

Towards a systemic profile of the Spanish MOOD

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Abstract

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 organization of the clause, and moving on to the realization of 'subjecthood' and 'finiteness'. Subsequently, a general MOOD system network is outlined, including discussion of the systemic contrasts motivating its features and their structural realization. Finally, a number of issues emerging from this discussion are raised.

KEYWORDS: SPANISH, SFL TYPOLOGY, LEXICOGRAMMAR, SYSTEMIC DESCRIPTION.

Introduction

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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 characterizations 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 organization, 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'.

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:

- (a) are metafunctionally diversified, i.e. that cover simultaneously interpersonal, ideational and textual meaning-making resources;
- (b) are primarily located in the lexicogrammatical stratum, as the key level interfacing the 'content' and 'expression' planes in language;
- (c) explore the realization of lexicogrammatical meanings along the rank scale moving from the clause, to the group/phrase, to the word (or to the morpheme, as required);
- (d) take the clause as the point of origin of systemic lexicogrammatical description;
- (e) interpret meaning-making choices at the clause as *features* organized in systems (and subsystems), specifying their structural output; and
- (f) 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 realizations show significant variation. For example, the structural realization 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).

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, 2010, 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 and Lavid, 2001; Arús, 2003, 2006, 2010; Lavid and Arús, 2004; Lavid *et al.*, 2010). 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 Fernández, 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, 1996b, 2004; Caffarel, 2004; 2006) remains in early stages of development.

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 organization 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 realized in the basic Spanish MOOD system.

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 realization in verbal exchanges.

An initial important consideration regarding interpersonal systems is, accordingly, the assumption that such systems at clause rank realize interpersonal choices made by speakers in discourse, which is modelled at higher levels of abstraction. One starting point for the description of interpersonal systems is therefore the exploration of resources for the exchange of goods-and-services, through proposals, and the exchange of information, through propositions (Halliday, 1984, 1985/1994; Martin, 1992; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). At the discourse semantic stratum, this distinction has been formalized in the form of the SPEECH FUNCTION system, whose main variables are presented in Table 1.

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 realization in lexicogrammar. Specifically, the general assumption is that each speech function variable is congruently realized, in lexicogrammar, by specific MOOD choices (Figure 1).

Table 2: Speech function variables and their congruent realizations in lexicogrammar

| | Information | Goods & services |
|-----------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| giving | statement: declarative | offer: (various) |
| demanding | question: interrogative | command: imperative |

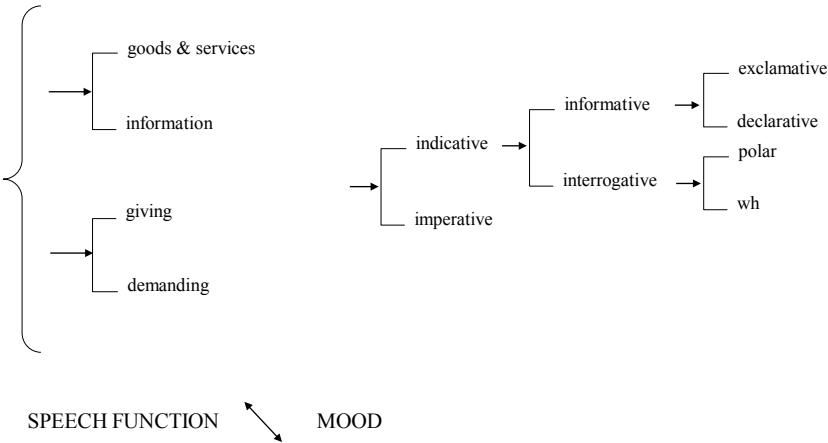


Figure 1: Interstratal relation between SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD systems

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 inter-

personal discourse semantic choices are realised in the clause tend to be similar (Teruya *et al.*, 2007; Matthiessen *et al.*, 2008). Thus, propositions for the exchange of information are congruently realized in the MOOD system by indicative clauses (including declarative and interrogative clauses), whereas proposals for the exchange of goods-and-services are congruently realized 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 organization 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 realizes, 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 (Figures 2 and 3).

As seen in Figure 2 below, 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 in turn 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 realizes the 'nub' of the negotiation, i.e. the person held modally responsible for the proposal or proposition, whereas the Finite realizes 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 organized 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 (see Figure 4 below).

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 realized by the verbal group are located near the 'Predicator-based' pole. As seen in Figure 4, Teruya *et al.* locate Spanish towards the lower section of the cline.

| | 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: 464–465)

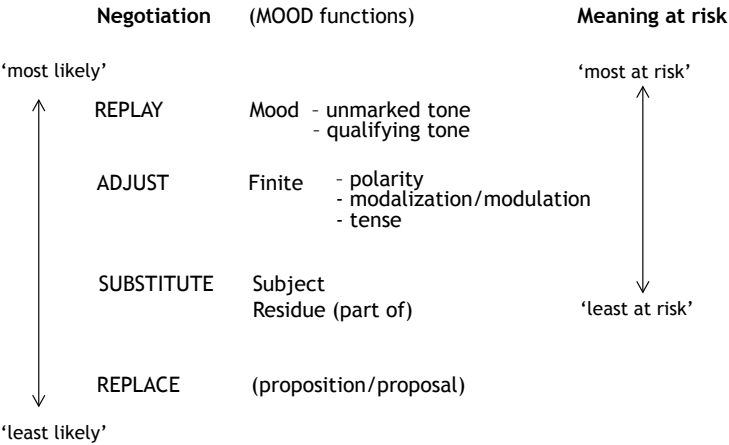


Figure 3: Negotiation, risk and Subject selection in English (from Martin, 1992:464)

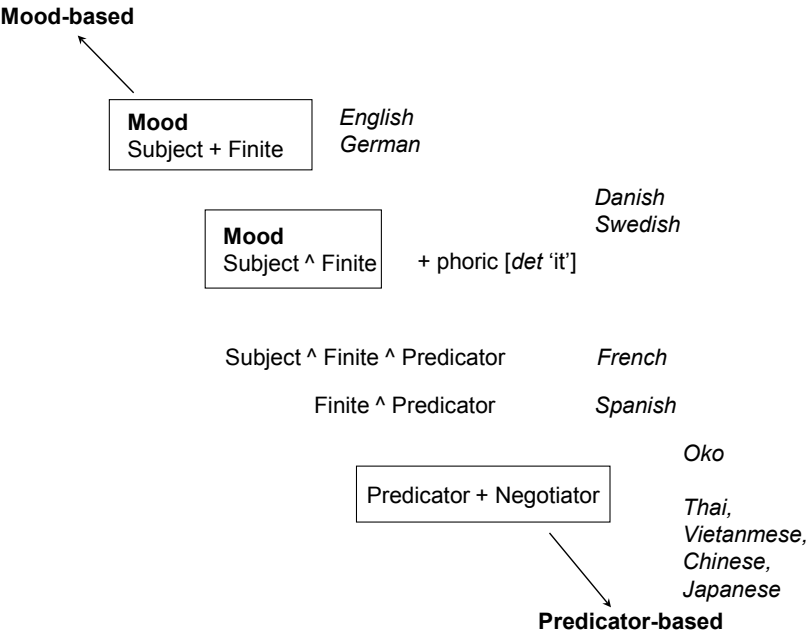


Figure 4: Cross-linguistic exploration of the basic interpersonal structure (Teruya *et al.*, 2007)

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 organize 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 realized in particular ways in the French clause, but also in other Romance languages, as work conducted in Portuguese has shown (Gouveia, 2010). In her interpretation of the negotiatory resources in the clause, the Predicator, realized 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 rank).¹ 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; Martin, 1992; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) (Figure 5).

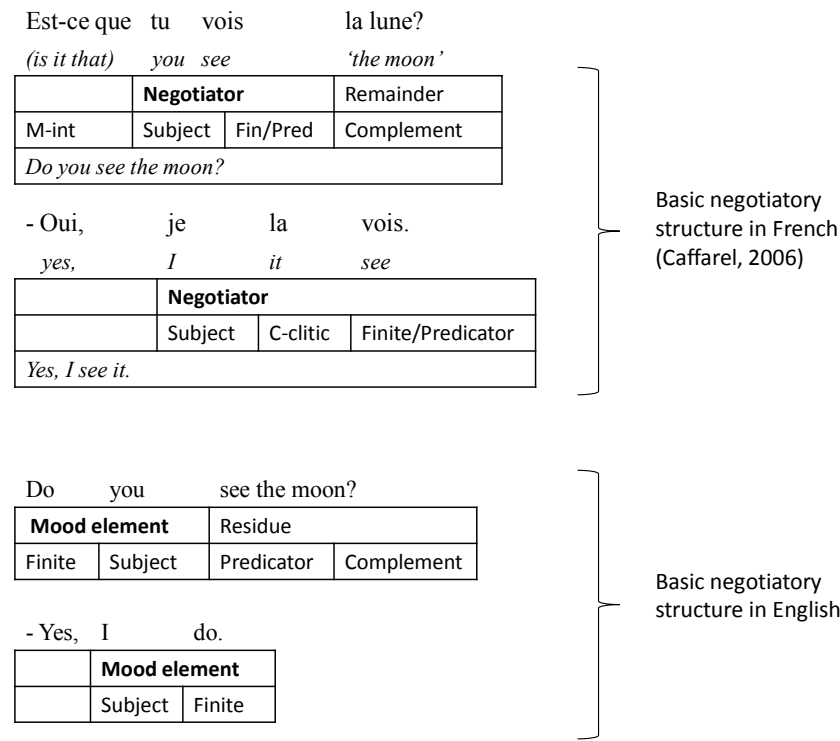


Figure 5: Basic negotiatory structures in French and English

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 realizing the Finite/Predicator function. In addition, these key interpersonal functions at clause rank, within the Negotiator, are crucial for the realization of MOOD selections in lexicogrammar (Caffarel, 2004, 2006).

This generalization 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 Monty Python sketch analysed by Martin (1992: 464–465), currently available in YouTube² (English back translation below each clause):

Example 1: Spanish version of Monthy Python’s argument sketch

| | |
|----|---|
| A1 | <p>¡oiga! ESTO <u>no es</u> una discusión</p> <p>this not be an argument</p> <p>PRS/IND</p> <p>3ps</p> <p><i>'hey! THIS <u>isn't</u> an argument'</i></p> |
| B1 | <p>sí <u>lo es</u></p> <p>yes it be</p> <p>ACC PRS/IND</p> <p>3ps 3ps</p> <p><i>'yes (<u>it</u>) is that'</i></p> |
| A2 | <p><u>son</u> solo contradicciones</p> <p>be only contradictions</p> <p>PRS/IND</p> <p>3pp</p> <p><i>'(<u>they</u>) are only contradictions'</i></p> |
| B2 | <p>no lo <u>son</u></p> <p>not it be</p> <p>ACC PRS/IND</p> <p>3ps 3pp</p> <p><i>'(<u>they</u>) are not that'</i></p> |
| A3 | <p>sí <u>son</u></p> <p>yes be</p> <p>PRS/IND</p> <p>3pp</p> <p><i>'yes (<u>they</u>) are'</i></p> |
| B3 | <p>no lo <u>son</u></p> <p>not it be</p> <p>ACC PRS/IND</p> <p>3ps 3pp</p> <p><i>'(<u>they</u>) are not that'</i></p> |

| | |
|----|---|
| A4 | <p>¡<u>lo son!</u></p> <p>it be</p> <p>ACC PRST/IND</p> <p>3ps 3pp</p> <p>'<u>(they) are that!</u>'</p> <p>¡<u>me acaba de contradecir!</u></p> <p>me finish contradict</p> <p>ACC PRS/IND INF</p> <p>1ps 2ps</p> <p>'<u>(you) just contradicted me!</u>'</p> |
| B4 | <p><u>no lo he hecho</u></p> <p>not it do</p> <p>ACC PST-PRS/IND</p> <p>3ps 1ps</p> <p>'<u>(I) haven't done it</u>'</p> |
| A5 | <p>¡<u>lo hizo!</u></p> <p>it do</p> <p>ACC PST/IND</p> <p>3ps 2ps</p> <p>'<u>(you) did it</u>'</p> |
| B5 | no no no no no |
| A6 | <p><u>lo acaba de hacer</u> de nuevo</p> <p>it finish do again</p> <p>ACC PRS/IND INF</p> <p>3ps 2ps</p> <p>'<u>(you) just did it again</u>'</p> |
| B6 | <p>no no, <u>son</u> TONTERÍAS</p> <p>be stupid things</p> <p>PRS/IND</p> <p>3pp</p> <p>'no no, <u>it is</u> nonsense'</p> |

| | |
|----|---|
| A7 | <p>ESTO es basura</p> <p>this be rubbish</p> <p>PRS/IND</p> <p>3ps</p> <p>'this <u>is</u> rubbish'</p> |
| B7 | <p>no lo es</p> <p>not it be</p> <p>ACC PRS/IND</p> <p>3ps 3ps</p> <p>'(it) <u>is not that</u>'</p> |
| A8 | <p>entonces deme un buen argumento</p> <p>then give-me a good argument</p> <p>PRS/SUBJ-DAT</p> <p>2ps 1ps</p> <p>'then <u>(you) give me a good argument</u>'</p> |
| B8 | <p>USTED no me ha dado un buen argumento</p> <p>you not me give a good argument</p> <p>PRON DAT PST.P/IND</p> <p>1ps 2ps</p> <p>'you <u>(you) haven't given me a good argument</u>'</p> |
| A9 | <p>DISCUTIR Y CONTRADICIR no es lo mismo</p> <p>argue and contradict not be the same</p> <p>INF INF PRS/IND</p> <p>3ps</p> <p>'TO ARGUE AND TO CONTRADICT <u>(it) is not the same</u>'</p> |
| B9 | <p>puede ser</p> <p>may/can be</p> <p>MD/PRS/IND INF</p> <p>3ps</p> <p>'(it) <u>can be</u>'</p> |

| | |
|-----|---|
| A10 | <p>¡no, <u>no puede</u>!</p> <p>no, not can</p> <p>PRS/IND</p> <p>3ps</p> <p>'no, <u>(it) can not!</u>'</p> <p>DISCUTIR <u>es</u> dar</p> <p>argue be give</p> <p>INF PRS/IND INF</p> <p>3ps</p> <p>'to argue <u>(it)is</u> to give</p> <p>una serie de opiniones</p> <p>a series of opinions</p> <p>para llegar a una opinión común</p> <p>for arrive to a opinion common</p> <p>INF</p> <p>to reach a common opinion'</p> |
| B10 | <p><u>no lo es</u></p> <p>not it be</p> <p>ACC PRS/IND</p> <p>3ps 3ps</p> <p>'<u>it is not that</u>'</p> |
| A11 | <p><u>sí lo es</u></p> <p>yes it be</p> <p>ACC PRS/IND</p> <p>3ps 3ps</p> <p>'yes <u>(it) is that</u>'</p> <p><u>no es</u> nada más contradecir</p> <p>not be nothing more contradict</p> <p>PRS/IND INF</p> <p>3ps</p> <p>'<u>(it) is not just to contradict</u>'</p> |

| | |
|-----|---|
| B11 | <p><u>mire</u> look PRS/SUBJ 2ps '(you) look'</p> <p>si <u>discuto</u> con usted if argue with you PRS/IND PRON 1ps 2ps 'if (I) argue with you'</p> <p><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'</p> |
| A12 | <p>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''</p> |
| B12 | <p>que sí that yes</p> |
| A13 | <p>que no that not</p> |
| B13 | <p>LA DISCUSIÓN <u>es</u> un proceso intelectual the argument be a process intelectual PRS/3ps 'AN ARGUMENT (it) is an intellectual process'</p> <p>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'</p> |

| | |
|-----|--|
| A14 | <u>no lo es</u> not it be ACC PRS/IND 3ps 3ps '(it) is not that' |
| B14 | <u>sí 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 realizing modal responsibility. While in these subtles 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 contrad<i>i</i>jo!</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:

- (a) 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 realized by clitics (accusative and/or dative) at group rank;
- (b) 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 realized conflated along with the ‘nub’. In other words, in Spanish dialogue the ‘nub’ and ‘terms’ of the negotiation, i.e., the meanings most at risk, are centred in the verbal group itself.

The following extracts taken from a service encounter on the phone (cable tv technical support)³ illustrate how these basic components realized by the verbal group are also crucial for the congruent realization of SPEECH FUNCTIONS selections in lexicogrammar (in the Spanish original, verbal groups appear underlined and the verbal morphology in bold face).

Figure 6 shows the congruent realization of a STATEMENT, by means of an indicative clause (C5) as well as the congruent realization of QUESTIONS by means of polar and non-polar interrogative clauses (A5, A15, A16). The participants held modally responsible for the propositions involved are realized solely by the verbal morphology coding ‘person’. The contrast between the congruent realization 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).

| | | |
|-----|---|---|
| C5 | <u>no cambia</u> los canales 'not' 'it changes' 'the channels' PRS/IND 3rd sing | <u>(it does)</u> n't change 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)</u> n't change 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 | ¿cancel <u>Ó</u> el día de ayer? 'you pay' 'the day of yesterday' PST/IND 2nd sing | <u>(did you)</u> pay 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</u>) pay]? 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 realization of statements and questions in Spanish

As for the realization on COMMANDS, the following pattern can be observed in an extract from a second dialogue (Figure 7) 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.

This extract shows a series of commands whose realization ranges from 'non-congruent', by means of indicative clauses, to 'congruent', by means of imperative clauses. In them, the verbal morphology realizes 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').⁴ Again, as seen in previous examples, crucial interpersonal meanings are centred in the verbal group, involving the use of a specific range of verbal morphology at word rank for the realization 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 realized by the verbal affixation coding 'person', along with other important interpersonal distinctions realized conflated in the verbal morphology.⁵

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| | 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 | <u>(I) need</u> that <u>(you) turn</u> on 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 | <u>(I) need</u> that <u>(you) turn</u> on the two decos COMMAND: non-congruent, indicative clause |
| | <u>prende</u> el cable 'turn on' 'the cable' IMP (2nd sing) | <u>(you) 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 | <u>(you) 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 realization of commands in Spanish

These short extracts show that both the ‘nub’, i.e. the modally responsible person, and the ‘terms’ of the negotiation are realized 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.

The analysis in Figure 8a shows the basic interpersonal structure of the Spanish clause, where the Negotiator is realized by the verbal group, may include the negative polarity marker ‘no’ leading the sequence. The relevant functions that make the Spanish clause arguable are realized 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 8b.

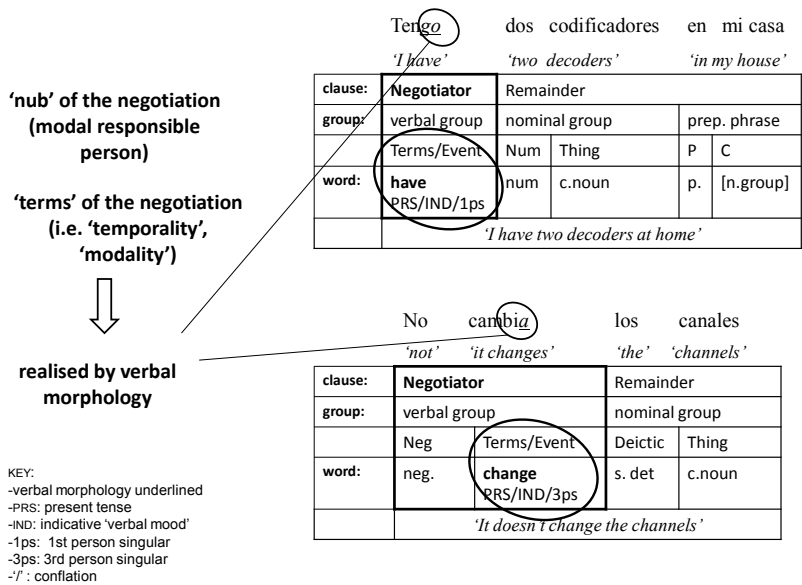


Figure 8a: Basic structure of the Negotiator in Spanish

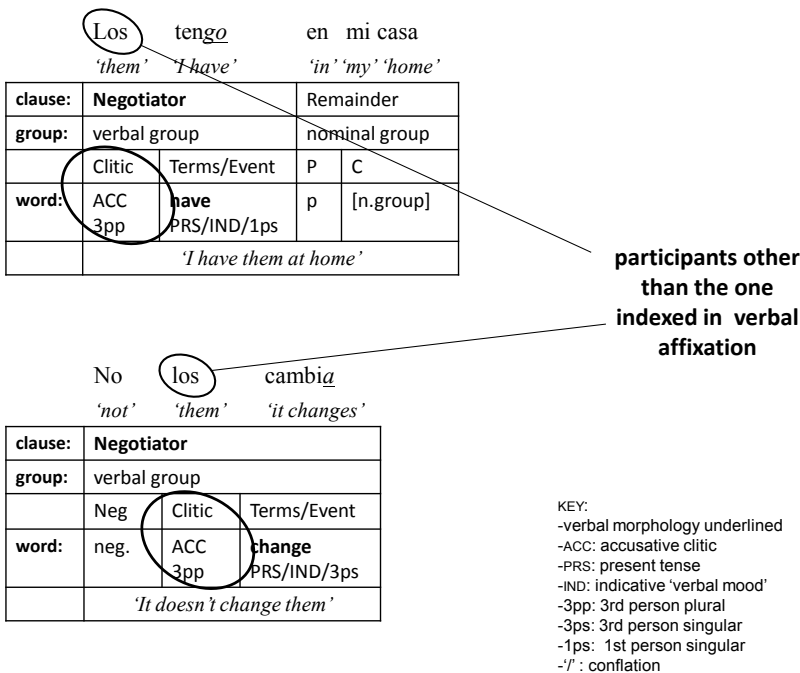


Figure 8b: Basic structure of the Negotiator in Spanish, with clitics

Unlike French and Portuguese (Caffarel, 2006; Gouveia, forthcoming), a structural Subject is not proposed here as part of the Negotiator,⁶ nor discrete a Finite, since in strict interpersonal accounts 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 realized 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 accounts); in contrast, this structural element is assumed to realize 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 Bentivoglio, 2003; Cameron and Flores-Ferrán, 2004; Silva-Corvalán, 2003; Amaral and Schwenter, 2005; Comajoan, 2006). In systemic functional terms, such a nominal group is not realizing 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 realization by a separate Finite element is unmotivated in Spanish, since it is not possible to single out such a distinct function at clause rank.⁷ It seems more appropriate to consider that ‘finiteness’ is realized by the verbal group realising the Negotiator as whole, even in complex tenses, as shown in Figure 8c.

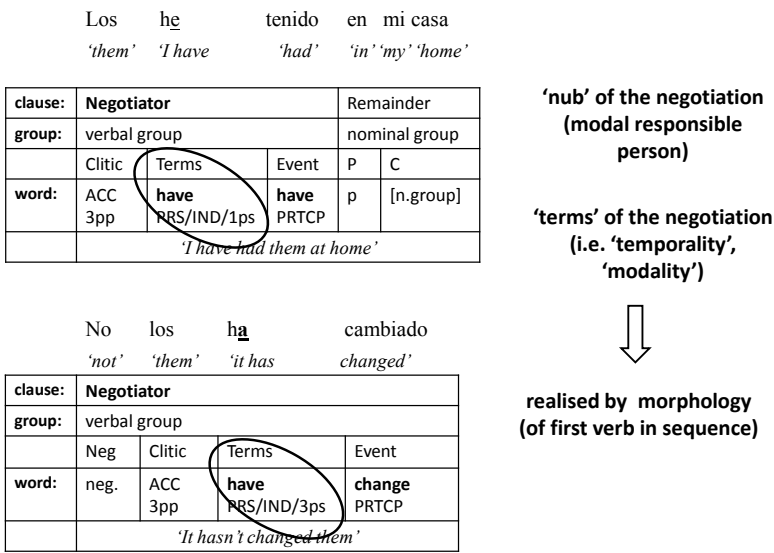


Figure 8c: Basic structure of the Negotiator in Spanish, complex tense

Unlike French (Caffarel, 2006), no interpolation (eg. by negative or modal-ity markers) can be used to recognize a Finite function as shown in Figure 9.

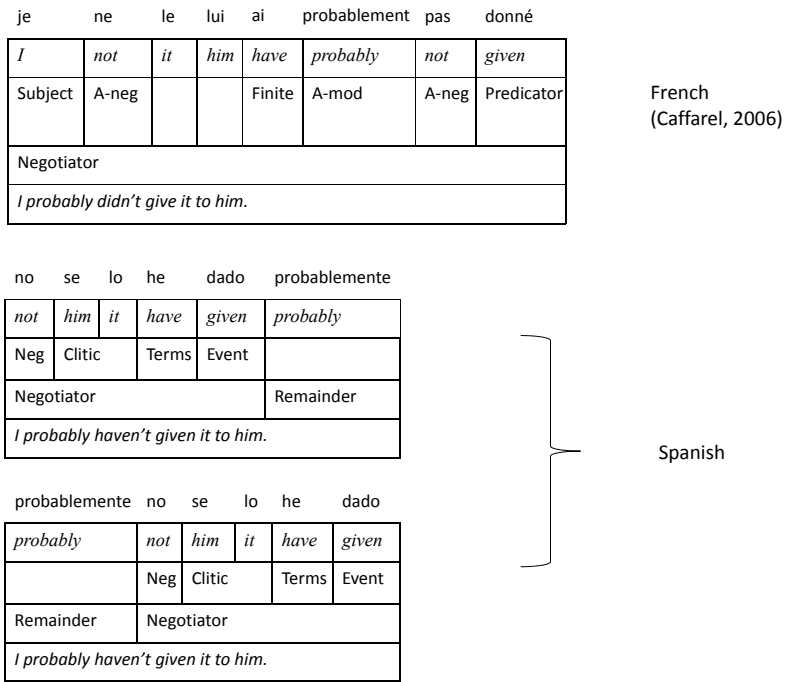


Figure 9: Modal and Polarity Adjuncts in French and Spanish

Figure 9 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,⁸ 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 realized by the whole verbal group, and not just the element realizing primary tense;⁹ 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 realizing 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 realization 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 realized 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 realized 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 organization of the Spanish clause is compared with the interpersonal grammar of English (Halliday, 1985, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004):

- (a) 'subjecthood' in English has been characterized '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 realization of modal responsibility, which is realized 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 realization of proposals, unlike English (see below choices under [imperative]).
- (b) in general, 'finiteness' is associated in SFL descriptions with the arguability of the proposition (Halliday, 1985, 1994). Seen in this light, arguability is realized 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 realized within the Negotiator through selections made at group and word rank.¹⁰

In sum, it is suggested that the Spanish Negotiator, primarily realized 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 realized simultaneously within the domain of the verbal group as a whole.

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 organization of the interpersonal system of MOOD¹¹ in the lexicogrammatical stratum is primarily motivated by the organization of choices in speech function, at discourse semantics. In terms of systemic description this means that SPEECH FUNCTION choices are congruently realized by primary features in the MOOD system (Figure 10).

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 realization of systemic choices overall (Matthiessen, 2004; Teruya *et al.*, 2007; Matthiessen *et al.*, 2008).

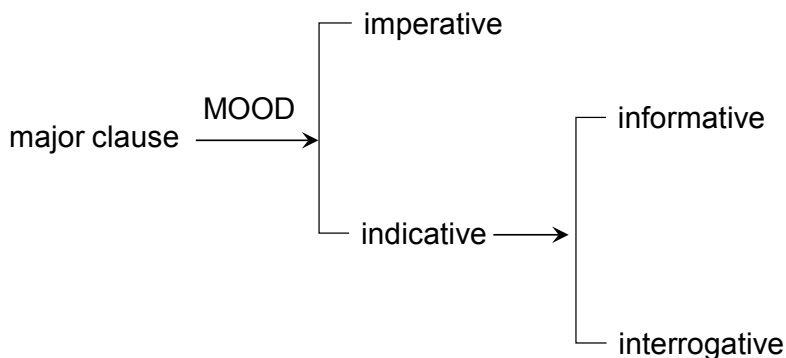


Figure 10: Primary MOOD choices across languages

As for the structural realization of interpersonal choices, SFL theory has established that features of interpersonal systems in general are associated with **prosodic** types of realization; interpersonal meanings in other words are ‘spread out’ across the clause, in contrast to ‘particulate’ ideational meanings, and ‘periodic’ textual meanings (Martin, 1992; Martin 1996b; 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 realized, 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 realized 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* realized 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 realization 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 organization within the clause is fundamental for a better understanding of the way in which Spanish speakers negotiate roles and commodities in discourse.

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 realizing [indicative] and its general absence in structures realizing [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 realization 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 traditionally known as ‘present/subjunctive mood’ morphology (PRS/SUB).¹² 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 11 (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 3ps | 'Turn it on for me!' | ¡No <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> <u>prenda</u> s! not 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ |
| Addressee: sing: formal (jussive) | ¡Prénd <u>a</u> me <u>lo</u> ! 'turn on'-'for me'-'it' PRS/SUBJ-DAT-ACC 2psf 1ps-3ps | | ¡No <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> <u>prenda</u> ! not 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ |
| Addressee: plural (jussive) | ¡Prénd <u>a</u> me <u>lo</u> ! 'turn on'-'for me'-'it' PRS/SUBJ-DAT-ACC 2pp 1ps-3ps | | ¡No <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> <u>prenda</u> n! not 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ |
| Addressee & Speaker (hortative) | ¡Prénd <u>á</u> me <u>so</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> <u>prenda</u> mos! not 'for 3rd prs' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ |
| Third party: sing (optative) | ¡Que <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> <u>prenda</u> ! 'Que' 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ 1ps 3ps 3ps | 'Let her/him give it to me!' | ¡Que <u>no</u> <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> <u>prenda</u> ! 'Que' 'not' 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ |
| Third party: pl (optative) | ¡Que <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> <u>prenda</u> n! 'Que' 'for me' 'it' 'turn on' DAT ACC PRS/SUBJ 1ps 3ps 3pp | 'Let them give it to me!' | ¡Que <u>no</u> <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> <u>prenda</u> n! '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 co-referential 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,¹³ this language allows a number of possibilities for the realization 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 realizations indicated by a slanted arrow, below the corresponding feature) (Figure 12).

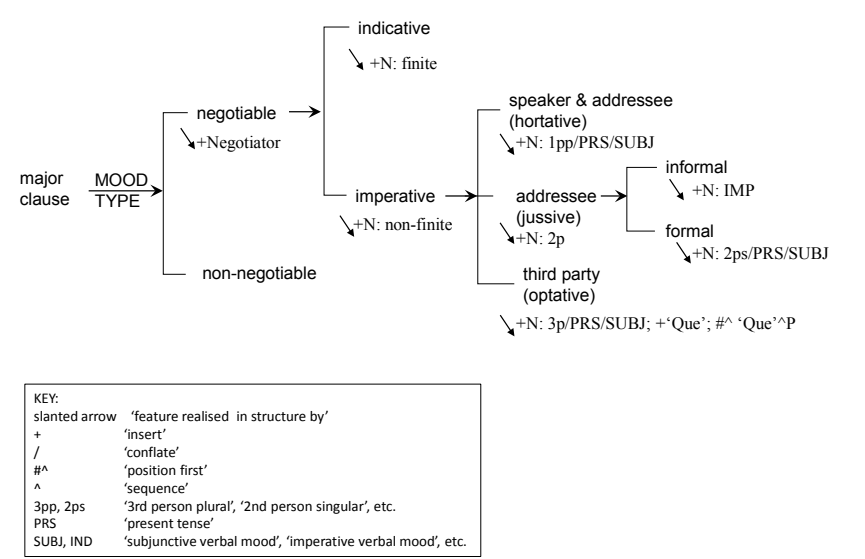


Figure 12: Choices under [imperative] in Spanish

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 realized 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-finite¹⁴ (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 realizing 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 realized 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 Example 2 below (Negotiator underlined, verbal morphology in bold face):

Example 2: Indicative clauses, including distinctions in ‘person’, ‘tense’, ‘aspect’ and ‘verbal mood’.

| | | |
|-----|---|--|
| (1) | No <u>ha</u> dado un buen argumento. 2ps-formal/PST-PRS/IND | (You) haven’t <u>given</u> a good argument. |
| (2) | Siempre <u>do</u> y 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>dare</u> mos un buen argumento. 1ps/FUT/IND | (We) won’t <u>give</u> a good argument. |
| (5) | Siempre <u>daba</u> n un buen argumento. 3pp/PST. IMPRF/IND | (They) always <u>gave</u> a good argument. |
| (6) | Nunca <u>has</u> dado un buen argumento. 2ps/PST-PRS/IND | (You) <u>have</u> never <u>given</u> a good argument. |
| (7) | Ojalá <u>haya</u> dado un buen argumento 3ps/PST-PRS/SUBJ | (I hope) <u>s/he has given</u> a good argument. |
| (8) | Tal vez <u>demo</u> s un buen argumento. 1ps/PRS/SUBJ | Maybe (we) <u>will give</u> a good argument. |
| (9) | Nunca <u>dar</u> ía un buen argumento. 2ps/CND/IND | (S/he) <u>would</u> never <u>give</u> a good argument. |

Example 2 shows that the realization 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 realized 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 realization of multiple meanings realized at word rank, a property that

Spanish shares with Romance languages in general. In this regard, the SFL typological generalization 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,¹⁵ 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</u> ha <u>dado</u> . ACC 2ps-formal/PST-PRS/IND | (You) haven't give <u>it</u> . |
| Siempre <u>lo</u> do y. ACC 1ps/PRS/IND | (I) always give <u>it</u> . |
| Recién <u>lo</u> d i. ACC 1ps/PST/IND | (I) just gave <u>it</u> . |
| No <u>lo</u> da re mos . ACC 1pp/FUT/IND | (We) won't give <u>it</u> . |
| Siempre <u>lo</u> da ba n . ACC 3pp/PST/IMPRF/IND | (They) always gave <u>it</u> . |
| Nunca <u>lo</u> ha s <u>dado</u> . ACC 2ps/PST-PRS/IND | (You) have never given <u>it</u> . |
| Ojalá <u>lo</u> ha ya <u>dado</u> . ACC 3ps/PST-PRS/SUBJ | (I hope) s/he has given <u>it</u> . |
| Tal vez <u>lo</u> de mo s . ACC 1pp/PRS/SUBJ | Maybe (we) will give <u>it</u> . |
| Nunca <u>lo</u> da r ía . ACC 2ps/CND/IND | (S/he) would never give <u>it</u> . |

Moving on to more delicate choices under [indicative], the contrasts include [informative] for the realization of STATEMENTS, and [interrogative] for the realization of QUESTIONS, (as found by Caffarel in French, 2004, 2006). However, as summarized by Cid *et al.* (2000), further contrasts under [interrogative] in Spanish are basically realized by rising intonation for [polar] (graphically expressed in writing by the use of double question points enclosing the clause) and the presence of a Qu-element for [non-polar] interrogative clauses (cf. French, which offers a number of possibilities for the realization of [polar], Caffarel, 2006):

- (7) Me has dado un buen argumento
me you-have a good argument
'You have given me a good argument'
[informative:declarative]
- (8) ¿Me has dado (ya) un buen argumento?
me you-has given (already) a good argument?
'Have you given me a good argument (already)?'
[interrogative: polar]
- (9) ¿Qué es un buen argumento?
Qu-int it-is a good argument?
'What is a good argument?'
[interrogative: non-polar]

As for the feature [informative: exclamative], this is realized by the presence of a prominent exclamative element, 'Qu-ex', leading the sequence:

- (10) ¡Qué buen argumento me has dado!
What good argument me you-have given
Qu-ex DAT PRS/IND PRTCP
 1ps 2ps
'What a good argument you have given to me!'
- (11) ¡Qué buen argumento es!
What good argument it-is
Qu-ex PRS/IND
 3ps
'What a good argument it is!'

Thus systemic choices under [indicative] are represented in Figure 13.

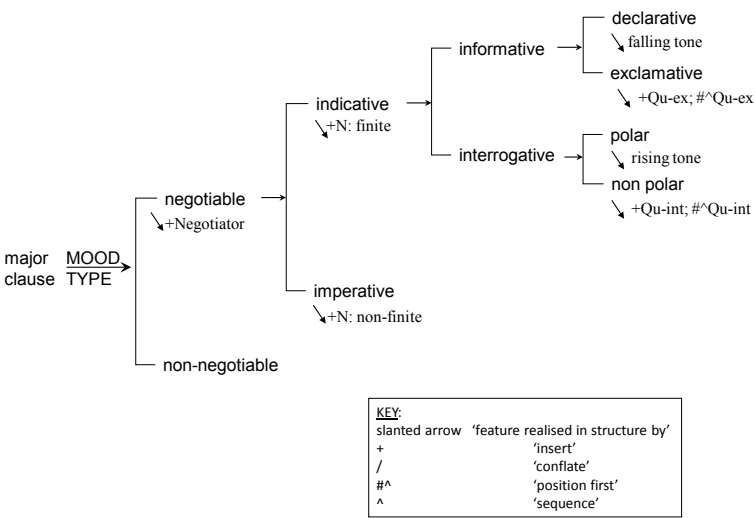


Figure 13: Choices under [indicative] in Spanish

Based on the key contrasts primarily realized by the verbal group, including the positioning of clitics and selections at word rank, a system network for the Spanish MOOD is proposed in Figure 14.

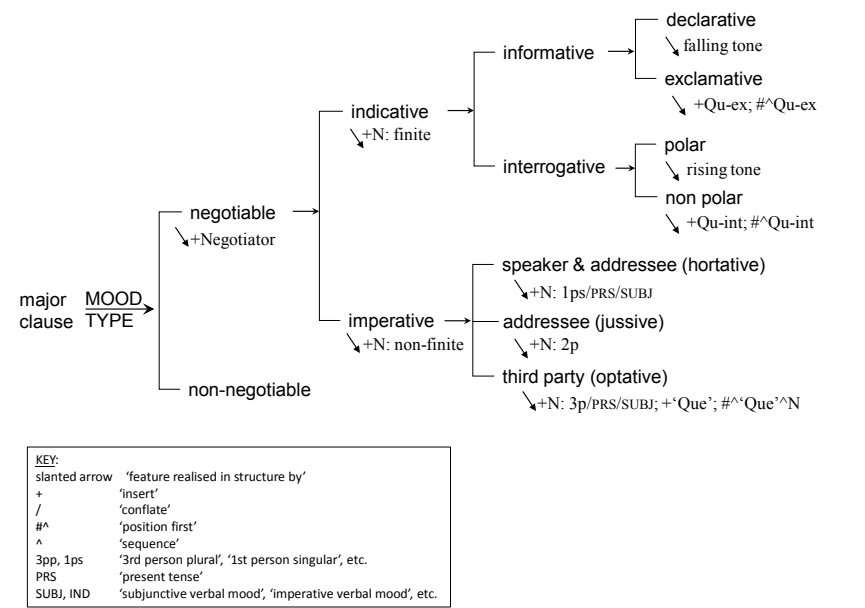


Figure 14: A MOOD system network for Spanish

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 realized 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 organization of meanings within the verbal group realizing the negotiatory function proposed.

The perspective adopted has proven to be useful in this characterization 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 organization 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 characterization 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 realizes a different metafunction, in a different system (arguably, in SFL terms, systems organizing textual and/or experiential meanings), as already suggested by evidence from non-SFL approaches addressing grammatical resources in spoken Spanish (Bentivoglio, 2003; Cameron and Flores-Ferrán, 2004; Silva-Corvalán, 2003; Amaral and Schwenter, 2005; Comajoan, 2006). 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 realization of key interpersonal meanings, a close exploration of its systemic and structural organization is crucial for a better understanding of the Negotiator as the central function realizing MOOD choices, as well as the interplay with other interpersonal systems, i.e. MODALITY and POLARITY.

Notes

1 But not, as it is discussed by Caffarel, at group rank, in which Complements can be realized by clitics that are part of the negotiation (Caffarel, 2004).

2. 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=4KzLLYsIPvE>. Transcription of English original in Martin, 1992: 465–466.

3. 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.

4. See note 5 below.

5. Meanings conflated in the verbal affixation at work rank include (a) 'temporality' in terms of 'present', 'past' and 'future' (PRS, PST, FUT, respectively); (b) 'verbal mood', including 'indicative', 'subjunctive' and 'imperative' morphology (IND, SUBJ, IMP, respectively), and (c) '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 notes 11 and 12 below for further explanation on the 'verbal mood' label at word rank.

6. 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.

7. For the different 'probes' used in the recognition of this function in English, cf. Halliday, 1985/1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

8. '*' conventionally used to show ungrammaticality of following structure.

9. However, some modal verbs might be picked up in dialogue, as seen in turn A10, Example 1.

10. Just as discussed by Gouveia (2010) for Portuguese, in Spanish the recognition of a single Finite element in verb group complexes is not evident on grammatical grounds (cf. the realization of 'future' in Portuguese, which can be applied 'as is' to Spanish).

11. 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.

12. 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 realization 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'.

13. Including functional grammars by Hernández Alonso (1996) and Alarcos Llorach (1994), well-known in the field of Hispanic linguistics.

14. This is so, in spite of the fact that, at work rank, it is still realized by an inflected (or, in traditional terms, 'finite') verb.

15. 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, 1993, 1999; Suárez, 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, 1993).

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