a description of the experiential and interpersonal lexicogrammar of Spanish based on system-structure relations. The theoretical dimension of axis is used to bring together relevant semiotic dimensions, including metafunction, stratification and rank. Importantly, axial relations are used to systematically relate the SFL theoretical architecture and the description of Spanish-specific patterns. This study examines key clause systems of MOOD and POLARITY within the interpersonal metafunction, and PROCESS TYPE within the experiential component of the ideational metafunction. The account of the interpersonal grammar of Spanish concerns clause contrasts used by speakers for the enactment of speech roles and the negotiation of semiotic commodities. The trinocular approach, ‘from above’, ‘from around’ and ‘from below’, shows that the main structural function at stake in interpersonal clause types is the Predicator, realised by the verbal group alone. The centrality of the verbal group leads to an exploration of relevant systems at group rank, including those systems organising selections in temporal, modal and personal deixis. The description of experiential grammar of Spanish deals with resources for the linguistic construal of the internal and external experience of the world. The review of material, mental and relational clauses types reveals specific and complex configurational patterns that need to be addressed systematically. Therefore, orbital relations in clause structure are first explored in depth, with the verbal group emerging as a key resource for the identification of cryptogrammatical patterns. The description then sharpens the focus on the grammar of Spanish mental processes, with special attention to the nature of inherent participant roles, their relations with kinds of phenomenality and the configurational relations they enter into. Perception, reaction and cognition mental subtypes are accounted for, along with their specific potential for additional participants. The key contribution of the study is the articulation of an explicit system-structure heuristic that allows the exploration of Spanish grammar in its own terms. Descriptive work developed in this way frees argumentation from appeals to authority, such as ‘canonical’ texts centred in the organisation of English, as well as from notional definitions of systemic and structural categories. Crucially, it offers promising perspectives for the development of a rich and integrated description of Spanish that reveals its specific forms of organisation and can be systematically connected to the study of patterns in texts.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to acknowledge the memory of Ana Maria Harvey. Without her support and encouragement, this intellectual and emotional adventure in Sydney would have never taken place.

My deepest gratitude goes to Jim, my supervisor. What an amazing mentor and human being I have found in you! The teacher I spent my whole life looking for. Studying with you, so far away from my homeland, was absolutely worthwhile. It has been an immense privilege to learn from you, in so many respects. Thank you for your patience – especially when I was outrageously stubborn and pushy! –, your enormous generosity, your trust, your continuous encouragement, and your always uplifting advice and Canadian sense of humour!

I would like to acknowledge Alice Caffarel, my associate supervisor. Our chats in your office were always instructive, even when we didn't necessarily talk about work. I appreciate your availability when needed, as well as your very constructive comments. You always contributed with refreshing ways of looking at things.

My special thanks to Kristin Davidse, who in her brief stay in Sydney was incredibly generous and kindly discussed my work, having read a great deal of my draft. You turned up at the right moment, just when I was ready to fully appreciate your insightful comments. Knowing you and your work has been very, very inspiring.

My thanks to Yaegan Doran, who used his precious time to carefully proofread the final draft, so that my academic English was clear enough! I hope we can repeat those ridiculously long (and nerdy) chats some day.

Thanks to Sue, who was always warm and funny when I was lucky enough to spend time with her. Above all, thank you and Jim for adopting me, for opening the doors of your lovely home, and for taking me out when I needed some extra affection (and exercise)! Hope we can share many pisco sours in years to come!

I would like to acknowledge all of the lovely and amazing friends I've made in Sydney throughout these years, many of them fully engaged in the SFL community. Our chats, our fixing the world, the laughs and hugs, the drinks and food we shared together, the travelling... so many memorable moments I will always cherish. I hope we have the joy of repeating them many more times, wherever we happen to meet: Santa Maria,

Santiago, Kuala Lumpur, Bandung, Beijing, João Pessoa, São Paulo, Sydney, Arica, Hong Kong, Auckland, Iquique, Wollongong, Melbourne, Lisboa, Budapest ...

In particular, I would like to thank those friends who were a genuine family to me while I was living in Australia: Kerryn, Margarita, Jean, Sabina and Jing. I wouldn't have made it without your love. You've made my life in Sydney a really happy and fulfilled one. I owe you so much.

Table of Contents

Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	xiv
List of Symbols and Abbreviations	xvii
Chapter1: Introduction	1
1.1 Grammatical categories.....	1
1.2 The axial principle: towards a ‘deep grammar’ and beyond.....	3
1.3 Descriptive work in SFL	7
1.3.1 The location of SFL descriptions and Whorf’s concerns.....	9
1.4 Towards an axially motivated description of Spanish.....	11
1.5 Overview of the thesis	13
Chapter 2: Theoretical Foundations	16
2.1 Introduction	16
2.2 A systemic functional framework for language description	17
2.2.1 Stratification.....	17
2.2.1.1 Implications for language description	21
2.2.2 Rank.....	22
2.2.2.1 Categories along the syntagmatic axis: class and function.....	24
2.2.2.2 An intermediate rank: the group/phrase	27
2.2.2.3 Rank-shift	29
2.2.2.4 Implications for language description	31
2.2.3 Metafunction.....	32
2.2.3.1 Types of meaning and associated structural patterns	37
2.2.3.1.1 Particulate structure	38
2.2.3.1.2 Prosodic structure	40
2.2.3.1.3 Periodic structure	41
2.2.3.2 Implications for language description	43
2.2.4 Instantiation	46
2.3 The axial organisation of language.....	50
2.3.1 The point of origin of axial relations in SFL	50

2.3.1.1	The Firthian system-structure principle.....	50
2.3.1.2	Halliday's 'deep grammar'	54
2.3.2	Axis and systemic description	56
2.3.2.1	The structural motivation of systemic features.....	59
2.3.2.2	Accessing system-structure relations through agnation	63
2.3.2.2.1	Gleason: grammatical relations between 'sentences'	63
2.3.2.2.2	Proportionalities.....	67
2.3.2.2.3	Realisational complexity	71
2.3.2.3	Implications for language description	76
2.3.3	Bringing theoretical dimensions together through the axial principle.....	77
2.4	Theory and description.....	84
2.4.1	Towards an axial interpretation of the trinocular principle	86
2.4.2	From the widest to the narrowest: a cross-linguistic perspective	89
2.5	Concluding remarks: towards a systemic description of Spanish	93
	Chapter 3: Spanish Interpersonal Grammar	95
3.1	Introduction	95
3.2	Interpersonal grammar 'from above'	95
3.2.1	Speech functions	96
3.2.2	The basic negotiatory structure of the clause.....	100
3.2.3	Resources in Romance languages.....	105
3.2.4	Spanish interpersonal resources	107
3.2.4.1	The Spanish Negotiator	118
3.3	Interpersonal grammar 'from around':.....	126
3.3.1	Towards a Spanish MOOD system	127
3.3.1.1	Imperative clauses in Spanish.....	128
3.3.1.2	Indicative clauses in Spanish	133
3.3.2	POLARITY in Spanish	138
3.3.2.1	Dominating prosody: the so-called 'multiple negation'	143
3.3.2.2	A POLARITY network for Spanish	146
3.3.3	Interpersonal clause systems: summary.....	148
3.4	Interpersonal grammar 'from below': verbal group systems	148
3.4.1	FINITENESS.....	149
3.4.2	POLARITY within the verbal group.....	154
3.4.3	Summary: multivariate structure of the verbal group.....	156
3.5	Concluding remarks	157

Chapter 4: Spanish Experiential Grammar	161
4.1 Introduction	161
4.2 Experiential meanings ‘from above’: interstratal relations	161
4.2.1 Construing experience in Spanish texts	167
4.2.2 Experiential domains: an overview of Spanish process types	179
4.2.3 Summary	191
4.3 The general potential ‘from below’: structural resources	191
4.3.1 Spanish orbital configurations	191
4.3.2 Relevant verbal group systems	212
4.3.2.1 NUCLEARITY	213
4.3.2.2 VOICE.....	218
4.3.3 Summary.....	239
4.4 Towards a cryptogrammar of ‘sensing’ in Spanish.....	242
4.4.1 Perception mental processes	251
4.4.2 Reaction mental processes	260
4.4.3 Cognition mental processes	273
4.4.3.1 Some additional patterns in cognition mental clauses	281
4.4.4 Additional participants.....	284
4.4.5 Spanish mental processes: summary.....	293
4.5 Concluding remarks	295
Chapter 5: Conclusion	297
5.1 Introduction	297
5.2 Summary of findings and contributions	297
5.2.1 Spanish interpersonal grammar.....	299
5.2.2 Spanish experiential grammar.....	306
5.2.3 Down the rank scale.....	311
5.3 Future directions.....	318
5.4 Concluding remarks	322
Appendix A: Notational Conventions	323
Appendix B: Sample Data	331
Appendix C: System Networks	342
Appendix D: Verbal group resources	346
Appendix E: An SFL Sketch of Spanish TENSE	350
Appendix F: Submitted manuscript	357
References	390

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1

- Figure 1.1** Basic MOOD system in English 5
- Figure 1.2** Theoretical dimensions brought together through the axial principle (based on Martin & Matthiessen, 1991, p. 350)..... 7
- Figure 1.3** Theory and description related at different orders of generality and abstraction..... 8

CHAPTER 2

- Figure 2.1** Language as a denotative semiotic (based on Martin, 1992a, p. 405) 18
- Figure 2.2** Language as a stratified semiotic system (Martin 1992a, p. 405)..... 18
- Figure 2.3** The double stratification of the content plane in language (based on Martin, 1992a) 20
- Figure 2.4** Formulation of stratification as a metaredundant relation between strata (based on Halliday, 1992/2002)..... 21
- Figure 2.5** Rank scale within the lexicogrammatical stratum..... 23
- Figure 2.6** Constituency analysis of an English clause down to word (example adapted from Martin, 2004a)..... 23
- Figure 2.7** Classes in syntagms and functional configurations in structure 25
- Figure 2.8** ‘Flat tree’ showing function and class layers (based on Martin, 2004a, p. 60) 25
- Figure 2.9** Circumstance of Location (time) realised by different classes in an English material clause 26
- Figure 2.10** Potential for expansion at group rank: English nominal groups 27
- Figure 2.11** Potential for expansion at group rank: English verbal groups 28
- Figure 2.12** Rank-shifted clause realising a clause-rank function in English..... 29
- Figure 2.13** Rank-shifted clause realising a nominal group function in English..... 30
- Figure 2.14** Rank-shifted group/phrase units in English realising group/phrase functions 30
- Figure 2.15** Metafunction in relation to stratification..... 33
- Figure 2.16** Three-tiered structure for the English clause (adapted from Martin, 2004a) 34
- Figure 2.17** Multivariate and univariate structure of the English nominal group (based on Halliday, 1994, p. 191) 35
- Figure 2.18** Multivariate and univariate structure of the English verbal group (based on Martin et al. 2010) 36

Figure 2.19 Three kinds of meaning (metafunctions) associated with three types of structure	38
Figure 2.20 Orbital and serial: types of structure in English in terms of kinds of nuclearity (after Martin 1996c).....	39
Figure 2.21 Negative polarity prosody in English (example from Martin, 1996c, p. 42)	41
Figure 2.22 Negative polarity prosody in ‘non-standard’ English (from Martin, 1996c, p. 42).....	41
Figure 2.23 Periodic patterns: information and thematic structure in English.....	42
Figure 2.24 Textual, interpersonal and topical Theme in English (example from Martin, 1992b, p. 150).....	42
Figure 2.25 Types of meaning (metafunctions) and associated types of structure (Caffarel et al. 2004, p. 31).....	44
Figure 2.26 Types of structure (metafunction) and media of expression (syntagm).....	45
Figure 2.27 Instantiation: degrees of generality between potential and individual texts (based on Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 27)	47
Figure 2.28 The cline of instantiation, including genre and registers as sub-potentials (as proposed by Martin, 2010).....	48
Figure 2.29 Instantiation mapped onto strata, metafunction and rank (adapted from Martin, 2010, p. 22)	48
Figure 2.30 Three orders of abstraction along the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axis (based on Halliday 1966b).....	55
Figure 2.31 A three-term system network	56
Figure 2.32 A systemic interpretation of the traffic-light (based on Hjelmslev 1947)..	57
Figure 2.33 System network showing a subsystem related by delicacy.....	57
Figure 2.34 Simultaneous systems cross-classifying entry condition x	58
Figure 2.35 A more complex system network, including simultaneous and more delicate systems	58
Figure 2.36 A systemic interpretation of the traffic light, including associated realisation statements (based on Hjelmslev 1947).....	59
Figure 2.37 A system network for English MOOD (based on Halliday, 1994).....	60
Figure 2.38 Interpersonal systems in the English clause (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, p. 135).....	63
Figure 2.39 Gleason’s ‘parsing’ of enate sentences (1965, p. 197).....	64
Figure 2.40 Grammatical categories according to Whorf (1945).....	71
Figure 2.41 English MOOD system network.....	74
Figure 2.42 Major English PROCESS TYPE (based on Halliday, 1994).....	75

Figure 2.43 Interactions across systems in English PROCESS TYPE (adapted from Martin, 1996a, p. 365).	76
Figure 2.44 Systems-structure cycles related by interstratal realisation (Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997/2009, p. 87)	79
Figure 2.45 Clause-rank function pre-selecting features along the rank scale (Subject)	81
Figure 2.46 Clause-rank function pre-selecting features along the rank scale (Finite) (based on verbal group system in Halliday, 1996/2002, p. 394)	82
Figure 2.47 Basic lexicogrammatical systems in the English clause, organised by metafunction (Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997/2009, p. 55)	83
Figure 2.48 Axial relations across dimensions – metafunction, strata and rank (from Martin & Matthiessen, 1991).....	84
Figure 2.49 Relation between the theoretical and the descriptive orders	86
Figure 2.50 The trinocular principle interpreted stratally.....	87
Figure 2.51 The trinocular vision interpreted axially (from Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997/2009, p. 43).....	88
Figure 2.52 Types of structure and media of expression.....	91

CHAPTER 3

Figure 3.1 Basic SPEECH FUNCTION network at discourse semantics (based on Halliday 1994).....	97
Figure 3.2 Main speech functions as propositions and proposals.....	97
Figure 3.3 Interstratal relation between SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD systems	99
Figure 3.4 Speech functions and interpersonal clause types	100
Figure 3.5 The English Mood element grouping Subject and Finite (from Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 115).....	101
Figure 3.6 Residue functions in English (from Martin et al., 2010, p. 65).....	102
Figure 3.7 Meanings at risk in English negotiation (from Martin, 1992, p. 464-5). ...	103
Figure 3.8 Negotiation and Subject selection in English (Martin, 1992, p.464)	104
Figure 3.9 Cross-linguistic exploration of the basic interpersonal structure (Teruya et al., 2007, p. 913).	105
Figure 3.10 Basic negotiatory structure in French: Negotiator and Remainder (Caffarel, 2006, p. 125).....	106
Figure 3.11 Basic negotiatory structures in French and English.....	107
Figure 3.12 Basic structure of the Negotiator in Spanish.....	119
Figure 3.13 Basic structure of the Negotiator in Spanish, including clitics	120
Figure 3.14 Basic structure of the Negotiator in Spanish, complex tenses	121

Figure 3.15 Polarity and Modal Adjuncts marking off Subject and Finite in French (Caffarel 2006).....	123
Figure 3.16 Polarity markers and Modal Adjuncts in the Spanish Negotiator.....	124
Figure 3.17 Clitic positioning in Spanish imperative clauses: ‘enclisis’ and ‘proclisis’	129
Figure 3.18 Possibility of enclisis in (infinitival or gerundive) verbal group complexes	129
Figure 3.19 ‘Imperative mood’ morphology for [jussive: one: informal/positive]	130
Figure 3.20 Positioning of nominal groups co-referential with modally responsible person in the Predicator of imperative clauses	131
Figure 3.21 Choices under [imperative] in Spanish	132
Figure 3.22 Choices under [indicative] in Spanish.....	137
Figure 3.23 A MOOD system network for Spanish.....	137
Figure 3.24 POLARITY network for the Spanish clause	146
Figure 3.25 Interpersonal systems in the Spanish clause: MOOD and POLARITY	148
Figure 3.26 FINITENESS system	149
Figure 3.27 DEIXIS systems	149
Figure 3.28 Modal Adjuncts in Spanish: prosodic domain and ‘verb mood’.....	151
Figure 3.29 Recursive TENSE in Spanish	153
Figure 3.30 POLARITY network at group rank	155
Figure 3.31 Example of multivariate structure of the Spanish verbal group.....	156

CHAPTER 4

Figure 4.1 Basic figures and their typical realisation in the grammar of PROCESS TYPES (based on Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999)	162
Figure 4.2 Congruent interplay of configurations across strata.....	163
Figure 4.3 Topological space for experiential types (cf. Martin, 1996a, p. 367)	164
Figure 4.4 Realisation of sensing in the lexicogrammar of English (adapted from Davidse, 1991, p. 284).....	164
Figure 4.5 Congruent interstratal relations between basic experiential systems	166
Figure 4.6 Main characters in Orientation stage.....	171
Figure 4.7 Main characters of Orientation as Participants involved in Processes.....	172
Figure 4.8 Resources for the realisation of Participants along the rank scale	173
Figure 4.9 Participants realised by word-rank selections	174
Figure 4.10 Participants realised by pronominal clitics at group rank	174
Figure 4.11 Co-selection of person morphology and co-referential nominal group ...	175

Figure 4.12 Co-selection of co-referential pronominal elements across ranks	175
Figure 4.13 Experiential structural configurations: nuclear and peripheral elements .	192
Figure 4.14 Alarcos's generalised labels for functions in Spanish structure (based on Alarcos, 1966).....	193
Figure 4.15 Generalised experiential structure: orbital relations in Spanish.....	211
Figure 4.16 Ascriptive and supplemental Ranges as departing from prototypical Participants in Spanish nuclear orbit	212
Figure 4.17 Spanish verbal group systems	213
Figure 4.18 NUCLEARITY system in the Spanish verbal group.....	214
Figure 4.19 Proclisis and enclisis in the Spanish verbal group	217
Figure 4.20 English VOICE at clause and group rank (based on Halliday, 1969/1976)	219
Figure 4.21 Spanish VOICE: [active] and [passive]	220
Figure 4.22 Spanish VOICE: delicate choices for [active]	221
Figure 4.23 Delicate selections for [recessive].....	226
Figure 4.24 The different directionalities of the transitive and ergative configurations (adapted from Davidse 1991, p.27)	228
Figure 4.25 Spanish PROCESS TYPE: primary distinctions	244
Figure 4.26 Spanish network: more delicate features in [mental]	250
Figure 4.27 A system network for mental processes in Spanish	294
 CHAPTER 5	
Figure 5.1 A network for Spanish MOOD.....	299
Figure 5.2 Basic negotiatory structure in Spanish	301
Figure 5.3 Modal Adjuncts realising MODALITY selections within the Spanish Negotiator	302
Figure 5.4 Central structural functions across Romance languages (and English) (based on Caffarel, 2006; Figueredo, 2011; and Halliday, 1994).....	303
Figure 5.5 Orbital relations in Spanish structure	307
Figure 5.6 [mental] in Spanish PROCESS TYPE	308
Figure 5.7 Interrank relations: verbal group systems contributing to experiential and interpersonal clause systems.....	312
Figure 5.8 Spanish verbal group: multivariate and univariate structure (see Appendix E)	313
Figure 5.9 Nominal words in Spanish (based on Halliday 1994) versus pronominal clitics.....	317

List of Tables

CHAPTER 1

Table 1.1 Declarative and (polar) interrogative clauses in English (examples taken from Halliday, 1966b; Martin, Matthiessen, & Painter, 2010)	4
Table 1.2 Declarative and interrogative clauses in English along with their structural and syntagmic analysis (cf. Halliday, 1966b).....	4
Table 1.3 Imperative and indicative clauses in English, along with their structural and syntagmic analysis	5

CHAPTER 2

Table 2.1 Units at different linguistic strata.....	19
Table 2.2 Rank scale and (classes of) units	24
Table 2.3 Lexicogrammar and metafunctions: diversified resources in English (based on Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).....	33
Table 2.4 Gender, number and case in German along with their graphic exponents (from Firth, 1957c)	51
Table 2.5 Feature paradigm for English MOOD, including realisation statements and their glossing.....	61
Table 2.6 Examples of English MOOD patterns: [declarative], [interrogative] and [imperative].....	61
Table 2.7 Interaction between MOOD and MODALITY: likeness and difference among choices	62
Table 2.8 The interplay of agnation and enation across sentences	66
Table 2.9 Proportionalities revealing the contrast between interpersonal clause types in English	67
Table 2.10 Interpersonal proportionalities with associated systemic and structural specifications	68
Table 2.11 Examples of clause sets across MOOD choices (interpersonal)	68
Table 2.12 Clause sets across English MOOD choices: unmarked ‘present’ selected.....	69
Table 2.13 Agnation patterns for English PROCESS TYPE: material and mental clauses contrasting in unmarked present tense.....	69
Table 2.14 Typological convergence and divergence across semiotic environments (after descriptive generalisations proposed by Matthiessen, 2004a)	93

CHAPTER 3

Table 3.1 Basic speech function variables at discourse semantics	98
Table 3.2 Speech function variables congruently realised by mood choices in lexicogrammar	98

Table 3.3 Examples of interpersonal (MOOD) metaphor in English (from Martin, Matthiessen, & Painter, 2010, p. 67)	99
Table 3.4 Spanish subtitles for the Monthly Python’s argument sketch.....	112
Table 3.5 Extracts from dialogue 1: the congruent realisation of statements and questions in Spanish	115
Table 3.6 Extract from dialogue 2: the realisation of commands in Spanish (turn C24 in whole service encounter)	117
Table 3.7 Interpersonal ‘tags’ in Spanish	123
Table 3.8 ‘Switch on the cable decoder for me’: imperative clauses in Spanish.....	128
Table 3.9 [imperative: optative] clauses in Spanish	130
Table 3.10 Main resources realising Q-int in elemental interrogatives	135
Table 3.11 Main reactances for primary distinctions in Spanish MOOD	138
Table 3.12 Multivariate structure of Spanish (simple) verbal group: main possibilities	157

CHAPTER 4

Table 4.1 Experiential labels: interstratal distinctions	166
Table 4.2 Experiential elements in clause configurations	171
Table 4.3 Spanish Participants and degrees of nuclearity.....	176
Table 4.4 Experiential components and realisations by typical classes in Spanish.....	178
Table 4.5 Pro-verbs associated to material subtypes in Spanish: <i>hacer</i> and <i>pasar</i>	181
Table 4.6 Basic process types and inherent Participant roles.	191
Table 4.7 Spanish generalised experiential elements and Alarcos’s (1966, 1969) labels	198
Table 4.8 Resources for the realisation of Participants along the rank scale and degrees of nuclearity	204
Table 4.9 Main characteristics of ascriptive Ranges in Spanish.....	206
Table 4.10 General characterisation of supplemental Ranges in Spanish	209
Table 4.11 General characteristics of Circumstances in Spanish	210
Table 4.12 Paradigm of pronominal clitics realising P-clitic in Latin American Spanish	215
Table 4.13 Paradigm of reflexive clitics in Spanish	222
Table 4.14 Main characteristics of [recessive: ergative] verbal groups.....	231
Table 4.15 Main characteristics of [recessive: ergative] verbal groups.....	238
Table 4.16 Summary of patterns associated to VOICE types at group rank	239
Table 4.17 Phenomenality in Spanish mental processes	249

Table 4.18 Basic mental processes subtypes and associated phenomenality	250
Table 4.19 Spanish perception mentals: summary of configurational patterns	260
Table 4.20 Spanish reaction mentals: summary of configurational patterns	273
Table 4.21 Spanish perception mentals: summary of configurational patterns	281
Table 4.22 Implicated across mental subtypes	293
Table 4.23 Summary of participants associated to mental processes	293
Table 4.24 Hyperphenomenality in Spanish mental subtypes	294

CHAPTER 5

Table 5.1 Experiential clause types: material, mental and relational	306
Table 5.2 Spanish mental processes: general patterns	310

List of Symbols and Abbreviations

The following symbols and abbreviation are used in this study for structural categories (including class and function labels). See Appendix A for a full account of notational and glossing conventions, including symbols and abbreviations used in system networks.

-	approximate inflection boundaries, e.g. aux-1s/prs/ind ('auxiliary verb-portmanteau inflection morphology')
(ad) n. gr	adpositional nominal group
(adj) n.gr	adjectival nominal group
/	conflated class selections, e.g. portmanteau inflectional morphology 1p/prs/ind ('first person plural/present/indicative verb mood')
	clause boundary
‘, “	kinds of projection: idea and locution, respectively.
‘β	dependent projected clause: idea (e.g. in cognition mental processes)
“β	dependent projected clause: locution (e.g. in verbal processes)
→	following clause is projected by another
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
3s, 3p	third person plural, third person singular
Ac	Actor
acc	accusative pronominal clitic
Adj	Adjunct
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
adv. gr	adverbial group
Att	Attribute
Aux	Auxiliary (function)
aux	Auxiliary (class)
Be	Beneficiary
c.n	common noun
Ca	Carrier
Circ	Circumstance
come_out	one-to-many rendering of single lexical item in Spanish original
conj	conjunctive element

dat	dative pronominal clitic
det	determiner
erg	ergative (verbal group)
Ev	Event
fem	feminine
Fin	Finite
fut	future
gen	generalised (verbal group)
Go	Goal
grnd	gerund
imp	imperative verb mood
Impl	Implicated
ind	indicative verb mood
inf	infinitive
lk	linker (e.g. hypotactic or rank-shifting <i>que</i>)
Loc	Location
Loc: pl	Location: place
Loc: time	Location: time
Ma	Manner
MA, MAdj	Modal Adjunct
masc	masculine
Mod	Modal
n. gr	nominal group
neg	negative marker
Nego	Negotiator
ntr	neuter
ntrl	neutral (verbal group)
p	plural
p. phr	prepositional phrase
p.cl	pronominal clitic
p.n	proper noun
P ₁ , P ₂ , P ₃	first, second and third Participant
Part	Participant
P-cl	Participant clitic
Ph	Phenomenon
pos	positive marker

pot	potential verb mood
prctp	(past) participle
Pred	Predicator
prep	preposition
Pro	Process
pron	pronoun
prs	present
Pssd	Possessed
Pssr	Possessor
pst	past (perfect)
pst.impf	past imperfect
R-cl	R-clitic
rcss	recessive (verbal group)
rfl	reflexive clitic
rflx	reflexive (verbal group)
Rg	Range
Rg: ascr	Range: ascriptive
Rg: sppl	Range: supplemental
Rmdr	Remainder
s	singular
sbj	subjunctive verb mood
Se	Senser
se-cl	<i>se</i> clitic
Sppl	Supplement
T	Thing
Tk	Token
v. gr	verbal group
V-cl	V-clitic
VI	Value
x, =, +	kinds of expansion in complex units: enhancement, elaboration and extension, respectively.
1 2 3 ...	sequence of Arabic numbers showing paratactic relations among elements in structure
1 x2	unit 1 is paratactically related to unit 2 by enhancement
α β γ ...	Greek letters showing hypotactic relations among elements in structure, with α accounting for ‘dominant with respect to β ’, and β for ‘dominant with respect to γ ’, etc

α β dominant unit α is hypotactically related to dependent unit β by projection
(idea)

Chapter 1

Introduction

‘Sentences have structure. Languages have system’

– H.A. Gleason

1.1 Grammatical categories

Whorf began his article ‘Grammatical categories’ (1945) by addressing three main descriptive concerns. One was the overreliance of traditional approaches on categories that had evolved from the description of Indo-European languages – classical languages, in particular. These categories were routinely imposed on new languages without being systematically defined in terms of the specific patterns found in those languages. His second concern was the reaction that was emerging at that time to such traditional approaches in the study of native American languages, a reaction that was strongly oriented to the establishment of grammatical categories on the basis of morphemic marking (cf. Hockett, 1947; 1957). In Whorf’s view, one important problem with these approaches was their inability to account for ‘configurational’ patterns that could only be investigated with respect to larger units, beyond morphemes and words.

A third concern, of a rather different kind, was the use of ‘functional’ definitions of categories as a starting point. This strategy usually involves defining a category such as the ‘noun’ based on various unprincipled understandings of what such a category may be ‘doing’ in a given language – as varied, in fact, as the linguists’ “own native languages, linguistic educations, and philosophical predilections” (Whorf, 1945, p. 1). While functional definitions were indeed important for Whorf, they had to be stated on the grounds of the actual distinctions found by the analyst, and these again involved the survey of patterns that were configurational in nature.

These descriptive issues concerning the nature of grammatical categories had methodological implications; they involved questions about systematic and explicit methods in the study of different languages. Whorf was making a point about the need to find a principled approach that captured linguistic “facts that are the same for all observers” (1945, p. 1), while revealing, at the same time, language-specific underlying forms of organisation.

More importantly, however, these descriptive and methodological issues could not be dissociated from Whorf's deeper concern, which was more *theoretical* in nature: namely, his view of linguistic enquiry as fundamentally a *quest for meaning*, ultimately aimed at understanding the complex and intricate interconnections between language and culture.

Whorf was not the only one working along these lines in the first half of the 20th century. Across the Atlantic Ocean, Firth was driven by a related interest (inspired by Malinowski's work): linguistic enquiry, for him, had to be oriented to the development of a 'contextual theory of meaning' (1952/1968, p. 14). In his view, this endeavour involved moving away from traditional conceptualisations of meaning that were deeply rooted in philosophical assumptions based on dualisms such as 'thought and expression' or 'word and idea' (Firth, 1935, p. 53; 1956/1968, p. 118; 1957c, p. 7). Instead, his interest was in the study of meaning essentially as a *function of context*, which could only be undertaken by describing the interrelations 'dispersing' across levels and units in the language under exploration (1935, p. 54). Such a perspective, therefore, involved going beyond the mere identification of parts of speech, to which 'semantic' interpretations were attached in a second, often loosely articulated, step.

Firth was more explicit than Whorf about the theoretical implications for the kind of study he envisioned: descriptive categories (and methods) had to be necessarily related to a general theory of language, where meaning had a central status. Akin to Saussure (1916/1995) and Hjelmslev (1943/1961), Firth was reinforcing the point that the study of language as a system of interrelations had to be taken seriously, but in a way that led to a deeper understanding of meaning in context (1952/1968). This general and fundamental assumption was the one underpinning his system-structure principle: mutually defining relations along both the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic axes in language were crucial for a principled approach to the meaning of linguistic resources. The only way to understand the structure of a language was exploring it in terms of underlying systems of relations (Firth, 1957c). System and structure, in other words, were mutually defining aspects of linguistic organisation, across levels and units.

Firth's ideas were however formulated in terms that were too broad to be fully workable in grammatical description (cf. Firth, 1956/1968). Fundamental notions such as 'system', 'structure', 'level' and 'order' were only outlined in general terms in his publications, and very little systematic account of their implications for grammatical

work were provided up to his death (cf. Allen, 1956). Crucially, there remained the question of how to account for the interrelations Firth assumed as fundamental for an understanding of meaning. It was in the exploration of these questions, particularly in relation to the interdependency between system and structure, that Halliday (1961, 1966) laid the foundations for what we currently know as Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).

1.2 The axial principle: towards a ‘deep grammar’ and beyond

With the objective of developing a principled understanding of the relations between grammar and meaning in Firthian terms, but also drawing on Hjelmslev’s (1943/1961, 1947) ideas, Halliday set out to provide a framework for grammatical description that enabled an account of the interrelations along both the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic axes.

Having worked on the description of Chinese (Halliday, 1956, 1959), including an early exploration of the principles for cross-linguistic work (1957, 1959-60), the first step was establishing fundamental theoretical categories for what was first known as the ‘scale and category’ model (1961). In this model, relations within and between the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic axes were more precisely interconnected through theoretical categories relating different levels of abstraction. Soon this model evolved into the ‘systemic’ model, according to which the grammar of a language could be conceptualised as a network of paradigmatic relations underpinning linguistic structure, an alternative kind of ‘deep grammar’ (Halliday, 1966b).

A number of fundamental theoretical principles arose from this early exploration, such as the point of departure being the highest grammatical unit – now recognised as the **clause** – defining the environment for paradigmatic contrasts and the syntagmatic ordering of lower component parts. Thus clause types are established paradigmatically not simply in terms of their internal structure – e.g. their constituents – but rather in terms of the contrasts they can be related to. At the same time, such contrasts involve configurational patterns that concern the clause as a whole.

A good example is the contrast between declarative and (polar) interrogative clauses in English, as displayed in Table 1.1 below:

[declarative]	[interrogative]
<i>John has seen the play</i>	<i>Has John seen the play?</i>
<i>They will build the house</i>	<i>Will they build the house?</i>
<i>Tracy can watch</i>	<i>Can Tracy watch?</i>
<i>You don't care about that</i>	<i>Do you care about that?</i>
<i>Your little brother is not going to take it</i>	<i>Is your little brother going to take it?</i>

Table 1.1 Declarative and (polar) interrogative clauses in English (examples taken from Halliday, 1966b; Martin, Matthiessen, & Painter, 2010)

The two sets of clauses arranged in Table 1.1 are alike within the same column and, simultaneously, *different* across columns. This likeness and difference is established based on their regular patterning in structure, which is abstracted in the form of specific functional configurations: both clause types crucially involve the presence of Subject and Finite functions, whose sequencing is criterial for their recognition as distinct clause types. Syntagmatically, each of these functional components involve, of course, specific kinds of units: a nominal group realising the Subject, and a finite verb within the verbal group realising the Finite, which happen to be related in English, among other things, by means of ‘agreement’. Table 1.2 below shows the structural and ‘syntagmic’ analysis of the two clause types:

SYSTEMIC FEATURE	[declarative]				[interrogative]			
	<i>John has seen the play</i>				<i>Has John seen the play?</i>			
STRUCTURAL CONFIGURATION	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Finite	Subject	Predicator	Complement
CLASSES IN SYNTAGM	nom. grp	verbal group		nominal group	verb...	nom.grp	...bal group	nominal group

Table 1.2 Declarative and interrogative clauses in English along with their structural and syntagmic analysis (cf. Halliday, 1966b)

Further to this, both declarative and polar interrogative clauses in English are, in turn, related to a more general contrast, which in Halliday’s descriptions was labelled as the contrast between indicative and imperative clauses. Imperative clauses were crucially characterised in English by the absence of a Finite function embodying temporal or modal distinctions, along with the general absence of a Subject function – only leaving the Predicator function in clause structure, associated with the ‘lexical’ verbal element within the verbal group. Table 1.3 below shows the systematic contrast between them revealed by means of distinctive configurational patterns, in this case also

involving the presence or absence of some (class of) element for the realisation of the incumbent functions:

[imperative]		[indicative]							
--		[declarative]				[interrogative]			
<i>See the play!</i>		<i>John has seen the play</i>				<i>Has John seen the play?</i>			
Predicator	Complement	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Finite	Subject	Predicator	Complement
verbal grp	nom. group	nom. grp	verbal group	nom. group	nom. group	verb...	nom.grp	...bal group	nominal group

Table 1.3 Imperative and indicative clauses in English, along with their structural and syntagmic analysis

Grammatical categories established in this way represent generalisations emerging from the interrelation of systemic distinctions and their configurational manifestations in structure. Such generalisations are difficult to represent in paradigms such as those shown in Tables 1.2 and 1.3 above, particularly as the description progresses in terms of complexity and comprehensiveness. For this reason, the privileged way to model and explore these interrelations in systemic functional theory is the **system network** (Halliday, 1964). Figure 1.1 below provides a simplified representation of the MOOD system in English, including its basic contrasts, their ordering with respect one another, and their associated structural statements:

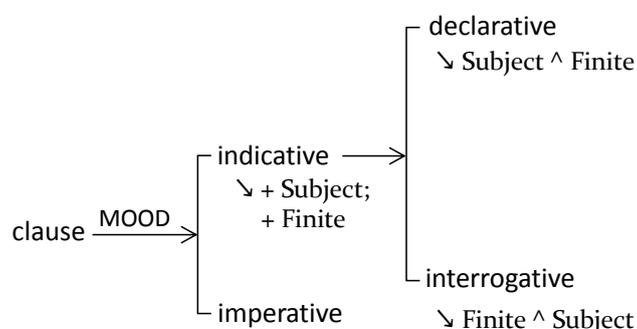


Figure 1.1 Basic MOOD system in English

The English MOOD network in Figure 1.1 above interprets both [declarative] and [interrogative] as contrasts, ordered with respect to the more general contrast between [indicative] and [imperative]. The clause is the **entry condition** for this general system of oppositions; therefore, each of the terms or **features** in it, as well as their ordering from left to right, is in turn defined by specific **functional configurations** in structure concerning the clause as a whole. The network thus embodies the **axial** principle by which each term within a system is necessarily associated with patterns abstracted from

the syntagmatic axis (Halliday, 1966b). From the perspective of the system, structures represent the ‘output’ of paradigmatic interrelations; from the perspective of structure, features represent systemic contrasts underlying functional configurations.

In SFL, the grammar of a natural language embodies systems of relations of great complexity. On the one hand, any given system involves specific relations between features, both in terms of their number and their ordering with respect to one another. On the other hand, structural configurations motivate both the identification of features as well as their location along the network. Most importantly, the overall grammar of a language can be represented as an enormous network of interconnected systems, i.e. a system of systems.

This is how, in the evolution of SFL theory, the axial principle opened the way for the development of a number of interconnected semiotic dimensions. Axial reasoning allowed the discovery of three major kinds of systemic groupings internally shaping the linguistic system, later elaborated as intrinsically defined **metafunctions**, i.e. interpersonal, ideational and textual (Halliday, 1970/1976, 1978). It also allowed the modelling of the interconnections of system-structure cycles across **strata**, showing the interaction between different kinds of linguistic patterns – discourse semantic, lexicogrammatical and phonological (Halliday, 1967a, 1970; Martin, 1992a). Simultaneously, it made clearer the organisation of units within their local hierarchy or **rank scale** in each stratum. Eventually, axial reasoning provided an overview of the whole linguistic system as a network of system-structure relations shaping the overall meaning-potential of a language. Figure 1.2 below shows a diagrammatic representation of the theoretical construct, with systems bundling by stratum, rank and metafunction:

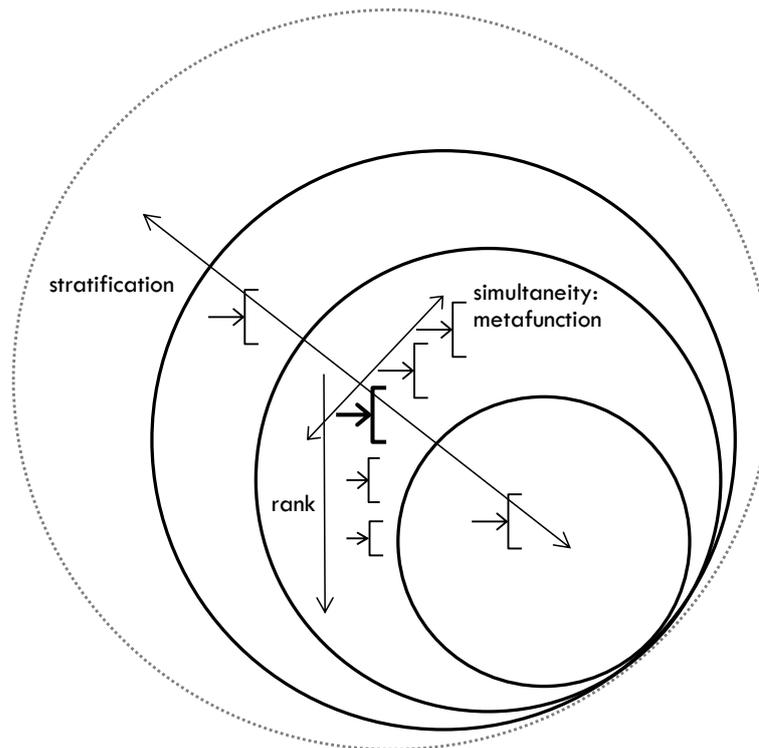


Figure 1.2 Theoretical dimensions brought together through the axial principle (based on Martin & Matthiessen, 1991, p. 350)

The meaning potential of a language, interpreted in terms of the overall system of interrelations, is thus constituted as a semiotic resource available to speakers that can be **instantiated** in situated texts oriented to specific purposes in context.

1.3 Descriptive work in SFL

As seen in the previous section, the principle of axial complementarity has had key implications for the development of SFL up to the present time. In this respect, metafunction, stratification, rank and instantiation, as well as axis itself, embody very abstract generalisations at the level of the theory. They are conceptualised as interrelated aspects underlying an integrated theory of human language as a meaning-making resource (Caffarel, Martin, & Matthiessen, 2004a).

Of course, the theoretical construct is designed for investigating, in more concrete terms, linguistic **data**: it constitutes, in other words, the underpinning set of assumptions for work on particular descriptions. Most importantly, it relates to linguistic data through **descriptive categories** that account for the actual set of interrelations found in any given language.

In Halliday’s SFL account of English (e.g. 1970/2002; 1985), this is how descriptive categories were set up in the first place: labels such as ‘material’, ‘Subject’ and ‘MOOD’ all emerged from the interlocking of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations found within the domain of the English clause. While many of these labels were taken from traditional accounts, they were necessarily stated (and re-defined) in terms of the specific network of relations each of them refers to in English (Halliday, 1957; 1961, p. 57; 1992/2003b, p. 201).

Descriptive categories relate ‘downwards’ to the linguistic data, i.e. syntagmatic and paradigmatic patterns in a given language, and ‘upwards’ to the theory through which the data is interpreted – in a constant movement between two distinct orders, as represented in Figure 1.3 below:

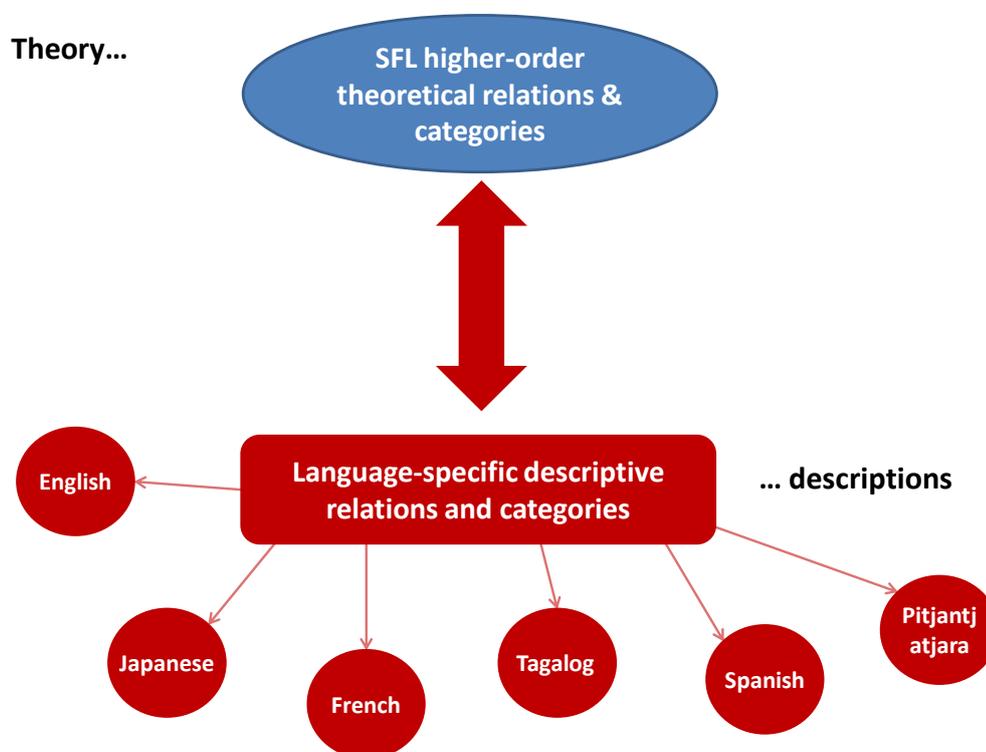


Figure 1.3 Theory and description related at different orders of generality and abstraction.

Hence, descriptive categories are necessarily associated with the theoretical assumptions concerning the nature of the relations at stake – including the kinds of meaning they embody and the levels of semiotic organisation in which they are located. However, they also necessarily presuppose specific relations whose identification and labelling involve a number of steps that are not self-evident (Halliday, 1992/2003b), and need to be made as explicit as possible each time a language is described.

SFL theory is generally concerned with understanding human language as a meaning-making resource and so is a ‘logocentric’ theory. Such a theory, in turn, gives rise to inherently ‘glottocentric’ descriptions (Halliday, 1996/2002, p. 415), i.e. ‘anglocentric’ accounts of English, ‘sinocentric’ accounts of Chinese, ‘gallocentric’ accounts of French, which are oriented to an understanding of the organisation of particular languages in their own terms.

Over the years, as the comprehensive account of a number of languages, including French, Tagalog, Japanese and Pitjantjatjara emerged (Caffarel, Martin, & Matthiessen, 2004b), SFL has developed important insights on the location of language description in relation to the theory. This work, which has played its part in an ever-increasing field of SFL typology research, has also afforded important descriptive generalisations orienting descriptive work within SFL.

1.3.1 The location of SFL descriptions and Whorf’s concerns

“... it is all too easy to make practically anything look exotic simply by
the way it is described and labelled”

– M.A.K Halliday

As currently developed, SFL provides a principled way into describing the network of interrelated systems shaping a language as a multidimensional semiotic space (Caffarel et al., 2004a). Within this theoretical framework, axial reasoning provides a systematic means by which language-specific descriptive categories can be derived, while explicitly revealing the specific organisation of the languages under description.

Thus, in terms of stratification, language description focuses on systems shaping the lexicogrammatical stratum as a distinct level of the organisation of meaning. The clause is the highest unit serving as the entry condition of major lexicogrammatical systems, with respect to which all relevant systemic and structural environments are defined along the rank scale. The dimension of metafunction accounts for the diversification of lexicogrammatical resources into three major kinds of systems of relations, interpersonal, ideational and textual, whose interconnections are crucial for a metafunctionally integrated understanding of clause structure, as well as its systemic potential. Finally, instantiation embodies a complementary view relating the overall meaning-potential of the grammar of a language to its actualisation in situated texts, across registers and genres.

Axial reasoning in SFL is important to avoid the pitfalls about which Whorf was warning in his discussion on grammatical categories: i) it guards against the straightforward transfer of labels that have evolved in the account of particular languages; ii) it entails the adoption of a top-down approach to grammatical description, focusing on clause systems and the configurational patterns they are associated with, rather than isolated resources; and iii) it accounts for the meaning of grammatical patterns that are fundamentally based on the contrasts they embody.

In this way, the axial principle presupposes that descriptions and their labels derive from language-specific relations along both the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic axes, and *not* from categories previously set up for the patterns described in English – particularly if they are based on structural relations rather than the systems generating them. In this respect, descriptive categories taken from traditional accounts, e.g. Spanish reference grammars, are not good enough on their own, “even if dressed up in new theoretical clothes” (Halliday, 1994, p. xxxiv). The more general reason for this is that, regardless of the actual labels used, grammatical categories emerging in the description of each new language need, and can be explicitly established in reference to the relations they represent (1957, p. 57).

This is all the more important when language comparison is brought into the discussion. There is always the issue of how similar two things have to be “for them to be called by the same name” (1996/2002, p. 416). Given that languages are complex systems, any comparison needs to be made in a highly principled way in order to be truly revealing (1959-60, p. 182). The fact that descriptions are centred on systems, rather than on isolated elements, guards against loose extrapolation of categories, but equally important is the fact that the clause is taken as the point of departure – rather than lower-rank units. Typologically this makes good sense: languages with rich morphological contrasts can be more productively compared with those which rely on them less if clause systems are the ones initially in focus.

Critically, there is the issue of accounting for the **meaning** of grammatical resources. In this respect, as Halliday points out, “[i]f we simply took account of differences in meaning, then any set of clauses or phrases could be classified in all kinds of different ways; there would be no way of preferring one scheme over another” (1994, p. xx). The fact that descriptive work in SFL aims at providing ‘functional’ grammatical descriptions foregrounds their crucial orientation to meaning. However, since such work

is indeed centred on *lexicogrammar*, it is proposed as a systematic interpretation of linguistic distinctions. By grounding its claims about meaning on configurational patterns that can be described systematically, axial argumentation provides much clearer criteria in the SFL quest for meaning. This is not only relevant for the establishment of grammatical categories in descriptive work but also for the identification of such categories in text analysis – a goal which many if not all SFL descriptions are oriented to.

1.4 Towards an axially motivated description of Spanish

Analytic tools inspired by the SFL description of English have been widely used over the years in Spanish-speaking contexts, particularly in the Latin American region. This work includes research in the area of (critical) discourse studies and educational linguistics (e.g. Barbara & Moyano, 2011; Ghio & Fernández, 2010; Oteíza Silva, 2006; Oteíza & Pinto, 2011). As the number of Spanish-speaking SFL ‘consumers’ has increased, the development of more comprehensive adaptations of Halliday’s *An introduction to functional grammar* (e.g. Ghio & Fernández, 2008; Menéndez, 2006; Menéndez, Gil, & Baltar, 1999) has proved tremendously productive in research concerned with Spanish text analysis.

In more recent years, numerous attempts to go beyond adaptations of English descriptions have emerged with force in the Latin American context. Descriptive work focusing on specific systems has been developed with a strong connection to the study of patterns in texts, within specific registers and/or genres (e.g. García, 2013; Gutiérrez, 2010; Moyano, 2010). A more comprehensive SFL account of Spanish, with an emphasis on contrastive work with English, has been also recently published (Lavid, Arús, & Zamorano Mansilla, 2010), representing the consolidation of important work developed over the years by a group of scholars in the Iberian Peninsula (e.g. Arús, 2003, 2010; Arús & Lavid, 2001; Lavid & Arús, 2004).

The interpretation of Spanish proposed in this thesis departs from previous work in a number of respects. Firstly, it is specifically focused on the lexicogrammar of Chilean Spanish, the variety spoken by the author of this study. This not only means that the examples employed are based on patterns from this Spanish variety, but it also addresses a general concern with the need to explicitly relate claims made about Spanish to the specific variety on which the linguist’s introspection and/or her/his data

collection draws upon. As pointed out by Belloro (2007, p. 16), this is crucial to avoid overgeneralisation, i.e. claims assumed to be valid about Spanish ‘as a whole’ when they apply in reality to the analyst’s variety or data taken from such a variety.

Being explicit about the regional variety at stake prevents the awkward (and frequent) problem that examples analysed as ‘ungrammatical’ or ‘unacceptable’ by the speakers of one variety are perfectly plausible for the speakers of another; what’s more, with the current interest in evidence from naturally occurring texts – spoken and written, belonging to different registers and genres – such variation is ever more available in relation to such claims. This is very important when one considers that Spanish has more than 400 million native speakers around the world, with a very small percentage located in the Iberian Peninsula – indeed around 75% of this approximate figure is, in fact, distributed across Latin America alone (Moreno & Otero, 2006).

Secondly, the present study is not primarily driven by its potential contribution to multilingual studies in SFL, as characterised by Matthiessen et al. (2008) (cf. Halliday, 1959-60, p. 173ff). This is not to say that comparison with English accounts is entirely absent from the discussion; in fact, comparison with available SFL descriptions of other Romance languages is also drawn upon. It rather means that, after all, “[i]f languages are to be compared, they must be described in the same terms according to a general framework for the description of language, or general linguistic theory” (Halliday, 1959-60, p. 174).

Thus the main orientation is towards an understanding of Spanish in its own terms, for which axial argumentation is taken as the crucial link between SFL theoretical and descriptive principles. The current account attempts to derive descriptive categories from system-structure relations centred on the Spanish clause. As pointed out by Halliday (1992/2003b, 1996/2002), a truly ‘glottocentric’ endeavour of this kind involves going beyond the method of ‘transfer comparison’ – i.e. a method taking as its main heuristic device the descriptive categories of other languages extensively described in SFL terms, e.g. English. Hence, even if labels similar to other descriptions are used, from within or outside the SFL framework, their specific meaning is explicitly shown in terms of the concurrent relations at stake.

Above all, the main aim of this thesis is show that Spanish clause resources can be described through an explicit argumentation developed in terms of an SFL perspective on axis. The proposal involves taking the interdependency of system and

structure as the core principle underpinning lexicogrammatical description, which can be extended to the description of any other language.

Within SFL, the need for explicit axial argumentation in the account of language-specific patterns is desirable for more than just ‘purely’ descriptive reasons. Foregrounding the system-structure principle in this SFL account of Spanish has two important implications. First it allows an appreciation of the organisation of Spanish in its own terms, beyond English descriptions; second it lays the foundations for more systematic comparison of grammatical patterns across languages. The kind of descriptive work this study aims at contributing to opens the way for powerful applications beyond typological and multilingual concerns: e.g. a richer and systematic understanding of the interrelations between lexicogrammatical and text patterns in Spanish – a task other descriptions in alternative ‘functional’ frameworks have not fully come to grips with.

Accounts developed in this way are crucial for building a rich description of Spanish that can more effectively contribute to the kind of problems and questions emerging in particular contexts of application in Spanish, particularly in the Latin American region.

1.5 Overview of the thesis

This thesis is organised into five chapters. In addition to the current introduction (Chapter 1), this research includes the establishment of the theoretical foundations underpinning the present description (Chapter 2), the actual description of interpersonal (Chapter 3) and experiential (Chapter 4) Spanish lexicogrammatical systems, and the conclusions emerging from the approach proposed (Chapter 5).

Chapter 2 Theoretical Foundations

The aim of this chapter is to establish the theoretical foundations for this study of the interpersonal and experiential grammar of Chilean Spanish. It reviews SFL’s main theoretical assumptions with an aim at laying the foundations for a principled account of Spanish lexicogrammar based on axial argumentation. First, SFL theory is reviewed by locating language description with respect to the dimensions of stratification, rank, metafunction and instantiation. Then an in-depth exploration of the dimension of axis is undertaken, by means of which the principles underlying the interdependency of system and structure are discussed and articulated. The dispersal of

system-structure relations across semiotic regions is shown to bring together stratification, metafunction, rank and instantiation in a coherent way. Finally, the chapter relates the theoretical architecture to the descriptive principles required for the study of particular linguistic systems. The axial principle is used as the main guiding concept to interpret the interrelations between theory and description.

Chapter 3 Interpersonal Grammar of Spanish

This chapter is divided in three major sections. The first section offers an interstratal perspective on the interpersonal grammar of Spanish. Lexicogrammatical resources are shown to contribute in various ways to the status of the clause as a move in the exchange. The second section provides a description of clause patterns ‘from around’. Spanish lexicogrammatical configurations are first examined in terms of interpersonal clause types organised into a MOOD system. The section then turns to a description of a general system of POLARITY, embodying the resources at stake in the contrast between positive and negative clause types. The third section offers an inter-rank perspective to interpersonal clause resources ‘from below’. Given the centrality of the Spanish Predicator shown in the previous sections, the discussion here focuses on a description of the basic verbal group systems relevant for the interpersonal lexicogrammatical contrasts. The system of FINITENESS is explored first, and then a more specific account of POLARITY is undertaken within the domain of the verbal group. The section closes by providing an interpretation of the multivariate structure of the Spanish verbal group.

Chapter 4 Experiential Grammar of Spanish

The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section offers an interstratal perspective on the experiential grammar of Spanish. Clause configurations are seen as realising discourse semantic figures construing very general domains of experience. These figures are congruently realised by distinct clause patterns in Spanish lexicogrammar, including major material, mental and relational process types. A general overview of experiential clause configurations is provided.

The second section takes a closer look to the structural resources available across experiential configurations. An interpretation of their orbital structure is first explored based on specific patterns in the Spanish clause. Generalised clause functions are set up, moving from elements that are clearly nuclear in nature, to more marginal

elements showing borderline characteristics between nuclear and peripheral functions. The section then moves to a more detailed account of verbal group systems that are relevant to experiential clause configurations, including NUCLEARITY and VOICE.

The third section sharpens the focus, homing in on the cryptogrammar of mental processes. Key grammatical patterns motivating [mental] as a systemic feature are explored. At a primary degree on delicacy, the description is centred on the nature of inherent participant roles, their relations with different kinds of phenomenality and the configurational relations they enter into. The section then moves on to more delicate choices defining basic mental subtypes, including the specific patterns construing perception, reaction and cognition. Towards the end of this section, the potential for additional participants is reviewed in relation to each subtype.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

This chapter first reviews the findings of this study and its specific contributions to the description of interpersonal and experiential systems. It then turns to the exploration of inter-rank relations, including the nature of units and classes assumed in the present description. The chapter concludes by outlining some of the future directions this research opens up in three main fields of work within SFL – including the theory itself, linguistic typology, and the development of a rich and functionally integrated SFL description of Spanish.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Foundations

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to establish the theoretical foundations for this study of the interpersonal and experiential grammar of Chilean Spanish. To date, SFL-oriented work on Spanish grammar has displayed a strong focus on contrastive work with English (e.g. Lavid, Arús, & Zamorano Mansilla, 2010) or the *ad hoc* adaptation of categories from SFL English grammars, aimed primarily at the study of Spanish texts (e.g. Ghio & Fernández, 2008). In work available, argumentation usually fails to move beyond appeals to authority, e.g. in reference to SFL ‘canonical’ texts on English (e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Matthiessen, 1995), or beyond ‘notional’ definitions of isolated elements, often eclectically combined with categories taken from reference grammars or other ‘functional’ approaches to Spanish.

These and other strategies may be combined in various ways, but they ultimately prove problematic for the building of rich integrated SFL descriptions of Spanish. Such descriptions would not only be immensely useful for the principled study of texts across contexts of enquiry, but they could also be further developed and contrasted based on shared and explicit forms of argumentation.

This chapter will review SFL’s main theoretical assumptions with an aim at laying the foundations for a principled account of Spanish lexicogrammar based on axial argumentation. First, SFL theory is reviewed by locating language description with respect to the dimensions of stratification, rank, metafunction and instantiation. Then an in-depth exploration of the dimension of axis is undertaken, by means of which the principles underlying the interdependency of system and structure are discussed and articulated. The dispersal of system-structure relations across semiotic regions is shown to bring together stratification, metafunction, rank and instantiation in a coherent way. Finally, the chapter relates the theoretical architecture to the descriptive principles required for the study of particular linguistic systems. The axial principle is used as the main guiding concept to interpret the interrelations between theory and description.

2.2 A systemic functional framework for language description

SFL interprets human language as a **semiotic system**, whose complex organisation as a meaning-making resource has been shaped by the social functions it has evolved to serve.

By means of an integrated and holistic orientation to the study of linguistic phenomena, descriptive work has a specific location within a ‘semiotic space’ defined by the interaction of fundamental theoretical dimensions. In this section the location of lexicogrammatical resources will be examined specifically in light of the dimensions of stratification, rank, metafunction and instantiation. The aim is to provide an overview of the theoretical framework underlying SFL lexicogrammatical description, before specifically addressing the dimension of axis as the main principle guiding this study.

Accordingly, this section is organised as follows: it first reviews the location of lexicogrammar with respect to **stratification**, the dimension concerned with the global organisation of semiotic systems into levels or strata; it then considers the organisation of resources within the lexicogrammatical stratum along the **rank scale**; it subsequently moves to the functional diversification of clausal resources in terms of three kinds of contextual meanings or **metafunctions**, the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual; finally it closes with a view on **instantiation**, the dimension whereby lexicogrammatical resources can be seen from two complementary perspectives, that of the overall potential available to the speakers/writers of a language, and that of their deployment in spoken and written texts.

2.2.1 Stratification

SFL adopts, after Hjelmslev (1943/1961), the fundamental assumption that language is a stratified semiotic system. This implies, in the first place, that language is conceptualised as a social semiotic realising higher-order meaning-making systems in the context of culture (Halliday, 1978). In Hjelmslevian terms, language is interpreted as a denotative semiotic which constitutes the expression plane of a connotative semiotic that in turn organises context as systems of meaning (cf. Hjelmslev, 1943/1961, p. 114ff; Martin, 1992a). Theoretically, this critically involves an understanding of meaning as a function of language activity rather than in terms of a relation between language and mind, or language and ‘reality’ (cf. Firth, 1957c, p.

173ff.). As a first step, the stratification of language and context is modelled in Figure 2.1 below:

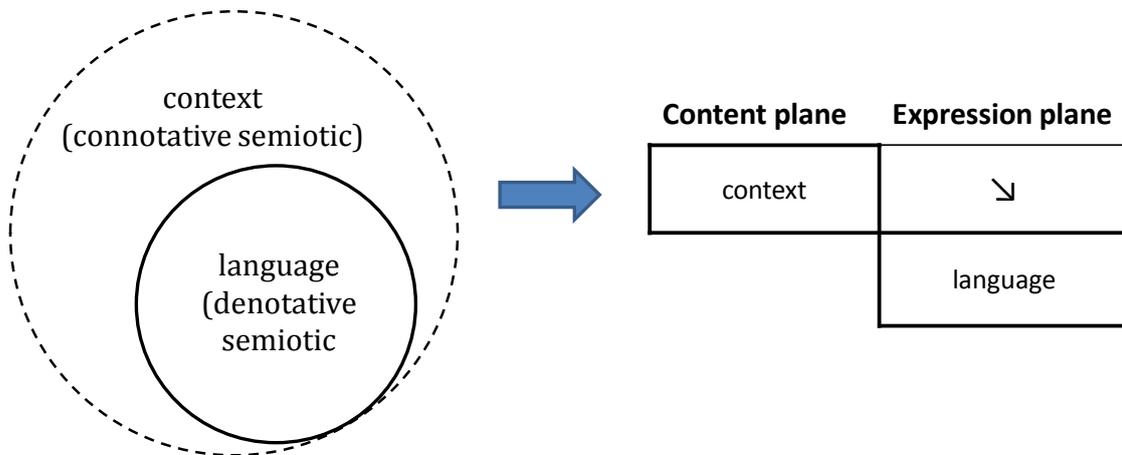


Figure 2.1 Language as a denotative semiotic (based on Martin, 1992a, p. 405)

The linguistic system, as a denotative semiotic, is organised into a number of levels of **strata**. SFL theory locates **phonology/graphology** as the stratum that occupies the expression plane of language, interfacing with the physical materiality of speech/writing¹. The content plane of language is divided into the strata of **lexicogrammar** and **discourse semantics**, which are interpreted as the linguistic interface with the (social) context. The strata and their respective planes are represented in Figure 2.2 below:

Content plane	Expression plane		
context	↘		
	discourse semantics	lexico-grammar	phonology/graphology
	Stratified content plane		Expression plane

Figure 2.2 Language as a stratified semiotic system (Martin 1992a, p. 405)

Each linguistic stratum concerns forms of organisation of different nature. According to SFL assumptions, stratum-specific patterns are deployed within the scope of the units displayed in Table 2.1 below:

¹ Only the broad distinction between content and expression plane is maintained in the SFL model of stratification, without the further distinction between ‘substance’ and ‘form’ within each, as proposed by Hjelmslev (1943/1961).

semiotic plane	stratum	basic unit
content	discourse semantics	text
	lexicogrammar	clause
expression	phonology	tone group

Table 2.1 Units at different linguistic strata

The highest units at each stratum are given priority in descriptive work, in line with their close interaction with the stratum immediately above. Thus the basic unit for phonological patterns, the **tone group**, can be related ‘upwards’ to patterns in lexicogrammar (and through them, to discourse semantics) by way of the assumption that phonological patterns associated with the tone group systematically interact with clause patterns in the stratum immediately above – through selections in TONE, TONICITY and TONALITY (Halliday & Greaves, 2008). In comparison to its counterparts in the content plane, the expression plane is considered to be more constrained with respect to its meaning-making potential, since it is not functionally diversified to the same extent as lexicogrammatical and discourse semantic patterns are².

The basic units of lexicogrammar and discourse semantics within the content plane are of a different kind to those within the expression plane. Following Martin (1992a), the assumption in this study is that the lexicogrammatical stratum concerns **clause** patterns relating ‘upwards’ to the discourse semantic stratum via **texts** patterns (1992a, p. 14ff). In this way, meanings made in lexicogrammar are functionally and contextually oriented to the extent that they are systematically related to discourse semantic patterns in a dialectical relation between the two orders of organisation. The relation between strata is represented in Figure 2.3 below:

² While tone group patterns interact productively with interpersonal and textual resources in the lexicogrammatical stratum, within the ideational component it only concerns logical resources, not the experiential. See section 2.2.3 below for a discussion on metafunction.

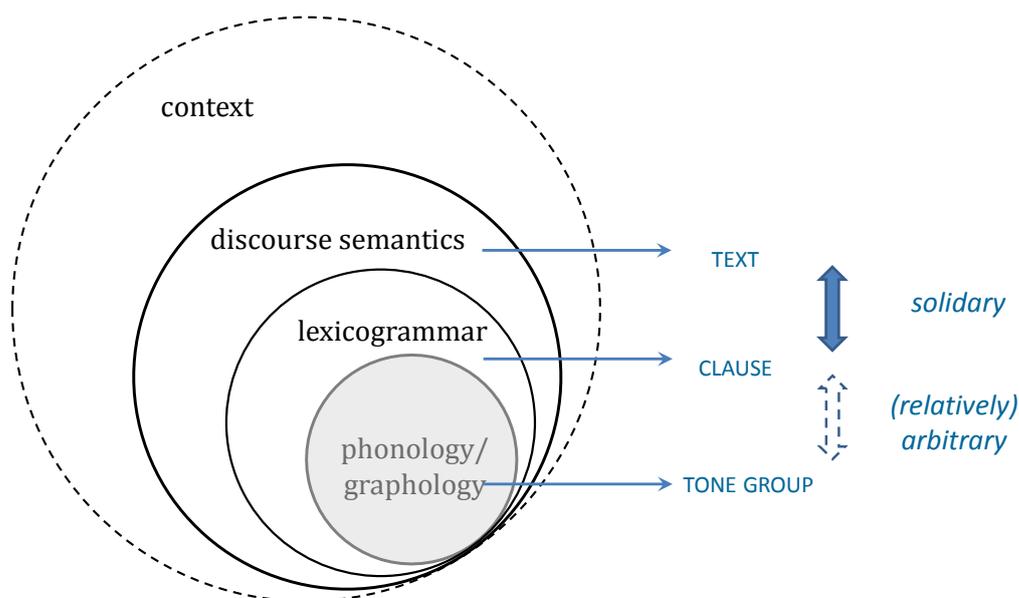


Figure 2.3 The double stratification of the content plane in language (based on Martin, 1992a)³

A key theoretical assumption underlying this model is that all strata make meaning (Martin, 2010). Meanings made at different strata are not, however, aligned in a straightforward one-to-one relation. In the same way the general relation between any given language and the social context – including the culture that frames it – is highly complex, so it is for relations between strata *within* language.

The crucial notion to address the relation between strata in SFL is that of **realisation**: the indefinitely large number of discourse semantic patterns may be *realised by* the more restricted lexicogrammatical patterns afforded by a given language. These in turn can be *realised by* a relatively small number of phonological patterns (Martin, 2010, p. 5; Martin & Matthiessen, 1991). Realisation is a bidirectional relation that is specific to semiotic systems, whereby meanings are both ‘expressed’ and ‘constructed’ in the ‘realising/realised’ relation across levels (Halliday, 1992/2003b, p. 210ff). Internally, each stratum organises meaning in distinct ways, along their local hierarchy of units (Halliday, 1979/2002, p. 197) (see section 2.2.2 below).

After Lemke (1984), stratal relations have been interpreted in SFL in terms of the emergence of levels of increasing complexity. This view sees languages as open and metastable systems which persist through constant change driven by the

³ Halliday and Greaves (2008) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) interpret the expression plane as also stratified, by adding the phonetic stratum – the one more directly interacting with the material aspects of speech/writing production.

interpenetration with their environment (Halliday, 1992/2002, p. 358ff). Lemke’s notion of ‘metaredundancy’ has been productive to explain the non-linear ways in which each semiotic stratum interacts with each other. In this model, each higher-order stratum provides the ‘environment’ for lower-order ones – a generalisation that also applies to the interrelation between context and language as a whole. These metaredundant relations are formalised in Figure 2.4 below, with slanted double arrows representing **interstratal realisation**⁴:

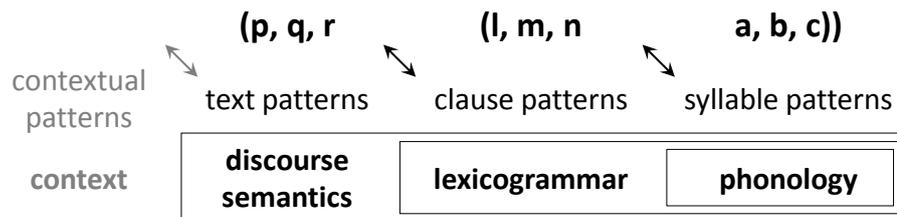


Figure 2.4 Formulation of stratification as a metaredundant relation between strata (based on Halliday, 1992/2002)

In the above diagram, context patterns ‘redund with’ linguistic patterns as a whole; within language, text patterns ‘redund with’ both lexicogrammatical and phonological patterns together, and lexicogrammatical patterns redund with phonological ones (Halliday, 1992/2002; Lemke, 1984). From a more dynamic point of view, each meaning-making stratum within the linguistic system is simultaneously maintained and changed over time in interaction with each other as the system is instantiated in texts (see section 2.2.4 below).

2.2.1.1 Implications for language description

As discussed above, all strata organise meaning and interact with each other in specific ways by means of realisation. Each of them involves patterns deployed within the domain of different meaningful units: texts patterns in discourse semantics, clause patterns in lexicogrammar and tone group patterns in phonology.

In SFL, the lexicogrammatical stratum is the central location for language description with its main domain of operation being the clause. Nonetheless, since the aim of SFL descriptive work is to provide grammars that are meaning-oriented, the exploration of clause resources involves looking at patterns beyond their own level. In

⁴ In SFL, the concept of realisation concerns a more general principle also including inter-rank and axial relations (see sections 2.2.2 and 2.4.1 below)

other words, clause resources are not only explored ‘from around’, i.e. exclusively from the perspective of their internal relations, but they are also explored interstratally: i) ‘from above’, in terms of their relations with discourse semantic patterns deployed in texts, and ii) ‘from below’, in terms of their relations with phonological resources, particularly those concerning the tone group⁵.

Therefore, in this study all invocations of ‘semantics’ are essentially a reference to ‘discourse semantics’ interpreted in relation to text patterns directly serving social functions in context (Martin, 1992a). Since meaning is taken to be stratified across the three global levels of linguistic organisation, no duality is assumed between meaning in semantics as opposed to form in grammar (or ‘syntax’), nor between ‘conventional’ versus ‘contextual’ meanings (as embodied in the traditional opposition between semantics and pragmatics) (cf. Martin, 1992a, p. 19ff).

In lexicogrammatical description, looking at resources within the domain of the clause includes studying its own units and forms of internal organisation. This leads to the exploration of stratum-specific resources in terms of the dimension of rank.

2.2.2 Rank

The dimension of **rank** in SFL theory interprets the organisation of resources within strata along a hierarchy or **scale** of units defining local levels. In the case of lexicogrammar, the rank scale defines relations of composition or **constituency** between units, i.e. higher-rank units relate to lower-rank units in terms of wholes and parts. Figure 2.5 below represents the potential ranks generally recognised in SFL descriptions:

⁵ See, however, further discussion on the three-fold view ‘from above’, ‘from around’ and ‘from below’ in section 2.4.1 below.

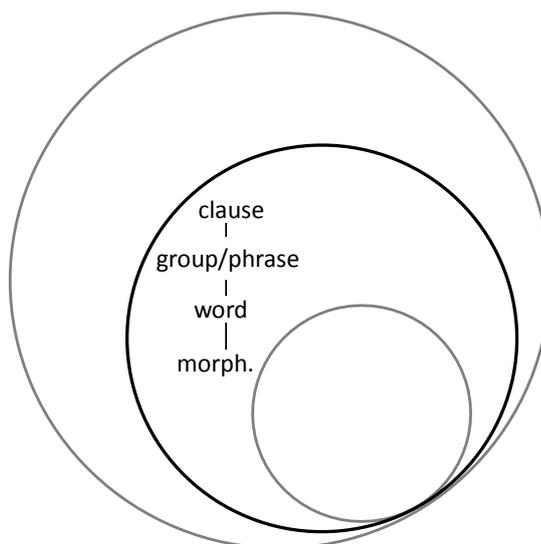


Figure 2.5 Rank scale within the lexicogrammatical stratum

The scale defines distinct local environments both in terms of the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic potential of the units in question, with the number of levels or ranks as well as the nature of their units potentially varying across languages.

The highest ranking unit of the lexicogrammatical stratum is the **clause**, identified as the point of departure for constituency relations. The analysis of units then follows a top-down direction, with clause constituents being broken up into groups/phrases, in turn further broken into words, which may be further broken down into morphemes. Figure 2.6 below represents units and their constituency as described for English, moving from clause to word⁶:

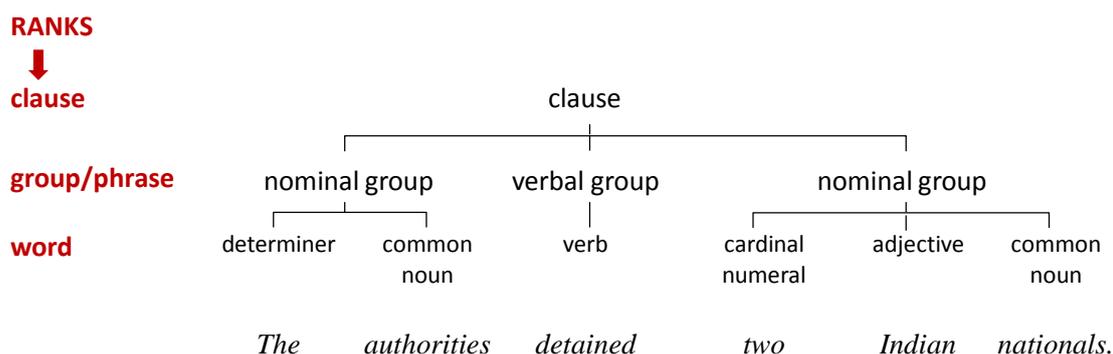


Figure 2.6 Constituency analysis of an English clause down to word (example adapted from Martin, 2004a)

⁶ Halliday (1961) defines lowest-ranking units ultimately as those that can no longer be analysed in terms of internal constituency relations (p. 256). However, since constituency analysis privileges a top-down direction, the relevant lowest-ranking unit is established in terms of its functional contribution to clause organisation (as it is the case for the word in English, cf. Halliday, 1994, pp. 19, 23). See further discussion in section 2.2.2.4 below.

The above diagram models the organisation of units in an English clause by means of a ‘flat tree’, a minimal bracketing representation favoured in SFL for the account of constituency relations (Halliday, 1994, p. 20ff; Hudson, 1967). The diagram also shows that units at any given rank are specialised into different **classes**. Table 2.2 shows examples of classes of units generally recognised in SFL descriptive work:

RANK/UNIT	EXAMPLES OF CLASSES
clause	material, mental, relational, etc (experiential) declarative, interrogative (interpersonal)
group/phrase	nominal group, verbal group, adverbial group, conjunctive group, prepositional phrase
word	nominal, verbal, adverbial
morpheme	various (depending on language)

Table 2.2 Rank scale and (classes of) units

Kinds of units recognised in SFL partially correspond to traditional notions of grammatical class to the extent that their labelling represents the general potential of units at each local level – such as their specific constituency relations and their typical ‘syntactic’ environment (Martin, 2004a). In SFL theory, however, classes are specifically located with respect to syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations. In the following section, units will be preliminarily explored in terms of the relations they enter into along the syntagmatic axis (but see section 2.3 below).

2.2.2.1 Categories along the syntagmatic axis: class and function

From a systemic functional perspective, constituency relations do not account for linguistic structure on their own right. The minimal bracketing representation in Figure 2.6 above is neutral with respect to the **functional** organisation of lexicogrammatical resources.

Along the syntagmatic axis, there are two levels of abstraction for relations between elements. The lowest level is that of the **syntagm**, where units and their classes are seen as simply arranged in a linear succession. As Halliday points out, this is the most widely known way of considering units and their classes in traditional grammars, usually based on their chain relations as well as their morphological ‘make-up’ (1966b). Halliday originally considered the **syntagmic** as the most ‘surface’ order of relations, commonly associated with the sequential ordering of elements and/or co-occurrence.

Structure is for Halliday (1966b) a more abstract ordering of elements, concerning their **function** within organic wholes or **configurations** (cf. Benveniste, 1954/1966, p. 8ff; Halliday, 1966b, p. 59; 1969/1981, p. 124). Relations between structure and its functional elements are thus *mutually defining*, and they are not reduced to constituency relations in a hierarchy of units or to chain relations (e.g. syntagmic sequence or co-occurrence of classes in syntagms).

Figure 2.7 below shows the distinction between the two orders along the syntagmatic axis:

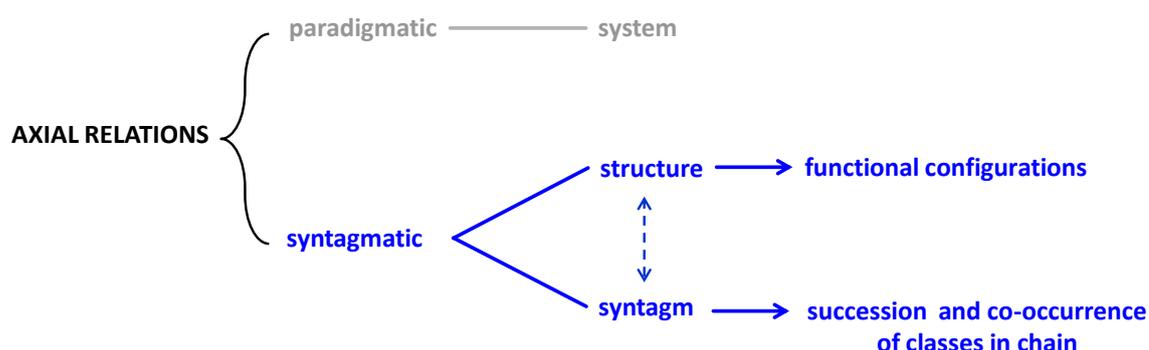


Figure 2.7 Classes in syntagms and functional configurations in structure

As discussed by Martin (2004a), classes in syntagms are ultimately relevant in terms of the configurations of functions they are potentially associated with in structure. This can be seen in Figure 2.8 below, where the clause is analysed in terms of class-function layers along the rank scale:

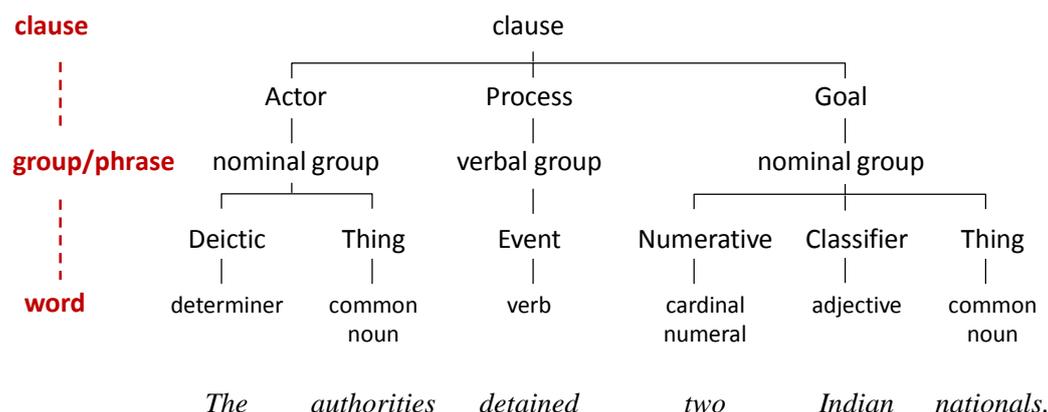


Figure 2.8 'Flat tree' showing function and class layers (based on Martin, 2004a, p. 60)

In order to account for the distinction between class and function, class labels are conventionally written in SFL with initial lowercase letters (e.g. material, nominal

group, common noun), while function labels are written with initial uppercase letters (e.g. Actor, Process, Thing, Event).

The tree above shows, on the one hand, that the syntagmatic potential of classes is still fairly general *per se* and, on the other, that they are not related to units above and below directly. Function labels signal the specific contribution of units at higher ranks as well as their internal organisation (cf. Haas, 1954; see also discussion in Heyvaert, 2003, p. 21ff). In the above example, elements such as Actor and Goal entail specific configurational relations in the English clause with regard to the element functioning as the Process. Such configurational patterns define a clause type as an *organic whole* – e.g. as material, in opposition to mental and/or relational clauses in English.

Relations between classes and functions along the rank scale are, to a great extent, mutually defining, but they are not bi-unique. As noted above, the distinct class and function layering is oriented to account for the functional specialisation of units within structural configurations. Thus, functions and classes are related by means of **inter-rank realisation**. For example, generalised experiential functions in the English clause are typically *realised by* certain classes; Processes, Participants and Circumstances tend to be realised by verbal groups, nominal groups and prepositional phrases, respectively. However, a class may realise more than one function, or the same function may be realised by different classes. Again in English, a nominal group may realise a Participant or a Circumstance, and in turn, a Circumstance may be realised by a prepositional phrase, a nominal group or an adverbial group, as seen in Figure 2.9:

The authorities detained two Indian nationals { *on Thursday*
two days ago
recently

clause:	clause: material						
	Actor		Process	Goal			Location (time)
group/ phrase:	nominal group		verbal gr.	nominal group			{ prep.phrase nom. group adv. group
	Deictic	Thing	Event	Num.	Class.	Thing	

Figure 2.9 Circumstance of Location (time) realised by different classes in an English material clause

As a result, the distinction between class and function allows a more flexible interpretation of relations along the rank scale. The reconfiguration of these relations

affords a richer account of meaningful distinctions in the structure of a language, which will be shown in the following subsections (and throughout the chapter).

2.2.2.2 An intermediate rank: the group/phrase

In SFL theory, structure consists of the functional configurations internally shaping units, or more precisely, classes of units. Unlike syntagms, the internal relations defining the ordering of elements within structure may or not include the relative sequence or the morphological make-up of the classes realising them at the rank immediately below. The kind of relations underlying structure depends in part on their metafunctional motivation (see section 2.2.3 below), but also on the systems of paradigmatic oppositions they ultimately relate to (see section 2.3)

Since the potential for classes at different ranks varies, so do their affordances for expansion in their internal structure. For instance, the structure of English groups may consist of a very basic functional configuration realised by only one word at one rank below, e.g. a ‘bare’ noun. However, as seen in the previous subsection, the internal structure of groups may also consist of configurations of various degrees of complexity, i.e. involving more than one word, word complexes (i.e. hypotactically or paratactically-related words) or ‘down-ranked’ units. Figure 2.10 shows some of the possibilities for the expansion of nominal groups in English:

The authorities detained two Indian nationals

clause:	clause: material		
	Actor	Process	Goal
group/ phrase:	nominal group	verbal group	nominal group

The Singapore authorities...
A member of the Singapore authorities...
A member of the Singapore authorities [[based at the airport]]...

Figure 2.10 Potential for expansion at group rank: English nominal groups

On the other hand, different classes of units at the same rank show different possibilities of expansion, as seen when comparing English nominal groups with English verbal groups, such as in Figure 2.11 below:

The authorities detained Indian nationals

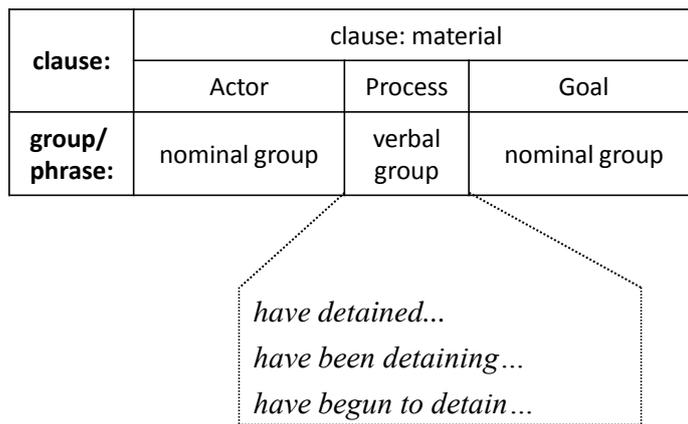


Figure 2.11 Potential for expansion at group rank: English verbal groups

Accordingly, units become differentiated in two ways within a given rank. Firstly, they are differentiated by means of the specific functions they are potentially associated with in the rank immediately above⁷. For instance, while both ‘nominal’ and ‘verbal’ classes of groups may realise clause functions at the rank immediately above, they are distinct in the kind of function in which each of them specialises: in English experiential structure, nominal groups tend to realise Participant roles at clause rank, while verbal groups tend to realise the Process.

Secondly, units at a given rank become differentiated into classes by means of their own internal structure. For instance, the internal structure of English nominal groups generally involves the presence of a Thing realised by a noun or pronoun; verbal groups, on the other hand, minimally involve an Event realised by a ‘lexical’ verb. This implies that groups (unlike prepositional phrases) may require just one word at the rank immediately below, as seen in Figures 2.10 and 2.11 above

From a ‘bottom-up’ standpoint, groups are generally defined as groupings of words of the same basic class. In English, for example, a nominal group is a group made up of nominal words (including nouns and pronouns, but also adjectives and determiners); a verbal group is a group of verbal words, including the so-called ‘auxiliaries’ and ‘lexical’ verbs, etc. (Halliday, 1994, p. 214; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 362). Prepositional phrases constitute a special case. They display a different internal structure as well as a different constituency potential when compared to English

⁷ Except in the case of the highest-ranking unit, the clause, which doesn’t contribute to any functional configuration in normal conditions. However, see section 2.2.2.3 on rank-shift.

groups, and are analysed as ‘reduced’ clauses rather than expanded ‘words’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 359ff.; cf. Matthiessen, 1995, p. 627 on criteria distinguishing groups from phrases in English).

2.2.2.3 Rank-shift

The importance of the group/phrase rank as an intermediate level was illustrated in terms of the potential of its units for the realisation of clause functions, regardless of their size, ranging from one-word groups to groups allowing a more complex internal structure. However, an intermediate rank of this kind is also important for the **rank-shift** potential, whereby a unit belonging to a higher-rank may realise a function at a rank below.

Rank-shift occurs in a downward direction and, from what has been shown thus far across languages, tends to be restricted to the rank of clause and group/phrase. Figure 2.12 shows a rank-shifted clause realising an experiential function in an English clause, the Goal:

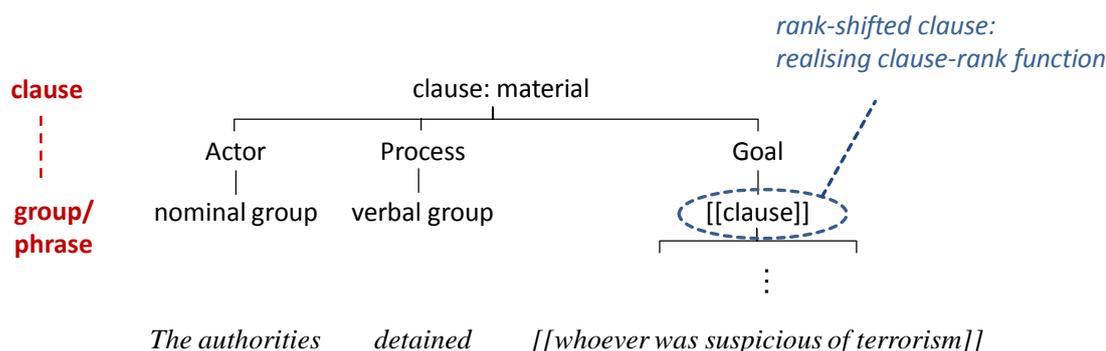


Figure 2.12 Rank-shifted clause realising a clause-rank function in English

The embedded, rank-shifted clause is thus realising a structural function that is typically realised in English by a nominal group – a unit from the rank immediately *below*, not a unit from the *same* rank. Clauses may also be **down-ranked** or **embedded** at a lower rank, e.g. they may realise a function within the structure of the English nominal group, as shown in Figure 2.13:

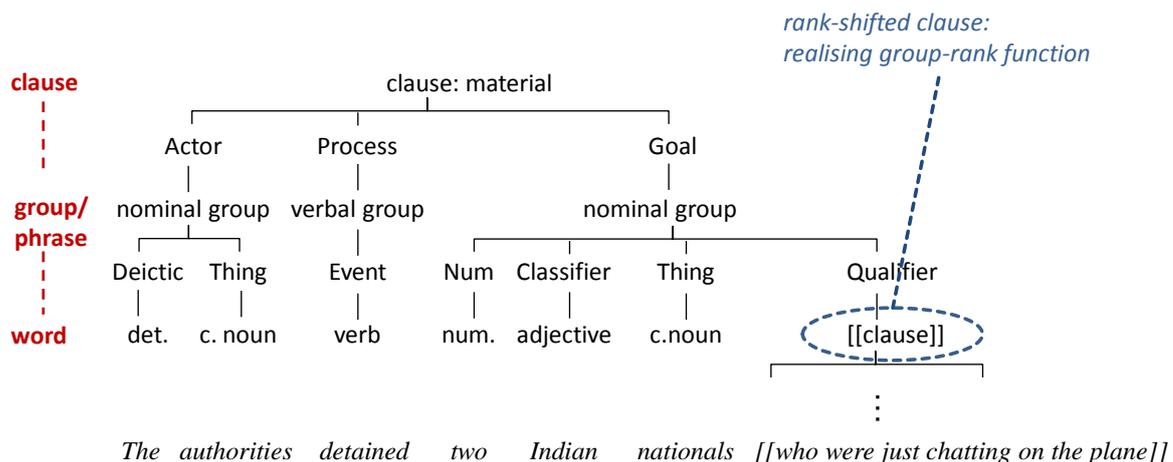


Figure 2.13 Rank-shifted clause realising a nominal group function in English

In order to signal this movement down the rank scale, embedded clauses are enclosed by double square brackets [[]]. Units at group/phrase rank can be down-ranked as well, in which case their embedded status is represented by enclosing them in single square brackets [], as shown in Figure 2.14 for English⁸:

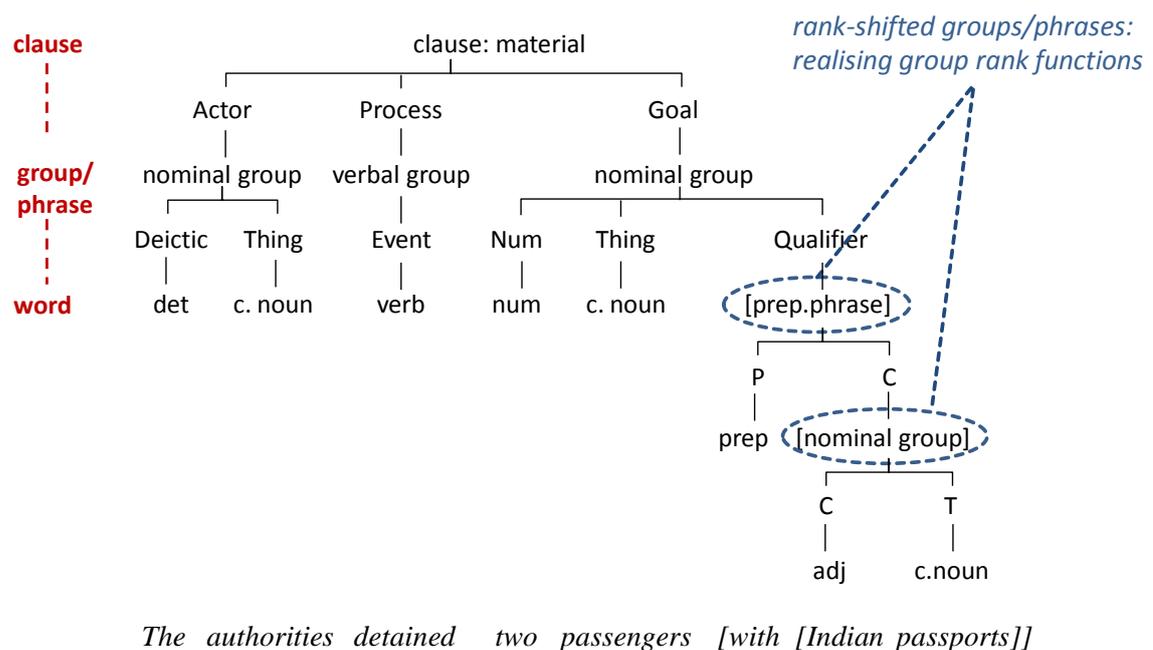


Figure 2.14 Rank-shifted group/phrase units in English realising group/phrase functions

The principle behind rank-shift is that a given unit is not realising a function at the expected rank. Clauses are not expected to function as a constituent, since they are the highest ranking unit in lexicogrammar; likewise, groups and phrases are generally expected to realise clause functions, not group functions. Rank-shift, therefore, allows

⁸ See Appendix A for a full account of notational conventions used in this study.

the ‘packing’ of meanings within larger units at lower levels, in ways that can be very productive in some registers, particularly written (cf. discussion of rank-shift as ‘functional reclassification’ in Heyvaert, 2003, p. 208ff; Huddleston, 1965).

2.2.2.4 Implications for language description

The point of departure for SFL descriptions is the highest-ranking unit in lexicogrammar, generally identified as the clause (including both the simple clause and the clause complex, i.e. the traditional ‘sentence’). The reasoning for privileging the clause lies in the fact that it is the unit directly interfacing with discourse semantics at a higher-order of semiotic organisation and it is also fully diversified from a metafunctional perspective (see section 2.2.4 below).

However, the number of ranks and the nature of their units are expected to vary across languages, particularly in relation to the lowest-rank that is found relevant in descriptive work (Caffarel, Martin, & Matthiessen, 2004a, p. 38). Further, there is also divergence with respect to the rank of group/phrase, whose intermediate status makes it ‘compete’ with clause and word rank units (Matthiessen, 2004a, p. 568). In addition, a number of intermediate items, such as particles and clitics, may serve clause or group functions (2004a p. 561).

It has been shown that from an SFL perspective units do not relate directly along the rank scale but through the functional configurations of elements in structure. In this respect, classes enter both ‘upwards’ relations, in terms of the kind of functions they can realise in the rank ‘above’, and ‘downward’ relations, in terms of their own internal functional structure (cf. Haas, 1954). This functional potential in structure (along with the systemic one) plays an important role in the establishment and labelling of classes in SFL descriptive work.

Functional layers are ultimately a means to indicate the specific contribution of resources along the rank scale to the functional potential of the clause, with meanings becoming less differentiated down the rank scale (Martin & Matthiessen, 1991, p. 355; Matthiessen, 2004a, p. 562). Hence, lowest ranking units, e.g. words or morphemes, are not the point of departure in SFL descriptive work, on the assumption that their meaning can only be seen in light of rank scale relations ultimately concerning the clause, the domain where lexicogrammatical meanings are fully deployed.

The specific ways in which units at different ranks contribute to functional configurations at higher ranks vary across languages. In the same respect, their internal functional structure is also expected to display significant variation. This lexicogrammatical division of labour across ranks has been shown to be an important point of divergence in SFL typological work (Matthiessen, 2004, p. 564).

The SFL distinction between **ranking** and **down-ranked** units has been established above. The former are units functioning at their own level, while the latter are shifted to function at lower ranks. Rank-shifted clauses partially cover the traditional notion of ‘subordinate clauses’, although they can be more properly related to Tesnière’s notion of *translation* – the ‘transference’ of grammatical categories (1959, p. 364)⁹. In SFL, rank-shifted clauses are systematically distinguished from hypotactically dependent clauses in clause complexes, which are still considered ranking clauses, i.e. as simple, non-embedded clauses. The main reason for this distinction is that ranking and rank-shifted clauses don’t share the same functional potential. One form of restriction of this potential is interstratal, e.g. rank-shifted clauses are not open to negotiation as ranking clauses are – they cannot be related to a move in the exchange in terms of SPEECH FUNCTIONS at discourse semantics (Halliday, 1984). Another type of restriction is intrastratal: only ranking clauses display a structure fully diversified into experiential, interpersonal and textual components, as it is discussed in the following section.

2.2.3 Metafunction

The dimension of metafunction embodies the interpretation of language as a semiotic resource that has been shaped internally by the social functions it has evolved to serve. Therefore, the functional view of language adopted in SFL is not ‘extrinsic’ to language, but oriented to understanding the crucial ways in which it has evolved in the service of such social functions (Halliday, 1969, 1970/1976, 1973/2003).

This view sees linguistic resources as organised by three highly generalised and abstract **metafunctions**: the ideational (including the experiential and the logical), the interpersonal and the textual. The ideational metafunction accounts for the linguistic resources available to speakers to construe their inner and outer experience of the world; the interpersonal metafunction refers to the resources used to enact interactive roles in

⁹ Cf. the notion of *transposición* introduced by Alarcos in his analysis of Spanish (1980a).

dialogue; and the textual metafunction brings the two together, enabling the construction of coherent meaningful texts.

The metafunctional diversification of linguistic resources interlocks with the stratal diversification explored in section 2.2.1 above, as diagrammatically represented in Figure 2.15:

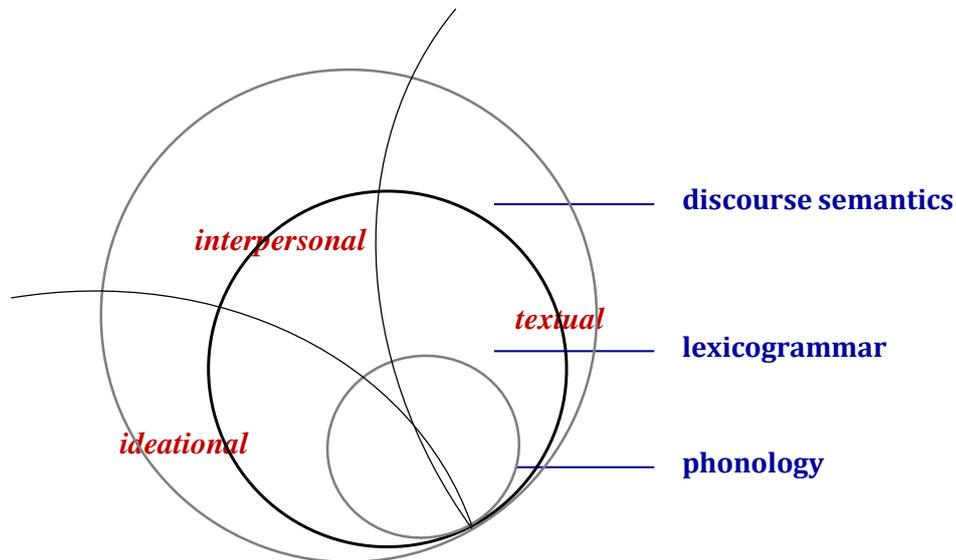


Figure 2.15 Metafunction in relation to stratification¹⁰

Within the lexicogrammatical stratum, metafunctions account for three simultaneous **types of meaning** afforded by clause resources. Table 2.3 below summarises metafunctionally diversified resources enabling a three-fold view of the English clause:

lexicogrammar/metafunction		main clause resources in English
clause as representation:	ideational	experiential
		logical
clause as exchange:	interpersonal	
clause as message:	textual	
		TRANSITIVITY (PROCESS TYPE and AGENCY)
		TAXIS and LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE
		MOOD, MODALITY, POLARITY
		THEME and INFORMATION

Table 2.3 Lexicogrammar and metafunctions: diversified resources in English (based on Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004)

¹⁰ The phonological stratum, however, is not fully diversified from a metafunctional perspective (Halliday & Greaves, 2008), and the diagram attempts to reflect these restrictions.

Clause resources diversified in this way are manifested syntagmatically as three **tiers of structure** mapping onto one another. In a systemic functional grammar this is accordingly displayed as three *simultaneous* configurations of elements, as illustrated in Figure 2.16 below for the structure of the English clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Martin, 2004a):

	<i>The authorities</i>	<i>detained</i>	<i>two Indian nationals.</i>
interpersonal	Subject	Fin/Pred	Complement
ideational: experiential	Actor	Process	Goal
textual: thematic	Theme	Rheme	

Figure 2.16 Three-tiered structure for the English clause (adapted from Martin, 2004a)

The clause is the lexicogrammatical unit where all three metafunctions fully converge in the form of three differentiated structural patterns, with labels showing the specific metafunctional motivation of elements (Halliday, 1970/1976; Martin, 2004a). In this sense, structure labels are not metafunctionally ‘neutral’; they indicate relations within different kinds of configurations of elements. The interpersonal structure refers to the clause as an interactive move in dialogue, whereby speakers can either give or demand information – the clause as a *proposition* – or give and demand goods and services – the clause as a *proposal*. The experiential structure accounts for the clause as a resource for construing the ongoing flux of internal and external experience as distinct components taking part in organic complexes of events and relations¹¹. The textual structure accounts for the clause as a resource for relating local meanings with the global environment of the unfolding of discourse, including two complementary forms of organisation: the thematic structure and the informational structure (Martin, 1996c; cf. Matthiessen, 1988).

While the metafunctional unification of resources is achieved primarily at clause rank, resources down the rank scale also contribute to this unification in specific ways, depending on the language in question. Thus resources at lower-ranks can be considered in terms of i) their specific metafunctional contribution to clause structure, and ii) the

¹¹ Strictly speaking, within the ideational metafunction, the structure of the simple clause relates only to the experiential component. The logical component deals with relations *between* clauses, in clause complexes of a different kind.

ways in which their own internal organisation, particularly at group/phrase rank, reflects the metafunctional principle.

For instance, the nominal group in English is the main resource for the realisation of participant roles in the experiential structure of the clause. It is also the main resource for the realisation of the interpersonal nub, the Subject. Finally it is textually the unmarked point of departure for the organisation of the discourse flow through the (topical) Theme. The verbal group in English can be interpreted along similar lines: experientially, it realises the Process as a quantum of change in the flux of events (cf. Davidse, 1999, p. 178ff); interpersonally, it contributes to the temporal and modal anchoring of the clause in the ‘here and now’ of the speech situation; and textually, it is where the informational prominence typically falls (realising the News) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

As for its internal structure, the English nominal group can be analysed from a two-fold perspective. On the one hand, it can be internally considered in terms of elements representing distinct variables with respect to the whole configuration, defining a **multivariate structure**. On the other, it can be seen in terms of a single variable, the Head, which can be further expanded in a recurrent pattern by a number of Modifiers, thus constituting a **univariate structure** (Halliday, 1965/1981, 1979/2002; 1994, p. 191). Figure 2.17 below illustrates the structure of the English nominal group both in terms of multivariate and univariate functions:

	<i>those</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>splendid</i>	<i>old</i>	<i>electric</i>	<i>trains</i>
MULTIVARIATE FUNCTION	Deictic	Numerative	Epithet		Classifier	Thing
			Attitude	Quality		
UNIVARIATE FUNCTION	←					Head
	ζ	ε	δ	γ	β	α
CLASS	det	card. num	adj	adj	adj	c.noun

textual ←————→ experiential

Figure 2.17 Multivariate and univariate structure of the English nominal group (based on Halliday, 1994, p. 191)

Multivariate functions are conventionally represented by distinct function labels, such as Thing, Classifier, Epithet, Numerative, and so on, while univariate functions are represented by Greek letters signalling interdependency relations (where α is modified

by β , which may be modified by γ , which may be modified by δ , and so forth)¹². The English nominal group, seen from left to right, embodies a potential movement from the textual to the experiential domain. That is, from the Deictic, the function that ‘contextualises’ the nominal group in the same way the Theme ‘contextualises’ the clause, to the Thing, which constitutes the main generalised experiential hub for the construal of an entity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 312ff; Martin, Matthiessen, & Painter, 2010, p. 166ff)¹³.

A similar two-fold perspective applies for the structure of English verbal group. Figure 2.18 below shows its analysis in terms of its multivariate and univariate organisation:

	<i>will</i>	<i>have ^ -en</i>	<i>be ^ going to</i>	<i>be ^ -en</i>	<i>produce</i>
MULTIVARIATE FUNCTION	Finite	Auxiliary	Auxiliary	Auxiliary	Event
UNIVARIATE FUNCTION	α	β	γ	δ	ϵ

interpersonal ← → experiential

Figure 2.18 Multivariate and univariate structure of the English verbal group (based on Martin et al. 2010)

In the English verbal group, the Finite and the Event can be considered the main interpersonal and experiential ‘bridgeheads’, respectively (Martin et al., 2010, p. 172). The Finite links the clause to the speech situation in terms of temporal and modal contrasts, crucially contributing to the interpersonal status of the clause¹⁴. In complex tenses, as shown in Figure 2.18 above, the Finite is realised by the first verb in sequence, while in simple tenses it is fused or **conflated** with the Event (and thus represented in group structure as ‘Finite/Event’). The Event, on the other hand, frames

¹² Strictly speaking, this is the case for *hypotactically* univariate structures. However, univariate structure may also include elements related *paratactically*, in which case they are represented by numbers beginning with 1 from left to right (1, 2, 3...etc) (Halliday, 1994, p. 221ff).

¹³ Martin (personal communication) would add to Martin et al.’s observation about the analytical movement from textual to experiential (i.e. from Deictic and Post-Deictic to non-attitudinal Epithet, Classifier and Thing) by specifying that there is a mediating interpersonal strand, realised through non-digital Numeration and Attitudinal Epithets.

¹⁴ In the description of English, Finite is used as a function label for elements at different ranks: at group rank, it represents the function realising primary tense or group modal operators; at clause rank, it contributes to key grammatical contrasts in MOOD (Halliday 1994; Matthiessen 1995; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

the experiential domain of the clause through the lexical verb, contributing to the type of process at clause rank (Halliday, 1966/1976, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 335ff; Martin et al., 2010, p. 172ff).

2.2.3.1 Types of meaning and associated structural patterns

The three-tiered analysis of the English clause in Figure 2.16 above shows all three interpersonal, experiential and textual structures of the clause as configurations of discrete elements. This form of representation is useful to visualise the mapping of functions onto one another. For instance, in English, the Actor of material clauses (experiential) typically maps onto the Subject of declarative clauses (interpersonal) and onto the unmarked topical Theme (textual). All of these functions, in turn, are associated in this language with a constituent at the rank immediately below: i.e. the nominal group entering ‘agreement’ relations with the finite verb in the verbal group. For English, this mapping or conflation of functions from different metafunctions, Subject/Actor/Theme, constitutes the **unmarked** pattern. Any variation provides important insights into the kinds of meanings at stake in a broader environment, namely, the contribution of the English clause to a number of discourse semantic patterns (Martin, 1992a; Martin & Rose, 2003, 2007).

Nevertheless, Halliday (1979/2002) points out that this usual representation of clause resources in terms of clear-cut components, while useful for mapping the functional contribution of different resources, can be misleading. He proposes that in fact each metafunction favours forms of structuring of different nature, not restricted to the mapping onto individual constituents at ranks below. After Pike’s discussion on linguistic resources in terms of particle, wave and field (1959), Halliday associates each strand of meaning with three different **types of structure**¹⁵: **particulate** structure for ideational meanings, **prosodic** structure for interpersonal meanings, and **periodic** structure for textual meanings (cf. Caffarel et al., 2004a; Martin, 1996c; Matthiessen, 1988). These are reviewed in Figure 2.19 below:

¹⁵ After the terminology originally introduced by Halliday (1979/2002), Caffarel et al. (2004a) prefer to use ‘modes of expression’ to account for the specific forms of structuring associated to different ‘modes of meaning’ - or metafunctions. Here we follow Martin (1996c)’s terminology; cf. also Matthiessen (1988).

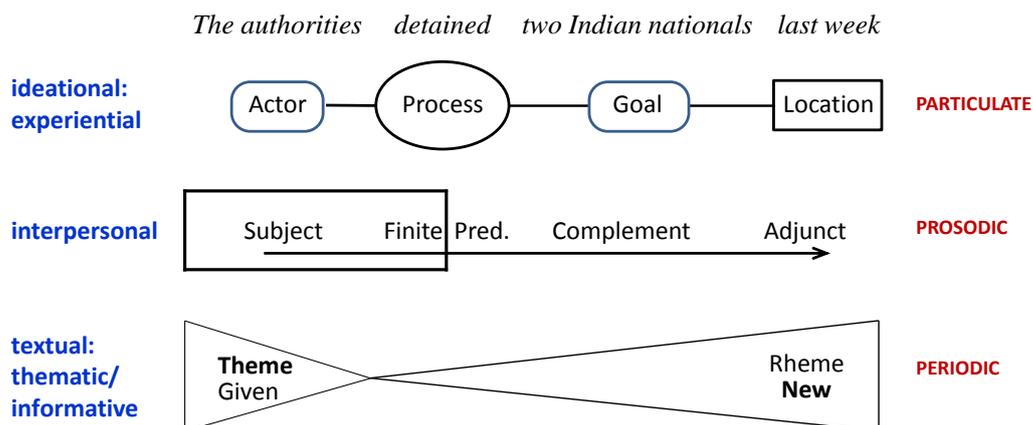


Figure 2.19 Three kinds of meaning (metafunctions) associated with three types of structure

2.2.3.1.1 Particulate structure

Particulate structure refers to the traditional view of linguistic elements as ‘parts of speech’, which Halliday (1979) specifically relates to the ideational metafunction. Within the ideational, experiential and logical components are associated with multivariate and univariate structures, respectively.

Halliday associates experiential multivariate structures with constituent-like patterns, which he visualises as configurations where each element makes a distinct contribution to the whole. Logical univariate structures, on the other hand, are better seen as chains of interdependent elements (Halliday, 1965/1981, 1979/2002).

Within the domain of the English clause, the multivariate interpretation refers to the experiential structure of simple clauses, particularly with respect to the view of distinct elements making up a ‘constellation’ (p. 1979, p.203). In contrast, the univariate interpretation addresses relations within clause complexes of various kinds, and is mostly concerned with recursion (1979, p. 213)¹⁶. At lower ranks, particularly at that of group/phrase, multivariate and univariate forms of organisation are seen as overlapping – as seen in 2.2.3.1 above in relation to nominal and verbal groups. Halliday recognises that different languages may show differences in what they treat as experiential or logical structure within the ideational metafunction, with various degrees of tension between these two ‘modes of expression’ (p. 212).

¹⁶ In SFL, recursion is interpreted systemically as series of repeated selections within the same system. This kind of systemic recursion has a particular manifestation in structure, but is not comparable to rank-shift, which does not derive from recursive systems (Halliday, 1979/2002).

Martin (1996c) suggests a perspective that dissociates constituency from any type of structure in order to make generalisations that go beyond lexicogrammatical patterns – i.e. in a way that can be extendable to patterns at higher-order strata. Based on Halliday (1979), he proposes an **orbital** perspective to experiential resources and a **serial** perspective to logical resources. He re-interprets the experiential structure as ‘mononuclear’, that is, as configurations organised around a nucleus that can be expanded by a number of satellites rather than in terms of constituency-oriented whole/part relations (Martin, 1996c, p. 45)¹⁷. In contrast, logical resources are, in this view, multinuclear configurations involving relations of serial interdependency *between* configurations.

These two complementary structural patterns associated to experiential and logical resources within the ideational metafunction are illustrated for the English clause in Figure 2.20:

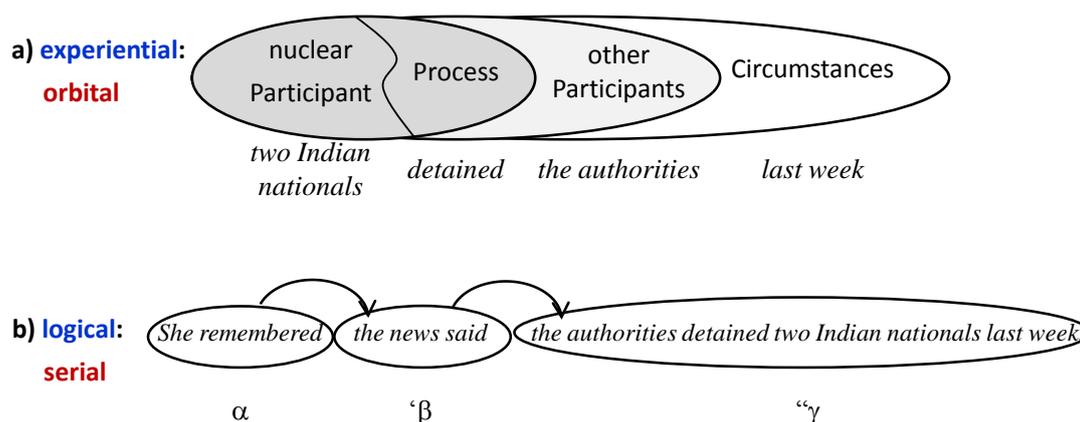


Figure 2.20 Orbital and serial: types of structure in English in terms of kinds of nuclearity (after Martin 1996c).

Martin’s example *The authorities detained two Indian nationals* has been analysed in terms of the two perspectives operating within the domain of the English clause. The orbital pattern in a) is represented in a way that downplays both constituency relations and the sequence of elements. This orbital perspective on clause experiential structure foregrounds, instead, the presence of a basic Process-Participant nucleus, which may or not be expanded by additional satellites, i.e. other Participant roles. Beyond this, other peripheral elements, such as Circumstances, may be added in

¹⁷ Cf. Tesnière’s dependency structure – holding in ‘most European languages’ – organised around a ‘verbal nub’ including a *procès*, its *actants* and *circonstants* (1959, p. 102ff.). SFL view on structure, however, is not conceptualised in terms of dependency relations. See further discussion in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1.

the outer orbit. In English, these orbital relations are handled by generalised experiential labels, going from the Medium as the most nuclear participant, to the Circumstance(s) as the outermost element(s)¹⁸.

As for the serial perspective, the analysis in b) illustrates the kind of pattern found in clause complexes of various kinds: hypotactic and paratactic, and projecting and expanding (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). The whole hypotactic projecting clause complex shown in the example above is analysed as a series of experiential configurations relating to each other in terms of interdependency. The clause *the authorities detained two Indian nationals last week* in this complex represents the final point in a multinuclear chain¹⁹.

Martin (1996c) not only shows in his analysis that these two types of structure within the ideational metafunction can be applied to clause patterns, but also to units at lower ranks, such as the group, as well as to global texts patterns at higher strata.

2.2.3.1.2 Prosodic structure

Unlike ideational resources, interpersonal structure is not typically associated with configurations where distinct elements have a value with respect to the whole. Instead, interpersonal resources are ‘spread’ throughout the domain of the clause. As Halliday suggests, they can be regarded as ‘suprasegmental’ in nature, in a way similar to intonation which, within the phonological stratum, stretches over segments of units and cannot, strictly speaking, be broken up into discrete elements (Halliday, 1979/2002).

A good example of prosodic structural realisation in lexicogrammar is negative polarity. For example, in English, once negation is realised within the interpersonal nub

¹⁸ Cf. Martin 1996c for an in-depth discussion, where the ‘ergative’ perspective is taken as the most productive for generalisations across English experiential configurations at clause rank (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 284ff). However, there is no suggestion that the same kind of generalised pattern for the orbital structuring of experiential resources applies across languages (Matthiessen, 2004a, p. 605). In fact, a centripetal/centrifugal generalised model has been proposed for Tagalog, on the basis of its specific configurational patterns (Martin, 1996b). (See Chapter 4, section 4.3.1)

¹⁹ Serial relations, however, may be both ‘regressive’ and ‘progressive’, i.e. interdependency series may expand to the left or the right along the syntagmatic ordering, as shown by Martin for Tagalog clause complexes (1996c, p. 46) and the English nominal group.

of the clause, embodied by the Mood element, the realisation of indefinite deixis (i.e. *any*) is prosodically affected in the rest of the clause (in the Residue):

*If you **don't** get any publicity for any fights in any papers from anyone...*



Figure 2.21 Negative polarity prosody in English (example from Martin, 1996c, p. 42)

Martin (1996c) shows that in those varieties of English displaying the so-called ‘double’ (or ‘multiple’) negation, the same pattern is at stake: polarity is also selected just once, with its realisation extending all over the clause²⁰:

*If you **don't** get no publicity, you **don't** get no people at the fight...*

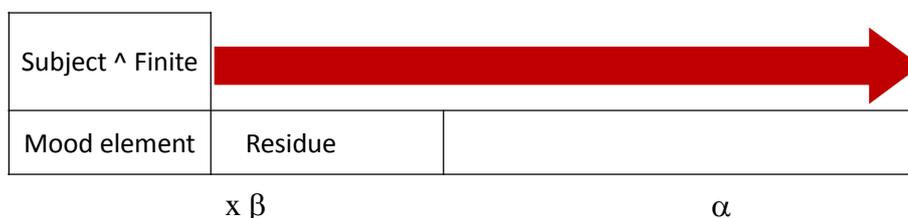


Figure 2.22 Negative polarity prosody in ‘non-standard’ English (from Martin, 1996c, p. 42)

Prosodic realisation is associated with other interpersonal resources in English lexicogrammar, including MODALITY, MOOD and evaluative items (Martin, 2008; Matthiessen, 1988). These resources are shown to reinforce each other throughout the clause, as opposed to ideational particulate resources which are better considered in terms of individual variables making differentiated contributions to meaning within mono or multinuclear configurations.

2.2.3.1.3 Periodic structure

Like prosodic resources favoured by the interpersonal metafunction, forms of structuring associated to textual meanings are not readily mapped onto discrete elements. More precisely, textual meanings can be better interpreted as the alternation of peaks and troughs of prominence, in a pattern that is analogous to that of periodic waves (Halliday, 1979/2002). The interaction between thematic structure and information structure in the English clause is illustrated in Figure 2.23 below:

²⁰ Cf. Labov (1972) and his analysis of ‘negative concord’.



Figure 2.23 Periodic patterns: information and thematic structure in English

As described in Halliday (1994) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), the interaction between the thematic and the information structures involve two kinds of prominence that are complementary. First, the thematic structure foregrounds the section of the clause that sets the orientation or the local context for the interpretation of the clause, i.e. the Theme²¹. What remains, the Rheme, is contrastively defined in terms of this prominence. Thus the boundaries between the two functions are, in this respect, not discrete. Analytically, the Theme is taken to range over at least one experiential element in structure (i.e. a Participant or Circumstance realising the topical Theme), but it may also include other elements which are interpersonal (e.g. interpersonal Adjuncts in declaratives, the Finite function in polar interrogatives), and/or textual in nature (e.g. Conjunctive Adjuncts, or structural conjunctions relating clauses within clause complexes). Figure 2.24 below shows an example including textual, interpersonal and topical Themes in English:

	<i>maybe</i>	<i>David Griggs</i>	<i>served us as smorgasbord of ideas from out west.</i>
<i>However,</i>		<i>that</i>	<i>is rubbing off in other areas.</i>
		<i>we</i>	<i>have to note a possible down-side as well.</i>
textual	interpersonal	topical	Rheme
Theme			

Figure 2.24 Textual, interpersonal and topical Theme in English (example from Martin, 1992b, p. 150)

Information structure is characterised by a different kind of textual prominence. It accounts for the part of the message the speaker is orienting the hearer's attention to or what is presented as newsworthy, the New. The New is realised phonologically by a

²¹ In English, the thematic prominence happens to be realised at the beginning of the clause, but as discussed by Rose (2001) this is not necessarily the case across languages.

major change in the pitch contour, allowing the information structure, unlike the thematic structure, to operate over the domain of the information unit, which is not necessarily co-extensive with the clause (cf. Halliday & Greaves, 2008). Thus, typically, the New is realised towards the end of the clause, around the last lexical constituent in sequence. The speaker can, however, modify this pattern in a number of ways, for example, by assigning intonational prominence to other elements in the clause or by using grammatical resources, including Theme predication or Thematic equatives (the so-called ‘cleft’ and ‘pseudo-cleft constructions’, respectively) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 70, 95; Matthiessen, 1995, p. 790). Anything that is not informationally prominent is contrastively analysed as Given²².

The unmarked pattern in English maps Theme onto Given, and New onto Rheme, as seen in Figure 2.24 above. This typical and complementary organisation of textual resources shows a movement from thematic prominence to informational prominence, represented by a wave-like pattern. Speakers’ decisions regarding the structuring of their message may modify this basic pattern: e.g. Theme and News may be conflated in different ways (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 95ff). These decisions are closely related to higher-order patterns, including the organisation of the flow of information in larger units within texts as well as the generic structure at stake (Martin, 1992a; Martin & Rose, 2003, 2007), but also to the resources available in different modes (e.g. spoken vs. written).

2.2.3.2 Implications for language description

Lexicogrammatical structure has been reviewed in terms of its metafunctional diversification into ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. Syntagmatically, the clause is the domain where the three metafunctions fully converge in the form of three simultaneous layers of structure. Function labels indicate both relations between elements of structure – their *valeur* with respect to the overall organisation of the clause – as well as the metafunctional motivation of these relations.

²² As discussed by Halliday and Greaves (2008, p. 102ff), Given and News are defined contrastively in terms of what is made informationally prominent by the speaker and, in this respect, the allocation of intonational prominence plays a critical role regardless of the actual ‘recoverability’ of elements from the preceding discourse (Halliday, 1967c, p. 204ff; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 89ff). Cf. Chafe (1976) and Martin (1995).

This contrasts with the labelling of elements in other frameworks, where the metafunctional principle organising elements configurationally is not at stake, nor the distinction between functions in structure and classes contributing to their realisation in syntagms (Halliday, 1979/2002; Martin, 1996c, 2004a).

It has been shown that structural configurations from different metafunctions tend to reflect forms of organisation conceptualised as distinct types of structure including particulate, prosodic and periodic, as summarised in Figure 2.25 below:

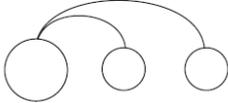
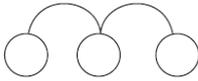
Mode of meaning	Type of structure	
ideational meaning	particulate	
– experiential	– orbital [mono-nuclear]	
– logical	– serial [multi-nuclear]	
interpersonal meaning	prosodic	
textual meaning	periodic	

Figure 2.25 Types of meaning (metafunctions) and associated types of structure (Caffarel et al. 2004, p. 31)

These different types of structure, particulate, prosodic and periodic, can be realised by different kinds of ‘syntagmic’ patterns. SFL literature has referred to the latter as different **media of expression** (Matthiessen, 2004a, p. 543) and includes segmental marking (e.g. use of particles or morphological selections), sequence (e.g. relative ordering of units), or some mixture of the two (Matthiessen, Teruya, & Canzhong, 2008, p. 175)²³:

²³ Media of expression not only include grammatical syntagmic patterns such as the ones described, but also phonological ones. See further discussion from the viewpoint of axis in section 2.3 below.

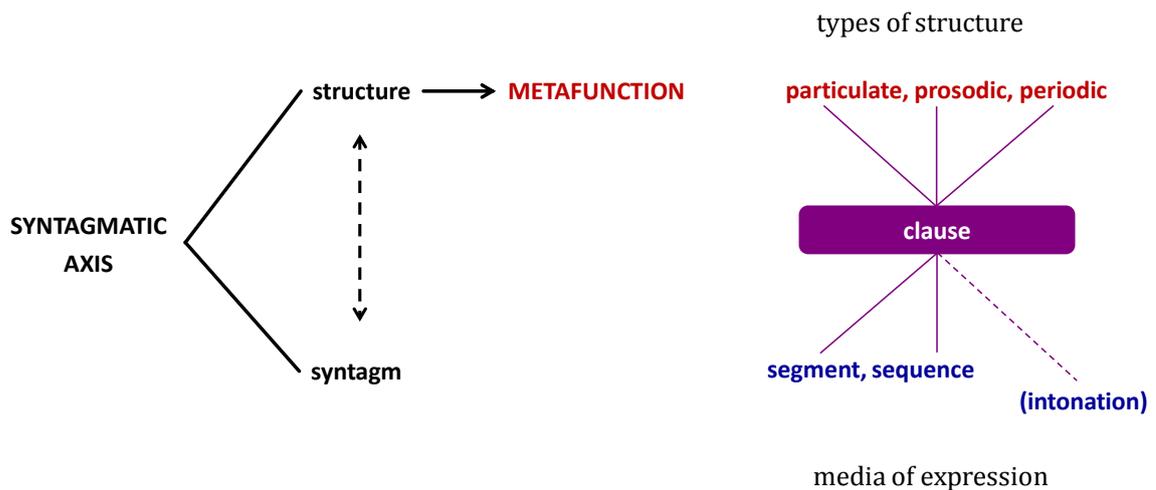


Figure 2.26 Types of structure (metafunction) and media of expression (syntagm)

The above theoretical generalisations have a number of implications for language description. To begin, SFL typological work has shown that the mapping of functional components in experiential, interpersonal and textual structures is language-specific (Matthiessen, 2004a). Thus, for example, there is no reason to assume that the unmarked mapping of Subject/Actor/Theme in the structure of the English clause applies to other languages. To a great extent, this is because the establishment of functions depends on specific configurational patterns, which ultimately derive from underlying paradigmatic relations (see section 2.3 below). Therefore, metafunctional components in the structure of the clause need to be identified in specific ways in different languages.

Secondly, while the association of types of structure with metafunctional components seems to be fairly consistent across SFL descriptions, the media of expression for the realisation of functional configurations, i.e. sequential and segmental (and intonational), displays important variation.

The relative sequence of elements can be related to traditional typological characterisation of languages as having SVO, VSO, VOS and SOV order (e.g. Comrie, 1981; Greenberg, 1966). As discussed by Matthiessen (2004, p. 544), such characterisations obscure the metafunctional motivations underpinning the sequence of clause constituents across languages²⁴. For instance, the characterisation of Tagalog as

²⁴ And they also assume that categories such as S, V or O can actually be *readily recognised* across languages (cf. Keenan, 1976; Schachter, 1976).

VOS fails to show that its structure, in its metafunctional diversification, begins interpersonally and ends textually (Martin, 2004b).

Likewise, sequence is often related to considerations regarding ‘word order’, particularly in relation to the distinction between ‘free word order’ versus ‘fixed word order’. As Matthiessen points out, “[t]he issue is not one of freedom or fixedness but rather [a] question of *which metafunction plays a more dominant role in determining the sequence of elements in the clause*”, with ‘free’ typically meaning ‘determined by the textual metafunction’, and ‘fixed’ meaning ‘determined by the interpersonal or experiential metafunction’ (2004a, p. 553, emphasis in the original).

With regard to segmental realisation, SFL research associates it with selections of units across ranks, particularly in relation to the use of particles, clitics and affixal elements. For instance, the contrast between Theme and Rheme in Tagalog is realised segmentally by the *ang* particle, which indicates the element assigned thematic prominence (cf. English, where this contrast is realised sequentially); functions within experiential configurations, e.g. Participants, may be recognised morphologically in a number of languages, e.g. by ‘case marking’ (Matthiessen, 2004a, p. 543ff; Matthiessen et al., 2008).

The distinction between metafunctionally motivated types of structure and ‘syntagmic’ media of expression is relevant. The interaction between them reveals that interpersonal, experiential and textual resources may be realised by different media of expression in different languages, or by *alternative* media of expression within the *same* language (Matthiessen et al., 2008). Most importantly, however, lower-level syntagmatic patterns are interpreted in terms of functional configurations in structure, rather than in terms of isolated resources in syntagms (see section 2.2.2.1 above).

2.2.4 Instantiation

Instantiation is the global dimension according to which linguistic resources can be seen from two vantage points, that of the overall semiotic potential available to speakers/writers or that of its manifestation in observable acts of meaning (Halliday, 1992/2003a). These two aspects of language are commonly represented along a continuum or **cline** going from the pole of the **system**, comprising all of what the speakers/writers of a language potentially ‘can do’ across situation types, registers and

genres, to the pole of the **instance**, consisting of what the speakers/writers bring together as actualised patterns in texts.

Halliday has explained instantiation as two perspectives on the same phenomenon, often using a meteorological analogy (1992/2003a): both the perspectives of the weather and climate are required for the study of meteorological systems. The climate represents a generalisation of meteorological patterns across instances, while the weather represents a view on these patterns on a much smaller scale. The observer may locate his view on intermediate degrees of generalisation between system and instance, depending on how far they move up or down the cline.

In linguistic phenomena, the movement from the system to the instance involves reconfigurations of general patterns according to different situation types and their specific affordances in further reconfigurations in texts. This is diagrammatically represented in Figure 2.27 below:

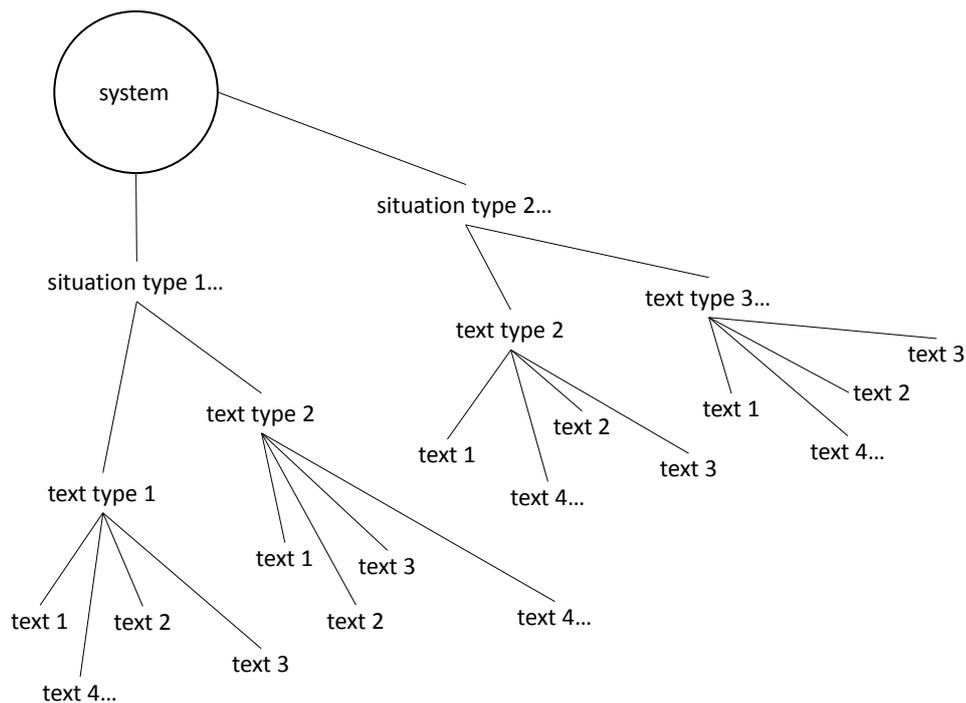


Figure 2.27 Instantiation: degrees of generality between potential and individual texts (based on Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 27)

Martin (2010) provides an alternative elaboration, where instantiation is seen in relation to his stratified model of context, including register and genre as strata above language. For him, instantiation is a hierarchy of generality going from all the resources available to speakers in the system to recurrent selections that are increasingly more

specific as the analysis moves to register/genre and text type, down to text-specific selections, as seen in Figure 2.28 below:

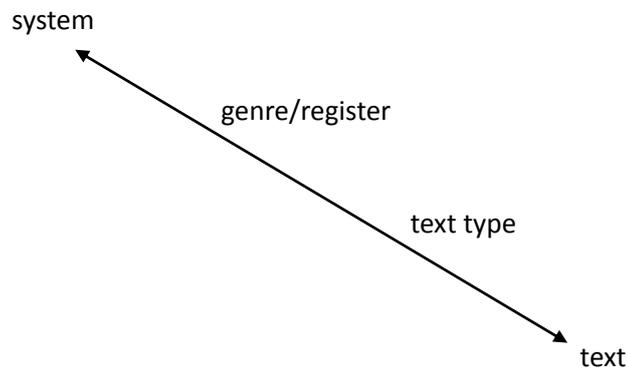


Figure 2.28 The cline of instantiation, including genre and registers as sub-potentials (as proposed by Martin, 2010)

Regardless of the perspective at stake, the overall system can be seen in terms of all of the interlocking semiotic dimensions reviewed thus far, including stratification, rank and metafunction. The system pole thus embodies the highest degree of generality, where all of the different aspects of the meaning potential available to speakers are located. The instance pole embodies the fact that resources across strata, ranks and metafunctions instantiate in any given act of meaning.

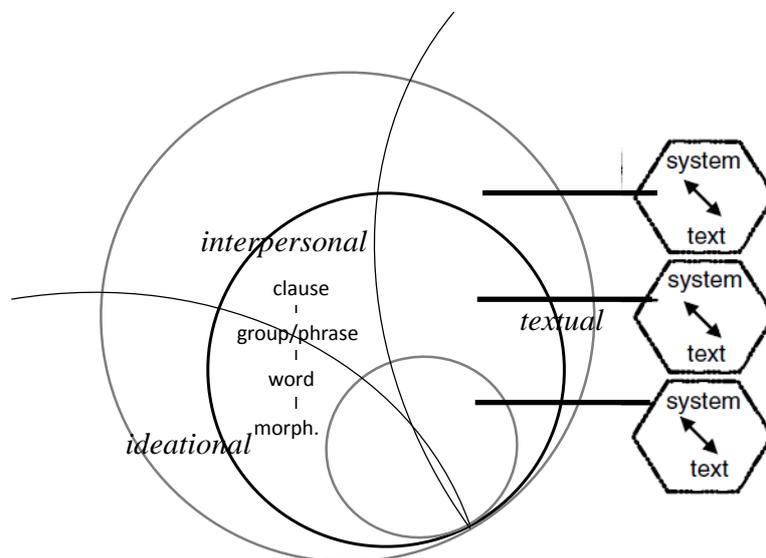


Figure 2.29 Instantiation mapped onto strata, metafunction and rank (adapted from Martin, 2010, p. 22)

The relation between system and instance is a dynamic one: the system evolves and expands through its constant instantiation through an ongoing **semogenic process**. This semogenic process can be seen along three time frames: i) the evolution of language in the human species, or the evolution of a language within a linguistic

community, known as **phylogenesis**; ii) language development of an individual throughout their lifetime, **ontogenesis**, and iii) the meaning-making process in the unfolding of texts, **logogenesis** (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999; Martin, 1999). This ongoing dynamic process is what makes the system open-ended and metastable. Speakers/writers draw on the resources available in the system in order to make meanings, and every time resources are brought together in situated texts, the system itself is perturbed; the probabilities associated with its internal organisation are reset (Halliday, 1992/2002, pp. 358-359).

In terms of language description, lexicogrammar needs to be seen from the two points of view: the overall lexicogrammatical potential available to the speakers/writers of a language, and the deployment of lexicogrammatical resources in situated texts. The instance pole highlights the importance of observing patterns in spoken and written texts rather than, for example, relying on the controlled elicitation of examples or introspection. The constant re-connection with situated texts not only prevents argumentation that otherwise is purely based on the linguist's intuition, but also the imposition of categories taken from the description of other languages. More generally, the consideration of the instance pole avoids overgeneralisations about the (lexicogrammatical) system, so often restricted to the study of written texts produced in institutionalised fields of activity.

On the other hand, the description of patterns in texts as phenomena in their own right may result in failure to generalise across instances. The focus on individual instances may lead to the inability to relate specific configurations of resources to patterns across registers and genres. As a result, it may be difficult to relate instantiated linguistic resources to what the speaker or writer could have done in a given situation.

The importance of instantiation for language description lies in the balance between the system and the instance perspectives. Descriptions are usually located at intermediate points, and thus they may map a specific region of the cline, e.g. patterns in specific registers/genres that can be later used in comparative and/or contrastive studies (Matthiessen et al., 2008; Rose, 2001). On the other hand, the cline of instantiation is an important dimension because it allows the location of patterns in texts as a source of "data" in relation to generalisations about the overall system (Caffarel et al., 2004a, p. 20).

2.3 The axial organisation of language

In previous sections, the architecture of language has been explored in light of the key theoretical dimensions of stratification, rank, metafunction and instantiation, as conceptualised within SFL. According to these dimensions, language is interpreted as a stratified semiotic system, functionally organised to meet the human needs of making meaning in context. Furthermore, it is a system that can be looked at both from the point of view of its overall potential and that of the instantiation of resources in texts.

The notion of language as a system, at this point, needs to be reconsidered once again in terms of the systemic principle dispersing semiotic relations across strata, ranks and metafunctions. The relevant dimension for the exploration of these relations is that of **axis**, which represents the interdependency between the syntagmatic organisation of language in structure and its paradigmatic organisation into networks of interrelated systems.

This section begins by briefly reviewing the origins of the axial principle as interpreted in SFL, from Firth's system-structure complementarity to the Hallidayan proposal of a paradigmatic 'deep grammar'. The section then moves on to the current conceptualisation of axis in SFL, by introducing the basic principles of systemic description. The discussion then turns to the structural motivation of distinctions in systems, for which the critical notion of agnation is reviewed and elaborated. Toward the end of the section, the axial principle is used to bring together stratification, rank and metafunction providing an overview of their interactions.

2.3.1 The point of origin of axial relations in SFL

2.3.1.1 The Firthian system-structure principle

The emphasis on the paradigmatic organisation in SFL theory can be traced back to Firth (1957b; Palmer, 1968). Firth's call was for the complementarity of both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations in the study of linguistic phenomena in a way that was oriented to the development of a 'contextual theory of language', largely inspired by Malinowski's work (e.g. Firth, 1957a; 1920; 1923/1949, 1935). For Firth, the ultimate aim of such a theory was the study of meaning as a function of context, in a way that dispensed with mentalist and dualist approaches, particularly those rooted in analytical philosophy (Firth, 1935, p. 53; 1956/1968, p. 118; 1957c, p. 7). To a great extent, such a theory was also moving away from the developments taking place at the

time in North America. In particular, it was diverging from post-Bloomfieldian work which had a strong focus on micro-level units – primarily words and morphemes – and wasn't concerned with the systematic study of meaning.

Firth considered meaning fundamentally as a relation between language and context. As such, it was to be studied in terms of the sets of interrelations that were 'dispersed' across different levels and units *within* language:

Meaning [...] is to be regarded as a complex of contextual relations, and phonetics, grammar, lexicography, and semantics each handles its own components of the complex in its appropriate context (Firth, 1935, p. 54).

Firth's way into these interrelations was to link the syntagmatic patterns found in languages under description to the paradigmatic sets underlying such patterns (Firth, 1957c). In his method, syntagmatic patterns that were usually associated in traditional grammars to morphological 'exponents' showing distinctions in case, tense, number or gender were first to be abstracted from the wider environment of the sentence, and then related to sets of oppositions. Firth exemplified these sets of oppositions by exploring the portmanteau realisation of gender, number and case in the German nominal group (specifically in relation to definite articles), as shown in Table 2.4 below:

	<i>der</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>den</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>
GENDER	masculine	<i>a, d, e, f</i>				
	feminine	<i>b, a</i>				
	neuter	<i>c, d, e</i>				
NUMBER	singular	<i>a, b, c, d, e, f</i>				
	plural	<i>b, a, f</i>				
CASE	nominative	<i>a, b, c</i>				
	genitive	<i>d, a</i>				
	dative	<i>a, e, f</i>				
	accusative	<i>f, c, b</i>				

Table 2.4 Gender, number and case in German along with their graphic exponents (from Firth, 1957c)

It's worthwhile noting that the six exponents represented by letters in italics are at the lowest level of abstraction to the point that they can re-appear as exponents of different terms within the same system or as exponents of terms in a different system.

Firth's point is that exponents are not analysed in their own right, e.g. on the basis of their syntagmatic differences, but rather in terms of the different systems of oppositions they enter into²⁵. Moreover, while the systems he sets up in his exemplification are based on the German definite article, he argues that the description of case, number and gender within the domain of the German nominal group would require taking into account "both the articles and the demonstratives in colligation with substantives and adjectives in the nominal phrase, and the nominal piece in colligation with the verbal piece" (Firth, 1957c, pp. 16, 17). In other words, such systems need to be abstracted from *a range of patterns taken together within a wider environment* rather than centred on isolated word-based (or morpheme-based) patterns.

Firthian analysis, in fact, takes the sentence *as a whole* as the relevant grammatical environment:

The various structures of sentences in any given language, comprising for example at least two nominal pieces and a verbal piece must be collated, and such categories as voice, mood, affirmative, negative, tense, aspect, gender, number, person and case, if found applicable and valid in descriptive statement, are to be abstracted from, and referred back to the sentence as a whole. (Firth, 1957c, p. 20)

In this view, only an analysis such as this can render systems that are comparable across languages at a higher level of abstraction, as opposed to the kind of analysis based on the specific exponents realising oppositions in such systems²⁶. In other words, the orientation to systems gives rise to categories that are more productive as (cross)linguistic generalisations than those derived from lower-level structural patterns.

Firth associates meaning with the paradigmatic interrelations recognised within grammatical systems thus described. These interrelations are specific to any given language, regardless of the generalisation embodied by the system itself. Thus, for example, the term 'nominative' in a four-case system "would in this sense necessarily have a different 'meaning' from a nominative in a two case or in a fourteen case

²⁵ Cf. the discussion on the analysis of portmanteau realisation based only on the distributional method in Hockett (1947, 1957).

²⁶ These exponents, as Firth pointed out, may be of a different kind, including discontinuous elements over the domain of the whole sentence, as in systems of person. Cf. section 2.2.3.1 and 2.2.3.2 above on types of structure and media of expression.

system” (Firth, 1951, p. 85). The same would hold for any other grammatical categories seen in this way. While whole systems can be used in language comparison – for example systems of number or gender – terms in those systems are language-specific and their ‘meaning’ can only be established based on the sets of interrelations they could be systematically related to. It was through this that Firth not only provided a systematic framework for the study of meaning that moved away from ‘notionalist’ approaches, but also set up the fundamental distinction between generalisations concerning human language as a whole and descriptive particulars – both opposed to any ‘universalist’ theory of grammar:

There is always the danger that the use of traditional grammatical terms with reference to a wide variety of languages may be taken to imply a secret belief in universal grammar. Every analysis of a particular ‘language’ must of necessity determine the values of the *ad hoc* categories to which traditional names are given. What is here being sketched is a *general linguistic theory* applicable to *particular linguistic descriptions*, not a *theory of universals* for *general linguistic description*. (Firth, 1957c, p. 21, emphasis in the original)

In sum, the Firthian conceptualisation of system and structure as mutually defining aspects of the organisation of language constituted a key principle for language description. Relations in structure were explained and established in terms of underlying systems of relations. At the same time, terms in systems were set up strictly based on the patterns observed and abstracted from the language under exploration (Firth, 1957c). This allowed a more systematic study of meaning in terms of “a relation or system of relations” (Firth, 1935, p. 52), rather than in terms of any mentalist dichotomies.

However, Firth himself did not develop an integrated theory that took into account all the ‘levels’, ‘orders’ and ‘units’ he considered fundamental for what he envisioned as a ‘split’ study of meaning in language. In particular, his application of the system-structure principle to grammatical description was very limited in scope (Firth, 1951, 1956/1968), and only a few of his colleagues explored these ideas in very restricted areas of grammar (cf. Allen’s work on the Abaza verbal group complex 1956).

2.3.1.2 Halliday's 'deep grammar'

As a student of Firth, Halliday began to apply and elaborate these principles in his study of Chinese grammar during the 50s. As he moved to the study of English grammar late in the decade in Edinburgh, he set out to provide a more technical formulation of the relationship between system and structure. In particular, he aimed at more precise theoretical and descriptive statements that could be located within an overall framework elaborating these interrelations in language.

Thus in the very earliest stages of theoretical and descriptive work in SFL, Halliday began by proposing different orders of abstraction for the conceptualisation and representation of linguistic relations. To begin, syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes were located at different orders of abstraction, defining different dimensions or 'scales' interrelated by a set of key theoretical categories (Halliday, 1961).

From the viewpoint of the syntagmatic axis, the least abstract ordering recognised by Halliday (1966b, 1969/1981) was that of the **syntagm**, concerning the chain arrangement of units alongside their morphological make-up. This was, in his view, the ordering behind traditional labels for word classes, such as 'adjective', 'noun' and 'verb'. He noted, however, there was another, more abstract order of syntagmatic relations between elements, which could not be derived from their labelling in terms of class. This order of relations was usually embodied by **function** labels in traditional accounts, such as 'head' and 'modifier', or 'subject' and 'predicate'. For Halliday, the defining environment for such functional relations was not that of the syntagm, but rather that of configurations in **structure**.

The distinction between syntagm and structure along the syntagmatic axis was ultimately relevant for the account of relations along the paradigmatic axis (cf. Hjelmslev, 1943/1961, pp. 38-39; Firth, 1957c, p. 17). In this way, Halliday was moving away from any conceptualisation of language as an inventory of structures to which meanings, at best, could be attached in a second step²⁷.

²⁷ Cf. Saussure (1916): "Pour certaines personnes la langue, ramenée à son principe essentiel, est une nomenclature, c'est-à-dire une liste de termes correspondant à autant de choses. [...] Cette conception est critiquable à bien des égards. Elle suppose des idées toutes faites préexistant [...] elle laisse supposer que le lien [...] qui unit un nom à une chose est une opération toute simple, ce qui est bien loin d'être vrai". (p. 97)

While in his view, classes in syntagms could provide some information about paradigmatic relations, Halliday also claimed that two elements along the syntagmatic axis, e.g. two classes of units, could only be contrasted if they shared the same functional environment (1966b, p. 60). However since functional relations in structure were not strictly established on the basis of certain classes of units, or their arrangement in the chain, they needed to be related to an even ‘deeper’ order: that of paradigmatic contrasts organised in **systems**.

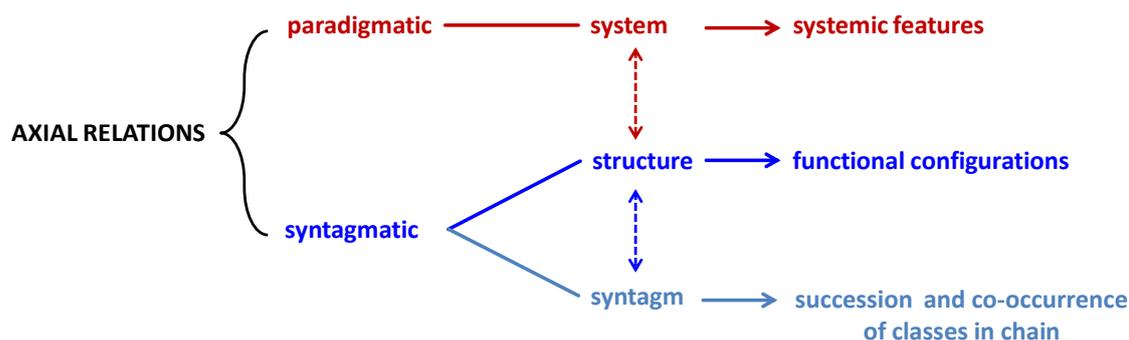


Figure 2.30 Three orders of abstraction along the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axis (based on Halliday 1966b)

In this view, functional configurations in structure relate (classes of) units in syntagms to the most abstract ordering of the system. Therefore, in the same way functional configurations provided the specification of classes in syntagms (see sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 above), the systems and their terms provided the specification for those functional configurations in structure. In order to provide a full grammatical description for a given resource, it was thus necessary to account for the whole set of relations it entered into along both the syntagmatic axis (including syntagm and structure) and the paradigmatic axis.

In the earliest stages of theoretical and descriptive work in SFL, Halliday also began to elaborate the Firthian concept of exponence, which he viewed as an abstract, two-way relation between terms in systems and their manifestation in structure. This relation between system and structure was later conceptualised as **axial realisation**, whereby linguistic structure *realises* terms in systems and terms in systems are *realised* by linguistic structure (see 2.3.2 below). This is the principle from which the notion of realisation primarily emerged, and which later opened the way for further theoretical development of stratification and rank (Halliday, 1961, 1966a, 1966b, 1992/2002;

Huddleston, 1965; Hudson, 1967), as well as metafunction (Halliday, 1967b, 1967c, 1968, 1970/2002)²⁸.

2.3.2 Axis and systemic description

The theoretical dimension of axis leads to the current descriptive principle according to which terms recognised in a system need to be motivated by patterns in structure. Conversely, structural configurations and their functional components are ultimately justified by the systemic contrasts they are associated with.

Systems are understood as sets of interrelated contrasts, which are represented in SFL by means of **system networks** (the first ones being published in Halliday, 1964). Figure 2.31 below displays a basic system network with three terms:

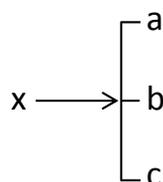


Figure 2.31 A three-term system network

Given the **entry condition** x , three terms or systemic **features** are opened up: [a], [b] and [c]²⁹. Their vertical arrangement does not entail any kind of precedence relation; in this basic system all these three primary features have the same status. Being defined as contrasts, their relationship is one of mutual exclusivity, graphically represented by the right-facing square bracket following the entry condition. Therefore, each element [a], [b], [c] is signalling an opposition within the system (cf. Hjelmslev, 1943/1961; Hjelmslev, 1947; Saussure, 1916/1995). The network in the above diagram could be re-interpreted in terms of Hjelmslev's (1947) classic traffic light example, where features are replaced by less abstract labels, as seen in Figure 2.32 below:

²⁸ Halliday (1966b) introduced the term realisation to refer to the general semiotic relation between different orders of abstraction, elaborating Lamb's original conceptualisation, which was restricted to interstratal relations (Lamb, 1964a, 1964b). See also section 2.4.1 below.

²⁹ Conventionally, systemic features in running text are enclosed by square brackets, [].

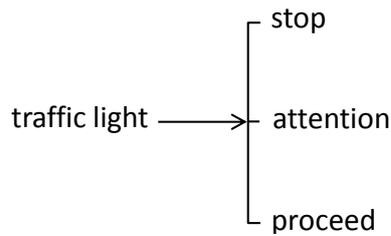


Figure 2.32 A systemic interpretation of the traffic-light (based on Hjelmslev 1947)

System networks may be more complex and represent more fine-grained distinctions. For example, a feature within a system may serve as the entry condition for additional subsystems. The resulting systems are thus related by **delicacy** from left to right, as shown in Figure 2.33:

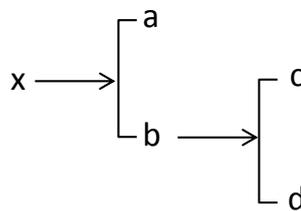


Figure 2.33 System network showing a subsystem related by delicacy

In the diagram above, the relative ordering of systems from left to right is not arbitrary. The distinction between [c] and [d] is ordered with respect to entry condition [b] and not with respect to [a]. In other words, both [c] and [d] presuppose [b], but not [a]³⁰. The system grouping [c] and [d] is more delicate than the system grouping [a] and [b]. This ordering by delicacy (the location of the corresponding features at different points along the network) is expected to be explicitly justified by structural patterns (see section 2.3.2.1 below).

A system network with at least four terms, however, may display a different organisation. For instance, an entry condition may open up two or more subsystems that relate to each other in terms of **simultaneity**, that is, where two or more subsystems *presuppose each other at the same degree of delicacy*. In Figure 2.34 below, simultaneous systems of this kind represent sets of features **cross-classifying** entry condition *x*. The simultaneous relation is graphically represented by a curly right-facing bracket:

³⁰ In running text, delicacy relations, such as the ones in the above diagram, are represented as [b:d], which reads ‘the feature [d] presupposes feature [b]’.

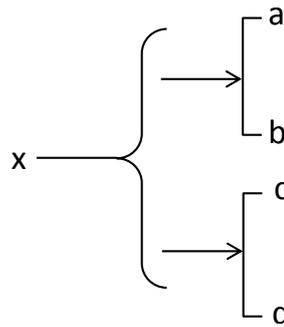


Figure 2.34 Simultaneous systems cross-classifying entry condition x ³¹

Thus system networks may involve ‘either-or’ (mutually exclusive) or ‘both-and’ (simultaneous) relations, with each step to the right further representing a movement in delicacy, whereby features give way to more specific (sub)systems as the description progresses. In SFL literature, the movement along features related in this way is commonly referred to as selections among **options** or **choices**, though without implying, however, any teleological or ‘intentional’ interpretation of these interrelations (cf. Halliday, 1985/2013, p. 88).

Figure 2.35 illustrates a system where all of the possibilities explored above are represented:

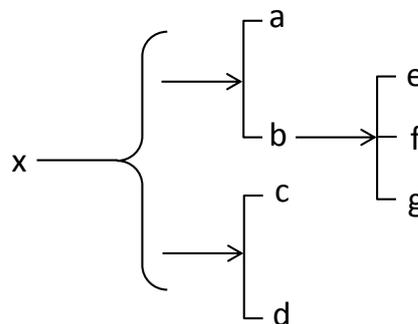


Figure 2.35 A more complex system network, including simultaneous and more delicate systems

As descriptive complexity increases, features are defined both in terms of the relations they establish with other terms at the same degree of delicacy (as the relations shown between the terms of a system or between simultaneous systems), *and* in terms of their surrounding systemic environment (in relation to what is left unselected and the more specific, delicate potential opened up to further selections). In other words, the

³¹ In running text, simultaneous relations between features, as the one in the diagram, are represented as [b/d], which reads ‘feature b has been selected along with feature d’. See Appendix A for a full account of notational conventions for systemic description.

‘value’ or the **meaning** of each feature in the network is established in terms of the relations it enters into within its wider systemic environment.

However, each systemic feature as well as its location in the overall systemic environment, needs to be motivated by patterns in **structure**.

2.3.2.1 The structural motivation of systemic features

Since system and structure are interdependent aspects of the dimension of axis, an important component of systemic description is the structural specification for each of the features being set up in a system. This is conventionally accounted for by means of **realisation statements** specified under systemic features, as seen in Figure 2.36 below for the traffic-light system:

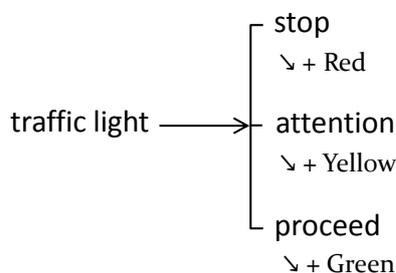


Figure 2.36 A systemic interpretation of the traffic light, including associated realisation statements (based on Hjelmslev 1947)

In the above diagram, the slanted arrow ‘↘’ reads ‘realised by’. In spite of what the labels may suggest on their own, features in this semiotic system have not been established ‘notionally’ (cf. Jespersen, 1924, p. 55; Lyons, 1966). Instead, they have been set up in terms of the structural realisations that justify their inclusion as distinct from one another: [stop], [attention], [proceed] are realised, respectively, by Red, Yellow and Green. In other words, labels provided are to be interpreted in terms of the relations at stake: those between terms within the system on the one hand, and between the terms and their associated realisation in structure on the other.

For each of the choices in the traffic light system above, very simple realisation statements are enough – each basically involves the selection of a single element out of three possibilities available, that is, one ‘colour’ for each term. In the description of linguistic systems, however, the relationship between features and realisation statements is more complex and abstract. In linguistic description, realisation statements represent configurational relations in structure. Thus they don’t directly refer to the selection of one or more classes in a syntagm, or to actual linguistic items or ‘exponents’ (cf. Firth

1957). Indeed, depending on the stratum, on the unit serving as entry condition, and on the metafunctional component, features are realised by structural patterns of differing kinds.

Figure 2.37 below shows a simplified network for the interpersonal system of MOOD in English, including its structural realisations:

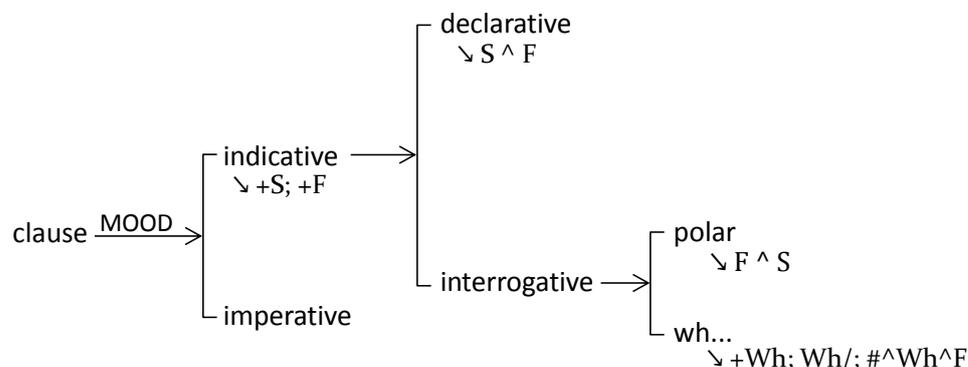


Figure 2.37 A system network for English MOOD (based on Halliday, 1994)

The entry condition of the system above is the clause (Halliday, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The system name is conventionally written in small caps, e.g. MOOD, while the names of features are written in lowercase. Within realisation statements, a number of function labels and realisation operators are specified. Functional elements of structure are represented by uppercase letters (in full forms, by an initial uppercase). Operators include ‘+’ (‘insert function’), ‘^’ (‘sequence function one after another’), ‘#^’ or ‘place function at the beginning of the sequence’ (see Appendix A for a full account of notational conventions).

In the above MOOD network, the specification of structural realisations both makes explicit and justifies the distinctions claimed for the basic interpersonal grammar of the English clause. Realisations are ‘inherited’ by dependent, more delicate choices as more fine-grained selections are provided. Table 2.5 below summarises the features and associated realisation statements for the English MOOD network in the form of a ‘feature paradigm’ (Hudson, 1972/1981):

feature	realisation	gloss
[indicative]	+S, +F	'insert Subject; insert Finite'
[indicative: declarative]	S ^ F	'sequence Subject before Finite'
[indicative: interrogative: polar]	F ^ S	'sequence Finite before Subject'
[indicative: interrogative: wh-]	+Wh; #^Wh ^ F	'insert Wh-element; place Wh-element at the beginning of the sequence and before Finite'

Table 2.5 Feature paradigm for English MOOD, including realisation statements and their glossing.

Thus, functions represent the role played by elements within configurations, which *as a whole* motivate systemic contrasts. Additionally, functions refer to the ordering and/or selection of units at lower ranks (which may or may not be specified by pre-selection, see section 2.3.3 below). In English, for example, the relation between Subject and Finite is in part abstracted from patterns including the presence of a nominal group co-referring to morphological contrasts within the verbal group, i.e. so-called 'subject-verb' agreement. However, this is far from the only pattern at stake, since Subject and Finite concern further distinctions along the network, where the relative sequence of linguistic resources is also criterial. Table 2.6 below provides examples of these patterns motivating contrasts in English MOOD:

MOOD choice	realisation	example
[declarative]	S ^ F	<i>She'll finish that damn chapter</i>
[interrogative]	F ^ S	<i>Will she finish that damn chapter?</i>
[imperative]	--	<i>Finish that damn chapter!</i>

Table 2.6 Examples of English MOOD patterns: [declarative], [interrogative] and [imperative]

In sum, systemic representation locates features and their realisation statements at different orders of abstraction. In the case of clause systems, each feature presupposes contrasts between structural patterns concerning the clause as a whole. These patterns are specified as configurations of functions that have a specific internal organisation, and thus may be explicitly related to the sequence of constituents and/or the (non-) selection of specific classes at lower ranks (see section 2.3.3 below).

The specification of structural realisations may, nonetheless, be more complex. As the description of linguistic resources goes further in delicacy, the realisation of features may involve interactions between choices across systems. For instance,

contrasts within the English MOOD system systematically relate to contrasts in other systems at the same rank, including the systems of MODALITY and POLARITY (Halliday, 1970/2005, 1985, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Matthiessen, 1995). Table 2.7 below illustrates a few of these contrasts relating English MOOD and MODALITY:

MOOD \ MODALITY		[probability]	[ability]
[indicative: declarative]	<i>She finished that damn chapter</i>	<i>She should have finished...</i>	<i>She was able to finish...</i>
[indicative: interrogative: polar]	<i>Did she finish that damn chapter?</i>	<i>Would she have finished...?</i>	<i>Was she able to finish...?</i>
[imperative]	<i>Finish that damn chapter!</i>	---	---

Table 2.7 Interaction between MOOD and MODALITY: likeness and difference among choices

The table above shows that only features under [indicative] allow further distinctions in MODALITY, by means of resources such as ‘modal verbs’. In fact, this potential interaction with MODALITY systems is also criterial for the primary contrast between [indicative] and [imperative], since the latter does not involve such interaction. As for [declarative] and [interrogative], they do not necessarily display the same affordances for the realisation of MODALITY features, i.e. *should* may be an ‘exponent’ of (subjective) probability in declarative clauses, but only *would* can express a comparable meaning in [interrogative: polar] (Halliday, 1970/2005).

In the description of English, it was found that there were systematic interactions between MOOD, MODALITY and POLARITY, particularly as the description became more comprehensive and complex. In fact it is these interactions that underpin the idea of the metafunctional ‘clustering’ of systems into three major groupings within the domain of the English clause (Halliday, 1968, 1969, 1970/1976, 1970/2005). These three systemic bundles could then be interpreted, and further elaborated, as systemic domains motivated by their function in context (Halliday, 1975, 1978). Figure 2.38 below provides a current and richer description of one of these bundles in English lexicogrammar, the one co-relating with the *interpersonal metafunction* at clause rank:

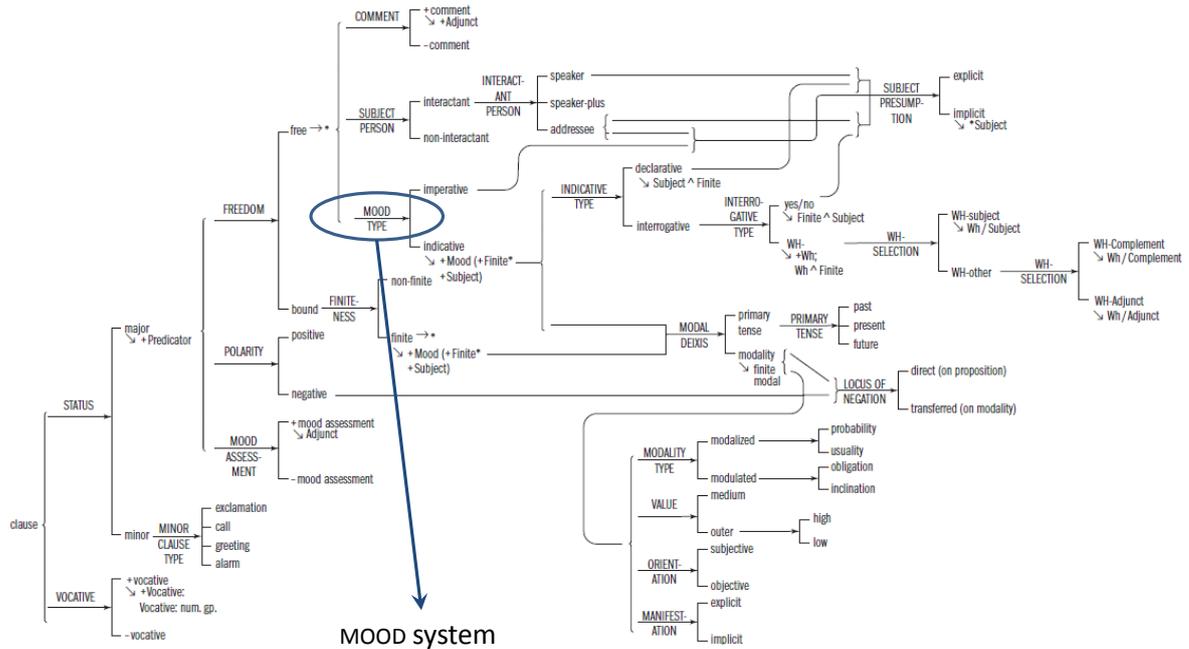


Figure 2.38 Interpersonal systems in the English clause (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, p. 135)

The system network in the above diagram shows more clearly that the account of systemic interconnections tends to become increasingly complex as the description of a language is developed. This complexity includes the ‘wiring’ of choices from different systems into complex entry conditions by means of left-facing curly and square brackets representing conjunctive and disjunctive entry conditions, respectively (see Appendix A). The relation of structural configurations and systemic features along the network, therefore, may involve the (co-)selection of features in a number of systems.

Regardless, the network in the above diagram represents systemic interactions at the same rank and within the same metafunction. Systemic interactions may be even further complicated when co-selections are dispersed *across different metafunctions, strata and ranks* (Martin & Matthiessen, 1991). In order to better understand how these complex relations can be explicitly accessed in SFL description, the notion of **agnation** needs to be introduced and explored.

2.3.2.2 Accessing system-structure relations through agnation

2.3.2.2.1 Gleason: grammatical relations between ‘sentences’

Agnation is introduced to SFL after Gleason (1965), who developed it as a concept for the systematic account of paradigmatic relations in grammatical description. Like Firth, Gleason stressed that both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations had to be

taken into account in order to fully understand linguistic organisation. He was working at a time when transformational grammar was emerging with a strong emphasis in syntagmatic relations at the expense of the paradigmatic, which were only accounted for in terms of ‘transformations’.

Gleason suggested that the descriptive focus on patterns *within* sentences covered only one aspect of linguistic relations in structure. A full description of the system, in his view, had to account for paradigmatic relations *between* sentences. According to Gleason, a serious consideration of the interdependency of these relations ultimately constituted the main pathway to access the organising principles of language as a system rather than language as an inventory of structures related by ‘transformations’. Understanding the linguistic system in this way allowed a full account of “both the structure of individual sentences and the relations between pairs of sentences” (1965, p. 195).

Gleason begins his reasoning with the observation that some sentences share a special kind of ‘structural identity’, which he referred to as **enation**. This kind of identity could be established on the basis of i) the classes of units recognisable within sentences ‘at equivalent places’, and ii) the kind of construction, within the sentence, where those units were (syntactically) related. He offered the following examples of such enate sentences sharing their constructional make-up:

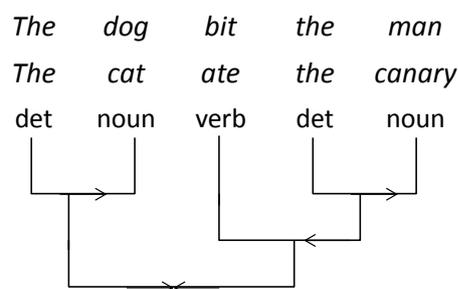


Figure 2.39 Gleason’s ‘parsing’ of enate sentences (1965, p. 197)

Two enate sentences, like the ones analysed by Gleason, offer the same ‘parsing’ result, that is, they involve the same classes (‘parts of speech’) and the same relations between classes within sentences. He goes further, however, to problematise the notion of structural identity *per se* so as to adequately account for grammatical relations, by considering a third sentence in relation to the previous two:

- (a) *The dog bit the man*
- (b) *The cat ate the canary*
- (c) *The man was bitten by the dog*

He notes that, from the viewpoint of structural identity, (c) is clearly different from both (a) and (b). However, Gleason also noted that there is a sense in which (a) and (c) seem to be related – as opposed to (b) and (c). He shows that such a relation, which could be stated in terms of the ‘meaning’ of the sentences concerned, cannot be derived from the fact that these two sentences share the same basic lexical items – since an alternative sentence such as *The man bit the dog*, with the same lexical items, cannot be said to be related to (a) and (c) in the same terms in which they are interrelated with one another. Moreover, regardless of the criteria or combination of criteria that the analyst could produce in trying to account for the relatedness of sentences (a) and (c), it seemed to Gleason that the relation between both ultimately rests “in just one feature of the two sentences” (p. 198).

Gleason was not concerned with an explanation dealing with the ‘manipulation’ or ‘process’ operated over one sentence to ‘obtain’ the other – a *unidirectional* relation that, in any case, could only relate *a pair* of sentences, as in the then typical transformational analysis. His interest, instead, was in establishing a grammatical generalisation that could relate sentences to a system. For Gleason, such a generalisation was possible through the recognition of the specific kind of paradigmatic relation between sentences that he called **agnation** (1965, p. 199). The agnation relation between a) and c) above is represented below by the use of a colon:

The dog bit the man : *The man was bitten by the dog*

Two sentences are thus **agnate**, as in the examples, when they reveal a recurrent contrastive relation. Unlike transformations, agnation is therefore a *bidirectional* relation, whose representation is independent from the sequential ordering of the contrasted sentences (Gleason, 1965, p. 199), as shown below:

The man was bitten by the dog : *The dog bit the man*

According to Gleason, agnation relations between sentences are as grammatically significant as enation relations and are equally pervasive in the system of a language. Two agnate sentences are as *grammatically* related as two enate sentences are.

Nonetheless, not any set of contrasts found by the analyst would count as agnation. In fact, the only way to ‘test’ agnation between two sentences is in close interconnection with enation relations *across sentences*:

<i>The dog bit the man</i>	:	<i>The man was bitten by the dog</i>	
<i>The cat ate the canary</i>	:	<i>The canary was eaten by the cat</i>	
<i>The man saw a stranger</i>	:	<i>A stranger was seen by the man</i>	
<i>The lion caught the tourist</i>	:	<i>The tourist was caught by the lion</i>	
...	:	...	

Table 2.8 The interplay of agnation and enation across sentences

Sentences within each column are grouped by enation (vertically arranged sets). In order for the same agnation relation to be demonstrated, they must all *at the same time* be shown to contrast *across columns in the same basic way*. It is only through this strategy that their grammatical relatedness can be accounted for.

Gleason thus shows that agnation and enation are mutually defining aspects of grammatical relations, and they, in fact, presuppose each other (Gleason, 1965, p. 199, footnote 2). Thus, in the same way agnate sentences had to be established through enation, syntagmatic similarity is not enough in its own right to establish a systematic relation between enate sentences: it also has to be derived from ‘paradigmatic identity’ through agnation. For instance, there might be two sentences that look similar from the point of view of their ‘structural’ patterns, such as the following examples presented by Gleason (1965):

- (d) *The man saw a stranger*
- (e) *The man seemed a stranger*

However, these sentences can be actually shown to be *unrelated*, as Gleason himself does (1965, p. 203), by systematically exploring their possible agnation/enation relations:

<i>The man saw a stranger</i>	:	<i>A stranger was seen by the man</i>
<i>The man seemed a stranger</i>	x	<i>*A stranger was seemed by the man</i>
...		
<i>The man saw a stranger</i>	x	<i>*The man saw to be a stranger</i>
<i>The man seemed a stranger</i>	:	<i>The man seemed to be a stranger</i>

By means of their diverging agnation/enation patterning, Gleason shows that the un-relatedness of examples (d) and (e) is ultimately established by contrasts between kinds of sentences rather than, for example, between words classes within them (e.g. the ‘type of verb’). Gleason also illustrates through these analyses that grammatical identity may need to be established by *more than one* enation/agnation patterning, such as in the examples above, where at least two different agnation sets are at stake. Further, the full exploration of agnation/enation relations associated with groups of sentences could contribute to reveal more ‘delicate’ distinctions within a given category, that is, between sentences that in some respect are agnate but not *in all* respects (1965, p. 205).

Overall, Gleason proposed that the term agnation alone was enough for this interaction of structural and contrastive patterns. In these interdependencies, any contrasts that were not truly significant between pairs of sentences were thus ruled out³².

2.3.2.2 Proportionalities

In SFL lexicogrammatical description, Gleason’s concept of agnation can be associated with the ‘relatedness’ among features *within and across* systems.

Agnation patterns are usually discussed in SFL descriptive argumentation in the form of **proportionalities** (e.g. Halliday, 1994; Martin, 1992a). Table 2.9 below reinterprets English MOOD patterns introduced in previous sections, in relation to agnate pairs, where the colon (:) reads ‘is to’ and the double colon (::) reads ‘as’:

<i>John has seen the play</i>	:	<i>Has John seen the play?</i>	::
<i>They will build the house</i>	:	<i>Will they build the house?</i>	::
<i>Tracy can watch</i>	:	<i>Can Tracy watch?</i>	::
<i>You don’t care about that</i>	:	<i>Do you care about that?</i>	::
<i>Your little brother is not going to take it</i>	:	<i>Is your little brother going to take it?</i>	::

Table 2.9 Proportionalities revealing the contrast between interpersonal clause types in English

Examples above can be read as follows: “*John has seen the play* is to *Has John seen the play?* as *They will build the house* is to *Will they build the house?...*” and so forth. In spite of their differences, including tense and modality selections, clauses are shown to be related under one feature, [indicative], and to contrast in just one specific

³² Cf. Lamb (1964a, p. 106), who notes that ‘alternations’ for their own sake do not have necessarily any ‘deep’ grammatical significance.

way across the two columns, giving rise to the distinction between [declarative] and [interrogative: polar]. For the system of English MOOD, these are the similarities and contrasts that are significant regardless of similarities and differences that the same clause pairings distributed along rows may display with respect to *other systems*.

In order to make these relations structurally explicit, functional labels are specified in the realisation statements of each feature, revealing the differential patterns in structure that both group them together under [indicative], while contrasting them as more delicate features, as shown in Table 2.10 below:

[declarative] \supset S ^ F	[interrogative] \supset F ^ S
<i>John has seen the play</i>	: <i>Has John seen the play?</i> ::
<i>They will build the house</i>	: <i>Will they build the house?</i> ::
<i>Tracy can watch</i>	: <i>Can Tracy watch?</i> ::
<i>You don't care about that</i>	: <i>Do you care about that?</i> ::
<i>Your little brother is not going to take it</i>	: <i>Is your little brother going to take it?</i> ::

Table 2.10 Interpersonal proportionalities with associated systemic and structural specifications

However, as noted in section 2.3.2.1 above, system-structure relations concerning clause types may be less straightforward, and they may involve systemic interactions across ranks and/or metafunctions. Table 2.11 below shows clause pairs contrasting across MOOD choices in English (vertical arrangement), with each row representing interpersonal structural similarity between pairs (horizontal arrangement):

[declarative]	<i>She finished the chapter</i>	<i>She hated the chapter</i>
[polar]	<i>Did she finish the chapter?</i>	<i>Did she hate the chapter?</i>
[elemental]	<i>What did she finish?</i>	<i>What did she hate?</i>

Table 2.11 Examples of clause sets across MOOD choices (interpersonal)

There is a sense in which, in spite of their interpersonal ‘likeness’ within a given row, clauses across columns contrast in other respects. Indeed, those in the left column seem to correspond to events unfolding in a more physical realm, where the Subject, i.e. *she*, is responsible for bringing about an event that results in a ‘material product’. On the other hand, clauses in the right column seem to point to the internal ‘emotional state’ of the Subject with respect to *the chapter*. This kind of difference in ‘meaning’ is usually stated in notional terms – just as in the traditional common sense definitions – or

in reference with the ‘meaning’ of the verb. Clauses in both columns can, however, be shown to contrast as a whole in various ways. One of these ways concerns the unmarked selection of present tense by English speakers using these clauses, with the following result:

[declarative]	<i>She’s finishing the chapter</i>	:	<i>She hates the chapter</i>
[polar]	<i>Is she finishing the chapter?</i>	:	<i>Does she hate the chapter?</i>
[elemental]	<i>What is she finishing?</i>	:	<i>What does she hate?</i>

Table 2.12 Clause sets across English MOOD choices: unmarked ‘present’ selected

It turns out that, in English, the first clause type selects more naturally for ‘present continuous’, while the second favours ‘simple present’. This is one *among a number of proportionalities* used for the distinction between two clause types, [material] and [mental] in the experiential system of PROCESS TYPE:

	[material]	:	[mental]
[declarative]	<i>She’s finishing the chapter</i>	:	<i>She hates the chapter</i>
[polar]	<i>Is she finishing the chapter?</i>	:	<i>Does she hate the chapter?</i>
[elemental]	<i>What is she finishing?</i>	:	<i>What does she hate?</i>

Table 2.13 Agnation patterns for English PROCESS TYPE: material and mental clauses contrasting in unmarked present tense

What the table above shows is that, regardless of selections in MOOD under [indicative], one key distinction between material and mental processes in English is the selection of unmarked present tense. This means that, keeping one feature in MOOD constant as [indicative], English experiential clause types may be distinguished by means of selections in TENSE, a system interpreted in SFL at *group rank* (Halliday, 1966/1976, 1994; Martin et al., 2010).

The illustrated proportionalities involve recurrent patterns across clause types in English, not just between a pair of examples nor just with a focus on single constituents. They also reveal distinctions between different kinds of meaning involving the clause as a whole, e.g. interpersonal versus experiential. In Table 2.13 above, while the meaning of clauses was shown to be *interpersonally* equivalent within a single row, it is also shown to be *experientially* different across columns.

Relations identified through agnation are of grammatical significance, in the sense that they account for grammatical contrasts that have implications for structural

configurations. Importantly, their significance lies in that they can be systematically used to account for the **meaning** of grammatical patterns as well as their specific metafunctional motivations. In stating differences in meaning between experiential and/or interpersonal clause types, the analyst does not need to resort to a separate ‘semantic’ level of organisation dissociated from the actual patterns found both *within* and *across* clauses.

The exploration of proportionalities has also revealed that some entail agnation relations between features located in systems that are more closely interconnected, while others reveal agnation relations that seem to be more dispersed and are thus less straightforward (Martin & Matthiessen, 1991). For example, proportionalities involving interpersonal clause types in English allow the identification of one feature and more delicate, mutually contrasting distinctions, e.g. [declarative] and [interrogative] under [indicative], as shown in Table 2.10 above. These represent closely interconnected agnation relations, which hold, for example, regardless of selections in TENSE (group rank) or PROCESS TYPE (experiential metafunction) in other systems.

However, other proportionalities, such as those in the experiential metafunction, show that more complex agnation patterns may be at stake in the recognition of features in systems. In English, the general distinction between material and mental clauses, in fact, involve *a number of proportionalities*, all embodied in the whole set of ‘probes’ commonly used to sort out major PROCESS TYPES (e.g. as described in Halliday, 1994). These proportionalities include i) more delicate choices along the network (e.g. the general potential for hyperphenomenality under [mental], but not under [material]), ii) interconnections in systems across metafunctions (e.g. the possibility of projection in logical LOGICO-SEMANTIC systems open for [mental], but not [material]), and iii) interconnections across ranks (e.g. the unmarked selection of present in TENSE among the verbal group systems).

This increased complexity takes the discussion to agnation relations that are more ‘dispersed’, and are thus more difficult to recognise and to represent in networks by means of realisations statements. For this, the notion of ‘covert’ grammatical categories, as first proposed by Whorf (1945), needs to be explored from a systemic functional perspective.

2.3.2.2.3 Realisational complexity

In his classic article ‘Grammatical categories’ (1945), Whorf discusses the need for a systematic method to address language description that allows both meaningful generalisations about human language and revealing accounts of language-specific patterns. The first concern was aimed at understanding linguistic phenomena and its fundamental relation to ‘meaning’, while the second was more oriented to understanding the organisation of languages in their own terms in ways that were insightful for the study of their complex interrelations with culture (Whorf, 1956).

In his enterprise, Whorf (1945) proposed that grammatical categories had to be explored in relation to patterns that were ‘configurative’ in nature. He distinguished different kinds of categories, ranging from ‘taxonomic’, which were general enough to cover comparable phenomena across languages, to ‘descriptive’, which could account for language-specific patterns³³. Figure 2.40 summarises the main kinds of categories set up by Whorf as relevant for descriptive work:

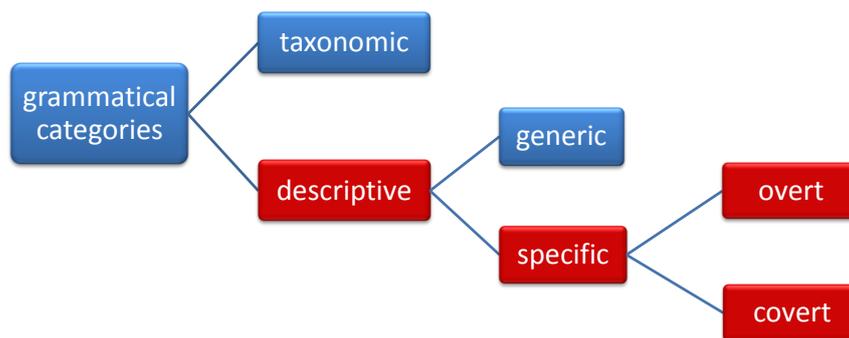


Figure 2.40 Grammatical categories according to Whorf (1945)³⁴

For the purpose of the present discussion, the relevant distinction is that between overt and covert categories under specific descriptive categories. An overt category is one “having a formal mark which is present (with only infrequent exceptions) in every sentence containing a member of the category” (p. 2). In Whorf’s view, overt categories are the ‘classical’ morphological categories, like those recognised in ‘case’, ‘number’ and ‘gender’ distinctions (1956, p. 105). Nonetheless, in his discussion of the English

³³ Under ‘descriptive’, Whorf’s generic categories refer to hierarchies grouping together related, specific categories. For example, ‘voice’ can be regarded a generic category grouping together the specific categories ‘passive’ and ‘active’ in English (Whorf, 1937/1945, p. 10; cf. Firth’s distinction between systems and their specific terms, discussed in section 2.3.1.1 above)

³⁴ For the purpose of the present discussion, ‘selective’, ‘modulus’ and ‘isosemantic’ categories under ‘specific’ have been omitted in the diagram (see Whorf, 1937/1945).

‘plural’, which he regards as a typical overt category in that language, Whorf noted that overt categories are not restricted to morphological marking within a given word class, but they could be manifested in a wider structural environment. For example, when the English ‘plural’ is not marked morphologically within the scope of a noun, i.e. by adding *-s* or *-es* to a lexical root, its meaning is likely to be openly manifested elsewhere *within the same sentence*, e.g. through the absence/presence of determiners (among other patterns). Whorf calls those categories that are directly recognisable in this way **phenotypes**.

However, Whorf stresses that there is another kind of category that is very important in linguistic description. These are ‘covert’ categories that cannot be immediately recognised by a ‘mark’ or by self-evident patterning within the same sentence. Instead, they only emerge when seen in light of patterns *across sentences*. Whorf exemplifies a covert category as follows:

In English, intransitive verbs form a covert category marked by lack of the passive participle and the passive and causative voices; we cannot substitute a verb of this class (e.g. *go, lie, sit, rise, gleam, sleep, arrive, appear, rejoice*) into such sentences as *It was cooked, It was being cooked, I had it cooked to order*. An intransitive thus configuratively defined [...] is a true grammatical class marked by these and other constant grammatical features, such as non-occurrence of nouns or pronouns after the verb; one does not say *I gleamed it, I appeared the table*. (Whorf, 1945, p. 2)

As Whorf then further points out, the fact that the category ‘intransitive verb’ can be shown to be covert does not mean that ‘the same verb’ cannot be used both intransitively and transitively. The category itself is not defined by the specific verb selected, but by a re-current patterning found across associated *sentences*. Whorf calls such grammatical categories **cryptotypes**.

Both phenotypical and cryptotypical categories are ‘configurationally’ defined, however they can be distinguished in that cryptotypes can *only* be accessed through a ‘distinctive treatment’:

A covert category is marked, whether morphemically or by sentence-pattern, only in certain types of sentence and not in every sentence in which a word or element belonging to the category occurs. The class-membership of the word is

not apparent until there is a question of using it or referring to it in one of these special types of sentence, and then we find that this word belongs to a class requiring some sort of distinctive treatment, which may even be the negative treatment of excluding that type of sentence. This distinctive treatment we may call the **REACTANCE** of the category (1945, p. 2, emphasis in the original).

The **reactance** of a grammatical category is the characteristic and recurrent pattern that emerges when contrasting configurations across sentences. Put another way, reactances ‘reveal’ a covert category by consistently showing their relatedness across sentences. From a systemic functional viewpoint, reactances can be related to *agnation patterns*: the exploration of reactances associated with a given cryptotype is in fact the exploration of its associated agnation relations.

Davidse (1998) explores in depth the relation between agnation and the phenotypic/cryptotypical nature of categories in SFL, particularly in the contrast between experiential and interpersonal (and textual) categories.

She begins by pointing to the fact that phenotypical categories, generally speaking, can be better seen as ‘overt’ if one considers them in terms of a ‘realisational’ definition, e.g. ‘how can the category be recognised?’. She does, however, agree with Halliday (1984/2002, p. 298) that such a category might still be very elusive in terms of a ‘value’ definition, e.g. ‘what is the meaning of the category?’ (p. 284).

This seems to be the case particularly when the point of departure is an isolated structural category, such as the English Subject, as Davidse (1998) and Halliday (1996/2002) note. But it also holds when grammatical description takes morpheme or word-rank patterns as the point of departure, which may be indeed ‘overt’ in a positive way, but don’t necessarily reveal their possible relations with features in systems, including selections at different ranks and metafunctions. The usual way of dealing with such phenotypes whose meaning is more elusive than appears at first sight is stating that they represent ‘formal’ categories that ‘have no meaning’ (cf. discussion of this kind of statements in Halliday 1996/2002).

As for cryptotypical categories, Davidse notes that they are difficult to establish both from the viewpoint of their realisation and their value (1998, p. 285). In SFL terms, this means that they are difficult to establish in terms of their ‘outward’ manifestation in structure *as well as* in terms of the contrast they represent in a lexicogrammatical

system, i.e. their ‘value’. However, she shows that the ‘cryptic’ nature of clause types seems to largely depend on the kind of agnation relations at stake, which she explores by comparing interpersonal and experiential systems in English.

When considering features in the interpersonal system of English MOOD, Davidse refers to the fact that realisation statements along the system network involve just a few set of shared functions. As discussed in section 2.3.2.1 above, the main difference between interpersonal clause types resides on the presence or absence of a given function (e.g. +Finite, +Wh-) or the sequencing of functions in structure (e.g. S ^ F versus F ^ S):

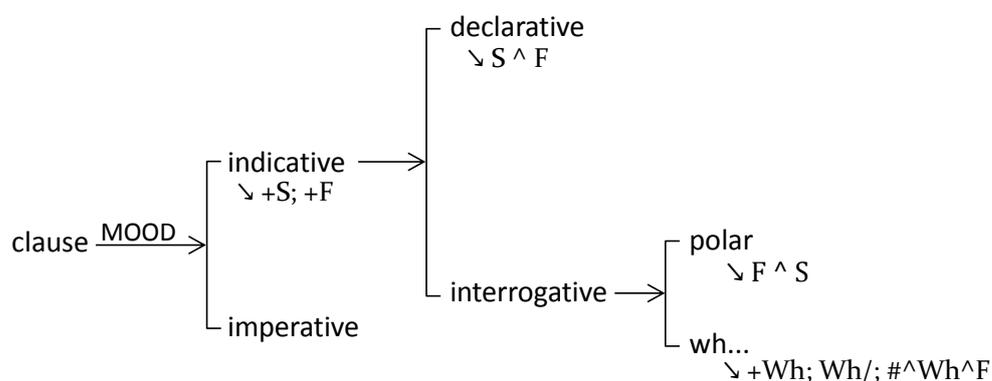


Figure 2.41 English MOOD system network

In Davidse’s view, the nature of structural realisations in English MOOD reflects the fact that features are directly agnate among one another: [declarative] and [interrogative] constitute themselves as agnate pairs (cf. Gleason, 1965). In other words, interpersonal clause types involve contrasts that are more direct, since they embody features in close proximity within the same system. Additionally, realisation statements along the network constitute revealing structural generalisations for patterns that remain constant every time, for example, [imperative] and [indicative] – along with more delicate features – are selected. At this level of abstraction, system-structure relations involve direct agnates which are, in a sense, more accessible and easier to represent³⁵.

A different situation seems to hold for features in experiential systems. Davidse (1998) shows that their recognition as systemic contrasts concerns agnation relations of a different kind. It can be added that this is somewhat reflected by the more ‘cryptic’

³⁵ This is true even if they do involve syntagmatic patterns that are not necessarily straightforward, including the recognition of the Subject function as well as selections in other systems, e.g. at group rank.

nature of their structural representation in networks. Figure 2.42 below shows a basic system network for English PROCESS TYPE, along with the realisations statements usually used for structure:

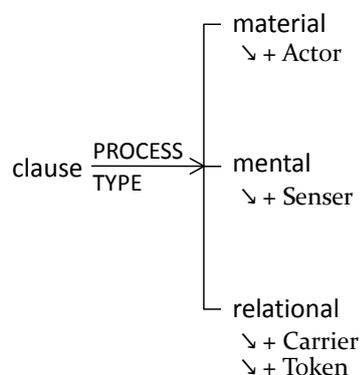


Figure 2.42 Major English PROCESS TYPE (based on Halliday, 1994)

In the above network, the consistent specification of a function label in the structural ‘output’ of features, e.g. Actor, Senser, Carrier (or Token), points to inherent participant roles within distinct configurations realising [material], [mental] and [relational]³⁶. However, such ‘inherency’ in reality does not derive from the mere selection of an element in clause structure, as the realisation statement may suggest, but from *complex* relations across configurations.

Indeed, Davidse (1998) observes that different features in English experiential systems are not directly agnate among one another as interpersonal ones are. Instead, experiential clause types relate to one another by means of *agnation paradigms* (p. 293), that is, whole groupings of agnation relations. Each agnation pattern within these sets often involves relations between features across systems – across metafunctions and ranks – and/or relations between features within the same system but which can be fairly apart in terms of delicacy. Figure 2.43 below graphically (and partially) illustrates the kind of complexity at stake in major distinctions within English PROCESS TYPE:

³⁶ + Carrier and + Token, in fact, correspond to the realisations of two distinct relational subtypes, attributive and identifying, respectively.

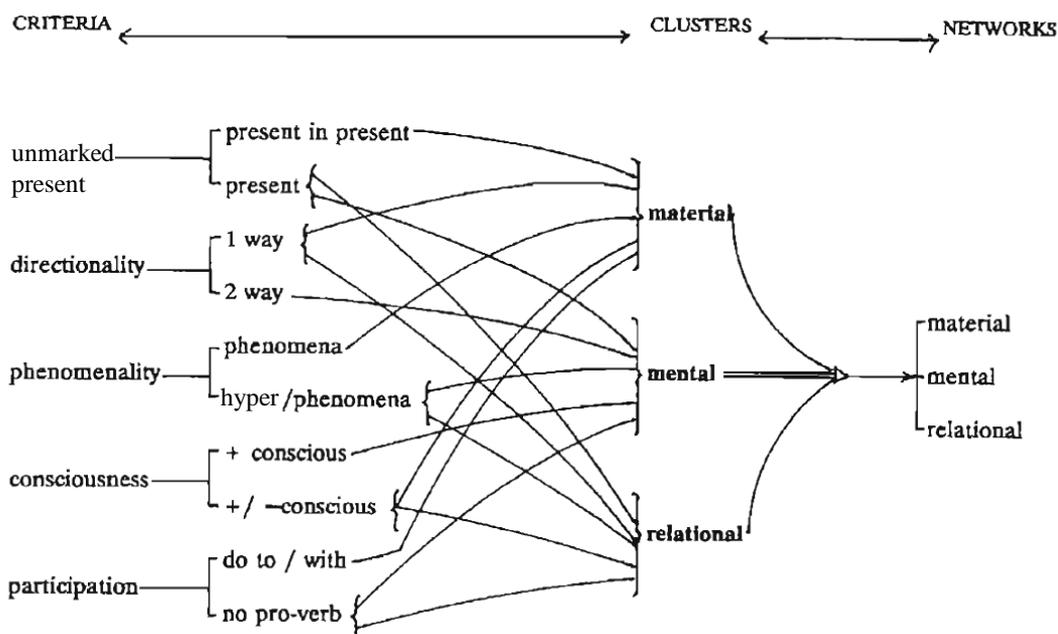


Figure 2.43 Interactions across systems in English PROCESS TYPE (adapted from Martin, 1996a, p. 365).

As seen in the diagram above, features in PROCESS TYPE are established based on sets of patterns or ‘criteria’. These criteria are represented by the so-called ‘probes’ which, taken together, are ways to access process-specific agnation paradigms (e.g. Halliday, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Matthiessen, 1995). Furthermore, taken individually, each criterion refers to agnation patterns that may overlap across experiential clause types. This overlap reveals the respects in which some experiential configurations are ‘different’ and ‘alike’ *at the same time*.

In spite of their apparent complexity, however, these agnation relations show systematic and recurrent patterns associated with each feature in English PROCESS TYPE, the issue is simply that this systematic patterning is far from being straightforward *in various respects*. In terms of the grammatical evidence required to establish i) their status as distinct systemic contrasts – their value – as well as ii) their structural representation – their realisation –, features in PROCESS TYPE seem more evidently ‘cryptotypic’ than interpersonal (and textual) clause types (cf. Davidse, 1998).

2.3.2.3 Implications for language description

System-structure relations are fundamental for a principled account of lexicogrammatical patterns in SFL. System networks constitute the main descriptive resource to account for these relations in any given language, with the clause as the main entry condition for lexicogrammatical systems.

Given that the clause is the basic unit in systemic description, the relations under focus may be in many cases difficult to represent and access (cf. Bateman, 2008). The notion of agnation has been articulated as the main pathway for interconnections among i) features within and across systems, and ii) features and the structural patterns that ultimately justify their recognition and systemic organisation. The account of the ‘meaning’ of structural resources can thus be addressed configurationally and in terms of the (various) systems of oppositions they ultimately relate to. Finally, based on the discussion proposed by Davidse (1998), it was shown that agnation relations in interpersonal and experiential clause systems seem to be of a different nature, which is reflected in the kind of realisational complexity that they may display.

It is important to bear in mind these various kinds of interrelation, particularly if the systemic description of one language is preliminarily used as part of a heuristic strategy to explore the organisation of another. Relations between systemic features and their structural realisations are ultimately language-specific; features are expected to be motivated by actual patterns found in the structure of a language. However, realisation statements embody in themselves fairly abstract generalisations about language-specific configurational patterns along the syntagmatic axis, which not always can be represented in system networks in a direct way.

2.3.3 Bringing theoretical dimensions together through the axial principle

The possible grammatical interrelations that can be found by means of axial reasoning may be, at best, quite overwhelming if undertaken for their own sake. However, this kind of argumentation finds its relevance when used to connect patterns found in linguistic data to the more general assumptions shaping the SFL theoretical architecture. In this respect, the axial principle of semiotic organisation ultimately finds its place when it can systematically bring together stratification, rank and metafunction.

Stratally, the axial perspective can be used to explain the emergence of semiotic complexity in terms of system-structure cycles organising resources at different levels of abstraction. The traffic-light system discussed earlier and shown in Figure 2.32 is an example of a non-stratified system, with only one system-structure cycle relating content and expression; the systemic choices and their realisations provide a simple

account of the direct relation between two planes³⁷. However, according to SFL assumptions regarding ontogenesis and phylogenesis (Matthiessen, 2004b) human, natural language develops a distinction between the content and expression plane in protolanguage (primary semiotic) and later on, with the development of the lexicogrammatical stratum, the double stratification of the content plane constitutes adult language as a full-fledged higher-order semiotic (Halliday, 1992/2002). As proposed by Martin (2011b, p. 246), these increasing levels of complexity can be analysed as the emergence of distinct ‘value’ systems, which interact systematically between each other (Martin, 1992a).

The view of stratal diversification in terms of axis can be illustrated through interpersonal resources in English, as first elaborated on by Halliday (1984). System-structure cycles across strata are represented in Figure 2.44 below:

³⁷ See in-depth discussion in Martin (2011a, 2011b) in relation to system-structure cycles and stratification. Martin addresses Halliday’s formulation whereby the direct relation between the content and expression planes in such semiotic systems involves just ‘one realisational cycle’, but still between *two strata* (cf. Halliday, 1979/2002, p. 196).

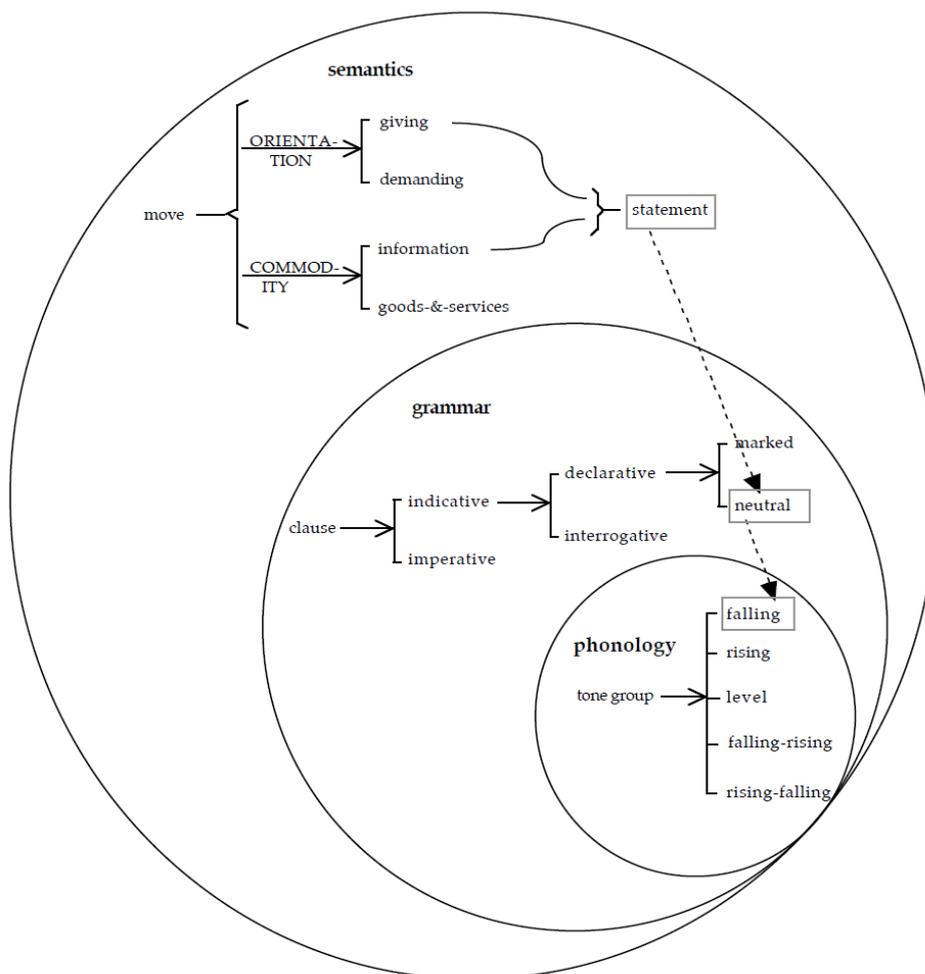


Figure 2.44 Systems-structure cycles related by interstratal realisation (Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997/2009, p. 87)

Within the interpersonal metafunction, each stratum has its own systemic environment. Stratum-specific system-structure cycles operate within the domain of their basic units: the *move* in discourse semantics, the *clause* in lexicogrammar and the *tone group* in phonology. From the viewpoint of lexicogrammar, the English MOOD system systematically relates to the SPEECH FUNCTION system at discourse semantics in the default, non-metaphorical mode. Speakers typically or **congruently** enact roles in dialogue (giving or demanding) and exchange commodities (goods-&-services or information) through basic clause choices in the grammar of MOOD. Thus [statement] (giving information) is typically realised by [declarative], [questions] (demanding information) by [interrogative], [command] (demanding good-&-services) by [imperative], and so forth (Halliday, 1984). At the same time, more delicate distinctions in the interpersonal grammar of English are realised by phonological choices in the TONE system, i.e. [declarative] is typically realised by [falling] (Halliday, 1967a, 1970; Halliday & Greaves, 2008).

The general principle at work is that each level of semiotic abstraction offers a systemic environment for levels of lower abstraction. Systems at any given strata are related to systems ‘above’ and ‘below’ in this way (see section 2.4.1 below). For the description of the lexicogrammatical stratum in any given language, the implication is that clause systems are crucially motivated ‘from above’. The reason for this is that the contribution of lexicogrammatical resources to meaning-making in context is more clearly seen in their interaction with discourse semantic choices (see Chapter 3 on the interpersonal grammar of Spanish). At the same time, any ‘displacement’ between interstratally related systems, i.e. any non-congruent or **metaphorical** relations between resources at different strata within the content plane, opens up the meaning potential of the overall system, as is the case with the indirect realisation of SPEECH FUNCTIONS through interpersonal grammatical metaphors (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 626ff).

As for the dimension of **rank**, the distribution of lexicogrammatical resources within its local environment can also be considered in light of the axial dimension. Units along the rank scale define their own system-structure cycles, with each movement in delicacy establishing specific classes (Halliday, 1961). In other words, each unit along the rank scale is the entry condition for systems at each local level, i.e. clauses, groups/phrases, words, etc., shaping a specific environment where systemic features define the corresponding classes of units, e.g. [material] as a clause class, [nominal] as a group class, [nominal] as a word class, and so forth.

In terms of systemic inter-rank relations, the realisation of features at higher ranks involves the **pre-selection** of features at lower ranks. This pre-selection may involve units or classes directly related in terms of constituency. For instance, the structural realisation of a clause feature may entail the pre-selection of units at the rank immediately below, as is the case in English for the Subject function in interpersonal systems:

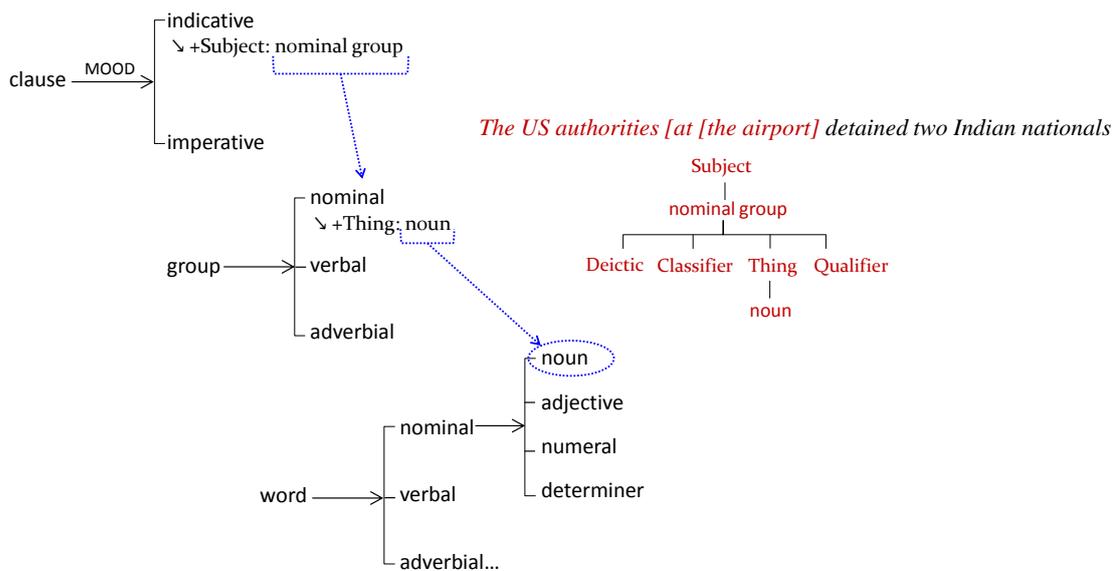


Figure 2.45 Clause-rank function pre-selecting features along the rank scale (Subject)

At the upper-left of the diagram, the realisation of [indicative] in English includes the Subject as a key function involved in a number of further contrasts at clause rank. The Subject pre-selects a nominal group in a system one rank below (pre-selection being represented by means of a colon ':', which reads 'Subject function pre-selects the feature [nominal] at group rank'). At group rank, the class of nominal group is crucially realised in English by the insertion of the Thing function, which in turn pre-selects the feature [noun] at the rank below, that of the word.

The relation between realisation statements and units at lower ranks may be less direct, either because pre-selections involve features at various degrees of delicacy at ranks below, and/or because they select features in recursive systems. For instance, the Finite function in English involves complex selections at group rank including features in logical, recursive systems (i.e. TENSE). Figure 2.46 below provides a highly simplified representation of the selections at stake:

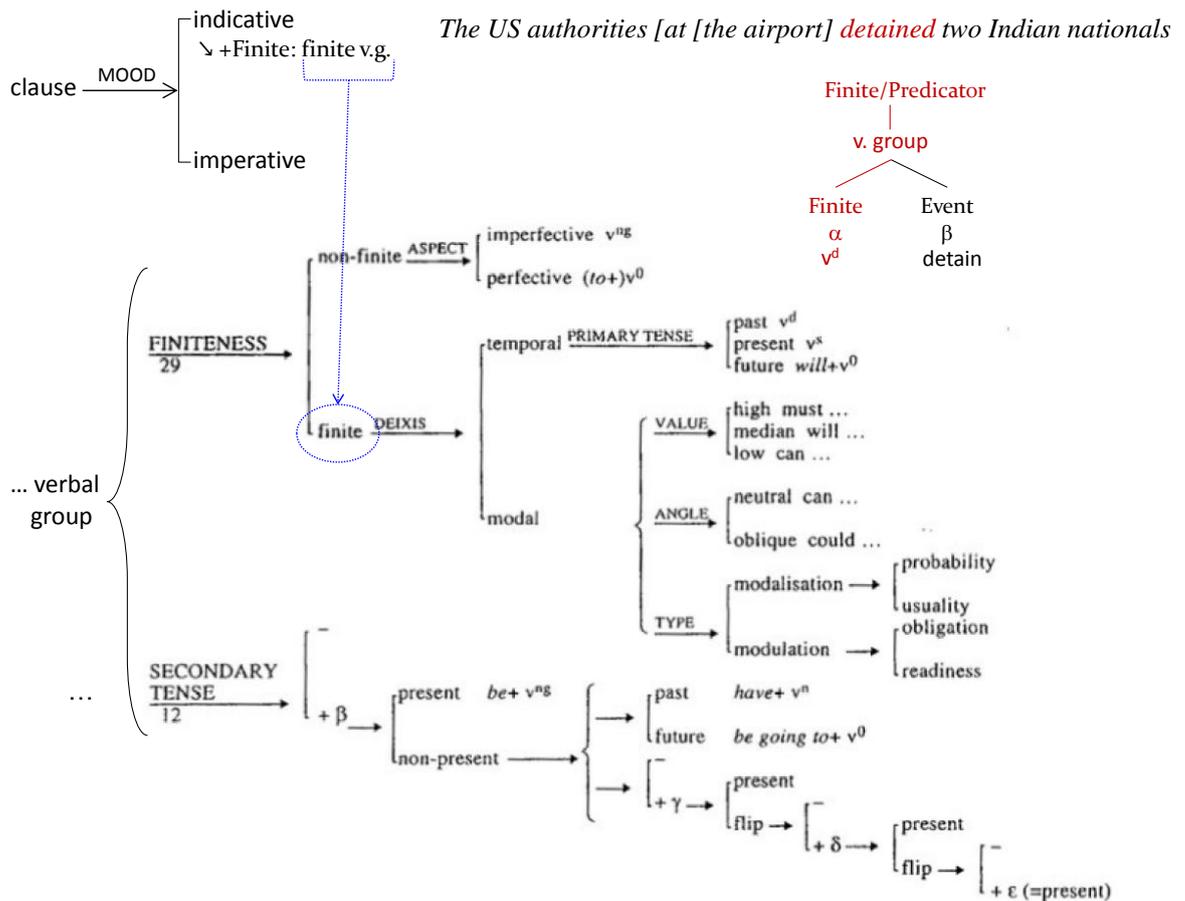


Figure 2.46 Clause-rank function pre-selecting features along the rank scale (Finite) (based on verbal group system in Halliday, 1996/2002, p. 394)³⁸

These inter-rank interconnections show that systems are organised along the rank scale by means of functional configurations, rather than merely by direct constituency.

Since clause rank systems are given priority in lexicogrammatical description, realisation statements for clause features may involve pre-selections at different points along the rank scale, i.e. at different systems ‘below’ the clause (cf. Halliday, 1966b, p. 65). The description thus favours a top-down approach, going from the highest to the lowest-rank, since units and their systemic environment are described in terms of their contribution to the realisation of clause systems, rather than in their own terms or following a bottom-up direction.

³⁸ The network for the English verbal group, among other things, doesn’t show that TENSE is in fact a recursive system generating a univariate, rather than a multivariate structure. Univariate structures are not constituent-like; this is reflected by the ‘interdependency arrows’ in the ‘flat tree’ provided in Figure 2.46, with the internal structure of the English verbal group not being represented in terms of constituency relations (Martin et al., 2010, pp. 18-19).

The final dimension revealed by axis is that of the intrinsic organisation of language into **metafunctional** components. From an axial perspective, these correspond to relatively independent domains, grouping systems into three main simultaneous ‘bundles’ at clause rank: ideational, interpersonal and textual.

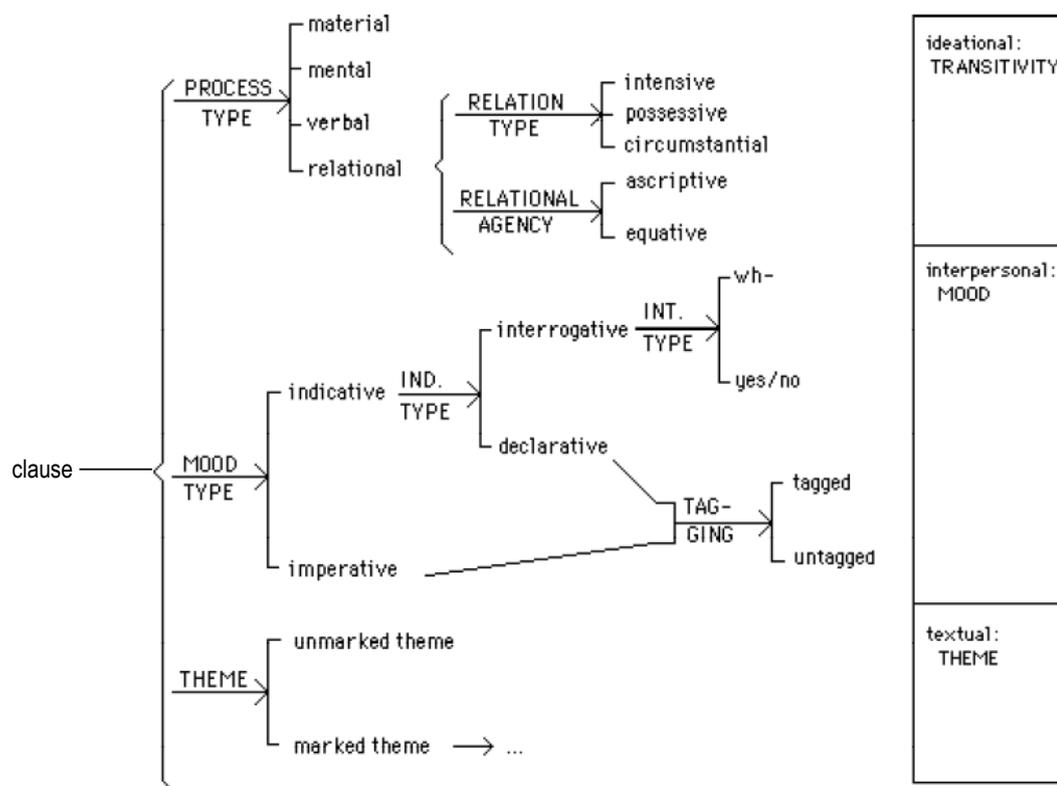


Figure 2.47 Basic lexicogrammatical systems in the English clause, organised by metafunction (Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997/2009, p. 55)

The notion of metafunctional diversification originally emerged in the lexicogrammatical description of English in the ‘60s from the grouping of resources into three simultaneous and relatively independent paradigmatic ‘bundles’. It was found that some systems appeared as more closely interrelated, defining their own relatively independent systemic ‘region’ with respect the other two.

The clause is the common point of origin for the metafunctional diversification of lexicogrammatical systems, allowing speakers/writers to make three kinds of meanings at the same time – a property that is distinctive of human language as a higher order semiotic (Halliday, 1992/2002). The cross-classification of the clause by three metafunctional bundles has, as its realisational ‘output’, three simultaneous tiers of structure. These three functional configurations converge and map onto one another in

specific ways, with function labels reflecting their relation to their ‘deeper’ systemic-functional environment.

Figure 2.48 below represents the interrelations between stratification, rank and metafunction within the linguistic system by means of axial relations:

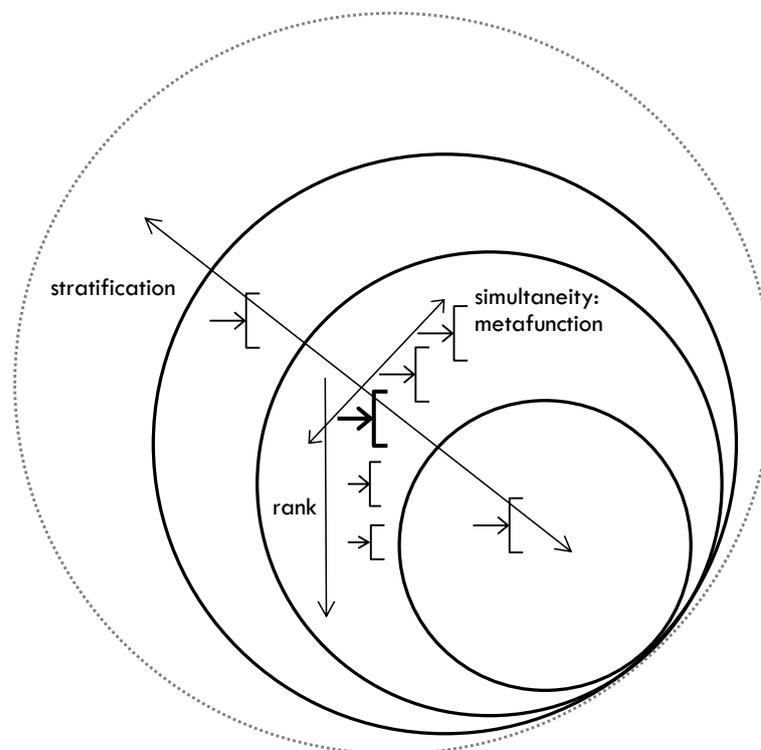


Figure 2.48 Axial relations across dimensions – metafunction, strata and rank (from Martin & Matthiessen, 1991)

These interrelations across dimensions constitute the overall meaning-making potential of the linguistic system, which is **instantiated** in any situated act of meaning in which selections across strata, ranks and metafunctions are actualised.

2.4 Theory and description

In previous sections, the main theoretical architecture of systemic functional linguistics has been reviewed. The dimension of axis has been foregrounded in order to show the interrelations among key dimensions shaping the theoretical space, including stratification, rank, metafunction, and instantiation. A number of **theoretical categories** have been introduced, including *system*, *structure*, *class* and *function* as well as the fundamental notion of *realisation*, linking them in specific ways across dimensions.

These categories and dimensions shape the conceptual architecture in SFL as a general theory of language. The theory as a whole, as pointed out by Halliday

(1996/2002), is in this respect **logocentric**: it constitutes a (metasemiotic) system oriented to a general understanding of human language (cf. Hjelmslev, 1943/1961, p. 114ff). This orientation integrates the assumption that language is a resource to make meaning, both in terms of its overall potential (and sub-potentials), and in terms of its instantiation in situated texts.

However, when looking at particular languages, these theoretical assumptions and categories need to be taken to a lower level of abstraction, so as to allow an understanding of language-specific meaning-making resources. The theory then needs to be related to linguistic data through **descriptive principles** from which **descriptive categories** emerge. Throughout this chapter, in order to build up the theoretical framework, such descriptive categories have been taken mostly from English descriptions: system labels such as MOOD and PROCESS TYPE; class/feature labels such as [material] and [nominal group]; functional/structural labels such as Actor and Subject, they all embody an SFL interpretation of the specific patterns and interrelations found in English.

Descriptive categories are set up in order to understand the lexicogrammatical organisation of languages in their own terms. Therefore, the descriptions they contribute to shape are intrinsically **glottocentric**: the account of English patterns is ‘anglocentric’, in the same way the account of French is ‘gallocentric’, and that of Chinese ‘sinocentric’, etc. (Halliday, 1996/2002, p. 415).

There is thus a two-way relation between the theoretical and descriptive orders. Keeping them distinct, on the one hand, allows productive interactions as a description develops, with the theory providing the guiding principles for such an exploration. On the other hand, the distinction prevents the unprincipled use of the richer and comprehensive descriptions available in English for the exploration of different languages. Ultimately, descriptive categories need to be derived explicitly from the rich interrelations actually found in the language under description (cf. Firth, 1957c). The description, in this way, can rely on a form of argumentation that relates more clearly to the theoretical architecture, while avoiding cross-linguistic overgeneralisations. Figure 2.49 below represents these interconnections diagrammatically:

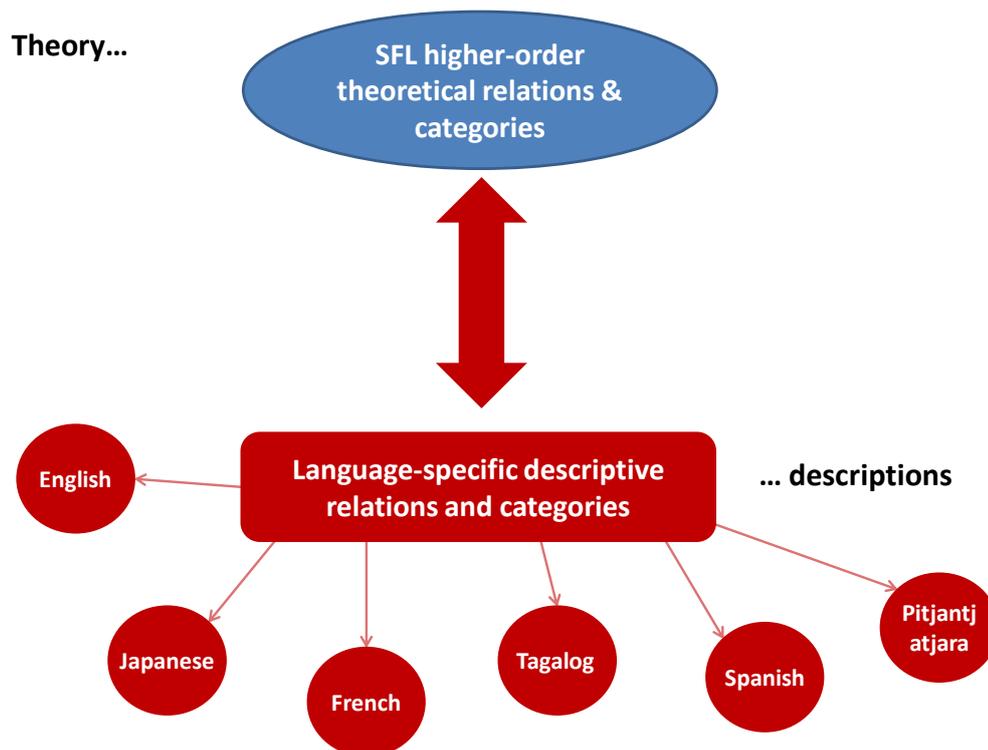


Figure 2.49 Relation between the theoretical and the descriptive orders

Halliday has stressed the interrelations and the distinction between theory and description since his very early reflections on typological work (Halliday, 1957, 1959-60). In line with Firth, Halliday foregrounded the importance of the system-structure principle to systematically and explicitly address the interplay between the theoretical framework and description.

The axial principle, in this way, is crucial for the management of both theoretical and descriptive complexity given that, after all, SFL positions itself as an *extravagant* rather than a parsimonious theory (Halliday, 1994). The descriptive principles relating potentially complex descriptions emerging from this theoretical framework can be summarised under the notion of **trinocular** vision.

2.4.1 Towards an axial interpretation of the trinocular principle

In various papers, Halliday has referred to a **trinocular** analytical principle that is crucial for a rich and coherent interpretation of linguistic patterns. This principle suggests three simultaneous and complementary angles for the observation, description and/or analysis on linguistic resources in general. In the specific case of lexicogrammatical description, it involves a three-fold view on clause resources: ‘from above’, ‘from around’ and ‘from below’.

In SFL literature, this trinocular perspective has been often characterised **stratally**. Thus lexicogrammatical resources in their own right are seen ‘from around’, their contribution to discourse semantic patterns are seen ‘from above’, and their interactions with resources in phonology/graphology are seen ‘from below’ (e.g. Halliday, 1996/2002, p. 408). This interpretation is graphically represented in Figure 2.50 below:

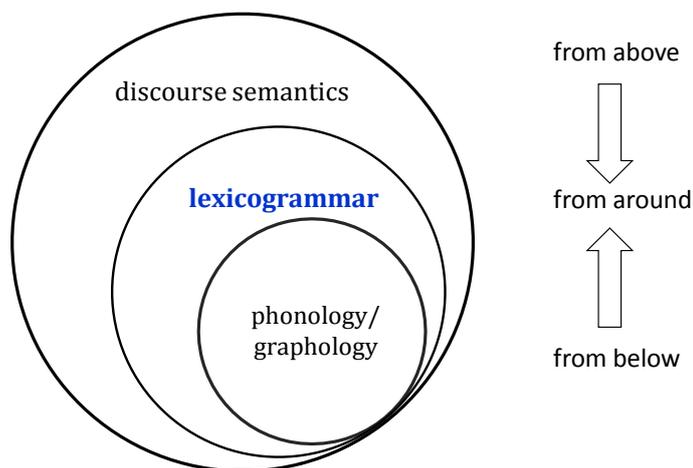


Figure 2.50 The trinocular principle interpreted stratally

In various places, Halliday has suggested that what underpins the trinocular view is more generally “the process of transforming anything into meaning – of ‘semioticising’ it in terms of a higher order, stratified semiotic”, so that “[t]he entire stratal organization of language is simply the *manifestation* of this trinocular principle” (Halliday, 1996/2002, p. 409, our emphasis). The constant movement or ‘shunting’ required in the description across levels (cf. Halliday, 1961, p. 254) can be, in this way, more generally characterised with respect to “considerations of underlying function [‘from above’], internal organization (with mutual definition) [‘from around’] and outward appearance and recognition [from below]”, as Halliday himself has done (1996, p. 408).

The above suggests that the more general concept underlying this three-fold view is that of **realisation**, including interstratal, inter-rank and axial realisation. Realisation ultimately embodies a semiotic coupling – a *meaning relation* – that is diversified across semiotic dimensions (Halliday, 1992/2003b, p. 210). Throughout this chapter, the dimension of axis has been used to show the ways in which this basic relation is dispersed across different semiotic regions. In other words, axis is a productive methodology to see the complex dispersal of basic meaning-making processes across the enormous network of interrelated systems embodied by a language.

From this perspective, the trinocular principle can also be interpreted **axially**, as suggested by Matthiessen and Halliday (1997/2009). They explore the English clause ‘from around’ in terms of the sets of interrelations it opens up as a systemic entry condition; they see it ‘from above’ in terms of the interrelations between lexicogrammatical and (discourse) semantic systems; and they see it ‘from below’ in terms of the structural output associated with clause features (e.g. 1997/2009, p. 42ff). Figure 2.51 below illustrates this axial perspective on the trinocular vision:

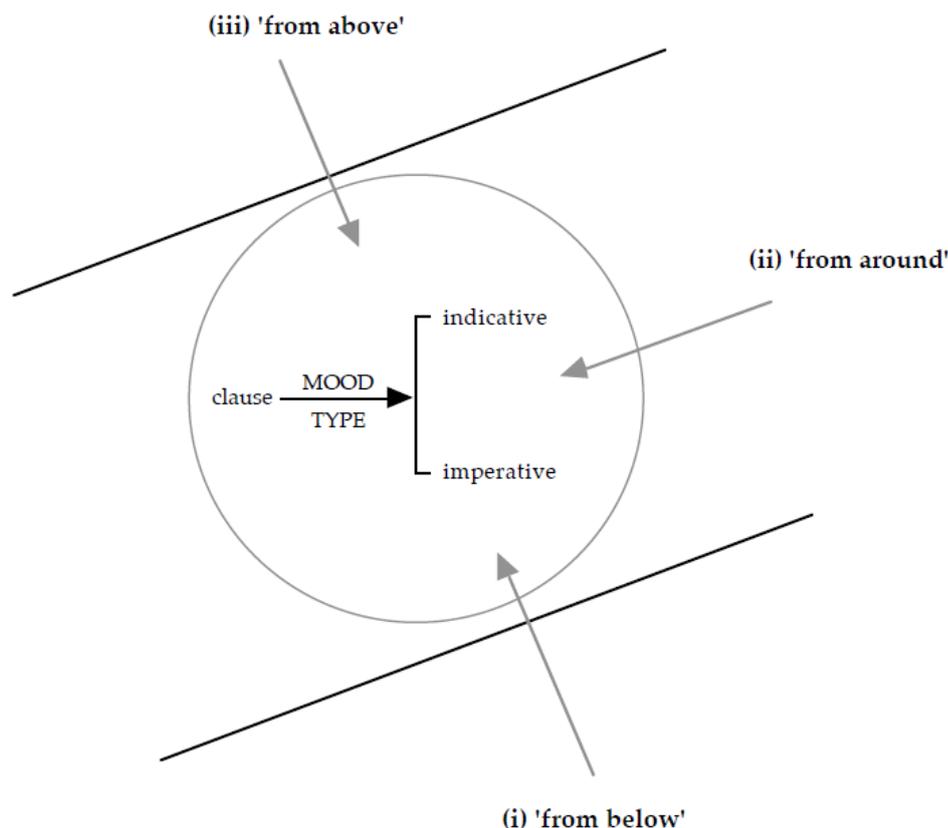


Figure 2.51 The trinocular vision interpreted axially (from Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997/2009, p. 43)

This is consistent with the discussion developed throughout section 2.3 of this chapter. The system-structure principle allows the systematic and explicit interconnection of stratal, rank and metafunctional considerations: the clause can be looked at in terms of its interrelations with discourse semantic systems as well as in terms of their functional motivation ‘from above’, it can be seen in terms of the paradigmatic environment it defines ‘from around’, and it can be seen in terms of the functional configurations in structure that justify and motivate the description of a paradigmatic environment ‘from below’, including the contribution of selections in systems down the rank scale and in the phonological stratum.

An axial interpretation of the trinocular vision not only offers the advantage of bringing different theoretical dimensions together more systematically, as shown by Matthiessen and Halliday in relation to English lexicogrammar, and by Caffarel et al. (2004a, p. 41) in relation to SFL typological work, it more generally enables the exploration of different systemic regions in terms of *local* environments ‘from around’, *wider* environments ‘from above’ and *narrower* environments ‘from below’.

2.4.2 From the widest to the narrowest: a cross-linguistic perspective

Over the years, the SFL description of a number of languages other than English (usually referred to as the ‘LOTE’ field), has led to a more comprehensive understanding of typological divergence and convergence in terms of SFL theoretical architecture. Cross-linguistic variation and similarity has been examined along a general contrast between the widest and the narrowest environments at stake within each semiotic dimension (Caffarel et al., 2004a, p. 37ff). Descriptive generalisations not only have proved consistent with the descriptive principles according to which the view ‘from above’ is what ultimately **explains** lexicogrammatical resources (Halliday, 1992/2003b, p. 203), but they have also contributed to a further articulation of the trinocular principle (Matthiessen, 2004a).

Within the dimension of axis, systems provide the widest environment for structural patterns across strata and ranks. In lexicogrammatical description, particularly at clause rank, typological convergence tends to appear in major clause systems and their primary features, while divergence reveals itself more clearly in structural realisations (Matthiessen, 2004a).

In systems, the most general degree of delicacy constitutes the widest environment, which is progressively narrowed down as the description of features becomes more fine-grained. As a result, primary delicacy clause systems appear as more stable cross-linguistically, as shown by the available descriptions of PROCESS TYPES and MOOD systems for a number of languages, including languages as different as French and Tagalog. In contrast, variation is greater as delicacy increases (Caffarel, 2006; Caffarel, Martin, & Matthiessen, 2004b; Martin, 1990, 1996b). This reinforces the importance of beginning descriptive work based on systems, rather than isolated patterns in structure (Halliday, 1992/2003b). In other words, structure is primarily seen configurationally within the domain of the clause and is ultimately justified in terms of the features it realises within clause systems.

Within stratification, higher-order strata offer a wider environment for lower-order ones (see section 2.2.1 above). In other words, the widest environment in language is that of discourse semantics and the narrowest that of phonology/graphology. Indeed, SFL typological work has shown that languages tend to converge at the stratum of discourse semantics, while they display their most significant differences down the stratal hierarchy of semiotic resources. As discussed by Martin (1983), building on work conducted by Gleason (1968), languages that are very different from each other from the viewpoint of lexicogrammar perform very similar discourse semantics tasks, that is, they display similar global patterns in texts. Specifically, by exploring the same discourse semantic system in English, Tagalog and Kâte, the system of IDENTIFICATION, Martin shows a unified view of lexicogrammatical resources that otherwise would seem significantly divergent – to the point of not being comparable – in the narrower environments of clause complex, clause and nominal group systems (Martin 1983, 1992a).

An important descriptive principle deriving from this generalisation is that lexicogrammatical resources, where descriptive work is focused, need to be constantly seen interstratally ‘from above’ in relation to text patterns, particularly if the ultimate aim of a given description is to serve as a powerful analytic tool in the study of discourse. For this kind of discourse-oriented work that envisions applications beyond language comparison, such descriptions need to be textually responsible (Martin, 1992a).

Within rank, the clause offers the widest environment for the local organisation of lexicogrammatical resources. Clause systems are the ones primarily in view in the establishment of systemic environments down the rank scale. Units and classes of units at any given rank are ultimately specified in terms of the functional configurations they contribute to at higher ranks.

SFL typological work has shown that system-structure cycles in the rank scale may vary significantly across languages. This includes the number of local levels recognised and the nature of their interrelations, units and classes. Importantly, the role of units in the ‘division of semiotic labour’ along the rank scale varies: the ways and the extent to which different units contribute to clause functional configurations differs greatly across languages (Matthiessen, 2004a).

The dimension of metafunction represents a global principle running across environments and it is the main principle orienting descriptive work ‘upwards’ to

contextual relations. The clause is the main domain for the functional unification of lexicogrammatical resources, serving as the entry condition for three bundles of interrelated systems. Lexicogrammatical description thus involves linking clause contrasts with their functional motivations, offering a three-fold perspective on clausal organisation in any given language, that is, in terms of ideational, interpersonal and textual resources.

From a typological point of view, primary clause systems at general degrees of delicacy tend to be more directly related to common functional motifs across languages, and therefore display greater similarity. However, even at general degrees of delicacy, languages diverge with respect to the kind of functional configurations that realise systemic features, and variation increases significantly as the description progresses in delicacy (Matthiessen, 2004a).

In terms of structure, the three simultaneous configurations of functions have been found to map onto one another in specific ways, depending on the language in question. The contribution of resources down the rank scale to the metafunctionally diversified structure at clause rank also seems to show variation.

In this respect, the narrowest environment of all across dimensions for language description has been shown to be that of media of expression (see section 2.2.3.2 above). It is, in fact, where cross-linguistic variation seems to be the greatest.

Matthiessen (2004a) proposes three main media of expression in relation to the structural patterns they contribute to ‘from below’. He identifies, on the one hand, grammatical media of expression, including segmental marking and sequence, and phonological media of expression (basically involving intonation), on the other. These are summarised in Figure 2.52:

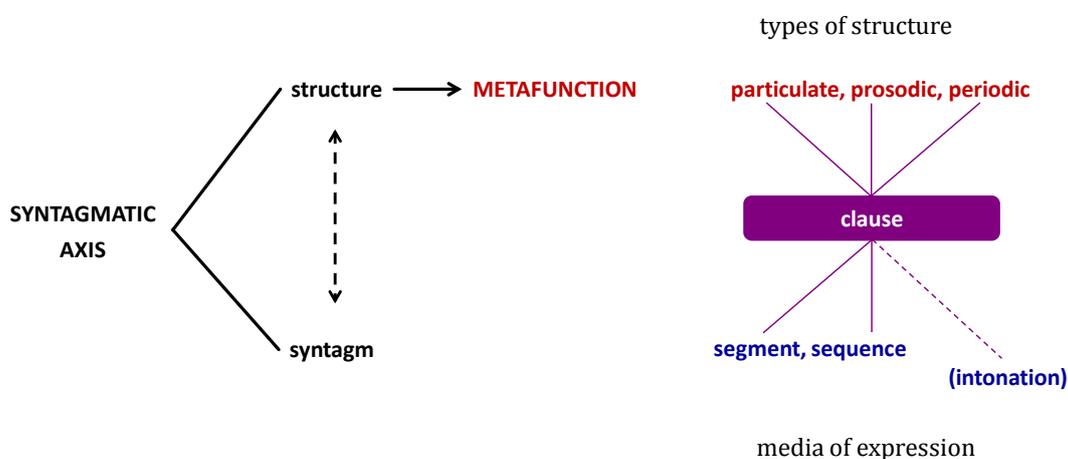


Figure 2.52 Types of structure and media of expression

As seen in the diagram above (and discussed in section 2.2.3.2), media of expression combine freely with different metafunctions via distinct types of structure. Segmental marking includes the (co-)selection of classes down the rank scale as the main manifestation of functional relations. This medium of realisation is mainly associated with lower-rank resources, such as ‘particles’, ‘clitics’, and morphological selections. For instance, ‘agreement’ in English is one way of indicating the relation between the Finite and Subject through morphological selections in verbal group systems; segmental marking by means of the particle *ang* in Tagalog plays an important role in the recognition of the topical Theme, associated with contrasts in textual systems (Martin, 2004b). The sequential medium of realisation, in turn, refers to the relative ordering of classes in syntagms, regardless of the ranks at stake. An example is the relative sequence of elements realising Subject and Finite in English (nominal group and finite verb, respectively), which realises key systemic contrasts in English MOOD. Lastly, intonational patterns at the phonological stratum relate to the realisation of clause features through selections in tone group systems, e.g. selections in TONE in phonology realising delicate contrasts in English MOOD and in MODALITY (Halliday & Greaves, 2008).

The above has important typological implications. Firstly, resources that may be comparable in terms of systemic environments and/or their structural realisation across languages may still show important differences in terms of the media of expression at stake. For instance, interpersonal, prosodic meanings that may be comparable cross-linguistically under basic systems of MOOD, show variation in their realisation media of expression, e.g. the feature [indicative: interrogative: polar] may be realised sequentially in English, but it can be realised in French both sequentially (F^S) and segmentally by the insertion of clause initial *est-ce que* particle (Caffarel, 2006). Secondly, as indicated by Matthiessen (2004a), the same realisation strategy may be related to different metafunctions, for example, ‘case marking’ and ‘agreement/concord’ phenomena may be in fact controlled by different metafunctions, as the in the so-called ‘focus system’ of group and word-rank contrasts in Tagalog, which signal the participant role (experiential) of the element selected as unmarked topical Theme (textual) (Martin, 2004b).

The significant variation in lower-level patterns embodied by media of expression, both within and across languages, would be difficult to interpret in terms of

their meaning potential if they there taken as the point of departure in the description, that is, if a *bottom-up* direction was privileged. SFL typological research has also shown that these low-level patterns can hardly be related in their own right to meaningful cross-linguistic generalisations.

Table 2.14 below summarises the main typological generalisations explored by Matthiessen (2004a), which have here been reviewed and interpreted mainly from the point of view of the axial dimension:

SEMIOTIC ENVIRONMENT	WIDEST: TENDENCY TO CONVERGENCE	NARROWEST: TENDENCY TO DIVERGENCE
axis	system (paradigmatic axis) primary delicacy	structure: structural configurations and media of expression (syntagmatic axis) increased delicacy
stratification	discourse semantics	down the stratal hierarchy, => lexicogrammar=> phonology
rank	clause systems	systems at lower ranks
metafunction	functional principle running across dimensions (strata, rank, axis and instantiation) three types of structure	functional diversification across lexicogrammatical environments (e.g. along the rank scale)

Table 2.14 Typological convergence and divergence across semiotic environments (after descriptive generalisations proposed by Matthiessen, 2004a)

SFL research on several languages has contributed to a more elaborate formulation of descriptive principles connecting the whole SFL conceptual architecture to the specific organisation of the description of particular languages. Descriptive categories, including the specific name of classes, functions, units and systems can be systematically and explicitly derived both from higher-order theoretical assumptions and the specific patterns found in the exploration of a language. Axial relations have been foregrounded in this chapter as a principled pathway for the management of the theoretical and descriptive complexity at stake.

2.5 Concluding remarks: towards a systemic description of Spanish

The aim of this chapter was to outline the main theoretical and descriptive assumptions underpinning the interpretation of Spanish proposed in this study.

Section 2.2 located the lexicogrammatical description with respect to the theoretical dimensions of stratification, rank, metafunction and instantiation. Section 2.3 offered an in-depth exploration of axis as the dimension concerned with system-structure interrelations. The axial principle was shown crucial to providing a coherent

and integrated overview of the SFL theoretical architecture. Section 2.4 used axis to explore the systematic interconnections between the theory and the descriptive principles for the study of particular languages.

From the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics, the study of Spanish lexicogrammar is thus necessarily seen against the background of an integrated and unified theory of language. Taking axial relations as the main organising principle, the description can systematically draw upon the theoretical assumptions while revealing Spanish lexicogrammatical organisation in its own terms.

The account proposed relies on axial argumentation for the exploration of Spanish clause resources in interpersonal and experiential systems. Interconnections are established with text patterns ‘from above’ and lower-rank resources ‘from below’. The exemplification combines samples of data collected opportunistically from naturally occurring texts in Chilean Spanish as well as the linguist’s introspection as a native speaker. Descriptive labels provided are explicitly derived from SFL theoretical assumptions, rather than loosely ‘adapted’ from other systemic functional accounts (as those provided for English) or from Spanish accounts outside the SFL framework (e.g. reference grammars or other ‘functional’ approaches to Spanish resources). The attempt is made to show the specific ‘value’ of the descriptive labels used in the present account, even if they are taken from other descriptions.

Ultimately, the main orientation of the current account is towards the principled and systematic use of axial argumentation in lexicogrammatical description. It thus departs from available SFL work on languages other than English in that it aims at making explicit the reasoning underlying the description rather than focusing on comprehensiveness. In other words, it privileges ‘grammatics’ as ways of thinking in SFL enquiry over the provision of a comprehensive profile of the ‘grammar’ of Spanish.

Chapter 3

Spanish Interpersonal Grammar

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the interpersonal lexicogrammar of Spanish. The clause will be examined from the viewpoint of the interpersonal functional component, which is concerned with those resources used by Spanish speakers to enact interactive roles in verbal exchanges.

This chapter is divided in three major sections. The first section offers an interstratal perspective on the interpersonal grammar of Spanish. Lexicogrammatical resources are shown to contribute in various ways to the status of the clause as a move in the exchange. Based on its functional motivation ‘from above’, the Predicator is established as the core structural function defining the arguability of the Spanish clause by means of resources centred in the verbal group.

The second section provides a description of clause patterns ‘from around’. Spanish lexicogrammatical configurations are first examined in terms of interpersonal clause types organised into a MOOD system. The section then turns to a description of a general system of POLARITY, embodying the resources at stake in the contrast between positive and negative clause types. The Predicator, once again, emerges as the main locus of the systemic organisation of the Spanish clause.

The third section offers an inter-rank perspective to interpersonal clause resources ‘from below’. Given the centrality of the Spanish Predicator shown in the previous sections, the discussion here focuses on a description of the basic verbal group systems relevant for the interpersonal lexicogrammatical contrasts. The system of FINITENESS is explored first, and then a more specific account of POLARITY is undertaken within the domain of the verbal group. The section closes by providing an interpretation of the multivariate structure of the Spanish verbal group.

3.2 Interpersonal grammar ‘from above’

Traditionally, grammatical descriptions of Spanish have obscured the resources used by speakers for the enacting of social roles and the negotiation of meanings in dialogue. This is particularly true in relation to the study of language use in day-to-day

social contexts and spoken modes, which until recently were not taken seriously in traditional grammatical descriptive work. Nonetheless, this is in fact the context in which the exploration of interpersonal resources is relevant, given their role in the dynamics of verbal exchanges (cf. Poynton, 1990).

An initial important consideration regarding the interpersonal component is the assumption that it has been shaped in a language by the interactive needs that are intrinsic to semiotic behaviour. In this respect, Halliday (1984) argues for considering interpersonal resources as integral to the linguistic system, in contrast with enquiry in most descriptive frameworks – especially those influenced by ‘philosophical grammars’ strongly biased towards the ideational (‘representational’) component (p. 3 ff). For Halliday, the organisation of dialogue is a systematic feature of language, ‘a linguistically coded behaviour’ that can be accounted for in close relation to linguistic organisation rather than in association with ‘extrinsic’ functions (1984, p. 33).

3.2.1 Speech functions

In his exploration of the interpersonal grammar of English, Halliday (1984) proposes a top-down interstratal view of clause resources. He begins by considering systems at higher-orders of semiotic organisation within the social context, beyond language, and then turns to their relation to linguistic systems at discourse semantics and lexicogrammar.

In discourse semantics, Halliday recognises a system organising two very general and fundamental resources at stake in dialogic moves: i) those concerning the type of ‘commodity’ being exchanged in the interaction, and ii) those concerning the speech roles taken up and assigned by interlocutors. This is the system of SPEECH FUNCTION, which seen from the point of view of initiating moves, includes ORIENTATION and COMMODITY (Halliday, 1984, 1985, 1994):

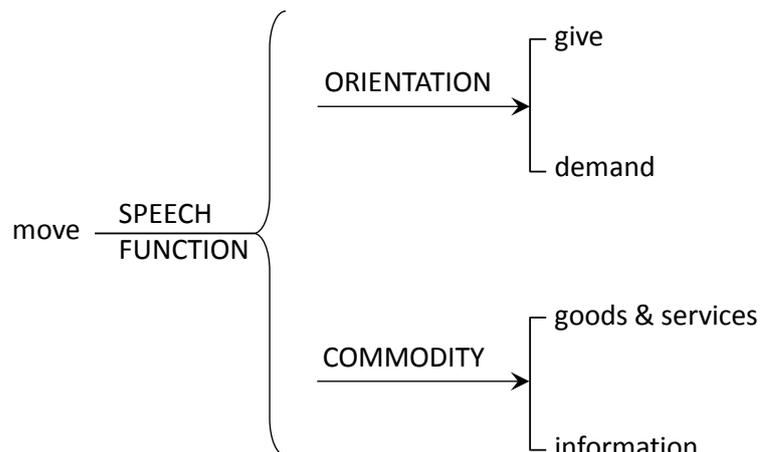


Figure 3.1 Basic SPEECH FUNCTION network at discourse semantics (based on Halliday 1994)

The ORIENTATION system in the above diagram accounts for very general interactive roles taken up by the speaker: either giving or demanding. The enactment of these roles simultaneously involves assigning complementary roles to the addressee(s), who may take up or challenge them in subsequent, responding moves (not represented in the above network, cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 69). The COMMODITY system refers to selections concerning the exchange of non-linguistic goods-&-services – if the speaker requires or offers a course of action not coded linguistically– or, alternatively, the exchange of information – if the speaker demands or gives information that is *necessarily* coded linguistically.

The cross-classification of these primary choices in ORIENTATION and COMMODITY in initiating moves defines very general speech functions at discourse semantics: statements and questions, or **propositions**, and commands and offers, or **proposals**, as seen in Figure 3.2:

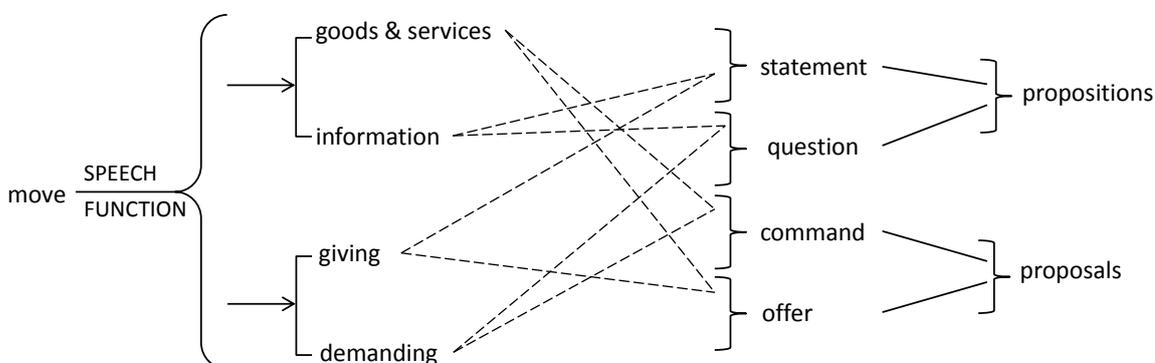
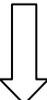


Figure 3.2 Main speech functions as propositions and proposals

As pointed out by Halliday (1994), the distinction between propositions and proposals is significant in terms of their distinctive arguability potential. Propositions, concerned with the exchange of information, ‘can be affirmed or denied, and also doubted, contradicted, insisted on, accepted with reservation, qualified, tempered, regretted, and so on’ in the exchange (p. 70). This is, thus, the basic kind of arguability at stake in both statements and questions. In contrast, proposals concerning the exchange of goods and services cannot be affirmed or denied: their arguability is defined in terms of compliance or refusal, for commands, and in terms of acceptance or rejection for offers (1994, p. 69).

Table 3.1 summarises the basic potential available to speakers for the negotiation of speech roles (giving and demanding) and commodities (information and goods and services) at the discourse semantic stratum.

COMMODITY ORIENTATION	information	goods & services
giving	statement	offer
demanding	question	command



propositions



proposals

Table 3.1 Basic speech function variables at discourse semantics

Halliday proposes that these basic speech function variables in discourse semantics are typically realised in lexicogrammar by distinct clause types organised in the system of MOOD (1984, 1994). The interstratal relations assumed are provided in Table 3.2 below:

COMMODITY ORIENTATION	information	goods & services
giving	statement: ↘ declarative	offer: (various)
demanding	question: ↘ interrogative	command: ↘ imperative

Table 3.2 Speech function variables congruently realised by mood choices in lexicogrammar

From an axial perspective, this interaction can be graphically represented as the interaction between SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD, as shown in Figure 3.3 below:

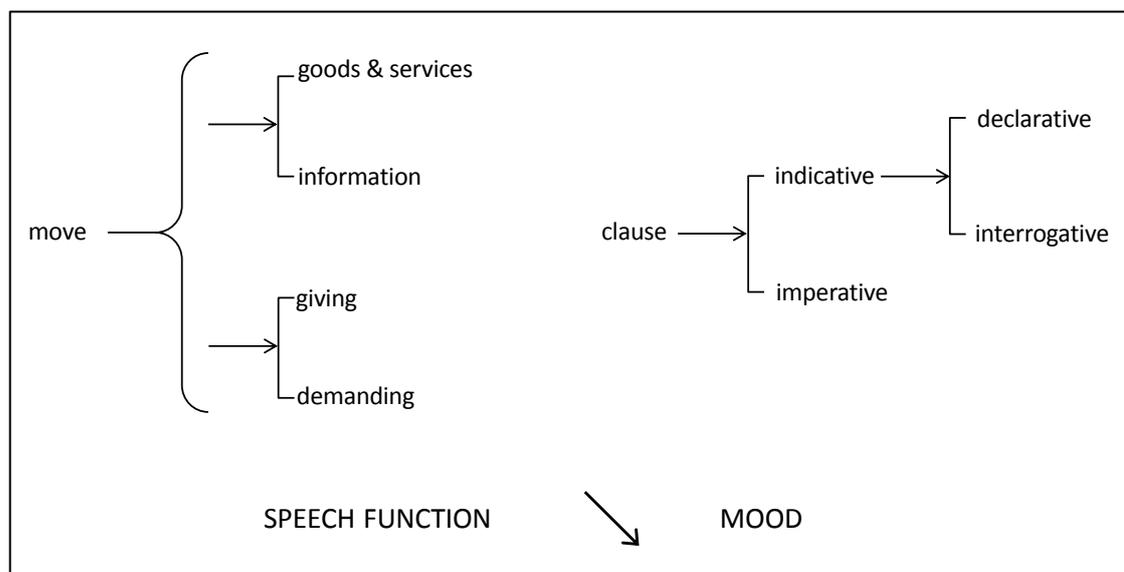


Figure 3.3 Interstratal relation between SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD systems

According to the table and diagram above, the basic types of speech functions – statements, questions, commands and offers – are **congruently** realised by basic clause types in lexicogrammar, including [declarative], [interrogative] and [imperative] clauses. The interaction between these systems at different strata opens up a significant meaning potential at deeper degrees of delicacy, as well as through non-congruent relations embodied by interpersonal grammatical metaphor (Halliday, 1994, p. 363 ff; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 626 ff). Some of these interactions are exemplified in Table 3.3 below:

speech function	congruent realisation	metaphorical realisation
question	What is your name? [interrogative]	Tell me your name? [imperative] And your name is...? [declarative]
command	Get me a drink [imperative]	Could you get me a drink? [interrogative] I need a drink [declarative]

Table 3.3 Examples of interpersonal (MOOD) metaphor in English (from Martin, Matthiessen, & Painter, 2010, p. 67)

In SFL typological research, the basic interrelation between the general system of SPEECH FUNCTION and the primary system of MOOD has been shown to hold for a number of languages, suggesting an important cross-linguistic generalisation at primary degrees of delicacy (Teruya et al., 2007; Matthiessen et al., 2008). Thus, propositions,

including statements and questions, are grammaticalised in MOOD systems as indicative clauses, including declarative and interrogative clauses, respectively. Across languages, the grammar of proposals is less elaborate than that of propositions, as discussed by Halliday for English: commands tend to be congruently realised by imperative clauses, and in general offers do not appear to co-relate to distinct clause patterns (Matthiessen, Teruya, & Canzhong, 2008).

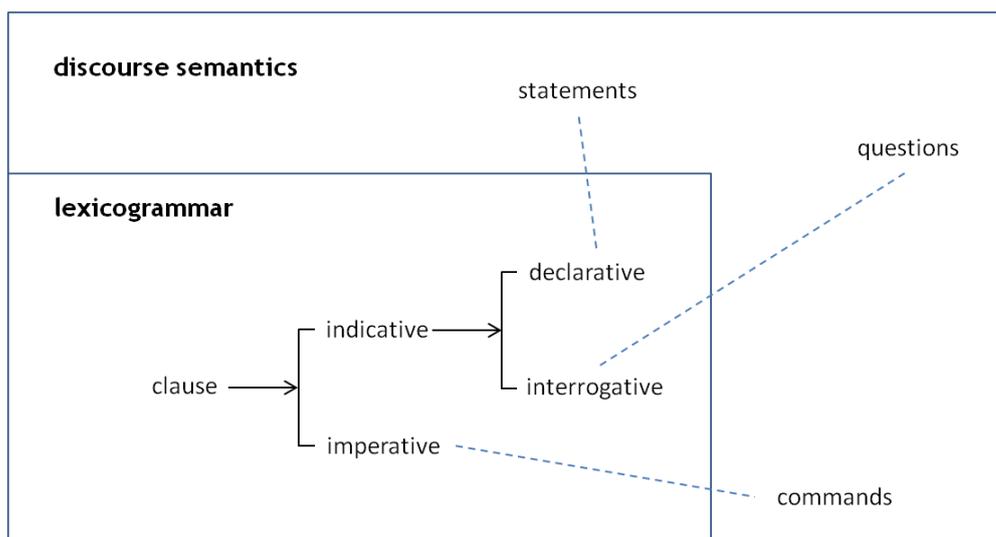


Figure 3.4 Speech functions and interpersonal clause types

3.2.2 The basic negotiatory structure of the clause

In the description of English (Halliday, 1985, 1994; Matthiessen, 1995), the interpersonal structure of the clause has been characterised around an interpersonal ‘core’ known as the Mood element. The English Mood element crucially groups within its domain the Subject and Finite functions, exemplified in Figure 3.5 below for declarative and interrogative clauses¹:

¹ Subject and Finite are the minimal elements within the Mood element, but interpersonal Adjuncts, including Mood and Comment Adjuncts, may be also included (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 125ff).

(a) declarative

the duke	has	given that teapot away
Subject	Finite	Residue
Mood		

(b) yes/no interrogative

has	the duke	given that teapot away
Finite	Subject	Residue
Mood		

Figure 3.5 The English Mood element grouping Subject and Finite (from Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 115)

An important discourse semantic reason for grouping these functions together is their key contribution to the **arguability** status assigned to the clause. Halliday characterises the Subject ‘from above’ as the clause element that is assigned **modal responsibility** for the proposition or proposal, i.e. the ‘person’ – interactant or non-interactant – held interpersonally responsible either for the various assessments of validity associated with the arguability of propositions or, alternatively, for the compliance associated with the arguability of proposals. The Finite, on the other hand, is characterised on discourse semantic grounds as the main element grounding the clause to the ‘here and now’ of the speech event, particularly by means of temporal and modal distinctions (Halliday, 1994, p. 75ff; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 115ff).

As seen in Figure 3.5 above, other elements of clause structure are left outside this interpersonal core. The Residue includes the Predicator, the section of the verbal group that doesn’t realise key interpersonal functions and is recognised as separate from the Finite (conflated in simple past and present tenses, e.g. Finite/Predicator, and separate in complex tenses, as in the diagram above). The remainder of the clause may also include Complements, which encode elements that can potentially be made modally responsible (through passive voice) and circumstantial Adjuncts (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 121ff):

	Function	Class of unit	Example
(i)	Predicator	non-finite (part of) verbal group	<i>been given</i>
(ii)	Complement(s)	(typically) nominal group	<i>my aunt</i>
(iii)	Adjunct(s) with experiential role of circumstance	(typically) adverbial group/ prepositional phrase	<i>out of pity</i>

For example

These flowers have just	been given	my aunt	out of pity
	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Mood	Residue		

Figure 3.6 Residue functions in English (from Martin et al., 2010, p. 65)

Martin (1992) extends the discourse semantic perspective on interpersonal resources in English in order to provide a framework for analysing sequences of moves in dialogic exchanges. Based on Berry (1981) and Ventola (1987), he proposes a more dynamic account of the interstratal interaction within the interpersonal metafunction. To begin, he sets up a system of NEGOTIATION a rank above SPEECH FUNCTION at discourse semantics. His aim is to show how interlocutors in dialogue put forward certain meanings in a process that is oriented to the resolution of exchanges.

Martin's model allows him to further characterise the Mood element in terms of its contribution to the structuring of dialogue. Through the analysis of verbal exchanges, he shows that the Mood element is the core domain of interpersonal meanings most 'at risk' in English: interlocutors select both the Subject and the Finite functions to facilitate the progression of dialogic exchanges towards their resolution, with a strong tendency to ellipsis in successive moves those meanings that are interpersonally less central to the exchange, i.e. those resources in the Residue (Martin, 1992a, p. 461 ff).

In Martin's analysis, it can be seen very clearly that the Subject function allows interlocutors to assign and dynamically negotiate (e.g. confirm, challenge, etc.) modal responsibility for propositions and proposals, while the Finite function enables them to replay and, if necessary, adjust, selections in POLARITY (negative or positive), MODALITY and TENSE, as illustrated in Figure 3.7 below:

	SUBJECT	FINITE
[replay Mood]		
if I argue with you,	I	do
I must take up a contrary position	I	must
-- Yes	(you)	(must)
[adjust POLARITY]		
This isn't an argument.	This	isn't
-- Yes it is!	it	is
-- No it isn't	it	isn't
[adjust MODALITY]		
-- Well, an argument isn't just contradiction.	arg.	isn't
-- It can be.	it	can
-- No it can't	it	can't
[substitute Subject]		
- You were the last one to use it yesterday	you	were
-- No I wasn't.	I	wasn't
Andrew was.	Andrew	was
[substitute part of Residue]		
-- I came here for a good argument.	I	(did)
-- No you didn't.	you	didn't
You came here for an argument.	you	(did)
[replace proposition]		
You came here for an argument	you	(did)
-- Well an argument isn't just contradiction.	argument	isn't

Figure 3.7 Meanings at risk in English negotiation (from Martin, 1992, p. 464-5).

Through the close exploration of a number of interactions, including exchanges whose resolutions are frustrated, Martin shows the English Subject constitutes the 'nub' of the negotiation, while distinctions embodied by the Finite constitute themselves the key terms of this negotiation Martin (1992a). In other words, Subject alongside the Finite make up the basic **negotiatory structure** within the domain of the English clause. The possibilities available for English are summarised in Figure 3.8 below:

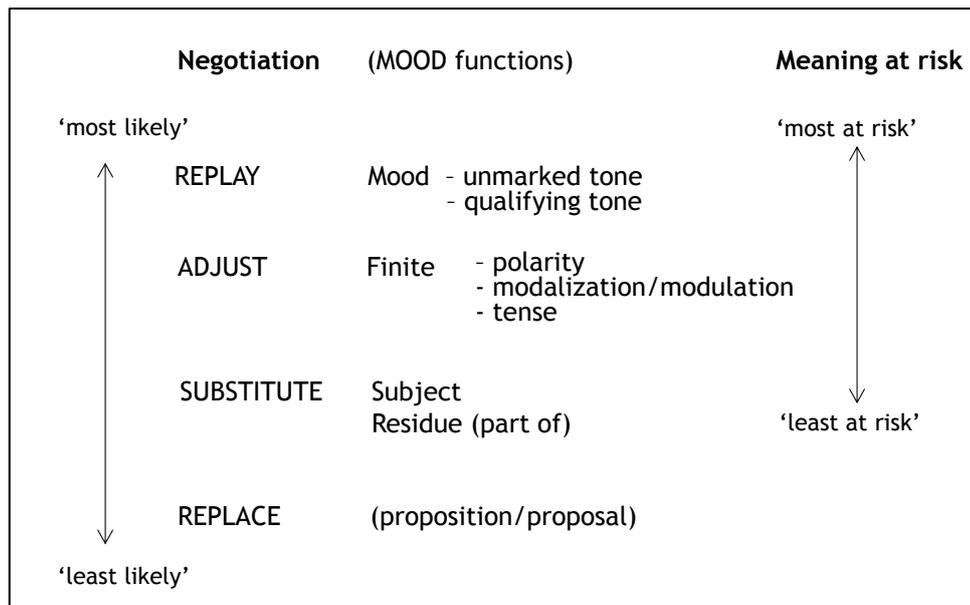


Figure 3.8 Negotiation and Subject selection in English (Martin, 1992, p.464)

The ways in which key interpersonal meanings within the domain of the clause are exploited and foregrounded in dialogic negotiation arguably differ across languages. In a typological exploration of interpersonal resources, Teruya et al. (2007) propose a cline comparing the basic negotiatory structure of a number of languages described in SFL terms. Along this cline, languages which tend to negotiate mostly by means of two discrete and interdependent Subject and Finite structural functions, like English, are located near the 'Mood element-based' pole, whereas those which tend to do it by means of the Predicator function, realised by the verbal group, are located near the 'Predicator-based' pole:

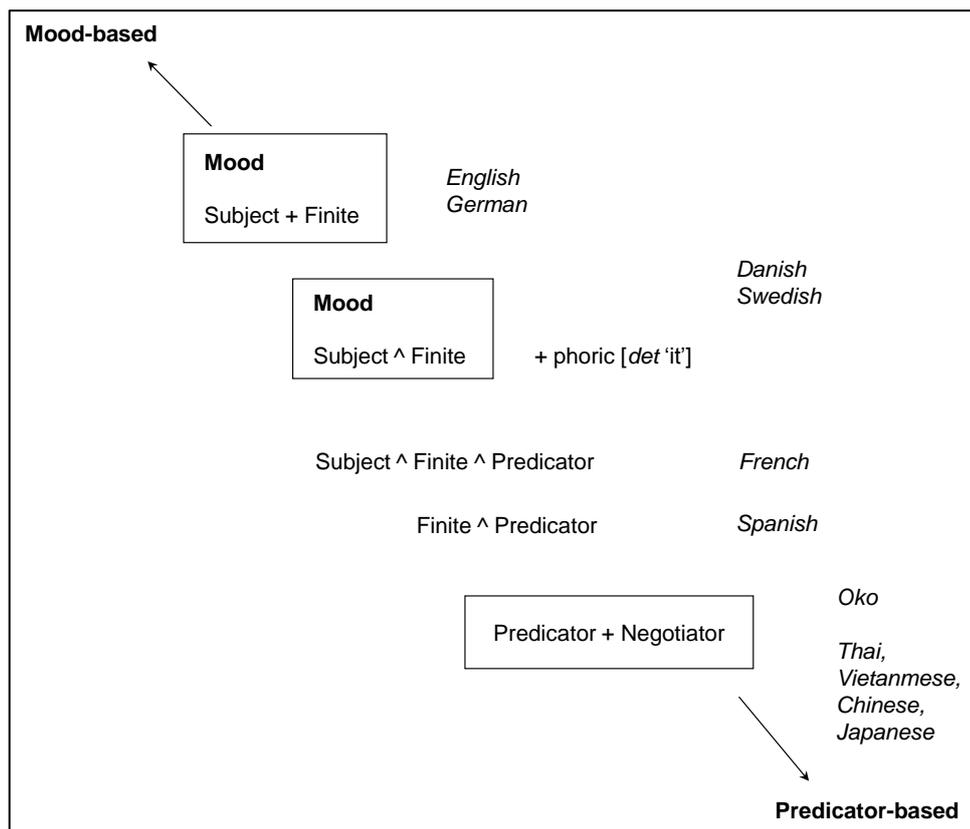


Figure 3.9 Cross-linguistic exploration of the basic interpersonal structure (Teruya et al., 2007, p. 913).

In Teruya et al.'s interpretation, Spanish is located towards the lower end of the cline, with two distinct Finite and Predicator functions being proposed for its negotiatory structure. An alternative proposal, viewed 'from above', will be developed in the following subsections (and taken up 'from around' in section 3.3). SFL research on interpersonal meanings in Romance languages is first reviewed below.

3.2.3 Resources in Romance languages

Specific research on Romance languages within SFL has suggested that they tend to display similarities in the ways clause resources serve the dynamics of verbal negotiation. In particular, the work conducted on French by Caffarel (1995, 2004, 2006) has provided the grounds to understand the central contribution of the verbal group in the negotiatory structure of these languages.

Caffarel (2006, p. 121ff) shows that the resolution of dialogue in French involves the replay of three elements in clause structure: the Subject, the Finite and the Predicator. In other words, in French the whole verbal group realising the Finite and Predicator, alongside the nominal group realising the Subject are the main resources put

‘at risk’ in verbal exchanges. She proposes the **Negotiator** as the function grouping these structural elements together:

<i>Est-ce que</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>vois</i>	<i>la lune?</i>
‘(is it that)’	you	see	the moon’
	Negotiator		Remainder
M-int	Subject	Fin/Pred	Complement
<i>Do you see the moon?</i>			

- <i>Oui,</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>vois.</i>
‘yes,	I	it	see’
	Negotiator		
	Subject	C-clitic	Finite/Predicator
<i>Yes, I see it.</i>			

Figure 3.10 Basic negotiatory structure in French: Negotiator and Remainder (Caffarel, 2006, p. 125)

As seen in the figure above, Caffarel analyses other structural elements, including Complements and interrogative particles, outside the interpersonal core in what she calls the Remainder, the portion of the clause that is neither crucial for the establishment of its arguability status nor central for the resolution of exchanges (cf. English in Halliday 1985, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Martin, 1992). However, the diagram above shows other resources that may be included in the French Negotiator when they are realised within the verbal group by **clitic** elements. French clitics include pronominal elements indexing recoverable or identifiable entities at group rank, and they become part of the negotiation in verbal exchanges.

Figure 3.11 below shows the contrastive analysis of French and English, with the Negotiator and the Mood element as analogous structural functions:

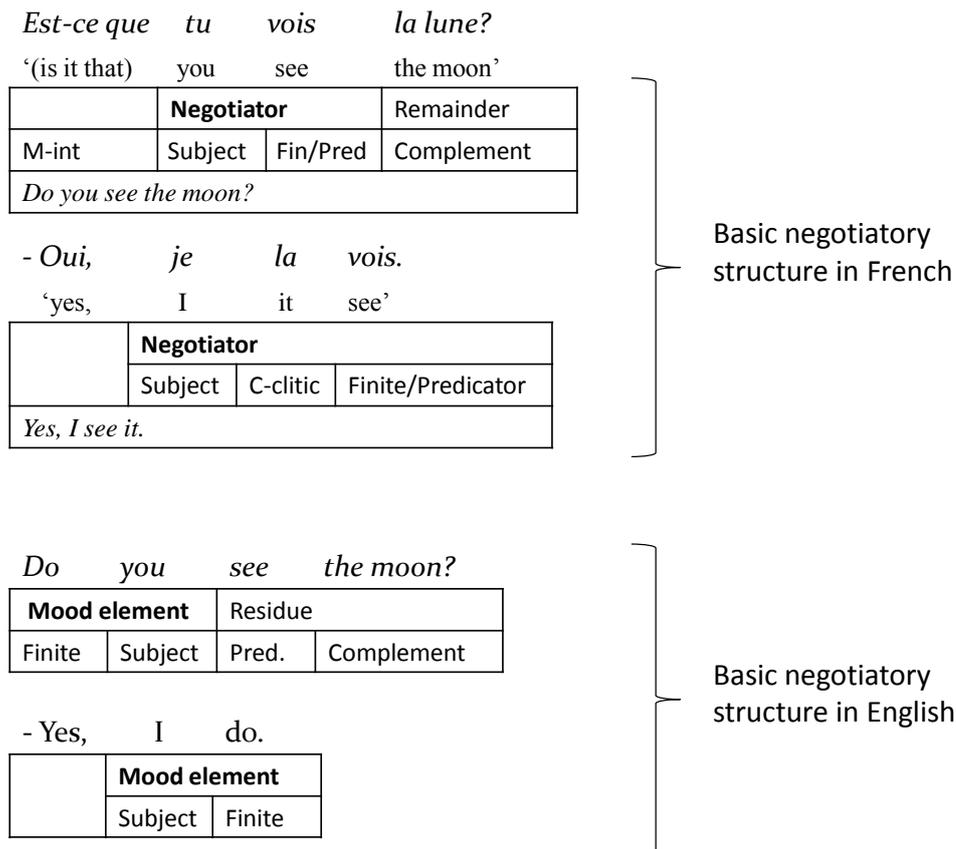


Figure 3.11 Basic negotiatory structures in French and English

A similar pattern has been described in Brazilian Portuguese by Figueredo (2010, 2011) in the analysis of key meanings at stake in dialogic exchanges, in which he also recognises a Negotiator grouping together Subject, Finite and Predicator. Gouveia (2010) offers a slightly different analysis for European Portuguese, excluding a discrete Finite since such a function does not seem to be foregrounded or singled out by speakers. As a result, Gouveia’s Negotiator only includes a Subject and a Predicator.

3.2.4 Spanish interpersonal resources

From the perspective of the interpersonal metafunction, lexicogrammatical resources have been shown to contribute in various ways to the status of the clause as a move in the exchange. Clause configurations tend to congruently realise discourse semantic speech function variables, crucially contributing to their arguability status as propositions and proposals. Additionally, key elements in structure are foregrounded and exploited by speakers when they negotiate meanings in the unfolding of the dialogic exchange, allowing a more dynamic view of the basic negotiatory structure of the clause.

These interstratal relations have been shown to hold for English and Romance languages in specific ways. The organisation of clause resources in Spanish is here explored along similar lines.

The following dialogic exchange is a translation, found on YouTube, of the Monthy Python sketch analysed by Martin (1992, pp. 464-465)². Pronominal clitics are represented in bold face and nominal groups co-referential with ‘person’ distinctions in the verbal group are enclosed by rectangles. A semi-idiomatic English back-translation is provided to the right³:

SPANISH SUBTITLES	ENGLISH BACKTRANSLATION						
<p>A a. – ¡Oiga! esto no es una discusión <small>this neg be-3s/ an argument</small> <small>prs/ind</small></p> <table border="1" data-bbox="443 824 865 902"> <tr> <td>n. gr</td> <td>v. gr</td> <td>n. gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>hey!</td> <td>no it-is</td> <td>an argument</td> </tr> </table>	n. gr	v. gr	n. gr	hey!	no it-is	an argument	<p>– ‘Hey! This <u>is</u> not an argument’</p>
n. gr	v. gr	n. gr					
hey!	no it-is	an argument					
<p>B b. – Sí lo es <small>pos acc/ be-3s/ 3s prs/ind</small></p> <table border="1" data-bbox="352 1010 600 1088"> <tr> <td>v. gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>yes it-is it</td> </tr> </table>	v. gr	yes it-is it	<p>– ‘Yes (it) is it’</p>				
v. gr							
yes it-is it							
<p>A c. – S-on solo contradicciones <small>be-3p/ only contradictions</small> <small>prs/ind</small></p> <table border="1" data-bbox="352 1200 762 1279"> <tr> <td>v. gr</td> <td>adv. gr</td> <td>n. gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>they-are</td> <td>only</td> <td>contradictions</td> </tr> </table>	v. gr	adv. gr	n. gr	they-are	only	contradictions	<p>– ‘(They) <u>are</u> only contradictions’</p>
v. gr	adv. gr	n. gr					
they-are	only	contradictions					
<p>B d. – No lo s-on <small>neg acc/ be-3p/ 3s prs/ind</small></p> <table border="1" data-bbox="352 1391 580 1469"> <tr> <td>v. gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>no they-are it</td> </tr> </table>	v. gr	no they-are it	<p>– ‘(They) <u>are</u> not it’</p>				
v. gr							
no they-are it							
<p>A e. – Sí s-on <small>pos be-3p/ prs/ind</small></p> <table border="1" data-bbox="352 1576 523 1655"> <tr> <td>v. gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>yes they-are</td> </tr> </table>	v. gr	yes they-are	<p>– ‘Yes (they) <u>are</u>’</p>				
v. gr							
yes they-are							

² Subtitles provided by an anonymous translator were retrieved on 1 April 2010 from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4KzILYsIPvE>. Transcription of English original can be found in Martin, 1992, p. 465.

³ See Appendix A for the conventions used in the presentation of examples and interlinear glossing throughout this study.

- B f. – *No lo s-on*
 neg acc/ be-3p/
 3s prs/ind

v.gr
no they-are it
- A g. – *iLo s-on!*
 acc/ be-3p/
 3s prs/ind

v.gr
they-are it
- h. *iMe acab-a de contradecir!*
 acc/ finish-2s/ lk contradict-inf
 1s prs/ind

v.gr (complex)
you-just contradicted me
- B i. – *No lo h-e hecho*
 neg acc/ aux-1s/ do-prctp
 3s prs/ind

v.gr
no I-have done it
- A j. – *iLo h-izo!*
 acc/3s do-2s/
 pst/ind

v.gr
you-did it
- B k. – *No no no no no*
- A l. – *Lo acab-a de hacer de nuevo*
 acc/ finish-2s/ lk do-inf again
 3s prs/ind

v.gr (complex)	adv.gr
you-just did it	again
- B m. – *No no, s-on tonterías*
 be-3p/ stupidities
 prs/ind

adv.gr	v.gr	n.gr
no no	they-are	stupidities
- A n. – *[Esto] es basura*
 this be-3s/ rubbish
 prs/ind

n.gr	v.gr	n.gr
this	is	rubbish
- B o. – *No lo es*
 neg acc/ be-3s/
 3s prs/ind

v.gr
no it-is it

– ‘(They) are not it’

– ‘(They) are it!’

‘(You) just contradicted me!’

– ‘(I) haven’t done it’

– ‘(You) did it!’

– ‘No no no no no’

– ‘(You) just did it again’

– ‘No no, (it) is nonsense’

– ‘This is crap’

– ‘(It) is not it’

- A p. – *Entonces d-e-me un buen argumento* – ‘Then give me a good argument’
 then give-2s/ dat/ a good argument
 prs/sbj 1s
 conj v.gr n.gr
 then give-me a good argument
- B q. – *Usted no me h-a dado un buen argumento* – ‘You haven’t given me a good argument’
 You neg acc/ aux-2s/ give- a good argument
 1s prs/ind prctp
 n.gr v.gr n.gr
 you no you-have given me a good argument
- A s. – *[[Discutir y contradecir]] no es lo mismo* – ‘[[To argue and to contradict]] is not the same’
 [[argue-inf lk contradict-inf]] neg be-3s/ the same
 prs/ind
 [[clause complex]] v.gr n.gr
 [[to argue and to contradict]] no it-is the same
- B t. – *P-uede ser* – ‘(It) can be’
 can-3s/ be-inf
 prs/ind
 v.gr
 it-can be
- A u. – *¡No, no p-uede!* – ‘No, (it) cannot!’
 neg neg can-3s/ prs/ind
 adv.g v.gr
 no no it-can
- v. *[[Discutir]] es [[dar una serie de opiniones para llegar a una opinión común.]]* – ‘[[To argue]] is [[to give a series of opinions in order to reach a common opinion]]’
 [[argue-inf]] be-3s/ give-inf a series of opinions
 prs/ind
 [[clause]] v.gr [[clause complex...
 α
 [[to argue]] is [[to give a series of opinions
 para llegar a una opinión común.]]
 for arrive-inf to a opinion common
 ... clause complex]]
 βx
 to arrive to a common opinion]]
- B w. – *No lo es* – ‘(It) is not it’
 neg acc/ be-3s/
 3s prs/ind
 v.gr
 no it-is it
- A x. – *Sí lo es* – ‘Yes (it) is it’
 pos acc/ be-3s/
 3s prs/ind
 v.gr
 yes it-is it

y. *No es nada más* *[[contradecir]]*
 neg be-3s/ prs/ind merely *[[contradict-inf]]*

v.gr	adv. gr	<i>[[clause: non-finite]]</i>
no it-is	merely	<i>[[to contradict]]</i>

'(It) is not merely *[[to contradict]]*'

B z. – *Mir-e,*
 look-2s/ prs/sbj

v.gr
you-look

– 'Look

aa. *Si discut-o con usted,*
 if argue-1s/ with you prs/ind

conj	v.gr	p. phrase
if	I-argue	with you

if (I) argue with you,

bb. *T-engo que tomar la posición contraria*
 have-1s/ lk take-inf the position contrary prs/ind

v.gr (complex)	n. gr
I-have to take	the contrary position

(I) have to take up the contrary position'

A cc. – *Pero no es solo* *[[decir que no]]*
 but neg be-3s/ only *[[say-inf lk no]]* prs/ind

conj	v.gr	adv.gr	<i>[[clause complex]]</i>
but	no it-is	only	<i>[[to say that no]]</i>

– 'But (it) is not only saying "no"'

B dd. – *¡Que sí!*
 lk yes

	adv.gr
that	yes

– 'Yes!'

A ee. – *¡Que no!*
 lk no

	adv.gr
that	no

– 'No!'

ff. *La discusión es un proceso intelectual*
 The argument be-3s/ a process intellectual prs/ind

n.gr	v.gr	n.gr
the argument	it-is	an intellectual process

'Arguing is an intellectual process'

gg. *[[Contradecir]] es solo* *[[decir lo contrario]]*
[[contradict-inf]] be-3s/ only [[say-inf the contrary]] prs/ind

v.gr	v.gr	a.gr	<i>[[clause]]</i>
<i>[[to contradict]]</i>	is	only	<i>[[to say the contrary]]</i>

'*[[To contradict]] is just* *[[to say the opposite]]*'

B hh.	– <i>No lo es</i>	– ‘(It) is not it’		
	neg acc/ be-3s/ 3s prs/ind			
	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr><td>v.gr</td></tr> <tr><td>no it-is it</td></tr> </table>	v.gr	no it-is it	
v.gr				
no it-is it				
A ii.	– <i>Sí lo es</i>	– ‘Yes (it) is it’		
	pos acc/ be-3s/ 3s prs/ind			
	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr><td>v.gr</td></tr> <tr><td>yes it-is it</td></tr> </table>	v.gr	yes it-is it	
v.gr				
yes it-is it				
B jj.	– <i>Para nada</i>	– <u>Not at all</u>		
A kk.	– <i>Ahora mire...</i>	– Now <u>look...</u>		

Table 3.4 Spanish subtitles for the Monthly Python’s argument sketch

In this text, the Spanish verbal group is shown to contribute in crucial ways to the negotiation of meanings throughout the exchange. Those meanings most ‘at risk’, including ‘person’, ‘tense’ and ‘polarity’ (positive/negative), are centred within the domain of the verbal group. In the translation, they are often replayed and adjusted by means of the pro-verb *hacer* (‘to do’), as in clauses (i) and (j):

h.	<i>¡Me acab-a de contradecir!</i>	<u>(You) just contradicted me!</u>		
	acc/ finish-2s/ Ik contradict-inf 1s prs/ind			
	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr><td>v.gr (complex)</td></tr> <tr><td>you-just contradicted me</td></tr> </table>	v.gr (complex)	you-just contradicted me	
v.gr (complex)				
you-just contradicted me				
B i.	– <i>No lo h-e hecho</i>	– <u>(I) haven’t done it</u>		
	neg acc/ aux-1s/ do-prctp 3s prs/ind			
	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr><td>v.gr</td></tr> <tr><td>no I-have done it</td></tr> </table>	v.gr	no I-have done it	
v.gr				
no I-have done it				
A j.	– <i>¡Lo h-izo!</i>	– <u>(You) did it!</u>		
	acc/3s do-2s/ pst/ind			
	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr><td>v.gr</td></tr> <tr><td>you-did it</td></tr> </table>	v.gr	you-did it	
v.gr				
you-did it				

In Spanish dialogue it is also possible to replay the ‘lexical’ meaning of the verbal group, as shown in the re-analysis of (i’), (j’) and (l’) below:

A h’.	<i>¡Me acab-a de contradecir!</i>	<u>‘(You) just contradicted me!’</u>		
	acc/ finish- Ik contradict-inf 1s 2s/ prs/ind			
	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; text-align: center;"> <tr><td>v.gr (complex)</td></tr> <tr><td>you-just contradicted me</td></tr> </table>	v.gr (complex)	you-just contradicted me	
v.gr (complex)				
you-just contradicted me				

B i'. – *No lo h-e contradicho* – '(I) haven't contradicted you'
 neg acc/ aux-1s/ contradict-prctp
 2s prs/ind

v.gr (complex)
no I-have done it

A j'. – *¡Me contrad-ijo!* – '(You) contradicted me!'
 acc/1s contradict-2s/
 pst/ind

v.gr
you-did it

B k'. – *No no no no no* – 'No no no no no'

A l'. – *Me acab-a de contradecir de nuevo* – '(You) just contradicted me again'
 acc/ finish-2s/ lk contradictinf again
 2s prs/ind

v.gr (complex)	adv.gr
you-just did it	again

B m. – *No no, s-on tonterías* – 'No no, (it) is nonsense'
 be-3p/ stupidities
 prs/ind

adv.gr	v.gr	n.gr
no no	they-are	stupidities

As in Romance languages in general, the verb inflection fuses or conflates a number of key distinctions grounding the clause to the 'here and now' of the speech event, including the modally responsible person, (primary) tense, and some modality distinctions. Indeed, temporal and modal contrasts can be made simultaneously, e.g. by means of inflected modal verbs and/or 'verb mood' distinctions (e.g. through 'subjunctive' and 'potential' morphology)⁴.

The exchange above shows that in Spanish the modally responsible person (interactant or non-interactant) is obligatorily made part of the arguability of proposals and propositions by means of 'person' contrasts in portmanteau morphology at word rank. However, other 'persons' may be included within the domain of the verbal group through pronominal clitics (accusative and/or dative), and thus be also made part of the negotiation by being replayed along with other resources, as in the example below (pronominal clitics in bold face):

⁴ See section 3.4.1 below and Appendix D for a brief discussion of Spanish 'verb moods'

B d. – *No lo s-on* – ‘(They) are not it’

neg acc/ be-3p
3s /prs/ind

v.gr
<u>no they-are it</u>

B q. – *Usted no me h-a dado un buen argumento* – ‘You haven’t given me a good argument’

You neg acc/ aux-2s/ give- a good argument
1s prs/ind prctp

n.gr	v.gr	n.gr
<u>you</u>	<u>no you-have given me</u>	<u>a good argument</u>

Negative and positive polarity is also replayed within the domain of the verbal group, both by means of the negative marker *no* and the emphatic positive marker *sí*, within the same tone group (polarity markers underlined in examples below):

A c. – *S-on solo contradicciones* – ‘(They) are only contradictions’

be-3p/ only contradictions
prs/ind

v.gr	adv. gr	n. gr
<u>they-are</u>	<u>only</u>	<u>contradictions</u>

B d. – *No lo s-on* – ‘(They) are not it’

neg acc/ be-3p/
3s prs/ind

v.gr
<u>no they-are it</u>

A e. – *Sí s-on* – ‘Yes (they) are’

pos be-3p/
prs/ind

v.gr
<u>yes they-are</u>

These basic resources centred in the verbal group are also closely related to the congruent realisation of SPEECH FUNCTION variables in Spanish. This is illustrated in the following extracts taken from a service encounter on the phone (from cable tv technical support encounters studied by Castro, 2010). Table 3.5 below only shows constituent analysis at group/phrase rank, thus functions in clause structure are not provided at this stage. Verbal groups are underlined and intonation contours are represented by rising, falling and falling-rising lines:

C5	<i>no camb-ia los canales</i> neg change-3s 'the channels' prs/ind v.gr n.gr '(it) doesn't change the channels'	statement ↳ declarative
A5	--¿ <i>no camb-ia los canales el control remoto?</i> neg change-3s 'the channels' 'the remote control?' prs/ind v.gr n.gr n.gr '(it) doesn't change the channels the remote control?' ['is it the remote control that doesn't change the channels?']	question ↳ polar interrogative
C6	<i>no</i> ['right']	statement ↳ declarative (elliptical)
A15	¿ <i>cancel-ó el día de ayer?</i> pay-2s.f/pst/ind 'the day of yesterday' vg ng '(you) paid the day of yesterday?'	question ↳ polar interrogative
C15	-- <i>correcto</i> 'correct'	
A16	¿ <i>a qué hora (cancel-ó)?</i> 'at what hour (did you pay)?' ng 'at what time (did you pay)?'	question ↳ elemental interrogative (elliptical)
C16	-- <i>doce cincuenta y cuatro minutos con doce segundos</i> 'twelve fifty four minutes with twelve seconds'	

cf. Escandell 1998, Martínez Celdrán & Fernández Planas 2007

Table 3.5 Extracts from dialogue 1: the congruent realisation of statements and questions in Spanish

Table 3.5 above shows the congruent realisation of a statement, by means of a declarative clause (C5) as well as the congruent realisation of questions by means of polar (A5, A15) and elemental (A16) interrogative clauses:

C5	<i>No cambia los canales</i> 'It doesn't change the channels'	statement ∽ declarative
A5	¿ <i>No cambia los canales el control remoto?</i> 'The remote control doesn't change the channels?'	question ∽ polar interrogative
A15	¿ <i>Canceló el día de ayer?</i> 'Did you pay the day of yesterday?'	question ∽ polar interrogative
A16	¿ <i>A qué hora (canceló)?</i> 'At what time did you pay?'	question ∽ elemental interrogative

Once again, the person held modally responsible for the arguability of these propositions is realised solely by the person contrast in the verb inflection. The congruent realisation of statements and questions mainly depends on two kinds of resources: i) the intonational contour, with declarative clauses selecting for falling tone, and polar interrogatives for rising tone, and ii) segmental marking, with elemental interrogatives requiring a Q-interrogative element at initial position (e.g. *qué* 'what', *quién* 'who', *cuándo* 'when', *dónde* 'where', etc) (Martínez Celdrán & Fernández Planas, 2007)⁵. As seen in these examples, the sequence of elements at clause rank does not have any consequences for interpersonal (nor experiential, for that matter) distinctions of any kind.

As for the realisation of commands, the following extract taken from the same type of service encounter illustrates the main possibilities. In the following exchange, the interlocutor is talking on the phone with someone else (whose interventions cannot be heard) in order to give them instructions:

⁵ Martínez Celdrán and Fernández Planas (2007) suggest that Spanish elemental interrogatives (so-called 'pronominal interrogatives') are usually realised by falling intonation (beginning at a high pitch). However, they also allow for a 'circumflex' Tonic (cf. 'sharp fall-rise' in Halliday & Greaves, 2008, p. 45).

C1	<i>hija</i> 'daughter'	
C2	<i>necesit-o que prend-a los dos deco</i> need- lnk switch on- 'the two decos' 1s/prs/ind 2s.f/prs/subj vg vg ng '(I) need that (you) switch on the two decos'	command (non-congruent) ⊃ declarative
C3	<i>el de la pieza de mi ma ...</i> 'the one in my mum's bedroom'	
C4	<i>necesit-o que prend-as los dos deco</i> need- lnk switch on- 'the two decos' 1s/prs/ind 2s/prs/subj vg vg ng '(I) need that (you) switch on the two decos'	command (non-congruent) ⊃ declarative
C5	<i>prend-e el cable</i> switch on-imp 'the cable (decoder)' vg ng 'switch on the cable [decoder]'	command (congruent) ⊃ imperative
C6	<i>sí los dos, tanto el de arriba como el de la pieza mía</i> 'yes both, the one upstairs and the one in my bedroom'	
C7	<i>sí, los dos</i> 'yes, both'	
C8	<i>prend-e la tele y todo</i> switch on-imp 'the telly and all' vg ng 'switch on the telly and all'	command (congruent) ⊃ imperative
C9	<i>ya, chao</i> 'ok, bye'	

Table 3.6 Extract from dialogue 2: the realisation of commands in Spanish (turn C24 in whole service encounter)

The example on Table 3.6 above shows a series of commands whose realisation ranges from non-congruent, by means of declarative clauses, to congruent, by means of imperative clauses. In the imperative clauses, the verb inflection realises simultaneously both the modal responsibility assigned to a singular addressee (e.g. 'second person, singular') and a specific 'verb mood' at word rank (e.g. so-called 'imperative verb mood'). The realisation of commands shows again that crucial interpersonal meanings are centred in the verbal group, in this case by means of a specific range of morphological contrasts at word rank (see considerations 'from around' in section 3.3 below).

It is important to highlight at this point that the presence of a structural Subject and/or Finite is not decisive for the realisation of SPEECH FUNCTION choices in Spanish lexicogrammar. Instead, the arguability status of the clause is established by a number of resources within the domain of the verbal group. Modal responsibility for *both* propositions and proposals has been shown to be realised by 'person(/number)'

contrasts in inflectional morphology. Other important interpersonal distinctions are also realised by the verb inflection, including what is traditionally analysed as ‘tense’, in terms of ‘present’, ‘past’ and ‘future’ (prs, pst, fut, respectively) and ‘verb mood’, including ‘indicative’, ‘subjunctive’ and ‘imperative’ morphology (ind, subj, imp, respectively) (see section 3.3 below and Appendix A for notational conventions).

3.2.4.1 The Spanish Negotiator

It has been shown thus far that key interpersonal meanings at stake in dialogic negotiation and speech function distinctions are mainly realised in Spanish lexicogrammar within the domain of the verbal group. Likewise, the arguability of the clause, either as proposition or proposal, has been shown to rely mostly on verbal group resources, as opposed to discrete Subject and Finite elements described for English and other Romance languages from an SFL perspective.

Consequently, the most relevant function in the interpersonal structure of the Spanish clause is the Predicator realised by the whole verbal group. This is the element minimally required within the Spanish basic negotiatory structure embodied by the Negotiator⁶:

⁶ Cf. Quiroz (2008) where the Negotiator is proposed as a function directly realised by the verbal group. In the present interpretation, the Negotiator minimally requires a Predicator and it may also include interpersonal Adjuncts (here generally labelled as Modal Adjuncts, without implying any specific distinction between Mood and Comment Adjuncts, as in English).

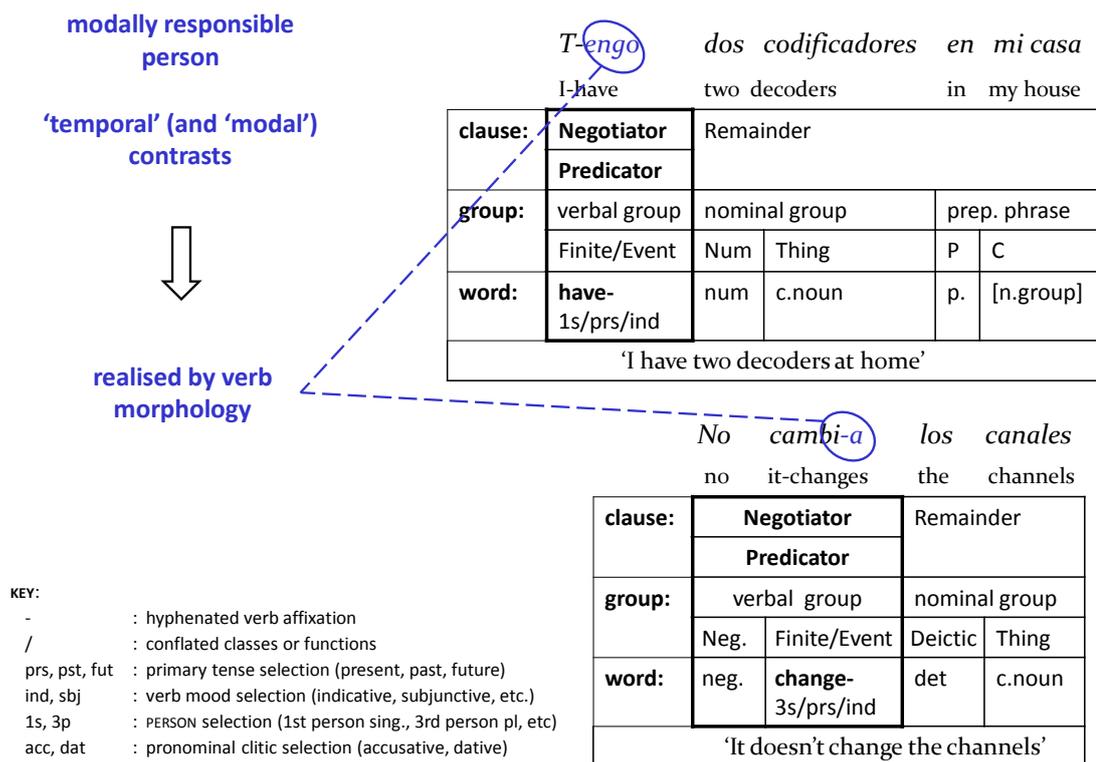


Figure 3.12 Basic structure of the Negotiator in Spanish

The analysis in the above diagram shows that the relevant resources contributing to the arguability of the Spanish clause are located at *group rank* and are thus labelled as group rank functions, including Neg and Finite (see section 3.4 for their axial motivation).

In a way similar to French, other elements may be made part of the negotiation in the form of accusative and/or dative clitics realising a P-clitic function in the internal structure of the verbal group, as illustrated by Figure 3.13 below⁷:

⁷ See further discussion on P-clitics in section 3.3.1 below, and Chapter 4, section 4.3.

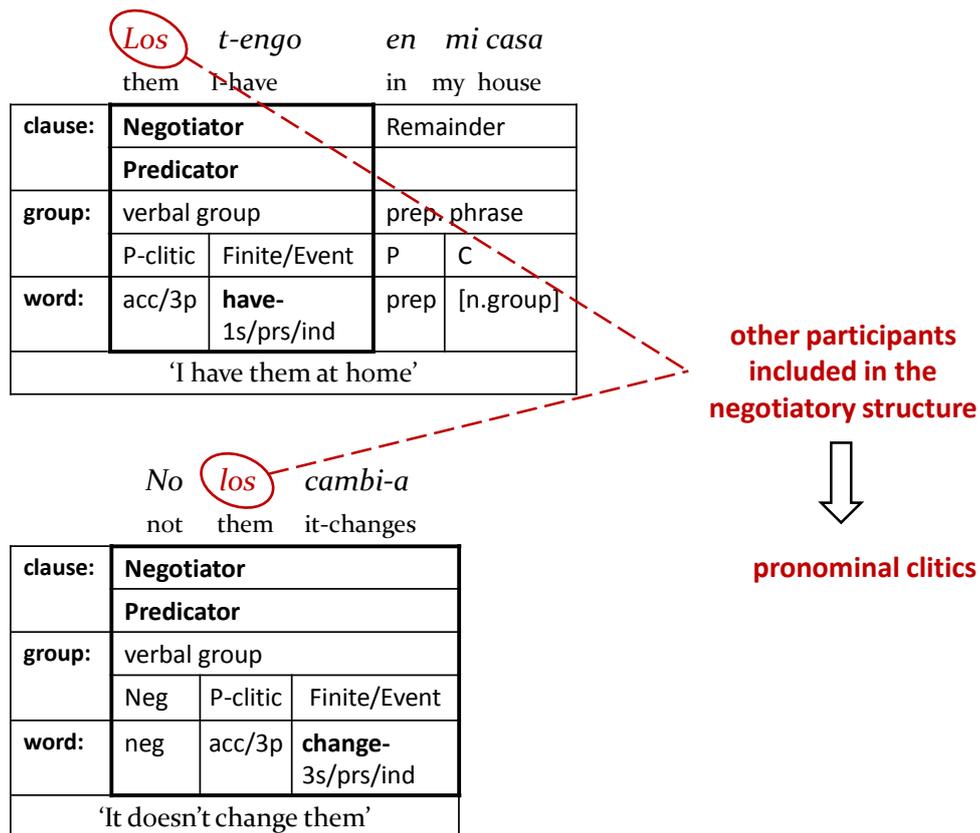


Figure 3.13 Basic structure of the Negotiator in Spanish, including clitics⁸

This interpretation of the negotiatory structure of Spanish differs from French (Caffarel, 1995, 2006) and Portuguese (Figueredo, 2011; Gouveia, 2010) in that functions such as Subject and Finite are not included in the Negotiator. In Spanish, the Predicator is the main function at stake.

In this respect, the nominal group entering ‘agreement’ or ‘concord’ syntagmatic relations with the verbal group, i.e. the so-called ‘explicit subject’ in Spanish reference grammars, needs to be seen in a different light. From an interpersonal point of view, such a constituent does not play a role in the establishment of the arguability of the clause and thus its presence is not crucially involved in the congruent realisation of proposals and propositions. This is consistent with the fact that this nominal group is not generally put forward by interlocutors as the ‘nub’ of the negotiation at clause rank. Instead, the modally responsible participant is routinely replayed within the scope of the verbal group realising the Predicator. The recognition of a Subject function is not

⁸ The Spanish Predicator also includes in its internal structure other elements generated in verbal groups systems of VOICE. See Chapter 4.

justified from an interpersonal perspective, and thus it needs to be explored in light of other metafunctional components, such as experiential and/or textual.

As for other key interpersonal meanings associated with the arguability of proposals and propositions, their association with a separate Finite element also appears to be unmotivated in Spanish. A number of patterns reinforce this point. The first of these concern complex tenses, illustrated in Figure 3.14 below:

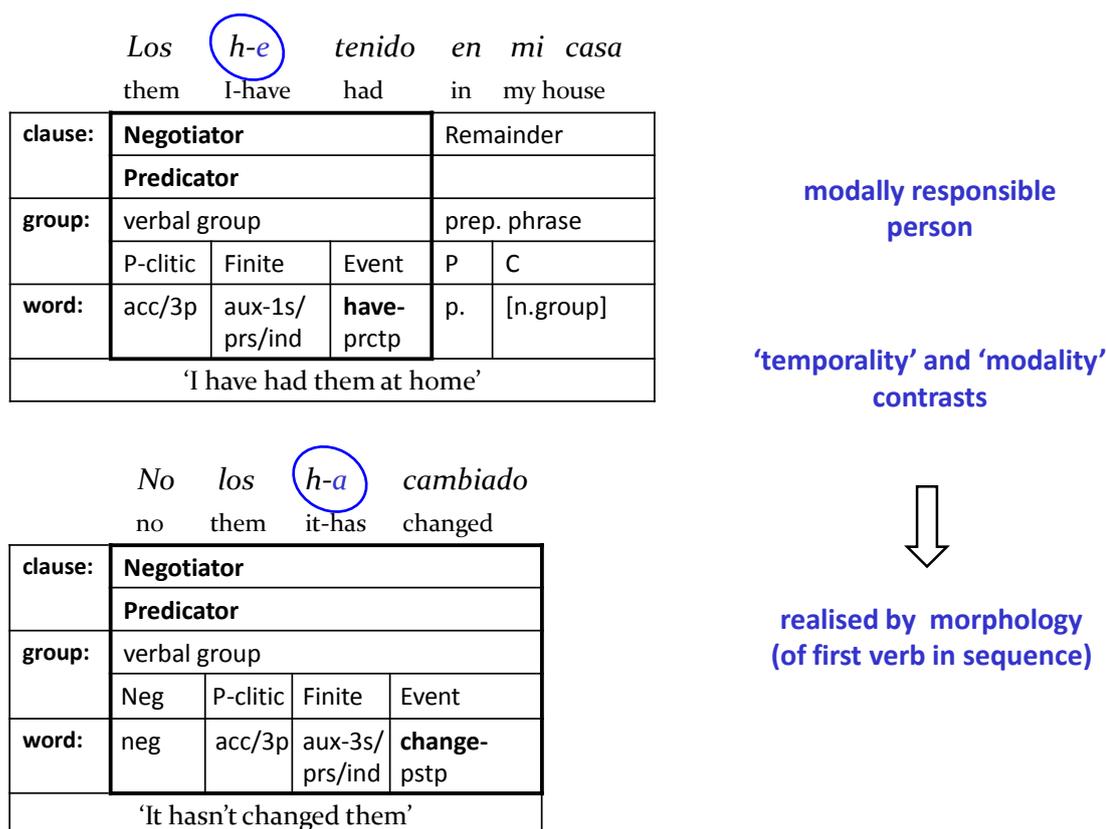


Figure 3.14 Basic structure of the Negotiator in Spanish, complex tenses

In complex tenses, the first verb in sequence realising primary tense (the basic [past], [present] and [future] distinction) cannot be singled out in dialogue in the same way some other languages (like English) do. In fact, Spanish primary tense can *only* be replayed in dialogue as part of the whole verbal group realising the Predicator (cf. Halliday 1994). Examples (1) and (2) below show responses to confirmation questions where either the whole Predicator⁹, or the polarity of the whole proposition through a polarity Modal Adjunct has to be picked up:

⁹ It is the case that some modal verbs may be picked up in dialogue, as seen in turn A.u in Table 3.4 above; likewise, α elements in some verbal group complexes can also be singled out in this way.

(1) *¿No camb-ia los canales?*

neg change- 3s/prs/ind the channels

Negotiator	Remainder
Predicator	

'Doesn't it change the channels?'

- *No*

neg

Negotiator
M. Adjunct

- *No los camb-ia*

neg acc/ change-3s/ 3p prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator

- 'It doesn't change them'

(2) *¿H-as prendido el cable?*

aux-2s/ switch_on- the cable prs/ind prctp

Negotiator	Remainder
Predicator	

'Have you switched on the cable decoder?'

- *Sí*

pos

Negotiator
M. Adjunct

- *Lo h-e prendido*

acc/ have-1s/ switch_on- 3s prs/ind prctp

Negotiator
Predicator

- 'I have switched it on (indeed)'

In addition, unlike their analogue 'Mood tag' in English, elements seeking confirmation (propositions) or compliance/acceptance (proposals) do not argue for the presence of a Finite function in Spanish¹⁰. As far as Chilean Spanish is concerned, speakers perform a similar task through a range of particles concerning the whole proposition or proposal (verbal groups underlined):

¹⁰ This is in contrast with Brazilian Portuguese, where a Finite element can, indeed, be singled out in this way (Figueredo 2011).

<i>No cambia los canales el control remoto, ¿cierto? / ¿verdad? / ¿no?, etc</i> 'It doesn't change the channels the remote control, right? / true? / ¿no?', etc	proposition: statement
<i>Prend-e el decodificador, ¿ya?</i> 'Turn on the decoder, ok?	proposal: command
<i>¿Prend-o el decodificador, o no?</i> 'Should I turn on the decoder, or no?	proposal: offer

Table 3.7 Interpersonal 'tags' in Spanish

Another pattern that has been put forward for the recognition of a Finite is the positioning of polarity markers and Modal Adjuncts. In French, Caffarel (2006) shows that such elements clearly 'mark off' a Subject, Finite and Predicator. She argues that the French Subject is out of the scope of negation, preceding the polarity marker *ne*, and that both the polarity marker *pas* and Modal Adjuncts in general further contribute to the identification of a separate Finite function within the French Negotiator¹¹:

<i>je</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>lui</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>probablement</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>donné</i>
I	not	it	him	have	probably	not	given

Subject	A-neg			Finite	A-mod	A-neg	Predicator
Negotiator							
'I probably didn't give it to him'							

Figure 3.15 Polarity and Modal Adjuncts marking off Subject and Finite in French (Caffarel 2006)

In Spanish, where the positioning of clause rank constituents is very flexible (unlike French), any element realised by a nominal group is structurally out of the domain of negation if it is preceding a negative Predicator in sequence (see section 3.3.2 below). As for polarity markers and Modal Adjuncts, they display a different pattern, as shown Figure 3.16:

¹¹ See brief discussion on Modal Adjuncts in Spanish in section 3.4.1 below.

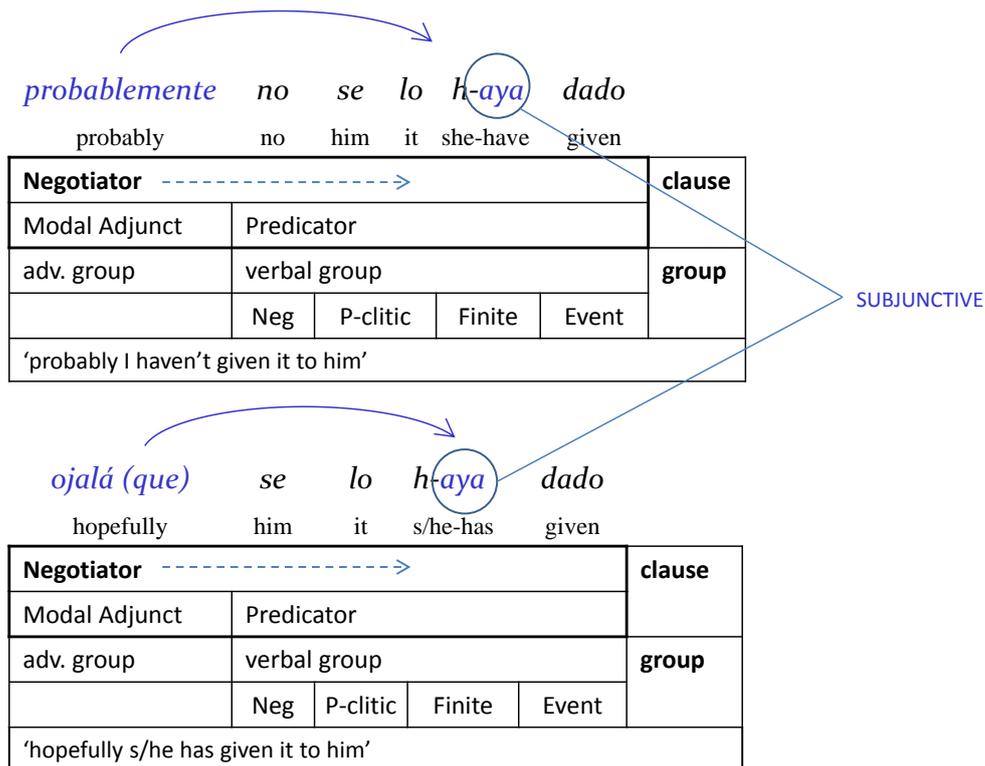


Figure 3.16 Polarity markers and Modal Adjuncts in the Spanish Negotiator

The diagram above shows that, in Spanish, polarity is realised within the Predicator in the unmarked case, with *no* always leading the sequence in the internal structure of the verbal group (where the positioning of elements relative to each other is rather fixed, see section 3.4 below). As for Modal Adjuncts, their positioning seems to further support the interpretation of an interpersonal centre embodied by the whole Predicator: the example shows that *probablemente* (‘probably’) can either precede or follow the whole Predicator, but never be interpolated between an arguably separate Finite and Predicator the way it is possible in French (or English).

In fact, any alteration in the sequencing of elements presented above is either rarely found in highly spontaneous language, as in (3), or it is clearly ungrammatical¹², as in (4) and (5):

- ‘I probably haven’t given it to them’
- (3) *no se lo he probablemente dado* (RARE)
 no them it aux probably given
- (4) **se lo he no dado*
 them it aux no given
- (5) **se lo he probablemente no dado*
 them it aux probably no given

¹² ‘*’ conventionally used to show ungrammaticality of following structure.

The analysis of the Spanish resources ‘from above’ suggests that key interpersonal meanings are centred in the Predicator realised by the verbal group, which can also be grouped alongside other elements, such as Modal Adjuncts, under a Negotiator. This is all it takes to account for the interpersonal organisation of the Spanish clause. Any other elements outside the Negotiator at clause rank do not crucially contribute to the interpersonal structure of the clause, as it has been shown ‘from above’.

This clearly differs from the grouping of ‘Subject • Finite’ under the Mood element for English (Martin, 1992) and the French grouping of ‘Subject • Finite • Predicator’ under the Negotiator (Caffarel, 2006). Those meanings establishing the arguability of the clause and being foregrounded in dialogic exchanges, interpreted in English in terms of ‘subjecthood’ and ‘finiteness’, are realised in Spanish within the domain of the verbal group alone (Halliday, 1985, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). This has a number of consequences for the contrast with English:

- i) ‘subjecthood’ in English has been characterised ‘from above’ in relation to the element held responsible for the proposition or the proposal. In Spanish, a structural Subject function realised by a nominal group at clause rank is immaterial to the realisation of modal responsibility, which seems to be more crucially associated with ‘person/number’ contrasts at word rank. The analysis of dialogic exchanges demonstrates that the verbal morphology signals by itself the person modally responsible for propositions, i.e. the speaker, the addressee or a non-interactant. The same is generally applied to the realisation of proposals, unlike in English;
- ii) in general, ‘finiteness’ is associated in SFL descriptions with the arguability of the proposition (Halliday, 1985, 1994), as opposed to ‘modal responsibility’. In English, this involves the presence of a Finite function, distinct from the Subject function realising the interpersonal ‘nub’ (Martin 1992). In the exploration of Spanish, there is no evidence demonstrating that such a discrete Finite is singled out in structure. Indeed, the ‘grounding’ of the clause does not seem to be dissociated from modal responsibility. Portmanteau morphology at word rank is the crucial resource contributing to the arguability of the clause, including all of its conflated contrasts. This makes sense if one considers that the traditional notion of ‘finiteness’ (which as Maas 2004, p.362, points out can be traced back to Priscian’s Latin grammar) was not restricted to word classes nor to tense contrasts, and did

take into account pronominal reference in order to define (Lat. *finire*) the ‘grounding of the utterance’ on semantic grounds¹³.

In sum, it is suggested that the Spanish Negotiator can be minimally characterised by the presence of a Predicator. The Predicator is the main function grounding the Spanish clause to the speech event and, at the same time, is the core of the negotiatory structure deployed in dialogic exchanges. This is not surprising if one considers that the mere presence of a Predicator is, all other things being equal, enough for the realisation of a clause in Spanish, as seen in the following examples:

A h. *¡Me acab-a de contradecir!* ‘(You) just contradicted me!’

acc/ finish-2s/ lk contradict-inf
1s prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr (complex)
you-just contradicted me

B i. – *No lo h-e hecho* – ‘(I) haven’t done it’

neg acc/ aux-1s/ do-prctp
3s prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
I-haven’t done it

A j. – *¡Lo h-izo!* – ‘(You) did it!’

acc/3s do-2s/
pst/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
you-did it

3.3 Interpersonal grammar ‘from around’:

In the previous section, interpersonal clause resources in Spanish were discussed ‘from above’. It was suggested that the Predicator is the crucial structural function at stake when the clause is seen from the point of view of its contribution to discourse semantic patterns. Discrete structural functions such as Subject and Finite, seen from the point of view of English, have been shown not to play any role in establishing the arguability of the clause.

¹³ See also Maas (2004) for an interesting discussion on the notion of ‘predication’ and its relation to the traditional distinction between ‘Subject’ and ‘Predicate’.

At this point, the Spanish clause needs to be further examined in terms of the axial relations it embodies ‘from around’. To begin, the lexicogrammatical realisation of proposals and propositions is described in relation to the MOOD system in Spanish where distinct interpersonal clause types and their systemic organisation are motivated by specific structural patterns. Following this, the section turns to the systemic exploration of the clause resources at stake in the system of POLARITY.

3.3.1 Towards a Spanish MOOD system

In section 3.2, it was shown how basic choices in SPEECH FUNCTION typically and congruently relate to basic clause types in the interpersonal lexicogrammar of MOOD systems. SFL typological work has indeed shown that speakers across languages tend to congruently realise proposals and propositions through comparable clause contrasts (Matthiessen, 2004a; Matthiessen et al., 2008; Teruya et al., 2007).

The locus of cross-linguistic variation, nonetheless, is not only expected in more delicate choices, but critically, in the structural realisation motivating each of the features in interpersonal systems.

These considerations are important when turning to the axial exploration of the Spanish MOOD in its own terms. Regardless of the general similarities that, in principle, may be found in primary features across languages, a close look at the specific realisation of interpersonal features in clause structure is fundamental for a better understanding of the resources available to Spanish speakers.

As already anticipated, both [indicative] and [imperative] clauses in Spanish share the presence of a Predicator realised by a finite verbal group. This finite verbal group realises in its own right the basic arguability of the clause, including the assignation of the modally responsible person, including interactant – speaker or addressee – and non-interactant. Since the Predicator alone establishes the interpersonal status of the clause in Spanish, a clause may be minimally realised by a verbal group at the rank immediately below.

Therefore, the first contrast between [indicative] and [imperative] is not motivated by the presence of additional clause functions, e.g. the Finite, as in English, but rather by resources at lower ranks, specifically, by means of the pre-selection of features in group and word rank systems.

3.3.1.1 Imperative clauses in Spanish

The feature [imperative] involves a Predicator pre-selecting a verbal group that only allows distinctions in terms of the person held modally responsible for the enactment of the proposal – the one expected to provide the good(s) or service(s) demanded by the speaker.

Modal responsibility is crucially established by ‘person’ contrasts in verb morphology: the traditional first, second and third person, which in Spanish necessarily co-selects number (singular and plural). However, in imperative clauses, these selections in modal responsibility are mostly restricted to what is traditionally known as ‘present/subjunctive’ morphology (glossed in examples throughout as [prs/sbj])¹⁴. The positioning of clitics at group rank (including pronominal, reflexive and *se* clitics) also plays a major role, since in positive imperative clauses they *obligatorily* follow the inflected verb, as seen in Table 3.8 below (verb inflection hyphenated and underlined, pronominal clitics in bold face):

<i>¡Préndeme el cable!</i> - ‘Switch on the cable [decoder] for me!’			
feature	positive		negative
addressee: one: infml (jussive)	<i>¡Prénd-<u>e</u>-me-lo!</i> switch_on-imp-dat/1s-acc/3s	‘Switch it on for me!’	<i>¡No me lo prend-<u>as</u>!</i> neg dat/1s acc/3s switch_on-2s.prs/sbj
addressee: one: frml (jussive)	<i>¡Prénd-<u>a</u>-me-lo!</i> switch_on-2s/prs/sbj-dat/1s-acc/3s		<i>¡No me lo prend-<u>a</u>!</i> neg dat/1s acc/3s switch_on-2s/prs/sbj
addressee: one plus (jussive)	<i>¡Prénd-<u>an</u>-me-lo!</i> switch_on-2p/prs/sbj-dat/1s-acc/3s		<i>¡No me lo prend-<u>an</u>!</i> neg dat/1s acc/3s switch_on-p.prs/sbj
addressee & speaker (hortative)	<i>¡Prend-<u>ámo</u>-se-lo!</i> switch_on-1p/prs/sbj-dat/3p-acc/3s	‘Let’s switch it on for him/her/them!’	<i>¡No se lo prend-<u>amos</u>!</i> neg dat/3 3s/acc switch_on-1p/prs/sbj

*KEY: portmanteau verb morphology underlined, pronominal clitics in bold face

Table 3.8 ‘Switch on the cable decoder for me’: imperative clauses in Spanish

As seen in the examples, imperative clauses allow a number of distinctions in terms of the modally responsible person. Other ‘persons’ may be realised within the Predicator through pronominal elements at group rank. These elements include dative and/or accusative clitics, which also show some distinctions in person and number (although more restricted than in morphological contrasts). In (positive) imperative clauses, clitics obligatorily follow the inflected verb (in a phenomenon usually referred

¹⁴ The only exception is the so-called ‘imperative verb mood’. See Appendix D, for a brief discussion of ‘verb moods’ in Spanish.

‘formal’ and ‘informal’ are possible¹⁷. Except for [jussive: one: informal] which has a distinctive morphology of its own (‘imperative verb mood’, glossed ‘imp’ in Table 3.8 above), ‘person’ contrasts within [prs/sbj] morphology are characteristic of all imperatives clauses:

	[imp] mood ↓	[sbj/prs] mood ↓
feature	positive	negative
[addressee: one: infml] (jussive)	<i>¡Prénd-<u>e</u>-me-lo!</i> switch_on-imp-dat/1s-acc/3s ‘Switch it on for me!’	<i>¡No me lo prend-<u>as</u>!</i> neg dat/1s acc/3s switch_on-2s/prs/sbj ‘Don’t switch it on for me!’

Figure 3.19 ‘Imperative mood’ morphology for [jussive: one: informal/positive]

There is a further contrast in Spanish that evolved from the metaphorical realisation of commands through projecting clauses. This additional choice involves the speaker’s assignment of modal responsibility to a non-interactant person. Given its origin in projected proposals, it requires in structure the presence of the clause initial particle *que*, alongside the selection of [prs/sbj] at word rank¹⁸. This type of ‘third-party’ or ‘optative’ imperative is exemplified in Table 3.9 below:

<i>¡Préndeme el cable!</i> - ‘Switch on the cable [decoder] for me!’			
feature	positive		negative
third party (optative): one	<i>¡Que me lo prend-<u>a</u>!</i> Que dat/1s acc/3s switch_on- 3s/prs/sbj	‘Let her/him switch it on for me!’	<i>¡Que no me lo prend-<u>a</u>!</i> Que neg dat/1s acc/3s switch on- 3s/prs/sbj
third party (optative): one plus	<i>¡Que me lo prend-<u>an</u>!</i> Que dat/1s acc/3s switch_on- 3p.pr/sbj	‘Let them switch it on for me!’	<i>¡Que no me lo prend-<u>an</u>!</i> Que neg dat/1s acc/3s switch on- 3p/prs/sbj

*KEY: portmanteau verb morphology underlined, pronominal clitics in bold face

Table 3.9 [imperative: optative] clauses in Spanish¹⁹

¹⁷ Peninsular Spanish (i.e. the variety spoken in Madrid and established as the ‘standard’ for Spaniards) allows selections in degrees of formality for both [one] and [one plus].

¹⁸ This *que* can be associated with the main hypotactic dependency marker in Spanish, e.g. the ‘subordinating conjunction’ in projected proposals/propositions (Alarcos, 1963).

¹⁹ This kind of third-party imperatives can be considered, in fact, a fringe category between imperatives and the rather formulaic expression of wishes, e.g. *Que tengan buen viaje* (≈ [you-pl] Have a good trip), *Que duermas bien* (≈ [you] Have a good night), *Que tengamos todas un buen 2013* (≈ ‘hope we have all a good 2013), etc. (Alarcos, 1971; Bello, 1847, p. 443ff)

In imperative clauses, just as in indicatives, a nominal group co-referential with selections in modal responsibility may specify, at clause rank, the entity held responsible for the proposal. The positioning of this element with respect to other elements at clause rank is as ‘flexible’ as in indicative clauses; it may precede or follow the Predicator and other elements realised at clause rank, as seen in Figure 3.20:

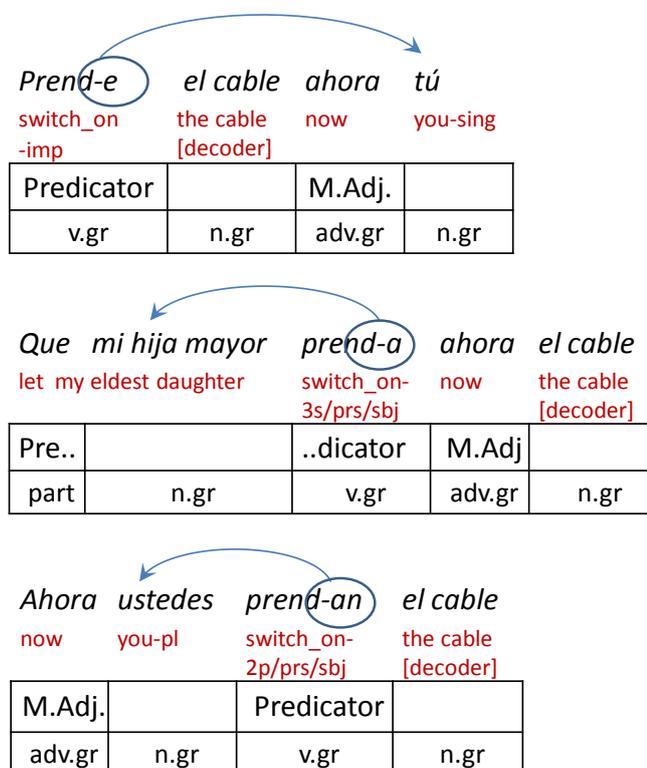


Figure 3.20 Positioning of nominal groups co-referential with modally responsible person in the Predicator of imperative clauses

In sum, Spanish imperative clauses have a Predicator pre-selecting [finite: restricted] at the rank immediately below. This means that the Predicator in imperative clauses, as opposed to indicative clauses, only admits finite verbal groups affording more delicate selections in PERSON system, specifically in relation to modal responsibility (see section 3.4 below).

This is consistent with the cross-linguistic generalisation whereby the grammar of proposals is less elaborate than the grammar of propositions. The congruent realisation of commands in Spanish through imperative clauses clearly involves ‘constrained versions of various systemic distinctions’, to the point of being a fringe category between finite and non-finite clauses (Matthiessen et al., 2008, p. 168). As predicted, offers do not show a distinctive grammaticalised form, though a strong candidate nonetheless is a Predicator co-selecting ‘first person singular’, ‘indicative

verb mood', and rising intonation²⁰ (graphologically represented by enclosing question marks), as in example (6) below:

(6) *¿Prend-o el cable?*

switch_on- 1s/prs/ind	the cable [decoder]
v.gr	n.gr

'(Should) I switch on the cable decoder?'

In a systemic interpretation, the general choices under [imperative] are thus represented as follows:

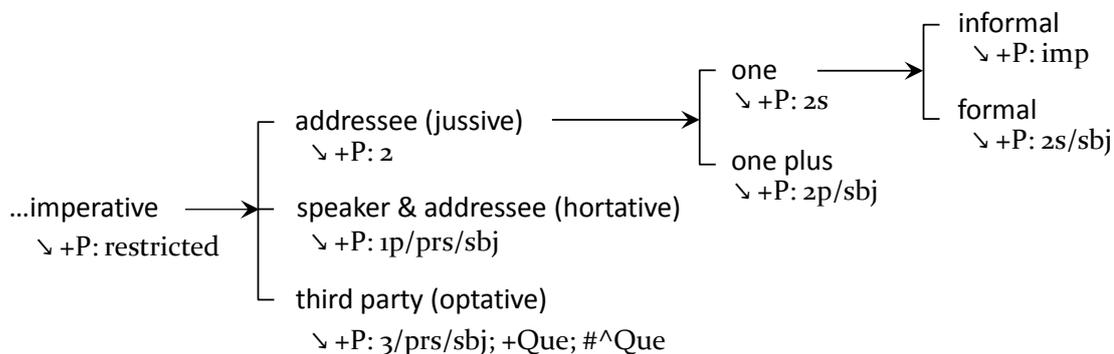


Figure 3.21 Choices under [imperative] in Spanish

In Spanish MOOD, the feature [imperative] is opposed to [indicative] in that the Predicator doesn't allow for further selections in terms of 'temporal' and 'modal' contrasts. The feature [imperative] only allows distinctions in terms of modal responsibility, and within a restricted range of morphological contrasts at word rank, namely, [prs/sbj]. The obligatory positioning of clitics in positive polarity, at group rank, also contributes to characterising [imperative] as a distinct choice. All of these patterns within the domain of the verbal group are represented by the pre-selection of [finite: restricted] at the rank immediately below (cf. Matthiessen et al., 2008, p. 176, on variation in delicacy under [imperative] across languages).

²⁰ Tone selections, as established by Halliday (1970, 1985) and Halliday & Greaves (2008) apply to the Tonic element within the tone group. The Tonic element is analogous to the unit known as 'tonema' in Spanish descriptive tradition (after Navarro Tomás 1944), i.e. the last section of the tone group where the last major pitch movement takes place, usually around the last salient syllable (Martínez Celdrán & Fernández Planas, 2007).

3.3.1.2 Indicative clauses in Spanish

The SFL typological generalisation suggesting that imperative and indicative clauses contrast in terms of the range of possibilities open to each choice is certainly applicable to Spanish MOOD (Matthiessen, 2004). The feature [indicative] allows a Predicator realised by an [unrestricted] verbal group allowing a number of choices in TENSE (both primary and secondary), MODALITY (including ‘modal verbs’ as well as morphological contrasts contributing to modal distinctions), and PERSON, as seen in examples (7)-(15) below (verbal groups realising the Predicator underlined)²¹:

- (7) *No h-a dado un buen argumento* ‘(You) haven’t given a good argument’
 neg aux-2s.frml/ give-prctp
 prs/ind
 past in present
- (8) *Siempre d-oy un buen argumento* ‘(I) always give a good argument’
 give-1s/
 prs/ind
 present
- (9) *Recién d-i un buen argumento* ‘(I) just gave a good argument’
 give-1s/
 pst/ind
 past
- (10) *No d-aremos un buen argumento* ‘(We) won’t give a good argument’
 neg give-1p/
 fut/ind
 future
- (11) *Siempre d-aban un buen argumento* ‘(They) always gave a good argument’
 give-3p/
 pst.impf/ind
 past (imperfect)
- (12) *Nunca h-as dado un buen argumento* ‘(You) have never given a good argument’
 aux-2s/prs/ind give-prctp
 past in present
- (13) *Ojalá h-aya dado un buen argumento* ‘Hopefully s/he gave a good argument’
 aux-3s/ give-
 prs/sbj prctp
 modulated past (inclination)
- (14) *Tal vez d-emos un buen argumento* ‘Maybe (we) will give a good argument’
 give-1p/
 prs/sbj
 modalised present (probability)
- (15) *Nunca d-aría un buen argumento* ‘(S/he) would never give a good argument’
 give-3s/
 pot
 modulated present (readiness)

²¹ See Appendix A for the conventions used in interlinear glossing.

Examples show that the realisation of several simultaneous features is, once again, ‘fused’ in the verbal inflectional morphology of verbal groups. Traditional morphological labels, in fact, reveal the conflation of a number of simultaneous meanings realised by the verbal inflection, including ‘person’, ‘number’, ‘tense’, ‘aspect’, and ‘verb mood’. For instance, in (8) above, ‘first person/singular, ‘present primary tense’ and ‘indicative verb mood’ are all meanings conflated in the verb inflection. What the complex labelling reveals is, then, the synthetic realisation of multiple meanings at word rank, a property that Spanish shares with Romance languages in general, in their so-called ‘portmanteau’ morphology (Hockett, 1957; Hudson, 1972/1981).

As for clitics, they generally *precede* the inflected verb in indicative clauses, as seen in examples (7’)-(15’) below (pronominal clitics in bold face)²²:

- | | | |
|-------|--|------------------------------|
| (7’) | <u>No lo h-a dado</u>
neg acc/ aux-2s.frml give-prctp
3s /prs/ind | ‘(You) haven’t given it’ |
| (8’) | <u>Siempre lo d-oy.</u>
acc/ give-1s/
3s prs/ind | ‘(I) always give it’ |
| (9’) | <u>Recién lo d-i</u>
acc/ give-1ps/
3s pst/ind | ‘(I) just gave it’ |
| (10’) | <u>No lo d-aremos.</u>
neg acc/ give-1p/ fut/ind
3s | ‘(We) won’t give it’ |
| (11’) | <u>Siempre lo d-aban</u>
acc/ give-3p/
3s pst.impf/ind | ‘(They) always gave it’ |
| (12’) | <u>Nunca lo h-as dado</u>
acc/ aux-2s/ give-prctp
3s prs/ind | ‘(You) have never given it’ |
| (13’) | <u>Ojalá lo h-aya dado</u>
acc/ aux-3s/ give-prctp
3s prs/sbj | ‘(Hopefully) s/he gave it’ |
| (14’) | <u>Tal vez lo d-emos.</u>
acc/ give-1p/
3s prs/sbj | ‘Maybe (we) will give it’ |
| (15’) | <u>Nunca lo d-aría</u>
acc give-2s/pot
/3s | ‘(S/he) would never give it’ |

²² While in indicative clauses clitics obligatorily precede the first inflected verb in sequence, they may be postponed and follow the last non-inflected verb in modalised verbal groups or verbal group complexes (specifically, if they include infinitival or gerundive verbs). For example, when canonical modals such as *poder* (‘can’) and *deber* (‘must’) lead the sequence – inflecting for person, tense and ‘verb mood’ –, clitics may either precede them or else immediately follow the last non-inflected verb. (cf. Fernández Soriano, 1993, 1999). (see section 3.4 on verbal group below).

Under the feature [indicative] further contrasts can be recognised: [interrogative], relating to the congruent realisation of questions, and [informative], corresponding to the congruent realisation of statements (as found by Caffarel in French, 2004, 2006).

Delicate contrasts under [interrogative] include [interrogative: polar] and [interrogative: elemental]. Polar interrogatives, also known as ‘yes/no’ interrogatives, are realised in Spanish by rising intonation, which is graphically represented in writing by the use of enclosing question points. This contrasts with French (Caffarel, 2006), where either sequence (F^S) or segmental marking (*Est-ce que...*) are the main media of expression establishing the distinction between interrogative and declarative clauses. Spanish is similar in this respect, however, to Brazilian Portuguese, which only relies upon the intonational medium of expression for polar interrogatives (Figueredo, 2010, 2011).

Elemental interrogative clauses require the presence of a clause initial Q-interrogative element carrying intonational prominence. Q-int in Spanish covers the following resources:

Spanish Q-int	
<i>Qué</i>	‘What’
<i>Cuál(es)</i>	‘Which’
<i>Quién, Quiénes</i> (pl)	‘Who’
<i>Cómo</i>	‘How’
<i>Cuándo</i>	‘When’
<i>Cuánto(s), Cuánta(s)</i>	‘How much’, ‘How many’
<i>Dónde, Adónde</i>	‘Where’

Table 3.10 Main resources realising Q-int in elemental interrogatives

Elemental interrogatives usually co-select falling tone, but rising intonation is not uncommon (Martínez Celdrán & Fernández Planas, 2007). Examples of interrogative types in contrast with [declarative] are provided in (16)-(19) below:

(16) *Me h-as dado un buen argumento*

acc/ aux-2s/ give- a good argument
1s prs/ind prctp

‘You have given me a good argument’

[indicative: informative: declarative]

(17) *¿Me h-as dado (ya) un buen argumento?*

me you-aux given (already) a good argument?

'Have you given me a good argument (already)?'

[indicative: interrogative: polar]

(18) *¿Qué es un buen argumento?*

Q-int be-3s/ a good argument?
prs/ind

'What is a good argument?'

[indicative: interrogative: elemental]

(19) *¿A quién le h-as dado un buen argumento?*

To Q-int dat aux-2s/ give- a good argument?
/3s prs/ind prtcp

'To whom have you given a good argument?'

[indicative: interrogative: elemental]

For the feature [informative], two more delicate contrasts can be established: [declarative] and [exclamative]. Declarative clauses congruently realise statements and select falling tone in their realisation. Exclamative clauses, on the other hand, require the presence of a prominent exclamative element Q-ex (e.g. *Qué*, *Cómo*, *Cuánto*) in a nominal or adverbial group leading the sequence, as shown in examples (20)-(22) below (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 137ff)²³:

(20) *¡Qué buen argumento me h-as dado!*

what good argument dat/ aux-2s/ give-
1s prs/ind prtcp

Q-ex

n.gr

'What a good argument you have given to me!'

Predicator
v.gr

[indicative: informative: exclamative]

(21) *¡Qué buen argumento es!*

good argument be-3s/
prs/ind

Q-ex

n.gr

'What a good argument it is!'

Pred
v.gr

[indicative: informative: exclamative]

(22) *¡Cómo discut-en esos dos!*

argue-3p/ those two
prs/ind

Q-ex

adv.gr

'How those two argue!'

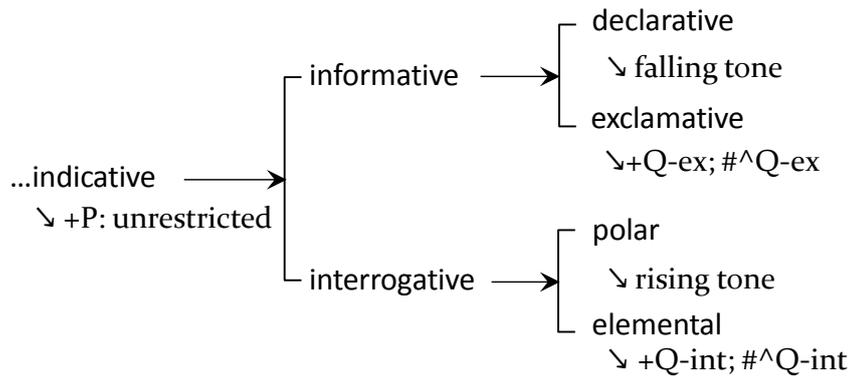
Pred
v.gr

n.gr

[indicative: informative: exclamative]

²³ Exclamative clauses of the kind described show a distinctive grammar; but other interpersonal clause types may also realise exclamations, e.g. Wh-interrogatives with *Quién* + subjunctive, as in *¡Quién se lo hubiera imaginado!* ('Who would have imagined that!') (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 138) or minor clauses (e.g. without a Predicator), as in *¡Qué asco!* ('How disgusting!'), *¡Qué imbécil!* ('What an idiot!'), *¡Qué lindo!* ('How cute!'), etc. (e.g. RAE, 2009, p. 413)

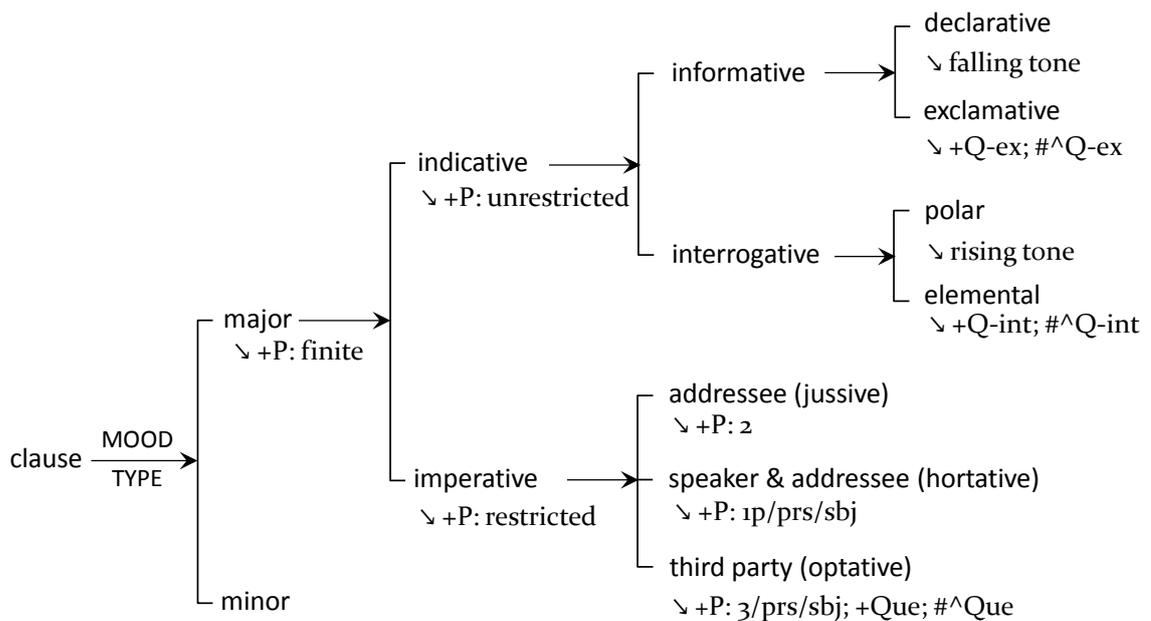
Systemic choices under [indicative] can be represented as follows:



* See Appendix A for systemic conventions

Figure 3.22 Choices under [indicative] in Spanish

Based on the key contrasts primarily realised within the domain of the verbal group, including the positioning of clitics and selections at word rank, the following system network for the Spanish MOOD is proposed:



* See Appendix A for systemic conventions

Figure 3.23 A MOOD system network for Spanish

The system network proposed for MOOD in Figure 3.23 suggests a first distinction between minor and major clauses. Major clauses require a Predicator in their structure. This function pre-selects a finite verbal group one rank below that minimally requires the presence of an inflected verb and may or may not involve the presence of clitic elements (see section 3.4 below). This reflects the fact that, at this point in

delicacy, both the modally responsible participant and polarity are open to negotiation through the verbal group, covering both indicative and imperative clauses.

More delicate choices under [imperative] show that in Spanish the person held modally responsible for the realisation of commands is still subject to arguability. As for [indicative], this feature concerns the grammaticalisation of propositions with a broad range of resources. These include a number of selections at group rank, as well as a number of interactions with other interpersonal systems, such as MODALITY.

Table 3.11 below summarises the main reactances for the distinction between [imperative] and [indicative] in Spanish:

$\nabla + P$	[imperative]	[indicative]
finite verbal group	yes	yes
distinctions in modal responsibility	yes (restricted)	yes
distinctions in POLARITY ²⁴	yes (restricted)	yes
distinctions in TENSE	no	yes
distinctions in MODALITY	no	yes
positioning of clitic elements	following inflected verb (positive)	typically preceding inflected verb
'verbal mood' contrasts	[imp], [prs/sbj] only	open

Table 3.11 Main reactances for primary distinctions in Spanish MOOD

3.3.2 POLARITY in Spanish

In SFL, POLARITY resources constitute an important aspect of the grounding of the clause in terms of its arguability status along with the specification of temporal and modal reference to the speech event (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 116-117).

Positive polarity is not generally marked by any special structural resource. Negative polarity, on the other hand, is typically specified within the Predicator by means of the marker *no*:

²⁴ See section 3.3.2 below.

(23) *Esto no es una discusión*
 this neg be-3s/ an argument
 prs/ind

Re...	Negotiator	...mainder
	Predicator	
n. gr	v.gr	n.gr
this	it-is not	an argument

'This is not an argument'

negative proposition

(24) *No prend-as el deco*
 neg switch_on-3s the deco
 /prs/ind

Negotiator	Remainder
Predicator	
v.gr	n.gr
no you-switch_on	the deco

'Don't switch on the deco'

negative proposal

The particle *no* is usually analysed in reference grammars as a 'negation adverb'. This element, nonetheless, shows a very specific grammatical patterning when compared to other members of the adverb class. This is not surprising if its meaning is regarded functionally from a 'top-down' perspective.

As shown in examples above, the location of *no* is interpreted as falling within the Predicator. There, it is realised as a phonologically non-salient element leading the sequence in the internal structure of the verbal group. In this respect, a difference can be established between *no* as a polarity marker within the Predicator, and *no* as a Modal Adjunct, distinct from the Predicator, as shown in examples (25)-(26) below:

(25) (a) *¿Qué problema t-iene?*

'What problem do you have?'

(b) - *No cambia los canales*

Negotiator	Remainder
Predicator	
v.gr	n.gr

'It doesn't change the channels'

(26) (a) ¿No camb-ia los canales el control remoto?

Negotiator	Remainder	
Predicator		
v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

'The remote control doesn't change the channels?'

(b) - No

Negotiator
Modal Adj.
adv.gr

- 'No' [right]

(b') - No, no los camb-ia.

Negotiator	Negotiator
M. Adj.	Predicator
adv.gr	v.gr

- 'No, it doesn't change them'

Examples show that *no* may appear on its own as a response to a polar interrogative clause in the previous initiating move. In this case, it carries its own Tonic, realising in this way a tone group on its own (graphologically separated from the rest by a comma). It can thus be analysed as an elliptical clause, with its own Negotiator (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 145). Note that in example (26.b), *no* as a Modal Adjunct *confirms* the negative polarity of the previous move. This is a common pattern in Spanish dialogue, and it contrasts with cross-linguistic generalisations concerning the presumption of positive polarity in negative interrogatives, as proposed in SFL typological work (Matthiessen et al., 2008). In example (29.b'), *no* appears twice in the responding move: once realising an elliptical clause and once within the Predicator, both demarcated as separate tone groups (by means of a comma, in writing).

A similar pattern applies to positive polarity. While no marker is necessary in unmarked positive clauses, the polarity marker *sí* may appear, either as emphatic within the Predicator, or as a Modal Adjunct in responding moves, as in examples (27)-(28) below (cf. Dumitrescu, 1973; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 144)²⁵.

²⁵ These interpersonal uses of *no* and *sí* should be distinguished from their textual use as continuatives, whereby they do not constitute a responding move in terms of speech functions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 145).

(27) (a) *S-on solo contradicciones*

Negotiator		Remainder
Predicator	M.Adj	
v.gr	adv.gr	n.gr

'They are only contradictions'

(b) - No lo son

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr

- 'they are not (that)'

(c) - Sí son

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr

'yes they are'

(28) (a) *¿Está en su domicilio, don XXX?*

'Are you in your domicile, Mr. xxx?'

(b) - Sí.

Negotiator
Modal Adj.
adv.gr

(b') - Sí,

Neg.
M. Adj
adv.gr

- 'Yes,

estoy en mi casa.

Neg.	Remainder
Pred.	
v.gr	p.phr

I'm at home'.

The specification of polarity shown thus far within the Predicator by means of *no* and *sí* markers has the clause as its whole domain, regardless of the presence of any preceding element at clause rank, e.g. any Participant, Circumstance or (Modal) Adjunct (Camus Bergareche, 2006, p. 1168; Sánchez López, 1999, p. 2563).

However, negative polarity in propositions (and in restricted cases for proposals) may be realised outside the Predicator in the marked case, as seen in examples (29)-(33) below (resources realising negative polarity underlined and in blue):

- (29) *Ninguno* (de nosotros) **se lo d-irá**²⁶ a los demás

Remain...	Negotiator	...der
	Predicator	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'None (of us) will tell it to the rest'

- (30) *Nada* de eso **se lo d-iremos** a los demás

Remain...	Negotiator	...der
	Predicator	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'None of that we-will-tell to the rest'

- (31) A *nadie* **le d-iremos** [[lo que pasó]]

Re...	Negotiator	...mainder
	Predicator	
n.gr	v.gr	[[clause]]

'To no one we-will-tell [[what happened]]'

- (32) *Nunca* **d-iremos** [[lo que pasó]]

Negotiator		Remainder
MAdj.	Predicator	
adv.gr	v.gr	[[clause]]

'Never we-will-tell [[what happened]]'

- (33) *Nunca* **d-igas** [[lo que pasó]]

Negotiator		Remainder
MAdj.	Predicator	
adv.gr	v.gr	[[clause]]

'Never you-tell [[what happened]]'

As seen in the examples, the establishment of **dominating polarity** by elements preceding the Predicator (Martin, 2008) is incompatible with the marking of polarity *within* the Predicator. Indeed, if negative markers occur both outside and within the Predicator, negation is 'cancelled', as shown in example (34):

- (34) *Ninguno* (de nosotros) **no se lo d-irá** a los demás.

Remain...	Negotiator	...der
	Predicator	n.gr
n.gr	v.gr	

'none (of us) no 3s-will say it to the rest'

polarity is reversed:

'none of us will not say it to the rest'
=> 'we will all say it'

²⁶ For the purpose of the current discussion, pronominal clitics have not been analysed nor glossed in the examples if they are involved in 'clitic doubling constructions' (e.g. Belloro, 2007). For a discussion on this kind of simultaneous realisation of participants both within and outside the verbal group in Spanish, see discussion in Chapter 4.

Examples (35) to (37) below summarise unmarked and marked negative polarity in Spanish:

(35) *Esto **no se lo d-iremos** al resto.*

Re...	Negot.	...mainder
	Predicator	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'This we-will-not-tell-it to the rest'

unmarked negative polarity
 ↳ **within Predicator:** non-salient *no*

(36) *Esto **nadie se lo dirá** al resto*

Remain...	Nego	...der
	Predicator	
n.gr	n.gr	v.gr
		n.gr

'This nobody will-tell-it to the rest'

marked negative polarity
 ↳ **preceding Predicator:** Participant

(37) ***En ningún caso se lo d-iremos** al resto.*

Negotiator		Rmdr
Modal Adjunct	Predicator	
p. phr	v.gr	n.gr

'In no way we-will-tell-it to the rest'

marked negative polarity
 ↳ **preceding Predicator:** M. Adjunct

It should be noted that the sequence of clause constituents in Spanish does not necessarily entail any marked selections in the tone group systems of TONALITY, TONICITY or TONE (cf. Silva-Corvalán, 1983). That is, all examples above (35)-(37) are assumed to select unmarked tonality: all clauses are realised within a single tone group; all, perhaps except from (36), presuppose unmarked tonicity with the Tonic falling around the last salient syllable within the tone group; and they all choose falling tone, the unmarked choice for Spanish declarative clauses (cf. Halliday & Greaves, 2008; Silva-Corvalán, 1983).

3.3.2.1 Dominating prosody: the so-called 'multiple negation'

Spanish is known for what is traditionally termed 'double negation' (or 'multiple negation'), though a number of scholars studying this resource prefer to refer to this phenomenon, after Mathesius (1933), as 'polarity concord' (cf. Camus Bergareche, 2006; Sánchez López, 1999; Suñer, 1995). This phenomenon refers to the fact that once negative polarity is established within one clause constituent – e.g. the Spanish verbal group realising the Predicator in the unmarked case – it obligatorily influences, by prosodic domination (Martin, 2008), any following element in sequence that is realising indefinite deixis:

(38) *No v-io a nadie*

Nego	Rmdr
Pred	
v.gr	n.gr

'(s/he) didn't see no one'

(39) *Yo no llamar-ía a ninguno de ellos*

Re...	Negotiator	...mainder
	Predicator	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'I wouldn't call none of them'

(40) *No se lo d-iremos jamás a nadie*

Negotiator		Rmdr
Predicator	MAdj	
v.gr	adv.gr	n.gr

'we-wont tell-it never to nobody'

(41) *No lo d-irá nadie jamás*

Nego...	Rem.	..tiator
Pred		MAdj
v.gr	n.gr	adv.gr

'Nobody will tell-it never'

As seen in examples (38)-(40), taken from Suñer (1995, pp. 233-234), as well as in example (41), negative polarity is chosen only once and then prosodically signalled across elements following the Predicator, including other elements at clause rank (e.g. Modal Adjuncts and nominal groups realising Participants in the experiential structure of the clause). This kind of dominating negative prosody requires in Spanish multiple negative markers throughout the clause. This pattern resembles the one discussed in Martin (2008) for 'non-standard' English (and addressed in terms of 'negative concord' by Labov, 1972). There are very few exceptions still considered to be grammatical in Spanish, with those that do remain needing to be studied for their interaction with other systems such as information systems in the textual metafunction²⁷ (cf. relevant comparison between Czech and English in Mathesius, 1933).

²⁷ For instance, there are marked cases in which indefinite deixis follows a pattern similar to the one in 'standard' English, such as in *No he visto película alguna esta semana* ('I haven't seen any movie this week.), discussed by Sánchez López (1999, p. 2597). Since in these cases the Tonic falls on the element realising indefinite deixis, e.g. *alguna* in the example, they would need to be analysed in their interaction with INFORMATION systems, something not undertaken in this study.

Any clause constituent preceding the negative Predicator is, as expected, ‘outside’ this dominating prosodic pattern. Examples (42)-(44) below show that all Participant roles realised by nominal groups in preverbal position, including the one associated to the modally responsible person, are outside the scope of negative prosody:

- (42) *Algunos* no *le d-iremos* nada nunca *a* nadie

Re...	Nego...	...main	...tiator	...der
	Predicator		MAdj	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	adv.gr	n.gr

‘Some (of us) no-will-tell-we nothing never to nobody’
Eng: ‘Some of us won’t tell anything ever to anybody’

- (43) *Algunas cosas* **no** *se las d-iremos* nunca *a* nadie

Remain...	Negotiator		...der
	Predicator	MAdj	
n.gr	v.gr	adv.gr	n.gr

‘Some things no-will-tell-we never to nobody’
Eng ≈ ‘We won’t tell some things to anybody ever’

- (44) *A algunos* no *les dirá* nadie nada

Re...	Negotiator	...mainder	
	Predicator		
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

‘To some will-not-tell-3s nobody nothing’
Eng ≈ ‘Nobody will tell anything to some’

However, the dominating prosody also occurs in cases of marked negative polarity, that is, when polarity is established outside the Predicator:

- (45) Ninguno *(de nosotros)* **se lo d-irá** jamás *a* nadie

Remain...	Negotiator		...der
	Predicator	MAdj	
n.gr	v.gr	adv.gr	n.gr

‘None (of us) will tell never to nobody’
Eng ≈ ‘None of us will tell to anybody ever’

- (46) Nada *de eso* **se lo d-iremos** jamás *a* nadie

Remain...	Negotiator		...der
	Predicator	M.Adj	
n.gr	v.gr	adv.gr	n.gr

‘Nothing of that (we) will tell never to nobody’
Eng ≈ ‘Nothing of that we will ever tell to anybody’

(47) A *nadie* *le d-iremos* *nada* *jamás*

Remain...	Nego...	...der	...tiator
	Predicator		M.Adj
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	adv.gr

'To nobody we-will tell nothing never'
 Eng ≈ 'We won't tell anything to anybody ever'

(48) *Jamás* *se lo d-iremos* *a nadie*

Negotiator		Remain.
M.Adj	Predicator	
adv.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'Never we-will-tell-it to nobody'
 Eng ≈ 'We won't tell it to anybody'

Note that in (45)-(48) negative polarity established thematically at the beginning of the clause influences prosodically any other constituents at clause rank, *except* the Predicator, where the *absence* of the polarity marker is required.

3.3.2.2 A POLARITY network for Spanish

The network in Figure 3.24 below summarises the general choices available for POLARITY in Spanish:

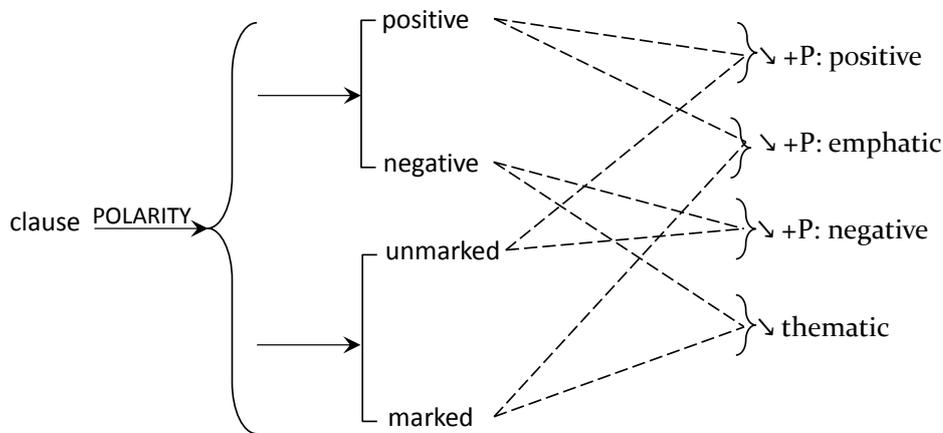


Figure 3.24 POLARITY network for the Spanish clause

The network reads as follows: if [positive] is selected, no special marking is required (the Predicator preselects a positive verbal group). Optionally, emphatic positive polarity can be selected, in which case the positive marker *sí* is inserted within the Predicator (see section 3.4.3 below):

– *S-on solo contradicciones*

be-3p/ only contradictions
prs/ind

Negotiator		Remainder
Pred	MA	
v.gr	adv. gr	n. gr
they-are	only	contradictions

[positive/unmarked]

↘ +P: positive

– *Si lo es*

pos acc/ be-3s/
3s prs/ind

Negotiator
Pred
v.gr
yes it-is it

[positive/marked]

↘ +P: emphatic

As for [negative], its selection necessarily involves an explicit marker in structure. In the unmarked case, a negative verbal group is pre-selected, with *no* within its domain:

– *¡Oiga! esto no es una discusión*

this neg be-3s/
prs/ind an argument

Re...	Negotiator	...mainder
	Predicator	
n. gr	v.gr	n.gr
hey!	this no it-is	an argument

[negative/unmarked]

↘ +P: negative

Alternatively, in the marked case, [negative] can be realised by any thematic element preceding the Predicator at clause rank – typically Modal Adjuncts such as *nunca* ('never'), *jamás* ('never'), *tampoco* ('neither'), but also by negative resources within nominal groups and prepositional phrases realising experiential functions in clause structure, such as Participants and Circumstances²⁸:

– *Usted tampoco me h-a dado un buen argumento*

You acc/ aux-2s/ give- a good argument
1s prs/ind prctp

Re...	Negotiator		...mainder
	MAdj	Pred	
n.gr	adv.gr	v.gr	n.gr
you	neither	you-have given me	a good argument

[negative/marked]

↘ thematic

'You neither have given me a good argument'

Eng ≈ 'You haven't given me a good argument either'

²⁸ For a comprehensive review of the resources available in Spanish for the realisation of delicate choices under [negative], including resources in clause complexes, see Sánchez López (1999).

3.3.3 Interpersonal clause systems: summary

In this section the main interpersonal MOOD and POLARITY systems have been described for the Spanish clause. Figure 3.25 below shows their systemic representations:

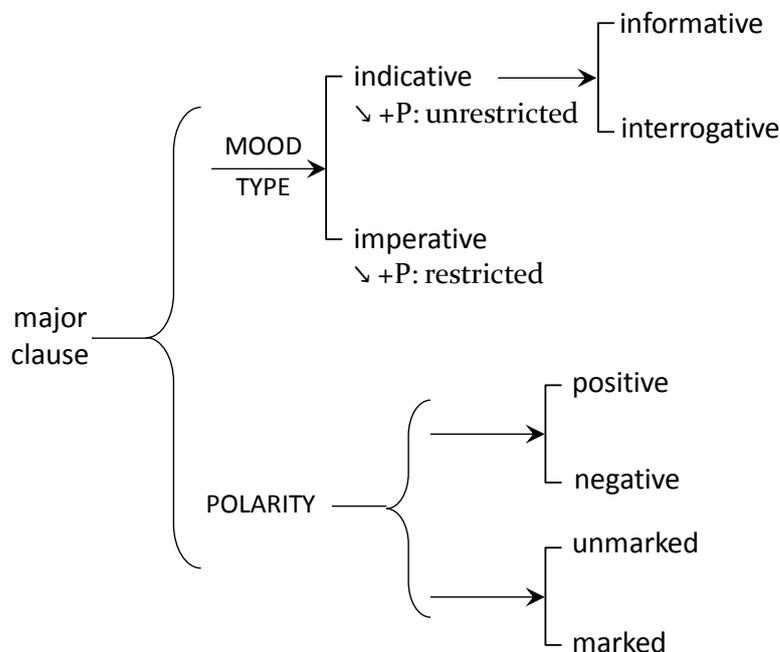


Figure 3.25 Interpersonal systems in the Spanish clause: MOOD and POLARITY

The exploration of both MOOD and POLARITY distinctions shows that the Predicator is the only function that can be motivated ‘from around’. This function centres in the verbal group all of the relevant resources required for the main distinctions recognised in the interpersonal clause systems explored. For this reason, verbal group resources contributing to the interpersonal lexicogrammar of Spanish are explored in more detail in the following section.

3.4 Interpersonal grammar ‘from below’: verbal group systems

In the previous section, the Predicator was shown to be the crucial function from the point of view of the systemic organisation of the Spanish clause, specifically in relation to MOOD and POLARITY. Given the centrality of the verbal group in terms of its contributions to the interpersonal organisation of the Spanish clause, this section takes a closer look at its systemic organisation, with a particular focus on the system of FINITENESS and POLARITY (see Chapter 4 for verbal group systems relevant to experiential grammar).

3.4.1 FINITENESS

The entry condition for the FINITENESS system is a finite verbal group, which minimally requires an inflected verb realising the Finite function:

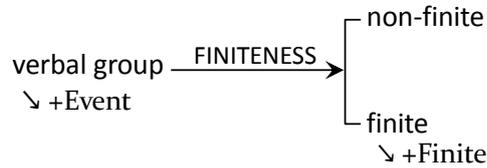
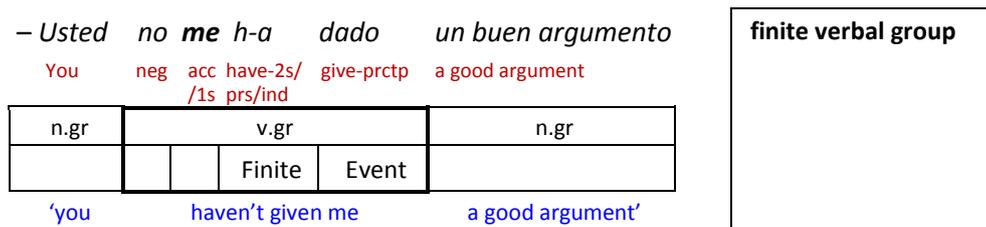


Figure 3.26 FINITENESS system

In imperative clauses, or in indicative clauses with simple tenses, the Finite function is conflated with the Event, the function within the verbal group contributing to the realisation of experiential meanings, be it finite or non-finite (see Chapter 4). In indicative clauses with complex tenses, however, the Finite is realised by the first verb in sequence traditionally known as the ‘auxiliary’ *haber* (‘have’) (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1970; Lüdtke, 1990):



Finite verbal groups show different possibilities and restrictions in terms of DEIXIS systems, as shown in the network below:

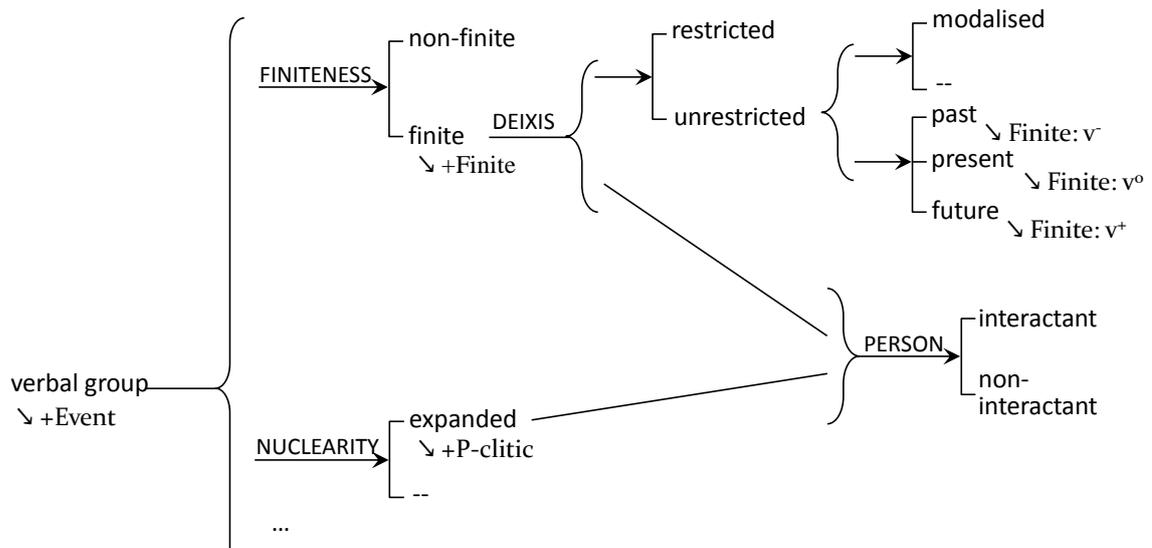


Figure 3.27 DEIXIS systems

In imperative clauses the relevant selection at group rank is [finite: restricted], which only allows further selections in personal deixis. Regardless of the clause type to which the finite verbal group is contributing, selections in PERSON need to be made for the establishment of modal responsibility (cf. Alarcos Llorach 1970/1980), and also if expanded NUCLEARITY is selected (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2.1).

Verbal groups realising distinctions in indicative clauses are not restricted with respect to other choices in DEIXIS. Thus [finite: unrestricted] leads to more delicate choices both in terms of modal and temporal deixis. In the SFL description of English, DEIXIS is related only to temporal and modal contrasts ‘grounding’ the clause to the speech event. Such a system is distinct from (SUBJECT) PERSON, interpreted either as simultaneous with MOOD at clause rank (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 135) or as a nominal group system (p. 313). As seen in section 3.2 above, such a separation makes sense in the grammar of English, since both the nominal group realising the Subject and the verb realising the Finite within the verbal group define the arguability of the clause and the negotiability of key interpersonal systems.

However, in this account of Spanish, PERSON selections are included within the domain of the verbal group, where such a system seems to establish much more productive relations than within the nominal group. Any finite verbal group in Spanish obligatorily involves contrasts in modal responsibility, and therefore choices in *personal deixis*. The optional co-selection of features in expanded nuclearity also involves selections in PERSON, having as a structural consequence the realisation of P-Clitics.

As seen in the network in Figure 3.27 above, unrestricted verbal groups lead to simultaneous systems accounting for modal and temporal contrasts. Modal contrasts are optional, conventionally represented by a system with the opposition [modalised] and [-]. The feature [modalised] in Spanish may be realised by a modal verb – such as ‘canonical’ modal verbs *poder* (‘can/may’) and *deber* (‘must/should’) – and/or by selections at word rank by the choice of ‘subjunctive’ or ‘potential’. This means that ‘non-modalised’ unrestricted verbal groups are, by default, realised by ‘indicative verb mood’²⁹:

²⁹ See Appendix D, for a brief explanation on ‘verb moods’ in Spanish.

(49) *¿P-udiste prender el deco?*

can-2s/ switch_on-inf the decoder
pst/ind

v.gr	
Fin/Mod	Event

'Were you able to switch on the decoder?'

While the exploration of a more general system of MODALITY is beyond of the scope of this study, it can be anticipated that the interaction between these two types of realisations within the verbal group depends on a number of factors, including i) the kind of modality at stake (probability, usuality, obligation, ability), ii) the interaction with modality resources at clause rank, and iii) interactions with TENSE systems within the verbal group.

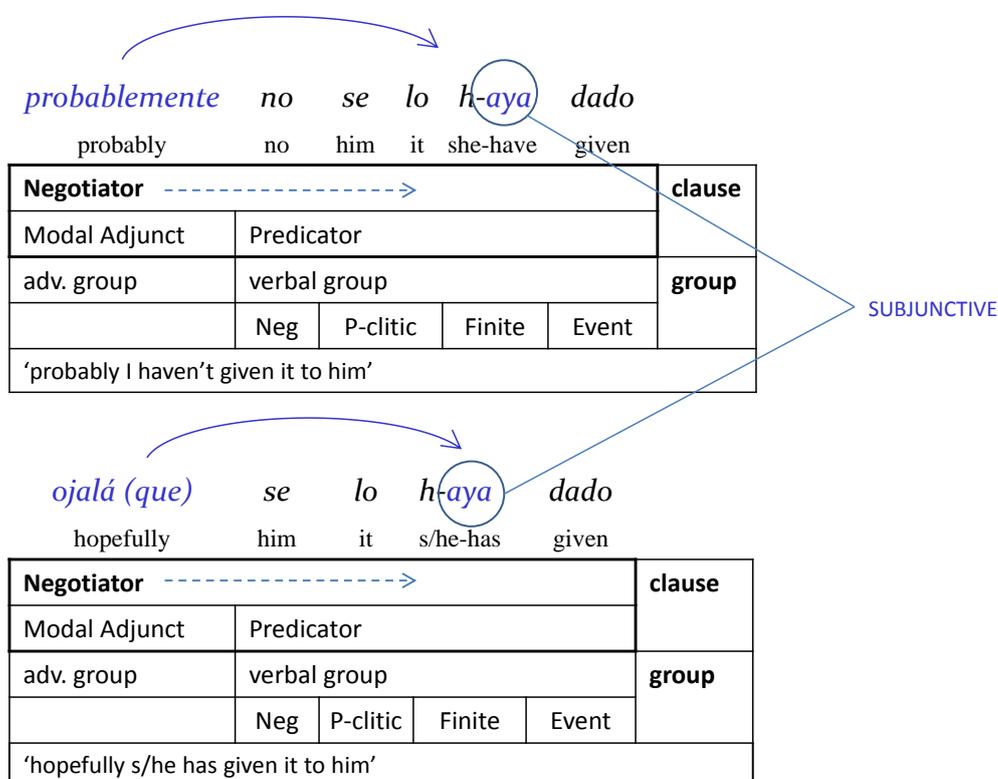


Figure 3.28 Modal Adjuncts in Spanish: prosodic domain and 'verb mood'

Figure 3.28 above shows examples where modality is realised at clause rank by a Modal Adjunct within the same tone group, preceding the Predicator. In this position, some Modal Adjuncts prosodically influence 'verb mood' selections, either 'optionally', as with probability Modal Adjuncts, including *probablemente* ('probably'), *quizás* and *tal vez* ('perhaps'), or obligatorily, as with the inclination Modal Adjunct *ojalá (que)* ('hopefully'). For the interactions between modality and tense resources, primary and secondary tense selections may restrict or constrain the structural possibilities, e.g.

primary tense seems more open to co-selection of a range of modal verbs (along with verb moods), while secondary tense is more restricted and admits only a few modal verbs, particularly the ‘canonical’ *deber* (‘must’, ‘should’) and *poder* (‘can’, ‘may’):

- (50) *P-udo haber sido condenado por homicidio*
 may-3s/ have-inf be-prtcp condemn-prtcp for homicide
 pst/ind

v.gr			
Fin/Mod	Aux	Aux	Event

‘He could have been condemned for homicide’

- (51) *No lo h-an podido ubicar desde el lunes*
 neg acc/ be-3s/ can-prtcp locate-inf
 3s prs/ind

v.gr				
Neg	P-cl	Finite	Modal	Event

‘They haven’t been able to locate him since Monday’

- (52) *Me deb-ieron haber dicho que se cancelaba la reunión*
 dat/1s should-3p/ have-inf say- that the meeting (was) cancelled
 pst/ind prtcp

v.gr			
P-cl	Fin/Mod	Aux	Event

‘They should have told me "β that the meeting had been cancelled’

The network in Figure 3.27 above includes primary tense choices, which from an SFL perspective involve the basic distinction between [past] (-), [present] (0) and [future] (+). Primary tense accounts for the temporal grounding of the clause in the speech event: [present] corresponds to the point of reference for the ‘now’ of the speech situation, with respect to which two other points are established, ‘before’ [past], and ‘after’ [future]. Comparable distinctions are grammaticalised in different ways across languages and, in Spanish, they involve selections in the portmanteau morphology of the inflected verb at word rank, in particular within the ‘indicative verb mood’ ([ind]), where [present], [past] and [future] are realised by morphological contrasts. Secondary tense, not represented above, involves further temporal selections departing from the primary reference point. In SFL, secondary tense involves selections in a logical system, such as the one proposed below (cf. Matthiessen, 1996):

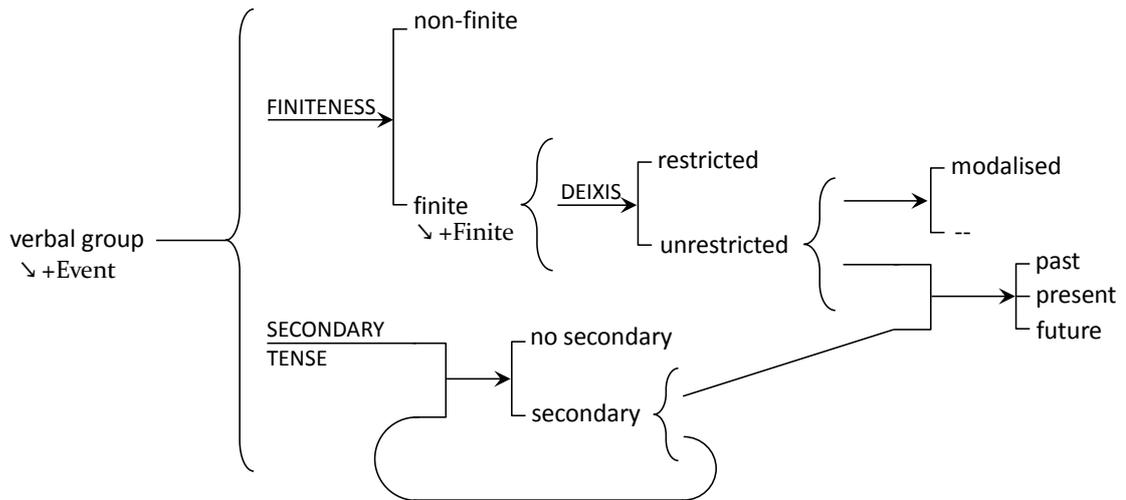


Figure 3.29 Recursive TENSE in Spanish

Recursive systems generate univariate structures, whereby elements establish interdependency relations (see section 2.2.3 in Chapter 2). The Head of the univariate structure deriving from TENSE selections is the element realising primary tense, recursively expanded to the right in Spanish:

- B i. – *No lo h-e hecho* – (I) haven't done (it)
 neg acc/ aux-1s/ do-prctp
 3s prs/ind

v.gr			
Neg	P-cl	Finite	Event
		$\alpha^0 \beta^- \gamma^{\text{hacer}}$	
no I-have done it			

⇒ past in present

- B q. – *Usted no me h-a dado un buen argumento* You haven't given me a good argument
 You neg acc/ aux-2s/ give- a good argument
 1s prs/ind prctp

n.gr	v.gr				n.gr
	Neg	P-cl	Fin	Event	
			$\alpha^0 \beta^- \gamma^{\text{dar}}$		
you	no you-have given me				a good argument

⇒ past in present

In examples (B.i) and (B.q) above, [present] is selected first as primary tense (conventionally represented by superscript '0'), and then a further, recursive selection is made once again, this time in [past] (conventionally represented by '-'). The resulting 'tense name' is read from right to left, i.e. 'past in present'. A similar 'bi-vectorial' interpretation of Spanish tense has been explored outside SFL by Rojo (1974, 1990a) and Rojo and Veiga (1999), particularly after Bello (1847) and Bull (1960)³⁰.

³⁰ See Appendix E, for an exploratory interpretation of TENSE in the Spanish verbal group, including the recursion possibilities.

3.4.2 POLARITY within the verbal group

Section 3.3.2 above explored in detail the POLARITY system at clause rank. From the point of view of verbal groups systems, the range of polarity resources is more limited. In this subsection, therefore, only those resources centred within the Predicator are discussed in detail.

From the point of view of the internal structure of the verbal group, polarity markers lead the overall sequence of elements. As shown in section 3.3.2, the main resource for the realisation of negative polarity in Spanish is the marker *no*, which realises the function Neg in verbal group structure. This function is typically followed by the Finite function realising primary tense (see section 3.4.1 above). The only elements that can be inserted between Neg and the Finite are clitics, including i) P-Clitics realising features in the system of NUCLEARITY, as well as ii) V-clitics and R-clitics realise features in VOICE (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2):

(53) *No camb-ia los canales*

v.gr		n. gr
Neg	Finite/Event	

'it doesn't change the channels'

(54) *No los camb-ia*

v.gr		
Neg	P-cl	Finite/Event

'it doesn't change them'

(55) *No se p-ueden cambiar los canales*

v.gr			n. gr
Neg	V-cl	Fin/Mod	Event

Eng ≈ 'the channels cannot be changed'

In cases of unmarked tonicity (e.g. prominence falling around the last salient syllable), Neg is realised by a phonologically weak *no*. However, if the negative verbal group is functioning within a clause with marked tonicity, then this element may carry the Tonic, for an emphatic (e.g. contrastive) realisation of negative polarity:

(56) *No los cambia*

v.gr		
Neg	P-cl	Fin/Event

'it doesn't change them'

↘ +Neg: tonic <i>no</i>

It has also been shown that in positive polarity no special marking is needed, unless [positive: emphatic] is selected at clause rank (see network in Figure 3.21 above), in which case a Pos function realised by *sí* is inserted within the verbal group.

(57) *Esto sí se lo d-iremos*

n.gr	v.gr			
	Pos	P-cl	P-cl	Fin/Event
	yes	dat/3	acc/3s	tell-1p/ fut/ind

'This we will tell it to her/him/them indeed'

∇ +Pos: *sí*; #^Pos

Dumitrescu (1973) argues that this kind of emphatic positive marking in Spanish is very similar to *no* in negative verbal groups, both in its grammatical behaviour and the way it is replayed in dialogue. In her view, this relates to the fact that *sí* was originally part of an Old Spanish 'affirmative periphrasis' (circa 12th century), and only later began to function also separately as an 'adverb' realising an elliptical clause in responding moves (p. 407), i.e. a Modal Adjunct. Dumitrescu explains in this way the difference between *sí* and resources typically realising positive polarity in other Romance languages, such as French and Romanian, as well as the reasons for its similarity with other resources used for the realisation of emphatic positive polarity at clause rank (including *sí que* as in *Sí que se lo diremos*).

As examples show thus far, the main reasons to analyse *no* and *sí* as part of the verbal group realising the Predicator are:

- i) the impossibility of interpolating any clause constituent between these polarity markers and other elements within the structure of the verbal group,
- ii) their phonological dependency on the verbal group (thus, in general, informationally non-prominent in unmarked cases), and
- iii) their general inclusion within the Predicator when this replays in dialogue polarity, tense, and modal responsibility.

Figure 3.30 below shows the POLARITY system network at group rank, with more restricted possibilities when compared to POLARITY at clause rank:

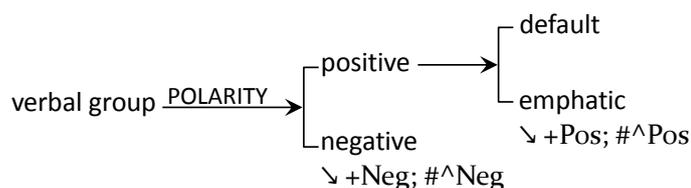


Figure 3.30 POLARITY network at group rank

3.4.3 Summary: multivariate structure of the verbal group

Thus far this section has been concerned with the systemic organisation of the verbal group and its consequences for the group's multivariate structure. More specifically, the focus has been on the simple verbal group, which here includes not only 'simple tenses', but also i) traditional 'compound tenses' (e.g. Alarcos, 1980b) and ii) 'canonical' modal 'periphrases' with *deber* and *poder*. Verbal group complexes covering a wide range of verbal 'periphrases', including those construing other 'modal', 'aspectual' and 'temporal' meanings, have been excluded from the present account (cf. Tornel Sala, 2001-2002).

Figure 3.31 below illustrates the multivariate structure of the Spanish verbal group:

Usted no me h-a dado un buen argumento
 You neg acc/ aux-2s/ give-prctp a good argument
 1s prs/ind

n.gr	v.gr				n.gr
	Neg	P-Cl	Fin	Event	
	neg	p.cl	aux	decir	
you	no you-have given me				a good argument

'You haven't given me a good argument'

Figure 3.31 Example of multivariate structure of the Spanish verbal group

The verbal group structure has been mainly explored as a configuration of distinct elements, each of which makes its own contribution to the whole (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.3). In simple tenses and non-modalised verbal groups, the Finite and the Event are conflated. If polarity markers are present, they occur before the Finite; if clitic elements are inserted, e.g. P-Clitic, V-Clitic or R-Clitic, they immediately precede the Finite³¹. The main possibilities for the internal structure of the (simple) verbal group are represented in Table 3.12 (verbal groups underlined):

³¹ The exception being in positive imperatives, Clitic functions can only follow the verb realising the Event as seen in section 3.3.1.1 above. Clitic functions are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, section 4.3.2.

vg multivariate structure	example
Finite/Event	<i>T-engo dos codificadores</i> 'I have two decoders'
Finite(/Modal) ^ Event	<i>¿H-a prendido el decodificador?</i> 'Have you switched on the decoder?'
(Neg ^) (Clitic ^) Finite (/Modal) ^ Event	<i>Usted (no) (me) h-a dado un buen argumento</i> 'You have(n't) given (me) a good argument'
(Neg ^) Finite(/Modal) ^ Event ^ Clitic	<i>No p-uedo prenderlo</i> 'I cannot switch it on'

Table 3.12 Multivariate structure of Spanish (simple) verbal group: main possibilities³²

3.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter the point of departure was a review of the discourse semantic patterns motivating the interpersonal grammar of Spanish 'from above'. This involved looking at the clause as the main resource for the basic negotiation of interactive roles (giving and demanding) and semiotic commodities (goods-&services and information) in dialogue. The view on clause arguability based on its interrelations with speech function variables has been complemented with a more dynamic analysis of the key clause resources put 'at risk' by speakers in dialogic exchanges. Based on Caffarel's analysis of the basic negotiatory structure of French (Caffarel, 2006), a discourse semantic Negotiator function has been proposed for Spanish to account for the interpersonal 'core' establishing the arguability status of the clause. The Negotiator groups within its domain key meanings routinely negotiated in dialogue through the Predicator, including modal responsibility and temporal and modal contrasts. Other elements that are relevant from an interpersonal point of view, such as Modal Adjuncts, are also part of this basic structure.

The chapter then moved to an axial description of lexicogrammatical systems in their own terms, beginning with an exploration of MOOD. Primary systemic features identified in the Spanish MOOD proved to be similar to those in other languages described in SFL (e.g. Caffarel, 1995; Halliday, 1984; Martin, 1990). Indeed, this generalisation derives from the interplay assumed between clause resources and basic speech functions: there is, first of all, a distinction between the realisation of proposals

³² See Appendix E for an exploratory interpretation of the univariate structure of the Spanish verbal group.

and propositions, represented by the first distinction between [indicative] and [imperative], and then a clear distinction between giving and demanding under [indicative], in the form of [informative] and [interrogative] features.

However, what ultimately motivates the establishment of MOOD features and their ordering in terms of delicacy in the present account is the patterns found in Spanish lexicogrammar. From an axial perspective, this has involved looking at the structural configurations both underlying and motivating contrasts within the domain of the clause. The specific ways in which interpersonal distinctions can be recognised in Spanish reveals important differences with the description of English and other Romance languages (Caffarel, 2006; Figueredo, 2010), which structural labels reflect.

The Predicator function, realised by the verbal group as a whole, emerges as the key resource in whose domain primary interpersonal contrasts are established. The presence and/or sequence of nominal groups in the syntagmatic arrangement of units of the Spanish clause does not have any crucial implications for underlying interpersonal systems, and thus the Predicator stands out as the ‘interpersonal nub’ of the clause, to the extent that it can realise a clause on its own.

The exploration of POLARITY at clause rank confirms the centrality of the Predicator. Within its domain, the arguability of the clause is also established in terms of [positive] and [negative] contrasts in unmarked cases. Negative prosodies of the dominating kind were shown to emanate mainly from the Predicator in cases of indefinite deixis, and alternatively from elements preceding the Predicator in clause initial position.

The importance of the Predicator in both MOOD and POLARITY systems ‘from around’ reinforces the view ‘from above’ whereby Spanish speakers exploit the verbal group as the main resource constituting the clause as a move in exchanges. Other clause resources that are not interpersonally relevant can be thus left aside, such as the traditional ‘subject’ of Spanish reference grammars, which cannot be justified here from an interpersonal perspective, as it can be, for example, in English.

The description of MOOD and POLARITY also showed the crucial contribution of resources down the rank scale, moving from the positioning of clitic elements within the verbal group to selections in word-rank systems, as embodied by the traditional ‘person(/number)’, ‘tense’ and ‘mood’ contrasts conflated in portmanteau inflectional

morphology. These contributions led to a more detailed exploration of verbal group systems that are relevant for interpersonal systems, crucially including FINITENESS and selections in personal, temporal and modal deixis. The exploration of verbal group systems has enabled a principled account of the multivariate structure of the verbal group, and its main configurational possibilities.

The approach proposed here contrasts with the usual view on ‘sentence modalities’, which often involves exclusively relying on morphological contrasts for the establishment of relevant distinctions. Such a traditional approach leaves out important higher-rank lexicogrammatical patterns that go beyond the selection of the specific ‘verbal moods’, including the positioning of clitics and the restrictions/possibilities for temporal contrasts. In this study, these patterns have been shown to allow relevant generalisations across a number of clause types. These generalisations tend to be overlooked for the excessive weight given to lower-level patterns, such as in the analysis of ‘true’ imperatives only on the grounds of a specific morphological selection (e.g. Alarcos, 1971).

In this respect, a top-down approach reveals itself more productive for the treatment of resources at lower-ranks when compared to approaches taking these resources in isolation. This seems particularly true in relation to morphological contrasts, which are otherwise difficult to relate to functionally motivated patterns. Hence, lower-level ‘syntagmic’ patterns have not been used on their own as the main source of grammatical evidence for clause distinctions, but they have been seen rather in light of their contribution to clause rank configurations.

On the other hand, (discourse) semantic considerations have here foregrounded the functional motivation of resources as deployed in texts, specifically in the context of the interactive negotiation of meanings. Interpersonal clause types are thus seen as motivated ‘from above’ by the Spanish speakers’ interactive needs, rather than in terms of underlying illocutionary forces at a different level of representation (e.g. Hengeveld, 1988). In this respect, the account proposed here not only establishes lexicogrammatical distinctions taking clause patterns rather than word-types or morphological distinctions as the point of departure, but it also attempts to systematically distinguish between discourse semantic resources and lexicogrammatical ones, each organised into systems at different strata within the domain of different units, that of text and clause, respectively.

Axial argumentation has ultimately allowed a principled account of the inter- and intrastratal relations at stake in the interpersonal organisation of Spanish grammar. It has also enabled a more systematic motivation of systemic and structural labels, going beyond those labels available in the description of the English interpersonal component.

The next chapter turns to the exploration of Spanish lexicogrammar from the point of view of the experiential component. The description is centred on those resources available for the linguistic construal of the internal and external experience of the world.

Chapter 4

Spanish Experiential Grammar

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the experiential lexicogrammar of Spanish. The clause will be examined from the perspective of the experiential component within the ideational metafunction, which is concerned with resources used by speakers to construe their external and internal experience of the world.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section offers an interstratal perspective on the experiential grammar of Spanish. Clause configurations are seen as realising discourse semantic figures construing very general domains of experience. These figures are congruently realised by distinct clause patterns in Spanish lexicogrammar, including major material, mental and relational process types. A general overview of experiential clause configurations is provided.

The second section takes a closer look to the structural resources available across experiential configurations. An interpretation of their orbital structure is first provided based on specific patterns in the Spanish clause. Generalised clause functions are set up, moving from elements that are clearly nuclear in nature, to more marginal elements showing borderline characteristics between nuclear and peripheral functions. The section then moves to a more detailed account of verbal group systems that are relevant to experiential clause configurations, including NUCLEARITY and VOICE.

The third section sharpens the focus, homing in on the cryptogrammar of mental processes. Key grammatical patterns motivating [mental] as a systemic feature are examined. At a primary degree on delicacy, the description is centred on the nature of inherent participant roles, their relations with different kinds of phenomenality and the configurational relations they enter into. The section then moves on to more delicate choices defining basic mental subtypes, including the specific patterns construing perception, reaction and cognition. Towards the end of this section, the potential for additional participants is reviewed in relation to each subtype.

4.2 Experiential meanings ‘from above’: interstratal relations

The experiential component within the ideational metafunction refers to semiotic resources speakers draw upon to actively construct and make sense of the world outside

and inside them. From an SFL perspective, the description of experiential systems deals with the potential available within language for the *semiotic* construal of experience. This contrasts with perspectives on the ‘representational’ function of language that relate extrinsically to phenomena in the ‘real world’ – for example, in the form of a truth semantics; it also differs from approaches distinguishing between semiotic and cognitive experience as separate orders of reality (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999).

In practice, when looking ‘from above’, SFL assumes that there are at least three basic experiential domains: ‘doing & happening’, ‘sensing’ and ‘being & having’. Each of these domains represent discourse semantic **figures** sorted out by lexicogrammar as distinct clause configurations conceptualised as **process types**. In the SFL literature, major process types have been referred to, respectively, as material, mental and relational processes (Davidse, 1991; Halliday, 1968, 1969/1976; Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999). The congruent interstratal relation between figures and process types is represented graphically in Figure 4.1 below

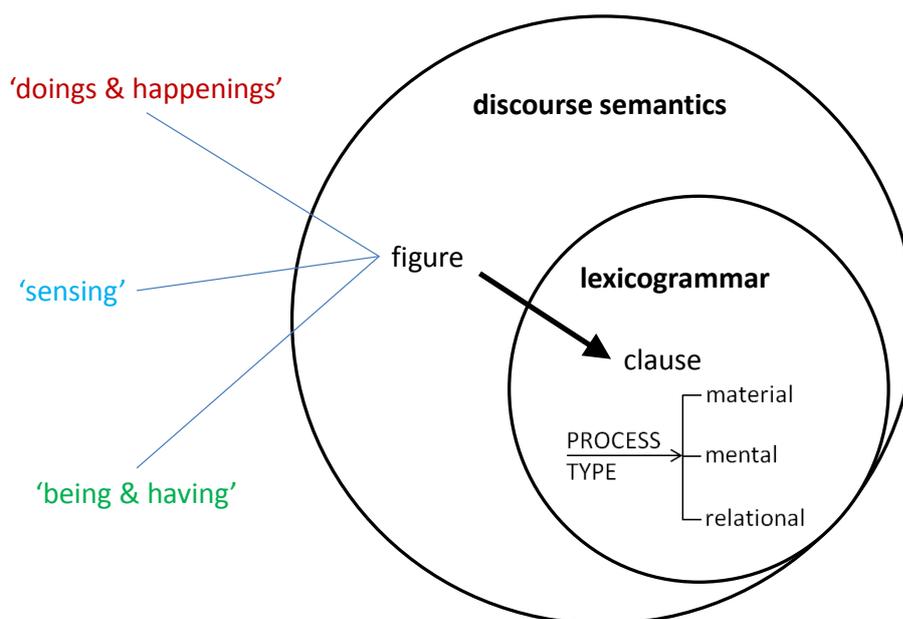


Figure 4.1 Basic figures and their typical realisation in the grammar of PROCESS TYPES (based on Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999)

Interstratal relations thus involve configurations at different strata. At the level of discourse semantics, figures concern events or states along with associated entities – *congruently* realised by clause configurations in lexicogrammar, minimally involving a Process and associated Participants. This congruent interplay is illustrated in Figure 4.2 below:

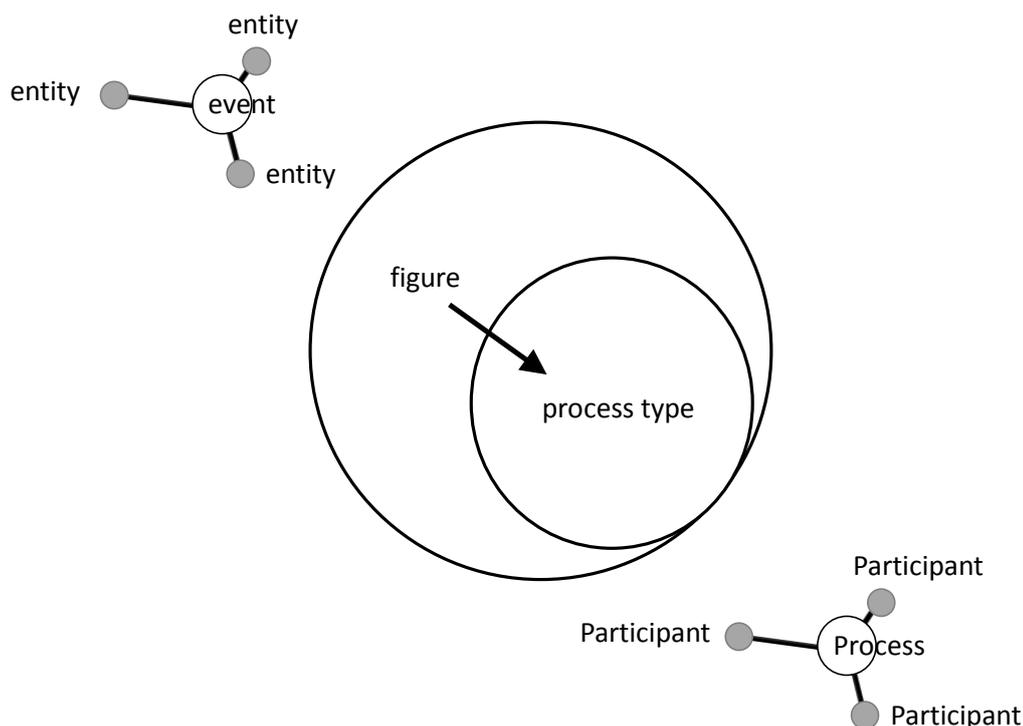


Figure 4.2 Congruent interplay of configurations across strata

Distinct figures in discourse semantics are motivated by the specific configurational relations they embody in major experiential clause types. As discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3.2.2, lexicogrammatical patterns motivating these experiential types involve a kind of complexity that differs from interpersonal clause types (see Chapter 3).

Experiential types are shaped by sets of configurational relations within the domain of the clause. Clause patterns grouped within a given set allow the systematic establishment of a given process type as systemic feature; but the intersections of some of these patterns across sets relate process types as more or less ‘alike’ with respect to one or more criteria. This relatedness defines experiential *regions* in which ‘core’ and ‘peripheral’ areas can be recognised within a topological ‘space’ (Martin & Matthiessen, 1991, p. 371). Figure 4.3 below, from Martin (1996a), attempts to capture these relations diagrammatically:

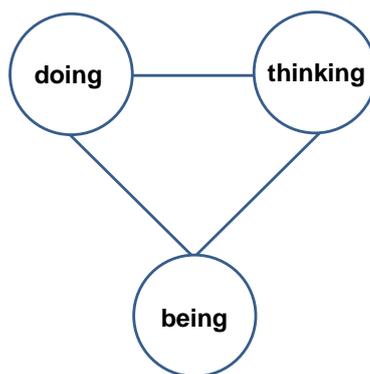


Figure 4.3 Topological space for experiential types (cf. Martin, 1996a, p. 367)

This implies that interstratal relations are much richer than the previous diagram in Figure 4.3 above may have suggested. Davidse (1991), in her fine-grained and comprehensive account of the experiential grammar of English, has suggested that configurational patterns ascribed to specific process types in descriptive work can be seen as ‘prototypically’ realising distinct figures (cf. Martin, 1996a, p. 366ff). In her view, interstratal relations can be considered in terms of ‘core’ and ‘transitional’ areas: figures relate to lexicogrammatical patterns that are distinct enough at the core, but which may shade into one another at the edges (cf. Halliday, 1969/1976, p. 161). Davidse (1991) exemplifies this by looking at different clause types in English lexicogrammar, all of which have in common the construal of ‘sensing’ figures:

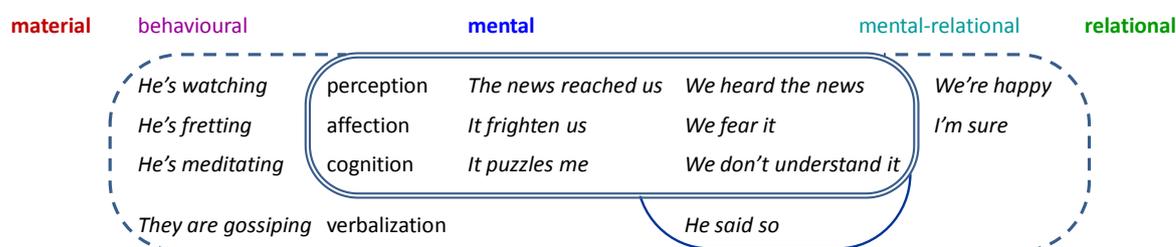


Figure 4.4 Realisation of sensing in the lexicogrammar of English (adapted from Davidse, 1991, p. 284)

As seen in the figure above, English mental processes and the clause patterns that have been specifically associated with them in descriptive work (e.g. Halliday 1994), are located at the core of the discourse semantics of ‘sensing’. However, other clause types in English depart from this core, sharing patterns with the grammar of material and relational processes – namely the configurations described as behavioural and (mental-)relationals in English (Davidse, 1991). One implication is that, as the description becomes more fine-grained and comprehensive, transitional areas departing from the ‘prototype’ give way to more delicate generalisations concerning ‘minor’

subtypes – for example the ones proposed for English, and positioned as behavioural, existential and verbal processes (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

The three basic discourse semantic figures proposed in this study as a starting point constitute very general assumptions for the exploration of experiential clause patterns in any given language. Ultimately, however, major process types prototypically realising each of these basic figures are here motivated by the specific structural patterns found in Spanish. In this sense, process types are assumed to be comparable across languages only to the extent that they are located at high degrees of delicacy in systemic description, and language-specific structural patterns explicitly show *how* they shape, *linguistically*, discourse semantic domains. In other words, distinct configurations recognised and labelled as material, mental and relational clause types relate to broad discourse semantic generalisations provided that they are grounded on specific clause patterns.

The full extent to which experiential interstratal relations are established in Spanish is beyond the scope of this study. Specifically, this section focuses on ‘core’ patterns motivating general experiential distinctions; that is, it deals with prototypical generalisations for the recognition of broad experiential clause types.

Before looking at the major clause configurations sorting out experience in Spanish, the labelling used in this study to refer to discourse semantic categories and lexicogrammatical ones needs to be further clarified. The notion of figure here specifically refers to configurations of discourse semantic elements, including events or states, entities, and optionally their setting in time, place, manner, etc. Conversely, the notion of process type refers to clause configurations which structurally consist of a Process, one or more Participants and attending Circumstances. Since the latter labels specifically refer to lexicogrammatical functions in clause structure, they are thus represented with initial uppercase letters. This approach differs from, for example, Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) , who do not exploit labelling conventions to distinguish resources across strata. The naming strategy used in this thesis, including generalised and specific components, is summarised in Table 4.1 below:

	discourse semantics	lexicogrammar
configuration	figure	process type (clause configuration) - material, mental, relational (clause class)
element	event or state	Process (function)
	entity	Participant (generalised function) - Actor, Senser, Carrier, etc.
	circumstance	Circumstance (generalised function) - Location, Manner, Cause, etc.

Table 4.1 Experiential labels: interstratal distinctions

From an axial perspective the congruent interstratal interactions assumed in this study concern lexicogrammatical features at the highest degree of delicacy, which are the ones that can be related more directly to systems of figures in discourse semantics. This axial interaction across strata is represented in Figure 4.5 below:

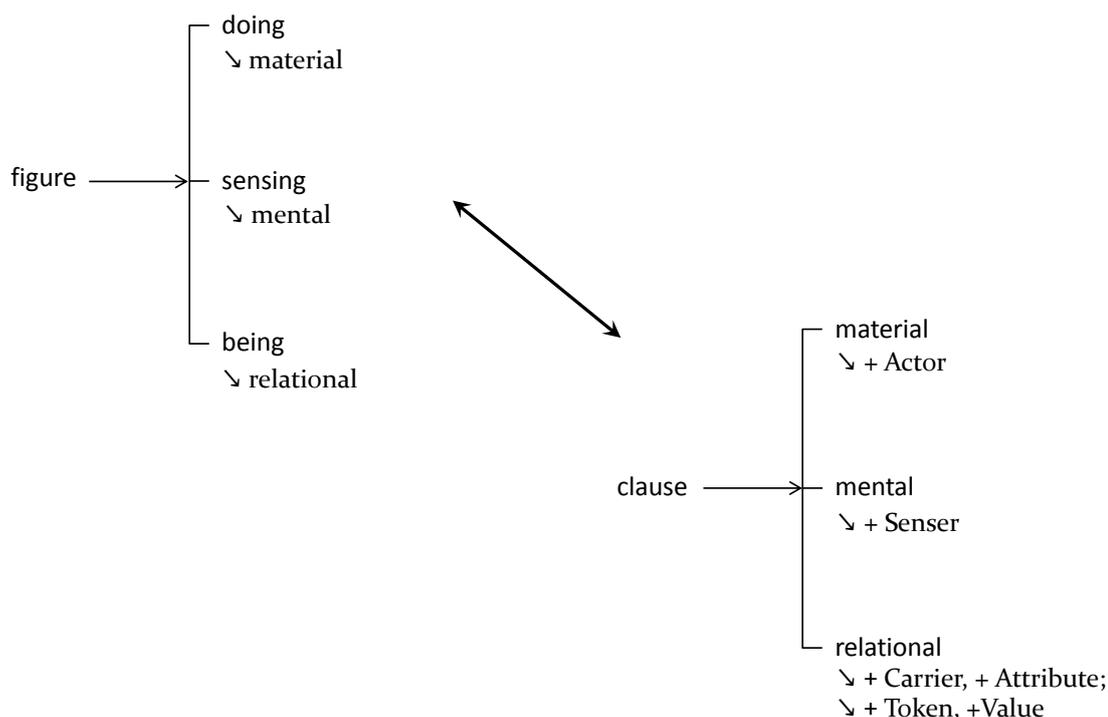


Figure 4.5 Congruent interstratal relations between basic experiential systems

The following subsections explore the Spanish clause as an experiential resource. The first subsection introduces the lexicogrammatical resources available for the realisation of discourse semantic events and related entities, along with their setting in time, place and manner. The second subsection provides an overview of major process types, along with specific function labels and configurational relations.

4.2.1 Construing experience in Spanish texts

The following text construes the experience of torture, as recalled in the spoken testimony provided by a speaker who was detained in the early stages of the 1973 military coup in Chile¹. It can be analysed as belonging to a story genre, in particular, a recount – arguably developing into an exemplum (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 49ff). Ranking clauses are listed underneath one another – except for clause (t), whose embedded clause is arranged in a separate line. In the first instance, components parts are analysed only in terms of classes at group/phrase rank²:

SPANISH ORIGINAL	ENGLISH VERSION						
<p>a. <i>Cuando a uno le peg-an</i> when to one dat/ hit-3p/ 3s prs/ind</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="416 831 663 931"> <tr> <td>conj</td> <td>(ad) n. gr</td> <td>v. gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>When</td> <td>one</td> <td>they-hit one</td> </tr> </table>	conj	(ad) n. gr	v. gr	When	one	they-hit one	<p>'When they hit you,'</p>
conj	(ad) n. gr	v. gr					
When	one	they-hit one					
<p>b. <i>y lo tortur-an,</i> and acc/ torture-3p/ 3s prs/ind</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="360 1043 552 1111"> <tr> <td>conj</td> <td>v.gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>and</td> <td>they-torture one</td> </tr> </table>	conj	v.gr	and	they-torture one	<p>'and they torture you,'</p>		
conj	v.gr						
and	they-torture one						
<p>c. <i>lo fr-iegan</i> acc/ bug-3p/ 3s prs/ind</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="304 1223 472 1290"> <tr> <td>v. gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>they-bug you</td> </tr> </table>	v. gr	they-bug you	<p>'and they bug you,'</p>				
v. gr							
they-bug you							
<p>d. <i>y le pregunt-an cosas,</i> and dat/ ask-3p/ prs/ind things 3s</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="360 1402 663 1469"> <tr> <td>conj</td> <td>v.gr</td> <td>n.gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>and</td> <td>they-ask one</td> <td>things</td> </tr> </table>	conj	v.gr	n.gr	and	they-ask one	things	<p>'and they ask you things,'</p>
conj	v.gr	n.gr					
and	they-ask one	things					
<p>e. <i>uno transpir-a mucho,</i> one perspire-3s/ much prs/ind</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="304 1581 632 1648"> <tr> <td>n. gr</td> <td>v. gr</td> <td>adv. gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>one</td> <td>one-perspires</td> <td>much</td> </tr> </table>	n. gr	v. gr	adv. gr	one	one-perspires	much	<p>'you perspire a lot,'</p>
n. gr	v. gr	adv. gr					
one	one-perspires	much					
<p>f. <i>se empap-a, entero</i> soak-3s/ prs/ind entire</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="304 1738 568 1805"> <tr> <td>v.gr</td> <td>n.gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>one-soaks</td> <td>entire</td> </tr> </table>	v.gr	n.gr	one-soaks	entire	<p>'you soak, all of you.'</p>		
v.gr	n.gr						
one-soaks	entire						

¹ Text transcribed from the documentary film *Estadio Nacional* (2002), directed by C.L. Parot (see References).

² See Appendix A for the interlinear glossing conventions and abbreviations used in examples throughout.

g. *También, no solo transpir-a,*

also not only perspire-3s/
prs/ind

adv gr (conj)	adv.gr	v. gr
also,	not only	one-perspires

'Also, not only you do perspire,'

h. *saliv-a*

salivate-3s/
prs/ind

v. gr
one-salivates

'you salivate,'

i. *las mucosidades sal-en,*

the mucosities come_out-3p/
prs/ind

n. gr	v. gr
the mucosities	come out

'mucous comes out,'

j. *le cuest-a [[respirar]]*

dat/ cost-3s/ [[to breathe]]
3s prs/ind

v. gr.	[[clause]]
it-costs one	[[to breathe]]

'you struggle to breathe.'

k. *Entonces me d-ieron un periodo de descanso,*

then dat/ give-3p/ a period of rest,
1s pst/ind

adv gr (conj)	v. gr	n. gr
then	they-gave me	a period of rest

'So they gave me a break,'

l. *que también ellos lo aprovech-an.*

that also they acc/ take_advantage-
3s 3p/prs/ind

conj	adv. gr (conj)	n. gr	v. gr
that	also	they	they-take_advantage(of) it

'which they also benefit from.'

m. *En el intertanto, aparec-e un médico,*

In the meantime, appear-3s a physician
/prs/ind

adv.gr (conj)	v. gr	n. gr
In the meantime,	it-appears	a physician

'In the meantime, a physician appears,'

n. *generalmente uno no le pued-e ver la vista*

generally one neg dat/ can-3s/ see-inf the sight
3s prs/ind

adv. gr	n.gr	v. gr	n. gr
generally	one	no one-can see him	the sight

'in general, you cannot see his eyes'

o. *porque est-á vendado,*

because be-3s/ blindfolded
prs/ind

conj	v.gr	n. gr
because	one-is	blindfolded

'because you're blindfolded,'

p. *una vez que entr-a a [la cámara de tortura],*

once that enter-3s/ to [the chamber of torture]
prs/ind

conj.gr	v. gr	p. phr
once that	one-enters	to [the chamber of torture]

'once you enter the torture chamber,'

q. *uno tien-e vendada la vista.*

one have-3s/ blinfolded the sight
prs/ind

n. gr	v. gr (complex)	n. gr
one	one-has blinfolded	the sight

'you have your eyes blindfolded.'

r. *Entonces se te examin-a,*

then se-cl dat/ examine-3s/
2s prs/ind

adv. gr (conj)	v. gr
Then	(someone) examines you

'Then, they examine you,'

s. *t-engo entendido => β*

have-1s/ understand-
psr/ind prtcp

v.gr (complex)
I-get understood

'I understand

t. *que d-aba el visto bueno*

that give-3s/ the checked good
pst.impf

lk	v. gr	n. gr
that	(he) gave	the approval

'β that he would give his approval

(de) [[*que uno resist-ía otra sesión de tortura*]],

(of) that one resist-3s/
pst.impf other session of torture

lk	n. gr	v.gr	n. gr
[[that	one	one-resisted	other session of torture]]

'[[that one would resist another torture session]].'

u. *Y entonces en el intertanto yo mir-é a través de...*

and then in the meantime I look-1s/
pst/ind through...

conj	adv.gr (conj)	adv. gr (conj)	n. gr	v.gr	p. phr
And	then	in the meantime	I	I-looked	through

'And then in the meantime I looked through...

v. *no me hab-ían puesto bien la vendita,*

neg dat/ aux-3p/ put-prtcp well the blindfold
1s pst/ind

v. gr	adv. gr	n. gr.
no they-had put me	well	the blindfold

'they hadn't put the blindfold properly on me,'

w. *mir-é por debajo así*

look-1s/ by underneath thus
pst/ind

v. gr	adv. gr	adv. gr
I-looked	underneath	like this

'I looked underneath like this,'

x. *y distingu-í dos gallos, las caras de ellos*

and distinguish-1s/ two guys, the faces of they
pst/ind

conj	v.g	n. gr (complex)
and	I-distinguished	two guys, the faces of them

'and I distinguished two guys, their faces,'

y. *pero les escuch-é [[lo que conversab-an]]*

but dat/ listen-1s/ what converse-3p/pst.impf
3p pst/ind

conj	v. gr	[[clause]]
but	I-listened them	[[what they were talking about]]

'but I heard from them [[what they were talking about]],'

z. *y uno de ellos le dec-ía*

and one of they dat/ say-3s/
3s pst.impf

conj	n. gr	v.gr
and	one of them	he-said him

'and one of them said to the other'

aa. *"v-amos a hacer-le un repaso, un repaso suave, así, rápido, a este gallo*

go-3p/ lk do-inf dat/ a going_over, a going_over soft, thus, quick, to this guy
prs/ind 3s

v. gr (complex)	n. gr. (complex, elaborating)	(ad) n. gr
we-are going to do him	a going over, a light going over, like quick	to this guy

"'we're going to go over, lightly, kind of quickly, this guy'

bb. *porque" - le d-ijo -*

because dat/ say-3s/
3s prs/ind

conj	v. gr
because"	he-said him

'because" - he said to him -'

cc. *"a las cinco veinte me est-á esperando*

at [five twenty] dat/ be-3s/ wait-grnd
1s prs/ind

p. phr	v.gr (complex)
"at [five twenty]	s/he-is waiting me

"'at five twenty (she) is waiting for me'

dd. *desde [las cinco veinte] me v-a a esperar, en [la puerta del Rex], mi mujer*

from [the five twenty] dat/go-3s/lk wait-inf at [the door of the Rex] my wife
1s prs

p. phr	v. gr	p. phr	n. gr
from [five twenty]	s/he-go to wait me	at [the door of the Rex]	my wife

'from 5:20 my wife is going to wait for me at the gate of the cinema'

ee. *porque v-amos a ir a ver 'El Padrino'*

because go-3s/ lk go- lk see-inf The Godfather
prs/ind inf

conj	v. gr	n. gr
because	we-are go to go to see	'The Godfather''

'because we're going to go to see 'The Godfather''.'

ff. *O sea, él ten-ía perfectamente separadas las cosas,*

that is, he have-3s/ perfectly separate- the things
pst.impf prctp

conj	n. gr	v.g (co...)	adv. gr	...mplex)	n. gr
That is,	he	he-had	perfectly	separated	the things

'That is, he had things perfectly separated,'

gg. *él me peg-aba hasta [las cinco y cuarto]*

he dat/ hit-3s/ until [the five and quarter]
1s pst.impf

n. gr	v. gr	p. phr
he	hit (me)	until [quarter past five]

'he would hit me until quarter past five'

hh. *a [las cinco y cuarto] part-ía*

at the five and quarter leave-3s/
pst.impf/ind

p. phr	v. gr
at [quarter past five]	he-would-leave

'at quarter past five he would be off'

ii. *y a las cinco veinte se encontr-aba con [su mujer].*

and at the five twenty rfl meet-3s/
pst.impf/ind with [his wife]

conj	p. phr	v. gr	p. phr
and	at [five twenty]	he-would-meet	with [his wife]

'and at five twenty he would meet with his wife.'

Table 4.2 Experiential elements in clause configurations³

The experience construed by the speaker in this text deals for the most part with events taking place in the physical world. Most of these events concern people, portrayed as the main 'characters' in the sequence of 'goings on'. The initial stage of the story, construed from clauses (a) to (j), establishes its Orientation (Martin & Rose, 2008). This stage can be used to illustrate how lexicogrammatical resources are deployed to introduce and construe two main generic entities in the story: 'the tortured one' and 'the torturers':

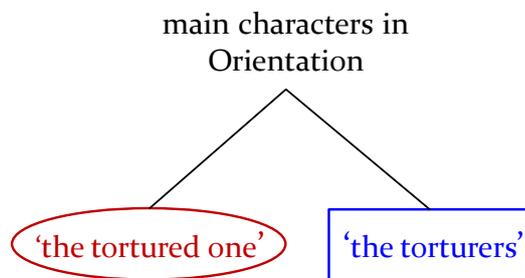


Figure 4.6 Main characters in Orientation stage

From a lexicogrammatical perspective, these two main generic characters are construed as Participant roles involved in events construed as Processes, as the analysis shows in Figure 4.7 below:

³ See Appendix A for glossing conventions and abbreviations.

a. *cuando* *a uno* *le peg-an*
 when to one dat/3s hit-3p/prs

Participant₃	Process/P₁
n. gr	v. gr

'when they hit one'

b. *y lo tortur-an*
 and acc/3s torture-3p/prs

P₂/Process/P₁
v. gr

conj. 'and they torture one'

c. *lo fr-ieg-an*
 acc/3s bug-3p/prs

P₂/Process/P₁
v. gr

'they bug one'

d. *y le pregunt-an cosas,*
 and dat/3s ask-3p/prs things

P₃/Process/P₁	Part₂
v. gr	n. gr

conj. 'and they ask you things'

e. *uno transpi-a mucho*
 one perspire-3s/prs much

Part₁	Process	Circ
n. gr	v. gr	adv. gr

'one perspires a lot'

f. *se empap-a, entero*
 soak-3s/prs entire

Process/P₁	Range
v. gr	n. gr

'one soaks, all of one'

g. *también no solo transpi-a*
 also not only perspire-3s/prs

Process/P₁
v. gr

adv. gr adv. gr 'also, not only one perspires'

h. *saliv-a*
 salivate-3s/prs

Process/P₁
v. gr

'one salivates'

i. *las mucosidades sal-en,*
 the mucous come_out-3p/prs

P₁	Process
n. gr	v. gr.

'the mucous comes out'

j. *le cuest-a [[respirar]]*
 dat/ be_hard- [[to breathe]]
 3s 3s/prs

P₃/Process	Part₁
v. gr	[[clause]]

'it's hard for one [[to breathe]]'

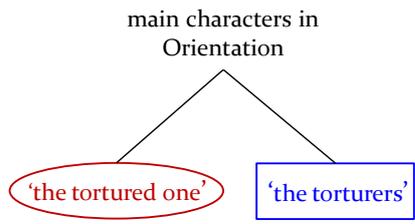


Figure 4.7 Main characters of Orientation as Participants involved in Processes

In the above analysis, some Participants are identified as more centrally involved than others, depending on the configuration at stake. This degree of involvement, at this point, is represented by general labels going from the most central – Participant₁ (P₁) – to the least central – Participant₃ (P₃).

The first thing that becomes apparent in the structural analysis is that Participants in Spanish may be realised by resources distributed at different points along the rank scale: at clause rank, they may be realised by nominal groups (or embedded clauses); they can also be realised at group rank by pronominal clitics; and at word rank they can be realised by contrasts in person in inflectional morphology. In fact, resources along the rank scale may be co-selected simultaneously. Selections across ranks are illustrated in Figure 4.8 below:

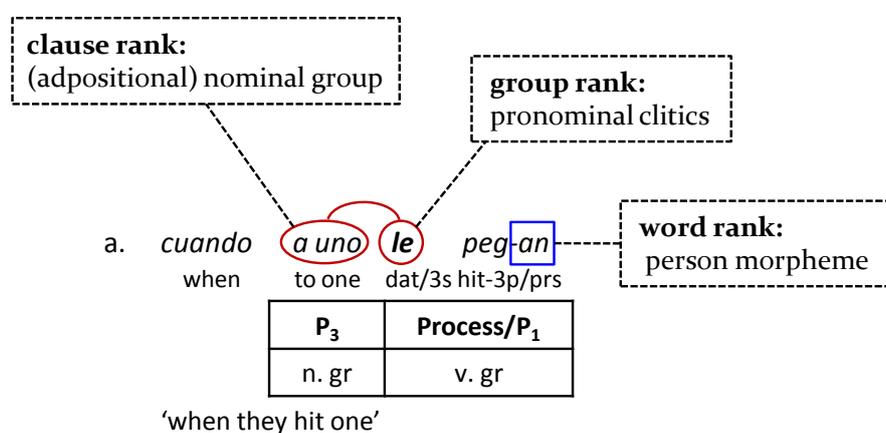


Figure 4.8 Resources for the realisation of Participants along the rank scale

As discussed in Chapter 3, all finite clauses necessarily involve a modally responsible element which, from an experiential point of view, is here analysed as the element most directly involved in the unfolding of the Process of active clauses, that is, Participant₁ (P₁). This experiential element may be realised solely by selections in PERSON in the verbal inflection, as illustrated in selected clauses below:

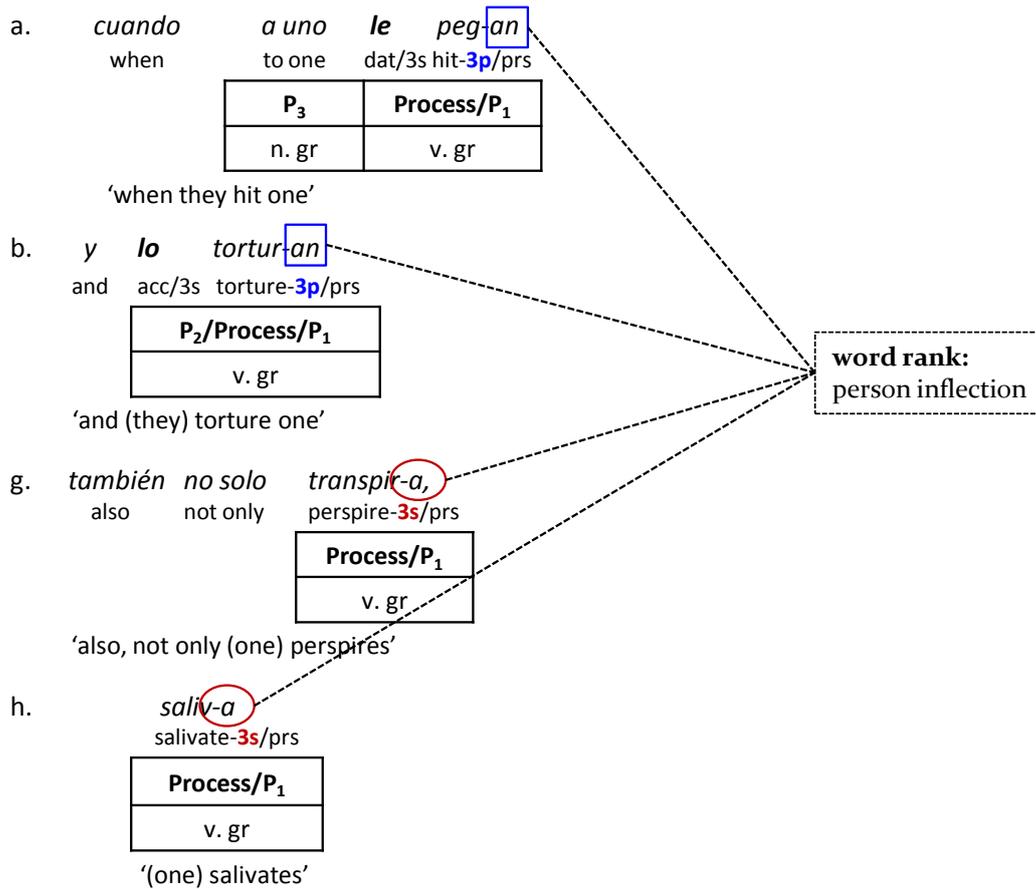


Figure 4.9 Participants realised by word-rank selections

Other non-modally responsible Participants, P₂ and P₃, may be realised by pronominal clitics, either accusative or dative, within the verbal group:

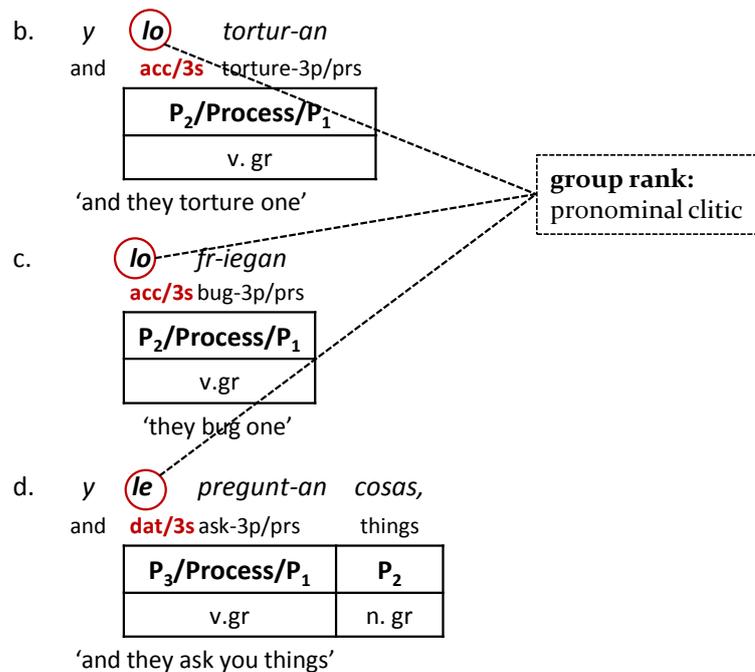


Figure 4.10 Participants realised by pronominal clitics at group rank

This suggests that the Spanish verbal group may realise a minimal experiential configuration on its own. In such cases, as shown in the above examples, Participants are labelled in structure as conflated (/) with the Process – e.g. Process/P₁, P₂/Process/P₁, etc.

However, resources within the verbal group may co-refer to nominal groups, either lexicalised or pronominalised, at clause rank. In such cases, a Participant is realised jointly by co-selections along the rank scale, as illustrated in Figure 4.11 below, where the verb inflection co-refers to the nominal group *uno*:

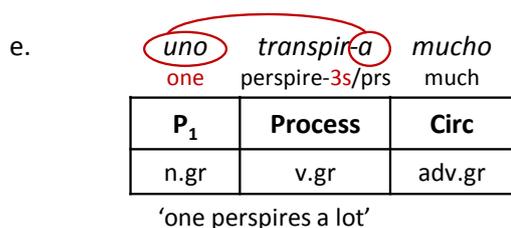


Figure 4.11 Co-selection of person morphology and co-referential nominal group

In these cases, the structural function is assigned to the constituent at the highest rank, that is, the (adpositional) nominal group at clause rank. Co-selections along the rank scale are not limited to P₁ in Spanish: they may also occur in the realisation of P₂ and P₃, in a phenomenon traditionally known in descriptive work as ‘clitic doubling’:

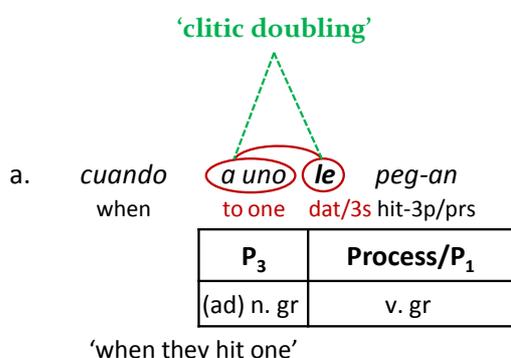


Figure 4.12 Co-selection of co-referential pronominal elements across ranks

Clause (a) in the above figure shows the realisation of the same Participant, P₃, by means of co-referential third person dative clitic and (adpositional) nominal group⁴. As discussed by Belloro (2007), this kind of ‘doubled’ realisation is a unique feature of Spanish and Romanian among Romance languages, contrasting with the so-called ‘dislocation constructions’ of French and Italian (pp. 50-51, 61). ‘Dislocated’ clause

⁴ See section 4.3.1 below for a more detail discussion of adpositional nominal groups in Spanish.

constituents are regularly realised through a separate tone group, and are arguably realised outside the experiential structure of the clause they orient a listener/reader to:

Jean-Paul l'aimée, Simone (Belloro, 2007, p. 7)
 'Jean Paul has loved her, Simone'

Caffarel (2006) analyses such elements in French as Absolute Theme (textual structure), rather than a Participant in experiential clause structure (2006, p. 127ff):

Jean-Paul l'aimée, Simone (after Caffarel, 2006)

P ₁	P ₂	Pro		experiential
Theme	Rheme		Absolute Theme (Th-re)	textual

'Jean Paul has loved her, Simone'

Such 'dislocated' elements are motivated by the textual, not the experiential organisation of the clause. In contrast, 'clitic doubling' involves simultaneous selections across ranks within the same experiential structure. This means, among other things, that constituents at stake are part of the same clause and the same tone group (i.e. with unmarked selections in TONICITY and TONALITY, cf. Halliday & Greaves, 2008).

Resources for the realisation of Spanish Participants are summarised in Table 4.3 below:

NUCLEAR EXPERIENTIAL ELEMENTS	Participants		
	1	2	3
person morphology at word-rank	√	--	--
pronominal clitic at group rank	--	accusative	dative
co-referentiality across ranks	√	√	√

Table 4.3 Spanish Participants and degrees of nuclearity

In sum, P₁ corresponds to the Participant assigned modal responsibility in the interpersonal structure of the Spanish (active) clause, and it may be co-referential with a nominal group at clause rank. In addition, the less centrally involved P₂ and P₃ may or may not involve co-selections at group and clause rank. In fact, there are three possibilities: they may be solely realised within the verbal group, as P-Clitics (accusative clitic for P₂, or dative clitic for P₃); they may be realised at clause rank only,

by (adpositional) nominal groups; or they may be realised by selections at both ranks simultaneously (see further discussion in section 4.3 below).

Experiential clause resources reviewed thus far concern Process-Participant configurations that are **nuclear** in nature. However, more **peripheral** elements may expand ‘goings on’ in different ways. In the above text, nuclear configurations are indeed further specified, at different points, by different kinds of Circumstances. These are re-introduced in examples (1)-(5) below:

- (1) *uno transpir-a mucho,*

one perspire-3s/ much
prs/ind

P ₁	Process	Circ: Manner
n. gr	v. gr	adv. gr
one	perspires	much

‘one perspires a lot’

- (2) *no me hab-ían puesto bien la vendita,*

neg dat/ 1s aux-3p/ put-prctp well the blindfold
pst/ind

P ₃ /Process/P ₁	Circ: Manner	P ₂
v. gr	adv. gr	n. gr.
no they-had put me	well	the blindfold

‘(they) hadn’t put the blindfold properly on me’

- (3) *desde [las cinco veinte] me v-a a esperar, en [la puerta del Rex], mi mujer*

from [the five twenty] dat/ go-3s/ lk wait-inf at [the door of the Rex] my wife
1s prs/ind

Circ: Location: time	P ₂ /Process	Circ: Location: place	P ₁
prep. phrase	v. gr	prep. phrase	n. gr
from [five twenty]	s/he-go to wait _{me}	at [the door of the Rex]	my wife

‘from five twenty my wife is going to wait for me at the gate of the cinema’

- (4) *O sea, él ten-ía perfectamente separadas las cosas*

that is, he have-3s/ perfectly separate- the things
pst.impf prctp

	P ₁	Pro..	Circ: Manner	..cess	P ₂
conj	n. gr	v.g (co...	adv. gr	...mplex)	n. gr
That is,	he	he-had	perfectly	separated	the things

‘he had things perfectly separated’

- (5) *a [las cinco y cuarto] part-ía*

at the five and quarter leave-3s/
pst.impf/ind

Circ: Location (time)	Process/P ₁
p. phr	v. gr
at [quarter past five]	he-would-leave

‘at quarter past five he would be off’

Circumstantial elements in the above examples specify ‘goings on’ in terms of Location in place or time in (3) and (5); or in terms of Manner in (1), (2) and (4). In

Spanish, Circumstances are typically realised by prepositional phrases, as seen in (3) and (5), and adverbial groups, as seen in (1), (2) and (4). However, they may also be realised by nominal groups, as in the following examples:

(3') *el próximo lunes me v-a a esperar mi mujer*

the next Monday dat/ go-3s/ lk wait-inf my wife
1s prs/ind

Location: time	Part ₂ /Process	P ₁
n. gr	v. gr	n. gr
the next Monday	she-go to wait me	my wife

'next Monday my wife is going to wait for me'

(5') *todas las tardes part-ía*

all afternoons leave-3s/
pst.impf/ind

Location: time	Process/P ₁
n. gr	v. gr
all the afternoons	he-would-leave

'every afternoon he would be off'

The peripheral status of Circumstances can be recognised by a number of key patterns. Firstly, Circumstances cannot be cliticised as Participants in Spanish; accordingly, they cannot be at stake in clitic doubling. They also differ from Participants in the range of substitute forms, since these resources in the case of Circumstances typically include non-pronominal pro-forms, such as *allí-ahí* ('there'), *ahora* ('now'), *entonces* ('then') and *así* ('thus'). This contrasts with Participants, which can be referred to through the wide range of pro-nominal forms at clause and group rank (see section 4.3.1 below).

Table 4.4 below summarises the resources typically contributing to the realisation of different experiential elements in Spanish configurations, either nuclear or peripheral:

	experiential function	typically realised by rank: class
nuclear	Process	clause: verbal group
	Participant	clause: nominal group group: pronominal clitic word: verb 'person' morphology
peripheral	Circumstance	clause: prepositional phrase, adverbial group, nominal group

Table 4.4 Experiential components and realisations by typical classes in Spanish

As seen thus far, Participants are not necessarily realised by constituents at clause rank, as it is the case in other languages – for instance, in English and French (Caffarel, 2006; Halliday, 1994). Indeed, as seen in the text analysed above, a full nuclear experiential configuration may be minimally realised within the scope of the verbal group alone, where the sequence of elements is rather fixed (see section 4.3.2 below). Further, when Participants are realised at clause rank by means of nominal groups, their relative sequence does not play *per se* any role in experiential structure, as will be seen in the following subsection.

4.2.2 Experiential domains: an overview of Spanish process types

Beyond the generalised labels reviewed in the previous subsection, the specific configurational relations among elements in structure allows the establishment of distinct clause types, each of them associated with specific experiential functions.

Material processes, congruently associated with figures of ‘doing and happening’, typically construe the unfolding of dynamic events in the world outside the consciousness of human beings. They involve two general subtypes: processes construing ‘doings’ and processes construing ‘happenings’. ‘Doings’ involve an Actor initiating the Process as a ‘doer’, which in example (6) below is realised by selections in modally responsible PERSON in an active clause:

(6) *(uno) entr-a a [la cámara de tortura]*

one enter-3s/ prs/ind to [the chamber of torture]

Pro/Actor	Circ
v. gr	p. phr
one- enters	(to) [the chamber of torture]

‘(one) enters the torture chamber’

Characteristically, material clauses realising ‘doings’ may include an additional Participant, the Goal – a ‘done-to’ being somehow impacted upon (changed, created, destroyed, displaced, touched, etc.) by the unfolding of the Process. In examples (7) and (8) below, the Goal is realised by a pronominal clitic⁵:

⁵ See Appendix A for abbreviations used in structural representations.

- (7) *se te examin-a,*
 se-cl dat/ examine-3s/prs-
 2s ind

Goal/Process/Actor
v. gr
(someone) examines-you

'They examine you'

- (8) *él me peg-aba hasta [las cinco y cuarto]*
 he dat/ hit-3s/ until [the five and quarter]
 1s pst.impf

Ac	Goal/Process	Circ
n. gr	v. gr	prep. phrase
he	hit (me)	until [quarter past five]

'He would hit me until quarter past five'

In the material subtype realising 'happenings', there can only be Actor that is not a 'doer' but rather an 'undergoer', as shown in examples (9) and (10) below:

- (9) *(uno) no solo transpir-a,*
 (one) not only perspire-3s/prs

M.Adj	Process/Actor
adv.gr	v. gr
not only	(one) perspires

'One not only perspires'

- (10) *En el intertanto, aparec-e un médico*
 In the meantime, appear-3s/ a physician
 prs/ind

	Process	Actor
adv.gr (conj)	v. gr	n. gr
In the meantime,	appears	a physician

'In the meantime, a physician appears'

The distinction between 'doings' and 'happenings' in Spanish material clauses can be probed by means of the pro-verbs *pasar* ('happen') or *hacer* ('do') respectively, as illustrated in Table 4.5 below:

<i>¿Qué pasa?</i> 'What happens?'	– <i>Aparec-e un médico</i> – 'A physician appears'	material: happening
<i>¿Qué te pasa?</i> 'What happens to you?'	– <i>Uno transpir-a mucho.</i> – 'One perspires a lot'	material: happening
<i>¿Qué te hacía?</i> 'What would he do to you?'	– <i>Me peg-aba hasta las cinco y cuarto.</i> – 'He would hit me until quarter past five'	material: doing
<i>¿Qué te hacen?</i> 'What do they do to you?'	– <i>Se te examina</i> ⁶ – 'They examine you'	material: doing
<i>¿Qué hace uno?</i> 'What does one do?'	– <i>Uno entr-a a la cámara de tortura</i> – 'One enters the torture chamber'	material: doing

Table 4.5 Pro-verbs associated to material subtypes in Spanish: *hacer* and *pasar*

Actor and Goal are inherent Participant roles in material processes. However, this clause type may also include other Participant roles that are involved in the 'going on' less directly or in a different way. One such role is the entity construed as affected, impacted, changed, displaced or simply involved in the Process, but as a more marginal Participant. This is the Beneficiary, typically associated with the so-called 'ditransitive' constructions, as illustrated by examples (11) and (12) below:

(11) *me d-ieron un periodo de descanso*

dat/ gave-3p/ a period of rest,
3s pst/ind

Be/Pro/Ac	Goal
v. gr	n. gr
they-gave me	a period of rest

'so they gave me a break'

material:
+ Beneficiary

(12) *no me hab-ían puesto bien la venda*

neg dat/ aux-3p/ put-prcpt well the blindfold
1s pst/ind

Be/Process/Ac	Circ	Goal
v. gr	adv. gr	n. gr.
no they-had put me	well	the blindfold

'they hadn't put the blindfold properly on me'

material:
+ Beneficiary

As reflected in the examples, Beneficiaries in Spanish are usually realised at group rank by dative pronominal clitics. At clause rank, they are realised by nominal groups preceded by the preposition *a*, which are here analysed as adpositional groups (see further discussion in section 4.3.1 below):

⁶ See section 4.3.2.2 below for *se* verbal groups contributing to the construal of generalised entities at clause rank.

(11') *me d-ieron un periodo de descanso a mí*

dat/ 3s gave- 3p/pst a period of rest, to me

(Be/)Pro/Ac	Goal	Be
v. gr	n. gr	(ad) n.gr
they-gave me	a period of rest	to me

'so they gave (me) a break to me'

(12') *no me hab-ían puesto bien la venda a mí.*

neg dat/ aux-3p/ put-prctp well the blindfold to me
1s pst/ind

(Be/)Process/Ac	Circ	Goal	Be
v. gr	adv. gr	n. gr.	(ad) n.gr
no they-had put me	well	the blindfold	to me

'they hadn't put (me) the blindfold properly on me'

Following Halliday (1968, 1994), the Beneficiary function is used here as a label referring to this oblique, marginal Participant of Spanish material processes. More delicate distinctions, such as the one proposed by Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2004) for Client and Recipient in English, are unmotivated in Spanish – at least on the grounds of the grammatical criteria proposed in this study (see section 4.3.1 below).

Alongside the Beneficiary, Spanish material processes may also include other elements that are less Participant-like in status. Following Halliday (1968, 1994), this element is analysed here as Range, which does not show the same properties as other Participants. Ranges include elements commonly associated with specifying elements in 'cognate' and 'light verb' constructions, as well as with ascriptive elements in other configurations:

(13) *"v-amos a hacer-le un repaso rápido*

go-3p/ lk do-inf dat/ a going over quick
prs/ind 3s

Process/Ac/Be	Range
v. gr (complex)	n. gr.
we-go to do him	a quick going over,

'we're going to go over him'

material:

+ Range: specifying

(14) *se empap-a entero*

soaks-3s/prs entire

Pro/Ac	Range
v.gr	(adj) n.gr
one-soaks	entire

'one soaks, entirely'

material:

+ Range: ascriptive

Thus, rather than realising entities on their own right, Ranges may specify the meaning of the Process, construe the 'domain' over which the Process takes place, or assign some property to the Actor or Goal. Their less Participant-like status is reflected

by the fact they are less likely to be cliticised (compared to Goals and Beneficiaries) and/or to take part in passive clauses as the modally responsible element (see further discussion in section 4.3 below).

Mental processes are congruently associated with figures of ‘sensing’, construing phenomena taking place in the realm of consciousness. These clause types necessarily involve a Participant endowed with consciousness, the Senser, and often include the Phenomenon that is ‘processed’ by sensorial perception, cognition or emotive reaction (Halliday, 1969/1976, p. 166). Examples from the text in Table 4.2 above are re-analysed in (15)-(17) below:

(15) *escuch-é* [[*lo que conversab-an*]]

listen-1s/ pst/ind what converse-3p/pst.impf

Pro/Senser	Phenomenon
v. gr	[[clause]]
I-listened them	[[what they talked about]]

‘I heard [[what they were talking about]]’

mental:
+ Senser, + Phenomenon

(16) *t-engo entendido* => β *que daba el visto bueno*

have-1s/ understand- that he-gave the checked good
psr/ind prtcp

Process/Senser
v.gr (complex)
I-get understood

‘I understand => β he would give the approval’

mental:
+ Senser

(17) *mir-é por debajo así*

look-1s/ by underneath thus
pst/ind

Pro/Se	Circ	Circ
v. gr	adv. gr	adv. gr
I-looked	underneath	like this

‘I looked underneath like this’

mental:
+ Senser

Mental processes are discussed in detail in section 4.4, but it is worthwhile noting here that they generally cannot be probed through pro-verbs such as *hacer* (‘do’) or *pasar* (‘happen’). Most importantly, however, there is the very nature of the inherent Participants at stake: the Senser is restricted to conscious entities (or entities endowed with consciousness), in contrast with the Actor of material processes, which allows for a wide range of entity types – from human to non-human, from animate to inanimate, and from concrete to abstract. As for the element construed as Phenomenon, it characteristically involves a wide range of entities of different orders. For instance, like the Goal of material processes, the Phenomenon may be construed as existing in a very

concrete physical realm, including people and objects, but may also involve more abstract entities:

- (18) *A Alan lo ve-ía cotidianamente en el campus San Joaquín* [USS]⁷

To Alan acc see-1s/ /3s pst.impf/ind daily in the San Joaquín Campus

Ph	Pro/Se	M.Adj	Location: place
n. gr	v.gr	adv.gr	p. phr

'I would see Alan every day at the San Joaquín campus'

- (19) *Pato escuch-aba música clásica* [USS]

Pato listen-3s/ pst.impf/ind music classical

Se	Process	Phenomenon
n. gr	v.gr	n.gr

'Pato used to listen to classical music'

- (20) *Esta chica [[que se movía con mucho desplante]] me asust-ó* [USS]

this girl [[who moved with much self-confidence]] dat/ scare-3s/ 1s pst/ind

Phenomenon	Pro/Se
n. gr	v.gr

'this girl [[who would conduct herself with so much self-confidence]] scared me'

- (21) *Desde los 12 años comprend-ió las diferencias sociales* [USS]

since 12 years understand-3s/ pst/ind the differences social

Location: time	Se/Pro	Phenomenon
p. phr	v.gr	n.gr

'since (she was) 12 years old she understood social differences'

- (22) *A mí no me iban a cobrar nada porque no est-oy viendo tele* [SE]

to me not me were-3p to charge nothing because neg be-1s/ see-grnd telly prs/ind

	Se/Pro	Ph
clause	v.gr	n.gr

clause

conj

α 'they weren't going to charge me anything => xβ because I'm not watching the telly'

The Phenomenon may also involve more complex elements, e.g. a non-finite embedded clause contributing to the construal of a **macro-phenomenal** entity:

- (23) *ya en el vehículo v-eo [[pasar]] a mi contacto por la calle* [USS]

already in the car see-1s/ prs/ind pass-inf to my contact by the street

MA	Loc: place	Pro/Se	Phenomenon: macro	Loc: place
adv.g	p.phr	v.gr	[[clause]]	n.gr
				p. phr

'already in the car I see my contact passing by on the street'

⁷ See Appendix B for the coding of data from which examples have been extracted.

(24) *la v-io [[partir]] con [sus verdugos] [USS]*

acc/ see- 3s leave-inf with her executioners

Pro/Se	Ph: macro	Accompaniment
v.gr	[[clause]]	p. phr

'she saw her [[go]] with [her executioners]'

Crucially, what is internalised by the Senser's consciousness includes elements belonging to a different order of reality that is *semiotic* in nature; in other words the mental process can project a metaphenomenon. These semiotic phenomena are exemplified in (25) and (26), where they are realised by projected finite clauses:

(25) *yo entend-í que iba a un encuentro importante [USS]*

I understand-1s/pst/ind that she-went to an important meeting

Se	Process	projected proposition: meta => 'β finite clause'
n.gr	v.gr	

'I understood => 'β that she was going to an important meeting'

metaphenomenon
(projected clause)

(26) *S-igan ustedes sabiendo que, más temprano que tarde, se abrirán las grandes alamedas [USS]*

Keep-2p/prs/ind you know-grnd that, sooner than later, the big tree-lines avenues will open

Pro...	Se	...cess	projected proposition: meta => 'β finite clause'
v.gr ...	n.gr	...(cmplx)	

'you keep on knowing => 'β that, sooner than later, the grand avenues will open'

metaphenomenon
(projected clause)

Relational processes are typically associated with figures of 'being & having', which do not construe outer or inner events as 'goings on', but rather states or relations between entities and phenomena. In Spanish, relational clauses prototypically involve the so-called 'copular verbs' *ser* ('be₁'), *estar* ('be₂') and *parecer* ('seem') (e.g. Alarcos, 1994), as shown in the following examples:

(27) *Este es un libro fraternal [USS]*

this be₁-3s/prs/ind a book fraternal

P ₁	Pro	P ₂
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr.
this	is	a fraternal book

'This is a fraternal book'

relational:

Process: *ser*

(28) *Nacho est-aba dudoso [USS]*

Nacho be₂-3s/pst.impf/ind doubtful

P ₁	Pro	P ₂
n.gr	v.gr	(adj) n.gr
Nico	was	doubtful

'Nacho was hesitant'

relational:

Process: *estar*

(29) *Todo parec-ía normal* [USS]

All seem-3s/
pst.impf normal

P ₁	Process	P ₂
n.gr	v.gr	(adj) n.gr
all	seemed	normal

'Everything seemed normal'

relational Process: <i>parecer</i>
--

There are a number of clause patterns making relational processes distinct from material and mental clauses. Relational processes realised by copular verbs in Spanish cannot be probed by pro-verbs *hacer* and *pasar* and they may be of two kinds: attributive and identifying. Attributive processes concern an *inclusion relation* between two elements, more specifically, they involve the ascription of a quality or a property to a given entity. In SFL descriptions, this relation has often been characterised in terms of 'class membership' (cf. Davidsen, 1992, who offers a more fine-grained view of the meaning of attributive relationals). Identifying processes, on the other hand, construe an *identity relation* between two entities (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 214ff), being often associated with 'equative clauses' (Halliday, 1967b, p. 68ff). In Spanish descriptive work dealing with copular verbs, these two relational subtypes have been described as 'characterisation' and 'identification copular sentences', respectively (Fernández Leborans, 1999, p. 2377ff; Pinuer, 1999, 2005).

Each relational subtype involves distinctive configurational patterns and, therefore, each is assigned specific Participant roles: Carrier and Attribute for attributive relationals, and Token and Value for identifying relationals (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). This labelling is specified in examples (30)-(34) below:

(30) *Este es un libro fraternal* [USS]

this be₁-3s/
prs/ind a book fraternal

Carrier	Pro	Attribute
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr.
this	is	a fraternal book

relational: attributive +Carrier, + Attribute

(31) *Su nombre político era Nico* [USS]

his name political be₁-3s/
prs/ind Nico

Value	Pro	Token
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr
his political name	was	Nico

relational: identifying +Token, + Value

(32) *Estas son mis últimas palabras* [USS]

these be₁-3p/
prs/ind my last words

Tk	Pro	Value
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr.
these	they-are	my last words

relational: identifying

+Token, +Value

(33) *Nacho est-aba dudoso* [USS]

Nacho be₂-3s/
pst.impf/ind doubtful

Carrier	Process	Attribute
n.gr	v.gr	(adj) n.gr
Nicho	was	doubtful

relational: attributive

+Carrier, +Attribute

(34) *Todo parec-ía normal* [USS]

All seem-3s/
pst.impf normal

Carrier	Process	Attribute
n.gr	v.gr	(adj) n.gr
all	seemed	normal

relational: attributive

+Carrier, +Attribute

Carrier and Token are the Participants most centrally involved in the Process of both subtypes (i.e. they are the Participants assigned modal responsibility by selections in PERSON in the verbal inflection⁸). Therefore, they may or not be realised at clause rank. Examples (30') and (32') below are re-analysed with Carrier and Token realised only by selections in inflectional morphology:

(30') *Es un libro fraternal*

be₁-3s/
prs/ind a book fraternal

Ca/Pro	Attribute
v.gr	n. gr.
it-is	a fraternal book

relational: attributive

(32') *Son mis últimas palabras*

be₁-3p/
prs/ind my last words

Tk/Pro	Value
v.gr	n. gr.
they-are	my last words

relational: identifying

In the specific case of 'copular sentences', second Participants, i.e. Attribute and Value, can be recognised by their specific cliticisation pattern: they can only take neuter

⁸ While the label Process outside SFL may suggest some kind of dynamism that is not really present in relational processes, here it refers to the experiential element realised by the verbal group in Spanish clause configurations. It is worth noting that in many languages, relational clauses may not necessarily include a Process (e.g. Tagalog in Martin, 1996b; Japanese in Teruya, 2004).

accusative clitic *lo* ('it') at group rank (Alarcos, 1980a; Fernández Leborans, 1999; Pinuer, 1999):

<i>Este es un libro fraternal</i> 'this is a fraternal book'	: <i>Lo es</i> 'It is it'	relational: attributive Attribute
<i>Su nombre político era Nico</i> 'His political name was Nico'	: <i>Lo era</i> 'It was it'	relational: identifying Value
<i>Estas son mis últimas palabras</i> 'These are my last words'	: <i>Lo son</i> 'They are it'	relational: identifying Value
<i>Nacho est-aba dudoso</i> 'Nacho was doubtful'	: <i>Lo est-aba</i> 'He was it'	relational: attributive Attribute
<i>Todo parec-ía normal</i> 'Everything seemed normal'	: <i>Lo parec-ía</i> 'It seemed it'	relational: attributive Attribute

Cliticisation by accusative neuter *lo* ('it') doesn't allow clitic doubling; therefore, Attribute and Value cannot be involved in co-selections across ranks, as is the case with P₂ in other process types. Restrictions also apply to substitute forms at clause rank: Value and Attribute can only be referred to by means of neuter demonstratives, such as *eso* ('that') or, in the case of Attributes, non-pronominal pro-forms such as *así* ('thus', 'like this')⁹. This contrasts with the potential of P₂ in material and mental processes – e.g. Goal and Phenomenon, respectively – which may be substituted by a wide range of (pro)nominal resources at clause and group rank, and never by non-pronominal pro-forms. On the other hand, Attribute and Value, unlike P₂ of material and mental processes, systematically show 'agreement' or 'concord' relations with P₁ – that is, co-referential relations in terms of person, number and gender distinctions (see section 4.3.1 below).

Attributive and identifying clauses differ from one another in a number of respects. To begin, they offer different possibilities for the sequence of elements at clause rank: identifying processes can more readily reverse the relative sequence of Token and Value (e.g. Token ^ Process ^ Value or Value ^ Process ^ Token), with unmarked informational prominence (i.e. with the tonic syllable culminating the tone group, e.g. Halliday & Greaves, 2008). In contrast, the reversal of attributive clauses is

⁹ In descriptive work, *así* is analysed as a pro-form that is 'adverbial' in nature. In order to distinguish its potential as substitute of adjectival nominal groups and adverbial groups proper, the more general 'non-pronominal' label is used here. See section 4.3.1 below.

more restricted, but still possible in marked cases (for instance, if either Carrier or the Attribute is made textually prominent in contrastive environments (cf. Fernández Leborans, 1999, p. 2379)):

(33') *Dudoso est-aba Nacho*

doubtful be_{2-3s}/pst.impf/ind Nacho

Att	Pro	Carrier
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr
doubtful	was	Nacho

informational prominence on Attribute (contrastive)

e.g. 'He was hesitant, not fearful'

(33'') *Dudoso est-aba Nacho*

doubtful be_{2-3s}/pst.impf/ind Nacho

Att	Pro	Carrier
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr
doubtful	was	Nacho

informational prominence on Carrier (contrastive)

e.g. 'it was Nacho who was hesitant, not Marcelo'

The Attribute of attributive processes is often realised by adjectival nominal groups (with an adjective as Head of their univariate structure) and/or indefinite nominal groups, which are open to gradating and/or intensification:

(30') *Este es un libro bastante fraternal*

this be_{1-3s}/prs/ind a book quite fraternal

Carrier	Pro	Attribute
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr.
this	is	a quite fraternal book

graded Attribute

(33'') *Nacho est-aba extraordinariamente dudoso*

Nacho be_{2-3s}/pst.impf/ind extraordinarily doubtful

Carrier	Pro	Attribute
n.gr	v.gr	(adj) n.gr
Nico	was	extraordinarily doubtful

graded Attribute

(34'') *Todo parec-ía más normal*

Everything seem-3s/pst.impf more normal

Carrier	Process	Attribute
n.gr	v.gr	(adj) n.gr
everything	seemed	more normal

graded Attribute

In identifying processes, on the other hand, Token and Value often involve definite nominal groups – i.e. including definite determiners (such as definite articles, possessive adjectives, or demonstratives) or proper nouns as Head of their univariate structure¹⁰:

¹⁰ Cf. Alarcos (1968).

(31) *Su nombre político era Nico*

his name political be₁-3s/
prs/ind Nico

Token	Pro	Value
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr
his political name	it-was	Nico

relational: identifying

(32) *Estas son mis últimas palabras*

these be₁-3p/
prs/ind my last words

Tk	Pro	Value
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr.
these	they-are	my last words

relational: identifying

‘Copular’ verbs realising the Process in relational clauses show a different potential depending on the subtype: *ser* (‘to be₁’) can realise the Process in both identifying and attributive clauses, while *estar* (‘to be₂’) and *parecer* (‘seem’) can only realise the Process in attributive ones (Pinuer, 1999, 2005).

Relational processes realising ‘being’ figures in Spanish construe relations of an intensive type. An additional subtype realising ‘having’ figures construe whole/part relations, and are known as possessive relational processes. These subtype typically involves in Spanish the verb *tener* (‘to have’)¹¹, as shown in examples (35) and (36) below:

(35) *T-enía solo veinte años de edad* [USS]

have-3s/
prs/ind only twenty years of age

Pssr/Pro		Possessed
v.gr	adv.gr	n. gr.
she-had	only	twenty years old

‘(She) only had 20 years old’ (Eng ≈ ‘She was only 20 years old’)

relational: possessive

(36) *Mis palabras no t-ienen amargura, sino decepción* [USS]

my words neg have-3p/
prs/ind bitterness, but disappointment

Possessor	Process	Possessed
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr. (complex)
my words	no they-have	bitterness but disappointment

‘My words don’t have bitterness, but disappointment’

relational: possessive

Material, mental and relational processes have been congruently and typically associated in this section with figures of ‘doing & happening’, ‘sensing’ and ‘being & having’, respectively. Each clause types concerns specific configurational relations, and

¹¹ Possessive relational processes can also be cross-classified by the identifying/attribution distinction, which hasn’t been explored in this brief sketch. See e.g. Halliday (1994).

thus specific Participant roles. Table 4.6 below summarises process types reviewed, along with inherent Participant roles:

process type		inherent participant roles	
material	doings	Actor, Goal	
	happenings	Actor	
mental	perception	Senser, Phenomenon	
	reaction		
	cognition		
relational	intensive	identifying	Token, Value
		attributive	Carrier, Attribute
	possessive	Possessor, Possessed	

Table 4.6 Basic process types and inherent Participant roles.

4.2.3 Summary

The three basic discourse semantic figures proposed in this study as a starting point ‘from above’ constitute very general assumptions for the exploration of experiential grammar in any given language. Major process types embodying such figures, however, are ultimately motivated by specific structural configurations, which have been briefly explored in this section. Specific function labels have been introduced, with inherent Participant roles presented as elements closely involved in configurational relations defining each clause type. In the following section, the structural resources available for the experiential organisation of the Spanish clause are explored in more detail. The orbital structure associated with experiential meanings in SFL will be used to provide a generalised perspective on experiential elements.

4.3 The general potential ‘from below’: structural resources

4.3.1 Spanish orbital configurations

From an SFL perspective, experiential structure can be regarded as an orbital configuration of elements, with a nucleus consisting of a Process and at least one central Participant directly taking part in its unfolding (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, p. 213). A nuclear Process-Participant(s) configuration may be further expanded by Circumstances that are peripheral in nature (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.3.1). These experiential structural relations are diagrammatically represented in Figure 4.13 below:

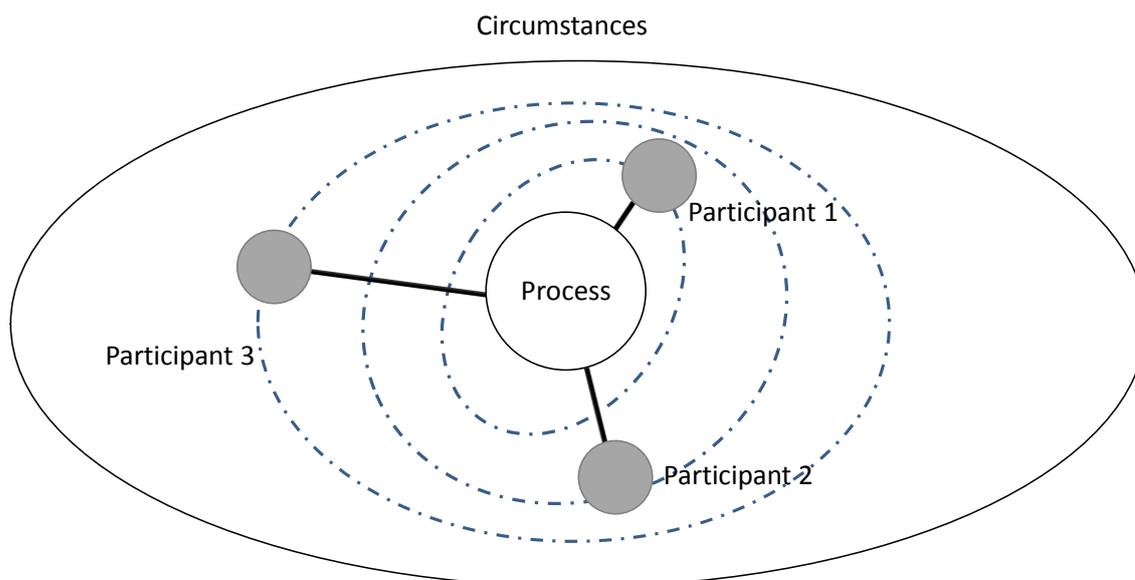


Figure 4.13 Experiential structural configurations: nuclear and peripheral elements

Within SFL, the orbital interpretation of components was first introduced by Martin (1996c), based on the ‘molecular’ structuring described by Halliday (1979/2002) as characteristic of experiential meanings (see Chapter 2 section 2.2.3.1). Taking English and Tagalog as examples, Martin’s ‘mononuclear’ perspective on experiential structure is explicitly dissociated from constituency whole/part relations along the rank scale, and extended to structural patterns across strata. Outside SFL, Pike (1971) had proposed a similar view on linguistic structure across levels and units, although not associated to any particular metafunctional component of meaning. He specifically suggested the analysis of structural ‘slots’ in terms of the relatively nuclear or marginal relations within linguistic wholes (p. 76ff).

For Spanish, a related functional interpretation of linguistic structure was first proposed by Alarcos (1966). Starting from the traditional subject-predicate distinction, he regarded the (finite) verbal group as the ‘predicative nucleus’, which alongside the ‘subject’ – either realised by inflectional morphology or by a co-referential clause constituent – make up the minimal configuration establishing the sentence in Spanish. Alarcos goes on to suggest that ‘adjacent’ elements may expand the predicative nucleus in a number ways. These expanding elements include what he describes as Implement, Complement, Attribute, Supplement and Additament, represented in Figure 4.14 below:

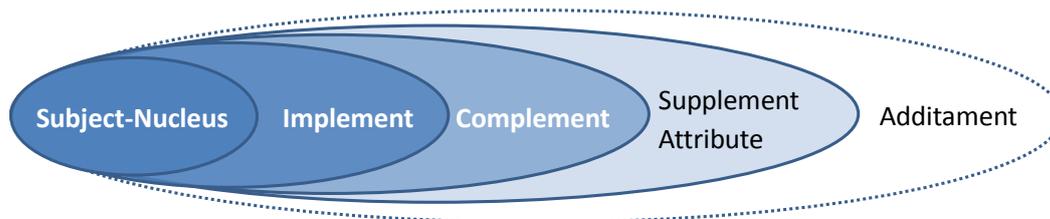


Figure 4.14 Alarcos's generalised labels for functions in Spanish structure (based on Alarcos, 1966)

For Alarcos, Implements are the adjacent elements closest to the predicative nucleus, and they correspond to what is known in Spanish descriptive tradition as 'Direct Object Complements'. They can assume modal responsibility in passive clauses and be referred to through accusative pronominal clitics at group rank. Complements, in turn, correspond to those elements traditionally known as 'Indirect Object Complements'. They cannot be made modally responsible in passive clauses, and they can be referred to by means of dative pronominal clitics at group rank¹². At clause rank, both Implements and Complements are realised by nominal groups, often preceded by what Alarcos calls a 'functional index', the preposition *a* (1966, p. 10).

Along with these nuclear elements, Alarcos (1966) identifies two other relevant functions that had not been described systematically despite of their re-current patterning in Spanish, namely, Attribute and Supplement. In Alarcos's view, these two functions expand the predicative nucleus in ways that diverge from Implements and Complements. Attributes can be found as the second function of 'copular sentences', in which case Alarcos interprets them as 'the centre of the predicate from a lexical point of view' (p.159) (cf. Attribute and Value in section 4.2.2 above). In such a structural environment, they can be substituted by neuter nominal forms, either at clause or at group rank: by the neuter demonstrative form *eso* ('that') and the neuter accusative *lo* ('it'), respectively.

Nonetheless, according to Alarcos, Attributes are not restricted to 'copular sentences', as illustrated by the examples he provides (1966, p.17), re-analysed in (37) to (40) below:

¹² See Appendix D for the full paradigm of pronominal clitics in Latin American Spanish.

(37) *Llev-a los zapatos rotos*

nucleus/S	Implement	Attribute
v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

'S/he wears the shoes torn'

(38) *H-izo pedazos la carta*

nucleus/S	Attribute	Implement
v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

's/he torn the letter into pieces'

(39) *V-eo [[brotar]] las plantas*

nucleus/S	Attribute	Implement
v.gr	[[clause]]	n.gr

'I see the plants grow'

(40) *Eligieron diputado a Juan*

nucleus/S	Attribute	Implement
v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

'They elected Juan deputy'

While Attributes above appear in configurations that are rather heterogeneous, Alarcos argues that they share a number of characteristics. Firstly, all the above Attributes are closely related to Implements. In example (37) and (40) above, this is made manifest by the number/gender agreement relations between these two functions, that is, by co-referential selections in number and gender. Alarcos thus interprets these Attributes as properties or roles specifically assigned to the entity realising the Implement function. As for examples (38) and (39), Attributes also have relations with the Implement, but of a different nature: they *depend on* the presence of the Implement, to the extent that they cannot be left out without affecting, more or less radically, the meaning of the whole sentence, as shown in the examples below:

(38') **H-izo la carta*

nucleus/S	Implement
v.gr	n.gr

's/he made the letter'

(39') **V-eo las plantas*

nucleus/S	Implement
v.gr	n.gr

'I see the plants'

If the above sentences are to be interpreted as grammatical, their meaning necessarily changes. In such cases, *Hizo la carta* and *Veo las plantas* would need to be informally glossed as ‘S/he wrote the letter’ and ‘S/he saw the plants’, respectively. According to Alarcos, Implements and Attributes in configurations (37) to (40) above contribute *together* to the meaning of the ‘predicative nucleus’: Implements, by restricting ‘the scope of applicability of the nucleus’, and Attributes by qualifying and indicating ‘the modality of such applicability’ (p. 16)¹³. ‘For lack of a better term’, he analyses these attributive elements as ‘Implement Attributes’.

In all of these cases, Implements and Attributes constitute separate functions realised by separate constituents at clause rank. Their sequencing can be modified independently, and Implements can be cliticised separately by an accusative element at group rank – while the Attribute cannot be cliticised. Cliticisation patterns for the configurations at stake are shown in (41) to (44) below:

- (41) *Llev-a los zapatos rotos* : *Los llev-a rotos*
carries-3s the shoes torn : *them wears-3s torn*
- | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| nucleus/S | Implement | Attribute |
| v.gr | n.gr | n.gr |
- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| Impl/nucleus/S | Attribute |
| v.gr | n.gr |
- ‘S/he wears the shoes torn’ ‘S/he wears them torn’
- (42) *H-izo pedazos la carta* : *La h-izo pedazos*
made-3s/pst pieces the letter : *it made-3s pieces*
- | | | |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| nucleus/S | Attribute | Implement |
| v.gr | n.gr | n.gr |
- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| Impl/nucleus/S | Attribute |
| v.gr | n.gr |
- ‘s/he torn the letter into pieces’ ‘S/he torn it into pieces’
- (43) *V-eo [[brotar]] las plantas* : *Las v-eo [[brotar]]*
see-1s/prs grow-inf the plants : *them see-1s grow-inf*
- | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
| nucleus/S | Attribute | Implement |
| v.gr | [[clause]] | n.gr |
- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| Impl/nucleus/S | Attribute |
| v.gr | [[clause]] |
- ‘I see the plants grow’ ‘I see them [[grow]]’
- (44) *Eligieron diputado a Juan* : *Lo eligieron diputado*
elected-3p deputy Juan : *him elected-3p deputy*
- | | | |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| nucleus/S | Attribute | Implement |
| v.gr | n.gr | n.gr |
- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| Impl/nucleus/S | Attribute |
| v.gr | n.gr |
- ‘They elected Juan deputy’ ‘They elected him deputy’

¹³ “Se podría decir que el campo semántico de estos verbos admite dos delimitaciones: una que restringe la amplitud de su aplicabilidad (la que efectúa el implemento), y otra que matiza, que indica la modalidad de tal aplicación (la que indica el otro término). Es como si el valor semántico del lexema de tales verbos se repartiese entre dos ejes: el de la extensión de su campo semántico (eje horizontal) y el de la cualidad, o matiz, o modalidad (eje vertical)” (Alarcos 1966, p. 16).

To the above nuclear expansions Alarcos adds the Supplement function, which is always realised by prepositional phrases at clause rank, and cannot be cliticised in any environment. Examples in (45) to (47) below, taken from Alarcos (1966, p.12ff), clearly show that Supplemental configurations are not agnate to clauses involving cliticisation, which is otherwise possible if the same verb is associated with an Implement:

- (45) *Habl-emos de política* x **habl-émosla*
 'Let's talk about politics' 'let's talk it'

nucleus/S	Supplement
v.gr	p.phr

nucleus/S/Impl
v.gr
- (46) *¿Cr-ees en la ciencia?* x **¿La cr-ees?*
 'Do you believe in science?' 'Do you believe it'

nucleus/S	Supplement
v.gr	p.phr

nucleus/S/impl
v.gr
- (47) *P-iensa en ese asunto* x **P-iénsalo*
 'Think about that issue' 'Think it'

nucleus/S	Supplement
v.gr	p.phr

Impl/nucleus/S
p.phr

In spite of the restrictions they show for cliticisation, the Supplement is still considered a nuclear function by Alarcos. One criterion he provides is the fact that, just like Subject, Implement and Complement, the Supplement can only take *nominal* substitute forms, including embedded pronominal and demonstrative pro-forms:

- (48) *Habl-emos de política* : *habl-emos de [eso]*
 'let's talk about politics' 'let's talk of [that]'

nucleus/S	Supplement
v.gr	p.phr

nucleus/S	Sppl
v.gr	p.phr
- (49) *¿Cr-ees en la ciencia?* : *¿Cr-ees en [ella]?*
 'Do you believe in science?' 'Do you believe in [it]?'

nucleus/S	Supplement
v.gr	p.phr

nucleus/S	Sppl
v.gr	p.phr
- (50) *P-iensa en ese asunto* : *P-iensa en [eso]*
 'Think about that issue' 'Think in [that]'

nucleus/S	Supplement
v.gr	p.phr

nucleus/S	Sppl
v.gr	p.phr

Another key pattern, according to Alarcos, is that Supplements cannot be easily ellipsed – unless the meaning of the sentence changes, as Alarcos attempts to show using the verb *hablar* ('speak', 'talk'):

Habl-amos de política
 'we talked about politics'

nucleus/S	Supplement
v.gr	p.phr

¿Qué hicieron? -- *Habl-amos de política*
 'What did you do?' 'We talked about politics'
 -- ? *Habl-amos*
 ? 'We talked'

Beyond nuclear adjuncts, Alarcos identifies further peripheral elements he identifies as Additaments. In his view, these elements do not expand the predicative nucleus as other elements do, but rather 'frame or qualify' the whole predication (1966, p. 11). Additaments may either provide the setting for the predication, for example in terms of place or time, or they may 'add a value' to sentence elements or the whole sentence – for example, in terms of affirmation, negation or doubt (1969, p. 304ff). On these grounds, Alarcos distinguishes between 'situation' Additaments and 'notion' Additaments, as exemplified below:

(51) *Lleg-ó ayer/el sábado/temprano/en tren*

arrive-3s/pst yesterday/the Saturday/early/by train

nucleus/S	Additament
v.gr	adv.gr/n.gr/adv.gr/p.phr

'S/he arrived yesterday/on Saturday/early, etc'

situation Additament

ayer, el sábado, temprano, en tren

(52) *No lo hizo Juan*

neg acc/ do-3s/ Juan
 3s pst/ind

Add/nucleus	Subject
v.gr	n.gr

'Juan didn't do it'

notion Additament:

no

(53) *Quizás venga Juan*

perhaps come-3s/ Juan
 prs/sbj

Add	nucleus	Subject
adv.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'Perhaps Juan might come'

notion Additament:

quizás

(54) *Ciertamente eres un cretino*

certainly be-2s/prs/ind a moron

Additament	nucleus/S	Attribute
adv.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'Certainly you are a moron'

notion Additament:

ciertamente

In Alarcos's view, Additaments are elements that can be easily left out without changing the meaning of the sentence and are, in this respect, autonomous elements. From the perspective of their structural affordances, they do not lend themselves to

nominal substitute forms at clause or group rank. Further, they cannot be cliticised in any environment, and they may be realised by different classes, including prepositional phrases, adverbial groups and nominal groups. Importantly, Additaments are indifferent to distinctions in number and/or gender, unlike the rest of the functions he proposes.

As pointed out by Rojo (1990b), Alarcos’ exploration of functions in Spanish structure – including his innovative labelling and the introduction of the Attribute and Supplement functions – allowed scholars to see for the first time configurational relations in structure in a systematic way. Most importantly, it contributed to the abandonment of unprincipled understandings of structural elements, such as those inherited from ‘academic’, often prescriptive, reference grammars.

Alarcos’s structural functions will be re-interpreted here from an SFL perspective. Implements and Complements have been already introduced in section 4.2.2 above as Participant₂ (P₂) and Participant₃ (P₃), respectively. Supplements and Attributes, due to their borderline nature, have been analysed in relation to the specific configuration in which they appear, including Ranges in material processes and Attribute and Value of relational processes. ‘Situation’ Additaments have been here analysed as Circumstances, and thus as part of the experiential structure of the clause, while ‘notion’ Additaments have been analysed as Modal Adjuncts in Spanish interpersonal structure (see Chapter 3). Table 4.7 below summarises Alarcos’s terminology and the roughly equivalent generalised experiential labels used in this study:

	experiential generalised labels	Alarcos (1966, 1969) ‘nuclearity’ labels	nuclearity	
nuclear	Process	Predicative nucleus	+ ↑	
	Participant 1	Subject		
	Participant 2	Implement		
	Participant 3	Complement		
peripheral	Circumstance	Attribute - Supplement	↓ -	
		Additament		situation
not experiential	Modal Adjunct			notion

Table 4.7 Spanish generalised experiential elements and Alarcos’s (1966, 1969) labels

Reasoning along these lines, Participant₁ is interpreted experientially as the most central element with respect to the Process, being involved in PERSON selections in

inflectional morphology (in active clauses). As discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.1, this means that P₁ is also the most central element from an interpersonal point of view, being associated with modal responsibility in finite active clauses:

(55) *Paola llamo*

<i>Paola</i>	<i>call-3s/pst</i>
P₁	(P₁/)Pro
n.gr	v.gr

'Paola called'

P₁ may or may not be realised at clause rank (cf. Alarcos 1994, p.73). Indeed, there are cases in which this Participant *cannot* be realised at clause rank, including meteorological processes, and processes realised by the so-called 'impersonal reflexive *se*' constructions (see section 4.3.2.2 below)¹⁴:

(56) *En Sidney llueve todo el año*

in Sydney rain-3s/ prs/ind all the year

Loc: pl	Process/P ₁	Loc: time
p. phr	v.gr	n. gr
<i>In Sydney</i>	<i>it-rains</i>	<i>all the year</i>

'In Sydney it-rains the whole year'

meteorological

P₁: verb inflection fixed in 3ps

(57) *Durante la pausa se te examin-a*

during the break se-cl dat/ examine-3ps 2s

Loc: pl	P ₂ /Pro/P ₁
p. phr	v.gr
<i>During the break</i>	<i>(someone) examines you</i>

Eng. ≈ 'During the break (someone) examines you'

'impersonal'

P₁
verb inflection fixed in 3ps
+
se affix

In the examples above, no co-referential clause constituent can be possibly inserted in structure, in spite of the fact that the Participant at stake is implied by the selection of process type, e.g. Actor in the material process illustrated in (57) above.

Participant₂, prototypically characterised along the lines of Alarcos's Implement, is the element to which modal responsibility can be shifted in passive clauses¹⁵. Therefore, it corresponds to the second element of the traditionally known 'transitive' constructions, which in Spanish can be cliticised by an accusative pronominal element at group rank:

¹⁴ See discussion in Fernández Soriano (1999, pp. 1225-1226)

¹⁵ The labels 'passive' and 'active' are used to refer to both VOICE selections at both clause rank and group rank. See section 4.3.2.2 for further discussion from an SFL perspective.

(58) *Paola env-ió un mensaje te texto* : *Paola lo env-ió*

Paola send-3s/ a message of text
pst/ind

P ₁	Pro	P ₂
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'Paola sent a text message'

Paola acc/ send-3s/
3s pst/ind

P ₁	P ₂ /Pro
n.gr	v.gr

'Paola sent it'

active

P₂: acc clitic

(59) *Un mensaje de texto fue enviado por Paola*

A message of text be-3s/ send-prctp by Paola
pst/ind

P ₂	Process	P ₁
n.gr	v.gr	p.phr

'A text message was sent by Paola'

passive

P₂: modally responsible

Participant₃ has been here prototypically characterised following Alarcos's description of the Complement, i.e. the element typically involved in the so-called 'ditransitive' constructions and associated with dative cliticisation:

(60) *Paola envi-ó un mensaje de texto a Cristian* : *Paola le env-ió un mensaje de texto*

Paola send-3s/ a message of text to Cristian
pst/ind

P ₁	Pro	P ₂	P ₃
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

'Paola sent a text message to Cristian'

Paola dat/ send-3s/ a message of text
3s pst/ind

P ₁	P ₃ /Pro	P ₂
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'Paola sent him a text message'

This Participant, however, cannot be assigned modal responsibility in passive clauses¹⁶:

(61) **Cristian fue enviado un mensaje de texto*

Cristian be-3s/ send- a message of text
pst/ind prctp

P ₃	Pro	P ₂
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'*Cristian was sent a message'

Participant₃

x no shift in modal responsibility

The fact that P₂ and P₃ in active clauses can be realised at group rank by accusative and dative clitics, respectively, implies that they can be made part of the basic negotiatory structure from an interpersonal perspective (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.4). Their prototypical Participant-status in experiential structure can be ultimately probed by 'clitic doubling', with co-referential selections at clause and group rank:

¹⁶ There are rare exceptions to this generalisation, usually associated with the lexical verb *informar* ('inform'): *Un mes más tarde, la DINA es informada de la detención en Buenos Aires de Jean Ives Claudet Fernández* [USS] ('A month later, DINA was informed of the detention in Buenos Aires of Jean Ives Claudet Fernández').

(62) *El mensaje de texto lo envió Paola*

the message of text acc/ send-3s/ Paola
3s pst/ind

P₂	(P₂/)Pro	P₁
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

‘Paola sent (it) the message’

Participant₂:

acc, doubling

(63) *Paola le envió un mensaje de texto a Cristian*

Paola dat/ send- a message of text AD Cristian
3s 3s/pst

P₁	(P₃/)Pro	P₂	P₃
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	(ad) n.gr

‘Paola sent (him) the message to Cristian’

Participant₃:

dat, doubling

Clitic doubling is favoured in some specific Spanish varieties over others. Specifically, Chilean and Buenos Aires (Argentinean) Spanish are well known for this phenomenon. However, the doubling of P₂ is more restricted than the doubling of P₃. Co-referential selections for P₂ are particularly favoured when this element is realised by a definite nominal group and/or in preverbal position, as *el mensaje de texto* in example (62) above (Barrenechea & Orecchia, 1977; Silva-Corvalán, 1980-1981, p. 563). Otherwise, its realisation is either clitic-only or nominal group-only, with the latter being overall the most frequent pattern in texts, as suggested by Belloro (2007, p. 148).

As for P₃, research conducted in ‘doubling’ varieties has shown that the most frequent pattern for this generalised function is the ‘clitic-only’ one, followed by doubling – which tends to hold regardless of the positioning and the nature of the nominal group at stake (Belloro, 2007, p. 146ff). While the doubling of P₃ has not been investigated systematically in terms of experiential meanings, it is arguably favoured in some specific configurations over others. For example, in some experiential types ‘doubling’ may be obligatory (Belloro, 2007, p. 146-147) (see relevant cases in relation to mental processes discussed in section 4.4 below).

Another common pattern associated with both P₂ and P₃ in Spanish is their realisation by **adpositional groups**. In SFL work, adpositions have been related to segmental marking at group/phrase rank that can be motivated by any metafunction (Matthiessen, 2004a, p. 556). In Spanish, a pre-positional *a* may be inserted at the beginning of the nominal group realising P₂ and P₃:

(64) *Paola env-ió a un alumno || (para que diera el mensaje)*
Paola send-3s/pst ad a student (for that give-3s the message)

P ₁	Pro	P ₂	xβ
n.gr	v.gr	(ad) n.gr	

'Paola sent the student || (for him to give the message)'

Participant₂:
adpositional group

(65) *Paola env-ió un mensaje de texto a Cristian*
Paola send-3s/pst a text message ad Cristian

P ₁	Pro	P ₂	P ₃
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	(ad) n.gr

'Paola sent (him) the message to Cristian'

Participant₃:
adpositional group

Adpositional *a*-marking historically evolved from Latin *ad*, which was originally a locative ('direction') marker. This marking gradually extended to dative and ablative cases, to end up covering accusative as well (Company, 2001, 2006; Lapesa Melgar, 1964; Penny, 2002). However, at the current synchronic stage, there are a number of reasons to better consider it as a nominal group marking, rather than a preposition in a prepositional phrase. To begin, the insertion of a pre-positional *a* is not obligatory, whereas prepositional phrases systematically involve the appearance of prepositions, and not restricted to *a*. Secondly, nominal groups with *a*-marking consistently relate to the whole range of (pro)nominal substitutes at clause and group rank, unlike prepositional phrases realising, for example, Circumstances. Importantly, since they realise elements that can be cliticised within the verbal group, they can also be at stake in 'clitic doubling' configurations, as shown in the following examples:

(66) *Paola lo env-ió al alumno || (para que diera el mensaje)*
Paola acc/3s send-3s/pst ad the student (for that give-3s the message)

P ₁	(P ₂ /)Pro	P ₂	xβ
n.gr	v.gr	(ad) n.gr	

'Paola sent (him) the student || (for him to give the message)'

Participant₂:
adpositional group
+
doubling by accusative clitic

(67) *Paola le env-ió un mensaje de texto a Cristian*
Paola dat/3s send-3s/pst send-3s/pst ad Cristian

P ₁	(P ₃ /)Pro	P ₂	P ₃
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	(ad) n.gr

'Paola sent (him) the text message to Cristian'

Participant₃:
adpositional group
+
doubling by dative clitic

The traditional 'rule' is that P₂ takes the pre-positional *a* at clause rank when the referent at stake is 'human' (or 'animate'), while it is assumed to always take it in the case of P₃. Again, as discussed by Belloro (2007), the conditions under which *a*-marking appears for P₂ are far more complex and cannot be fully explained by

considerations of ‘animacy’; likewise, non-adpositional nominal groups for P₃, while infrequent, are indeed possible.

Interestingly, research has often pointed to the interaction between adpositional realisation and clitic doubling phenomena, although Belloro (2007) argues that they are independent from one another (pp. 74ff). Based on the study of texts from the perspective of Role and Reference Grammar, Belloro (2007) has suggested that these complex patterns and their interactions go beyond ‘case marking’, ‘animacy’, and ‘definiteness’. In her view, they are a function of the ‘cognitive accessibility’ of referents in discourse (Belloro, 2007, 132ff)¹⁷. Belloro’s study suggests that an explanation of clitic doubling and adpositional realisation cannot be limited to experiential lexicogrammatical patterns, but arguably concerns their interplay with discourse semantic systems – e.g. PERIODICITY, IDENTIFICATION and IDEATION (Martin, 1992a), which are not explored in this study.

Given the diverging agnation patterns shown by adpositional groups when compared to prepositional phrases, including their key role in the realisation of nuclear experiential elements, they will be henceforth referred to simply as nominal groups. This interpretation differs from the traditional approach adopted, for example, by Lavid, Arús, and Zamorano Mansilla (2010), which is mainly based on syntagmatic similarity (cf. Davidse, 1998). The traditional approach, however, has been widely challenged in Spanish descriptive work (e.g. Suñer, 1988; Company, 2001; Belloro, 2007), largely because it fails to capture the specific regularities shown by these elements in clause structure¹⁸. Apart from the differences in structural affordances already discussed, from an SFL perspective prepositional phrases are systematically related to less nuclear or peripheral elements, such as Circumstances and Alarcos’s Supplements – i.e. neither of them playing a key role in the establishment of experiential clause types. Adpositional groups, in contrast, are re-curent in the realisation of nuclear and inherent experiential roles (see section 4.4 below in relation to mental processes).

¹⁷ Cf. Belloro (2007)’s suggestive discussion on problematic interpretations revolving around notions such as ‘animacy’, ‘specificity’ and ‘definiteness’ in studies available on ‘clitic doubling’ and *a*-nominal groups.

¹⁸ See Suñer (1988), who was the first to challenge their analysis as prepositional phrases within the generative framework. See also discussion in Belloro (2007, pp. 21ff.)

Table 4.8 below summarises the main possibilities for the realisation of Participants in Spanish, and their clear status as nuclear elements within experiential configurations:

nuclearity		clause	group	word
+ ↑ ↓ -	Participant 1	nominal group		verb inflection => obligatory
	Participant 2	nominal group <i>a</i> ^ nominal group	acc. clitic	
	Participant 3	<i>a</i> ^ nominal group	dat. clitic	

Table 4.8 Resources for the realisation of Participants along the rank scale and degrees of nuclearity

Alarcos's Attribute and Supplement (1966, 1969) have been interpreted here as borderline functions that show different patterns depending on the clause configuration they are associated with.

In this study, Alarcos's attributes correspond to Attribute and Value of relational processes with copular verbs, i.e. *ser* ('to be₁'), *estar* ('to be₂') and *parecer* ('seem'). When they appear in material happenings, they have been analysed as ascriptive Ranges. Examples previously presented in section 4.2.2 are re-introduced below:

(68) *Este es un libro fraternal* [USS]

this be₁-3s/ a book fraternal
prs/ind

Carrier	Pro	Attribute
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr.
this	is	a fraternal book

'this is a fraternal book'

relational: attributive

Attribute

(69) *Su nombre político era Nico* [USS]

his name political be₁-3s/ Nico
prs/ind

Value	Pro	Token
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr
his political name	was	Nico

'His political name was Nico'

relational: identifying

Value

(70) *Se empap-a entero* [EN]

se- soak- entire
cl 3s/prs/ind

Pro/Ac	Range
v.gr	(adj) n.gr
one-soaks	entire

'one all soaks' (Eng ≈ 'one soaks entirely')

material: happening

Range: ascriptive

In the above examples, the ascriptive Range, Attribute and Value relate to P₁ by means of gender and/or number agreement relations, unlike 'regular' Participants. Nonetheless, these agreement relations can also be at stake with ascriptive Ranges assigning properties or qualities to P₂ – in the case of what Alarcos calls 'Implement Attributes' (1980a, pp. 162, 180). Such ascriptive Ranges are very close to what Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) interpret as Depictive and Resultative Attributes in English (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, p. 195)¹⁹, as shown in the examples below:

(71) *Llev-a los zapatos rotos*

carry-3s/prs the shoes torn

Pro/Ac	Goal	Rg: ascr
v.gr	n.gr	(adj) n.gr

'S/he wears the shoes torn'

material process

ascriptive Range

(≈ Eng. Depictive Attribute)

(72) *H-izo pedazos la carta*

make-3s/pst pieces the letter

Pro/Ac	Rg: ascr	Goal
v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

's/he torn the letter into pieces'

material process

ascriptive Range

(≈ Eng. Resultative Attribute)

As already noted, these ascriptive elements in Spanish cannot be easily 'left out' without changing, sometimes radically, the meaning of the whole experiential configuration:

(71') **Llev-a los zapatos*

carry-3s/prs the shoes

Pro/Ac	Goal
v.gr	n.gr

*'S/he wears the shoes'

¹⁹ Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) have established the difference between Resultative and Depictive Attributes in association with English material processes. The former is interpreted in close relation to Role (product) Circumstances, while the latter is interpreted as specifying 'the state in which the Actor or Goal is when it takes part in the process' (p. 195).

(72') * *H-izo* *la carta*

make-3s/pst the letter

Pro/Ac	Goal
v.gr	n.gr

*'S/he made the letter'

Thus, unlike English Depictive and Resultative Attributes, these elements in Spanish are more nuclear and less 'optional', since they are required to specify the meaning of the Process together with P₂. This is particularly true if the Process involves a 'generic' verb such as *llevar* ('take') or *hacer* ('do', 'make'), as in the so-called 'light verb constructions'. Ascriptive elements of this kind may be also at stake in other process types, including mental processes (see section 4.4 below).

While Spanish ascriptive Ranges share specific potential with respect to other elements of structure, particularly P₁ and P₂, they also share a number of restrictions, since they that cannot be easily substituted by nominal pro-forms at clause and group rank, and they can never be 'doubled'. In addition, they cannot enter active/passive agnation in the same way P₂ does in transitive configurations.

Table 4.9 below summarises the main characteristics of ascriptive Ranges in Spanish:

ascriptive Range	
typical class	nominal groups (usu. indefinite deixis) adjectival nominal groups (i.e. with adjectives as Head)
configurational potential	- depends on process type (from nuclear in relational processes to more borderline in other process types) - agreement relations across constituents: number and/or gender co-selections
substitutes	restricted; depend on specific configuration - neuter <i>eso</i> ('that') - non-pronominal <i>así</i> ('thus') - none
ellipsis	restricted in 'copular' clauses other configs: restricted if associated with P ₂
cliticisation	only in 'copular' clauses, and neuter accusative <i>lo</i> ('it')

Table 4.9 Main characteristics of ascriptive Ranges in Spanish

Alarcos's Supplements have been here interpreted as supplemental Ranges. These are intermediate elements that in some respects are at the fringe of Circumstances, since they need to be realised by prepositional phrases and they can never be cliticised (cf. García-Miguel, 1995b; Rojo, 1990b). However, as already noted,

other patterns make them very similar to nuclear elements. Firstly, they can only be referred to through nominal substitute forms:

(73) a. *A las 5.15 se encontr-aba con [su mujer]*

At the 5.14 meet-3s/pst.impf/ ind with his wife

Loc: time	Pro/Ac	Rg: sppl
p.phr	v.gr	p.phr

'At 5.15 he would meet with his wife'

b. *A las 5.15 se encontr-aba con [ella]*

At the 5.14 meet-3s/pst.impf/ ind with she

Loc: time	Pro/Ac	Rg: sppl
p.phr	v.gr	p.phr

'At 5.15 he would meet with her'

Secondly, supplemental Ranges cannot be easily left out without changing the meaning of the whole configuration:

(74) **A las 5.15 se encontr-aba*

At the 5.14 meet-3s/pst.impf/ ind

Loc: time	Pro/Ac
p.phr	v.gr

*'At 5.15 he would meet'

As noted by Rojo (1990, p. 163ff) one key feature of supplemental elements relates to the preposition they are associated with. To begin, the range of prepositions in prepositional phrases realising Supplements appear quite restricted when compared to prepositional phrases realising Circumstances. In fact, the most frequent prepositions in supplemental elements include *de* ('of') and *en* ('in'), as in the examples provided by Rojo himself:

(75) a. *Dudar de algo*

to doubt of something

Process	Supplement
---------	------------

b. *Pensar en algo*

to think in something

Process	Supplement
---------	------------

c. *Hablar de algo*

to talk/speak of something

Process	Supplement
---------	------------

d. *Acusar de algo*

To accuse of something

Process	Supplement
---------	------------

e. *Confiar en algo*

To trust in something

Process	Supplement
---------	------------

Secondly, Rojo argues that prepositions in supplemental elements are ‘governed’ by the ‘verb’ at stake, that is, they depend on the Process, and therefore cannot vary independently from it:

- (76) a. *Dudar de algo* x **Dudar en algo*
 to doubt of something Doubt in something

Process	Supplement
---------	------------

Process	Supplement
---------	------------
- b. *Pensar en algo* x **Pensar de algo*
 to think in something Think of something

Process	Supplement
---------	------------

Process	Supplement
---------	------------
- c. *Hablar de algo* x **Hablar en algo*
 to talk/speak of something Talk/Speak in something

Process	Supplement
---------	------------

Process	Supplement
---------	------------
- d. *Acusar de algo* x **Acusar en algo*
 Accuse of something Accuse in something

Process	Supplement
---------	------------

Process	Supplement
---------	------------
- e. *Confiar en algo* x **Confiar de algo*
 Trust in something Trust of something

Process	Supplement
---------	------------

Process	Supplement
---------	------------

This contrasts with prepositions associated with Circumstances, which are independent from the nuclear configuration they might be expanding, as shown in the example provided by Rojo (1990, p. 164):

(77) *Residen en/cerca de/ al lado de/al otro lado de/frente a Vigo*

‘They live in/near/next to/opposite to/in front of Vigo’

P ₁ /Process	Circumstance
v.gr	prepositional phrase

This suggests that prepositions in supplemental Ranges can be better considered as elements relating a more marginal Participant to the Process, rather than relating a peripheral element to the whole configuration, as it is the case with Circumstances. Additionally, many intransitive configurations that cannot be possibly expanded by P₂, can indeed be expanded by a supplemental element, as shown in examples provided by Alarcos (1966, p.12ff) and re-analysed below in (78) to (80):

(78) *la pecadora se arrepint-ió de [su vida pasada]*

the sinner rfl repented-3s/pst of [her life past]

P ₁	Process	Rg: sppl
n.gr	v.gr	p.phr

‘the sinner repented of her past life’

(79) *te burl-as de [su ingenuidad]*

rfl mock-2s/ of [his/her naivete]
prs/ind

Pro/P ₁	Rg: sppl
v.gr	p.phr

‘your making fun of her naivete’

(80) *se jact-aban de [sus éxitos]*

rfl brag-3p/ of [their success]
pst.impf

Pro/P ₁	Rg: sppl
v.gr	p.phr

‘They were bragging about their success’

The examples provided by Alarcos notably involve the so-called ‘pronominal verbs’, which obligatorily take a ‘reflexive marking’ at group rank (glossed as ‘rfl’), i.e. a segment that co-selects the same person/number distinctions of the verb inflection. These are verbs historically related to ‘true’ reflexive verbal groups, but whose reflexive marking, at the present stage, does not realise any reflexive meaning (e.g. Bogard, 2006; González, 2006). Importantly, supplemental elements not only tend to be associated with ‘pronominal verbs’, but also with other ‘non-reflexive *se* forms’ (see section 4.3.2.2 below).

Table 4.10 below summarises the main characteristics of supplemental Ranges across configurations:

supplemental Range	
typical class	only prep. phrase
configurational potential	borderline, towards nucleus
substitutes	clause rank, and nominal only - personal pronouns and demonstratives
ellipsis	restricted: closely associated with Process
cliticisation	banned
prepositions	restricted and depending on the Process

Table 4.10 General characterisation of supplemental Ranges in Spanish

Ranges, either ascriptive or supplemental, show complex but nonetheless recurrent patterns across clause configurations. At this point, they can be generally considered as borderline elements defining various ‘gravitational fields’ within the experiential structure of Spanish. Therefore, the specific potential of the Range function needs to be described in close association with experiential types, as will be shown in section 4.4 below with respect to mental processes.

Beyond nuclear elements, Circumstances represent experiential functions that are clearly peripheral in kind, relating to nuclear configurations as a whole. In fact, more than one Circumstance is possible within the same experiential structure:

(81) *Desde [las cinco veinte] me v-a a esperar, en [la puerta del Rex], mi mujer*

from [the five twenty] dat/ go-3s/ 1s lk wait-inf prs/ind at [the door of the Rex] my wife

Circ: Location: time	P ₂ /Process	Circ: Location: place	P ₁
p. phr	v. gr	p. phr	n. gr
from [five twenty]	s/he-go to wait _{me}	at [the door of the Rex]	my wife

'from five twenty my wife is going to wait for me at the gate of the cinema'

Circumstances can be taken out without affecting the meaning of the nuclear configuration:

(82) *me v-a a esperar mi mujer*

dat/ go-3s/ 1s lk wait-inf prs/ind my wife

P ₂ /Process	P ₁
v. gr	n. gr
s/he-go to wait _{me}	my wife

'My wife is going to wait for me'

As already noted, Spanish Circumstances show no potential for cliticisation at group rank and they can be realised by different classes. They prototypically don't show distinctions in number and/or gender, and their privileged substitute forms are non-pronominal, including *así* ('thus', 'like this'), *de ese modo* ('in this way'), *aquí-ahí* ('here', 'there'), *entonces* ('then'). Table 4.11 below shows the general characteristics opposing Circumstances to nuclear elements in experiential structure:

Circumstances	
typical class	prep. phrase adverbial groups nominal groups
configurational potential	peripheral - can be more easily left out without changing the meaning of the nuclear configuration - more than one - whole paradigm of prepositions, regardless of the nuclear configuration
substitutes	clause-rank only, and can be non-pronominal

Table 4.11 General characteristics of Circumstances in Spanish

The general characterisation of Circumstances presented here is meant to succinctly show the most important ways in which they contrast with nuclear elements in Spanish. A more precise delimitation of their specific configurational potential with

respect the clause as a whole, in particular, their systematic associations with specific process (sub)types, is beyond the scope of the present study. Borderline cases will be specifically addressed in relation to mental processes in section 4.4 below.

Figure 4.15 below summarises the generalised interpretation of Spanish experiential structure explored here from an orbital perspective, with typical clause constituents realising each configurational element:

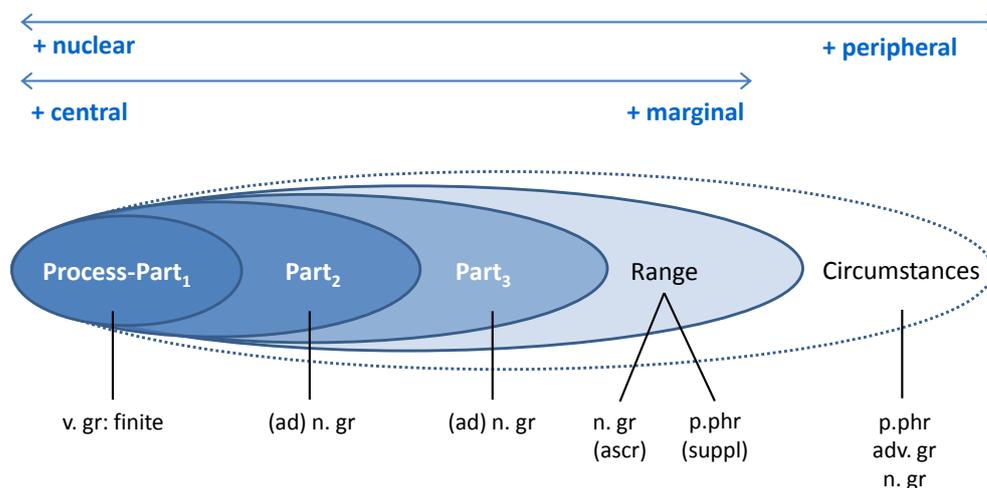


Figure 4.15 Generalised experiential structure: orbital relations in Spanish

In this orbital interpretation of Spanish experiential structure, relations are seen along two parallel dimensions, following the terminology employed by Martin (1995, 1996c) and Martin and Rose (2007). In the first place, there is a cline defining the potential of elements in terms of nuclear to peripheral relations within the clause as a whole. Secondly, within nuclear configurational relations, there is a cline that begins at the ‘centre of gravity’, represented by Process-P₁ (Martin, 1996b, p. 62; cf. Alarcos, 1994, p. 319), which may be further expanded by up to two additional elements, including ascriptive Ranges. As for Supplements, it has been proposed by Rojo (1990) that there may be more than one of them in clause structure. Their borderline nature, however, is reflected by some structural incompatibilities they show with other nuclear elements in the same clause structure, e.g. with P₂ (Alarcos, 1966). In light of potential differences across configurations, ascriptive and supplemental Ranges may be re-represented as elements generally departing from prototypical Participants, but still within the nuclear orbit, as illustrated in Figure 4.16 below:

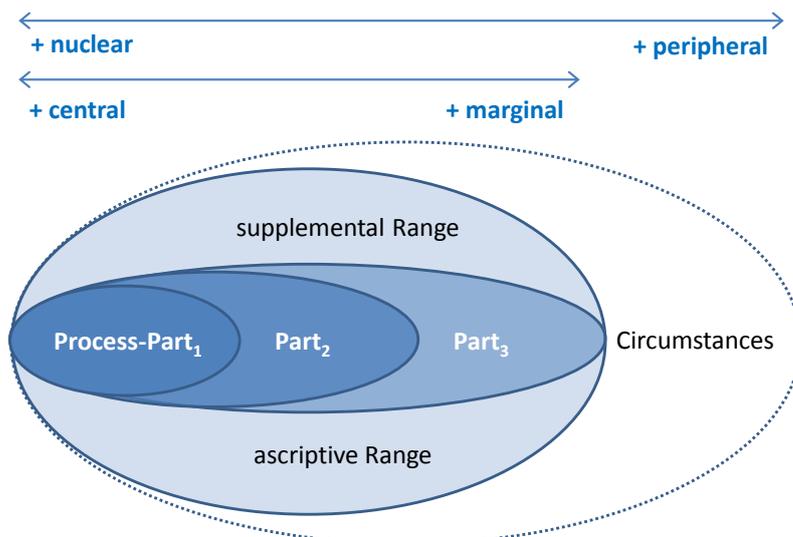


Figure 4.16 Ascriptive and supplemental Ranges as departing from prototypical Participants in Spanish nuclear orbit

4.3.2 Relevant verbal group systems

The previous section introduced the main resources for the realisation of elements in Spanish experiential structure. In particular, experiential configurations were explored in terms of their orbital organisation around an experiential gravitational centre, which can be minimally realised by a finite verbal group. Here, a closer look is taken at verbal group resources and their contribution to orbital relations.

In Chapter 3, section 3.4, verbal group systems were examined in relation to their contribution to interpersonal meanings. An analysis of their multivariate structure was then proposed, as exemplified in (83) below²⁰:

(83) *Usted no me h-a dado un buen argumento*

You neg acc/ aux-2s/ give-prctp a good argument
1s prs/ind

n.gr	v.gr				n.gr
	Neg	P-cl	Fin	Event	
	neg	p.cl	aux	decir	
you	no you-have given me				a good argument

'You haven't given me a good argument'

Some of the systems generating functions in the multivariate structure were also discussed. FINITENESS and POLARITY were shown to generate Neg/Pos and Finite

²⁰ See Appendix E for an exploratory interpretation of the univariate structure of the Spanish verbal group.

functions, respectively. The full Spanish verbal group network is reintroduced in Figure 4.17 below:

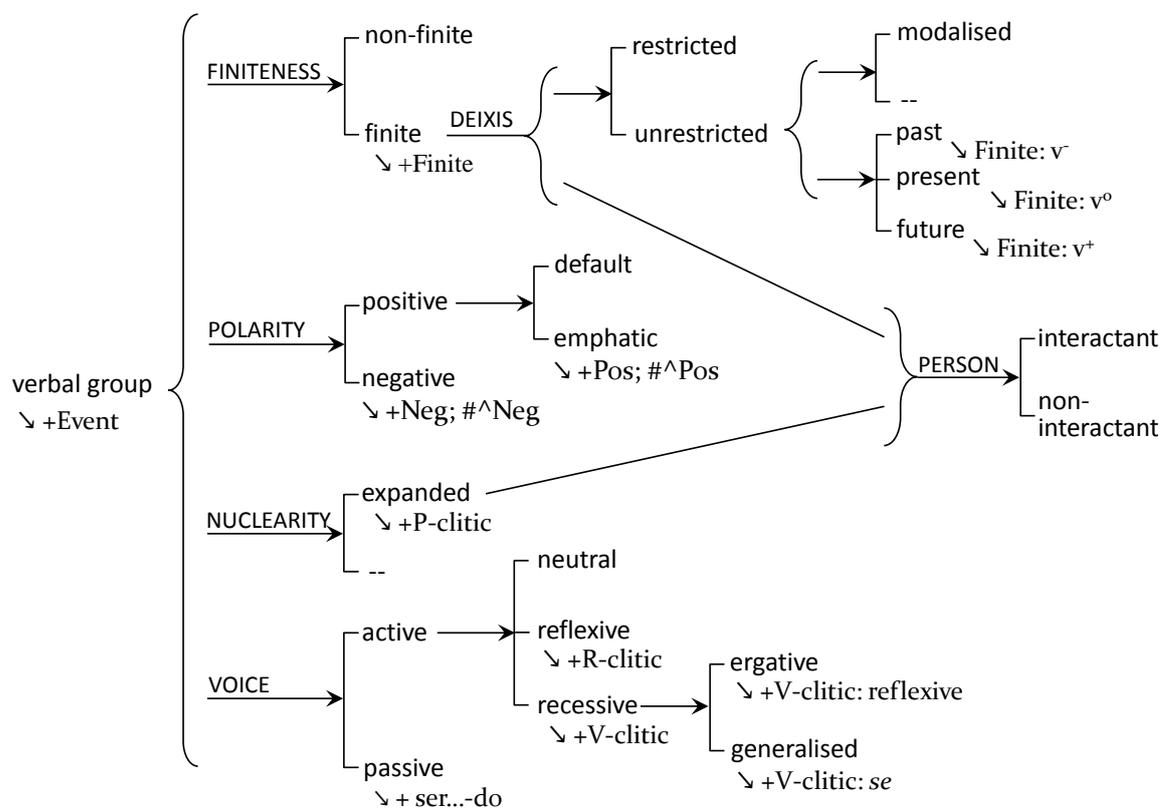


Figure 4.17 Spanish verbal group systems

As seen in the network, the Event is the basic function required in the structure of the verbal group. This function represents its experiential ‘hub’, crucially contributing to the ‘lexical’ meaning of the Process in the experiential structure of the clause. In the network two systems stand out from an experiential point of view: the NUCLEARITY system, which organises the orbital expansion of the experiential hub by means of resources at group rank, and the VOICE system, dealing with resources contributing to the re-configuration of experiential elements at clause rank. Each of these systems are reviewed in detail in the following subsections.

4.3.2.1 NUCLEARITY

As already noted, the Spanish verbal group is experientially significant, since it may realise, on its own, a nuclear configuration of Process and Participant(s), as shown in (84.b) below:

(84) a. *Usted no me h-a dado un buen argumento*

you neg dat/ aux-2s/ give-prctp a good argument
1s prs/ind

P ₁	P ₃ /Process	P ₂
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'you haven't given me a good argument'

b. *No me lo h-a dado*

neg dat/ acc/ aux-2s/ give-prctp
1s 3s prs

P ₃ /P ₂ /Pro/P ₁
v.gr

'you haven't given it to me'

The verbal group thus may realise a 'mini' experiential configuration by means of pronominal expansions generating the P-clitic function:

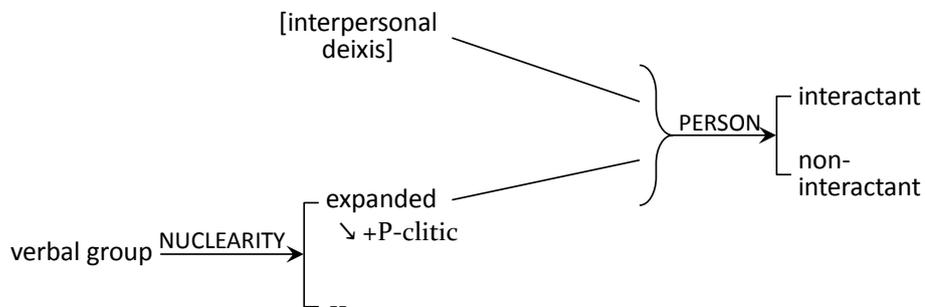


Figure 4.18 NUCLEARITY system in the Spanish verbal group

From the perspective of the rank scale, pronominal clitics realising P-clitic are down-ranked elements that originally functioned as clause constituents. They historically evolved from pronominal and demonstrative nominal groups in late Latin – personal pronouns in the case of interactant clitics, and demonstrative elements in the case of non-interactant ones (Fernández Soriano, 1999, p. 1256; Penny, 2002, p. 133). In modern Spanish, they make up a closed set of resources that is no longer realising nominal constituents at clause rank. Traditionally known as 'atonic pronouns', pronominal clitics cannot function as the Head of a nominal group. Therefore, they cannot realise a nominal group on their own, as is the case with personal 'tonic' pronouns at clause rank. In fact, pronominal clitics are both phonologically and grammatically dependent on the Finite and Event functions in the verbal group: they are typically weak and only appear next to the Finite and Event they are associated with:

(85) a. *¿A quién le h-an dado un buen argumento?*

To whom dat/ aux-3s/ give- a good argument
 3s prs/ind prcpt

n.gr	v.gr			n.gr
	P-cl	Fin	Ev	

'to whom have given him a good argument?'

b. – *A usted*

'to you'

c. – **Le*

* you

(86) a. *¿Qué le d-ieron a usted?*

What dat/ give-3p/ to you?
 2s pst/ind

n.gr	v.gr		n.gr
	P-cl	Fin/Ev	

'what did they give to you?'

b. – *Un argumento*

'an argument'

– *Eso*

'that'

c. – **Lo*

*it

For this reason, and for a number of other properties indicating that pronominal clitics are on their way to becoming verbal affixes, they are here analysed within the domain of the verbal group²¹. The complete set of pronominal clitics available in Latin American Spanish is shown in Table 4.12 below:

PRONOMINAL CLITICS: LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH			interactants			non- interactants	neuter
			spkr	addressee			
				inf	frml		
accusative	sing	masc	me	te	lo	lo	
		fem			la		
	plural	masc	nos	los		los	
		fem		las		las	
dative	singular		me	te	le	--	
	plural		nos	les			
	combined*		--				se

Table 4.12 Paradigm of pronominal clitics realising P-clitic in Latin American Spanish²²

²¹ See detailed discussion on the affixal nature of pronominal clitic in Belloro (2007) and Fernández (1993; 1999, p. 1256ff).

²² See Appendix D for the contrast with pronominal clitics available in Peninsular Spanish.

The set of pronominal clitics co-exists with that of personal pronouns; in fact, resources from both paradigms may co-occur in a given clause, as another manifestation of ‘clitic doubling’ (see section 4.2.1 above):

(87) *Usted no me h-a dado un buen argumento a mí*

you neg dat/ aux-2s/ give- a good argument to me
1s prs/ind prctp

P ₁	(P ₃)/Process	P ₂	P ₃
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr
you	not me have-you given	a good argument	to me

‘you haven’t given (me) a good argument to me’

However, pronominal elements at clause and group rank are not interchangeable: personal pronouns show a number of restrictions with respect to the nature of entities to which they can refer, while pronominal clitics can be used for any kind of entity, including inanimate and second-order entities (see section 4.4 below).

Within the verbal group, the maximum number of P-clitics that can be inserted is two. However, this number may be further restricted by selections in VOICE (see section 4.3.2.2 below). For example, if a V-clitic is inserted, it obligatorily occupies the initial position in the sequence of clitics, leaving only one more ‘slot’ available for a P-clitic²³:

(88) a. *Se te examina el cuerpo*

se-cl dat/ examine-3s/ the body
1s prs/ind

v.gr			n.gr
V-cl	P-cl	Fin/Ev	
se	dat		

‘(someone) examines the body to you’, ‘the body is examined to you’
Eng ≈ ‘they examine your body’, ‘your body is examined’

b. **Se te lo examina*

se-cl dat/ acc/ examine-3s/
2s 3s prs/ind

v.gr			
V-cl	P-cl	P-cl	Fin/Ev

*‘(someone) examines it to you’, ‘it is examined to you’
Eng ≈ ‘They examine it’, ‘it is examined (on you)’

This supports the idea that Spanish clitic elements, pronominal or not, together make up a ‘clitic cluster’ within the multivariate structure of the verbal group, with

²³ However, in some registers of Chilean Spanish, the clitic slots may be filled with up to three elements, as in *se me le cayó* (‘The glass fell on me’ ≈ Eng. ‘I dropped the glass’). Since the motivation of a third clitic by either NUCLEARITY or VOICE selections at group rank is unclear, these cases are not considered in the present discussion (cf. the notion of ‘superfluous’ datives in Spanish first introduced by Bello, 1847. p. 225ff.).

strictly defined internal ‘slots’ following a fixed sequence. Pronominal clitics realising P-Clitics need to follow the order ‘dative ^ accusative’:

(89) *Usted no me lo ha dado*
 you neg dat/ acc/ aux- give-prctp
 1s 3s 2s/prs

n.gr	v.gr				
	Neg	P-cl	P-cl	Fin	Event
		dat ^ acc			

‘you haven’t given it to me’

If a third person dative clitic appears with an accusative one, the form *se* is required – instead of *le*, *les*:

(90) *Usted no se lo ha dado*
 you neg dat/ acc/ aux- give-prctp
 3s 3s 2s/prs

n.gr	v.gr				
	Neg	P-cl	P-cl	Fin	Event
		dat ^ acc			

‘you haven’t given it to them/him/her’

The sequence of clitics is strict both in cases of proclisis and enclisis – that is, whether they are immediately preceding the Finite element, as in simple verbal groups realising indicative clauses, or whether they are immediately following the Event, as in positive imperative clauses (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.1):

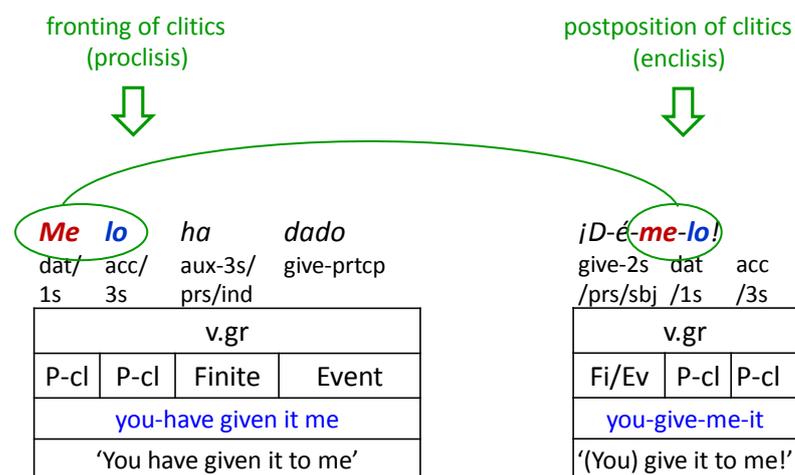


Figure 4.19 Proclisis and enclisis in the Spanish verbal group

As suggested in section 4.2.1 above, the realisation of Participants by means of co-referential relations across ranks is a unique feature of Spanish and Romanian among Romance languages, in a phenomenon traditionally known as ‘clitic doubling’. In section 4.3.1, this co-selection of co-referential resources across ranks was shown to be

crucial for the establishment of degrees of nuclearity among elements in clause structure. A number of authors have indeed suggested that pronominal clitics take part in ‘agreement’ relations in the same way selections in person morphology do (e.g. Barrenechea & Orecchia, 1977; Belloro, 2007; Bogard, 1999; García-Miguel, 1991; Mendikoetxea, 1993; Silva-Corvalán, 1981; Suñer, 1988). From an interpersonal perspective, selections in NUCLEARITY have been analysed here as closely related to personal deixis – that is, they also concern selections in PERSON at group rank (see Chapter 3, section 3.4.1).

Beyond the considerations outlined thus far, the patterning of pronominal clitics and their role in experiential clause structure varies greatly across Spanish varieties. ‘Doubling’ is only one such pattern, being particularly favoured in Chilean and Buenos Aires Spanish (see section 4.3.1 above). Another source of variation is their role in orbital relations, with Madrid’s Spanish being one variety where the distinction between P₂ and P₃ has become neutralised, in a phenomenon commonly referred to, from a prescriptive point of view, as *leísmo* – i.e. the use of dative clitic for the realisation of human entities regardless of their experiential status. In this respect, Latin American Spanish varieties tend to more clearly distinguish nuclear relations by means of the distinctive selection of accusative or dative clitic (Fernández Soriano, 1993, 1999). However, there are cases of indeterminacy in which either a dative or accusative clitic may be selected for the realisation of a given Participant, as will be seen in section 4.4 in relation to mental processes.

4.3.2.2 VOICE

In early SFL descriptive work on English, Halliday distinguished two VOICE systems, one at clause rank and another at group rank (Halliday, 1969/1976)²⁴. While both systems were shown to interact productively in English, there were not regarded as strictly equivalent. Their internal organisation and the labelling of their features reflected such differences, as shown in Figure 4.20 below:

²⁴ In later descriptive work, the English clause rank system was called AGENCY (e.g. Matthiessen, 1995, p.190ff, 205)

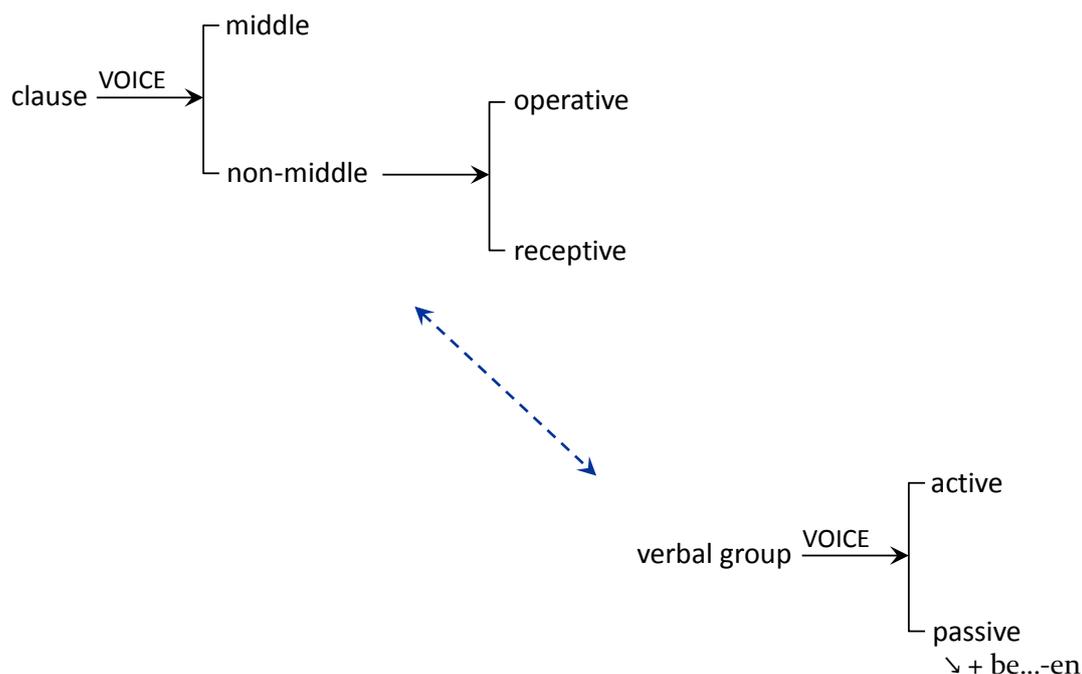


Figure 4.20 English VOICE at clause and group rank (based on Halliday, 1969/1976)

This inter-rank distinction is important in the description of English in order to better understand the interactions between the experiential and the textual metafunction in clause structure. Specifically, clause-rank distinctions in VOICE were motivated by the arrangement of Participants in the service of THEME and INFORMATION systems (Halliday, 1967c, 1968). In contrast, VOICE features at group rank were motivated ‘from below’ by the specific structure of the verbal group (Halliday, 1969/1976).

The specific interactions between experiential and textual systems, such as the one conducted for English by Halliday (1967b, 1967c, 1968), have not been explored in Spanish thus far. Such an enterprise would require a similarly comprehensive and systematic description of both experiential and textual systems, which is not undertaken in the present study²⁵. For the above reasons, ‘active’ and ‘passive’ labels are maintained at clause rank in the traditional sense, that is, to refer to clause contrasts involving a shift in the assignation of modal responsibility (i.e. to P₁ in active clauses and to P₂ in passive ones). The focus of this subsection, however, is on the broad range of choices in VOICE at group rank, with [passive] and [active] being only the two least delicate distinctions afforded by Spanish verbal groups.

²⁵ However, see Moyano (2010, 2012) for an SFL description of Spanish Theme and the relevant interaction with verbal group resources.

Figure 4.21 below shows the two primary features in VOICE, with the verbal group as the entry condition:

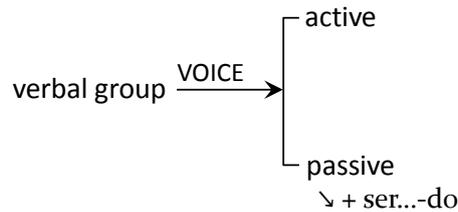


Figure 4.21 Spanish VOICE: [active] and [passive]

If [passive] is selected, the verbal group takes the *ser... -do* form, traditionally analysed as a ‘passive periphrasis’ consisting of the auxiliary *ser* (‘to be₁’) + (past) participle:

- (91) *Cuando uno es torturado...*
 when one aux-3s/ torture-prtcp
 prs/ind

	Goal	Process	
conj.	n.gr	v.gr: passive	
		Finite	Event
		<i>ser</i>	<i>torturar</i>
		$\alpha^{0/pass}$ $\beta^{torturar}$	
	one	one-is tortured	

‘When one is tortured...’

From the point of view of the multivariate structure of the verbal group, the verb *ser* (‘to be₁’) realises any function preceding the Event – in the example above, the Finite. In turn, the Event is realised by the (past) participle form, which in the case of passive verbal groups displays agreement in person, number and gender with the modally responsible P_2 ²⁶. From the point of view of their univariate structure, the selection of *ser...-do* precedes the selection of the last element in the series, the ‘dictionary form’ of the verb realising the Event, α and β , respectively, in the above example²⁷.

The choice of [passive] allows assigning modal responsibility to P_2 at clause rank, e.g. in example (91) above, the Goal of a material process. P_1 may be introduced by a *por*-prepositional phrase:

²⁶ Cf. participle forms used in complex tenses in Spanish, which are invariable. See Appendix D for a brief account of non-finite verb forms in Spanish.

²⁷ See Appendix E for a sketch of the univariate structure of the verbal group in Spanish.

(92) – *Cuando uno es torturado (por alguien)*

when one be-3s/ torture-prtcp by someone
prs/ind

	Goal	Process	Actor
conj.	n.gr	v.gr: passive	p. phr
		Finite	Event
		ser	torturar
		$\alpha^0 \beta^{\text{pass}} \gamma^{\text{torturar}}$	
	one	one-is tortured	by someone

‘When one is tortured by someone’

Passive verbal groups also allow the realisation of P₃, by means of an adpositional nominal group and/or a dative clitic:

(93) ...este problema *le* fue informado al director del Servicio de Salud Aconcagua Rodrigo Infante²⁸

this problem dat/ be-3s/ inform-prtcp to the director of the Servive of Health
3s pst Aconcagua Rodrigo Infante

Part ₂	(P ₃ /)Pro	Part ₃
n.gr	v.gr: passive	n.gr

Participant₃:
- doubling
- passive v.gr

‘this problem was informed (him) to the director of the Aconcagua Health Service Rodrigo Infante’

(94) *Le* fueron otorgados US\$ 60 millones a AquaChile S.A.²⁹

dat/ were-3p give-prtcp US\$ 60 millions to AquaChile S.A.
3s /pst

(P ₃ /)Process	P ₂	Part ₃
v.gr: passive	v.gr	n.gr

Participant₃:
- doubling
- passive v.gr

‘US\$60 millions were given to (it) AquaChile Ltd’

As for the selection of [active], a number of choices are opened up, as shown in Figure 4.22 below:

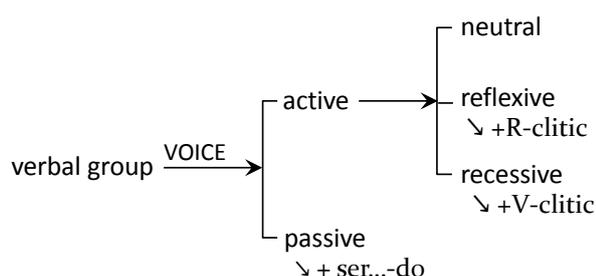


Figure 4.22 Spanish VOICE: delicate choices for [active]

The feature [neutral] is the one more evidently opposing [passive] in that no periphrastic form is at stake – it is the ‘default’, unmarked choice. Traditionally, agnation between [active: neutral] and [passive] at group rank gives rise to the

²⁸ Retrieved October 31, 2012, from <http://www.losandesonline.cl/noticias.php?id=19680&titulo=sigue-ola-de-robos-de-vehiculos-en-los-andes.html>

²⁹ Retrieved October 31, 2012, from <http://www.aqua.cl/noticias/index.php?doc=992>

distinction between the so-called ‘transitive’ and ‘intransitive’ constructions at clause rank – that is, configurations that can be expanded by P₂ versus configurations that cannot:

(95) *Cuando a uno lo torturan* : *Cuando uno es torturado...*

when	one	acc/ 3s	torture-3p/ prs/ind	when	one	be-3s/ prs/ind	torture-prtcp
conj.	n.gr	v.gr: active: neutral		conj.	n.gr	v.gr: passive	
		P-cl	Fin/Event			Finite	Event
			$\alpha^0 \beta^{pass} \gamma^{torturar}$			$\alpha^0 \beta^{pass} \gamma^{torturar}$	
	one	one tortured-they			one	one-is	tortured
	‘When they torture one’				‘When one is tortured’		

transitive agnation:
active/passive

An active verbal group may also select for [reflexive], in which case a R-clitic is inserted in structure (underlined in examples below):

(96) *Me lav-é*, || *me pein-é* || y *me prepar-é desayuno*

rfl	wash-1s/ pst/ind	rfl	wash-1s/ pst/ind	and	rfl	prepare-1s/ pst/ind	breakfast
v.gr: reflexive		v.gr: reflexive		conj	v.gr: reflexive		n.gr
<u>R-cl</u>	Fin/Ev	<u>R-cl</u>	Fin/Ev		Fin/Ev		
<u>I-washed me</u>		<u>I-combed me</u>			<u>I-prepare me</u>		breakfast
‘I washed, I combed (my hair) and I prepare (myself) breakfast’							

R-Clitic is realised by the class of **reflexive clitics**, which are here understood as verbal group particles co-referring with the person and number contrasts of verb inflection. Table 4.13 below summarises the paradigm of reflexive clitics in Spanish (see also Appendix D):

REFLEXIVE CLITICS: LAT AM SPANISH	interactants			non-interactants
	spkr	addr		
		inf	fml	
singular	<i>me</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>
plural	<i>nos</i>	<i>se</i>		

Table 4.13 Paradigm of reflexive clitics in Spanish

In spite of their similarities with (and historical relatedness to) the paradigm of pronominal clitics, reflexive clitics *do not* realise, on their own, Participants at clause rank (see section 4.3.2.1 above). In the case of reflexive verbal groups, these bound elements, together with the verb inflection, realise the conflation of two experiential

functions in clause structure³⁰. This conflation is represented enclosed in parentheses in examples (97) and (98) below:

(97) *Me lav-é y me pein-é*

rfl wash-1s/ pst/ind and rfl wash-1s/ pst/ind

(Ac/Go)/Pro		(Ac/Go)/Pro	
v.gr: reflexive		v.gr: reflexive	
R-cl	Fin/Ev	R-cl	Fin/Ev
I-washed me		I-combed me	

'I washed and I combed'

(98) *La reina malvada se contemplaba todo el día en el espejo*

the queen evil rfl contemplate-3s /pst/ind all the day in the mirror

(Se/Ph)	Process		Loc: time	Loc: pl
n.gr	v.gr: reflexive		n.gr	p.phr
	R-cl	Fin/Ev		
the evil queen	she-contemplated (her)		all the day	in the mirror

'The evil queen contemplated herself the whole day in the mirror'

The resulting reflexive meaning at clause rank may be reinforced by a 'reflexive' nominal group or by any clause constituent making overt the conflation of Participants:

(99) *Se contemplaba a sí misma en el espejo*

rfl contemplate-3s/ pst/ind to herself in the mirror

Pro	(Se/Ph)	Loc: pl
v.gr: reflexive	n.gr	p.phr
R-cl	Fin/Ev	
s/he-contemplate her	to herself	in the mirror

'She contemplated herself in the mirror'

(100) *Me lav-é sola*

rfl wash-1s/ pst/ind I alone

(Ac/Go)/Pro	Ma
v.gr: reflexive	n.gr
R-cl	Fin/Ev
I-washed me	alone

'I washed on my own'

Processes realised by verbal groups selecting for [reflexive] may allow the specification of their 'scope', for example, by means of a Range construing a body part or other entities closely related to the Process, as in examples (101) and (102) below:

³⁰ The feature [reflexive] realised by a R-cl here covers both 'reflexive *se*' and 'reciprocal *se*' particles (cf. González, 2009)

(101) *Me lav-é la cara*

rfl wash-1s/ the face
pst/ind

(Ac/Go)/Pro		Range
v.gr: rflx		n.gr
R-cl	Fin/Ev	
I-washed me		the face

'I washed the face to myself'
(Eng ≈ 'I washed my face')

(102) *Se contempl-aba la corona en el espejo*

rfl contemplate-3s/ the crown in the mirror
pst/ind

(Se/Ph)/Pro		Range	Loc: pl
v.gr: reflexive		n.gr	p. phr
R-cl	Fin/Ev		
s/he-contemplate her		the crown	in the mirror

'She contemplated the crown to herself in the mirror'
Eng ≈ 'She contemplated the crown (she was wearing) in the mirror'

This kind of Ranges associated with a reflexive clause have often been interpreted, from an English perspective, among resources for the construal of (in)alienable possession (e.g. Davis, 1968; Kliffer, 1983). However, as seen in examples (101) and (102) above, these Ranges are realised by nominal groups with non-possessive definite deixis, and they can, in fact, be cliticised independently by an accusative clitic:

(103) *Me lav-é la cara* : *Me la lav-é*

rfl wash-1s/ the face : rfl acc/ wash-1s/
pst/ind 3s pst/ind

(Ac/Go)/Pro		Range	(Ac/Go)/Rg/Pro		
v.gr: rflx		n.gr	v. gr		
R-cl	Fin/Ev		R-cl	P-cl	Fin/Ev
I-washed me	the face		I-washed it me		

'I washed the face to myself' : 'I washed it to myself'

(104) *Se contempl-aba la corona* : *Se la contempl-aba*

rfl contemplate-3s/ the crown : rfl acc/ contemplate-3s/
pst/ind 3s pst/ind

(Se/Ph)/Pro		Range	(Ac/Go)/Rg/Pro		
v.gr: reflexive		n.gr	v.gr: reflexive		
R-cl	Fin/Ev		R-cl	P-cl	Fin/Ev
she-contemplate her	the crown		she-contemplated it her		

'She contemplated the crown to herself' : 'She contemplated it to herself'

Processes realised by these verbal groups may also involve the conflation of P₁ and P₃, as shown in example (105) below, where Actor and Beneficiary are conflated, and the Goal is the element that can be cliticised:

- (105) *Me prepar-é desayuno* : *Me lo preparé*
 rfl prepare-1s/ breakfast : rfl acc/ prepare-1s/
 pst/ind 3s pst/ind
- | | |
|-----------------|-----------|
| (Ac/Be)/Pro | Go |
| v.gr: reflexive | n.gr |
| Fin/Ev | |
| I-prepare me | breakfast |
- | | | |
|------------------|------|--------|
| (Ac/Be)/Go/Pro | | |
| v.gr: reflexive | | |
| R-cl | P-cl | Fin/Ev |
| I-prepared it me | | |
- 'I prepared myself breakfast' : 'I prepared it (for) myself'

However, the fact that an element can be cliticised by accusative at group rank, does not mean it properly corresponds to P₂ of transitive clauses, since reflexive clauses cannot enter active/passive agnation:

- (106) a. **La cara se fue lavada* x passive banned
 his/her face rfl be-3s/ wash-prctp
 pst/ind
 *'The face was washed'
- b. **La cara fue lavada* x passive banned
 be-3s/ wash-prctp
 pst/ind
 *'The face was washed'
- (107) a. **el desayuno se fue preparado* x passive banned
 his/her face rfl be-3s/ prepare-prctp
 pst/ind
 *'Breakfast was prepared'
- b. **el desayuno fue preparado* x passive banned
 his/her face be-3s/ prepare-prctp
 pst/ind
 *'Breakfast was prepared'

The next feature opened up by [active] is [recessive], following Tesnière's (1959) cross-linguistic analysis of various kinds of orbital re-configurations, or *diatheses*, with passive, active and reflexive being only a few of a number of possibilities available across (Indo-European) languages (p. 242). In the case of Spanish, the feature [recessive] here roughly covers verbal groups associated with a wide range of configurational phenomena generally referred to as 'non-reflexive *se* constructions' (González, 2006, 2009). For the specific configurations under focus in this study, recessive verbal groups concern two more delicate selections, [ergative] and [generalised], both requiring the insertion of V-clitic in structure³¹:

³¹ As in González (2006, 2009), the present account of recessive verbal groups does not include the so-called 'pronominal verbs'. These are verbs historically related to reflexive and recessive verbal groups, but their 'reflexive' marking is, at the present stage, inseparable from their lexical meaning, e.g. *acordarse* ('to remember') versus *acordar* ('to agree').

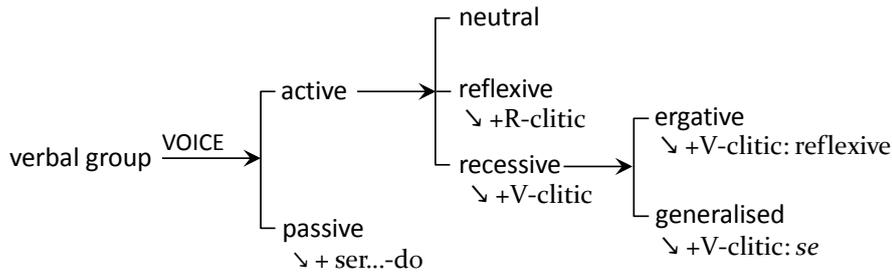


Figure 4.23 Delicate selections for [recessive]

Firstly, [recessive: ergative] verbal groups are the main resource at stake in Spanish clauses entering what is here proposed as **ergative agnation**. Consider the following two-participant material process:

- (108) *El viento cerr-ó la puerta*
 the wind close-3s/ pst/ind the door

Actor	Process	Goal
n.gr	v.gr: neutral	n.gr
	Fin/Ev	
The wind	it-closed	the door

'The wind closed the door'

In clause (108), *el viento* is construed as P₁, the element responsible for the unfolding of the Process, and *la puerta* as P₂, the element to which the Process is further extended – that is, both are part of a transitive configuration, understood in the traditional sense. This configuration is systematically related to a one-participant configuration involving the same verb, with the same lexical meaning, but it is not simply the intransitive one **El viento cerró* ('*The wind closed'). The agnation relation is rather with another pattern, represented in example (109) below:

- (109) *El viento cerr-ó la puerta* : *La puerta se cerr-ó*
 the wind close-3s/pst/ind the door the door rfx close-3s/ pst/ind

Actor	Process	Goal
n.gr	v.gr: neutral	n.gr
	Finite/Event	
the wind	it-closed	the door

'The wind closed the door'

Actor	Process
n.gr	v.gr: recessive
	V-cl Fin/Ev
the door	se closed-3s

'The door closed'

In the agnate clause, *la puerta* is construed as P₁ as directly involved in the unfolding of the Process, that is, the Actor of a one-participant clause. This clause requires a verbal group selecting for [recessive: ergative], realised in structure by the insertion of a V-clitic, a function realised by any element of the class of reflexive clitics at word rank (see Table 4.13 above). However, no reflexive meaning is at stake, since

no conflation of Participant roles takes place at clause rank. The agnation between these two clauses is does not involve a transitive relation, but rather an **ergative** relation.

The term ‘ergative’ was first introduced by Halliday in English descriptions in (1967/2003, p. 61ff) and further elaborated in Halliday (1968, p. 162ff) for clause patterns in English that differ from the traditional **transitive** relation described for most Indo-European languages. Taking material, or ‘action’ processes as the starting point, he shows that transitivity should be understood as an extension relation concerning a basic Actor-Process configuration that may be extended to a Goal. This pattern can be probed by passive/active alternation, bringing about the *transitive agnation*. The ergative agnation, in contrast, is in his view based on the principle of ‘cause and effect’, where ‘the question is whether the cause is external to the action or not’ (Halliday, 1968, p. 186). This pattern can be probed by a different kind of alternation, the *ergative agnation*. Both patterns co-exist in English; in fact, Halliday argues that the ergative pattern is now more prevalent and ever more productive. Transitive and ergative agnation may involve the same lexical verb, as shown in examples (110) and (111) below provided by Halliday (1968, p.184):

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| (110) <i>Mary turned the light on</i> : <i>The light was turned on by Mary</i> | transitive agnation |
| (111) <i>Mary turned the light on</i> : <i>The light turned on</i> | ergative agnation |

Davidse (1991) later elaborates on the ergative pattern in English by dissociating it from any consideration on ‘causation’ and ‘agency’. Instead, she proposes the more general notion of **instigation**, in which the question is whether the process is externally instigated or self-instigated (1991, p. 24ff). Davidse refers to the two-participant pattern as ergative and the one-participant one as non-ergative, as in examples (112) to (114) below (taken from Halliday 1968, p. 187):

- | ergative configuration | : non-ergative configuration |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (112) <i>Mary turned the light on</i> | : <i>The light turned on</i> |
| (113) <i>John opened the door</i> | : <i>The door opened</i> |
| (114) <i>Mary sat the baby up</i> | : <i>The baby sat up</i> |

She proposes that in this agnation relation, the ergative configuration ‘crystalises’ in English a form of organisation in which P₁ externally instigates the Process. In contrast, the related non-ergative configuration does not clearly show whether the Process is self-instigated or externally instigated. Her explanation for this neutralisation, characteristic of non-ergative clauses, is that the ergative relation can be

better seen as involving a different *directionality* with respect to the transitive relation. Figure 4.24 below shows the diagrammatical representation provided by Davidse (1991) for both kinds of directionalities (with different function labels associated to each of them):

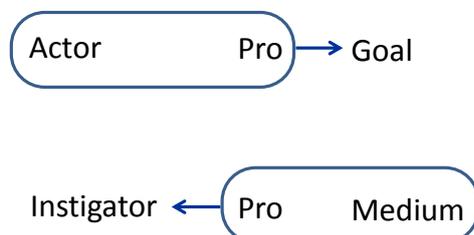


Figure 4.24 The different directionalities of the transitive and ergative configurations (adapted from Davidse 1991, p.27)

Davidse suggests that different languages express the ergative model by means of different resources, with English doing it through the flexibility of the same lexical item, and with other languages doing it through ‘medial reflexive’ and ‘dynamic attributive constructions’ (1991, p. 25):

English	<i>The door is opening</i>	<i>The fire is spreading</i>
French	<i>La porte s’ouvre</i>	<i>Le feu se répand</i>
German	<i>Die Tür öffnet sich</i>	<i>Das Feuer verbreitet sich</i>
Dutch	<i>De deur gaat open</i>	<i>Het vuur verspreidt zich</i> <i>Het vuur neemt uitbreiding</i>

In Spanish descriptive work, non-ergative agnates realised by recessive verbal groups have been usually associated with ‘intransitive’ constructions (i.e. one-participant configurations) entering the so-called ‘causative alternation’ (i.e. ergative agnation) (e.g. Mendikoetxea, 1999). As pointed out by Davidse, such an approach has the problem of assimilating non-ergative clauses to intransitive ones, in spite of the fact that they do not enter transitive agnation (i.e. involving active/passive agnate verbal groups). In addition, Davidse’s instigation model goes beyond ‘causation’ or ‘agency’ considerations, which are also problematic in the distinction between ‘inacusative’ versus ‘inergative’ recessive verbal groups usually associated with the Spanish ‘causative alternation’, as pointed out by González (2006, p. 51-52).

In Spanish, there are a number of relevant reactances relating to non-ergative clauses involving [recessive: ergative] verbal groups. Firstly, P₁ of non-ergative material processes may construe either a ‘doer’ or an ‘undergoer’, depending on the subtype at stake, i.e. ‘happening’ or ‘doing’ (see section 4.2.2 above):

ergative configuration	:	non-ergative configuration
-------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------

- (115) *Cristian apag-ó la luz* : *La luz se apag-ó*
 Cristian turn_off-3s/ the light the light rfl go_off-3s/ pst/ind
 pst/ind
- | Actor | Process | Goal |
|----------|---------------|-----------|
| n.gr | v.gr: neutral | n.gr |
| Cristian | he-turned off | the light |
- | Actor | Process |
|-----------|----------------------|
| n.gr | v.gr: recessive: erg |
| the light | se went-3s out |
- non-ergative:**
 material happening
 Actor as undergoer
- 'Cristian turned off the light' 'The light went out'
- (116) *La tormenta hundi-ó el barco* : *El barco se hundi-ó*
 the storm sink-3s/ the ship the ship rfl sink-3s/ pst/ind
 pst/ind
- | Actor | Process | Goal |
|-----------|---------------|----------|
| n.gr | v.gr: neutral | n.gr |
| the storm | it-sank | the ship |
- | Actor | Process |
|----------|----------------------|
| n.gr | v.gr: recessive: erg |
| the ship | se sank-3s |
- non-ergative:**
 material happening
 Actor as undergoer
- 'The storm sank the ship' 'The ship sank'
- (117) *Paola sent-ó al niño* : *El niño se sent-ó*
 Paola seat-3s/pst/ind the child the child rfl sit-3s/ pst/ind
 pst/ind
- | Actor | Process | Goal |
|-------|---------------|-----------|
| n.gr | v.gr: neutral | n.gr |
| Paola | she-seated | the child |
- | Actor | Process |
|-----------|-----------------|
| n.gr | v.gr: rcss: erg |
| the child | se seated-3s |
- non-ergative:**
 material doing
 Actor as doer
- 'Paola seated the child' 'The child sit (down)'

In examples (115) and (116), the Actor of the non-ergative configurations can be probed with *¿Qué le pasó a x?* ('What happened to x?'), while in (117) the Actor of the non-ergative has to be probed with *¿Qué hizo x?* ('What did x do?'). Furthermore, unless the context or the co-text provides the relevant information, in none of them it is particularly clear whether the Process is self-instigated or externally instigated. Davide (1991) argues that this kind of vagueness is characteristic of non-ergative agnates, the important point being, as far as Spanish recessive verbal groups are concerned, the relation they establish with the ergative configuration that is externally instigated.

Secondly, a supplemental element that is proportional to P₁ of the ergative agnate may be added in structure. This is especially the case when in material clauses when they construe 'happenings', as shown in (118) and (119) below:

- (118) *La puerta se cerr-ó con [el viento]*
 the door rfl close-3s/ with [the wind]
 pst/ind
- | Actor | Process | Range: sppl? |
|----------|-----------------|---------------|
| n.gr | v.gr: rcss: erg | p. phr |
| | V-cl Fin/Ev | |
| the door | se closed-3s | with the wind |
- material: happening**
 ergative agnate
- 'The door closed with the wind'

(119) *El barco se hundi-ó con [la tormenta]*
 the ship rfl sink-3s/ with [the storm]
 pst/ind

Actor	Process		Range: sppl?
n.gr	v.gr: rcss: erg		p. phr
	V-cl	Fin/Ev	
the ship	se sank-3s		with the storm

'The ship sank with [the storm]'

material: happening
 ergative agnate

At this point, this marginal element is analysed as a supplemental Range, in spite of the fact that its patterning differs from supplemental Ranges discussed in section 4.3.1 above, approaching instead that of a Circumstances of Cause and Manner (e.g. (e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 262). Its nuclear or peripheral status will be further discussed in section 4.4.3 below in relation to mental processes. For the time being, it is worthwhile noticing that it is a marginal element specifically related to non-ergative configurations (realised by recessive ergative verbal groups).

Additionally, while non-ergative clauses cannot take a P₂ – being, in this way, banned from active/passive agnation –, they may involve a P₃ indirectly *implicated* in the Process, as shown in examples (120) and (121) below:

(120) *La puerta se me cerr-ó*
 the door rfl dat/ close-3s/
 1s pst/ind

Actor	Process		
n.gr	v.gr: rcss: erg		
	V-cl	P-cl	Fin/Ev
the door	se closed-3s	me	

Eng ≈ 'The door closed on me'

material non-ergative:
 + P₃: dative
 Process: ergative v.gr

(121) *La luz se le apag-ó*
 the door rfl dat/ turn_off-3s/
 3s pst/ind

Actor	Process		
n.gr	v.gr: rcss: erg		
	V-cl	P-cl	Fin/Ev
the light	se turned-3s	out him/her	

Eng ≈ 'The light turned out on him'

material non-ergative:
 +P₃: dative
 Process: ergative v.gr

P₃ above functions as in any other clause configurations: it may be realised at group rank by a dative clitic, it may be realised by an adpositional nominal group at clause rank, and it may be also involved in 'clitic doubling'. Furthermore, it can be probed by means of *pasarle a* ('happen to'), thus construing it as an 'undergoer' (see section 4.3.1 above on material happenings):

<i>¿Qué te pasó?</i>	– <i>La puerta <u>se</u> me cerró</i>
‘What happened to you?’	‘The door closed on me’
<i>¿Qué le pasó?</i>	– <i>La luz <u>se</u> le apagó</i>
‘What happened to her/him?’	‘The light turn out on her/him’

The ergative agnation associated with an instigation ergative model, as shown for English by Davidse (1991), is not restricted to material processes in Spanish. It will be brought in the discussion once again in section 4.4.2 in relation to mental processes. Likewise, it is not exclusively associated with recessive ergative verbal groups. However, they are still the most pervasive resource for ergative agnation in Spanish.

Table 4.14 below summarises the main characteristics of verbal groups selecting for [recessive: ergative]:

v. gr: recessive: ergative	
realised by	+ V-clitic: reflexive
clause rank: non-ergative configurations	
- one-participant configuration, banned from passive/active agnation	
- possible expansion by supplemental element (e.g. in material happenings)	
- possible implicated P ₃ probed by <i>pasarle a</i> (‘happened to’)	

Table 4.14 Main characteristics of [recessive: ergative] verbal groups

The next delicate feature for [recessive] is [generalised]. This choice involves a different pattern within the verbal group, with different consequences for experiential configurations at clause rank. To begin, [recessive: generalised] requires a V-Clitic realised by the invariable form *se*, with selections in modal responsibility fixed as *third person*, i.e. [non-interactant]:

(122) *Entonces se **te** examin-a* [USS]

then *se-* dat/ *examine-3s/*
 cl 2s prs/ind

(Ac/)Go/Pro		
v.gr: rcss: gen		
V-cl	P-cl	Fin/Ev
then <i>se</i> you examine-3s		

Eng ≈ ‘Then they examine you’, ‘You’re examined’, etc

As a result, P₁ implied by the selection in PROCESS TYPE, e.g. the Actor in example (122) above, is construed as a generalised entity whose identity cannot be specified in the same structure.

These verbal groups are traditionally associated to the so-called ‘passive se’ and ‘impersonal se’ clauses. ‘Passive se’ clauses are so called because they involve a shift in modal responsibility that is similar to passive clauses (with passive verbal groups): the

person/number inflection of the verb realising Finite assigns modal responsibility to P₂ in clause structure, as seen in examples (123) to (125) below:

(123) Se *v-en unos veinte periodistas* [EN]

se-cl see-3p/ some twenty journalists
pst/ind

(Se)/Process	Phenomenon
v.gr: rcss: gen	n.gr
se see-3p	some twenty journalists

Eng ≈ 'Some twenty journalists (can) be seen', 'You see some twenty journalists'

(124) Se *construy-eron damitas con [cualquier cosa]* [EN]

se-cl build-3p/pst/ind tokens with [[any thing]]

(Ac/)Process	Goal	Cause: means
v.gr: rcss: gen	n.gr	p.phr
V-cl	Fin/Ev	
se built-3p	tokens	with any thing

Eng ≈ 'Game pieces were made out of anything'

(125) Se *h-an identificado unas nueve personas entre [los restos]* [USS]

se-cl aux-3p/ identify-prctp some nine persons among the remains
prs

(Se)/Process	Phenomenon	Loc: place
v.gr: rcss: generalised	n.gr	p.phr
V-cl	Fin	Event
se have-3p identified	some nine people	among the remains

Eng ≈ 'Some nine people were identified among the remains'

In the above examples, the nominal groups *unos veinte periodistas*, *damitas* and *unas nueve personas* realise the modally responsible participant, Phenomenon, Goal and Phenomenon, respectively. While this kind of recessive groups are to some extent comparable to passive verbal groups, being even more frequent than the latter, they are not interchangeable in all environments (cf. Suñer, 1980). All things being equal, the main differences between the resulting clauses is that those involving a recessive generalised verbal group 'ban' the segmental realisation of P₁ at clause rank. This contrasts with passive verbal groups proper, which do allow a *por*-prepositional phrase bringing P₁ into the picture as a peripheral element. Both verbal groups are compared in clauses (126) and (127) below:

(126) *Se *h-an identificado unas nueve personas por los peritos*

se-cl aux-3p/ identify-prctp some nine persons by the experts
prs

(Se)/Process	Phenomenon	Senser
v.gr: rcss: generalised	n.gr	p.phr
have-3p identified	some nine people	by the experts

* 'Some nine people se identified by the experts'

**recessive
generalised v.gr
x *por*-phrase**

(127) *Fueron identificadas unas nueve personas por los peritos*

aux-3p/ identify-prtcp some nine persons by the experts
pst/ind

Process	Phenomenon	Senser
v.gr: passive	n.gr	p.phr
they-were identified	some nine people	by the experts

'Some nine people were identified by the experts'

passive v.gr
√ por-phrase

Another difference, as already noted, is that passive verbal groups do allow an interactant modally responsible Participant at clause rank (i.e. selecting for [first] and [second] in PERSON), while recessive generalised verbal groups do not:

(128) **Se golpeaba*

se-cl hit-prctp

(Ac/)/Process
v.gr: rcss: generalised
se hit-3s

*'se hit'

*Eng ≈ 'someone was hit'

recessive generalised v.gr

x interactant modally responsible

(129) *Fui golpeado*

be-1s/ hit-prtcp
pst

(Ac/)/Process
v.gr: passive
I-was hit

'I was hit'

passive v.gr

√ interactant modally responsible

The so-called 'passive se' clauses realised by recessive generalised verbal groups are otherwise productively related to two-participant passive clauses:

(130) *Se consideraron las demandas [de [los estudiantes]] : Las demandas de los estudiantes*

se-cl consider-3p/pst/ the demands of the students
ind

fueron consideradas

(Senser/)/Pro	Phenomenon	
v.gr: rcss: gen	n.gr	
V-cl	Fin/Ev	
se considered-3p	the demands of the students	

'The students' demands se considered'

Eng ≈ 'Students' demands were considered'

: 'The students' demands were considered' (v.gr: passive)

(131) *Se mencionaron algunas cosas en [esa reunión] : Algunas cosas fueron mencionadas en esa reunión*

se-cl mention-3p/pst/
ind

(Sayer)/Process	Verbiage	Loc: pl
v.gr: rcss: gen	n.gr	p.phr
V-cl	Fin/Ev	
se mentioned-3p	some things	in that meeting

'Some things se mentioned in that meeting'

Eng ≈ 'Some things were mentioned in that meeting'

: 'Some things were mentioned in that meeting' (v.gr: passive)

- (132) *Se oy-eron ruidos extraños durante [la noche] : Ruidos extraños fueron oídos durante la noche*
 se-cl hear-3p/ noises strange during the night noche
 pst/ ind

Process		Phenomenon	Loc: time
v.gr: rcss: gen		n.gr	p.phr
V-cl	Fin/Ev		
se heard-3p		strange noises	during the night

'Strange noises se heard during the night' : 'Strange noises were heard during the night'
 Eng ≈ 'Strange noises were heard during the night' (v.gr: passive)

Verbal groups selecting for [recessive: generalised] are, however, also associated with 'impersonal se' clauses, the difference being that the verb inflection is fixed in third person *singular*. In these clauses, no Participant available at clause rank (e.g. P₂ or others) can be clearly shown to be assigned modal responsibility, since no agreement relations are at stake:

- (133) *Cuando a uno lo torturan || se transpir-a mucho*

when to one acc they-torture se-cl perspire-3s/ much
 prs/ind

xβ	
----	--

v.gr: rcss: gen		n.gr
V-cl	Fin/Ev	
se perspires-3p		much

'β When they torture one || α se perspires a lot'
 Eng ≈ 'one perspires a lot'

- (134) *Cuando se es feliz, || la plata no importa*

when se-cl be-3s/ happy the money not matters
 prs/ind

conj	v.gr: rcss: gen		n.gr
	V-cl	Fin	
when	se is-3s		happy

α	
---	--

'β When se be happy, || α money doesn't matter'
 Eng ≈ 'β When one is happy,'

As pointed out by several authors (e.g. González, 2006; Suñer, 1980), the distinction between 'passive se' and 'impersonal se' clauses is based purely on the presence and absence of 'agreement' phenomena, and is difficult to sustain if Participants available at clause rank are singular and non-interactant. In other words, a verbal group selecting for third person singular in modal responsibility affords both readings, 'impersonal' or 'passive'. Ultimately, the distinction is more often than not immaterial: by not allowing the segmental realisation of P₁ at clause rank, its identity in both cases cannot be specified in the clause, in spite of the fact that it is implied by the selection in PROCESS TYPE³².

³² Suñer (1980) argues that the distinction of 'passive se' and 'impersonal se' is based on a series of 'myths' maintained by prescriptive grammars. From a formal perspective, she analyses both as one

Generalised recessive verbal groups can be found across experiential configurations – that is, not only across process types, but also in configurations with any number of participants, i.e. one, two or three. The element unspecified is always the most central, with the Actor, the Senser, the Carrier or the Token ‘banned’ from realisation as a clause constituent in the same structure.

As a result, a wide range of other elements may be available in clause structure, including P₂ (e.g. Goal, Range, Attribute, Value or Phenomenon):

(135) *No se sab-e eso, no sab-emos los nombres* [EN]

neg se-cl know-3s/ tennis prs/ind no know-1sp/prs the names

(Se/)Process	Ph	(Se/)Process	Ph
v.gr: rcss: gen	n.gr	v.gr: neutral	n.gr
Neg V-cl Fin/Ev			
no se know-3s	that	no we-know	the names

‘That not se know’

Eng ≈ ‘That is unknown, we don’t know the names’

(136) *La Dirección Nacional de Inteligencia se cre-ó || siguiendo las claves de la Doctrina de Seguridad* [USS]

The Direction National of Intelligence

se- create-3s/ cl pst/ind

following the keys of the Doctrine of Security

Goal	Ac/Pro
n.gr	v.gr: rcss: gen
	V-cl Fin/Ev
the National Direction of Intelligence	se created-3s

xβ

‘α The Direction of National Intelligence se created

Eng ≈ ‘α The Direction of National Intelligence was created || β following the codes of the Security Doctrine’

(137) *La democracia se viv-e, || (la democracia) no se deleg-a* [USS]

The democracy se-cl live-3s/ prs/ind

neg se-cl delegate-3s/ prs/ind

Range	(Ac/)Process	Range	(Ac/)Process
n.gr	v.gr: rcss: gen	n.gr	v.gr: rcss: gen
	V-cl Fin/Ev		Neg V-cl Fin/Ev
the democracy	se live-3s	the democracy	no se delegate-3s

‘Democracy se live || (democracy) not se delegate’

Eng ≈ ‘Democracy is lived || not delegated’

single phenomenon. Cf. González (2009) for a similar ‘one principle’ approach from the perspective of RRG, which includes other ‘non-reflexive *se* constructions’.

- (138) *Así no se juega tenis*
 thus neg se-cl play-3s/ tennis
 prs/ind

Ma	(Ac/Process)	Range
adv.gr	v.gr: rcss: gen	
	Neg V-cl Fin/Ev	
thus	se play-3s	

'Like that no se play'
 Eng ≈ 'You don't play tennis like that'

Elements available at clause rank also include embedded clauses, as in example

- (139) below:

- (139) *Se prohib-e [[fumar]]*
 se-cl prohib-3s/ [[smoke-inf]]
 prs/ind

v. gr: rcss: gen	[[clause]]
V-cl	Fin/Ev
se prohibit-3s	[[to smoke]]

'se Prohibit smoke'
 Eng ≈ 'Smoking prohibited'

Circumstances (usually Location and/or Manner) are also found, as in examples

- (140) to (142) below:

- (140) *¡Aquí se mat-ó, aquí se torturó!* [EN]
 se-cl kill-3s/ pst/ind se-cl kill-3s/ pst/ind

Loc	(Ac/Process)	Loc	Ac/Process
adv.gr	v.gr: rcss:gen	adv.gr	v.gr:rcss:gen
	V-cl Fin/Ev		V-cl Fin/Ev
here	se killed-3s	here	se tortured-3s

'Here se killed, here se tortured'
 Eng ≈ 'Here people killed people, here people tortured people'

- (141) *Aquí no se fuma*
 Here neg se-cl smoke-3s/
 prs/ind

Loc:pl	Ac/Pro
adv.gr	v.gr: rcss: gen
	Neg V-cl Fin/Ev
here	no se smoke-3s

'Here no se smoke'
 Eng ≈ 'People don't smoke here, Nobody smokes here'

- (142) *¡Así se bail-a!*
 se-cl dance-3s/prs

Manner	Pro/Ac
adv.gr	v.gr: rcss: gen
	V-cl Fin/Ev
thus	se dance-3s

'Like this/that se dance!'
 Eng ≈ 'That's how you dance!', 'That's how it is danced', etc

There are also projected clauses in projecting complexes, as in examples (143) and (144) below:

- (143) Se *d-ice* || *que va a ganar la derecha de nuevo*
 se-cl say-3s/ prs/ind that go to win the right again

Sayer/Pro		"β	
v.gr			
V-cl	Fin/Ev		
se say-3s			

'se Say || "β that right-wing is going to win again
 Eng ≈ 'it is said

- (144) Se *cre-e* || *que el origen del universo está en el Big Bang*
 se-cl believe-3s/ prs/ind that the origin of the universe is in the Big Bang

Senser/Process		'β	
v.gr			
V-cl	Fin/Ev		
se believed-3s			

'se Believe || 'β that the origin of the universe is in the Big Bang
 Eng ≈ 'it is believed

This means that generalised recessive verbal groups generally *background* the identity of the most nuclear Participant at clause rank. However, depending on the process type and the number of Participants, generalised recessives may, in fact, co-select the feature [passive], thus backgrounding the identity of P₂³³:

- (145) *Cuando se es golpeado y torturado, || uno transpira mucho*
 When se-cl be-3s/ beat-prctp and torture-prctp one perspires much
 prs

conj

v.gr complex: gen/passive			
α		β	
v.gr		v.gr	
V-cl	Fin	Event	Event
se is-3s beaten and tortured			

When
 'When se is beaten and tortured,
 Eng ≈ 'β When one is beaten and tortured, || α one perspires a lot'

- (146) *Cuando se es amado y respetado, || la plata no importa*
 when se-cl be-3s/ love-prtcp and respect-prtcp the money not matters
 prs

conj

v.gr complex			
α		β	
v.gr		v.gr	
V-cl	Fin	Event	Event
se is-3s beaten and tortured			

'When se is loved and respected,
 Eng ≈ 'When one is loved and respected, || money doesn't matter

³³ This co-selection potential is not represented in the network provided in Figure 4.22 above.

As already noted, the Participant that is backgrounded in this way is still implied by the selection in PROCESS TYPE; moreover, it is characteristically human. The resulting clause configuration is thus close in meaning to other clauses construing generalised human P₁ in Spanish. These include (i) clauses with generic nominal groups as *la gente* ('people'), (ii) clauses with the so-called 'indefinite' or generic pronoun *uno-una* ('one'), and (iii) and the so-called 'indeterminate' clauses with third person plural person affixation³⁴:

- (i) *Se creyó que iba a ganar la derecha* : *La gente creyó que iba a ganar la derecha*
se believed-3s that the right-wing was going to win : People believed that the right-wing was going to win
 Eng ≈ 'it was believed that the right-wing coalition was going to win'
- (i) *Acá se baila cumbia* : *Acá la gente baila cumbia*
 Here *se* dance-3s cumbia : Here people dance cumbia
- (ii) *Cuando se viaja puede pasar cualquier cosa* : *Cuando uno viaja puede pasar cualquier cosa*
 When *se* travel-3s anything can happen : when one travels anything can happen
 Eng ≈ 'When you travel, anything may happen'
- (iii) *Se prohíbe [[fumar en los hospitales]]* : *Prohíb-en [[fumar en los hospitales]]*
se prohibit-3s [[smoking in hospitals]] : They-prohibit [[smoking in hospitals]]
 Eng ≈ 'Smoking in hospitals is prohibited'

Table 4.15 below summarises the main characteristics of verbal groups selecting for [recessive: generalised]:

v. gr: recessive: generalised	
realised by	+ V-clitic: <i>se</i> ; Process: third person modal responsibility
clause rank: P ₁ as unspecified entity (but implied by selection in PROCESS TYPE)	
- P ₁ blocked as a clause constituent	
- one, two or three-participant configurations	
- across process types	

Table 4.15 Main characteristics of [recessive: ergative] verbal groups

Table 4.16 below summarises the main patterns motivating distinctions in VOICE proposed in the network presented in Figure 2.23 above:

³⁴ See Fernández (1999), who includes these 'indeterminate' clauses among those where P₁ cannot be realised at clause rank. These clauses involve verbal groups selecting for third person plural modally responsible, and in order to keep being 'indeterminate', no 'agreeing' clause constituent can be inserted.

feature	structural realisation	consequences at clause and group rank
[active]	--	across configurations
[passive]	<i>ser... -do</i>	clause: '(di)transitive' configurations only (e.g. entering active/passive agnation) clause: shift in modal responsibility, implied P ₁ group: open personal deixis (interactant and non-interactant)
[active: neutral]	no marking	clause: across configurations group: no marking; open personal deixis (interactant and non-interactant)
[active: reflexive]	+R-Clitic: reflexive	clause: conflation of participants; cannot enter transitive agnation (active/passive) group: open personal deixis (interactant and non-interactant)
[active: recessive]	[ergative]	+V-Clitic: reflexive clause: non-ergative configurations entering ergative agnation group: open personal deixis (interactant and non-interactant)
	[generalised] 'passive se'	+V-Clitic: <i>se...3</i> clause: two and three-participant configurations clause: P ₁ unspecified and blocked as clause constituent, but implied by selection in PROCESS TYPE clause: potential for agreement relations group: restricted personal deixis for modally responsible participant ([non-interactant: one/one plus])
	[generalised] 'impersonal se'	+V-Clitic: <i>se...3s</i> clause: one, two and three-participant configurations clause: P ₁ unspecified and blocked as clause constituent, but implied by selection in PROCESS TYPE clause: no agreement relations group: restricted personal deixis for modally responsible participant ([non-interactant: one]) group: may co-select [passive]

Table 4.16 Summary of patterns associated to VOICE types at group rank.

4.3.3 Summary

This section has reviewed the structural resources available in Spanish for distinctions in experiential systems. The clause has been first explored as an orbital configuration relating elements with respect to a 'centre of gravity' and its various forms of expansions, going from nuclear to peripheral. Nuclear elements are here

considered crucial for distinctions in PROCESS TYPE, while peripheral elements are not fundamental for the establishment of general features in such a system. Within nuclear configurations, central elements are those more likely to realise inherent Participants (i.e. process-type specific ones), while more marginal and/or borderline elements are likely to realise non-inherent Participants (i.e. elements that are not criterial for the establishment of primary distinctions). These non-inherent elements, therefore, can be related to generalised labels across (sub)types, as is the case with the function that has been here identified as Range.

Following Martin (1996c), orbital structuring associated with experiential meanings has been here dissociated from constituency (cf. Halliday, 1979/2002). In the analysis of Spanish experiential structure, this approach has made good sense: orbital relations are not restricted to clause constituents, but they also concern selections within the verbal group. Indeed, the Spanish verbal group may realise in its own right a ‘mini’ nuclear configuration consisting of Process-Participant(s). The realisation of experiential configurations by means of clause constituents and/or verbal group resources is arguably motivated by textual considerations – i.e. selections in THEME and/or INFORMATION systems not accounted for in this study. Interstratally, these possibilities might also relate to discourse semantic systems, i.e. selections in IDENTIFICATION, PERIODICITY and/or IDEATION (Martin, 1992a).

The experiential centrality of the verbal group has led to a closer exploration of verbal group systems that are relevant for experiential meanings. This has included the introduction of a NUCLEARITY system, mainly dealing with experiential expansions within the scope of the verbal group, as well as a VOICE system, which has been seen as a resource contributing to the *re-configuration* of orbital relations at clause rank. The analysis proposed is relevant to a number of cryptotypical patterns at stake in the distinction of process (sub)types, as it will be seen in section 4.4 which focuses on the analysis of mental processes.

Labels proposed for elements in orbital configurations, including Participant 1, 2 and 3, alongside (ascriptive and supplemental) Range, need to be regarded as very broad generalisations on Spanish experiential structure. In this respect, the approach adopted here differs from other generalisations proposed in available descriptive work. Firstly, this account departs from other descriptions of Spanish structure outside SFL – for example, the account proposed by García-Miguel (1995a, 1995b) based on the notion of

‘constructional schemes’, strongly associated with verb valencies. Generalised syntactic schemes in these approaches are usually defined in terms of the number of elements ‘allowed’ by the verb valency and they do not specifically refer to any metafunctional component (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.3.2.2).

Configurational relations explored in this study are clause-wide, and thus concern complex interrelations between all of its elements – not solely centred on the verb. This complexity does not allow a clear-cut recognition of elements based on one single pattern. Instead, bundles of patterns, involving resources along the rank scale, need to be taken into account in order to establish orbital relations in a principled way. At the same time, these interrelations necessarily give way to borderline areas, with the recognition of an element as more or less nuclear, or more or less peripheral being far from straightforward.

Indeterminacy in grammatical relations is not surprising and the topic has been explored in Spanish descriptive work dealing with the *relative* centrality of elements in structure (e.g. García-Miguel, 1995b; Rojo, 1990b). The usual way of approaching indeterminacy is locating relations at stake along a *continuum*, or from an SFL perspective, a cline (Halliday, 1961, p. 249). Such an approach is undoubtedly necessary due to the intrinsic complexity of language, involving indeterminacies of various kinds (Halliday, 1996/2002, p. 399ff). However, statements of linguistic indeterminacy are not self-explanatory and they usually entail the descriptive danger of ‘cuts’ in problematic areas that are based on purely intuitive criteria.

In this respect, labels and associated patterns explored in this section need to be assessed at the proper level of generality. The assumption here is that descriptive decisions must ultimately be grounded on the exploration of specific process types. Section 4.4 below represents such a grounding attempt in relation to the cryptogrammar of Spanish mental processes.

The account in this section also diverges from generalised experiential patterns proposed in SFL descriptive work, particularly the ‘ergative’ model in English (e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 284ff). While the ‘ergative’ model captures important generalisations across experiential configurations in English, there is no requirement this should be the case across languages, as has been suggested by Matthiessen (2004a,

p. 602ff)³⁵. Other generalisations have been shown to be more appropriate for languages other than English, such as the centripetal/centrifugal model proposed by Martin for Tagalog experiential grammar (1996b). It is worthwhile noting that the perspective on Spanish experiential resources provided in this chapter only concerns *structural* generalisations, rather than full-fledged *axial* generalisations across experiential configurations³⁶. Such an axial generalisation would require a comprehensive description of patterns in Spanish PROCESS TYPE, along the lines of the step-by-step argumentation originally put forward by Halliday (1967b, 1967c, 1968) for the description of the analogous system in English.

4.4 Towards a cryptogrammar of ‘sensing’ in Spanish

Section 4.2 introduced a general account of Spanish process types from an interstratal perspective. Basic clause configurations establishing material, mental and relational processes in Spanish lexicogrammar were reviewed in relation to the three broad experiential domains they contribute to sort out at discourse semantics. This section addresses Spanish experiential grammar ‘from around’, sharpening the focus on the clause patterns defining mental processes.

In relation to mental processes, the description of English (e.g. Halliday, 1994), French (Caffarel, 1997, 2006) and Tagalog (Martin, 1996b), have suggested the following general criteria for their exploration beyond language-specific patterns (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.2.2):

- (i) **nature and number of participants:** there are at least two inherent elements, one Participant endowed with consciousness, the Senser, and another element construing the phenomenon brought into consciousness;
- (ii) **phenomenality:** phenomena brought into the Senser’s consciousness includes a wide range of entities of different orders;
- (iii) **directionality:** the whole conscious processing may be construed in two ways, with the phenomenon impinging on the consciousness of the Senser or emanating from it.

³⁵ Davidse (1991, 1999) has, indeed, proposed an alternative generalisation for the grammar of English.

³⁶ Related SFL work available on Spanish, such as that developed by Arús (2003), García (2013), and Lavid et al. (2010), does not address this issue from an axial point of view, nor with a specific focus on structural patterns. For this reason, their work has not been included in the present discussion.

The above criteria, however, need to be considered in relation to generalisations concerning other major process types. For example, criterion (i) imposes restrictions to the nature of the Senser, when compared, for example, to the Actor of material clauses; criterion (ii) opens up the range of entities that may be covered by the Phenomenon, in ways that cannot be found in Participants of other process types.

Other general criteria, not listed above, operate *in absentia* – that is, they relate to patterns not occurring in mental processes but in other process types. These include the nature of the event realised by the Process: mental processes are less likely to be probed by means of pro-verbs when compared to material processes (e.g. general verbs such as *do/happen* in English, *faire/arriver* in French, and *gawa/mangyari* in Tagalog); alternatively, mental, material and relational processes are likely to contrast with respect to temporal and/or aspectual selections – ‘ongoing’ being the type of aspect/tense selection favoured by material processes across languages³⁷.

This chapter section, however, centres the exploration of Spanish mental processes on the above listed criteria (i), (ii) and (iii), which are taken here as the starting point for the description of cryptotypical patterns associated with the ‘core’ realisation of ‘sensing’ figures in Spanish (see section 4.2 above). This implies that patterns that have been considered criterial in other languages, e.g. selections in TENSE and VOICE in English, are not considered here to be particularly revealing for Spanish primary distinctions³⁸. This section also addresses Spanish-specific patterns that are not necessarily relevant to mental processes in other languages.

The first criterion concerns the nature and number of participants, more specifically here, the number and nature of ‘inherent’ configurational elements. In this study, ‘inherency’ is understood not so much in terms of general degrees of nuclearity (which in Spanish can be quite variable across process types), but rather in terms of the structural relations *defining* primary clause types. In other words, Senser and Phenomenon are inherent functions in the sense that they represent configurational

³⁷ This is a reason why mental and relational processes are usually grouped together as ‘states’ in descriptive work following the typology originally proposed by Vendler (1957, 1967) (cf. discussion in Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, p. 469ff; Martin, 1996a).

³⁸ This is particularly true with respect to VOICE selections if they are restricted to active/passive agnation as described for English. However, VOICE considerations described for Spanish in section 4.3.2.2 above, do play a role in more delicate features under [mental], as it will be seen in the following subsections.

relations that are specific of mental process types (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.2.2). This does not imply, however, that additional participants aren't possible in Spanish mental processes (see section 4.4.3.2 below), nor that the Senser and the Phenomenon need to be always realised segmentally at the 'syntagmic' level, e.g. by the insertion of a clause constituent – or (classes of) units at lower ranks (see section 4.3 above). The feature [mental] is established by functional patterns in structure that are complex in nature and involve *bundles of agnation relations*, including relations across ranks (see section 4.2 above and Chapter 2, section 2.3.2.2). In this respect, the structural specification '+Senser' under [mental] in Figure 4.25 below is a succinct representation of a number of configurational relations, signifying more than the simple insertion of a clause constituent:

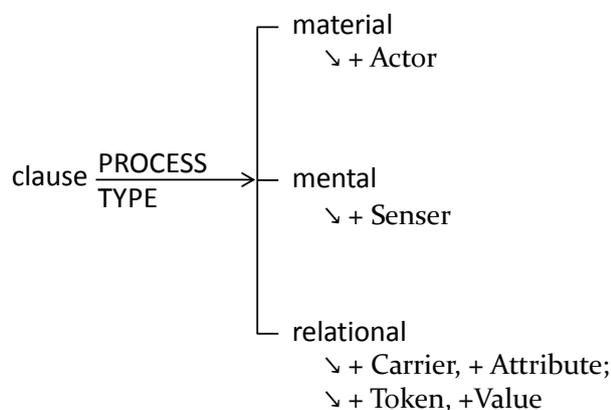


Figure 4.25 Spanish PROCESS TYPE: primary distinctions

The Senser of mental processes construes an inherent Participant as 'conscious', and for this reason it is mostly associated with human entities. This function may, however, involve other animate entities endowed with some kind of consciousness, even if only of a lower-order sort³⁹:

(147) *(Su familia) nunca comprend-ió su vocación por el teatro* [USS]

(his family) never understand-3s/
pst/ind his calling for the theatre

Senser	M.A	Process	Phenomenon
n.gr	adv.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'His family never understood his calling on theatre'

³⁹ Halliday's interpretation draws on Edelman (1992)'s theory of consciousness, whereby human beings are uniquely characterised by 'higher-order' consciousness (Halliday, 1995/2003, p. 392ff).

(148) *Las mascotas s-ienten los temblores || antes que los humanos*

The pets sense-3p/ the earthquakes before that the humans
 prs/ind

Senser	Pro	Phenomenon	xβ clause: finite
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	

‘Pets sense earthquakes || xβ before humans (do)’

Inanimate entities may also be endowed with consciousness if allegoric or metaphorical construals involving some kind of ‘personification’ are at stake, a personification that can be interpreted as such precisely in terms of the configuration in which it participates:

(149) *Cuando el sol v-io llegar a esa bandada, || pensó: → ‘¡pobres pájaros!’⁴⁰*

when the sun see-3s/ arrive- that flock he-thought poor birds
 pst/ind inf

conj	Se	Pro			Se/Pro	
	n.gr	v.gr	[[cl]]	n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

‘When the sun saw that flock arrive,

|| he thought: || ‘poor birds!’

xβ clause

α clause

minor clause

clause complex

The Spanish pronominal system at clause rank embodies the distinction between ‘conscious’ and ‘non-conscious’ Participants⁴¹. Non-conscious Participants cannot generally be substituted by personal (clause-rank) pronouns, but rather by demonstrative pronouns (which in Spanish show distinctions in number and gender). This means that clause-rank personal pronouns are mainly restricted to human entities (though they may be extended to other non-human Participants, e.g. pets) (Fernández Soriano, 1999, p. 1220)⁴².

A mental process normally specifies what is brought into the Senser’s consciousness, the Phenomenon. This element covers a wide range of entities, and it may thus be construed by resources of various kinds. For example, it may construe people and objects by a wide range of nominal groups at clause rank and/or pronominal clitics at group rank:

⁴⁰ Retrieved on January 29, 2013 from <http://www.buenastareas.com/ensayos/El-Pajaro-y-El-Arcoiris/4946782.html>.

⁴¹ Pronominal clitics at group rank, however, do not display such distinctions.

⁴² Note that the few examples provided by Fernández Soriano (1999, p. 1226) for personal pronouns referring to inanimate entities are all marginal or peripheral within the experiential structure: *Construí esta casa para vivir **en ella*** (‘I built this house to live **in it-3s/fem**’), *Tengo coche pero no dependo **de él*** (‘I’ve got a car but I don’t depend **on it-3s/masc**’), etc. (See section 4.3.1 above)

- (150) a. *A Alan lo ve-ía cotidianamente en el campus San Joaquín* [USS]

To Alan acc see-1s/ /3s pst.impf/ind daily in the San Joaquín Campus

Ph	Pro/Se	M.Adj	Location: place
n. gr	v.gr	adv.gr	p. phr

'I would see Alan every day at the San Joaquín campus'

- b. *A él lo ve-ía cotidianamente en el campus San Joaquín* [USS]

To he acc see-1s/ /3s pst.impf/ind daily in the San Joaquín Campus

Ph	Pro/Se	M.Adj	Location: place
n. gr	v.gr	adv.gr	p. phr

'I would see him every day at the San Joaquín campus'

- (151) a. *Esta chica [[que se movía con mucho desplante]] me asust-ó* [USS]

this girl [[who moved with much self-confidence]] dat/ scare-3s/ 1s pst/ind

Phenomenon	Pro/Se
n. gr	v.gr

'this girl [[who would conduct herself with so much self-confidence]] scared me'

- (152) a. *Ella me asust-ó*

this girl dat/ scare-3s/ 1s pst/ind

Ph	Pro/Se
n. gr	v.gr

'She scared me'

In addition, the Phenomenon may construe (nominalised) events or more abstract entities:

- (153) *Nunca comprend-ió su vocación por el teatro* [USS]

never understand-3s/ pst/ind his calling for the theatre

Se/Pro	Phenomenon
v.gr	n.gr

adv.gr

'he never understood his calling on theatre'

- (154) *Escuché la conversación de los dos*

I-heard the conversation of the two

Pro/Se	Phenomenon
v.gr	n.gr

'I heard the conversation between the two'

The grammar of Spanish tends to distinguish between 'more concrete' and 'more abstract' entities: the former can be substituted by the wide range of pronominal resources at clause and group rank, i.e. showing the full range of distinctions in person and/or number/gender. More abstract entities, on the other hand, lend themselves more readily to *neuter* substitute forms, either neuter demonstratives at clause rank (e.g. *esto* 'this', *eso* 'that') and/or neuter (accusative) clitics at clause rank (*lo* 'it'):

- (155) *Escuch-é la conversación de los dos* : *Escuch-é eso / *esa / *ella*
 hear-1s/ the conversation of the two I-heard that-ntr / *that-fem / *she
 pst/ind

Pro/Se	Phenomenon	Pro/Se	Phenomenon
v.gr	n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'I heard the conversation between the two' : 'I heard that'

neuter substitute:
 demonstrative pronoun
 (clause rank)

- : *Lo / La escuch-é*
 acc/ ntr acc/ hear-1s/
 3s.fem pst/ind

Ph/Pro/Se
v.gr

'I heard the conversation between the two' : 'I heard that'

neuter substitute:
 accusative clitic
 (group rank)

As pointed out by Halliday (1985), what is brought into consciousness in all the above cases are still 'things', grammatically realised by nominal groups at clause rank – in a way that is no different from Participants in other process types. Crucially, however, what is brought into the consciousness of the Senser may be construed as a more complex phenomenon, that is, an entity that is **hyperphenomenal** in nature (Matthiessen, 1995, p. 258ff). This means what is 'processed' by the Senser's consciousness may be a 'macro-thing':

- (156) *Ya en el vehículo v-eo [[pasar]] a mi contacto por la calle* [USS]
 already in the car see-1s/ pass-inf to my contact by the street
 prs/ind

MA	Loc: place	Pro/Se	Phenomenon: macro	Loc: place
adv.g	p.phr	v.gr	[[clause]]	p. phr

'already in the car I see my contact passing by on the street'

- (157) *La v-io [[partir]] con [sus verdugos]* [USS]
 acc/ see-3s/ leave-inf with her executioners
 3s pst/ind

(Ph/)Pro/Se	Ph: macro	Accompaniment
v.gr	[[clause]]	p. phr

'she saw her [[go]] with [her executioners]'

This kind of phenomena that is **macro-phenomenal** in nature is typically realised by embedded non-finite clauses construing a clause configuration "as a single complex phenomenon" (Halliday, 1985). Macrophenomenal clauses do not involve phenomena as 'things', but they rather construe process-like phenomena as **acts**.

There are, however, phenomena brought into the Senser's consciousness that differ from things and macro-things. These are **meta-phenomenal** elements which can be of two kinds: embedded **facts** or projected **ideas**:

(158) *Paola detest-a [[que Cristian pierda cosas]]*

Paola hate-3s/
prs/ind that Cristian loses things

Senser	Process	Phenomenon: meta
n.gr	v.gr	[[clause: finite: subjunctive]]

'Paola hates [[that Cristian loses stuff]]

metaphenomenon

fact: embedded
finite clause

(159) *yo entend-í || → que iba a un encuentro importante* [USS]

I understand-1s/
pst/ind that she-went to an important meeting

Se	Process	→ 'β projected: meta
n.gr	v.gr	finite clause

'I understood || 'β that she was going to an important meeting'

metaphenomenon

idea: projected
finite clause
(in clause complex)

(160) *S-igan ustedes sabiendo || que, más temprano que tarde,* [USS]

Keep-2p you know-grnd that, sooner than later,
/prs/ind the big tree-lined avenues will open

Pro...	Se	...cess	→ 'β projected: meta
v.gr ...	n.gr	...(cmplx)	finite clause

'you keep on knowing || 'β that, sooner than later, the grand avenues will open'

metaphenomenon

idea: projected
finite clause
(in clause complex)

Metaphenomenal elements are construed as *semiotic* representations, being 'set up' as the **projection** of the conscious processing of a mental process (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 443ff). Given their metaphenomenal status, these elements also embody interpersonal speech functions – that is, they realise propositions or proposals (see Chapter 3, section 3.2). As already noted, metaphenomenal clauses can be of two kinds: they may construe ideas, which are directly projected by cognition, or they may be embedded as 'pre-projected' facts in reaction processes (e.g. Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.205ff)⁴³. Each of them will be addressed in more detail in sections 4.4.3 and 4.4.2, respectively.

The very nature of the element construed as processed by the Senser's consciousness is "the most distinctive and important feature of mental processes" (Halliday, 1969/1976, p. 166). At this point it should be noted that the taxonomy for phenomenal-types proposed by Halliday (1985, 1994), and Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2004) differs from the well-known notional taxonomy proposed by Lyons (1977) in terms of first, second and third-order entities. From an SFL perspective, 'things' and 'macro-things' represent first-order entities differing from one another in terms of degrees of complexity, but construed as belonging to the same 'material' phenomenal

⁴³ Projected ideas are also associated with desideration processes (e.g. Halliday 1994 in English), which are not included in this account of Spanish mental processes.

realm. ‘Meta-things’, on the other hand, construe phenomena belonging to a different semiotic realm and are metafunctionally diversified. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, p. 106; Davidse, 1991).

Table 4.17 below summarises the main kinds of phenomenality associated with mental processes:

nature of P ₂ in mentals			typical mental subtype	realised by
phenomenal	thing	--	--	nominal group
hyper-phenomenal	macro-thing	acts	perception	[[clause]]
	meta-thing (second-order)	facts	reaction	[[clause]]
		ideas	cognition	→ ‘β clause

Table 4.17 Phenomenality in Spanish mental processes

Finally, mental processes are associated with two kinds of directionality: either the Phenomenon **emanates from** the Senser’s consciousness, in which case the Senser is construed as P₁ and the Phenomenon as P₂, or the Phenomenon **impinges upon** the Senser’s consciousness, in which case the Senser is construed as P₃ and the Phenomenon as P₁ (see section 4.3.1 above). Both patterns are illustrated in (161) and (162) below:

(161) *Paola am-a los gatos*

Paola love-3s/
prs/ind the cats

Senser (P ₁)	Process	Phenomenon (P ₂)
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

‘Paola loves cats’

directionality:

emanating

+Se: P₁

+Ph: P₂

(162) *A Paola le encant-an los gatos*

ad Paola dat/ love-3p/
3s prs/ind the cats

Senser (P ₃)	Process	Phenomenon (P ₁)
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

‘Cats fascinate Paola’

directionality:

impinging

+Se: P₃

+Ph: P₁

The system network in Figure 4.26 below summarises the distinctions addressed in the following subsections in relation to the feature [mental] in Spanish:

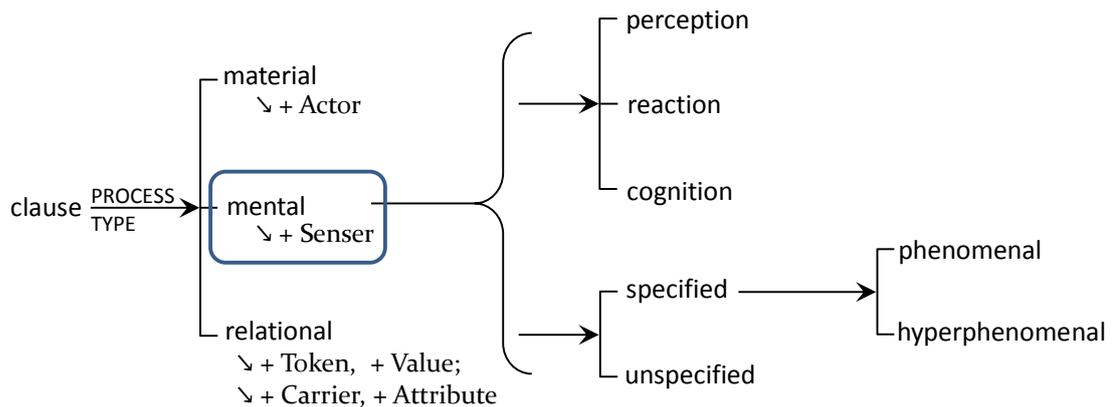


Figure 4.26 Spanish network: more delicate features in [mental]

Table 4.18 below summarises the different configurational possibilities, including different kinds of phenomenality and directionality:

subtype	mental processes in Spanish	phenomenality / directionality
perception	<i>Paola v-io el auto</i>	
	Se Process Phenomenon	
	'Paola saw the car'	
	<i>Paola v-io el auto [[acercarse/acercándose]]</i>	
	Se Process Phenomenon	act: macro-phenomenal (non-finite)
	'Paola saw the car [[approach/approaching]]'	
cognition	<i>Paola v-io el auto [[que se acercaba]]</i>	
	Se Process Phenomenon	act: macro-phenomenal (finite)
	'Paola saw that the car [[approached]]'	
	<i>Paola record-ó el libro</i>	
	Se Process Phenomenon	
	'Paola remembered the book'	
reaction	<i>Paola pens-ó → que se había perdido</i>	
	Se Process β	idea: meta-phenomenal
	'Paola thought → that it was lost'	
	<i>Paola am-a a los gatos</i>	
	Se Process Phenomenon	emanating
	'Paola loves cats'	
reaction	<i>Los gatos le encant-an a Paola</i>	
	Ph Process Senser	impinging
	'Cats fascinate Paola'	
	<i>Paola lament-ó (el hecho de) [[que Cristian perdiera el libro]]</i>	
	Se Process Phenomenon	fact: meta-phenomenal
	'Paola regretted (the fact) [[that Cristian lost the book]]'	

Table 4.18 Basic mental processes subtypes and associated phenomenality

In the following subsections, the cryptotypical patterns associated with each mental process subtype are reviewed in detail.

4.4.1 Perception mental processes

Clause configurations realising perception mental processes in Spanish are associated with a rather small set of verbs realising the Process, including *ver* ('see'), *oír* ('hear'), *escuchar* ('listen'), *oler* ('smell'), *sentir* ('feel', 'sense') (cf. García-Miguel, 2005; Rodríguez, 2000).

The Senser capable of perception typically includes both human entities of higher-order consciousness, as well as animate entities of lower-order consciousness, such as animals, as in examples (163) and (164) below:

(163) *Pez ciego v-e con [un tercer ojo]*⁴⁴

Blind fish see-3s/ with a third eye
prs/ind

Se	Pro	Cause: means
n.gr	v.gr	p.phr

'Blind fish sees with [a third eye]'

**Senser's
consciousness:**
lower-order

(164) *Las mascotas sient-en los temblores con [anticipación]*

Pets sense-3p/ the earthquakes with anticipation
prs/ind

Se	Process	Phenomenon	Manner
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	p.phr

'Pets sense earthquakes beforehand'

**Senser's
consciousness:**
lower-order

If the Phenomenon directly perceived by the Senser is specified in structure, it is construed as P₂, as shown in (164) above and (165) to (167) below:

(165) *V-imos un montón de gente en [la conferencia]*

see-1p/ a lot of people in the conference
pst/ind

Pro/Se	Phenomenon	Location: place
v.gr	n.gr	p.phr

'We saw lots of people at [the conference]'

perception:

+Se: P₁
+Ph: P₂

(166) *Oy-ó unos ruidos raros*

hear-3s/ some noises stranges
pst/ind

Pro/Se	Phenomenon
v.gr	n.gr

'S/he heard a strange noise'

perception:

+Se: P₁
+Ph: P₂

⁴⁴ Retrieved on October 19, 2012 from: [http://33m.lista.cl/posts/info/7403783/Pez-ciego-ve-con-un-Equot tercer-ojoEquot.html](http://33m.lista.cl/posts/info/7403783/Pez-ciego-ve-con-un-Equot%20tercer-ojoEquot.html)

(167) *¿Sent-iste el temblor?*

feel-2s/ the earthquake
pst/ind

Pro/Se	Phenomenon
v.gr	n.gr

'Did you feel the earthquake?'

perception:

+Se: P₁
+Ph: P₂

In the above examples, the Phenomenon is a 'thing', that is, it is realised by a nominal group at clause rank. At group rank, phenomenal things can be realised by the whole range of pronominal clitics showing distinctions in person and number (and gender, for [non-interactant]). Examples (168) to (170) below illustrate the corresponding cliticisation patterns:

(168) *La v-imos*

acc/ see-1p/
3s pst/ind

Ph/Pro
v.gr

'We saw it'

perception:

+Ph: P₂
acc/3s/fem

(169) *Los oy-ó*

acc/ hear-3s/
3p pst/ind

Se/Pro
v.gr

'S/he heard them'

perception:

+Ph: P₂
acc/3p/masc

(170) *¿Lo sent-iste*

acc/ feel-2s/
3s pst/ind

Se/Pro
v.gr

'Did you feel it?'

perception:

+Ph: P₂
acc/3s/masc

A specific characteristic of perception mental processes is that the Phenomenon may be also construed as a 'macro-thing', an act, by means of an embedded clause. In Spanish, macrophenomenal acts typically involve non-finite clauses, either infinitival (inf) or gerundive (grnd)⁴⁵:

(171) *Paola v-io a Cristian [[sonriendo/sonreír]]*

Paola see-3s/pst ad Cristian [[smile-grnd /smile-inf]]

Senser	Process	Phenomenon	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	[[clause: non-finite]]

'Paola saw Cristian [[smiling/smile]]'

⁴⁵ See Appendix D for non-finite forms available in Spanish.

As seen in the example above, macrophenomenal acts in Spanish are construed jointly by two clause constituents: an embedded clause alongside a nominal group. Both elements are, in fact, obligatory, since the embedded clause cannot occur on its own:

(172) *Paola v-io [[sonriendo-sonreír]]

Paola see-3s/ pst [[smile-grnd / smile-inf]]

Senser	Pro	Phenomenon
n.gr	v.gr	[[non-finite clause]]

*'Paola saw [[smile/smiling]]'

The independent constituent status of the two elements, however, can be seen in a number of patterns. Firstly, the nominal group may be cliticised independently as P₂:

(173) Paola lo v-io [[sonriendo-sonreír]]

Paola acc/ 3s see-3s/pst [[smiling/smile]]

Senser	(Ph../)Process	...nomenon
n.gr	v.gr	[[non-finite clause]]

'Paola saw him smile-smiling'

Indeed, the same constituent may be independently 'doubled' by means of co-referential selections across ranks, as in (174) below:

(174) Paola lo v-io a Cristian [[sonriendo-sonreír]]

acc/3s see-3s/pst to Cristian [[smiling/smile]]

Senser	(Ph/)Process	Phenomenon	
n.gr	v.gr	(ad) n.gr	[[non-finite clause]]

'Paola saw (him) Cristian [[smile-smiling]]'

In the above example, the accusative pronominal clitic *lo* co-refers to *a Cristian* by means of 'agreement' in person, number and gender. This means that the pronominal element at group rank is not co-referring with the (macro)Phenomenon as a whole, but only with the nominal group in question.

Another pattern supporting the independent constituent status of elements jointly construing the macrophenomenon is their relative positioning at clause rank. As is the case for most Participants, the nominal group *a Cristian* can be 'moved around' regardless of the position of the embedded clause, as illustrated in examples (175) to (177) below:

(175) Paola lo v-io a Cristian [[sonreír-sonriendo]]

acc/3s see-3s/pst Cristian [[smile-smiling]]

Senser	Process	Phenomenon: macro	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	[[non-finite clause]]

'Paola saw (him) Cristian [[smile-smiling]]'

(176) *Paola lo v-io [[sonreír-sonriendo]] a Cristian*

	acc/3s see-3s/pst	[[smile-smiling]]	to Cristian
Senser	Process	Phenomenon: macro	
n.gr	v.gr	[[non-finite clause]]	n.gr

'Paola saw (him) Cristian [[smile-smiling]]'

(177) *Paola a Cristian lo v-io [[sonreír-sonriendo]]*

Paola	to Cristian	acc/3s see-3s/pst	[[smile-smiling]]
Senser	Phe...	Process	...nomenon: macro
n.gr	n.gr	v.gr	[[clause]]

'Paola saw (him) Cristian [[smile-smiling]]'

In this way, the nominal group *a Cristian* takes a double role: it functions as a separate constituent directly related to the perception process and, at the same time, it is experientially involved in the embedded Process, construing the Participant experientially responsible for *sonreír* or *sonriendo* ('smile' or 'smiling'). This characteristic pattern of Spanish perception processes is only shared with causative verbal group complexes, such as the one shown in (178):

(178) *Paola (lo) hizo sonreír a Cristian*

Paola acc/ do-3s/ smile-inf ad Cristian
3s pst/ind

Paola	(him) made-3s	smile	to Cristian
-------	---------------	-------	-------------

'Paola made (him) Cristian smile'

causative verbal group

This characteristic pattern evolved diachronically from Latin *accusativus cum infinitivo* (Rodríguez, 2000; Saltarelli, 1976). Unlike causative verbal groups, however, 'accusative in infinitive' at the current stage of Spanish perception processes construes a Participant as 'shared' by two different experiential events. From the point of view of the macrophenomenal act, the realisation of the perceived macro-thing is 'split' into two component parts.

In fact, this complex realisation of the macrophenomenal act is not restricted to non-finite clauses. In Chilean Spanish, a similar pattern can be observed in association with finite *que*-clauses selecting for indicative verb mood:

(179) *Paola lo v-io a Cristian [[que sonr-eía]]*

Paola acc/ see- ad Cristian [[that (he) smile-3s/pst.impf/ind]
3s 3s/pst

Senser	Process	Phenomenon: macro	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	[[clause: finite: indicative]]

'Paola saw (him) Cristian [[that he was smiling]]'

In (179) above, the nominal group *a Cristian* can also be cliticised independently as P₂, and ‘doubled’ in the same clause. Also, it may occupy different positions in the sequence of clause constituents, as shown in (180) to (182) below:

(180) *Paola lo v-io a Cristian [[que sonr-éa]]*

acc/ see- ad Cristian [[that he smiled]]
3s 3s/pst

Senser	Process	Phenomenon: macro	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	[[clause: finite: ind]]

‘Paola saw (him) Cristian [[that he was smiling]]’

(181) *Paola lo v-io [[que sonr-ía]] a Cristian*

acc/ see-3s/ [[that he smiled]] ad Cristian
3s pst

Senser	Process	Phenomenon: macro	
n.gr	v.gr	[[clause: finite: ind]]	n.gr

‘Paola saw (him) Cristian [[that he was smiling]]’

(182) *Paola a Cristian lo v-io [[que sonr-ía]]*

Paola ad Cristian acc/3s see- [[that he smiled]]
3s/pst

Senser	Phe...	Process	...nomenon: macro
n.gr	n.gr	v.gr	[[clause: finite: ind]]

‘Paola saw (him) Cristian [[that he was smiling]]’

While this pattern is particularly productive if the nominal group as stake is definite (i.e. if it involves definite determiners or a proper noun), one element from ‘within’ the finite embedded clause is also ‘picked out’ as if it was a Participant directly involved in the main clause configuration. The grammar of Spanish perception processes, once again, construes the macrophenomenal act as a complex configuration of elements, whose component parts display some degree of structural autonomy.

Passive perception clauses, particularly when they involve a gerundive or an infinitival embedded clause, further support this singular pattern: selection of [passive] in VOICE at group rank involves assigning modal responsibility only to the nominal group, not the whole macrophenomenal complex:

(183) *Cristian fue visto [[sonr-iendo]]*

Cristian be-3s/ see-prcpt smile-grnd
pst/ind

Pheno...	Process	...menon: macro
n.gr	v.gr: passive	[[clause: non-fin: grnd]]

‘Cristian was seen [[smiling]]’

(184) *El automóvil fue visto [[pasar]] a gran velocidad*⁴⁶
 the car be-3s/ see-prctp [[go_by-inf]] at great speed
 pst/ind

Pheno...	Process	...menon: macro	Manner
n.gr	v.gr: passive	[[clause: non-fin:inf]]	p.phr

'The car was seen [[go by]] at high speed'

Finite *que*-clauses associated with perception processes may be, in some cases, more difficult to interpret as clear-cut macrophenomenal. The reason for this is that the 'accusative in infinitive' pattern is not obligatory in the way it is for non-finite clauses – in fact, in many Spanish varieties it might still be ungrammatical in all cases. Particularly if the Process involves the verb *ver* ('see'), the configuration may be interpreted as construing either a perception process or a cognition process (see section 4.4.3 below).

However, those embedded *que*-clauses that are strong candidates for macrophenomenal acts show a number of restrictions in terms of interpersonal deixis (see Chapter 3). Since perception processes and finite clauses construing macrophenomenal acts necessarily share the same temporal frame, the two events at stake need to take place simultaneously (see Chapter 3, section 3.4.1). Compare the following examples:

(185) a. *Paola v-io que Cristian se estaba riendo*

Paola see-3s/pst that Cristian rfl was laughing

n.gr	v.gr	clause: finite
------	------	----------------

'Paola saw that Cristian was laughing'

b. *Paola v-io que Cristian se hab-ía ido*

Paola see-3s/pst that Cristian rfl had gone

n.gr	v.gr	clause: finite
------	------	----------------

'Paola saw that Cristian had left'

(186) a. *Paola oy-ó que Cristian abría la puerta*

Paola hear3s/pst that Cristian open-3s/pst.imp the door

n.gr	v.gr	clause: finite
------	------	----------------

'Paola heard that Cristian was opening the door'

b. *Paola oy-ó que Cristian iba a renunciar*

Paola hear

n.gr	v.gr	clause: finite
------	------	----------------

'Paola heard that Cristian was going to resign'

⁴⁶ Retrieved on February 28, 2013 from

http://iphone.terra.cl/noticia?n=1643010&a=noticias&s=2&c=landnoticias&e=especiais_noticias_cl

Examples in (a) above can be related to ‘split’ macrophenomenal perception processes such as *Paola vio a Cristian [[riéndose]]* (‘Paola saw Cristian laughing’) and *Paola oyó a Cristian [[abriendo la puerta]]* (‘Paola heard Cristian [[opening]] the door’), respectively, while examples in (b) cannot, because they take place at different points in time. Clause (b) in (185) construes *Paola* as inferring the event construed by the finite clause, arguably from the evidence available, and clause (b) in (186) construes the finite clause as hearsay, rather than an event that has been directly perceived.

Depending on the process type of the *que*-clause, negative polarity may also be restricted:

(187) a. *Paola v-io que Cristian no se estaba riendo*

<i>Paola</i>	<i>see-3s/pst</i>	<i>that Cristian</i>	<i>rfl was laughing</i>
n.gr	v.gr	clause: finite	

‘Paola saw that Cristian was not laughing’

b. **Paola oy-ó que Cristian no abría la puerta*

<i>Paola</i>	<i>hear-3s/pst</i>	<i>that Cristian neg open-3s/pst.imp the door</i>
n.gr	v.gr	clause: finite

*‘Paola heard that Cristian was not opening the door’

This indicates that finite *que*-clauses of the kinds examined in examples (185) to (187) above display characteristics departing from ‘core’ macrophenomena – their relation to other kinds of (meta)phenomenality, such as facts and acts, is also difficult to establish (see 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 below)

Overall, apart from their association with macrophenomenal acts, Spanish perception processes can construe ascriptive configurations:

(188) a. *Paola (lo) v-io a Cristian cansado/feliz/tranquilo/enojado/preocupado...*

<i>Paola</i>	<i>see-3s/pst</i>	<i>ad Cristian</i>	
Senser	Process	Ph	Depictive Attribute
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

‘Paola saw Cristian tired/happy/calm/angry/worried...’

b. *Paola (lo) oy-ó a Cristian nervioso/entusiasmado/contento...*

<i>Paola</i>	<i>hear-3s/pst</i>	<i>ad Cristian</i>	
Senser	Process	Ph	Depictive Attribute
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

‘Paola heard Cristian nervous/excited/cheerful...’

The ascriptive nominal groups with adjectives as Head are analysed as Depictive Attribute in the above examples. This element of structure cannot be cliticised, and it is also construed as separate from *a Cristian*, which can be cliticised independently. Depictive Attributes of this kind can be only referred to by means of non-pronominal

pro-forms such as *así* (‘thus’, ‘like this’) (cf. Attribute of attributive relational processes in section 4.2.2 above):

(189) a. *Paola (lo) v-io a Cristian así*

Paola see-3s/ pst ad Cristian

Senser	Process	Ph	Attr
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

‘Paola saw Cristian tired/happy/calm/angry/worried...’

(190) a. *Paola (lo) oy-ó a Cristian así*

Paola hear-3s/ pst ad Cristian

Senser	Process	Ph	Att
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

‘Paola heard Cristian nervous/excited/cheerful...’

Like non-finite macrophenomenal clauses, Descriptive Attributes are closely associated with the Phenomenon, to the extent that they cannot appear without it:

(191) a. **Paola v-io cansado/feliz/tranquilo/enojado/preocupado...*

Paola see-3s/ pst tired/ happy/ tranquil / angry /worried

Senser	Process	Depictive Attribute
n.gr	v.gr	(adjectival) n.gr

*‘Paola saw tired/happy/calm/angry/worried...’

b. **Paola (lo) oy-ó a Cristian nervioso/entusiasmado/contento ...*

Paola hear-3s/ pst ad Cristian nervous /enthusiastic /cheerful

Senser	Process	Ph	Depictive Attribute
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	(adjectival) n.gr

*‘Paola heard Cristian nervous/excited/cheerful...’

Both Depictive Attributes, as well as non-finite macrophenomenal acts, are among those elements Alarcos (1980a) interpreted as ‘Implement Attributes’ (see section 4.3.1 above). Their particularity is that they construe, together with the nominal element they are associated with, a *complex* Phenomenon – to the extent that they depend on each other in clause structure. In this respect, Depictive Attributes associated with perception processes cannot be interpreted as optional elements (e.g. as Depictive Attributes in English, e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), since they can be regarded as criterial for the recognition of Spanish perception clauses (vis-à-vis other mental subtypes).

The recognition of a Depictive Attribute can indeed be used as criterial for perception configurations whose macrophenomenal potential is not as clear as those involving prototypical verbs *ver* (‘see’), *oír* (‘hear’) and *escuchar* (‘listen’). These configurations include clauses in which the Process is realised by other verbs commonly

associated to perception, such as *notar* ('notice') and *percibir* ('perceive'), but which are not readily associated with macrophenomenal acts:

(192) a. ? *Lo not-ó* *[[que sonreía/ que estaba muy contento]]*

acc/ notice-3s/ that he-smiled/that he-was very happy
3s prs/ind

Ph/Pro/Se	...Phenomenon
v.gr	[[clause: finite]]

? 'S/he noticed him that he was smiling / that he was very cheerful'

b. *Lo not-ó muy contento*

acc/ notice-3s/ very happy
3s pst/ind

Ph/Pro/Se	D. Att
v.gr	(adj) n.gr

She noticed him very cheerful'

(193) a. ? *Lo percibi-ó* *[[que estaba molesto]]*

acc/ perceive-3s/ that he-was upset
3s pst/ind

Ph/Pro/Se	...Phenomenon
v.gr	[[clause: finite]]

? 'She perceived him that he was upset'

b. *Lo percib-ió molesto/disgustado...*

acc/ perceive-3s/ that he-was upset
3s pst/ind

Ph/Pro/Se	D. Att
v.gr	(adj) n.gr

'She perceived him upset'

As seen above, while the compatibility of clause configurations with macrophenomenal acts in (a) is uncertain, the ascriptive pattern shown in (b), typically associated with perception processes, is nonetheless possible.

Table 4.19 below summarises the main patterns associated with perception mental processes in Spanish:

Spanish perception mentals		
conscious participant	lower- and higher-order consciousness, P ₁ (active)	
phenomenality	phenomenal or macrophenomenal, P ₂ (active)	
	cliticisation	phenomenal: accusative macrophenomenal: only 'shared' participant, accusative
	macrophenomenon	'split' complex macrophenomenon embedded act: finite or non-finite ⇒ finite: bound 'indicative verb mood' ⇒ non-finite: gerundive or infinitival
other participants	Depictive Attribute (closely associated with perceived Phenomenon)	

Table 4.19 Spanish perception mentals: summary of configurational patterns

4.4.2 Reaction mental processes

Reaction processes involve a Senser capable of emotional or affective reaction. Mostly associated with human entities, the Senser may also involve a non-human animate entity, depending on the kind of reaction construed by the lexical verb realising the Process:

(194) *A Paola le encant-an los musicales*

ad Paola dat/ love-3p/ the musicals
3s prs/ind

Senser	Process	Phenomenon
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'Paola loves musicals'

(195) *Mi perro no soport-a a los gatos d[el vecino]*

neg scare-3s/ ad the cats
prs/ind

Senser	Process	Phenomenon
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'My dog can't stand the neighbour's cats'

The relation between the Senser and the Phenomenon of reaction processes characteristically displays two forms of directionality: either the Phenomenon is construed as **emanating** from the Senser's consciousness, or it is construed as **impinging** upon the Senser's consciousness⁴⁷:

⁴⁷ This difference in directionality has been characterised in SFL work in terms of the distinction between 'like-type' and 'please-type' reaction (or emotive) processes, respectively (e.g. Halliday, 1985)

(196) *Paola am-a a Cristian*

love-3s/prs

Senser	Process	Phenomenon
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr

'Paola loves Cristian'

reaction:
emanating

(197) *A Paola le fascin-a Cristian*

ad Paola dat/ fascinate- Crstian
3s 3s/ prs

Senser	Process	Phenomenon
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr

'Cristian fascinates Paola'

reaction:
impinging

As seen in the above examples, the Senser of emanating reaction processes is construed as P₁, and the Phenomenon as less central P₂ (see section 4.3.1 above). In contrast, the impinging type construes the Phenomenon as most central P₁ and the Senser as marginal P₃. Their differences can be seen more clearly in their cliticisation patterns, shown in (198) and (199) below:

(198) *Paola lo am-a*

Paola acc/ love-3s/prs
3s

Senser	Phe/Process
n.gr	v.gr

'Paola loves him'

emanating
Senser: P₁
Phenomenon: P₂ (acc)

(199) *Le fascin-a Cristian*

dat/ fascinate-3s/ Cristian
3s prs

Se/Process	Phe
v.gr	n. gr

'Cristian fascinates her'

impinging
Senser: P₃ (dat)
Phenomenon: P₁

Variation in directionality is the main characteristic of Spanish reaction processes when compared to other mental subtypes. However, unlike reaction processes of other languages, e.g. English, the potential is not symmetrical: the impinging directionality is pervasive in the construal of Spanish reaction, with the emanating pattern being rather infrequent. This contrasts with perception and cognition processes, in which the emanating directionality is the most prevalent one.

Emanating reaction, in fact, is associated with a rather small set of verbs realising the Process, including *amar* ('love'), *detestar* ('detest'), *odiar* ('hate'), *disfrutar* ('enjoy'), *adorar* ('adore'), *tolerar* ('tolerate'), *soportar* ('bear'). The impinging pattern, on the other hand, involves a much larger number of verbs. Clauses (200) and (201) below represent additional examples of impinging reaction processes:

(200) *A Paola le gust-a la música*

Paola dat/ please-3s/ the music
3s prs-ind

Senser	Process	Ph
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr

'Music pleases Paola'

(201) *A Paola le carg-an los perros*

Paola dat/ annoy-3p/ the dogs
3s prs/ind

Senser	Process	Ph
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr

'Dogs annoy Paola', Eng ≈ 'Paola hates dogs'

While the Senser of impinging configurations is typically construed as a marginal P_3 , there is some indeterminacy in its degree of nuclearity, since there are cases in which it may be also construed as P_2 , as shown in example (202) below:

(202) *A Paola (la) le asust-an los temblores*

(acc) dat/3s scare-3p/ the earthquakes
prs/ind

Senser	Process	Phenom.
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr

'Earthquakes scare Paola'

In fact, as pointed out by Gutiérrez Ordoñez (1999), the realisation as either P_3 or P_2 may entail some more delicate differences in meaning, as in (a) and (b) in example (203) below:

(203) a. *A Paola y Cristian los molest-an los niños*

ad Paola and Cristian acc/ upset-3p/prs the children
3s

Senser	Process	Ph
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr

'Children upset Paola and Cristian'

Eng ≈ 'The children bother them'

b. *A Paola y Cristian les molest-an los niños*

ad Paola and Cristian dat/ upset-3p/prs the children
3p

Senser	Process	Ph
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr

'Children upset Paola and Cristian'

Eng ≈ 'They dislike children'

A characteristic pattern of impinging reaction processes is that the Senser, when realised at clause rank, typically precedes the Process in sequence. This, as pointed out by Belloro (2007), means that 'clitic doubling' is obligatory (see section 4.3.1 above):

(204) a. *A Paola le fascin-a Cristian*

ad Paola dat/ fascinate-
3s 3s/prs Cristian

Se	Process	Ph
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr

'Cristian fascinates Paola'

Impinging Se ^ Pro ^ Ph:
obligatory clitic 'doubling'

b. **A Paola fascin-a Cristian*

ad Paola fascinate-3s/
prs Cristian

Se	Process	Ph
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr

*'Cristian fascinates Paola'

Impinging Se ^ Pro ^ Ph:
x Senser at clause rank only

c. *Cristian (le) fascin-a a Paola*

Cristian fascinate-3s/prs ad Paola

Ph	Process	Senser
n.gr	v.gr	n. gr

'Cristian fascinates Paola'

Impinging Ph ^ Pro ^ Se:
optional clitic 'doubling'

Reaction processes lend themselves to grading in terms of *force* (Martin & White, 2005) by means of Circumstances of Manner:

(205) *A Paola le gust-a muchísimo la música*

ad Paola dat/ please-
3s 3s/prs very-much the music

Senser	Process	Manner	Phe
(ad) n.gr	v.gr	adv.gr	n. gr

'Music pleases Paola very much'

(206) *A Paola y Cristian les molest-an bastante los niños*

ad Paola and Cristian dat/ annoy-3p/prs quite.a.lot the children
3p

Senser	Process	Manner	Phe
(ad) n.gr	v.gr	adv.gr	n. gr

'Children quite annoy Paola and Cristian'

While perception and cognition processes may be also graded in Spanish, this is done in terms of *focus*, not *force* (Martin & White, 2005) – for example, by means of an adverbial group such as *bien* ('well') or *mal* ('badly'): *Te veo mal sin lentes lentes* ('I see you badly without eyeglasses') and *A él lo recuerdo bastante bien* ('I remember him quite well'). In contrast, reaction processes lend themselves to graduation by means of adverbial groups such as *mucho* ('much') and *poco* ('little'): *Le gusta mucho la música* ('She likes music very much'), *Se detestan mucho* ('They hate each other very much').

The grading potential may be also incorporated in the lexical meaning of verbs typically construing the Process in reaction configurations. For example, various degrees of '(un)pleasantness' may be coded in a whole set of verbs, including *agradar*

(210) *En Chile gust-an mucho las machas a la parmesana pero a los australianos les carg-an.*

In Chile please- much clams with cheese but to Australians they displease them
3p/prs

Location	Pro	Manner	Phenomenon	conj.	Senser	Process/Ph
p.phr	v.gr	adv.gr	n.gr		n. gr	v.gr

1 'In Chile, clams with cheese please a lot

x2 but Australians hate them'

In emanating reaction processes the possibility of an unspecified Phenomenon is more restricted. The Senser is always at stake in the selection of modal responsibility, but the Phenomenon is expected to be realised by a pronominal clitic and/or a nominal group, as seen in examples (a) to (c) in (211) below:

(211) a. *(Paola) Am-a a Cristian*

love-3s/prs

Pro/Se	Phe
v.gr	n. gr

'(She) loves Cristian'

emanating

Se: inflection

Ph: n.gr

b. *(Paola) Lo am-a.*

acc/ love-3s/prs
3s

Ph/Pro/Se
v.gr

'(She) loves (him)'

emanating

Se: inflection

Ph: accusative

c. *?(Paola) Am-a ...*

love-3s/prs

Process/Se
v.gr

?'(She) loves...'

Reaction processes involve a kind of hyperphenomenality that differs from that of perception processes. The reaction subtype is typically associated with facts, which in Spanish are realised by embedded clauses selecting for subjunctive verb mood. As shown in examples (212) to (215) below, *fact*-clauses may be characteristically preceded by *el hecho de* ('the fact of'):

(212) *A Paola le asust-ó (el hecho de) [[que tembl-ara tan fuerte]]*

ad Paola dat/ scare-3s/ (the fact of) [[that (it) shake-3s/pst/subj so heavily]]
3s pst/ind

Senser	Process	Phenomenon: fact
n.gr.	v.gr.	[[clause: finite: subjunctive]]

'(the fact) [[it shook so heavily]] scared Paola'

(213) *A Cristian le molest-ó (el hecho de) [[que dijeras eso]]*

ad Cristian dat/ annoy- (the fact of) [[that say-2s/pst/subj that]]
3s 3s/pst/ind

Senser	Process	Phenomenon: fact
n.gr	v.gr	[[clause: finite: subjunctive]]

'(the fact) [[That (you) said that]] annoyed Cristian' (Eng ≈ 'It made him cross')

- (214) (A mi) **Me aburr-e** (el hecho de) [[que siempre pregunt-es lo mismo]]
 (ad me) dat/ bore-3s/ (the fact of) [[that always ask-2s/prs/sbj the same]]
 1s prs/ind

Process	Phenomenon: fact
(n.gr) v.gr.	[[clause: finite: subjunctive]]

‘(the fact) [[That (you) always ask the same thing]] bores (me)’

- (215) (A nosotros) **Nos alegr-a** (el hecho de) [[que est-és bien]]
 (ad us) dat/ cheer-3s/ (the fact of) [[that be-2s/prs/sbj well]]
 1p prs/ind

Se/Process	Phenomenon: fact
(n.gr.) v. gr.	[[clause: finite: subjunctive]]

‘(the fact) [[That (you) are well]] cheers us (up)’ (Eng ≈ ‘it makes us happy’)

These embedded fact-clauses have been often associated in literature outside SFL to the speaker’s ‘truth presuppositions’ (after work originally conducted by Kiparsky & Kiparsky, 1970 on ‘factive’ complements). Thus, from a truth semantics viewpoint, ‘factive’ complements in subjunctive verb mood represent the speaker’s assumption that the (embedded) ‘proposition is true’, and therefore, not subject to challenge (Guitart, 1991; Terrell, 1976; Terrell & Hooper, 1974).

As discussed by Davidse (1991, p.334ff), the notion of fact proposed by Halliday (1985) departs from the above approach. From an SFL perspective, metaphenomenal facts are interpreted as ‘pre-projected’ propositions. Being metaphenomenal in nature, they are not directly brought about by the conscious processing construed by the reaction configuration; rather their existence is independent from the occurrence of the reaction itself. In other words, they are already pre-existing metaphenomena impinging upon the Senser’s consciousness, rather than brought into existence by the mental processing (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 476ff). From a lexicogrammatical perspective, facts do not relate to the mental process hypotactically as projected clauses proper, but they are down-ranked clauses construing an element in the multivariate structure of the reaction clause (cf. projected ideas associated with cognition mental clauses in section 4.4.3 below). The insertion of *el hecho de* (‘the fact of’) brings out their down-ranked status:

(216) *A Paola le asust-ó el hecho [de [[que tembl-ara tan fuerte]]]*
 ad Paola dat/ scare-3s/ (the fact of) [[that (it) shake-3s/pst/subj so heavily]]
 3s pst/ind

Senser	Process	Phenomenon			
n.gr.	v.gr.	n.gr			
		Mod	Head	Modifier	
		det	c.n	[p.pr]	
				P	C
				prep	[[clause: metaphenomenon]]

'(the fact) [[it shook so heavily]] scared Paola'

In example (216) above, the metaphenomenal fact clause is shown to be more 'deeply' embedded in the Postmodifier of *hecho* ('fact), which is functioning as the Head of a nominal group within the prepositional phrase. In spoken discourse, speakers tend to 'drop' the preposition following *hecho*, bringing the fact-clause one rank 'up' the scale (by construing it as a direct Postmodifier). The possibility of dispensing with *el hecho de* represents another step up the rank scale allowing the metaphenomenal clause to function as a clause constituent in the multivariate structure of the reaction process (cf. discussion in Davidse 1991, pp.334ff)

Since *fact*-clauses associated with reaction in Spanish involve the selection of subjunctive mood, their possibilities for TENSE and MODALITY selections at group rank are restricted. While subjunctive morphology allows the morphological distinction between 'present' and 'past', such distinctions do not strictly co-relate to primary tense selections made in the main Process of the reaction clause (see Chapter 3, section 3.4.1 and Appendix E). As seen in examples (212) to (215) above, if the verbal group realising the main Process selects for primary present (i.e. indicative verb mood), then the selection in the fact-clause is 'present subjunctive'. However, if the main process selects for primary future, the fact clause still needs to select for 'present subjunctive', as shown in example (217) below:

(217) *(A nosotros) Nos alegr-ará [[que est-és bien]]*
 (ad us) dat cheer-3s/ [[that you're ok]]
 /1p fut/ind

Process/Se	Phenomenon
(n.gr) v. gr	[[clause: finite: subjunctive]]

'(the fact) [[That (you) are well]] cheers us (up)'

This means that subjunctive distinctions, in the environment of *fact*-clauses are in between temporal deixis proper and what has been referred to sometimes as the 'realis/irrealis mood' contrast (e.g. Palmer, 2001, p. 1ff). In other words, in finite *fact*-clauses the distinction between reality phase and temporal is 'blurred' by subjunctive

morphology. Also, subjunctive *fact*-clauses do not allow the selection of ‘potential verb mood’, which in indicative clauses do allow the realisation of further modality distinctions through verb morphology (see Chapter 3, section 3.4.1, and Appendix D).

Restricted interpersonal deixis in *fact*-clauses can also be seen when modal responsibility is presupposed by the main reaction clause. When the modally responsible person in both the main clause and the metaphenomenal fact coincide, the latter is necessarily realised by a non-finite (infinitival) clause:

(218) *A Paola le asust-ó* *[[estar sola durante un temblor]]*

ad Paola dat/ scare-3s/ [[be-inf alone during an earthquake]]
 3s pst/ind

Senser	Process	Phenomenon: fact (meta)
n.gr.	v.gr.	[[clause: non-finite: infinitive]]

‘[[to be alone during an earthquake]] scared Paola’

(219) *A Cristian le molest-ó* *[[escuchar tus bromas]]*

ad Cristian dat/ upset-3s/ [[hear-inf your jokes]]
 3s pst/ind

Senser	Process	Phenomenon: fact (meta)
n.gr.	v.gr.	[[clause: non-finite: infinitive]]

‘[[To hear your jokes]] upset Cristian’

(220) *(A mí) Me aburr-e* *[[hacer siempre lo mismo]]*

(ad me) dat/ bore- [[do-inf always the same]]
 1s 3s/prs/ind

(n.gr)	Process	Phenomenon: fact (meta)
	v.gr.	[[clause: non-finite: infinitive]]

‘[[to do always the same]] bores (me)’

(221) *(A nosotros) Nos alegr-a* *[[saber-lo]]*

ad us dat/ cheer-3s/ [[know-inf acc/3s]]
 1p prs/ind

(n.gr.)	Se/Process	Phenomenon: fact (meta)
	v. gr.	[[clause: non-finite: infinitive]]

‘[[To know it]] cheers us (up)’ (Eng ‘[[to know it]] makes us happy’)

All embedded non-finite clauses in examples (218) to (221) above can be equally preceded by *el hecho de* (‘the fact of’).

As pointed out by Davidse (1991, p. 349), all of these restrictions show, more generally, that the (interpersonal) arguability potential of metaphenomenal *fact*-clauses is quite restricted. The proposition embodied by the embedded fact is, indeed, ‘shielded off’ from any debate:

- (222) a. *A Paola le asust-ó [[que tembl-ara tan fuerte]]*
 ad Paola dat/ scare-3s/ [[that (it) ground_shake-3s/pst/subj so
 3s pst/ind heavily]]
 ‘(the fact) [[the ground shook so heavily]] scared Paola’
- b. -- *Sí, es cierto, se asustó harto*
 -- ‘yes, that’s right, she got very scared’
- c. -- *No, lo que la asustó fue que Cristian se puso a gritar*
 -- ‘no, what scared her was that Cristian started crying out loud’

What examples above attempt to illustrate is that embedded subjunctive clauses are not put forward by the speaker as arguable: the ‘ground shaking heavily’ is construed as a non-negotiable fact (regardless of the possibility of being picked out and promoted as an arguable proposition in unfolding conversation). In other words, what is interpersonally ‘at risk’ is only the proposition of the whole reaction configuration, which can be affirmed, denied or qualified in the exchange, independently from the speaker’s beliefs concerning ‘truth’ (of either the main or the embedded proposition) (cf. projected ideas in section 4.4.3 below).

Another characteristic of *fact*-clauses in Spanish is that they can only be referred to by means of neuter substitute forms: neuter demonstratives at clause rank in the case of both emanating and impinging reaction, or the neuter accusative clitic *lo* in the emanating type⁵¹. If cliticised, metaphenomenal facts can never be involved in ‘clitic doubling’:

- (223) *A Paola le asust-ó [[que temblara tan fuerte]]* : *A Paola le asust-ó eso*

ad Paola dat/ scare-3s/ that-
 3s pst/ind ntr

Senser	Process	Ph
n.gr.	v.gr.	n.gr

‘[[that it shook so heavily]] scared Paola’

: ‘**That** scared Paola’

- (224) *A Cristian le molest-tó [[escuchar tus bromas]]* : *A Cristian le molest-ó eso*

ad Cristian dat/ upset-3s/ that-ntr
 3s pst/ind

Senser	Process	Ph
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

‘[[To hear your jokes]] upset Cristian’

: ‘**That** upset Cristian’

⁵¹ Davidse (1991) establishes a distinction between reference and substitution in relation to metaphenomenal clauses, mostly based on Halliday and Hasan (1976). In English, metaphenomenal fact-clauses are associated with reference items *that* and *it*, whereas idea-metaphenomenal clauses are associated with what she analyses as clausal substitutes *so* and *not*. Such distinctions are not developed in this study, so that reference and substitution are used indistinctively.

(225) *Paola disfrut-a* [[*irse a la playa*]] : *Paola* *lo* *disfrut-a*

ad Cristian dat/ upset-3s/
3s pst/ind

Senser	Ph/Process
n.gr	v.gr

'Paola enjoys [[to go to the beach]]' : 'That upset Cristian'

With respect to VOICE selections, impinging reaction processes are characteristically associated with the selection of [recessive: ergative] verbal groups, crucially at stake in ergative agnation at clause rank (see above section 4.3.2.2). Clauses (226) to (229) below exemplify reaction clauses patterning ergatively:

ergative	:	non-ergative
-----------------	---	---------------------

(226) *El temblor asust-ó a Paola* : *Paola se asust-ó*

the earthquake scare-3s/pst ad Paola Paola rfl scare-3s/pst

Ph	Process	Senser	Senser	Process
n.gr.	v.gr.	n.gr.	n.gr	v.gr

'The earthquake scared Paola'

'Paola scared'

Eng ≈ 'Paola got scared'

(227) *Tus bromas le molest-aron a Cristian* : *Cristian se molest-ó*

Your jokes dat/ upset-3p/pst ad Cristian rfl upset-3s/pst
3s

Ph	Process	Ph	Senser	Process
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr	

'Your jokes upset Cristian'

'Cristian upset'

Eng ≈ 'Cristian got upset'

(228) *Me aburr-iste* : *Me aburr-í*

dat/ bore-2s/pst 1s rfl bore-1s/pst

Process	Se/Process
v.gr.	v.gr

'(You) bored (me)'

'(I) bored'

Eng ≈ 'I got bored'

(229) *Nos alegr-ó la noticia* : *Nos alegr-amos*

dat/ cheer-2s/ the news 1p pst/ind rfl cheer-1p/pst

Se/Pro	Ph	Se/Pro
v. gr.	n.gr	v.gr

'The news cheered us (up)'

'(We) cheered (up)'

Ergative clauses on the left involve two-Participant configurations, with a Phenomenon impinging on the consciousness of the Senser. These clauses relate systematically to non-ergative agnates on the right, with the Process realised by a verbal group selecting for [recessive: ergative]. In non-ergative reaction, the Senser is construed as P₁, with no Phenomenon implied inducing the reaction. The verbal group in both agnates reflect these differences as well: the ergative clauses involve the

obligatory presence of P-clitic realising the Senser (i.e. by means of pronominal dative clitics in bold face), while the non-ergative clauses involve instead a V-Clitic realising a selection in VOICE (i.e. by means of underlined reflexive clitics). (see section 4.3.2.2 above).

Thus reaction processes of the non-ergative type could be analysed as a ‘change of state’ not showing any grammatical evidence in clause structure of being induced externally. Nonetheless, the external ‘stimulus’ associated with the reaction may be construed as a supplemental Range, as shown in examples (230)-(233) below:

(230) *Paola* *se* *asust-ó* *con [el temblor]*
Paola *rfl* *scare-3s/pst* *with the earthquake*

Senser	Process	Rg: sppl
n.gr	v.gr	p.phr

non-ergative:
+ supplemental Range

‘Paola scared with [the earthquake]’
Eng ≈ ‘Paola got scared with [the earthquake]’

(231) *Cristian* *se* *molest-ó* *con [tus bromas]*
rfl *annoy-3s/pst* *with your jokes*

Senser	Process	Rg: sppl
n.gr	v.gr	p.phr

non-ergative:
+ supplemental Range

‘Cristian annoyed with [your jokes]’
Eng ≈ ‘Cristian got cross with [your jokes]’

(232) *(Yo)* *Me* *aburr-í* *de [ti]*
rfl *bore-1s/pst* *of [you]*

Se/Process	Rg: sppl
(n.gr) v.gr	p. phr

non-ergative:
+ supplemental Range

‘I bored of [you]’
Eng ≈ ‘I got bored with [you]’, ‘I got sick of [you]’

(233) *(Nosotros)* *Nos* *alegr-amos* *con/de [la noticia]*
(We) *rfl* *cheer-1p/pst* *with/of [the news]*

Se/Process	Rg: sppl
(n.gr) v.gr	p. phr

non-ergative:
+ supplemental Range

‘(We) cheered (up) with/of [the news]’
Eng ≈ ‘We got happy with [the news]’

The supplemental Range of non-ergative reaction processes may also involve a metaphenomenal fact:

(234) *Me* *aburr-í* *de (l hecho de) [[que siempre habl-es estupideces]]*
rfl *bore-1s/* *of (the fact of)* *[[that always speak-2s/prs/subj nonsense]]*
pst/ind

Se/Process	Rg: sppl
v.gr	p. phr: embedded metaphenomenon

‘(I) bored of (the fact of) [[that always (you) talk nonsense]]’
Eng ≈ ‘I got bored of (the fact of) [[you always talking nonsense]]’

(235) *(Nosotros) Nos alegr-amos de (l hecho de) [[que te h-aya ido bien en el examen]]*

(We) rfl cheer-1p/pst of (the fact of) [[that dat/2s aux-3s/prs/subj gone well in the exam]]

Se/Process	Rg: sppl
v.gr	p. phr: embedded metaphenomenon

(n.gr)

'(We) cheered (up) of [[that you've done well in the exam]]

Eng ≈ '[[You doing well in the exam]] made us happy'

As shown in the examples (234) and (235) above, when the embedded clause is realised as a supplemental Range it may be preceded by *el hecho de* ('the fact of'). Like *fact*-clauses associated with the ergative agnates, they require a verbal group selecting for subjunctive verb mood. However, their marginal status in the otherwise one-participant configuration prevents their cliticisation. These embedded supplemental metaphenomena can nonetheless be substituted for a neuter demonstrative pronoun, as shown in (236) and (237) below:

(236) *Me aburr-í de [eso]*

rfl bore-1s/ of that-ntr
pst/ind

Se/Process	Rg: sppl
v.gr	p. phr

'(I) bored of [that]'

Eng ≈ 'I got bored of [that]'

(237) *(Nosotros) Nos alegr-amos de [eso]*

(We) rfl cheer-1p/pst of that-ntr

Se/Process	Rg: sppl
v.gr	p. phr

(n.gr)

'(We) cheer (up) of [that]'

Eng ≈ 'That cheers us up'

The possibility of metaphenomenal clauses embedded in prepositional phrases makes their interpretation as peripheral (i.e. Circumstantial) more problematic than in the case of similar non-ergative material clauses discussed in section 4.3.2.2 above. The metaphenomenality of non-ergative reaction processes is simply construed as more marginal than in their ergative agnates. It is here proposed that a more productive analysis for prepositional phrases allowing for these possibilities is the one pointing to their status as nuclear Ranges (rather than peripheral Circumstances), provided that they are closely associated with non-ergative clauses (see section 4.3.2 above).

Table 4.20 below summarises the main characteristics of Spanish reaction processes:

Spanish reaction mentals		
conscious participant	higher consciousness lower consciousness (depending on kind of reaction)	
phenomenality	phenomenal or metaphenomenal	
	metaphenomenon	embedded <i>fact</i> : – finite: subjunctive – non-finite: infinitival (presupposed modal responsibility)
	cliticisation	– if phenomenal, open, doubling possible – if metaphenomenal, only neuter <i>lo</i> , doubling banned
	substitute forms	– if phenomenal, open – if metaphenomenal, only neuter forms at clause rank
directionality	impinging is pervasive, emanating less frequent	
voice (v.gr)	emanating: [passive], [recessive: generalised] impinging at the service of ergative agnation through [recessive: ergative]	

Table 4.20 Spanish reaction mentals: summary of configurational patterns

4.4.3 Cognition mental processes

Cognition mental processes, as with perception and reaction processes, include configurations with a Senser and a Phenomenon, both realised by nominal groups, as in examples (238) and (239) below:

(238) *Ya pens-aremos alguna solución*⁵²

soon	think-1p/fut/ind	some solution
M. Adj.	Process/Se	Phenomenon
adv.gr	v.gr	n.gr

‘(We) will think (about) some solution sometime’

(239) *(Yo) sab-ía la formación [[que tienen los milicos]] [USS]*

know-1s/ past/ind	the training	[[that have-3p/prs/ind the military]]
n.gr	Process	Phenomenon
	v.gr	n.gr

‘(I) knew the training [[the military had]]’

García-Miguel and Comesaña (2004), based on the ADESSE corpus, have explored clause configurations which they categorised, after Halliday (1985), as ‘cognition constructions’⁵³. They have found that the most frequent verbs in these configurations are *saber* (‘know’), *creer* (‘believe’), *pensar* (‘think’), *recordar*

⁵² Taken from García-Miguel and Comesaña (2004, p. 404)

⁵³ For an overview of the ADESSE project, including an explanation of the theoretical foundations and a description of the corpus and methodology, see García-Miguel and Albertuz (2005)

(‘remember/remind’), *entender* (‘understand’), and *olvidar* (‘forget’)⁵⁴. In the terms of the present study, these verbs indeed are involved in the prototypical configurational patterns that are specific of cognition processes in Spanish, including their association with projected metaphenomenal ideas. García-Miguel and Comesaña (2004), in fact, note that the most frequent pattern for the cognition processes they study is precisely the one in which the Process is associated with a *que*-clause (p.404), interpreted in the present study as **projected** metaphenomenon. Some of the examples they provide are re-analysed in (240) to (242) below:

(240) *Tú pens-arás* || → *que estoy loco*

You		think-2s/fut	that I-am mad
Senser	Process	'β projected : meta	
n.gr	v.gr	finite clause	

‘You would think ||→ that I’m mad’

(241) *Cre-o* || → *que Madrid es una ciudad muy incómoda*

believe-1s/
prs/ind

that Madrid is a city very inconvenient

Pro/Se	→ 'β projected : meta
v.gr	finite clause

‘(I) think || → that Madrid is a very inconvenient city’

(242) *Comprend-ió* || → *que no t-enía coraje para formular tales embustes.*

understand-3s/
prs/ind

that no he-had courage for formulate such deceiving stories

Pro/Se	→ 'β projected : meta
v.gr	finite clause

‘(S/he) understood || → that s/he didn’t have the courage to formulate such stories’

Within the SFL framework ideas are interpreted as construing a separate figure in hypotactic clause complexes. This means that they are not part of the multivariate structure of the clause, as is the case with rank-shifted acts and facts realising the Phenomenon in perception and reaction processes, respectively (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, p. 28). In the case of metaphenomenal ideas, ‘a proposition is as it were created cognitively; it is brought into existence by a process of thinking’. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 449).

⁵⁴ They also include in this list the verb *reconocer* (‘acknowledge’). However, according to the configurational patterns they explore in their examples, this verb seems to be realising a verbal process, rather than a (cognition) mental process. The main difference between them is that verbal processes show the possibility of a participant construing a Receiver (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, p.255). Discourse semantically it makes good sense: verbal processes project semiotic entities *outside* the consciousness of a Sayer, that is, not an projected idea, but a projected *locution*, which can reach Receivers in the outside world.

Experientially, idea-clauses construe a *semiotic* entity directly projected by the conscious processing of the Senser into a different, second-order of reality – as opposed to facts, which are ‘pre-projected’ metaphenomena; that is to say, they are not directly projected by the Process of the reaction clause but they rather constitute ‘impersonal projections’ (Halliday 1994)⁵⁵. Importantly, cognitively projected metaphenomena are also separate *propositions*, thus they distinctively show some interpersonal potential not open to metaphenomenal facts.

Firstly, hypotactically projected clauses show a greater potential in terms of interpersonal deixis. They are generally realised by finite clauses selecting for indicative verb mood, and they do not need to be circumscribed to the same temporal frame of the main cognition clause, nor the same polarity, shown in (243) to (245) below:

(243) *Valeria no v-a a pensar || → que estás loco*

Valeria not go-3s/fut to think- that (you)-are mad

Senser	Process	→ 'β projected: meta
n.gr	v.gr	finite clause

'You would not think ||→ that I'm mad'

polarity
α: negative, future in present
β: positive, present

(244) *Cre-o || → que Madrid no fue siempre una ciudad muy cómoda*

believe-1s/ prs/ind that Madrid not was a city very convenient

Pro/Se	→ 'β projected: meta
v.gr	finite clause

'(I) think ||→ that Madrid was not always a very convenient city'

polarity
α: positive, present
β: negative, past

(245) *Comprend-ió || → que no t-enía coraje para formular tales embustes.*

understand-3s/ pst/ind that no he-had courage for formulate such deceivingstories

Pro/Se	→ 'β projected: meta
v.gr	finite clause

'(S/he) understood || → that s/he didn't have the courage to formulate such stories'

polarity
α: positive, past
β: negative, past

While projected clauses are ‘bound’ clauses (i.e. they are hypotactically dependent on the main clause realising the cognition process), they are open to a wider range of selections in PERSON, TENSE, POLARITY, and MODALITY than (finite) embedded acts and facts.

A few projected ideas may involve the choice of ‘subjunctive verb mood’ – for example, if the Process of the cognition clause involves the verb *creer* (‘believe’),

⁵⁵ See section 4.4.2 above on the SFL interpretation of fact-clauses.

negative polarity forces the selection of subjunctive in the projected idea (examples below re-analysed from data provided in Delbecque & Lamiroy, 1999):

(246) *No cre-o* || → *que abandone.* || *Lo dudo.* || *La política le apasiona.*
 neg believe-1s/ that abandon-3s/prs/sbj acc/ doubt-1s/ The politics dat/3s passionate-
 prs/ind prs/ind 3s prs/ind 3s/prs

Pro/Se	→ 'β projected: meta	(clause)	(clause)
v.gr	clause: finite: sbj	v.gr	v.gr

'I don't think || → that s/he withdraws. || I doubt it || S/He's passionate about politics'

(247) *No cre-o* || → *que esa cultura oficial haya ido contra mí.*
 neg believe-1s/ that that culture official have-3s/prs/sbj go-prctp against me
 prs/ind

Pro/Se	→ 'β projected: meta
v.gr	clause: finite: subjunctive

'I don't think || → that that official culture has gone against me'

The selection of subjunctive, however, does not apply if the projected clause is the one selecting for negative polarity:

(248) *Cre-o* || → *que no abandonar-á*
 believe-1s/ that no abandon-3s/fut/ind
 prs/ind

Pro/Se	'β projected: meta
v.gr	clause: fin: indicative

'I think || → that s/he won't withdraw'

(249) *Cre-o* || → *que esa cultura oficial no h-a ido contra mí.*
 believe-1s/ that that culture official have-3s/prs/ind go-prctp against me
 prs/ind

Pro/Se	'β projected: meta
v.gr	clause: finite: indicative

'I think || → that that official culture has not gone against me'

This can be explained by the fact that *creer* is the paradigm verb used in Spanish for subjective explicit modality (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 614) – that is, it often functions also as an interpersonal resource to modalise (e.g. in terms of probability) the proposition embodied by the projected metaphenomenon. Metaphorical clauses with *creer* are in fact agnate with other clauses realising objective modality, which also require subjunctive verb mood when they realise low probability, as shown in clauses (a) and (b) in (250) below:

(250) a. *No cre-o* || → *que abandone.*
 neg believe-1s/ that abandon-3s/prs/sbj
 prs/ind

Pro/Se	→ 'β projected: meta
v.gr	clause: finite: sbj

'I don't think || → that s/he withdraws.'

subjective explicit modality (modalisation, probability)
--

b. *Es improbable* || → *que abandone.*

be-1s/ improbable that abandon-3s/prs/sbj
prs/ind

Pro/Ca	Att	→ 'β projected: meta clause: finite: sbj
v.gr	n.gr	

'It's improbable || → that s/he withdraws.'

objective explicit modality
(modalisation, probability)

Another explanation for the use of subjunctive in some projected clauses seems to relate to distinctions in terms of 'reality phase' embodied in the realis/irrealis contrast (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, p. 114⁵⁶). This can be clearly seen in negative cognition clauses involving the verbs *recordar* ('remember') or *imaginar* ('imagine'):

(251) *No recuerdo* || → *que habláramos de ella.*

neg remember-1s/ that talk-1p/pst/sbj of her
prs/ind

Pro/Se		→ 'β projected: meta clause: finite: sbj
v.gr		

'I don't remember || → that we-talked about her'

(252) *No imaginó* || → *que p-udiera existir alguien tan perverso.*

neg imagine-3s/ that can-3p/pst/sbj exist-inf someone so perverse
pst/ind

Pro/Se		→ 'β projected: meta clause: finite: subjunctive
v.gr		

's/he didn't imagine || → that we-talked about her'

Projected ideas generally associated with cognition processes are interpersonally open to debate:

(253) a. *Tú pens-arás* || → *que estoy loco*

You think-2s/fut that (I)-am mad

Se	Process	→ 'β projected: meta finite clause
n.gr	v.gr	

'You would think || → that I'm mad'

b. – *En efecto, pienso* || → *que sí*

Indeed think-1s/ that yes
prs/ind

– Indeed I think || → that yes (e.g. 'I think you are')

(254) a. *Cre-o* || → *que Madrid es una ciudad muy incómoda*

believe-1s/ prs/ind that Madrid is a city very inconvenient

Pro/Se		→ 'β projected: meta finite clause
v.gr		

'(I) think || → that Madrid is a very inconvenient city'

⁵⁶ In SFL descriptions the realis/irrealis distinction has been loosely related to the distinction between finite/non-finite in verbal group complexes, as well as between finite and non-finite clauses. The distinction here is more in line with the one suggested by Delbecq and Lamiroy (1999).

- b. – *Yo cre-o* || → *que no*
 believe-1s/ that yes
 prs/ind
 - I think || → that no (e.g. ‘I think it isn’t’)

- (255) a. *Comprend-ió* || → *que no t-enía coraje para formular tales embustes.*
 understand-3s/ that no he-had courage for formulate such deceivingstories
 pst/ind

Pro/Se	→ 'β projected: meta
v.gr	finite clause

‘(S/he) understood || → that s/he didn’t have the courage to formulate such stories’

- b. – *Comprend-ió* || → *que no,* || *así es*
 believe-1s/ that yes thus is
 prs/ind
 ‘S/he understood || → that no, || that’s right’

- (256) a. *No recuerd-o* || → *que habl-áramos de ella.*
 neg remember-1s/ that talk-1p/pst/sbj of her

Pro/Se	→ 'β projected: meta
v.gr	clause: finite: sbj

‘I don’t remember || → that we-talked about her’

- b. – *Yo recuerd-o* || → *que sí*
 I remember-1s/ that yes
 prs/ind
 - I remember || → that yes (e.g. ‘I do remember we did’)

Spanish projected clauses in the above examples involve clause substitutes *que sí* or *que no*, which replay (by affirming or rejecting) the polarity of projected propositions. But projected propositions may also be qualified in terms of modality – for instance, by means of clausal substitutes adjusting probability, such as *que quizás* (‘that perhaps’) or *que talvez* (‘that maybe’):

- (257) a. *Tú pens-arás* || → *que estoy loco*
 You think-2s/fut that (I)-am mad

Se	Process	'β projected: meta
n.gr	v.gr	finite clause

‘You would think || → that I’m mad’

- b. – *Hmmm, pienso* || → *que talvez/a lo mejor*
 hmmm think-1s/ that perhaps/maybe
 prs/ind
 - ‘Hmmm, I think || → that perhaps/maybe’

This contrasts with metaphenomenal facts, which do not readily take this kind of substitution for the negotiation of their the arguability:

- (258) *Paola detesta* [[*que tiembl-e*]] – **Yo detesto que no*
 Paola hates [[that ground_shakes]] I hate that yes
 Paola hates [[that it-earthquakes]] - *I hate [[that no]]
 Eng ‘Paola hates eartquaking’ *Eng ‘I hate it doesn’t’

- (259) *A Paola le carga* [[*que tiembl-e*]] – **A nosotros nos gusta que sí*
 ad Paola her displeases [[that ground_shakes]] ad we us pleases that yes
 ‘[[That it-earthquakes]] displeases Paola’ - *‘[[that yes]] pleases us’
 Eng ≈ ‘Earthquaking displeases Paola’ * Eng ≈ ‘[[that it does]] displeases us’

In Spanish cognition mental clauses, the projected proposition is normally realised by a finite indicative clause, even if the modally responsible person is the same as in the dominant clause⁵⁷:

- (260) *Recuerd-o* || → *que hablé de ella*
 remember-1s/ that I-talked of she
 prs/ind
- | | |
|--------|------------------------------|
| Pro/Se | → 'β projected : meta |
| v.gr | clause: finite: indicative |
- ‘I remember || → that I talked about her’

- (261) *Cre-en* || → *que h-an hecho una campaña prudente*
 believe-1s/ that they-have done a campaign prudent
 prs/ind
- | | |
|--------|------------------------------|
| Pro/Se | → 'β projected : meta |
| v.gr | clause: finite: indicative |
- ‘They think || → they have done a sensible campaign’

As García-Miguel and Comensaña (2004) point out, the presence of what they call ‘infinitival complement’ in configurations that appear associated with ‘cognition verbs’ involve meanings of a different kind – i.e. close in meaning of what they refer to as ‘modals or dispositive’ verbs (p. 406). Examples provided by these authors are re-analysed in (262) and (263) below:

- (262) *y ya s-é dar volteretas*
 and already know-1s/ do-inf somersaults
 prs/ind
- | | |
|--------------|--------|
| v.gr complex | |
| v.gr α | v.gr β |
- conj adv.gr n.gr
 ‘and I already know (how) to do somersaults’

- (263) *yo no me piens-o casar*
 I neg rfl think-1s/ marry-inf
 prs/ind
- | | |
|--------------|--------|
| v.gr complex | |
| v.gr α | v.gr β |
- ‘I don’t intend to get married’

As the English rendering above suggests, cognition clauses involving non-finite forms can be more appropriately analysed as realising distinctions in MODALITY,

⁵⁷ As shown by Lavid et al. (2010) in the environment of verbal processes, this is not the case in projected proposals, which necessarily require a non-finite clause when modal responsibility is presupposed from the dominant clause.

including ability in (262) and inclination in (263) (e.g. Halliday, 1994). From an experiential perspective, the whole of the verbal group complexes above realise the Process in material clause configurations, not mental ones – the event being construed is only one, not two.

As for nominal substitute forms, Spanish projected ideas resemble embedded facts: they can be referred to through the neuter accusative clitic *lo* at group rank, or a neuter demonstrative at clause rank (see *fact*-clauses in section 4.4.2 above). Likewise, the possibility of cliticisation of the metaphenomenal clause, does not allow ‘clitic doubling’:

- (264) *Tú pens-arás* || → *que estoy loco* : *Tú pens-arás eso*
 You think-2s/fut that (I)-am mad that-ntr
 ‘You would think || → that I’m mad’ : ‘You would think that’
- (265) *Cre-o* → *que Madrid es una ciudad muy incómoda* : *Eso cre-o*
 believe-1s/ that Madrid is a city very inconvenient that-ntr
 prs/ind
 ‘(I) think || → that Madrid is a very inconvenient city’ : ‘I think that’
- (266) *Cre-o* || → *que he-mos hecho una campaña prudente.* : **Lo** *cre-o*
 believe-1s/ that we-have done a campaign prudent
 prs/ind
 ‘(I) think || → that we have done a sensible campaign’ : ‘I think it’
- (267) *No recuerd-o* || → *que habl-áramos de ella.* : **No lo** *recuerd-o*
 neg remember-1s/ that talk-1p/pst/sbj of her acc/ntr
 prs/ind
 ‘I don’t remember || → that we-talked about her’ : ‘I don’t remember it’

Table 4.21 below summarises the main characteristics of Spanish cognition processes:

Spanish cognition mentals		
conscious participant	higher consciousness only, P ₁	
phenomenality	phenomenal or metaphenomenal, P ₂	
	metaphenomenon	projected idea (separate proposition) – finite: bound ‘indicative verb mood’, and greater possibilities in interpersonal deixis – ellipsis: clause substitutes, e.g. <i>que sí, que no</i> , etc
	cliticisation	- if phenomenal, open, doubling possible - if metaphenomenal, only neuter <i>lo</i> , doubling banned
	substitute forms	- if phenomenal, open - if metaphenomenal, neuter forms only
directionality	emanating as pervasive (but a few impinging)	
voice (v.gr)	[passive] or [recessive: generalised]	

Table 4.21 Spanish perception mentals: summary of configurational patterns

4.4.3.1 Some additional patterns in cognition mental clauses

While cryptogrammatical patterns described thus far can be generally used as the core ones for generalising across cognition processes in Spanish, there is a great deal of heterogeneity in the configurational patterns that can be found within this subtype, as discussed by García-Miguel and Comesaña (2004). While such heterogeneity could be addressed through more delicate subtypes under [cognition], it is worthwhile noting that a few of these specific patterns are highly productive, since they involve verbs that are very frequent among cognition processes.

To begin, one prevalent pattern associated with frequent verbs construing the Process in cognition configurations is the presence of an ascriptive element:

(268) **Lo** *consider-an un tarado*

acc/ consider-3p/ a moron
3s prs/ind

Ph/Pro/Se	Att
v.gr	n.gr

‘They consider him a moron’

(269) **Te** *cre-í inteligente*

acc/ believe-1s/ intelligent
2s pst/ind

Ph/Pro/Se	Att
v.gr	n.gr

‘I believed you smart’

Eng ≈ ‘I thought you were smart’

(270) **Los** *imagin-ó felices*

acc/ imagine-3s/ happy
3p pst/ind

Ph/Pro/Se	Att
v.gr	n.gr

'S/he imagined them happy'

Eng ≈ 'S/he imagined them happy'

These Attributes are unlike Depictive Attributes described for perception processes (section 4.4.2 above), since Attributes in cognition clauses may be realised by a wider range of nominal groups, including indefinite nominal groups with noun as Head (cf. nominal groups realising Depictive Attributes in perception processes require an adjective as Head). Additionally, they may be substituted by nominal pro-forms at clause rank – neuter demonstrative pronouns (cf. non-nominal proforms for Depictive Attributes in perception processes):

(271) **Lo** *consider-an un tarado* : **Lo** *consider-an eso*

acc/ consider-3p/ a moron acc/ consider-3p/ that-nt
3s prs/ind 3s prs/ind

Ph/Pro/Se	Att
v.gr	n.gr

'They consider him a moron'

: 'They consider him that'

(272) **Te** *cre-í inteligente* : **Te** *cre-í eso*

acc/ believe-1s/ intelligent acc/ believe-1s/ that
2s pst/ind 2s pst/ind

Ph/Pro/Se	Att
v.gr	n.gr

'I believed you smart'

'I believe you that'

Eng ≈ 'I thought you were smart'

Another pattern that is worthwhile highlighting with respect to a few highly frequent cognition processes refers to the directionality of the configuration. It has been shown in 4.4.3 above that Spanish cognition mental processes are mostly of the emanating type. However, there are very few cases which may be also impinging, although they enter an entirely different set of agnation patterns when compared, for example, to reaction processes (see 4.4.3 above). Here only two of them will be reviewed: those with the Process realised by the verbs *recordar* ('remember', 'recall') and *olvidar* ('forget').

Examples (a) and (b) in (273) below show the emanating patterning for both *recordar* and *olvidar*:

(273) a. *Record-é tu cumpleaños / → que era tu cumpleaños*

remember-1s/ pst/ind	your birthday	that it-was your birthday
Pro/Se	Ph	projected idea clause: finite: ind
v.gr	n.gr	

'I remembered your birthday / → that it was your birthday'

b. *Olvid-é tu cumpleaños / → que era tu cumpleaños*

forget-1s/ pst/ind	your birthday	that it-was your birthday
Pro/Se	Ph	projected idea clause: finite: ind
v.gr	n.gr	

'I forgot your birthday / → that it was your birthday'

These same verbs, however, may construe different directionalities and orbital relations. The verb *recordar* may be involved in a configuration in which the cognition process may be induced by an additional participant:

(274) *Nadie me record-ó tu cumpleaños / → que era tu cumpleaños*

Nobody	dat/ 1s	remember- 1s/ pst/ind	your birthday	that it-was your birthday
Inducer	Se/Pro	Ph	projected idea clause: finite: ind	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr		

'Nobody reminded me your birthday / → that it was your birthday'

Spanish uses the same verb, but changes the configurational pattern to construe a different directionality: the impinging cognition process in (274) above displays an Inducer taking the role of P₁, a Senser construed as P₃, and a Phenomenon as P₂. Lexical flexibility of this kind for the construal of a different directionality is uncommon in Spanish overall, and quite exceptional in mental processes.

The verb *olvidar* ('forget'), on the other hand, is associated with the following three configurational patterns, with Senser, Process and Phenomenon establishing different directionalities and orbital relations:

(275) a. *Olvid-é tu cumpleaños / → que era tu cumpleaños*

forget-1s/ pst/ind	your birthday	that it-was your birthday
Pro/Se (Pro/P ₁)	Phenomenon (P ₂)	projected idea clause: finite: ind
v.gr	n.gr	

'I forgot your birthday / → that it was your birthday'

b. *Se me olvid-ó tu cumpleaños / → que era tu cumpleaños*

rfl 1s	dat/ pst/ind	forget-3s/ pst/ind	your birthday	that it-was your birthday
Pro/Se (Pro/P ₃)	Phenomenon (P ₁)	projected idea clause: finite: ind		
v.gr	n.gr			

Eng ≈ 'I forgot your birthday / → that it was your birthday'

c. *Me olvid-é de [tu cumpleaños] / de [que era tu cumpleaños]*
 dat/ forget-1s/ of your birthday that it-was your birthday
 1s pst/ind

Pro/Se (Pro/P ₃)	Phenomenon (Rg: sppl)	Phenomenon (Rg: sppl)
v.gr	p.phr	p.phr

Eng ≈ 'I forgot (of) your birthday / (of) [[that it was your birthday]]'

Clause (a) above displays an emanating pattern: the Senser is construed as P₁ and the Phenomenon as P₂. Clause (b), instead, construes an impinging clause, with the Senser as P₃ and the Phenomenon as P₁. While the verbal group in (b) takes what looks like a reflexive marking clitic, this element does not realise the selection [reflexive] nor [ergative: recessive] in VOICE (section 4.3.2.2 above). In other words, both clauses represent two-element configurations simply construing a different directionality.

On the other hand, there is clause (c), which does construe a one-participant configuration. It is the non-ergative agnate with respect to (b), but with respect to (a) it construes the Phenomenon as a more marginal participant. In other words *olvidar* is distinctively at stake in a three-fold agnation pattern of *emanating* : *impinging* : *supplemental* configurations – (a), (b) and (c).

4.4.4 Additional participants

Thus far, the Senser and the Phenomenon, along with a number of specific hyperphenomenal patterns, have been focused on in the exploration of Spanish mental processes. These elements appear as inherent Participant roles across perception, reaction and cognition subtypes.

It has also been shown that mental processes do allow in Spanish the presence of additional participants, as already suggested with Depictive Attributes of perception processes, and Attributes of cognition processes – both patterns construing figures of sensing as ascriptive configurations (see sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.3 above). These are Participants that display relative structural autonomy: they cannot be cliticised as the entities to which there ascribing a property, they have their own associated substitute forms, and they can occupy different positions in the sequence at clause rank.

Alongside ascriptive functions, there is another kind of additional element associated with mental configurations. This element shows several features of Participant 3 discussed in section 4.3.1 above. However, since this element is not comparable to the Beneficiary of Spanish material processes (section 4.2.3 above), it is

generalised here as an Implicated function involved in specific patterns, depending on the mental subtype.

In perception processes, the Implicated is closely associated with the construal of whole/part relations with the Phenomenon:

(276) *Paola le vi-o la cara/la ropa/la facha a Cristian*
Paola dat/ see-3s/ the face/the clothes/the look ad Cristian
3s

Senser	Process	Phenomenon	Implicated
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

Paola saw the face/the clothes/the look to Cristian

Eng ≈ 'Paola saw the face/the clothes the look on Cristian', 'Paola saw Cristian's face/clothes/look', etc

In the above example, the 'holder' of the body part, outfit or appearance is regularly construed as marginal P₃, which is obligatorily co-referential with a dative pronominal clitic when realised as a clause constituent. The three-participant configuration construes a whole/part relation: the 'part' as the Phenomenon perceived by the Senser, while the Implicated, usually human, the 'whole' in which is 'contained'. These configurations are related to others construing a partitive relation by means of a single element:

(277) *Paola le vi-o la cara a Cristian : Paola vi-o la cara [de [Cristian]]*
Paola dat/ see-3s/ the face ad Cristian Paola see-3s/ the face of Cristian
3s prs/ind prs/ind

Se	Pro	Ph	Implicated	Se	Pro	Phenomenon
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr	n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'Paola saw the face to Cristian'

'Paola saw the face of Cristian'

The Phenomenon being construed as 'part' can be realised by a nominalised rank-shifted clause, as shown in examples (278) and (279) below:

(278) *Paola le vi-o [[lo que llevaba puesto]] a Cristian*
Paola dat/ see-3s/ the face/the clothes/the look ad Cristian
3s pst/ind

Senser	Process	Phenomenon	Implicated
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

Paola saw him [[what he was wearing]]

(279) *Les escuch-é [[lo que conversaban]] [EN]*
dat/ listen-1s/ [[what they were talking about]]
3s pst/ind

Impl/Process	Phenomenon
v.gr	n.gr

'I heard them [[what they were talking about]]

The Implicated participant is ‘bound’ to the specification of the Phenomenon in structure. Both functions need to co-occur, otherwise no ‘whole/part’ relation can be construed:

(280) **Paola vi-o la cara*

Paola see-3s/ the face
pst/ind

Senser	Process	Phenomenon
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

* ‘Paola saw the face’

(281) **Paola vi-o a Cristian*

Paola see-3s/ ad Cristian
pst/ind

Senser	Process	Implicated
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

* ‘Paola saw Cristian’

The Implicated is, furthermore, incompatible with ‘partitive’ nominal groups construing same ‘whole/part’ relation in structure:

(282) **Paola le vi-o la cara [de[Cristian]]*

Paola dat/ see-3s/ the face of Cristian
3s pst/ind

Senser	Impl/Pro	Phenomenon
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

* ‘Paola saw him the face of Cristian’

The ‘doubling’ of the Implicated by means of co-referential selections across ranks is obligatory if it is realised at clause-rank:

(283) **Paola vi-o la cara a Cristian*

Paola see-3s/ the face ad Cristian
pst/ind

Senser	Pro	Ph	Implicated
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

* ‘Paola saw the face to Cristian’

However, both functions still display relative structural autonomy, since they can be cliticised independently and occupy different positions at clause rank:

(284) a. *Paola le vi-o la cara/la ropa/la facha a Cristian*

Paola dat/ see-3s/ the face/the clothes/the look ad Cristian
3s 3s

‘Paola saw the face/the clothes/the look of Cristian’

b. *Paola se la vi-o*

Paola dat/ acc/ see-3s/
3s 3s

Senser	Impl/Ph/Process
n.gr	v.gr

‘Paola saw it him’

The characteristic ‘partitive’ pattern of Spanish perception processes can be related to similar configurations in material processes, where P₃ construes a kind of Beneficiary (or ‘Maleficiary’) indirectly involved in a configuration which may similarly construe whole/part relations:

(285) *Paola le lav-ó la cara/la ropa a Cristian*

Paola dat/ washed-3s/ the clothes/the face ad Cristian
 3s pst/ind

Actor	Process	Goal	Beneficiary
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

‘Paola washed (him) the clothes/the face to Cristian’

Eng ≈ ‘Paola washed the clothes for Cristian/ Cristian’s face’

material
Be: P ₃

(286) *Paola le rompi-ó la cara / la cámara a Cristian*

Paola dat/ break-3s/ the face/the camera ad Cristian
 3s pst/ind

Actor	Process	Goal	Be
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

‘Paola broke (him) the face/camera to Cristian’

Eng ≈ ‘Paola broke Cristian’s camera/smashed Cristian face’

material
Be: P ₃

As some of the semi-idiomatic renderings show, English uses in most cases possessive or partitive nominal groups where the ‘whole/part’ relation is construed by only one element in structure. These possibilities are, in fact, also available in Spanish, co-existing with the three-participant Implicated clause configurations. The important feature of the Implicated configuration is that the whole/part relation is construed in the form of two separate, but nuclear elements, analysed in the above examples as two separate structural functions.

The Implicated of perception processes, along with the analogous Beneficiary of material processes in clauses (285) and (286) above, have been traditionally addressed as *dativo de posesión* (‘possession datives’) or *dativo simpatético* (‘sympathetic dative’)⁵⁸. Descriptive work has also related them with what Bally (1926) referred to as *datif de participation* (‘participation dative’) across Romance languages⁵⁹.

⁵⁸ See Baños (2009) for its similarities with a Latin *sympathetic dative*, which he interprets as a subtype of *dativus (in)commodi*. For a brief diachronic explanation of the phenomenon in Spanish, see Gutiérrez Ordoñez (1999, p. 1898)

⁵⁹ In other approaches, these marginal participants have been related to general notion of ‘(in)alienable possession’ (e.g. Cano Aguilar, 1981; Delbecque & Lamiroy, 1996; Dumitrescu, 1990; Kliffer, 1983; Picallo & Rigau, 1999, p. 1011; Roldán, 1972). However, this Implicated does not involve any possessive marking, as do the English ones there are usually contrasted with. A more general ‘involvement’ relation in terms of whole-part relations is here preferred.

As Picallo and Rigau (1999) point out, these ‘partitive’ elements cannot be properly associated with ‘benefactive’ participants when they appear in perception processes (p. 1015). Indeed, they cannot be picked out as ‘done-to’ by the probe *¿Qué le hizo?* (‘What did s/he do to him-her-etc?’) nor as ‘undergoer’ by the probe *¿Qué le pasó?* (‘What happened to’), as is the case with analogous Beneficiaries of material processes:

<i>¿Qué le hizo?</i> ‘What did she do to him?’	– <i>Le rompió la cara</i> – ‘She smashed him the face’	material
<i>¿Qué le pasó?</i> ‘What happened to him?’	– <i>Le rompió la cara</i> – ‘She smashed him the face’	material
<i>¿Qué le hizo?</i> ‘What did she do to him?’	– * <i>Le vio la cara</i> – *‘She saw him the face’	mental: perception
<i>¿Qué le pasó?</i> ‘What happened to him?’	– * <i>Le vio la cara</i> – *‘She saw him the face’	mental: perception

In addition, the Implicated participant of perception processes may co-occur with either macrophenomenal acts or Depictive Attributes:

(287) *Paola le vi-ó la cámara [[caer]]* : *Se la vi-ó [[caer]]*
 Paola dat/ see-3s/ the clothes fall-inf : dat/ acc/ see-3s/ fall-inf
 3s pst/ind 3s 3s pst/ind

Senser	Impl/Process	Phenomenon: macro		Impl/Phe../Pro/Se	...nomenon
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	[[clause]]	v.gr	[[clause]]

‘Paola saw (him) the camera [[fall]]’

: ‘Paola saw it (him) [[fall]]’

Eng ≈ ‘Paola saw his camera fall’

(288) *Paola le vi-ó la cámara rota* : *Se la vi-ó rota*
 Paola dat/ see-3s/ the clothes broken : dat/ acc/ see-3s/ broken
 3s pst/ind 3s 3s pst/ind

Senser	Impl/Process	Phenomenon	D.Attr	Impl/Ph/Pro/Se	D.Attr
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	(adj) n.gr	v.gr	(adj) n.gr

‘Paola saw (him) the camera broken’

: ‘Paola saw it (him) broken’

Eng ≈ ‘Paola saw his camera (was) broken’

For the participant construing a partitive relation with the Phenomenon of perception processes the more specific Carrier Implicated function is here proposed.

There is another kind of Implicated at stake in reaction processes, specifically, in impinging configurations entering ergative agnation (section 4.4.2 above). Non-ergative reaction clauses may include an Implicated that is indirectly participating in the process, as illustrated in examples (289) and (290) below:

(289) *La gata se les asust-ó a Valeria y Marcelo*

the cat rfl dat/ scare-3s/ ad Valeria and Marcelo
3s pst/ind

Senser	(Impl/)	Pro	Implicated
n.gr		v.gr	n.gr

'The cat scared on Valeria and Marcelo'

Eng ≈ 'The cat got scared on Valeria and Marcelo', 'The cat got scared on Valeria and Marcelo'

reaction: non-ergative

Se: P₂

Impl: P₃

(290) *Los niños se les aburrier-on a Mónica*

the childred rfl dat/ bore-3p/ pst/ind ad Monica
3s

Senser	(Impl/)	Pro	Implicated
n.gr		v.gr	n.gr

'The kids bored on Monica'

Eng ≈ 'Monica's kids got bored', 'The kids got bored on Monica', etc

reaction: non-ergative

Se: P₁

Impl: P₃

In the above examples, *a Valeria y Marcelo* and *a Mónica* are construed as P₃, involved in the reaction of the Senser construed as P₁. As in any non-ergative reaction, a Phenomenon may co-occur in the form of a supplemental element:

(291) *La gata se les asust-ó con [el ruido] a Valeria y Marcelo*

the cat rfl dat/ scare-3s/ with the noise ad Paola and Cristian
3s pst/ind

Senser	(Impl/)	Pro	Ph: sppl	Implicated
n.gr		v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

'The cat scared with the noise on Valeria and Marcelo'

Eng ≈ 'Valeria and Marcelo's cat got scared with the noise'

reaction: non-ergative

Se: P₂

Ph: sppl

Impl: P₃

(292) *Los niños se les aburrier-on con [la película] a Mónica*

the childred rfl dat/ bore-3p/ pst/ind with the film ad Monica
3s

Senser	(Impl/)	Pro	Ph: sppl	Implicated
n.gr		v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

'The kids bored with [the movie] on Monica'

Eng ≈ 'Monica's kids got bored with the movie', 'The kids got bored with the movie on Monica', etc

reaction: non-ergative

Se: P₂

Ph: sppl

Impl: P₃

The non-ergative clauses with extended participanthood in examples (291) and (292) above are related with the following ergative agnates:

(293) *El ruido les asust-ó la gata a Valeria y Marcelo*

the cat dat/ scare-3s/ the cat ad Valeria and Marcelo
3s pst/ind

Ph	(Impl/)	Pro	Se	Implicated
n.gr		v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

'The noise scared the cat on Valeria and Marcelo'

Eng ≈ 'The noise scared Valeria and Marcelo's cat'

reaction: ergative

Se: P₂

Ph: P₁

Impl: P₃

(294) *La película les aburr-ió los niños a Mónica*

the children dat/ bore-3s/ the children ad Monica
3s pst/ind

Ph	(Impl/)	Pro	Se	Implicated
n.gr		v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

'The movie bored the kids on Monica'

Eng ≈ 'The movie bored Monica's kids'

reaction: ergative

Se: P₂

Ph: P₁

Impl: P₃

In the above examples, the Senser is construed as P₂, the Phenomenon impinging on the Senser as P₁ and the Implicated as P₃.

This P₃ realising the Implicated in ergative and non-ergative reaction configurations can be related to a distinctive kind of Beneficiary (or Maleficiary) of material processes that also enter ergative agnation:

(295) a. *El auto se les averi-ó a Valeria y Marcelo*

the car rfl dat/ break-3s/ ad Valeria and Marcelo
3p pst/ind

Actor	(Be/) Pro	Beneficiary
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'The car (got) broken on Valeria and Marcelo'

material: non-ergative

Ac: P₁

Be: P₃

b. *Bea les averi-ó el auto a Valeria y Marcelo*

Bea dat/ break-3s/ the car ad Valeria and Marcelo
3p pst/ind

Actor	(Be/) Pro	Go	Beneficiary
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

'Bea broke the car to Valeria and Marcelo'

material: ergative

Ac: P₁

Go: P₂

Be: P₃

(296) a. *La luz se le apag-ó a Mónica*

the light rfl dat/ turn_out-3s/ ad Monica
3s pst/ind

Actor	(Be/) Pro	Beneficiary
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr

'The light turned out to Monica'

material: non-ergative

Ac: P₁

Be: P₃

b. *Emilio le apag-ó la luz a Mónica*

emilio dat/ turn_off- the light ad Monica
3s 3s/pst/ind

Actor	(Be/) Pro	Go	Beneficiary
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr	n.gr

'Emilio turned off the light to Monica'

material: ergative

Ac: P₁

Go: P₂

Be: P₃

This third Participant shared by reaction mentals and material processes illustrated above is commonly associated in descriptive work with the so-called *dativo de interés* ('interest dative') (e.g. Gutiérrez Ordoñez, 1999). This 'interested' P₃ is 'bound' to the most nuclear participant: the Senser and the Actor in the non-ergative agnate of reaction and material processes, respectively, and to the Phenomenon and Goal of the corresponding ergative agnates.

In fact, this Implicated participant can be singled out as obliquely affected in both the ergative and non-ergative agnates by means of *¿Qué le/les pasó?* ('What happened to?')⁶⁰:

(297) *¿Qué les pasó?*

'What happened to them?'

– *El ruido les asust-ó la gata* : *Se les asust-ó la gata* (a Valeria y Marcelo)
 the noise them scared the cat : them scared the cat ad Valeria and Marcelo
 'it scared the cat to them' : 'The cat got scared to them'

(298) *¿Qué le pasó?*

'What happened to her?'

– *Emilio le apag-ó la luz* : *Se le apag-ó la luz* (a Mónica)
 Emilio her turned off the light : her turned out the light ad Mónica
 'Emilio turned out the light to her' : 'The light turned out to her'

For the participant construing an 'interest' relation in reaction configurations involved in ergative agnation the more specific Interested Implicated function is here proposed.

Finally, as discussed in section 4.4.3.1 above, cognition mental configurations show a great degree of heterogeneity in more delicate patterns, mostly depending on the the verb realising the Process. The same heterogeneity applies to the possibility of an Implicated function.

For example, cognition processes involving verbs such as *saber* ('know') and *reconocer* ('recognise', 'acknowledge'), allow an Implicated participant that is similar to the Carrier Implicated of perception processes, agnate with possessive configurations:

(299) *Le s-é varios secretos* : *S-é varios secretos suyos*

dat/ know-1s/ several secrets : know-1s/ several secrets his
 3s prs/ind prs

Impl/Pro/Se	Phenomenon
v.gr	n.gr

'I know him several secrets' : 'I know several of his secrets'

(300) *Le recono-zco muchos méritos* : *Recono-zco muchos méritos suyos*

dat/ recognise-1s/ many merits : recognise-1s/prs many merit his
 3s prs/ind

Impl/Pro/Se	Phenomenon
v.gr	n.gr

'I recognise him many merits' : 'I recognise/admit many of his merits'

⁶⁰ However, in some configurations, such as the ergative material in example (296.b), the Beneficiary could be also picked out as a 'done-to' by the probe *¿Qué le hizo?* ('What did he do to her?'), the distinction being neutralised without further co-text.

In other cases, as in configurations with the verb *creer* ('believe') and *entender* ('understand'), the Implicated may construe a Source⁶¹:

(301) *Le cre-o que va a cumplir su palabra*

dat/ believe-1s/ that s/he goes to meet his word
3s prs/ind

Impl/Pro/Se	metaphenomenal
v.gr	clause: finite

'I believe her/him that s/he's going to keep her/his word'

(302) *No le cre-o que vaya a ser capaz*

neg dat/ believe-1s/ that s/he goes to be capable
3s prs/ind

Impl/Pro/Se	metaphenomenal
v.gr	clause: finite

'I don't believe him that he will dare'

(303) *Nosotros le entend-imos que iba a ir a una reunión importante*

we dat/ understand-1s/pst that s/he was going to a meeting important
3s

Senser	Impl/Pro	metaphenomenal
n.gr	v.gr	clause: finite

'We understood him that he was going to an important meeting'

Beyond the different possibilities across mental subtypes, the Implicated function captures the possibility of having an additional, marginal third Participant across configurations, which cannot be properly compared to what has been described as a generalised Beneficiary, for example, by Halliday in English (1968, 1994) – a language in which, in any case, mental processes do not seem to allow three-participant configurations.

Table 4.22 below summarises the patterns of Implicated participants associated with mental processes in Spanish:

⁶¹ This is similar to Implicated in configurations with the verbs *escuchar* ('listen') and *oír* ('hear'), which can also construe a 'source' as hearsay, although its metaphenomenal status has not been addressed in this study: *Le escuché que iba a venir el próximo verano* ('I heard her/him that he was going to come next summer'), *Le oímos que jamás hizo tal cosa* ('We heard her/him that s/he never did such a thing').

IMPLICATED	PERCEPTION	REACTION	COGNITION
Kinds of relations in structure	Involved in whole/part relations with Phenomenon	Involved as an 'interested' undergoer in impinging pattern Ergative agnate: related to Phenomenon in structure Non-ergative agnate: related to Senser in structure	various: whole/part, Source, etc. Not pervasive (only few configurations)
orbitality	P ₃	P ₃	P ₃
clitic doubling	obligatory	obligatory	optional
specific function	Implicated: Carrier	Implicated: Interested	Implicated: Carrier Implicated: Source

Table 4.22 Implicated across mental subtypes

4.4.5 Spanish mental processes: summary

This subsection has reviewed in detail the cryptogrammatical patterns shaping Spanish mental processes. The focus has been on the nature of inherent Senser and Phenomenon, the linguistic construal of phenomenality internalised by the Senser's consciousness, and the configurational relations between elements of clause structure, including the possibility of additional participants. The patterns explored have been shown to define three specific mental subtypes: perception, reaction and cognition processes.

Table 4.23 summarises the potential of Spanish mental processes in terms of 'participanthood':

PARTICIPANT-HOOD	PERCEPTION	REACTION	COGNITION
Senser: inherent	conscious: emanating	conscious: mostly impinged upon	conscious: mostly emanating
Phenomenon: inherent	unspecified phenomenal hyperphenomenal: [[embedded act]] --	unspecified phenomenal hyperphenomenal: [[embedded fact]] supplemental	unspecified phenomenal hyperphenomenal: => projected idea supplemental (restricted)
other participants	Depictive Attribute	--	Attribute
Implicated: non-inherent	Carrier	Interested	restricted: Source, Interested

Table 4.23 Summary of participants associated to mental processes

Table 4.24 below summarises the nature of hyperphenomenality associated with each subtype:

HYPER-PHENOMENALITY	ACT-CLAUSE [[[MACRO-PHENOMENON]]]	FACT-CLAUSE [[[META-PHENOMENON]]]	PROJECTED IDEA → METAPHENOMENON
typical mental subtype	perception	reaction	cognition
finiteness: interpersonal deixis	restricted	restricted	unrestricted
finiteness: verbal group	non-finite (inf-grnd) and finite (indicative)	non-finite (inf) or finite (subjunctive)	finite (indicative)
finiteness: presupposed modal responsibility	tied to 'shared' Participant	if co-referential with main reaction process	--
supplemental	--	non-ergative agnates	highly restricted, e.g. <i>olvidarse de</i> ('forget of')
split realisation	yes	--	--
elliptical form	--	--	<i>que sí, que no</i> , etc
substitute form	referring to 'shared' Participant	group rank: neuter accusative clitic clause rank: neuter demonstrative	

Table 4.24 Hyperphenomenality in Spanish mental subtypes

The cryptogrammatical patterns explored in this section not only allow seeing what is specific to mental processes as opposed to other primary experiential types, but also the specificity of further choices open to [mental]. Figure 4.27 below represents the systemic features motivated by the patterns reviewed:

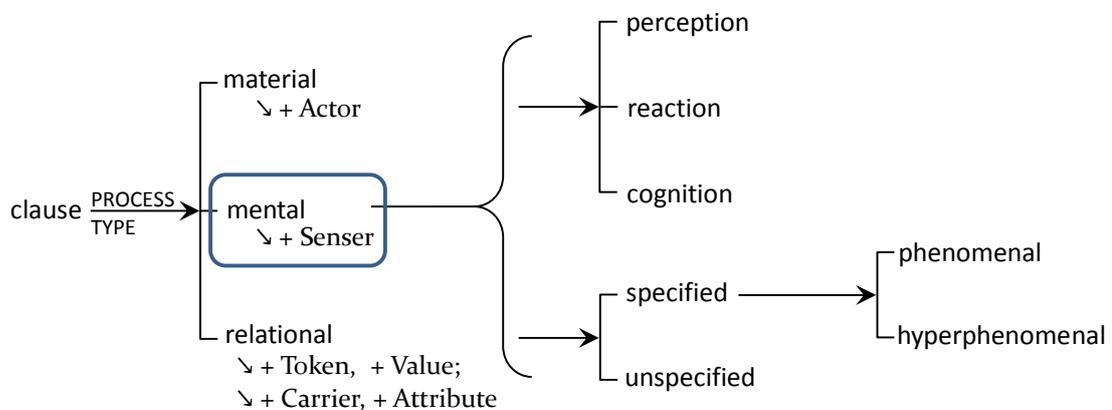


Figure 4.27 A system network for mental processes in Spanish

However, given the complex nature of cryptogrammatical patterns, including the interaction between mental subtypes and kinds of hyperphenomenality – acts, ideas and facts – is difficult to integrate with the network proposed above. The same can be said of the Implicated participant, which probably needs to be related to a more general system that accounts for experiential relations across process types, as suggested for English three-participant configurations by Davidse (1996, p. 96).

4.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter took as its point of departure the nature of interstratal relations associated with the experiential metafunctional component. Three basic discourse semantic figures – ‘doings & happenings’, ‘sensing’ and ‘being & having’ – have been proposed as the starting point for the exploration of congruent and prototypical clause patterns in Spanish lexicogrammar. An overview of specific clause configurations motivating major material, mental and relational processes in Spanish has been provided.

The chapter then moved on to a detailed exploration of structural resources available for the experiential organisation of the Spanish clause. Experiential clause structure has been addressed in terms of orbital relations, with a focus on the nuclear organisation of the clause, that is, in terms of Process-Participant(s) configurations. Alarcos’s (1966, 1969) functional perspective on Spanish structure has been reinterpreted from a systemic functional perspective, beginning with clear-cut nuclear Participant roles, and ending with elements displaying a borderline status. It was proposed that intermediate elements showing heterogeneous patterns need to be explored in close relation to specific experiential clause types.

Orbital relations in Spanish experiential structure were seen to not depend on the presence and/or sequence of constituents at clause rank. In fact, the Spanish verbal group has the potential to minimally realise a nuclear configuration of Process and Participants. In this way, the verbal group can stand on its own as the ‘experiential hub’ of the clause, by means of selections in NUCLEARITY and VOICE at group rank.

By pulling together interstratal and structural considerations explored in the previous sections, the chapter finally focuses on the cryptotypical patterns shaping the grammar of mental processes. Clause-wide configurational relations were addressed in detail, with a focus on the number and nature of inherent Participants – including *Senser* and *Phenomenon* –, the kind of phenomenality specifically associated with mental processes, and the directionality of clause relations. The description then moved in delicacy, leading to the emergence of clause patterns motivating specific mental subtypes, including perception, reaction and cognition processes. Lastly, the possibility of an additional Implicated function was further reviewed in association with each mental subtype.

The approach to experiential grammar proposed in this chapter addresses complex configurational relations taking into account the clause as a whole. This contrasts with accounts defining the (representational) ‘meaning’ of sentence patterns based on the notional interpretation of verb types – only later on classified in terms of ‘construction’ types (cf. discussion in Davidse, 1998; Martin, 1996a). It also differs from approaches relating configurational patterns to an underlying level of ‘logical representation’ in which notional roles (or ‘cases’) are assigned separately. In this study the meaning of experiential patterns have been instead explored in terms of interstratal relations with discourse semantic figures (‘from above’), orbital relations afforded by Spanish structure (‘from below’) and clause-wide contrasts (‘from around’) – bringing them all together in order to motivate experiential clause types.

Agnation relations have been crucial to access experiential contrasts that are complex in nature. Features in experiential systems have been motivated by bundles of agnation patterns concerning (external) contrasts between clauses as well as (internal) structural relations between elements within the clause – including selections down the rank scale.

From the point of view of clause structure, this chapter has shown that relations in Spanish experiential configurations are far from being restricted to the selection and sequencing of clause constituents. The verbal group once more emerges as a key resource for the establishment of such relations and associated systemic contrasts, this time from the perspective of a different metafunctional component (see Chapter 3 on its relevance for interpersonal systems). From the point of view of systemic contrasts, the exploration of Spanish mental cryptogrammar has revealed specific ways to access experiential distinctions, including specific ‘probes’ and the possibility of additional participants.

The account offered in this study brings out rich experiential patterns in the Spanish clause – which could have been otherwise overlooked had English descriptive categories been taken as point of departure. This once more foregrounds the importance of the description of experiential grammar based on language-specific patterns. Axial reasoning, grounded on a systematic exploration of agnation relations, has proved crucial for accessing a rich set of ‘covert patterns’ in a principled way (as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3.2.2).

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this study has been to provide a principled description of the basic interpersonal and experiential grammar of Chilean Spanish based on axial argumentation. System-structure relations have been taken as the main organising principle connecting SFL theoretical architecture to the description of Spanish-specific patterns.

This chapter first reviews the findings of this study and its specific contributions to the description of interpersonal and experiential systems. It then turns to the exploration of inter-rank relations, including the nature of units and classes assumed in the present description. The chapter concludes by outlining some of the future directions this research opens up in three main fields of work within SFL – including the theory itself, linguistic typology, and the development of a rich and functionally integrated SFL description of Spanish.

5.2 Summary of findings and contributions

The axial argumentation deployed in this study has proved crucial for establishing a principled connection between the theoretical architecture (i.e. SFL as a general theory of language) and the systemic-functional description of Spanish in its own terms.

The account proposed is grounded primarily on system-structure interdependencies with the clause as their main locus. From there, axial argumentation has brought together interrelations across metafunctional components, between strata (i.e. discourse semantics and lexicogrammar) and across systems down the rank scale – in particular, relations between clause and verbal group systems.

Metafunctionally, the assumption of separate interpersonal and experiential clusters of systems is anchored in the functional principle whereby the internal organisation of the overall linguistic system reflects the social functions it has evolved to serve (Halliday, 1970/1976). This ‘intrinsic’ understanding of the functional organisation of language implies the grouping of relatively independent and simultaneous systemic regions. In this respect, the account of Spanish interpersonal

systems of MOOD and POLARITY, along with the experiential system of PROCESS TYPE, has been grounded on the assumption of metafunctionally diversified system-structure interrelations.

Stratally, the lexicogrammatical systems accounted for in this study have been first addressed ‘from above’, in close interplay with discourse semantic patterns deployed in texts (Martin, 1992). From an SFL perspective, this is the kind of approach giving relevance to linguistic description. The reason for this is that it fully reveals the (meta)functional motivation of lexicogrammatical patterns, while explicitly orienting descriptive work to meaning in context, via discourse semantic patterns.

Nonetheless, since linguistic description has ultimately its centre in lexicogrammatical stratum, the description concerns system-structure interrelations within the domain of the clause, both ‘from around’ and ‘from below’.

This means that systemic contrasts in metafunctionally diversified systems refer to a paradigmatic environment defined by the clause as a whole – rather than by isolated elements at lower ranks. In this paradigmatic environment, clause contrasts are described ‘from around’ as features organised in systems and ordered in delicacy. At the same time, clause features and their systemic organisation are justified ‘from below’ by configurational patterns accounted for in structure. As shown for Spanish, such patterns crucially involve selections in systems down the rank scale.

The notion of agnation has proven critical for accessing these system-structure interdependencies in Spanish. It has led to a principled identification and ordering of features in networks, as well as to the establishment of functional elements of structure in close connection with the systemic contrasts they refer to. In other words, the mutually defining identity of systemic and structural categories has been explicitly derived from such agnation relations.

In this way, agnation has been shown to go beyond mere ‘alternations’, which if ‘collected’ for their own sake are difficult to interpret as meaningful and functionally oriented (e.g. Lamb, 1964a). The use of agnation as a system-structure heuristic leads to the systematic account of ‘covert’ patterns that can be quite rich in nature, as discussed and elaborated by Davidse (1991, 1998) in relation to English lexicogrammar.

The following subsections organise the discussion in three parts: findings referring to the interpersonal grammar of Spanish are first addressed, followed by a

review of experiential grammar; the section then moves on to lexicogrammatical systems down the rank scale and the nature of units and classes assumed in this study.

5.2.1 Spanish interpersonal grammar

Chapter 3 began exploring interpersonal meanings from the perspective of their contribution to the discourse semantics of Spanish exchanges. As shown for other languages described in SFL terms, the basic distinction between proposals and propositions in the discourse semantics of SPEECH FUNCTION is grammaticalised in lexicogrammatical MOOD by means of a general distinction between [indicative] and [imperative]. The feature [imperative] allows a number of more delicate distinctions in terms of the person made modally responsible for the compliance of proposals (commands). Kinds of propositions, statements and questions, are congruently realised in Spanish by the distinction between [informative] and [interrogative].

While these very basic distinctions in MOOD prove to be similar to those described for other languages (e.g. Caffarel, 1995; Halliday, 1984; Martin, 1990), they don't provide *per se* any insight about the ways in which such distinctions are motivated by Spanish-specific patterns. Chapter 3 has shown that MOOD features and their ordering in delicacy are ultimately motivated by the configurational patterns found in the Spanish clause. Figure 5.1 below provides the network for Spanish MOOD, including the specification of structural realisations:

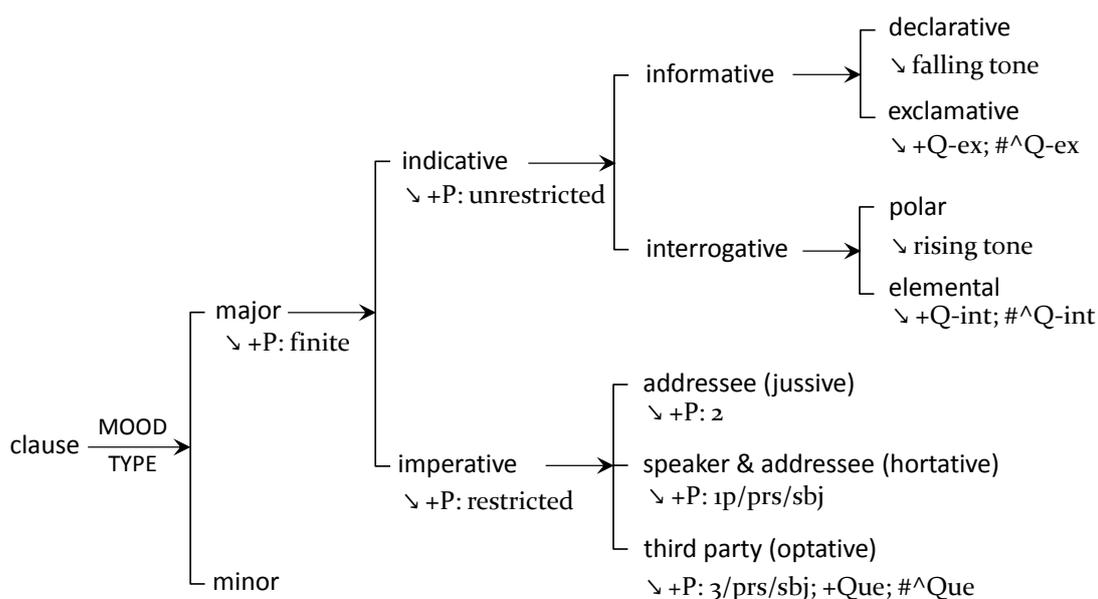


Figure 5.1 A network for Spanish MOOD

In Spanish, the Predicator function (+P), realised by the verbal group, is the key resource within whose domain primary interpersonal contrasts in MOOD are established. This means that presence and/or sequence of other clause constituents, as well as any syntagmatic relations between them (such as ‘agreement’) does not have any crucial implications for underlying interpersonal contrasts. The Predicator stands out, in this way, as the ‘interpersonal nub’ of the clause – to the extent that it can realise, on its own, a fully arguable proposition or proposal.

This interpretation of the interpersonal nub in Spanish is consistent with the ways in which key meanings are put forward by speakers in dialogue; the meanings most ‘at risk’ in the exchange, including modal responsibility, as well as temporal and modal distinctions, are all centred in the Predicator. Participants different from the one assigned modal responsibility can also be made part of the negotiation when cliticised within the Predicator.

In the analysis of the Spanish interpersonal structure, two layers have been proposed, as shown in Figure 5.2 below:

T-engo *dos* *codificadores* *en* *[mi casa]*

I-have two decoders in my house

clause:	Negotiator	Remainder			
	Predicator				
group:	verbal group	nominal group		prep. phrase	
	Finite/Event	Num	Thing	P	C
word:	have-1s/ prs/ind	num	c.noun	p.	[n.group]
‘I have two decoders at home’					

Los *t-engo* *en* *[mi casa]*

them I-have in my house

clause:	Negotiator		Remainder		
	Predicator				
group:	verbal group		prep. phrase		
	P-cl	Finite/Event	P	C	
word:	acc/ 3p	have-1s/ prs/ind	prep	[n.group]	
‘I have them at home’					

Probablemente *los* *t-enga* *en* *[mi casa]*

probably them I-have in my house

clause:	Negotiator			Remainder	
	Modal Adjunct	Predicator			
group:	adv.group	verbal group		prep. phrase	
		P-cl	Finite/Event	P	C
word:	adv	acc/ 3p	have-1s/ prs/sbj	prep	[n.group]
‘Probably I have them at home’					

Figure 5.2 Basic negotiatory structure in Spanish

The Negotiator has been here introduced, after Caffarel (2006), as an overarching functional label accounting for the basic negotiatory structure of the clause. The Negotiator is proposed here as a discourse-semantic oriented function grouping meanings most at risk in Spanish exchanges.

As already noted, while the Spanish Negotiator minimally requires a Predicator, it may also include some Modal Adjuncts very closely connected to the Predicator in a number of respects: for example, Modal Adjuncts may further qualify the Predicator in terms of MODALITY. They are here interpreted as included in the negotiatory structure of Spanish if they establish prosodic relations with the Predicator – for example, by influencing the selection of [subjunctive] in verb MOOD at word rank:

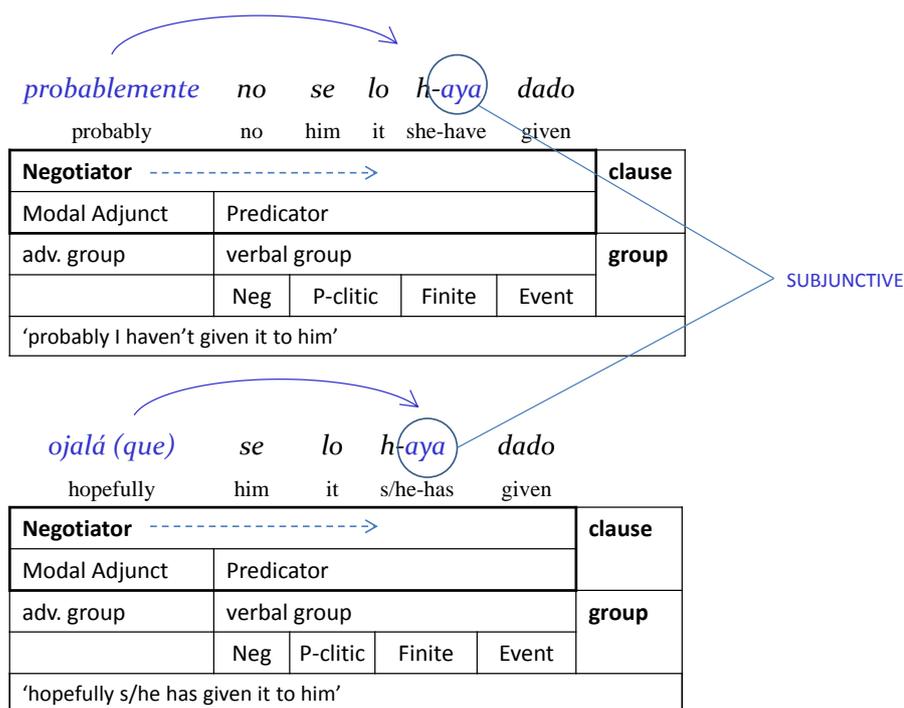


Figure 5.3 Modal Adjuncts realising MODALITY selections within the Spanish Negotiator

‘From around’ and ‘from below’, the Predicator has been shown to be the only function at stake both in establishing the clause as arguable and in motivating MOOD contrasts. This reinforces the point that any clause constituent different from the verbal group, for example, nominal groups specifying the identity of Participants, do not realise any functions in the interpersonal structure of the Spanish clause. In other words, interpersonal functions analogous to discrete Subject, Finite and Complement in English have been shown not to be motivated in Spanish from an axial perspective.

This contrasts with the approach adopted in other SFL accounts of Spanish (e.g. Lavid et al. 2010, Ghio & Fernández, 2008), in which such functions have been taken for granted. It appears that such labels have been borrowed directly from English descriptions, and/or loosely adapted from traditional grammars where the meaning of functions such as ‘subject’ and ‘complement’ involves purely ‘syntagmic’ (low-level) relations (Halliday, 1966b).

The account provided here also departs from the description of the interpersonal grammar of other Romance languages (Caffarel, 2006; Figueredo, 2010). Following the cross-linguistic cline proposed by Teruya et al. (2007), the diagram in Figure 5.4 below illustrates the main differences between French (Caffarel, 1995, 2006), Brazilian Portuguese (Figueredo, 2010, 2011) and Spanish:

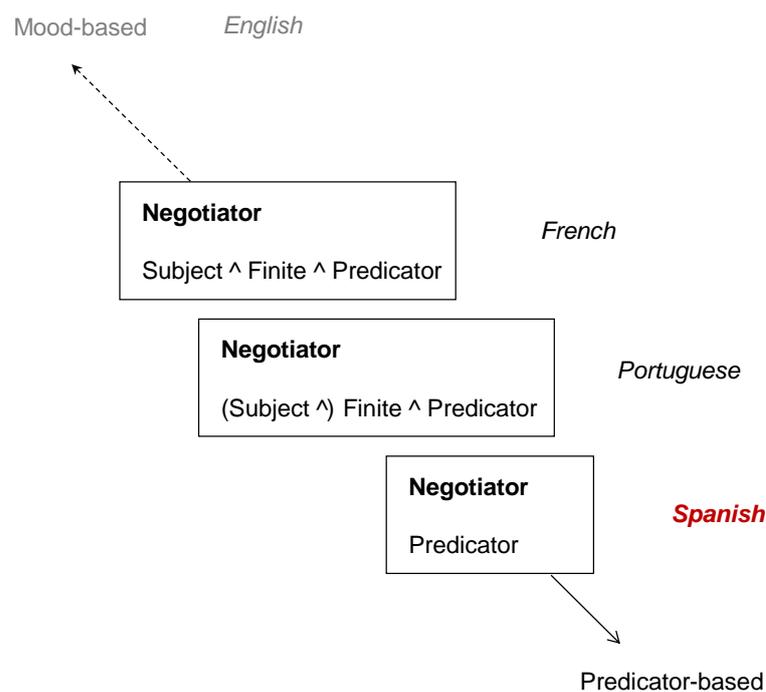


Figure 5.4 Central structural functions across Romance languages (and English) (based on Caffarel, 2006; Figueredo, 2011; and Halliday, 1994)

In the cline proposed above, both discourse semantic and lexicogrammatical considerations are conflated. The ‘Mood-based’ pole stands for languages that negotiate by means of a Subject and Finite function, while ‘Predicator-based’ refers to languages that negotiate by means of a Predicator function realised by the verbal group. The function label in bold-face, in the case of the Figure 5.4 above, the Negotiator, accounts for the basic negotiatory structure of the clause. Individual functions grouped under the Negotiator, such as Subject, Finite and Predicator, are lexicogrammatical functions motivated from a tri-fold perspective: ‘from above’, ‘from around’ and ‘from below’.

In English, Subject and Finite are, indeed, motivated by a trinocular perspective on interpersonal clause functions (see, for example, Halliday 1994). In other words, the reason for grouping Subject and Finite under a label such as the ‘Mood element’ in English lies in the fact that these structural functions are key for the arguability of the proposition/proposal from all three points of view– as reflected in English tagging, the replaying of meanings in dialogic exchanges, and MOOD contrasts in lexicogrammar (e.g. Halliday 1994, Martin 1992).

The Negotiator of Romance languages is analogous to the Mood element from a discourse semantic perspective, that is, it accounts for the basic negotiatory structure of

the clause. In French, Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish the Negotiator it crucially involves a Predicator realised through the whole verbal group.

Lexicogrammatically, the verbal group is indeed the key resource for interpersonal contrasts in the clause of these languages, and this is reflected by the place assigned to the Predicator in the description of MOOD in French, Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish. A rich reservoir of resources are centred within the domain of the verbal group – with a number of selections distributed *along the rank scale* – in ways that so-called ‘Mood-based’ languages do not (Teruya et al., 2007).

However, the nature of the Predicator and of additional functions across Romance languages responds to different motivations. Caffarel (2006) shows that in French Subject · Finite · Predicator are motivated ‘from above’, ‘from around’ and ‘from below’. That is, they can be motivated as discrete functions from all three perspectives, with the Predicator corresponding to that ‘part’ of the verbal group that is left once the Finite is singled out (Caffarel, 1995, 2006). This is not the case in Brazilian Portuguese, where discrete Subject and Finite can be recognised as separate functions from a discourse semantic perspective, but not from the point of view of MOOD contrasts (Figueredo, 2011). In this study, it has been shown for Spanish that the Predicator is the only key function at stake from all three perspectives, with discrete Subject and Finite not being motivated in any way. What these differences may imply is that in Brazilian Portuguese there is a more evident tension between interpersonal discourse semantics and lexicogrammar patterns, which is not the case in French nor Spanish (with French in this respect being closer to English).

It is here proposed that a more revealing cross-linguistic label accounting for the negotiatory structure across languages is the Negotiator, since the Mood element, if interpreted discourse semantically, is too constrained to patterns found in very few languages. What a discourse semantic function such as the Negotiator groups together within its domain – that is, which lexicogrammatical structural functions it includes – is a descriptive question that needs to be explicitly explored ‘from above’, ‘from around’ and ‘from below’ in each language. In other words, the meaning of (lexicogrammatical) structural labels included under the Negotiator needs to be derived from the lexicogrammatical axial relations they refer to. This requires a principled descriptive argumentation that goes beyond the mere transfer of labels from English descriptions and/or traditional grammars.

In terms of the type of structure associated with interpersonal meanings, the Spanish Predicator has also been shown to be crucially involved in prosodic patterns. Selections in PERSON within the Predicator may prosodically range over other elements of structure, e.g. clause constituents realising Participants in the experiential metafunction, by means of concord/agreement relations. As discussed in Chapter 3, these prosodic relations are not restricted to the element assigned modal responsibility, but also extend to other elements – in a phenomenon often described in non-SFL literature as ‘object agreement’ (e.g. Suñer, 1988).

Another prosodic pattern concerns POLARITY selections. Negative polarity is established by the Predicator in the unmarked case, and it may further spread to any following elements realising indefinite deixis in clause structure. Alternatively, if negative polarity is realised clause-initially outside the Predicator, then the Predicator is notably ‘isolated’ from any polarity prosodies.

Finally, in the comparison of MOOD across languages (Matthiessen, Teruya, & Canzhong, 2008), media of expression have often been brought to the discussion in SFL literature. As discussed in Chapter 2, segmental, sequential and intonational media of expression are conceptualised as low-level patterns that are neutral with respect to the dimensions of metafunction and rank.

In terms of their contribution to interpersonal meanings, segmental realisation in Spanish includes selections (and restrictions in the selection) of morphological contrasts, while sequential resources include clitic positioning within the verbal group. These two media concern group and/or word-rank patterns in Spanish, and not clause constituents. On the other hand, the intonational medium of expression is an important resource for the establishment of delicate contrasts in [indicative]. Unlike French and Brazilian Portuguese, intonation is the only medium realising the distinction between declarative and polar interrogatives (polar interrogatives being represented, in written language, by enclosing question points (‘¿?’)).

It is here proposed that a productive use of the notion of medium of expression in SFL cross-linguistic comparison requires explicitly locating the resources under focus at the rank and class concerned, since such location is also an important typological variable. Otherwise, its potential for cross-linguistic generalisations on cross-linguistic divergence is rather limited in scope.

5.2.2 Spanish experiential grammar

Chapter 4 dealt with those resources within the Spanish clause serving for the semiotic construal of the internal and external world. A preliminary discussion was provided in terms of the interplay between general discourse semantic domains – ‘doings & happenings’, ‘sensing’ and ‘being & having’ – and their ‘prototypical’ and congruent realisation by means of experiential clause types lexicogrammar: i.e. major material, mental and relational process types.

The chapter then moved to the exploration of Spanish clause patterns in terms of the construal of experience in texts. A generalised view on experiential configurations and their component parts was first introduced, and then specific clause configurations were reviewed, including material, mental and relational processes. Table 5.1 below summarises the main clause patterns at stake:

PROCESS TYPE	MATERIAL	MENTAL	RELATIONAL
inherent participants	Actor, Goal	Senser, Phenomenon	Token, Value; Carrier, Attribute
pro-verb	<i>hacer</i> (‘doings’) <i>pasar</i> (‘happenings’)	--	<i>ser</i> (‘to be ₁ ’) <i>estar</i> (‘to be ₂ ’)
consciousness	not necessary	obligatory for Senser	not necessary
hyperphenomenality	no	yes	possible, but restricted
kind of configuration	happening or impacting	conscious processing	relating entities, or relating entities and properties
subtypes	happening and doing	perception, reaction and cognition	identifying and attributive

Table 5.1 Experiential clause types: material, mental and relational

A further in-depth exploration of experiential patterns in Spanish required first taking a look at specific structural affordances. These were therefore discussed in detail in terms of generalised orbital relations established around an experiential ‘centre of gravity’ (Martin, 1996c).

Orbital structure in Spanish was seen not to concern the presence/absence of clause constituents, nor their relative sequence. In fact, orbital relations included the potential for co-selections down the rank scale, with nuclear Participants showing the potential for realisation within the domain of the verbal group. Central Participant1 was seen to be involved in person contrasts of active clauses, while Participants 2 and 3, display the potential for cliticisation and ‘clitic doubling’. Borderline supplemental and

ascriptive Ranges were also accounted for based on a number of specific patterns, and it was proposed that their precise status within orbital relations had to be established in relation to specific process types. Figure 5.5 below summarises orbital relations proposed for Spanish structure:

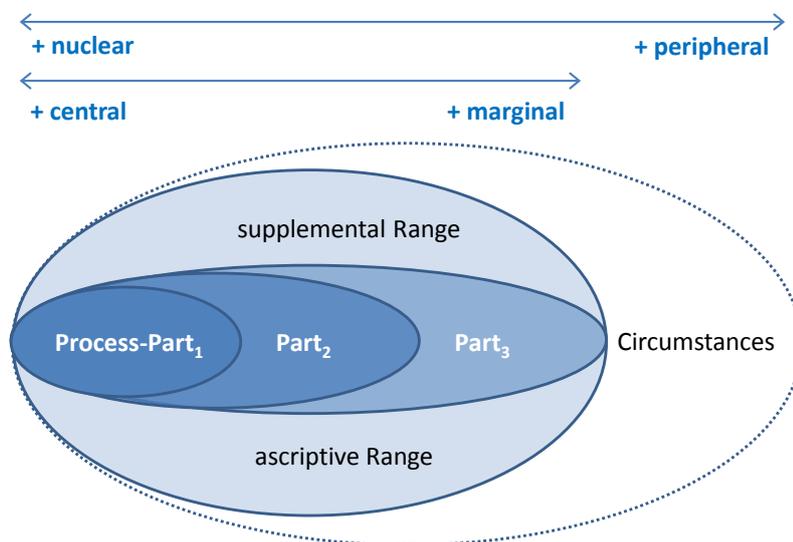


Figure 5.5 Orbital relations in Spanish structure

The detailed exploration of Spanish structural resources, including interrelations with relevant verbal group systems, was thus established in order to provide a basis for an explicit account of cryptogrammatical patterns associated with PROCESS TYPE.

In previous SFL work on Spanish (e.g. Arús, 2003; Lavid, Arús, & Zamorano Mansilla, 2010) the tendency has been to establish PROCESS TYPE distinctions on the basis of criteria concerning the ‘lexical’ verb at stake (a word-rank, rather than a clause rank consideration) and/or notional criteria – for example, in terms of what speakers ‘feel’ is the ‘meaning’ of a given clause type. However, as discussed by Davidse (1998), a principled account of meaning in experiential lexicogrammar needs to take into account complex configurational patterns which range over the clause as a whole.

In Davidse’s view, such a configurational approach to experiential meanings contrasts with mainstream word-based approaches trying to account for the ‘meaning’ of syntactic constructions. She argues these studies often approach the notional meaning of ‘verb types’ in the first place, and only later explore them in relation to the different ‘constructions’ or ‘schemas’ in which they appear¹ (see also discussion on case

¹ Cf. Davidse (1991, 1998) for a consideration of Langacker’s notion of ‘schematicity’ (Langacker, 1990), which is often brought to the discussion in Spanish accounts (e.g. García-Miguel, 1995a, 1995b).

grammar and lexicase approaches to the experiential grammar of Tagalog in Martin, 1996a). This is consistent with what can be found in non-SFL literature on ‘semantic’ classifications of Spanish ‘constructions’ (e.g. Delbecque & Lamiroy, 1999; García-Miguel & Albertuz, 2005; García-Miguel & Comesaña, 2004). In other words, Davidsse argues for an exploration of cryptogrammatical patterns that goes beyond the meaning of the verb and its associated valencies, towards an account of ‘covert’ patterns that takes the whole clause as the starting point.

As anticipated at the beginning of Chapter 4, the establishment of Spanish features in the experiential system of PROCESS TYPE cannot be grounded on direct, simple agnation relations among primary features – that is, between [material], [mental] and [relational] clauses. Distinctions need to be based on the rich interaction between structural patterns providing sets of criteria for accessing experiential systemic categories. Importantly, distinct experiential clause configurations can be studied through the systematic exploration of *agnation paradigms*, as proposed by Davidsse (1998). The in-depth account of Spanish structural affordances thus constitutes a necessary preliminary step for a principled exploration of such agnation sets.

Mental processes were addressed by way of an in-depth exploration of the kind of complexity involved in the description of experiential features. Firstly, the establishment of [mental] clauses took into account the general patterns distinguishing this feature from other features in PROCESS TYPE. Secondly, this feature was further characterised in terms of delicacy – that is, its potential for three experiential subtypes was explored: perception, reaction and cognition. Figure 5.6 below reviews the systemic environment of [mental] clauses in Spanish:

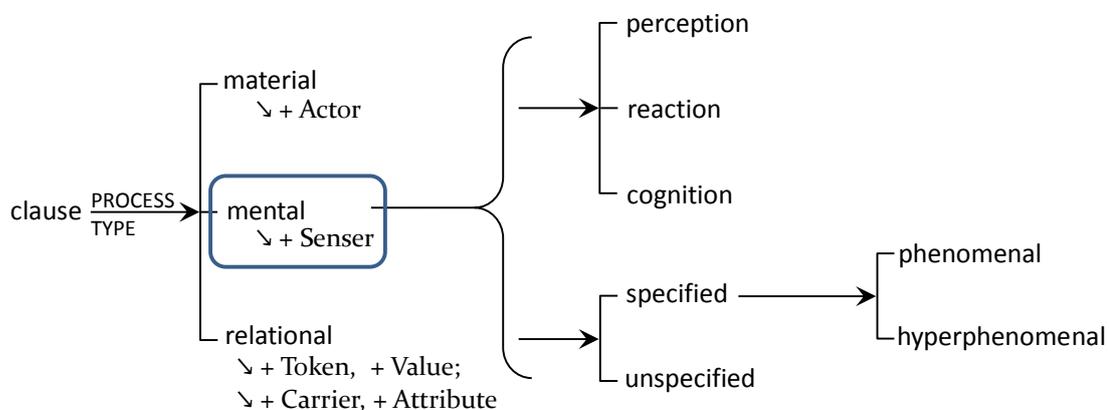


Figure 5.6 [mental] in Spanish PROCESS TYPE

The most relevant general pattern found in Spanish for the establishment of [mental] clauses is the nature of inherent Participant roles. To begin, there is the Senser, which is necessarily an entity endowed with ‘consciousness’. In Spanish, this element can be systematically related to agnate clauses where this Participant can be pronominalised at clause-rank – as opposed to non-conscious Participants, which need to be referred to through other resources, such as demonstrative pronouns. Depending on the mental subtype, the Senser can be realised as the central-most Participant₁, as is the case in perception and most cognition mentals; or it can be realised as more marginal Participant₃, as is prototypically the case in reaction processes.

A second defining parameter of mental processes concerns the construal of the phenomena processed in the Senser’s consciousness. In Spanish, such phenomena may involve a Phenomenon function being part of the experiential structure of the clause, including embedded *acts* and *facts* (macro- and meta-phenomenal clauses, respectively), or projected *ideas* outside clause structure (i.e. hypotactically dependent metaphenomenal clauses in clause complexes). This parameter thus leads on to the exploration of hyperphenomenality, which is a key criterion distinguishing more delicate choices for [mental] clauses, with perception processes being associated with acts, reaction processes with facts, and cognition processes with ideas.

The analysis of specific configurational patterns associated with finite *que*-clauses realising acts, fact and ideas demonstrates that they need to be described as realising distinct structural categories. In non-SFL work, *que*-clauses are often grouped together under the category of ‘complement clauses’, whose differences tend to be accounted for on the basis of notional distinctions – such as those proposed by Lyons (1977) or Dik and Hengeveld (1991) in terms of entities of ‘different order’ (e.g. Delbecque & Lamiroy, 1999).

Some attempts have been made in non-SFL Spanish descriptions to establish these differences based on configurational patterns (e.g. Rodríguez, 1990). The approach proposed here, however, draws upon the account of process types, established axially in the first instance, with different kinds of associated *que*-clauses brought to the discussion only in terms of more delicate distinctions which necessarily concern a wider paradigmatic *and* syntagmatic environment – thus not restricted to syntagmatic similarity.

Finally, a third parameter taken into account for the exploration of mental processes was the directionality of relations within clause configurations. This was shown to be relevant to the establishment of mental subtypes, particularly with respect to the clear favouring of impinging directionality in reaction processes, as opposed to emanating in perception and in most cognition processes.

Table 5.2 below summarises the main patterns associated with Spanish mental processes:

MENTAL PROCESSES	
inherent participants	Senser and Phenomenon
consciousness	obligatory for Senser
additional participants	(Descriptive) Attribute, Implicated
subtypes	perception, reaction and cognition
hyperphenomenality	embedded acts (perception), embedded facts (reaction) and projected ideas (cognition)
directionality	emanating (perception and cognition) and impinging (reaction)

Table 5.2 Spanish mental processes: general patterns

The exploration of the cryptogrammar of mental processes shows there are a number of patterns that are specific to Spanish, which cannot therefore be derived from ‘generalised’ reactances across languages (e.g. Matthiessen 2004, p. 583). For instance, the nature of the hyperphenomenality associated with each mental subtype involves very specific distinctions in finiteness (finite and non-finite), ‘verb mood’ (e.g. subjunctive vs indicative in finite hyperphenomena), as well as the possibility of discontinuous realisation (e.g. ‘split’ macro-phenomenon in perception processes²) (see Chapter 4, sections 4.4.1, 4.4.2 and 4.4.3). Ergative agnation, specifically associated with reaction processes, crucially involves the selection of [recessive: ergative] in VOICE at group rank as well as the possibility of a supplemental Phenomenon that may realise both phenomenal and metaphenomenal entities as key elements of clause structure (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.2). Other specific patterns that are very productive in Spanish include the possibility of ‘ascriptive’ perception and cognition subtypes (Depictive Attribute in perception, and Attribute in cognition), as well as the possibility of a third

² See Chapter 4, section 4.4.

Implicated participant (Implicated Carrier in perception, Implicated Interested in reaction and various types in cognition) (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.4).

Axial reasoning in relation to experiential systems has further demonstrated two points: first, cryptotypical clause patterns that are crucial for the description of Spanish lexicogrammar can be accessed systematically by means of a principled use of system-structure interrelations; second, such patterns run a high risk of being overlooked if English descriptive categories – and associated reactances – are taken as the point of departure.

5.2.3 Down the rank scale

In this thesis, the (simple) clause, in its status of highest-ranking unit within Spanish lexicogrammar, was the starting point for the description of interrelated systemic and structural patterns. However, it has been shown that resources distributed along the rank scale are crucial for the establishment of metafunctionally diversified clause systems.

In the exploration presented in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, the Spanish verbal group stands out as the ‘interpersonal nub’ and the ‘experiential hub’ of the clause, respectively. The interplay with clause systems and verbal group systems is illustrated in Figure 5.7 below:



Figure 5.7 Interrank relations: verbal group systems contributing to experiential and interpersonal clause systems

From the viewpoint of the interpersonal metafunction, the verbal group is the key resource for the establishment of the arguability of the clause, by means of key selections made in the system of FINITENESS – including temporal, modal and personal deixis. The possibility of further selections in TENSE, MODALITY and PERSON systems constitute a crucial contribution to the realisation of MOOD features at clause rank. From the perspective of the experiential metafunction, the verbal group may realise on its own a fully-fledged nuclear configuration of Process-Participant(s). Nuclear orbital expansions can be made by means of selections in NUCLEARITY, while orbital relations can be re-configured in different ways by means of selections in VOICE.

The centrality of the Spanish verbal group to interpersonal and experiential systems has a number of implications. As already noted, the presence and/or sequence of clause constituents does not play any role in interpersonal and experiential distinctions at clause rank, i.e. the establishment of features in MOOD or PROCESS TYPE. Therefore, axially motivated functions in structure do not necessarily concern clause constituents other than the verbal group. Interpersonally, no nominal groups realising Subject or Complement are at stake in realising MOOD distinctions; experientially, Participant roles may or not be realised by clause constituents, without affecting the realisation of features from PROCESS TYPE systems.

The exploration of verbal group systems has enabled a principled account of its structural organisation. Figure 5.8 below illustrates the multivariate and univariate structure of the verbal group proposed in this study:

Usted no me ha dado un buen argumento

You neg acc/ aux-2s/ give-prctp a good argument
1s prs/ind

n.gr	v.gr				n.gr	CLASS	rank: group
	Neg	P-cl	Fin	Event		FUNCTION: MULTIVARIATE	
			$\alpha^- \beta^- \gamma^{decir}$			FUNCTION: UNIVARIATE	
	neg	p.cl	verb	verb		CLASS	rank: word
you	no you-have given me				a good argument		

'You haven't given me a good argument'

Figure 5.8 Spanish verbal group: multivariate and univariate structure (see Appendix E)

In this study, the exploration of the Spanish verbal group, and the less detailed account of other group/phrase classes – e.g. (adpositional) nominal groups and

prepositional phrases – raises a number of questions with respect to their status as descriptive categories.

In English descriptions, group/phrase rank units and classes are defined ‘from above’ in terms of the functions they realise directly at clause rank – particularly in relation to experiential ‘constituent-like’ structure (e.g. Halliday, 1979/2002). ‘From below’, they are defined in English in terms of the basic kind of word they are expanding: e.g. nominal groups are ‘groups of nominals’ and verbal groups are ‘groups of verbs’. The only exception is prepositional phrases, which are instead analysed as ‘mini clauses’ (e.g. Halliday, 1994; Matthiessen 1995).

In Spanish, it has been shown that clause functions in experiential and interpersonal systems rarely correspond bi-uniquely to units at the rank immediately below – they may indeed involve simultaneous co-selections along the rank scale, as shown in the case of ‘clitic doubling’, or MOOD distinctions at clause rank involving selections in verb MOOD at word-rank. Therefore, group/phrase rank units other than the verbal group are not necessarily at stake in the structural realisation of clause features in experiential and interpersonal systems.

The privileging of a ‘descending’ or ‘top-down’ direction in the account of lexicogrammatical units underpins this possibility in early conceptualisations of the rank scale (Halliday, 1961, 1966). The theoretical assumption in this work is that ranks are ‘neutral between system and structure’, and thus units do not need to be directly interconnected by system-structure cycles within this semiotic dimension (Halliday, 1966b, p. 66).

On the other hand, when Spanish group/phrase units are seen ‘from below’, the definitions proposed for English seem rather problematic. In relation to the verbal group, it is less natural to interpret it merely as a ‘group of verbs’, especially given the possibility of the presence of clitic elements, including P-clitics, R-clitics and V-clitics which historically evolved from ‘nominal words’ rather than ‘verb words’ (Bogard, 2006; Company, 2006; Laca, 2006). In this sense, Spanish verbal groups are more clearly ‘mini clauses’ in that they are ‘mini configurations’ within whose domain key experiential and interpersonal contrasts take place. Chapters 3 and 4 have provided the axial reasoning necessary to show how a more traditional label of ‘verbal phrase’ is probably more revealing of the ways in which this unit can be defined in Spanish.

The conceptualisation of a verbal phrase has implications for the systematic description of its structure, which needs to be analysed *both* in terms of its multivariate *and* univariate structure – in contrast with the English verbal group, in which *either* analysis is possible, with the latter form of organisation being particularly foregrounded in English descriptions (Halliday, 1966/1976). Non-recursive systems of POLARITY, FINITENESS, NUCLEARITY and VOICE have been proposed underlying key multivariate functions – including, Neg, Finite, P-Clitic and V-clitic, respectively. A recursive TENSE system has been sketched for an exploratory account of its serial univariate organisation (see Appendix E).

With respect to the nominal group, axial reasoning has shown that this unit in Spanish includes adpositional groups in which an initial *a*-particle is inserted. All nominal groups, adpositional or not, share ‘from above’, ‘from around’ and ‘from below’ the same patterns – namely, they all realise nuclear Participant roles at clause rank, they are all at stake in ‘clitic doubling’, and they can be syntagmatically related to PERSON prosodies ranging over clause constituents (including morphological distinctions in number and gender).

When compared to verbal groups and (adpositional) nominal groups, it is not clear to what extent what is traditionally analysed in Spanish as a prepositional phrase is equivalent to English prepositional phrases. In English SFL descriptions, prepositional phrases constitute units of a special kind, which cannot be defined from below as a basic word-type complex, but rather ‘from above’ as a kind of ‘mini clause’. This characterisation is based on the fact that many English prepositions have evolved from verbs, and that the embedded nominal group which follows them in sequence may involve a personal pronoun in a non-nominative case (e.g. Halliday, 1994; Matthiessen, 1995).

In Spanish, prepositional phrases are traditionally associated with the presence of a preposition followed by a nominal element. However, Spanish grammars agree that such syntagmatic arrangement of (word) classes is not enough on its own to define prepositional phrases as such. In terms of distribution, Spanish prepositional phrases may appear either as modifiers within nominal groups, or as the so-called ‘circumstantial complements’ within the ‘sentence predicate’ (including Circumstances, but also Modal and Conjunctive Adjuncts, from an SFL perspective). In terms of their internal structure, there are other units resembling the ‘preposition + other element’

arrangement, which aren't always analysed as prepositional phrases. This is the case of units which are, instead, analysed as adverbial and/or conjunctive in nature, on the basis of the alternations they enter into and their lack of number/gender distinctions (e.g. RAE, 2009). Two good examples of such items can be found in Text B.3, Appendix B: *de nuevo* ('again'), and *en el intertanto* ('in the meantime'), which correspond to Spanish adverbial elements – the second of which could be indeed analysed also as a conjunctive element, following Martin, Matthiessen, and Painter (2010, p. p. 129ff).

In any case, the interpretation of Spanish prepositional phrases as 'mini clauses' seems rather arbitrary. From either a diachronic or synchronic point of view, prepositions cannot be clearly shown to relate to 'verb words'. Importantly, if traditionally defined prepositional phrases are seen 'from above' (clause rank), 'from around' (group/phrase rank) and 'from below' (word rank), it can hardly be claimed they belong to a homogeneous class.

As discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1, prepositional phrases differ 'from above' in that they may realise supplemental functions (which are experientially nuclear in nature) or circumstantial functions (which are, instead, peripheral in nature). Among their differences 'from around', there is the kind of relation they establish with other elements within clause configurations. Indeed, the preposition at stake in supplemental Ranges is 'governed' by the lexical verb realising the Process, while in the case of circumstantial elements, it is independent from it (cf. Rojo, 1990b). The description of the internal structure of the units at stake is beyond the scope of the present study and needed to be further explored in a more comprehensive SFL description of group/phrase units in Spanish.

Apart from units at group/phrase rank, the exploration proposed here has also revealed units of a different nature. This is the case for Spanish clitic elements, which have been analysed as intermediate between group and word rank. Pronominal clitics correspond to units that have been historically 'down-ranked' and in this account their important contribution to verbal group systems has been established. They are functionally close to nominal words in that they refer to discourse entities (e.g. Halliday 1994). However, they don't share the same systemic and structural potential as nominals, at least as conceptualised in SFL accounts. As pointed out by Halliday (1994), a nominal can, among other things: i) be the Head of a nominal group, and thus

both ii) refer to entities on their own, and iii) realise elliptical clauses (for example, in response to a question querying for the identity of a Participant).

1. *¿A **quién** le h-an dado un buen argumento?* **interrogative pronoun**
 To whom dat/ aux-3s/ give-prctp a good argument
 3s prs/ind
- | | | | | |
|-----------|------|-----|----|------|
| (ad) n.gr | v.gr | | | n.gr |
| | P-cl | Fin | Ev | |
- 'to whom have given him a good argument?'
- a. – *A **usted*** **personal pronoun**
 n.gr
 'to you'
- b. – **Le* **dat. clitic**
 * 'you'
2. *¿**Qué** le d-ieron a usted?* **interrogative pronoun**
 What dat/ give-3p/ to you?
 2s pst/ind
- | | | | |
|-------|------|--------|------|
| n.gr | v.gr | | n.gr |
| Thing | P-cl | Fin/Ev | |
- 'what did they give to you?'
- a. – *Un **argumento*** **common noun**
 n.gr
 'an argument'
- b. – ***Eso*** **demons. pronoun**
 n.gr
 'that'
- **Lo* **acc. clitic**
 *it

Figure 5.9 Nominal words in Spanish (based on Halliday 1994) versus pronominal clitics

Reasoning along these lines, Spanish pronominal clitics cannot be claimed to be kinds of nominal words, but rather verbal group particles, and they have thus been analysed here as realising P-clitic function in the multivariate structure of the verbal group. Importantly, pronominal clitics may co-refer with nominal groups in the same clause – as in the so-called ‘clitic doubling’ phenomena distinguishing Spanish and Romanian from other Romance languages (Belloro, 2007).

Other clitic elements have not been explored in detail in this study, but they include reflexive clitics and *se*-clitics realising VOICE distinctions at group rank (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2). These are elements widely analysed as affixal in nature –

some scholars even suggesting they should be analysed as morphological resources (González, 2006, 2009). A more conservative analysis of these elements as word-rank classes has been assumed here pending further research on the Spanish rank scale.

As a final point, morphological resources have been shown to be highly relevant in Spanish. Nonetheless, the most productive analysis for such resources has been one coming ‘from above’, in relation to group/phrase rank and clause rank systems. This has been the case for PERSON selections, which have been shown to be at stake in FINITENESS (group) and MOOD (clause) systems, as well as in a number of prosodic patterns ranging over the whole clause. This productivity has also been demonstrated for the analysis of the traditional subjunctive/indicative distinction in verb MOOD (word), which has been shown to contribute in different ways to interpersonal and experiential systems at clause rank – primary distinctions in MOOD ([imperative] vs [indicative]), and [hyperphenomenality] in PROCESS TYPE (facts as opposed to acts and ideas).

5.3 Future directions

The aim of this thesis has been to provide a description of Spanish lexicogrammar based on axial argumentation. The interdependency between system and structure as revealed itself as a key principle to describe organisation of Spanish in its own terms, while explicitly relating it to SFL theoretical architecture. The explicit axially-based heuristic proposed in this study has a number of implications for work developed within the SFL framework.

Axial reasoning has been shown to be an important aspect of systemic-functional ‘grammatics’, that is, a way of thinking about language that goes beyond the study of ‘grammar’ (Halliday, 1996/2002). Reasoning along the lines of system-structure interdependencies take us towards an ever-increasing and explicit understanding of **meaning** in language – an enterprise first outlined by Firth in terms of the ‘dispersal’ of context-oriented interrelations (e.g. 1949), and later developed theoretically by Halliday, mainly based on the description of English (e.g. 1961, 1966b). We have provided evidence here that the investigation of axial relations drawing upon the systematic study of the interrelations in a wide range of languages opens promising perspectives for an understanding of linguistic meaning in general.

The focus on the dimension of axis has also allowed a clearer articulation of the descriptive principles connecting the theoretical and descriptive orders. This study has offered a principled way to explore the interplay between these two orders in descriptive practice within SFL. This is a crucial point not only for the development of principled descriptions of languages other than English, but also for further and/or alternative developments in English description.

Regardless of the language at stake, explicit ways of arguing involve freeing descriptive work from appeal to authority (for example, from the authority emanating from ‘canonical texts’) as well as from notional or ‘conceptual’ interpretations that vary greatly across studies and cannot be widely agreed upon (cf. O'Donnell, Zappavigna, & Whitelaw, 2008). The use of axial reasoning in this thesis opens the way for the development of a kind of descriptive work that can become increasingly integrated and built upon, even if different researchers are working in different languages and in different contexts of enquiry. This research also hopes to contribute, therefore, to the field of SFL typology. This thesis aims at contributing to a greater articulation of an heuristic to work on different languages that has not yet been put forward elsewhere in SFL literature.

The use of the system-structure principle in SFL accounts of languages other than English will allow researchers to move well beyond the English descriptions provided in all three editions of *An introduction to functional grammar* (Halliday, 1985, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). This thesis has shown that axial reasoning in fact safeguards against overlooking language-specific patterns that are crucial to understanding the organisation of languages in their own terms. The overreliance on English descriptive categories can obscure the cryptogrammatical patterns that need to be explored for the principled establishment of systemic and structural categories of each language. This paves the way for improved ways of arguing that move beyond the method of transfer comparison in SFL typology. Evidence was provided here that the current theoretical architecture and assumptions are sufficient for such a step in SFL typological work.

In addition, the kind of approach outlined in this study would allow researchers to fully appreciate likeness and difference across languages, since the attention would be on system-structure interrelations with the clause as the entry condition for lexicogrammatical systems – rather than isolated and loosely defined categories taken

from other SFL accounts. In other words, even if similar descriptive labels are used across lexicogrammatical descriptions, cross-linguistic convergence and divergence can only be argued about in terms of the (system-structure) interrelations they account for across semiotic dimensions (Caffarel, Martin, & Matthiessen, 2004a; Halliday, 1992/2003b). As for work on Spanish, axial reasoning offers promising perspectives for the development of rich and integrated descriptions that are suitable to explain phenomena across regional varieties.

This thesis has offered only a basic exploration of interpersonal and experiential systems, which could be expanded in various ways. In relation to the interpersonal component, for example, there are MODALITY systems, which have been only touched upon here. Axially-motivated comprehensive descriptions of (crypto)grammatical patterns could be also oriented to an in depth-exploration of the experiential system of PROCESS TYPE. Such an investigation of experiential clause types would provide a sound ground for generalisations cutting across process types – for example in ways that can be more productively related to the generalisations embodied in the system of AGENCY in English.

More generally, comprehensive accounts taking axial relations as the main organising principle can lead to integrated Spanish descriptions that are metafunctionally diversified, address interstratal relations systematically, and take further steps in the location of units along the rank scale.

Metafunctionally, this means that textual and logical systems can be also accounted for taking axial relations as the main organising principle. For example, the account of Spanish textual systems, particularly that of THEME, could achieve greater explanatory power if it is located within an overarching systemic-functional interpretation that relies on axial interdependencies. Furthermore, the ever-integrating description of metafunctionally diversified systems and their structural output in Spanish can provide valuable insights on lexicogrammatical phenomena that available work outside SFL has not yet fully come to grips with. For example, an axial account of experiential and textual systems may shed light on the specific interactions between the system of VOICE at group rank (Chapter 4, section 4.3.2.2) and PROCESS TYPE (experiential) at clause rank (Chapter 4, section 4.2.2). Arguably, such interactions may productively inform the account of a textual system of DIATHESIS at clause rank,

illuminating phenomena over which there is little agreement in non-SFL descriptive work – as is the case for the so-called non-reflexive *se* constructions.

Interstratally, the interplay of discourse semantic systems and lexicogrammatical ones, along the lines of the theoretical work developed by Martin (1992a), offers an important path of research in Spanish. Axial relations can be used to systematically describe and relate discourse semantic systems – concerning text patterns – and lexicogrammatical ones. Such an enterprise would also include the investigation of non-congruent, metaphorical relations across strata in the content plane. Likewise, relations between systems in strata on the content plane can be more productively connected to the description of phonological systems, thus shaping an interesting and unexplored area of research in Spanish.

A comprehensive exploration of the Spanish rank scale, with the principled definition of units ‘from above’, ‘from around’ and ‘from below’, is also in need of further investigation. This kind of work is essential for a better understanding of the nature of lexicogrammatical units and their specific contribution to the division of semiotic labour in Spanish. This has been here shown to be particularly relevant for units that have been located at group/phrase rank, but it also applies for the study of the interconnections with word-rank systems covering morphological contrasts. In this respect, much more research is needed on the Spanish verbal group, given its crucial contribution to interpersonal and experiential clause systems. Specifically, the description of TENSE lies ahead, as well as of other systems involved in verbal group complexing – particularly those at stake in the so-called ‘periphrastic’ forms (e.g. Tornel Sala, 2001-2002).

In the development of work outlined above, a principled integration of the vast and rich descriptive work already available on Spanish grammar will be crucial. In order to take full advantage of our descriptive heritage, a sound understanding of SFL descriptive principles will prove useful – so that researchers are able to move beyond the *ad hoc*, often eclectic adaptations from reference grammars or descriptions developed in different frameworks.

5.4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, attention has been focused on pulling together the results from Chapters 3 and 4 as well as on highlighting the potential contributions of this research to the fields of SFL theory, SFL typology and SFL Spanish description.

This thesis has shown that axial reasoning based on the exploration of system-structure interrelations provides a principled understanding of the systemic-functional organisation of the lexicogrammar of Spanish, with a specific focus on the interpersonal and the experiential components. This thesis has thereby laid out the path for further work, in which lexicogrammatical description is aimed at the interconnections with text patterns in naturally occurring texts. Such an endeavour, addressing texts across registers and genres, will be crucial for a kind of ‘applied linguistics’ that is ultimately oriented to contribute to various contexts of social intervention, including the educational field.

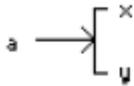
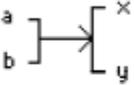
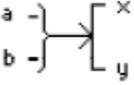
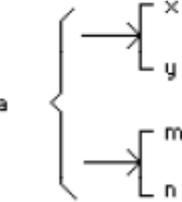
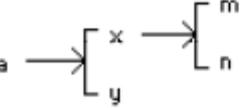
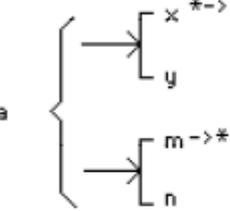
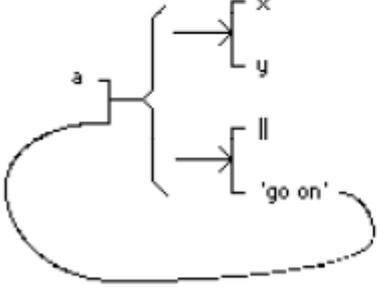
Appendix A

Notational Conventions

The following conventions have been adapted from Martin and Halliday (1981, p. 10-11); Davidse (1999, p. iii-v); Matthiessen (1995, p. 749ff), and Matthiessen and Halliday (1997/2009, p. 98). They all derive from assumptions and distinctions established within SFL theory. Where SFL conventions available do not adequately cover phenomena represented in the Spanish examples, Leipzig Interlinear Glossing Rules have been adapted for the purpose, particularly in relation to word-rank distinctions (such as morpheme classes).

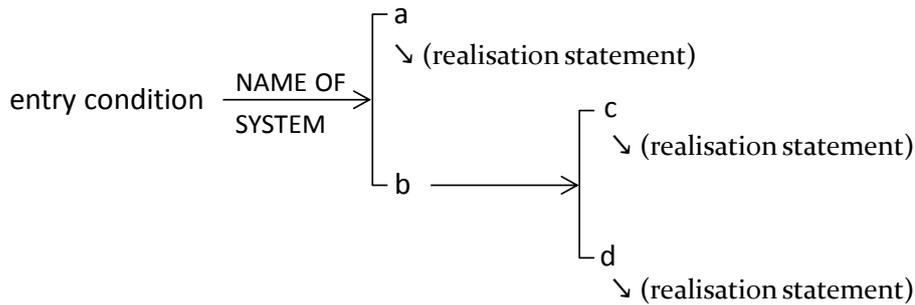
A.1 Systemic notation

[i] System networks

	<p>system : if 'a', then 'x' or 'y' -- abbreviated as 'a : x / y'</p>
	<p>disjunction in entry condition : if 'a / b', then 'x / y'</p>
	<p>conjunction in entry condition : if 'a' and 'b' (abbreviated as 'a & b'), then 'x / y'</p>
	<p>simultaneity : if 'a', then simultaneously 'x / y' and 'm / n'</p>
	<p>delicacy ordering : if 'a', then 'x / y'; if 'x', then 'm / n'</p>
	<p>conditional marking : if 'x', then also 'm'</p>
	<p>recursive system (logical): if 'a', then 'x / y' and simultaneously option of entering and selecting from the same system again</p>

(from Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997/2009, p. 89)

A.1.1 Sample system network



[ii] Realisation statements

↘	feature is realised in structure by
+ F	insert function
F ^ F	sequence functions in structure
F/F	conflate functions in structure
# ^ F	position function initially
F ^ #	position function finally
F · F	unsequenced functions
;	separate operations within realisation statements
F : c	function preselects class (feature) on lower rank

A.2 General

1. Names of metafunctional components are written in lowercase, e.g. textual, experiential, interpersonal;
2. Names of ranks are written in lower case, e.g. clause, group/phrase, word, morpheme;
3. Names of strata in lower case, e.g. discourse semantics, lexicogrammar, phonology;

[i] Paradigmatic relations

4. Names of systems are written in small capitals, e.g. MOOD, PROCESS TYPE, FINITENESS;
5. Names of features in networks are written in lowercase, e.g. indicative, interrogative, mental, positive;
6. Names of features in running text are enclosed in square brackets, e.g. [indicative], [interrogative], [mental], [positive];
7. Features ordered in terms of delicacy are represented in running text by ':', thus [indicative: interrogative: polar] reads 'the selection of [polar] presupposes the selection of [interrogative] which in turn presupposes the selection of

[indicative]’. The simultaneous selection of features within or across systems is represented in running text by ‘/’, thus [indicative/mental] reads ‘the features [indicative] and [mental] are selected simultaneously’.

[ii] Syntagmatic relations

8. Names of structural functions are written with initial uppercase, e.g. Predicator, Senser, Event;
9. Sequenced functional structure is indicated by ‘^’, e.g. Predicator ^ Complement;
10. Unsequenced functional structure is indicated by ‘.’, e.g. Predicator . Complement;
11. Conflated functions in structure (e.g. realised within the same unit in lower ranks) are indicated by ‘/’, e.g. Goal/Process/Actor;
12. Names of classes arranged in syntagmatic sequence and across ranks are written in lowercase, e.g. clause, verbal group, nominal group, common noun;
13. Down-ranked clauses are enclosed by double square brackets; e.g. [[clause]]
14. Down-ranked groups and phrases are enclosed by single square brackets; e.g. [nominal group], [prepositional phrase];

A.3 Labels for structural representation

[i] Functions

Nego	Negotiator
Rmdr	Remainder
Pred	Predicator
Adj	Adjunct
MA, MAdj	Modal Adjunct
Pro	Process
Part	Participant
P ₁ , P ₂ , P ₃	first, second and third Participant
Circ	Circumstance
Ma	Manner
Loc	Location
Loc: pl	Location: place
Loc: time	Location: time
Sppl	Supplement
Rg	Range
Rg: ascr	Range: ascriptive

Rg: sppl	Range: supplemental
Ac	Actor
Go	Goal
Be	Beneficiary
Ca	Carrier
Att	Attribute
Tk	Token
VI	Value
Pssd	Possessed
Pssr	Possessor
Se	Senser
Ph	Phenomenon
Impl	Implicated
Fin	Finite
Aux	Auxiliary
Mod	Modal
Ev	Event
V-cl	Voice clitic
R-cl	Reflexive clitic
P-cl	Participant clitic
T	Thing

[ii] Classes

group/phrase	n. gr	nominal group
	(ad) n. gr	adpositional nominal group
	(adj) n.gr	adjectival nominal group
	adv. gr	adverbial group
	p. phr	prepositional phrase
	v. gr	verbal group
	rcss	recessive (verbal group)
	rflx	reflexive (verbal group)
	erg	ergative (verbal group)
	gen	generalised (verbal group)
	ntrl	neutral (verbal group)

word	lk	linker (e.g. hypotactic or rank-shifting <i>que</i>) ¹
	conj	conjunctive element ²
	prep	preposition
	pron	pronoun
	c.n	common noun
	p.n	proper noun
	det	determiner
	adj	adjective
	adv	adverb
	p.cl	pronominal clitic
	dat	dative pronominal clitic
	acc	accusative pronominal clitic
	rfl	reflexive clitic
	se-cl	<i>se</i> clitic
	neg	negative marker
pos	positive marker	

morpheme	s	singular
	p	plural
	1	first person
	2	second person
	3	third person
	3s, 3p	third person plural, third person singular
	fem	feminine
	masc	masculine
	ntr	neuter
	ind	indicative verb mood
	sbj	subjunctive verb mood
	pot	potential verb mood

¹ As a way of a compromise between terminology used in Spanish grammars and SFL descriptions, in this study ‘linker’ is used as a generic term covering two kinds of elements: i) those introducing a bound (hypotactically dependent) clause or group, e.g. a subordinating conjunction or a relative pronoun (‘binders’ in SFL accounts), and ii) elements connecting units by parataxis, e.g. co-ordinating conjunctions or clause connectors (‘linkers’ in SFL accounts).

² This includes structural conjunctions, but also other elements contributing to external and internal text relations, independently of their grammatical class (Martin & Rose, 2007).

	imp	imperative verb mood
	pst	past (preterite)
	pst.impf	past imperfect
	prs	present
	fut	future
	prctp	(past) participle
	grnd	gerund
	inf	infinitive
	aux	auxiliary

A.4 Additional interlinear glossing conventions

	clause boundary
→	following clause is projected by previous clause
1 2	paratactic relation between primary and secondary element in structure
α β	hypotactic relation between dominant and dependent element in structure
‘, “	kinds of projection: idea and locution, respectively.
x, =, +	kinds of expansion in complex units: enhancement, elaboration and extension, respectively.
1 x2	unit 1 is paratactically related to unit 2 by enhancement
α ‘ β	dominant unit α is hypotactically related to dependent unit β by projection (idea)
‘ β	dependent projected clause: idea (e.g. in cognition mental processes)
“ β	dependent projected clause: locution (e.g. in verbal processes)
-	approximate inflection boundaries, e.g. aux-1s/prs/ind (‘auxiliary verb-portmanteau inflection morphology’ ³)
/	conflated class selections, e.g. portmanteau inflectional morphology 1p/prs/ind (‘first person plural/present/indicative verb mood’)
come_out	one-to-many rendering of single lexical item in Spanish original

³ The marking of inflection boundaries is approximate in irregular forms. Irregular verbs may involve the change of the whole verb form (as in verb *ser* ‘to be₁’), in which case no hyphenation is inserted.

A.5 Presentation of examples

<i>Este es un ejemplo</i>	Spanish original in italics
'This is an example'	English semi-idiomatic translation enclosed by single quotation marks
<i>Cant-aba</i>	inflection morphology separated by hyphen
Me la cant-aba	pronominal clitics in bold face
<u>Se cant-ó</u> <u>Se lav-ó</u> <u>Se asust-ó</u>	recessive/reflexive clitic underlined

Appendix B

Sample Data

B.1 Data coding (see References for full details)

MP = Spanish subtitles for Monthly Python's argument sketch.

EN = *Estadio Nacional* documentary film. Parot, C. L. (2002)

USS = *Una luz sobre la sombra* testimonial book. Vásquez Luncumilla, H. (comp.) (2010)

SE = Cable TV Technical support service encounters. In Castro, S. (2010)

B.2 Sample Text 1 (MP)

MONTHLY PYTHON'S ARGUMENT SKETCH: Interpersonal structure

SPANISH SUBTITLES		ENGLISH BACKTRANSLATION												
A a.	<p>– ¡Oiga! esto no es una discusión</p> <p style="text-align: center;">this neg be-3s/ an argument prs/ind</p> <p>Vocat</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td>Re..</td> <td>Negotiator</td> <td>..mainder</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Predicator</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>n. gr</td> <td>v. gr</td> <td>n. gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>hey!</td> <td>this no it-is</td> <td>an argument</td> </tr> </table>	Re..	Negotiator	..mainder		Predicator		n. gr	v. gr	n. gr	hey!	this no it-is	an argument	– Hey! This <u>is not</u> an argument
Re..	Negotiator	..mainder												
	Predicator													
n. gr	v. gr	n. gr												
hey!	this no it-is	an argument												
B b.	<p>– Sí lo es</p> <p style="text-align: center;">pos acc/ be-3s/ 3s prs/ind</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td>Negotiator</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Pred</td> </tr> <tr> <td>v. gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>yes it-is it</td> </tr> </table>	Negotiator	Pred	v. gr	yes it-is it	– <u>Yes (it) is (it)</u>								
Negotiator														
Pred														
v. gr														
yes it-is it														
A c.	<p>– S-on solo contradicciones</p> <p style="text-align: center;">be-3p/ only contradictions prs/ind</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td colspan="2">Negotiator</td> <td rowspan="2">Remainder</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Pred</td> <td>MA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>v. gr</td> <td>adv. gr</td> <td>n. gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>they-are</td> <td>only</td> <td>contradictions</td> </tr> </table>	Negotiator		Remainder	Pred	MA	v. gr	adv. gr	n. gr	they-are	only	contradictions	– <u>(They) are</u> only contradictions	
Negotiator		Remainder												
Pred	MA													
v. gr	adv. gr	n. gr												
they-are	only	contradictions												
B d.	<p>– No lo s-on</p> <p style="text-align: center;">neg acc/ be-3p/ 3s prs/ind</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td>Negotiator</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Predicator</td> </tr> <tr> <td>v. gr</td> </tr> <tr> <td>no they-are it</td> </tr> </table>	Negotiator	Predicator	v. gr	no they-are it	– <u>'(They) are not it'</u>								
Negotiator														
Predicator														
v. gr														
no they-are it														

A e. – *Sí s-on* – Yes (they) are
 pos be-3p/
 prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
yes they-are

B f. – *No lo s-on* – (They) are not it
 neg acc/ be-3p/
 3s prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
no they-are it

A g. – *¡Lo s-on!* – (They) are it!
 acc/ be-3p/
 3s prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
they-are it

h. *¡Me acab-a de contradecir!* – (You) just contradicted me!
 acc/ 1s finish-2s/ lk contradict-inf
 prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr (complex)
you-just contradicted me

B i. – *No lo h-e hecho* – (I) haven't done it
 neg acc/ aux-1s/ do-prctp
 3s prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
no I-have done it

A j. – *¡Lo h-izo!* – (You) did it!
 acc/ do-2s/
 3s pst/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
you-did it

B k. – *No no no no no* – No no no no no no

A l. – *Lo acab-a de hacer de nuevo*
 acc/ finish-2s lk do-inf again
 3s /prs/ind

– (You) just did it again

Negotiator	Remaind
Predicator	
v.gr (complex)	adv.gr
you-just did it	again

B m. – *No no, s-on tonterías*
 be-3p/ stupidities
 prs/ind

– No no, it is nonsense

Nego	Nego	Remaind
MA	Pred	
adv.gr	v.gr	n.gr
no no	they-are	stupidities

A n. – *Esto es basura*
 this be-3s/ rubbish
 prs/ind

– This is crap

Rem...	Nego	...ainder
	Pred	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr
this	is	rubbish

B o. – *No lo es*
 neg acc/ be-3s/
 3s prs/ind

– It is not it

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
no it-is it

A p. – *Entonces d-e-me un buen argumento*
 then give-2s/ dat/ a good argument
 prs/sbj 1s

– Then give me a good argument

Nego	Remainder
Pred	
v.gr	n.gr
give-me	a good argument

conj
then

B q. – *Usted no me h-a dado un buen argumento*
 You neg acc/1 aux-2s/ give- a good argument
 s prs/ind prctp

You haven't given me a good argument

Rem...	Negotiator	...ainder
	Predicator	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr
you	no you-have given me	a good argument

A s. – *[[Discutir y contradecir]] no es lo mismo*
 [[argue-inf lk contradict-inf]] neg be-3s/ the same
 prs/ind

– [[To argue and to contradict]]
is not the same

Rem...	Nego	...ainder
	Pred	
[[clause complex]]	v.gr	n.gr
[[to argue and to contradict]]	no it-is	the same

B t. – *Puede ser*

can-3s/ be-inf
prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
it-can be

– It can be

A u. – *¡No, no puede!*

neg neg can-3s/
prs/ind

Nego	Negotiator
MA	Predicator
adv.g	v.gr
no	no it-can

– No, it cannot!

v. *[[Discutir]] es [[dar una serie de opiniones*

[[argue-inf]] be-3s/ give-inf a series of opinions
prs/ind

Rem...	Nego	...a and...
	Pred	
[[clause]]	v.gr	[[clause complex... α
[[to argue]]	is	[[to give a series of opinions

– [[To argue]] is [[to give a series of opinions in order to reach a common opinion]]

para llegar a una opinión común.]]

for arrive-inf to a opinion common

...der
... clause complex]] βx
to arrive to a common opinion]]

B w. – *No lo es*

neg acc/ be-3s/
3s prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
no it-is it

– It is not that

A x. – *¡Sí lo es*

pos acc/ be-3s/
3s prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
yes it-is it

– Yes it is it

y. *No es nada más* [[contradecir]]
 neg be-3s/ merely [[contradict-inf]]
 prs/ind

It is not merely [[to contradict]]

Negotiator		Remainder
Pred	MAdj	
v.gr	adv. gr	[[clause: non-finite]]
no it-is	merely	[[to contradict]]

B z. – *Mir-e,*

– Look

look-2s/
 prs/sbj

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
you-look

aa. *Si discut-o con usted,*
 if argue-1s/ with you
 prs/ind

if (I) argue with you,

Nego		Remainder
Pred.		
conj	v.gr	p. phrase
if	I-argue	with you

bb. *T-engo que tomar la posición contraria*
 have-1s/ Ik take-inf the position contrary
 prs/ind

I have to take up the contrary position

Negotiator		Remainder
Predicator		
	v.gr (complex)	n. gr
	I-have to take	the contrary position

A cc. – *Pero no es solo* [[decir que no]]
 but neg be-3s/ only [[say-inf Ik no]]
 prs/ind

– But it is not only [[saying “no”]]

Negotiator			Remainder
Predicator		MA	
conj	v.gr	adv.gr	[[clause complex]]
but	no it-is	only	[[to say that no]]

B dd. – *¡Que sí!*

– Yes!

	Ik yes
Negotiator	
	MAdj
	adv.gr
that	yes

A ee. – ¡Que no!

lk no

	Negotiator
	MAdj
	adv.gr
that	no

– No!

ff. *La discusión es un proceso intelectual*

The argument be-3s/ prs/ind a process intellectual

Rem...	Nego	...a.inder
	Pred	
n.gr	v.gr	n.gr
the argument	it-is	an intellectual process

Arguing is an intellectual process.

gg. *[[Contradecir]] es solo [[decir lo contrario]]*

[[contradict-inf]] be-3s/ prs/ind only [[say-inf the contrary]]

Rem...	Nego		...a.inder
	Pred	MA	
v.gr	v.gr	a.gr	[[clause]]
[[to contradict]]	is	only	[[to say the contrary]]

[[To contradict]] is just [[to say the opposite]]

B hh. – No **lo** es

neg acc/ be-3s/ 3s prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
no it-is it

– It is not it

A ii. – Sí **lo** es

pos acc/ be-3s/ 3s prs/ind

Negotiator
Predicator
v.gr
yes it-is it

– yes it is it

B jj. – Para nada

– Not at all

A kk. – Ahora mire...

– Now look...

- f. *se empap-a, entero*
soak-3s/ entire
prs/ind

Pro/P ₁	Range
v.gr	n.gr
one-soaks	entire

'you soak, all of you'

- g. *también, no solo transpir-a,*
also not only perspire-3s/
prs/ind

Process/P ₁	
adv gr (conj)	adv.gr
also,	not only
	one-perspires

'also, not only you perspire'

- h. *saliv-a*
salivate-3s/
prs/ind

Process/P ₁
v. gr
one-salivates

'you salivate'

- i. *las mucosidades sal-en,*
the mucosities come_out-3p/
prs/ind

Participant ₁	Process
n. gr	v. gr
the mucosities	come out,

'mucous comes out'

- j. *le cuest-a [[respirar]]*
dat/ cost-3s/ [[to breathe]]
3s prs/ind

P ₃ /Process	Part ₁
v. gr.	[[clause]]
it-costs one	[[to breathe]]

'you struggle to breathe'

- k. *entonces me d-ieron un periodo de descanso,*
then dat/ give-3p/ a period of rest,
1s pst/ind

P ₃ /Pro/P ₁	Participant ₂
adv gr (conj)	n. gr
then	a period of rest
they-gave me	

'so they gave me a break'

- l. *que también ellos lo aprovechan*
that also they acc/ take_advantage-
3s 3p/prs/ind

Part ₁	Part ₂ /Process
conj	v. gr
that	they-take_advantage(of it)
also	

'which they also benefit from'

- m. *En el intertanto, aparec-e un médico*
In the meantime, appear-3s a physician
prs/ind

Process	Participant ₁
adv.gr (conj)	n. gr
In the meantime,	a physician
it-appears	

'In the meantime, a physician appears'

n. *generalmente uno no le pued-e ver la vista*
 generally one neg dat/ can-3s/ see-inf the sight
 3s prs/ind

'in general, you cannot see his eyes'

adv. gr
 generally

P ₁	P ₃ /Process	Part ₂
n. gr	v. gr	n. gr
one	no one-can see him	the sight

o. *porque est-á vendado,*
 because be-3s/ blindfolded
 prs/ind

'because you're blindfolded'

conj
 because

P ₁ /Pro	Range
v. gr	n. gr
one-is	blindfolded

p. *una vez que entr-a a [la cámara de tortura],*
 once that enter-3s/ to [the chamber of torture]
 prs/ind

'once you enter the torture chamber'

conj. gr
 once that

Pro/P ₁	Circumstance
v. gr	prep. phrase
one-enters	to [the chamber of torture]

q. *uno tien-e vendada la vista.*
 one have-3s/ blindfolded the sight
 prs/ind

'you have your eyes blindfolded'

Part ₁	Process	Part ₂
n. gr	v. gr (complex)	n. gr
one	one-has blindfolded	the sight

r. *Entonces se te examin-a,*
 then se-cl dat/ examine-3s/
 2s prs/ind

'Then, they examine you'

adv. gr (conj)
 Then

Part ₃ /Pro/Part ₁
v. gr
(someone) examines you

s. *t-engo entendido => β*
 have-1s/ understand-
 prs/ind prtcp

'I understand'

Process/Part ₁
v. gr (complex)
I-get understood

t. *que d-aba el visto bueno*
 that give-3s/ the checked good
 pst. impf

β 'that he would give his approval'

lk
 that

Pro/P ₁	Participant ₂
v. gr	n. gr
(he) gave	the approval

(de) [[*que uno resist-ía otra sesión de tortura*],
 (of) that one resist-3s/ other session of torture
 pst. impf

'[[that one would resist another torture session]]'

Part ₁	Process	Participant ₂
n. gr	v. gr	n. gr
one	one-resisted	other session of torture]

lk
 [[that

u. *Y entonces en el intertanto yo mir-é a través de...*
 and then in the meantime I look-1s/ through...
 pst/ind

'And then in the meantime I looked through...'

conj adv.gr (conj) adv. gr (conj)
 And then in the meantime

Part ₁	Pro	Circ...
n. gr	v.gr	prep. phr...
I	I-looked	through

v. *no me hab-ían puesto bien la vendita,*
 neg dat/ aux-3p/ put-prctp well the blindfold
 1s pst/ind

'they hadn't put the blindfold properly on me'

Part ₃ /Process/Part ₁	Circ	Participant ₂
v. gr	adv. gr	n. gr.
no they-had put me	well	the blindfold

w. *mir-é por debajo así*
 look-1s/ by underneath thus
 pst/ind

'I looked underneath like this'

Pro/P ₁	Circ	Circ
v. gr	adv. gr	adv. gr
I-looked	underneath	like this

x. *y distingu-í dos gallos, las caras de ellos*
 and distinguish-1s/ two guys, the faces of they
 pst/ind

'and I distinguished two guys, their faces'

Part ₁ /Pro	Part ₂
v.g	n. gr (complex)
I-distinguished	two guys, the faces of them

y. *pero les escuch-é [[lo que conversab-an]]*
 but dat/ listen-1s/ what converse-3p/pst.impf
 3p pst/ind

'but I heard from them [[what they were talking about]]'

P ₃ /Pro/P ₁	Participant ₂
v. gr	[[clause]]
I-listened them	[[what they were talking about]]

z. *y uno de ellos le dec-ía*
 and one of they dat/ say-3s/
 3s pst.impf

'and one of them said to the other'

Part ₁	Pro/Part ₃
n. gr	v.gr
one of them	he-said him

aa. *"v-amos a hacer-le un repaso, un repaso suave, así, rápido, a este gallo*
 go-3p/ Ik do-inf dat/ a going_over, a going_over soft, thus, quick, to this guy
 prs/ind 3s

"we're going to go over him, lightly, kind of quickly, over this guy"

Process/Part ₁	Part ₂	Part ₃
v. gr (complex)	n. gr. (complex, elaborating)	(ad) n. gr
we-are going to do him	a going over, a light going over, like quick	to this guy

bb. *porque" - le d-ijo -*

"because" - he said to him -

P ₃ /Pro/P ₁
v. gr
because" he-said him

cc. "a las cinco veinte me est-á esperando

at [five twenty] dat/ be-3s/ wait-grnd
1s prs/ind

"at five twenty () is waiting for me

Circumstance	Part ₂ /Pro/Part ₁
prep. phrase	v.gr (complex)
"at [five twenty]	s/he-is waiting me

dd. desde [las cinco veinte] me v-a a esperar, en [la puerta del Rex], mi mujer
from [the five twenty] dat go-3s lk wait-inf at [the door of the Rex] my wife
/1s /prs

from 5:20 my wife is going to wait for me at the gate of the cinema"

Circumstance	Part ₂ /Process	Circumstance	Part ₁
prep. phrase	v. gr	prep. phrase	n. gr
from [five twenty]	s/he-go to wait_me	at [the door of the Rex]	my wife

ee. porque v-amos a ir a ver 'El Padrino'

because go-3s/ lk go- lk see- The Godfather
prs/ind inf inf

"because we're going to go to see 'The Godfather'"

Pro/Part ₁	Part ₂
v. gr	n. gr
because we-are go to go to see	'The Godfather'"

ff. O sea, él ten-ía perfectamente separadas las cosas,

that is, he have-3s/ perfectly separate- the things
pst.impf prcpt

'That is, he had things perfectly separated,'

Part ₁	Pro..	Circ	..cess	Part ₂
n. gr	v.gr (co...)	adv. gr	...mplex)	n. gr
That is, he	he-had	perfectly	separated	the things

gg. él me peg-aba hasta [las cinco y cuarto]

he dat/ hit-3s/ until [the five and quarter]
1s pst.impf

'he would hit me until quarter past five'

Part ₁	Part ₃ /Pro	Circumstance
n. gr	v. gr	prep. phrase
he	hit (me)	until [quarter past five]

hh. a [las cinco y cuarto] part-ía

at the five and quarter leave-3s/
pst.impf/ind

'at quarter past five he would be off'

Circumstance	Pro/Part ₁
prep. phrase	v. gr
at [quarter past five]	he-would-leave

ii. y a las cinco veinte se encontr-aba con [su mujer].

and at the five twenty rflx-cl meet-3s/ with [his wife]
pst.impf/ind

'and at five twenty he would meet with his wife'

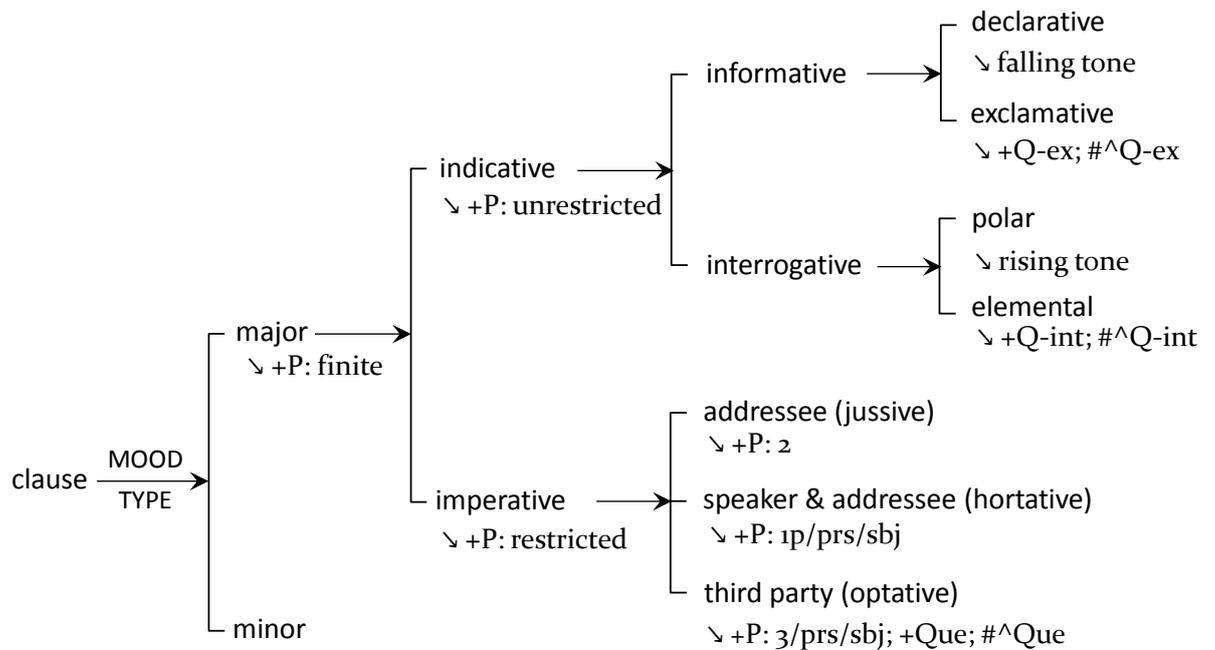
Circumstance	Part ₁ /Pro	Circ
prep. phrase	v. gr	prep. phrase
and at [five twenty]	he-would-meet	with [his wife]

Appendix C

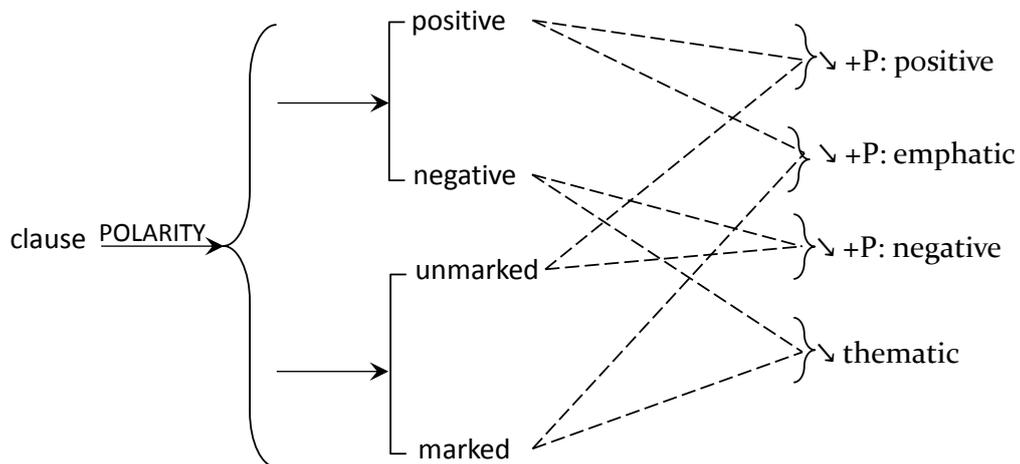
System networks

C.1 Clause

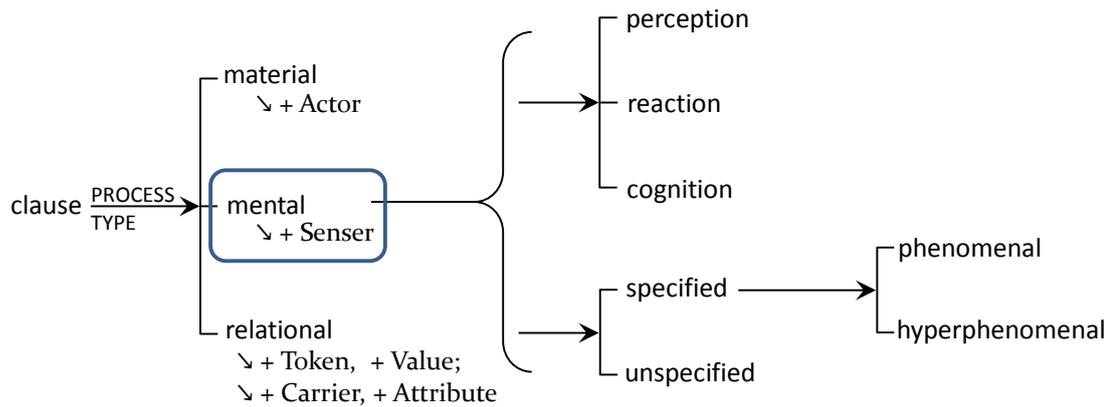
C.1.1 Interpersonal: MOOD



C.1.2 Interpersonal: POLARITY

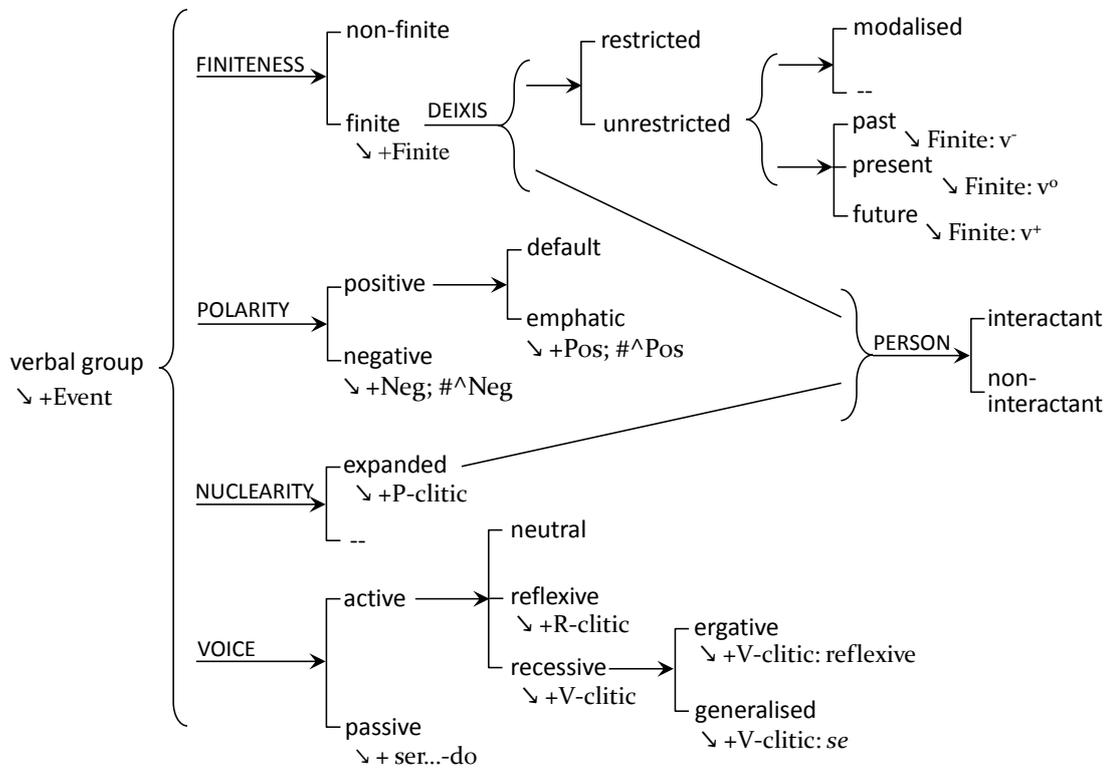


C.1.3 Experiential: PROCESS TYPE and more delicate choices under [mental]

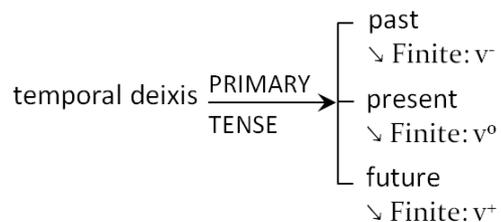


C.2 Verbal group

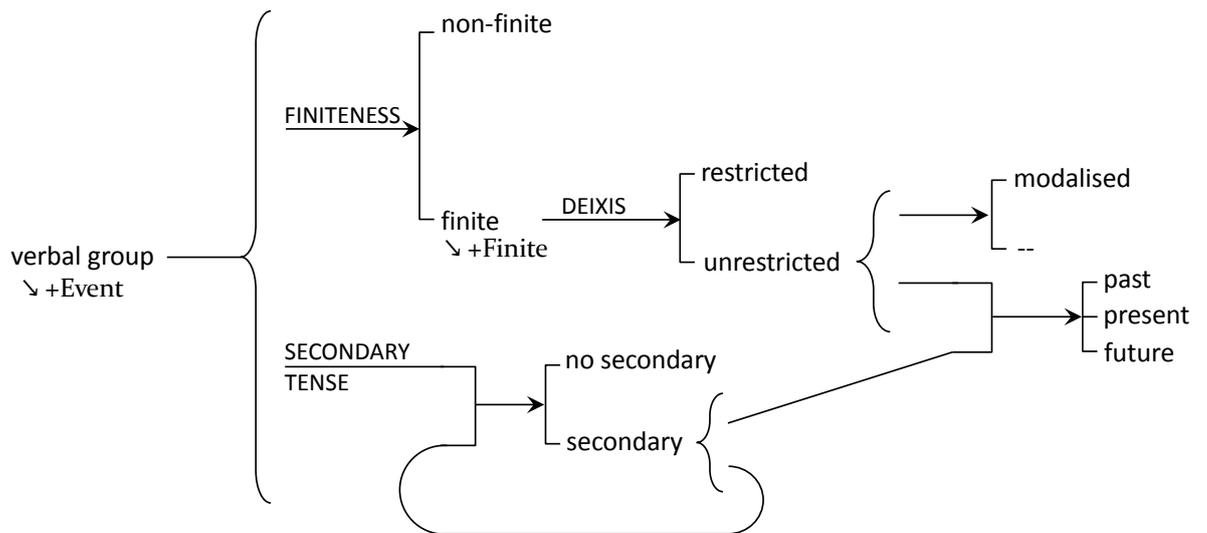
C.2.1 General



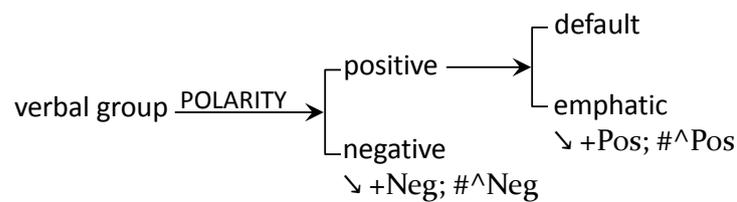
C.2.2 PRIMARY TENSE



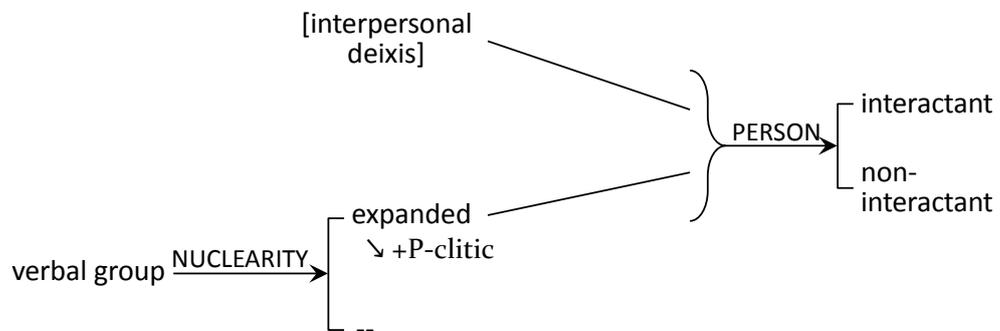
C.2.3 SECONDARY TENSE (recursive system)



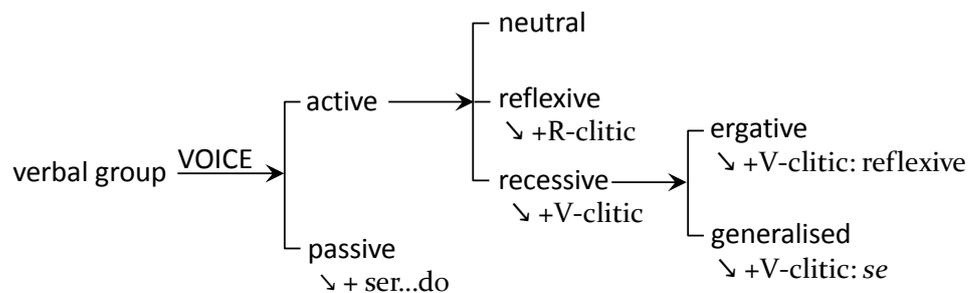
C.2.4 POLARITY



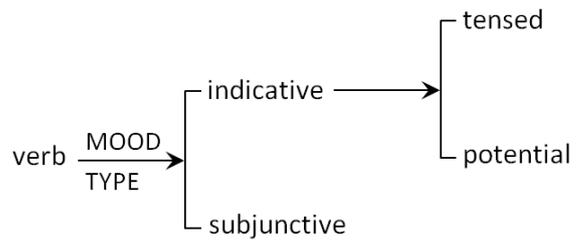
C.2.5 NUCLEARITY



C.2.6 VOICE



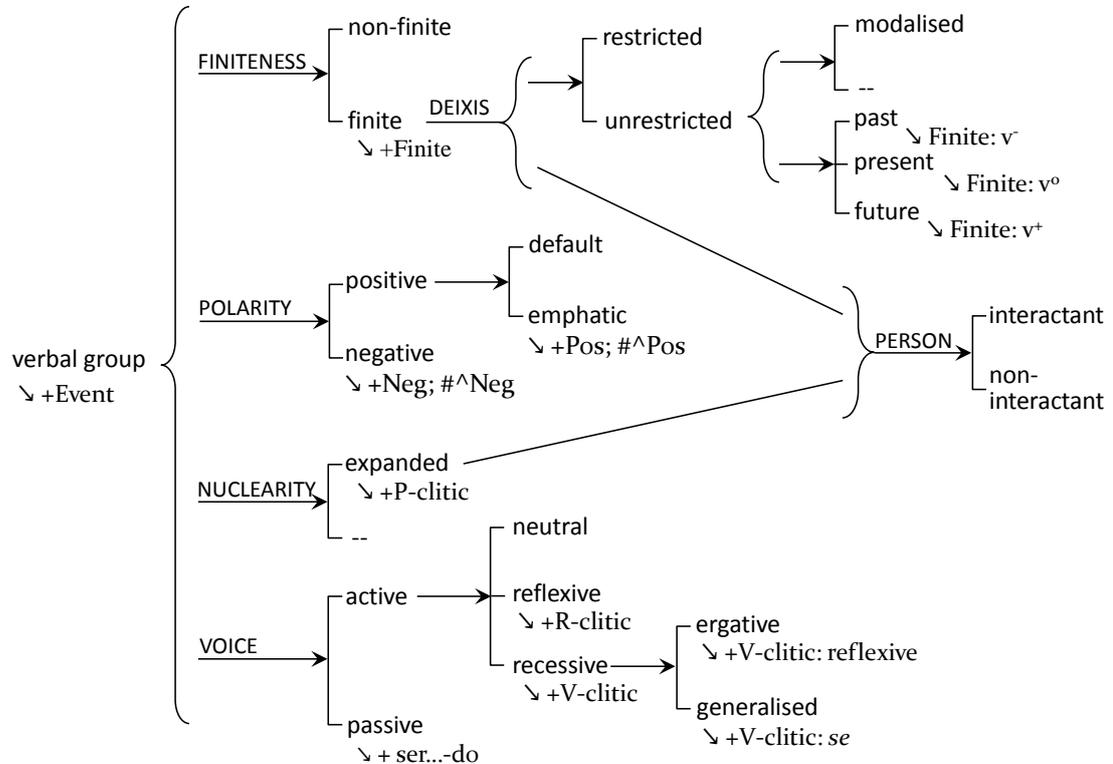
C.3 Verb: MOOD TYPE (word rank)



Appendix D

Verbal group resources

D.1 General network for the Spanish verbal group



D.2 Paradigms

D.2.1 Pronominal clitics (realising P-Clitic)

PRONOMINAL CLITICS: LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH			interactants			non-interactants	neuter
			spkr	addressee			
				inf	frml		
accusative	sing	masc	me	te	lo	lo	
		fem			la		
	plural	masc	nos	los			
		fem		las			
dative	singular		me	te	le	--	
	plural		nos	les			
	combined*		--				se

D.2.2 Reflexive clitics (realising R-Clitic and V-Clitic)

REFLEXIVE CLITICS: LAT AM SPANISH	interactants			non- interactants
	spkr	addr		
		inf	fml	
singular	<i>me</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>
plural	<i>nos</i>	<i>se</i>		

D.2.3 Verb forms

D.2.3.1 Non-finite verb forms

Spanish non-finite verbs			≈ English non-finite verbs		
traditional label	verb form	examples	traditional label	verb form	examples
infinitive (inf)	-r	<i>cantar</i> <i>comer</i> <i>vivir</i>	infinitive	to 0	<i>to sing</i> <i>to eat</i> <i>to live</i>
participle (prtcp)	-do	<i>cantado</i> <i>comido</i> <i>vivido</i>	past participle	-en	<i>sung</i> <i>eaten</i> <i>lived</i>
gerund (grnd)	-ndo	<i>cantando</i> <i>comiendo</i> <i>viviendo</i>	present participle	-ing	<i>singing</i> <i>eating</i> <i>living</i>

Infinitives correspond to the ‘dictionary’ verb forms in Spanish. The generalised representation of this form for all three conjugations is [-r], i.e. *cant-ar*, *com-er*, *viv-ir* (‘to sing’, ‘to eat’, ‘to live’).

The ‘participle’ or *-do* form is the verb form crucially involved in complex tenses, more precisely, secondary past, *haber...-do* (≈ Eng. *have...-en*) (cf. Halliday, 1966/1976), where it doesn’t inflect for number or gender (see Appendix E). It is also at stake in passive verbal groups, *ser...-do* (≈ Eng. *be...-en*), where it does show distinctions for number and gender. There is no distinction between present and past participle forms in Spanish. Diachronically, the present participle disappeared as a verb form, leaving some relics in a set of adjectives (cf. Penny 2002). ‘Participle’ suffices as a word-rank label across Spanish descriptions.

The gerund or *-ndo* form is the non-finite verb form most closely equivalent to the so-called ‘present participle’ in English (also known as ‘-ing form’): *cant-ando*,

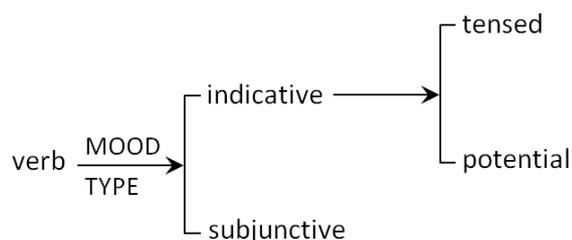
com-iendo, viv-iendo. However, it doesn't occur in the same environments at clause and group rank, e.g. verbs in *-ndo* form are very restricted in non-finite embedded clauses.

D.2.3.2 Primary and non-primary tense verb forms

See Appendix E

D.2.4 Verb MOOD at word rank

In traditional accounts, 'verb moods' involve contrasts at word-rank (i.e. verbal morphology), including 'indicative', 'subjunctive', 'imperative' and 'potential' distinctions (e.g. Alarcos, 1994). In notional definitions of their 'meaning', considerations combining the 'subjective attitude of the speaker' towards the validity of propositions, as well as the enactment of roles in dialogue are commonly foregrounded (cf. discussion in Bolinger, 1976). The network below shows the three main contrasts in verb MOOD at word-rank referred to in this study, excluding 'imperative mood':



There is a long-standing discussion on whether the 'potential' (or 'conditional') word-rank contrast should be considered a 'verb mood' on its own right or a subtype of 'indicative verb mood' (e.g. Alarcos, 1994, p. 152). In this study, such a contrast will be treated under [indicative], to account for the fact that free indicative clauses, as well as bound dependent clauses in projecting clause complexes (particularly those concerned with the projection of propositions) allow the distinction in both 'indicative' and 'potential' morphology (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.3 on cognition mental processes). This contrasts with finite clauses selecting for [subjunctive], which only occur under certain environments, e.g. MOOD selections in [imperative] (Chapter 3, section 3.3.1.1) or in embedded fact-clauses (Chapter 4, sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3).

Further research is required 'from above' to establish the systemic meaning of verb MOOD distinctions in Spanish. From an SFL perspective, these so-called 'verb moods' arguably contribute to the realisation of various interconnected interpersonal meanings at clause rank, including a range of interpersonal systems grouped under

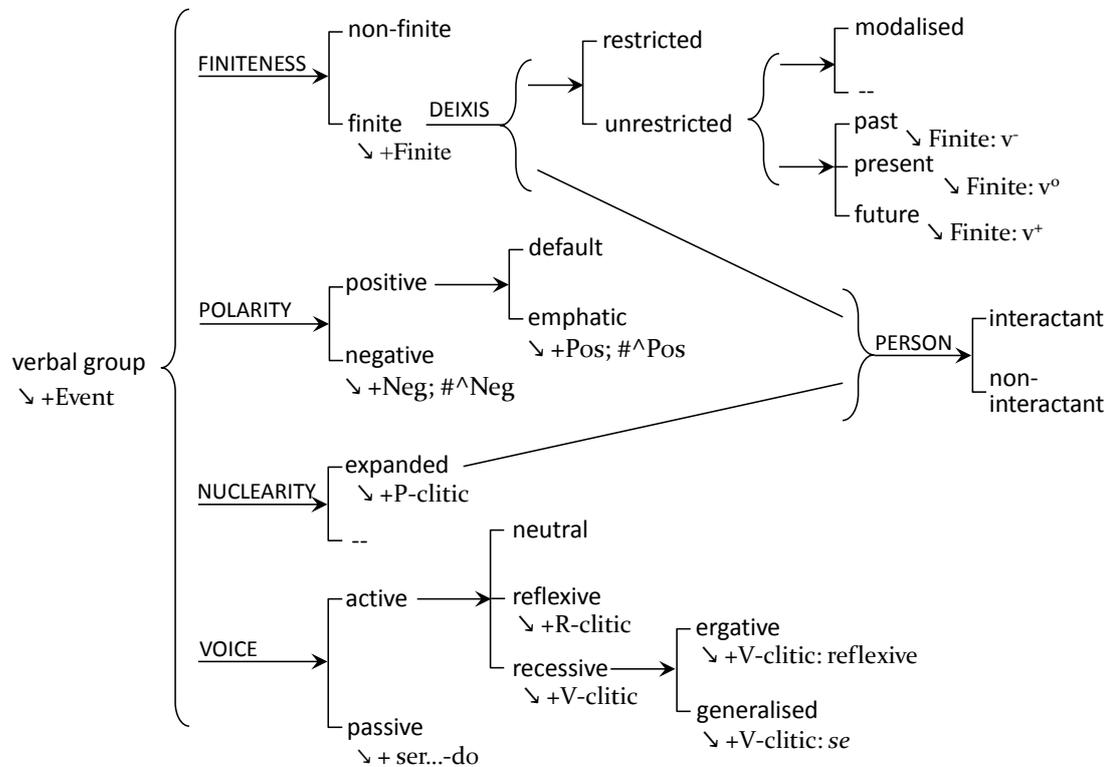
MODAL ASSESSMENT (including relations with MOOD, MODALITY and POLARITY, some of them explored in Chapter 3 for the Spanish simple clause). Rank-shifted clauses also are involved in subjunctive/indicative contrasts (addressed in Chapter 4, section 4.4, in relation to the distinction between *acts* and *facts* versus *ideas*). Finally, logical systems generating clause complexes, not explored in this study, may be also at stake, including what can be foreseen as specific interactions between TAXIS and LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE, e.g. some dependent ‘subjunctive’ finite clauses of the enhancing subtype (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004 for a comprehensive account of these systems in English).

As for the ‘imperative verb mood’, excluded in the above network, it has specific characteristics: it doesn’t show any further distinction in ‘tense’ (being, in this respect, it is similar to ‘potential’). Additionally, in Latin American Spanish it does not show further contrasts in PERSON, being thus a morpheme exclusively used in the realisation of [imperative: jussive: addressee: one/informal] (see section 3.3.2.2 in Chapter 3). In contrast, in Peninsular Spanish the same morphological resource realises a feature in a two-term system also including [addressee: one plus/informal].

Appendix E

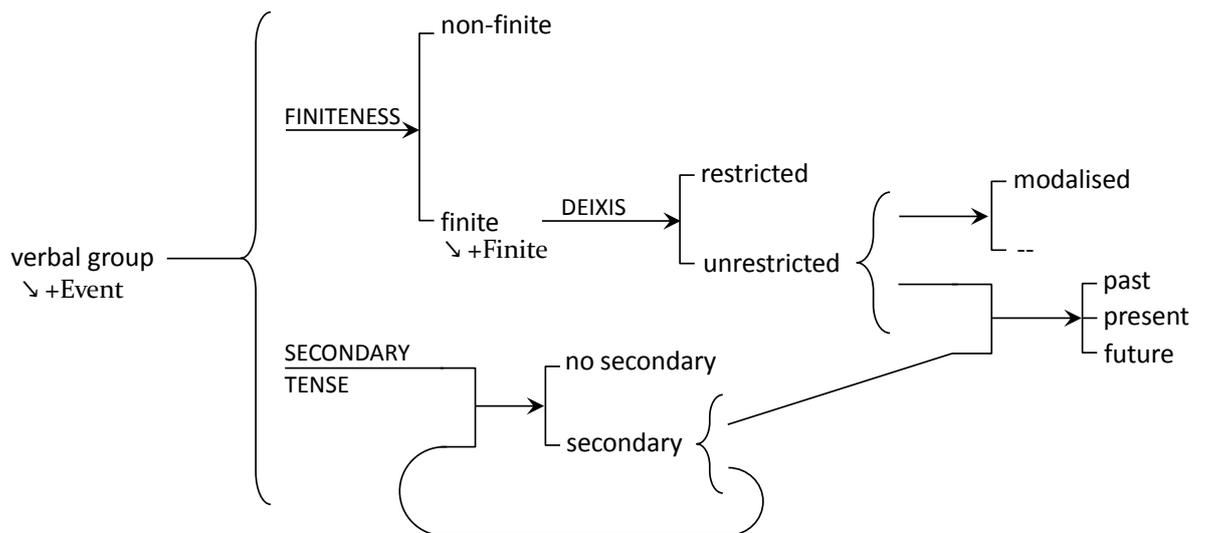
An SFL sketch of Spanish TENSE

E.1 General network for the Spanish verbal group



E.2 Univariate structure: TENSE in Spanish

As seen in Chapter 2, section 2.2.3, univariate structures relate to the logical component within the ideational metafunction. They are generated by iterative selections generating series of elements related by interdependency. Systemically, TENSE is one of such logical systems organising resources into recursive selections, as seen in the network below (see also Appendix C):



The network reads as follows: if [finite: unrestricted] is chosen, then a primary selection in tense needs to be made among [past] ('-'), [present] ('0') or [future] ('+'). if no secondary tense selections are made, that's the end, and [no secondary] is chosen. However, further selections can be made if [secondary] is chosen, leading to further selections in secondary [past], [present] and [future]. While in principle logical systems are open-ended, tense selections show different restrictions from language to language.

The structural output of logical systems is made up of chains of elements related by the iteration of one single variable, giving way to univariate structures – as opposed to multivariate structures, where each functional elements makes its own distinct contribution to the whole (see Chapter 2, section 3.2.3). In the present interpretation of the Spanish verbal group, both perspectives, multivariate and univariate, are required to understand the organisation of its internal structure. Thus, functional elements accounting for selections in POLARITY (Chapter 3, section 3.4.3), as well as NUCLEARITY and VOICE (Chapter 4, section 4.3.2), are better seen as part of the multivariate structure:

On the other hand, selections in TENSE concern the 'verbal' part of the verbal group, that is, everything except clitic elements and interpersonal markers. Since the nature of these selections is recursive, having as a result chain relations between verbs in structure, the univariate perspective is more productive. Both types of structures are represented in the example below:

– *Usted no me h-a dado un buen argumento*

You neg acc/ aux-2s/ give- a good argument
1s prs/ind prctp

n.gr	v.gr				n.gr
	Neg	P-cl	Fin	Event	
			$\alpha^0 \beta^- \gamma^{\text{dar}}$		
you	no you-have given me				a good argument

multivariate structure
univariate structure

‘You haven’t given me a good argument’

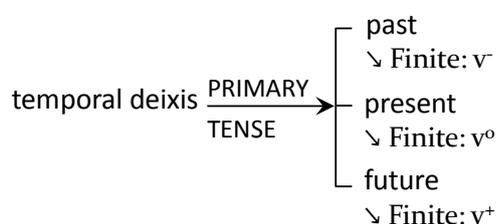
As seen in the above analysis, clitics realising P-cl and negative markers realising Neg are interpreted as outside serial dependencies. P-clitics, realised by accusative and dative pronominal elements, contribute more clearly to the orbital structure of the verbal group (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2.1). R-clitics and V-clitics account for elements imposing restrictions to the verbal group in terms of VOICE (See Chapter 4, section 4.3.2.2), and are thus better represented as multivariate functions. As for polarity markers, such as *no* and emphatic *sí*, these are also analysed as part of the verbal group, specifically, as realising multivariate functions. However, being an interpersonal resource, polarity markers can be better seen as elements more generally contributing to prosodic types of structure – rather than particulate (see Chapter 2 section 2.2.3.1; chapter 3, section 3.3.2).

In the example above, Greek letters represent the iteration of a basic dependency relation beginning from α and extending to β , γ , δ , ε , etc. From a systemic functional viewpoint, the univariate structure of the verbal group construes an ordering of a series of relations between TENSE selections, where superscripts represent the kind of selection at stake, i.e. [past], [present] or [future]. In the last point of the chain, the lexical selection is represented in superscript by the ‘dictionary form’ of the verb, *dar* (‘give’) in the diagram above.

Note that in the above example univariate functions do not relate directly to verbal group constituents, that is, they don’t establish a one-to-one relation to each of the verbs related in the chain, but rather with configurational forms.

In Chapter 3, section 3.4.1, it is suggested that the underlying system of FINITENESS generating the Finite function in structure is the one concerned with possibilities and restrictions on basic temporal contrasts. Within the verbal group, if [finite: unrestricted] is selected, the Finite function is the locus of **primary tense** selections, which in Spanish are realised by the verb inflection conflating

person(/number) and ‘verb mood’ contrasts (see Appendix D for verb MOOD). These three basic TENSE choices are seen as very general distinctions between ‘past’ (-), ‘present’ (0) and ‘future’ (+) and they are accounted for by the basic PRIMARY TENSE system represented in the network below (see also Appendix C)



The basic network above generates in structure all of the so-called ‘simple tenses’. But as seen earlier, further dependency relations may be brought about by selections in **recursive** systems, allowing the introduction of additional temporal relations. Additional selections in recursive systems generate linear dependencies in the univariate structure of the verbal group (Halliday, 1966/1976). Thus, for instance, further choices generate what is traditionally known as ‘compound tenses’⁴. Selections that have been described traditionally in terms of ‘temporal’ or ‘aspectual periphrases’, such as secondary future (*ir a* ^ infinitive) and secondary present (*estar* ^ participle) can be included in **secondary tense** choices, as proposed in Table E.1 below:

⁴ This general account of TENSE is restricted to unmarked indicative clauses, i.e. showing contrasts mainly through finite verbal groups selecting for ‘indicative verb mood’(see VERB MOOD TYPE network in Appendix D).

TENSE	example: <i>cantar</i> (‘to sing’)	forms selected	α	β	γ	δ
primary	<i>cant-a</i>	present (prs)	0			
	<i>cant-ó</i>	past perfect (pst)	-			
	<i>cant-aba</i>	past imperfect (pst.impf)	-			
	<i>cant-ará</i>	future (fut)	+			
secondary	<i>h-a cantado</i>	prs ^ haber...-do	0	-		
	<i>había cantado</i>	pst .impf ^ haber...-do	-	-		
	<i>habrá cantado</i>	fut ^ haber...-do	+	-		
	<i>est-á cantando</i>	prs ^ estar...-ndo	0	0		
	<i>est-uvo/estaba cantando</i>	pst ^ estar...-ndo	-	0		
	<i>est-ará cantando</i>	fut ^ estar...-ndo	+	0		
	<i>va a cantar</i>	prs ^ ir...-r	0	+		
	<i>ib-a a cantar</i>	pst impf ^ ir...-r	-	+		
tertiary	<i>h-a estado cantando</i>	prs^haber...-do^ estar...-ndo	0	-	0	
	<i>había estado cantando</i>	pst impf ^ haber...do^ estar...-ndo	-	-	0	
	<i>habrá estado cantando</i>	fut ^ haber...-do ^ estar...-ndo	+	-	0	
	<i>ib-a a haber cantando</i>	pst impf ^ ir...-r ^ haber ... -do	-	+	-	
	<i>ib-a a estar cantando</i>	pst impf ^ ir...-r ^ estar...-ndo	-	+	0	
quaternary	<i>v-a a haber estado cantando</i>	prs ^ ir...-r ^ haber...-do ^ estar...-ndo	0	+	-	0
	<i>ib-a a haber estado cantando</i>	pst.impf ^ir...-r^haber...-do^estar...-ndo	-	+	-	0

Table E.1 Realisations for recursive TENSE selections in Spanish

In Table E.1 above, secondary (i.e. non-primary) tense selections are named from right to left as follows: ‘+ –’ reads ‘past in future’ (pst-fut), ‘0 0’ reads ‘present in present’ (prs-prs), ‘+ – 0’ reads ‘present in past in future’ (prs-pst-fut), etc.

For Spanish, this serial interpretation of TENSE systems can be traced back to Bull (1960). His work has been further developed outside SFL by Rojo (1974, 1990), Rojo and Veiga (1999) and Veiga (2004). These authors have dealt with patterns within the verbal group in terms of their contribution to ‘mono-vectorial’ and ‘bi-vectorial’ temporal relations (e.g. primary and secondary tense selections, respectively). However, their analysis only covers tense selections traditionally recognised as such by reference grammars (i.e. ‘simple’ and ‘compound’), as opposed to ‘periphrastic’ verbal groups realising the so-called ‘periphrastic future’ and ‘durative (or ‘progressive’) aspect’. These ‘periphrastic’ forms are interpreted in this preliminary account as also contributing to temporal distinctions, based on their high frequency of occurrence in the temporal unfolding of events in texts. In some cases, these ‘periphrastic’ realisations ‘compete’ very closely with primary tense selections, as it is the case for ‘future in present’ in Chilean Spanish, which is the preferred choice for the construal of ‘future’

over its ‘morphological’ realisation (cf. Gouveia, 2010 for a similar pattern in European Portuguese).

Following Bello (1847), the above mentioned authors also interpret the well-known distinction between ‘simple past perfect’ (or ‘preterite’) and ‘simple past imperfect’ (‘co-preterite’) as a distinction between monovectorial (primary) and bivectorial (secondary) contrasts in [past]. While their analysis is quite suggestive, particularly in the grammatical evidence they find in clause complexes, the traditional distinction between ‘imperfect’ and ‘perfect’ is here kept under primary past. Further research on how this distinction works in simple clauses needs to be developed from a systemic functional perspective along the lines of Caffarel (1992)’s description for French.

Table E.2 below summarises the structural realisations for recursive TENSE selections in Spanish:

	primary tense		secondary tense	tertiary tense	quaternary tense
past	unified		∅	haber...-do β γ	--
	diversif.	perfect	-ó		
		imperfect	-aba		
present	--	-a	estar...-ndo β γ		δ
future	--	-ará	ir...-r	--	--

Table E.2 Summary of tense selections and realisations (primary selections based on third person singular)

Figure E.5 below summarises the present account of Spanish TENSE in the form of a ‘displayed network’ (Fawcett, 1988, p. 14ff):

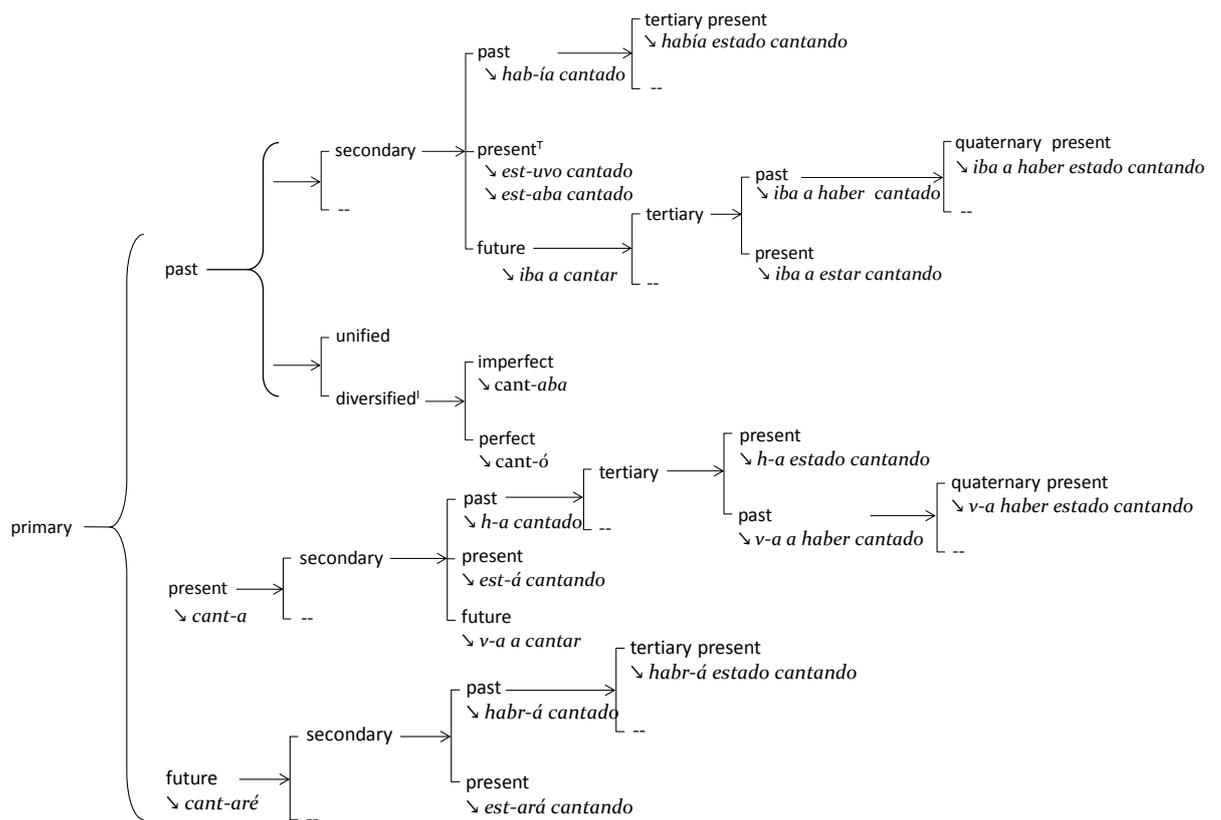


Figure E.1 ‘Displayed’ network for TENSE selections in Spanish (up to quaternary present)

The network shows an interpretation of the possibilities for Spanish secondary tense selections – alongside their restrictions –, including choices under primary past, primary present and primary future.

Appendix F

Submitted manuscript, published as

Quiroz, B. (2008). Towards a systemic profile of the Spanish MOOD. *Linguistics and the Human Sciences*, 4(1), 31-65 (2011).

Towards a systemic profile of the Spanish MOOD

1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to explore the MOOD system of the Spanish clause, as a region of interpersonal meaning within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (hereafter, SFL). Given the paradigmatic perspective privileged in SFL descriptions, the focus here is on the choices underlying the different lexicogrammatical structures used by Spanish speakers in verbal exchanges, in particular, the resources available for the exchange of information and goods and services in dialogue.

The variety addressed in this account is Chilean Spanish; the descriptive focus is on the (simple) clause and the (verbal) group. Key interpersonal features are first addressed from the perspective of discourse semantics, beginning with the exploration of the key negotiatory features of the organisation of the clause, and moving on to the realisation of ‘subjecthood’ and ‘finiteness’. Subsequently, a general MOOD system network is outlined, including discussion of the systemic contrasts motivating its features and their structural realisation. Finally, a number of issues emerging from this discussion are raised.

2 Some general considerations

Within the Indo-European linguistic family, Spanish belongs to the branch of Romance languages including modern French, Portuguese, Romanian, Catalan and Italian. As is well-known, all of these languages share their common origin in Latin, and thus inherit a number of morphological and grammatical features (Penny, 2002).

Traditional typological characterisations of Spanish adopt a ‘bottom-up’ syntagmatic perspective -- i.e. they focus on morphological features and on the expected ordering of elements in the clause. In terms of morphological organisation, Spanish has been classified as synthetic on the basis of its rich portmanteau morphology – as opposed to say English, which is considered analytic; however there has been an ongoing drift in Spanish from synthesis to analysis over time, when compared to Latin. As for the ordering of elements, Spanish is traditionally classified among SVO languages, in spite of the fact that this suggested sequence reveals only a general tendency in discourse, since the ordering of elements is also often described as rather ‘flexible’. Moreover, the ‘S’ element can be ‘explicit’ or ‘implicit’, with the verbal morphology taken as facilitating the recovery of an implicit ‘Subject’.

3 Typological considerations from a systemic functional perspective

SFL typological work privileges a ‘top-down’ approach to language description, taking as a point of departure the social functions that are enacted in the basic lexicogrammatical unit, the clause (Martin, 1983; Caffarel et al., 2004; Ghio and Fernández, 2008). The assumption in SFL typology is that any given language can be located in the multidimensional semiotic space defined by the theory, stressing both similarities and differences at higher levels of analysis (Caffarel et al., 2004). In the light of the typological work conducted up to the present, SFL argues the case for comprehensive descriptions which:

- i) are metafunctionally diversified, i.e. that cover simultaneously interpersonal, ideational and textual meaning-making resources;
- ii) are primarily located in the lexicogrammatical stratum, as the key level interfacing the ‘content’ and ‘expression’ planes in language;

- iii) explore the realisation of lexicogrammatical meanings along the rank scale moving from the clause, to the group/phrase, to the word (or to the morpheme, as required);
- iv) take the clause as the point of origin of systemic lexicogrammatical description;
- v) interpret meaning-making choices at the clause as *features* organised in systems (and subsystems), specifying their structural output;
- vi) are data-oriented, so that the description of the overall system is grounded on the resources found in naturally occurring instances (or texts), in comparable registers.

SFL typological work in different languages has suggested important descriptive generalizations in terms of cross-linguistic convergence and divergence. Languages appear to share the property of metafunctional diversification of meaning in interpersonal, ideational and textual lexicogrammatical systems. However, while primary choices within each of these systems tend to be similar, their structural realisations show significant variation. For example, the structural realisation of interpersonal, ideational or textual meanings within the relevant systems can be located at different points along the rank scale (i.e. clause, group or word). It also appears that more specific or delicate choices within systems show significant differences across languages (Matthiessen, 2004).

3.1 Description of lexicogrammatical systems in Romance languages

Up to the present, research focusing on lexicogrammatical systems in Romance languages includes a comprehensive account of French (Caffarel, 1992, 2004, 2006), as well as the exploration of specific lexicogrammatical systems in Portuguese (the THEME system, in Gouveia and Barbara, 2001; the MOOD system, in Gouveia, forthcoming, and Figueredo, forthcoming).

As for research specifically addressing Spanish lexicogrammatical systems, this is more recent and still shows limitations in scope. Studies available include a comprehensive description of Peninsular Spanish, mainly oriented to contrastive applications with English (Arús, 2003, 2006, 2010; Arús and Lavid, 2001, Lavid and Arús, 2004; Lavid, Arús and Zamorano, forthcoming). Other approaches based on Latin American varieties of Spanish have focused on the exploration of textual systems from a discourse-semantic perspective, mostly in written academic registers (Moyano, forthcoming; Ghio and Fernandez, forthcoming).

In general, previous accounts of Spanish lexicogrammatical patterns in systemic functional terms are heterogeneous in terms of their degree of comprehensiveness and the extent to which they are oriented to discourse semantics patterns. Most importantly, a fundamental systemic orientation to the description of lexicogrammatical resources, to the extent suggested by descriptive work in English and other Romance languages (Martin, 1983, 1996, 2004; Caffarel, 2004; 2006) remains in early stages of development.

4 Interpersonal grammar ‘from above’

The preliminary description presented here is part of a broader study that addresses the three most general Spanish lexicogrammatical systems, interpersonal, ideational and textual, favouring the exploration of lexicogrammatical meanings ‘from

above', i.e. from the stratum of discourse semantics. As pointed out within SFL typological work (Martin, 1983; Caffarel et al, 2004), the study of the lexicogrammar of a given language from a discourse semantic perspective mitigates against the imposition of the functional description developed for English on the functional organisation of other languages. Thus, following this general approach, this paper focuses in particular on the key lexicogrammatical resources for the negotiation of meanings in dialogue as realised in the basic Spanish MOOD system.

4.1 Choices in verbal exchanges

Traditionally, grammatical descriptions of Spanish have obscured the resources used by speakers for the enacting of social roles and the negotiation of meanings *in dialogue*. This is particularly true in relation to the study of language use in day-to-day social contexts and spoken modes, which until recently were not taken seriously in traditional grammatical descriptive work. But this is in fact the context in which the exploration of interpersonal meanings in general, and the MOOD system in particular, are especially relevant, since they are crucial to understand not only the specific interpersonal choices made by Spanish native speakers but also their specific realisation in verbal exchanges.

An initial important consideration regarding interpersonal systems is, accordingly, the assumption that such systems at clause rank realise interpersonal choices made by speakers in discourse, which is modelled at higher levels of abstraction (Halliday, 1978). One starting point for the description of interpersonal systems is therefore the exploration of resources for the exchange of goods-and-services, proposals, and the exchange of information, propositions (Halliday, 1984, 1985/1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, Martin, 1992). At the discourse semantic stratum, this distinction has been formalised in the form of the SPEECH FUNCTION system, whose main variables are presented below:

Table 1. Fundamental systemic variables in systems of speech function

	information	goods & services
giving	statement	offer
demanding	question	command

The variables shown in Table 1 show the potential available to speakers for the negotiation of roles (giving and demanding) and commodities (information and goods and services) at the discourse semantic stratum. Halliday (1984) proposes an interstratal relation between these choices and their congruent realisation in lexicogrammar. Specifically, the general assumption is that each speech function variable is congruently realised, in lexicogrammar, by specific MOOD choices:

Table 2. Speech function variables and their congruent realisations in lexicogrammar

	information	goods & services
giving	statement:	offer:

	declarative	(various)
demanding	question:	command:
	interrogative	imperative

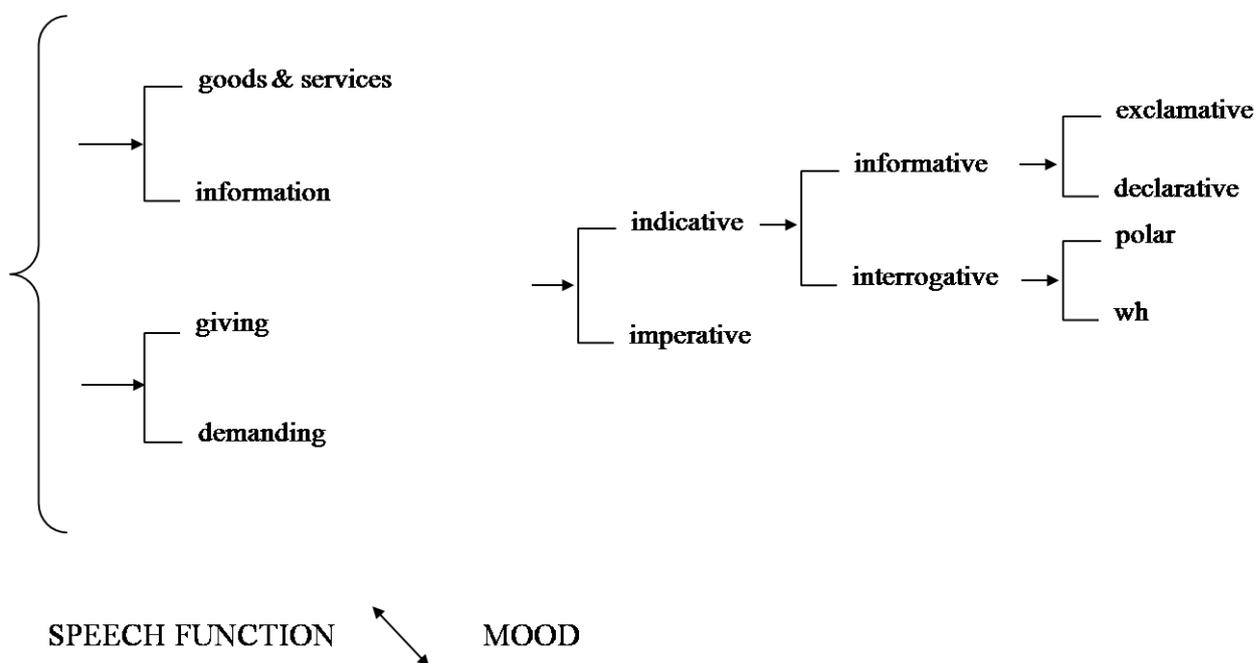


Figure 1. Interstratal relation between SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD systems

This close relation between the general system of SPEECH FUNCTION and the primary system of MOOD is supported by data from a number of languages other than English, suggesting that the way in which these interpersonal discourse semantic choices are realised in the clause tend to be similar (Teruya et al., 2007; Matthiessen, 2008). Thus, propositions for the exchange of information are congruently realised in the MOOD system by indicative clauses (including declarative and interrogative clauses), whereas proposals for the exchange of goods-and-services are congruently realised by imperative clauses (Martin, 1990; Rose, 2001; Caffarel, 2006; Teruya et al. 2007; Matthiessen et al., 2008).

Martin (1992) extends this speech function perspective on the interpersonal organisation of discourse semantics and its relation to lexicogrammar in his exploration of the system of NEGOTIATION, a rank above the SPEECH FUNCTION system. He points to the interplay between the structure of exchanges in English and the lexicogrammatical resources used in their resolution. In this analysis, the English Mood element stands out as the key structure for the dynamic negotiation of interpersonal meanings in exchanges: it realises, through the Subject function, the modal responsibility assigned – and dynamically negotiated – for the enactment of propositions and proposals; at the same time, it allows interlocutors, through the Finite function, to adjust POLARITY, MODALITY and TENSE. In Martin’s interpretation, interlocutors centre the meanings ‘at risk’ in the Mood element, a process that is primarily aimed at efficiently resolving verbal exchanges:

	SUBJECT	FINITE
[replay Mood]		
if I argue with you,	I	do
I must take up a contrary position	I	must
– Yes	(you)	(must)
[adjust POLARITY]		
This isn't an argument.	This	isn't
– Yes it is!	it	is
– No it isn't	it	isn't
[adjust MODALITY]		
– Well, an argument isn't just contradiction.	arg.	isn't
– It can be.	it	can
– No it can't	it	can't
[substitute Subject]		
– You were the last one to use it yesterday	you	were
– No I wasn't.	I	wasn't
Andrew was.	Andrew	was
[substitute part of Residue]		
– I came here for a good argument.	I	(did)
– No you didn't.	you	didn't
You came here for an argument.	you	(did)
[replace proposition]		
You came here for an argument	you	(did)
– Well an argument isn't just contradiction.	argument	isn't

Figure 2. Meanings at risk in English negotiation (from Martin, 1992: 464-5).

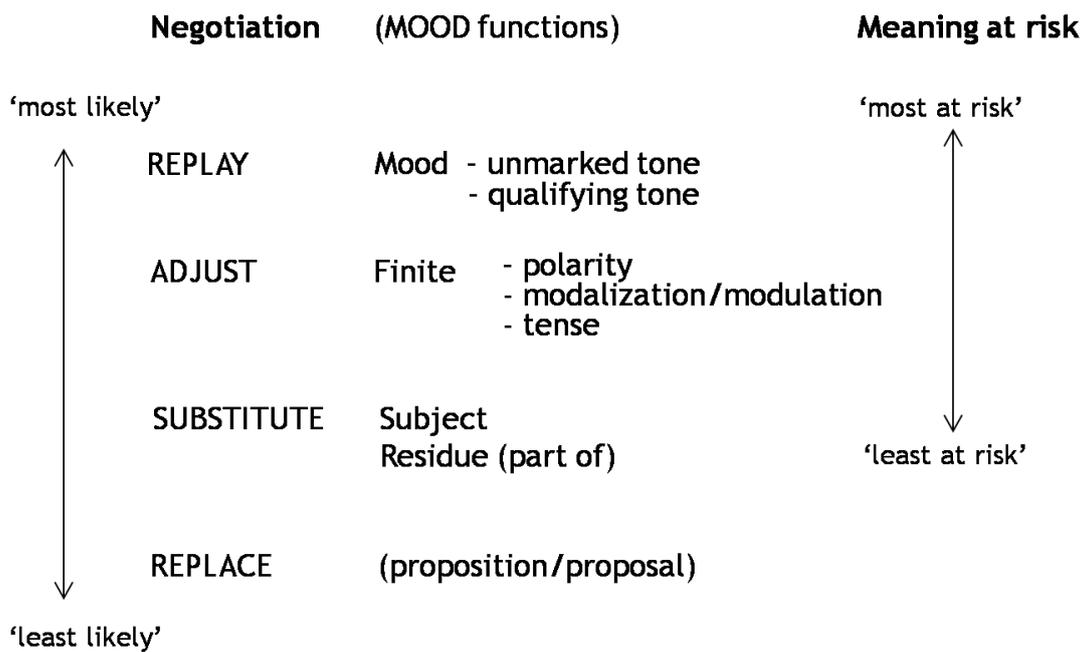


Figure 3. Negotiation, risk and Subject selection in English (from Martin, 1992:464)

As seen in Figure 2, the structure of a Mood element in English turns out to be crucial for a better understanding of the resources used by native speakers in the dynamic dialogic negotiation of meanings. Figure 3 shows what are, among the potential available to speakers, those meanings most ‘at risk’ in verbal exchanges in English: the meanings centred in the Mood element, where the Subject function realises the ‘nub’ of the negotiation, i.e. the person held modal responsible for the proposal or proposition, whereas the Finite realises the ‘terms’ of the negotiation, i.e. key interpersonal meanings grounding the clause in terms of ‘temporality’, ‘modality’ and ‘polarity’.

The resources used in the dialogic negotiation of meanings arguably differ and are organised differently in languages other than English. In fact, drawing on samples from a number of languages, Teruya et al. (2007) propose a cross-linguistic exploration of the basic interpersonal structure and suggest a cline in which some Romance languages, as French and Spanish, would be located half-way:

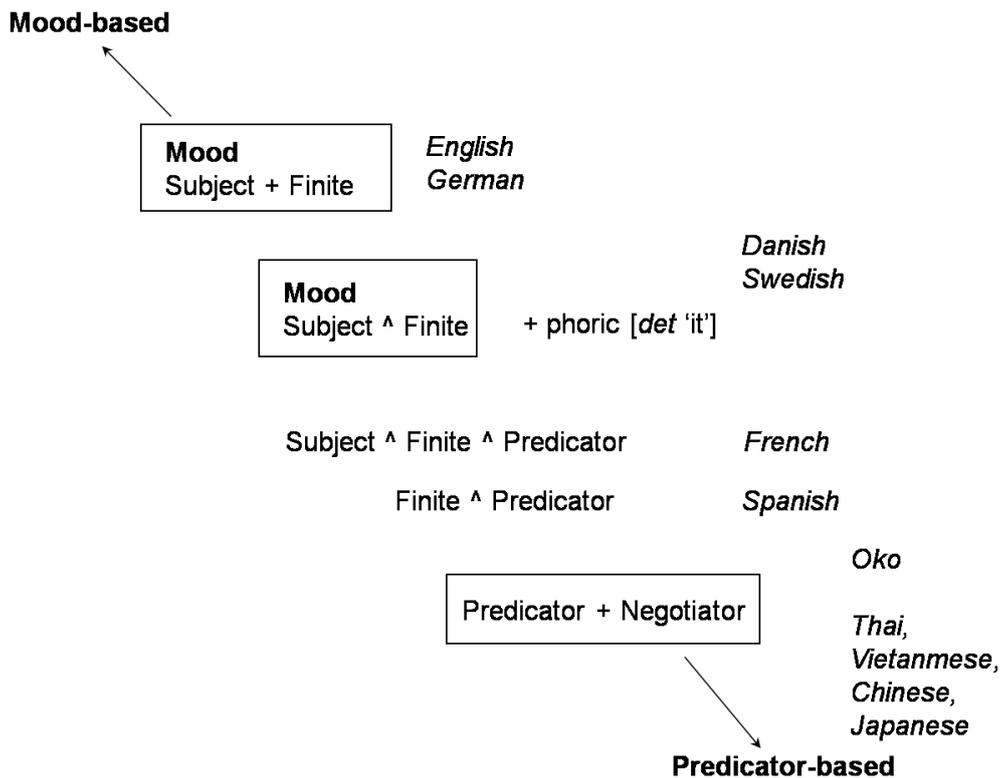


Figure 4. Cross-linguistic exploration of the basic interpersonal structure (Teruya et al, 2007)

In the cline proposed, languages which tend to negotiate mostly by means of two distinct and interdependent Subject and Finite structural functions, like English, are located near the ‘Mood element-based’ pole, whereas languages which tend to negotiate by means of the Predicator realised by the verbal group are located near the ‘Predicator-based’ pole. As seen in Figure 4 above, Teruya et al locate Spanish towards the lower section of the cline.

Specific research on other Romance languages within the SFL framework, in particular, the work conducted on French by Caffarel (2006), has suggested an interesting concept that can be used for a better understanding of the specific way in which these languages organise central interpersonal meanings. In her approach to the French interpersonal systems at clause rank, Caffarel postulates the **Negotiator** as the key structural element for the negotiation of proposals and propositions. This function, analogous to the English ‘Mood element’, is realised in particular ways in the French clause, but also in other Romance languages, as work conducted in Portuguese has shown (Gouveia, forthcoming). In her interpretation of the negotiatory resources in the clause, the Predicator, realised by the verbal group, plays a crucial interpersonal role.

Indeed, this exploration of French addressing its basic negotiatory structure includes the Predicator in the definition of the negotiability or ‘arguability’ of the clause. This is the reason why the Predicator is grouped along the Subject and Finite functions within the Negotiator, and not in the Remainder (which, on the other hand, groups Complements and Adjuncts at clause rank¹). This contrasts with the interpersonal description of the English clause, where the Predicator is part of the Residue, the

interpersonal element which does not play any central interpersonal role in the exchange (Halliday 1985, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Martin, 1992):

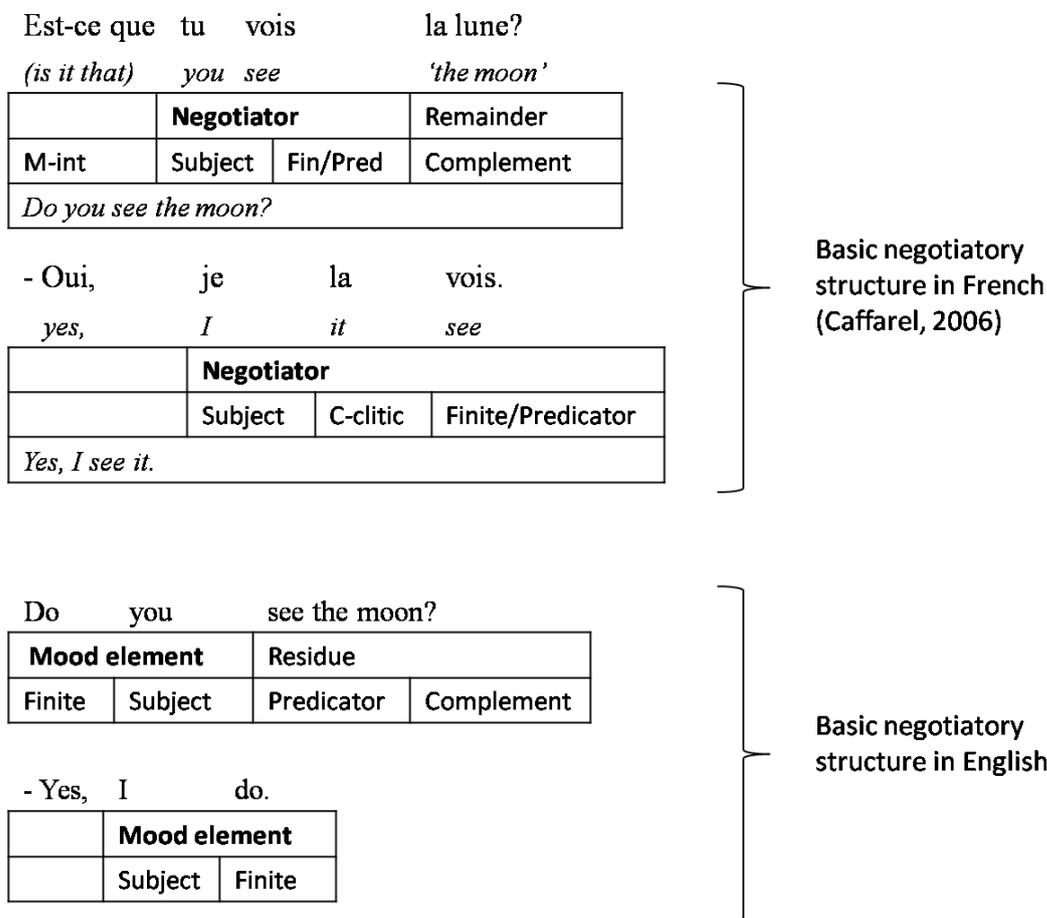


Figure 5. Basic negotiatory structures in French and English

As discussed by Caffarel (2006: 121 ff), the resolution of dialogue in French involves the replay of this basic negotiatory structure consisting of Subject, Finite and Predicator functions. This structure may include clitics -- particles which index recoverable and given entities and that are thus included in the negotiation within the domain of the verbal group realising the Finite/Predicator function. In addition, these key interpersonal functions at clause rank, within the Negotiator, are crucial for the realisation of MOOD selections in lexicogrammar (Caffarel, 2004, 2006).

This generalisation assigning a major interpersonal role to the verbal group within the basic negotiatory structure of the clause can be applied to Spanish. Example 1 below shows a Spanish translation for the Monthly Python sketch analysed by Martin (1992: 464--465), currently available in YouTubeⁱⁱ (English back translation below each clause):

Example 1. Spanish version of Monthly Python's argument sketch

A1	¡oiga! ESTO <u>no es</u> una discusión this not be an argument PRS/IND 3ps
----	---

	'hey! THIS <u>isn't</u> an argument'
B1	sí <u>lo es</u> yes it be ACC PRS/IND 3ps 3ps 'yes (it) is that'
A2	<u>son</u> solo contradicciones be only contradictions PRS/IND 3pp '(they) are only contradictions'
B2	no <u>lo son</u> not it be ACC PRS/IND 3ps 3pp '(they) are not that'
A3	sí <u>son</u> yes be PRS/IND 3pp 'yes (they) are'
B3	no <u>lo son</u> not it be ACC PRS/IND 3ps 3pp '(they) are not that'
A4	¡ <u>lo son!</u> it be ACC PRST/IND 3ps 3pp '(they) are that!' ¡ <u>me acaba de contradecir!</u> me finish contradict ACC PRS/IND INF 1ps 2ps '(you) just contradicted me!'
B4	no <u>lo he hecho</u> not it do ACC PST-PRS/IND 3ps 1ps '(I) haven't done it'
A5	¡ <u>lo hizo!</u> it do ACC PST/IND 3ps 2ps '(you) did it'
B5	no no no no no
A6	<u>lo acaba de hacer</u> de nuevo it finish do again ACC PRS/IND INF 3ps 2ps '(you) just did it again'
B6	no no, <u>son</u> TONTERÍAS be stupid things PRS/IND 3pp 'no no, <u>it is nonsense</u> '
A7	ESTO <u>es</u> basura this be rubbish

	<p>PRS/IND 3ps '<u>this is rubbish</u>'</p>
B7	<p><u>no lo es</u> not it be ACC PRS/IND 3ps 3ps '(it) is not that'</p>
A8	<p>entonces <u>deme</u> un buen argumento then give-me a good argument PRS/SUBJ-DAT 2ps 1ps 'then (you) give me a good argument'</p>
B8	<p>USTED <u>no me ha dado</u> un buen argumento you not me give a good argument PRON DAT PST.P/IND 1ps 2ps 'you (you) haven't given me a good argument'</p>
A9	<p>DISCUTIR Y CONTRADECIR <u>no es</u> lo mismo argue and contradict not be the same INF INF PRS/IND 3ps 'TO ARGUE AND TO CONTRADICT (it) is not the same'</p>
B9	<p><u>puede ser</u> may/can be MD/PRS/IND INF 3ps '(it) can be'</p>
A10	<p>¡no, <u>no puede!</u> no, not can PRS/IND 3ps 'no, (it) can not!'</p> <p>DISCUTIR <u>es</u> dar argue be give INF PRS/IND INF 3ps 'to argue (it) is to give</p> <p>una serie de opiniones a series of opinions</p> <p>para llegar a una opinión común for arrive to a opinion common INF to reach a common opinion'</p>
B10	<p><u>no lo es</u> not it be ACC PRS/IND 3ps 3ps 'it is not that'</p>
A11	<p><u>sí lo es</u> yes it be ACC PRS/IND 3ps 3ps 'yes (it) is that'</p> <p><u>no es</u> nada más contradecir not be nothing more contradict PRS/IND INF</p>

	3ps '(it) is not just to contradict'
B11	<u>mire</u> look PRS/SUBJ 2ps '(you) look' si <u>discuto</u> con usted if argue with you PRS/IND PRON 1ps 2ps 'if (I) argue with you' <u>tengo que tomar</u> la [posición] contraria have that take the position contrary MD/PRS/IND INF 1ps '(I) have to take up the contrary position'
A12	pero <u>no es</u> solo decir "que no" but not be only say that not PRS/IND INF 3ps 'but (it) is not only to say 'that not''
B12	que sí that yes
A13	que no that not
B13	LA DISCUSIÓN <u>es</u> un proceso intelectual the argument be a process intelectual PRS/3ps 'AN ARGUMENT (it) is an intellectual process' CONTRADECIR <u>es</u> solo decir lo contrario contradict be only say the contrary INF PRS/IND INF 'TO CONTRADICT it is just to say the opposite'
A14	<u>no lo es</u> not it be ACC PRS/IND 3ps 3ps '(it) is not that'
B14	sí <u>lo es</u> yes it be ACC PRS/IND 3ps 3ps 'yes (it) is that'
A15	ahora mire... 'now look...'

The example above shows that the translator chose to replay interpersonal meanings including PERSON, TENSE, MODALITY and POLARITY mainly through the use of pro-verbs. The meanings at risk are centred in the verbal group, including polarity markers and clitics. Clitics allow the inclusion of more than one participant into the negotiation -- in other words, they specify the person and number of participants different from the one indexed in the verbal morphology realising modal responsibility. While in these subtitles meanings are replayed and adjusted by means of pro-verbs, in

Spanish dialogue is also possible to replay the full Process, as shown in Example 2 below:

Example 2. Replaying the Negotiator in Spanish dialogue

7'	<u>¡me acaba de contradecir!</u> me finish contradict ACC PRS/IND INF 1ps 2ps	<u>(you) just contradicted me!</u>
8'	<u>no lo he contradicho</u> not you contradicted ACC PST-PRS/IND 3ps 1ps	<u>(I) haven't contradicted you</u>
9'	<u>¡sí me contradijo!</u> yes me contradict ACC PST/IND 3ps 2ps	<u>(you) did contradicted me</u>
10'	no no no no no	no no no no no

The examples above indicate that in Spanish dialogue:

- (i) the 'nub' of the negotiation, including the participant modal responsible for the proposition, is mostly replayed by means of the verbal affixation coding PERSON at word rank. This 'nub', however, may involve other 'secondary' participants realised by clitics (accusative and/or dative) at group rank;
- (ii) the 'terms' of the negotiation, i.e., meanings grounding the clause in terms of 'temporality', 'modality' and 'polarity', are mainly replayed, again, through the verbal morphology, in which they are realised conflated along with the 'nub'. In other words, in Spanish dialogue the 'nub' and 'terms' of the negotiation, e.i., the meanings most at risk, are centered in the verbal group itself.

The following extracts taken from a service encounter on the phone (cable tv technical supportⁱⁱⁱ) illustrate how these basic components realised by the verbal group are also crucial for the congruent realisation of SPEECH FUNCTIONS selections in lexicogrammar (in the Spanish original, verbal groups appear underlined and the verbal morphology in bold face):

C5	<u>no cambia</u> los canales 'not' 'it changes' 'the channels' PRS/IND 3rd sing	<u>(it does)n't change</u> the channels STATEMENT (indicative, negative)
A5	¿ <u>no cambia</u> los canales el control remoto? 'not' 'it changes' 'the channels' 'the remote control?' PSR/IND 3rd sing	<u>(it does)n't change</u> the channels THE REMOTE CONTROL? <i>[is it the remote control that won't change the channels?]</i> QUESTION (polar interrogative)
C6	no	no <i>[right]</i>

A15	¿ <u>canceló</u> el día de ayer? 'you pay' 'the day of yesterday' PST/IND 2nd sing	<u>(did you) pay</u> the day of yesterday? QUESTION (polar interrogative)
C15	correcto	correct
A16	¿a qué hora [<u>canceló</u>]? 'at what hour' 'you pay' PST/IND 2nd sing	at what time [<u>(did you) pay</u>]? QUESTION (non-polar interrogative)
C16	doce cincuenta y cuatro minutos con doce segundos	twelve fifty four minutes with twelve seconds

*KEY:

verbal groups underlined; verbal morphology in bold face

PST 'present tense'; IND 'indicative verbal mood', 3rd sing 'third person singular', etc.

Figure 6. Extract from dialogue 1: the realisation of statements and questions in Spanish

Figure 6 shows the congruent realisation of a STATEMENT, by means of an indicative clause (C5) as well as the congruent realisation of QUESTIONS by means of polar and non-polar interrogative clauses (A5, A15, A16). The participants held modal responsible for the propositions involved are realised solely by the verbal morphology coding 'person'. The contrast between the congruent realisation of STATEMENTS and QUESTIONS does not involve the sequencing of elements, but only intonational patterns and the presence or absence of an interrogative element (see systemic considerations below).

As for the realisation on COMMANDS, the following pattern can be observed in an extract from a second dialogue from the same type of service encounter. In it, the interlocutor talks on the phone with someone else at home (whose interventions cannot be heard) in order to give them instructions:

	hija	daughter
	<u>necesito</u> que <u>prenda</u> los dos deco 'need' 'that' 'turn on' 'the two decos' PRS/IND PRS/SUBJ 1st sing 2nd sing/formal	(I) <u>need</u> that (you) <u>turn on</u> the two decos COMMAND: non-congruent, indicative clause
	el de la pieza de mi ma	the one in my mom's bedroom
	<u>necesito</u> que <u>prenda</u> s los dos deco 'need' 'that' 'turn on' 'the two decos' PRS/IND PRS/SUBJ 1st sing 2nd sing/non-formal	(I) <u>need</u> that (you) <u>turn on</u> the two decos COMMAND: non-congruent, indicative clause
	<u>prende</u> el cable 'turn on' 'the cable' IMP (2nd sing)	(you) <u>turn on</u> the cable [tv] COMMAND: congruent, imperative clause
	sí los dos	yes the two of them
	tanto el de arriba como el de la pieza mía	both the one upstairs and the one in my bedroom
	sí, los dos	yes, both
	<u>prende</u> la tele y todo 'turn on' 'the telly and all' IMP	(you) <u>turn on</u> the telly and all COMMAND: congruent, imperative clause
	ya, chao	ok, bye

***KEY:**

verbal groups underlined; verbal morphology in bold face

PST 'present tense'; IND 'indicative verbal mood', 3rd sing 'third person singular', etc.

Figure 7. Extract from dialogue 2: the realisation of commands in Spanish

This extract shows a series of commands whose realisation ranges from 'non-congruent', by means of indicative clauses, to 'congruent', by means of imperative clauses. In them, the verbal morphology realises simultaneously both the modal responsibility assigned to a singular addressee (e.g. '2nd person singular-non-formal' morphology) and a specific 'verbal mood' at word rank (e.g. 'imperative verbal mood')^{iv}. Again, as seen in previous examples, crucial interpersonal meanings are centered in the verbal group, involving the use of a specific range of verbal morphology at word rank for the realisation of COMMANDS (see detailed systemic considerations below). What is important to highlight at this point is that the presence of a structural Subject and/or Finite is not decisive for the realisation of SPEECH FUNCTION choices in lexicogrammar: modal responsibility for *both* propositions and proposals is realised by the verbal affixation coding 'person', along with other important interpersonal distinctions realised conflated in the verbal morphology.^v

These short extracts show that both the 'nub', i.e. the modally responsible person, and the 'terms' of the negotiation are realised in Spanish lexicogrammar within the domain of the verbal group, and not by a function grouping a structural Subject and Finite as in English (and French). In other words, from the perspective of discourse semantics, these clause functions are not required within the basic structure of the Negotiator:

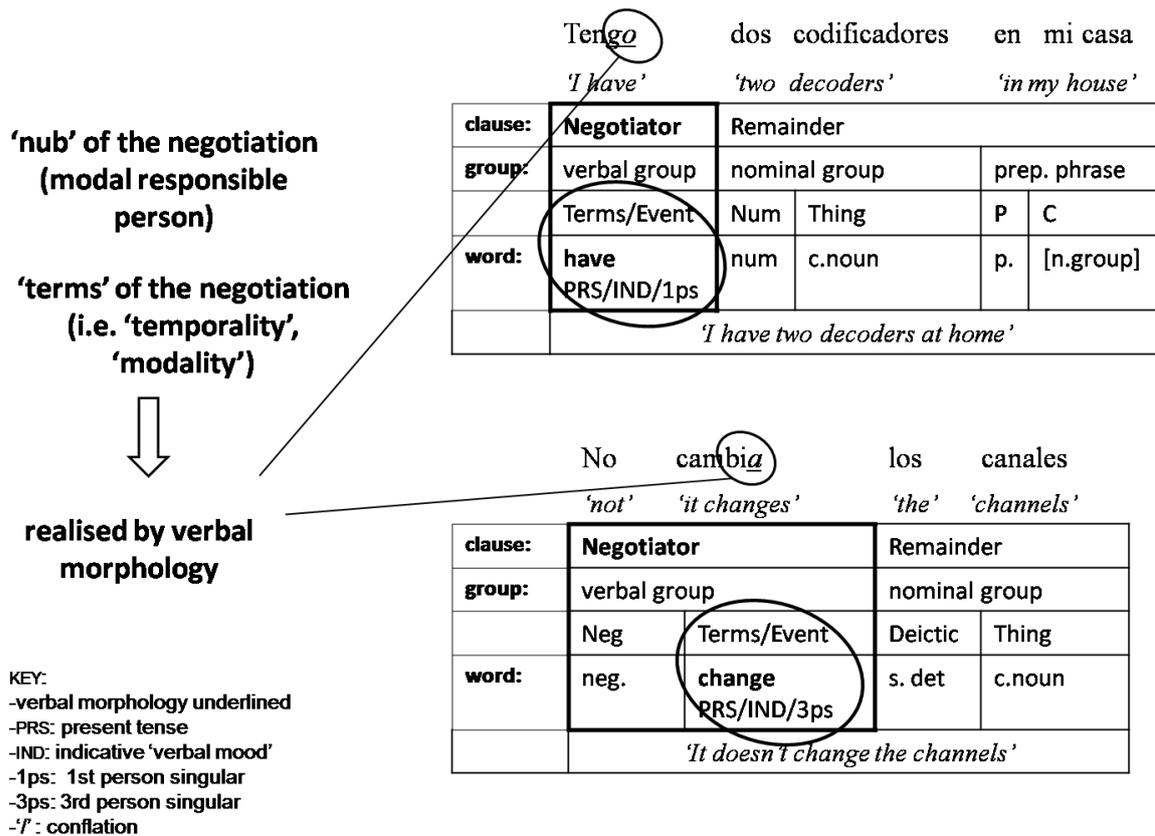


Figure 8a. Basic structure of the Negotiator in Spanish

The analysis in Figure 8a shows the basic interpersonal structure of the Spanish clause, in which the Negotiator is realised by the verbal group, which may include the negative polarity marker 'no' leading the sequence. The relevant functions that make the Spanish clause arguable are realised at group rank (here labelled Neg and Terms). However, like French, other participants can be included into the Negotiator in the form of accusative and/or dative clitics (Clitic), as illustrated by Figure 7b below:

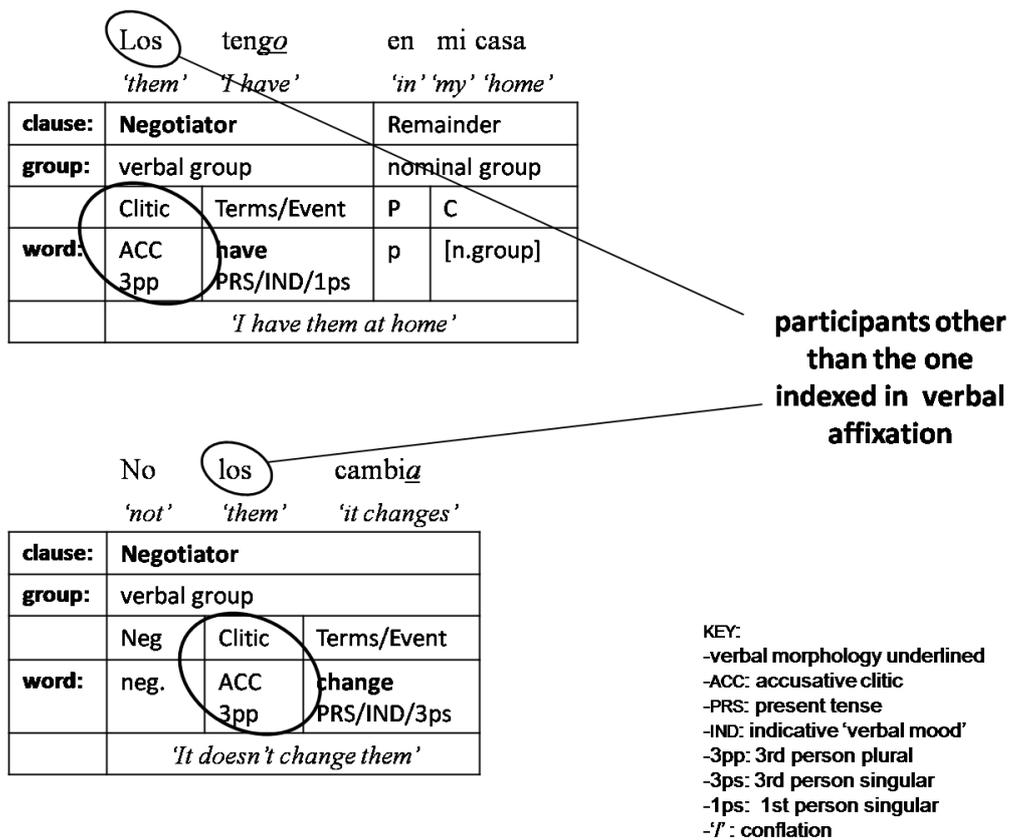


Figure 8b. Basic structure of the Negotiator in Spanish, with clitics

Unlike French and Portuguese (Caffarel, 2006; Gouveia, forthcoming), a structural Subject is not proposed here as part of the Negotiator^{vi}, nor discrete a Finite, since in strict interpersonal terms there are no such functions at clause rank defining the arguability of the clause. Thus, in this interpretation of the basic Spanish negotiatory structure, both the 'nub' and the 'terms' -- in other words, both 'subjecthood' and 'finiteness' -- are realised within the domain of the verbal group alone. 'Subjecthood' is not interpreted here in relation to the nominal group controlling agreement with verbal morphology (the so-called 'explicit subject', in traditional terms); in contrast, this structural element is assumed to realise meanings in other metafunctions, a claim consistent with evidence showing that its presence in spoken Spanish is rather associated with the tracking of participants in discourse or with textual considerations (including what is labelled in other non-SFL functional research as resources for 'topicalization', 'focus', 'switch reference' and 'discourse reference'; see Silva-Corvalán, 2003; Bentivoglio, 2003; Cameron and Flores-Ferrán, 2003; Comajoan, 2006; Amaral and Schwenter, 2005). In systemic functional terms, such a nominal group is not realising a meaning that is interpersonal in nature.

As for the 'terms' of the negotiation, i.e. other key interpersonal meanings replayed and adjusted, including 'temporality', 'modality' and 'polarity', their realisation by a separate Finite element is unmotivated in Spanish, since it is not possible to single out such a distinct function at clause rank^{vii}. It seems more appropriate to consider that 'finiteness' is realised by the verbal group realising the Negotiator as whole, even in complex tenses, as shown in Figure 7c below:

Los he tenido en mi casa
 'them' 'I have' 'had' 'in' 'my' 'home'

clause:	Negotiator			Remainder	
group:	verbal group			nominal group	
	Clitic	Terms	Event	P	C
word:	ACC 3pp	have PRS/IND/1ps	have PRTCP	p	[n.group]
	<i>'I have had them at home'</i>				

'nub' of the negotiation
 (modal responsible
 person)

'terms' of the negotiation
 (i.e. 'temporality',
 'modality')



realised by morphology
 (of first verb in sequence)

No los ha cambiado
 'not' 'them' 'it has' 'changed'

clause:	Negotiator			
group:	verbal group			
	Neg	Clitic	Terms	Event
word:	neg.	ACC 3pp	have PRS/IND/3ps	change PRTCP
	<i>'It hasn't changed them'</i>			

Figure 8c. Basic structure of the Negotiator in Spanish, complex tense

Unlike French (Caffarel, 2006), no interpolation (eg. by negative or modality markers) can be used to recognise a Finite function:

	je	ne	le	lui	ai	probablement	pas	donné
<i>I</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>probably</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>given</i>	
Subject	A-neg			Finite	A-mod	A-neg	Predicator	
Negotiator								
<i>I probably didn't give it to him.</i>								

French
(Caffarel, 2006)

	no	se	lo	he	dado	probablemente
<i>not</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>given</i>	<i>probably</i>	
Neg	Clitic		Terms	Event	M. Adjunct	
Negotiator					Remainder	
<i>I probably haven't given it to him.</i>						

Spanish

	probablemente	no	se	lo	he	dado
<i>probably</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>given</i>	
	Neg	Clitic		Terms	Event	
	Negotiator					
<i>I probably haven't given it to him.</i>						

Figure 9. Modal and Polarity Adjuncts in French and Spanish

Figure 9 above shows that the Modal Adjunct ‘probablemente’ (‘probably’) can either precede or follow the verbal group (and, in this case, it is analysed as part of the Remainder, unlike French), whereas the negative marker ‘no’, considered part of the verbal group, always precedes the first element in sequence (e.g. clitics or inflected verb). Thus, the following clauses in which a discrete Finite would be separated from a Predicator are either rarely found in highly spontaneous language, as in (1), or are completely ungrammatical^{viii}, as in (2) and (3):

‘I probably haven’t given it to him’

- (1) no se lo he probablemente dado (RARE)
not him it have probably given
- (2) * se lo he no dado
him it have not given
- (3) * se lo he probablemente no dado
him it have probably not given

Extending this argument, it is also important to note that in dialogue the main element replayed is the Negotiator realised by the whole verbal group, and not just the element realising primary tense^{ix}; this again implies that a separate Finite element cannot be picked up independently from the verbal group involved, for example, in the response to a confirmation question:

- (4) ¿No cambia los canales?
 not it-change the channels
 'doesn't it change the channels?'
 -No (los cambia)
 no (them it-change)
 'No (it doesn't change them)'
- (5) ¿Has prendido el cable?
 you-have turned on the cable
 'have you turned on the cable?'
 -Sí (lo he prendido)
 yes it I-have turned on
 'Yes (I have turned it on)'

In addition, what can be considered analogous to 'tags' in English does not argue for the presence of a Finite function in Spanish, since they involve particles realising polarity, but not replaying other dimensions of the terms of the argument (i.e. modality or tense):

- (6) Me contradijo, ¿cierto? / ¿verdad? / ¿no es así? / ¿no?, etc
 'You contradicted me, right? / true? / isn't that so? / ¿not?', etc

Finally, unlike English and, to some extent, French, the sequencing of elements cannot be used to motivate a Finite function: in Spanish, the feature [indicative: interrogative: polar] involve intonation alone; whereas the realisation of non-polar interrogatives is achieved through the presence of an interrogative element (see systemic considerations below).

The interpretation of the Spanish clause offered here suggests that key interpersonal meanings at stake in Spanish are centred in the Negotiator realised by the verbal group, and not in a 'Subject+Finite' structure (or Mood element) as for English (Martin, 1992). This implies that in Spanish both 'subjecthood' and 'finiteness' are realised by the verbal group, within which the verbal morphology significantly contributes, at word rank, to the distinction between the 'nub' and the 'terms' of the negotiation.

Therefore, the SFL approach 'from above' introduced so far has a number of consequences when the interpersonal organisation of the Spanish clause is compared with the interpersonal grammar of English (Halliday, 1985, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004):

- i) 'subjecthood' in English has been characterised 'from above' in relation with the element held responsible for the proposition or the proposal. In Spanish, a structural Subject function is immaterial to the realisation of modal responsibility, which is realised by the verbal morphology indicating 'person' and 'number'. The extracts from dialogue analysed demonstrate that the verbal

morphology signals by itself the person modally responsible for the proposition, i.e., the speaker, the addressee or a non-interactant; the same is generally applied to the realisation of proposals, unlike English (see below choices under [imperative]).

- ii) in general, ‘finiteness’ is associated in SFL descriptions with the arguability of the proposition (Halliday, 1985, 1994). Seen in this light, arguability is realised in English by a discrete Finite function, which can be singled out through a number of ‘probes’ as the structural element coding ‘temporality’, ‘modality’ and ‘polarity’ at clause rank. In the exploration of Spanish, there is no evidence demonstrating that such a discrete structural Finite function is used at clause rank to ground the clause in terms of ‘temporality’, ‘modality’ and ‘polarity’; in fact, it seems more appropriate to claim these key interpersonal meanings are realised within the Negotiator through selections made at group and word rank^x.

In sum, it is suggested that the Spanish Negotiator, primarily realised by the verbal group, is the function at clause rank encoding the key interpersonal meanings at stake in verbal exchanges. In particular, both ‘subjecthood’ (defined in terms of modal responsibility) and ‘finiteness’ (defined in terms of the meanings grounding the clause) are realised simultaneously within the domain of the verbal group as a whole.

4.2 Towards a systemic description of the interpersonal grammar of Spanish

As discussed above, SFL typological work conducted so far in a number of languages shows that the specific systemic organisation of the interpersonal system of MOOD^{x1} in the lexicogrammatical stratum is primarily motivated by the organisation of choices in speech function, at discourse semantics. In terms of systemic description this means that SPEECH FUNCTION choices are congruently realised by primary features in the MOOD system:

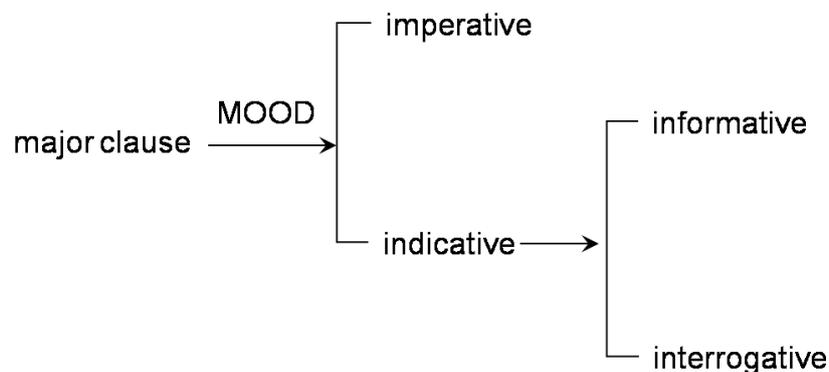


Figure 10. Primary MOOD choices across languages

This network suggests that speakers, regardless of the language involved, give and demand goods-and-services congruently through imperative clauses, whereas they give and demand information through indicative clauses. As already mentioned, the locus of cross-linguistic variation is expected to be in more delicate choices of specific subsystems, as well as in the structural realisation of systemic choices overall (Teruya et al., 2007; Matthiessen et al., 2008, Matthiessen, 2004).

As for the structural realisation of interpersonal choices, SFL theory has established that features of interpersonal systems in general are associated with

prosodic types of realisation; interpersonal meanings in other words are ‘spread out’ across the clause, in contrast to ‘particulate’ ideational meanings, and ‘periodic’ textual meanings (Martin, 1992; Martin 1996, Caffarel, et al., 2004; Teruya et al., 2007; Matthiessen et al. 2008). At the same time, any given type of structure allows different ‘media of expression’ (Matthiessen, 2004). Thus, prosodic meanings can be expressed by phonological (intonational) or grammatical resources (sequential and/or segmental). In other words, the same choice within an interpersonal system can be structurally realised, in different languages, by specific intonational patterns, the absence or presence of a specific segment, or the particular sequencing of elements. A good example of this variation is the way in which MOOD choices are realised in the structure of the English and French clauses, as demonstrated by Caffarel (2004, 2006): in French, the distinction between [declarative] and [interrogative] is only *sometimes* realised by the sequencing of elements; in fact in everyday conversation French includes intonational *as well as* segmental marking strategies for the contrast between [interrogative] and [declarative], the choice being mainly motivated by discursive factors (cf. Spanish MOOD system, below).

These considerations are important when turning to the systemic exploration of the Spanish MOOD, since the description of the choices available to native speakers as *features* need to be based on the specific realisation of such choices in structure. Thus, regardless of the general similarities that, in principle, may be found in primary choices across languages, a close look to the specific realisation of relevant interpersonal meanings as well as their organisation within the clause is fundamental for a better understanding of the way in which Spanish speakers negotiate roles and commodities in discourse.

4.2.1 Primary delicacy systemic contrasts in Spanish

In the systemic description of the English MOOD, Halliday (1985, 1994) shows that a first fundamental contrast is motivated by the presence of an obligatory Finite function in structures realising [indicative] and its general absence in structures realising [imperative]. The absence of a Finite function may entail, by extension, the absence of a full-fledged Mood element, including the Subject function.

In Spanish, as already mentioned, a structural Finite function is not involved in MOOD selections. In fact, when looking at the first distinction between [indicative] and [imperative], other considerations emerge. Indeed, the realisation of COMMANDS involve, unlike English, a number of distinctions associated with the person held modally responsible for the enactment of the proposal – the one in charge of providing the good(s) or service(s) required by the speaker. These distinctions are basically coded at word rank by means of the verbal morphology indicating ‘person’ *and*, in most imperative clauses, by means of what is traditional known as ‘present/subjunctive mood’ morphology (PRS/SUB)^{xiii}. At group rank, the positioning of clitics plays a major role, since in positive imperative clauses they are obligatorily postponed to the verbal group, as seen in Figure 10 below (verbal morphology underlined, clitics in italics):

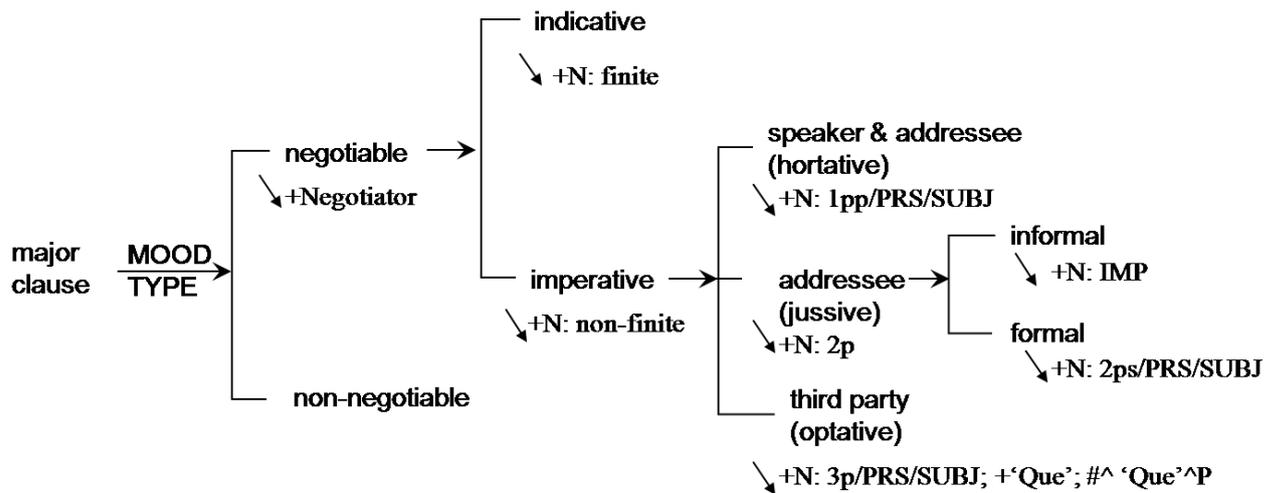
¡Préndeme el cable! - Turn on the cable decoder for me!			
FEATURE	POSITIVE		NEGATIVE
Addressee: sing (jussive)	¡Prénd <u>me</u> lo! 'turn on'-'for me'-'it' IMP-DAT-ACC 2ps ps-3ps	'Turn it on for me!'	¡No <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> prendas! not 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ
Addressee: sing: formal (jussive)	¡Prénd <u>ame</u> lo! 'turn on'-'for me'-'it' PRS/SUBJ-DAT-ACC 2psf 1ps-3ps		¡No <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> prenda! not 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ
Addressee: plural (jussive)	¡Prénd <u>an</u> me <u>lo</u> ! 'turn on'-'for me'-'it' PRS/SUBJ-DAT-ACC 2pp 1ps-3ps		¡No <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> prenda <u>n</u> ! not 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ
Addressee & Speaker (hortative)	¡Prend <u>á</u> mo <u>se</u> lo! 'turn on'-'for him/her/them'-'it' PRS/SUBJ-DAT - ACC 1pp 3p - 3ps	'Let's turn it on for him/her/them!'	¡No <u>se</u> <u>lo</u> prend <u>amos</u> ! not 'for 3rd prs' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ
Third party: sing (optative)	¡Que <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> prenda! 'Que' 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ 1ps 3ps 3ps	'Let her/him give it to me!'	¡Que no <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> prenda! 'Que' 'not' 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ
Third party: pl (optative)	¡Que <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> prenda <u>n</u> ! 'Que' 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ 1ps 3ps 3pp	'Let them give it to me!'	¡Que no <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> prenda <u>n</u> ! 'Que' 'not' 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ

*KEY: verbal morphology underlined, clitics in italics, negative marker in bold face.

Figure 11. 'Turn on the cable decoder for me': imperative clauses in Spanish

As in indicative clauses, a nominal group agreeing with the verbal inflection may specify, at clause rank, the participant held responsible for the proposal; likewise, the positioning of such a nominal group at clause rank is as flexible as in indicative clauses.

Consequently, consistent with what is maintained by most non-SFL functional approaches to Spanish grammar^{xiii}, this language allows a number of possibilities for the realisation of COMMANDS, all of them centred in the verbal group. Unlike English, the motivation for an [imperative] feature is based on the specific range of choices involved at word rank ('present/subjunctive' morphology) along with the specific positioning of clitics in positive polarity, at group rank. In a systemic interpretation, the general choices under [imperative] are thus represented as follows (in the system network, structural realisations indicated by a slanted arrow, below the corresponding feature):



KEY:	
slanted arrow	'feature realised in structure by'
+	'insert'
/	'conflate'
#^	'position first'
^	'sequence'
3pp, 2ps	'3rd person plural', '2nd person singular', etc.
PRS	'present tense'
SUBJ, IND	'subjunctive verbal mood', 'imperative verbal mood', etc.

Figure 12. Choices under [imperative] in Spanish

The system network proposed suggests as a first feature the 'negotiability' of the clause: that both imperative and indicative clauses require a Negotiator, which is minimally realised by an inflected verb at word rank, with clitics and negative markers as optional elements at group rank. This reflects the fact that in dialogue both the modally responsible participant and polarity are open to negotiation through the verbal group, both in indicative and imperative clauses. However, imperative clauses do not allow for further negotiability in terms of TENSE or MODALITY, which is reflected by the restricted set of choices available at word rank. Accordingly, imperative clauses require a Negotiator which, at group rank, is considered here non-finite^{xlv} (i.e. it does not allow further distinctions beyond the set of choices for modal responsibility, which are relatively limited when compared to the finite Negotiator realising the feature [indicative]). In addition, the positioning of clitics is also relevant, since positive imperative clauses require their attachment to the verbal morphology when they are present.

By implication, the choice [indicative] is realised in Spanish by means of a 'finite' Negotiator, i.e., one showing contrasts in terms of TENSE and MODALITY, along with a wider range of distinctions in terms of modal responsibility, as seen in Examples 2 below (Negotiator underlined, verbal morphology in bold face):

Example 2. Indicative clauses, including distinctions in 'person', 'tense', 'aspect' and 'verbal mood'.

(1) | No ha dado un buen argumento | (You) haven't given a good argument.

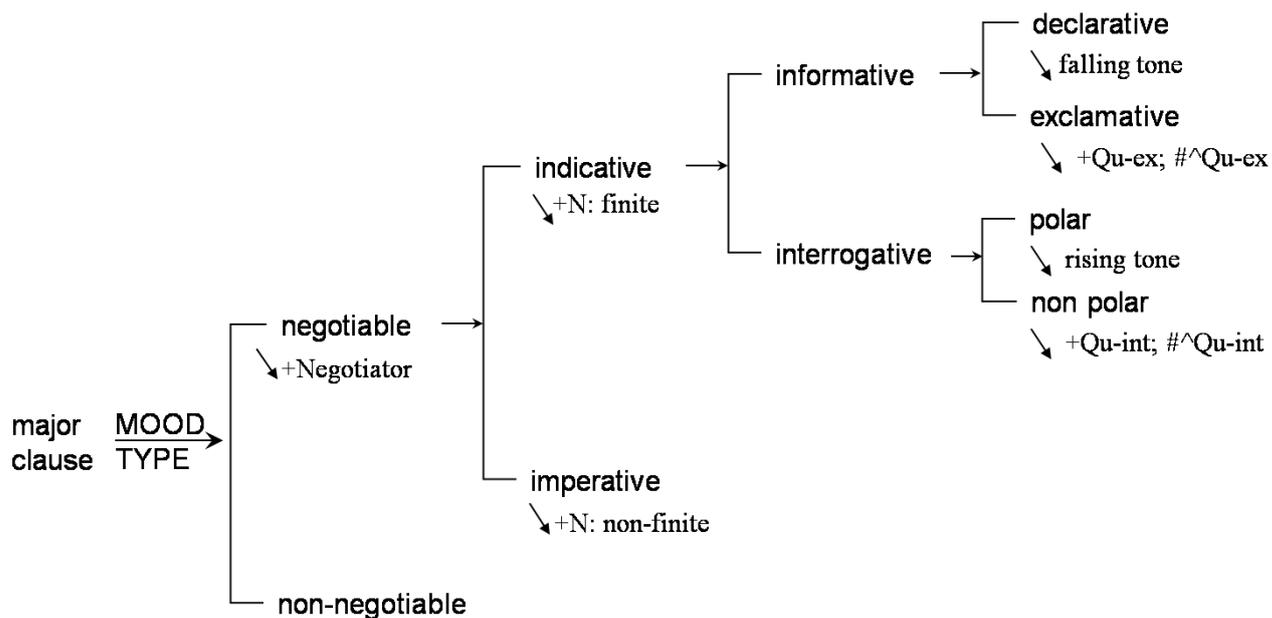
	2ps-formal/PST-PRS/IND	
(2)	Siempre <u>doy</u> un buen argumento. 1ps/PRS/IND	(I) always <u>give</u> a good argument.
(3)	Recién <u>di</u> un buen argumento 1ps/PST/IND	(I) just <u>gave</u> a good argument.
(4)	No <u>daremos</u> un buen argumento. 1ps/FUT/IND	(We) won't <u>give</u> a good argument.
(5)	Siempre <u>daban</u> un buen argumento. 3pp/PST.IMPRF/IND	(They) always <u>gave</u> a good argument.
(6)	Nunca <u>has dado</u> un buen argumento. 2ps/PST-PRS/IND	(You) <u>have</u> never <u>given</u> a good argument.
(7)	Ojalá <u>haya dado</u> un buen argumento 3ps/PST-PRS/SUBJ	(I wish) <u>s/he had given</u> a good argument.
(8)	Tal vez <u>demos</u> un buen argumento. 1ps/PRS/SUBJ	Maybe (we) <u>will give</u> a good argument.
(9)	Nunca <u>daría</u> un buen argumento. 2ps/CND/IND	(S/he) <u>would</u> never <u>give</u> a good argument.

Example 2 shows that the realisation of several simultaneous features is ‘fused’ in the verbal inflectional morphology of indicative clauses. Traditional morphological labels, in fact, reveal the conflation of a number of simultaneous meanings realised by the verbal affixation, including person, number, tense, aspect, and ‘verbal mood’ (e.g. in clause 2(5) above, the conflation of ‘second person singular formal’, ‘present primary tense’ and ‘indicative verbal mood’ meanings in the verbal affixation). What this complex labelling reveals is, in turn, the synthetic realisation of multiple meanings realised at word rank, a property that Spanish shares with Romance languages in general. In this regard, the SFL typological generalisation suggesting that imperative and indicative clauses contrast in terms of the range of possibilities that are open to each choice, is certainly applicable to the Spanish MOOD choices (Matthiessen, 2004).

As for clitics, they generally *precede* the inflected verb in indicative clauses^{xv}, as seen in Example 3 below (Negotiator underlined, including accusative clitics in italics; verbal morphology in bold face):

Example 3. Indicative clauses adjusting meanings with clitics

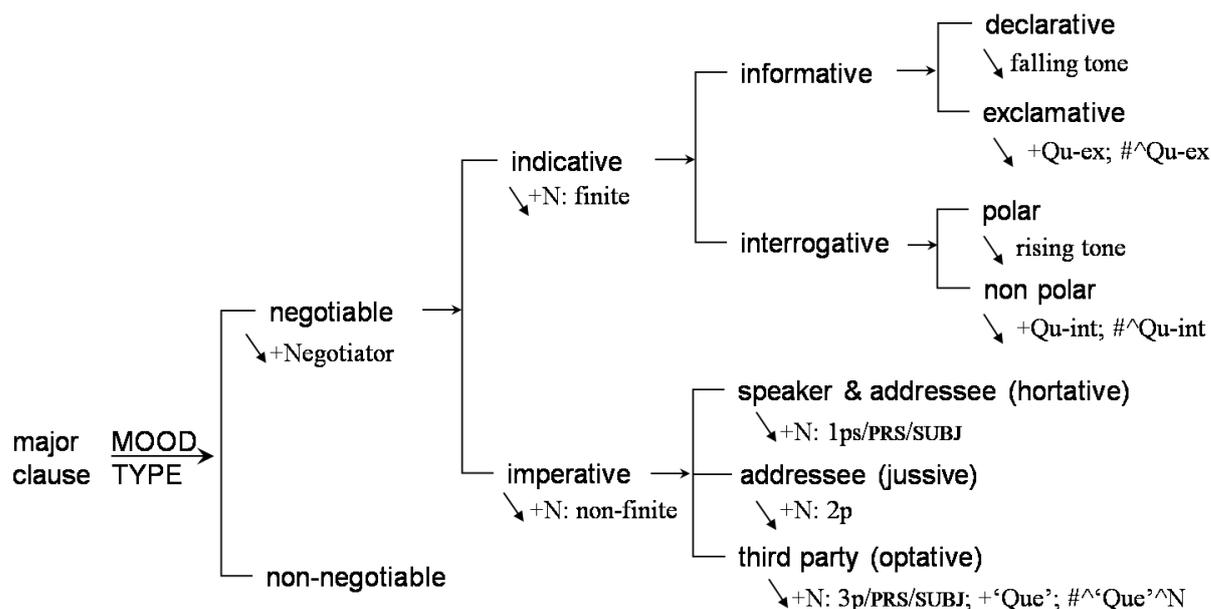
No <u>lo ha</u> dado . ACC 2ps-formal/PST-PRS/IND	(You) haven't <u>given it</u> .
Siempre <u>lo</u> doy . ACC 1ps/PRS/IND	(I) always <u>give it</u> .
Recién <u>lo</u> di . ACC 1ps/PST/IND	(I) just <u>gave it</u> .
No <u>lo</u> daremos . ACC 1pp/FUT/IND	(We) won't <u>give it</u> .
Siempre <u>lo</u> daban . ACC 3pp/PST/IMPRF/IND	(They) always <u>gave it</u> .



KEY:	
slanted arrow	'feature realised in structure by'
+	'insert'
/	'conflate'
#^	'position first'
^	'sequence'

Figure 13. Choices under [indicative] in Spanish

Based on the key contrasts primarily realised by the verbal group, including the positioning of clitics and selections at word rank, the following system network for the Spanish MOOD is proposed:



KEY:	
slanted arrow	'feature realised in structure by'
+	'insert'
/	'conflate'
#^	'position first'
^	'sequence'
3pp, 1ps	'3rd person plural', '1st person singular', etc.
PRS	'present tense'
SUBJ, IND	'subjunctive verbal mood', 'imperative verbal mood', etc.

Figure 14. A MOOD system network for Spanish

5 Discussion

In this paper, key interpersonal meanings in the Spanish clause have been explored from a discourse semantic perspective, i.e. which takes as the point of departure the resources used by native speakers in the negotiation of meanings in verbal exchanges. The comparison between the basic negotiatory structures in Spanish and English reveals that central meanings at stake in dialogue, i.e. 'subjecthood' and 'finiteness' understood as the 'nub' and 'terms' at play in verbal exchanges, are realised differently in both languages: whereas interlocutors in English replay and adjust these meanings in the Subject and Finite functions at clause rank (the Mood element), in Spanish this is achieved through the Negotiator function, which groups these meanings within the domain of the verbal group. Furthermore, the Negotiator proves to be crucial in the interstratal relation between SPEECH FUNCTIONS choices, at discourse semantics, and MOOD selections in lexicogrammar: the negotiation of roles and commodities in discourse is enacted in the clause through the specific organisation of meanings within the verbal group realising the negotiatory function proposed.

The perspective adopted has proven to be useful in this characterisation of lexicogrammatical meanings, especially in the analysis of key interpersonal functions such as Subject and Finite. These, as described in English, seem to be especially problematic when loosely applied to Spanish; nonetheless, 'from above', both 'subjecthood' and 'finiteness' can be reconsidered in the light of the resources that

critically contribute to the organisation of interpersonal meanings at group and word rank. In Spanish, the verbal group seems to define the ‘arguability’ of the clause on its own right, as well as the particular ways in which key MOOD choices are structurally motivated.

As a result, against the background of a long descriptive tradition, the inclusion of a structural Subject function in the interpersonal characterisation of the Spanish clause does not seem to be justified. The traditional ‘subject’ syntagmatically defined as the nominal group controlling verb agreement in the clause appears as interpersonally superfluous. The proposal here, then, is that such a nominal group realises a different metafunction, in a different system (arguably, in SFL terms, systems organising textual and/or experiential meanings), as already suggested by evidence from non-SFL approaches addressing grammatical resources in spoken Spanish (Silva-Corvalán, 2003; Bentivoglio, 2003; Cameron and Flores-Ferrán, 2003; Comajoan, 2006; Amaral and Schwenter, 2005). The same general consideration applies to the analysis of ‘finiteness’: the Negotiator appears to ground the clause in terms of TENSE, MODALITY and POLARITY through the verbal group as a whole, in particular, through distinctions realised simultaneously along the rank scale (i.e. the positioning of clitics at group rank, and morphological distinctions at word rank).

Given the major role played by the verbal group in the realisation of key interpersonal meanings, a close exploration of its systemic and structural organisation is crucial for a better understanding of the Negotiator as the central function realising MOOD choices, as well as the interplay with other interpersonal systems, i.e. MODALITY and POLARITY.

6 References

- Alarcos Llorach, E. (1994) *Gramática de la Lengua Española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Amaral, P.M. and Schwenter, S.A. (2005) Contrast and the (non-) occurrence of subject pronouns. In D. Eddington (ed.) *Selected Proceedings of the 7th Hispanic Linguistics* 116--127 Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. [online: Retrieved on April 11 2010 from <http://www.lingref.com/cpp/hls/7/paper1092.pdf>]
- Arús, J. (2003) *Hacia una Especificación de la Transitividad en el Español: Estudio Contrastivo con el Inglés*. Universidad Complutense de Madrid: PhD dissertation.
- Arús, J. (2006) Perspectiva sistémico-funcional de los usos de ‘se’ en español. *Revista Signos* 39.61. 131--159.
- Arús, J. (forthcoming) On theme in English and Spanish: a comparative study. In *Selected Papers from the 18th Euro-International Systemic Functional Conference and Workshop*.
- Arús, J. and Lavid, J. (2001). The grammar of relational processes in English and Spanish: implications for machine-aided translation and multilingual generation. *Estudios Ingleses de la Universidad Complutense* 9: 61--79.
- Bentivoglio, P. (2003) Orden de palabras en español: un análisis sintáctico-semántico-pragmático del sujeto. *Lexis. Revista de Lingüística y Literatura* 27: 235--260.
- Caffarel, A. (1992) Interacting between a generalized tense semantics and register-specific semantic tense systems: a bistratal exploration of the semantics of French tense. *Language Sciences*, 14 (4), 385-418.

- Caffarel, A. (2004) Metafunctional profile of the grammar of French. In A. Caffarel, J.R. Martin, C.M.I.M. Matthiessen (eds.) *Language typology. A functional perspective* pp. 77--137 Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Caffarel, A. (2006) *A Systemic Functional Approach to Grammar of French. From Grammar to Discourse*. London/New York: Continuum.
- Caffarel, A., Martin, J.R., and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (eds.) (2004) *Language typology. A functional perspective*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Cameron, R. and Flores-Ferrán, N. (2004) Perseveration of subject expression across regional dialects of Spanish, *Spanish in Context* 1: 41--65.
- Cid, M., Ortiz-Lira, H., Poblete, M., Pons H., and Samaniego, J. L. (2000) Hacia una descripción prosódica del español culto de Santiago de Chile: resultados de una investigación *Onomázein* 5: 95--106.
- Comajoan, Ll. (2006) Continuity and episodic structure in Spanish subject reference. In J. Clancy Clements and Jiyoung Yoon (eds) *Functional Approaches to Spanish Syntax. Lexical Semantics, Discourse and Transitivity* 53--79. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Fernández Soriano, O. (1999) El pronombre personal. Formas y distribuciones. Pronombres átonos y tónicos, In I. Bosque and V. Demonte (eds) *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*. 1209--1269. Madrid: Espasa.
- Fernández Soriano, O. (1993) Los pronombres átonos en la teoría gramatical. Repaso y balance. In O. Fernández Soriano (ed.) *Los Pronombres Átonos* 13--62. Madrid: Taurus Ediciones.
- Figueredo, G. (forthcoming) A systemic-functional description of MOOD in Portuguese. *Proceedings 36th ISFC*. Beijing.
- Ghio, E. and Fernández, M. D. (2008) *Lingüística Sistémico Funcional. Aplicaciones a la Lengua española*. Santa Fe: UNL.
- Ghio, E. and Fernández, M.D. (eds) (forthcoming) *Sobre Temas de Lingüística Sistémico Funcional*. Santa Fe: Universidad Nacional del Litoral.
- Gouveia, C. (forthcoming) Towards a profile of the interpersonal organization of the Portuguese clause. *Delta - Documentação de Estudos em Lingüística Teórica e Aplicada*.
- Gouveia, C., and Barbara, L. (2001) Marked or unmarked that is not the question, the question is: where's the theme? *Direct Papers*. LAEL, Catholic University of São Paulo/ AELSU, University of Liverpool.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1984) A systemic-functional interpretation of the nature and ontogenesis of dialogue. In J. Webster (ed.) *The Language of Early Childhood* 227--381. New York: Continuum.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1st. ed). London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2nd ed). London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2004) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (3rd ed). London: Hodder Arnold.
- Hernández Alonso, C. (1996) *Gramática Funcional del Español* (3rd ed.). Madrid: Gredos.
- Lavid, J. and Arús, J. (2004). Contrasting nuclear transitivity in English and Spanish: a contrastive-functional study. *Languages in Contrast* 4(1): 75--103.
- Lavid, J., Arús, J. and Zamorano, J.R. (2010) *Systemic Functional Description of*

- Spanish. A Contrastive Study with English.* London: Continuum.
- Luján, M. (1993) La subida de clíticos y el modo en los complementos verbales del español. In O. Fernández-Soriano (ed.) *Los Pronombres Átonos* 235—283 Madrid: Taurus Ediciones.
- Martin, J. R. (1983) Participant identification in English, Tagalog and Kate. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 3(1): 45--74.
- Martin, J. R. (1990) Interpersonal grammatization: mood and modality in Tagalog. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 21 (1): 2--49.
- Martin, J. R. (1992). *English text: System and Structure*. Philadelphia/Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Martin, J. R. (1996) Types of structure: deconstructing of constituency in clause and text. In E. H. Hovy and D. R. Scott (eds) *Computational and Conversational Discourse: Burning issues - An Interdisciplinary Account* 39--66. Heidelberg: Springer (NATO Advanced Science Institute Series F - Computer and Systems Sciences, Vol. 151).
- Martin, J. R. (2004) Metafunctional profile of the grammar of Tagalog. In A. Caffarel, C.M.I.M. Matthiessen and J.R. Martin (eds.) *Language typology. A functional perspective* 255--304. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Martin, J. R. (2009) Semantic variation: modelling realization, instantiation and individuation in social semiosis. In M. Bednarek and J. R. Martin (eds) *New Discourse on Language: Functional Perspectives on Multimodality, Identity, and Affiliation*. London: Continuum.
- Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (1996) TENSE in English seen through systemic-functional theory. In M. Berry, Ch. Butler, R. Fawcett and G. Huang (eds) *Meaning and Form: Systemic Functional Interpretations* 431--498. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2004) Descriptive motifs and generalisations. In Caffarel, A. Ch. Matthiessen and J.R. Martin (eds) *Language typology. A functional perspective* 537--664. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Matthiessen, C.M.I.M., Teruya, K., and Canzhong, W. (2008) Multilingual Studies as a Multi-dimensional Space of Interconnected Language Studies. In J. Webster (ed.) *Meaning in context: implementing intelligent applications of language studies* 146--220. London/New York: Continuum.
- Moyano, E. (forthcoming) El sistema de Tema en español: una mirada discursiva sobre una cuestión controvertida. In E. Ghio and M.D. Fernández (eds) *Sobre temas de Lingüística Sistémico Funcional*. Santa Fe: Universidad Nacional del Litoral.
- Ortiz-Lira, H. and Saavedra, E. (1999) La entonación de la pregunta no-indagativa del español culto de Santiago de Chile. *Onomázein*, 4: 135--153
- Penny, R. (2002) *A History of the Spanish Language* (2nd ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, D. (2001) *The Western Desert code: an Australian cryptogrammar*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. (2003) Otra mirada a la expresión del sujeto como variable sintáctica. In H. López Morales, H., Moreno Fernández, F. and Barriga Villanueva, R. (eds) *Lengua, Variación y Contexto. Estudios Dedicados a Humberto López Morales* 849--860. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. (1984) Topicalización y pragmática en español. *Revista Española*

de Lingüística. 14: 1--19.

Suñer, M. (1988) The role of agreement in clitic doubled constructions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 6 (3): 391--434.

Teruya, K., Akerejola, E., Andersen, T., Caffarel, A., Lavid, J., Matthiessen, C.M.I.M., Petersen, U.H., Patpong, P. and Smedegaard, F. (2007) Typology of MOOD: a text-based and system-based functional view. In R. Hasan, C.M.I.M. Matthiessen and J. Webster (eds) *Continuing Discourse on Language. A Functional Perspective* 859--920. London: Equinox.

ⁱ But not, as it is discussed by Caffarel, at group rank, in which Complements can be realised by clitics that are part of the negotiation (Caffarel, 2004).

ⁱⁱ Key: verbal groups underlined, nominal groups agreeing with verbal morphology in uppercase, verbal morphology in bold, clitics in italics. 'Person' meanings indicated as follows: 2ps, 'second person singular'; 3pp 'third person plural', etc., below clitics and verbal morphology. English original with Spanish subtitles retrieved on 1 April 2010 from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4KzLYsIPvE>. Transcription of English original in Martin, 1992: 465--6.

ⁱⁱⁱ I am indebted to Sonia Castro, who allowed me to use extracts from data of her Master's research in the Faculty of Letters, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile.

^{iv} See note 5 below.

^v Meanings conflated in the verbal affixation at work rank include (i) 'temporality' in terms of 'present', 'past' and 'future' (PRS, PST, FUT, respectively); (ii) 'verbal mood', including 'indicative', 'subjunctive' and 'imperative' morphology (IND, SUBJ, IMP, respectively), and (iii) 'person', including 'first', 'second' and 'third' (1p, 2p, 3p) with their corresponding variations in number (eg. 1ps: 'first person singular'; 3pp: 'third person plural', etc.). See note 11 and 12 below for further explanation on the 'verbal mood' label at word rank.

^{vi} The nominal group traditionally identified as 'subject' through the so-called 'subject-verb' agreement is not interpreted here as an interpersonal function, as opposed to English or French; see discussion on 'subjecthood' below.

^{vii} For the different 'probes' used in the recognition of this function in English, cf. Halliday, 1985/1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

^{viii} '∗' conventionally used to show ungrammaticality of following structure.

^{ix} However, some modal verbs might be picked up in dialogue, as seen in turn A10, Example 1.

^x Just as discussed by Gouveia (forthcoming) for Portuguese, in Spanish the recognition of a single Finite element in verb group complexes is not evident on grammatical grounds (cf. the realisation of 'future' in Portuguese, which can be applied 'as is' to Spanish).

^{xi} In this paper, MOOD (in uppercase) refers to interpersonal selections at clause rank, whereas 'mood' (in lowercase), stands for selections at word rank (in terms of 'indicative', 'subjunctive' or 'imperative' verbal morphology, as conventionally labelled in traditional accounts of Spanish grammar). For further explanation of '(verbal) mood' in Spanish, see note 12 below.

^{xii} In traditional descriptions, 'verbal moods' involve contrasts at word rank (i.e. verbal morphology), including 'indicative', 'subjunctive' and 'imperative' mood distinctions (Alarcos Llorach, 1994). In the definition of their 'meaning', considerations combining the 'subjective attitude of the speaker' and the enactment of roles in dialogue are commonly foregrounded. Nonetheless, from an SFL perspective, these so-called 'verbal moods' contribute to the realisation of various interconnected interpersonal meanings at clause rank, including features in the systems of MOOD, MODALITY and POLARITY (only some of them explored in this paper). As for the 'imperative verbal mood' in particular, Latin American Spanish has a unique morphology for 'imperative mood', the one coding 'second person singular', whereas Peninsular Spanish has two: 'second person singular' and 'second person plural'.

^{xiii} Including functional grammars by Hernández Alonso, 1996 and Alarcos Llorach, 1993, well-known in the field of Hispanic linguistics.

^{xiv} This is so, in spite of the fact that, at work rank, it is still realised by an inflected (or, in traditional terms, ‘finite’) verb.

^{xv} While in indicative clauses clitics obligatorily precede the first inflected verb in sequence, it may be the case that they are postponed and attached to the last non-inflected verb (specifically, infinitive and gerund) in verbal groups and clause complexes. For example, when ‘canonical’ modals lead the sequence– which in Spanish inflect for person, tense and ‘verbal mood’ –, clitics may either precede them or else be attached to the last non-inflected verb in sequence (provided that this is infinitive or gerund.) (Fernández-Soriano, 1992, 1999; Suñer, 1988). Furthermore, following a rather formal approach, previous research has suggested interesting relations between the positioning of clitics and the ‘verbal mood’ of dependent clauses in clause complexes (Luján, 1992)

References

- Alarcos, E. (1963). Español 'que' [Spanish 'que']. *Archivum*, 13, 5-17.
- Alarcos, E. (1966). Verbo transitivo, verbo intransitivo y estructura del predicado [Transitive verb, intransitive verb and predicate structure]. *Archivum* 16, 18, 5-17.
- Alarcos, E. (1968). 'Un', el número y los indefinidos ["Un", number and indefinites]. *Archivum*, 18, 11-20.
- Alarcos, E. (1969). Aditamento, adverbio y cuestiones conexas [Additament, adverb and related issues]. *Archivum*, 19, 301-329.
- Alarcos, E. (1971). Sobre el imperativo [On the imperative]. *Archivum*, 21, 389-395.
- Alarcos, E. (1980a). *Estudios de gramática funcional del español [Studies of Spanish functional grammar]* (3rd ed.). Madrid: Gredos.
- Alarcos, E. (1980b). Perfecto simple y compuesto [Simple and compound perfect]. In E. Alarcos Llorach (Ed.), *Estudios de gramática funcional del español* (3rd ed., pp. 13-49). Madrid: Gredos.
- Alarcos, E. (1994). *Gramática de la lengua española [Grammar of Spanish language]*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Allen, W. S. (1956). Structure and system in the Abaza verbal complex. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 55(1), 127-176.
- Arús, J. (2003). *Hacia una especificación de la transitividad en el español: estudio contrastivo con el inglés [Towards a specification of Spanish transitivity: contrastive study with English]*. PhD Dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Arús, J. (2010). On theme in English and Spanish: a comparative study. In E. Swain (Ed.), *Thresholds and potentialities of Systemic Functional Linguistics: multilingual, multimodal and other specialised discourses* (pp. 23-48). Trieste: EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste.
- Arús, J., & Lavid, J. (2001). The grammar of relational processes in English and Spanish: implications for machine-aided translation and multilingual generation. *Estudios Ingleses de la Universidad Complutense*, 9, 61-79.
- Bally, C. (1926). L'expression des idées de sphere personnelle et de la solidarité dans les langues indo-européennes [The expression of ideas of personal sphere and solidarity in Indo-European languages]. In *Festschrift Louis Gauchat* (pp. 68-78). Aarav: Scwerländer.
- Baños, J. M. (2009). Dativo [Dative]. In J. M. Baños (Ed.), *Sintaxis del latín clásico* (pp. 185-209). Madrid: Liceus.
- Barbara, L., & Moyano, E. (Eds.). (2011). *Textos y lenguaje académico. Exploraciones sistémico-funcionales en portugués y español [Texts and academic language. Systemic functional explorations in Portuguese and Spanish]*. Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento - Pontificia Universidad Católica de Sao Paulo.
- Barrenechea, A. M., & Orecchia, T. (1977). La duplicación de objetos directos e indirectos en el español hablado en Buenos Aires [Direct and indirect object doubling in spoken Spanish of Buenos Aires]. In J. M. Lope Blanch (Ed.), *Estudios sobre el español hablado en las principales ciudades de América* (pp.

- 351-381). México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Bateman, J. A. (2008). Systemic Functional Linguistics and the notion of linguistic structure: unanswered questions, new possibilities. In J. Webster (Ed.), *Meaning in context: implementing intelligent applications of language studies* (pp. 24-58). London/New York: Continuum.
- Bello, A. (1847). *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos* [Grammar of the Spanish language for the use of speakers in the Americas] Santiago de Chile: Imprenta del Progreso.
- Belloro, V. (2007). *Spanish clitic doubling: a study of the syntax-pragmatics interface*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo.
- Benveniste, É. (1954/1966). Tendances récentes en linguistique générale [Recent tendencies in general linguistics] . In É. Benveniste (Ed.), *Problèmes de linguistique générale* (Vol. I, pp. 3-17). Paris: Éditions Gallimard. (Reprinted from: *Journal de Psychologie*, P.U.F., Paris, janvier-juin, 1954).
- Berry, M. (1981). Systemic linguistics and discourse analysis: a multi-layered approach to exchange structure. In M. Coulthard & M. Montgomery (Eds.), *Studies in Discourse Analysis* (pp. 120-145). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bogard, S. (1999). La duplicación con clítico: una manifestación de concordancia sintáctica en español [Clitic doubling: a manifestation of syntactic agreement in Spanish]. In F. Colombo Airoldi (Ed.), *El Centro de Lingüística Hispánica y la Lengua Española. Volumen conmemorativo del 30 aniversario de su fundación* (pp. 189-203). México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Bogard, S. (2006). El clítico se. Valores y evolución [Se clitic. Values and evolution]. In C. Company Company (Ed.), *Sintaxis histórica de la lengua española. Primera parte: la frase verbal* (Vol. 1, Tomo 2, pp. 755-870). México: UNAM/Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Bolinger, D. L. (1976). Again one or two subjunctives? *Hispania*, 59(1), 41-49.
- Bull, W. E. (1960). *Time, tense and the verb. A study in theoretical and applied linguistics, with particular attention to Spanish*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Caffarel, A. (1992). Interacting between a generalized tense semantics and register-specific semantic tense systems: a bistratal exploration of the semantics of French tense. *Language Sciences*, 14(4), 385-418.
- Caffarel, A. (1995). Approaching the French clause as a move in dialogue: interpersonal organisation. In R. Hasan & P. Fries (Eds.), *On subject and theme. A discourse functional perspective* (pp. 1-49). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Caffarel, A. (1997). Models of transitivity in French. A systemic-functional interpretation. In A. M. Simon-Vandenberg, K. Davidse & D. Noël (Eds.), *Reconnecting language. Morphology and syntax in functional perspectives* (pp. 249-296). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Caffarel, A. (2004). Metafunctional profile of the grammar of French. In A. Caffarel, J. R. Martin & C. M. I. M. Matthiessen (Eds.), *Language typology. A functional perspective* (pp. 77-137). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Caffarel, A. (2006). *A systemic functional grammar of French. From grammar to discourse*. London/New York: Continuum.
- Caffarel, A., Martin, J. R., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004a). Introduction. Systemic Functional Typology. In A. Caffarel, J. R. Martin & C. M. I. M. Matthiessen

- (Eds.), *Language typology. A functional perspective* (pp. 1-76). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Caffarel, A., Martin, J. R., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (Eds.). (2004b). *Language typology. A functional perspective*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Camus Bergareche, B. (2006). La expresión de la negación [The expression of negation]. In C. Company Company (Ed.), *Sintaxis histórica de la lengua española. Primera parte: la frase verbal* (Vol. 1, Tomo 2, pp. 1165-1252). México: UNAM/Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Cano Aguilar, R. (1981). *Estructuras sintácticas transitivas en el español actual [Transitive syntactic structures in current Spanish]*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Castro, S. (2010). *Las disfluencias en el habla espontánea de Santiago de Chile [Disfluencies in spontaneous speech in Santiago, Chile]*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago.
- Chafe, W. (1976). Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and points of view. In C. N. Li (Ed.) (pp. 25-55).
- Company, C. (2001). Multiple dative marking grammaticalization. Spanish as a special kind of primary object language. *Studies in Language*, 25(1), 1-47.
- Company, C. (2006). El objeto indirecto [Indirect object]. In C. Company Company (Ed.), *Sintaxis histórica de la lengua española. Primera parte: la frase verbal* (Vol. 1, Tomo 1, pp. 479-574). México: Fondo de Cultura Económica/UNAM.
- Comrie, B. (1981). *Language universals and linguistic typology: syntax and morphology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Davidse, K. (1991). *Categories of experiential grammar*. PhD Dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. (Reprinted in (1999) *Categories of experiential grammar*)
- Davidse, K. (1992). A semiotic approach to relational clauses. *Occasional Papers in Systemic Linguistics*, 6, 99-131.
- Davidse, K. (1996). Ditransitivity and possession. In R. Hasan, D. Butt & C. Cloran (Eds.), *Functional descriptions. Theory in practice* (pp. 85-144). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Davidse, K. (1998). Agnates, verb classes and the meaning of construals: The case of ditransitivity in English. *Leuvense Bijdragen*, 87(3-4), 281-313.
- Davidse, K. (1999). *Categories of experiential grammar (Monographs in Systemic Linguistics, no. 11)*. Nottingham: Department of English and media Studies, Nottingham Trent University.
- Davis, C. J. (1968). The indirect object of possession in Spanish. *The USF Language Quarterly*, 2-6.
- Delbecque, N., & Lamiroy, B. (1996). Towards a typology of the Spanish dative. In W. van Belle & W. van Langendonck (Eds.), *The dative* (Vol. 1. Descriptive studies, pp. 73-117). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Delbecque, N., & Lamiroy, B. (1999). Las subordinación sustantiva: las subordinadas enunciativas en los complementos verbales [Nominal subordination: enunciative subordinate clauses in verbal complements]. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (Eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española. Las construcciones sintácticas fundamentales. Relaciones temporales, aspectuales y modales* (Vol. 2, pp. 1965-2081). Madrid: Espasa.
- Dumitrescu, D. (1973). Apuntes sobre el uso enfático de sí (adv.) en el español contemporáneo [Notes on the emphatic use of sí (adv) in contemporary Spanish].

Revue Roumaine de Linguistique 18(5), 407-413.

- Dumitrescu, D. (1990). El dativo posesivo en español y en rumano [The possessive dative in Spanish and Romanian]. *Revista española de lingüística*, 20(2), 403-430.
- Edelman, G. (1992). *Bright air, brilliant fire: on the matter of the mind*. New York: Basic Books.
- Fawcett, R. (1988). What makes a 'good' system network good? Four pairs of concepts for such evaluations. In J. D. Benson & W. D. Greaves (Eds.), *Systemic functional approaches to discourse* (pp. 1-28). Norwood, N.J: Ablex.
- Fernández Leborans, M. J. (1999). La predicación: las oraciones copulativas [Predication: copular sentences]. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (Eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española. Las construcciones sintácticas fundamentales. Relaciones temporales, aspectuales y modales* (Vol. 2, pp. 2357-2460). Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Fernández Soriano, O. (1993). Los pronombres átonos en la teoría gramatical. Repaso y balance [Atonic pronouns in grammatical theory. Review and assessment]. In O. Fernández Soriano (Ed.), *Los pronombres átonos* (pp. 13-62). Madrid: Taurus Ediciones.
- Fernández Soriano, O. (1999). El pronombre personal. Formas y distribuciones. Pronombres átonos y tónicos [The personal pronoun. Forms and distributions. Atonic and tonic pronouns]. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (Eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española. Sintaxis básica de las clases de palabras* (Vol. 1, pp. 1209-1273). Madrid: Espasa.
- Figueredo, G. (2010). A systemic-functional description of MOOD in Portuguese. In Y. Fang & C. Wu (Eds.), *Challenges to Systemic Functional Linguistics: theory and practice. Proceedings of ISFC36* (pp. 376-387). Beijing: The 36th ISFC Organizing Committee, Tsinghua University and Macquarie University
- Figueredo, G. (2011). *Introdução ao perfil metafuncional do português brasileiro: contribuições para os estudos multilíngues [Introduction to the metafunctional profile of Brazilian Portuguese: contributions for multilingual studies]*. PhD Dissertation, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais Belo Horizonte.
- Firth, J. R. (1935). The technique of semantics. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 34(1), 36-73.
- Firth, J. R. (1951). General linguistics and descriptive grammar. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 50(1), 69-87.
- Firth, J. R. (1952/1968). Linguistic analysis as a study of meaning. In F. R. Palmer (Ed.) (pp. 12-26).
- Firth, J. R. (1956/1968). A new approach to grammar. In F. R. Palmer (Ed.) (pp. 114-125).
- Firth, J. R. (1957a). Ethnographic analysis and language with reference to Malinowski's views. In R. W. Firth (Ed.), *Man and culture: an evaluation of the work of Bronislaw Malinowski* (pp. 93-118). London: Routledge & K. Paul. (Reprinted from: Palmer (1968) (pp. 137-167)).
- Firth, J. R. (1957b). *Papers in linguistics 1934-1951*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Firth, J. R. (1957c). A synopsis of linguistic theory, 1930-55 *Studies in linguistic analysis (Special volume of the Philological Society)* (pp. 1-32). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

- Fontanella de Weinberg, M. B. (1970). Los auxiliares españoles [Spanish auxiliaries]. *Anales del Instituto de Lingüística*, X, 61-73.
- García, A. (2013). Construing experience in Spanish: revisiting a systemic functional description of nuclear transitivity. *Revista Signos*, 46(81), 29-55.
- García-Miguel, J. M. (1991). La duplicación de complemento directo e indirecto como concordancia [Doubling of direct and indirect complements as concord]. *Verba: Anuario galego de filoloxia*, 18, 375-410.
- García-Miguel, J. M. (1995a). *Las relaciones gramaticales entre predicado y participantes [Grammatical relations between predicate and participants]*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- García-Miguel, J. M. (1995b). *Transitividad y complementación preposicional en español [Transitivity and prepositional complementation in Spanish]*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de de Santiago de Compostela.
- García-Miguel, J. M. (2005). Aproximación empírica a la interacción de verbos y esquemas construccionales ejemplificada con los verbos de percepción [Empirical approach to the interaction of verbs and constructional schemes exemplified by perception verbs]. *Estudios de Lingüística de la Universidad de Alicante*, 19, 169-191.
- García-Miguel, J. M., & Albertuz, F. J. (2005). *Verbs, semantic classes and semantic roles in the ADESSE project*. Paper presented at the Interdisciplinary Workshop on the Identification and Representation of Verb Features and Verb Classes, Saarbrücken.
- García-Miguel, J. M., & Comesaña, S. (2004). Verbs of cognition in Spanish: constructional schemas and reference points. In A. S. d. Silva, A. Torres & M. Gonçalves (Eds.), *Linguagem, Cultura e Cognição. Estudos de Linguística Cognitiva* (pp. 399-419). Coimbra: Almedina.
- Ghio, E., & Fernández, M. D. (2008). *Lingüística sistémico funcional. Aplicaciones a la lengua española [Systemic Functional Linguistics. Applications to Spanish language]*. Santa Fe: Universidad Nacional del Litoral.
- Ghio, E., & Fernández, M. D. (Eds.). (2010). *El discurso en español y portugués. Estudios desde una perspectiva sistémico-funcional [The discourse in Spanish and Portuguese. Studies from a Systemic Functional Perspective]*. Santa Fe: Universidad Nacional del Litoral.
- Gleason, H. A. (1965). *Linguistics and English grammar*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Gleason, H. A. (1968). Contrastive analysis in discourse structure. *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics*, 21, 39-63.
- González, C. (2006). *Las construcciones no reflexivas con se: una propuesta desde la Gramática del Papel y la Referencia [Non-reflexive constructions with se: a proposal from Role and Reference Grammar]*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- González, C. (2009). One rule to rule them all: logical structures for Spanish non reflexive se sentences. In L. Guerrero, S. Ibáñez Cerda & V. A. Belloro (Eds.), *Studies in Role and Reference Grammar* (pp. 246-259). México, DF: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Gouveia, C. (2010). Towards a profile of the interpersonal organization of the Portuguese clause. *Delta - Documentação de Estudos em Linguística Teórica e*

Aplicada, 26(1), 1-24.

- Greenberg, J. H. (1966). Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In J. H. Greenberg (Ed.), *Universals of language* (2nd ed., pp. 73-113). Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Guitart, J. (1991). The pragmatics of Spanish mood in complements of knowledge and acquisition-of-knowledge predicates. In S. Fleischman & L. R. Waugh (Eds.), *Discourse-pragmatic approaches to the verb: the evidence from Romance* (pp. 179-193). London: Routledge.
- Gutiérrez Ordoñez, S. (1999). Los dativos [Datives]. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (Eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española. Las construcciones sintácticas fundamentales. Relaciones temporales, aspectuales y modales* (Vol. 2, pp. 1855-1930). Madrid: Espasa.
- Gutiérrez, R. M. (2010). Especialización del discurso: una caracterización desde el sistema de la obligación. *RLA (Revista de Lingüística Teórica y Aplicada)*, 48(1), 105-132.
- Haas, W. (1954). On defining linguistic units. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 53(1), 54-84.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1956). Grammatical categories in Modern Chinese. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 55(1), 177-224.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1957). Some aspects of systematic description and comparison in grammatical analysis *Studies in Linguistic Analysis (Special volume of the Philological Society)* (pp. 54-67). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1959). *The language of the Chinese. "Secret history of the Mongols"*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1959-60). Typology and the exotic. In M. A. K. Halliday & A. McIntosh (Eds.), (1966) *Patterns of language: papers in general descriptive and applied linguistics* (pp. 165-182). London: Longmans.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1961). Categories of the theory of grammar. *Word*, 17, 241-292.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1964). Syntax and the consumer. *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics*, 17, 11-24.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1965/1981). Types of structure. In M. A. K. Halliday & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *Readings in systemic linguistics* (pp. 29-41). London: Batsford. (Reprinted from: Working Paper for the O.S.T.I. Programme in the Linguistic Properties of Scientific English, mimeo, 1965.).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1966/1976). The English verbal group. In G. R. Kress (Ed.), *Halliday: system and function in language* (pp. 136-158). London: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1966a). The concept of rank: a reply. *Journal of Linguistics*, 2(1), 110-118.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1966b). Some notes on 'deep' grammar. *Journal of Linguistics*, 2(1), 57-67.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1967/2003). Grammar, society and the noun. In J. Webster (Ed.), *On language and linguistics* (Vol. 3 in the *Collected works of M.A.K. Halliday*, pp. 50-73). London: Continuum. (Reprinted from: (1967) Grammar, society and the noun (inaugural lecture). London: H. K. Lewis & Co Ltd (for University College)).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1967a). *Intonation and grammar in British English*. The Hague/

Paris: Mouton.

- Halliday, M. A. K. (1967b). Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English: Part 1. *Journal of Linguistics*, 3(1), 37-81.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1967c). Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English: Part 2. *Journal of Linguistics*, 3(2), 199-244.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1968). Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English: Part 3. *Journal of Linguistics*, 4(2), 179-215.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1969). Options and functions in the English clause. *Brno Studies in English*, 8, 81-88.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1969/1976). Types of process. In G. Kress (Ed.), *Halliday: system and function in language* (pp. 159-173). Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Reprinted from: Unpublished paper written as a Nuffield Program Work paper, 1969).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1969/1981). Structure. In M. A. K. Halliday & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *Readings in systemic linguistics* (pp. 122-131). London: Batsford. (Reprinted from: *Working Paper for the Schools Council Programme in Linguistics and English Teaching*, mimeo, 1969).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1970). *A course in spoken English: intonation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1970/1976). The form of a functional grammar. In G. R. Kress (Ed.), *Halliday: system and function in language* (pp. 7-25). London: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1970/2002). Language structure and language function. In J. Webster (Ed.), *On grammar* (Vol 1. in the *Collected works of M.A.K. Halliday*, pp. 173-195). London: Continuum. (Reprinted from: Lyons, J. (ed) (1970) *New Horizons in Linguistics* (pp. 140-165). Harmondsworth: Penguin).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1970/2005). Functional diversity in language as seen from a consideration of modality and mood in English. In J. Webster (Ed.), *Studies in English language* (Vol. 7 in the *Collected works of M.A.K. Halliday*, pp. 164-204). London: Continuum. (Reprinted from: *Foundations of Language*, 6, 1970, pp. 322-61).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1973/2003). The functional basis of language. In J. Webster (Ed.), *On language and linguistics* (Vol. 3 in the *Collected works of M.A.K. Halliday*, pp. 298-322). London: Continuum. (Reprinted from: Bernstein, B. (ed.) (1973) *Applied studies towards a sociology of language. Vol 2 Class, codes and control* (pp. 343-366). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1975). *Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as social semiotic: the social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1979/2002). Modes of meaning and modes of expression: types of grammatical structure and their determination by different semantic functions. In J. Webster (Ed.), *On grammar* (Vol. 1 in the *Collected works of M.A.K. Halliday*, pp. 196-218). London: Continuum. (Reprinted from: D. J. Allerton, E. Carney and D. Holdcroft (eds) (1979) *Function and Context in Linguistic Analysis: A Festschrift for William Haas* (pp. 57-79). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.).

- Halliday, M. A. K. (1984). Language as code and language as behaviour: a systemic functional interpretation of the nature and ontogenesis of dialogue. In R. Fawcett, M. A. K. Halliday, S. Lamb & A. Makkai (Eds.), *The semiotics of culture and language* (Vol. 1, *Language as social semiotic*, pp. 3-35). London: Frances Pinter.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1984/2002). On the ineffability of grammatical categories. In J. Webster (Ed.), *On grammar* (Vol. 1 in the *Collected works of M.A.K. Halliday*, pp. 291-322). London: Continuum. (Reprinted from: A. Manning, P. Martin and K. McCalla (eds) (1984) *The tenth LACUS forum*, pp.3-18).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *An introduction to functional grammar* (1st ed.). London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985/2013). Interview with Paul Thibault. In J. R. Martin (Ed.), *Interviews with M. A. K. Halliday. Language turned back on himself* (pp. 73-94). London: Bloomsbury. (Reprinted from: R. Steele & T. Threadgold (Eds) (1987) *Language topics: essays in honour of Michael Halliday* (2 vols.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 601-27.).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1992/2002). How do you mean? In J. Webster (Ed.), *On grammar* (Vol 1. in the *Collected works of M.A.K. Halliday*, pp. 352-368). London: Continuum. (Reprinted from: M. Davies and L. Ravelli (eds) (1992) *Advances in systemic linguistics: recent theory and practice* (pp.20-35). London: Pinter).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1992/2003a). The act of meaning. In J. Webster (Ed.), *On language and linguistics* (Vol. 3 in the *Collected works of M.A.K. Halliday*, pp. 375-389). London: Continuum. (Reprinted from: James E. Alatis (Ed.) (1992) *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics* (pp. 7-21). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1992/2003b). Systemic grammar and the concept of a 'science of language'. In J. Webster (Ed.), *On language and linguistics* (Vol. 3 in the *Collected works of M.A.K. Halliday*, pp. 199-212). London: Continuum. (Reprinted from: *Waiguoyu (Journal of Foreign Languages)*, 2 (general series No. 78), 1992, 1-9).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1994). *An introduction to functional grammar* (2nd ed.). London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1995/2003). On language in relation to the evolution of human consciousness. In J. Webster (Ed.), *On language and linguistics* (Vol. 3 in the *Collected works of M.A.K. Halliday*, pp. 390-432). London: Continuum. (Reprinted from: First published in S. Allen (Ed) (1995) *Of thoughts and words (Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 92: The relation between language and mind)*. London: Imperial College Press and the Nobel Foundation.).
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1996/2002). On grammar and grammatics. In J. Webster (Ed.), *On grammar* (Vol. 1 in the *Collected works of M.A.K. Halliday*, pp. 384-417). London: Continuum. (Reprinted from: R. Hasan, C. Cloran and D. Butt (eds) (1996) *Functional descriptions. Theory in practice* (pp.1-38). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.).
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Greaves, W. S. (2008). *Intonation in the grammar of English*. London: Equinox.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Martin, J. R. (Eds.). (1981). *Readings in systemic linguistics*.

- London: Batsford Academic and Educational.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1999). *Construing experience through meaning: a language-based approach to cognition*. London: Continuum.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004). *An introduction to functional grammar* (3rd ed.). London: Hodder Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (2013). *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar* (4th ed.). London/New York: Routledge.
- Hengeveld, K. (1988). Illocution, mood and modality in a functional grammar of Spanish. *Journal of Semantics*, 6, 227-269.
- Heyvaert, L. (2003). *A cognitive-functional approach to nominalization in English*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hjelmslev, L. (1943/1961). *Prolegomena to a theory of language* (F. J. Whitfield, Trans.). Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hjelmslev, L. (1947). Structural analysis of language. *Studia Linguistica*, 1(1-3), 69-78.
- Hockett, C. F. (1947). Problems of morphemic analysis. *Language*, 23(4), 321-343.
- Hockett, C. F. (1957). Two models of grammatical description. In M. Joos (Ed.), *Readings in Linguistics. The development of descriptive linguistics in America 1925-56* (4th, 1966 ed., Vol. I, pp. 386-389). Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press. (Reprinted from: *Word*, 10 (1954), 210-231).
- Huddleston, D. R. (1965). Rank and depth. *Language*, 41(4), 574-586.
- Hudson, R. A. (1967). Constituency in a systemic description of the English clause. *Lingua*, 18, 225-250.
- Hudson, R. A. (1972/1981). An 'item-and-paradigm' approach to Beja syntax and morphology. In M. A. K. Halliday & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *Readings in systemic linguistics* (pp. 371-309). London: Batsford Academic. (Reprinted from: *Foundations of Language*, 9, 1972-3, 504-548).
- Jespersen, O. (1924). *The philosophy of grammar*. London: George Allen & Unwin
- Keenan, E. (1976). Towards a universal definition of subject. In C. N. Li (Ed.) (pp. 303-333).
- Kiparsky, P., & Kiparsky, C. (1970). Fact. In M. Bierwisch & K. E. Heidolph (Eds.), *Progress in linguistics: a collection of papers* (pp. 143-173). The Hague: Mouton.
- Kliffier, M. D. (1983). Beyond syntax: Spanish inalienable possession. *Linguistics*, 21(6), 759-794.
- Labov, W. (1972). Negative attraction and negative concord. *Language*, 48, 773-818.
- Lamb, S. (1964a). On alternation, transformation, realization and stratification. *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics*, 17, 105-122.
- Lamb, S. (1964b). The sememic approach to structural semantics. *American Anthropologist*, 66(3), 57-78.
- Lapesa Melgar, R. (1964). Los casos latinos: restos sintácticos y sustitutos en español [Latin cases: syntactic remains and substitutes in Spanish]. *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 44(171), 57-106.
- Lavid, J., Arús, J., & Zamorano Mansilla, J. R. (2010). *Systemic functional description of Spanish. A contrastive study with English*. London: Continuum.
- Lemke, J. L. (1984). *Semiotics and education*. [Toronto Semiotic Circle Monographs,

- Working Papers and Prepublications 2]. Victoria University, Toronto.
- Li, C.N. (Ed.), *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press.
- Lüdtke, J. (1990). Observaciones sobre el alcance del concepto de auxiliaridad en español [Observations on the scope of the concept of auxiliaryity in Spanish]. In G. Wotjak & A. Veiga (Eds.), *La descripción del verbo español* (pp. 199-206). Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.
- Lyons, J. (1966). Towards a 'notional' theory of the 'parts of speech'. *Journal of Linguistics*, 2(2), 209-236.
- Lyons, J. (1977). *Semantics* (2 vols). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maas, U. (2004). Finite and non-finite from a typological perspective. *Linguistics*, 42(2), 359-385.
- Malinowski, B. (1920). Classificatory Particles in the Language of Kiriwina. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1(4), 33-78.
- Malinowski, B. (1923/1949). The problem of meaning in primitive languages. In C. K. Ogden & I. A. Richards (Eds.), *The meaning of meaning. A study of the influence of language upon thought and of the science of symbolism* (10th ed., pp. 296-336). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited.
- Malinowski, B. (1935). *Coral gardens and their magic: a study of the methods of tilling the soil and of agricultural rites in the Trobriand Islands* (Vol. 2). London: Allen & Unwin.
- Martin, J. R. (1983). Participant identification in English, Tagalog and Kate. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 3(1), 45-74.
- Martin, J. R. (1990). Interpersonal grammatization: mood and modality in Tagalog. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 21(1), 2-50.
- Martin, J. R. (1992a). *English text: system and structure*. Philadelphia/Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Martin, J. R. (1992b). Theme, method of development and existentiality: the price of reply. *Occasional Papers in Systemic Linguistics*, 6, 147-183.
- Martin, J. R. (1995). More than what the message is about: English Theme. In M. Ghadessy (Ed.), *Thematic development in English texts* (pp. 223-258). London/New York: Pinter.
- Martin, J. R. (1995). Text and clause: fractal resonance. *Text*, 15(1), 5-42.
- Martin, J. R. (1996a). Metalinguistic diversity: the case from case. In R. Hasan, C. Cloran & D. Butt (Eds.), *Functional descriptions. Theory in practice* (pp. 325-374). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Martin, J. R. (1996b). Transitivity in Tagalog: a functional interpretation of case. In M. Berry, C. Butler, R. Fawcett & G. Huang (Eds.), *Meaning and form: systemic functional interpretations. Meaning and choice in language: Studies for Michael Halliday* (pp. 229-296). New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Martin, J. R. (1996c). Types of structure: deconstructing notions of constituency in clause and text. In E. H. Hovy & D. R. Scott (Eds.), *Computational and conversational discourse: Burning issues - an interdisciplinary account*. Heidelberg: Springer.
- Martin, J. R. (1999). Mentoring semogenesis: 'genre-based' literacy pedagogy. In F. Christie (Ed.), *Pedagogy and the shaping of consciousness* (pp. 123-155). London: Continuum.

- Martin, J. R. (2004a). Grammatical structure: what do we mean? In C. Coffin, A. Hewings & K. O'Halloran (Eds.), *Applying English grammar: functional and corpus approaches* (pp. 57-76). London: Arnold.
- Martin, J. R. (2004b). Metafunctional profile of the grammar of Tagalog. In A. Caffarel, J. R. Martin & C. M. I. M. Matthiessen (Eds.), *Language typology. A functional perspective* (pp. 255-304). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Martin, J. R. (2008). What kind of structure. Interpersonal meaning and prosodic realisation across strata. *Word*, 59(2), 1-31.
- Martin, J. R. (2010). Semantic variation: modelling realization, instantiation and individuation in social semiosis. In M. Bednarek & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *New discourse on language: functional perspectives on multimodality, identity, and affiliation* (pp. 1-34). London: Continuum.
- Martin, J. R. (2011a). Metalinguistic divergence: centrifugal dimensionality in SFL. *Annual Review of Functional Linguistics*, 3, 8-32.
- Martin, J. R. (2011b). Multimodal semiotics: theoretical challenges. In S. Dreyfus, S. Hood & S. Maree (Eds.), *Semiotic margins: meaning in multimodalities* (pp. 243-268). London: Continuum.
- Martin, J. R., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1991). Systemic typology and topology. In F. Christie (Ed.), *Literacy in Social Processes: papers from the inaugural Australian Systemic Linguistics Conference, held at Deakin University, January 1990* (pp. 345-383). Darwin: Centre for Studies in Language in Education, Northern Territory University.
- Martin, J. R., & Rose, D. (2003). *Working with discourse: meaning beyond the clause* (1st ed.). London: Continuum.
- Martin, J. R., & Rose, D. (2007). *Working with discourse: meaning beyond the clause* (2nd ed.). London: Continuum.
- Martin, J. R., & Rose, D. (2008). *Genre relations: mapping culture*. London: Equinox.
- Martin, J. R., Matthiessen, C. M. I. M., & Painter, C. (2010). *Deploying functional grammar*. Beijing: The Commercial Press.
- Martínez Celdrán, E., & Fernández Planas, A. M. (2007). *Manual de fonética española. Articulaciones y sonidos del español [Manual of Spanish phonetics. Spanish articulations and sounds]*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Mathesius, V. (1933). Double negation and grammatical concord. In *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie offerts à J. van Ginneken* (pp. 1-33). Paris: C. Klincksieck.
- Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1988). Representational issues in systemic functional grammar. In J. D. Benson & W. S. Greaves (Eds.), *Systemic functional approaches to discourse* (pp. 136-175). Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.
- Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1995). *Lexicogrammatical cartography: English systems*. Tokyo: International Language Sciences Publishers.
- Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1996). TENSE in English seen through systemic-functional theory. In M. Berry, C. Butler, R. Fawcett & G. Huang (Eds.), *Meaning and form: systemic functional interpretations* (pp. 431-498). New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004a). Descriptive motifs and generalisations. In A. Caffarel, J. R. Martin & C. M. I. M. Matthiessen (Eds.), *Language typology. A functional perspective* (pp. 537-664). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004b). The evolution of language: a systemic functional exploration of phylogenetic phases. In G. Williams & A. Lukin (Eds.), *The development of language. Functional perspectives on species and individuals* (pp. 45-90). London: Continuum.
- Matthiessen, C. M. I. M., & Halliday, M. A. K. (1997/2009). *Systemic functional grammar: a first step into the theory*: Higher Education Press.
- Matthiessen, C. M. I. M., Teruya, K., & Canzhong, W. (2008). Multilingual studies as a multi-dimensional space of interconnected language studies. In J. Webster (Ed.), *Meaning in context: implementing intelligent applications of language studies* (pp. 146-220). London/New York: Continuum.
- Mendikoetxea, A. (1993). Los clíticos como categorías subléxicas de concordancia [Clitics as sublexical agreement categories]. In O. Fernández Soriano (Ed.), *Los pronombres átonos* (pp. 205-230). Madrid: Taurus Universitaria.
- Mendikoetxea, A. (1999). Construcciones inacusativas y pasivas [Unaccusative and passive constructions]. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (Eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española. Las construcciones sintácticas fundamentales. Relaciones temporales, aspectuales y modales* (Vol. 2, pp. 1575-1629). Madrid: Espasa.
- Moyano, E. (2010). El sistema de Tema en español: una mirada discursiva sobre una cuestión controvertida [Theme system in Spanish: a discursive view on a controversial issue]. In E. Ghio & M. D. Fernández (Eds.), *El discurso en español y portugués. Estudios desde una perspectiva sistémico-funcional*. Santa Fe: Universidad Nacional del Litoral.
- Moyano, E. (2012). *Theme in the Spanish clause: Outline for a systemic description*. Paper presented at the 39th International Systemic Functional Congress (ISFC), University of Technology of Sydney, Sydney, Australia.
- Navarro Tomás, T. (1944). *Manual de entonación española [Manual of Spanish intonation]*. Madrid: Guadarrama.
- O'Donnell, M., Zappavigna, M., & Whitelaw, C. (2008). A survey of process type classification over difficult cases. In C. Jones & E. Ventola (Eds.), *From language to multimodality: new developments in the study of ideational meaning* (pp. 47-64). London: Equinox.
- Palmer, F. R. (2001). *Mood and modality* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, F. R. (Ed.). (1968). *Selected papers of J.R. Firth, 1952-59*. Bloomington /London: Indiana University Press.
- Parot, C. L. (Writer & Director). (2002). *Estadio Nacional* [documentary film, DVD]. Santiago: Alerce.
- Penny, R. (2002). *A history of the Spanish language* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Picallo, M. C., & Rigau, G. (1999). El posesivo y las relaciones posesivas [The possessive and possessive relations]. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (Eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española. Sintaxis básica de las clases de palabras* (Vol. 1, pp. 973-1023). Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Pike, L. K. (1959). Language as particle, wave and field. *The Texas Quarterly*, 2(2), 37-54.
- Pike, L. K. (1971). *Linguistic concepts: An introduction to tagmemics*. Lincoln/London:

University of Nebraska Press.

- Pinuer, C. (1999). Adscripción y ecuatividad en español [Ascription and equation in Spanish]. *Onomázein*, 4, 169-180.
- Pinuer, C. (2005). Copulativas de identificación en español: aspectos funcionales, semánticos y pragmáticos [Identifying copular sentences in Spanish: functional, semantic and pragmatic aspects]. *Literatura y lingüística*, 16, 263-280.
- Poynton, C. (1990). The privileging of representation and the marginalising of the interpersonal: a metaphor (and more) for contemporary gender relations. In T. Threadgold & A. Cranny-Francis (Eds.), *Feminine/masculine and representation* (pp. 231-255). Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Quiroz, B. (2008). Towards a systemic profile of the Spanish MOOD. *Linguistics and the Human Sciences*, 4(1), 31-65.
- RAE (Real Academia Española y Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española). (2009). *Nueva gramática de la lengua española [New grammar of the Spanish language]* (2 vols). Madrid: Espasa Libros.
- Rodríguez, M. J. (2000). Percepción directa e indirecta en español. Diferencias semánticas y formales [Direct and indirect perception in Spanish. Semantic and formal differences]. *Verba: Anuario galego de filoloxia*, 27, 33 -85.
- Rojo, G. (1974). La temporalidad verbal en español [Verb tense in Spanish]. *Verba: Anuario galego de filoloxia*, 1, 68-149.
- Rojo, G. (1990a). Relaciones entre temporalidad y aspecto en el verbo español [Relations between tense and aspect in the Spanish verb]. In I. Bosque (Ed.), *Tiempo y aspecto en español* (pp. 17-43). Madrid: Cátedra.
- Rojo, G. (1990b). Sobre los complementos adverbiales [On adverbial complements] *Homenaje al profesor Francisco Marsá. Jornadas de Filología* (pp. 153-171). Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.
- Rojo, G., & Veiga, A. (1999). El tiempo verbal. Los tiempos simples [Verb time. The simple tenses]. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (Eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española. Las construcciones sintácticas fundamentales. Relaciones temporales, aspectuales y modales*. (Vol. 2, pp. 2867-2934). Madrid: Espasa.
- Roldán, M. (1972). Concerning Spanish datives and possessives. *Language Sciences*, 21, 27-32.
- Rose, D. (2001). Some variations in Theme across languages. *Functions of Language*, 8(1), 109-145.
- Saltarelli, M. (1976). Theoretical implications in the development of accusativus cum infinitivo. In M. Luján & F. Hensey (Eds.), *Current studies in Romance linguistics* (pp. 88-99). Washington, DC: : Georgetown University Press.
- Sánchez López, C. (1999). La negación [Negation]. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (Eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española. Las construcciones sintácticas fundamentales. Relaciones temporales, aspectuales y modales*. (Vol. 2, pp. 2561-2634). Madrid: Espasa.
- Saussure, F. d. (1916/1995). *Cours de linguistique générale*. Paris: Payot & Rivages.
- Schachter, P. (1976). The Subject in Philippine languages: topic, actor, actor-topic or none of the above? In C. N. Li (Ed.) (pp. 491-518).
- Silva-Corvalán, C. (1980-1981). La función pragmática de la duplicación de pronombres clíticos [The pragmatic function of pronominal clitic doubling]. *Boletín de Filología de la Universidad de Chile: Homenaje a Ambrosio*

- Rabanales*, XXXI, 561-570.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. (1981). The diffusion of object-verb agreement in Spanish. *Papers in Romance*, 3(2), 163-176.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. (1983). On the interaction of word order and intonation: some OV constructions in Spanish. In F. Klein-Andreu (Ed.), *Discourse perspectives on syntax* (pp. 117-140). London: Academic Press.
- Suñer, M. (1980). Demythologizing the impersonal “se” in Spanish. *Hispania*, 59(2), 268-275.
- Suñer, M. (1988). The role of agreement on clitic-doubled constructions. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 6(3), 391-434.
- Suñer, M. (1995). Negative elements, island effects and resumptive *no*. *The Linguistic Review*, 12, 233-273.
- Terrell, T. (1976). Assertion and presupposition in Spanish complements. In M. Luján & F. Hensey (Eds.), *Current studies in Romance linguistics* (pp. 221-245). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Terrell, T., & Hooper, J. (1974). A semantically based analysis of Mood in Spanish. *Hispania*, 57(3), 484-494.
- Teruya, K. (2004). Metafunctional profile of the grammar of Japanese. In A. Caffarel, J. R. Martin & C. M. I. M. Matthiessen (Eds.), *Language typology. A functional perspective* (pp. 185-254). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Teruya, K., Akerejola, E., Andersen, T. H., Caffarel, A., Lavid, J., Matthiessen, C. M. I. M., Petersen, U. H., Patpong, P., Smedegaard, F. (2007). Typology of MOOD: a text-based and system-based functional view. In R. Hasan, C. M. I. M. Matthiessen & J. Webster (Eds.), *Continuing discourse on language. A functional perspective* (Vol. 2, pp. 859-920). London: Equinox.
- Tesnière, L. (1959). *Éléments de syntaxe structurale [Elements of structural syntax]*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Tornel Sala, J. L. (2001-2002). Perífrasis verbales y consideraciones metodológicas (I y II) [Verbal periphrases and methodological considerations (I and II)]. *Contextos*, 37-40, 39-88.
- Vásquez Luncumilla, H. (Ed.). (2010). *Una luz sobre la sombra: detenidos desaparecidos y asesinados de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile*. Santiago: Universidad Católica de Chile.
- Veiga, A. (2004). La forma verbal ‘cantaba’ y la estructura modo-temporal del sistema verbal español [Verb form ‘cantaba’ and the mood and temporal structure of the Spanish verb system] In L. García Fernández & B. Camus Bergareche (Eds.), *El pretérito imperfecto* (pp. 96-193). Madrid: Gredos.
- Vendler, Z. (1957). Verbs and times. *The Philosophical Review*, 66(2), 143-160.
- Vendler, Z. (1967). *Linguistics in philosophy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Ventola, E. (1987). *The structure of social interaction: a systemic approach to the semiotics of service encounters*. London: Frances Pinter.
- Whorf, B. L. (1945). Grammatical categories. *Language*, 21(1), 1-11.
- Whorf, B. L. (1956). Discussion of hopi linguistics. In J. B. Carrol (Ed.), *Language, thought and reality: selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf* (pp. 102-111). Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Zwicky, A. M. (1977). *On clitics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.