A SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL DESCRIPTION OF MODAL PARTICLES IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE: THE SYSTEM OF ASSESSMENT

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- ABSTRACT: This paper aims at describing interpersonal discourse markers in Brazilian Portuguese related to assessment orientation. More specifically, it offers a systemic functional description of the system of ASSESSMENT. In Brazilian Portuguese, ASSESSMENT is realized by Modal Particles. As a consequence, a description of Modal Particles is presented including their class organization and frequency along modes (spoken/written & monologue/dialogue) and text types. The method consists of a corpus compilation based on the language typology in the context of culture, and a trinocular analysis of Modal Particle functions: "from below" separating them out in terms of class and delicacy; "from roundabout", in their interdependency to the interpersonal systems of MOOD and MODALITY; and "from above", describing ASSESSMENT contributions to the unfolding of dialogue. Results suggest ASSESSMENT is a continuity to MOOD, consisting of more delicate MOOD options, and a complementarity to MODALITY, responding for the evaluation of speaker's role and realizing part of ENGAGEMENT.

- KEYWORDS: Interpersonal Discourse Markers, Modal Particles, System of ASSESSMENT, SFL Description of Brazilian Portuguese.

Introduction

This paper focuses on the grammar system responsible for organizing the assessment subtype of interpersonal discourse markers in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) – the system of ASSESSMENT[1] (CASTILHO, 1989; RISSO; SILVA; URBANO, 1996; URBANO, 1999; GÖRSKI et al., 2002; FREITAG, 2008). It aims at describing ASSESSMENT under a Systemic Functional framework (HALLIDAY, 2002).

The assessment subtype of interpersonal discourse markers is characteristically deployed by interactants when there is a need for the listener to validate the speaker's move (HALLIDAY; McDONALD, 2004; MARTIN; WHITE, 2005). More specifically, it textualizes negotiation (i.e. interactants' moves) allowing for the 'role-speaker' to be assessed/validated by the 'role-listener' (MARTELOTTA;

VOTRE; CEZÁRIO, 1996; MARTIN; WHITE, 2005). In BP – as in other languages (CAFFAREL; MARTIN; MATTHIESSEN, 2004) – assessment interpersonal discourse markers are realized by Modal Particles (MPs).[2]

This description draws on previous studies on BP interpersonal domain. Main issues concerning MPs behavior include: (a) a natural difficulty of clearly categorizing discourse marker subtypes, due to their continuity from interpersonal to textual uses and history of grammaticalization (RISSO; SILVA; URBANO, 1996; MARTELOTTA; VOTRE; CEZÁRIO, 1996); (b) the interdependency between assessment interpersonal discourse markers and other interpersonal systems of the clause – MOOD in particular (URBANO, 1999); (c) an account of the diversity of discourse markers in relation to the different grammaticalization processes that generate them (FREITAG, 2008); (d) the distribution of interpersonal discourse markers along spoken/written modes, as well as text typology (CAFFAREL; MARTIN; MATTHIESSEN, 2004; FREITAG, 2009); (e) the role of interpersonal discourse markers in the enactment of dialogue (MARTELOTTA; VOTRE; CEZÁRIO, 1996).

Guided by the systemic aspect of language, focusing on "regularities, where other theories can only see facts"[3] (MARTELOTTA; VOTRE; CEZÁRIO, 1996, p.106), the paper addresses these issues concerning a subtype of interpersonal discourse markers by offering a systemic functional description of ASSESSMENT in Brazilian Portuguese, realized by Modal Particles.

Discourse markers in orientation of evaluation

This section relates previous studies of interpersonal discourse markers in BP to systemic functional description by locating interpersonal discourse markers within the orientation of evaluation.

Studies of discourse markers in BP describe them as belonging to different ranks (often word or group); they do the task of "tying up the text" (URBANO, 1999). Interpersonal discourse markers operate textualizing – "tying up" – the relationship among interactants, helping to construct text structure (MARCUSCHI, 1989). The subtype of assessment interpersonal discourse marker, in turn, textualizes the "in-between moves" part of interaction, allowing the role-speaker to be negotiated through functions of ASSESSMENT.

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[2] Terminology on these Particles may vary (CAFFAREL; MARTIN; MATTHIESSEN, 2004). They can be also called Evaluative, Final, Interpersonal or Clausal. For a technical definition of 'particle' in this paper, cf. Section 2.

[3] Regularidades, onde outras teorias vêem apenas fatos.

In BP, these functions are called Modal Particles and are realized by group/ word rank items of particles – né, tá, ó, ué, hein, tchê, ah é, uai sô, etc.; see EXAMPLE 1 below (Modal Particles are glossed in small caps and bold font).

EXAMPLE 1[4]

SPEAKER	TURN	
A	1	Bonita... gente boa... ô, aquela ali, **viu** aquela ali foi vacilo. *[she was] beautiful nice that was **UNDERSTAND** a huge mistake*
		Terminar com aquela menina foi vacilo. *breaking up with that girl João made a huge mistake*
B	2	E engraçado que-- *It's funny how--*
C	3	[A menina tem a minha idade-- *The girl was my age*
B	4	[todo mundo lá gostava dele, **né**? *and her family did like João **ASSENT***
A	5	**É**. **ASSENT**
C	6	[Mas ela tem a minha idade-- *But she was my age--*
B	7	A velha, **sô**, dava-- os menino lá dirigia *Her mother **SYMPATHY** gave-- her kids used to drive*
		mas eles era novo, **né**? *but were to young to have a license **ASSENT***
		Aí pegava aqueles carrão e ia acampar e ela falava *They drove those nice cars and went camping and she always said*
		"**Ó**, João, cê toma conta deles lá, **viu**?" [risos] **ATTEND** *João you take care of my children **UNDERSTAND** [laughs]*
A	8	[**É**. **ASSENT**
B	9	Eles gostava demais dele, tanto a mulher como o homem, **né**? *Her family really liked him both her mother and her father **ASSENT***

Because they are connected to the process of constructing discourse, MPs contribute to establishing phases or episodes of negotiation throughout the text. In this sense, they also have a part in carrying out interaction (MARTELOTTA; VOTRE; CEZÁRIO, 1996) as the "element of contact among interactants, allowing for the listener's assessment and/or keeping the conversation flowing"[5] (FREITAG, 2008, p.2).

There is also another important aspect of MPs contribution to text/dialogue development, namely their distribution across text types (MARTELOTTA; VOTRE; CEZÁRIO, 1996; URBANO, 1999). Since they are fundamental to the textualization of interaction, their importance is proportional to the degree of interaction. Consequently, their distribution varies according to spoken/written modes and text type (CAFFAREL; MARTIN; MATTHIESSEN, 2004; FREITAG, 2009).

Grounded on the notion of orientation of evaluation, this description accounts for (i) a systemic organization of MPs in the system of ASSESSMENT; (ii) the place of ASSESSMENT in the interpersonal region of BP grammar, showing its interdependency to MOOD and MODALITY; (iii) the job done by ASSESSMENT in enacting negotiation in BP texts; (iv) the distribution of MPs – and resulting functional variation – across text types.

Grammaticalization as realization and axis

Each type of discourse marker tends to show a characteristic set of grammatical behavior due to differences both in functionality and grammar items which realize them, each of which related to its generating grammaticalization process. Freitag (2008) states that discourse marker description should include an account of the grammaticalization process for the items realizing them as a way into establishing classification paradigms.

The description of the assessment subtype of interpersonal discourse markers – object of this paper – includes an account of the grammaticalization process for the items realizing ASSESSMENT functions, namely MPs.

From a systemic functional perspective, grammaticalization can be derived from the notion of language as a system of choices, privileging paradigmatic axial relations. Moreover, language functions are motivated by use, "functioning" as a response to contextual demands (HALLIDAY, 2002). As a result, grammaticalization refers both to the process of generating systemic choice (including features, *valeur* and more delicate options – from grammar pole to lexis pole), as well as the organization of grammar items responsible for realizing semantics (see Fig. 1).

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[5] *Elemento de contato entre os interlocutores, pedindo aquiescência do ouvinte e/ou mantendo o fluxo conversacional.*

**Figure 1** – Complementary perspectives on grammaticalization.
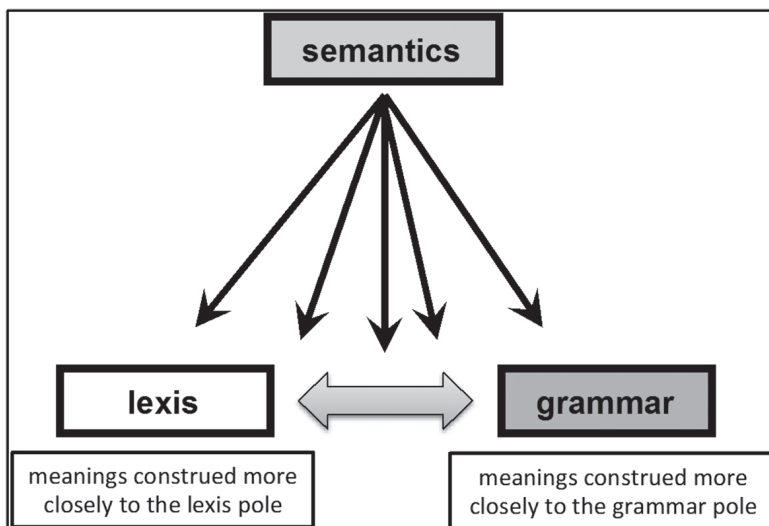
The relationship between the content plane strata (semantics and grammar) determine how a set of meanings is realized by a set of formal relations among functions (HALLIDAY, 2002). Grammatical functions, in turn, are realized by items from a rank below (as structure, prosody, element insertion, etc.). Discourse markers are realized by items from the group rank and word rank; assessment subtype is realized by particles. For instance, the meanings of ["tying up the text" → textualizing interaction → assess interactant's role] are realized by the system of ASSESSMENT. The functions in this system, in turn, are realized by MPs.

In general, descriptions of discourse markers in BP under a functional approach have been successful in showing how discourse makers are gramaticalized along the lexis-grammar continuum, as well as their relation to semantics – the stratum above. Rost Schianotto and Gorski (2011), for example, show how verbal items 'olha [*look*]' and 've [*see*]' are grammaticalized as discourse markers, and how the process is motivated by pragmatic/communicative contexts. Assessment subtype of interpersonal discourse markers is also derived from a process of grammaticalization. In order to account for this process, it is relevant to explain the systemic organization of grammar functions for the assessment of interactants' roles that realize semantic functions of texture (see Fig. 2).
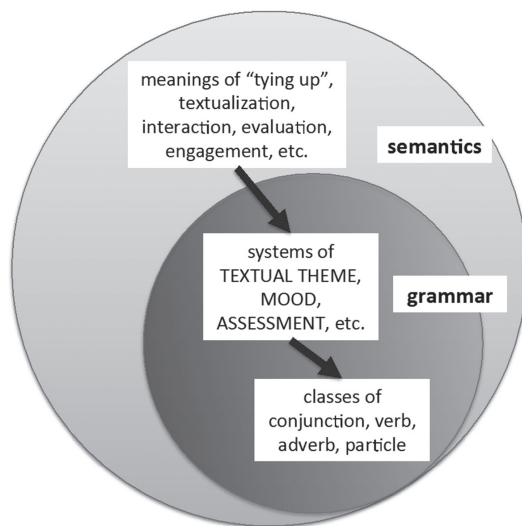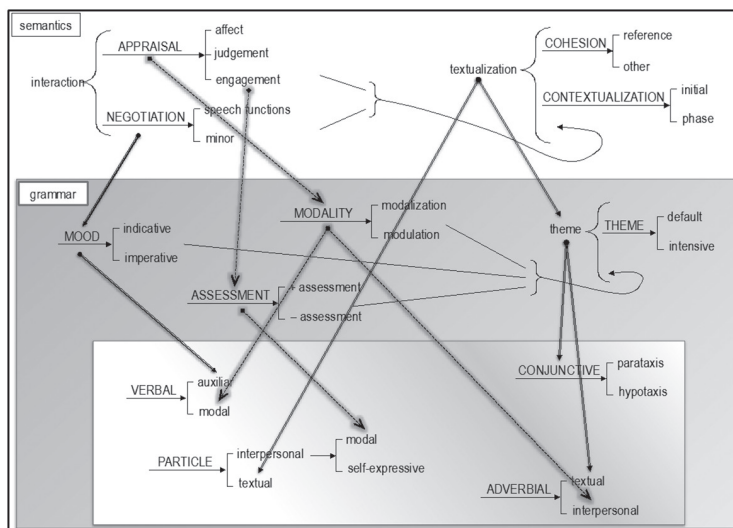
Function, from a systemic functional view, is related to the notion of language organized by use. Grammatical functions are generated by a special kind of organization called grammaticalization. As a result, the process of grammaticalization is related to the concepts of function and use.

Grammaticalization is associated both to a use of language according to some context of situation – part of social action – and to the internal organization of the grammar stratum (HALLIDAY, 2002). From the point of view of internal organization, specifically, grammaticalization depends on formal relations among items. These relations determine the *valeur* of each item within a system. Thus, grammaticalization means the job performed by an item in the economy of the grammar stratum as well as the manner this item has been organized within a given grammatical system network (MARTIN, 1992).

Discourse markers have been classified in BP as interpersonal, textual, or they fall in an intermediate area (MARCUSCHI, 1989; FREITAG, 2008). Systemic functionally, the description of discourse markers means an explanation for the process of grammaticalization. This explanation includes (a) the relations between grammatical items and meanings (in context) they realize, and (b) the place of functions within a system network according to their *valeur*. (For the assessment subtype, the system of ASSESSMENT; see Fig. 3).

Figure 3 – Grammaticalization as systemic organization.

Interpersonal grammar systems and assessment

From a systemic functional point of view, 'dialogue'[6] (HALLIDAY, 2002) is a technical term for the semantic structure generated by the systemic resources of interaction. A dialogue is generated by the system of SPEECH FUNCTIONS, which includes the functions for speech roles initiating/responding (give and demand), and the commoditiy: information in the form of propositions; or goods-&-services in the form of proposals. Responding moves vary according to responding speech roles and the need to engage in negotiation.

Interpersonal grammar systems generate a number of resources to realize the relationship between interactants and propositions/proposals. In BP, these systemic resources form part of the Negotiator and realize assessment, probability, usuallity, obligation, comment and polarity.

Interpersonal grammar resources deployed to evaluate interaction (see Fig. 4) cover two main regions (MATTHIESSEN, 1995). The domain of evaluation includes the speaker's evaluation of their own proposition/proposal (in terms of probability, usuality, obligation). The orientation of evalutation includes either the speaker's position towards the move, or a speaker's request for the listener's position. BP uses

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[6]   Due to language's interactive character, any text is, from an interpersonal vantage point, a dialogue. The classification monologue/dialogue is related to textual organization (mode), not to interaction.

MODALITY and POLARITY to manage the domain of evaluation (using functions of Adjuncts and Finites), and some features of MODALITY, COMMENT and ASSESSMENT to manage the orientation of evaluation (using functions of MPs).

Figure 4 – Dispersion of interpersonal resources.
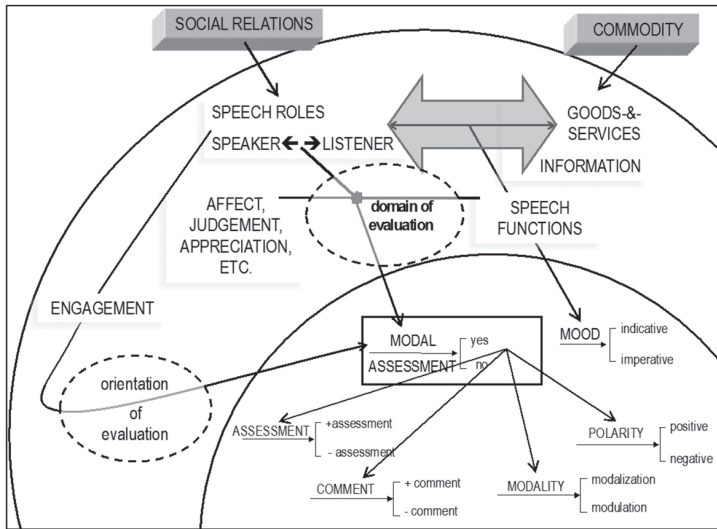
Source: Created by the author.

The following section presents the methodology for the present research. Based on a corpus of language in the context of culture, it designs the analysis for a detailed exploration and description of ASSESSMENT in BP.

Methodology

Methodology addresses two fundamental concerns of this research: (1) data compilation and retrieving follow corpus linguistics methods and techniques and (2) ASSESSMENT description follows systemic functional methods and techniques (HALLIDAY, 2002).

Corpus linguistics and systemic functional methods and techniques are taken as complementary in this paper because together they enable the following research steps: (a) corpus compilation of spontaneous production, (b) extraction of language forms realizing ASSESSMENT functions through machine search, (c) machine-aided analysis of forms correct machine search problems, (d) manual analysis grounded on theory and description for classification of ASSESSMENT functions, (e) systemic analysis based on trinocular view, agnation and delicacy to draw ASSESSMENT system network and count frequencies.

(a) *Corpus compilation*. The corpus of this research has 100 thousand tokens. It was compiled by extracting texts from the larger 1 million-token corpus CALIBRA – Catalogue of Language in Brazil. Corpus compilation was based on the typology of language in the context of culture (HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN, 2013). This typology is defined according to the following variables (see Table 1): *Specialization*: specialized/non-specialized, guided by technicity of a given field or area. *Role of language*: constituting the socio-semiotic situation, or helping it to be carried out. *Mode of production*: written or spoken. *Mode of interaction*: enacts interaction types dialogic/mololalogic. *Socio-semiotic process*: depending on co-ocurrence of language functions, a text belongs to a given text type.

Table 1 – The *corpus*

ESPECIALIZA-TION	*PAPEL*	*PROCESS*	*PRODUCTION →* *Written*		*spoken*		TOTAL
			INTERACTION → *dialogue*	*monologue*	*dialogue*		
especialized	*constitutive*	Expounding	6 texts 3130 tokens	6 texts 3133 tokens	5 texts 3165 tokens	4 texts 3142 tokens	21 texts 12.570 tokens
		Reporting	4 texts 3131 tokens	4 texts 3138 tokens	5 texts 3148 tokens	5 texts 3134 tokens	18 texts 12.551 tokens
		Recreating	5 texts 3139 tokens	8 texts 3127 tokens	4 texts 3150 tokens	4 texts 3175 tokens	21 texts 12.591 tokens
		Sharing	6 texts 3093 tokens	7 texts 3125 tokens	4 texts 3191 tokens	5 texts 3122 tokens	22 texts 12.531 tokens
non-especialized	*ancillary*	Doing	12 texts 3068 tokens	17 texts 3116 tokens	8 texts 3132 tokens	7 texts 3133 tokens	44 texts 12.449 tokens
	constitutive	Recom-mending	5 texts 3164 tokens	8 texts 3112 tokens	5 texts 3102 tokens	4 texts 3153 tokens	22 texts 12.531 tokens
		Enabling	6 texts 3101 tokens	8 texts 3015 tokens	5 texts 3081 tokens	5 texts 3137 tokens	24 texts 12.334 tokens
especialized		Exploring	6 texts 3128 tokens	8 texts 3144 tokens	6 texts 3147 tokens	6 texts 3123 tokens	26 texts 12.542 tokens
				198 TEXTS / 100.099 TOKENS			

Source: Created by the author.

(b) *Extraction of language forms realizing ASSESSMENT functions through machine search*. Machine search was carried out by using programs from the WordSmith Tools (SCOTT, 2007) suite. Using WordList, a list of words was made and compared to items identified as Particles from previous studies: Martelotta, Votre e Cezário (1996) and Urbano (1999). A list of possible candidates to be MPs was then made. It includes 24 items: ah, ai, aí, aqui, bah, é, eh, hein, lá, né, nó, não, nu, ó, ôxe, pô, sô, tá, tchê, uai, ué, visse, vixe, viu.

(c) *Machine-aided analysis of concordancing lines generated by machine search*. Using Concord, the corpus was searched for items identified as MPs according to the possible candidates list. Here, a combination of machine search and a simple grammar patterning search done manually, based on structure and group/word was carried out. 435 concordancing lines were retrived from the 100 thousand-token corpus.

(d) *Manual analysis and classification of ASSESSMENT functions*. It looked for patterns which could elicit (a) different configurations for interpersonal enviroments where ASSESSMENT functions are deployed and (b) the character of each function individually. In order to register each function analysis and their number of occurrence, UAM Corpus Tool (O'DONNELL, 2008) was used. Of the 435 concordancing lines, 121 were excluded. The remaining 314 concordancing lines were analyzed trinocularly.

(e) *Trinocular view analysis*. Systemic functional analysis was instrumental in establishing the relationship between the meanings associated to the orientation of evaluation and the system of ASSESSMENT. In order to locate assessment discourse markers in the interpersonal region of the grammar, they were examined from complementary analytical vantage points (HALLIDAY, 2002).

Trinocular analysis for grammar was carried out: (I) "from below", from expression/manifestation to grammatical organization, examining how functions are realized by structural compositional elements. (II) "From roundabout", examining functional relations, describing how they relate to each other in terms of opposition/contrast in agnation, delicacy and *valeur*. (III) "From above", from semantics to grammatical organization, examining meanings produced by grammatical functions from a text unfolding perspective.

The methodological question driving this description is: "what is the grammar system which organizes the functions realizing meanings of assessment within interpersonal textualization and which, in turn, are realized by Modal Particles?". This question can be further explored when viewed trinocularly. 1) FROM BELOW: how is ASSESSMENT realized? How are different types of functions manifested in different particles? Do differences in particles imply differences in functions? 2) FROM ROUNDABOUT: how are ASSESSMENT functions related in the system?

What are the differences that give them *valeur*? How is ASSESSMENT related to other interpersonal systems (MOOD and MODALITY)? 3) FROM ABOVE: how does the system of ASSESSMENT contribute to the enactment of the orientation of evaluation? Are ASSESSMENT functions deployed differently according to text types? What is the job they do in text development? (see Fig. 5).

Figure 5 – Trinocular view of the object.

“from above”: similarities between grammar patterns realizing the same semantic item

semantics

“from roundabout”: Particle functions in the system of ASSESSMENT. Interdependency with MOOD and MODALITY. Further delicacy on Particle subtypes

grammar

“from below”: functions of particles in the clause. Group/word classes. Phonological constitution.

phonology
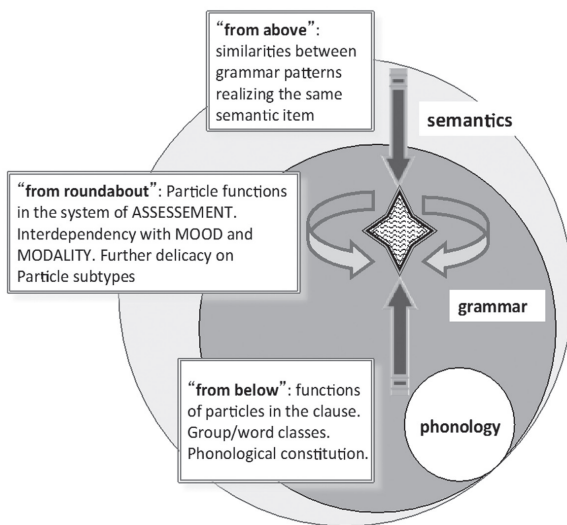
Source: Created by the author.

Because ASSESSMENT is realized by MPs, the following section explores the system from MPs description trinocularly. First from below, categorizing particles at word rank and the way they operate in the rank above of group as well as how groups of particles operate within clause structure. Then from roundabout, showing how Particles realize features of ASSESSMENT, given emphasis to its relation to MOOD. Finally from above, exploring how they contribute to the unfolding of dialogue. Once the systemic potential is established, a distribution of options – based on corpus occurrences – for the language will be presented.

Assessment: modal particles “from below”

Traditionally, particle is not taken as a word class (or a group class) in BP. Franco (1991, p.137) states that “this (sub-)class of word has been unknown to most grammarians (and lexicographers)”.[7] Consequently, particles are treated in

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several different ways depending on the type of study (FRANCO, 1991; WELKER, 1990). There are no descriptions of BP grouping interpersonal particles as a word (sub-)class. Generally, they are classified as interjections, adverbs or conjunctions. Due to lack of criteria to define and describe interpersonal particles, MPs are only partially identified and may vary in number and function. Franco (1991, p.143, translation by the author), for example, states:

> The establishment of the class of higlight particles […] essentially means dissatisfaction of grammarians in including inadequately a group of lexemes in categories such as adverbs […]. This class is a rediscovery of what in Latin had been called *expletivae* […]. Since the begining, this area of study has been fuzzy, with no clear boundaries, and point to what I have been calling the MODAL PARTICLES of Portuguese.[8]

Welker (1990) classifies particles along with other invariable words, and describes particles in opposition to these other invariants. He states particles have no inflexion and are invariable; are short in morphology and opposed to prepositions, interjections, conjunctions and typically the result of some "semantic reduction".

Systemic functionally, particles "from below" are related to the class to which the belong in the rank scale. BP rank scale has 4 ranks: morpheme ~ word ~ group/ prepositional phrase ~ clause. Within this scale, a given class is determined by the way it operates in the rank above. Class is, thus, defined as a set of similar items, mutually exclusive, operating in the rank above (NEVES, 2000; HALLIDAY, 2002).

Because of this framework, particle is defined as a word class in BP, since it forms a set of similar items, mutually exclusive and operate at group rank. Moreover, in BP they may have interpersonal, textual or ideational nature (FREITAG, 2008). The separation of particles in classes is made through their relation with types of systems they are associated.

Textual Particles are associated with the system of THEME, forming part of the function Textual Theme, realized by a particle group. Ideational Particles are associated with the system of AGENCY, being part of Process Type, realized by a verbal group. Interpersonal Particles are associated with MOOD and MODALITY, being part of the function Negotiatory Element (+Subject; +Finite;

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[8] *A constituição do grupo de Particles de realce [...] significou essencialmente uma prova de insatisfação e do reconhecimento, por parte dos gramáticos, de que não era completamente adequada a inclusão de certos lexemas na categoria dos advérbios ou noutra [...]. ela é como que a redescoberta ou o ressurgimento do que foram na língua latina as expletivae [...]. é, pois, de uma área originalmente difusa, de contornos pouco bem delimitados, que considero que emergem, em última análise, o que chamo PARTÍCULAS MODAIS do português.*

+Mood Adjuncts; +Particles), realized by nominal, verbal, adverbial and particle groups (see Tableau 1).

Tableau 1 – Classes of Partcles in PB.

	Aí *Then*	ela *she*	não *not*	se *herself*	fez *made*	de vítima *as victim*	mais *anymore*	né? *ASSENT*
clause function	Theme			Ergative Process				Modal Assessment
		Subject	Polar		Finite			Assent
		MOOD Indicative: Declarative: +Assessment						
group class	particle	nominal	adverb.	verbal		prep. phr.	adverb.	particle
group function	Continuative			Operative Voice				Assessment
examples	daí, assim, vê, etc.			me, te, nos, etc.				tá, ué, viu, sô, etc.
Word class	textual particle			ideational particle				interpersonal particle

Source: Created by the author.

Looking "from below" MPs are a distinct word class characterized by morphological invariation and grammaticalization by phonological and semantic reduction. Structurally they operate in the rank above in particle groups. A survey of the corpus shows particle group may have up to 3 elements (ah é sô; ah tá viu). However, most groups have only 1 element. Particle groups tend to appear towards the end of the clause, since they are managing the negotiation of whole propostions/proposals. They may also frequently appear next to an interpersonal element (Subject, Adjunct) being negotiated.

Phonologically, MPs are placed at the end of a tone group. Even when the speaker is in the middle of a clause, but needs to negotiate some element within the clause, an MP will typically end a tone group and split the clause phonologically.

EXAMPLE 2
A avó da menina   morava em G. L. quando eu conheci   ela. Ela falou:
The girl's grandma lived   in G.L.   when   I   first met   her she said

"**Ó**,   mas que-- eu estou feliz, ***viu***
ATTEND but--   I   am   happy   **UNDERSTAND**

da minha neta   estar namorando com seu   filho"
that my   grandaugther is   dating   your   son

PHONOLOGICALLY:

// **1** ∧ eu es/tou fe/liz   /**viu** //   **1** ∧ da minha /neta … //
// **1** ∧ I   am happy   /**UNDERSTAND**// **1** ∧ that my grandaugther … //

Assessment: modal particles "from roundabout"

Given MPs's functional behavior – the speaker signaling their degree of envolviment in a proposition/proposal – it is possible to see that ASSESSMENT is a system dependent of MOOD. Considering the orientation of evaluation, the MOOD environment where MPs are deployed, and the role-speaker the possibilities for assessment functions can be determined in a paradigm. On the one hand there are the 4 possible MOOD environments: Declarative, Interrogative Polar, Interrogative Elemental and Imperative. On the other hand, there are the 3 types of move: Initial, Responding Expected and Responding Discretionary. Following this paradigm it is possible to capture the potential for MPs (see Tableau 2).

Tableau 2 – Functional evironment for MPs in BP.

PARTICLE ENVIRONMENT		MODAL PARTICLES		
orientation	**MOOD environment**	*Initial*	*Responding*	
			expected	*discretionary*
give information	Statement: Ind. Declarative	*Particle type A*	*Particle type Aa*	*Particle type Ab*
demmand information	Polar: Ind. Interrogative	*Particle type B*	*Particle type Ba*	*Particle type Bb*
	Elemental: Ind. Interrogative	*Particle type C*	*Particle type Ca*	*Particle type Cb*
demmand goods-&-services	Command: Imperative	*Particle type D*	*Particle type Da*	*Particle type Db*
give goods-&-services	Offer: Imperative ou Ind. Interrogative	*Particle type E*	*Particle type Ea*	*Particle type Eb*

Source: Created by the author.

Comparing the variables in Tableau 2 to the corpus, it was possible to address the methodological questions: "*how are ASSESSMENT functions related in the system? What are the differences that give them valeur? How is ASSESSMENT related to other interpersonal systems*?" Through this, patterns of MPs were identified and consecutively the systemic organization of ASSESSMENT. When corpus ocurrences are put against the paradigm in Tableau 2, it is possible to find types of MPs as presented in Tableau 3.

Tableau 3 – Functions of ASSESSMENT in PB

Environment for Particles		Modal Particles			
orientation/ commodity	MOOD environment	function	*Initial*	*Responding*	
				expected	*discretionary*
		ATTEND	*ó, ah (curto)*	*tá*	*não*
give information	Declarative	**ASSENT**	*né, né não*	*é, ah é,* ‖ *ah*	*né não, né*
		AGREE	*Tá*	*tá; ah tá*	*não; ah não*
		INSIST	*tchê, ué, sô, pô, né, uai*	*ah é; ah tá; tá*	*não sô; não ué; não tchê*
		CONCLUDE	*ué, uai, ah*	*é, é ué, é uai*	*ãh (curto)*
		UNDERSTAND	*viu, visse*	*viu*	*não*
		CONFIRM	*hein, é*	*tá (curto), é*	*tá (longo)*
		SYMPATHIZE	*Sô*	---	---
		EXCLAIM	*bah, nó, uai, oxe, pô, tchê, ah (longo) etc.*	---	---
demmand information	Polar: Interrogative	**CONFIRM**	*é, sô, tchê*	*é*	*não*
	Elemental: Iinterrogative	**EXHORT / answer CHALLENGE**	*tchê, sô, pô, hein, né*	<u>answer</u>	<u>disclaim</u>
demmand goods-&-services	Imperative	**EXHORT / undertake**	*sô, tchê, pô (ordem)* *tá, viu (pedido)*	<u>undertake</u>	<u>refuse</u>
		ATTENUATE p/ undertake	*aí, aqui*	<u>undertake</u>	<u>refuse</u>
give Goods-&-services	Imperative or Interrogative	**ATTENUATE p/ accept**	*tchê, sô, aí, aqui*	<u>accept</u>	<u>reject</u>

Source: Created by the author.

Semantic glossings and examples of MP classes are shown below.

ATTEND: this Particle is the only feature not constrained by MOOD choices, and is used in propositions or proposals. It functions as a need from the listener to focus on the proposition/proposal to be further assessed.

EXAMPLE 3

Ó,   depois que eu falar com ele   eu te conto o sonho.
ATTEND *after   I   talk   to   him I   tell you   my dream*

EXAMPLE 4

Não, isso   é só   pra quem   não   tem aquilo ali **ó**, entendeu?
*No   this   shoud be used only by people who do not have that   **ATTEND** got it*

ASSENT: requires the lister to take the speaker's proposition as part of "shared knowledge". In this case, there is no need for agreement on opinions, but just an approval from the listener so the speaker can remain performing their role as speaker "the one who evaluates a propostion". For example:

EXAMPLE 5

SPEAKER	TURN	
A	1	…no dia que eu conheci e fiquei com ele,
		When I first met him and we hooked up
		ele logo de cara falou que tinha namorada e tal...
		he told me straight he had a girlfriend
B	2	Mas agora chega, **né**?
		So now that's enough fooling around ***ASSENT***

In this example, speaker (A) asks Speaker (B) for some advice. So Speaker (B)'s function in the text is to try to control the other's behavior, giving advice. In this case in particular, about relationships.

AGREE: implies in the speaker asking the listener to share not only knowledge about a proposition, but also values and positions. For example:

EXAMPLE 6

Não   vai   ficar   bonito   igual o   outro não, **tá**?
*It is not going to come out as pretty as   the last one   **AGREE***

The contrast between ASSENT and AGREE can be seen on Tableau 4 below.

Tableau 4 – Contrast between ASSENT and AGREE.

Proposition	ASSESSMENT		negotiation of meaning
Não vai ficar bonito igual o outro não,	né?	ASSENT	sharing information of the proposition
It is not going to come out as pretty as the last one	tá?	AGREE	sharing value of the proposition

Source: Created by the author.

INSIST: leads the listener to assess the proposition the same way the speaker would expect it to be assessed. It functions to increase chances of the listener to let the speaker keep playing the role of speaker by synchronizing values and positions.

EXAMPLE 7
(A) Não   deve de ser para   ligar para elas.
   I am not sure   we should call   them.

(B) Eu acho que   é sim,   **sô**.
   *I   think   we should **INSIST***

(A) É?
   We should?

CONCLUDE: this Particle operates by making the listener to get to the same conclusion as the listener about a propostion, but in terms of the speaker's values and knowledge. In other words, the speakers' values and knowledge about the proposition are considered true (interpersonally) and should not be questioned. For instance:

EXAMPLE 8
(A) Ela não   sabe   lavar   um copo!
   She doesn't even bother washing the dishes

(B) Ela não   faz nada.
   She just doesn't do anything.

(A) Ela não   sabe lavar um   copo, **ué**.
   *She simply cannot wash a single glass **CONCLUDE***

UNDERSTAND: requires the listener not only to assent with the speaker, but also the speaker's motivation to put to negotiation a given proposition in face of other possibilities.

EXAMPLE 9

(A) Que vergonha! Vocês nunca mais voltam   pro lado de lá, **viu**?
    *What a shame! You   must never go back there   **UNDERSTAND***

(B) **Viu**.
    UNDERSTAND

CONFIRM: when the speaker builds a proposition in a way that the responding move is the expected option, this is the MP used. It needs the listener to confirm the speakers proposition. It may occur both in declaratives and interrogatives.

EXAMPLE 10 - Declarative

(A) Nós vamos estudar a teoria do delito e   nós vamos estudar...
    We   will   study   crime theory   and   we'll study

    você   grava   as minhas aulas, **é**?
    *Are you   recording   my class   **CONFIRM***

(B) Gravo.
    I am

EXAMPLE 11 - Interrogative

(A) havia   uma possibilidade de … surgir uma bolha   no meu cérebro.
    There was a   chance   of   a bubble poping up in my brain

(B) Mas o que que é? Uma possibilidade? Quer dizer que existe   uma possibilidade, **hein**?
    What is it   A chance   You mean   there is a chance
    CONFIRM

SYMPATHIZE: used when the speaker needs the listener to assess the speaker's emotional affairs in relation to the proposition. It increases the chances of an expected responding move.

EXAMPLE 12

Hmm, menino, mas aquilo   me deixou enfezado um tanto, **sô**.
*Oh   boy   what he did made me so angry   **SYMPATHIZE***

EXCLAIM: signals to the listener an emotional attitude change.

    EXAMPLE 13
Bah,   aqui está tão confortável...
EXCLAIM *it   is   so comfortable in here...*

    EXAMPLE 14
Oxente,   quem tá ligando pra   isso?
EXCLAIM *who cares   about that*

EXHORT: it is deployed when the speaker needs the listener to undertake a Command or give information. It encourages the listener so the success of negotiation is increased. It may also mean a challenge for the listener to undertake or give information to the speaker.

    EXAMPLE 15 *EXHORT to answer:*
(A) Ah. Não, não é   isso.
     Oh it is not   like that at all

(B) Então o que é,   **tchê**?
     *So   what is it then **EXHORT***

    EXAMPLE 16 *EXHORT to undertake:*
Sobe logo nesse carro, **tchê**.
*Get   in   the car now **EXHORT***

    EXAMPLE 17 *CHALLENGE:*
(A) Teu trabalho é curar esses desgarrado.
     Your job   is to fix people

(B) E   tu   acha que eu tô pronto, **tchê**?
     *And you think   I'm ready **CHALLENGE***

ATTENUATE: it attenuates Commands, increasing the chance of an expected responding move.

    EXAMPLE 18 *ATTENUATE to undertake:*
Não, espera **aí**,   me dá   uma faca **aí**.
*No wait **ATTENUATE** pass me that knife **ATTENUATE***

    EXAMPLE 19 *ATTENUATE to accept:*
Quer   ver   como é a aparência exterior?
*Would you like to see it from the outside*

Vem **aqui**   comigo olhar como é que é o exterior.
*Come **ATTENUATE** with me to see it from   the outside*

When MPs are classified, it is possible to use their paradigm "from roundabout", based on MOOD interdependency to draw the system network of particle classes, or the system network of ASSESSMENT (see Fig. 6).

Figure 6 – System network of ASSESSMENT in BP.
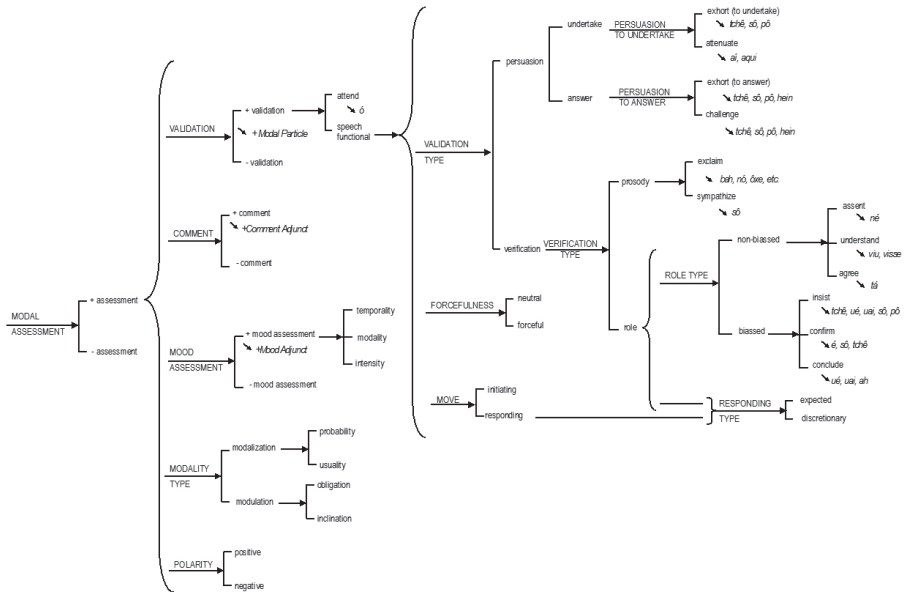
Source: Created by the author.

Assessment: modal particles "from above"

"From above", MODAL PARTICLES realize meanings from the system of ENGAGEMENT. When explaining the functions of this system Martin and White (2005, p.95) state:

> [...] when speakers/writers announce their own attitudinal positions they not only self-expressively 'speak their own mind', but simultaneously invite others to endorse and to share with them the feelings, tastes or normative assessments they are announcing. Thus declarations of attitude are dialogically directed towards aligning the addressee into a community of shared value and belief.

MPs promote solidarity among interactants. It's the speaker's job to invite the listener to 'endorse and share', as well as to establish their degree of commitment to what they are saying. Semantic implications of ASSESSMENT are that the

speaker not only validates what they are saying, but opens opportunities for the listener to assess the speaker's role as the one who evaluates and commits to what is being said. In this sense, the exchange of MPs contribute to the interpersonal building of truth (as interaction).

Example 21 shows MPs working within discourse. The text in this example is an interview conducted by a Researcher (R) and a Subject (S) on an experiment in the laboratory. The experiment is a text production in the computer. The Researcher (R) asks questions about how the Subject (S) produced his text.

EXAMPLE 20

SPEAKER	TURN	
P	1	**Ah**, agora tá no Word mesmo. ***CONCLUDE*** *now it is back on Word*
S	2	Acho que agora foi pro Word. (...) *I think it is back on Word*
P	3	**Ah tá**… aí, acabou. Você não voltou o text pra cá, **né**? ***AGREE*** *then, you finished. You didn't put the text back there* ***ASSENT***
S	4	Voltei, **ué**. Eu colei. É o progra-- eu tenho certeza que eu colei. *I did* ***CONCLUDE***. *I pasted it. And the progra-- I am sure I did.*
P	5	Não, realmente, colou, só que o programa não pôs. *Oh, I'm really sorry, you did, but the program did not.*
S	6	Aconteceu isso da outra vez também, **né**? *This has happened before * ***ASSENT***
P	7	Também, **é**. *It has too* ***ASSENT***

In turn (3), P realizes that the last instruction of the experiment was not followed by S: "Você não voltou o text pra cá [*You didn't put the text back there*]". P imparts modal responsibility on S for this proposition, with negative polarity for following all the instructions. P adds an Assent Particle (né), requesting the listener (i.e., S) to commit to the fact that he had not followed the instructions. However, S decides not to assent to P, since he believes he followed all instructions. As a result, the meaning P was trying to turn into shared knowledge (the truth of interaction) could not be negotiated and was abandoned.

In turn (4), S does not choose the responding discretionary move for the Assent Particle (né não; não), but the responding move for a Declarative, picking

up the Finite with inverted polarity. Not only S does not assess validating the role-speaker of P in turn (3), but also disregards the Assessment Particle, negotiating only modal responsibility and polarity.

At the end, S adds the Insist Particle (ué), functioning as to increase the chances of the listener to assess the proposition as expected "Voltei, ué [*I did*]". Following that, he adds two other propositions in elaboration "Eu colei. É o progra-- eu tenho certeza que eu colei [*I pasted it. And the progra-- I am sure I did.*]". On the first, S is the modal responsible, realized by the Subject added to a subjective modality metaphor "eu tenho certeza que [*I am sure*]", distancing even more from P's proposition in turn (3).

S's strategy proved successful, since P checked the final part of the experiment and, in turn (5), presented an expected responding move to S's proposition in (4), realized by the Finite (colocou/*did*) and the Comment Adjunct (realmente/*really*), reinforcing the proposition "não, realmente colou [*oh, I'm really sorry, you did*]". This is expanded in the following proposition, when P assigns modal responsibility to the computer – realized as Subject – for failing to complete the last instruction, "só que o programa não pôs [*the program did not*]". After the success in this negotiation, S produces a new proposition in (6), stating the computer had made mistakes before, in another experiment, "aconteceu isso da outra vez também [*this has happened before*]". In the end S adds an MP requesting the assent from P.

In (7) P responds to S's proposition as expected, picking up the Adjunct alternatively to the Finite (também/*too*). Similarly, P not only accepts the proposition of S, but also assesses validating his role-speaker, assenting to the proposition, realized by the expected responding Assent Particle (é): "Também, é [*It has too, ASSENT*]".

Distribution and variation of modal particles

After describing the grammatical behavior of ASSESSMENT, we now turn to showing the distribution of MPs in the corpus. Table 2 shows the distribution for mode variants written (W) and spoken (S); monologue (M) and dialogue (D), and tex types.

Table 2 – Distribution of MODAL PARTICLES in the corpus.

	expounding				Reporting				recreating				sharing				doing				recommending				enabling				exploring				total
	WM	WD	SM	SD	WM	WD	SM	SD	WM	WD	SM	SD	WM	WD	SM	SD	WM	WD	SM	SD	WM	WD	SM	SD	WM	WD	SM	SD	EM	ED	FM	FD	
ATTEND	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	1	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	**32**
ASSENT	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	6	-	6	3	13	-	-	1	36	-	-	1	14	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	21	**129**
AGREE	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	**23**
INSIST	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**6**
CONCLUDE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	**18**
UNDERSTAND	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**6**
CONFIRM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**7**
SYMPATHIZE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**3**
EXCLAIM	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	5	4	19	-	-	3	8	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	**45**
EXHORT-answ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**6**
CHALLENGE	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**12**
EXHORT-und.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**2**
ATTENUATE	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	3	-	-	1	7	-	-	-	8	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	**29**
total	**1**	**3**	**3**	**-**	**-**	**1**	**2**	**12**	**2**	**19**	**19**	**53**	**-**	**-**	**7**	**91**	**-**	**-**	**2**	**42**	**-**	**-**	**2**	**22**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**10**	**-**	**-**	**2**	**25**	**318**

Source: Created by the author.

Table 2 shows how different ASSESSMENT functions contribute to text types. Sharing is the socio-semiotic process that deploys most MPs. Expounding on the other hand deploys the least. This suggests sharing negotiatiates the role of speaker more often, since its role in the context of culture is to present and negotiate values, positions and ideas aiming at testing proximity among interactants. Conversely, expounding texts are used to pass on established knowledge – already validated by the community – in which case there is less need to validade the role-speaker.

For the other variables there are 40 (monologue) and 278 (dialogue) occurrences. These can be explained by the fact that the listener is also a responding speaker, which leaves open the opportunity for negotiating the role-speaker. In monologues there is less MP deployment precisely because the speaker needs not their listener to assess their role-speaker after each proposition, since the own constitution of the text type gives the speaker every move. The continuum spoken/written presents 26 occurrences for written and 292 for spoken, indicating that MPs have a more significant job to play on spoken texts. For the features of ASSESSMENT, the following distribution is found (Tableau 5).

Tableau 5 – Distribution of MPs in ASSESSMENT

Environment for Particles		Modal Particles			
orientation/ commodity	MOOD environment	Function	*Initial*	*expected*	*discretionary*
		ATTEND	32	- - - - -	- - - - -
give information	Declarative	**ASSENT**	94	28	7
		AGREE	6	13	4
		INSIST	5	1	- - - - -
		CONCLUDE	13	4	1
		UNDERSTAND	5	1	- - - - -
		CONFIRM	4	1	- - - - -
		SYMPATHIZE	3	- - - - -	- - - - -
		EXCLAIM	45	- - - - -	- - - - -
demmand information	Polar: Interrogative	**CONFIRM**	2	- - - - -	- - - - -
	Elemental: Iinterrogative	**EXHORT / answer**	6	- - - - -	- - - - -
		CHALLENGE	12	- - - - -	- - - - -
demmand goods-&-services	Imperative	**EXHORT / undertake**	2	- - - - -	- - - - -
		ATTENUATE p/ undertake	28	- - - - -	- - - - -
give g-&-s	Imperative or Interrogative	**ATTENUATE p/ accept**	1	- - - - -	- - - - -

Source: Created by the author.

Tableau 5 shows that Indicative: Declarative MOOD is the favorite type of clause, and propositions – give information – is the preferred environment for the functions of MPs, thus in need of assessment. Among these functions, the most frequent is the one needed to ask the listener for "shared knowledge" among interactants. Following that, Imperative MOOD clauses are the most frequent, with the function of Attenuate being the most used. This is explained by the fact that it is used when a command is used and it increases chances of undertaking. Few functions presented a responding move in the corpus, which suggests propositions/proposals are assessed by other means rather than MPs – as for instance by simply undertaking the command; giving the required answer or by just letting the speaker keep their role-speaker (see Fig. 7).

Figure 7 – Relative frequency of ASSESSMENT functions.
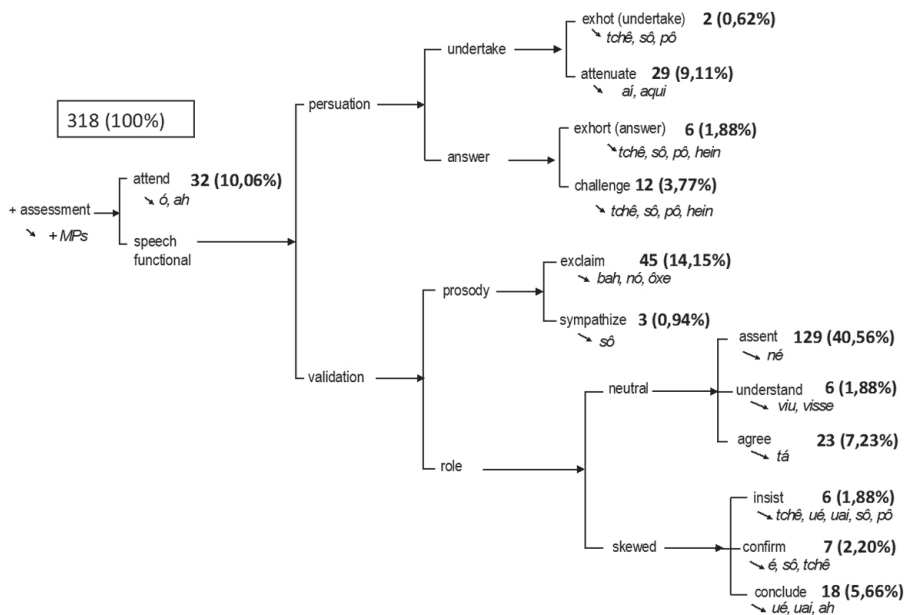
Source: Created by the author.

Conclusions

This paper presented a description of the system of ASSESSMENT in Brazilian Portuguese grounded on previous research (RISSO; SILVA; URBANO, 1996; MARTELOTTA; VOTRE; CEZÁRIO, 1996; URBANO, 1999; FREITAG, 2008; 2009) concerning a subgroup of interpersonal discourse markers related to orientation of evaluation.

It was possible to show how MPs contribute to regulating the roles of speaker and listener via assessment, pointing their interdependency with MOOD and explaining systemically the grammatical behavior of this subgroup of discourse markers in BP.

With respect to the natural difficulty of separating different types of MPs in classes due to their interpersonal/textual behavior, it was shown how the system of ASSESSMENT may be useful to create such distinction through agnation and delicacy. In this description there are 6 levels of delicacy (e.g.: +assessment: speech functional: validation: role: neutral: assent).

The relationship between MPs and other interpersonal systems of the clause shows the systematizing of different classes of Particles in relation to their interdependecies, as to make ASSESSMENT a continuity to MOOD, creating more delicate options, and a complementarity to MODALITY, as a cosselection for evaluation. Because ASSESSMENT is a continuity to MOOD, it may be separated into classes having MOOD options as entry conditions. Imperative generates EXHORT, ATTENUATE and CHALLENGE; Indicative generates ASSENT, UNDERSTAND, AGREE, etc.

Because MODALITY assesses propositions/proposals, ASSESSMENT functions as a complement, assessing the role-speaker. For instance, a proposition may be assessed for probability, and complementarily the role-speaker may be assessed as the one who assesses the probability of a proposition.

The distribution of Particles across text types showed a higher frequency of Particles for the socio-semiotic processes sharing and recreating, and the lowest frequency for expounding and enabling. Dialogic texts also showed a higher frequency when contrasted to monologic ones, with a ratio of 6.9 : 1 (278 and 40). Oral texts showed a higher frequency contrasted to written texts with a ratio of 11.3 : 1 (292 and 26).

Finaly, the job performed by interpersonal discourse markers in the development of text, in particular of the dialogue, shows how MPs operate as part of initial moves requesting responding moves from the listener. In turn, responding moves are a copy of the move being negotiated by the initial speaker, but assessed according to MPs functions. Because of that, Particles create cohesive chains of argument through the dialogue, contributing to the accumulation of interpersonal meaning and realizing part of the modal assessment of the text and socio-semiotic process.

■ *RESUMO: Este artigo parte das descrições funcionais dos marcadores discursivos e delimita como objeto o subconjunto interpessoal destes, pertencente à orientação da avaliação – realizado pelas Partículas Modais em português brasileiro. Motivado pela organização gramatical da interação, este trabalho se pauta pelas abordagens do modelo funcionalista, em particular daquele de organização sistêmica, e objetiva descrever o sistema gramatical de VALIDAÇÃO, o qual é realizado pelas Partículas Modais que compõem parte dos marcadores discursivos interpessoais. Para tanto, analisou-se um corpus monolíngue compilado com base na tipologia da língua no contexto de cultura. As Partículas Modais foram descritas segundo sua manifestação na interação, buscando-se as relações sistêmicas da VALIDAÇÃO, incluindo a complementariedade com o MODO e a MODALIDADE. Os resultados indicam que a VALIDAÇÃO é uma continuidade do MODO, separando as Partículas Modais em classes distintas conforme as opções Imperativo e Indicativo. A VALIDAÇÃO é, ainda, complementar à MODALIDADE, relativa ao papel do falante.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Marcadores Discursivos Interpessoais Avaliativos. Partículas Modais. Sistema de VALIDAÇÃO. Descrição Sistêmico-Funcional do Português Brasileiro.*

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