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**INTRICATE CASES IN CLAUSES IN SFG CONCERNING  
THE GRAMMAR OF BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE**

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“Não desistam do seu desejo. Não desistam das suas ambições. Não é fácil ... mas tem que perseverar por mais que tenha sido difícil o período que você atravessou. Mas você não pode abrir mão do seu legado, da sua obra, do seu trabalho, daquilo que te faz feliz. E correr sempre atrás do que você deseja”.

(Dr. Lidio Toledo Filho, médico que, mesmo paralítico e cadeirante, voltou a operar.  
Fonte Fantástico de 10/10/2010)

## **HOMENAGENS ESPECIAIS**

À minha querida mãe e em memória do meu querido pai.

À minha esposa amada pela paciência e compreensão.

Aos meus adoráveis filhos por terem sido tão pacientes.

Aos meus queridos irmãos e suas respectivas famílias.

Em memória do meu querido tutor Prof. Dr. José Luiz Meurer

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**ABSTRACT****Intricate Cases in Clauses in SFG concerning the Grammar of  
Brazilian Portuguese**

by

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By acknowledging that in Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) a “disproportionate amount of research relates to English” and that this fact is what renders the theory “ill-balanced”, Halliday (1994) suggests that languages are not alike since each language has what might be called general predilections for certain linguistic patterns (Baker, 1992). By recognising that SFG is a ‘logocentric’ theory but the description of a language is ‘glottocentric’, Halliday attests that “the theory is not ‘anglocentric’ but the description of English is” (Halliday, 1996, p. 33). Under this overall umbrella and taking into account that the concept of grammaticalisation is the basis for a systemic grammar whereby meaning is construed by means of networks of interrelated contrasts, which are better seen in terms of logogenetic patterns in the unfolding of a message by means of clauses, which are “the mainspring of grammatical energy” (Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p.50), I carry out an ideational interpretation on intricate cases in the discussion of clauses as representation in SFG concerning the Grammar of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) under a contrastive study with English. This study takes into account both branches of the ideational metafunction: the experiential and the logical line of meaning in order to see in which way the grammar of the Brazilian Portuguese language can be used to construe meaning. In the experiential metafunction the focus is on TRANSITIVITY in an ample sense related to the general system comprising its various subsystems. In the logical metafunction the intention is to supply the necessary foundation for a better understanding of segmentation of clauses in BP. In reason of that this study comprises the interpretation of ‘rankshifted’ clauses besides the diversified hypotactic verbal group complexes, which are notions that are required for a better understanding of segmentation of clauses in Transitivity, in this sense, related to the processes and other constituents

of the clause. This language description study reveals that although both languages share many similarities, BP seems to differ in some aspects from English in how its grammar construes meaning ideationally. Because this study accounts for the Brazilian Portuguese language specificity, mainly in issues that tend to cause hindrance in text analysis, it may serve as a point of reference for undergraduates, postgraduates, academics in text analysis and for secondary school activities. Additionally, it may also offer further contribution to studies of language in use and serve as a backbone for a future introductory functional grammar of the BP language that may reflect the peculiarities inherent in the language and be applied principally in secondary school level as a powerful tool for text activities, chiefly under a critical reading perspective.

Key words: SFG, metafunctional profile, intricate clauses

(247 pages – approx. 75,000 words)



## RESUMO

### **Casos Complexos em Orações na GSF concernente à Gramática do Português Brasileiro**

por

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Ao reconhecer que na Gramática Sistêmico-Funcional (GSF) “uma quantidade desproporcional de pesquisas estão relacionadas com a língua inglesa” e que esse fato é o que torna a teoria “não representativa em outras línguas” (minha tradução), Halliday (1994) sugere que as línguas não são iguais porque cada língua possui o que poderíamos chamar de preferências gerais por certos padrões lingüísticos (Baker, 1992). Ao afirmar que a GSF é uma teoria ‘logocêntrica’ e que a descrição de uma língua é ‘glotocêntrica’, Halliday confirma que “a teoria não é ‘anglocêntrica’ e sim a descrição da língua inglesa” (Halliday, 1996, p. 33). Tendo esses fatos em consideração, juntamente com o conceito de gramaticalização, que é a base para uma gramática sistêmica, na qual o significado é construído através de redes de contrastes interrelacionados que são melhor percebidos em termos de padrões logogenéticos no desenvolvimento de uma mensagem por meio de orações, as quais são “a mola mestra da energia gramatical” (Halliday e Matthiessen (2004, p.50), investigo a interpretação do perfil ideacional em casos complexos dentro da discussão de orações como representação dentro da GSF concernente à gramática do português brasileiro (PB) em um estudo contrastivo com o inglês. Esse estudo compreende ambas as ramificações da metafunção ideacional: a linha experiencial e a lógica, objetivando averiguar como a gramática do português brasileiro constrói significado. Na metafunção experiencial, o foco está na TRANSITIVIDADE em um sentido amplo, relacionado com o sistema geral, compreendendo seus vários sub-sistemas. Na metafunção lógica, a intenção é prover a base necessária para um melhor entendimento de segmentação de orações no PB. Em razão disso, esse estudo abarca a interpretação de orações encaixadas, além dos diversos complexos de grupos verbais hipotáticos, os quais são noções cruciais para um melhor entendimento da segmentação de orações dentro da Transitividade,

nesse sentido, relacionado com os processos e os outros constituintes da oração. Esse estudo descritivo revela que, embora ambas as línguas compartilhem muito das similaridades, a gramática do PB parece diferir da gramática do inglês em alguns aspectos no que concerne à construção de significados ideacionais. Como essa investigação responde às especificidades da gramática do português brasileiro, especialmente no que tange a assuntos que tendem a trazer dificuldades para análise de textos, ela poderá servir de ponto de referência para alunos de graduação, pós-graduandos e acadêmicos em análise de textos, além de atividades de textos em escolas secundárias. Além disso, esse estudo poderá oferecer subsídios às pesquisas concernentes à linguagem em uso do PB e servir como base para uma futura introdução de uma gramática sistêmico-funcional de modo que possa refletir as especificidades do idioma e ser aplicada principalmente em escolas secundárias como uma poderosa ferramenta para atividades de análise de texto, mormente no que tange a uma perspectiva de leitura crítica.

Palavras chaves: GSF, perfil metafuncional, orações complexas

(247 páginas – aprox. 70.000 palavras)

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Context of investigation

A good definition for linguistics is “language about language” (Halliday, 2009, p.139). Language, according to Halliday (1985, p. xvi), is a “system for making meaning” and “has evolved to satisfy human needs” (ibid, p. xiii). Although this is a fact, “we are still very ignorant of many aspects of the part language plays in our lives” (Halliday, 2009, p. 207). When we use language, “we are both observing the environment and intruding on it” (ibid, p. 3). This may explain why the search for finding better ways to understand the nature of language has still been the focus of diverse studies along the years (Williams, 2000; Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006, p. ii).

To date, a great number of renowned scholars have contributed to shed more light into how language is put into use. The past decades have seen an enormous advance in new “approaches to text/discourse analysis” (Turner, 1987, p. 64). Among them, scholars such as Grice’s (1975) cooperative principles and the four conversational maxims (quantity, quality, relevance and manner); Beaugrand and Dressler’s (1981) seven standards of textuality (cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality); and Fairclough’s (1992, 2004) three-pronged constitutive power of discourse in Discourse Analysis (knowledge and belief, social relations, and social identities) have been of great help in language investigations.

Other approaches to language and/or theories have also become important tools to understand language in use, such as Structuration Theory (see Giddens, 1984; Cohen, 1989; Meurer, 2004, 2006), which is concerned with role prescriptions, social positions and social identities, besides its concern with social practices within social structures as well; and Rhetorical Structures and their Parameters of Textualisations (see Hoey, 1983; Winter, 1994; Fairclough, 2003), which is an approach to language that attempts to explicate how a text producer utilises linguistic resources in order to signal to the reader how a message is encapsulated in its meaning potential.

Parallel to linguistics being regarded as the study of languages, so is grammatics in relation to grammar. In this sense, grammatics is the study of grammar, which may be defined as “a theory of experience of

everyday life” (Halliday, 2009, p.139). In attempts to identify better ways to deal with written and spoken language that may represent this experience of everyday life, scholars have unremittingly developed grammars throughout decades. As noted, during decades, a great number of scholars, namely Lyons (1968), Hopper and Thompson (1980), Quirk et al (1985), Levin (1993), Francis et al (1996) and Hunston and Francis (1999) have elaborated works which take into account possible verb and possible semantic classifications of arguments in relation to the description of a verb and its semantic connection to a recurrent pattern (Neale, 2002). Therefore, these approaches are mainly directed towards how meaning can be construed although grammars have been traditionally concerned with description of “syntagm-formation phenomena” (Hasan, 1987, p. 185), which is dissimilar to the SFG approach, as I shall show in the next sections and chapters.

## 1.2 About Functional grammars

Grammars that are not based on forms but upon functions are usually known as functional grammars, and may be different in some aspects, as I shall demonstrate below. First, let me emphasise that it was Halliday who first proposed that TRANSITIVITY should be regarded as a property of clauses rather than verbs. According to Halliday (1985, p. xiii), any language is “organized around two main kinds of meaning, the ‘ideational’ or reflective, and the ‘interpersonal’ or active”. It is these two kinds of meanings that combine to form another kind of meaning, the textual, which organises the message as a whole. As Halliday argues, there is not a clear cut between semantics and grammar. What has to be observed is that “a functional grammar is one that is pushed in the direction of semantics” (ibid).

However, some functional grammars may focus on different perspectives, such as (a) Case Grammar Theory (Fillmore, 1966, 1968), which relies upon a semantic valence theory that aims at describing the logical form of a sentence by means of both a predicate and an ordered sequence of case-labelled arguments such as Agent, Object, Location, Source and Goal (see also Chafe, 1970; Anderson, 1971; Jackendoff, 1972; Cruse, 1973; Cook, 1979, 1989), i.e. it is a theory of grammatical analysis created to analyse sentences within a combination of a verb plus a set of deep cases known as semantic roles. In other words, it “deals with sentence semantics” (Cook, 1989, p. 181); (b) Lexical-Functional Grammar, in that the lexical entry (or *semantic form*) comprises

information about the meaning of the lexical item, its argument structure, and the grammatical functions (e.g. subject, object, etc.), which associate with those arguments. The verb ‘eat’, for example, will have a predicate argument structure consisting of an agentive argument associated with Subject and a Patient or Theme argument related to the Object function (see Kaplan and Bresnan, 1982); (c) Theory of Functional Grammar, which was devised to study the internal structure of the clause and its syntactic, pragmatic and semantic roles (see Dik, 1989); (d) Construction Grammar approach to argument structure, which proposes to be a theory of syntax in which constructions are the central unit of grammatical representation (see Goldberg, 1995); and (e) Cardiff Grammar, which is an approach to Transitivity within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) in that its tenets originate primarily from the ideas first presented by Fawcett in his paper ‘Generating a sentence in a systemic functional grammar’, being lengthened in his book ‘Cognitive Linguistics and Social Interaction’ (see Fawcett, 1973, 1980).

Unlike the syntagm-formation phenomena description only, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), as the name implies, is a theory based upon functions and systems. The system is related to the options we have in language, which “is as it is because of what it has to do” (Halliday, 1973, p. 34). The reason why this approach to language resides upon functionality is the fact that it accounts for how language is used (Halliday, 1985, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). Thus, the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) – which has as distinctive a concern with what a decision of using a particular linguistic choice from a paradigmatic axis may imply in some contexts (context of culture and context of situation) – does not have in its core a concern with grammatical correctness (see Martin, Matthiessen and Painter, 1997) because it abandons this traditional way of looking to grammar. Instead, the systemic functional model follows an approach in favour of a grammar which is “foreshadowed by Saussure 1916, Hjelmslev 1961 and Firth 1951” (Hasan 1987, p. 185). In this sense, the grammar of any language is treated as a network with prominence in paradigmatic relations (ibid). In reality, SFG goes in a reverse direction if compared with traditional grammar approaches, which usually depart from syntax towards meaning. In SFG, language is interpreted as a system of meanings accompanied by forms which realise the meaning lexicogrammatically. Hence, forms do not have an end in themselves, but are regarded as a means to an end (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; McCarthy, 1991; Halliday, 1985, 1994). Hence, lexicogrammar offers

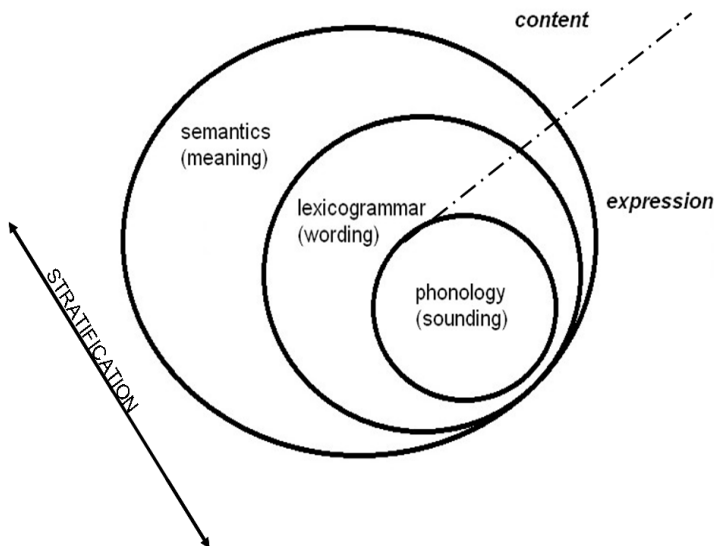
language a way to create infinite meanings from a finite set of structures (Thompson, 1996, 1999).

However, according to some linguists outside the theory, it is difficult to understand how SFL theory works since it has undergone considerable changes over the years, for instance between Halliday (1961) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), and these changes have been made by accretion rather than by replacement, which they say justifies their concern that new alterations may still occur in the theory (Butler, 2003). This difficulty to understand SFL may be further enhanced by the fact that there is a second 'version' of systemic theory, the one devised by Fawcett and known as Cardiff Grammar. Fawcett focuses on a model of language which encompasses both cognitive and social aspects, with particular emphasis on "a treatment of grammar in which it is seen not as an entity on its own, but part of a mentality" (Fawcett, 1973, p. 181) whereas the Sydney school focuses on the social aspects imbricated in language. These versions are also known as Fawcett's Cardiff Grammar and Halliday's Sydney Grammar known as Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). Thus, in some theories the construction of experience may also be thought of as knowledge while in SFG knowing is treated as meaning "construed in language" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006, p. 1). Since information is treated as meaning in SFG, not as knowledge, language is interpreted principally as a social semiotic system "rather than a system of the human mind" (ibid, p. 2). That means that when experience is interpreted as meaning, as in SFG, meaning is seen as "an act of collaboration, sometimes of conflict and always of negotiation" (ibid). Furthermore, any "representation of knowledge" is construed "in semiotic systems", in which, more often than not, language plays the central role (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006, p. 3).

Something that is central to diminish the obscurity raised by linguists outside the theory is the fact that SFL is different from other theories in how to deal with the unit taken as basic to linguistic description. SFL takes the text rather than sentences as its object. That means that a text is a semantic unit, not a grammatical unit. In this sense both Cardiff Grammar and SFG stand under the same tenets because both theories are functional and systemic although they diverge in some aspects, namely on how to deal with processes and participant roles.

Thus, SFG is a theory of language that looks at language as a resource that is subdivided into three strata differentiated in accordance with its order of abstraction as seen in Fig.1.1, involving semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology. The lexicogrammar is the stratum that I

shall be concerned with. In this dimension, grammar and lexis are seen not as separate components since lexis is simply looked at as “the most “delicate” end of the (unified) lexicogrammar” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006, p. 5, original emphasis).



**Fig.1.1** Language as tri-stratal system (from Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, 2006, p. 5)

In SFG the terms are usually different from the ones used in traditional grammars because the labels typically take into account the function of the constituent in the clause. Thus, Halliday highlights the reason why he avoids some terms in the theory, such as syntax and pragmatics. Syntax is a label usually used in traditional grammar to replace grammar, and this usage stems from “the philosophy of language” in which “syntax is opposed to semantics”, and this is a “context in which ‘pragmatics’ may come in as third term” (Halliday, 1994, p. xiv). According to Halliday there is no need to make a distinction between *semantic meaning*, i.e. about what a word or sentence means, and *pragmatic meaning*, i.e. what a speaker means by uttering that word or sentence.

I explain below some of the aspects that I take as relevant to justify my contrastive investigation with English under the SFG tenets in order to see whether the description of English can be thoroughly applied or whether there is need for some adaptation to deal with some intricate cases in the discussion of clauses as representation concerning the Grammar of Brazilian Portuguese (BP).

Thus, this doctoral thesis is situated in the studies of applied linguistics and its motivation is to attempt to find simplified ways to cause SFG to be more attractive especially for secondary school teachers and students so that this powerful tool can reach more comprising sectors of society and be not kept confined only at a university level. Therefore, the intention behind this study is not to go against the tenets provided by Halliday and other great names in the SFG theory but to find alternative ways to meet the needs of secondary school environment as attested in Gonzaga (2007). The approach I suggest, emphasising the logical Subject in an Affected-oriented pursuit, may replace both the transitive and ergative ways to analyse clauses and this alone is a significant simplification for treatment of clauses in secondary school environment since the Participant Roles are also simplified. In the next sections I shall explain how I plan to do in order to reach this goal.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem and significance of the research**

It is important to know that the concept of grammaticalisation is the basis for a systemic grammar, whereby meaning is construed by means of networks of interrelated contrasts. This is better seen in the unfolding of a message by means of clauses. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 50), the clause is “the mainspring of grammatical energy”. However, before zeroing in to the clause, we should be aware of the relationship between class (form) and function when dealing with discourse analysis (see Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; McCarthy, 1991; Davidse, 1996; Fawcett, 2001), which is the first of the items I shall present below in order to discuss the statement of the problem and significance of this research.

#### **1.3.1 About form and function and meaning**

In the exploration of a “semiotic interface between grammar and semantics”, linguists have attempted to “formulate their specific



descriptive hypotheses in terms of either “expression” or “motivation” construals” (Davidsen, 1996, p. 337, author’s own emphasis). Most linguists seem to opt for a mix of both although there is predominance of one over the other (ibid). Halliday (1994, p. xx) chooses to locate this descriptive field as “functional grammar”, which he considers as “an interpretation of linguistic forms”.

The utilisation of the term ‘function’ has been with us for a long time and has been wide-ranging in linguistics. For instance, Malinowski (1923) uses the term ‘function in context’ to refer to the idea of meaning, which is further elaborated by Firth (sometimes known as the founder of modern British linguistics) in his ideas of internal and external contexts (Gregory, 1987, p. 94). According to Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), who have devised “the framework for discourse analysis” (Turner, 1987, p. 66), although focusing upon syntagmatic relations, there must be a distinction between grammar – concerned with the formal properties of an item, and discourse – with what the speaker is employing the item for. This is because, in their view, function is what the components in a clause are signalling in terms of meaning, independently of what they really are in terms of traditional grammar. That means that there may be ambiguity when a linguistic form of an utterance does not necessarily correspond to the functional intent of some utterance. Therefore, which function a particular grammatical item accomplishes can only be determined on the basis of its place in the overall discourse. Thus, “[f]unction in language deals with how people use language and how language varies according to its use” (Halliday, 2009, p. 85).

In discourse analysis, it is the function of words that is the hub of the analysis. Discourse analysis deals with the study of the connection between language and the contexts in which it is utilized. However, to McCarthy (1991, p. 9), “it is language forms, above all, which are the raw material of language teaching”, which in turn, aims at enabling learners to use language functionally. In other words, “[t]he class of an item indicates in a general way its *potential range of grammatical functions*” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 52, their own emphasis).

Form and meaning have been a concern in language studies for many years. Sweet, back in 1891<sup>1</sup>, already distinguished two ways of looking at language: the formal side, “concerned with the outer form of

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<sup>1</sup> Available at

[http://books.google.com.br/books?id=6i\\_IHeb443gC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summy\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.com.br/books?id=6i_IHeb443gC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summy_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false), and accessed on July 16, 2010.

words and sentences”, and the logical side, “which is concerned with their inner meanings” (ibid, p. 6 ). According to Halliday (1970), this hinted at Sweet’s preoccupation on the “awareness of the simultaneity of different structures in a clause” (in Gregory, 1987, p. 95).

Meaning in linguistics needs to be employed in a comprising way so that it can cover both contextual meaning and formal meaning. Thus, “if we want to understand how language works, we must realise that form, the purely internal patterning of language, is also meaningful” (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens, 1964, p.p. 37-38). In other words, “meanings do not ‘exist’ before the wordings that realise them” because meanings are construed “out of the impact between our consciousness and its environment” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, p. 17).

The Hallidayan meaning-oriented grammar is based upon a theory that elects ‘function’ as its nub rather than ‘form’. Hence, a clause such as (1) may have different points of departure and functions since Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 56) argue that there are three types of subjects in a clause: (i) *grammatical subject*, (ii) *psychological subject* and (iii) *logical subject*. The grammatical Subject is “that which something is predicated” (*Subject*); (ii) the psychological Subject is “that which is the concern of the message” (*Theme*); and (iii) the logical Subject is the “doer of the action” (*Actor*).

(1)	My son	gave	my wife	those flowers
	Grammatical Subject ( <i>Subject</i> )			
	psychological Subject ( <i>Theme</i> )			
	Logical Subject ( <i>Actor</i> )			

There are cases, in which all types of Subjects can conflate as shown in clause (1). Nevertheless, the text producer may wish to alter the clause ordering and may structure the clause as follows.

(1a)	Those flowers	my wife	was given	by my son
	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Subject</i>		<i>Actor</i>

(1b)	By my son	those flowers	were given	to my wife
	<i>Theme / Actor</i>	<i>Subject</i>		

(1c)	Those flowers	were given	by my son	to my wife
	<i>Subject / Theme</i>		<i>Actor</i>	

We can see that the components of the clause may have distinct functions, as *those flowers*, which works as Subject in clause (1c) and Theme in (1a) and (1c). The nominal group *my wife* functions as Subject only in clause (1a), and although it could have the function of Theme, this function was not explored in the examples. Notice also that, although the participant *my son* can fit in other functions in the clause, it is the only constituent that becomes permanent in all clauses, repeating the same function since this is the nominal group that is the doer of the action affecting *those flowers*. This illustrates the relevance of this function in text analysis, which is actualised in the lexicogrammar of Transitivity as Actor, regardless of its position in the clause. Therefore, I maintain that a Brazilian Portuguese metafunctional profile as a meaning-oriented grammar, having as its central feature the focus upon the function and not on the form – besides being concerned with the social – can be of immeasurable value for Brazilian teachers and students since in this approach language is to be understood not only at a level for learning language as substance in a linguistic domain, i.e. for learning language uniquely, or as instrument in an extralinguistic domain, i.e. for learning through language, but also as object in a metalinguistic domain, i.e. for learning about language (Halliday, 1999).

Thus, language must be “interpreted as a system of meanings”, accompanied by forms through which meanings can be actualised. The question to be raised is how these meanings are to be expressed, which places the forms of a language in the perspective of “a means to an end, rather than an end in themselves” (Halliday, 1994b, p. xiv). This leads us to understand that

the full creative power of an act of meaning arises from the fact that language both construes and enacts. It is not only a way of thinking about the world; it is also, at one and at the same time, a way of acting on the world – which means, of course, acting on the other people in it (Halliday, 2009, p. 4).

However, that does not mean that Halliday places more prominence in a “functional semantics” (Halliday, 1994, p. xx) since he justifies that by claiming that “the face of the grammar that is turned to the semantics is hardly illuminated at all” (Halliday, 1985, p. xxxv).

### 1.3.2 About correctness and linguistic choices

With the advent of written representations by means of codifications in traditional grammars, there was also the introduction of formal rules about language usage, which have, since then, been the basis for linguistic regulations. As soon as new rules are established and developed, it is praxis that a prescriptive concept of grammatical correctness is imposed, which, as a result, more often than not, creates an abyss between what can and cannot be uttered or written. For instance, there “is a belief among some powerful groups that there is a ‘standard’ grammatical form of English, which is considered ‘correct’ English, and that public use of English should adhere to this ‘correct’ grammatical form” (Unsworth, 2001, p. 24, original emphasis), which is something also true in BP.

Reasons given for the widespread attack on some language approaches and/or conventional grammars are that they have resulted in repetitive and time-consuming instructions, have not improved students’ language skills, have been confused with language usage, and do not precisely portray present-day language (see Hasan, 1996a). One reason – to refer only to traditional grammar – is the fact that the traditional teaching of grammar, alluded as essential by textbooks and teachers, has created many grammatical rules along the years, which were not yet evidenced by a large common usage (Martin and Rothery, 1993). Moreover, it appears that traditional grammar does not account for linguistic choices under a social perspective, such as why participants every so often make use of particular linguistic choices, e.g. terrorists vs. freedom fighters. SFG helps us understand these paradigmatic choices because it is an essential descriptive tool to discourse analysis and is a socially-oriented approach to language (see Martin, 2000; Christie and Unsworth, 2000). In addition, because it comprises different strata, it can deal with both the context of culture and context of situation, as well as semantics and lexicogrammar.

Although, as highlighted above, SFG does not have in its core a concern with grammatical correctness, it does have a concern on what the choice of a particular linguistic pattern may imply in some contexts (context of culture and context of situation), as in clauses (1a, 1b). So, a clause such as (1a) implies that it is probably more commonly used in a chats among friends, whereas clause (1b) is most likely to be used in a context in which the participants are not so close.

(1a)	Essa internet	não para de	me	encher o saco
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Proc ...</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>... mental</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Proc ...</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>... mental</i>

(1b)	Essa internet	não para de	me	irritar.
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Proc ..</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>... mental</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Proc ..</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>... mental</i>

This can be shown by how the clauses are structured. In (1a) the mental clause is metaphorised as a mundane way of talking (see Hasan, 1996a, 1996b) as if it were a material process with a Goal. In (1b), in contrast, the clause is structured congruently in an emotive ‘please type’ pattern. So, how meaning is construed in a specific language is an important factor to consider.

### 1.3.3 About language specificity

By recognising that in SFG a “disproportionate amount of research relates to English” and that this fact is what renders the theory “ill-balanced”, Halliday (1994) suggests that languages are not alike because each language has its typicality. Mona Baker’s (1992, p. 82), while talking about grammatical equivalence, argues that “lexical resources are not the only factor which influences the way in which we analyse and report experience” in different languages. She argues that we can hardly find a notional category in grammar which is “regularly and uniformly expressed in all languages” (ibid, p. 85). According to her, languages have what we might call general preferences for certain linguistic patterns, as well as specific preferences that are sensitive to text type (ibid, p. 183). Callow argues that in English there is a tendency to the use of participants as pronominalisation to deal with references for cohesion in the textual dimension whereas in Hebrew, unlike English, there is a preference for the use of proper names to trace participants through a discourse (Callow, 1974 and in Baker 1992, p. 183). Still in Callow’s discussion, Portuguese generally seems to favour more lexical repetition while in Japanese and Chinese, once a participant is introduced, continuity of reference is signalled by omission of the subjects of following clauses. As a further illustration, in Italian, French and in Brazilian Portuguese, adverb placement is liberal in the sense that they can be deployed nearly anywhere in sentences whereas in English, adverb placement is more constrained (Gass and Selinker, 2001, p. 178).

This may explain why Halliday claims that SFG is a ‘logocentric’ theory, but the description of a language is ‘glottocentric’. It becomes more prominent when he goes further to claim that “the theory is not ‘anglocentric’”, but, “the description of English is” (Halliday, 1996, p. 33). Thus, as he points out, it is important that we ask ourselves “how would I describe this language if English ...did not exist?”. Although not easy to answer, this is an important question “if we are to avoid the anglocentric descriptions that have dominated much of linguistics during the second half of the century” (ibid). In other words, this reflects the fact that the description of a language must be geared to the language under focus.

Matthiessen (1995, p. 60) warns against interpretation of languages as versions of Latin or English. He goes further by claiming that the way some putatively universal properties of grammar are exploited may vary between languages. Thus, “[n]ot surprisingly, there is a great deal of variation in the way different languages do this” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006, p. 165), i.e. how they construe meaning about the same subject.

Therefore, languages have their specificity and by and large cannot adopt thoroughly all the rules (description) specific to a particular language for they invariably will not be able to account for some peculiarity inherent to that language, as for instance, the postpositions in Japanese for clause (1) *Watashi-wa ima utchi-e iki-masu* [*I-wa* with postposition for Subject (*wa*)]; [*now home-e* with postposition for direction (*e*)] and [*go-masu* with postposition for present tense (*masu*)]<sup>2</sup> (see Teruya, 1998, 2004, Tatsuki, 2008), as well as the syntagmatic ordering of words in German for (2) *Ich habe gestern das Haus meines Bruder gekauft*<sup>3</sup> (see Steiner, 1992), and the way we say *she is at home* in Russian: (3) *она дома*<sup>4</sup>.

(1)	Watashi-wa	ima	utchi-e	iki-masu
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Cir. Loc: time</i>	<i>Cir. Loc: place</i>	<i>Pro material</i>
	(I now home go will)			

<sup>2</sup> The clauses in Japanese are based upon the book *Japonês para Brasileiros* by Susumu Fukuma, (1977)

<sup>3</sup> Adapted from *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* by Braun et al. (1978)

<sup>4</sup> From the On-line Russian Reference Grammar by Dr. Robert Beard at <http://www.alphadictionary.com/rusgrammar/>

(2)	Ich	habe	gestern	das Haus meines Bruder	gekauft
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pro ...</i>	<i>Cir. Loc: time</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>... material</i>
	(I have yesterday the house of my brother bought)				

(3)	<b>Она</b>	<b>Дома</b>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
	(She at home)	

What is salient here is that the Transitivity and Mood structures are immediately affected in these clauses. For instance, whereas in English the representation in these types of clauses (with circumstances as Attribute) is experientially relational with Carrier and circumstantial Attribute, in Russian (3), like in Arabic and Japanese (4) *kanozyo-ga yasasii* (Teruya, 2004, p. 190), there is an ‘empty’ relational process, despite the presence of Carrier and Attribute. Equally, when there is a Complement in clauses in German (2) and in Japanese (5) *watashi-wa eigo-no-hon-o kai-mashita* (\**I-wa English-no book-o buy-mashita*, the Complement precedes the process in the Mood system, hence, positioning the Goal before the material process in Transitivity, which would be a highly marked construction in English but unmarked both in German and Japanese, not to mention the fact that the Japanese postpositions are in opposition to what we understand as prepositions.

(4)	kanozyo-ga	yasasii
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
	(She kind)	

(5)	Watashi-wa	eigo-no-hon-o	kai-mashita
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Pro material</i>
	(I English of book bought)		

By the same token, the Oko language (of a Niger-Congo family), also displays some particularity in Agency. It does not feature the duoterm voice system as is common in English in the operative and receptive structures (Akerejola, 2008, p. 186). In Oko language a material receptive clause automatically turns into a type of relational clause, and the Agent becomes a Beneficiary as shown in clauses (6) and (6a).

(6)	Idu	je	Igila aye.
	Idu	eat	the yam
	<i>Agent/Actor</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Medium/Goal</i>
	(Idu ate the yam)		

(6a)	Igila aye	je	ne Idu
	Yam-DET	ate	for Idu
	<i>Medium/Actor</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Beneficiary</i>
	(The yam ate for Idu)		

As can be noted, once the Goal is thematised, it becomes the Actor, and the Agent/Actor, in turn, becomes a type of Beneficiary, losing the function of the ‘doer’. That means that in the Oko language a clause cannot be passivised without affecting the actual meaning of the clause. Hence, it will never have the ‘by’ Adjunct function as in English: *The yam was eaten by Idu.*

As a further illustration, in Brazilian Portuguese, some meanings are construed differently and do not co-occur in English. The clause *Eu estou com dor de cabeça* (\**I am with headache*) would have to be rephrased in English as *I have a headache*, equally in other clauses, such as *Eu tenho 18 anos* (\**I have 18 years*), which would have to be rephrased as *I am 18 years old*. This means that different languages may represent experience in a different manner, such as in *the sky is dropping water* in a Chinese dialect (Halliday, 1985, p. 102), unlike the English version *it is raining*, in which the meteorological *it* is non-representational and thus, left unanalysed and unlike the Portuguese version *está chovendo*, in which there is no Theme, only Rheme (see Gouveia and Barbara, 2004).

These aspects portrayed above affect not only linguistic structures but also how meaning is construed in the same semantic domain. So, depending on which language is under consideration, the theory keeps being the tenet, but there may be a varied description of the language under focus. These facts may corroborate with Berry (1987, p. 41) who claims that “[t]he strength of systemic linguistics ... lies in the devotion which it has always shown to the goal of relating language to its social context” but that there may be some hindrance when the theory is put to test. Adapting Berry’s claim to the Brazilian reality, I second her in relation to the fact that SFG still needs more empirical research, especially in secondary school levels to attest its significance and acceptance in public schools as a tool to help students understand how language can be used to create meaning (see Gonzaga, 2007).



### 1.3.4 About contextualisation and metalinguistic features

According to Christie and Unsworth (2000, p. 2), Systemic Functional Linguistics, besides being interconnected with a variety of disciplinary approaches to language research and besides helping people learn to be critically aware on how they may be socially positioned in the texts they read, “is concerned to describe ‘meaning potential’. The linguistic instances of the linguistic system of meaning potential is represented by acts of meaning (Halliday, 2009, p. 1). As Halliday (1999, p. 7) points out, “[i]n all language education the learner has to build a resource” for the creation of meaning, i.e. a *meaning potential*, in which the context for language as system is represented by the context of culture, and for language as processes of text, by the context of situation. This sustains what is also argued by Gerot (2000) and Eggins (1994, 2004), i.e. that linguistic behaviour occurs within both a situation and a culture, and that our cultural context corroborates for the meaning construal of a text. Thus, the context of culture defines the potential “available in language as a system” and the context of situation “plays a significant role in determining the actual choices among these possibilities” (Halliday, 2009, p. 55)

Halliday (1999) claims that there are three aspects of the meaning potential as features of language in education. These are represented as: (a) *linguistic*, represented by language skills; (b) *extralinguistic*, represented by knowledge of content; and (c) *metalinguistic*, represented by knowledge of language as content. These arguments attest the necessity of the understanding of a functional grammar by students in order to help them develop what Macken-Horarik (1996) names ‘the third domain’, i.e. ‘critical literacy’ or, according to Hasan (1996a), ‘reflection literacy’, which is the phase in which students become cognisant of how a text producer may use linguistic resources to produce meaning. Thus, a metafunctional analysis of the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese may be a point of departure to help students address these three levels of exigency required to achieve language awareness.

I second these scholars in their claim that this is the stage where students initiate into both reflection and challenge regarding the foundations and postulations upon which knowledge is based because this has been proved by an empirical investigation carried out by Gonzaga (2007), in which secondary students showed a much better performance to deal with critical reading subsequent to their acquaintance with SFL.

[T]he findings revealed categorically that as soon as the students became equipped with the empowering tool of SFL they became able to scrutinise the discursive event on question dissimilarly and more appropriately under a critical reading perspective by taking into account the function of the participants, of the processes, modality, and principally, of Agency (Gonzaga, 2007, p. 124).

The claims alluded above serve to reinforce the nub of SFG, i.e. that the use of language taking into account the strata all together, namely, context of culture, context of situation, semantics and lexicogrammar, tend to empower students in their endeavour to understand how linguistic resources can be used to create meaning.

Hence, this study intends to be a point of departure towards a description of the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese, which can account for the peculiarities inherent in the Brazilian Portuguese language in clauses such as: (1) *o chefe quer dar uma palavrinha com você* and (2) *Eu estou com fome*. Certainly, in these samples, the prepositional phrases *com fome* and *com você* should not be treated as comitative circumstances in the same way as *com seus pais* in (3) *ela ainda mora com seus pais*. Clauses (1) and (2) clearly display a way of representing experience that is not characteristic of the English language. Consequently, they are not customarily dealt with in any of the Introductions to Functional Grammar (IFG) published by Halliday because this is not typical of the English language since the IFG's were intended mainly to be applied in the English language, as can be attested by scholars who have already carried out contrastive studies in SFG (see Steiner, 1992; Hita, 2002; Teruya, 2004; Caffarel, 2006; Akerejola, 2008; Tatsuki, 2008, to mention just a few). However, these hindrances need to be tackled because these are samples of mundane ways of language use employed extensively in Brazilian Portuguese by individuals in different milieus.

Recapitulating what was discussed above, SFG is a theory that is not concerned with normative aspects of the grammar; rather, it is a grammar that is meant to empower us to understand what language does and how it does it. In this sense, we can learn how language is structured to construe meaning. In this venue this research joins other similar investigations aiming at finding out the peculiarities inherent in the description of their languages, such as German, Japanese, Spanish, French and others.

Although Halliday (2009, p. 403), claims that the description of a language should be “oriented more to the paradigmatic axis of

representation, seeing language not simply as a structure, but primarily as system in which language is modelled as a meaning making resource”, my focus on this investigation is in terms of how the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese construes meaning. So, the prominence is not on the systemic side but on the functional one but keeping in mind that languages “can express only part of reality” (Halliday, 2009, p. 37).

## 1.4 Objectives

In light of the aspects exposed above, the present study aims at investigating intricate cases in the discussion of clauses as representation in SFG concerning the grammar of BP. Thus, this SFG interpretation of the ideational metafunctional profile of Brazilian Portuguese aims at looking at the cases which may bring intricacy for the analysis of clause in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese, which is carried out under a contrastive study with English in order to see what can account for the Brazilian Portuguese language specificity. This discussion has the aim of being a point of reference for undergraduates, postgraduates and academics in studies of discourse analysis.

Since the ideational metafunction is subdivided into experiential and logical strands of meaning, I intend to tackle principally the experiential line of meaning in order to see in which ways the grammar of the Brazilian Portuguese language can be used to construe meaning but also, to a certain extent, I shall deal with the logical strand of meaning in the sense of how verbal strings form clause simplexes and clause complexes. In the experiential metafunction I shall deal with TRANSITIVITY, here in an ample sense related to the general system comprising numerous subsystems and in the logical metafunction my intention is to supply the necessary foundations for a better understanding of segmentation of clauses. Because of this aim I shall tackle hypotactic verbal group complexes and embeddings, which are notions that are required for a better understanding of segmentation of clauses in Transitivity, in this sense, related to the process and other constituents of the clause.

The present study concerning the description of Brazilian Portuguese is also intended to offer further contribution to the studies of language in use, and to serve as a backbone for a further introductory functional grammar of the Brazilian Portuguese grammar so that it may be applied principally in secondary schools by teachers and students as a powerful tool for text activities, particularly under a critical reading

perspective. In order to achieve the goals posited above, I intend to answer the following research questions:

## **1.5 Research questions**

### **1.5.1 General research question**

How does the broad ideational metafunction work to construe meaning in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese out of the data used for the research?

### **1.5.2 Specific research questions**

- (i) What are the main cases that tend to bring fuzziness in the use of Transitivity on the transitive model?
- (ii) In which cases may there be intricacy in the use of Transitivity on the ergative model?
- (iii) How can hypotactic verbal group complexes be bound in clause simplexes?

In the following sections, I present what and how I plan to do in order to be able to achieve the goals presented above.

## **1.6 The theoretical framework**

I shall use as theoretical framework the Hallidayan functional grammar theory as devised in the introductions to functional grammar in Halliday (1985, 1994), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) as well as in *Lexicogrammatical Cartography: English Systems* in Matthiessen (1995). In addition, I shall also draw upon other studies whose foundation is Halliday's functional grammar, such as works of Martin, Matthiessen and Painter, 1997; Matthiessen and Halliday, 1997; Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006; Unsworth, 2001; Neale, 2002; Hita, 2003; Eggins, 1994, 2004; Thompson, 1996, 2004 and Caffarel, 2006 to mention a few.

The reason for adopting this theory is due to the simultaneous three-dimensional approach and its nub upon the social. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), there is a combination of three different structures in a clause, which express different semantic organisations. They are both the realisation and the result of different clause systems that create three distinct types of meaning known as

‘metafunctions’: the ‘ideational, ‘interpersonal’ and textual strands of meaning. As observed earlier, the ‘ideational strand of meaning’ has two subdivisions: (i) the experiential line of meaning, in which a clause is analysed as *representation* (interpretation and representation of the world in and around us); and (ii) the logical line of meaning, in which clauses are analysed in terms of grammatical and semantic relations.

It is in the broad dimension of the ideational metafunction that I shall carry out a contrastive exploration with English. The meanings realised in the lexicogrammar of the Transitivity system in the experiential line of meaning will be investigated both on the transitive and the ergative models. In the Transitive model I shall deal with process types, adjacent participants and circumstances, in addition to how effective, middle-ranged and middle non-ranged clauses function in Brazilian Portuguese both operatively and receptively in the Transitive and in the ergative models.

This study is not to be seen as a mere adaptation of an English theory into Brazilian Portuguese (BP), as we shall see, but based upon the actual specificities found in the description of BP. It has to become clear that there is a distinction between *theory*, which is related to the general parameters for the description of a language as a semiotic system, and the *description*, which is related to how real semiotic systems can be construed in each language. In this sense, while in English the clause (1) *I leave home early* is construed with an obligatory Actor and a material process plus a Scope, in BP the same process requires a circumstance of spatial Location and the Actor is not obligatory: (2) *Saio de casa cedo*. So, the intention is not to adapt BP from an English viewpoint but to guarantee the legitimacy of a description of a different language under the same tenets.

(1)	I	leave	home	early
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope</i>	<i>Cir Location: time</i>

(2)	[Ø: Eu]	Saio	de casa	cedo
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Cir Localização:lugar</i>	<i>Cir Localização: tempo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Cir Location: space</i>	<i>Cir Location: time</i>

We must be reminded that the anthropologist Malinowski based his studies in the descriptions of various languages and that J.R. Firth focused his studies on a sociological basis that could be applied in other languages. In addition, Halliday based his first descriptions of language in Chinese dialects, where he first employed the basis of his theoretical

framework. In order to leave no doubt that contrastive investigations are legitimate, Halliday (1966) and many other scholars recognise transfer comparison as recommendable and legitimate, as shown in many new descriptions of languages, as mentioned earlier.

## 1.7 About the data profile

The data to be used as examples for this language study is extracted from many sources such as daily newspapers, online newspapers, free online corpora of Brazilian Portuguese<sup>5</sup>, free e-books, books, magazines and data bank of Master's and doctoral theses both in English and Brazilian Portuguese. TV programs and movies are also taken into account as well as any means in which the Brazilian Portuguese language or/and English is employed such as in casual conversations among friends.

I attempted to add samples of eclectic texts so BP can be more authentically represented in different genres. That means that I shall represent BP language within diversified realms such as in TV interviews, football narratives, classroom activities recordings among others. The reason for that is that casual language is not easily found materialized as texts, and spoken language has a “great weight” in SFG (Halliday, 1992, p. 62).

The majority of the clauses presented in this research are authentic both in English and in Brazilian Portuguese (BP). The data was selected over the years starting at my Master's, when classmates and researchers met difficulty in applying SFG in BP. These doubts were compiled and discussed along the years. However, some examples, when possible, were changed for others with the same structure because they appeared to be more convenient to deal with the intricacy. Thus, the examples related to intricate cases in the data originate from the dozens of emails asking for help that I have collected along the years (2004 – 2010) but the choice of the examples takes into account the length of the clause (not too long) since my intention is to offer several examples with analysis of clauses.

The criteria for choosing the clauses to be discussed, besides the ones posited above, take into account the clause structures that are more

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<sup>5</sup> Most examples in this project were extracted from the *Corpus do Português* (Davies and Ferreira, 2006).

repetitive in the emails such as the ones in relation to attribution, agency and experiential metaphors.

Although most examples “are committed to the importance of the paradigmatic dimensions” of the Brazilian Portuguese language, I side with Fawcett in that we need, occasionally, to create some examples to fill out some gaps, which, if not, could lead us to “a lifetime scouring the texts for minimally contrasting examples that ... are not there in one’s collection of examples” (Fawcett, 1987, p.136).

## **1.8 Organisation of the chapters**

The chapters of this doctoral thesis are organised as follows: in chapter 1, I provide an overview of some scholars who have contributed to shed more light into how to deal with text analysis, and the statement and significance of the research. In addition, I explain in this chapter what I plan to do and how I intend to perform in order to achieve my objectives.

In chapter 2, I provide a general view of how SFG has evolved from the first works of J. R. Firth up to the third edition of *Introduction to Functional Grammar*.

In chapter 3, I deal with a general view of process types and linger longer in some intricate cases related to how to treat Participant Roles and processes in some clauses in Brazilian Portuguese, especially the ones related to attribution.

In chapter 4, I tackle clauses as representation in a broader dimension, in which agency, circumstance augmentation and experiential metaphors are discussed in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese. In this chapter, I deal with verbal group complexes and suggest a tentative hypotactic verbal group system for Brazilian Portuguese drawn upon Halliday’s and Fawcett’s works.

In chapter 5, I draw my conclusions on the data analysis of the previous chapters and suggest ways to deal with some intricate cases that are specific to the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese.

## **1.9. The unfolding of the study**

In my data analysis, I shall concentrate more in aspects in which the treatment of clauses between English and BP is more accentuated.

Instantiations, in which the differences are not so relevant, will be mentioned 'en passant'.

I shall carry out a contrastive analysis on how meaning is construed experientially in English and in Brazilian Portuguese principally as regards how process types, participant roles, agency, circumstances and experiential metaphor may be treated in BP in the transitive and ergative models.

In the logical line of meaning, I shall focus on items that tend to cause more hindrance to the Brazilian Portuguese analysis such as embeddings and how hypotactic verbal group complexes are formed. This tendency is possible to be known due to the types of questions<sup>6</sup> raised by researchers who have been using English and/or Brazilian Portuguese data banks in Master's and doctoral theses and have not usually found any relevant point of reference on the issues under focus. This is due to the fact that more often than not difficult functional structures are not often explored in any of the IFG's, especially information on how to deal with specificity related to Brazilian Portuguese Language. Undoubtedly, contrastive studies have been carried out mainly in the experiential line of meaning, and this will be comprehensively covered. However, without some understanding about these items posited above in the logical line of meaning, and a basic notion on clause complexes, segmentation of clauses in Brazilian Portuguese tend to be critically compromised in the performance of text analysis in Transitivity.

This contrastive analysis will be commented all the way through its unfolding so that this can help establish a connection with all the sections of the grammar. Whenever it is found necessary, comparisons with the English language and other grammar approaches will be provided for better clarifications. Because I intend to cover clauses as representation in a broad dimension, I shall contrast both languages in the same chapter. Thus, I may depart from English or from Brazilian Portuguese to raise the issue under focus. As a simple illustration for the general research question on *how the broad ideational metafunction works to construe meaning in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese*, let us see the clause *the boss wants me // to arrive early this time*, which exemplifies an English point of departure. This clause complex has a desiderative mental process in the dominant clause, which projects a

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<sup>6</sup> Since 2004 I have been receiving questions via email on how to tackle some intricate clauses in SFG. This has given me a huge data bank of the materials classmates/researchers use in their Master's and doctoral theses and the time to prioritise some of the most intricate ones.



material clause in a perfective nonfinite clause. In Brazilian Portuguese, the equivalent clause *o chefe quer // que eu chegue cedo desta vez* construes meaning differently since the projecting clause projects instead a finite clause in the subjunctive mode, not in the indicative mode.

O chefe	quer	que	eu	chegue	cedo	desta vez
<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>		<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Localização temporal</i>	
<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>		<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ temporal Location</i>	
<i>Projecting clause</i>			<i>Projected clause</i>			

In order to exemplify a specific research question, namely on *what the main cases that tend to bring fuzziness in the use of Transitivity on the transitive model in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese are*, let us see the clause *eu estou com fome*, which typifies a point of departure from Brazilian Portuguese since it is a structure not common in English, but very common in Brazilian Portuguese. In this case, the prepositional phrase *com fome* in BP plays the same role of an adjective in English (*hungry*), which functions as an Attribute in *I am hungry*, hence, replacing a Complement in the Mood system with a prepositional phrase, which is not typical of the English language. Another example is in the clause *ela me falou // que ele me achou linda*<sup>7</sup>, in which the projected clause hints at the possibility of use of Attributes in processes originally mental, serving as a type of causative (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, Caffarel, 2006) or influential process (Neale, 2002, Fawcett, forthcoming) in the relational realm.

Ela	me	falou	que	ele	me	achou	linda
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Receptor</i>	<i>Pr verbal</i>		<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr causativo/ atributivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Receiver</i>	<i>Pr verbal</i>		<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr causative/ attributive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
<i>Projecting clause</i>			<i>Projected clause</i>				

<sup>7</sup> Extract from the forum of the magazine Marie-Claire online. Accessible at [www.mariclaire.globo.com](http://www.mariclaire.globo.com).

Each of the topics mentioned above will be scrutinized both in English and in Brazilian Portuguese by means of clauses in order to find out whether the syntagmatic ordering follows the same linguistic pattern or if it differs. Once there is divergence, it will be investigated in order to discover why and/or how it occurs in the description of the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese. All relevant aspects will be highlighted and commented along with abundant samples from the data aided by Figures and Tables whenever they are necessary in order to disambiguate occurrences which might cause hindrance to the understanding of the functional grammar theory.

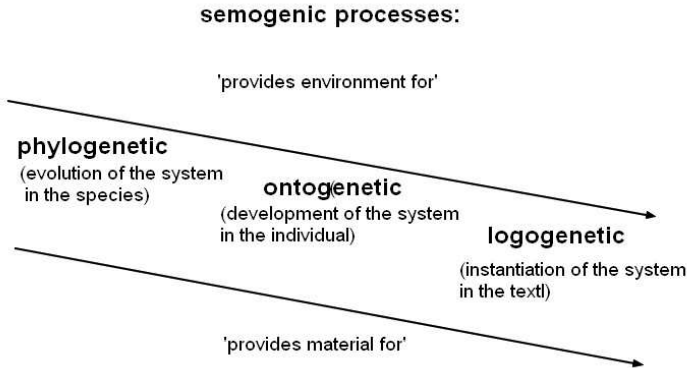
With this brief orientation, I hope to have shed some light on how I plan to proceed in this investigation, which intends to raise important aspects in terms of differences regarding the treatment of clauses in the grammar of English and Brazilian Portuguese as well as suggestions on how to tackle some intricate cases in the analysis of clauses in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese.

### **1.10 Levels of analysis**

This study has to be considered in two different levels: The first is in relation to how the two languages construe meaning. The second is in relation to how the metalanguage can be used to empower teachers and students at secondary school level to carry out text analysis in classroom situations.

There is a common agreement among systemicists that “every language functions to construe human experience, of process and of the relations between processes; to enact human personal and social relationship; and to engender a flow of discourse which fuses and animates the two” (Halliday from the preface in Caffarel, 2006). That means, language is better analysed when dealt with logogenetically, which relates to a branch of semogenesis.

There are “three major processes” related to semogenesis, “by which meanings are continually created, transmitted, recreated, extended and changed” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006, p.18). They refer to (a) phylogenesis, the evolution of human language, (b) ontogenesis, the development of the individual speaker, and (c) logogenesis, the unfolding of the act of meaning itself as instantiation of the system in the text (see Fig.1.2).



**Fig.1.2** The three semohistories related (from Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006, p.18).

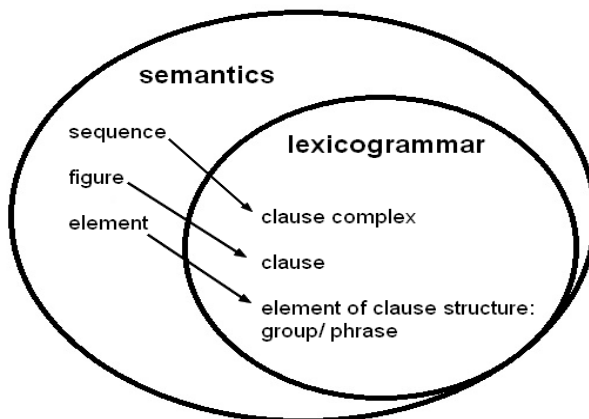
However, due to space constraint, the discourse orientation of this doctoral thesis is guided mainly by one theoretical dimension of systemic theory: stratification. As will be referred to in Chapter 2, this theoretical dimension deals with the organisation of the linguistic system into strata. It is in this realm that semantics is materialised by lexicogrammar as instantiations, which is another dimension of systemic theory concerning the relationship between the system and the instance (see Thompson, 2004; Eggins 2004; Caffarel, 2006). I shall look mainly at the grammatical system as realisations of semantic potential. In this sense we have the structures or syntagmatic order, which is the compositional aspect of language referred to as ‘constituency’ in linguistic terminology. In other words, it is the ordering in language in the sense of “what *goes together with* what” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 22, original emphasis). In the paradigmatic order we have the system, which by contrast, is related to “what *could go instead of* what” (ibid). This is what gives us the possibility of ‘choice’. Thus, the “meaning potential itself is one pole of the dimension of instantiation” in the sense that “it is instantiated in the unfolding of text”, i.e. logogenetically (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006, p.33).

In terms of stratification, as posited above, I shall deal with lexicogrammar, the stratum of wording. Thus, the lexicogrammar of Transitivity in the experiential strand of meaning within the broad ideational metafunction is the main focus of this doctoral thesis although some relevant issues on the logical metafunction represented by clause

complexing will also be tackled, especially when I deal with circumstantial augmentation, rank shift in clauses and hypotactic verbal group complexes in chapter 4.

It is germane to emphasise that viewed from a functional perspective, grammar is seen from the stratum above – which is semantics – since it is a resource for making meaning (see Matthiessen, 1995; Fawcett, 2001; Caffarel, 2006; Bartlett, 2008; Tuckwell, 2008).

The meanings are represented in the lexicogrammar by the most general experiential category: the phenomena, which is “anything that can be construed as part of the human experience (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006, p.48). The phenomena of experience has three orders of complexity: elementary (as groups and phrases), configurational (as clauses) and complex (as clause complexes), as seen in Fig.1.3.

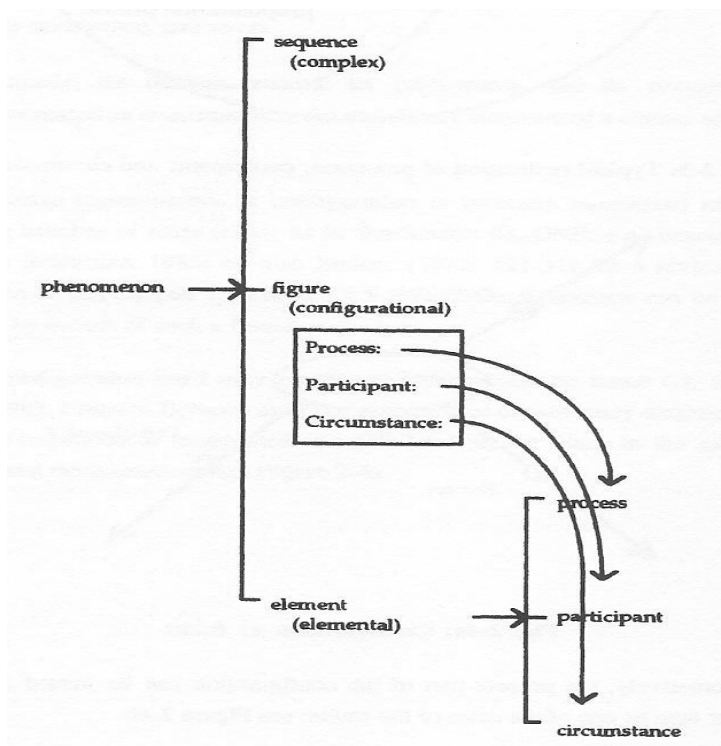


**Fig.1.3** Typical realisation of sequences, figures and elements (from Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006, p.49).

As can be seen in Fig.1.3, a *sequence* consists of a series of *figures*, which in turn are representations of experience as configurations consisting of *elements* represented by processes, participants and adjacent circumstances. Due to space constraint I shall linger in the elementary and configurational order of complexity.

The level of analysis I shall delimit is mainly in relation to how elements may create figures in the Grammar of Brazilian Portuguese. Thus, my main focus concerns how phenomena are represented as

figure, as illustrated in Fig.1.4, and how the elements are filled in terms of processes, participants and circumstances.



**Fig.1.4** Figure with role types and role fillers (from Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, 2006, p.56).

Thus, I shall tackle clauses as representation at a postgraduation level but, sometimes, also suggesting how to analyse texts at a ‘school’ stage drawing on Gonzaga’s (2007) experimental study at secondary school level. This implies that there will be a regular approach and a more simplified approach to text analysis addressed to minimise some intricacy with the metalanguage when dealing with school activities in classroom situation as in *árbitro toma bolada em jogo nos EUA*<sup>8</sup>, in

<sup>8</sup> Extracted from <http://oglobo.globo.com/blogs/bolademeia/posts/2010/12/16/arbitro-toma-bolada-perde-peruca-em-jogo-nos-eua-350162.asp>

which the participant *árbitro* functioning as Actor does not seem to be the participant that does the 'deed', but the affected one. This is discussed in chapter three and four because in the next chapter I shall present an overview of how SFL has been interpreted in the last decades.

## CHAPTER 2

### OVERVIEW OF APPROACHES TO CLAUSE AS REPRESENTATION

#### 2.1 Introductory remarks

The aim of this chapter is primarily to present an overview of what has happened in the area of Transitivity analysis along the years. Although I shall display key aspects of SFG and important scholars whose influence was important to the study of languages, my intention is not to carry out an exhaustive study of the evolution of the SFG theory<sup>9</sup> since this has been extensively tackled by other scholars, namely Steiner (1983), Halliday (1992), Matthiessen and Nesbitt (1996), Lemke (1998), Neale (2002) and Hita (2003), just to mention a few.

In reason of that, I shall provide a brief overview about how scholars have dealt with Transitivity and what has occurred throughout the decades regarding research into the study of languages in SFG.

At the outset, I would like to point out that SFG is a linguistic theory that has received special attention from scholars who carry out research into how natural languages are generated. This theory is the result of the investigations performed at the University of London by Michael Halliday in continuation of the work first elaborated by his predecessors, particularly that of John Rupert Firth. This approach is, therefore, sometimes known as the ‘Neo-Firthian linguistics’, or the ‘London school of linguistics’ (Wilcock, 1993). In order to set the scene, I shall go back to what has given origin to this important linguistic theory.

We may say that there are two main traditions within the Western thinking about meaning: one has its orientation towards logic and philosophy, in which language is seen as “a system of rules” and the other is oriented towards rhetoric and ethnography, in which language is seen “as resource” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006, p. 415). According to Halliday and Matthiessen, these orientations differ in four main factors:

(i) The first is the distinction in how meaning is located concerning “the stratal interpretation of language” (ibid, p.416). Thus, the one that

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<sup>9</sup> Theory is treated here as “a semiotic resource for making meaning in description” (Matthiessen and Nesbitt, 1996, p. 67).

has an *extra-stratal* interpretation of language focuses upon meaning as *transcendent*, which refers to something that resides outside the limits of language whereas the one that has the *intra-stratal* interpretation of language focuses upon meaning as *immanent*, which refers to something that is fabricated in language and is part of language itself. As can be noted, one is seen as having an external conception about meaning, which belongs to the logico-philosophical approach while the other accounts for meaning as a stratum within language, which belongs to the rhetorical-ethnographic approach from which Systemic Functional Linguistics has originated.

(ii) The second divergence is in relation to what is taken as the basic unit of meaning. In the logico-philosophical orientation the basic unit is seen from below, from grammar. In this orientation, sentences are seen as encoding propositions, which in turn are the basic unit of semantics. In the rhetorical-ethnographic orientation, in contrast, the basic unit is usually determined from above, from context. In this approach, the text is the basic unit of semantics because language is treated as functioning within a context.

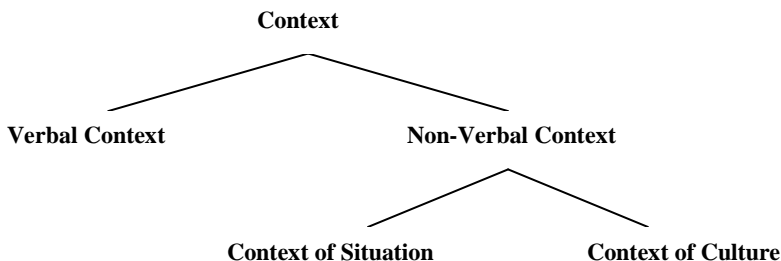
(iii) The third divergence is that they do not match in relation to the metafunctional scope of their models of semantics. In the logico-philosophical orientation the metafunctional scope is limited to the ideational metafunction in that semantics is the representation of ideational semantics. Conversely, in the rhetorical-ethnographic orientation the semantic scope entails the three overarching metafunctions. Thus, semantics encompasses not only the ideational strand of meaning but also the interpersonal and textual ones.

(iv) Finally, there is also disagreement on how semantic organisation is focused. The logico-philosophical orientation focuses upon syntagmatic organisation whereas the rhetorical-ethnographic orientation focuses on both syntagmatic and paradigmatic organisations, foregrounding the paradigmatic organisation in order to see how the meaning potential is established. Thus, my theoretical base is drawn upon the tenets of Systemic Functional Linguistics in the sense of how this theory looks at language.

In the 40's and 50's, an epoch in which semantics is not prevalent in linguistic studies, Firth already advocates that meaning should be the centre of linguistic studies. Halliday, a Firth's student at this time, follows his Master's ideas and adapts them. Firth's influence is reflected in many of Halliday's works as when he claims that, "[w]hat is common to every use of language is that it is meaningful, contextualized, and in the broadest sense social" (Halliday, 1973, p. 20). This conception of



language is still previously found in Malinowski (1923), who establishes the concepts of ‘context of culture’, which is related to choices in the sense of *potential*, and context of situation, which is related to instantiation in the sense of *realisation*. Thus, Firth’s predecessor, the anthropologist Malinowski, makes important contributions to early modern linguistics by establishing in his studies an anthropological perspective. This is so relevant to the theory that his understanding of ‘meaning as function in context’ is later inherited by Firth and then Halliday (see Wilcock, 1993). His study of different types of context, summarised in Figure 2.1 may have been the precursor of many of Halliday’s ideas regarding the functional areas of language.



**Fig. 2.1** Malinowski’s analysis of context ( adapted from Steiner, 1983 in Wilcock, 1993, p. 11).

While establishing linguistics as an independent discipline, the emphasis on a social and functional approach to language is amply developed by Firth in his system-structure theory, i.e. the syntagmatic and paradigmatic orderings, which are later incorporated in Halliday’s linguistic model. Thus, it was Firth who first began to use the word ‘system’ in a new sense as a technical term, from which the name ‘systemic grammar’ probably originates. This leads to a theory in which the systems are used to understand the structures of a language (see Caffarel, 2006). In other words, what was known as deep structure and surface structures are then understood as the potential, i.e. the linguistic choices, and the materialization of the system, i.e. how meaning is structured grammatically. Hence, the first principle of text analysis, according to Firth, is to distinguish between STRUCTURE and SYSTEM. Structure consists of elements in interior syntagmatic relation

and these elements have their places in an order of mutual expectancy whereas Systems of commutable terms or units are set up to state the paradigmatic values of the elements (Firth, 1957 in Wilcock, 1993).

Firth advocates the necessity for linguistics to give identical magnitude to what he labels, ‘anatomy’ and ‘physiology’ of language, displayed in Figure 2.2.

“anatomy”	“physiology”
chain	choice
syntagmatic	paradigmatic
structural	systemic
formal	functional
logical	rhetorical

**Fig. 2.2** The ‘anatomy’ and ‘physiology’ of language (from Wilcock, 1993, p. 12)

Firth disagrees with the American structuralists of his time (led by Bloomfield) because they were concerned only with the ‘anatomy’ of language. In reaction to the dominant American schools, the Neo-Firthians start to stress the ‘physiology’ of language in an effort to equalise the equilibrium. For the same reason Michael Halliday, Firth’s pupil and his successor at London School, disagrees with the American formalists (led by Chomsky) and becomes closer to the European functionalists, such as the Prague school, which has influenced Halliday. The development by Czechoslovak linguists of the functionalist view of linguistic structure is recognised by Halliday (1967) and having the clause as the point of departure, Halliday introduces his idea of systems and structures into his *components of the grammar* (Gregory, 1987, p. 95), which are then known as *functions of language* and at present as *metafunctions*.

From the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective Halliday incorporates the Theme/Rheme structure in his textual metafunction for his linguistic model (see Halliday, 1994, p. 37), from the Semantic Structure of Sentence he models the Transitivity structure in his experiential metafunction and from the Organisation of Utterance he incorporates the Mood structure in the interpersonal metafunction (Gregory, 1987, p. 95).

Whereas Firth’s theory is often expressed in general terms, and his concrete examples are often fragmentary, Halliday develops a

systematic and comprehensive theory of language, with a new terminology of its own. This theory, discussed in Halliday's many publications, becomes known as Systemic Functional Grammar. It is called 'systemic' because of the development of detailed system networks for many areas of English grammar and for interesting areas of other languages. It is called 'functional' because of the development of the theory of the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions. In this sense, "language is organized around a small number of discrete systemic clusters of systems with strong interconnections within each cluster, but weak associations outside the cluster with the rest of the grammar" (Halliday, 2009, p.262).

Even though Halliday's theory is different from other functional theories in that it is both functional and systemic – since functional theories tend to exist in larger number than systemic theories – Matthiessen and Nesbitt (1996) acknowledge the importance of other theories of functionalism in the study of languages, namely in the USA with Chafe (1976), Hopper and Thompson (1980) and Givón (1984).

In Halliday's (1961) first approaches to language it seems that the focus is more salient upon syntagmatic than paradigmatic aspects. However, his publication about 'Scale and Category Grammar' was an enormous influence for many linguists, namely Fawcett, known as another important name in SFG. Halliday and Fawcett follow the same principles of the theory in the beginning but they start to diverge in some aspects in following years. Halliday takes a more social approach and Fawcett a more cognitive approach. This dissimilarity makes them develop different approaches to languages. Fawcett devises the Cardiff Grammar and Halliday's concepts originate what is known as the Sydney school of SFG. Cardiff scholars tend to claim that both theories are under the same tenets and acknowledge them as the Cardiff and Sydney dialects of SFG (see Neale, 2002, Bartlett, 2008, Fawcett, 2008).

In the next pages, among the many selected works of Halliday, published in volumes 1, 2 and 3, I shall linger on some of his works that I conceive as being of more relevance for my research (though all of them have their significance) since as mentioned above, these selected works can be found more thoroughly analysed in investigations of various scholars, namely Steiner (1983), Halliday (1992), Matthiessen and Nesbitt (1996), Lemke (1998), Neale (2002) and Hita (2003).

## 2.2 Halliday's first ideas regarding theory of grammar

When Halliday taught his first Chinese class in 1945, he noticed that the clause should be the “centre of action in the grammar” (Halliday, 2009, p.355). At that time the clause was not acknowledged as “a general organizing category” (ibid). It was not “the locus, where fundamental choices in meaning were acted out” (ibid). We might say that this observation led Halliday to treat grammar in a different fashion.

In ‘Categories of the Theory of Grammar’ Halliday (1961) proposes that general linguistic description should have four grammatical ‘categories’ (unit, structure, class and system) and three different ‘scales’ (rank, exponence and delicacy). The use of these labels implies how the name of the theory is known at this stage: ‘Scale and Category Grammar’. Halliday (1961) draws attention to the reciprocal interdependence of the categories and claims that they are all related to, and logically derivable from each other. He further adds that *unit*, *structure*, *class* and *system* function within a *rank*, *exponence* and *delicacy*, which he regards as the three distinct scales of abstraction (see Fig. 2.3). It was only in his paper *Deep Grammar* in 1966 that Halliday borrows from Lamb the term ‘realisation’, which has an important function in the system networks of the theory, replacing the term ‘exponence’.

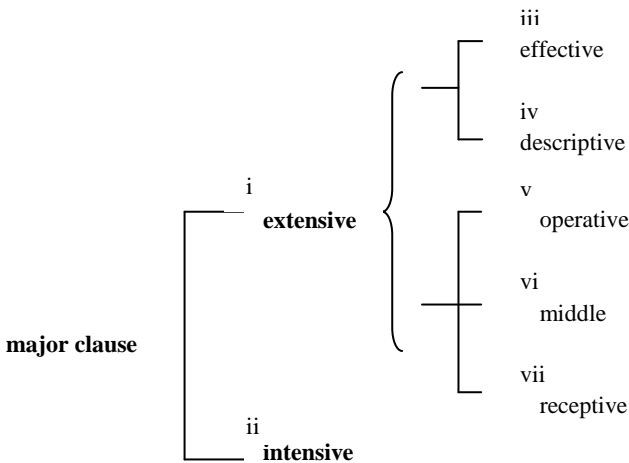
General linguistic description						
Gramatical categories				Scales		
<i>unit</i>	<i>structure</i>	<i>class</i>	<i>system</i>	<i>rank</i>	<i>exponence</i>	<i>delicacy</i>

**Fig.2.3** First notions on general linguistic description

However, at the time of his first notions on general linguistic descriptions, Halliday still treats grammar and lexis as two separate parts of the theory and there is no allusion to TRANSITIVITY in paradigmatic terms although there is the introduction of the idea of the concepts of system and delicacy.

In *Notes on Transitivity and Theme, Part 1*, Halliday (1967) presents an initial description of Process types, a view of the grammatical features used in describing the process types recognised at this time and a description of the Participant Roles acknowledged until

then. Before Halliday's interference on how to deal with Transitivity in his description, it was treated as a verb in a clause being either 'transitive' or 'intransitive'. These new features in the clause are said to have helped understand the linguistic representation of the speaker's experience, which later lead to the notion of 'Process types. Still, processes at this time are not overtly referred to in the way they are known in Halliday's later works but Halliday (1967, p. 39) already recognises at this stage, Processes of *action* and of *perception*, i.e. those concerned with 'doing' and Processes relating to *description* and *identification*, i.e. those of 'being. The Participants Roles recognised in these Processes are for the most part 'Actor' and 'Goal'. Figure 2.4 displays the network Halliday uses for a major clause at this time.



**Fig. 2.4** Halliday's partial network for a major clause (adapted from Halliday, 1967, p.43; Halliday, 2005a, p.136)

This network indicates that Halliday treats a major clause either as *extensive* or *intensive*. Once an *intensive* process is chosen, such as in 'become' in example (1), then an 'ascription' or an attribute is ascribed to a Participant.

- (1) The crowd became *quiet*<sup>10</sup>.

‘Extensive’ is chosen in the system whenever an action process such as ‘drink’ is in the clause, as I illustrate in example (2).

- (2) The new Archbishop *drank* the soup first.

If our choice in the network is ‘extensive’, then two simultaneous systems are entered: one for ‘effective’ and ‘descriptive’, and the other for ‘operative’, ‘middle’ and ‘receptive’. In relation to the first system, the process must be action and Goal-oriented as in ‘drink’ in example (2) and ‘buy’ in (3) if we decide to choose ‘effective’. This hints at the fact that effective structures occur in clauses that have one participant affecting another participant.

- (3) *5 million people* bought *digital cameras* in 2000.

We decide for ‘descriptive’ when the process is a non-directed action as in ‘fly’, i.e. with no Goal as in (4).

- (4) The plane *flew* a few hundred feet over my head.

In the second system there are three more options, which can be either ‘effective’ or ‘descriptive’. The symbol represented by an open bracket (see Fig.2.4) means that the options occur both in the first and second systems. Thus, Once ‘effective’ and ‘operative’ are chosen, then the Subject of the clause is represented by the Actor as in ‘America’ (5), but if ‘effective’ and ‘receptive’ are chosen, then the Subject is represented by the Goal as in ‘the great plague spot of the world’ in example (6).

- (5) *America* has cleaned up the great plague spot of the world.  
 (6) *The great plague spot of the world* has been cleaned up by America.

If we choose a clause that is both descriptive and operative, it means that the Subject is represented by the Initiator of a non-directed action as in ‘the police’ (7). That means that the non-directed action is actualised by another participant (‘the bomb’ in (7)). However, if

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<sup>10</sup> Samples 1 through 6 are taken from Time Magazine Corpus at <http://corpus.byu.edu/time/> and from 7 onwards taken from google.com.br so as to update the examples.

descriptive and receptive are the choices, then the Subject functions as the Actor performing a non-directed action as in ‘the bomb’ in (8). Here, we must understand that clause (7) *the police exploded the bomb* actually means *the police made the bomb explode*, implying that the Initiator (the police) triggers an action by means of an Actor (the bomb). These constructions relate to agency in material clauses. This will be dealt with when I discuss agency in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese in chapter 4.

- (7) *The police* exploded the bomb.
- (8) *The bomb* was exploded.

In the sequence of the system, when effective and middle are chosen then Actor and Goal represent the same Participant as in *she* and *herself* (9) in a reflexive clause.

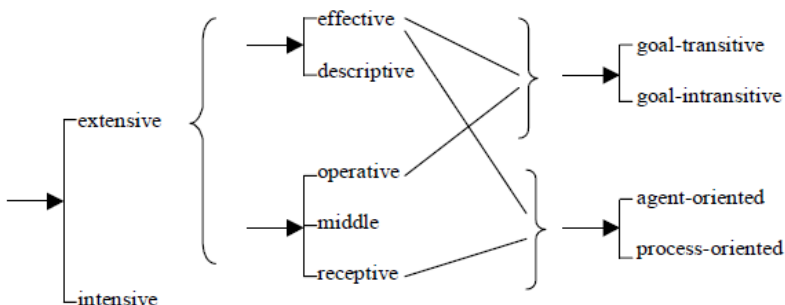
- (9) *She* washed (*herself*) in the sink.

If our choice is both descriptive and middle, then we may have either a middle ranged clause, in which the secondary participant is not affected as in *street* (10) or a middle non-ranged clause in which there is only one participant as in *the bomb* (11).

- (10) The old lady crossed *the street*.
- (11) *The bomb* exploded.

Although this network is later remodelled, Halliday keeps many of its features in his next papers. One interesting fact to highlight is that Halliday accepts that a Participant may be covert, as in (9). That means that some functions or roles can be obligatory to a process but not realised in the clause structure. This leads to a new network with choices between the presence or absence of a complement as ‘goal’ and also the dissimilarity between ‘process-oriented’ and ‘agent-oriented’ as shown in Figure 2.5. This network extends to accommodate two more systems indicated by the arrows. ‘Goal-transitive’ means that the Goal is overt, as in with *the soup* in (2), *digital cameras* in (3) above and (12). If goal-intransitive is the choice, then the Goal is covert, as in *clothes* in example (13).

- (12) Eve ate the *apple*.
- (13) She irons (*clothes*) well.



**Fig. 2.5** Halliday's partial network sequence for major clauses (Halliday 1967, p. 47; Halliday, 2005a, p.136)

Similarly, as Halliday (1967, p. 47) claims, if 'process-oriented' is chosen, then the Process will be 'active' or operative (14), but if 'agent-oriented' is the choice, then the Process is 'passive' or receptive, as in example (15). Notice that neither the Subjects, representing the Actor in (14) and the Goal in (15), are the participants that do the deed in the clauses.

- (14) These oranges *peel* easily.  
 (15) These oranges *were peeled* easily.

Halliday introduces new Participant Roles at this stage, which he labels 'circumstantials'. One 'circumstantial' that he describes as having a Participant Role is that of 'Beneficiary' (16).

- (16) My son gave flowers *to my wife*.

Halliday would treat *to my wife* as a circumstantial Role because in this type of structure *to my wife*, which has an Adjunct function in the Mood system, can perform a Complement function in the Mood system as well. Thus, it can also be described as having a Participant Role in the Transitivity system.

- (17) My son gave *my wife* flowers.



Some sets of verbs are presented by Halliday as typical of presenting a ‘Beneficiary’ function such as ‘*give, sell, buy, pay, owe, pass, throw, hand, book, keep, offer*’. Notice that these sets of verbs convey an idea of ‘possession’. However, at this stage, Halliday does not recognise these verbal groups in terms of Process types and they are for some time regarded as ‘relational’, as still occurs with Cardiff Grammar. Nowadays, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) treat these processes as material of the extending type, i.e. processes that relate to possession.

The other ‘circumstantial’ recognised at this time is the ‘Range’. However, the ‘Range’ (known nowadays as Scope) is treated differently from a ‘Beneficiary’ in that it functions like the ‘Goal’, being an extension of the ‘Actor’ and ‘process’ relationship. It typically occurs with the Process type ‘descriptive, i.e. in non-directed actions.

When the process is expressed in the nominal event, the Range (Scope) becomes obligatory. This occurs because in this case the process is actualised with an empty process plus a nominal event that functions as the lexical part of the process, as in example (18).

(18) He had *a bath*.

When the process is objectified with ‘Range’ (Scope), then there is also place for a ‘Beneficiary’ function (19). This hints at the fact that a ‘Range’ (Scope) can be a Participant, or, as Halliday labels, a pseudo-participant.

(19) She sang John *a song*. (Halliday, 1967, p. 60, my emphasis).

Two more Circumstantials are described by Halliday at this stage: ‘attributive’ (20) and ‘conditional’ (21), which he treats as circumstantial elements as properties of the Participants in the clause. Both these circumstantial elements, according to him, can be objectified by the ‘transitivity system.

(20) He drinks his coffee *black*. (Halliday, 1967, p. 63, my emphasis).

(21) You can’t eat them raw. (ibid, p.78).

Halliday clarifies that the conditional aspect in (21) can be better highlighted if the hypotactic binder ‘if’ is inserted in the clause (21a), forming a clause complex.

(21a) If they are raw // you can't eat them.

These types of circumstantials will be dealt with when I tackle Attributes in material clauses in chapter 3.

### **2.3. Halliday's 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme, Part 3'.**

On 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme', Halliday (1968) revises his proposals introducing the notion of 'causation' into TRANSITIVITY, and recognises the predominance of 'ergativity' in modern English (1 and 2).

- (1) The ice melt.
- (2) The sun melt the ice.

At this stage, there is the introduction of the label 'Affected', which Halliday adopts from Fillmore (1966, pp. 4-5) in order to describe the semantic roles involved in some process types. Halliday argues that in some cases the combination of the obligatory affected participant and the optional causer are realised as one unique Participant. This occurs when there is not an external causer. Thus, in example (3), Mary is both the causer and the affected participant. The label Affected is still common in functional grammars other than SFG as in Case Grammar (Carvalho, 1986 and Cardiff Grammar (Fawcett, 2008).

- (3) Mary washed. (Halliday, 1968, p. 188).

Halliday (ibid, p. 185) claims that the analysis of a clause can be both carried out within a transitive model by extension and an ergative model by causation. He argues that the former is "a 'transitive' form of organisation, based on extension, where the question is whether the action extends beyond the actor or not" but the latter is a "form of organisation, based on causation, where the question is whether the cause is external to the action or not."

This is a stage in which the ergative/transitive distinction has become more prominent in Halliday's discussion. He goes further to introduce a discussion about the Processes used in the Transitive and ergative model. For instance, he relates the verb 'be' to the description of 'intensive' clauses, and as being a Process of 'ascription' assigning

an 'Attribute' to a Carrier as in clause (4). Thus, *Mary*, in this case, is assigned the Participant Role 'Carrier' in an intensive clause.

(4) *Mary is happy.*

Interestingly, although there is also a type of clause known as equative, which conveys an identifying aspect, Halliday (1968, p.190) keeps the same Participant Role used for an 'intensive' clause. Thus, the participant identified as *John* in (5) is still recognised here as the Carrier, having the same function as *Mary* in (4). This seems to be odd because Halliday (1968, p. 191) treats equative clauses as being involved in a kind of 'coding relation' and intensive clauses as a kind of attributive relation. It seems that Halliday does not have at this stage the metalanguage that can represent what he intends to mean by what is known nowadays as attributive and identifying clauses.

(5) *John is the leader.*

Another important type of clause to describe in his 1968 paper is the one named 'mental'. Halliday's way of dealing with mental processes is different from what it is acknowledged today since he describes mental Process as expressing consciousness in different subtypes: in 'perception' as in processes such as *see* and *notice*; 'reaction' as in *like* and *hate*; 'cognition' as in *think* and *convince*; and 'verbalisation' as in *say* and *speak*. Interestingly, Halliday suggests here that verbal clauses and mental clauses belong to the same realm, which is something still maintained in some functional grammars such as Case Grammar and Cardiff Grammar.

Halliday suggests that clause (6a) can be modelled as an ergative patterning of analysis with 'everybody' functioning as the 'Affected'. This patterning of analysis is what Halliday treats later as a like-type and please-type (6a) linguistic pattern in mental clauses.

(6a) *The play pleased everybody.*

(6b) *Everybody liked the play.*

Halliday proposes some variation for the transitive analysis of mental clauses because he notices that the application of the roles 'Actor' and 'Goal' are not entirely appropriate for these clauses since the verb does not represent a Process of 'doing' or 'happening to'. This is what gives rise to the Participant Role *Phenomenon*.

He goes further to suggest that in the clause with *please* the Participant Role *the play* in (6a) may be regarded as a causer, but with the Process *like* it functions as the definition of the scope of the reaction. Halliday then believes at this stage that *everybody* is being affected in both clauses, in (6a) by *the play* functioning as the Phenomenon / causer with the Process *please*, and in (6b) with *the play* as the Phenomenon / Range with the Process *like*.

Halliday corrects some of his analyses for these types of structures in later publications, recognising that only the ‘please-type’ pattern provides a Phenomenon affecting another Participant, being until now the only case of effective clause acknowledged to occur in mental clauses, which is further discussed in chapter 3.

## 2.4 Halliday’s Language Structure and Language Function

In this paper, Halliday (1970) claims that we should “consider language in terms of its **use**” (1970; 2005d, p. 178, original emphasis) and places system in a more salient position than in 1961, in which system is regarded as one of the four grammatical categories (see section 2.2). He also introduces the notion of *meaning potential* of a language, which is represented by choices made in a ‘system network’.

Halliday accentuates how the *metafunctions* are encapsulated in the clause, and the Role and location of Process types and Participants in the ‘ideational’ metafunction. He stresses that the Processes and the Participants are located at the centre of the ideational metafunction, from which the text producer is able to construe experiences. He also talks about the three customary participant functions: Actor, Goal (or Patient) and that of Beneficiary. In the discussion Halliday mentions the various subdivisions and modifications proposed for his taxonomy as in Lyons (1968, p. 439) who distinguishes between Goal and ‘object of result’ as in:

- (1a) The Borough Council restored *this gazebo*.
- (1b) Sir Christopher Wren built *this gazebo*.

where *this gazebo* is Goal in (1a) but ‘object of result’ in (1b). Lyons treats the participant *this gazebo* this way because it comes into existence only due to the process of building, which is treated by Halliday nowadays as a process of the creative type keeping the function of Goal.

Halliday uses example (2) to exemplify that a Participant may conflate different functions in the same Participant as occurs with the nominal group ‘the book’, which is both the grammatical Subject and logical direct Object in the material clause.

(2) The book sells well.

Halliday (1970) may have been influenced by Sweet’s (1891) distinction between what he considers to be ‘logical’ categories (ibid, p.12) and ‘grammatical’ categories (ibid, p.19). This seems to be reflected on the terms that Halliday employs for *grammatical Subject*, *psychological Subject* and *logical Subject*<sup>11</sup> since Sweet’s *logical subject*, *logical direct subject* and *logical indirect subject* correspond respectively to Halliday’s notion of participant functions in that the role of ‘Actor’ is linked to ‘logical subject’, ‘Goal’ to ‘logical direct object’ and ‘Beneficiary’ to ‘logical indirect object’.

In order to elaborate on this issue, psychological Subject, Grammatical Subject and logical Subject are “terms that came to be used in the second half of the nineteenth century, when there was a renewal of interest in grammatical theory” (Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 56).

In Halliday (1970), Halliday proposes additional roles to ‘Actor’, ‘Goal’ and ‘Beneficiary’. These roles are known as ‘instrument’, ‘force’ and two types of ‘recipient’. He implies that the role of ‘instrument’ can occur only with intentional action as in clause (3) whereas the role of ‘force’ can occur only in non-intentional action as in (4).

(3) The key opened the door.

(4) The ball broke the mirror.

These functions (instrument and force) are not given prominence in later works as opposed to the Beneficiary function. According to Halliday (1970, p. 147; 2005d, p. 178), the role of Beneficiary can be subdivided into two types of ‘recipient’. One is the ‘recipient of an object’, exemplified in example (5), and the other is the ‘recipient of a service’ as shown in clause (6), which are later known respectively as Recipient and Client.

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<sup>11</sup> This is also discussed in section 1.2.1 above.

- (5) I've given Oliver a tie.  
 (6) I've made Frederick a jacket.

Halliday claims that these functions have a systematic distinction in the grammar of English in that they have their related prepositional form with *to Oliver* hinting at a Recipient of goods and *for Frederick* hinting at a Client of service. This probe with prepositional phrases does not seem to work in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese because in both cases the prepositional form is the same: *para o Oliver* and *para o Frederick*. This way of dealing with goods and services meet some resistance in other functional grammars, namely Case Grammar and Cardiff Grammar.

There are three major Process types recognised by Halliday at this phase: 'action', 'mental' and 'relational' with their adjacent participants. All of them, processes and participants, are classified according to their semantic roles, which are realised "by structural functions". However, some "constructional forms" used to represent structural functions may "express different transitivity functions" (Halliday, 2005d, p. 179) as in *by the fire* in (7a and b):

- (7a) it was singed *by the fire*.  
 (7b) it was stored *by the fire*.

whereby the fire is the Actor in (7a) and a circumstance of spatial Location in (7b).

When Halliday discusses some processes related to attribution and identity in 1968, he does not overtly acknowledge these Process types as 'relational'. This time he describes two subclasses within 'relational' Processes. The first type displays a relation of class membership and is named 'attributive' (replacing the label 'intensive' in Halliday (1968)), and the second type is a "role that serves to identify the other" (Halliday, 1970, p. 154) and is named 'equative' (keeping the same label as in Halliday, 1968). There is an important feature in equative clauses in that they can be reversed, as shown in example (8) while attributive clauses (9) cannot.

- (8) Sandra is the teacher → The teacher is Sandra.  
 (9) Sandra looks serious → \*Serious looks Sandra.

Along with 'action' and 'relational' Processes, Halliday also discusses 'mental' Processes in this paper. However, he introduces new

semantically defined labels for this Process type. First, he proposes the role of *Processor*, and then the entity being *perceived*, *reacted to*, *cognised* or *verbalised*, for which he maintains the label *Phenomenon* as in 1968.

In this paper, Halliday stresses what may complete the gap for the Subject function in ‘non-middle’ clauses. He argues that the Subject function may be realised either by the Phenomenon (10) or the Processor (11). He further argues that there is a higher probability of passive constructions originated from clauses with the Phenomenon as Subject (12).

(10) The gift pleased her.

(11) She liked the gift.

(12) She was pleased by (with) the gift (Halliday, 1970, p. 153).

Halliday also makes a distinction between *obligatory* and *optional* roles. He recognises that “an “obligatory” element may in fact be absent” (Halliday, 2005d, p.181, his own emphasis). This being said, he suggests the term ‘inherent’ rather than ‘obligatory’. An inherent function implies that it is always associated with a given clause type (13a) but it may not appear in the structure (13b). Conversely, an optional function is not always associated with a clause type but we may utilise it as an option.

(13a) *Roderick pelted the crocodile with stones* (ibid).

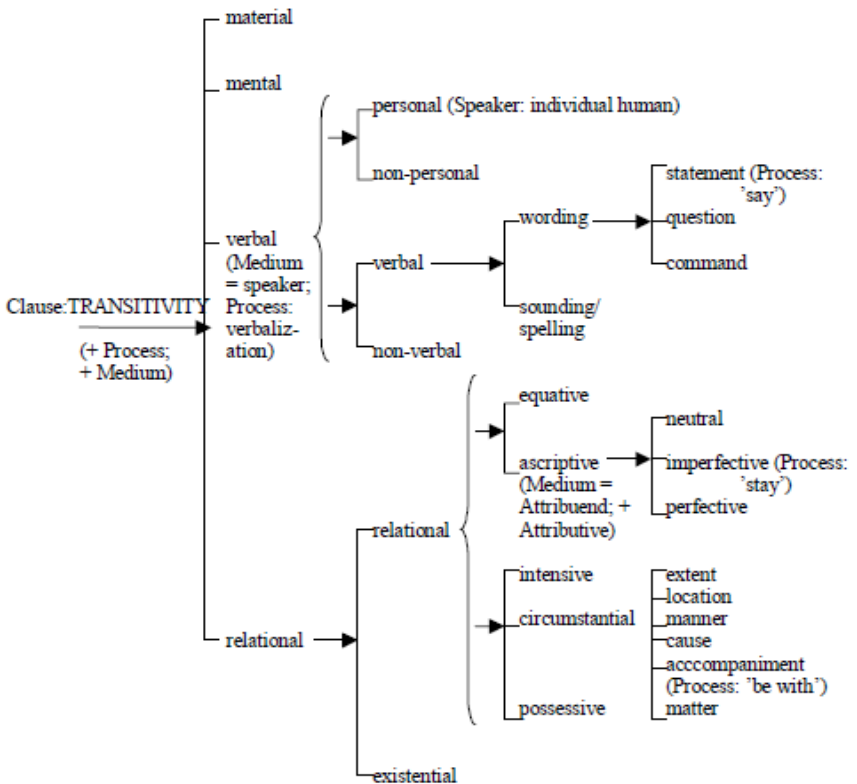
(13b) *the crocodile got pelted* (ibid).

Notice that the process *pelt* is always associated with three functions: ‘the doer’ of the deed (the pelter), ‘the done to’ (the crocodile) and ‘the instrument’ (stones), i.e. something to pelt with. In (13a) all these functions are overt but in (13b) only one function is overt, that of ‘the done to’.

## 2.5 Halliday’s Text as Semantic Choice in Social Contexts

Because Halliday understands language as occurring in social contexts, he views language from a sociological perspective. That means that when he mentions the social context, he is also involving the social action, which he relates to the ‘field’ in the tripartite system of register: field, tenor and mode (see section 2.11).

Departing from the social context Halliday is able to devise a significant set of systems in a network (Figure 2.6) that has “the linguistic system on the one hand and the social context on the other down to the ‘wording’, which is the text in its lexicogrammatical realisation” (Halliday, 1977, p. 207).



**Fig. 2.6** A partial network of the four major process types with emphasis in the verbal and relational processes (from Halliday, 1977, p. 211 and in Neale, 2002, p.76).

One interesting aspect of his network is the inclusion of a new Process type, not found in previous papers, that of ‘verbal’ Process, which was regarded as a subclass of the mental Process in previous papers. This way the system of the clause in Transitivity is then



acknowledged as comprising four major Process types: material, relational, mental and verbal.

Also revealing is the treatment given to the Process type 'relational', which in preceding papers offers two possible choices: one related to 'equation' and another related to 'ascription'. As we can see in this network, 'relational' processes are given a new dimension in that we are offered varied semantically based choices. However, Halliday still keeps the equative and ascriptive labels for relational clauses instead of what is to be known later as identifying and attributive, the present subdivisions of the relational process. In addition to this, the relational Process has now a subclass named 'existential', which in future papers is recognised as a new Process Type embodying one single participant, that of 'Existent'.

As can also be noted, the network provides for both subtypes of the relational choice (equative and ascriptive) three more choices, being one connected with circumstances. However, at this stage, Halliday does not acknowledge the nine major circumstances in the circumstance system as he does in later publications.

## 2.6 Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar

Halliday publishes his most comprising description of the theory only in 1985 with his *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (IFG), revised in 1994. This becomes a brief synopsis of his ground-breaking research in the systemic functional studies and inspires many works in a range of languages including Chinese, Japanese, French, German and Tagalog since it was designed to be used as a powerful tool to help text analysts understand how language works to construe meaning in text<sup>12</sup>. Although in these books (1985, 1994) he deals with the four major Process Types and adds two extra process types, the 'behavioural' and the 'existential', readers cannot find in this stage representative networks to model what he means by meaning potential, which is, more often than not, represented as systems. This is partially resolved in the third edition in 2004, when Matthiessen co-writes together with

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<sup>12</sup> The term 'text' is to be understood as any instance of language in any medium that makes sense to someone who knows the language (see Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Hasan, 1985; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

Halliday a more exemplified edition of IFG, where more representational networks become available.

His 1985 book introduces the new label ‘material’ to substitute the previous ‘action’ process, still kept in Cardiff Grammar by Fawcett. All the major processes are given more detailed explanations such as in mental process with the label ‘Senser’, which replaces the earlier label ‘Processor’. In addition, the mental process, which was known to have four subclassifications in previous papers, remains with only three since in this stage ‘cognition’ and ‘perception’ are kept, but ‘verbalisation’ is given the status of verbal Process type, and the mental subclass ‘reaction’ is replaced by ‘affection’. Therefore, three subclassifications are related to the mental process: ‘cognition’, ‘perception’ and ‘affection’. Halliday does not recognise ‘desideration’ as a subclass of the mental process in this phase, which is considered only in later publications. In this stage, he seems to treat the *desiderative* aspect in a conflation with the emotive subclass known as affection. However, desideration is later merged with the cognition subclass probably due to the possibility of projection as occurs with cognitive mental processes until it is acknowledged as a mental process subclass.

Relational processes are also presented in a different fashion, comparing with earlier versions, presenting two modes, one named attributive and the other named identifying. Both comprise three distinct ways of being as in earlier publications: the intensive, circumstantial and possessive types, as shown in (Table 2.1). The intensive clause means (‘x is a’), the ‘circumstantial’ means (‘x’ is at a’), and the ‘possessive’ means (‘x has a’).

	(i) attributive	(ii) identifying
(1) intensive	Sarah is wise	Tom is the leader The leader is Tom
(2) circumstantial	The fair is on Tuesday	Tomorrow is the 10 <sup>th</sup> The 10 <sup>th</sup> is tomorrow
(3) possessive	Peter has a piano	The piano is Peter’s Peter’s the piano

**Table 2.1** Modes and types of relational process (Halliday, 1985, p.113)

Even though it is assumed that four processes are the most prominent (material, relational, mental and verbal), Halliday still treats ‘verbal’ processes, recognised in Halliday, 1977, and the two new types,

'behavioural' and 'existential' processes, as 'subsidiary' process types. This is maintained in the two future editions: 1994 and 2004, where they are referred to as "other processes" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 248).

The 'behavioural' process relates to physiological processes as in 'coughing, breathing, smiling' and psychological behaviour as in 'dreaming' and 'ponder' (Halliday, 1985, pp. 128-129). This Process type is in a borderline between 'material' and 'mental' Processes because this category includes processes of consciousness represented in forms of behaviour, therefore, very similar to processes of doing. However, the Participant that is 'behaving' is assigned the role 'Behaver', which is like the 'Senser' in a 'mental' Process. Conversely, behavioural processes, unlike mental processes, cannot project other clauses.

Even though not mentioned in Halliday's description, behavioural processes are to a certain extent conflated with verbal processes in processes such as *talk, murmur, mumble, stammer*, i.e. processes that hint at behaviour. Thus, this feature is more resolved in Matthiessen (1995), who also includes processes of 'grooming' as in *she washed herself* in the behavioural process type, though as a subsystem of the material process system. As is common in all editions of IFG behavioural processes are merely mentioned *en passant*, if compared with the three major processes: material, mental and relational.

Similarly to the behavioural and existential processes, the verbal process is only given a general notion of how it fits in the network of process types. It is displayed as a very comprehensive process type because it can relate to 'any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning' (1985, p.129), as in the examples below (1, 2):

- (1) The notice tells you // to keep quiet.
- (2) My watch says // its ten o'clock.

The Participant Roles (PR) assigned by Halliday to this Process type are the *Sayer*, i.e. anyone that verbalises or anything that puts out a signal; the *Receiver*, i.e. the person 'to whom the verbalisation is addressed'; the *Verbiage*, i.e. what is said; and *Target*, i.e. the participant that is verbally 'affected' by the Sayer in processes such as *insult, praise, slander, abuse, flatter*'. This linguistic pattern with Sayer and Target is the only case in which effective clauses are possible in verbal clauses (Halliday 1985, p. 130; 1994, p. 141).

The ‘existential’ Process type is shown as the representation of something that exists or happens, as in example (3):

(3) There was a little guinea pig.

In the case of this Process type, the word *there* carries no participant or circumstantial feature, i.e. although in the Mood system *there* functions as the Subject of the clause, it ‘has no representational function’ in the Transitivity structure of the clause in English. Because this Process type typically takes the verb ‘be’ it is somewhat similar to a ‘relational’ Process type. This may explain why in previous papers it is regarded as a subclassification of the relational process type.

Existential processes are assigned only one Participant: the Existent, which may be a phenomenon of any kind and is often, in fact an entity or an event as in (3). Existential clauses habitually contain a distinct circumstantial element as in (4) (Halliday 1985, p.130).

(4) There was *a battle*.

(5) There was a picture *on the wall*

Halliday acknowledges the relevance of two models for analysis of clauses as representation: the transitive and ergative models. He acknowledges the significance of the ergative model by claiming that the Process and the Medium ‘together form the nucleus of an English clause; and this nucleus then determines the variety of options that are available to the rest of the clause’ (Halliday, 1994, p. 164).

PR's equivalent to Medium in Transitivity	
In material process	to Actor (middle), Goal (effective)
In behavioural process	to Behaver
In mental process	to Senser
In verbal process	to Sayer (middle), Target (effective)
In attributive process	to Carrier
In identifying process	to Identified
In existential process	to Existent

**Table 2.2** Equivalence to Medium function in Transitive Model

Thus, according to Halliday (1985, p. 147), ‘the Medium is the nodal Participant throughout, not the doer or the causer, but the one that is critically involved according to the particular nature of the process’,

as shown in Table 2.2. This Table shows the participant roles in the transitive model that are equivalent to the Medium in the ergative model.

However, as I shall demonstrate below, Halliday's treatment of ergativity differs from some scholars, namely Davidse.

## 2.7 Davidse's treatment of Experiential Grammar

Although Halliday's framework is the foundation for Davidse's approach to *Experiential Grammar* in 1992 as well as other Davidse's works such as Davidse and Geyskens (1998) and Davidse (1999a), the system network for TRANSITIVITY is explored further in her approach, which may shed some light in the discussion of BP. Davidse's (1992) publication on *Transitivity and ergativity* is a significant study about material processes because it reveals the indispensable distinction between 'transitive' and 'ergative' constructions.

Halliday already discusses 'ergativity' in 1968 in *Notes on Transitivity and Theme Part 3* and its relation to the VOICE system. However, although he discusses the 'effective' and 'descriptive' systems, he does not seem to treat the transitive and ergative models the way other linguists do regarding how the 'transitive' and the 'ergative' models are related to the configurations of the Participants involved in the Process, namely linguists such as Fawcett (1980, 1987), and Davidse (1992). Davidse's work, for instance, differs from Halliday's in how she recognises the process and Participant configuration. She believes that this is the key to determine, for instance, new Participants Roles. Her investigation shows among other things, how material processes should be explored in transitive and ergative models. This, as I shall demonstrate, creates a great distinction between her model of analysis and Halliday's.

### 2.7.1 About effective structures

Davidse's description of transitive/effective constructions are those which are transitive and involve two Participants. This seems to represent the same description as in Halliday's, but according to Davidse, in this semantic function there is the involvement of the notion of intentionality. In her description, this construction type functions in three possible ways: consciously and deliberately in clauses such as (1),

accidentally in clauses such as (2) and inanimately in clauses such as (3).

- (1) The father hit the child.
- (2) Fred accidentally hit his sister's eye.
- (3) The bombs hit the target.

Davidse describes a reactance in order to evidence the transitive/ergative split by means of a transitive intentionality. This reactance concerns the 'absolute construction' of intentional transitive clauses, as for instance, in absolute construction such as in (4) and (4a).

- (4) The father hit the child.
- (4a) The father hit.

Davidse argues that specific absolute constructions involving transitive structures such as these cannot function in the same way for an ergative construction as in (5) and (5a).

- (5) Jack opened the door.
- (5a) Jack opened.

Because the Subject of an ergative example is treated as the affected entity in the Process of 'opening', Davidse recognises that the split is caused due to the 'agent centred' nature of the transitive model and the 'affected centred' nature of the ergative model.

Another important fact in her discussion (Davidse, 1992, p.115) is that as a rule ergative constructions involving an Instigator are not intentional. She goes further by stating that the performance of a deed is on average "deliberate", but the instigation of the event "is not". This can be exemplified when processes are nominalised as in (6) and (7), in which the nominalisation in (6) becomes an Instigator, but cannot fit in in the Actor slot in a transitive construction in (7).

- (6) The fact [[that too much water was poured into it]] broke the glass
- (7)\* The fact [[that he aimed]] hit the target.

What Davidse's descriptions attempt to demonstrate here is that transitive constructions are 'actor-centred' but ergative constructions are 'medium-centred', and thus, examples such as the ones attempting to provide a single Participant alternation in the same way cannot be

related to an event such as in (5a) where John is the Medium because of the interpretation of *John* as Actor in the transitive mode.

(5a)\* Jack opened.

Let me make it simpler by adding an important feature to tell them apart. A good distinction between the two models is that in the transitive model the Actor is always the Subject in operative clauses whereas in the ergative model the affected participant can also be the Subject in the Mood system as well as the Agent. Let me exemplify it in clauses (8 a,b) with the transitive model and (9 a,b) with the ergative model.

(8a)	The boy	broke		the window glass	<b>Transitive model</b>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc. material</i>		<i>Goal</i>	
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Finite</i>	<i>Predicator</i>	<i>Complement</i>	<b>Mood</b>

(8b)	The window glass	broke		<b>Transitive model</b>
	<i>Goal*</i>	<i>Proc. material</i>		
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Finite</i>	<i>Predicator</i>	<b>Mood</b>

(9a)	The boy	broke		the window glass	<b>Ergative model</b>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc. material</i>		<i>Medium</i>	
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Finite</i>	<i>Predicator</i>	<i>Complement</i>	<b>Mood</b>

(9b)	The window glass	broke		<b>Ergative model</b>
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Proc. material</i>		
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Finite</i>	<i>Predicator</i>	<b>Mood</b>

As noted, in the ergative model both the causer and the affected participants can be Subjects in the Mood system whereas in the Transitive model the Goal can only be Subject when the clause is in the receptive mode as shown in (8c) below, which is also possible with the Medium in the ergative model. That means that a structure such as (8b) is not feasible in the transitive model because the Goal function in the transitive model cannot be the equivalent to Subject in the Mood system when the clause is operative.

(8c)	The window glass	was broken		by the boy	<b>Ergative model</b>
	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Proc. material</i>		<i>Actor</i>	
(9c)	The window glass	was broken		by the boy	<b>Ergative model</b>
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Proc. material</i>		<i>Agent</i>	
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Finite</i>	<i>Predicator</i>	<i>Adjunct</i>	<b>Mood</b>

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 179) acknowledge Halliday's more general use of the PR 'Actor' in previous papers and recognise that "the 'Actor' of a material clause is distinct from the "Agent' of an 'effective' clause in that the two represent different generalisations about the experiential organisation of the clause (see Halliday, 1967). This will be brought into discussion when I deal with Emergent complexity explicated from a functional perspective in section 2.10 and with agency in chapter 4.

### 2.7.2 About middle structures

Davidse's point of departure to distinguish the transitive and ergative middle structures is by reference to the 'intransitive' and the 'non-ergative' modes. She makes use of these labels to compare them with the 'effective' structures. The main difference between the two is that in 'intransitive' clauses no Agent can be added, as illustrated in clause (1), while non-ergative clauses (2) can be 'extended' to the left to include what we might call an Instigator or an external Participant represented in clause (2a), which can be an Actor and/or an Agent functioning as the causer, which forms an effective clause.

- (1) Jane fell.
- (2) The glass broke.
- (2a) Helen broke the glass.

For the analysis of clauses, although middle structures do not seem to be so prominent as the effective ones, they are extremely important in text analysis since in ergative clauses the significance appears to be in the Medium in order to see whether the clause contains an external Agent impacting on the Medium or whether it is camouflaged in a middle structure with the Agent elided as in clause (2).

### 2.7.3 About pseudo-effective structures

According to Davidse there may be 'those grammatically rather intriguing two-participant clauses that "look" effective but are not, such as *the thief jumped the wall*' (Davidse, 1992, p. 124), which she labels as pseudo-effective constructions (1a), (1b) and (1c). For Davidse, these



clauses are transitive pseudo-effective constructions, or transitive constructions which involve a Range, as in Halliday's IFG's (1985, 1994).

- (1a) They danced an energetic jig.
- (1b) They drove the whole distance.
- (1c) They crossed the field.

In Davidsen's model these clauses are not treated as transitive, but as intransitives with the Range functioning similarly to a Circumstance. Because, like Halliday, she recognises that the Range can become Subject in a receptive clause, which is a probe to define a Participant Role in a Process rather than a circumstance, she also claims that Ranges are not true participants. Davidsen, as well as Halliday, recognises that Ranges are positioned in a continuum, between Participants and Circumstances. That is why she labels this type of Range a 'pseudo participant' (Davidsen, 1992, p. 125). Nonetheless, ergative pseudo-effective structures seem to be more intricate than the transitive type (2a), (2b) and (2c).

- (2a) He fractured an arm in the accident.
- (2b) The cooling system burst a pipe.
- (2c) The car broke an axle.

She argues that the second Participant Role in each example cannot be passivised, nor does it pass the 'do to' test, as established in the three *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (IFG) and in Davidsen (1992). That means that a construction such as *an arm was fractured by him in the accident*; or *what he did to an arm was fracture it in the accident* does not seem to be feasible since it would imply a volitional action. Davidsen's 'do to' test, however, seems to be a significant reactance to point out that the second Participant Role is 'affected' somehow in an ergative-effective structure. Nevertheless due to failure in this test, the two Participants in each clause are not in an actual 'effective' construction, and so must be categorised as being in a 'pseudo-effective' construction.

Davidsen draws on Langacker's taxonomy and labels the first Participant Role in her pseudo-effective arrangement as the 'Setting', which she treats as a 'pseudo-participant', similarly to a Range function. This treatment for the Participant Roles allows her to deal with these

two-participant clauses in a dissimilar way not dealt with yet in the IFG's (3 and 4).

(3)	John	broke	his neck
	<i>Setting</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Medium</i>
(4)	Peter	grew	a wart
	<i>Setting</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Medium</i>

In Davidsen's model, the 'Setting' is a 'pseudo-participant' and the 'Medium', which is vital in these types of constructions, is the 'true-participant'. It is important to highlight that the way Davidsen treats these Participants meets some opposition from other theories, namely Cardiff Grammar, which would consider these constructions as having an Agent Participant Role because they can be probed by the 'do to' test for Agents (see Neale, 2002). So, clauses such as (3a) is considered possible.

(3a) What John did was break his neck.

Davidsen treats the Goal in the 'transitive' model as an 'inert affected' at which the process is directed, and in this sense it cannot give rise to a process as it does in the 'ergative' model, in which the Process occurs to a Medium (5, 5a).

(5) May closed her eyes.

(5a) Her eyes closed.

Davidsen raises an important aspect with her description of the 'transitive' model as 'Actor-centred' and the 'ergative' model as 'Medium-centred', thus, being in line with Halliday (1968). Both Actor- and Medium-centred clause types can be either middle, i.e. having only one participant, or effective, i.e. having two participants.

According to the IFG's, a Middle clause does not necessarily have to possess only one Participant, and a clause that has two Participants is not essentially effective. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) treat these clauses as either (6) Middle ranged (two Participants: a Medium and a Range) and (7) Middle non-ranged (one Participant: a Medium), or (8) effective (two Participants: an Agent and a Medium).

(6)	Carol	read	her book.	middle ranged
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>process</i>	<i>Range</i>	
(7)	The ice	melt		middle non-ranged
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>process</i>		
(8)	The hot weather	melt	the ice.	effective
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>process</i>	<i>Medium</i>	

Thus, siding with Halliday (1968), Davidse recognises that in a ‘transitive’ model there is a construction, which involves a ‘deed’ and a possible ‘extension’. Both claim that the Actor is the Participant in charge of the deed (9), which can be directed at a possible Goal when the clause extends to the right (9a). They also agree that, differently from a transitive construction, in an ergative construction, the crucial role is in charge of the Medium (10) and that these types of clauses allow the potentiality for an Instigator of the process, which can be externalised when the clause is pushed further to the left (10a).

(9)	She	paints	→	transitive model in extension
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Process</i>		
(9a)	She	paints	nice pictures	
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc</i>	<i>Goal</i>	

(10)	←	The potatoes	cooked	ergative model in causation
		<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>	
(10a)	The maid	cooked	the potatoes	
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc</i>	<i>Medium</i>	

That being said, what is it that distinguishes both approaches? As we have seen, one main distinction is that Davidse seems to take the transitive/ergative models discussion to another level in which she acknowledges not only middle and effective clauses but also pseudo-effective constructions, in which a new function arises, that of the Setting. Furthermore, whereas Halliday treats all process in both transitive and ergative models, Davidse differentiates one model from the other. That means that according to her, a process in a clause is to be analysed either from a transitive or an ergative perspective.

## 2.8 Matthiessen (1995) Lexicogrammatical Cartography: English Systems

Matthiessen (1995) furnishes us with important descriptions regarding TRANSITIVITY in English and offers us a sorted variety of system networks, which is only fairly introduced in IFG 3. Matthiessen is aligned with Halliday in most areas but he differs in some aspects as in the recognition of process types. He views the experiential metafunctions as a dimension to categorise domains of experience; i.e. a field of consciousness, a field of happening and doing, and a field of being and having, which are encapsulated by the four primary Process type systems. Matthiessen, unlike Halliday, recognises the ‘behavioural’ process as a subsystem within the material process type, and the existential process is treated as a subsystem of the relational process type. For Matthiessen (1995), material, relational, mental and verbal processes are more recurrent in text analysis. This is an aspect that is in consonance with Halliday, who, although acknowledging six process types, gives more prominence to three: material, relational and mental. However, according to the space provided for each Process types in the IFG’s, it seems that relational, material and mental would be the appropriate sequence with regard to intricacy.

Matthiessen partitions TRANSITIVITY into two realms; the ‘nuclear’ and ‘circumstantial’ transitivity, which also occurs in other languages, namely Japanese (Teruya, 2004). Though not in the same way, Fawcett (1980) regards circumstance in a different manner from what Halliday does. So, even under the same tenets, the treatment of circumstances in the experiential metafunction may have different analyses depending upon the approach that we decide to follow.

According to Matthiessen, an ‘instantiation’ of the experiential realm in a clause can be predicted in terms of structure, comprising Process, Participants, and Circumstances. These constituents of the clause are typically actualised through the units of grammar such as verbal groups for the processes, nominal groups for the participants and prepositional phrases and/or adverbial groups for the circumstances.

Matthiessen recognises the value of the differences between process types but he also acknowledges the fact that in all categorisation, there may be cases in which process types are located in “more intermediate, borderline cases” (Halliday, 1995, p. 204), which hints at the notion of fuzzy edged categories.

For the categorisation of process type Matthiessen resorts to what determines the position of a Process in terms of space of experience

including the degree of ‘potency’ of the participants such as in the sense of animacy, volitionality, etc, the degree of their affectedness, the degree to which the process can or cannot project another process and so on (Matthiessen, 1995, p. 221). In other words, he takes into account how Processes and Participants are configured in a clause.

His system provides choices among the four major process types and AGENCY, which allows choices of Participant Role configurations in the sense of how clauses are structured as ‘effective’ or ‘middle’. In this sense Matthiessen’s descriptions of process types are in line with Halliday, except for the way he deals with behavioural and existential clauses, as mentioned above.

In this publication, Matthiessen displays a deep level of delicacy in his analysis of systems and makes salient why SFG and other functional grammars differ. For instance, regarding mental process, Matthiessen (1995) as well as Halliday (1985; 1994) treat some clauses with no phenomenality as middle non-ranged, illustrated in clause (1). Other functional grammars treat these clauses as a two role process (equivalent to middle ranged), namely Case Grammar and Cardiff Grammar. This is because these grammars consider the ‘overtness’ and ‘covertness’ of roles. Thus, in example (1) they analyse the covert second Participant role as well.

(1a)	We	understand.	middle non-ranged
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	

(1b)	We	understand.	it	Middle ranged
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	

It is also interesting to notice that dissimilarly to Halliday, Matthiessen’s subclassifications for mental clauses include the semantic choices of *cognition*, *perception*, *emotion* and the *desideration* aspects, which is not clearly resolved in Halliday’s two first IFG’s, who used to treat the *desiderative* aspect in a conflation with the *emotive* choice in mental processes. This is later resolved due to the fact that emotive mental process do not project ranking clauses as desiderative mental processes do. Therefore, Matthiessen’s thrust is the level of delicacy that his description entails as in his description for the main process type systems and subsystems. This can be observed in the description involved with the cognitive and desiderative systems, which he separates in different areas.

In IFG 3, which has Matthiessen's participation as co-writer, these different ways of viewing processes, though not so prominent, are maintained (see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 208).

## **2.9 Overview of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (recapping and updating)**

Systemic functional linguists interpret language as a meaning potential that can expand functionally into different modes of meaning or metafunctions. The multifunctional nature of a clause is wisely illustrated when Halliday (1976, p. 24), making use of a metaphor, says that in the clause "any element may have more than one structural role, like a chord in a figure which participates simultaneously in more than one melodic line".

As seen earlier, the basis for Systemic Functional Linguistic theory dates back to the works of J. R. Firth and his colleagues in the London School of Linguistics, i.e. SFL derives from Firth's approach to language (his system-structure theory, his prosodic analysis, and his contextualism), which was extensively used in the 1940s and 1950s. What is paramount to Firth at that time is meaning viewed as the function of a linguistic item. According to him, meaning is to be considered in the social context in which language is put to use. From these ideas, Halliday, at that time a Firth's student, adopts and develops many aspects of Firth's work starting to develop a view of language as a 'meaning-making' system with an emphasis on choices. For that reason, when we make use of grammar in these functional terms, i.e. as a meaning oriented grammar, we are, in reality, looking at the clause as a means to interpret meaning-making resources (see Halliday, 1970, 1973).

Most descriptive works in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) have been concerned with English, but the situation seems to be changing because descriptions of different languages have been produced or launched lately. This has occurred because SFG has attracted many followers for being a theory that features a simultaneous three-dimensional approach and has its nub upon the social. Therefore, many scholars have adapted SFG theory in order to account for their language specificities, namely Hita (2003) and Caffarel (2006) in Latin languages.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 309), there is always "a combination of three different structures" in a clause, "each

expressing one kind of semantic organisation”, (ibid, p.64), which is mapped onto one single wording. Each one of these semantic organisations is actualised by different clause systems and is, as well, the result of dissimilar clause systems that function within a continuum and in tandem for the creation of three distinct types of meaning (Halliday, 1985, 1994). These three meanings, known as metafunctions<sup>13</sup>, are realised in systemic theory as a tri-layered function structure as follows:

(i) The ‘ideational strand of meaning’, which is subdivided into (a) experiential and (b) logical metafunctions, provides the semantic resources for the construal of our experience of the world, around us and inside us. The experiential metafunction, in which clauses are analysed as representation, “**construes** human experience: making sense of what we perceive as “reality”, both the world outside us and the worlds of our own inner consciousness” (Halliday, 2009, p. 272, original emphasis), and is realised lexicogrammatically by the TRANSITIVITY system. It is in this dimension that Transitivity is investigated both on the transitive and ergative models by means of process types, adjacent participants and circumstances. In these models text analysts can investigate how effective, middle-ranged and middle non-ranged clauses function both operatively and receptively in agency. As for the logical metafunction, it construes phenomena as sequences of process configuration, which are realised by means of CLAUSE COMPLEX systems, in which interdependency (taxis) and logico-semantic relations are encapsulated. Through this metafunction the text analyst can identify how clauses determine the flow of information both tactically and logically (see also Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997; Eggins, 2004);

(ii) The ‘interpersonal strand of meaning’ analyses the clause as an *exchange*. This is the line of meaning that “**enacts** social and personal relationships: setting up both immediate and long-term interaction with other persons, and in this way establishing each one’s identity and self-awareness” (Halliday, 2009, p. 272, original emphasis).

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<sup>13</sup> Fawcett expands the number of metafunctions to six by dividing Halliday’s ideational metafunction into two separate metafunctions: the *experiential* and the *logical*, and does the same with the interpersonal metafunction by bifurcating it into *interactional* and *expressive*. The textual is also transformed into *thematic* and *informational* (Gregory, 1987, p. 97). In Fawcett (2008, p. 245), Fawcett claims that there are eight metafunctions. He keeps the alterations concerning Halliday’s ideational and textual metafunctions but he further changes Halliday’s interpersonal metafunction by adding three more functions. Thus, Halliday’s interpersonal line of meaning is changed into *interpersonal*, *negativity*, *validity* and *affective*.

It is realised in the clause grammar by means of the MOOD system, which is assessed to identify how verbal Operators function temporally and modally. In this line of meaning the text analyst can, among other things, carry out investigation on the positioning of Complements as well as on the three types of Adjuncts: circumstantial, conjunctive and Modal as illustrated in Table 2.3 (see also Martin and Rose, 2003; Martin, 1984, 2005);

<b>Temporality</b>	<i>Time</i>	yet, still, already, once, soon, just, no longer	
	<i>Typicality</i>	occasionally, generally, regularly, mainly	
<b>Modality</b>	<i>modalization</i>	probability	probably, perhaps, maybe, certainly, hardly
		usuality	usually, sometimes, always, never
	<i>Modulation</i>	inclination	willingly, readily, gladly, easily
		obligation	definitely, absolutely, possibly
<b>Intensity</b>	<i>counter- expectancy</i>	exceeding	even, actually, really, in fact
		limiting	just, simply, merely, only
	<i>Degree</i>	total	totally, utterly, entirely, completely
		high	quite, almost, nearly
		low	scarcely, hardly,

**Table 2.3** Modal Adjuncts in the Mood system (based on Halliday, 2004)

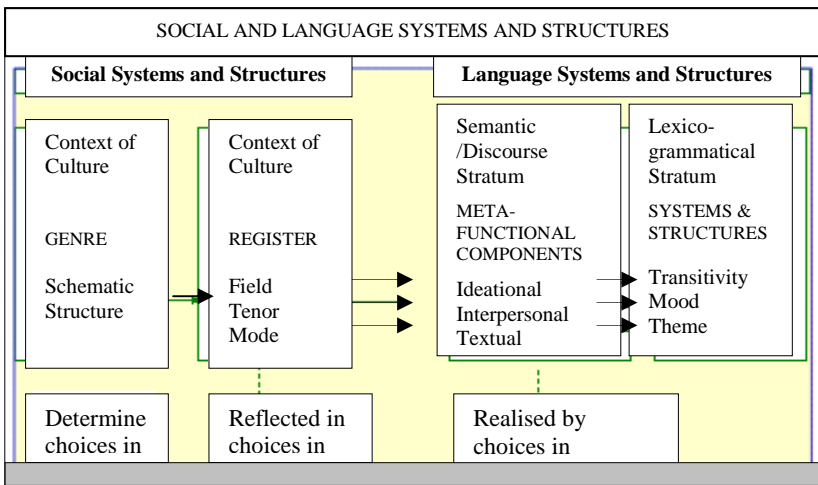
(iii) The ‘textual strand of meaning’, in which a clause is analysed as a *message*, “**creates** discourse: formulating a distinct “semiotic reality” in which items [(i) and (ii)] are combined into a single flow of meaning, as spoken or written text” (Halliday, 2009, p. 272). It is this line of meaning that controls the status and conjunctive development of texts. At clause rank, the textual metafunction organises the message according to tone prominence, realised by the THEME system. It is in this dimension that Theme and Rheme are investigated to identify the three types of Theme: *topical*, *textual* and *interpersonal* (as displayed in Table 2.4), as well as the patterns of the marked and unmarked Themes (see also Ravelli, 2000; Eggins, 2004).



<b>Textual</b>	Continuative
	Conjunctions
	Conjunctive Adjuncts
<b>Interpersonal</b>	Modal or comment Adjuncts
	Vocatives
	Finite verbal operators (in yes/no interrogative)
<b>Topical</b>	participants
	processes
	circumstances

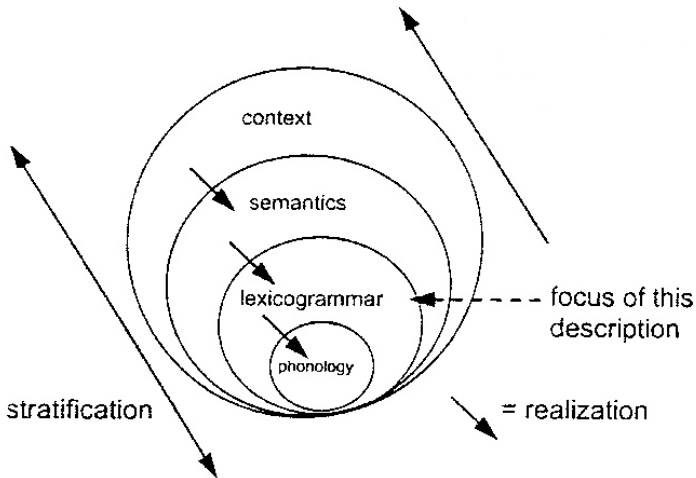
**Table 2.4** Types of Theme in the textual metafunction (Based on Halliday, 2004, p. 99)

SFL comprises different strata that function as a whole, as can be seen in Figure 2.7. And because SFL deals with strata comprising both social systems and structures involving context of culture (genre) and context of situation (field, tenor and mode as register) plus language systems and structures involving semantic stratum (metafunctional components) and lexicogrammatical stratum (systems and structures), these make this grammar approach unique in that the other types of grammar usually lack these other dimensions of meanings.



**Fig. 2.7** Lexicogrammar, discourse-semantics and context (adapted from Eggins, 1994, p 113).

The clause in SFG is the highest grammatical unit on the rank scale, which is composed of: clause, group or phrase, word and morpheme. Each of these ranks consists of one or more units of the rank next below (see Matthiessen and Halliday, 1997). For example, the command ‘Go!’ is a clause consisting of one group, which consists of one word consisting of one morpheme. Units of each rank may form complexes as in *call me when you arrive* (clause complex), *the girl instead of the boy* (group complex), *from Rio to Paris* (phrase complex), as well as complexes with words and morphemes. There is also the potential for rank shift, whereby a unit is ‘downranked’ to function in the structure of a unit of the same rank or a rank below. Irrespective of that, the clause is the central processing unit in the lexicogrammar because it is in the clause that meanings are encapsulated into an integrated grammatical structure at clause rank (see Thompson, 1996; Ravelli, 2000).



**Fig. 2.8** Stratification (adapted from Caffarel, 2006, p. 11)

Therefore, stratification (see Figure 2.8) is the stratum of wording I intend to deal with in the lexicogrammar. However, I need to highlight that viewed from a functional perspective, grammar is seen from the stratum above (semantics) since it is a resource for making meaning (see Matthiessen, 1995; Fawcett, 2001; Caffarel, 2006; Bartlett, 2008;

Tuckwell, 2008). In other words, the lexicogrammar of Transitivity in the experiential strand of meaning within the broad ideational metafunction is the main focus of this doctoral thesis although some relevant issues on clause complexing will also be considered when I deal with circumstantial augmentation and hypotactic verbal group complexes in chapter 4.

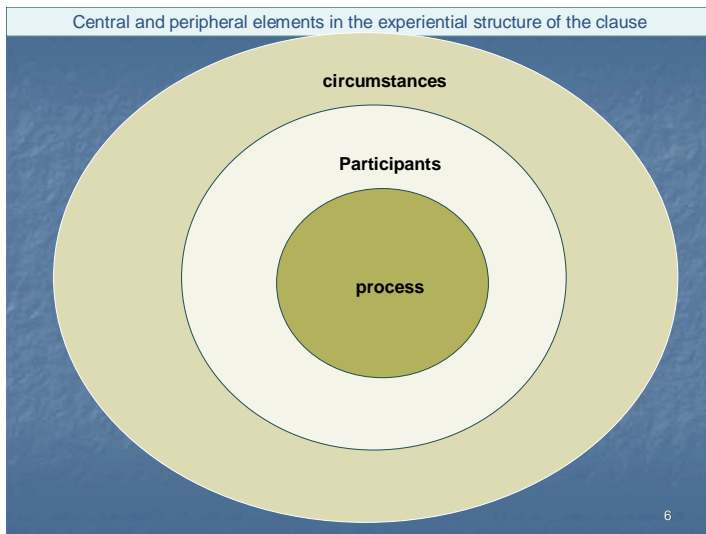
The recognition of the importance of describing language in relation to its context of use, together with collocation, and the concept of system is crucial in the systemic functional (SF) theory (see Martin, Matthiessen and Painter, 1997). The system network is the theoretical representation of what Halliday terms the meaning potential of language. And many scholars agree that “SF theory provides a powerful framework for studying the grammar of a particular language as meaning potential” (Caffarel, 2006, p. 4). That is to say, this theory has the necessary resources to analyse all the lexical choices available to the speaker/writer in order to create meaning because SF theory has drawn on real language use to some extent by observing what language is like in order to be able to establish a theory for describing what language is like.

Martin (2000) claims that SFG has many strengths. Among these strengths he puts in prominence aspects such as the ability to ground concerns with power and ideology, detailed analysis of text as they unfold clause by clause in real contexts of language use, as well as analysis of multi-modal texts involving pictures and diagrams. He further maintains that SFG can provide quantitative analyses that are meaningful, explicit and precise wherever it is required.

### **2.9.1 The experiential line of meaning**

In SFG, the experiential line of meaning is treated as a semantic domain that is realised by Transitivity structures, which expresses representational meaning. This refers to what the clause is about, which typically comprises a process, with associated participants and circumstances (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

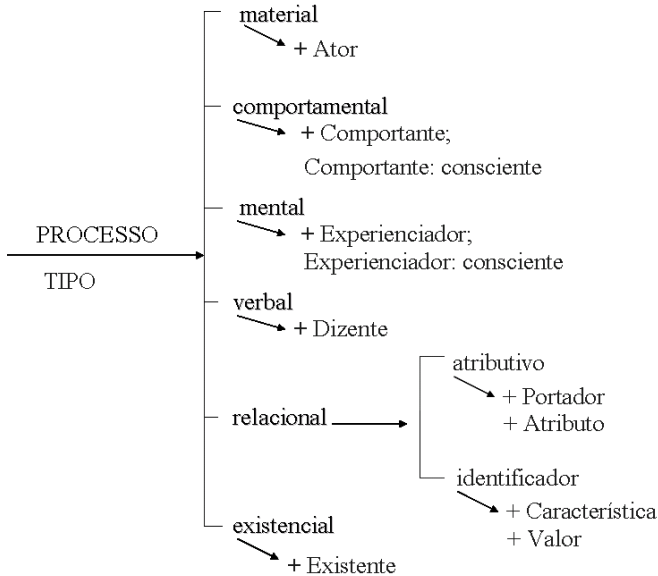
In this theory, Transitivity is the resource for construing our experience, and this is realised by *processes* with *participants* and *circumstances* revolving around these processes as shown in Figure 2.9.



**Fig. 2.9** Central and peripheral elements in the experiential structure of the clause (based on Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.176)

### 2.9.1.1 About Process types

Our experience of reality is captured in terms of processes, which belong to six types: material, relational, mental, verbal, behavioural and existential as shown in Figure 2.10. Processes are realised by verbal groups (VG), Participants are realised by nominal groups (NG) and Circumstances are realised by prepositional Phrases and/or adverbial groups in clauses. Material processes are usually those of ‘doing’ and usually have two main participants: the Actor and the Goal. Relational processes are those of ‘being’ and ‘possessing’, and have two main participants: Carrier and Attribute for attributive processes and Token and Value for identifying processes. Mental processes are those of ‘thinking’, ‘feeling’, ‘liking’ and ‘desiring’ and have the Senser and Phenomenon as the main participants. Verbal processes are those of ‘saying’, and usually have two participants: the Sayer and the Verbiage. Behavioral processes are those of ‘behaving’, and usually have one main participant: the Behavior. Existential processes are those of ‘existing’ and have one participant: the existent.



**Fig. 2.10.** TRANSITIVITY represented as system network (adapted from Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 173).

Figure 2.10 represents the system of process types that we have at our disposal for the representation of the world of abstract relations, the physical world and the world of consciousness. In this Figure, the level of exploration is limited to the process types and their main participants. Hence, the subtypes of each process types and their adjacent participants are not explored here. Notwithstanding, we can notice how the semiotic space can be functionally interpreted as a systemic network. This systemic network, which integrates into other systems such as the system of Agency and that of Circumstances, represents a semiotic space in continuous expansion, which occurs simultaneously and is not represented here in its full potentiality.

### 2.9.1.1.1 The central processing unit in the lexicogrammar

According to Halliday there are three main types of process that are the most recurrent in texts: material, relational and mental. There are

three other processes that derive from these main ones: verbal, behavioral and existential. This is an important aspect to be taken into account in text analysis because it is in this realm that the clause, in a linear fashion, “construes a relationship of signification between the word and its meaning” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.169) by means of the constituents of the clause: process, participant and circumstance.

For instance, Mandela, in his presidential inauguration speech, exhibits some mental clauses as shown in (3) *as we saw our country tear itself apart*; (4) *we feel a sense of personal renewal* and (5) *we understand it still [[that there is no easy road to freedom]]*. The two first clauses are perceptive maybe in order to show his audience how he thought the Negro community felt about the grief and pain of the past and how they felt at the time of his utterance. The cognitive clause might be posited to make the audience aware that the expected freedom would not come easily.

The importance of process types is that the quality and quantity of the participants inherent in each clause depends on the type of linguistic choices involved in the clause as representation according to the register employed. This is a relevant factor in the interpretation of a text because it may hint at the reasons involving the paradigmatic and syntagmatic choices. Therefore, it is important to observe how process types work in different languages.

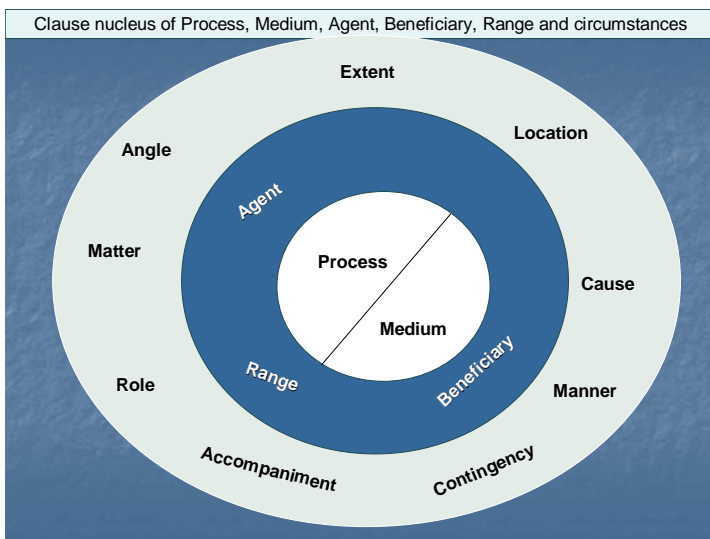
In French, for instance, the process as the nucleus of the clause may not be the only unit of analysis in Transitivity. Because of the use of the clitic ‘se’, it is possible to have both a clause rank realisation and a group rank realisation (Caffarel, 2006). So, although the structural organisation of French Transitivity, from a systemic view point is located at clause rank, from a realisation viewpoint it is shared across ranks, more precisely between clausal and verbal group ranks. However, what determines the variation between one rank and the other is the textual aspect. Hence, a clause in French may function at clause rank realisation as *je donnerai ce livre à paul* (I will give this book to Paul) or at group rank realisation as *je le lui donnerai* (I it him will give) (Caffarel, 2006, p.58).

In the Kyoto Grammar approach, for instance, the unit of analysis is not the clause with Subject and Finite, since not all clauses have explicit Subjects and Finites as is commonly established in the English language. Tatsuki (2008) suggests that a Communicative Unit (CU) beginning with a Supra Subject or Theme, instead of a single clause, should be the focus for analysis. Furthermore, Japanese adjectives have a function of intransitive predication and have inflections. This implies

that not only verbs are considered processes but also adjectives, i.e. process types in Japanese take into account both verbs and adjectives. Thus, the SFG theory is taken as a tenet, but descriptions tend to vary in languages other than English.

### 2.9.1.2 About the peripheral layer of meaning

Nine main types of Circumstances function in the outer layer of meaning (see Fig. 211) and they are typically non-inherent in clauses.



**Fig. 2.11** Clause nucleus of Process, Medium, Agent, Beneficiary, Range and circumstances (based on Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 296).

There are seven circumstances that are used for expansion: Extent, Location, Manner, Cause and Contingency (for enhancement), Accompaniment (for extension), Role (for elaboration) and there are two Circumstances used for projection: Matter and Angle. These constituents construe representational meanings as in *Birds (Participant) are flying (Process) over the trees (Circumstance)*. Some of their functionality is discussed in chapter 4.

## 2.10 Emergent complexity explicated from a functional perspective

Recapping the issue on Davidse's way of treating agency in section 2.7, Tuckwell has also carried out an important investigation concerning the system of agency. In that opportunity, she argues that a more functional analysis of a clause such as "**Bats** developed 'send/receive' **switching technology** long long ago" is better explicated using PR's other than the ones existing in Halliday's model for transitivity (Tuckwell, 2008, p. 406, with participants in bold as her emphasis). The clause above is extracted from Dawkins's 1986 book *The Blind Watchmaker*, where the analysis of such clauses is essential to the understanding of evolution as an evolving rather than a teleological course of action. The two possible options to analyse this clause may be: (1) effective: operative, with "Bats" being the Agent and "send/receive switching technology" being the Medium; or also (2) middle: ranged, with "Bats" as Medium and "send/receive switching technology" as Range.

However, as she argues, neither of these analyses can be fully functional in order to explicate the actual construal of evolution as a nonteleological process. The reason for that is that the former construes bats as being the 'causer' of their own evolution, while in the latter, the status of the element that has actually undergone the process – the "send/receive switching technology" – is imprecise in terms of nuclearity. Davidse's (1992) network provides a more functional analysis of this clause for the transitive/ergative analysis of material process clauses, in which this would be treated as an ergative: pseudo-effective clause (see section 2.7 above).

For Davidse a clause cannot be transitive and ergative at the same time, i.e. a clause cannot be analysed from both perspective as in Halliday's terms. Thus, a clause such as (1a) *as crianças se alegraram* can only be realised from an ergative perspective because there is also the possibility of inclusion of an external causer in the clause, using the same process: (1b) *O que o palhaço fez alegrou as crianças*.

(1a)	As crianças	se alegraram	
	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>processo</i>	
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>process</i>	

(1a)	[[O que o palhaço fez]]	alegrou	as crianças
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>processo</i>	<i>Mediador</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>process</i>	<i>Medium</i>



This can be better explained when we analyse some clauses with the process ‘develop’ from a phylogenetic (construing development over many generations) and ontogenetic perspective (construing development within the lifetime of individual members of a species), as illustrated below in Tuckwell (2008, pp. 407-8 with my segmentation of clauses).

### Phylogenetic instances of ‘develop’

- (2) The first of our ancestors **[[to develop lungs]]** almost certainly lived in water.
- (3) ... these two genera **have developed** *the same technology* independently of each other.
- (4) Both groups **have developed** *a single long fin* ...

### Ontogenetic instances of ‘develop’

- (5) *The female nervous system* **develops** under the influence of her genes...
- (6) Humans, through direct exposure to sunlight, or lack of it, **develop** a skin colour **[[which equips them to better survive ...]]**
- (7) A tribe **[[living near the shore]]** might wonder at this evidence **[[of sorting]]** or arrangement in the world, and **might develop** *a myth* **[[ to account for it ]]**

Tuckwell argues that the clauses with the process ‘develop’ in the first three examples appear to be construing evolution as a teleological phenomenon, with species being an agentive and intentional force in their own evolution. However, in some samples shown, the process ‘develop’ does not seem to present any particular implication for the consciousness of the ‘doer’ of the process. Because it is a process that can construe events as either effective or middle, it has the potential to construe evolutionary change without any allusion of external causation since it can function as a self-engendered process.

In each of the three phylogenetic instances presented, two participants are present in the clause (the ‘doer’ is underlined, and the ‘done to’ is italicised). At first sight, the examples appear to be effective clauses, in which the Actor/Agent is a species or group of animals, and the Goal/Medium has a biological aspect. Dawkins’s choice for effective clauses rather than middle construals of evolutionary change in the examples, with animals in the role of external causer in most cases, may partially explain why these clauses look as if they are construing species

as responsible for their own evolution. While all of the three phylogenetic clauses seem to function as effective clauses, the three ‘ontogenetic’ examples with ‘develop’ seem to fall into varied categories.

Since clause (5) is a middle: non-ranged clause and seems to represent a congruent way of construing emergent complexity, clauses (1) through (3) would be expected to be congruently construed as well.

According to Tuckwell, clause (7), on the other hand, similarly to clauses (1) through (3), also appear to be effective since there are two participants, with the ‘doer’ being human, therefore potentially conscious, intentional and agentive. However, what is surprising is the fact that clause (6) does not itself seem teleological at all. Notice that it does not seem to have a teleological process in the same way clauses (1) through (3) and (7) do. This is so because if the ‘done to’ (a skin colour) were to be thematised, and the ‘doer’ (humans) were to be removed from Theme position, the clause would function as a middle: non-ranged pattern like the one seen in clause (5) – i.e. “A skin colour develops in humans” – rather than as an effective: receptive pattern such as in clause (7) – i.e. “A skin colour is developed by humans”. Hence, the analysis of clause (6) as middle: ranged is still equivocal, as can be noticed if an ergative analyses is applied as illustrated in clauses (6a) and (6b):

(6a)	Humans	develop	a skin colour [[that equips them to ...]]
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Range</i>

(6b)	a skin colour [[that equips them to ...]]	develops	in humans
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Circ: location</i>

Since the Medium of clause (6a) can easily become a circumstance in clause (6b), that implies that it should not be regarded as a Medium in either clause, since according to Halliday (1994, p.164) the Medium can never be “introduced into the clause by means of a preposition”. Tuckwell claims that in these types of clauses the network for the system of AGENCY provided by Matthiessen (1995) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) is not faithful to what the clause actually is intended to mean, i.e. neither effective: operative nor middle: ranged appears to be accountable for the actual ‘functional’ description of clause (6). Davidse (1992, p.p.130-131)’s system network for agency seems to represent meaning construal more appropriately, where the

category that she refers to as ergative: pseudo-effective seems to apply with the function of *setting* (see Table 2.5).

[pseudo-effective] version	[middle: non-ranged] version
(8) <u>The cooling system</u> burst a pipe	A pipe burst in the cooling system
(9) <u>The truck</u> broke an axle	An axle broke on the truck
(10) <u>Bats</u> developed <i>switching technology</i>	<i>Switching technology</i> developed in bats
(11) <u>Both groups</u> have developed a <i>single long fin</i>	A <i>single long fin</i> has developed in both groups
(12) <u>Humans</u> develop a <i>skin colour</i>	A <i>skin colour</i> develops in humans
(13) <u>A tribe</u> might develop a myth [[to explain it]]	A <i>myth</i> [[to explain it]] might develop within the tribe

**Table 2.5** Examples of [ergative: pseudo-effective] clauses. Clause 8 and 9 are taken from Davidse (1992); clauses 10-13 are simplified versions of clauses from 2-7. [Key: Setting is underlined; Medium in italics]. Adapted from Tuckwell (2008, p. 410)

In the samples provided in Table 2.5, the pseudo-effective label *Setting* (underlined) seems to function better for describing explanations of emergent biological complexity (explanations of evolutionary change) as in clauses (10) and (11) as well as physiological development as in clause (12). Furthermore, it may also help explain emergent semiotic complexity from an SFL perspective as in clause (13) in that meanings are not ‘caused’ by a single member of a group intentionally, but arise intersubjectively (see also Halliday 1973; Hasan 1996b).

In chapter 4, in which I discuss clauses as representation in a broader dimension, I shall return to this topic on how to analyse these types of clauses.

## 2.11 The context metafunction hook-up hypothesis

One aspect I cannot forget to discuss is the importance of my investigation in terms of contextualisation since SFG has a strong social focus and any kind of spoken or written text “unfolds in some context of use” (Halliday, 1985, p. xiii).

To a grammarian, a text can mean in several different ways, as we can see in several types of grammar devised by different theories, as in Case Grammar and Construction grammar. The same text can mean differently to someone (Macken-Horarik, 1996; Gerot, 2000) depending

upon the context of culture and/or context of situation (see Halliday, 1989a; Hasan, 1996a, 1996b, 1999).

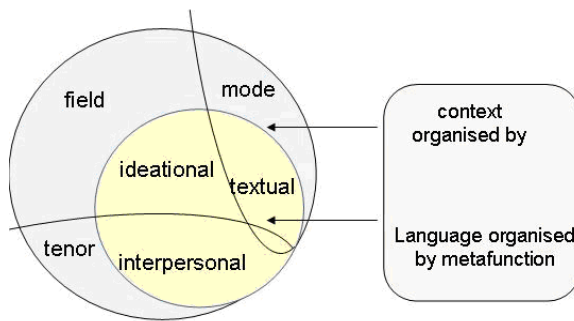
According to Halliday (1989), “there is text and there is other text that accompanies it: Text that is ‘with’, namely the con-text” (ibid, p. 5). As seen in chapter 1, section 1.3.4, Halliday claims that in language education, the learner needs a resource from which to create a *meaning potential*. In this sense, the context for language as system is the context of culture, and for language as processes of text it is the context of situation (Halliday, 1999, p. 7). Eggins (1994, 2004) also attests that by claiming that linguistic behaviour takes place within both a situation and a culture, and that it is our cultural context that enables us to make sense of a text .

An issue that still brings about discussion is to what extent one of the contextual variables can be regarded as connected with systems from only one metafunction since Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) has as its central concern “to draw explanatory links between lexicogrammatical choices in the text and the relevant contextual factors in which the text is situated” (Thompson, 1999, p.101-2). Hasan (1999) has considered the three contextual variables as the nature of social activity relevant to speaking (field), the nature of social relation relevant to speaking (tenor), and the nature of contact for the conduct of speaking (mode). Within this premise, in the “context metafunction hook-up hypothesis”, field determines, and is reflected and constructed by, experiential meaning; tenor correlates in the same way with interpersonal meanings; and mode correlates with textual meanings (Hasan, 1995, p. 222).

Conversely, some studies, such as the ones in evaluation in academic texts (Thetela, 1997) and doctor patient consultations (Berry, 1987; Thompson, 1999) have demonstrated that there are cases in which context and metafunctions do not pair up, if the relevant context is to be considered as “that part of the extralinguistic situation which is illuminated by language-in-use, by the language component of the speech event, the other name for which is text” (Hasan, 1995, p. 219). As illustration, Transitivity (linked with the experiential metafunction) and reference (linked with the textual metafunction) may construe not only the field but the tenor of the context of situation, and in the same way as Taxis, Mood, ellipsis and nominalisation may set some hindrance if we are to regard them as one single pair of link. For instance, although ellipsis and nominalisation would pair up with mode-textual, the motivation behind their use may be due to social distance or level of power (tenor-interpersonal) and even due to the level of

technicality which can be or not employed (field-ideational) by the primary knower (the one who has the expertise) (see Berry, 1987; Thomson, 1999).

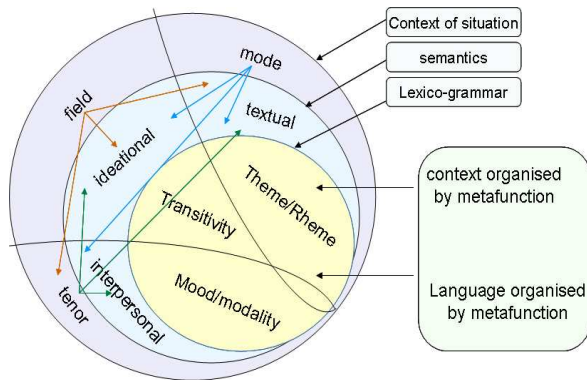
Hasan seems to acknowledge that the context metafunction hook-up hypothesis, (as illustrated in Figure 2.12) might lead to misunderstanding. In order to avoid a misleading picture she claims that “[t]he configuration that results from the choice of symbolic mode, social process and social relation is not a simple *combination*: its meaning is not additive, not just the sum of the meanings of the three; rather, *contextual configuration* is like a chemical solution, where each factor affects the meanings of the others” (Hasan 1995, p. 231, her own emphasis).



**Fig. 2.12** Contextual variables and metafunctions (from Thompson, 1999, p. 104).

This suggests that the context metafunction “divide” may not pair up neatly in some cases: rather, it is the configuration as a whole that match up (Berry, 1987). That is why Hasan has recognised the possibility of permeability by claiming that “each contextual variable might conceivably be seen from the perspective of the three metafunctions” (Hasan, 1995, p. 262). According to Thompson (1999), the metafunctional choices construe not individual contextual factors, but aspects of contextual configurations (CC) involving all three factors. He suggests the label Configurational Match-Up Hypothesis, which would have the contextual configuration matched against metafunctional configurations (see Fig.2.13). This premise had already been posited by Hasan herself who argued that

there is reason to believe that the three contextual parameters of field, tenor and mode are not just three completely separate ingredients of social situation: it may be in fact more profitable to think of them as three interrelated perspectives on the social context with reference to which speaking is done. Activity (i.e. field), relation (i.e. Tenor) and (modes of) contact permeate each other (Hasan, 1999, p. 272).



**Fig. 2.13** Contextual variables and metafunctions

As a matter of fact, in Halliday & Hasan (1989, p. 55), Hasan had also hinted at that by arguing that each of the three contextual variables “functions as a point of entry to any situation as a set of possibilities”. Hence in ‘parent praising child in speech’, for instance, we would have ‘praising’ as field, ‘parent, child’ as tenor, and ‘in speech’ as mode (ibid).

Martin (2002) has also made connections with the 4 lines of meaning departing from all the types of cohesion, which are linked with the textual dimension. He treats references as ‘identification’ in the textual meaning, ellipses and substitutions as ‘negotiation’ in the interpersonal meaning, conjunctions in the logical meaning, and lexical cohesion as ‘ideation’ in the experiential meaning. Hence, in order to exemplify how to apply a CC approach in an investigation of hypertext to account for the three variables of context simultaneously in the sense of investigating how a webmaster construes meanings for the creation of the first web browser for children in order for them to surf hypertexts, “construes meanings for the creation of the first web browser” would be field, “webmaster, children” would be tenor, and “hypertext” would be mode.

## CHAPTER 3

### ANALYSING INTRICATE CASES IN CLAUSES AS REPRESENTATION

#### 3.1 Introductory remarks

TRANSITIVITY may be modelled dissimilarly in the system network for Participant Roles. This distinction may have arisen because of disagreement among scholars regarding the way to model Transitivity among different functional approaches to language. Some functional grammars tend to focus on different perspectives when they deal with Transitivity, such as Case Grammar (Fillmore, 1966), Lexical-Functional Grammar (Kaplan and Bressnan, 1982), Theory of Functional Grammar (Dik, 1989) and Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 1995). Conversely, Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) is a theory of grammatical analysis that can assess the clause multifunctionally with semantics being realised lexicogrammatically in networks of systems. In SFG the main feature for a constituent of the clause to be considered Participant is when it is able to become Subject in the Mood system. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), a text needs to be segmented by clauses so that they can be better analysed in terms of constituency.

However, there is divergence to tackle participant roles (PR's) in approaches that derive from the same tenets in the broad realm of SFL as occurs with Cardiff Grammar and Systemic Functional Grammar. Taking this into consideration, it seems to be commonsense to have different languages construing PR's in different fashion in descriptions of systemic functional grammar in order to account for their specificities as can be seen in Steiner (1992), Teruya (2004) and Caffarel (2006). As I shall demonstrate, in Brazilian Portuguese some processes tend to construe meaning dissimilarly to English as in (1a), which in BP would correspond to (1b).

(1a)	She	leaves	home	around 6 a.m.
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope</i>	<i>Circ temporal Location</i>
(1b)	Ela	sai	de casa	por volta das 6h da manhã
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>	<i>Circ Localização temporal</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Circ spatial Location</i>	<i>Circ temporal Location</i>

Whereas in English the process *leave* requires a participant role as a Scope (home), the process *sair* in BP demands a circumstance of spatial Location (de casa).

For that reason, the discussion below intends to unveil some of the differences in the analysis of clauses in the experiential profile of the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese as regards how its construal of meaning in clauses occurs, mainly in relational, mental, material and verbal clauses in terms of processes and PR's in SFG.

### 3.2 Aspects to be considered in an analysis of Transitivity

In an analysis of Transitivity in Systemic Functional Grammar there are many possible ways to construe meaning. Different languages tend to have syntagmatic and paradigmatic ordering in language in a different fashion (see Teruya, 1998; Akerejola, 2008). While in both English and Brazilian Portuguese (BP) some verbal groups may be easily lexicalised as in *he failed the test* and *ele reprovou no teste* or grammaticalised as in *he didn't succeed* and *ele não passou*, in other structures they may diverge. For instance, the clause *she was beaten* is a receptive effective clause which can have the same structure in BP: (1) *ela foi espancada*. However, instead, we may choose to have a structure as in (2) *ela apanhou*, which is displayed as an operative middle non-ranged clause uncommon in English.

(1)	ela	foi espancada	(receptive effective clause)
	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	
	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	



(2)	ela	apanhou	(operative middle non-ranged clause)
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	

Because the constituents of the clause are regarded as having function and not form, this implies that our choice to make meaning may bring some important implications to the analysis of a clause depending on the language. And as we can see, it seems that the participant *ela* in both clauses in BP is being affected irrespective of the clause being effective (1), i.e. with an Actor affecting another participant (in this case the Actor may be left implicit since the clause is receptive) or middle (2), i.e. when the Actor does not affect another Participant ‘explicitly’ (see Davidse, 1992, 1999a; Bartlett, 2008; Tuckwell, 2008). Therefore, as I shall demonstrate later, the PR ‘Actor’ in this structure does not appear to suffice in this specific case, in which in both cases the participant *ela* is affected by an implicit Agent.

The aspects posited above help me exemplify what has been noted by some scholars: the fact that SFG is a theory of language that has mostly used English as the basis for studies. This has been confirmed because of the increasing number of research being carried out into other languages, which has demonstrated that not all descriptions for English fit in with other languages, i.e. some languages realise meaning dissimilarly. Thus, although an analyst can benefit from various aspects while dealing with Transitivity in text analysis in SFG, each language needs to find its own approach to construe meaning in the lexicogrammar stratum.

Among some of the aspects to be taken into account for the description of a specific language I suggest: how *process types* and *Participant Roles* are defined; how *agency in transitive and ergative models* unfold through texts; how *circumstances* and *circumstantial augmentation* work; and how *embeddings* and *hypotactic verbal group complexes* are established in a specific language. I shall illustrate all these aspects and other relevant aspects in the sections below and chapter 4.

### 3.3 About Process types and Participant Roles:

The concepts of process, participants and circumstance are semantic categories which explicate in the most general way how

phenomena of the real world are represented as linguistic structures. As noted earlier, Participants are elements that are directly involved in the process. Grammatically, these are the elements that typically relate directly to the verb without having a preposition as intermediary.

Some Participants can be grouped into two general functions: *Beneficiary*, which are the ‘oblique’ or ‘indirect’ Participants. These are usually (though not always) optional extras. So, where Actor is the ‘logical subject’ and Goal is the ‘logical direct object’, the Beneficiary is ‘logical indirect object’ and the Range ‘logical cognate object’ (Halliday, 1985). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) claim that the Beneficiary is the one *to* whom or *for* whom the process is said to take place. In both BP and English, it typically appears in material and verbal processes, and occasionally in relational as can be seen below.

Ela *me* deu um copo de água. (*Material process, Beneficiary: Recipient*)

Ela *me* comprou o apartamento. (*Material process, Beneficiary: Client*)

Ela *me* telefonou ontem à noite. (*Verbal process, Beneficiary: Receiver*)

O quarto do hotel *me* custou muito dinheiro. (*relational process, Beneficiary*)

*Range* is the element that specifies the range or the scope of the process. It may occur in *material, mental, verbal* and *behavioural* processes. It forms a semantic relationship with the verb (cognate, or close in meaning), specifies part of the process and is not affected by the process, as illustrated below in BP.

Material: Ela está tocando *piano*. (Range as *Scope*)

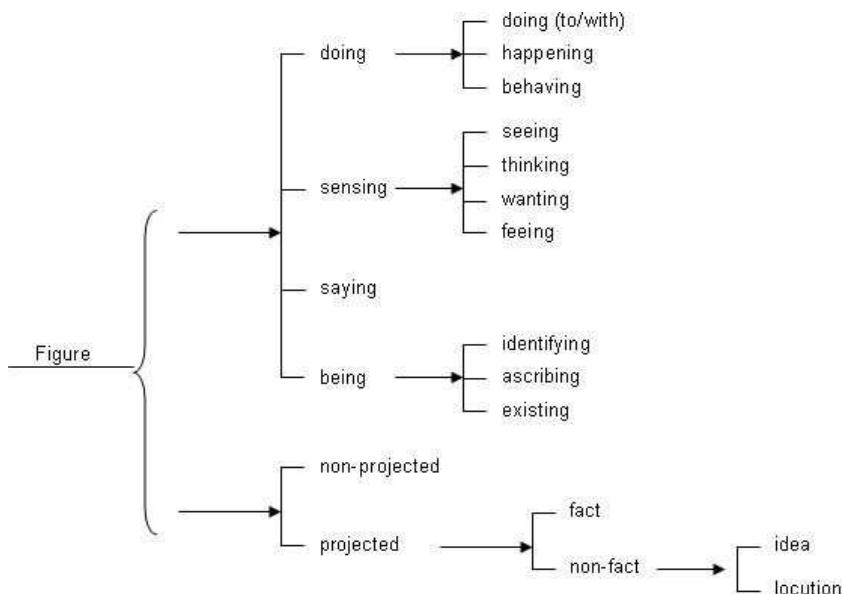
Mental: Ela adora *você*. (Range as *Phenomenon*)

Verbal: A tomografia mostrou *uma anomalia*. (Range as *Verbiage*)

Behavioural: Ela sorriu, *um sorriso estonteante* [[*que quase deixou Mark de joelhos*]]<sup>14</sup> (Range as *Behaviour*)

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<sup>14</sup> Extracted from Leitura Online Harlequin, *Doce Melodia* por Felicia Mason, capítulo sete, at [www.harlequinbooks.com.br/onlineread/read\\_b3cap7.html](http://www.harlequinbooks.com.br/onlineread/read_b3cap7.html)



**Fig.3.1** Types of figure (from Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, 2006, p. 53)

I shall start to analyse how the elementary and the configurational order of complexity are organised as figures to represent phenomena in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese. In Fig.3.1 we can see how Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2006, p. 53) represent the system of Figure in expansion and projection. We can see that the system of Figure consists of the four main process types with two belonging to expansion: *doing*, comprising the material and the behavioural process as a subtype and *being* involving the relational and the existential process as a subtype. Belonging to the projection realm, there are also two process types: the mental process represented by *sensing* and the verbal process represented by *saying*. These Figures are filled with elements that vary according to the type of Figure on focus, as I shall discuss below.

### 3.4 About ‘rankshifted’ clauses (embeddings)

Before I start the discussion about ranking clauses, i.e. clauses that can form clause complexes when they are combined, I feel the necessity to provide here a brief view about what is known as rank shift in clauses, also known as ‘rankshifted’, ‘downranked’ and ‘embedded clauses’, which are symbolised with double brackets [[ ]]. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), these are clauses that are ‘downgraded’ from its status of clauses to function as component of a clause.

Embedded clauses also function typically in three ways in BP: (i) as Post-modifier (Qualifier) of nominal groups as in (1) *Foste testemunha do amor* [[*que nutri por aquela criança*]]; (ii) as Head/Thing in nominalisations as in (2) *É raro* [[*encontrar um artista* [[*que também seja empresário*]]]]; and (iii) as Post-modifier in adverbial groups as in (3) *Atingimosos cem mil sócios mais cedo* [[*do que esperávamos*]].

(1)	[Ø:tu]	foste	testemunha do amor [[que nutri por aquela criança]]
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(2)	É	raro	[[encontrar um artista [[que também seja ...]]]]
	<i>Pro relac</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>
	<i>Pro relat</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

(3)	[Ø:nós]	Atingimos	cem mil sócios	mais cedo [[do que ...]]
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo</i>	<i>Cir Localização: tempo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope</i>	<i>Cir Location: time</i>

Embeddings are also typically found in mental clauses as fact clauses (metaphenomenon) as in *Ele percebeu (o fato)* [[*que eu tinha nascido para ser mímico*]] and act clauses (macrophenomenon) as in *ouvi* [[*o ruído de um motor sendo ligado*]]<sup>15</sup>.

(1)	Ele	percebeu	[[que eu tinha nascido para ser mímico
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Fenômeno metafenomenal</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mentall</i>	<i>metaphenomenal Phenomenon</i>

<sup>15</sup> All the clauses used to exemplify the types of embedding were extracted from the *Corpus do Português* (Davies and Ferreira, 2006).

(1)	[Ø:eu]	Ouvi	[[o ruído de um motor sendo ligado]]
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Fenômeno macrofenomenal</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>macrophenomenal Phenomenon</i>

### 3.5 Material clauses: Processes of doing and happening

According to Halliday (1994), a material process is a process of *doing* or *happening*, and the *Actor* is the key participant. You can probe a material process with *what did the Actor do?* or *what happened?* The *Goal* is that which is affected by something being done to it, i.e. it either changes its position or its status. If it remains unaffected or unimpacted, it is not *Goal* but *Scope*.

Ele comprou *uma nova casa* no Centro. (*Goal*)

Ela atravessou *a rua*. (*Scope*)

There are two main types of *Scope* in material clauses: (a) one referring to a cognate complement, as in *jogar xadrez* and (b) a circumstantial complement, as in *atravessar a rua*. Rymen and Davidse (2007, p. 129) claim that “the two types of complements express different sorts of entities with different relations to the process. The cognate complement usually “attracts more expressions of quality and circumstantial Ranges more expressions of quantity” (ibid, p. 137). Cognate complements are predominantly indefinite, as in (1) *Ela leu um livro* whereas circumstantial complements are typically definite as in (2) *ela atravessou a rua*.

(1)	Ela	leu	um livro
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Extensão/Esopo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	Range/Scope

(2)	Ela	atravessou	a rua
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Extensão/Esopo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	Range /Scope

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), in a Material Process, a Participant may be either a Thing or a phenomenon of our experience, including our inner experience or imagination, i.e. any entity such as person, creature, object, institution and even abstractions. It can also be a process such as action, event, quality,

state or relation. The unmarked present tense in English is the present in present (the progressive), since it usually involves dynamic verbs. However, in BP this feature is not clear cut.

The Beneficiary in a material process is either a *Recipient* or a *Client*. The *Recipient* is the one that goods are given *to* and the *Client* is the one that services are done *for*. Either may appear with or without preposition depending on its position in the clause. So, the preposition is *to* with *Recipient* and *for* with *Client*. In English the probe to find out if a prepositional phrase with *to* or *for* is Beneficiary or not, we must see if it could occur naturally without the preposition. Then, in English, *to John* is Beneficiary because we can have the alternation as shown below.

John sent a box of chocolate *to Mary*.

John sent *Mary* a box of chocolate.

It is important to emphasise that the Recipient function occurs only in a clause which is 'effective' (has two direct participants, in which one is affected). In a Material Process this means one which has a Goal which represents the 'goods', which in this case is *box of chocolate*.

In BP there is not this difference in prepositions and the function the Beneficiary performs has to be established according to the context involved. Hence, whereas *to Los Angeles*, in the clause *she sent her luggage to Los Angeles* is not Beneficiary because we do not say *she sent Los Angeles her luggage*, in BP, *para Los Angeles* is not Beneficiary not because there is no alternation (since this is not a typical construction in BP) but because a place is not typically a Beneficiary, but a circumstance.

The *Client* function tends to be more restricted than Recipients in both languages because it may be confused with a circumstance of Cause. Therefore, in *eu estou fazendo esse sacrifício pela minha família, pela minha família* is not a Client because I'm doing something on behalf of somebody. It is better treated as a circumstance of Cause of the subtype Behalf. However *para a mãe dele* is Client in *O rapaz está comprando um presente para a mãe dele*. With a Client the service may likewise be expressed by means of a Goal, in particular a Goal of the 'created' as distinct from the 'disposed' (transformative) type, i.e. in the 'creative' type something is brought into existence by the process like 'um quadro' and 'uma casa', which also occurs in effective constructions.

Ela pintou um quadro *para eles*. (creative)

Ele construiu uma casa *para a sua mãe*. (creative)

Ele decorou um colar de argolas *para a namorada*. (transformative)

A Scope can also be used in BP as (i) ‘an elaboration of the process’ (a) *by restatement* (the traditional category of cognate object), as in *ele cantou uma canção*; (b) *by specification* (of the lexical content) as in *ele tomou um banho* and/or (c) *by exemplification* (a subtype of the process), as in *as crianças assistiram TV* (adapted from Martin, Matthiessen and Painter, 1997, p.p. 118-19). It can also be used as (ii) ‘an enhancement of the process’ typically *by a circumstantial feature of space* (location or extent), as in *os alpinistas escalaram o Monte Everest*.

The Scope in a material process typically occurs in ‘middle’ clauses, those in which there is only one direct participant, i.e. with Actor only and no Goal. When it is a specification of the process, there is typically an alternative wording with process alone, as in *make a mistake* → *err*; *take a shower* → *shower*. These constructions with process and Scope are known as ‘empty’ verbs, in which the Process is expressed in the Scope. These functions can also occur abundantly in BP as the examples show.

have a bath → tomar um banho → se banhar

do a dance → fazer uma dança → dançar

make a mistake → cometer um erro → errar

take a look → dar uma olhada → olhar

give a smile → dar um sorriso → sorrir

Some material clauses in English are realised differently in Brazilian Portuguese (BP). Clauses (3) and (4), for instance, have dissimilar characterisation in BP. In English both are material clauses with Actor and Scope in a middle ranged clause in (3) and Actor and Goal in an effective clause in (4) because the Participant *city* is not affected in the action as *husband* is in (4), meaning *she abandoned her husband*.

(3)	He	left	the city
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope</i>
(4)	He	left	his wife
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal</i>

In BP clause (4a) is also an effective clause and has the same PR's as in English, but in (3a) the clause is not middle ranged as in English but middle non-ranged since there is only the participant Actor due to the fact that the process demands a prepositional phrase (*da cidade*), which functions as a circumstance of spatial location, unlike the nominal group in English (*the city*).

(3a)	Ele	saiu	da cidade
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Cir Localização espacial</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ spatial location</i>
(4a)	Ele	abandonou	sua esposa
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal</i>

Despite the fact that BP is part of a set of Latin languages, in some aspects it is more similar to English syntagmatic ordering than it is to some Latin Languages themselves such as French and Spanish as the examples show in the clauses below.

Whereas the participants in clauses (5) through (8) have the same function according to the language under focus, the process in French (7) and in Spanish (8) are construed together with the clitic 'se', which occurs neither in English nor in BP.

(5)	As crianças	devem <b>lavar</b>	as mãos
(6)	Children	should <b>wash</b>	their hands
(7)	Les enfants	devraient <b>se laver</b>	les main
(8)	Los niños	deben <b>lavarse</b>	las manos
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Goal</i>

In addition to this fact, BP seems to be closer in structure to English than to Spanish in effective clauses since in some cases the Goal/ Affected is construed not like a Complement but like an Adjunct in the Mood system as I demonstrate below.



(9)	A polícia	matou	<i>o agressor</i>
(10)	The police	killed	<i>the assailant</i>
(11)	La policía	mató	<i>al asaltante</i>
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Goal</i>

In some atypical constructions in BP the Goal precedes the Actor even in operative clauses as shown in (12) below.

(12)	Ø (eu)	acho	que	esse tempo	a gente	não tem como controlar
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>	-	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Pr material</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pr Mental</i>	-	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pr Material</i>
	<i>projecting clause</i>			<i>projected clause</i>		

There is also a type of construction in which the Subject is positioned like a Complement in the clause since it goes after the process although the Subject could precede the process (13,14).

(13)	e então	veio	a guerra <sup>16</sup>
		<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Ator</i>
	-	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Actor</i>

(14)	voltaram	os questionamentos	sobre [[quais jogadores serão escalados diante do Fluminense, no domingo, em Barueri]] <sup>17</sup> .
	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Circunstância: Assunto</i>
	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Circumstance: Matter</i>

Congruently these clauses would have the Subject before the Verb: *A guerra veio* and *os questionamentos voltaram*. These are all constructions that may also occur in English since in terms of structuring clauses BP does not seem to be so dissimilar to English.

<sup>16</sup> Extracted from Robert McNamara, USA Secretary of Defense during Kennedy's and Johnson's governments in a HBO documentary.

<sup>17</sup> Extracted from [globoesporte.globo.com/futebol/times/palmeiras/noticia/2010/11/kleber-quer-ferias-diretor-pede-wo-e-felipao-ainda-nao-fala-de-domingo.html](http://globoesporte.globo.com/futebol/times/palmeiras/noticia/2010/11/kleber-quer-ferias-diretor-pede-wo-e-felipao-ainda-nao-fala-de-domingo.html).

### 3.5.1 Fuzzy cases of Participant Roles in material clauses

In material clauses, some clauses may create some fuzziness to deal with as in (1a) and (1b), which Matthiessen (1995) treats as having different functions in SFG, in that ‘the duckling’ is treated as a Participant only in (1b).

(1a)	The farmer	shot	at the duckling
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pr material</i>	<i>Circ spatial Location</i>

(1b)	The farmer	shot	the duckling
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pr material</i>	<i>Goal</i>

According to Matthiessen, the duckling is a Circumstance of spatial location in clause (1a) and is a Participant in (1b). Case grammar (Fillmore, 1968) and Cardiff Grammar (Neale, 2002) would treat ‘the duckling’ in both cases as a Participant because they analyse these types of clauses at a semantic level, and this implies that the duckling is the affected participant in both cases. In English this occurrence (1a) with circumstance is plainly possible in SFG because there is a prepositional phrase, which is not typically regarded as a Participant, and the preposition ‘at’ indicates a movement towards a target. So, depending on how the verbal group is treated, there may be a Complement as in ‘the duckling’ functioning as a Participant in (1b) or an Adjunct as in ‘at the duckling’ functioning as a circumstance in (1a).

In reality, clauses similar to (1a) may bring some confusion in terms of meaning in Brazilian Portuguese since there are different ways to construe analogous meaning as shown below with the constituent *assaltante* in italics. This tends to occur when the verb expands into other elements in the clause.

- (2a) O policial atirou no *assaltante*.  
 (2b) O policial alvejou o *assaltante*.  
 (2c) O policial deu um tiro no *assaltante*.

Following the analysis of clauses (1a) and (1b) above, clauses with the constituent *assaltante* in (2a) and (2c) are Circumstances of spatial Location while in (2b) it is a Participant. If we probe the clauses in terms of ‘doer’, we can ask *O que o policial fez?* or *O que o policial fez ao assaltante?* We can answer these questions with all the

three clauses above or by saying that *o que o policial fez foi atirar (dar um tiro em, alvejar) o assaltante*. However, when we probe them as ‘done to’ we may have (a) *Em quem o policial atirou (deu um tiro? or* (b) *Quem o policial alvejou?* If we are to regard these clauses as possessing locative circumstances there is a possible question in BP: (c) *Onde o policial deu um tiro (atirou)?*

I second Martin<sup>18</sup> when he claims that “[e]xperiential factors only become relevant after the interpersonal definitions are established”. He goes on by saying that “the differences come with how we choose/weigh up relevant experiential factors”.

Thus, among the possible questions above, we notice that question (c) is not appropriate considering clauses (2a) through (2c) since a person is not commonly a place. Notice that I can use *onde*, but then the answer needs to be reformulated: *O policial atirou no braço do assaltante*. Likewise, in clauses such as *Eu dei um abraço na Mary*, and *Dei um beijo no bebê*, it seems to be more appropriate to regard the preposition together with the process in the verbal group. Hence, the analysis should be: *o policial + atirar em (dar um tiro em) + o assaltante*. Notice that we have in all clauses the ‘doer’ and the ‘done to’ but not the location because the interrogative ‘quem’ in questions (a) and (b) replaces a Complement and not an Adjunct in the Mood system. In this sense *o assaltante* is the PR that is affected in all of the three clauses (2a through 2c). The reason it is better to analyse the preposition together with the process is that otherwise we would have a prepositional phrase as a PR Goal, which is not commonly used, except for Adjuncts in receptive clauses as in *pelo policial* in the clause *o assaltante foi alvejado pelo policial*. I need to say that although the Process is structured with a main verb in terms of form, “the meaning of the process may sometimes ‘spill over’ from the Main Verb [...] into other elements” (Fawcett, 2008, p.183).

In fact, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 191) themselves make allusion to certain ‘empty’ verbs as ‘give a kick’, similar to ‘*dar um tiro*’ in (2c) above, as illustrated in clause (3a), in which they recognise that *the dog* is not the Beneficiary as in (3b) but the ‘done to’ or Goal/Affected.

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<sup>18</sup> Jim Martin at the sysfunclist forum on May 21, 2010 about the issue: *How To Distinguish Complement And Adjunct*.. James Martin <james.martin@usyd.edu.au

(3a)	He	gave	the dog	a kick
	Actor	Pr. material	Goal	Scope

(3b)	He	gave	the dog	a bone
	Actor	Pr. material	Beneficiary: Recipient	Goal

In their analysis Halliday and Matthiessen claim that in this clause it is better to regard *the dog* as the Participant Goal, not as a Recipient as in (3b) since the probe *what I did was give a kick to the dog* is odd. Clauses with *give* are fuzzy in some aspects as I shall demonstrate below. Usually there can be participant alternation when the clause is construed as a property transfer pattern as in the example: *I gave Mary a ring* and *I gave a ring to Mary*. In these types of clauses the Beneficiary (Mary), namely the Recipient, can be placed in different positions in the clause because here there is a transfer of property. As we have noticed in both clauses *Mary* is the Recipient and *ring* is the Goal/Affected. However, in clause (3a) there is a construction not usual in SFG, in that Halliday and Matthiessen consider *dog* as the Goal and *kick* as the Scope in the same clause, which is atypical in SFG even in English. In this particular case it is clear that the semantic stratum is taken as prominent in the analysis, in which Halliday and Matthiessen seem to suggest that *give a kick* represents one meaning.

I suggest that this same principle be adapted to be used in BP in these types of clause, in which the Scope is regarded as an extension of the main process. In reality, Cardiff Grammar represents this one-meaning pattern as a *Main Verb Extension* (Neale, 2002, Fawcett, 2000, 2008), which I advocate as the best way to tackle these structures in BP, especially for secondary school level. The main process extension carries this name “because it functions as an ‘extension’ of the **Main Verb**” (Fawcett, 2008, p.184, original emphasis). These constructions comprising the main verb plus an extension are frequent both in English and in BP. This syntagm forms the process in what is known as grammatical metaphor<sup>19</sup> and may replace congruent constructions with a single verb. Although the verb is more used as a form and the process as its semantic representation, I shall analyse the samples below with a slight adaptation to *main process extension* (mpE) and *extensão do processo principal* (Epp) for BP since it is more common to use the label ‘process’ to refer to

<sup>19</sup> I tackle that more thoroughly when I deal with grammatical metaphors in BP in chapter 4.

‘verb’ in SFG in its semantic dimension, which is what I want to focus upon. Hence, both the main verb and the extension “JOINTLY express a **process**” (Fawcett, 2008, p. 184) (original emphasis). In other words, “a single process (at the level of **meaning**) is realised in more than one word (at the level of **form**) (ibid, original emphasis).

(2c)	O policial	deu um tiro	no assaltante
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Pr mat: Epp</i>	<i>Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pr Mat: mpE</i>	<i>Goal</i>

(4a)	Ele	deu um chute	no cachorro
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Pr mat: Epp</i>	<i>Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pr. Mat: mpE</i>	<i>Goal</i>

(4b)	Ele	deu um chute	na perna do cachorro
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Pr mat: Epp</i>	<i>Circ. Localização espacial</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pr. Mat: mpE</i>	<i>Circ. Spatial Location</i>

I side with Martin (1992) when he claims that the Range (Scope) has little power in discourse, i.e. its stance as a participant is weak since its combination (Process + Range) as in *deu (Proc material) um tiro (Range)* entails just one meaning and **tends to veil the actual affected participant**. That is why I argue that the approach I suggest above for these ‘empty’ processes is more revealing for students to apprehend the function of the constituents of the clause, especially in constructions specifying indefinites. Thus, this structural arrangement is suggested mainly when there is typically an alternative wording, in which the process can stand alone as in *dar um chute* → *chutar*, and *dar um tiro* → *atirar*.

While dealing with grammatical metaphor, Matthiessen (1995, p. 255) also illustrates the syntagm process plus Range. However, he considers the syntagm process plus Goal as well. He recognises that *give a hug* replaces the process *hug* in *Benjamin gave nurse Jones a hug*, in which Nurse Jones is the Beneficiary.

(5a)	Benjamin	gave	Nurse Jones	a hug
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Goal</i>

In this clause the Recipient is a nominal group but it can be placed in a different position in the clause as a prepositional phrase.

(5a)	Benjamin	gave	a hug	to Nurse Jones
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Recipient</i>

This is a type of construction that is not common in BP because the grammar of BP does not construe the syntagms in alternation as it occurs in English. i.e. with the Beneficiary both as a Complement and as an Adjunct in the Mood system. In Spanish, Hita (2003, p. 274) also tackles this clause (example 6) but he treats all empty processes as having Range, and so he does not admit the possibility of Goal in these types of clause. About these clausal constructions he claims: “no admito la posibilidad de Meta, sino de Receptor” (ibid).

(6)	Benjamin	le	dio	un abrazo	a la enfermera
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Re-</i>	<i>Proceso</i>	<i>Rango</i>	<i>-ceptor</i>

This indeed goes against some researchers’ approach to this subject such as Michael O’Donnell (at the sysfunclist forum on Wednesday, 10 February, 2010), who, in three-role processes, prefers to treat the Complement as ‘Goal’.

In BP these types of clauses seem to have the same construal neither in English in (5a) and (5b) nor in Spanish in (6). Although I side with Matthiessen in the sense that *dar um abraço* and *abraçar*, although construed dissimilarly, convey a very similar meaning, which is also corroborated by Martin (1992) and in some aspects by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) as discussed above, I suggest a different way to treat these types of clauses in BP because the grammar of BP seems to construe these types of clauses with one participant affecting another. Thus, the structure is not precisely the same as the one with a Beneficiary function. That means that in BP the syntagm proposed by Matthiessen in English and Hita in Spanish would not be the best alternative to treat these structures as I demonstrate in clauses (7a through 7e).

(7a)	Benjamin	deu	um abraço	na enfermeira Jones
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Circ Localização</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Circ Location</i>

(7b)	Benjamin	deu	um abraço	para a enfermeira Jones
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Recipient</i>

(7c)	Benjamin	deu	um abraço	na enfermeira Jones
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Extensão</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Recipient</i>

(7d)	Benjamin	deu um abraço	na enfermeira Jones
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc mat: Epp</i>	<i>Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc mat: mpE</i>	<i>Goal</i>

(7e)	Benjamin	abraçou	a enfermeira Jones
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Goal</i>

As Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 192) claim “[l]ike the Goal, both Recipient and Client are affected by the process”. In this sense, they have some similarity. However, whereas “the Goal is the participant that is affected by the process, the Recipient or Client is the one that benefits from it” (ibid). Notice that the participant ‘enfermeira’ does not seem to have a real Beneficiary function in terms of Recipient function in example (7c) since the clause is not of the extensive type involved in possession related to transfer of property nor is it of the creative type, which is a common case of clause with a Client as the Beneficiary. Clause (7b) is not typical in BP since following the precepts of the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese we can send a hug to somebody (8), but we do not usually give a hug to somebody.

(8)	Benjamin	mandou	um abraço	para a enfermeira Jones
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Recipient</i>

Taking this into account, it seems that the participant ‘enfermeira’ has a Goal function in (7d) since it can answer a ‘quem’ question: *Em quem Benjamin deu um abraço?* Not a ‘onde’ question’: *Onde Benjamin deu um abraço?* This proves clause (7a) cannot have the same participant functioning as a locative circumstance. Therefore, clause (7e) represents in a more congruent fashion what clause (7d) realises with a ‘main process Extension’ (mpE). This is, I believe, a simpler alternative to help analysts and principally students to deal with this type of grammatical metaphor as already dealt with in the clause *he gave the dog a kick* → *ele deu um chute no cachorro*.

I claim that in these cases explained above, secondary level students seem to better capture the ‘doer’ and the ‘done to’, especially when the participants are known as ‘Agent’<sup>20</sup> and ‘Affected’ as in clauses (9c) and (9d) as attested in classroom situation at IF-SC<sup>21</sup> (Gonzaga, 2007). According to the researcher, it was useful “to mold some of the labels into nomenclatures that would help explicate some terms within the student's experiential realm, at least at first” (Gonzaga, 2007, p. 60). The author goes on by saying that by reason of that he “utilised some terms such as ‘point of departure’ to refer to Theme, and ‘the Affected’ to refer to Goal on transitive model or Medium on ergative model, for instance” (ibid).

(9a)	A seca	matou	toda a vegetação
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal</i>

transitive model  
conventional

(9a)	Toda a vegetação	morreu
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>

(9c)	A seca	matou	toda a vegetação
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>

transitive model  
suggested

(9d)	Toda a vegetação	morreu
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>

Notice that in the conventional model, the participant *toda a vegetação*, which is the affected participant, is transient being the ‘Goal’ in (9a) and the ‘Actor’ in (9b) while in the model I suggest for material clause interpretation in BP, it is permanent, i.e. the affected participant *toda a vegetação* has the PR ‘Affected’<sup>22</sup> in both clauses (9c and 9d).

There is plenty of evidence to attest that we do not always have an Actor function in a clause in the sense of being the Participant in

<sup>20</sup> The label ‘Agent’ is used in many functional grammars such as Construction Grammar, Case Grammar, Cardiff Grammar and SFG. However, the label ‘Affected’ is invariably more utilized in Cardiff Grammar (see Fawcett, 2008).

<sup>21</sup> IFSC refers to Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia de Santa Catarina.

<sup>22</sup> This is further dealt with when I tackle the transitive and ergative models in the agency realm in chapter 4.



charge of the deed as in (10a) *árbitro toma bolada em jogo nos EUA*, in which the participant *árbitro* is not ‘the doer’ but ‘the done to’ since the two-word process in the clause implies a conflation in that the referee is hit by a ball in a game similar to the structure in a receptive clause. Comparing clauses (10a) with (10b), it seems that functionally clause (10b) represents better what is expressed in wordings.

(10a)	Árbitro	toma	bolada	em jogo nos EUA
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Escopo</i>	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Scope</i>	<i>Cir spatial Location</i>

(10b)	Árbitro	toma bolada	em jogo nos EUA
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc mat: Epp</i>	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc mat: mpE</i>	<i>Cir spatial Location</i>

Thus, when some intricate examples are put to test within the theory as in the clause *Fisherman Mohammad Bakr died by a bullet by the Israeli navy today in the sea north of the Gaza Strip*<sup>23</sup>, this fact becomes more prominent. This clause shows that Fisherman Mohammad Bakr functioning as the Actor in (10a) brings about some problems to the understanding of the clause. The fact is that this clause seems to be structured in a receptive way other than in the operative one, which is represented by *by the Israeli navy*. If the clause is written in another way we can clearly understand who ‘the doer’ and ‘the done to’ are (11b). Thus, we should ask ourselves who actually caused the fisherman to die.

(10a)	Fisherman Mohammad Bakr	died	by a bullet	by the Israeli navy	today	in the sea north of the Gaza Strip
	<i>Actor ?</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Cir Manner :means</i>	<i>Actor ?</i>	<i>Cir Location: time</i>	<i>Cir Location: space</i>

<sup>23</sup> Extracted from <http://www.nowlebanon.com/NewsArchiveDetails.aspx?ID=203543>, Tuesday, November 2, 2010.

(10b)	Fisherman Mohammad Bakr	died	by a bullet	by the Israeli navy	today	in the sea north of the Gaza Strip
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Pro</i>	<i>Cir Manner :means</i>	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Cir Location: time</i>	<i>Cir Location: space</i>

(11a)	Fisherman Mohammad Bakr	died	by a bullet	by the Israeli navy	today	in the sea north of the Gaza Strip
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Cir Manner :means</i>	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Cir Location: time</i>	<i>Cir Location: space</i>

(11b)	Fisherman Mohammad Bakr	was killed	by a bullet	by the Israeli navy	today	in the sea north of the Gaza Strip
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Cir Manner :means</i>	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Cir Location: time</i>	<i>Cir Location: space</i>

Notice that in example (10a) the Actor does not seem to fit well in the construction because it seems to re-occur in the same clause turning the clause fuzzy. The ergative model in (10b), instead, represents a better picture of the syntagm. However, among the alternatives below, the labels used in examples (11a) and (11b) seem to better capture the ‘doer’ and the ‘done to’ turning the clause more visible in terms of the functions the participants possess in the clause.

These examples show why it is important to use these different labels in text analysis when the purpose is to find who/what causes what to whom/what. Because the labels convey in their writing what they do, they can be a simplified way to deal with text analysis in secondary school level because they tend to show clearly who the affected and the causer in a clause really are, as shown in (12b) and (13b) below, which would be more intricate otherwise, as illustrated in examples (12a) and (13a) already discussed above in section 3.2.

(12a)	Ela	foi espancada	pelo pai	(receptive effective clause)
	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Ator</i>	
	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Actor</i>	

(13a)	Ela	apanhou	do pai	(operative middle non-ranged clause)
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ ?</i>	
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ ?</i>	

(12b)	Ela	foi espancada	pelo pai	(receptive effective clause)
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Agente</i>	
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Agent</i>	

(13b)	Ela	apanhou	do pai	(operative middle non-ranged clause)
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Benefício neg/ pró-Agente</i>	
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ neg Behalf/ pseudo-Agent</i>	

Observe that the prepositional phrase *do pai* should be treated here as a circumstance. But the reality is that none of the known circumstances seems to apply in this situation (except, perhaps, the one about negative Behalf) because this is a typical construction of the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese not feasible in English. Thus, a central problem “facing linguistics today is that of how to characterize meaning” (Fawcett, 1987, p. 130) in the sense of how this meaning potential should be modelled in a “semiotic system that we call language” (ibid). The grammar of Brazilian Portuguese seems to construe agency by means of prepositional phrases in operative clauses. Agents as prepositional phrases are possible in both languages in effective receptive clauses as in (12a) and (12b), as exemplified with the prepositional phrase *pelo pai*. What is not common is to have an Agent as prepositional phrase in operative clauses as it seems to occur in clauses (13a) and (13b)<sup>24</sup>.

As can be noticed, the probe for the prepositional phrase demands a question related to ‘quem’, which refers to a Participant and not a Circumstance: *De quem ela apanhou?* or *Ela apanhou de quem?* I suggest that this be treated as a pseudo-Participant since it cannot be a full participant because it cannot be a Complement in the Mood system but an Adjunct in the same way as occurs with the prepositional phrase *por* plus *Complement* in *pelo pai* in the effective receptive mode (12a, 12b).

I claim that this configuration with *Agent* and *Affected* involving *process* plus *main process extension* becomes a better

<sup>24</sup> This issue will be further tackled in chapter 4

alternative for classroom situation when the objective is to find who the ‘doer’ and the ‘done to’ are since it is feasible to have alternative ways to treat some clausal constructions in SFG as illustrated in Halliday (2009, p. 208-214 with the process ‘teach’ and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 516) with the process ‘want’, where they offer alternative ways to interpret these processes. Thus, comparing with clause (7e), clause (7d) might be represented in BP with the PR’s *Agent* and *Affected* plus *process* and *main process extension*.

(7d)	Benjamin	deu um abraço	na enfermeira Jones
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Pro material: Epp</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Pro material:mpE</i>	<i>Affected</i>

(7e)	Benjamin	abraçou	a enfermeira Jones
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>processo</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Affected</i>

In SFL, semantically verbal processes are usually treated as non-congruent if they are not realised by verbal language. However, some scholars, namely Tom Bartlett<sup>25</sup> argues that the term ‘verbal’ is just “a means of showing that this construct is typical of, but not the only means of expressing ‘verbality’”. David Rose<sup>26</sup> once questioned the way we regard process types by asking whether SFG’s model of analysis is similar to formal grammars, in which meaning lies outside grammatical structures or “a stratified model, in which texts instantiate semantic choices at the levels of phonology, grammar and discourse”. According to David Rose, some researchers, namely Halliday and Matthiessen (1999), have hinted at a model to construe semantics as a mirror of grammatical functions, which seems to imply a non-stratified model of meaning.

Thus, the construction I suggest is possible if we treat the elements of the verbal group as direct elements of the clause. Note that (Halliday, 1985, p. 71) hints at the fact that the Finite, despite being an element of the verbal group structure, is also regarded as an element of the clause structure (Fawcett, 1987, p. 134; 2008). Furthermore, not all languages form Processes with verbs as the grammatical unit. As

<sup>25</sup> Tom Bartlett (tomasito@bopenworld.com) in a debate about process types at the sysfunclist forum on October 27, 2009. Tom Bartlett ,tomasito@bopenworld.com.

<sup>26</sup> Extracts by David Rose (d.rose@edfac.usyd.edu.au) from the sysfunclist forum of 22/10/2009.

mentioned earlier in Tatsuki (2008) because Japanese adjectives have a function of intransitive predication and have inflections they are, together with verbs, treated as processes.

The reality is that there is an emergent need for simplification on how we should analyse clauses. It is crystal clear that some verbal constructions have raised a lot of dissimilar interpretations as anyone can attest at the sysfunclist forum. It is also undoubted that SFG needs more field exploration at school levels in order to evidence how the metalanguage functions in real classroom situation as in Gonzaga (2007).

Thus, I advocate that Process and main verb extension is a simplified way to deal with verbs in which the Process extends beyond the verbal unit. For this to be better understood we need to understand the Process at the level of MEANING and the Verb at the level of FORM. In SFG researchers have, following Halliday's guidelines, treated, for instance, nominal groups and verbal groups as belonging to different classes in the same unit. I suggest we adopt a more comprising view in that a class can cut across the groups of the same unit, following a similar approach to the one adopted in Cardiff Grammar (see Fawcett, 2008).

What is a fact is that anyone who has started to use SFG in BP following the guidelines of what we have in the SFG theory so far has noticed that clauses such as (8) *o bebê pegou no sono* is a hard issue to deal with. This has been shown by the amount of people who have asked for help and found nothing in the literature which could respond to their queries. This is a typical case in which the process 'spills over', i.e. it is formed by spreading over other words.

(14)	O bebê	pegou no sono
	<i>Comportante</i>	<i>Pro comportamental: Epp</i>
	<i>Behaver</i>	<i>Pro Behavioural: mpE</i>

In other words, the meaning of 'spills over' refers to the fact that sometimes the Process does not seem to be formed only with words of the same class within a unit of grammar but also by elements of different classes within the same rank scale, as the example shows with *pegar* plus *no sono* respectively with verbal group and prepositional phrase forming the Process incongruently. This is, indeed, as I claim, a simplified way for students to understand the function of Process at the level of MEANING in some experiential metaphors. Thus, what I suggest is that what "must be our guide" is

“the sense of the lexical verb” in its entirety “rather than its form” (Fawcett, 2008, p.138). This way the Process may be referred to as being a direct element of the clause similarly to the potential for rank shift, whereby a unit is ‘downranked’ to function in the structure of a unit of the same rank or a rank below.

Through this approach, in an intricate clause such as (15) *Ele acabou levando um tiro dos criminosos*<sup>27</sup>, it becomes easier for students to perceive that the participant *Ele* is being affected by the participant *criminosos*. Thus, although represented with a prepositional phrase, the expression *dos criminosos* seems to be functioning as an Agent instead of a circumstance as is common with prepositional phrases.

(15)	Ele	acabou levando	um tiro	dos criminosos	
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo</i>	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>	<b>Transitive model</b>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope</i>	<i>Circ spatial Location</i>	
	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>processo</i>	<i>Extensão</i>	<i>Circ Localização</i>	<b>Ergative model</b>
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>process</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Circ Location</i>	
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc mat: Epp</i>		<i>Pró-Agente/ Circ Causa: Benefício (negativo)</i>	<b>Suggested model</b>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc mat: mpE</i>		<i>pseudo-Agent/ Circ Cause: (negative) Behalf/</i>	

Observe that if we apply the usual way of treating clauses in English in the transitive model for the grammar of BP, the function of Actor does not seem to be appropriate, as occurs with the function of circumstance for *criminosos*, since it is not proper for somebody to be treated as a location. This can be probed by the appropriate interrogative used for its function: (1) *ele acabou levando um tiro de onde?* And (2) *ele acabou levando um tiro de quem?* It is clear that question (b) with *quem* represents a participant whose function is a type of Agent affecting another participant. Since this representation is

<sup>27</sup> Adapted from <http://g1.globo.com/sao-paulo/noticia/2011/02/ex-arbitro-baleado-em-sp-passa-por-cirurgia-no-hospital-das-clinicas.html>. Accessed on February, 17, 2011.

not constructed with a Complement function in the Mood system, it seems to be better to locate it halfway from a participant and circumstance with the function of pseudo-Agent because circumstantially it seems to entail something related to Cause of the subtype behalf but in a negative way.

The ergative approach seems to represent the fact that the participant *ele* is being affected but the circumstantial aspect does not seem to reflect what its function is actually about in the clause.

In hindrance such as this, the suggested model of treating clauses with this metalanguage seems to prevent the participants from ‘fading out’ in the clause and instead become more visible in the unfolding of the text. This occurs because the Range/Scope is conflated with the process making the participants more salient. Perhaps a more congruent construction of the clause above in terms of grammar might be represented as in example (16).

(16)	Ele	acabou sendo atingido	com um tiro	pelo criminoso	
	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Modo: meio</i>	<i>Ator</i>	<b><i>Transitive model</i></b>
	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Manner: means</i>	<i>Actor</i>	
	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>processo</i>	<i>Circ Modo</i>	<i>Agente</i>	<b><i>Ergative model</i></b>
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>process</i>	<i>Circ Manner</i>	<i>Agent</i>	
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Modo: meio</i>	<i>Agente</i>	<b><i>Suggested model</i></b>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Manner: means</i>	<i>Agent</i>	

### 3.5.2 Investigating PR's in material clauses with attribution

As early as 1967 Halliday started to label *predicatives of being* and *predicative of becoming*, labels used by Jespersen (1909/49) in the twentieth century, respectively as ‘depictive’ and ‘resultative’ (Arrizabalaga, 2000). I shall exemplify how these two distinct types

of Attributes are realised in material clauses in SFG both in English and BP.

A clause simplex such as *she wiped the table clean* (with *clean* as resultative Attribute) may have similar meaning in a hypotactic clause complex as in *she wiped the table // in order for it to become clean* or in a paratactic clause complex as in *she wiped the table // and as a result it became clean*. In BP the resultative Attribute in clause simplex is not possible but there may be a similar meaning in a clause complex such as: *ela espanou a mesa // para que ela ficasse limpa*.

The clause *you cannot eat the fish raw* (depictive Attribute) may imply *you cannot eat the fish // if it is raw* or *you cannot eat the fish // when it is raw*, or still an embedding as post-modifying Qualifier: *you cannot eat the fish [[that is raw]]*. Depictive Attributes are possible in BP in clause simplexes, as shown below in clause (1b). But like in English, these Attributes seem to stem from clause complexes such as in (1a), in which relational processes with Attributes are involved.

(1a)	você	não pode comer	o peixe	se	ele	estiver	cru
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Meta</i>		<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Goal</i>		<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr. rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
(1b)	você	não pode comer	o peixe		-	-	cru
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Meta</i>				<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Goal</i>		-	-	<i>Attribute</i>

In many cases, both in English and BP, these Attributes in material clauses may contrast with ‘manner’ circumstances in view of the semantic similarity between them. However, despite the similarity, Halliday and Matthiesen (2004) claim that circumstances of Manner convey features not possible in Attributes such as Theme predication, which can be thematised whereas Attributes cannot. Let us compare the circumstance of manner of the subtype quality in *Ele tomou o café lentamente*. This clause can be rewritten as *foi lentamente que ele tomou o café* or even *lentamente, ele tomou o café*. Now, if we contrast these constructions with the clause *ele tomou o café preto*, we notice that these types of Attributes do not typically function as Theme predication either in *\*foi preto que ele tomou o café* or in thematisation, *\*preto, ele tomou o café*. This occurs because, as Halliday (2005) claims, circumstances of Manner focus on the process whereas depictive Attributes are either typically *Actor-oriented* as in *ele deixou a cidade feliz*, which means he left the town and he was



happy, or *Goal-oriented* as in *ele bebeu o café preto*, which means, he drank the coffee and it was black (see Takami, 1998; Halliday, 2005). In other words, a depictive Attribute serves to “specify the state in which the Actor or Goal is when it takes part in the process” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 195).

In English, resultative Attributes in material clauses can also be Goal-oriented as in *they painted the bedroom pale green* (Martin et al, 1997, p. 118) or Actor-oriented as in *the pond froze solid* (Takami, 1998, p.1) but this is something not feasible in BP.

Actor-oriented Attributes, although observed in the literature, are not typical of the resultative type because, in general, resultative Attributes occur in effective material clauses, i.e. with an Actor affecting a Goal as in *The hunter shot the bear dead* (Fong, forthcoming, p. 21). In the example above, the clause is effective in a Goal-oriented pattern since the hunter shot the bear and as a result the bear is dead. Nevertheless, Actors of middle non-ranged clauses (without Goal) may occasionally display this feature as in *The gate swung shut* (Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995, p. 39), which means that the gate swung and as a result the gate shut. This construction may lead us to ask why an Actor can have a resultative effect if it is typical of the Goal. This intricacy occurs because some analyses tend to be more complex in the transitive model than in the ergative model. If we analyse these clauses in the ergative model it can easily be understood that in both clauses *the pond froze solid* and *the gate swung shut* the Subject in the Mood system corresponds to the Medium and not to the Agent. It becomes easier if we add an external Agent to the clause: *the cold weather froze the pond solid* → *the pond froze solid*. The same occurs if we add an Agent to *the gate swung shut* → *the strong wind swung the gate shut*. Thus, in the ergative model, when we add an external Agent the clause becomes effective. Whenever a clause is effective there must be a Medium (the ‘done to’) at which the action is directed. Notice that the Mediums are respectively *the pond* and *the gate* in both types of clauses. In other words, it does not matter whether the clause is effective or middle non-ranged, the mediums are the same. This explains why these clauses have resultative Attributes. In reality, the Medium is not a real ‘doer’, but a ‘done to’ as can be observed in clauses (2a through 3b) in Table 3.1.

<b>Attribution in material clauses</b>						
(2a)	The weather	cold	froze	the pond	solid	
	<i>Actor</i>		<i>Pr mat</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Resultative Att</i>	Transitive
	<i>Agent</i>		<i>Process</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Resultative Att</i>	Ergative
	<i>Agent</i>		<i>Process</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Resultative Att</i>	suggested
<b>Effective</b>						
(2b)	The pond		froze	solid		
	<i>Actor</i>		<i>Pr mat</i>	<i>Resultative Att</i>		Transitive
	<i>Medium</i>		<i>process</i>	<i>Resultative Att</i>		Ergative
	<i>Affected</i>		<i>process</i>	<i>Resultative Att</i>		suggested
<b>Middle non-ranged</b>						
(3a)	The wind	strong	swung	the gate	shut	-
	<i>Actor</i>		<i>Pr mat</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Resultative Att</i>	Transitive
	<i>Agent</i>		<i>Process</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Resultative Att</i>	Ergative
	<i>Agent</i>		<i>Process</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Resultative Att</i>	suggested
<b>Effective</b>						
(3b)	The gate		swung	shut		
	<i>Actor</i>		<i>Pr mat</i>	<i>Resultative Att</i>		Transitive
	<i>Medium</i>		<i>process</i>	<i>Resultative Att</i>		Ergative
	<i>Affected</i>		<i>process</i>	<i>Resultative Att</i>		suggested
<b>Middle non-ranged</b>						

**Table 3.1** Resultative Attributes in effective and middle non-ranged material clauses

As can be seen, the ergative interpretation of the clauses allows us to understand what the function of each participant is, i.e. the Agent and the one affected. It is also revealing the fact that the suggested way I offer to deal with these clauses with Agent and Affected as used in Cardiff Grammar (see Neale, 2002; Fawcett, 2000, 2008) tends to help students understand who/what is being affected irrespective of clauses being effective or middle non-ranged in the transitive or ergative model since it makes the clause more visible for its functions in that *the pond* and *the gate* are in reality being affected by an implicit external Agent as if the process is self-caused. I shall linger in this issue when I discuss agency and the advantage of using the labels *Agent* and *Affected* in analysis of material clauses in chapter 4, as suggested in clauses (2a) through (3b) in Table 3.1. For now I shall sustain that material clauses with depictive Attributes are the only ones possible in BP in clause simplexes, as in *John ate the meat nude* (Takami, 1998, p. 1). However, both types of Attributes are not inherent in material clauses, i.e. they can be left out since they function only in the outer layer of meaning. Thus, the construction in English of depictive material clauses (taking the example above) is similar to BP in *João comeu a carne nu*, which means that John ate the meat when he was nude since it is not appropriate to say in BP that *João comeu a carne cruamente*. This is not possible in view of the fact that the focal point is not on the process but on the participant *João*, which exemplifies an Actor-oriented linguistic pattern.

### 3.6 Relational clauses: Processes of being and having

In general terms, relational processes in BP function the same way as in English, in that the central meaning of clauses of this type is that something is, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) point out. Hence, the same formulas can be applied to BP although some clauses of the possessive type seem to cause some intricacy to be analysed as I shall discuss later.

“*X is A*” (intensive):

Eles são inteligentes  $\leftrightarrow$  Eles são os professores

“*X is at A*” (circumstantial):

Eles estão em Florianópolis  $\leftrightarrow$  O filme estréia à noite

“*X has A*” (possessive):

Eles têm o dinheiro  $\leftrightarrow$  Eles possuem muitos imóveis

These processes obligatorily require two participants: *Carrier – Attribute* or *Token – Value*. That means, in a finite clause, you cannot have a relational process with only one participant. They are either *attributive* or *identifying* and are concerned with *being*, *possessing*, or *becoming*. They are attributive when “A” is an Attribute of “X”. They are identifying when “A” is the identity of “X”.

In an attributive process, the participants are *Carrier* and *Attribute* in that “A” is the Attribute, and “X” is the Carrier. Clauses with attributive processes are non-passivisable. That means that the grammatical Subject is always the Carrier. If a process is identifying, the Participants are *Token* and *Value* in that if “A” is the identity of “X”, then “X” is the Token and “A” is the Value. Identifying relational processes permit reversibility of the Participants (see Table 3.2).

<b>mode</b> <b>type</b>	<b>(i) attributive</b>	<b>(ii) identifying</b>
intensive	A Karine é uma professora	A Karine é a professora. A professora é a Karine.
circumstantial	A reunião é na terça-feira	O dia da reunião é terça-feira. Terça feira é o dia da reunião.
possessive	Os meus pais tem uma casa	Esta casa é de meus pais. De meus pais é esta casa.*

**Table 3.2** Types and modes of relational clauses. (adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 239)

In the attributive mode, an Attribute is ascribed to a Participant; either as a quality (intensive), as a circumstance - of time, place, etc (circumstantial) or as a possession (possessive) as shown in Fig. 3.2. All alternatives in attributive clauses are feasible in BP, even constructions equivalent to the ‘anticipatory it’ in English as in “*É preciso [[compreender o momento emocional [[em que essas coisas se deram]] ]]*”.<sup>28</sup> In this structure it is common in BP to have the Attribute preceding the Carrier, which, in this case, is materialised with an embedded clause within another.

<sup>28</sup> Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Celso Amorim, explaining the crisis in Honduras. At <http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/Mundo/0,,MUL1322774-5602,00-BRASIL+QUER+DIMINUIR+NUMERO+DE+HONDURENHOS+NA+EMBAIXADA+DIZ+AMORIM.html>. Accessed 9/ 29/09.

<b>quality (intensive)</b>	A Sara	é / parece	inteligente
<b>circumstance (circumstantial)</b>	Ela A exposição	esteve vai durar	no salão de beleza a semana inteira
<b>possession (possessive)</b>	O piano O Pedro	é / pertence tem	do Pedro / ao Pedro um piano
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

**Fig. 3.2** The types of relational clauses for attribution (adapted from Halliday, 1985, p. 113)

In the identifying mode, as the label implies, one entity is used to identify another. The relationship between them is one of Token and Value (intensive), of phenomenon and circumstance of time, place etc. (circumstantial), or of owner and possession (possessive), as exemplified in Fig. 3.3.

<b>Token-Value (intensive)</b>	Tom	is / plays	the leader
<b>Circumstance (circumstantial)</b>	Tomorrow the fair	is takes up	the tenth the whole day
<b>Possession (possessive)</b>	the piano Peter	is owns	Peter's the piano
	<i>Identificado/ CC<sup>29</sup></i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Identificador/VL</i>
	<i>Identified / TK</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Identifier / VL</i>

**Fig. 3.3** The types of relational clauses for identification (from Halliday, 1985, p. 113)

However, some of these clause organisations in the identifying mode are not reversible in BP (see clauses with \* in Fig. 3.4). Differently from the way attributive clauses are construed in BP (in which all alternatives are possible), some identifying clauses cannot be reversed nor passivised in BP. In attributive clauses there is no passivisation because there is only one true Participant, since the Attribute is not a full Participant. Conversely, in identifying clauses

<sup>29</sup> CC stands for *Característica* and VL means *Valor*.

there are, obligatory, two Participants. In English, as a general principle, any Participant can become a Subject. So, any clause in which there are two Participants must have two ‘voices’, *active* and *passive*, each having a different Participant as Subject. However, this principle is obscured when the verb is *be* (*ser*, in BP) because it has no special passive form either in English or in BP although they are all treated as passive clauses when reversed.

<b>token-value (intensive)</b>	O Pedro	é / interpreta	o líder
<b>Circumstance (circumstantial)</b>	Amanhã A feira	é dura	o dia das mães o dia inteiro*
<b>Possession (possessive)</b>	O piano Pedro	é possui	do Pedro* o piano*
	<i>Identificado/ CC</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Identificador/VL</i>
	<i>Identified /TK</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Identifier / VL</i>

**Fig. 3.4** Types and modes of identifying relational clauses (adapted from Halliday, 1985, p. 113)

It is important to know that reversibility in identifying clauses may be used in a broader sense, involving not just the mere swapping of positions, but also passivisation. Even so, some of the equivalent English constructions are not construed likewise in BP. That means that typical possessive identifying clauses in English are not as common in BP since this seems to be a feature of attributive clauses. However, in a more comprehensive approach, such as with clauses combining the feature of possession with other semantic features, some clauses may have reversibility, as in the example with the process *merecer* below. However, possession in reversibility is not a typical feature of this type of clause in BP, and it is better treated as attributive.

Certamente o título de homem mais sábio do mundo *é merecido* por aqueles [[que valorizam a família estruturada]]<sup>30</sup>.

The functions of Token and Value are also conflated with those of *Identified* and *Identifier* in BP; and the conflation can go either way. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), either the Token or the Value can be the identifying element. But the Token usually refers to a

<sup>30</sup> Extracted from <http://www.atosdois.com.br/print2.php?codigo=3197>, on April 4, 2010.

sign, a name, a form, a holder, or an occupant whereas the Value typically refers to a meaning, a referent, a function, a status, or a role. The clause is *operative* if the subject in the Mood system is the same as the Token. If the subject is the same as Value, then, the clause is *receptive*. However, it is the functions of Token and Value (not those of Identified and Identifier) that guide the selection of voice in this type of clause. Therefore, when the meaning is 'a serves to identify the identity of x', then *a* and *x* become two distinct identities, i.e. one is used to identify whereas the other is to be identified. In this structure, either serves to identify the other.

However, the two are likely to have different intonation patterns, with the Identifier as the focus of *New* marked by tone prominence. That signifies that the Identifier always carries the tonic prominence as the typical pattern, since it is the identity that is likely to be the new information although there may be a marked option whereby the Identified is construed as *New*. Therefore, *Identified* and *Identifier* cannot simply be explained as *Given-New* in an identifying clause. This is because the former has an experiential function whereas the latter has a textual one.

Similarly to English, the Identifier may be realised as a nominal group, typically one that is definite; hence, it may be, for instance, a Head noun or a pronoun, but not an Adjective. Identifying clauses are probed by *Qual?* or *Quem?*, e.g. (1) *Qual é o seu nome?* (2) *Quem é você?*

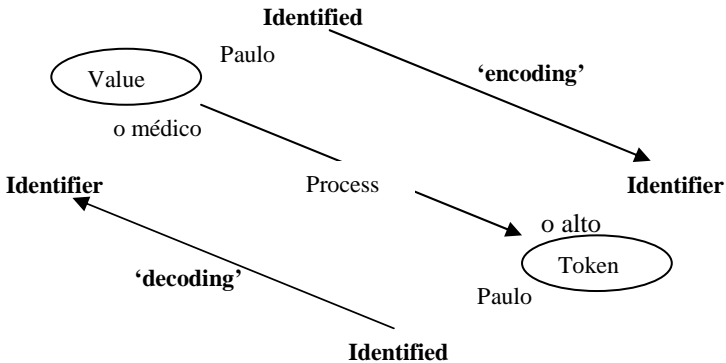
(1a) O meu nome é Felipe.

(2b) Eu sou o professor da turma.

Whatever the voice, the order of identity of elements in the clause is invariable, with Identified always preceding Identifier if the clause is in an unmarked order. But there may be occasions in which they can appear in a marked construction, i.e. in the other way round. But as a general rule, it is better to treat the Identifier as being signalled by intonation pattern. For practicality, we can assume that the Identifier function is realised by tonic prominence. In this case, the Identifier is the component that bears the tonic accent, being the element that, more often than not, is the 'New' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

Since in identifying clauses the two halves refer to the same thing, so, either Token and value can be used to identify the other. That means that if we say *Paulo é o médico*, we identify Paulo by

assigning a Value to him, that of *médico*. But we may want to say *Paulo é o alto* in this case, we identify Paulo by giving a Token to him. These directions refer to whether we are decoding (Tk, Identified ^ VI, Identifier) or encoding (VI, Identified ^ Tk, Identifier). Thus, “either the Token is ‘decoded’ or else the Value is ‘encoded’ ” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.230). In both cases, Token is the lower expression and Value the higher content as exemplified in Fig. 3.5.



**Fig. 3.5.** Identifying relational clauses in direction of coding (adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 230).

In attributive clauses of the circumstantial type, “the relationship between the two terms is one of *time, place, manner, cause, accompaniment, role, matter, or angle*” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 240). In this mode, the circumstantial element is an Attribute that is being ascribed to some entity and is treated as a Participant if it is inherent in the clause. Attributive clauses of the circumstantial type may have the circumstance expressed both in the form of the *Attribute* and in the form of *Process*. In *circumstance as Attribute*, the Attribute is either a prepositional phrase or an adverbial group and the circumstantial relation is expressed by the preposition or the adverb like in English.



Malu	está	com a mãe dela
O livro	é	sobre um herói de guerra
O jogo	será	muito tarde
<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pro relacional</i>	<i>Atributo: circunstancial</i>
<i>Carrier</i>	<i>pro relacional</i>	<i>Attribute: circumstantial</i>

By the same token, the process can also express a circumstantial relation such as: *ser + matter*, *ser + measure*, *ser + extent*.

A estória	trata de (é de)	um menino órfão
O bilhete	custa (é)	cem reais
O filme	dura (é)	três horas
<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc. circunstancial</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc. circumstantial</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p.242), in the identifying mode, there is a circumstantial relationship between two entities, whereby one is related to another by a feature of *time*, *place*, *manner*, etc., i.e. Identified and Identifier may become circumstantial elements in which the relationship may be expressed either by a feature of the participant or by a feature of the process. In addition, like other identifying clauses they are *reversible* and the relation between the participants is of *sameness*. These clauses<sup>31</sup> are in that respect similar to an *intensive* clause, except for the fact that the two ‘participants’ are *circumstantial elements* in disguise.

These types of constructions are perfectly possible in BP. In the first clause below the Identified and Identifier relate to a circumstance of Cause in that *a pura verdade* and *ter medo* are a replacement for the subtype ‘*reason*’. In the second clause, both Identified and Identifier function like a circumstance of Manner.

A pura verdade	é	[[que você tem medo]]	[[Que você tem medo]]	é	a pura verdade
<i>Valor</i>	<i>Pro iden</i>	<i>Característica</i>	<i>Característica</i>	<i>Pro iden</i>	<i>Valor</i>
<i>Value</i>	<i>Pro iden</i>	<i>Token</i>	<i>Token</i>	<i>Pro iden</i>	<i>Value</i>

<sup>31</sup> Samples adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 242.

A melhor maneira	é	[[ir de táxi]]	[[Ir de táxi]]	é	a melhor maneira
Valor	Pro iden	Característica	Característica	Pro iden	Valor
Value	Pro iden	Token	Token	Pro iden	Value

In a *circumstance as process*, the process is the expression of *time*, *place* and so on. In this case, the process itself expresses the circumstantial feature through circumstantial verbs, in a manner of speaking. I exemplify some processes that convey this circumstantial feature in BP. They are identifying relational clauses; therefore, they can be passivised.

Aplausos *seguiram* o ato final (ser + depois, *Location in time*)

Uma ponte atravessa o rio (estar + através de, *extent in place*)

O lago circunda o jardim (estar + ao redor de, *extent in place*)

A obesidade *é acompanhada* por depressão<sup>32</sup>. (estar + com, *accompaniment*)

In the *possessive mode*, the relationship between the two terms is of ownership in that one entity possesses another. In the attributive mode, the possessive relationship may be expressed either as *attribute* or *process*. If the relationship of possession is encoded as Attribute, it is represented in the form of a prepositional phrase indicating possession as in *O piano é do Pedro*. When the relationship of possession is encoded as Process, then either the possessor becomes the Carrier and the possessed is the Attribute as in *Pedro tem o piano*, or the possessed is the Carrier and the possessor becomes the Attribute as in *O violão pertence ao Pedro*.

In the identifying mode in BP, the possession does not seem to have the same features as in English. Although there is a relationship between two entities that may be expressed either as a feature of the participants, or as a feature of the process, clauses in this fashion cannot keep all the features of an identifying clause in BP, i.e. the clauses are, more often than not, neither reversible nor passivisable, which is a feature that also occurs in possession as process. In English, the possessive mode is typically encoded as a process by the verb *own*, which can be used in a receptive voice.

<sup>32</sup> Extracted from <http://oqueeutenho.uol.com.br/porta1/2010/02/01/obesidade-mente-e-corpo-estao-envolvidos-no-problema/> on April, 10, 2010.

Peter owns the piano → the piano is owned by Peter.

Pedro possui o piano → o piano é possuído por Pedro\*.

It is possible to have this type of clause in the operative voice, but it is not common in BP to have it in a receptive voice since it is odd and may mislead the reader/listener to believe that the piano has embodied some kind of supernatural entity.

There are other processes that involve possession but these relate to abstract relations of containment, involvement and the like, such as *include*, *involve*, *contain*, *comprise*, *provide*. Some processes of this kind usually combine the feature of possession with other semantic features as in *exclude* '(negative) + have', *owe* 'have on behalf of another possessor', *deserve* 'ought to have', *lack* 'need to have', and so on. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) claim that most verbs meaning 'come to have', on the other hand, are better treated as material process; e.g. *get*, *receive*, and *acquire*.

In BP, most of the processes featuring possession are better treated as attributive since the passivisation seems to construe not Participants but circumstances. Notice that the actual receptive construction is odd in BP: *Aulas de violão deveriam ser incluídas pela educação para a vida*\*. It seems that it is only when the clause is realised with a circumstance of abstract Location that it becomes a typical construction in BP.

**Educação para a vida** *deveria incluir* aulas de violão<sup>33</sup>.

Aulas de violão *deveriam ser (estar) incluídas na educação para a vida*.

**O problema da obesidade** *envolve* corpo e alma.

Corpo e alma são (estão) envolvidos **no problema da obesidade**<sup>34</sup>.

**O cofre da empresa** *guarda* muitos documentos.

Muitos documentos são (estão) guardados **no cofre da empresa**.

Some attributive relational processes (3) and (4) may also contain a Beneficiary in BP. This is only possible if the clause is 'effective', in which case the active form contains an Attributor. Constructions with Beneficiary, though not frequent, may be passivised in BP likewise (4a).

<sup>33</sup> From Mauro Santayama at <http://www.dicio.com.br/incluir/> on December 10, 2009.

<sup>34</sup> Extracted from <http://www.atosdois.com.br/print2.php?codigo=3197> on January 25, 2010.

(3)	A chamada	me	custou	vinte reais
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Beneficiário</i>	<i>Pro Circ</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Beneficiary</i>	<i>pro Circ</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(4)	O hotel	cobrou	cento e vinte reais	dele	pela estadia
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Pro Circ</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Beneficiário</i>	<i>Portador</i>
	<i>Atributor</i>	<i>Pro Circ</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Beneficiary</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

(4a)	Ele	foi cobrado	pelo hotel	cento e vinte reais	pela estadia
	<i>Beneficiário</i>	<i>Pro Circ</i>	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>
	<i>Beneficiary</i>	<i>Pro Circ</i>	<i>Atributor</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

In attributive clauses, the Attribute can also be conflated with the process itself. Although some processes are not the same as in English, this feature is also feasible in BP (see Table 3.3).

<b>conflation</b>	<b>quality</b>	<b>conflation</b>	<b>quality</b>
bastar	ser suficiente	abundar	ser abundante
dar	ser suficiente	doer	ser doloroso
contar, se aplicar	ser relevante	diferir	ser diferente
importar, valer	ser importante	feder	ser fedorento
parecer	estar aparente	variar	ser variado
chatear	ser chato	dar	ser aceitável

**Table 3.3** Quality attribution as qualitative process: Conflation of Process and Attribute

An important feature of these clauses in BP is that they are typically middle non-ranged clause as I exemplify below.

Valeu a carona<sup>35</sup> → a carona foi importante.

Valeu	a carona	→	A carona	foi	importante
<i>Pro rel</i> <i>Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>		<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Pro rel</i> <i>Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>		<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

<sup>35</sup> Extracted from the BP subtitling of the movie *Premonition*.

Isso não importa<sup>36</sup> → isso não é importante.

Isso	não importa	→	Isso	não é	importante
<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc rel/Atributo</i>		<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pro rel/Atributo</i>		<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

Dói [[não saber o que fazer]]<sup>37</sup> → É dolorido [[não saber o que fazer]].

Dói	[[não saber o que fazer]]	→	É	dolorido	[[não saber o que fazer]]
<i>Pro rel/Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>		<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>
<i>Pro rel/Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>		<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

Parece [[que vai chover]] → Está aparente [[que vai chover]].

parece	[[que vai chover]]	→	Está	aparente	[[que vai chover]]
<i>Pro rel/Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>		<i>Proc rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>
<i>Pro rel/Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>		<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

It is important to highlight that some conflated relational processes may have variation in how meaning is determined according to the context in which they are in as in the examples below with the process *dar*, which is not feasible in English in this type of construction.

Ainda	não deu	[[para passar esta fase]]
	<i>Pro relacional/Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>
-	<i>Pro relacional/Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

Essa quantia	já	dá	[[para comprar o que quero]]
<i>Por...</i>	-	<i>Proc relacional/Atributo</i>	<i>...tador</i>
<i>Car ...</i>	-	<i>Pro relacional/Attribute</i>	<i>...rier</i>

<sup>36</sup> Extracted from the BP subtitling of the computer animated movie *Monsters Inc.*

<sup>37</sup> Extracted from

<http://www.poetas.capixabas.nom.br/Poetas/detail.asp?poeta=Patr%EDcia%20Stucki> on December 4, 2010

As the examples illustrate, although the process and Attribute may be the same, they may be construed with a dissimilar meaning in BP. As a matter of fact the process *dar* is very rich in that it may convey dissimilar meaning, and therefore can cut across different process types as I shall demonstrate in section 4.4.

### 3.6.1 Intricate cases of PR's in relational clauses with attribution

Halliday (1998) furnishes us with some samples of how grammar can represent experience within the same experiential domain. In doing so he attempts to explicate how the grammar of English has evolved to account for the employment of complementary models in order to respond to the multifaceted interpretation that we may have within Transitivity, as for instance, by means of congruent realisations and metaphorical mode in how to deal with our experience of *pain* in examples related to *head* and *pain* (adapted from Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 173).

(1a)	My head	is	painful
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pro relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pro. relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(1b)	My head	hurts
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pro relacional</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pro. relational</i>

(1c)	My head	hurts	me
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Senser</i>

(1d)	I	feel	[[my head hurting]]
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>

(1e)	I	have	a headache
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pro relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>pro relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(1f)	I	feel	a pain	in my head
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Circ. spatial Location</i>

As we can notice, Transitivity provides us with a large variety of alternative interpretations, as for instance in item (1a) with Carrier and Attribute in an intensive attributive clause; in (1b) with Carrier and process and Attribute conflated in an attributive clause; in (1c) with Phenomenon and Senser in a ‘please type’ linguistic pattern; in (1d) with Senser and macrophenomenal Phenomenon in a perceptive mental clause; in (1e) with Carrier and Attribute in a possessive relational clause; and in (1f) with Senser, Phenomenon and a spatial Location circumstance in a perceptive mental clause. This implies that mental and relational processes manage to achieve very similar meanings by means of dissimilar structures in the same way as it happens in Brazilian Portuguese.

However, it seems that the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese possesses different ways to represent some types of experience that are not found in the English language, such as in the clause *eu estou com dor de cabeça* (\**I am with headache*), which is a typical construction in BP. This suggests that BP has developed prepositional phrases to realise some of these types of experiential representations. I shall demonstrate, with a few examples, how the experience of ‘fome’<sup>38</sup> may be construed in BP.

As I show in the examples below, within expansion, one figure of the quantum of information may be realised congruently by an adjective (item 4b) while another may be realised incongruently as a prepositional phrase serving like a type of circumstantial element within the clause, similar to a circumstance of *manner* of the subtype *quality* (items 3b and 3a). Hence, it appears that the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese has also evolved towards representations for the experience of ‘fome’ that are construed by means of a prepositional phrase (as shown in items 3a, 3b, and 4a with ‘com fome’), which do not co-occur in the English language within the same linguistic pattern, apart from the Phenomenon in the perceptive mental clause in item (2b) or the Attribute in the attributive relational clause in item

<sup>38</sup> Samples taken from Portuguese corpora (Santos and Sarmiento, 2003; Davies and Ferreira, 2006).

(4b). As a result, this use of the prepositional phrase *com fome* is in agnation with the Attribute *faminto*, and so, is semiotically replacing an Epithet function.

(2a)	Eu	tenho	fome
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional: possessivo</i>	<i>Atributo possuído</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>proc relational: possessive</i>	<i>possessed Attribute</i>

(2b)	Eu	sinto	fome
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: perceptivo</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>proc mental: perceptive</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>

(3a)	Eu	estou sentindo	[[que estou com fome]]
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: perceptivo</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>proc. mental: perceptive</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>

(3b)	Eu	estou me sentindo	com fome
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional: intensivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>proc relational: intensive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(4a)	Eu	estou	com fome
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional: intensivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>proc relational: intensive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(4b)	Eu	estou	faminto
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional: intensivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>proc relational: intensive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

This different way of using language to represent experience incongruently (implying a usage that is not the most typical in English) is an example of what Halliday labels grammatical metaphor, which in this case, lies in the realm of the ideational dimension: (4b) *Eu estou faminto* (congruent) and (4a) *Eu estou com fome* (incongruent). However, a search carried out at [www.google.com.br](http://www.google.com.br) and in corpora (Santos and Sarmiento, 2003; Davies and Ferreira, 2006) showed that the Epithet *faminto* as a single string is scarcely used in BP, whereas occurrences with the prepositional phrase *com fome* as the research string are astoundingly higher. This hints at the fact that the ‘supposed’ incongruent form of the structure alluded above is the most typical way to represent this type of experience in BP compared with the Epithet function as Attribute in English



Two aspects need to be clarified at this stage: the first is that in English prepositional phrases do not serve the function of Attributes, unless they function as circumstantial Attributes as in *the students are already in the classroom*, in which *in the classroom* represents a circumstantial Attribute. However, this does not replace an Epithet as in the Brazilian Portuguese samples above. The second is that Attributes stemming from adjectives and prepositional phrases do not function precisely as full Participants (Halliday, 1985, p. 114). In other words, some Attributes in relational clauses are not actually full Participants in their own right since they cannot function as Subject in the Mood system, which is an essential feature for having a full Participant Role in SFG. In spite of that, I shall consider all Attributes as having a Participant Role in this study like any other Participant in relational clauses since some Attributes can have a full PR in other structures: e.g. (5a) *ela é uma ótima professora* (5b) *e uma ótima professora é indispensável aqui*.

(5a)	Ela	é	uma ótima professora
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(5b)	E	uma ótima professora	é	indispensável	aqui
		<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>
	-	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>proc relat</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Cir. Spatial Location</i>

Because SFG has as characteristic to analyse choices, so clauses should be analysed from the perspective of the linguistic choices that a text producer employs to construe his/her meaning-making potential. This is a realm in which most of the specificities in languages seem to lie, as for instance, the way Brazilian Portuguese appears to have developed in order to deal with construction of dissimilar linguistic patterns for similar representations of meaning by means of both mental (perceptive) and relational clauses (possessive and attributive), which recur in other similar structures in BP such as in clauses (6) through (10) in Table 3.4.

Although these representations of experience are recurrent in BP and suggest the construction of linguistic patterns with column (a) as Phenomenon, (b) as possessed Attribute, (c) as circumstantial

Attribute, and (d) as Attribute, these structures seem to have some lexical gaps related to Attribute construal. Although there may be ways to fill in these gaps with equivalent adjectives in BP, these Attributes do not usually originate from the same Head/Thing, e.g. *vontade* → *interessado*, and *dor de cabeça* → *doente*. However, what seems to be clear is that the samples in column (a) with the process *sentir* and (b) with *ter*, as well as the samples in column (c) with *prepositional phrases* and (d) with *adjectives* represent very similar experiential domain even though they are construed dissimilarly. It seems that the idea of sensation may also be realised relationally in BP through possession as shown in Table 3.4 in column (b).

	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Carrier</i>
	(a) eu sinto ...	(b) eu tenho ...	(c) eu estou ...	(d) eu estou ...
(6)	...fome	...fome	...com fome	...faminto
(7)	...sede	...sede	...com sede	...sedento
(8)	...raiva	...raiva	...com raiva,	...enraivecido.
(9)	...medo	...medo	...com medo	...amedrontado
(10)	...ansiedade	...ansiedade	... com ansiedade	...ansioso
	- Fenômeno	-Atributo pos	- Atributo circ	- Atributo
	- Phenomenon	-pos Attribute	- circ Attribute	- Attribute

**Table 3.4** Representation of experience by means of mental and relational clauses.

Notwithstanding, SFG does not commonly seem to account for semantic moves such as in *eu tenho um carro*, which deals with property and *eu tenho dor de cabeça duas vezes por semana*, which has a strong mental flavour instead of a relational possession in its own right. So, there may be some polysemous terms that can give rise to ambiguity (see Ravin and Leacock, 2000; Akmajian et al., 2001). As the Greek word implies ‘polysemy’ has to do with ‘many signs’, and in reason of that such polysemy can affect how meaning is construed in clauses such as (11) *o ar sujo o sufocava* and (12) *as emoções o sufocavam* (adapted from Tolstoy, L., 1869), which differ semiotically, with (11) as a transformative material process with the participant *o ar sujo* as Actor and the participant *o* as Goal, and (12) as an affective mental process of the ‘please-type’ with *as emoções* as Phenomenon (Agent on the ergative model) and *o* as Senser (Medium on the ergative model). Interestingly, in BP these clauses have the Complement (in pronominalisation) anteceding the process in the

operative mode as shown in (12) *as emoções o sufocavam* (the emotions suffocated him) but when the clauses are in the receptive mode the sequence is preserved in the same way as in English: *ele foi sufocado pelas emoções* (he was suffocated by the emotions).

(11)	O ar sujo	o	sufocava
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Pro material</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Pro material</i>

(12)	As emoções	o	sufocavam
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>

By the same token, the process *empurrar* that is a typical material process because it involves action may be regarded as a mental process in clause (13) in the sense of encouragement. In this case, the Phenomenon affects the Senser similarly to a material clause.

(13)	Torcida enfurecida	<i>empurra</i>	o Joinville	na vitória sobre o Fla
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Circ Localização abstrata</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Cir Abstract Location</i>

Taking the fact of polysemy into consideration, the relational clause (9b) above *eu tenho sede* does not suggest that the possessed participant works as an abstract property that can be transferred as in *eu tenho uma ótima idéia*, which even not being an actual property, can be used in a transfer pattern as in (14) *eu tenho uma ótima idéia [[para te mostrar (te falar / te dar)]]*. However, these types of clauses do not seem to occur when the relational process is related to sensation in a broader sense as in (8b) above *eu tenho raiva*, (9b) *eu tenho medo* and (10b) *eu tenho ansiedade* since it is not common to say *eu tenho uma ansiedade [[para te mostrar]]* or *eu tenho um medo [[para te dar]]*, unless it is used metaphorically, so not congruently. Conversely, we can easily do it in BP in some relational clauses related to cognition such as (14) as well as in clauses related to affection: *eu tenho muito amor e carinho [[para dar // e vender]]*. In reason of that clauses with the process ‘ter’ related to sensation should be alternatively analysed first and foremost as mental clauses with the

PR's Senser and Phenomenon since it seems that the process 'ter' in these cases is simply replacing the process 'sentir' as shown in Table 1 above in column (b) and in clause (15) below, which differs from (14) in that there may be transfer of (abstract) property. Notice that in a relational clause such as *eu estou com dor de cabeça*, although there is the potential for a mental clause, the circumstantial Attribute *com dor de cabeça* is replacing an adjective, and as such cannot be a Head/noun to serve as Phenomenon in a mental clause. However, in other functional grammars, namely Case Grammar, this clause would have the Carrier *eu* as the Experiencer in a mental clause (see Fillmore, 1977; Carvalho, 1986; Cook, 1989).

Cases in which there may be more than one way to deal with clauses is not rare in SFG as I shall demonstrate when I analyse hypotactic verbal group complexes in chapter 4.

(14)	Eu	tenho	uma ótima idéia [[para te dar]]
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pro relacional</i>	<i>Atributo: possuído</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pro relacional</i>	<i>Attribute: possessed</i>

(15)	Eu	tenho	dor de cabeça	duas vezes por semana
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Circ Extensão: frequência</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Circ Extent: frequency</i>

Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) argue that within the semiotic domain of attribution, there is one variety of attributive clauses in which the Attribute denotes a quality of sensing equivalent to the process of a mental clause both in effective and in middle ranged clauses. Mental 'like-type' clauses are middle ranged while mental 'please-type' clauses are effective, i.e. the Senser is affected by a Phenomenon. Thus, a Carrier in a relational clause can be equivalent to a Senser in a mental 'like-type' clause as in (16a) *ela sentiu emoção* and (16b) *ela ficou emocionada*, and equivalent to a Phenomenon in a mental 'please-type' clause as in (17a) *isso me preocupa* and (17b) *eu estou preocupado*.

(16a)	Ela	sentiu	emoção	middle ranged; like-type
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	

(16b)	Ela	ficou	emocionada
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pro relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pro relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(17a)	Isso	me	preocupa	effective; please-type
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pro. mental</i>	

(17b)	Eu	estou	preocupado
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pro relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pro relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

This semiotic domain of ascription in relational clauses, which displays a quality of sensing similar to the process of a mental clause, leads us to another linguistic pattern common in Brazilian Portuguese in clauses such as *eu te acho muito teimosa* or *eu acho bom você tomar banho todos os dias*<sup>39</sup>, which exhibit Attributes. These types of clauses with cognitive mental processes may induce us to believe that they are analogous to the structures used in material clauses with Attributes such as in *you don't get it fresh* (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 195). However, it is important to point out that material clauses with Attributes are very dissimilar in structure in that these Attributes in single clauses can be similarly construed in hypotactic clause complexes in expansion, which may be *resultative* as in *the blacksmith hammered the metal flat* (Takami, 1998, p. 1) or *depictive* as in *he drinks his coffee black* (Halliday, 2005, p. 34) while in mental clauses they seem to originate from projection, as I shall discuss in section 3.7.1.

### 3.7 Mental clauses: Processes of sensing

Mental processes are processes that deal with *affection*, *perception*, *cognition* or *desideration*. They can be represented in BP as two-way processes as well. These are known as *please* and *like* type clauses as shown in Table 3.5.

<sup>39</sup> Clauses taken from a conversation by a couple on MSN and part of the data of a Master's thesis (Martins, 2009).

Unlike in English, in which the unmarked tense is the present in present, in BP this does not seem to be a relevant factor. Conversely, similarly to English, in a clause of mental process there is always one participant that is human (the Senser) even though an inanimate participant can also be personified and function as a Senser. In mental clauses what is felt, perceived, desired or recognised is treated as the Phenomenon. However, the Phenomenon may not be only a ‘Thing’ but also a ‘fact’. In reality there are two especial types of Phenomenon realised by embedded clauses: one related to ‘fact’ and another related to ‘act’.

Like-type clauses			Pleasure-type clauses		
O público	<i>adora</i>	esse tipo de filme	Este tipo de filme	<i>agrada</i>	o público
A polícia	não <i>acreditou</i>	no ladrão	O ladrão	não <i>convenceu</i>	a polícia
As crianças	<i>temem</i>	o bicho-papão	O bicho-papão	<i>assusta</i>	as crianças
As fãs	<i>admiram</i>	[[o que ele faz]]	[[O que ele faz]]	<i>impressiona</i>	as fãs
<i>Experienciador</i>		<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>		<i>Experienciador</i>
<i>Senser</i>		<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>		<i>Senser</i>

**Table 3.5** Like-type and please-type constructions in Brazilian Portuguese

I provide some examples of these special types of Phenomenon known as macrophenomenal and metaphenomenal Phenomenon in Table 3.6. These functions are exemplified in some realisations in mental processes in BP from Thing to fact.

As shown in Table 3.6, in some mental clauses, embedded clauses can function as *macro-Phenomenon*. This occurs when the clause is related to ACT (macro) in perceptive clauses. In this case, the embedded clause is treated as a participant known as *macrophenomenal Phenomenon*, occurring both in perfective and imperfective non-finite clauses as exemplified below.

O motorista não viu [[o cachorro cruzando a estrada]].  
 Ela ouviu [[o carro indo embora]].  
 Ela sentiu [[a agulha entrando em sua veia]].

Realisations of participant function (from Thing to Fact)			
Types of realisation	Role in clause	Meaning construed	Example
Meta-phenomenal	None – not participant	(IDEA)	Eu entendi (o que você fez)
	participant (embedded clause)	FACT	<i>(O fato / A evidência) [[(d)ele ter realmente partido]] me desapontou; (A necessidade) [[(d)ele ter que sair do programa]] nos aborrece.</i>
Macro-phenomenal	participant (embedded clause)	ACT	<i>Nós vimos (a gravação) [[(d)ele fugindo]]</i>
		MACROTHING: WH- CLAUSE	<i>Nós veremos (a pessoa) [[com quem ela se casará]]</i>
phenomenal	Participant (Nominal group)	REIFIED PROCESS ETC.	<i>Ele adora (a long aula de natação); Ela ouviu (uma resposta absurda)</i>
		CONCRETE THING	<i>Nós veremos (a grande baleia branca)</i>

**Table 3.6** Types of realisation of Participant Roles in BP (adapted from Martin et al, 1997, p. 180).

There are also embedded clauses functioning as *meta-Phenomenon*. In this case, the embedding is related to a FACT (meta), typically in affective clauses of reaction. The embedding is then treated as a participant known as *metaphenomenal Phenomenon*. I show below some examples of metaphenomenal Phenomenon in BP.

(O fato) [[de não termos sido os vencedores]] me aborreceu.  
 Me preocupa (o fato) [[de eu ainda não estar empregado]].

As could be seen, these clauses may function as postmodifying Qualifiers in a nominal group where the Head is a noun such as *fact*, *case*, *news*, *idea*, *need*, etc. In case there is no such Head noun, the embedded clause itself can be regarded as serving as the Head of the nominal group.

### 3.7.1 Investigating PR's in mental clauses with attribution

A mental clause such as (1b) *eu te acho muito teimosa*, unlike a material clause with Attribute, which can have agnate samples in expansion, seems to have originated from a projection: (1a) *eu acho // que tu és muito teimosa*. Therefore, one huge distinction arises from this aspect in that the Attribute in material clauses is not inherent in the clause and so can be left out without harming the structure of the clause and its meaning. We can say *don't eat the fish (raw)* in both languages without using the Attribute (*raw*). However, it is not possible to do so with the mental process in clause (1b) above since we cannot say *eu te acho* without compromising the understanding of the message. Hence, these structures with Attributes in mental clauses may be regarded as a reduction of a clause complex in projection, foregrounding the relational process even while it is left implicit. In reason of that, we might claim that there should be different analyses for these types of clauses as shown in (1a, 1b) below.

(1a)	eu	acho	// que	tu	és	muito teimosa
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>		<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>		<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(1b)	eu	te	acho	muito teimosa
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Pr. mental</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

In clause (1b) the first analysis with Carrier and Attribute is due to the projecting clause shown in (1a), and the second analysis with Phenomenon and Attribute takes into account only the explicit components in (1b). In the first version of the analysis of the projected clause there is no fusion of PR's in relation to the two processes (mental and relational) since only one process is displayed as shown in the PR's Attribute and Carrier. In the other alternative there is fusion with mental and relational process types as shown in the PR's Attribute and Phenomenon. However, notice that when the constituents of the clause come after the mental process, in sequence as in (1c) *eu acho você muito teimosa*, it is better to visualise the attributive relation with *você* as Carrier and *muito teimosa* as Attribute.



In clause (1b) shown above, *eu te acho muito teimosa*, the participant (te) placed in the middle, before the mental process, might induce us to see this clause closer to a mental process because it seems to fuse participants of both types of processes (mental /relational), and thus be considered as Phenomenon and Attribute.

(1b)	eu	te	acho	muito teimosa
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(1c)	eu	acho	você	muito teimosa
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

However, before we make any anticipatory decision, let us now take a look at the clause *eu acho bom você tomar banho todos os dias*, which seems to have originated from (2a) *Eu acho // (que) (é) bom [[você tomar banho todos os dias]]*. The segmentation shows that there is an embedded clause working as the Head of nominalisation in the projected clause. The projected clause has the structural conjunction and the relational process elided in (2b). Following what has been seen until now we might be led to analyse these constructions as follows:

(2a)	eu	acho	// que	é	bom	[[você tomar banho todos os dias]]
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>		<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Atr</i>	<i>Portador</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>		<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Att</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

(2b)	eu	acho	-	-	bom	[[você tomar banho todos os dias]]
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>			<i>Atr</i>	<i>Portador</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>	-	-	<i>Att</i>	<i>Carrier</i>
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>			<i>Atr</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>	-	-	<i>Att</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>

Notwithstanding, I still advocate that none of the options offered above for these types of clauses are enough to explain this structure model as shown in clause (2b) *eu acho bom você tomar banho todos os dias*, which is a more intricate example. This is so due to the fact that there is an embedding functioning as ‘act’ in a relational clause with the PR Carrier. Hence, the best option seems to be to regard the mental process as a type of verbal group for attribution. This type of structure with Attributor seems to be the best one to explicate these types of clauses because it fulfils the gaps when the clause is analysed with its implicit components. I claim that it is important to know where the structure stems from, but the text analyst should respect the text producer’s style of communicating (Fairclough, 2003) and foreground his/her style in the text analysis. These clauses form a unique way whereby we can have the PR Agent in attributive relational processes as in (3), in which the attributive process is not always the process *ser* or *estar*, but processes that serve the clause for attribution as displayed in clauses (2b) and (3).

(3)	O sol	nos	fez ficar	com sede
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr atributivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr attributive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(2b)	Eu	acho	bom	[[você tomar banho todos os dias]]
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Pr atributivo</i>	<i>Atr</i>	<i>Portador</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Pr attributive</i>	<i>Att</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

It is important to know that all processes with no exception, at some point in their continuum, will conflate. That is why Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) as well as Martin et al. (1997) have pointed out that process types are best represented in a sphere rather than in a circle. Hence, processes for attribution do not necessarily need to be typically relational in structure but processes that work in a type of causative function (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) or influential function (Neale, 2002, Fawcett, 2000, forthcoming 2011) in the relational realm, i.e. processes that attribute a quality to a participant. In fact, there are lots of samples in SFG in which relational clauses and mental clauses merge experientially as in the clause analysed previously *eu estou com dor de cabeça* and in *ela está alegre*, which are relational but imply a mental configuration. As text analysts, we should take into account the way these syntagmatic structures are put into use. In other words, besides analysing the structures as relational,

it is also important to emphasise how these structures are formed in terms of Attributes because it is in cases such as these that we can see the amalgamation of functions. That is why we should not lose track that we are dealing with a functional grammar where there may be dissimilar linguistic choices to construe similar meanings. Therefore, it is important to highlight again the fact that when there are these types of causative linguistic patterns, relational processes may demand processes other than *ser* and *estar* to form the attribution in BP, as shown below.

(4)	O hotel	me	cobrou	R\$ 600,00	pela estadia
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Beneficiário</i>	<i>Pr atributivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Beneficiary</i>	<i>Pr attributive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

(5)	Eles	te	acharam	ótimo
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr atributivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr attributive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(6)	O juiz	declarou	o réu	inocente
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Pr atributivo</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Pr attributive</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

As you can see *cobrar*, *achar* and *declarar* appear to be respectively derived from material, mental and verbal processes having as *Attributor* *o hotel*, *eles* and *o juiz*.

The main basis for the analysis the way I have chosen (with *Attributor* in clause 5) comes in fact from Halliday's ideas about how structures can be used to construe similar meaning between mental and relational clauses, such as in (7a) *her delay worries me* and (7b) *I am worried about her delay*.

(7a)	Her delay	worries	me
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Pr. mental</i>	<i>Senser</i>

(7b)	I	am	worried	about her delay
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr. relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Circ. Matter</i>

As we can see, in clauses (7a) and (7b) the process *worry* and the Attribute *worried* manage to convey very similar meanings in different linguistic structures since both are experientially construed in the world of consciousness but actualised differently in Transitivity with the former as 'sensing' and the latter as 'being'. By the same

token the cognitive mental process *think* in *I think // she is at home* may reveal an agnate structure pattern by means of a modalisation in probability: *She is probably at home*. In addition, when we say *I am happy*, it seems to me it also occurs in the world of consciousness since we are dealing with our feelings, although it is structured relationally in an intensive attributive relational clause.

For a better understanding of these linguistic patterns, we should not keep too stuck to the idea of taxonomic dimension of the process, but instead, move a little away so as to be able to see the whole picture that is portrayed by means of these constructs. For that reason, I need to highlight that these processes used for attribution in BP are not supposed to be analysed ‘alone’ as the unique process or the main process, but considered as part of the relational dimension, as in (8a) *o sorriso de uma criança me faz feliz*, which replaces clause (8b) *o sorriso de uma criança me faz me sentir feliz*. We should be reminded that even when the relational process is not explicit it is still there due to the attribution that cannot be left out in these cases differently from material clause attributes, which are only used in the outer layer of meaning and can be left out. Notice that there is a big difference between the Attributes *linda* in a relational clause and *fria* in a material clause since you cannot leave out the Attribute ‘linda’ in *eles te acham Linda* but you can do it with ‘fria’ in *não coma a sopa fria*. Now why is it so? It is so because in material clauses we do not need to take into account the Attribute stemmed from the relational process because a material process can survive without it, which cannot occur with the mental process. This implies that in these structures the attributive relational process (formed by the process used for the attribution (causative) and the relational process per se) is the main one in the clause as shown in clauses (8a, 8b).

(8a)	O sorriso de uma criança	me	faz	me sentir	feliz
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr caus</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr caus</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr relacional</i>		<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr relacional</i>		<i>Attribute</i>

(8b)	O sorriso de uma criança	me	faz	feliz
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr causativo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr causative</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr relacional</i>	<i>Attrinute</i>

In clause (8a) we may present two analyses since in both cases the relational process is explicit, being the only difference the appearance of the causative process. Thus, we may consider the clause as having verbal groups belonging to separate groups (causative and relational) or as a hypotactic verbal group complex<sup>40</sup>, in which the main process is always the last one (relational). In (8b) we may also present two alternative analyses since in both clauses the relational process is elided. Therefore, we may want to emphasise the causative aspect (causative) or assume the implicit relational process due to the Attribute that is inherent in the clause. I suggest that in both cases the relational aspect be taken into account due to its prominence in discourse.

Clauses such as (9b) *ela deixou a janela aberta*; (10b) *o professor me deixou confuso* and (11b) *o ódio pode nos tornarr infelizes* can be rewritten with an explicit relational process as in (9a, 10a, 11a). But first, we shall be attentive to the fact that the process ‘deixar’ is not functioning here in the sense of ‘abandonar’, which would be material. By the same token, ‘fazer’ is not being used here in the sense of ‘construir’, which would also be a material process. They are used here in the function of a causative process that is part of a hypotactic verbal group complex (which can be discontinued as in 9a and 11a), in which the relational process may be elided. So, in this sense, clause (9b) *ela deixou a janela aberta* can be rewritten in full as *ela permitiu que a janela ficasse aberta* or *ela deixou a janela ficar aberta*; clause (10b) *o professor me deixou confuso* has the variant *o professor permitiu que eu ficasse confuso* or *o professor me deixou ficar confuso* and still *o professor me fez ficar confuso*; and (11b) *o ódio pode nos fazer infelizes* can be structured as *o ódio pode nos fazer ser infelizes*.

I suggest below how some causative clauses can be analysed in BP.

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<sup>40</sup> This will be further tackled in chapter 4.

(9a)	Ela	deixou	a janela	ficar	aberta
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Proc...</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>... relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Proc ...</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>... relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
(9b)	Ela	deixou	a janela	-	aberta
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Proc rel</i>	<i>Portador</i>	-	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Proc rel</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	-	<i>Attribute</i>

(10a)	O professor	me	deixou ficar	confuso
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
(10b)	O professor	me	deixou	-   confuso
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	-   <i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	-   <i>Attribute</i>

(11a)	O ódio	pode	nos	fazer ser	infelizes
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Proc...</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>... relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Proc ...</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>... relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
(11b)	O ódio	pode	nos	fazer (tornar)	infelizes
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Proc ...</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>... relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Proc ...</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>... relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

The way these clauses are realised shows us that strings of processes (causative/relational) may form an amalgamation of processes in the clause, in which only the causative becomes the explicit one. Since the relational process in these construals is not usually explicit in BP, these clauses tend to become intricate for text analysis. Some scholars prefer to analyse these processes as simply ‘process’ (see Hita, 2003) or ‘attributive’ (see Caffarel, 2006). I favor the analysis of these processes as relational even when the processes are conflated, i.e. even when the actual relational process is hidden or elided since it keeps its force in discourse. This can be attested whenever we attempt to leave out the Attribute since more often than not the clause loses its meaning potential.

Thus, as discussed above, in many instances mental and relational clauses are similar to each other. As we can observe in examples in (12a) *I think // she is nice* and (12b) *to me she is nice*, the mental clause that projects the relational clause can easily be replaced by a circumstance for projection of Angle of the subtype ‘viewpoint’ encapsulated in a relational clause as a metaphorical realisation of logical relation conveying an agnate meaning. This is known as circumstantial augmentation. Hence, in many cases the difference

between mental and relational processes is in structuring the clause, but in the level of semantics they construe very similar meanings.

(12a)	I	think	she	is	nice
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pr. mental</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr. relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
(12b)	To me	she	is	nice	
	<i>Cir. Angle</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr. relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	

Notice that we can also add the circumstance *to me* in clause (12a) *I think // she is nice to me*, but it does not imply the same meaning construal. In this case it is better to regard it as a circumstance of Matter or even a circumstance of Cause of the subtype Behalf according to the context to which the clause is inserted. It seems to me that Halliday does not interpret clauses in terms of taxonomy, but in terms of meaning potential. So, a material clause such as *Lung cancer caused his death* can be easily replaced by a relational clause *Lung cancer was the cause of his death*. In relation to this issue, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 211) claim that

‘material’ clauses are concerned with our experience of the material world and ‘mental’ clauses are concerned with our experience of the world of our own consciousness. Both this outer experience and this inner experience may be construed by ‘relational’ clauses; but they model this experience as ‘being’ rather than as ‘doing’ or ‘sensing’.

Thus, by the same token, the mental clause *your presence here gladdens my heart*, is agnate with *your presence here makes me feel pleased and hopeful*, or with *your presence here makes my heart glad*, which in both cases are relational clauses with Attributor. This entails dissimilar structures for similar functions, which, in other cases, may entail dissimilar functions with similar structures, i.e. meaning can be construed in diversified ways and it should not be bound merely in terms of categorisation but functions in clauses. Taxonomy serves mainly to try to help us create some faint borderlines among process types for better visualisation of the whole picture, usually in diagrams, but it may alter in real contexts and the same is true for taxonomy in BP. In relation to that, Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, p. 71) claim that the acceptance of fluidity and indeterminacy of language is better represented in topological terms in that it can be modelled as a dimension in space, which is continuous rather than discrete.

Observe the function of the process *achar* in the following examples (13a) *Onde está a Maria?* and (14a) *O que você acha daquela garota?*

(13b)	Eu	acho	que	ela	está	em casa
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pr men</i>		<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Atributo circunstancial</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pr men</i>		<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Circumstantial Attribute</i>

(14b)	Eu	acho	que	ela	é	muito bonita.
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>		<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>		<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

Samples (13b) and (14b), with the same process *achar*, may have noticeably different functions: In (13b) the process *achar* seems to be used in terms of modality and can be rewritten as (13c) *é provável [[que ela esteja em casa]]*. However, in (14b) the process is used like a circumstance of Angle of the subtype ‘viewpoint’ and can be rewritten as (14c) *na minha opinião ela é muito bonita*. Therefore, in the first clause (13b) the process conveys a dimension of probability and is, this way, bound to the interpersonal realm and can be even left unanalysed since its thrust is in the Mood system whereas in (14b) it conveys a circumstantial dimension and as such is linked to the experiential strand of meaning and need to be analysed in terms of Transitivity system.

In order to recap what was discussed above, we should keep in mind that when there is a type of causative clause the most important process is not the one used for the causation but the last one (which may be implicit) since they form a string of processes. However, the causative or influential process and main process are counted as a single verbal group encapsulated in a hypotactic verbal group complex. Thus, when the relational process is implicit you may use the process used for attribution as attributive relational, but it implies you are referring to the string of processes and not only to one process, which will affect the clause PR’s (see the examples below). It is also important to know that the “[t]erm ‘causative’ should not, of course, be taken to imply coercion; it includes the sense of ‘enable’ as well as ‘make’” (Halliday, 2009, p. 211).



(15)	Ela	me	<i>ajudou a fazer</i>	o trabalho
	<i>Iniciador</i>	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Pr material</i>	<i>Meta</i>
	<i>Initiator</i>	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pr material</i>	<i>Goal</i>

(16)	Ela	me	<i>ajudou a ser</i>	feliz
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

Hence, the clauses *eu te acho muito teimosa* and *eu acho bom [[você tomar banho todos os dias]]* should be regarded as a conflation of two processes *achar* and *ser*. In this case both processes are to be considered attributive relational since the main process (relational) is left out as in French (17a) *Je trouvais ça plutôt agréable* (Caffarel, 2006, p. 87), meaning (17b) *eu achei isso muito agradável* and in Spanish (18a) *Maria se cree muy Buena* (Hita, 2003, p. 359), meaning (18b) *Maria se acha muito bonita*.

(17a)	je	trouvais	ça	plutôt agréable
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Pr. attributive</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(17b)	eu	achei	isso	muito agradável
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Pr relacional</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Pr relational</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(18a)	Maria	se	cree	muy buena
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(18b)	Maria	se	acha	muito bonita
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

Though it is also possible in English, as in example (19a), this construction does not seem to be as typical as in BP.

(19a)	I	find	your discomfort	amusing <sup>41</sup>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Pr relational</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(19b)	Eu	acho	o teu desconforto	engraçado
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Pr relacional</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Pr relational</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

<sup>41</sup> From the series *Everybody Loves Raymond*, episode 8, 6<sup>th</sup> season (Sony Entertainment Television)

In order to round off this discussion, I suggest that in BP these constructs be regarded as an amalgamation of a string of processes between a cognitive mental process and an attributive relational process in a type of causative attribution realised in projection, functioning as a single verbal group, which construes the attribution that is inherent in the clause. The reason for that is the fact that this type of attributive clause cannot stand on its own without the Attribute, unlike material clauses, in which the Attribute is not inherent in the clause. And the fact that the Attribute cannot be left out specifies its relational strength in discourse. This explains why I needed to bring in other process types, especially the relational process, to be discussed within the mental process type.

However, there seems to be cases in which there is Attribute in mental clauses that are not construed as projecting causation and the process should be analysed as mental in BP. For a better understanding of these clauses I shall display some illustrative clauses below.

(20)	Eu	a	vi	bastante feliz
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Pr Mental</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(21)	Eu	a	quero	preparada para a função
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Pr. mental</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(22)	Eu	[[a	vi	chorando]]
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Macro ...</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>	<i>...fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Macro. ...</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>	<i>...phenomenon</i>

(23)	Eu	a	achei	bastante feliz
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr atributivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr attributive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

As we can see, clause (22) is a perceptive mental clause with an embedding that is discontinued. As it is an embedding as ‘act’ in a nonfinite clause, that means that both the Subject and the Predicator form an imperfective clause that should be analysed as a single PR of Macrophenomenon. Equally, in clause (20) we also see a perceptive mental clause but this time with an Attribute. Notice that in this clause, similarly to material clauses with Attributes, it can stand on its own without the Attribute since it is perfectly safe to say in BP *eu a vi*. This

may occur because like material clauses, these perceptive mental clauses can be expanded to be used in hypotactic clause complexes as in *eu a vi // quando ela estava bastante feliz*. By the same token clause (21) also has an Attribute. This seems to occur because although it is a desiderative mental process – thus, being able to project other clauses – it implies an amalgamation with an implicit perceptive mental process in a hypotactic verbal group complex such as with the process ‘ver’: *eu quero vê-la preparada para a função*, which functions differently from the structure with Attribute in a cognitive mental process (23) in that it seems to originate from projection and in this case functions as an influential or causative process for attribution, as posited above.

As a matter of fact, some clauses with the process ‘ver’ such as in (24) *te vejo como alguém de opinião formada e com clareza das próprias convicções* may lead us to believe that we are dealing with a perceptive mental process and a circumstance of Role of the subtype *guise* when in reality it is a cognitive process since it can be easily replaced with a cognitive mental process: *te vejo (considero, imagino) como alguém de opinião formada*, in which the circumstance of Role *como alguém de opinião formada* becomes the Attribute, *te* becomes the Carrier and the elided ‘eu’, the Attributor.

(24)	[Ø: Eu]	te	vejo	como alguém de opinião formada e com clareza das próprias convicções
	<i>Attribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr atributivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr attributive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

These types of construction seem to be more typical of the grammar of BP as attested in search engines such as ‘google’. Another evidence of this allegation is that this syntagmatic construct is not discussed in any of the IFG’s already published.

### 3.8 Verbal clauses: Processes of saying

Verbal processes are those of saying in that ‘saying’ can cover any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning. They include all modes of expressing and indicating. That means that they need not be typically verbal. The main participants are *Sayer*, the addresser, *Receiver*, the addressee, i.e. the one to whom the verbalisation is addressed, and

*Verbiage*, in the sense of that which is verbalised, i.e. a name for the verbalisation itself.

In formal grammar what is said is treated as a noun clause object of the verbal process. But in SFG, functionally, the verbalized clause is not ‘downranked’ since it functions as the secondary clause in a ‘clause complex’. This is the same in BP as I illustrate below.

A criança abandonada	falou	“Eu	estou	com fome.
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
<i>Oração projetante</i>		<i>Oração projetada</i>		
<i>projecting clause</i>		<i>projected clause</i>		
1		“2		

A criança abandonada	falou	que	ela	estava	com fome”.
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>		<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>		<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
<i>Oração projetante</i>		<i>Oração projetada</i>			
<i>projecting clause</i>		<i>projected clause</i>			
$\alpha$		$\beta$			

The two sequences above consist of two clauses each. In the first case, we have a paratactic construction with the initiating clause as 1: *Quoting* and the continuing clause as “2: *Quoted*. In the second case, we have the dominant clause as  $\alpha$ : *Reporting* and the dependent clause as  $\beta$ : *Reported*, in which only the primary clause is a verbal process.

The process ‘dizer’, dissimilarly to English, can project propositions in perfective nonfinite clauses as in *A Coreia do Norte diz desejar a retomada das negociações multilaterais para o seu desarmamento*<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Clauses taken from Globo online at [g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2010/11/ataque-norte-coreano-ilha-mata-2-militares-da-coreia-do-sul-diz-agencia.html](http://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2010/11/ataque-norte-coreano-ilha-mata-2-militares-da-coreia-do-sul-diz-agencia.html). Accessed on November 23, 2010

A Coréia do Norte	diz	desejar	<i>a retomada das negociações multilaterais para o seu desarmamento</i>
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>
<i>Oração projetante</i>		<i>Oração projetada</i>	
<i>projecting clause</i>		<i>projected clause</i>	
$\alpha$		“ $\beta$ ”	

Unlike a mental process, a verbal process does not require a conscious participant: e.g. *A luz vermelha está dizendo pare*. That is why verbal processes may be more appropriately called *symbolic* processes as in the sample below.

Meu relógio	diz	// que	já	está	na hora [[de partir]].
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>			<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Circ Localização temporal</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>			<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Circ temporal Location</i>
<i>Oração projetante</i>		<i>Oração projetada</i>			
<i>projecting clause</i>		<i>projected clause</i>			

Verbal processes can be represented in different ways such as with processes that are not typically verbal as *adiantar, continuar, fazer, lembrar, concordar, retrucar, rezar, participar*. For instance, although ‘fazer’ is typically a ‘doing’ process it may also be used as a verbal process in literary texts in BP. I show some samples below.

No mesmo dia em que soube da novidade, Eulália *participou* às crianças a chegada do sobrinho (Gasparetto, 2008, p. 339).

Psiu, *Fez* Eurico (Gasparetto, 2008, p. 209).

*Reza* a lenda que a gente nasceu pra ser feliz. (Engenheiros do Hawaii, *Nada Fácil*, Composição: Humberto Gessinger).

Verbal clauses usually project locutions in clause complexes as in

‘Ele que me agrediu’, // diz médico envolvido em briga durante parto<sup>43</sup>.  
Eles gritaram // que a casa estava em chamas.

<sup>43</sup> Extracted from <http://gi.globo.com>, on February 22, 2010.

but they do not occur with embedded clauses of the ‘act’ and ‘fact’ type, which is a typical feature of perceptive and affective mental clauses.

However, there may be a few examples of embedded clauses as Verbiage. This occurs with clauses with processes that are situated in the continuum of mental and verbal dimension and may involve a Receiver:

IPCC	admitiu	(o fato (de)) [[que padrões científicos não foram seguidos]] <sup>44</sup> .
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>	<i>Verbiagem</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>	<i>Verbiage</i>

STF	reconheceu	(o fato) [[de que só lei complementar regula matéria tributária]] <sup>45</sup> .
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>	<i>Verbiagem</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>	<i>Verbiage</i>

As mentioned earlier, in a Verbal Process the Beneficiary (Receiver) is the one who is being addressed. In BP, the usual preposition is *para* and the prepositional phrase is associated with final position in the projecting clause (see Table 3.7).

<b>Dizente</b>	<b>Pro verbal</b>	<b>Receptor</b>		<b>Indutor</b>		<b>Experien- ciador</b>	<b>Pro mental</b>
<b>Sayer</b>	<b>Pro verbal</b>	<b>Receiver</b>		<b>Inducer</b>		<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pro mental</b>
A mãe	explicou	para a filha	que	o que	fez	a filha	entender
A mãe	mostrou	para a filha	que	o que	fez	a filha	ver
A mãe	disse	para a filha	que	o que	fez	a filha	saber
A mãe	provou	para a filha	que	o que	fez	a filha	aceitar

**Table 3.7** The Receiver function in verbal clauses in BP (based on Halliday, 1985)

<sup>44</sup> Extracted from <http://www.noticiasagricolas.com.br> on April 17, 2010.

<sup>45</sup> Extracted from <http://www.jusbrasil.com.br/noticias>, on July 10, 2010.

The Receiver is usually present in verbal process clauses where the sense is that of a causative mental process. The Sayer in these cases are similar to the Inducer in causative mental clauses.

There is one type of verbal process, in which the Sayer is, in a sense, acting verbally on another participant, the **Target**. In BP, these are processes used in a positive sense such as *elogiar, louvar* and *exaltar* and in a negative sense such as *culpar, criticar, insultar, difamar* and *abusar*.

Eles	o	elogiaram	por sua postura
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Alvo</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Circ Cause: reason</i>

Eles	nos	criticaram	na nossa ausência
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Alvo</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Circ Localização: tempo</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Cir location: time</i>

In contrast to ‘please type’ mental clauses, verbal clauses are typically middle apart from these synthetic effective verbal clauses which have the Participant Target. Verbal processes with Target is what Matthiessen (1995, p. 285) refers to as processes of verbal impact. They are interpreted as effective because they impact verbally on a participant, which is analogous to the Goal in a material clause. This occurs with processes with neither verbalization nor locution, which suggests that the verbalization is conflated with the process. These types of process are often realised together with circumstances such as Cause, Matter or Manner as illustrated below.

Ele	a	acusou	de [[mentir]]
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Alvo</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Circ Assunto</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Cir Matter</i>

Ela	o	culpou	pelo erro em sua performance
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Alvo</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Cir Cause: reason</i>

Ele	a	insultou	com suas palavras
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Alvo</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Circ Modo: meio</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Cir Manner: means</i>

There is also another possibility for effective clauses by means of analytical structures with the process ‘fazer’ in causative function:

Ela	me	<i>fez falar</i>	coisas [[que não queria]]
<i>Indutor</i>	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Verbiagem</i>
<i>Inducer</i> <sup>46</sup>	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Verbiage</i>

By treating processes, e.g. *fazer um comentário* (comentar) and *dar uma palestra* (palestrar) as verbal processes, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) acknowledge that some verbal groups in verbal process types are construed incongruently with empty verb plus Range, which in this case is the Verbiage. That means that the lexical part of the verbal group is construed in the Range as the Verbiage. I shall deal with that when I tackle ideational metaphor in chapter 4.

### 3.8.1 Intricate cases of PR’s in verbal clauses with attribution

Clauses with attribution are very diversified in BP because besides the variety of constructs dealt with earlier there is also the possibility of verbal clauses generating attribution as shown in clauses (1) and (2). Matthiessen (1995, p. 295) tackles that when he discusses the close relationship between verbal process and relational process, to be more precise, as causative relational clauses. In the examples it is clear that BP and English are alike in this rare construal of attribution in verbal clauses.

(1)	Juiz	declara	inconstitucional	aborto	no Brasil <sup>47</sup>
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Alvo</i>	<i>Circ Localização</i>
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal.</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Cir Location</i>
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Circ Localização</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Cir Location</i>

<sup>46</sup> There is no allusion for analytical analysis for verbal clauses in causation. Thus, I shall treat the instigator as Inducer as occurs in mental clauses since it has a close relationship with inner experience in mental clauses.

<sup>47</sup> Extracted from the homepage of Biblia Católica News at <http://blog.bibliacatolica.com.br/igreja/juiz-declara-inconstitucional-aborto-por-estupro-no-brasil/> on December 16, 2009



(2)	Os jurados	declararam	os réus	inocentes <sup>48</sup>
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Alvo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

If we take the BP examples, we notice that this configuration occurs typically when the clause is effective, which is a rare case both in English and BP. That means that these clauses are clause simplex and do not feature a Verbiage. In effective verbal clauses one participant, the Sayer, acts verbally on another participant, the Target, as in *she accused me of robbery*. When an Attribute is added to the clause there is a merge of verbal and relational processes to produce the attribution. Notice that clause (1), similarly to mental clauses discussed in section 3.7.1, seems to have originated from a projection: *Juiz declara // que o aborto é inconstitucional no Brasil* → *Juiz declara inconstitucional aborto no Brasil*.

This attests that verbal clauses also have a close relationship with mental clauses since they are the other type of process that can project ranking clauses. In fact, verbal clauses in some functional grammars are regarded as belonging to the mental realm, namely Case Grammar (see Fillmore, 1968) and Cardiff Grammar (Fawcett, 1973, 2008). In SFG, in some cases, some verbal processes may be analysed as mental as in *às vezes me pergunto como isso aconteceu* → *as vezes penso como isso aconteceu*. Therefore, the verbal process in clause (2) can have very similar construals with mental processes functioning as a type of causative process as in (3) *os jurados consideraram o réu inocente*.

(3)	Os jurados	consideraram	o réu	inocente
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>(causativo) pr relacional</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>(causative) Pr Relational</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

So, in order to keep a pattern, verbal clauses with attribution as in (1) and (2), despite the two possible alternatives for analysis as verbal and relational, should be treated primarily as Attributor in relational clauses by the simple fact that there is attribution and the

<sup>48</sup> Extracted from <http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/SaoPaulo/0,,MUL1517846-5605,00.html> on March 5, 2010.

Attribute cannot be left out of the clause in the same way as it occurs with cognitive mental processes used for Attribution, i.e. the Attribute is also inherent in the clause and as such has great power in discourse as a constituent of the relational realm.

There is still another verbal construction with attribution in BP, which is not possible in English. This is illustrated in examples (4) *Obama se diz furioso com situação no Golfo do México*<sup>49</sup> and (5) *Universitário se disse envergonhado*<sup>50</sup>. These syntagms also seem to stem from a clause complex in projection. However, this time, the syntagmatic ordering in clause simplex is dissimilar to the previous discussion in clauses (1) and (2) in that the process is construed together with the clitic ‘se’.

(4)	Obama	se diz	furioso	com situação no Golfo do México
	<i>Atribuidor/ Portador</i>	<i>Proc atributivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Circ Assunto</i>
	<i>Attributor/Carrier</i>	<i>Proc attributive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Circ Matter</i>

(4a)	$\alpha$	Obama	diz				
		<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>				
		<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>				
		“ $\beta$	que	[Ø:ele:]	está	furioso	com situação no Golfo do México
				<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc atr</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Circ Assunto</i>
		-	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc Attr</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Circ Matter</i>	

In both examples (4a) and (5a) the segmentation is  $\alpha^{\wedge} \beta$ , which refers to hypotactic clause complexes with locution. The structures in (4) and (5) occur in third person involving constructions both in singular and plural in BP, in which the Attributes refer to the Sayer of the projecting clauses (4a, 5a), which are now conflated as the Attributor/Carrier of the projected clauses in amalgamation.

<sup>49</sup> Extracted from <http://br.noticias.yahoo.com/s/03062010/25/mundo-obama-se-diz-furioso-situacao.html> on June 3, 2010.

<sup>50</sup> Extracted from <http://g1Universitário se disse envergonhado.globo.com/Noticias/PlanetaBizarro> on May 24, 2010

(5)	Universitário	se disse	envergonhado
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Proc atributivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Proc attributive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(5a)	$\alpha$	Universitário	disse		
		<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>		
		<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>		
	“ $\beta$ ”	que	[Ø:ele:]	estava	envergonhado
			<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc atributivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	-	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pro Attributive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	

However, in clauses such as *Desembargador ressaltou ser "inadmissível que paixões a teses jurídicas venham aflorar e contaminar o Judiciário"*<sup>51</sup>, the attribution should be treated differently from the cases already discussed in verbal clauses.

o desembargador	disse	ser	inadmissível	[[que paixões a teses jurídicas venham aflorar // e contaminar o Judiciário]]
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>	<i>Proc relac</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>	<i>Proc relat</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>
<i>oração projetante</i>		<i>oração projetada</i>		
<i>projecting clause</i>		<i>projected clause</i>		
$\alpha$		“ $\beta$ ”		

This is because in this case the primary clause projects another clause that is perfective nonfinite, which carries a relational clause with Attribute preceding the Carrier, which in this case is a ‘rankshifted’ clause functioning as the Head of the nominalisation. Furthermore the Attribution does not refer to the Sayer of the projecting clause but to the Carrier of the projected clause. However, this clause can also be structured more congruently as in the illustration below.

<sup>51</sup> Extracted from <http://www.contilnet.com.br/Conteudo.aspx?ConteudoID=9087>. Accessed on November, 25, 2010.

$\alpha$	O desembargador	disse		
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>		
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>		
“ $\beta$	que	é	inadmissível	[[que paixões a teses jurídicas venham aflorar // e contaminar o Judiciário]]
		<i>Proc atributivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>
	-	<i>Proc Attributive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

Thus, whereas in causative projections there is an amalgamation in which the Attribute is linked to both the implicit Carrier and the Sayer, who, in turn, becomes the Attributor/Carrier, in normal projections there is no amalgamation of processes and the Attribute refers to the Carrier only, so, not justifying the same treatment (see the congruent structure in the illustration above). In other words, these causative constructions seem to stem from hypotactic clause complexes in which the Subjects are construed as being the same for the projecting and the secondary dependent clause that is projected.

In the end of this chapter, more precisely in Table 3.9 , I provide an overview of the uses of Attributes in BP in both causative and non-causative clauses, which are indispensable for text analysis in BP.

### 3.9 Behavioural clauses: Processes of behaving

Grammatically, these processes are intermediate between material and mental processes. In a broader sense, a behavioural process may be regarded as a mix between material and mental or verbal processes. Therefore, it may be a process of physiological and psychological behaviour. Since it can be in part material, the behavioural process has a tendency to move towards the present in present in BP:

O bebê *está chorando*.

O menino *está observando* as ondas do mar.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), behavioural processes are typically intransitive, involving only the Behavior as

participant. They may sometimes involve a Range, which is the Phenomenon or Behaviour. The behavior is typically a conscious being, like the Senser but the Process functions similar to one of ‘doing’.

(1)	As crianças	estão assistindo	Televisão.
	<i>Comportante</i>	<i>Proc comportamental</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Behaver</i>	<i>Proc behavioural</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>

(2)	Disse ela com a voz rouca, e	[Ø: ela]	sorriu	um sorriso gelado. <sup>52</sup>
		<i>Comportante</i>	<i>Pro comportamental</i>	<i>Comprtamento</i>
		<i>Behaver</i>	<i>Pro behavioural</i>	<i>Behaviour</i>

Because it may also relate to a verbal process, the behavioural process may involve verbs that have clearly to do with expressing and indicating. However, these can neither take a Verbiage nor project another clause, which is a feature of verbal processes. In this sense, BP features some processes that seem to be behavioural but present verbal characteristics such as in (3) and (4), which make them similar to the ones in the English language in that they can project other clauses (4).

(3)	Ela	está resmungando	o dia todo
	<i>Comportante</i>	<i>Proc comportamental</i>	<i>Circ extensão: duração</i>
	<i>Behaver</i>	<i>Proc behavioural</i>	<i>Circ Extent: duration</i>

(4)	Ela	resmungou	que iria embora
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	
	<i>oração projetante</i>		<i>oração projetada</i>
	<i>Projecting clause</i>		<i>Projected clause</i>

These are processes that cut across both process types and need to be analysed according to how they are contextualized (3 and 4).

Because Behavioural clauses are also connected with other process types, they are usually treated as belonging to these process types or as a subclass of material processes as in Matthiessen (1995).

<sup>52</sup> Extracted from <http://umalagrime-cumsorriso.blogspot.com/>

Table 3.8 exemplifies some behavioural processes that have some relationship either with material, mental or verbal processes.

Behavioural process	
Psycho-physiological	Examples
respirar, bocejar, dormir, tossir, suspirar, desmaiar, chorar, sorrir, , assoviar. preocupar-se, escutar, observer, pensar	O bebê bocejou e pegou no sono. Ela só fica pensando na vida. Eles suspiraram aliviados com o gol.
near-verbal	
resmungar, fofocar, tagarelar, sussurar, cantarolar, gritar, berrar	O público está gritando de medo. Ela está tagarelando desde cedo.

**Table 3.8** Examples of psycho-physiological and near-verbal processes in BP (adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 251).

### 3.10 Existential clauses: Processes of existing

These processes “represent that something exists or happens” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 256). In BP the typical verb that is used is the "haver" verb, and the Existent is simply that which is construed existentially, which may involve either an entity (1) or an event (2).

(1)	Havia	uma floresta	aqui	anos atrás
	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existente</i>	<i>Circ Loc: lugar</i>	<i>Circ Loc: tempo</i>
	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existent</i>	<i>Circ Loc: space</i>	<i>Circ Loc: time</i>
(2)	Não existe	mais	respeito pelos idosos	
	<i>Proc existencial</i>		<i>Existente</i>	
	<i>Proc existencial</i>	-	<i>Existent</i>	

This process type may involve existential constructions with processes that are not typically existential, yet are construed within the existential realm, as I exemplify below.

- (3) Não *deu* tempo suficiente [[para fazer tudo]].
- (4) *Falta* dinheiro para investimento na educação.
- (5) É legal [[porque não *vai sair* briga]]. (Movie subtitling in Wall-E, Walt Disney).

- (6) *Choveram* críticas em cima de Britney Spears // depois que ela foi flagrada dirigindo com o filho...de apenas quatro meses, no banco do motorista e sem cinto de segurança<sup>53</sup>.
- (7) Não dá [[para entrar]] // porque *corre* o risco [[de o teto cair]<sup>54</sup>.

Notice that the process *dar* is typically material, but it may be relational as well as illustrated in example (7) with *não dá* [[para entrar]]. This often occurs when the clause is middle non-ranged. In this case, the process is conflated with the Attribute. Conversely, in material clauses this process is typically effective in a three-role process. However, in clauses such as in (3) the process *dar* seems to belong to the existential realm in that unlike in a relational clause, this clause is construed as a middle ranged clause. As a matter of fact, existential clauses are typically middle ranged in BP.

In the clauses presented above, the process *faltar* in (4) means *não haver*, in (5) *sair* means *haver*, and in (6) the process *chover* refers to *haver em abundância*. In this case there is a conflation with process and a circumstance of Manner of the subtype Degree.

In example (7) the process *correr* has also a strong existential flavour, replacing the process *haver*.

(7)	Não dá		[[para entrar]]
	<i>Proc relacional/Atributo</i>		<i>Portador</i>
	<i>Proc relacional/Attribute</i>		<i>Carrier</i>
	$\alpha$		
	porque	corre	o risco [[de o teto cair]]
		<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existente</i>
		<i>Proc Existential</i>	<i>Existent</i>
	$\beta$		

Similarly to the clauses in English, some existential clauses are frequently followed by a non-finite clause, either in the perfective (8) or in the imperfective mode (9).

<sup>53</sup> News from the magazine People, extracted from [http://babado.ig.com.br/materias/354001-354500/354275/354275\\_1.html](http://babado.ig.com.br/materias/354001-354500/354275/354275_1.html) on April 5, 2010.

<sup>54</sup> From a report about the floods in the State of Alagoas, Brazil, exhibited in the TV show Fantástico of Globo TV Network on June 27, 2010.

(8)	Há	um paciente [[para vê-lo]].
	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existente</i>
	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existent</i>

(9)	Há	alguém [[te esperando lá fora]].
	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existente</i>
	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existent</i>

When a spatial locative circumstance is thematised, the process ‘estar’ may, correspondingly, function as the process ‘haver’, as I show in clauses (10-11).

(10)	Bem na entrada	<i>está</i>	um lindo vaso de flores.
	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existente</i>
	<i>Circ spatial Location</i>	<i>Pro existencial</i>	<i>Existent</i>

(11)	Bem na entrada	há	um lindo vaso de flores.
	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existente</i>
	<i>Circ spatial Location</i>	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existent</i>

Notice that clause (11) can have the point of departure in the process as shown in (11a), whereas (10) cannot have the process as the Theme as illustrated in (10a). This may be an indicator that clause (10), equally as in English, is not the congruent way of construing this type of meaning.

(10a)	<i>*está</i>	um lindo vaso de flores.	bem na entrada
	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existente</i>	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>
	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existent</i>	<i>Circ spatial Location</i>

(11a)	há	um lindo vaso de flores.	bem na entrada
	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existente</i>	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>
	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existent</i>	<i>Cir spatial Location</i>

Recapping the discussion about attribution in clauses in BP, Table 3.9 gives us a general view of the uses of Attributes in BP in both causative and non-causative clauses, which are indispensable for text analysis in BP.



Attributes				
			Attributive	
causative			+ <b>Attributor; Agent, Carrier, Attribute</b>	
	expansive causation		<i>A notícia fez o João (ficar) feliz;</i> <i>A notícia fez o João feliz</i>	
	projecting causation	verbal	<i>O tribunal declarou (que) o João (era) culpado;</i> <i>O tribunal declarou o João culpado</i>	
		mental	<i>cognitive</i>	<i>Maria acha (que) ela (é) bonita;</i> <i>Maria se acha bonita</i>
non-causative			+ <b>Attribute</b>	
	projecting	mental	<i>desiderative</i>	<i>Queremos (que) a Maria (esteja) feliz no trabalho;</i> <i>Queremos a Maria feliz no trabalho</i>
			<i>perceptive</i>	<i>Vimos a Maria (quando ela estava) feliz ontem;</i> <i>Vimos a Maria feliz ontem</i>
	<i>emotive</i>		-----	
	expansion	material	<i>elaborating</i>	<i>Não coma o peixe (se estiver) cru;</i> <i>Não coma o peixe cru</i>
				+ <b>Carrier, Attribute</b>
	relational	<i>attributive</i>	<i>Maria estava feliz</i>	

**Table 3.9** Attributive causative/non-causative constructs in Brazilian Portuguese (based on Matthiessen, 1995, p. 317 and Hita, 2003, p. 362)

Notice that the Table presents a general view of clauses in attribution in BP with the explicit relational process as well as clauses with the relational clause already implicit.

This chapter has displayed some intricate cases we usually face when we analyse clauses in BP. In this chapter, among other things, I have shown that projecting causation related to attribution may occur in cognitive mental clauses and is also possible in verbal clauses. I have illustrated how attribution may be treated in diversified constructions in BP. I have also suggested how we may simplify the way that we analyse material clauses when the target is the ‘doer’ and ‘the done to’ by using the PR’s Agent/Affected. I have also exemplified how the grammar of BP may construe existential clauses and I have demonstrated how we should deal with some intricate clauses in BP especially when the focus is secondary school level.

## CHAPTER 4

### DISCUSSING CLAUSES IN A BROADER DIMENSION

#### 4.1 Introductory remarks

In this chapter I shall discuss how to deal with other intricate cases in the analysis of clauses in Transitivity. Thus, following the intricate cases discussed in chapter 3 involving mainly the process types, in chapter 4 I intend to have a more comprising discussion, which will involve other points that tend to bring problem to the Brazilian interpretation of clauses in Transitivity, namely agency, circumstances, and hypotactic verbal group complexes. This study will offer the text analysts suggestions on how to analyse these intricate cases in the grammar of BP. This is an important discussion because it brings more resource to the points I advocate in the previous chapter since it is meant to complement the previous chapter as well.

#### 4.2 About how agency is shaped

The system of AGENCY conceived by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 297) starts with two choices: one for the system of middle and another for the system of effective clauses. The system of VOICE for effective clauses offers one choice for receptive and another one for operative clauses. When referring to the system that studies effective and middle clauses, we may find dissimilarity in how clauses are treated. Halliday and Matthiessen (*ibid*), for instance, refer to clauses with agency as non-middle to refer to effective. So, these terms may be sometimes used interchangeably.

Thus, functionally, a clause can be either effective or middle. It is effective when there is a participant affecting another. In this case the clause can be either operative (active) or receptive (passive) in voice. When a clause is middle, it can be ranged (with two participants) or non-ranged (with a single participant), but in both cases no participant is affected. What is more prominent to text analysis is the reason for choosing receptive clauses instead of operative clauses in effective constructions. One reason is to have the Goal as Subject of the clause as in example (1) because in doing so, the clause displays an unmarked Theme while at the same time the

Actor becomes late news. Another reason is to leave agentivity implicit as in clause (2).

(1)	O filme	foi assinado	por Steven Spielberg
	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Ator</i>
	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Actor</i>
	<i>Tema</i>	<i>Rema</i>	
	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Rheme</i>	

(2)	A casa	foi invadida	[Ø: por ladrões]
	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	[Ø: <i>Ator</i> ]
	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	[Ø: <i>Actor</i> ]
	<i>Tema</i>	<i>Rema</i>	
	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Rheme</i>	

It is important to highlight that in receptive material clauses not only the Goal but the Scope and/or the Beneficiary can also function as Subjects. In this case they are given more salience since they are foregrounded in the clause as is also true in other clause types as for instance in verbal clauses (3a) and (3b). So, the way the clause is structured may hint at the way the text producer decides to convey his/her message, as we can see in clauses (3a) and (3b)<sup>55</sup>.

(3a)	Severino	disse	para Lula	que	ele	renunciaria
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Receptor</i>		<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Receiver</i>		<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Oração projetante</i>			<i>Oração projetada</i>		
	<i>Projecting clause</i>			<i>Projected clause</i>		

(3b)	Lula	foi avisado	por Severino	que	ele	renunciaria
	<i>Receptor</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Dizente</i>		<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Receiver</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Sayer</i>		<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Oração projetante</i>			<i>Oração projetada</i>		
	<i>Projecting clause</i>			<i>Projected clause</i>		

A strategy that is typical in Brazilian Portuguese is the use of Agentless clauses as in *Destruíram nossa vida em segundos, em segundos foi destruída*<sup>56</sup>, in which both the operative and the receptive

<sup>55</sup> Adaptation of extracts from Terra online, 9, 20, 2005

<sup>56</sup> Extracts from an interview released by Fantástico at Globo.com. At <http://video.globo.com/Videos/Player/Noticias/0,,GIM818299-7823->

clauses have the Agent elided. That means that in BP there are diversified ways to keep the ‘doer’ of the action implicit. I exemplify some of these variations below.

O vaso foi quebrado	<i>effective clause in passivisation</i>
Quebraram o vaso	<i>effective clause in agentless clause</i>
O vaso se quebrou	<i>middle non-ranged clause as a self engendered process</i>
O vaso quebrou	<i>middle non-ranged clause as a self engendered process</i>

As noted in previous discussions, the approach suggested with Agent and Affected for analysis of causation encapsulates the dissimilarity of functions in the same ways as the ergative model does. What favours this approach is that there is no need for two different models of transitivity analysis in order to apprehend the semantic dissimilarity displayed in each approach, i.e. the approach suggested for BP comprises both (transitive and ergative) ways of dealing with Transitivity as can be shown in clause (4a, 4b).

(4a)	A falta de água	matou	a planta.
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Affected</i>

(4b)	A planta	morreu.
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Pro material</i>

Dissimilarly from the current way of dealing with material clauses in the transitive model in SFG, which would analyse the participant *a planta* in (4a) as Goal and in (4b) as Actor, in the way suggested for BP, in both clauses above, *a planta* is the participant *Affected*. The reason why I prefer this approach is that this PR indeed tends to help students perceive more clearly the nuance involved in causation in clauses such as (5)<sup>57</sup> and (6), especially in ergative middle non-ranged clauses, which have the external causer elided.

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CASO+ISABELLA+CASAL+NARDONI+FALA+SOBRE+MORTE+DA+MENINA,00.html. Accessed March, 29, 2008.

<sup>57</sup> Excerpt from

<http://www.inovacaotecnologica.com.br/noticias/noticia.php?artigo=recuperacao-da-camada-de-ozonio&id=010175090923>

(5)	Camada de ozônio	começa a se recuperar	
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<b>transitive</b>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	
	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<b>ergative</b>
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>	
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<b>suggested</b>
<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>		

(6)	As residências	estremeceram,	janelas e vidros	quebraram	
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<b>transitive</b>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	
	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>Processo</i>	
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>	<b>ergative</b>
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<b>suggested</b>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	

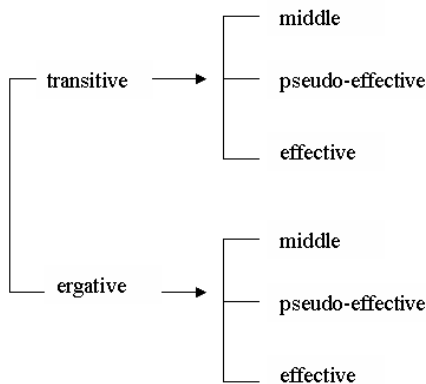
In clause (5), if we are to regard *camada de ozônio* as Actor in the transitive model – the one that does the deed – this function does not precisely show that *camada de ozônio* is the participant being affected. The label Affected seems to be more appropriate because it apprehends both the transitive and ergative model and still conveys on itself its real function, which is easier for students to capture the fact that in (5) the ozone layer began to heal probably due to new global governmental measures (external causer) taken along the years. In (6), with the external causer explicit, it is easier to notice that the residences were affected because of an explosion: *A explosão estremeceu as residências, quebrou janelas e vidros*<sup>58</sup>.

In this new approach there would be two types of equivalent middle non-ranged clauses: one corresponding to the ergative model in (5) and (6) and the transitive one shown in (7).

<sup>58</sup> Exerpt from <http://zonaderisco.blogspot.com/2006/04/explosao-em-industria-de-alumnio.html>

(7)	O presidente	renunciou	
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>transitive</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	
	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>ergative</i>
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>	
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>suggested</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	

In middle non-ranged clauses in the ergative model, the Participant *Medium* with the role of Subject is used whether the participant is affected, as in (6), or not, as in (7). In the way suggested for middle non-ranged clauses, the Participant *Medium*, as seen in the ergative model, corresponds to the *Affected* only when the Participant is affected as in (4b), (5) and (6). In (7) the Agent is the participant that acts. Thus, the Agent may not necessarily affect another participant in the suggested approach. Therefore, the participant Affected is fundamental for the analysis of causation in clauses since when investigators tackle AGENCY this is customarily carried out in material clauses, which are the most appropriate clause type due to presenting the majority of processes in which participants are affected. However, as can be seen in Fig.4.1, Davidse (1992), differently from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), who treat the clause as either effective or middle, treats the clause in three levels, adding a pseudo-effective mode.



**Fig. 4.1** General system of material process according to Davidse (1992).

### 4.2.1 How transitive and ergative models unfold through texts

Recapitulating the issue posited above, in relation to models of Transitivity, we can model them through transitive and ergative models. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 282), the transitive model “differentiates the process types” and the ergative model “generalizes across these different process types”. In the transitive model we have a linear interpretation that can be defined by extension (the Goal) whereas an ergative interpretation is regarded in SFG as a nuclear interpretation rather than being linear. In the transitive model the “Actor is construed as bringing about the unfolding of the process” (ibid), and this participant can also do something to another participant whereas in the ergative model the actualisation of the process is caused by a participant that is external to the process and Medium, i.e. an external Agent causes the Medium to do something as in *Minha camisa rasgou → um prego rasgou minha camisa*. In this sense, the Actor of the **intransitive** construction is in agnation with the Goal of the transitive one. Hence, the semantics of the ergative model is **causation**, which is represented as a self engendering process. In other words, the ergative model reflects the presence or absence of Agent as its variable whereas in the **transitive** model the variable is presence or absence of Goal. In this sense the semantics of the transitive model is **extension** as exemplified in Table 4.1 (see Halliday, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, Caffarel, 2006).

TRANSITIVE INTERPRETATION				
A camisa	rasgou	O prego	rasgou	a camisa
A porta	se fechou	O vento	fechou	a porta
O poço	secou	O sol	secou	o poço
O ônibus	parou	O motorista	parou	o ônibus
O hotel	estremeceu	O terremoto	estremeceu	o hotel
O arroz	está cozinhando	O cozinheiro	está cozinhando	o arroz
ATOR	PROCESSO	ATOR	PROCESSO	META
ACTOR	PROCESS	ACTOR	PROCESS	GOAL

**Table 4.1** Transitive interpretation of clauses in BP (based upon Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 289).

In a general sense, in clause semantics, the Process is central, the Range and Medium are nuclear, the Agent and Beneficiary are marginal and the Circumstances are peripheral. Except in the mediopassive voice, in which it can be left out, the Medium is obligatory in all processes. Furthermore, the Medium is the only element that is never introduced into the clause by means of a preposition, save clauses in mediopassives as in *O manual foi lido por nós*, in which *nós* is the Medium introduced by the preposition *por* playing the role of Adjunct in the Mood system.

O manual	foi lido	por nós
<i>Extensão</i>	<i>processo</i>	<i>Mediador</i>
<i>Range</i>	<i>process</i>	<i>Medium</i>

As discussed earlier, in the ergative model, either the process is represented as self-engendering, in which case there is no separate Agent; or it is represented as engendered from outside, in which case there is another participant functioning as Agent. The Medium is the **nodal** participant throughout: not the **doer**, or the causer, but the one that is critically involved, according to the particular nature of the process as illustrated in Table 4.2. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), probably all transitivity systems, in all languages, are some blend of these semantic models of process, the transitive and the ergative.

ERGATIVE INTERPRETATION				
A camisa	rasgou	O prego	rasgou	a camisa
A porta	se fechou	O vento	fechou	a porta
O poço	secou	O sol	secou	o poço
O ônibus	parou	O motorista	parou	o ônibus
O hotel	estremeceu	O terremoto	estremeceu	o hotel
O arroz	está cozinhando	O cozinheiro	está cozinhando	o arroz
MEDIADOR	PROCESSO	AGENTE	PROCESSO	MEDIADOR
MEDIUM	PROCESS	AGENT	PROCESS	MEDIUM

**Table 4.2** Ergative interpretation of clauses in BP (based upon Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 289).

Treating the transitive model as a linear interpretation means that the only function that can be defined by extension is that of the Goal. Since the ergative model is a nuclear rather than a linear



interpretation. Semantically, in the ergative model, Agent, Beneficiary and Range have some features of participants and some of circumstances. In ergative terms an Agent is interpreted as a causer but it has equivalents in the transitive model in analytical realisations of causative clauses as exemplified in Fig. 4.2.

Os cachorros	os	puseram para correr	
<i>INICIADOR</i>	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc causativo/mat</i>	
<i>INITIATOR</i>	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc causative/mat</i>	
O filme	fez ...	a criança	...se alegrar
<i>INDUTOR</i>	<i>Proc causativo...</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>...mental</i>
<i>INDUCER</i>	<i>Proc causative....</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>...mental</i>
O sol	fez ...	as frutas	...amadurecerem
<i>ATRIBUIDOR</i>	<i>Proc causativo</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>... relacional</i>
<i>ATTRIBUTOR</i>	<i>Proc causative...</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>... relacional</i>
Eles	nomearam	o João	Vice Presidente
<i>DESIGNADOR</i>	<i>PR causativo/rel</i>	<i>Característica</i>	<i>Valor</i>
<i>ASSIGNER</i>	<i>Pr causative/rel</i>	<i>Token</i>	<i>Value</i>

**Fig. 4.2** Analytical realisation of causative clauses in Transitive model.

Figure 4.2 shows that it is also possible to have an additional feature of agency with ‘effective’ clauses in the transitive model, those which already have an Agent in them. Normally in such cases the clause has to be analytically causative in structure. In effective constructions in the transitive model, the three main process types may embody a third participant. It is called *Initiator* for material process, *Inducer* for mental process, *Attributor* for attributive clauses and *Assigner* in identifying clauses. This clause component is an Agent in the Transitivity system. The clause *o garoto fez o cachorro comer a comida* illustrates the realisation of effective structures with these third participant in BP.

O garoto	fez	o cachorro	comer	a comida
<i>Iniciador</i>	<i>Proc causativo</i>	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Meta</i>
<i>Initiator</i>	<i>Proc causative</i>	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal</i>

In the same way as the ‘se’-clitic allows many transitive verbs to be used in middle clause in French (Caffarel, 2006) and Spanish (Hita, 2003), this linguistic pattern can also be employed in BP. Clauses

(1a,1b) are shown in the ergative model. In (1a) the *Medium a porta* is shown as being affected by an external Agent, shown only in (1b), which is an operative effective clause. The process in clause (1a) functions as though it is a self-caused process due to the ‘se’ plus process. Clauses (2a, 2b) show examples of transitive patterns. In (2a), as the process does not extend to another participant, it is a middle non-ranged clause. In (2b) *a comida* (the Goal) is being affected by *ela* (the Actor) forming an effective clause.

(1a)	A porta	está se abrindo
	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>Processo</i>
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>

(1b)	A professora	está abrindo	a porta
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Mediador</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Medium</i>

(2a)	Ela	está cozinhando
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>

(2b)	Ela	está cozinhando	o peru
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal</i>

The reason why these linguistic patterns become important is that, depending on the register or text type, the way participants are treated in discourse may become conspicuous. Since it is a productive lexicogrammatical resource, the ergative model of representation is commonly used in scientific registers, reports of accidents, in riots, disasters, etc. (see Caffarel, 2006). Halliday himself (1985, p.146) acknowledges the importance of the ergative model to predominance in modern English.

The coming of this pattern to predominance in the system of modern English is one of a number of related developments that have been taking place in the language over the past five hundred years or more, together amounting to a far reaching and complex process of semantic change. These changes have tended, as a whole, ... within the experiential function, to emphasise the cause-&-effect aspect of processes by comparison with the ‘deed-&-extension’ one.

Some structures in BP tend to be misleading according to the model employed to treat the clauses as in the samples below. Notice that in the samples below, if we apply the Transitive model, the Actor in clause (3) is not so revealing in terms of what Halliday claims in the sense that the Actor is the participant that does the deed.

(3)	Tu	vais apanhar,	hein.
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	

(4)	Eu	vou	te	bater,	hein.
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc...</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>...material</i>	
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc....</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>...material</i>	
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc...</i>	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>...material</i>	
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc....</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>...material</i>	

In text analysis, the interpretation of the process in terms of presence or absence of an external Agent in the ergative model seems to be more appropriate than in terms of extension in the transitive model, as can be seen in clauses (5 and 6).

(5)	O sol forte	secou	toda a plantação
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal</i>

transitive model

(6)	Toda a plantação	secou
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>

(5a)	O sol forte	secou	toda a plantação
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Mediador</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Medium</i>

ergative model

(6a)	Toda a plantação	secou
	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Proc material</i>

In the transitive model the participant *toda a plantação*, which is the affected participant, is transient while in the ergative model it is permanent, i.e. the affected participant *toda a plantação* is Medium in

both clauses in the ergative model keeping its function of the participant being affected, which is not the case in the transitive model. By the same token, in the model suggested (5c and 6c), the PR Affected keeps a permanent function equal to the Medium in the ergative model. That means this suggested way of dealing with clauses in Transitivity cuts across and hence encompasses both current models of analysis, the transitive and ergative models. In the Transitivity system if the functional role of each participant keeps its function irrespective of its position in the Mood system, it seems to be more helpful for students to understand its real function in the clause as shown below with the participant ‘the door’.

- (7a) Bob opened **the door** with a key.  
 (7b) **The door** was opened with a key.  
 (7c) The key opened **the door**.

As we can see, given the Transitivity system, we always recognise *the door* as the participant that is the **Affected**, irrespective of the Mood system function — a Complement as in (7a and c) or a Subject as in (7b). This premise is the same with the participant *toda a plantaço* in the model suggested.

(5c)	A sol forte	secou	toda a plantaço
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>
(6c)	Toda a plantaço	secou	
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	

suggested  
model

#### 4.2.2 About the types of agency in Transitivity

As already discussed, Halliday (1985, 1994) claims that all types of clauses can be analysed in Transitivity both in the transitive and ergative models. Unlike Halliday, Davidse (1992) treats these models separately. In this sense clauses are to be analysed either in the transitive or ergative model. Taking Halliday’s and Davidse’s patterns, I shall discuss how the four main process types are used in relation to agency both in the transitive and ergative models in BP.

### 4.2.2.1 Agency in material clauses

Material processes tend to be a rich domain to explore both extension and causation in clauses because they deal with actions. Material clauses in BP are similar to Spanish (see Hita, 2002), in that the Agent is not explicit in reflexive passives (1). This strategy allows the text producer to avoid putting too much pressure on the real causer of the action. Occasionally, in middle clauses, it may be referred to, but it is disguised as a circumstance (see clause 2). Interestingly, when there is implicit Agent in reflexive passive clauses, the elided Agent tends to be human whereas in middle clauses the ellipsed or explicit Agent is not typically human.

(1)	Vendem	- se	frutas	aqui
	<i>Process</i>	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Circ Localização: lugar</i>
	<i>Process</i>	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Circ Location: space</i>

(2)	O vaso	se quebrou	com o vento
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Circ Cause: reason</i>

In case the text analyst wishes to go deeper into agency, the use of pseudo-Agent for pseudo-effective clauses may be used whenever there is no volition in the action (3).

(3)	Paulo	caiu	e	[Ø: Paulo]	quebrou	o braço
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>		<i>[Ø: pró-Agent]</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>		<i>[Ø: Pseudo-Agent]</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Affected</i>

This type of clause (3) would imply the occurrence of an accident whereas in (4) the Agent is semantically held responsible for his action.

(4)	Paulo	precisou distender	o braço	para	[Ø: ele]	poder	se	salvar
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Afetado</i>		<i>[Ø: Agente]</i>	<i>Proc...</i>	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>...mat</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>proc mat</i>	<i>Affected</i>		<i>[Ø: Agent]</i>	<i>Proc...</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>... mat</i>

Both in English and BP there are some other types of constructions with pseudo-Agents (see Davidse, 1992, p. 127;

Tuckwell, 2008), i.e. a type of pseudo-Instigator in which the circumstantial appeal seems to be stronger than usual. As already referred to, they are treated by Davidse as ‘Setting’ (refer to chapter 2 of this doctoral thesis).

I suggest that in structures such as these the term ‘pseudo-Agent’ be used instead of ‘Setting’. These terms seem to be more effectual for these types of clauses in case the analyst wants to go into a deeper level of delicacy. This is because the function pseudo-Agent can comprise clauses such as in *he fell and broke his arm*, in which the Agent action is not a volitional act and still represent participants as inanimate beings in Agent actions as well. Thus, the function ‘pseudo-Agent’ would refer to cases where the label Agent would not fit in.

(5a)	O sistema de refrigeração	estourou	um cano.
	<i>Situação</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Mediador</i>
	<i>Setting</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Medium</i>

ergative model

(5b)	Um cano	estourou	no sistema de refrigeração.
	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Circ Localização: lugar</i>
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Circ Location: space</i>

(5c)	O sistema de refrigeração	estourou	um cano.
	<i>Pró-Agente</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Pseudo-Agent</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Affected</i>

suggested model

(5d)	Um cano	estourou	no sistema de refrigeração.
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Circ Localização: lugar</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Circ Location: space</i>

The nuclearity of a participant and its syntactic function is essential to evaluate its importance in a clause. In the transitive model the Goal is more susceptible to be left implicit, which is not true in ergative structures with the Medium, because the Medium is a more central Participant. This occurs because ergative structures are always based upon Process and Medium, whereas in transitive structures Process and Actor are the core for clause analysis, instead of Process and Goal, which occurs only in effective constructions. In the transitive model, the Medium becomes the Actor in a middle and

pseudo-effective category. So, the Medium corresponds to the Goal only in effective clauses.

(6)	O bolo	foi comido	por todo os presentes	transitive model
	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Ator</i>	
	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Actor</i>	
	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>processo</i>	<i>Agente</i>	ergative model
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Agent</i>	

In many occasions the indefinite ‘se’<sup>59</sup> is used as part of the Process which is realised by a pronominal verb as in (7).

(7)	As janelas	se fecharam
	<i>Mediador/Afetado</i>	<i>Processo</i>
	<i>Medium/Affected</i>	<i>Process</i>

It seems that there is a tendency in BP for passive realisations by means of impersonal constructions (8) and reflexive passives (9). Furthermore, the pronominal *se* seems to be somewhat common in BP (10).

(8)	Mata	-se	com muita naturalidade	em algumas cidades do Brasil
	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Ator/Agente</i>	<i>Circ Modo: qualidade</i>	<i>Circ Localização: lugar</i>
	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Actor/Agent</i>	<i>Circ Manner: quality</i>	<i>Circ Location: space</i>

(9)	Vendem	-se	livros	em bom estado.
	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Ator/Agente</i>	<i>Meta/ Mediador</i>	<i>Circ Modo: qualidade</i>
	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Actor/Agent</i>	<i>Goal/ Medium</i>	<i>Cir Manner: quality</i>

(10)	O vidro	se partiu.
	<i>Mediador/ Afetado</i>	<i>Processo</i>
	<i>Medium/Affected</i>	<i>Process</i>

I need to clarify that constructions such as (8) are treated by this researcher as effective although the Goal/Affected is elided. These are clauses typical in BP in which the Agent is not explicitly impacting the

<sup>59</sup> The use of ‘se’ in verbal groups in BP is discussed in section 4.3

Goal. However, these are processes that demand extension even though it is functioning implicitly. Therefore, processes such as *matar*, *pintar*, and processes related to chores such as *lavar*, *cozinhar*, *passar*, are possible to be used without the extension, i.e. the Goal, even though they have their semantic force elided. Some English constructions in passivisation such as *those books sold well* can also occur in BP: *esses livros venderam bem*. However, these constructions are not typical of BP since many constructions do not find resonance in BP as in *boiled eggs peel easily*. In case they occur, these types of construction may be treated with the PR's Agent/Affected since I reinforce the premise that these Participant Roles tend to capture the function of each Participant more appropriately, turning the flow of the message more visible than with Actor/Goal.

(11a)	Esses livros	venderam	bem
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Modo: grau</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Manner: Degree</i>
	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Circ Modo: grau</i>
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Circ Manner: Degree</i>
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Modo: grau</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Manner: Degree</i>

In fact, these types of clauses, in that the Subject functions like a Goal despite being positioned in a middle-like structure, seem to be scarce in BP. These clauses are in reality passivisation presented in an atypical syntagm: Subject + verb + Adjunct.

It is in cases such as these that the labels Affected and Agent are useful since it is atypical to have the point of departure in the Goal in an operative clause in SFG.

The fact that these constructions are equivalent to receptive structures in which the participant that is affected functions as the Subject in the passivisation attests the visibility of the taxonomy I advocate for explicit and implicit effective clauses as this one. It is clear that *esses livros* cannot be the doer of the action in a middle non-ranked clause since the process *vender* is truly a two-participant process and even three if we wish to specify the Beneficiary.



(11b)	Esses livros	foram vendidos	em grande quantidade	para o público	pelas lojas
	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Modo: grau</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>	<i>Ator</i>
	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Manner: Degree</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Actor</i>
	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Circ Modo: grau</i>	<i>Beneficiário</i>	<i>Agente</i>
	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Circ Manner: Degree</i>	<i>Beneficiary</i>	<i>Agent</i>
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Modo: grau</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>	<i>Agente</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Manner: Degree</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Agent</i>

By analysing the clause in an explicit effective clause (11b) it is possible to see how the participants are construed in the arrangement of the clause in the transitive and ergative models and in the way suggested we treat these clauses in BP, as exemplified in Table 4.3 below.

(12a)	Ela	vai operar	essa semana <sup>60</sup>
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Localização temporal</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ temporal Location</i>
(12b)	Ela	vai ser operada	essa semana
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Localização temporal</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ temporal Location</i>

(13a)	Modelos	fotografam	em um vagão de trem <sup>61</sup>
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Localização: lugar</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Location: place</i>
(13b)	Modelos	são fotografadas	em um vagão de trem
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Localização: lugar</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Location: place</i>

<sup>60</sup> Extracted from Fashion News, an entertainment section of Folha da Vitória at <http://www.folhavitoria.com.br> on December 29, 2009.

<sup>61</sup> From the website Vida mais livre at <http://www.vidamaislivre.com.br>. Accessed on June 24, 2010.

(14a)	Trabalho recém-lançado do U2	vende	bem	no Brasil <sup>62</sup>
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Modo: grau</i>	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Cir Manner: degree</i>	<i>Circ spatial Location</i>
(14b)	Trabalho recém-lançado do U2	é vendido	bem	no Brasil
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Modo: grau</i>	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Cir Manner: degree</i>	<i>Circ spatial Location</i>

Thus, as the examples show, the syntagmatic order is the same whether the clause is in the passive (12b 13b, 14b) or the operative mode (12a, 13a, 14a) and whether the clause is effective (12b 13b, 14b) or structured as middle non-ranged (12a, 13a, 14a).

There are still constructions in BP that may bring confusion for analysis. These are the ones that have the Agent elided in operative clauses, which may mislead the reader to treat the Subject of the clause as the real doer of the deed. Thus, in clause (15) *ela* is not the Agent but a pseudo-Agent since *ela vai cortar o cabelo no salão de beleza* means that *o cabelo dela vai ser cortado pelo cabelereiro no salão de beleza*. Thus, the real Agent is *o cabelereiro* and not *ela*. Therefore, these clauses are not the same as above (12a, 13a and 14a) since here the participant ‘*ela*’ is not the participant that is affected but something belonging to her.

(15a)	Ela	vai cortar	o cabelo	no salão de beleza
	<i>Pró-Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Circ Localização: lugar</i>
	<i>Pseudo-Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Cir Location: space</i>

<sup>62</sup> From the headline of R7 Entretenimento at <http://entretenimento.r7.com/>. Accessed on October 12, 2010.

(15b)	O cabelo dela	vai ser cortado	pelo cabelereiro	no salão de beleza
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Circ Localização: lugar</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Circ Location: space</i>

This type of structure tends to occur in clauses with processes that may convey alternation such as *pintar*, *lavar*, *vender*, *quebrar*, *fotografar*, *limpar*, *construir* and *consertar* among others. In some constructions such as in *Fabíola operou o nariz com o mesmo médico*<sup>63</sup> (16) there can be multiple ways to represent experience as shown below.

(16a)	Fabíola	operou	o nariz	com o mesmo médico
	<i>Pró-Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Circ Modo/ Pró-Agente?</i>
	<i>Pseudo-Agent</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Circ Manner/ Pseudo-Agent?</i>
(16b)	O nariz de Fabíola	foi operado	pelo mesmo médico	
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Agente</i>	
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Agent</i>	
(16c)	Fabíola	foi operada	no nariz	pelo mesmo médico
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Localização: lugar</i>	<i>Agente</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Cir Location: place</i>	<i>Agent</i>

As we can observe, this seems to be the best way to deal with both transitive and ergative models in Transitivity because the Affected participant is the same irrespective of the model we intend to analyse the clause. That means that in the first stages students will not need to be worried about what model of analysis to choose since the way suggested replaces both models in a more simple way (see Table 4.3).

<sup>63</sup> From the index of Folha de S. Paulo online of August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2006 at <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/indices/inde02082006.htm>. Accessed on January 10, 2007.

<b>Transitive</b>				
O vento	derrubou	a árvore	a árvore	caiu
O veneno	matou	o rato	o rato	morreu
<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
<i>AGENTE</i>	<i>PROC MATERIAL</i>	<i>AFETADO</i>	<i>AFETADO</i>	<i>PROC MATERIAL</i>
<i>AGENT</i>	<i>PROC MATERIAL</i>	<i>AFFECTED</i>	<i>AFFECTED</i>	<i>PROC MATERIAL</i>
<b>ergative</b>				
O frio	congelou	a grama	a grama	congelou
O vento	fechou	a janela	a janela	se fechou
O motorista	parou	o ônívius	o ônibus	parou
O prego	rasgou	o maiô.	o maiô	rasgou
<i>Agente</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>Processo</i>
<i>Agent</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>
<i>AGENTE</i>	<i>PROC MATERIAL</i>	<i>AFETADO</i>	<i>AFETADO</i>	<i>PROC MATERIAL</i>
<i>AGENT</i>	<i>PROC MATERIAL</i>	<i>AFFECTED</i>	<i>AFFECTED</i>	<i>PROC MATERIAL</i>

**Table 4.3** A tentative approach to tackle agency.

This tends to be effective in process types that can have clauses in effective constructions. Therefore, this method is suggested for material, mental and verbal processes mainly in research related to causation. Even in clauses representing teleological events such as the ones shown in chapter 2, these PR's apply.

(17a)	Humans	develop	a skin colour [[that equips them to ...]]	
	<i>Agent/Pseudo-Agent</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Affected</i>	
(17b)	A skin colour [[that equips them to ...]]		develops	in humans
	<i>Affected</i>		<i>Process</i>	<i>Circ: location</i>

The fact that humans are not held responsible for developing a skin colour doesn't mean that 'a skin colour' is not the result of a development in a pseudo-effective clause. The real factor is that the participant 'skin colour' is affected somehow even not being intentional as in this case. This also stands for the middle non-ranged clause. Thus, unless the text analyst need differentiate these two types of agency (Agent/pseudo-Agent), the PR's Agent/Affected still apply.

#### 4.2.2.2 Agency in mental clauses

As we have seen with material clauses, Davidsse's Pseudo-instigator or Setting, although similar to an Agent, functions more like a circumstance in both English and Portuguese. But there are other circumstances that are typical of BP that work like a participant. In mental pseudo-effective structures we find a type of causer that does not precisely fulfill the role of an Inducer. This is what we might call a pseudo-Agent for mental clauses or a pseudo-Inducer or even a pseudo phenomenon, which, although not being a nuclear participant, functions similarly. These circumstances are somewhat halfway between a participant and a circumstance and might as well be treated as pseudo-participants in cases we need to go deeper in text analysis related to causation (1 and 2).

(1)	A criança	se assustou	com o latido dos cachorros
	<i>Experienciador/Mediador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão/Pró- Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Cause: reason/Pseudo- Phenomenon</i>
(2)	O aluno	se surpreendeu	com a sua nota
	<i>Experienciador/ Mediador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão/Pró- Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Cause: reason/Pseudo- Phenomenon</i>

Although constructions such as (1) are not typical in English, there are two structures in English that approach these constructions in BP. One can be realised by a mental clause in a receptive mode (3)<sup>64</sup> and there is another (4)<sup>65</sup>, which is materialised as an attributive relational process in the operative mode.

<sup>64</sup> From BBC Learning English at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/learningenglish/grammar/learnit/learnitv335.shtml>. Accessed on December 15, 2009.

<sup>65</sup> Headline of Help.com at <http://help.com/post/346033-some-people-are-scared-of-the-truth>. Accessed May 10, 2010.

(3)	She	was scared	by the hooting of the owl
	<i>Experienciador/Mediador</i>	<i>Processo: mental</i>	<i>Fenômeno/Agente</i>
	<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Process: mental</i>	<i>Phenomenon/Agent</i>

(4)	Some people	are	scared of the truth
	<i>Portador/Mediador</i>	<i>processo</i>	<i>Atributo/Extensão</i>
	<i>Carrier/Medium</i>	<i>Process relacional</i>	<i>Attribute/Range</i>

In BP these pseudo-participants in mental clauses usually stem from circumstances of Cause. This type of construction also occurs in material clauses (5b), but in this case the circumstantial strength is similar to English.

(5)	O câncer	a	matou
	<i>Ator/Agente</i>	<i>Meta/Mediador</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Actor/Agent</i>	<i>Goal/Medium</i>	<i>Procmaterial</i>

(5a)	Ela	morreu	de câncer
	<i>Ator/Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão</i>
	<i>Actor/Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Cir Cause: reason</i>

Thus, some constructions in BP reveal that some circumstances of Cause seem to have a participant-like level, which does not exist in English. This seems to hint at the premise that these circumstances are integrated in the clause in a higher level than the others in a type of pseudo-effective arrangement (6a).

(6)	Os cachorros	me	assustaram
	<i>Fenômeno/Agente</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>
	<i>Phenomenon/Agent</i>	<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>

(6a)	Eu	me assustei	com os cachorros
	<i>Experienciador/ Mediador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão/ Pró-Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Cir Cause: reason/ Pseudo-Phenomenon</i>

As highlighted above, according to Haliday and Matthiessen (2004) any clause can be analysed either in the transitive or ergative model whereas to Davidse (1992) an ergative process is a process in a middle non-ranged clause (7 and 8), which can be extended to the left

to include an external Agent in order to become an effective clause (7a, 8a) using the same verbal group.

(7)	Eu	me entristeci	com as más notícias.
	<i>Experienciador/Mediador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão/ Pró-Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Cir Cause: reason/ Pseudo-Phenomenon</i>

(7a)	As más notícias	me	entristeceram
	<i>Fenômeno/Agente</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>
	<i>Phenomenon/Agent</i>	<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>

(8)	Nós	nos surpreendemos	com [[o que ela fez]].
	<i>Experienciador/ Mediador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão/ Pró-Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Cir Cause: reason/ Pseudo-Phenomenon</i>

(8a)	[[O que ela fez]]	nos	surpreendeu
	<i>Fenômeno/Agente</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>
	<i>Phenomenon/Agent</i>	<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>

This is an intricate case to deal with because sometimes the clitics in these structures may be construed as being affected as in (7a, 8a) having the role of Sensers affected by a Phenomenon and in others as being part of the process itself (7,8). This occurs because in clauses such as (7) and (8) the affected participant is the Senser as well, who, to a certain extent, is being affected by a participant-like circumstance replacing the function of the phenomenon as shown in (7a, 8a). This can be better observed with the ergative taxonomy of Agent and Medium in the examples referred to. As posited above, the model suggested with Agent and Affected is also more effectual in these structures but as mentioned earlier, these functional labels are better utilised in material clauses otherwise clauses with mental process types might be confused with materiality instead of mentality in school milieux.

Unlike clause (9) below, which is of the reciprocal type and has the clitic ‘se’ as the PR Phenomenon, meaning that each one in turn hurt each other, in clause (10) ‘se’ is part of the process in an affective mental clause in a pseudo-reflexive clause type. To be more precise

whereas clause (9) displays an effective pattern, clause (10) shows a middle non-ranged pattern.

(9)	Eles	<i>se</i>	magoaram	mutuamente
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Modo: qualidade</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Cir Manner: quality</i>

(10)	Eles	<i>se</i> magoaram	com sua resposta
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Circ Cause: reason</i>

This occurs because the participant *eles* in (10) does not perform the same function of a Phenomenon affecting a Senser in (9) but as a Senser being ‘affected’ by a pseudo-participant disguised as a circumstance of Cause of the subtype reason as already tackled above. This becomes clearer when we rearrange this clause as in the example (10a)<sup>66</sup> with the explicit external Agent.

(10a)	A sua resposta	os	magoou
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Mediador</i>	<i>Processo</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Process</i>

#### 4.2.2.3 Agency in relational clauses

In the *ergative system*, relational processes are not usually the prototypical ones for agency. This occurs probably because ergative processes tend to have a strong material semantic component. However, some ergative material clauses (1a/b) tend to have a tight relationship with relational clauses in the transitive model (1c/d).

(1a)	O sol	amadureceu	as bananas
	<i>Ator/Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Meta/Mediador</i>
	<i>Actor/Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal/Medium</i>

<sup>66</sup> Although these clauses should be treated in the ergative model I shall analyse them in the transitive model as well so that the explanation can be further reinforced.



(1b)	As bananas	amadureceram
	<i>Ator/Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Actor/Medium</i>	<i>Pro material</i>

(1c)	As bananas	amadureceram
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Confluência:Proc relacional/Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Conflation:Proc relational/Attribute</i>

(1d)	As bananas	ficaram	maduras
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Attributes</i>

This may help explain why some relational structures keep a feature of cause in mental clauses since, as already seen in chapter 3, an ergative mental process (2a/b) may hold some similarity to a relational process with attribution (2c).

(2a)	A visita do Papai Noel	alegrou	as crianças
	<i>Phenomenon/Agente</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Experienciador/Mediador</i>
	<i>Phenomenon/Agent</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Senser/Medium</i>

(2b)	as crianças	se alegraram	com a visita do Papai Noel
	<i>Experienciador/Mediador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão/ Pró-Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Cause:reason/ pseudo-Phenomenon</i>

(2c)	As crianças	ficaram	alegres	com a visita do Papai Noel.
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Prorelational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Circ Cause: reason</i>

There are some relational clauses that relate to names. In English as well as in BP this type of structure is identifying, and it can be reversible in both languages, as in clause (3).

(3)	O nome dele	é	João	→	João	é	o nome dele
	<i>Valor</i>	<i>Proc rel</i>	<i>Característica</i>		<i>Característica</i>	<i>Proc rel</i>	<i>Valor</i>
	<i>Value</i>	<i>Proc rel</i>	<i>Token</i>		<i>Token</i>	<i>Pro rel</i>	<i>Value</i>

However, this clause would answer the question *Qual é o nome dele?* and not *Como ele se chama?* in (4), which has an ergative process ‘*chamar*’ in a close relationship with verbal processes. In addition, in this construction it cannot be reversed.

(4)	Ele	se chama	João
	<i>Valor</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Característica</i>
	<i>Value</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Token</i>

This fact is relevant to be displayed because whereas in BP the interrogative ‘*qual*’ is clearly identifying as in English with the interrogative ‘*what*’ in *what is his name*, ‘*como*’ is more suitable to be answered with attributive processes as in (5) since it usually denotes a circumstantial aspect.

(5)	Como	é	o João?	→	O João	é	inteligente
	<i>Circ Modo</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Portador</i>		<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Circ Manner</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Carrier</i>		<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

When we compare the English clause: *he is called John*, the most appropriate question for this is *what is he called?* This is enlightening in view of the fact that the interrogative ‘*what*’ functions as a Complement in the Mood system and not as circumstance as occurs in the case of ‘*how*’. However, whereas clause (4) with the process *chamar* is not reversible, clause (6a) is since *ele é chamado de João pelos seus amigos* is the receptive clause for the operative clause *seus amigos o chamam de João*. The equivalent clause in English, though not so common, would be *he is called João by his friends*, which would answer the question *what is he called by his friends?* This reinforces the fact that in English, *what* functions as a Complement in the Mood system whereas *como* has a circumstantial function in BP. Since both identifying and attributive clauses may have the option of assignment, some naming clauses may have “a third participant representing the entity assigning the relationship of identity of attribution” (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2004, p. 237) either as the Attributor (6b), or as the Assigner (6a).

(6a)	Seus amigos	o	chamam de	João
	<i>Designador</i>	<i>Característica</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Valor</i>
	<i>Assigner</i>	<i>Token</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Value</i>

(6b)	Seus amigos	o	chamam de	inútil
	<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

The ambiguity also arises when we notice that clause (6b) with its Attribute *inútil* also responds to the questions *como seus amigos o chamam?* and can be passivised: *ele é chamado de inútil por muitas pessoas*. It seems this is a typical construction in Latin languages since attributive relational clauses cannot be passivised as occurs with clause (6b) since it is qualifying *João* and not identifying him. Conversely, in (6a), by calling someone *João*, we are identifying and not qualifying him. This attests that, dissimilarly from English, constructions that refer to names in BP seem to be intricate. This may explain the reason why some SFL scholars, namely Hita (2003, pp. 152, 153) and Caffarel (2006, pp. 65, 99), disagree on how to treat these clauses in some Latin languages. Hita, who carries out research in Spanish, suggests that we treat these clauses as having attribution (7, 8) and not assignement whereas Caffarel, who investigates the French language, treats them as identifying clauses (9, 10).

(7)	(Él)	se llama Quique
	<i>Attributed</i>	<i>Process (with attribution)</i>

(8)	Sus amigos	lo	llaman Quique
	<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Attributed</i>	<i>Process (with attribution)</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Medium</i>	

As can be seen, in both examples (7) and (8) Hita treats these clauses as attributive with the Attribute making part of the process. In addition, he labels the Carrier as Attributed in these constructions. Caffarel (p. 65) treats these ergative constructions as identifying with Value/Medium and Token/Range, with Token for the name *Marie* although on page 99 she treats the same participant *Marie* as Value/Range, leaving doubts on how she really treats the participants in these constructions.

(9)	Elle	s' appelle	Marie
	<i>Value</i>		<i>Token</i>
	<i>Medium</i>		<i>Range</i>

(10)	Sa mère	l'	appelle	Marie
	<i>Assigner</i>	<i>Value</i>		<i>Token</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Medium</i>		<i>Range</i>

I argue that this is the case where we have a conflation in a continuum of attributive and identifying relational processes, i.e. “a continuum within the overall continuum of process types” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 236). So, we may treat clauses with the process *chamar* as having an Attributor in the case of Attribute and Assigner in the case of names.

Although not typical in English, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 237) provide us with a single example of this way of identifying people by name in clause (11), which is equivalent to (12) in BP. In their example the direction of the clause is decoding with Value as Identifier and Token as Identified.

(11)	I	am called	Alice
	<i>Value</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Token</i>
	<i>Identifier</i>		<i>Identified</i>

(12)	Eu	sou chamada de	Alice
	<i>Valor</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Característica</i>
	<i>Value</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Token</i>
	<i>Identificador</i>		<i>Identificado</i>
	<i>Identifier</i>		<i>Identified</i>

However, there are diversified constructions in BP that refer to naming clauses as I shall illustrate below in examples (13 through 16). In these samples, the direction is usually encoding with Value as Identified and the Token as Identifier (13 through 15) and decoding (16) with Token as Identified and Value as Identifier in the sense of how someone is identified.

(13)	O nome dela	é	Maria
	<i>Valor</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Característica</i>
	<i>Value</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Token</i>
	<i>Identificador</i>		<i>Identificado</i>
	<i>Identifier</i>		<i>Identifier</i>

(14)	Ela	é	a Maria
	<i>Valor</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Característica</i>
	<i>Value</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Token</i>
	<i>Identificador</i>		<i>Identificado</i>
	<i>Identified</i>		<i>Identifier</i>

(15)	Ela	se chama	Maria
	<i>Valor</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Característica</i>
	<i>Value</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>	<i>Token</i>
	<i>Identificador</i>		<i>Identificado</i>
	<i>Identified</i>		<i>Identifier</i>

(16)	A mãe dela	a	chama de	Maria
	<i>Designador</i>	<i>Característica</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Valor</i>
	<i>Assigner</i>	<i>Token</i>	<i>Pro relacional</i>	<i>Value</i>
		<i>Identificado</i>		<i>Identificador</i>
		<i>Identified</i>		<i>Identifier</i>

In the illustrations above, clause (13) seems to be the clearest construction in BP whereas (14 and 15) seem to be more obscure in the sense of finding out what the Token and the Value are. Halliday and Matthiessen themselves (2004, p. 237) recognise that the “[m]ost problematic of all are clauses of naming and defining, which lie exactly at the crossover point between the two types of ‘identifying’ clause”: the decoding and the encoding type. That means that there is room for some of the clauses above to be encoded and decoded dissimilarly according to the analyst interpretation.

Usually, when there is an identifying relational clause in the operative mode, it is arranged with Token as Subject and Value as Complement in the Mood system since when the clause is receptive, the Value corresponds to the Subject in the Mood system (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 231, 236). That means that the Token and Value may change position in the clause but they keep the same function even when the clause is reversed as in (17) or passivised as in (18), although there is alternation in the Subject function in the Mood system.

(17)	A Maria	é	minha professora	→	Minha professora	é	a Maria
	<i>Característica</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Valor</i>		<i>Valor</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Característica</i>
	<i>Token</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Value</i>		<i>Value</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Token</i>

(18)	Maria	interpreta	a fada	→	A fada	é	interpretada pela Maria
	<i>Característica</i>	<i>Proc rel</i>	<i>Valor</i>		<i>Valor</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Característica</i>
	<i>Token</i>	<i>Proc rel</i>	<i>Value</i>		<i>Value</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Token</i>

These type of clauses have their own passives, with secondary Agent as a *by* Adjunct as exemplified in Fig. 4.3.

Tom	was voted	captain	(by the club)
The baby	was called	Ann	(by her mother)
<i>Token / Agent</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Value / Medium</i>	<i>Assigner / Agent2</i>

**Fig. 4.3** Causative passivisation in relational clauses in Transitive model (from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 299).

In naming and defining “the word is Token and its meaning is the Value” but “[i]n ‘calling’ on the other hand, it is the name that is the value” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 237). This implies that in a three-participant structure (20,20a) the Value does not correspond to the Subject of a receptive clause as is common in a two-participant structure (19,19a) of an identifying relational clause.

(19)	Os números	indicam		os resultados
	<i>Característica</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>		<i>Valor</i>
	<i>Token</i>	<i>Proc relational</i>		<i>Value</i>
	<i>Sujeito</i>	<i>Negociador</i>	<i>Predicador</i>	<i>Complemento</i>
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Negotiator</i>	<i>Predicator</i>	<i>Complement</i>

(19a)	Os resultados	são	indicados	pelos números
	<i>Valor</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>		<i>Característica</i>
	<i>Value</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>		<i>Token</i>
	<i>Sujeito</i>	<i>Negociador</i>	<i>Predicador</i>	<i>Adjunto</i>
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Negotiator</i>	<i>Predicator</i>	<i>Adjunct</i>

(20)	Suas colegas	a	chamam de		Sofia
	<i>Designador</i>	<i>Característica</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>		<i>Valor</i>
	<i>Assigner</i>	<i>Token</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>		<i>Value</i>
	<i>Sujeito</i>	<i>Complemento</i>	<i>Negociador</i>	<i>Pred</i>	<i>Complemento</i>
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Complement</i>	<i>Negotiator</i>	<i>Pred</i>	<i>Complement</i>

(20a)	Ela	é	chamada de	Sofia	por suas colegas
	<i>Característica</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>		<i>Valor</i>	<i>Designador</i>
	<i>Token</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>		<i>Value</i>	<i>Assigner</i>
	<i>Sujeito</i>	<i>Negociador</i>	<i>Predicador</i>	<i>Compl</i>	<i>Adjunto</i>
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Negotiator</i>	<i>Predicator</i>	<i>Compl</i>	<i>Adjunct</i>

Caffarel (2006, p. 60) suggests that it is important to know whether “the systemic notions of ergative and transitive are theoretical notions that can serve to explore patterns of experiential representation in ...any other language” other than English. In BP, patterns of experiential representation such as in *Ela chamou o bebê de Ann* is feasible though some constructions will need some slight changes as in Fig.4.4.

As shown in Fig. 4.3 above, the participant Value in English is configured as a Complement whereas in BP (Fig.4.4) it may be configured either as an elaborating circumstance of role of the subtype Guise (*como capitão*) or an enhancing circumstance of Cause of the subtype purpose (*para capitão*), which is at the crossing point of a structure of a material clause with Beneficiary and circumstance, thus, not so representative of the relational process type structures in BP.

Os vereadores	nomearam	Paulo	relator	
Os munícipes	fizeram	Paulo	vereador	
<i>Designador</i>	<i>Processo</i>	<i>Característica</i>	<i>Valor</i>	
<i>Assigner</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Token</i>	<i>Value</i>	
Os sócios	votaram em ...	Paulo	...para	coordenador
<i>Designador</i>	<i>Proc rel ...</i>	<i>Característica</i>	<i>... Epp</i>	<i>Valor</i>
<i>Assigner</i>	<i>Proc rel: ...</i>	<i>Token</i>	<i>... mpE</i>	<i>Value</i>
<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material:Epp</i>	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Circ Causa: propósito</i>	
<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material:mpE</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Cir Cause: purpose</i>	

**Fig. 4.4** Comparing causativation in relational clauses in Transitive model in BP.

Therefore, although some constructions are also feasible in both the operative and in the receptive mode in BP as in *Paulo foi nomeado relator pelos vereadores*, other constructions tend to have a slight change in BP as occurs with *Paulo foi votado para coordenador pelos sócios*. This seems to be an uncommon and fuzzy construction to be treated as an identifying relational clause in BP since if that is the case the grammatical structure is not composed of the three typical participants in this linear analysis: the Assigner, the Token and the Value as Complement in the Mood system. Even if the suggested model with mpE is used the two prepositions in sequence seems to become odd in BP. Although this clause seems to be in a continuum of both process types it appears that the material structure with a purposive circumstance is more appropriate in this specific case.

### 4.3 Intricacy in dealing with some prepositional phrases and processes

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 277), the majority of circumstances are prepositional phrases. They refer to prepositional phrases as “something that expresses a ‘minor process’”. In this sense the preposition is a kind of ‘mini-verb’ because together with a nominal element it may replace some processes<sup>67</sup> such as in:

<sup>67</sup> Clauses adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 277).



A demora foi *por causa da greve* → foi *causada pela greve*

O carpete *estava sobre* o assoalho → *cobria* o assoalho

A ponte *está ao longo do rio* → a ponte *atravessa* o rio

Thus, there is similarity between a process and a preposition, which will be dealt with later in the section 4.4 where I tackle how circumstantial augmentation is formed in clauses. For now, let us keep the focus on the difficulty of dealing with some prepositional phrases in BP, especially in verbal and mental processes.

In clause (1), for instance it is somewhat fuzzy to know whether there is a Verbiage or a circumstance in the grammar of BP.

- (1) Diretora de marketing da Microstrategy no Brasil fala *de tecnologia, relacionamento e carreira*.

This type of prepositional phrase may be treated as a circumstance of matter because (a) verbs that project have a tendency to attract circumstances of matter: especially verbal processes (*she talked about that; he argued about that*) and mental (cognitive: *I thought about that; I dreamed about that*); (b) in BP, dissimilarly from other processes such as *optar por, acabar com* (that seem to have a preposition that goes with the verb), *falar* may be used with other alternatives such as *falar de, sobre, a respeito de tecnologia*, i.e. it offers us other similar alternatives for circumstances; (c) it cannot function as Complement in the system of Mood, that is, its function is of an Adjunct (as shown by means of a nominal group preceded by a preposition); (d) it cannot be passivised to become Subject in the clause: '*de tecnologia*' *é falado pela Diretora de marketing da Microstrategy no Brasil* does not seem to be possible; (e) it is possible for Complements to become Subject in receptive clauses: '*Muitas coisas*' *foram faladas pela Diretora de marketing da Microstrategy no Brasil*, but the clause in discussion is not construed this way; (f) circumstances of matter (circumstantial Adjunct) can also be used as theme predication: '*Foi de (sobre, a respeito de) tecnologia*' *que a Diretora de marketing da Microstrategy no Brasil falou*; (g) the clauses *Eu falei 'coisas sem nexo'* and *Eu falei 'de (sobre) coisas sem nexo'* bring about different meanings: in the former (as Complement, so, as Verbiage), it is clear that I am the one held responsible for the utterance, while the latter (as Adjunct, so, as Prepositional Phrase)

represents that I talked about something that could have been uttered by anyone. Ways of saying, ways of meaning (Hasan, 1996b).

(1)	Diretora de marketing da Microstrategy no Brasil	fala.	<i>de tecnologia, relacionamento e carreira</i>
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Circ Assunto</i>
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Cir Matter</i>

However, some processes in Brazilian Portuguese, such as *optar* in (2) *Ele optou pela camisa azul*, seem to need a preposition that goes with the process (*optar por*). Although we can also use such a process without preposition as in *Ele optou sair* and *Ele optou ficar com ela*, these would represent hypotactic verbal groups in projection and not a process followed by a participant. If we take into account the Mood system and analyse this type of clause in terms of Complement or Adjunct, it tends to become clearer since it affects segmentation in Transitivity.

Certain options such as *Ele optou por sair*; *Ele optou sair*; *Ele optou ficar com ela* are desiderative mental processes that either project other clauses or can be analysed as a hypotactic verbal group complex in projection (another option in some desiderative processes). In both analyses: (2a) projection: *Ele optou por // sair*, or (b) hypotactic verbal group complex: *Ele optou por sair*, the clauses would not cause problem in relation to the *Complement* or *Circumstance* because the Predicator is a material process in a middle: non-ranged clause.

(2a)	Ele	optou por	sair
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Pro material</i>
	<i>Sujeito</i>	<i>Negociador/Predicador</i>	<i>Predicador</i>
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Negotiator/Predicator</i>	<i>Predicator</i>

(2b)	Ele	optou por sair
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Sujeito</i>	<i>Negociador/Predicador</i>
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Negotiator/Predicator</i>

In the clause *Ele optou ficar com ela*, the same thing occurs, but with a circumstance of comitation of the comitative subtype associated with a material clause that is projected by a desiderative mental clause, or can also be treated as a hypotactic verbal group complex in projection: *optou ficar*. However, regarding the clause: *Ele optou pela camisa azul* (*Ele*: Subject/Senser; *optou por (pela)*: Predictor/proc. Mental, desiderative; *camisa azul* (Complement / Phenomenon), the Complement seems to attract the preposition *por*. It is not possible to say in Brazilian Portuguese *eu optei camisa azul* without the prepositional phrase. But, if there is projection it is possible: *eu optei comprar a camisa azul*, in that in this case *a camisa azul* is Goal due to the material clause that is projected or the hypotactic verbal group complex in projection: *optei comprar*. Hence, the fact that when there is projection the preposition can be elided seems to reinforce the argumentation that there is a nominal group serving as Complement (a Participant) and not as an Adjunct (Circumstance) in the clause.

These verbal groups in which the preposition seems to belong with the process is known as phrasal verbs, which are “lexical verbs which consist of more than just the verb word itself” and is typical in English (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 351). When Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 278) discuss prepositions attached to verbs, they acknowledge that “there is no simple diagnostic criterion for deciding every instance” of prepositions functioning as part of the process. Notwithstanding, they suggest the use of thematic structures as a type of probe. Among the illustrations presented Halliday and Matthiessen use the following clauses:

It was on the shore that I was waiting *not* it was the shore that I was waiting on

It was the boat that I was waiting for *not* it was for the boat that I was waiting

What is being established here is that the thematic structures presents a locative circumstance (Adjunct in the Mood system) in the first example and a Scope (a Complement ) in the second sample. That means that either we usually have a circumstantial element (Adjunct) or a Goal/Scope (Complement).

Note that my focus is on the circumstantial function (Adjunct) or Participant (Complement), because it is not common theme predication with verbal function in BP. If that is the case there is a downgrade in the clause and it becomes component of a ranking clause as in *Foi por [[sair]] que ele optou*, in the sense of *foi pela saída*

*que ele optou*, similarly *Foi [[ sair]] que ele optou*, therefore, as Head of a nominal group in a multivariate structure and no longer as a univariate structure of the clause. That is why I argue that in BP *pela camisa* is not a circumstance but a Complement in the Mood system, since it is not functioning as a prepositional phrase but as a nominal group with the preposition being part of the verbal group (*optar por + a camisa*). Complements (which are the focus of my analysis in this case) are perfectly acceptable to be used as theme predication: *Eu optei pela camisa azul -> foi pela camisa azul que eu optei; isso acabou com a minha vida -> foi com a minha vida que isso acabou*. However, it is germane to point out that in BP (dissimilarly from English) it is common for the preposition to precede the Complement in these types of structure, anticipating the focus of News, and with the verbal group being discontinued from the preposition, because it is not ordinary prepositions in clause final position as in English (*it was the blue shirt I opted for*).

As a final argument, even if *pela camisa azul* and *com a minha vida* were regarded as prepositional phrases then they must be treated as circumstantial elements. However, they would not fall into any of the nine types of circumstances in SFG. That's why I advocate that in these cases the preposition be analysed together with the verbal group as an extension of the main process (mpE) because there are certain groups that the preposition changes the meaning of the verbal group in BP as in *Eu acabei o livro* (I finished the book) and *Eu acabei com o livro* (I destroyed the book)<sup>68</sup>. Undoubtedly, there may be cases which may become somewhat blurred as in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 256), who analyse the clause *He spoke in perfect Russian* as the participant Verbiage, which I do not agree with. In my point of view, the probe is not what he spoke, but how he spoke, which hints at a circumstance of Manner: quality. Therefore, this must probably be a typo.

(3)	Ele	optou (por)	( <i>pel</i> )a camisa azul
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: Epp</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental:mpE</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>

As I have shown, BP seems to have some processes (verb + preposition) in which the preposition should be treated as belonging to the verbal group such as *acreditar em, optar por, acabar com*

<sup>68</sup> This is further tackled when I discuss grammatical metaphors.

(*destruir*), *sofrer de*, *gostar de*, *crer em* that should be analysed together with the process since they typically offer no alternative preposition to attach to the verb, which attests their non-circumstantial function.

Some prepositions that form Prepositional Phrases in BP tend to bring difficulty to the text analyst since they may have varied functions in the structure of the clause as can be illustrated with the functions of '*com*'<sup>69</sup> in the samples below.

- Não vejo a hora [[de ir morar *com* você]] (Circ. Accompaniment: comitation)
- Principalmente *com* a *Isabella*, que é uma criança dócil. (Circ. Matter)
- Por que alguém agiria *com* tanta brutalidade? (Circ. Manner: quality)
- Como alguém poderia fazer isso *com* uma criança? (Circ. Cause: negative behalf)
- *Com* ela, não há problema (Circ. Angle: viewpoint)
- *Com* chuva, desligue o motor. (Circ. Contingency: condition)
- Acabaram *com* a nossa vida (part of verbal group)
- Ela ficava *com* vergonha. (Attribute)
- Você falava *com* ela. (Beneficiary: Receiver)
- Corrida tradicional de cavalos acaba *com* acidente na Ásia<sup>70</sup> ( Circ. Role: product)
- A criança se assustou *com* o latido do cachorro (Circ. Cause: reason)

#### 4.4 How circumstantial augmentation is formed in clauses

Prepositional phrases can replace clauses helping to reduce the grammatical intricacy. This is one way among others in which we can use prepositional phrases as minor clauses to replace a major clause. The part in italics of clause (1) is in agnation with *até a produção de uma textura consistente* [[*que solte das mãos*]] in clause (1a). This is known as experiential metaphor in which the circumstantial element of the clause is employed to augment the clause experientially.

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<sup>69</sup> Extracted from Globo.com. At <http://video.globo.com/Videos/Player/Noticias/0,,GIM818299-7823-CASO+ISABELLA+CASAL+NARDONI+FALA+SOBRE+MORTE+DA+MENINA,00.html>. Accessed March, 29, 2008.

<sup>70</sup> Extracted from Globo.com. at <http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/Mundo/0,,MUL1542566-5602,00-COMPETIDORES+CAEM+DO+CAVALO+EM+ESPORTE+TRADICAO>

- (1) Misture todos os ingredientes da massa // *até conseguir uma textura consistente e macia // e que solte das mãos.*
- (1a) Misture todos os ingredientes da massa *até a produção de uma textura consistente [[que solte das mãos]]*

Whereas a nominal group is the expansion of a word, prepositional phrases represent clauses that are shrunk. As a result prepositional phrases can replace clauses, helping to reduce the grammatical intricacy of a text. This is a common way in which we can use prepositional phrases as minor clauses to replace major clauses, which is known as metaphorical realisation of logical relation in which a circumstantial element of the clause is employed to augment the clause experientially (see Martin, Matthiessen and Painter, 1997). By the same token, *Para mim* in clause (2) is agnate with *Eu acho* in clause (2a). In this case, *para mim* functions as a circumstance of Angle of the subtype viewpoint, which is commonly used to represent projections.

- (2) *Para mim*, ele foi o culpado.
- (2a) *Eu acho* // que ele foi o culpado

Most types of circumstances can be semantically realised by clause nexuses instead of prepositional phrases as minor clauses, as in Mandela's speech in clause (3).

- (3) That spiritual and physical oneness [[we all share with this common homeland]] explains the depth of the pain [[we all carried in our hearts]] // as we saw our country tear itself apart in a terrible conflict, // and as we saw [[it spurned, // outlawed, // and isolated by the peoples of the world]], // precisely **because** it has become the universal base of the pernicious ideology and practice of racism and racial oppression]].

This clause nexus in this hypotactic clause complex could be realigned as a prepositional phrase downgrading a major clause into a minor clause by means of a circumstance of Cause of the *reason* subtype: **because of (due to) the universal base of the pernicious ideology and practice of racism and racial oppression**. This strategy, also known as 'logical metaphor' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) is a linguistic resource that can affect grammatical intricacy and lexical density of a text used for representation of reality, as can be seen below in clauses (4a, 4b).

(4a)	Já	eu	procuo fazer	as coisas	// usando	todo o meu coração
		<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Meta</i>
		<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Pro mat</i>	<i>Goal</i>
	<i>Complexo oracional (densidade léxica 2,5)</i>					
<i>Clause complex (lexical density 2.5)</i>						

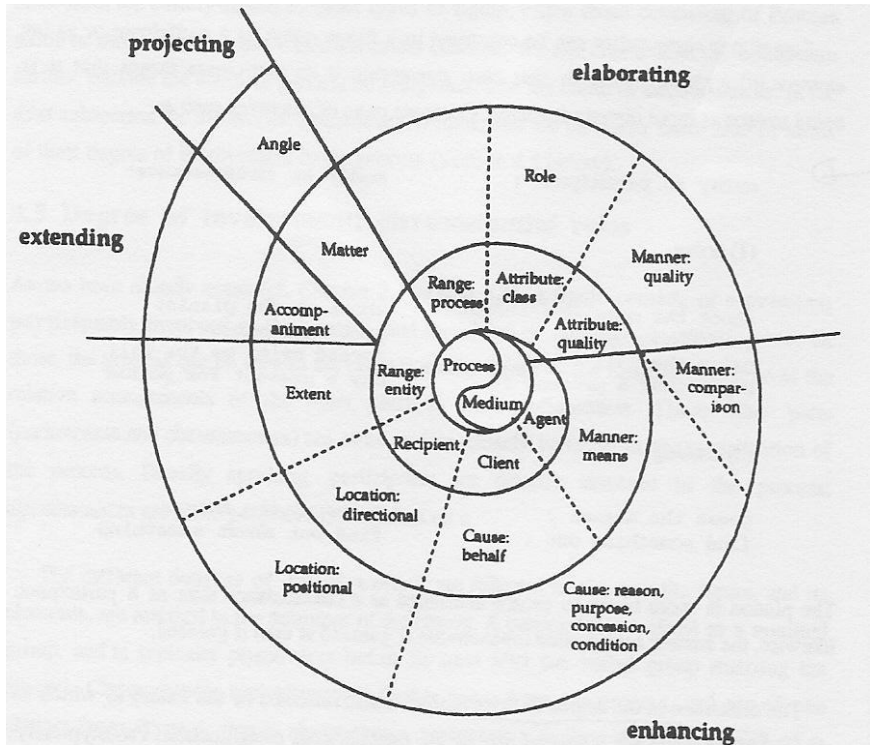
(4b)	Já	eu	procuo fazer	as coisas	com todo o meu coração
		<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Circ Modo: qualidade</i>
		<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Circ Manner: quality</i>
	<i>Oração simples (densidade léxica 4)</i>				
<i>Clause simplex (lexical density 4)</i>					

More often than not, when there is a circumstantial augmentation in a clause, i.e. a prepositional phrase (minor clause) functioning as a circumstance replacing a major clause, there is a tendency for the reduction in number of clauses to represent an increase in content words in the clause. Therefore, because the circumstance of clause (4b) is replacing the second clause of the clause complex in (4a), the clause in (4b) tends to have a denser lexical density since most of the content words are packed in a single clause instead of two. This is important to be considered because it may imply more formality and technicality in a text since it is more typical of written texts (see Eggins, 1994, 2004; Thompson, 2006). If this occurs then we are dealing with metaphorical realisation of logical relation (Martin, Matthiessen and Painter, 1997).

As can be noted in Fig. 4.5, like processes, circumstances can also function in expansion and projection. This may explain the reason why they are like mini processes and can be used to change clause complexes into clause simplexes since they may be used to replace linkers in paratactic constructions and binders in hypotactic constructions in clause complexes.

Sentences can be connected implicitly by cohesion through juxtaposition in the textual dimension. By the same token, circumstances have also developed the capacity to, experientially by means of prepositional phrases, replace linkers in parataxis and binders in hypotaxis through what is known in SFG as ‘ideational metaphor’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), ‘logical metaphor’ (Martin and Rose, 2003), or still ‘metaphoric realisation of logical relation’ (Martin, Matthiessen, and Painter (1997, p. 178). Therefore,

circumstances have developed an important role in the flow of events, making both a sequence of projection and expansion to be encapsulated not only logically and textually, but also experientially by means of circumstantial augmentation in clauses.



**Fig. 4.5** The spectrum of circumstances according to the different types of expansion and projection (from Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, 2006, p.17)

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) emphasise that hypotactic clause complex can be realigned by a prepositional phrase functioning as a circumstance, for example, as a circumstance of 'cause' of the subtype 'reason': 'because of' (due to), which can downgrade a clause to a group level as in: ||| *Manchas surgiam no seu nariz devido à intemperança, // e sua boca se remexia nervosamente.* ||| (adapted from Tolstoi, 1869, electronic version). Thus, this clause can be realigned



adding an enhancing binder to form a hypotactic clause complex as in:  
 ||| *Manchas surgiam no seu nariz // **porque** ele não podia controlar sua intemperança, // e sua boca se remexia nervosamente.*||| This attests that in BP, equally to English, some clause nexuses can be semantically realised by circumstances originated from prepositional phrases, conjunctive prepositions, and/or prepositional correlatives, forming minor processes (Halliday, 1985, 1994, 1996; Veel & Coffin, 1996; Christie, 2004).

As a result, the ideational metaphor can become a linguistic strategy, in which there can be the realignment of the quantum and quality of information in terms of meaning potential. In other words, the metaphorisation can realign how interpersonal and textual meanings are conceived in clauses both as representation (ideational) and exchange (interpersonal). I shall exemplify how this feature is realised in BP.

(5a) ||| Boris leu Pobre Lisa em voz alta para ela, // e por mais de uma vez interrompeu a leitura *devido às* emoções [[*que o sufocavam*]].|||

In item (5a) *devido a* is a conjunctive preposition<sup>71</sup> functioning as a causal circumstance. Its agnate for clause nexus may be, for instance, **porque** *as emoções o sufocavam*.

All the agnate constructions in ranking clauses add more clauses to the clause structure, increasing the number of clause complexes with the introduction of the connectors. For instance, in item (5b), where before there were only two clause nexuses, ended up with three.

(5b) ||| Boris leu Pobre Lisa em voz alta para ela, // e por mais de uma vez interrompeu a leitura // **porque** *as emoções o sufocavam*.|||

This occurs because the embedded clause in the conjunctive preposition *devido às emoções* [[*que o sufocavam*]] is upgraded to a ranking clause by means of the introduction of the causal binder **porque**, forming, this way, another clause complex **porque** *as emoções o sufocavam* (see Figures 4.6 and 4.7).

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<sup>71</sup> According to Halliday and Matthiessen, (2004), conjunctive prepositions are grammatical compositions that can perform, besides the prepositional function, also a function similar to a conjunctive one (items (5a) and (6a), and typically end in preposition, whereas prepositional phrases (typically having the same functional features) are, in general, compositions created by prepositions and ended with nominal groups (example (8).

Boris	leu	Pobre Lisa	em voz alta	para ela
<i>Comportante</i>	<i>Pr comportamental</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Circ Modo</i>	<i>Receptor</i>
<i>Behaver</i>	<i>Proc Behavioural</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Circ Manner</i>	<i>Receiver</i>
<i>Oração iniciadora (1)</i>				
<i>Initiating clause (1)</i>				
por mais de uma vez	(Ø: Boris)	interrompeu	a leitura	<i>devido às</i> emoções [[que o sufocavam]].
<i>Circ extensão</i>	(Ø: Ator)	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão</i>
<i>Circ extension</i>	(Ø: Actor)	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Circ. Cause: reason</i>
<i>Oração continuadora (+2)</i>				
<i>Continuing clause (+2)</i>				

**Fig. 4.6** Exemplifying the metaphoric realisation of logical relation..

Boris	leu	Pobre Lisa	em voz alta	para ela
<i>Comportante</i>	<i>Pr comportamental</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Circ Modo</i>	<i>Receptor</i>
<i>Behaver</i>	<i>Proc Behavioural</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Circ. Manner</i>	<i>Receiver</i>
<i>Oração iniciadora (1)</i>				
<i>Initiating clause (1)</i>				
e	por mais de uma vez	(Ø: Boris)	interrompeu	a leitura
<i>Conj.</i>	<i>Circ Extensão</i>	(Ø: Ator)	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Meta</i>
<i>Conj.</i>	<i>Circ. Extension:</i>	(Ø: Actor)	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal</i>
<i>Oração continuadora (+2) / oração dominante nivelada (α)</i>				
<i>Continuing clause (+2) / dominant ranking clause (α)</i>				
<b>porque</b>	as emoções	o	sufocavam <sup>72</sup> .	
<i>Conj.</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: afetivo</i>	
<i>Conj.</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc. mental: affective</i>	
<i>Oração dependente nivelada (xβ)</i>				
<i>dependent ranking clause (xβ)</i>				

**Fig. 4.7** Exemplifying the logico-semantic realisation of the logical line of meaning.

<sup>72</sup> The material process *sufocavam* is semiotically treated here as agnate with an emotive mental process, e.g. *comover*, *influenciar emotivamente*, in which the Phenomenon (functioning as Agent) affects the Senser (Medium), therefore, causing a semantic move from material to mental as suggested by the nominal group *emoções*.

The conjunctive preposition *apesar de* in item (6a) is a contingency circumstance functioning concessively. It could have as agnation a concessive hypotactic ranking clause *embora a Princesa Mary enviasse seus olhares desconcertantes*. Again, we may either increase the number of clauses logically by means of conjunctive devices forming clause complexes or reduce it by means of circumstantial devices experientially, which affects all metafunctions since meaning has to be reorganised in the three overarching strands of meaning.

- (6a) ||| *Apesar dos olhares desconcertantes* [[enviados para ela pela Princesa Mary // - que desejava ter uma conversa particular com Natasha - ]], Mademoiselle Bourienne permaneceu na sala // e persistentemente falava sobre as diversões e teatros de Moscou.|||

1	<i>Apesar dos olhares desconcertantes</i> [[enviados para ela pela Princesa Mary // - que desejava ter uma conversa particular com Natasha - ]], Mademoiselle Bourienne permaneceu na sala
+2	e persistentemente falava sobre as diversões e teatros de Moscou.
→	$1 \wedge +2$

- (6b) ||| **Embora** a Princesa Mary - que desejava ter uma conversa particular com Natasha - enviasse seus olhares desconcertantes, // Mademoiselle Bourienne permaneceu na sala // e persistentemente falava sobre as diversões e teatros de Moscou.|||

xβ	α	<b>Embora</b> a Princesa Mary << >> enviasse seus olhares desconcertantes,
	<<=β>>	- que desejava ter uma conversa particular com Natasha -
α	1	Mademoiselle Bourienne permaneceu na sala
	+2	e persistentemente falava sobre as diversões e teatros de Moscou.
→		$x\beta(\alpha \wedge \langle \langle =\beta \rangle \rangle) \wedge \alpha(1 \wedge +2)$

Similarly, the prepositional correlative *na hora de* in item (7), which works as a circumstance of temporal Location, could have a temporal enhancing binder as agnate *quando o Príncipe Andrew chegava ao exército*. In item (7) there are three clause nexuses where before there were only two clause nexuses. This is because the

embedded clause in the prepositional correlate *exatamente na hora*<sup>73</sup> *[[do Príncipe Andrew chegar ao exército]]* was promoted to the level of ranking clause with the introduction of the enhancing binder *quando*, forming another hypotactic clause complex: *quando o Príncipe Andrew chegava ao exército*.

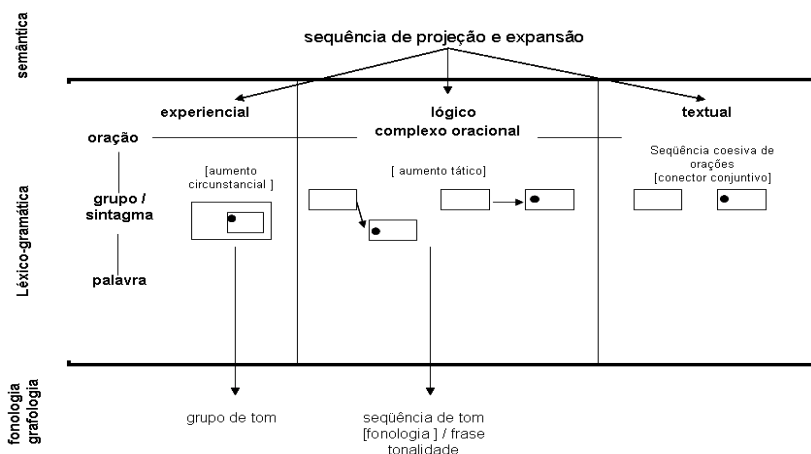
- (7) ||| Entre todos estes grupos, *exatamente na hora* *[[de o Príncipe Andrew chegar ao exército]]*, um outro, um nono grupo, estava sendo formado // e estava começando a elevar a voz.|||

It is important to highlight that a circumstantial element possesses only a minor process, not the main one, hence, it cannot construe a representation in terms of proposition and proposal, and thus, it cannot convey a message integrally at a clausal level (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Conversely, a clause complex entails the magnitude of the clause by means of expansion or projection, allowing for the whole realisation potential of a clause experientially, interpersonally and textually. Thus, although the prepositional phrase of item (8) *com todo o seu coração e toda sua força*, and the agnate clause *usando todo seu coração* seem to be close in terms of meaning, the prepositional phrase is still a clause in miniature, and in this way it does not have the actual potential of a clause, being not able to realise clause complexes, though semantically being similar. This occurs because although circumstantial elements are part of the configurational organisation of a clause, only clauses can be part of a serial structure in a univariate mode (with the same function in grammatical level) in clause complexes (ibid).

- (8) ||| Natasha estava acanhada *[[por não poder fazer nada // enquanto que alguém estava tão ocupado]]*, // e várias vezes naquela manhã tinha tentado iniciar algum trabalho, // mas seu coração não conseguia se ater ao trabalho, // e ela não podia // e não sabia // como fazer algo exceto *com todo seu coração e com toda sua força*.|||

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<sup>73</sup> According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), some nominal groups with Head/Things referring to time such as *hora* and *momento*, which function as prepositional correlates may also be interpreted as a conjunctive correlate, and as such be analysed as replacing a structural conjunction.



**Fig. 4.8** The location of a clause complex in terms of stratification, metafunction and rank (adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 370).

Figure 4.8 illustrates the different ways in which a flow of information can occur. As we can see, circumstances typically stem from prepositional phrases and adverbial groups, whereas linkers and binders typically originate from structural conjunctions that create clause nexuses between clauses. Therefore, the text producer should choose the linguistic resources to be used to convey a text, whether in a clause magnified internally (via circumstantial elements) or externally (via the addition of another clause to form a clause complex) since as claimed by Hasan (1996b), the linguistic choice we make may interfere on how we say what we want to say.

#### 4.5 Discussing realisations of experiential metaphors

The discourse-semantic unit underlying a lexical item may be actualised either congruently as a lexical element or as a combination of lexical items (Martin, 1992). Whenever there is utilisation of grammatical metaphor, there is a change from a congruent to an incongruent way of experiencing the world by means of a reconstrual of the quantum of events in the logical and experiential line of

meaning in terms of configuration. This causes realignment on the flow of interaction in the interpersonal line of meaning in terms of speech-function and flow of information in the textual strand of meaning in terms of contextualisation (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). That means that the metafunctions are interdependent since no one can be developed except in the context of the other metafunctions.

The syntagmatic and paradigmatic orders are two characteristics of lexical metaphors that are “central to metaphor in its grammatical sense” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999/2006, p. 233). Syntagmatically, lexical metaphors usually tend to occur in regular cluster known as *syndromes* (see Table 4.4) as in the metaphor *congregação* → *rebanho*, which involves *agentes religiosos* → *pastores* → *grupo de crentes* → *membro (da igreja)*. Paradigmatically lexical metaphor tends to involve a move from abstract to concrete.

semantic unit	congruently ↘	metaphorically ↘
sequence	clause complex	clause
figure	clause	nominal group
element	conjunction (relating clauses in complex)	

**Table 4.4** Syndrome of features involved in grammatical metaphor (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, 2006, p. 239)

According to Halliday and Matthiessen, (1999, 2006, p. 233), we tend to treat the phenomenon of semantic move “under the general rubric of **grammatical metaphor**” (original emphasis). They argue that in a traditional approach a lexical metaphor like *enchente* is seen from below in the sense of what that expression means. Taking it from above, we could ask, instead, how an intense emotion is represented. In the case of *enchente* as example of a lexical metaphor, it may mean literally *inundação* or metaphorically an intense emotion as in *ela sentiu uma enchente de alívio*. Although this approach is the same as what is acknowledged as metaphor in its traditional sense, looking at the phenomena from above it implies “that what is varied is the lexis not the grammar”. Tables 4.4 and 4.5 show how semantic units of sequences, figures and elements may be congruently and metaphorically realised.

	clause complex	clause	group
sequence	Congruent ◆	metaphoric ◆	metaphoric ◆
figure		congruent ◆	metaphoric ◆
element			congruent ◆ metaphoric

**Table 4.5** Metaphoric effect of metaphoric shift (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, 2006, p. 240)

As can be noted in Table 4.5, grammatical metaphor moves from one phenomenal domain into another, progressing from sequence to figure and from figure to element. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, P. 626) claim that “[s]ystemically, metaphor leads to an **expansion of the meaning potential**: by creating new patterns of structural realisations, it opens up new systemic domains of meaning” (original emphasis). This fact is relevant on the grounds that when a figure is actualised as an ideational (experiential) metaphor by a nominal group or prepositional phrase, it becomes deprived of the interpersonal status of a proposal or proposition (ibid), rendering it non-assailable, as well as when clauses are embedded as in Mandela’s speech in clause (1), in which the three embeddings rhetorically have been placed in a next-to-unassailable position since embedded clauses, although finite, are not really arguable (Martin, 2000) because their function is of post-modifying Qualifiers. In BP, although less arguable, these types of embedded clauses can be disputed because the negotiation is not dependent on a Finite as in English.

- (1) We would also like to pay tribute to our security forces, in all their ranks, for the distinguished role *[[they have played in [[securing our first democratic elections and the transition to democracy, from blood-thirsty forces [[which still refuse to see the light.]] ] ] ]]*.

As discussed earlier, a high number of nominalisations in a text, which is typical of written text, renders it more lexically dense, for the text is packed by a large number of lexical items in each clause. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), nominalising is the single most powerful resources for creating grammatical metaphor, in which processes congruently worded as verbs and properties congruently worded as adjectives are reworded as nouns, functioning as Thing in a nominal group as in this utterance by Martin Luther King utilised as ideational metaphor through nominalisations in example (2), in which the nominal group complex *interposition and*

*nullification* is reconstrued by being packed into Post-modifiers in a prepositional phrase functioning as a circumstance of Manner of the subtype quality, changing their roles of processes within the clause.

- (2) ...whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of *interposition* and *nullification*.

Although the concept of grammatical metaphor has been already discussed as in the *Introduction to Functional Grammar* of 1985 in a chapter about metaphorical modes of expression where Halliday dealt with experiential and interpersonal metaphors, there are still some ideational metaphors, more precisely experiential metaphors, that have not been appropriately tackled in SFG. One reason for this to happen may be that these types of utterances are more commonly used in spoken language in mundane ways, which tend to be a harder issue to cover in Transitivity. Despite of that these types of metaphors seem to occur frequently in BP as in clauses (3 and 4) below.

(3a)	Ela	me	deu	o cano
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal</i>

(3b)	Ela	me	deu o cano
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Proc material: elaborador</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Proc material: elaborating</i>

(3c)	Ela	me	enganou
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Proc material: elaborador</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Proc material: elaborating</i>

(4a)	Ela	me	dá	[Ø problemas]	nos nervos
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>	<i>Proc mat</i>	<i>Escopo</i>	<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Pro mat</i>	<i>Scope</i>	<i>Circ spatial Location</i>

(4b)	Ela	me	dá nos nervos
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: emotivo</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental: emotive</i>



(4c)	Ela	me	irrita
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: emotivo</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental: emotive</i>

Following the descriptive models of SFG in English, we would have in BP the analysis displayed in clauses (3a) and (4a). However, incongruently, it seems to me that the participant *o cano* should not be taken as the actual word meaning in (3a) since it does not imply in the context that someone has really given someone something. If this constituent of the clause is being used here in a metaphorical way then it should be structured in its real function, which in this case represents its semantic level, replacing the material process *enganar* in (3c). By the same token, I advocate that clause (4b) is more appropriately analysed if it is regarded as an emotive mental process replacing the process *irritar* as in clause (4c) since the clause does not imply that someone has in fact caused physical problems in someone's nerves. The grammar of BP, more often than not, tends to structure clauses this way. Therefore, I suggest that these clauses be treated as an empty process plus a main process Extension as a single verbal group as shown in clauses (3b) and (4b), similar to the way they are dealt with in Construction Grammar and Cardiff Grammar (see Fillmore and O'Connor, 1988; Goldberg, 1995; Neale, 2002; Lin and Peng, 2006; Fawcett, forthcoming 2011). Hence, the verbal expression *bring value* in the clause *The addition of AOL didn't bring value to Time Warner* might be analysed as relational, in which the Attribute is conflated with the process: *The addition of AOL wasn't valuable to Time Warner*. The way suggested may resolve many of the most intricate arrangements in clauses in BP similar to (5 through 10), which I treat as structured with process plus main process Extension (mpE).

(5)	Menino de uns dez anos	dá caneta em	Terry <sup>74</sup> .
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material:</i> <i>Epp</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material:</i> <i>mpE</i>	<i>Affected</i>
	Menino de uns dez anos	dribla	Terry.
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>

(6)	Ela	foi a óbito
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc mat: Epp</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc mat: mpE</i>
	Ela	morreu
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>

(7)	Ela	não bate bem da cabeça	
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional: Epp/Atributo</i>	
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc relacional: mpE/ Attribute</i>	
	Ela	está	fora de seu juízo normal
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(8)	Ela	me	deu um susto
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: Epp</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental: mpE</i>
	Ela	me	assustou
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>

(9)	O professor	vai dar uma palavrinha	com você
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal: Epp</i>	<i>Receptor</i>
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal: mpE</i>	<i>Receiver</i>
	O professor	vai conversar	com você
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Receptor</i>
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Receiver</i>

<sup>74</sup> In *Veja!*, section Bola nas Costas, on February, 16, 2010 at <http://globoesporte.globo.com/>

(10)	A babá	deu uma olhadinha	no bebê
	<i>Comportante</i>	<i>Proc comportamental: Epp</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Behaver</i>	<i>Proc behav: mpE</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>
	A babá	olhou	o bebê
	<i>Comportante</i>	<i>Proc comportamental</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Behaver</i>	<i>Proc behavioural</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>

As can be seen by the examples, a main process Extension may occur not only in effective clauses as in (5) and (8), but also in middle non-ranged clauses as in (6, 7, 9) and middle ranged clauses as in (10). Excepting existential process, main process Extension is common in process types in BP. By no means are clauses with main process Extension the same as the ones with single processes. That means that the choice that the text producer uses to construe his/her view of experiential reality must also be considered in the interpretation of the clause because the way clauses are structured reflects a lot the text producer's way of materialising the flux of information that s/he wants to convey lexicogrammatically. Hence, main process Extension serves to signal to the reader/listener that the clause tenor tends to be more informal and has some strength in the Mood system as well, though all metafunctions are intertwined in all flux of information.

This way to deal with some experiential metaphor tends to avoid more taxonomy and help students assimilate how the verbal group works to produce an incongruent structure. I must emphasise that I do not advocate the elimination of the Participant Range/Scope. What I claim is that there is an easier way to deal with empty processes with Range/Scope since as Martins (1992) argues, the Range in this case has a very weak discourse power. I do believe it has more power if inserted in the verbal group, forming the lexical part of the process as shown above. Furthermore, this is also a way to solve some of the most intricate process types in terms of PR's because the main process Extension function can cut across process types as in some intricate constructions in mental processes (11 and 12).

(11)	Ela	teve uma queda por	mim
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: Epp</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental: mpE</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>

(12)	ela	se apaixonou por	mim
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: Epp</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental: mpE</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>

This is indeed an efficient way to represent some of the most intricate constructions even in English such as with the ones in (13 and 14).

(13)	She	cried <i>her eyes dry</i> .	
	<i>Behaver</i>	<i>Pro Behavioural: mpE</i>	

(14)	John	pushed <i>his way</i>	<i>to the stage</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Pro mat: mpE</i>	<i>Cir Location: Space</i>

I must emphasise that in this construction, the Attribute *dry* does not perform the same function as in *clean* in *she wiped the table clean*, in which the resultative Attribute *clean* is encapsulated in a transformative effective material clause in that the participant *she* is affecting the participant *table*. In this construction, the resultative Attribute *clean* can be left out of the clause. Conversely, in (13), the resultative Attribute is part of the expression and is inherent in the clause since the process *cry* is usually used in clauses that are middle non-ranged as in *she is crying a lot* although it can also appear in some constructions as in *she cried bitter tears*, which, in this case creates some ambiguity because depending on interpretation it may be analysed either as a behavioural process with Behaver and Phenomenon or functioning more like a material clause with Actor and Goal. But notice that in both analyses the clause does not have a resultative Attribute. Therefore, the clause in discussion does not seem to be the same case, since the Attribute cannot be left out. The clause *she cried her eyes* alone does not make sense since nobody can cry an eye. As already discussed, these grammatical constructions with resultative Attributes are not feasible in Brazilian Portuguese.

These constructions imply that the process together with the extension have an enhancing circumstantial aspect conveying the notion on how the process is actualised.

Although structures such as the ones exemplified in BP and the ones in English are not commonly studied in the IFG's, the conflation of the syntagm *process* plus *Range* may be useful to analyse these structures. In addition, it seems to summarise in one meaning what the process is actually about, as illustrated again in examples (15a -15b). As Halliday (1985, p. 322) claims, some structures, though not being synonymous, "are potentially co-representational.

(15a)	O bebê	pegou no sono	rapidamente
	<i>Comportante</i>	<i>Proc comportamental: Epp</i>	<i>Circ Modo: qualidade</i>
	<i>Behaver</i>	<i>Pro Beh: mpE</i>	<i>Cir Manner: quality</i>

(15b)	O bebê	dormiu	rapidamente
	<i>Comportante</i>	<i>Proc comportamental: Epp</i>	<i>Circ Modo: qualidade</i>
	<i>Behaver</i>	<i>Pro Behavioural</i>	<i>Cir Manner: quality</i>

(16a)	A mãe	tirou fotos do	seu filho
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material: Epp</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material: mpE</i>	<i>Affected</i>

(16b)	A mãe	fotografou	seu filho
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>

Halliday, in 1985, expands the notion of grammatical metaphor from essentially lexical metaphors to embrace metaphorical processes in the grammar as well since “[t]he verbal to nominal transfer is the most prototypical grammatical metaphor” (Ravelli, 2003, p. 38). Although this is an issue that challenges the theoretical framework on how to define and account for the phenomenon in terms of theory, it is crucial to find ways to connect it with the fundamentals of the theory and with the most recent instantiations of a given language (ibid).

Halliday (1994, chapter 10) argues that in nominalised clauses the reading is done “in a dual way like lexical metaphors” (in Painter, 2003, p. 151) since it may be interpreted as containing strings of processes or things. Thus, in a clause such as *panic followed the explosion*, we tend to interpret the meaning by means of two processes: first something ‘exploded’ and then people ‘panicked’. However, because the process is nominalised we understand the meaning as two things: ‘panic’ and ‘explosion’.

Following Halliday’s premises, Torr and Simpson (2003, p. 170) claim that grammatical metaphor is a “major linguistic resource in the construction of written language and registers”. They refer basically to nominalisation as is common when dealing with ideational metaphor in a broad way.

As posited above, I believe that an experiential grammatical metaphor is bound to all other metafunctions since it intrinsically

affects the whole of the linguistic realm. A change from the congruent to an incongruent linguistic pattern will affect the interpersonal line of meaning due to the tenor the message conveys, the textual, due to how the message is textured and the logical line of meaning due to how the wording is put together in order to form simplexes or complexes.

Therefore, I am aware of the difficulty in connecting metaphors into the theory but I may risk to say that analysts and students should be offered a tool to deal with text analysis in all its variation. Thus, with no intention of oversimplifying the theory I have attempted to exemplify with abundant clauses that the (mpE) is very helpful in dealing with some experiential metaphors in which congruent verbal groups are replaced with incongruent verbal groups forming processes.

Some syntagmatic orders cannot be realised as process such as in “dar um anel” since there is not an equivalent process “anelar”. But in cases such as “dar uma ajuda” there is the possibility of “ajudar”. There are other cases where the process has agnates such as in “dar no pé”, meaning “fugir”. It is in cases where there are equivalence that I suggest the “main process Extension” be used. In this way many of the experiential metaphors can be analysed irrespective of the process being presented in a single string or by means of verbal expressions representing a process.

In the following samples the processes are metaphorised into event nouns stemming from the same word.

dar um abraço -> abraçar

dar um beijo -> beijar

dar um afago -> afagar

dar uma ajuda -> ajudar

dar apoio - apoiar

dar apreço - apreciar

dar valor – valorizar

dar uma palestra - palestrar

fazer uma caminhada -> caminhar

fazer jejum -> jejuar

fazer uma oração -> orar

fazer um carinho -> acariciar

ter apego – se apegar

When Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) acknowledge that in expressions such as *give a lecture*, the process *give* is verbal and a

*lecture* is a Verbiage, they mean that the Range as Verbiage is the lexical part that causes the process *give* to be recognised as verbal process. This way of dealing with processes is a way to confirm that the lexical part that is nominalised is the one that carries the semantic load of the **Process** not the empty **Verb**. This is one more motif to claim that a simplified alternative way to treat these structures is feasible in the sense of what a Process entails in its entirety.

fazer um comentário - comentar

fazer um pedido - pedir

fazer um discurso - discursar

fazer uma divulgação - divulgar

However, there are many cases in which the nominal group included in the empty process functions as a substitute.

dar nos nervos -> irritar

dar no pé -> fugir

ter uma queda por -> gostar

pegar no sono -> dormir

As for the cases related to ‘process plus Range (Scope)’ constructions, note that there are other similar clauses as the ones shown below:

(17a)	Eu	te	dou	proteção
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope</i>

(17b)	Eu	te	protejo
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Proc material</i>

(18a)	Você	me	dá	coragem
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Scope</i>

(18b)	Você	me	encoraja
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: emotivo</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental: emotive</i>

(19a)	Eu	te	dei	amor
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Scope</i>

(19b)	Eu	te	amei
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Proc mental: emotivo</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Proc mental: emotive</i>

Although some scholars prefer to consider all ditransitive<sup>75</sup> verbs as Actor/Goal/Recipient, namely Michael O'Donnell<sup>76</sup>, through the examples of these clauses we notice that not all clauses with *give* have to be considered as having a Participant functioning as the Goal in the Transitive model. This is because these clauses do not present a genuine transfer of property indicating possession, as already tackled above. Therefore, metaphorised clauses with Process plus Scope are not always structured in the same process type domain.

If we analyse the congruent structure of the clauses above in the ergative model, in (17b) *Eu* is the Agent and *te* is the Medium, in (18b) *Você* is the Agent and *me* is the Medium and in (19b) *Eu* is the Medium and *te* is the Range. Mental clauses can be equivalent to Agent and Medium in the ergative model when there is a 'please-type' structure and not a 'like-type' one as in (19b). Item (18b) has a mental 'please-type' structure. That is why it can have a function like a Goal since the Senser is being affected by the Phenomenon. Thus, despite the fact that all clauses are construed as material process in the incongruent mode, it is shown that only (17b) is kept in the same process type domain i.e. it is the only clause that is in its essence material since all the other clauses, although realised grammatically in a material fashion, are semantically mental. That is the reason why I propose that when these types of process are lexically 'empty' and the actual process is nominalised, they be treated as Processes with Main Process Extension. This way they can be treated as a verbal group in a clause simplex: *give help* (help), *give courage* (encourage), *give a hug* (hug). So, irrespective of the grammatical structure they possess, they are treated as in the congruent form, avoiding the dependence on the type of verbal expression (Goal/Scope), which tend to be fuzzy to be analysed by text analysts and principally secondary level students.

<sup>75</sup> These are verbs which can take both a direct object and indirect object at the same time.

<sup>76</sup> At the Sysfunc list on Wednesday, 10 February, 2010

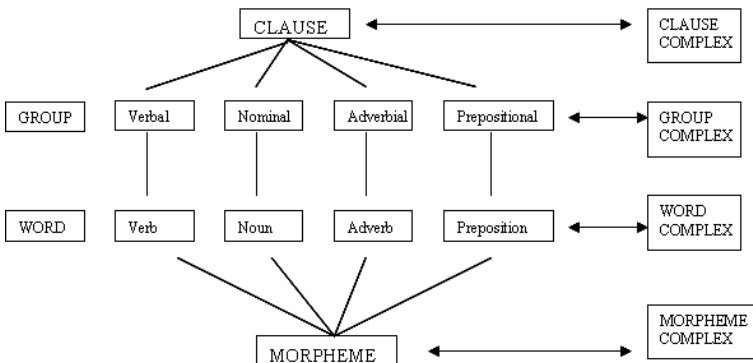


Hence, I suggest a way to deal with these clauses by changing the PR's for material clauses and adding a *main process Extension* as shown in the example below (20).

(20)	O filho	deu um abraço na	Mãe	suggested model
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material: Epp</i>	<i>Afetado</i>	
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material: mpE</i>	<i>Affected</i>	

This type of construction in BP is something that can be attested “on observation of language instantiated in use” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 50). However, as emphasised earlier, in relation to how meaning is construed, this type of structure should be taken into consideration in the interpretation of the data by text analysts anytime it is referred to as *process + main process extension* since any different way of construing meaning undoubtedly conveys the text producer’s way of meaning construal.

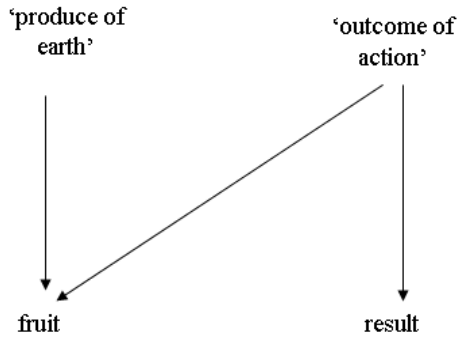
Because Halliday’s grammatical units establish that clauses are actualised by groups or phrases, which are formed with words, which in turn are formed with morphemes, verbal groups are not regarded as being able to connect directly to the clause (see Fig. 4.9).



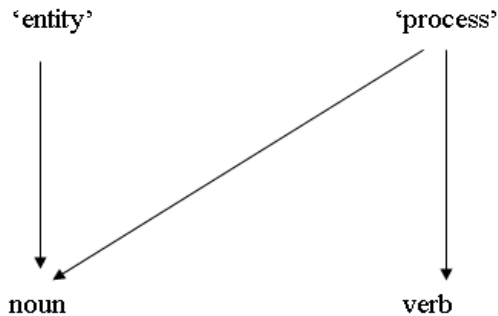
**Fig. 4.9** The rank scale of the English language. (From Halliday, 2009, p. 311).

However, when Halliday (2009, p. 118) explains grammatical metaphor (Fig. 4.10 and Fig.4.11 ), he hints at the fact that meaning

can be “expressed by different wording”, i.e. *same content*” but *different expression*. This is so because in grammatical metaphor “one word moves into the domain of another”. Thus, “a lexico-semantic construct that is typically realised by one word is instead realised by another, which typically realises something else” (ibid, p. 119).



**Fig. 4.10** Representation of lexical metaphor. (From Halliday, 2009, p. 118).



**Fig. 4.11** Representation of grammatical metaphor. (From Halliday, 2009, p. 118).

This argument, I believe, reinforces the fact that some expressions such as *pegar no sono*, *dar um tiro* and *dar um abraço* are different wordings to represent the same content as in *dormir*, *atirar* and *abraçar*.

Furthermore, in one of Halliday’s early papers entitled ‘Categories of the theory of grammar’ reprinted in the first volume of

Halliday's collected papers entitled *On Grammar*, Halliday points out that there may be occasions in which one rank can be rankshifted to function within one rank below or in the same rank when he says that

in the description of English the sentence consists of one or more complete clauses, the clause of one or more complete groups, the group of one or more complete words and the word of one or more complete morphemes. The descriptive meaning of “consists of”, and the possibilities of rankshift (including recursive rankshift), are stated as and where applicable (Halliday, 2005a, p. 45).

Using a very long nominal group, Eggins (1994, p. 60) illustrates in an interesting way how ‘rankshifting’ may occur at group level when she says that “[t]he nominal group is the part of the clause that contains nouns and the words that can accompany nouns” (see Fig. 4.12).

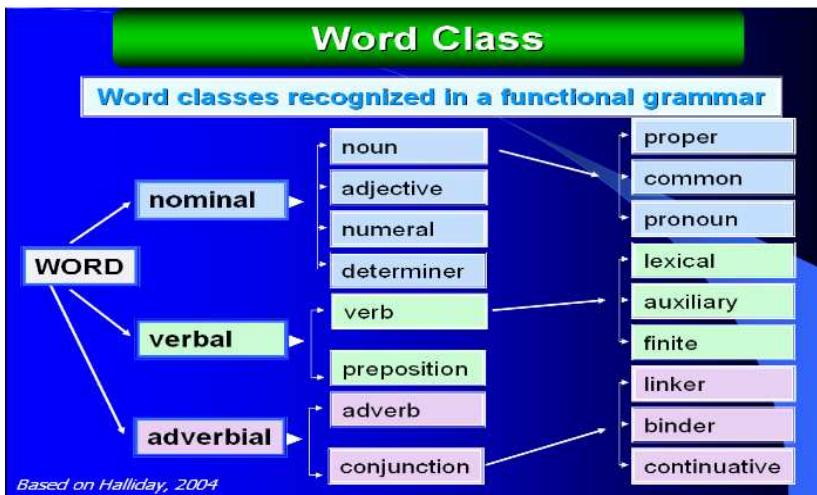
spiders  
 the three spiders  
 the three redback spiders  
 the three shiny redback spiders  
 the smallest of the three shiny redback spiders  
 the smallest of the three shiny redback spiders in the corner  
 the smallest of the three shiny redback spiders spinning their webs in the corner

**Fig. 4.12** An example of a long string of words forming a nominal group.

Notice that the nominal group in *The smallest of the three shiny redback spiders* [[*spinning their webs in the corner*]] is formed with both prepositional phrases of *the three shiny redback spiders* [[*spinning their webs in the corner*]] and accompanied by an embedded clause that contains a verbal group in *spinning* and again a prepositional phrase *in the corner*. This does not mean that rankshift is inherently metaphoric. There are many cases in which rank shift occurs without necessarily involving metaphoricity, as in embeddings functioning as Head or Qualifier. As a matter of fact, there is a similarity in forms since it is also possible the occurrence of class shift. This non-metaphorical class shift is known as ‘transcategorisation’ (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, 2006, p. 259). Thus, grammatical metaphor should not be bound merely to

grammatical categorisation since it is an expansion of grammatical structures.

The part where Halliday discusses groups and phrases and word classes is very revealing. They claim that the class labels usually do not represent what the items are standing for. Thus the functional representation needs to be established by us. As can be seen in the taxonomy of word class that form groups and phrases in Fig.4.13, although nominal groups should be represented by noun, adjective, numeral and determiner, the nominalisation shows that items from other classes are also used to compose the nominal group, as is attested by the verbal group *spin*, which was ‘rankshited’ to function as post-modifying Qualifier of the Head/Thing *spider* in Fig. 4.12 above.



**Fig. 4.13** Taxonomy of words classes in English (from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p52)

Thus, I take Eggins’ words as a foundation to claim that the verbal group may also be the part of the clause that contain verbs and the words that can accompany the Verb to form the Process, which may belong to any of the constituents that form groups and phrases as the examples show with *acabar com* and *dar um chute em*. In other words, “[a] verbal group is the expansion of a verb, in the same way that a nominal group is the expansion of a noun” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.335).

(21)	A polícia	quer acabar com	o tráfico de drogas
	<i>Ator/Agente</i>	<i>Proc material: Epp</i>	<i>Meta/Afetado</i>
	<i>Actor/Agent</i>	<i>Proc material:mpE</i>	<i>Goal/Affected</i>
(22)	O bêbado	deu um chute	no cachorro
	<i>Ator/Agente</i>	<i>Proc material: Epp</i>	<i>Meta/Afetado</i>
	<i>Actor/Agent</i>	<i>Proc material:mpE</i>	<i>Goal/Affected</i>

This again brings back the issue of functions and lexicogrammar in the sense of how lexicogrammar is to be analysed, whether as mere syntax as the traditional grammar or in terms of functions heading towards semantics as it should be in a functional grammar. Halliday himself (1973, p. 95) suggests that structures are to be defined as the “configuration of functions” because they already cover a level of abstraction that can cover semantic structures once it is needed. Again in Halliday (1979, p. 11), he acknowledges that “[i]nterpersonal meaning cannot easily be expressed as configuration of discrete elements”. This is so because “[t]he essence of the meaning potential of this part of the semantic system is that most of the options are associated with the act of meaning as whole” (ibid). This is such a so complex issue that a clause such as *I am happy* has been the cause of heated debates at the sysfunclist forum in the sense of how it has to be treated, whether as a mental or as an Attributive Relational Process. This is irrefutable evidence that “the theory as presently set out” has given rise to many problematic transitivity questions and disagreements on the sysfunclist forum.

This goes back to an issue I discussed earlier (section 3.6.1) in constructions such as *eu tenho dor de cabeça várias vezes ao dia* which are typically treated as relational due to the Process ‘ter’. This implies that the word ‘ter’ seems to be taken for granted as being relational irrespective of the context of the situation since this process is best treated as a mental process because it is simply replacing the process ‘sentir’. It seems that some researchers of the theory have still refused to review this issue (though a great many have had this concern as I have illustrated in the discussions of the sysfunclist forum above). Some scholars, namely Tom Bartlett<sup>77</sup>, has been working on a model of analysis that takes meaning as the prominence, similarly, I believe, to what Martin did when he created his structures of appraisal,

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<sup>77</sup> Tom Bartlett <tomasito@btopenworld.com> in a discussion at the sysfunclist forum at Sys-func@listserv.uts.edu.au, <http://listserv.uts.edu.au/mailman/listinfo/sys-func> on October 27, 2009.

a treatment of analysis that goes far beyond the mere class of words in terms of unit of the grammar (see Martin, 2005). This is, of course, something that demands a lot of research but stands as a Goal to be reached in the near future.

Thus, in order to problematise the issue, it seems to me that when a process can only be realised by a verb without considering its expansion, this, in some sense, approaches traditional grammar in which classes are the foundation for the grammatical structures. Furthermore, Halliday and Matthiessen themselves (2004) treat structures as in (23) as a verbal process. This is because they take the lexical part (which is what I suggest to be treated as main process extension) to represent the process type.

(23)	O presidente Lula	fez	um discurso	para a nação
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Verbiagem</i>	<i>Receptor</i>
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Verbiage</i>	<i>Receiver</i>

However, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) do not keep this same principle when clauses are not verbal, as in (24 and 25).

(24)	Ela	me	deu	ajuda
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo/Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope/Goal</i>

(25)	Ela	me	deu	coragem
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo/Meta</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope/Goal</i>

This approach seems to take away the real perspective of the verb in the sense of what they really are in terms of process types, i.e. not all Verbs are in essence material clauses, as I illustrate below. It still brings back the discussion whether the process extension is functioning as a Scope or Goal, as I have discussed earlier. Therefore, it seems that the perspective I offer for BP is important because it brings back the essence of the Process as it is (though construed dissimilarly) and avoids the, sometimes, irrelevant discussion about whether the Complement is a Scope or a Goal in these constructions. In other words, what I am merely suggesting is that the same principle taken by Halliday and Matthiessen in relation to verbal clauses also be taken to analyse other similar structures as in (24) and (25) in that the lexical part is the source for specifying the process type. In doing so,

the structure consisting of a verbal group plus a nominal group form one meaning as the Processes in (26) through (29).

This prevents the analyst to reach an untruthful result in terms of process types using process plus Scope as being always material clauses.

(26)	O presidente Lula	fez um discurso	para a nação
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal: Epp</i>	<i>Recebedor</i>
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal:mpE</i>	<i>Receiver</i>

(27)	Ela	me	deu um sermão
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Alvo</i>	<i>Proc verbal: Epp</i>
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Proc verbal:mpE</i>

(28)	Ela	me	deu ajuda
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material: Epp</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material:mpE</i>

(29)	Ela	me	deu coragem
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: Epp</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental:mpE</i>

As we can see this way of treating clauses maintains the essence of the meaning of the process since it keeps the same principle Halliday (1985, 1994) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) use for verbal clauses with the structure *empty verb* plus *nominal group* with emphasis on the lexical part of the compound.

Of course, the analysis above is not feasible for other structures in which the Scope needs to be treated as a real Scope as in *a senhora atravessou a rua*. Here, although the meaning of the Process is complete only with the Scope *a rua*, it is clear that there is no agnate single process to substitute this construction and the lexical part of the verbal group is in the verb itself. Because it is not an empty one, it should be treated as Process plus Scope whereas *tirar férias* in *Rihanna revelou que não queria tirar férias após o lançamento do álbum "Rated R"<sup>78</sup>, em 2009*, it should be treated as Process plus main verb extension.

Thus, there are four main types of construction which involve process plus Scope, as shown below.

<sup>78</sup> Extracted from <http://popline.mtv.uol.com.br/rihanna-eu-nao-queria-tirar-ferias-depois-do-rated-r> on November, 25, 2010.

(30)	O alpinista	escalou	o Monte Everest
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope</i>
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope</i>

(31)	O professor	fez	um comentário	sobre o assunto
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Verbiagem</i>	<i>Circ Assunto</i>
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Verbiage</i>	<i>Circ Matter</i>
	<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal: Epp</i>		<i>Circ Assunto</i>
	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc verbal:mpE</i>		<i>Circ Matter</i>

(32)	Ela	vai tirar	férias	em julho
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo</i>	<i>Circ Localização temporal</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope</i>	<i>Circ Temporal Location</i>
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material: Epp</i>		<i>Circ Localização temporal</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material:mpE</i>		<i>Circ Temporal Location</i>

(33)	Ela	me	deu	abrigo
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Beneficiário</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Beneficiary</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope</i>
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material: Epp</i>	
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material:mpE</i>	

In circumstantial complements as in example (30) the treatment of the clause is the same with process plus Scope but in (31) through (33) I suggest the clauses be treated as Process plus mpE. In (31) both verb and noun construe a verbal Process similar to *comentar*, in (32) the verb plus nominal group imply one Process similar to *descansar*, and (33) represents the only effective clause with verb plus nominal group. Notice that in the usual way of treating this clause, the real affected participant is disguised as a Beneficiary, which is a function that does not reflect the real dimension of a participant being affected. Among these complements, *comentário* in (31) and *abrigo* in (33) are known in traditional grammar as ‘derivação regressiva’, which is important in the creation of deverbal nouns (Cunha and Cintra, 2007).

As pointed out earlier, the fact of offering another way to deal with grammatical metaphor does not imply that I am not aware of “the great potential that is open to nouns, in contrast to verbs, for being modified in different ways” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 193). In some examples shown in Halliday and Matthiessen (*ibid*) such as *tomar um banho quente*, *cometer três sérios erros*, *dar outra olhada*, *fazer pequenas revisões*, they highlight how hard it would be to do the



same with verbs. However, in such cases it is clear that the text producer wants to emphasise the Scope in the clause. That is why I consider these Scopes as being in ‘marked constructions’. Thus, in these cases the Complement should be treated as Scope in order to respect the prominence attached to the text.

However, more often than not there are ways to replace Pre- and Postmodifiers added to nouns by using circumstances even in these difficult constructions as the examples show.

Ela cometeu três sérios erros → Ela cometeu erros três vezes seriamente

Ela tomou um banho quente → Ela tomou um banho com água quente

Ela deu outra olhada rápida → Ela deu uma olhada rapidamente de novo

Thus, process plus main process extension should be used neither with a Scope that “construes an entity which exists independently of the process”, as with *piano* in *ela toca piano* nor with the ones that indicate “the domain over which the process takes place” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 192), as with *uma das mais longas pontes suspensas do mundo* in *Mais de seis mil motoqueiros cruzaram uma das mais longas pontes suspensas do mundo com suas motocicletas Harley-Davidson*<sup>79</sup>. It is not recommended in cases where the Scope is “another name for the process” either, as with *tennis* in *eles jogaram tennis* (ibid, 193).

Thus process plus main verb extension should be used as an alternative for when “the verb is lexically ‘empty’” and “the process of the clause is expressed only by the noun functioning as Scope” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2010, p. 193) in an unmarked way. In these cases *mpE* is noticeably preferable because the whole meaning is regarded as the Process. And this is possible because it has been similarly used in some functional grammars, namely Cardiff Grammar and Case Grammar, as an acknowledgement that grammatical metaphor is above the usual concepts of the lexicogrammar in relation to groups. Regarding this issue, Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2006, p. 33) claim that the meaning potential represented by systems in the lexicogrammar can be expanded by metaphor when they explicate stratification with regard to the ideation base although they do not show how.

Some grammatical metaphors tend to be more visible whenever they extrapolate the delimitations of the grammatical structures, which

<sup>79</sup> Excerpt from <http://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2010/05/seis-mil-motoqueiros-batem-recorde-ao-cruzar-ponte-1.html>, accessed on May, 30, 2010.

may cause hindrance to understand that one meaning may be construed by one group or a composition of groups that may be different in form, as in complicated constructions in BP such as in (34) and (35).

(34)	O ladrão	levou	um tiro	do policial
	A criança	levou	um tapa	da mãe
	O menino	levou	uma surra	do pai
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo</i>	<i>Circ Localização</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope</i>	<i>Cir Location</i>
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material:mpE</i>		<i>Pró-Agente/ Circ Benefício</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material:Epp</i>		<i>Pseudo-Agent/ Cir Behalf</i>
(35)	O filho	levou	uma bronca	da mãe
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo</i>	<i>Circ Localização</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Scope</i>	<i>Circ Location</i>
	<i>Alvo</i>	<i>Proc verbal: Epp</i>		<i>Pró-Dizente/ Circ Benefício</i>
	<i>Target</i>	<i>Process verbal:mpE</i>		<i>Pseudo-Sayer/ Circ Behalf</i>

These intricate structures seem to be simplified with the use of the functions *Agent* and *Affected* plus *mpE* rather than the typical way of treating material and verbal clauses in the transitive model. In the typical way, neither the ‘done to’ (Goal) nor the ‘doer’ (Actor) in (34) seem to be appropriately represented, even if the Scope is substituted with the function of Goal. This is because the Goal seems to be neither of the creative nor of the transformative type. This reinforces the fact that process and extension realise one meaning. Furthermore, the treatment of *da polícia* and *da mãe* as circumstances, although being prepositional phrases, does not seem to be representative of none of the known circumstances since people are not typically representation of location. Furthermore, the probe in this case is *de quem* rather than *de onde*. Thus, it seems that in BP these constructions are better structured with two participants, with the prepositional phrase functioning like a *by Adjunct* in effective receptive clauses realising the ‘pseudo-Agent’ function or who/what it replaces, as the Agent (34) and Sayer in (35).

Reccapping what has been seen above, Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2006, p. 271) maintain that an “element that is metaphorised does not lose its original status”. In other words, when a process is nominalised as a participant in a status of thing, “it does not lose its experiential standing as a process” (ibid, 291). This explicates

why the structure ‘main process extension’ is a significant metaphorical way to represent the construction of metaphoric space chosen by the text producer. I say that the same is true regarding the participant function since in *o menino levou uma surra do pai* has a similar relation with *o pai surrou o filho* or *o pai deu uma surra no filho*, in which the participant *o pai* is the one involved in affecting the participant *filho* in the three clauses, although structured dissimilarly.

(34)	O menino	levou uma surra	do pai
	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material: Epp</i>	<i>Circ Benefício/Pró-Agente</i>
	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material:mpE</i>	<i>Cir Behalf/pseudo-Agent</i>
	O pai	deu uma surra	no filho
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material: Epp</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material:mpE</i>	<i>Affected</i>
	O pai	surrou	o filho
	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>

#### 4.5 Dealing with hypotactic verbal group complexes

One of the most difficult parts of the clause to deal with is when there is hypotactic verbal group complex. It tends to cause problem because sometimes it is represented in an extensive string of processes. When a clause displays multiple processes in a sequence, more often than not we may be dealing with a hypotactic verbal group. In this case, although the last Predicator part is the one at stake for a Transitivity analysis, the other processes that construe the complex also have their importance in the message. Their importance may have more salience in the interpersonal realm as in *ela pode fazer isso*, which shows an example of potentiality and/or in a clause such as *ela insiste em fazer isso*, in which there is an example of processes in modulation in the experiential realm.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) claim that there are five ways in which strings of processes are possible. They may be used for *elaboration* of the next process by means of *phase*, which may be represented as *time-phase* and *reality phase* as shown in Table 4.6.

Elaborating a process: PHASE				
Category: Meaning	System	Term	Aspect of verb	Examples
continuar	time-phase	durative	imperf.	<i>continuar fazendo</i>
iniciar	time-phase	inceptive	perf.	<i>começar a fazer; parar de fazer</i>
parecer	reality-phase	apparent	perf.	<i>parecer fazer</i>

**Table 4.6** Hypotactic verbal group complex in elaboration (adapted for Brazilian Portuguese from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 499)

Some processes may be used for extension by means of *conation* and *potentiality*. In Table 4.7, I exemplify some processes that can be used to extend the next lexical process in the verbal string, which is known in SFG as hypotactic verbal group complex. These types of process have a strong interpersonal flavour, principally when they relate to potentiality.

Extending a process: CONATION				
Category: meaning	System	Term	Aspect of verb	Examples
tentar	conation	conative	perf.	<i>tentar fazer; evitar fazer</i>
conseguir	conation	reussive	perf.	<i>conseguir fazer; falhar em fazer</i>
poder	potentiality	ser capaz de	perf.	<i>ser (in)capaz de fazer; (não) saber como fazer</i>
aprender	potentiality	tornar-se capaz de	perf.	<i>aprender a fazer</i>

**Table 4.7** Hypotactic verbal group complex in extension (adapted for Brazilian Portuguese from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 501)

Processes used for enhancement are the most comprising because they are featured with a circumstantial function, which is the necessary aspect for modulation. Some of these aspects may, for instance, be related to time, cause, manner and accompaniment as illustrated in Table 4.8. Thus, these types of construction are also known as modulation. However, although the term *modulation* is

employed here, its function is not analogous to the one used in the Mood system in the interpersonal realm. Modulation in hypotactic verbal group complex refers to a process that has some circumstantial quality, which is used to enhance the next process in the verbal string.

Enhancing a process: MODULATION		
Category	Aspect of -verb	Examples
Time	imperf.	<i>começar/acabar fazendo: 'fazer primeiro /por último'</i>
	perf.	<i>tender a fazer: 'fazer usualmente'</i>
Manner: quality	perf.	<i>insistir em fazer: 'fazer insistentemente'</i>
	perf.	<i>hesitar em fazer: 'fazer com relutância'</i>
	perf.	<i>arrepender-se de fazer: 'fazer com tristeza'</i>
	perf.	<i>lembrar-se/ esquecer-se de fazer: '(não) fazer de acordo com o planejado'</i>
Cause: Purpose	imperf.	<i>tentar fazendo: 'fazer como meio para um objetivo'</i>
Accompaniment	perf...	<i>ajudar a fazer: 'fazer junto com alguém'</i>

**Table 4.8** Hypotactic verbal group complex in enhancement (adapted for Brazilian Portuguese from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 503).

As shown below in (1) *Insisti em tranquilizá-lo*, (2) *a população se arriscou a pegar a estrada em horários [[que, normalmente, são impraticáveis]]*, and (3) *O déficit comercial tende a crescer*<sup>80</sup>, the first verbal part of the process sequences *insistir em*, *se arriscar a* and *tender a* are used as verbal units for modulation (enhancement) of the next process in the hypotactic verbal group complexes.

<sup>80</sup> Samples taken from Portuguese corpora (Santos and Sarmento, 2003; Davies and Ferreira, 2006).

(1)	[Ø:eu]	insisti em tranquilizá-	lo
	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>
	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Senser</i>

(2)	A população	se arriscou a pegar	a estrada	em horários [[que ... ]]
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Escopo</i>	<i>Circ Localização: tempo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Scope</i>	<i>Circ Location: time</i>

(3)	O déficit comercial	tende a crescer
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>

In clause (1) the process *tranquilizar* is enhanced circumstantially as something done insistently whereas in (2) the process *pegar* is modulated circumstantially as something done tentatively. In (3) the process *crescer* is circumstantially enhanced as something that usually occurs.

There may be a wide variety of process combinations that fit in this feature as I illustrate below. And all these verbal sequences may be reformulated by blending the different types of hypotactic verbal group complexes.

Ela *se arriscou a ir* para a Europa sem um acompanhante

Os brasileiros *tendem a ser* mais espontâneos que os europeus.

Ela *se arrependeu de não ter ido* viajar.

Justamente curioso, *vim a saber* que as turmas de operação dessa natureza se comunicavam com as retaguardas de tarefa, em horas convencionais<sup>81</sup>

Vice do Milan diz que *se apressou em desmentir* contratação de Felipe Melo<sup>82</sup>

Causative processes, in a more simplistic way, are those which cause a Participant to do something. Some examples of causative processes are shown in Table 4.9. These types of process usually comprise the three ones used in expansion, i.e. Processes used for elaboration, extension and enhancement. That is to say, causative

<sup>81</sup> Extracted from *Nosso Lar* by Francisco Xavier, p. 183 (Xavier, 2010, p.183).

<sup>82</sup> From Folha online at <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/esporte/761976-vice-do-milan-diz-que-se-apressou-em-desmentir-contratacao-de-felipe-melo.shtml>, on October 20, 2010 and accessed in the same date.

processes cut across all types of processes because they are used for causation.

Hypotactic verbal group complex: CAUSATIVES				
Expansion type	Category		Aspect of Verb	Examples
elaborating	time-phase		imperf.	<i>manter ... fazendo</i>
extending	conation	conative	perf.	<i>encorajar ... a fazer</i>
		reussive	perf.	<i>ajudar ... a fazer,</i>
	potentiality	potential	perf.	<i>capacitar ... a fazer</i>
		achieveval	perf.	<i>ensinar ... a fazer</i>
enhancing	cause	reason	perf.	<i>lembrar ... a fazer</i>
	agency	high	perf.	<i>fazer ... fazer; forçar ... a fazer;</i>
		median	perf.	<i>pegar ... para fazer; requerer ...para fazer; obrigar ... a fazer</i>
		low	perf.	<i>deixar ...fazer; permitir ... fazer</i>

**Table 4.9** Hypotactic verbal group complex in causation (adapted for Brazilian Portuguese from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 511)

Fawcett (forthcoming 2011) prefers to treat these types of process as influential processes. His taxonomy differs from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004)'s in that Fawcett analyses some processes with other labels according to their function in the clause such as *permissive* and *preventative*, with *causative* processes being treated as just one of the subtypes for the choice: 'control'. Thus, dissimilarly from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), the process *let* in *From every mountainside, let freedom ring!*(Martin Luther King), is not treated as causative, but as *permissive*.

In SFG, Hypotactic verbal group complex in projection seems to hold some dissimilarity in relation to how it is treated in expansion. Processes that elaborate, extend and enhance another process are all represented as a single happening. This occurs because these complexes have only one time reference as in *ela tentará começar a estudar amanhã*. However, it does not seem to be the same with projection.

In projection, any clause similar to *ele vai querer assinar o documento amanhã*, for instance, may be treated both as a clause simplex (1a) or a clause complex (1b). This occurs because when a clause is treated as a projected clause as in (1b), the time reference does not necessarily have to be the same for the other clause(s) forming the complex.

(1a)	Ele	vai querer assinar	o documento	amanhã
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Circ Localização: tempo</i>
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Cir Location: time</i>

(1b)	Ele	vai querer	assinar	o documento	amanhã
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Meta</i>	<i>Circ Localização: tempo</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Cir Loc.: time</i>
	<i>Oração projetante</i>		<i>Oração projetada</i>		
	<i>Projecting clause</i>		<i>Projected clause</i>		

I have to point out that according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 516), it is desirable that clauses projecting perfective and imperfective nonfinite clauses be treated as a hypotactic verbal group complex in projection. In my view this should depend on the purpose of the text analyst. However, even if the purpose is only to analyse the main process in the verbal complex, all the processes forming the Predicator complex have a meaning in how the text producer decides to convey his/her message. Therefore, in *eu posso comprar um carro* and *eu planejo comprar um carro*, we can see how important the processes that compose the hypotactic verbal group complex are. Although the main lexicalised process is *comprar* in both clauses, the processes forming the complex are not since the first hints at potentiality and the second at desideration, which are to be placed in different semiotic space. Hence, whatever the reason the research is carried out for, these aspects need to be hinted at in a text analysis.



### 4.5.1 Analysing hypotactic verbal group complexes in BP

An aspect to consider in SFG is how a verbal sequence is treated in BP. When there is a sequence of processes it is important to know that experientially the Predicator complex is the chunk required for transitivity analysis. To be more precise, it is the last section of the complex that is at stake for transitivity analysis as in English. In SFG there are three main types of verbal group complexes that are important to tackle in BP: (i) phase: for elaborating a process, (ii) conation: for extending a process, and (iii) modulation: for enhancing a process. In addition, there are two more groups worth taking into account: (iv) hypotactic verbal group complexes in expansion for causative processes and (v) hypotactic verbal group complexes in projection as discussed above.

**Convention:** hypotactic verbal groups in *italic*.

In the examples below, the clauses display samples of verbal group complexes for elaboration of processes. These verbal groups are called ‘Phase’ and are subdivided into two main subtypes: (i) the one labeled *Time-Phase*, made up of ‘inceptive’ processes (the ones indicating beginning (1), (2) and (3) or end (4) of an event or action), and ‘durative’ (the ones indicating continuation of an event or action) as in example (5); and (ii) *Reality-Phase*, made up principally of ‘apparent’ processes as in example (6).

- (1) Apareceu um lobo faminto [[que tomou conhecimento das ovelhas // e *passou a tentar capturá-las*]].
- (2) A sós com o grande número de enfermeiros, *passsei a interessar-me* pelos doentes, com mais carinho<sup>83</sup>.
- (3) Ela *voltou a viver*.
- (4) *Acabei de escrever* o livro.
- (5) Ela ainda *continua cometendo* os mesmos erros.
- (6) Isso *parece servir*.

Within the ‘apparent’ subtype, some uses of the process ‘parecer’ (7 - 8) do not seem to fit in this function. These are structures that are better treated as relational processes or even interpersonally in order to deal with probability in the Mood system.

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<sup>83</sup> Excerpt from *Nosso Lar* (Xavier, 2010, p. 187).

(7) Parece [[que vai chover amanhã]].

(8) Isso me parece ruim

Clause (7) is in agnation with (7a) [[*que vai chover amanhã*]] *está aparente*, in which the embedding is the Carrier and the nominal group is the Attribute. The way the clause is construed in (7), which entails a conflation of process and Attribute, is more typical in BP than (7a).

In English a similar clause *It seems to me it's going to rain tomorrow*, is equivalent to *Me parece que vai chover amanhã*, which adds the prepositional phrase *to me* in English, which is realised in BP by *me*. This is just a variation of the same construction in (7): *Para mim está aparente [[que vai chover amanhã]]*, which is a construction not typical in BP. In this arrangement *para mim* or *me* is functioning here as a circumstance of Angle of the subtype viewpoint.

In clause (7b), the same circumstance of Angle occurs in a relational clause. When a clause is structured this way, with the circumstance of Angle representing a view of something, it may convey an interpersonal role in the modalisation realm specifying something that is not necessarily true, thus hinting at a probability of something being or not true: *provavelmente vai chover amanhã*.

(7)	parece	[[que vai chover amanhã]]
	<i>Proc rel/Atributo (confluência)</i>	<i>Portador</i>
	<i>Proc rel/ Attribute (conflation)</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

(7a)	[[que vai chover amanhã]]	está	aparente
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(7b)	Me	parece	[[que vai chover amanhã]]
	<i>Circ ângulo</i>	<i>Proc rel/Atributo (confluência)</i>	<i>Portador</i>
	<i>Circ Angle</i>	<i>Proc rel/ Att (conflation)</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

(8)	Isso	me	parece	ruim
	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Circ ângulo</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Circ. Angle</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

Notice that clause (8) is in reality a reduction of a reality-phase construction of the apparent subtype since we can make explicit the elided relational process *ser* in *Isso me parece (ser) ruim*. In BP the

most common seems to keep the relational process elided. Therefore, I suggest it be treated as in (8) above since it would not alter the main process type.

In the Phase type, as is common in all other types, there may be some verbal constructions that occasionally replace some more lexically congruent ones as in *ela nunca deixou de fazer isso*, which is a substitute for inception in *ela nunca parou de fazer isso*.

The verbal group complexes that are used to extend a process are known as ‘conation’. Conation is subdivided into three main branches in BP: (i) *conative* processes, which are related to ‘attempt’ (9); (ii) *reussive* processes related to ‘success’ (10), and (iii) *enabling* processes, related to ‘potentiality’ (11).

- (9) *Ela tem tentado se sair bem.*  
 (10) *Não deu para chegar mais cedo.*  
 (11) *As crianças aprenderam a contar.*

In clause (12), the hypotactic verbal group complex *acabou se tornando* is an example of modulation for enhancement of the process, as well as in (13) with *hesitou em dizer*. Again, it is important to point out that although the technical term used by Halliday is modulation, it is not used in the same sense as it is used in modality in the Mood system. Experientially, modulation is a substitute term for enhancement since the process always hints at some allusion to circumstantial linguistic patterns. In (12) it brings some reference to time, in (13) to something done reluctantly and in (14) to something that is not completely the case but nearly the case.

- (12) *O lobo acabou se tornando amigo do lenhador*<sup>84</sup>.  
 (13) *O réu hesitou em dizer a verdade para o juiz.*  
 (14) *Jovem fotografado urinando em memorial de guerra escapa de ser preso*<sup>85</sup>.

The verbal sequences related to hypotactic verbal group complexes used for causative structures as in *Isso me encoraja (habilita, capacita) a ser vereador* is also important for transitivity analysis. However, clauses in BP such as *Ele me deixou fumar aqui dentro* and in English as in *He will do it when we allow him to do it* is

<sup>84</sup> Excerpt from *O Coelho e o Lobo* by Flávio Jose da Silva Alves (2008). Accessed on 1/1/2009 at <http://sitedepoesias.com/poesias/25164>.

<sup>85</sup> Extracted from <http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/PlanetaBizarro> on 11/26/2009

somewhat confusing as causative processes, unless the term, as Halliday suggests, be used in a broad way comprising all the subtypes as occurs with the influential processes according to Fawcett. The fact that someone lets someone do something does not necessarily cause someone to do something since it means that s/he only allows the action to occur. In this sense, a better way to deal with these processes, in case the text analyst wishes to carry out a deeper text analysis, is to treat them as permissive processes as the ones in the examples below.

O negócio é *deixar rolar*.

*Deixa a vida me levar.* (Zeca Pagodinho).

Being aware of these verbal group complexes is relevant because there may be extremely complex constructions that may confuse the analyst such as in (15), which even being an invented example serves to illustrate how confusing some verbal group complexes may be in BP when they are combined.

(15) *ela pode começar a tentar me encorajar a conseguir fazer isso.*

In this example, *pode* functions as potentiality in conation, *começar* is an inception in Phase used to elaborate the next process, *tentar* is used as a conative to extend the next process, *encorajar* is a causative process with the participant *ela* as the inducer of an emotive mental process, and *conseguir* is a conative of the reussive subtype related to achievement. Although this clause displays a long string of processes, the chunk needed for analysis in Transitivity is the last process *fazer*.

In BP these types of combination often need to be linked by prepositions as verbal nexus as exemplified in clause (15) and in *Ela se lembrou de continuar rezando*. Hence, dissimilarly to English in *she remembered to keep praying*, BP sometimes needs to connect the verbal group complexes with prepositions.

In relation to how hypotactic verbal group complexes should be analysed in projection, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 516) suggest that desiderative mental process be analysed differently according to how they are structured in a clause, as in samples (16a, 16b) and (17a, 17b), which show that we may sometimes have more than one interpretation for a clausal construction, as is shown with the process 'tease' in Halliday (2009, p. 273), which is interpreted as both material and verbal. Halliday still presents varied interpretations of the

process ‘teach’ on pages 208 through 214 and of many other processes depending upon how the interpretation is modalised.

(16a)	Mary	wanted	to go
	<i>Modo</i>		<i>Resíduo</i>
	<i>Mood</i>		<i>Residue</i>
	<i>Sujeito</i>	<i>Negociador</i>	<i>Predicador</i>
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Finite ‘past’</i>	<i>Predictor</i>
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	
	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	

(16b)	Mary	wanted	to go
	<i>Modo</i>		<i>Resíduo</i> <i>Resíduo</i>
	<i>Mood</i>		<i>Residue</i> <i>Residue</i>
	<i>Sujeito</i>	<i>Negociador</i>	<i>Predicador</i> <i>Predicador</i>
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Finite ‘past’</i>	<i>Predictor</i> <i>Predictor</i>
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i> <i>Proc material</i>	
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental</i> <i>Proc material</i>	

In example (16a), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 516) treat the clause as possessing a hypotactic verbal group complex in projection. That is why the last chunk is the only one analysed in Transitivity. Clause (16b) is recognised as a clause complex in projection. This is the reason why there are two distinct processes to be analysed, one being mental and the other being material. However, Halliday and Matthiessen suggest that in these cases the analysis in (16a) is the most appropriate. The analysis of clause complex in projection, according to them, should be more appropriate in cases such as (17b).

(17a)	Mary	wanted	John	to go
	<i>Modo</i>		<i>Resíduo</i>	
	<i>Mood</i>		<i>Residue</i>	
	<i>Sujeito</i>	<i>Negociador</i>	<i>Predi...</i>	<i>Complemento</i> <i>...cador</i>
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Finite ‘past’</i>	<i>Predi...</i>	<i>Complement</i> <i>...cator</i>
	<i>Iniciador</i>	<i>Proc ...</i>		<i>Ator</i> <i>... material</i>
	<i>Initiator</i>	<i>Proc ...</i>		<i>Actor</i> <i>... material</i>

(17b)	Mary	wanted	John	to go
	<i>Modo</i>		<i>Resíduo</i>	<i>Modo</i> <i>Resíduo</i>
	<i>Mood</i>		<i>Residue</i>	<i>Mood</i> <i>Residue</i>
	<i>Sujeito</i>	<i>Negociador</i>	<i>Predicador</i>	<i>Sujeito</i> <i>Predicador</i>
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Finite 'past'</i>	<i>Predicator</i>	<i>Subject</i> <i>Predicator</i>
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>

Thus, even though Halliday and Matthiessen offer us a causative alternative in (17a), they assume that the best interpretation for these types of clause is the example (17b), whereby the desiderative process projects a material clause with Actor. In BP, both clauses would project a finite material clause in the subjunctive, contrasting with the non-finite material clause in the indicative mode in English. In reason of that there may be other ways to project these types of clauses in different languages, as meanings tend to be construed dissimilarly in distinct languages due to their peculiarities.

When there is a hypotactic verbal group complex with projection for idea and locution in BP, and the clause is projected as perfective non-finite (18), I suggest that it be analysed as a clause simplex, and when a projected clause is in the subjunctive mode (19) it should be treated as a clause complex.

(18)	Belle	quis sair	cedo.
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Localização: tempo</i>
	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Cir Location: time</i>

(19)	Belle	quis	//que	Beth	saísse	cedo.
	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>	-	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Loc: tempo</i>
	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pr mental</i>	-	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Cir Loc: time</i>

In English, the mental clause (19) projects a perfective non-finite clause (*Belle wanted Beth // to leave early*) whereas in BP the desiderative mental clause projects a finite clause in the subjunctive mode with Beth as the Actor of the projected clause. In both languages these clauses must be regarded as two separate clauses within a clause complex. As for clause (18) it is better to regard it both in English (*Belle wants to leave early*) and BP as a hypotactic verbal group complex in projection in a clause simplex since in these clauses there is only one explicit Subject in the Mood system.

There is a special type of construction, whereby the projected clause precedes the projecting clause in hypotactic constructions. This is more typical in paratactic constructions principally in narratives: “*não se mexa*”, // *falou o policial*. However, this is not common in hypotactic constructions. Thus, the clause *todos sabem* // *que a inflação está de volta* is a typical progressive arrangement in verbal hypotactic constructions but clause (20) is construed as a regressive sequence, which is a marked clausal construction in hypotactic projections.

(20) Que a inflação está de volta, // todos sabem<sup>86</sup>.

β	Que a inflação está de volta,
α	todos sabem

Some strings of processes are intricate in the sense that they are difficult to categorise, as in *Treinador fala do time europeu, mas não deixa de alfinetar a imprensa*<sup>87</sup>. The hypotactic verbal group complex *deixar de alfinetar* has a dissimilar semantic realm to *deixar de fazer algo* as in *ela deixou de fumar*, in which the focus is related to Time-Phase in inception in the sense of ‘parar’. This other sequence of verbal processes does not imply inception since they semantically seem to refer to *Treinador fala do time europeu, mas não esquece de alfinetar a imprensa*. In this way, the continuing clause of the paratactic clause complex may be construed as having a cognitive mental process in the primary set of the verbal chain.

It is important to emphasise that, more often than not, these sequences of processes tend to be used in varied combinations. In this sense, understanding the functions of hypotactic verbal group complexes such as ‘Time-Phase’ for elaboration, ‘conation’ for extension, ‘modulation’ for enhancement, ‘causative processes’ and ‘hypotactic verbal group complexes in projection’ are essential for analysis of Transitivity, as we need to know when the clause is actually in a combination with other clauses “as a univariately structured complex” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.372) or

<sup>86</sup> Extracted from the clause *Que a inflação está de volta, todos sabem, mas o governo insiste em dizer que ela permanece controlada e que o povo nada tem a perder*. DC 5/julho/2009, Diário do leitor. Fernan Al-Egypto, Rio de Janeiro RJ.

<sup>87</sup> Clause at

<http://globoesporte.globo.com/Esportes/Noticias/Times/Selecao+NA+COPA+DE.html>

whether it is in reality a constituent of a ranking clause as a multivariate structure in a clause simplex.

In this sense, Figure (4.14)<sup>88</sup> displays a string of processes, in which the process *continuar* is an elaboration in Time-phase of the subtype ‘durative’, and *tentar* is an extension in Conation of the subtype ‘conative’ of the main lexical process *jogar*. That means that because the clause in Figure (4.14) presents a hypotactic verbal group complex, it is not a clause complex since the verbal group complex works as one grammatical unit, and as a result represents one event in a clause simplex.

Se eles <i>continuem</i>	<i>a tentar</i>	<i>jogar</i> assim
$\alpha$	$\beta$	$\gamma$

**Fig. 4.14** String of processes in a hypotactic verbal group complex with ‘phase’ and ‘conation’

As pointed out in clause (15) above, there may be very long sequences of processes as illustrated in Fig. 4.15.

<i>ela pode</i>	<i>começar</i>	<i>a tentar</i>	<i>me encorajar</i>	<i>a conseguir</i>	<i>fazer</i> isso.
$\alpha$	$\beta$	$\gamma$	$\delta$	$\epsilon$	$\zeta$

**Fig. 4.15** A long string of processes in a hypotactic verbal group complex with ‘conation’ ( $\alpha, \gamma, \epsilon$ ), ‘phase’ ( $\beta$ ) and ‘causative’ ( $\delta$ ).

These sequences of processes affect not only Transitivity in the ideational line of meaning but all other metafunctions, principally the Mood system since it is important to know which, among the processes in a clause, is the Negotiator. In this sense, the first element in the composition of the verbal group complex carries the role of Negotiator in BP, and is the equivalent in English to the Finite.

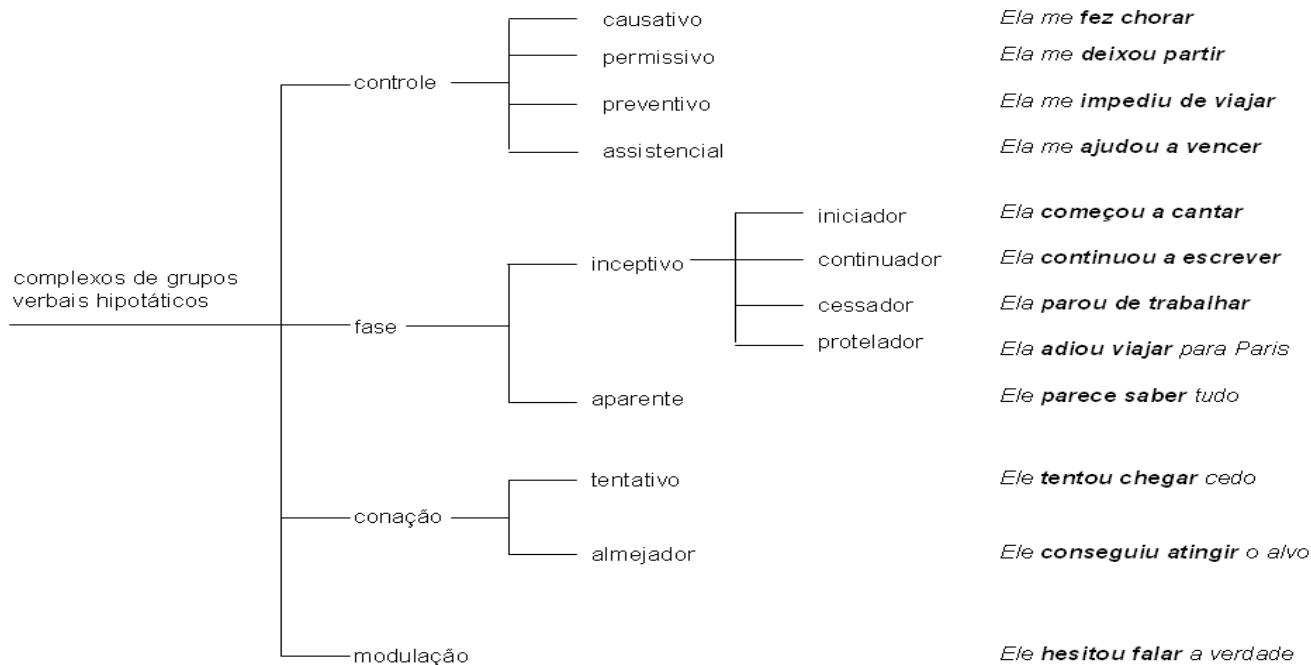
Although it is difficult to encapsulate all the potentiality in strings of processes in hypotactic verbal group complexes for BP, I provide a tentative influential process system for hypotactic verbal group complex, which is illustrated in Figure 4.16. This may be useful as reference while dealing with verbal group complexes since it seems to comprise most of the diversity in process combination in BP. In this

<sup>88</sup> Commentary uttered by Junior, Globo SportTV comentador, during Brasil vs Venezuela, on October, 14, 2009.



system I intend to provide a merge of how Fawcett (forthcoming 2011) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) treat these types of clause combinations in English.

Other verbal combinations in BP may be originated from this tentative system of hypotactic verbal group complexes by replacement of the main lexical process and the first process of the chain of processes.



**Fig. 4.16** A tentative system of hypotactic verbal group complexes for BP in expansion based upon Fawcett's idea on influential processes (adapted from Neale, 2002, p. 172 and Halliday and Matthiessen's hypotactic verbal group complexes on Phase, Conation, Modulation and causatives (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 498-518).

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

#### 5.1 Introductory remarks

As I have previously pointed out, it is relevant to emphasise that in SFG, Transitivity “refers to a system for describing the whole clause, rather than just the verb and its objects” as is common in traditional grammars (Thompson, 1996, p. 780). This means that Transitivity is a semantic focus on “the organisation of the clause to realise experiential meaning” (Eggins, 1994, p. 220).

Systemic Functional Grammar has made great innovations in how we should deal with text analysis. Halliday, for instance, has proposed more prominence to the concept of ‘system’ and has established the system networks giving salience to paradigmatic relations by emphasising choices between meanings, as well as the unification of grammatical structures and lexis giving rise to what is known today as lexicogrammar. However, I do believe that there are still many improvements to be made such as the revision and amelioration of the descriptions of both English and Brazilian Portuguese so that it can have a better transit and be adopted in secondary schools. Many aspects related to the theory must be put to test in real classroom situation, something which has scarcely been done, especially in Brazil. Many researchers have carried out investigations in languages other than English and have reached the conclusion that some aspects of the theory need adaption to meet the needs of some specific languages due to their peculiarities.

I do believe that this substantial number of investigations in languages other than English, as seen in Caffarel et al (2004), has been the most important innovation in SFG because it has been demonstrated that descriptions used for the English language is not appropriate for all languages.

Hence, as in Oko language, in which when a material operative clause changes into an effective receptive clause it tends to take another meaning, in that the Agent becomes the Beneficiary in a type of relational clause (Akerejola, 2008); and Kyoto Grammar (Tatsuki, 2008), in which adjectives have inflections and are part of process types, as well as in French with the ‘se’ clitics, which may also serve to realise representations besides the clause, BP seems to have some peculiarities that make it distinctive in some SFL analyses of the clause. For instance,

some mental processes tend to project finite clauses in the subjunctive mode in clause complexes; some PR's function differently from English (as a Participant in English and as Circumstance in BP); and the function *main process Extension* may help solve the intricacy in some of the experiential metaphors in BP. Furthermore, it seems that some hypotactic verbal group complexes in phase, conation and modulation, tend to be bound by prepositions in BP.

Given that Halliday (1985, 1994) wrote an introduction to systemic functional grammar (IFG) with a view for further adjustments that might occur along the years in order to improve the theory when it is needed and keeping in mind that its focal point was mainly for the English language, it appears that languages interested in applying SFG will have to redirect their focal point and consider some adaptation in their descriptions in order to be able to respond to the particularities inherent in their languages. Thus, we should keep in mind that the SFG theory is logocentric but the language description is glottocentric. This fact is not different concerning the Brazilian Portuguese approach to the issue under focus as I shall display below.

## 5.2 Overview of the experiential findings

As I have shown, SFG is a theory of language that focuses upon choices between meanings realised in structures because it is a theory of language that is both functional and systemic taking into account meaning and form in bi-directionality. Thus, it differs from most other theories of language, in which the focus is on structures only. Although the tenets are the same, the discussion conducted above unveils that the experiential profile of the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese is in some cases dissimilar from English in terms of PR's, mainly in the construal of meaning for attribution in clauses, and in how it determines the PR's for some clauses with 'dummy' verbs. These cases seem to be very intricate to be analysed in BP by text analysts in that identification of PR's tend to become fuzzy in some aspects. The suggestions I have posited in the previous chapters, intend to lessen some of the complexity in dealing with analysis of some clauses. In order to deal with some intricate cases in BP and noticing that the way SFG treats some clauses in English is not appropriate for BP, I resorted to other ways of approaching the matter within the SFL tenets, which were already evidenced in empirical studies in Gonzaga (2007).

Before I discuss **the general research question** regarding how the broad ideational metafunction works to construe meaning in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese, we should be reminded that Halliday has written *Introductions to Functional Grammar* with the aim of being a point of departure for further adaptations, which can account for peculiarities inherent in each language under study, as has been shown on how BP seems to have evolved in order to construe attribution not only in relational process-based clauses, but with cognitive and verbal processes functioning as causative/influential processes, as well as the construal of the PR Attribute in material and in some types of mental clauses, to be precise, in perceptive and desiderative processes. Therefore, I shall answer this general question by discussing the specific research questions since as seen in the previous discussions, it has been shown that there are dissimilarities both in the experiential and the logical strands of meaning in how meaning is construed in BP. Thus, regarding the **research question (i)** on the main cases that tend to bring fuzziness in the use of Transitivity on the transitive model, this study has revealed that:

(a) The use of the PR's Agent and Affected in material clauses seems to be a simplified version of the function of the 'doer' and the 'done to' in text analysis. This approach may help students distinguish the involvement of causation in clauses irrespective of clauses being effective or middle.

A seca	matou	toda a vegetação
<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>

Toda a vegetação	morreu
<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>
<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>

(b) In BP, most of the processes featuring possession are better treated as attributive since the passivisation seems to construe not Participants but circumstances.

O problema da obesidade	envolve	corpo e alma
<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

Corpo e alma	estão (são)	envolvidos	no problema da obesidade
<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Circ Localização abstrata</i>
<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Circ abstract Location</i>

(c) In some attributive relational clauses the process precedes the Attribute and the Attribute usually precedes the Carrier.

É	bem possível	[[que chova]]
<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>
<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

(d) It appears that the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese has evolved towards representations of qualitative Attributes that are construed by means of prepositional phrases. Thus, some prepositional phrases may work as Attributes in BP replacing adjectives.

Eu	estou	com fome
<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Carrier</i>	<i>proc. relacional</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(e) In attributive clauses, the qualitative Attribute may be conflated with the process itself, forming a qualitative process.

Dói	[[não saber o que fazer]]
<i>Proc relacional/Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>
<i>Pro relational/Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

(f) Some mental processes may function as attributive-like processes. Thus, mental processes used for projection may function as causative processes in analytical analysis with the PR Attributor. These constructs should be regarded as an amalgamation of a string of processes between a cognitive mental process and an attributive relational process in a type of causative attribution realised in projection, functioning as a single verbal group, in which the Attribute is intrinsic in the clause.

Eu	achei	isso	muito agradável
<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(g) Depictive Attributes are possible in BP in clause simplexes, but like in English, these Attributes seem to stem from clause complexes in which relational processes with Attributes are involved.

Você	não pode comer	o peixe	se	ele	estiver	cru
<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>		<i>Portador</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>		<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pr rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>
Você	não pode comer	o peixe		-	-	cru
<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>				<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Agent</i>	<i>Pr. material</i>	<i>Affected</i>		-	-	<i>Attribute</i>

(h) I have exemplified the fuzziness between a Prepositional Phrase as circumstance and as part of a verbal group, in that as a circumstance it can be invariably replaced by a similar one. If it cannot be substituted it is better treated as being part of the verbal group.

A polícia	quer acabar com	o tráfico de drogas
<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material: Epp</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material: mpE</i>	<i>Affected</i>

(i) The study has unveiled the ways circumstances can be used in circumstantial augmentation or logical realisation of logical relations, known as logical metaphors. However, even though a prepositional phrase seems to be close in terms of meaning when it functions as a circumstance it does not have the actual potential of a clause even being semantically similar.

Boris	interrompeu	a leitura	<i>devido às</i> emoções [[que o sufocavam]]
<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão</i>
<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Circ Cause: reason</i>

<b>porque</b>	as emoções	o	sufocavam
<i>Conj.</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: afetivo</i>
<i>Conj.</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental: affective</i>

(j) I have presented a way that may help handle unresolved issues of incongruent verbal groups presented in clauses as experiential metaphors. The *mpE* function has been shown effectual when the actualisation of the process spreads beyond the main process. This can

be a simplified way to deal with extension in text analysis in secondary school level because they tend to show clearly who the affected and the causer in a clause really are.

O bêbado	deu um chute	no cachorro
<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material: Epp</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material :mpE</i>	<i>Affected</i>

(k) The grammar of Brazilian Portuguese seems to construe a type of pseudo-agency by means of prepositional phrases in operative clauses.

Ela	apanhou	do pai
<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Pró-Agente/ circ (Benefício negativo)</i>
<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Pseudo-Agent/ Cir (neg. Behalf)</i>

(l) It has been demonstrated that the process *ter* in some constructions replacing the process *sentir* should be treated as belonging to the mental process instead of relational.

Eu	tenho	dor de cabeça	duas vezes por semana
<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Circ Extensão: frequência</i>
<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Circ Extent: frequency</i>

(m) There seems to be cases in which there is Attribute in mental clauses that are not construed as projecting causation and the process should be analysed as mental in BP. This is more typical in desiderative and perceptive processes.

Eu	a	vi	bastante feliz
<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Senser</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

(n) In contrast to ‘please type’ mental clauses, verbal clauses are typically middle apart from synthetic effective verbal clauses which have the Participant Target, which are effective because they impact verbally on the participant. In these cases, processes have neither verbalisation nor locution, which suggests that the verbalisation is conflated with the process but left unanalysed. Clauses of this type are



often realised together with three types of circumstance: Cause, Matter and Manner.

Eles	o	elogiaram	por sua postura
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Alvo</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Cir Cause: reason</i>

(o) When an Attribute is added to a verbal clause there may be a merge of verbal and relational processes to produce the attribution. Similarly to mental clauses, these structures seem to have originated from projections, which attests that verbal clauses also have a close relationship with mental clauses since they both can project ranking clauses and can have their processes functioning as causative for attribution with *Attributor*.

Juiz	declara	inconstitucional	aborto	no Brasil
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Alvo</i>	<i>Circ Localização</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Proc Verbal.</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Target</i>	<i>Circ Location</i>
<i>Atribuidor</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>	<i>Circ Localização</i>
<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Proc Relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Cir Location</i>

(p) Whereas in causative projections with locution there may be an amalgamation in which the Attribute is linked to both the implicit Carrier and the Sayer, who, in turn, becomes the *Attributor/Carrier*, in normal projections there is no amalgamation of processes and the Attribute refers to the Carrier only, so, not justifying the same treatment. These causative constructions seem to stem from hypotactic clause complexes in which the Subjects are construed as being the same for the projecting and the secondary dependent clause that is projected.

Obama	se diz	furioso	com situação no Golfo do México
<i>Atribuidor/Portador</i>	<i>Proc atributivo</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Circ Assunto</i>
<i>Attributor/Carrier</i>	<i>Pro Attributive</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Cir Matter</i>

Desembargador	disse	ser	inadmissível	[[que paixões a teses jurídicas venham aflorar // e contaminar o Judiciário]]
<i>Dizente</i>	<i>Proc verbal</i>	<i>Proc rel</i>	<i>Atributo</i>	<i>Portador</i>
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Pro verbal</i>	<i>Proc rel</i>	<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Carrier</i>

(q) When a spatial locative circumstance is thematised, the process ‘estar’ may function as the process ‘haver’. However, it is not possible when the point of departure is in the process, which is an indicator that this process is not the congruent way of construing this type of meaning.

Bem na entrada	está	um lindo vaso de flores.
<i>Circ Localização espacial</i>	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existente</i>
<i>Circ spatial Location</i>	<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existent</i>

(r) Some processes that are not typically existential may be involved in existential constructions such as *dar*, *faltar*, *sair*, *chover* and *correr*.

corre	o risco [[de o teto cair
<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existente</i>
<i>Proc existencial</i>	<i>Existent</i>

(s) Constructions in which the Subject functions like a Goal in operative clauses despite being positioned in a middle-like structure, seem to be scarce in BP. These clauses are in reality passivisation presented in an atypical syntagm: Subject + verb + Adjunct. And are equivalent to receptive structures in which the participant that is affected functions as the Subject in the passivisation. These clauses tend to become more visible with the PR’s Agent and Affected since in both syntagmatic orders, whether in an effective receptive or in the operative mode structured as middle non-ranged, the PR’s are kept the same.

Modelos	fotografam	em um vagão de trem <sup>89</sup>
<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Localização: lugar</i>
<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Location: place</i>

<sup>89</sup> From the website Vida mais livre at <http://www.vidamaislivre.com.br>. Accessed on June 24, 2010.

(t) I have suggested the use of the PR pseudo-agent for material clauses in which the real Agent is disguised as a prepositional phrase in operative clauses, which may mislead the reader to treat the Subject of the clause as the real doer of the deed. I have shown that this type of structure tends to occur in clauses with processes that may convey alternation such as *pintar*, *lavar*, *vender*, *cortar*, *fotografar*, *limpar*, *construir* and *consertar*.

Ela	vai cortar	o cabelo	no salão de beleza
<i>Pró-Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Circ Localização: lugar</i>
<i>Pseudo Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>	<i>Cir Location: space</i>

(u) It has been shown that the way the transitive model represents some analyses of clauses may lead us to have a wrong data result when the issue is 'the doer' and the 'done to'. I have demonstrated that the function *main process extension* simplifies the structures with *process* plus *Scope/Goal*, which seems to take away the real perspective of the verb in the sense of what they really are in terms of process types since not all Verbs are in essence material clauses. This new approach avoids the, sometimes irrelevant discussion, about whether the Complement is a Scope or a Goal in these constructions and can resolve some of the most intricate experiential metaphors.

Ela	me	deu um susto
<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: Epp</i>
<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental: mpE</i>

O menino	levou um susto	do irmão
<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental: Epp</i>	<i>Circ Benefício (neg)/Pró-Fenômeno</i>
<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental: mpE</i>	<i>Cir (neg) Behalf/Pseudo-Phenomenon</i>

(v) It seems that prepositional phrases in BP may function as participants in relational clauses as Attributes, in receptive clauses as Agent and in some metaphoric structures as pseudo-Agents.

Ela	está	com sede
<i>Portador</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Pro relational</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

Fabiola	foi operada	no nariz	pelo mesmo médico
<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Localização: lugar</i>	<i>Agente</i>
<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Location: place</i>	<i>Agent</i>

O menino	levou uma surra	do pai
<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc mental: Epp</i>	<i>Pró-Agente (Circ Benefício neg)</i>
<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc mental: mpE</i>	<i>Pseudo-Agent (Cir neg Behalf)</i>

In relation to **the research question (ii)** on which cases there may be intricacy in the use of Transitivity on the ergative model, the study has revealed that:

(w) In nuclear analysis, ergative processes typically occur in material and mental clauses and are only scarcely represented in relational clauses in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese.

O ônibus	parou	→ O motorista	parou	o ônibus
<i>Afetado</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Agente</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Afetado</i>
<i>Affected</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Agent</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Affected</i>

[[O que ela fez]]	me	surpreendeu	→
<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador/Mediador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	
<i>Phenomenon/Agent</i>	<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	
Eu	me surpreendi	com [[o que ela fez]]	
<i>Experienciador/ Mediador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão/ Pró-Fenômeno</i>	
<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Cir Cause: reason /Pseudo- Phenomenon</i>	

(x) In some mental constructions in BP it has been shown that some circumstances of Cause seem to have a participant-like level, which does not exist in English. This is an intricate case to deal with because sometimes the clitics in these structures may be construed as being affected having the role of Senser affected by a Phenomenon and in others as being part of the process itself in a pseudo-reflexive structure.

Os cachorros	me	assustaram
<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Experienciador/Mediador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>
<i>Phenomenon/Agent</i>	<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>

Eu	me assustei	com os cachorros
<i>Experienciador/Mediador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Causa: razão/Pró-Fenômeno</i>
<i>Senser/Medium</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Cir Cause: reason/Pseudo-Phenomenon</i>

### 5.3 Overview of the logical findings

In the logical strand of meaning it has been revealed that there may be different ways to deal with processes that project other processes in BP.

Regarding the **research question (iii)** on how hypotactic verbal group complexes can be bound in clause simplexes, the study has revealed that:

(a) Embedded clauses also function typically in three ways in BP: (i) as Post-modifier (Qualifier) of nominal groups; (ii) as Head/Thing in nominalisations; and (iii) as Post-modifier in adverbial groups. These clauses are also typically found in mental clauses as fact clauses (metaphenomenon) and act clauses (macrophenomenon).

Devemos tomar	consciência [[de ser criaturas]]
<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Atributo</i>
<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

A melhor maneira	é	[[ir de táxi]]
<i>Valor</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Característica</i>
<i>Value</i>	<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Token</i>

Chegamos	mais cedo [[do que esperávamos]]
<i>Proc relacional</i>	<i>Circ Localização: tempo</i>
<i>Pro material</i>	<i>Circ Localização: time</i>

(b) In addition to the fact that emotive and desiderative mental processes project clauses in the subjunctive mode while perceptive and cognitive mental processes project clauses in the indicative mode, it has been shown that perceptive and emotive processes project embedded clauses whereas cognitive and desiderative processes project ranking clauses. Like in English, when a cognitive and a desiderative mental process project perfective clauses, the structure may be treated as a hypotactic verbal group complex making part of a string of processes in a clause simplex in opposition to the projection of a process in a clause

complex, in which the process projects another ranking clause with the ‘*que*’ structural conjunction forming the clause complex with a single verbal group in each clause.

Belle	quis sair	cedo.
<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	<i>Circ Localização: tempo</i>
<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc material</i>	<i>Circ Location: time</i>

Belle	quis	//que	Beth	saísse	cedo.
<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental</i>	-	<i>Ator</i>	<i>Pro mat</i>	<i>Circ Loc: tempo</i>
<i>Senser</i>	<i>Pro mental</i>	-	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Pro mat</i>	<i>Cir Loc: time</i>

(c) It is important to emphasise that, more often than not, these sequences of processes tend to be used in varied combinations. In this sense, understanding the functions of hypotactic verbal group complexes such as ‘Time-Phase’ for elaboration, ‘conation’ for extension, ‘modulation’ for enhancement, ‘causative processes’ and ‘hypotactic verbal group complexes in projection’ are essential for analysis of Transitivity, as we need to know when the clause is actually in a combination with other clauses as a univariate structure or whether it functions as constituent of a clause in a multivariate structure.

( - )	Passei a interessar-me	pelos doentes
<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>Proc mental:Epp</i>	<i>Fenômeno</i>
<i>Senser</i>	<i>Proc mental:mpE</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>

(d) Combining the approaches employed by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) and Fawcett (forthcoming), there may be a plethora of verbal combinations among the main hypotactic verbal group complexes for expansion in Brazilian Portuguese, which are labelled in a more generic way as influential/causative processes. These verbal combinations are originated by replacement of the primary unit of the string of verbs in the hypotactic verbal group complexes.

Os doentes	conseguiram	me	ensinar a viver
<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Proc ...</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>... material</i>
<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Proc ...</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>... material</i>

Os doentes	tentaram	me	ensinar a viver
<i>Fenômeno</i>	<i>Proc ...</i>	<i>Experienciador</i>	<i>... material</i>
<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Proc ...</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>... material</i>

## 5.4 Final remarks

It is common that languages other than English feel the need to adapt their description of SFG due to their distinctiveness. For this aim it is germane to take into account how the theory, as a tenet, varies in its description, according to the language under focus.

The increasing number of scholars interested in writing articles or introduction to systemic functional grammar in their own languages has demonstrated clearly that adaptations in the descriptions of these languages have served to ameliorate SFG as a whole for the language under focus (see Steiner, 1992; Lavid and Arús, 2002; Hita, 2003; Teruya, 2004; Caffarel, 2006; Tatsuki, 2008, Akerejola, 2008) just to name a few.

I argue that sometimes some collaboration from other approaches is sometimes welcome for a better description of a language provided that they can be adequately formatted to be employed in the description of this specific language. The aspects posited above serve to exemplify some of the factors that need to be considered when we tackle Transitivity in SFG. This does not exhaust all the potentiality inherent in Transitivity for text analysis. However, it aims at displaying some possible ways to deal with text analysis in Brazilian Portuguese in the sense of describing how meaning is construed in relation to some ideational aspects, as the ones raised in this investigation; more precisely, how process types, participant roles, agency, transitive and ergative models, circumstances, circumstantial augmentation, verbal group complexes and experiential metaphors are realised at clause rank, which may help the analyst to deal more appropriately with clauses in text analysis.

For the sake of simplification, I suggest that in school environment pseudo-participants be considered full participants. The functions of pseudo-participants should be used for a higher level as well as the causal circumstantial aspects construed in a way to disguise the agency. For sure, the objective behind this study is to find simplified ways to cause the theory to be more attractive especially for secondary school teachers and students so that this powerful tool can reach more comprising sectors of society with the view of unleashing this power so it can be shared and not kept confined only at a university level.

I hope that the 41 Figures, the 24 Tables and over 500 examples of clauses, among which over 350 were fully analysed, can be enough to clarify my argumentation favouring an alternative approach to deal with

the intricate cases posited above regarding the use of Systemic Functional Grammar in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese.

I have no intention whatsoever to go against the tenets provided by Halliday and other great names in the SFG theory, who have indeed left us a great legacy in terms of tool for text analysis. My intention is to offer a simplified alternative to allow researchers, teachers and students to feel more comfortable to use this powerful tool in text analysis in all levels of analysis, thus, not only at a university level.

#### **5.4.1 The limitations of the study**

It took Halliday about 25 years of investigation until he devised his major publication in 1985, which he names “Introduction to Systemic Functional Grammar” plus around 10 more years to improve it in 1994 and 10 more years to publish together with Matthiessen his 2004 version with more details and samples, but maintaining the focus that it is still regarded as an introductory functional grammar. Therefore, it is commonsensical that throughout a doctoral course I could not intend to go too deep in such a delicate issue, apart from carrying out an investigation that can be substantial in order to contribute to a foundation for further studies in the area aiming at an introduction to functional grammar for the Brazilian Portuguese language.

#### **5.4.2 Suggestions for further research**

By saying that this research is not deepened too much due to space and time, and by mentioning that this investigation should be lengthened in a near future, I have suggested that this study may be the ground for future research in the area, opening the gates of opportunity for a Systemic functional grammar for BP, which can account for the peculiarities inherent in the grammar of the Brazilian Portuguese language. The findings related above may furnish the researcher with subsidies that may or may not be validated in the future. This, of course, demands more empirical studies to attest the considerations posited above and possibly find even better ways to make SFG more inviting for school level activities.

It is important to have studies concerning segmentation of clauses in the grammar of Brazilian Portuguese because this affects how Transitivity is modelled. The grammar of BP seems to show a diversity



of ways to deal with conditional clauses in hypotactic constructions, in representation of logico-semantic choreographies in nested clauses, in the large variety of embedded clauses and in the types of verbal string combination in BP related to phase, conation, modulation and causative processes, forming hypotactic verbal group complexes used in expansion and projection. These, among other studies in the interpersonal and textual strands of meaning will add subsidies so that the future introduction to systemic functional grammar for Brazilian Portuguese can be more than just a dream.

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